

KOBUK RIVER
HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS
(PROGRESS REPORT)

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Based on Recorded Oral Histories
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ABSTRACT

This report discusses progress and summarizes data collected in the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project. The project explores human-land relationships in the upper Kobuk River area of Alaska, through oral life histories of elder Iñupiaq Eskimo. This is the first phase of what may be a multi-phase effort. In the short term, the project is intended to help manage hunting, fishing, and recreational uses of the area. In the long term, the project is intended to add to existing knowledge of settlement patterns and subsistence activities of the people of the upper Kobuk River. Through detailed oral histories and genealogies of people who live in the area, researchers explored why and how people used particular sites and localities, and how those uses changed over time.

Four elder respondents from Shungnak, Alaska, were interviewed: Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Leonard Douglas, and Vera Douglas. Each lived all their lives on the upper Kobuk, except for relatively brief periods when they were absent for work-related reasons, and raised their families there.

The respondents described a settlement pattern very different than existed at the time of this study. Three respondents grew up in the communities of Kobuk and Shungnak, but during their childhood spent months of every year in camps scattered across the Kobuk, Selawik, and Noatak river valleys. One respondent grew up in a now-abandoned community at the mouth of the Pah River. Both families have been active throughout their lives in the upper Kobuk River in and near the Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, and the Woods family has depended upon the upper Noatak portions of the Park as well. Each respondent described a complex seasonal round, in which families traveled scores or hundreds of miles to take advantage of seasonal harvesting opportunities.

Two interesting findings were the descriptions of *Ukivigraug*, a potentially very old winter village at the Pah River, and of *Sagviaqsigiaq*, a Spring camp on the Pah River used not only by residents of *Ukivigraug* but also by residents of Shungnak. *Ukivigraug* was inhabited well into the 1930s, supporting a population of more than 30. Its existence was never reported in government census records, and many observers had assumed the Pah River community was abandoned much earlier in the century.

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David Spirtes and Dave Mills of the National Park Service appreciated the importance of documenting the history of land use on the upper Kobuk, were willing to take the long approach, and provided the funding for this research. Many NPS staff, including Jonas Ramoth, Patty Rost, Eileen Devinney, Lois Dalle-Molle, Cyd Martin, MaryAnn Porter, and Brad Shults graciously contributed ideas, time, equipment, and feedback.

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Years before this project began, Susan Georgette became interested in capturing the human experience on the upper Kobuk through oral histories. She provided, through her own oral history work, an excellent model. She nurtured the relationships that made this work possible. The inspiration and vision for this effort are hers.

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INTRODUCTION

This report discusses progress and summarizes data collected in the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project, a cooperative effort funded by the National Park Service and conducted by the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. The project explores human-land relationships through oral histories of elder *Iñupiaq* Eskimo residents of the upper Kobuk River area.

This is the first phase of a multi-phase research effort. In the short term, the project is intended to help land and resource managers better understand and work to resolve conflicts between local and non-local users of the area. In the longer term, the project is intended to add to existing knowledge of the history, settlement patterns, social organization, and subsistence activities of the people of the upper Kobuk River. Researchers hoped that some of the data gathered in this project – particularly the audio material in the *Iñupiaq* Eskimo language – could be used in a multimedia program about upper Kobuk River history for use in schools, visitor centers, and other educational and scientific contexts.

Background

The study area included the upper Kobuk River watershed in northwest Alaska from the confluence of the Ambler and Kobuk Rivers upstream to its headwaters within Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, focusing specifically on areas within and adjacent to the park and preserve (Fig.1.1). Although only the extreme eastern portion of the study area was designated formally as wilderness, at the time of this study most of the upper Kobuk valley was uninhabited and unaltered from its natural state. Virtually all permanent residents of the area were indigenous *Iñupiaq* Eskimo, who depended extensively upon local flora and fauna for food, and for the manufacture of certain traditional clothing and craft items.

Beginning at the turn of the century and continuing through the present, considerable mineral exploration has occurred in the area, especially in the Shungnak and Mauneluk river valleys. Actual mining, though, has been concentrated in the vicinity of the community of Kobuk, where placer gold mines operated during the early decades of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, Kennecott Mining sank a deep shaft at Bornite, about 10 miles north of Kobuk, to extract copper ore. The Bornite mine flooded before going into full production, and was abandoned. No mines were active in the area at the time of this study. An unmaintained gravel road connected Kobuk with Bornite; otherwise the entire area was without roads.

According to anthropologist Ernest S. Burch, the upper Kobuk River was inhabited by a single society in the late nineteenth century, the *Kuuvaum Kañiaġmiut* (Burch 1998a:126). They occupied the Kobuk watershed from Ambler River upstream to the headwaters, an area of approximately 6,500 square miles including the Mauneluk, Pah, Selby, Beaver, and Reed rivers. They were semi-nomadic, moving seasonally to fish and hunt at various locations, returning usually to the same winter settlements. In addition to the upper Kobuk watershed, *Kuuvaum Kañiaġmiut* also ventured north into the upper Noatak watershed to hunt caribou and sheep. Burch listed eleven *Kuuvaum Kañiaġmiut* settlements for 1870, with a total population of 624-680 people (Burch 1998a:137).

At the time of this study, the same area was inhabited by 674 people, roughly the same number of people Burch estimated for 1870. Virtually all lived in one of three communities: Ambler (1998 population 315), Shungnak (population 257), and Kobuk (population 102). Ninety one percent were *Iñupiaq* Eskimo, most descended directly from or related by marriage to the *Kuuvaum Kañiaġmiut*.

After the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed by Congress in 1971, *Kuuvaum Kaniagmiut* became minority land owners in their homeland. The federal government owned about 50 percent of the land; the state government about 40 percent. About 10 percent of the land in the area was private, owned by the NANA Regional Corporation – a native profit corporation created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act to manage native lands and resources in northwest Alaska. Individuals owned less than 1 percent of the area, mostly as native allotments. The National Park Service managed three different units in the area: the Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, the Kobuk Valley National Park, and the Noatak National Preserve (Fig 1.1).

All the lands and waters in the study area were open to subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering, and to sport fishing. There were, however, two dif-

ferent subsistence management systems. Not all areas were open to all users.

The federal government managed subsistence hunting and fishing on federal public lands, including all the National Park Service lands. Only local rural residents could hunt under federal subsistence regulations. Subsistence hunting in the national parks was further limited to residents of resident zone communities as specified in the Alaska National Interest Lands Act. The three communities in the study area – Ambler, Shungnak, and Kobuk – were named as resident zone communities for both the Kobuk Valley and Gates of the Arctic National Park. Residents of these communities could hunt and fish for subsistence throughout the study area.

The state government managed subsistence hunting and fishing on all other lands, including native lands. These lands also were open to recreational hunting. However, access to native-owned lands was

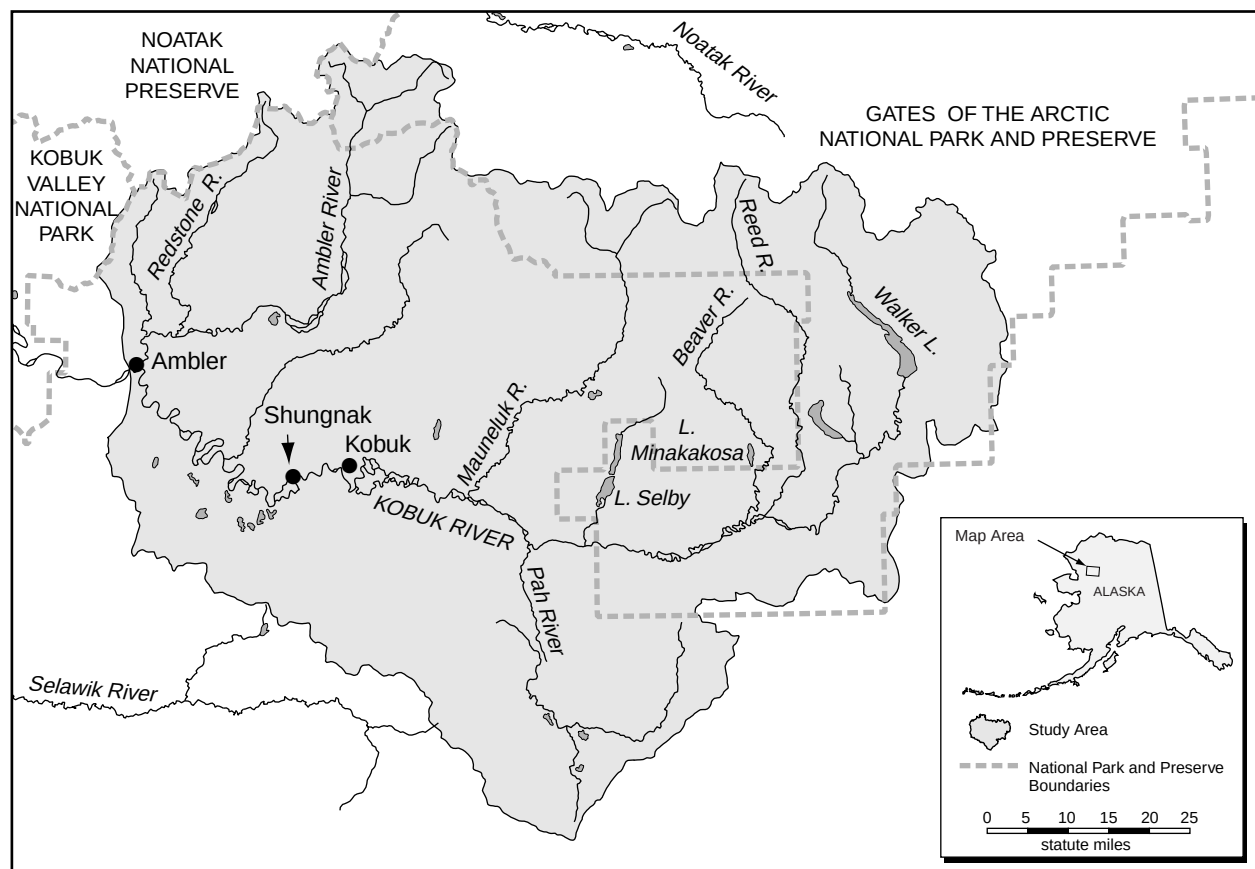


Figure 1-1. The Study Area. The study area included the Kobuk River watershed upstream from the confluence of the Ambler and Kobuk rivers. The study area coincided with the nineteenth century *Kuuvaum Kaniagmiut* nation.

controlled by NANA Regional Corporation and by individual allotment owners. Thus recreational hunting occurred on state and some federal lands (such as the Gates of the Arctic Preserve), but not in parks or on native lands.

During the late twentieth century, the number of non-local, non-*Iñupiaq* hunters, fishers, and recreational users in rafts, kayaks, canoes and on foot increased dramatically. Local residents reported increasing conflicts between recreation uses and traditional subsistence activities. The patchwork land ownership and the different goals and authorities of the various landowners and resource managers have complicated resolution of these conflicts. A group of land and resource managers, local residents, and non-local users of the region had been meeting for several years to attempt to resolve some of the problems. At this writing, no comprehensive solutions had been proposed, and efforts were continuing.

Purposes and Objectives

The purpose of this research was to explore human-land relationships on the upper Kobuk River during the twentieth century. Key respondents identified specific places that were significant to the key respondents, explored the nature of the human-land relationships for each place and respondent, discussed how these relationships had changed over time, and explored the significance of these places to respondents' children and grandchildren. The objective of this phase of the study was this report, presenting a summary of findings and transcripts of the initial series of interviews.

Research Questions

The report addressed a number of research questions on human-land relationships on the upper Kobuk River, including the following:

Where were settlements located on the upper Kobuk River in the twentieth century?

How did settlement patterns changed during the twentieth century, and why?

How did residents of these settlements adapt to changing social and economic conditions?

What impact did changes in land status have on human-land relationships?

What impact have allotment programs had on human-land relationships?

What impact did non-local users have on human-land relationships?

How did human-land relationships differ among the elder respondents, their children, and grandchildren at the time of the study?

These types of questions served as the focus of the research.

Rationale, Literature Review

The researchers' basic premise was that the Iñupiat experience of the upper Kobuk River was fundamentally different than the experience of non-local recreational users. Most state and federal land and resource managers were from outside the area, and thus were most familiar with non-local perspectives. To the extent that non-local managers better understood the Iñupiat experience in the area, they would be better equipped to manage lands and resources for the benefit of all users, and could better inform non-local users of the unique circumstances of the lands they visit.

The principal researcher was familiar with the area and its residents. He had lived in Northwest Alaska almost continuously since 1979. He lived in Shungnak in 1979-80, and has owned a cabin on the Mauneluk River since 1989. He has known the key respondents interviewed in this project for more than 20 years, and has traveled in the area by boat, snowmachine, dog team, and small aircraft.

Researchers adopted an oral history approach for several reasons. Although the respondents all could speak English, their first language was *Iñupiaq* Eskimo. Recording interviews on tape allowed respondents to answer questions in their primary language; their responses could be translated later. With a taped record, proper spellings of place names and subtle meanings could be reviewed anytime.

Other research approaches were considered – specifically, a household survey of opinions about land use and conflicts. Researchers decided against the survey approach because of the abstract or open-

ended nature of the questions, types of questions that often were unsuccessful in previous survey research in northwest Alaska.

The oral history approach also encouraged collaboration between researchers and respondents. Although interview guides were used to structure interviews, they often were modified for specific circumstances after discussing the content and direction of a scheduled interview with a respondent. Thus both parties were able to influence the content and direction of the interviews. By comparison, a survey approach places all the control over the content of a session with the researcher.

Oral history methods have been used extensively throughout Alaska and Canada to document native history and biography (e.g. Bodfish 1991, Cruikshank et al 1990, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer n.d., Hall 1975, Pete n.d., Schneider 1976). Previous research in the Kobuk area has successfully employed the oral history approach. Foote's recordings with Robert *Nasruk* Cleveland were the basis for an extensive collection of *Kuuvaŋmiut* legends. NANA Elder's conference recordings were the basis for a series of books published by the school district, documenting community histories and traditional stories (Lee et al 1990, Lee et al 1992, Mendenhall 1989). Oral life histories also were a significant component of *Kuuvaŋmiut Subsistence*, an encyclopedic study of Kobuk River subsistence practices in the 1970s (Anderson et al 1998). A common theme of these works was the *Kuuvaŋmiut*'s close connection with and reliance upon the landscape, as described by Nelson:

Although they have experienced profound cultural changes over the past century, the *Kuuvaŋmiut* remain deeply involved with living on and from the land... Kobuk villagers' interest in subsistence goes far deeper than the purely economic, because the patterning of their entire culture and society is deeply rooted in subsistence living. Relationships among people are closely bound to the need for cooperative endeavors and sharing the wild harvest. Traditional modes of child rearing, education, and recreation are directly related to

the hunting and gathering livelihood. (Anderson et al 1998:269)

Nelson, Giddings, Ray, and Burch have been the primary contributors to the ethnographic portrait of northwest Alaska Inupiat in general. Burch has described the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* in particular (1998a, 1998b).

Burch, Jones, Loon, and Kaplan have raised questions about the genesis of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* (Burch et al 1999). They proposed that the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* were a Koyukon Athabaskan society as recently as 1850, and were assimilated rapidly and peacefully into *Iñupiaq* Eskimo society between 1860 and 1880. Their theory is based on place name data, and on early ethnographic observations by Nelson (1899), Stoney (1900), Curtis (1930), Sun (1985), and others. The ethnogenesis theory was not widely accepted among *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* descendants themselves. They thought the upper Kobuk may have been inhabited by *itkillich* ("Indians" or "strangers"), but they accepted the conventional view that *Iñupiat* pushed them out of the upper Kobuk. *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* legends abound with stories of wars with Indians, which tended to support the conventional view.

The earliest written accounts of life on the upper Kobuk River date from 1884 and 1885, when Cantwell (1887, 1889) and Stoney (1900) conducted separate explorations of the region. Stoney's party spent the winter of 1885-86 living in a log cabin at the mouth of Cosmos Creek, about 10 miles below the community of Shungnak. Cantwell's and Stoney's accounts both provide views of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* in a near pre-contact status. Stoney and his men traveled widely, into the Noatak valley and as far north as Point Barrow, providing an extensive record of conditions at the time.

The next accounts of life on the Kobuk date from 1900, when an estimated 1,000 gold prospectors spread out across the valley. Gold was discovered near the community of Kobuk, a mission school soon followed, and the settlement patterns and economic life of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* began to change rapidly. Roberts' history of the Friends Church provides considerable detail from the missionaries' perspective (1978). Other accounts, such as those

by Grinnell (1901) and Oman — although focused on the central and lower Kobuk valley now — are useful in understanding conditions on the upper Kobuk in the early twentieth century.

The first ethnographic research in the area occurred in the 1940s, when archeologist J. Louis Giddings floated down the Kobuk River, and encountered Henry Stocking's family at the confluence of the Mauneluk and Kobuk rivers. His work continued in the area until his death in the 1960s. Giddings published accounts of *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* life as recalled by four respondents, including Mike *Qakiq* Commack, who lived at the confluence of the Pah and Kobuk rivers (Giddings 1961), and an ethnographic portrait of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* (Giddings 1956).

Georgette and Loon have documented contemporary subsistence practices, including those for brown bear and Dall sheep (Loon and Georgette 1989, Georgette and Loon 1991). Conflicts between local and non-local residents over fishing also have been described (Georgette and Loon 1990). Contemporary life on the upper Kobuk has been described in a series of popular and insightful accounts by an Ambler teacher, Nick Jans (1994, 1996).

For the most part, the literature has focused on the distant past or on the present. Less well reported have been patterns of settlement and land use in the early twentieth century, and decisions made by individuals and families as the social and economic conditions of the state and nation changed dramatically. Of all observers, Giddings was especially well situated to document those times. But he understandably was interested in documenting pre-contact conditions while knowledgeable informants were still alive. So the literature has included less about respondents' own early lives than their ancestors' circumstances.

Products

In the project as a whole, a number of different presentations of the data are possible, including written reports, GIS maps, and multi-media programs. This report is the first product; at least one additional written report will be produced. In this report, chapter 2 discusses research methods, while chapter 3 summarizes the life histories of the four respondents. Translations of the interviews with the respondents are contained in the appendices.

2 METHODS

This project attempted to explore human-land relationships in depth from the perspectives of a relatively few elder *Iñupiaq* residents. Researchers assumed there was considerable common experience among a homogenous and stable group of people. Short interviews with many respondents – only some of whom will be well known to any individual researcher – might abound with the common experience at the expense of the unique. By focusing on relatively few respondents, researchers hoped to understand in greater detail the decisions and opportunities individuals faced as they made their lives on the upper Kobuk River.

Through a series of structured interviews with each elder, researchers identified significant places in each elder's life, and gathered information about the people, activities, and events at each place. Settlements and camps were located on USGS maps, and site maps were drawn for places with multiple dwellings. Genealogies were collected for each respondent, and supplemented with information from the literature and other respondents. Interviews were conducted in *Iñupiaq* by a researcher fluent in *Iñupiaq*, or through a translator from the elder's community. Most interviews were conducted in respondents' homes.

From these data, researchers attempted to construct a coherent, chronological narrative of each elder's life. The narrative emphasized the places occupied and used by the respondent.

Sample

This initial phase collected oral life histories from two Shungnak elder couples, following an interview protocol that emphasized human-land relationships over time (Appendix One). Subsequent phases of the project may include additional key respondents from Shungnak, Kobuk, Ambler, or other northwest Alaska communities.

Variables

This project focused on relationships between people and land, and the variables reflected that focus. For each respondent, a number of significant sites were identified (see methods, below). For each combination of site and person, data on the following variables were collected.

Site location.

Period of use.

Reasons for using.

Methods of access.

Occupants of site.

Type and number of structures.

Type of activities.

Tools and technologies used.

Significant events (births, deaths, etc.).

Visitors to the site.

These questions were repeated for each location in the respondent's lives.

Methods

Information was collected in a series of recorded interviews. Before interviews were conducted, the project was explained to respondents in *Iñupiaq*. Consent and release forms were signed, specifying permitted uses, obligations of the researchers, and distribution and deposition of the recorded tapes and transcripts. A list of the interviews appears in Table 2-1. All interviews were conducted in *Iñupiaq*. The interview series was structured as follows:

Informed Consent Discussion: This open-ended discussion discussed the purposes and objectives of the project, as well as the agencies and personnel involved. Discussions lasted up to two hours. Re-

TABLE 2-1. INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Date	Location	Respondents	Subjects
February 8, 2000	Kotzebue, Alaska	Leonard and Vera Douglas	Informed Consent Discussion
February 9, 2000	Kotzebue, Alaska	Leonard and Vera Douglas	Life History Overview
March 7-10, 2000	Shungnak, Alaska	Leonard and Vera Douglas	Map Interviews, Genealogies
April 4, 2000	Shungnak, Alaska	Wesley and Josephine Woods	Informed Consent Discussion
April 17-18, 2000	Shungnak, Alaska	Wesley and Josephine Woods	Life History Overview, Map Interviews, Genealogies

searchers translated (orally) the project overview into Iñupiaq (Appendix One). They answered respondents' questions about the project. These sessions were not recorded.

Life History Overview: An initial interview provided researchers with an overview of the respondent's life. Some material collected during this interview was used in the final report, but the primary purpose was to help researchers and respondents plan additional interviews.

Map Interviews: This series of interviews was temporally and geographically focused. Researchers and respondents identified significant places and times in the respondent's life (e.g., adolescence, experiences at camp, etc.) and structured interviews to explore respondent's activities and land use at each significant place and time. Maps were used as prompts, and to record exact locations of events. These interviews formed the basis of most of the respondent's life history. They were reviewed for relevance and most of their content was translated and transcribed.

Genealogy: Researchers worked with respondents to identify ancestors and descendants of the respondent, places and dates of births, marriages, and deaths. If family genealogies were available from another source, this interview was used to verify and expand the existing genealogy. Respondents also were asked to identify non-relatives who had important roles in their lives. Data from this interview were entered into a genealogical database, and some are depicted in kinship diagrams in this report. The interview itself was not transcribed for use in the report.

Human-Land Relationships: During a concluding interview, elders were asked to consider how their relationships with the land had changed over time, how their relationships with the land differed from their children and grandchildren, and why? Researchers asked focused questions about the affect of changes in land status, technology (e.g. out-board motors, snow machines), increases in non-local users, and community economic development (e.g. increases in wage labor).

Limitations and Assumptions

While the small size of the sample limited the range of experiences that were reported, as already discussed, it also allowed researchers to develop a more comprehensive record of the uses of particular sites by specific individuals, in a life history context. Other people in the study area would have used other sites; these are not documented here.

A text based on translations presents some special considerations. Some Iñupiaq words had no precise English glosses, especially food items. In those cases, an approximate English word is used and the original Iñupiaq term appears in parentheses. For example, "The intestine of the bear was good food; the inside has melted fat (*puiñiq*)."

A considerable volume of oral material in the Iñupiaq language was collected for this project. The translators used were among the most literate and fluent speakers of the Iñupiaq language in the region. All were fluent English speakers. However, Alaska Department of Fish and Game purchasing rules allowed researchers to spend no more than \$5,000 a year on respondents and translators, un-

less researchers adopted a competitive bid process. That was completely inappropriate for the situation. As a consequence, a limited amount of time and money was available to complete the translations, and each translator worked alone. Respondents and translators were selected on the basis of their knowledge, experiences, and skills. Price was not a consideration; all were paid the same rate.

To address this limitation, the original cassette tapes with the oral histories in the *Iñupiaq* language were to be deposited in the University of Alaska archives. In addition, a CD-ROM with the entire collection of audio files was available from NPS and ADF&G. Thus, if questions arise about respondents' meanings, researchers and students of the *Iñupiaq* language can easily access the original oral material.

Iñupiaq names and locations in the study area have not been completely documented, and duplications of *Iñupiaq* place names have not been fully resolved. During the early 1990s, NANA Regional Corporation attempted to locate and document as many sites as possible. NANA's researchers collected place names and locations from key respondents in Ambler, Kiana, Shungnak, and Noorvik, and combined them with place names and locations documented in *Kuuvaymiut Subsistence* (Anderson et al 1998). The National Park Service subsequently incorporated this work into an Arcview GIS database (Loon n.d.). Researchers relied upon that database as the authority for the spelling and location of *Iñupiaq* place names. It appears in this report as Appendix 5.

Nonetheless, ambiguities remained for some of the names and locations discussed in this report. The NANA place name database contained 1,023 names, but 1,477 locations, because 307 names were used in the database two or more times. For example, the place name *Killaq* referred both to a stream, Killak Creek, and to a pass, Coal Pass, where the stream began. *Killaq* appeared in the database four times, twice from Loon's Shungnak respondents and twice from the *Kuuvaymiut* report. A careful study of the database could usually, but not always, resolve such ambiguities.

Respondents' *Iñupiaq* place names and locations were not always consistent with the NANA data-

base or with one another. Most respondents could not read the *Iñupiaq* place names in the NANA database. Although USGS maps were used during the interviews, respondents sometimes had difficulty locating places on the maps.

Researchers addressed the place name and location limitations in several ways. In this report, when it was clear the respondents were referring to a site in the NANA database, researchers adopted the spellings used in the NANA database, even though respondents' pronunciations did not always agree.

When respondents referred to sites or used names that were not in the NANA database, researchers followed the translator's spelling and used respondents' locations. For example, the *Ukivigruaq* community near the Pah River mouth did not appear in the NANA database. Because it was such a significant site, researchers attempted to visit the site in the company of the respondent. When that proved impossible for health reasons, researchers visited the site alone, photographed it, and showed the photographs to the respondent for positive confirmation of the location. Resolution of all the ambiguities surrounding place names and locations was beyond the scope of this phase of the project.

Data Analysis

In this first phase, analysis consisted primarily of organizing the material collected for use in subsequent phases of the project. Tapes were digitized and stored as computer files, duplicated for the respondents and the project cooperators, and translated for use in this preliminary report.

Translated interviews were reviewed and are summarized in the body of this report. In those summaries, events in each person's life are presented chronologically, and annotated by the translators and the researchers.

In northwest Alaska, virtually all *Iñupiaq* residents had two proper names: English and *Iñupiaq*. In general, *Iñupiaq* people used their English names in government and business settings, and with non-Native friends. They used their *Iñupiaq* names with their family, with *Iñupiaq* friends, and in community settings. Long-term non-Native residents often had *Iñupiaq* names as well, but they usually were known by their English names.

This report adopted the following convention for proper names. In the first instance, both English and *Iñupiaq* names are used with the *Iñupiaq* name in parentheses, for example “Josephine Woods (*Qupil̄guraq*).” In the second instance, the given English name was used, “Josephine.” In some cases, respon-

dents knew their ancestors only by their *Iñupiaq* names. In those cases, only the *Iñupiaq* name was used. The use of English names, it was hoped, would make the narrative easier to follow for readers unfamiliar with the *Iñupiaq* language.

3 LIFE HISTORIES

Researchers recorded oral life histories for two elder Shungnak couples: Leonard and Vera Douglas, and Wesley and Josephine Woods. All four respondents had been born in the Kobuk River area, as had been their parents and grandparents. The respondents had lived on the upper Kobuk all their lives, except Wesley, who at age 12 joined his father on a two-year-long reindeer drive to Canada. Wesley, the oldest respondent, was born in 1918. Vera was born in 1926. Leonard and Josephine, the youngest respondents, were both born in 1929.

At the time of this study, virtually all the inhabitants of the study area lived in the communities of

Shungnak, Ambler, and Kobuk. But earlier in the twentieth century, settlement patterns were different. A number of families, including three of the four respondents, lived in other isolated single-family and multi-family settlements along the Kobuk River between Black River and Beaver River. Figure 3-1 shows the approximately locations of some of these settlements, based on information provided by the respondents. These settlements were abandoned in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, although some since have been claimed as Native allotments.

There was little in the literature about these settlements during the early twentieth century; they do

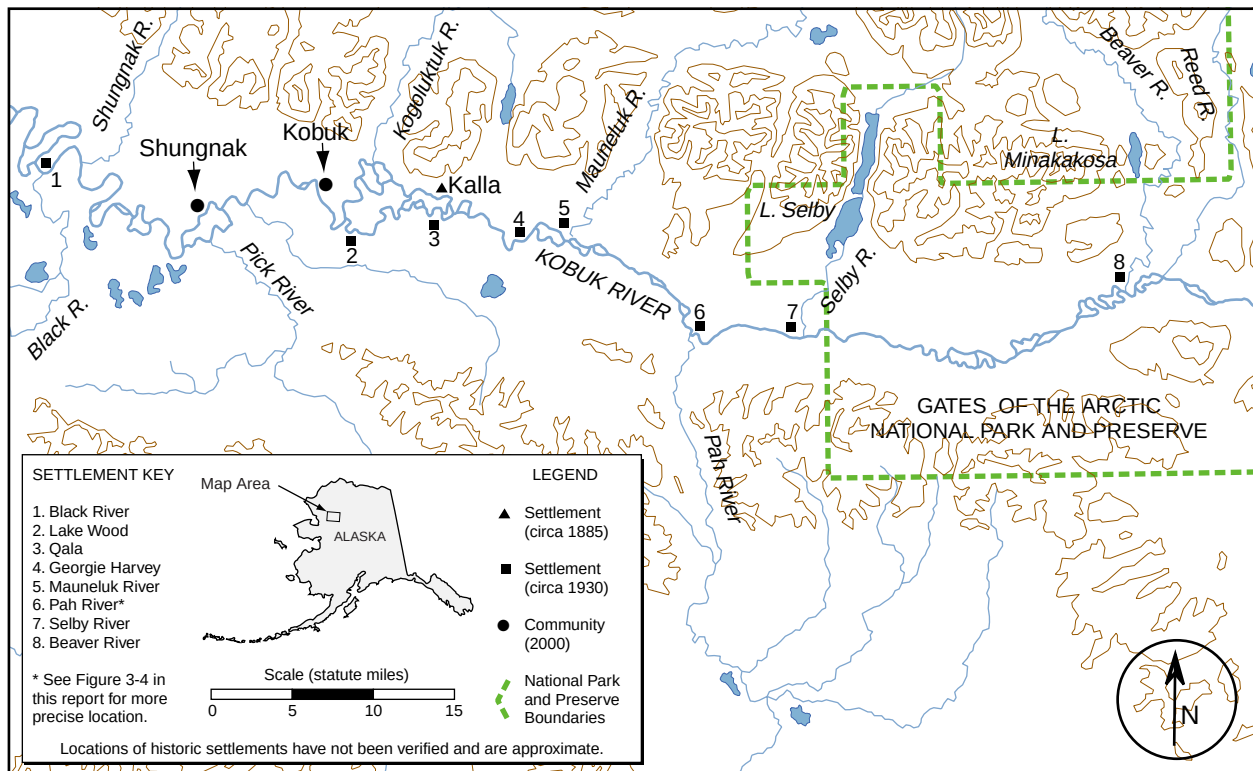


Figure 3-1. Upper Kobuk River Settlements. Key respondents identified eight settlements on the upper Kobuk River in the 1930s, in addition to Kobuk and Shungnak. Settlements ranged from one to seven houses. The Qala, Pah River, and Selby River settlements, and perhaps others, were occupied in 1885 when the first explorers entered the area.

not appear in census records after 1900. This study provides new information about the composition of these settlements, in particular, about *Ukivigruaq* at the mouth of the Pah River. Additional interviews were planned for the second year of the study to gather more information about early twentieth century settlements in the study area.

At the time of this study, virtually all *Iñupiaq* families along the upper Kobuk River were active subsistence harvesters. Many families maintained seasonal fish camps, stretching from the Black River to Mauneluk River (Fig. 3-1). Family members ranged widely to fish and hunt (Schroeder et al 1987:34), but especially upriver toward the Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, where there was less competition from other communities.

The Douglas and Woods families were of interest in the context of this research because their fish camps were among the closest to the Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve. Their camps were on the main stem Kobuk River, about a mile apart from each other, and about five miles below the mouth of Mauneluk River. While a number of other individuals owned allotments in the area, and several families had fish camps in this area, in recent years the Woods and Douglas families usually were in camp for the longest periods of time. Vera Douglas, in particular, usually occupied her camp from mid-August through late September. Members of both families traveled into the preserve each year to fish or hunt.

Leonard and Vera Douglas had 11 children and adopted another; 4 of their children were still living in Shungnak in 2000. Wesley and Josephine Woods' also raised 11 children, 7 of whom were living in Shungnak in 2000. Both couples had numerous relatives living in Shungnak, Kobuk, and Ambler.

This chapter presents oral life histories for Leonard and Vera Douglas, whose translated interviews appear in Appendix 3, and for Wesley and Josephine Woods, whose translated interviews appear in Appendix 4. Each individual respondent's life history is presented from birth through marriage, followed by each couple's life history. The following chapter discusses these life histories in the context of the research questions for this project.



Figure 3-2. Vera Douglas (Anugaaq).

Vera Douglas (Anugaaq)

Vera Douglas was born on September 22, 1926 (Fig. 3-2). Her parents were Johnny Hobson (*Sailauraq*) and Effie Hobson (*Taavsuuraq*). At the time of her birth, Johnny and Effie were living at *Qala*, about 14 miles east of Shungnak. Vera does not remember living at *Qala*. Her family may have been camping there before returning to their winter home near the Pah River, about 15 miles further to the east.

At the time of this study, *Qala* was a seasonally occupied, single-family fish camp, and there was no apparent evidence of the former village. But *Qala* has a long history. Figure 3-1 shows a portion of the upper Kobuk River, including the *Qala* area. In this figure is “Kalla,” a community reported by Stoney in 1885 (Orth 1971:489). Stoney’s “Kalla” is almost certainly the same community as *Qala*, where Vera was born. For this study, Shungnak respondents located *Qala* on a different channel of the Kobuk River, about two miles south of the USGS location. Either the community relocated between Stoney’s

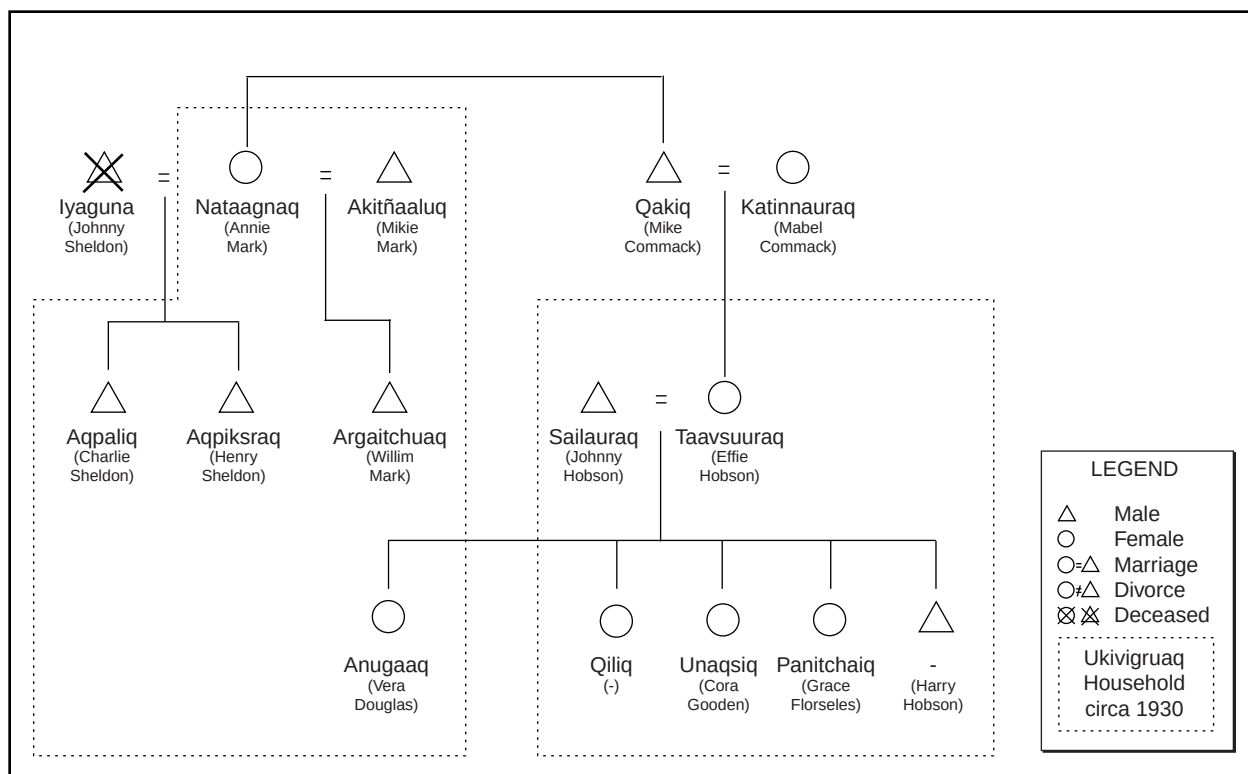


Figure 3-3. Two Ukivigruaq Households Circa 1930. Vera Douglas (Anugaaq) was adopted as an infant by her mother's father's sister, Annie Mark (Nataagnak). The two families lived in adjacent sod houses along with several other families at the confluence of the Kobuk and Pah rivers. See also Fig. 3-4.

visit in 1885 and Vera's birth in 1926, or the USGS location is incorrect. Respondents in the study were in complete agreement about *Qala*'s location in the 1930s.

Qala was still a substantial community in the 1930s. "There were a lot of people down there at *Qala*," Vera said. "Herbert Custer's dad (*Pigliqiaq*) was there, *Iyagaaluk*, *Tikilipiaq*, Wilson Tickett (*Aliqsi*), his siblings, his mother, and his father, and Nora Custer (*Naulik*) and her siblings' father. They lived at *Qala*, too. There were many of them. It was a big village and an old village. There were lots of houses at *Qala*."

Vera remembers that when she was about two months old "my other siblings got sick, these children of my real parents. When my mother could not keep up taking care of them, my grandmother Annie Mark (*Nataagnak*) started to take me home sometimes for a day to stay with her and my grandfather Mickie Mark (*Akitñaaluq*). After doing this for a time, my mother decided to give me to my grand-

parents. My grandparents' love for me was the deciding factor. I was adopted traditionally by them."

Although Vera called Annie Mark "grandmother," Annie actually was her mother's father's sister (Fig. 3-3). Vera's mother's father was Mike Commack (*Qakiq*), whom Giddings interviewed in 1941 when Mike was returning from Kotzebue (Giddings 1961:28-34).

At first, Vera's adoption was mostly a matter of residence, as her biological parents and her grandparents lived in the same community. Later, her biological parents moved down river to Kiana, and she lived the rest of her childhood with her grandparents. Annie Mark had three sons: Charlie Sheldon (*Aqpaliq*) and Henry Sheldon (*Aqpiksraq*) with her first husband, Johnny Sheldon (*Iyaguna*) (who died of a heart attack), and William Mark (*Argaitchuaq*) by her second husband, Mickie Mark (Fig. 3-3).

When Vera was perhaps two or three years old, her family moved up river to *Ukivigruaq*, a small community on the south bank of the Kobuk River

just below the mouth of the Pah River (Fig 3-4). Most of Vera's girlhood memories are of *Ukivigruaq* and nearby seasonal camps. This area was also Mike Commack's boyhood home (Giddings 1961:30), which would mean Vera was at least the third generation of her family to live at Pah River. Her move upriver was a return to her maternal family home.

Like *Qala*, a community had existed at the Pah River mouth for many years. Burch and others report the community name as "*Paa*" (Burch 1998a:137). The people who lived there were referred to as *Paamiut* (people of the Pah). Vera considered herself *Paamiut*, but she knew her childhood home as "*Ukivigruaq*," rather than "*Paa*."

Vera remembered that the settlement included six families in the 1930s: her adoptive parents Mickie and Annie Mark, her biological parents Johnny and Effie Hopson, Frank Tobuk (*Aqlāḡniq*) and Dora Tobuk (*Kuutuhauraq*), Henry Stocking (*Alliqsauraq*) and Susie Stocking (*Aniqniq*), Louis Berry (*Tuluḡak*) and Pancy Berry (*Iñigaq*), and *Qaliagraitchauraq*.

Ukivigruaq was a remote and self sufficient community. Thirty years after families in communities down river began building log and wood frame houses, most of the families in *Ukivigruaq* lived in traditional sod houses (*ivruligauraq*). Only Frank and Dora Tobuk had a log cabin. The *Paamiut* had rifles, of course, and metal tools like axes and pots. But tarps were rare; they covered their fish racks with shingles made from peeled spruce bark (*amigaq*). Although some of the men traveled occasionally to Kobuk to resupply, a distance of about 30 miles in winter and much longer in summer, Vera remembers going down to Kobuk only once a year, at Christmas.

In the 1930s, the *Paamiut* depended almost completely upon subsistence hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping. "My parents took us out to snare rabbits and ptarmigan just so that we can have meat," Vera said. "A variety of food was harvested in the fall. There were berries, Eskimo potatoes, fish oil, *avattauralik* (swim bladder) with roe that they gathered for food. Also, the men went north to hunt for sheep and caribou, and maybe sometimes bear. These were ways to gather food.

"Even the intestines of the bear were not discarded. They were emptied and turned inside out and allowed to roast over an open fire. The intestine of the bear was good food; the inside has melted fat (*puiñiq*).

"They ate from the land with these animals. That was how they spent their winter. The men trapped. Or, they would go to Kobuk to go to the store in winter with dog teams. No wonder the way they lived was very good. There were all kinds of food, and they never lacked food.

In winter, "almost all the men were trapping with dog teams. Camping. Trapping. There was no place to work that time. They have to trap and get fur. That's it. And trade and sell it to the stores," Vera said.

Vera remembered that they trapped "wolverines, fox, and mink. Because they sold these furs to the store during winter. Harry Brown bought mink, marten, weasel. And lynx. And they bought groceries. At that time, things were cheap. When a person got furs, he got so many things.

"In those days," Vera said, "we never had any motorized things. But Louis had a big boat with a little fire (*ikniligauraq*). It had an engine, not an Evinrude, but some kind of engine. He could travel up river at any speed he wanted.

"But for us, speed is not what we were used to. As long as we had a boat, we could get to where we wanted to go. We just had to harness the dogs and let them get off on the shore. They would tow the boat. They are trained to do that. That's how we lived. Thinking about it now, it seems so hard, but we were used to it."

Vera also recalled occasional visits to *Ukivigruaq* by Indians (*Itqiliq*). "*Saati'iñḡaaq* and his family came from Cut Off. Their grandchildren and the Huntingtons came to look for seal oil. They wanted to buy real seal oil from Harry Brown. Also, visitors came from Allakaket (*Aalaasuk*). They came in pairs with dog teams."

While *Ukivigruaq* was the focus of the *Paamiut* life in the 1930s, it was only one of four sites used in the course of the year (Fig. 3-5). In most years, most *Paamiut* moved up the Pah River about 10 miles to *Saḡvaqsigialaq* to wait for breakup. After breakup, they all floated back down the Pah River

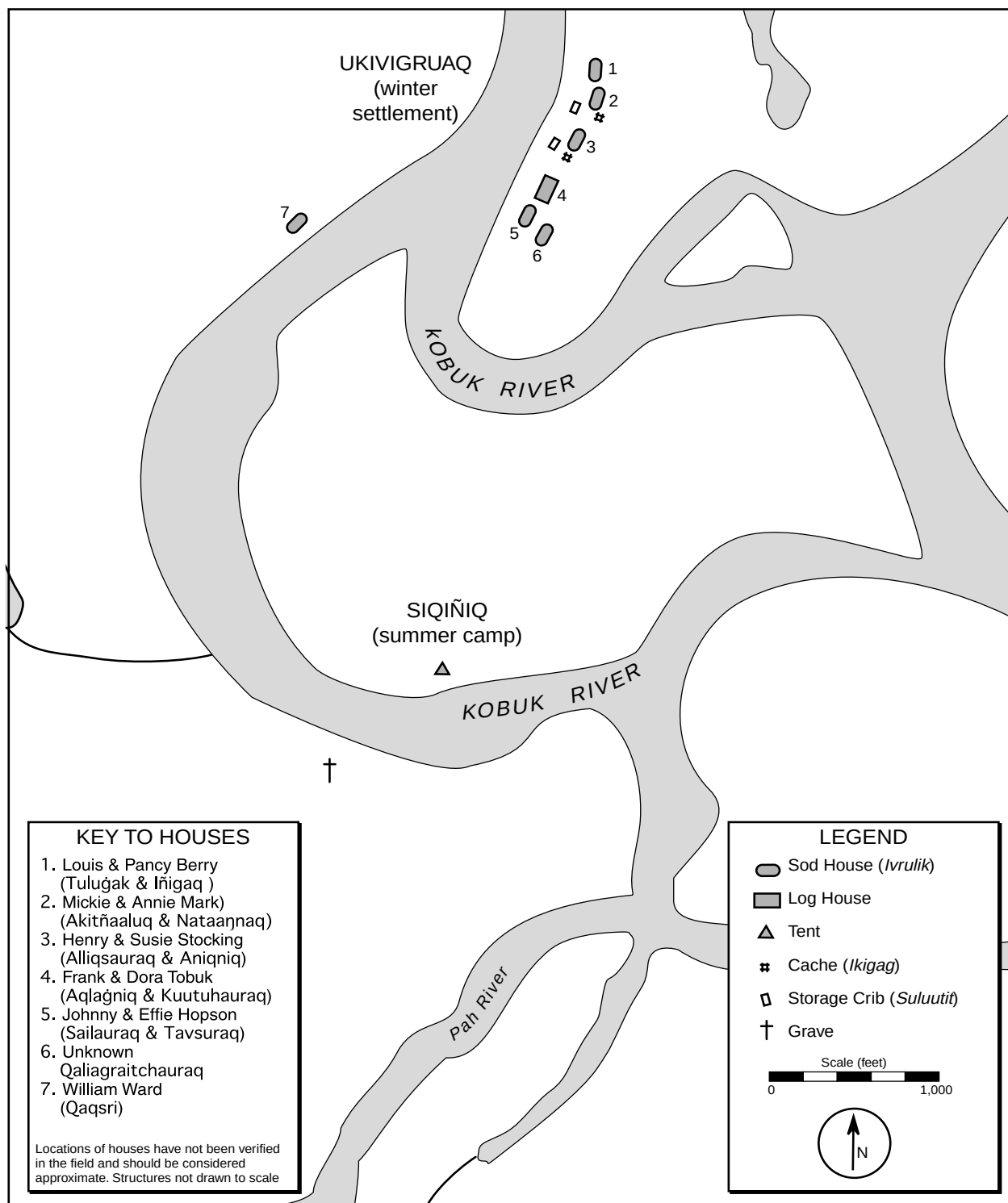


Figure 3-4. Pah River Settlements Circa 1930. Vera Douglas grew up in Ukivigruaq, a small community on the confluence of the Kobuk and Pah rivers. The houses shown represent the community as Vera remembers it in the early 1930s. Ukivigruaq was inhabited only in winter. For spring, summer, and fall settlements, see Fig. 3.5.

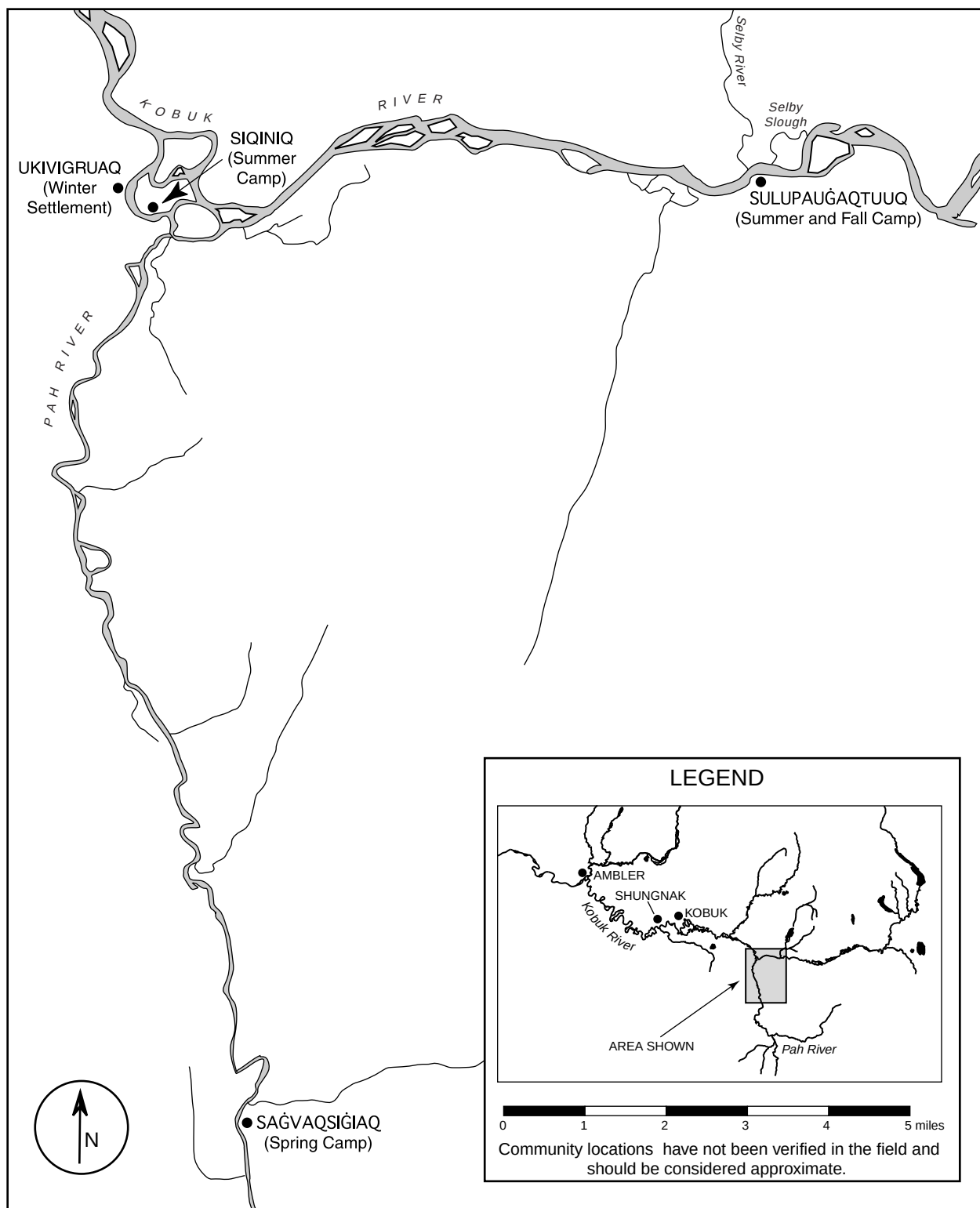


Figure 3-5. Paamiut Seasonal Round Circa 1930. Vera Douglas' family lived in four different locations during a typical year. Winter was spent at Ukivigruaq, spring at Sagvaqsiqiaq, summer at Siqiniq, and fall at Sulugpaugaktuuq. Each location offered a different mix of resources. Different families had somewhat different seasonal rounds.

to the Kobuk. Vera's family usually set up a tent camp, *Siqiñiq*, on a sandbar near *Ukivigruaq*. Other families turned up the Kobuk River and journeyed to *Sulupaugaqtuuq*, a site across from the mouth of the Selby River. Later in the summer, Vera's family would join the other families already at *Sulupaugaqtuuq*, where they all fished and dried chum salmon. Finally, just before freeze-up, the families would return to settle in for the winter at *Ukivigruaq*.

This seasonal round was very memorable to Vera. "During Spring," she recalled, "when the snow hardened in the mornings, they moved to *Sagvaqsigiaq*. I remember sleeping in the sled on the way to this camp, and waking up to the rattling of dishes on the front of the sled. As I listened to the rattling I realized that my family was still on the trail, my aana and taata.

"Later I began to see that it was late afternoon, towards getting dark, and now they were setting up the tent and ready to camp.

"While this was going on, the kids decided to go up the bluff. I decided I would go up, too, right after them. As I was making my way up, the one leading said, 'There's blueberries here!'

"It was winter time and there was still snow on the ground. I looked and noticed that he had picked some berries up and was ready to put them in his mouth. He chewed one, and he blew them out of his mouth. That was Frank Berry (*Quñuyuk*).

Those 'blueberries' were actually a patch of crowberries that had turned blue in Spring and become visible on a melted spot in the snow. Not knowing what they were, he had mistaken them for blueberries."

The *Paamiut* spent the Spring there. "Large families lived off fish, such as pike, and ducks," Vera said. "When the snow melted, there were cranberries. We all followed when they went out to pick berries." It also was a good place to catch beaver.

Vera's grandmother "just loved to fish as early as she could for northern pike. She always got lots of these fish, so many that they cut them to dry early in the Spring.

"The campers stayed here all Spring until it was time to go downstream after the ice broke up and was gone. We went down river with rafts. I used to

dread *Tulugañaurat*, where the current was fast. The raft dropped down fast and exited fast under the cliff. There was a person with a pole by the bow. When it started to get close to the bank, he pushed it off with the pole. That area was pretty hard by *Tulugañaurat*. Once we got past this place, it was good."

Back on the Kobuk River, Vera's family set up their summer camp at *Siqiniq*, a sandbar near *Ukivigruaq*. Other families continued up the Kobuk to the Selby River. *Siqiniq* was a good northern pike fishing site. Vera remembered, "At the end of the sandbar was a slough where pike went out. When we stayed up at night, we went to the end of the sandbar with clubs. When a pike exited in a shallow area, those who were skilled like Frank Berry (*Quñuyuk*) and Ray White (*Aliitchak*), got pike by clubbing them and pulling them out. It is a long, shallow area where the pike go out."

After the salmon started running, they moved up river to join other *Paamiut* near the mouth of the Selby River (*Sulukpaugaqtuuq*). "That area has lots of salmon," Vera said. "From Selby River all the way to *Tiiqqaatauna*, there is an abundance of salmon. It is easy to fish, as long as you have a net.

While the women and children were fishing, Vera remembered, "the men walked to hunt for sheep and bear. There were no moose or caribou at that time. They walked and hunted for sheep. They walked through the Mauneluk River (*Maniilaq*) and Kogoluktuk River (*Quḡluqtuq*) passes" to the Noatak Valley.

"They packed. They did not travel by boat. They had dogs that packed. Some had one or two dogs. They walked in fall around August. In September they returned home."

After the women finished their fishing, they traveled back down river to spend the winter at *Ukivigruaq*.

Sometime around 1936, when Vera was 9 or 10 years old, her life changed abruptly. "We were going down river to Shungnak," Vera said. "My grandfather Mickie had become sick. I was getting big and fully aware of things by now. Then Grandpa just died. As I remember, our tent was set near or upriver of *Tapkaq* as we had just arrived from up river camp.

“When Grandpa died, my grandmother and I were left to live the way we do. My brother William had left with *Aqivauq* to live at Allakaket. I was very sad when they left. I used to follow my brother around. When he left, only Charlie and Henry and I were at home with grandma.

“After grandpa died at Shungnak, my grandmother took us up river to camp again, even though she did not have a husband. I worked alongside my grandma where ever she went. I had no one to stay at home with.

“Some mornings she would tell me we were going to pick berries and might sleep a couple days in the country. Sometimes this happened in the fall time when it cooled off. She would cook ptarmigan or rabbits for our food. She always had snares out for these animals. She prepared food for our berry picking trip.

“When we were setting up temporary camp, at bed time she would tell me my breakfast food will be placed under her pillow so it would not be frozen in the morning. When we bedded down, we slept comfortably with rabbit skins for bedding. We were not worried about getting cold.

“I would wake up and realize my grandma was already making a fire and hot water. When I finally got up and joined her, she would remind me that my breakfast was under her pillow and quickly go get it for me.

“After breakfast we resumed picking berries. At this time my grandma was picking frozen blueberries. Nearly all day she packed a seal skin poke and finally made it to our home. She really worked hard lugging a poke, whether it was half full or a really full one. I always saw how she did this until it was ready to be put away. When she had filled it with the frozen blueberries we had picked, she would hang it high on a tree, wrapping it all around with evergreen branches, securing it with ropes.

“When my grandfather passed away,” Vera recalled, her two brothers began staying home less and less. At some point in Vera’s early teens – she does not remember the year – she and her grandmother moved from *Ukivigruaq* down to Kobuk. “It was too far, when you go with a little boat,” Vera said. “Too far to go up. My mother and I stayed

alone. Charlie and Henry went to work somewhere like Fairbanks.”

In Kobuk, Vera enjoyed having more people around. “But I missed the home upriver, because I was raised up there.” She was happy when *Tuutraq’s* and *Sailaq’s* family moved to Kobuk, too, from up river.

“My mother and I started making a living there. We made a living trying to gather food. We used to go pick berries as they told us to do. We did what we were asked to do, like pick berries, go fishing, get wood. We didn’t worry about basketball,” she laughed.

At the same time, “my grandma started to camp much closer above Kobuk” at *Akuligaq*, where two channels of the Kobuk Rivers join just above “Cut Bank.” By boat, *Akuligaq* was less than five miles above Kobuk, compared with more than 30 to *Ukivigruaq*. Eventually, her grandmother claimed the *Akuligaq* site as her Native allotment.

They went there every year. “One time we stayed there until it froze, my mother and I. We had a little net that was made of *qipraq*. It was real short, alright. My mother set it under the ice in the front. We got lots of whitefish (*quasriluk*) and trout.

“What a joyful time for my grandma as she caught all these fish there at *Akuligaq*, as we lived in a tent doing all this.

Eventually, all the families that Vera grew up with at *Ukivigruaq* left the little community at the mouth of the Pah. For a time, the focus of settlement on the upper Kobuk River moved to the Mauneluk River mouth. Henry and Susie Stocking moved down. So did Louis and Pancy Berry, who later moved down to Shungnak. Roxie Douglas was there with his family, and the Foxglove family. Eventually all these families moved down to Shungnak and Kobuk. The Stockings were the last to leave, moving to Kobuk about 1953.

Other families moved out of the upper Kobuk area altogether. Frank and Dora Tobuk moved to Allakaket, Frank’s ancestral home, and lived out their lives among the Koyukon. Vera’s biological parents had already departed for Kiana.

Vera thought that the others left for some of the same reasons her family had. *Ukivigruaq* was a long way from Kobuk, even for those few families

with an outboard motor. The decline in fur prices in the 1930s may also have had an affect. The *Ukivigruaq* trappers would have faced less competition around the Pah River than they would around Kobuk and Shungnak.

Although Vera still passes by *Ukivigruaq* every year when she goes up river to fish or pick berries or look for beaver, she never returned to *Ukivigruaq* to live.

Vera had a close and special relationship with her adoptive mother Annie Mark (*Nataagnak*). They lived together from Vera's infancy until Annie died. One by one, the other people in Vera's family slipped away. Her biological mother and father moved down river to Kiana. Her youngest brother left to grow up in Allakaket. Her older brothers were often gone hunting or trapping, and then left to work in Fairbanks. But Annie was always there for Vera.

When Vera discussed her childhood during the interviews, she referred to Annie as "grandmother," but later in the interviews when she began talking about life in Kobuk and Shungnak, Vera began to refer to Annie as "mother."

"My mother always talked all the time. All the time, she talked. When I woke up, I heard her talking. When I went to sleep, I heard her talking. Being forgetful, I have forgotten what she said. If I had listened to her attentively, today I would have talked a lot. She spoke of her experiences of traveling into the interior and up to the North Slope with her mother."

Vera missed the Native foods Annie used to prepare. They weren't the same when Vera made those foods herself. "She affected the food system in a way that food seemed to be gone fast, and didn't last as it used to," Vera said. "You feel like you eat lots, but you don't feel satisfied anymore." Researchers asked Vera what she meant. Vera responded that her grandmother was able to prepare traditional foods in special ways that have been lost to her. When Vera attempted to prepare the same food as her grandmother, the food did not seem as nourishing nor as sustaining.

"Sometimes, when lots of motor boats keep passing by, I stop to reminisce about life back then. That was how my grandmother raised me, showing me how to keep looking for food. We didn't live in town,



Figure 3-6. Leonard Douglas (Aaquk).

but mostly in camp. I never went to school. That's the reason I can't write well today. But my grandmother led our life in a way that was best for both us."

Leonard Douglas (Aaquk)

Leonard Douglas (*Aaquk*) was born on April 24, 1929 (Fig. 3-6). His mother was Beulah Ticket (*Niqigruaq*), who was living with Robert Cleveland (*Nasruuluk*) and Flora Cleveland (*Sanmigan*). His father was Jonas Ward (*Aakataq*).

"Four months later, during the summer, my real mother died" upriver at *Qala*, Leonard said. "Irene Douglas (*Manuluk*), whom I always called my mom, took me from the Clevelands and raised me from then on." Later, Leonard's mother told him that his mother had been breast feeding him, and "when my mother died, there was no way to get milk. There was nothing. So Wilson Tickett Sr. (*Aliqsi*) went to Kobuk to get milk. My mother, while he was down there, cooked rice. My mother told me that she spoon fed me with the rice broth, and started to let me survive."

Shortly thereafter, Irene and her husband, John

Douglas (*Unaviqsraug*), moved from Kobuk down river to Shungnak. Besides Leonard, Irene and John had a daughter, Ella Douglas (*Igliguraq*), and a son, Arthur Douglas (*Silaigaq*).

One of Leonard's first memories was a trip to Kotzebue. "My father was holding me by the hand, and we went into a big birthday party. I saw people playing baseball. I never let go of my father. I became aware that way. There was a baseball game between the fresh water and salt water people. Later, I became aware that we had returned home to Kobuk. I wondered how we traveled up river?"

His father John supported the family both through subsistence life and by prospecting. "In summer," Leonard said, "my father went to hunt for muskrats. He returned in July. Then they went mining at Jade Mountain. They would be gone.

"Arthur and I were boys then. They left us with Robert and Flora. However, Robert did not stay home much. We stayed behind with Flora. I was probably around eight or nine years old."

Leonard's parents "were gone for three weeks looking for gold in Shungnak River or Jade Mountain. They prospected for gold, hoping to find enough to finance the whole winter.

"When they returned, my mother would start fishing for salmon. She dried fish for our winter food. Our father would return to the mining place, but I did not really know how long he stayed. However, I do recall three weeks was too long to be gone from my father, and he loved me very much. I did not let him do anything much when he was around."

His parents had a garden below their house at the base of the bluff in Shungnak. They also had a large garden about two miles down river, at Riley Camp. "When they brought Arthur and I down there," Leonard said, "we packed water from a lake above the bluff. It was easier to go down packing water. They grew many plants for our winter food. All year round, they fed us vegetables. I wonder where they put them, and how they stored them. If they had a cache or dug subterranean storage, I was not aware of it. I was too mischievous that time to look for that."

"When I was old enough, I was given a very funny gun, a single-shot kind. They never gave me a repeating kind. Maybe I was not trusted. Well, usually

that single shot is the first gun. It's called that because you cannot load it anywhere." He used to hunt muskrats with his brother, Arthur.

"We didn't move like other people. We stayed in the village and walked to a hunting spot which was about five miles out. But when I became older and was on my own, more or less, I hunted by myself over at *Kuugraug*. Ever since I matured I didn't ask any one to go with me. I just went alone. I don't know why I was a loner on hunting, maybe because I am an impatient man.

"When I was about eleven years old," Leonard said, "my dad died, leaving Arthur and I with my mother. But it wasn't long after that, he had to go to the hospital. "Arthur was gone to Mt. Edgecumbe for seven years," Leonard said. "My mother and I were alone.

"I lived with my mother for a long time, until I was big enough to follow when my uncles go trapping. I was always helping hunting for our food. My mother did lots of sewing that she sold to supplement our needs, because there were no other jobs then."

"I did not stay in school very long," Leonard recalled. "I had to drop out because conditions at home prevented me from continuing. Someone had to hunt, gather wood. I would go to school part of the day, like in the afternoon. I would have to go get wood with three dogs and, boy, those dogs were the best because they were of good Eskimo breed, real dogs.

"When I was 14 years old, the FAA built their house (a radio station midway between Kobuk and Shungnak). After visiting my mother, they let me have a job packing water once a week. After one month I would get my check of \$14. What a thrill that was! I would take off for Kobuk with my kayak to shop and fill it with white man's food, almost overloading it. Coffee cost fifty cents a pound in those days. Ten pounds of sugar was only seventy five cents. Maybe they were not even considered food because of how unbelievably cheap they were.

"When we were growing up, my uncles always told me all there is to know about hunting. One of the important rules to follow is, when a bear is feasting on berries you must not attempt shooting it from below. Never! Only shoot from above the animal.

"One time I decided to see for myself. I said to

myself if the shot hits him, he will miss me when he dies. What fool I was!

"I shot it from the lower side of it," Leonard said, laughing. "When I shot the bear, it looked like a ball starting to roll towards me from above. Frantically I looked around and saw a small birch tree. Desperately I jumped to it, hoping I would reach it in time. When I shot again, my gun barrel almost touched it.

"I had been warned many times. I violated the rule and paid the penalty. I probably deserved it.

"After dressing the animal, I packed some of it home. The next day, when I went back for the rest of the meat, Charlie Sheldon (*Aqpaliq*) followed me. When we got there, Charlie asked me, 'From which side did you shoot?'

"I told him the bear was eating berries above me.

"'We just waste words advising you about the rules,' he said. 'Only a good advisor will make you understand.'

"Well, on these rules of hunting you must never violate them to suit yourself, I found that out."

As Leonard grew older, "Life somehow got better for me and my mom." Arthur returned from the hospital. For about four months, Leonard was the store keeper in the new village store, a job that paid \$50 a month.

During the winters of 1948, 1949, and 1950, Leonard traveled east of Shungnak into the Pah River area and then the Norutak Hills. There he camped and trapped with other men from Shungnak, staying for several months at a time.

"In 1948, I followed Wilson Tickett Sr. (*Aliqsi*) to our camp at Pah River. I'm almost sure Wilson had eleven dogs. It usually took all day to travel from Mauneluk River mouth (*Maniilampaa*) to here. We usually slept at his house there and then went on to Pah River. The snow was deep, so we had to break trail on foot, slowly entering the river. There was old trail made by other people, there were passes, they cut a trail in the brush. Wilson knew it well, and he led us along. We left Shungnak in November, when trapping season opened, and stayed out until trapping season closed."

They thought the long trip worthwhile, though, because marten were more plentiful away from the villages. And marten fetched a good price, \$35 to \$40 each.

They used a narrow dog sled, 14-16 feet long, which could carry a large load. They fed the dogs dry fish packed from town in gunny sacks. "We don't use frozen fish because of weight. Along with personal belongings, trapping gear, and our own food, dog food took lots of room." During fall fishing in some years, his trapping partners cached salmon at the mouth of the Selby River (*Sulupagaqtuuq*). When they needed more dog food, they journeyed over there. They did not use dogs, however, for checking the trap lines. For that, they walked with snowshoes.

"The area of my trap line is not very far from our camp," Leonard said. "I usually was home before my fellow trappers, who came home quite a bit after dark. I take care of the camp more or less, like taking care of dogs, getting wood and stuff, helping them out was my job in camp." Perhaps, he thought, that was because he was the youngest.

Other Shungnak men also came up to the area to trap, including Herbert Custer (*Qutan*), Joe Sun (*Immathuraq*), Charlie Lee (*Qinuğan*), Harry Tickett (*Aqpiksraq*), Neal Sheldon (*Qathapuq*), and Charlie Horner (*Selaiq*). Some stayed longer than others, and they trapped in different areas and didn't often encounter one another.

It was hard work, but the men had fun, too. "Our older trapping partner, Herbert said that if some one came home with a marten he would have to tell a story. Well, I happened to get one, and here I don't have any story to tell. But I would talk about something. Harry didn't go for telling stories. He even got cross when pushed a little bit. But Herbert usually told stories because that was the agreement. Who ever took a marten home had to provide a story. I don't have those traditional legends and stories to tell, so I gabbed about anything that came to mind," Leonard said.

"In January, we returned to town. We went back when it was time to hunt for beaver. Usually we made our beaver camp down river close to the mouth from our trapping camp, near the sloughs. In our attempts to get beaver, we weren't so lucky. We went home earlier than we wanted to."

In 1950, Leonard and Tommy Douglas (*Paaniikalaag*) wanted to trap even farther away from Shungnak, in hopes of increasing their catch.

They chartered a Wein Cessna 170, which dropped them off in the Norutak Hills, 65 miles east of Shungnak. They camped on a small lake.

"The hills there are known as *qugsila*, those hills this side of Hogatza River. That's the border of our trapline that way. The other area of our trapline is across the *Sagvaqsigaiq* to the border of those hills toward the down river.

"When we were tending to our traps, it took three days, making temporary camps each night. It would take us about three nights of camping when the snow was not so deep. But sometimes, when the snow was deeper, it took up four nights.

"My partner and I would spent the night where we needed to. Usually he would pick a sloping place. After we shoveled some snow away, we would build a big fire on top of the ground. It would melt a big snow-free area, with a wall of crusted, refrozen snow. When we felt like it was big enough and we wanted to go to bed, we moved the fire a few feet further up the slope. Then we put spruce boughs over the ashes and put our bedding on that. This type of sleeping place I consider it the best. You can feel the heat coming from under you for about four or five hours maybe.

"Although we built a fire and it was hot there, when I turned my back to the fire I could feel the unbearable tingle of cold on my face. When I woke up in the middle of the night, I would put more wood on the fire and was able to go back to sleep. Then while I slept my partner would put more wood on the fire. We alternated this way, because we didn't carry our sleeping bags when we were checking our traps."

"After hunting for beaver we all headed home. Charlie Douglas (*Qupraksraq*), my *suunaaq*, and I walked all the way to the Mauneluk River mouth. We left in the morning at 5:00 a.m. and got to the Mauneluk River around 12:00 p.m. Tommy Douglas and his wife were going on dog team behind us and we were breaking trail for them at the same time.

"It is far. When I look at the map and see the distance to Mauneluk River mouth, the distance floors me. When we flew it seem so far. Had to be fifty miles or better. Well, we were young men around

eighteen or nineteen years old. That looked like the end of my trapping experience."

Leonard and Vera Douglas

When I was around 21 years of age," Leonard recalled, "I found a lady. Or it may be she was the one who found me. I am a little bit hazy on that cause there were lots of girls to choose from." Their romance started when Vera's brother, Charlie Sheldon (*Aqpaliq*), built a new house. Leonard remembered, "When Charlie was building a house across there, I helped him. Vera and her mom were moving from up river.

"As it turned out, I was earning an in-law," he said, laughing. "They started living across there, and I started to fall in love. I helped her brother with whatever he was doing, and suddenly I got an in-law. I had reached the point of marriage."

"It was around Christmas when we got together," Leonard remembered. The first year, they lived in a tent next to Vera's grandmother Annie. "We lived together until June without getting married. It wasn't acceptable to the elders to live together without getting married. They told us to get married when we started to live together. We lived together six months without getting married. We started to get pressure from the elders." They were married on June 7, 1951.

They needed a house. Leonard's Cousin Tommy Douglas somehow had obtained a gasoline powered portable sawmill. They made a deal. Leonard would spend the winter cutting logs for Tommy's sawmill, and Tommy would mill enough lumber for Leonard to build a house.

So after freeze up in 1952, Leonard and Robert Cleveland (*Qapvinnaq*) went up river to a large island just below the mouth of the Mauneluk River. Tommy had a log cabin on the island. Vera followed with their children; Robert had his family there, too. All winter long, the two families logged.

"We used a regular saw and axes," Leonard said. "There were no chainsaws then. Tommy had obtained was some kind of wheels that looked like railroad wheels. We made rails from some small trees. We found we could haul logs using these things. Even big logs, we were able to handle easy. After logging the whole winter, when spring break up

came, my *attiq* (Robert) and I made a raft and took them to the saw mill.

"When it was time to raft, Charlie Douglas and Walter Douglas (*Paaluk*) came to help. Robert and Charlie were partners, and Walter and I. We made two large rafts, and after that we went back for another two large rafts like the first two. That's lots and lots of logs.

The mill was midway between Kobuk and Shungnak, on the north side of the Kobuk River. Vera remembers that they stayed a short while at the mill, when they started milling, then went up to Kobuk. They built their house, and stayed in Kobuk for about 10 years.

"When I got married to Vera," Leonard said, "I knew how important it was to work, to hustle to get a job. I first went to work for any white people that came to our area, whether they were archeologists or what ever. I would work some time in the summer, and trap in the winter for beavers.

"After we got married, I worked for some archeologist, one of the first ones to come. Maybe it was Louis Giddings Jr.," Leonard said. "Anyway, we went to *Itivliq* Lake. We were there for two months.

"At Bornite (a copper mine north of Kobuk), I worked with Rihney Berg, the one who discovered it. There was no one else at that time except us, and I always thought we were the first ones to work at Bornite." Leonard worked there from 1950 through 1954.

"During that time I was learning how to drive the tractor. When my work with these people was over, I found that I had become very good on tractors. So I started to work heavy equipment jobs.

"We were making big bucks, man! I cleared \$400 every two weeks, and I considered myself a millionaire. That man was one of the nicest guys I know. He always had a good attitude, and never changed." After working at Bornite, Leonard went to work at Dall Creek, mining for gold, and worked there for about six years.

While Leonard was working for cash, hunting, and trapping, Vera was fishing. "Even when we were living in Kobuk," Leonard said, "I didn't go with my wife when she went camping for fish. I always watched the children, so she could do her thing.

"We were lucky to have an Evinrude. Others who didn't own outboard motors were still using oars to move around. I made sure she had all her net supplies or other provisions.

"In our subsistence life style, my wife handled the food and put them away, while I was a hunter and took home the animals that I caught. When the caribou were migrating I hunted them, also bears and moose or any other animals I was able to get.

"In our life style she put away enough food for our use. When she had extra, she gave it to those who were needy or who didn't have someone to hunt in their family. I began to realize something I should have known, that her mother had raised her that way. From experience, she knew how it was to be in need."

In 1962, Leonard and Vera decided to move down river to Shungnak, which they and other upper Kobuk people called *Nuurviiraq*.

"When we lived in Kobuk it would be flooded every spring," Vera said. "We were kind of tired of this. Beside my husband was not happy with the size of our home. He thought it was too big. So he dismantled the cabin, made a raft out of the logs, and we moved it down to Shungnak. We left Kobuk with our grandma. We set a tent up on the raft, with a stove, and we left for Shungnak." They reconstructed their house away from the river, part way up a bluff, on a site that could never flood.

"By this time we had about six children," said Leonard. "Before long I was hired to work for the school," a job he kept for almost 20 years.

Two years after they moved to Shungnak, Vera's grandmother, Annie Mark, died. After Annie died, Vera began traveling further upriver again, to camp and fish in the vicinity of her girlhood homes. "Every fall I would travel up river with either Sailaq or Elizabeth Jackson or Daisy Tickett. My children were getting big and helpful, and Daisy was still able to work well. We spent the summer in *Qala*."

Vera camped in several different locations between Mauneluk River and *Qala*. In the 1980s, she settled on a sandbar next to her allotment, about three miles below the mouth of Mauneluk River. Leonard built a cache, a tent frame, and drying racks, and they have used the site continuously for nearly



Figure 3-7. Leonard and Vera Douglas.

20 years. At the time of this study, most people in Shungnak called the site “Vera’s Camp.”

During those same years, Leonard contributed to the subsistence catch as well, hunting caribou, moose, wolves, and wolverine.

“Somewhere around 1960,” Leonard said, “I first bought a snow go (snowmobile). I never did trap for wolves. I hunted wolves with a snow go.” He hunted wolves in the hills south of Shungnak, between Pick River and Selawik River. “The Rabbit Mountain area was good for searching for wolves. When I was having a good year I usually got 18-20 wolves from that area.

“The fur is always the best in February. December and January fur is usually short hair. When the weather is very cold the fur get longer in a short time. But when it is not so cold they remain short.

“Whenever I hunted either wolverine or wolf I always had the ravens as my partners,” Leonard said. “I observed them very carefully because they know it all. Whenever I’m in the country and stop to use binoculars, I always looked for ravens too. Ravens would come to me, make a circle over me and leave. I headed in the direction from which it came, and always I would encounter either a wolf or a wolverine. So it was easy for me to depend on them as partners.

“One time down river from Shungnak, I climbed up a mountain and looked around the flats below me with binoculars. A raven came towards me, circled above me, called once or twice, and took off again. The raven flew near the other side of a slough. The raven appeared to notice something, I didn’t know what. After circling twice, it took off again, down river.

“By then I suspected something. I kept on looking through binoculars. As I looked, a wolf stood up over there where the raven had been circling earlier. Then I knew that, after flying over me, it had circled on the wolf pack sleeping over there. After this it become a habit for me to depend on ravens.”

In 1978, “when I was about to reach 20 years of work, the State of Alaska took over the school system. When that happened my salary was reduced to almost nothing, so I quit.” After that, Leonard worked at a series of seasonal jobs. “I did lots of road projects around here starting at Ambler,

Shungnak and Kobuk. After Ambler, we moved here to work on the roads till they were completed and then to Bornite to make road connecting to Kobuk. I don’t know how long I worked for DOT.

“One of the jobs I had was with BLM as firefighter. I had to go to Fairbanks to train as firefighter for a good while. I was stationed in Bettles, and sometimes in Galena. We did a lot of traveling with a helicopter in many places like Koyukuk and sometime as far as Venetie.”

Leonard’s last job was at Red Dog Mine, northwest of Kotzebue. “My job was using heavy equipment, because I didn’t know any other trade. I knew how to use heavy equipment, and I knew how to maintain them. After working at Red Dog, it wasn’t long before I started to have health problems. When I was younger, I had smoked too much. I may have burned the inside of my lungs.” He resigned, and his illness was diagnosed eventually as emphysema.

With their children all grown and starting families of their own, Leonard and Vera had their house to themselves. During the 1990s, they were able to camp together for extended periods. They fished together, logged and milled wood together, and boated around the upper Kobuk River. Before school started, their camp was filled with their grandchildren, and with friends from other villages who wanted to spend some time in the country. Figure 3-7 shows Leonard and Vera outside their Shungnak home in April, 2000.

About 1998, Leonard’s emphysema became much worse, restricting his travel in the country. Vera continued to camp each fall, and their boys provided them with caribou, moose, rabbits, ducks, geese, ptarmigan, and firewood. With continued medical care, by 2000 Leonard’s health was improving. They were looking forward to spending more time in camp together again.

Josephine Woods (Qupilguraq)

Josephine Woods (*Qupilguraq*) was born on April 3, 1929 (Fig. 3-8). At the time her mother, Vera Custer (*Nasrukhuuraq*), was staying with the Harvey family in Kitty Harvey’s (*Sailakpaq*) camp on the Kobuk River, about five miles southeast of Kobuk. Josephine did not know her father.

“Joseph Harvey (*Qaulgutailiaq*) always told me



Figure 3-8. Josephine Woods (Qupilguraq).

that he was playing outside when his mom called him and told him that my mom was having a baby. He was startled at first because he had not known. Then he ran to fetch his grandma, who was not too far away. His grandma hurried over, and not too long afterwards, my mom had a baby girl.”

Josephine’s first memories are of life in Shungnak, where she and her mother moved to live with her maternal grandparents, Charlie Custer (*Pigligiaq*) and Alice Custer (*AmiHik*), and her mother’s sister Nora Custer (*Naulik*). “We had a house down below in the old village behind the old pastor’s cabin,” Josephine remembers. “It was pretty big house, a large log cabin.

“When I was still very young and became aware, we began summer camping at *Panika*,” a sandbar on the north side of the Kobuk River three bends below Shungnak. “My grandfather begin to build a sod house during the summer. Sap was running in the birch and spruce trees, so they were easy to bark. I always followed him when he went into the thickets to bark trees. They used these a lot back then. He piled them up back to back – if they are just left there, they will dry up – and covered them

with moss.” This would keep the moisture in so the bark would be pliable when it was used. “Then we would go home. He used barked birch, nice and white, and young spruce trees as building materials (*sauniq*). When the spruce bark were ready to be used, he and Nora hauled them down.

“Our drying racks were covered with bark on the roof, to keep dry. We did not have metal for roofing, just spruce and birch bark. For tar on top, we used a flaky, gluey type of mud (*Tininiq*) hauled from a bank. We had that kind of drying rack.

Charlie finished the sod house for their summer home. It was, Josephine remembered, “nice and white, bright, lighted with a lantern at night. Our stove was in the center. My grandpa was on the other side, while my mom, Nora, and I were on this side of the house.”

Several other families were camping close by. “One bend below at *Qanalik* were *Siqinaluratkuk* and his wife *Nasruk* (Joe Sun’s parents). Then a bend above us at Riley Camp were Evans Commack (*Itnauraq*) and Susie Commack (*Sailiatchuraq*).” Pancy Berry camped across the river.

“One time, Johnny Cleveland and his family spent the summer with us,” Josephine remembered. “Another time, Mark Cleveland and Herbert Custer spent the summer.”

Josephine remembered when her mother asked her to get water, “I was always scared because up there above Riley Camp was a grave, Ullaq’s grave. It was white, and visible from our camp. When we were camping alone, and my mom asked me to fetch water, I always filled my pail and ran home with it. I was scared of a grave that was so far away. We used to be scared of graves then. Even when someone passed away, we always were scared.

“The old lady, *Nasruk* from *Qanalik*, always checked her net in the eddy across from our sandbar, *Panika*. I always went and called to her to come and eat. She would come across. She used her poling pole to poke to the beach and tied her boat, then we would go to our tent. She always asked, ‘What am I going to eat?’

“One time, after my grandpa Charlie had left, our dogs began barking relentlessly, especially at night. *Nasruk*, that old lady, said that it was little people

(*Iniquns*). She had us spend the night at her camp twice. We always heard our dogs barking.

"When we came home, my mom worked the dry fish so it would be noticeable if anything was missing, even in the house. But they never bothered us.

"One time, while I was sleeping, my mom got up early and went out. She came in and woke Nora up. 'There's a porcupine heading towards the beach.' She said. 'Try to catch it before it reaches the river.'

"Nora jumped out of bed, put on her mukluks, grabbed a piece of wood and left. I ran after her too. I was a young girl then, I do not even know how old I was. When she reached the animal, she blocked its path, clubbed it, and harvested it.

"We took it home. My mother butchered it and began to cook it. We can hear the old lady, *Nasruk*, making clubbing sounds across the river, checking her gill net. My mom asked me to go and invite her. When she docked on the beach, I guess I did not how to say porcupine. I told her Nora caught some kind of animal and my mom was cooking it.

"'She wants you to come and eat,' I said, 'She always laughs when you talk to her.'

"When she got to the house, she began teasing Nora, saying that she was glad that she had caught an animal. She and my mom were namesakes. She ate her fill and prepared a dish for her husband, *Siqinaluraq*, and left for home.

"That night when we went to bed, our dogs were silent. It had been that porcupine hanging around, making rustling sounds, that they had barked at. And we had thought it was little people."

"When fall came around the end of September, my grandpa would leave with his kayak and his dog to hunt. After we stored our summer catch, dried fish, my mom, Nora, and I would leave with two boats tied to pull each other. We had four dogs, our tent, our stove, and our little staple foods, some dried fish, and our gill nets on the boat.

"We went down river and stopped on the way to *Sisauq*," just above Black River where there is a high bank with rolling sand that slides when someone walks on it. "Nora set up the tent, unloaded our dogs and stove. We would spend the night. Then early the next morning, we would leave, and would reach Black river before noon.

"We always spent the fall there alone. I can't be

lonely either. I don't want to be with people, because I had been raised out there alone and not among people.

"When the dogs barked, my mom always asked me to go out or listen for any gunshots. When hunters are returning, getting close to home, they would shoot the rifle three times in a row as a signal that they are coming home.

"Late one afternoon, before dark, we heard the three gunshots from up river. My mom said my grandpa was coming. I waited, waited for him to appear up there by the bend, until there at last my grandpa was coming. His dog would be riding with him in his kayak. He had a big black dog, who had learned how to ride well. Grandpa got it from Wesley's parents, and trained it as a hunting partner." Josephine said the bear was trained to hunt bear. When her grandfather shot a bear, the dog would check it first. If it was dead, he would howl. If it was wounded, he would try to tree it and bark until her grandfather got to it.

"When he (her grandfather Charlie) came home, we would spend the fall there until the river froze. We always made fall camp across from Black River. One time we spent the Fall there in a house that belonged to Wesley's parents, across the sand bar in the trees.

"We did not have much commercial food, but we did have some tea and coffee. We also never wished for anything then, too. We were content when we had our Eskimo food. We never had any visitors.

"One time, we were at fall camp again. I was school age then. Late one afternoon, shortly after freeze up, our dogs suddenly began barking towards evening. We listened and heard a dog team traveling and coming. It was John Wright (*Aullachiruraq*). He came for me and my mom. Herbert Custer sent him to get us when I became school age.

"We left the next morning. We traveled fast, the dogs running. We reached *Katyaaq* (a fork in the river) where *Siqinaluraq* and *Nasruk* were spending the fall in a sod house. When we entered their home, she was baking fish and gave us a warm welcome. She told John Wright to snack his dogs from their white fish catch out there. He fed them

after giving them some time to rest. We ate and left soon afterwards.

"There was a shortcut trail below Shungnak. As soon as we appeared, people gave cheerful holler, 'Aviimik' to let people know that guests were coming" (something like "hey, hey, hoo").

"The men were standing around their dog pounds and cooking dog food. Herbert's family was staying at our house. I was six years old when I first went to school. Mr. Widner was the teacher. After that, we stopped going anywhere except we occasionally would go to *Panika*."

"When I was growing up here at Shungnak, we did not play any games, but others played football. Then, when we were old enough, we began playing football too. And yet, when a lot of us were playing football and the church bell rang, everyone would stop and go to church. Only the old people and sick people stayed at home. Everyone else would be at church.

"We had no basketball. We did not know about that. Later, they started playing basketball. Our children who went to school came home and were obsessed with basketball.

"We did the jumping boards," a kind of home-made seesaw. Two persons, one on each end, would begin slowly jumping and throwing each other up in the air. Someone would sit in the center to keep the board stable. There was a tether pole in the school yard, a metal slide, and swings.

"Mr. Widner would let us play games during the Fourth of July at the school play ground, and have a potluck," Josephine said. "When that was over, people would go down to the river and have boat races, jump rope contests (*Kaliviqtaq*) and handball (*naluqsragsaq*). The elders even jumped rope. I personally saw Alex Lee and Johnny Cleveland jump rope.

"When the Fourth of July came, we used to have new mukluks. My mom would make me a pair, called *nukilhauraq* or *pinigaichainik*." *Nukilhauraq* are made of any canvas material with seal skin for bottoms. *Qisik*, bleached seal skin dyed red, with *uqruk* bottoms, were called *pinigaichag*.

Each spring Josephine's grandfather would go up to *Saqvaqsigiaq*, the Pah River camp frequented also by Vera Douglas and the families from

Ukivigruaq. "My mom and I always stayed behind when they went to spring camp. Nora and her dad went up to *Saqvaqsigiaq* with a few dogs. They hunted for muskrats and made a living.

"At one time while they were up there, Jonas Ward's family was living in *Nauyatuuq*. They lost their first daughter, Elma (*Ayakaq*). Nora was there with them. Wilson and Herbert buried her, and her grave is at *Nauyatuuq*.

"They went up every spring," Josephine said, "hoping to get some kind of pelts to purchase items to help with our living. One time, while they were traveling, Nora began losing her eyesight in one eye. Blue-eye had started to cover her eye. Her dad told her that if she would stay behind, he would go look for blackberries. He went up on the hillside and, using his snowshoe to rake snow off blackberry patches, he filled his hand. Then he started back to where he left his daughter. When he got there, he thawed one berry and dropped the juice on to her eye. He did this every day thereafter. Her eye began to clear up.

"Blackberry juice has always been used for medicinal purposes for the eye. The juice of the berry is strong and will melt the blue-eye that starts to cover the eye.

"Also, head lice were used to clear the eyes being covered with blue-eye. They would tie a head lice with a hair, and put it in the eye to scrape or scratch the blue-eye covering the eye. It would also take the blue eye off.

"Nora's vision returned, and they continued their trip to spring camp. When it was time to come back down, they would make a raft, drift down, stop at Kobuk, purchase commercial items by trading their muskrat pelts, and come on down to Shungnak.

"My grandpa would sell his pelts, and purchase a small bag of candy for me. I would not gorge and eat them all at once. I would have a small piece here and there, when I wanted something sweet. I would make them last for a long time. That was how we saved and kept things for a long time.

"We never grew up with anything to play with. We never had many clothes to change. We never throw away any clothing. We wore mukluks. For Christmas, my mom sewed some items or make mukluks for people to get me new clothes. Mr.

Widner, the teacher, also had her sew some items for them. That was how she provided new clothes for me or got commercial food for us. That is how I was raised, not having much of my own.

“But today, we are not like that anymore. Lots of caribou and other animals are among us. Long ago they would snare rabbits and ptarmigan for meat. If our grandkids went back to that life, they would suffer immensely. They want to be given good food and want sweets all the time.

“My grandpa died when I was a young girl of 13,” Josephine said. “When grandpa died, we stopped going anywhere. They took him by plane to Kotzebue. We don’t know if he died of cancer or what. He’s even buried down there.”

Josephine and her mother began to stay in Shungnak all summer with a handful of other people, while most Shungnak families dispersed to their summer camps after school was out. “Further over in the village,” Josephine remembered, “were Irene Douglas (*Manuluk*) and Leonard, and Annie Sun (*Nanuu*) and her daughter. There was no one else in the village, and we would spend the summer. At summer’s end, people would return home and school would begin again.”

Wesley Woods (*Qaulgutaitiaq*)

Wesley Woods (*Qaulgutaitiaq*) was born in Kobuk on March 6, 1918 (Fig. 3-9). His parents were Tommy Woods (*Paaraq*) and Elsie Woods (*Nigraugruk*). “I first became aware of my surroundings in life,” Wesley remembered, “when I was being packed on my mom’s back (*aummaqsik*). The cold winds were reaching me through the small holes of the parka. But many do not believe me. I became aware of my life and surroundings when I was very young.”

Although his parents always seemed to return to Kobuk, they moved frequently when he was very young: to *Qala*, to the far upper Kobuk River valley, to the upper Noatak River valley, to *Auligiaq*, and to the mouth of Shungnak River. Wesley’s memories of most of these times was fragmentary.

Their first move after Wesley was born may have been to *Qala*, where his mother’s parents, *Aula* and *Aligiaq*, lived.” They stayed there for a long time



Figure 3-9. Wesley Woods (*Qaulgutaitiaq*).

with their large family,” Wesley said. “I did not stay there too long myself. I have never spent winters there, because this was when I was young and not aware of my surroundings yet.

“When I was a child, living at Kobuk, my parents moved further up river to trap marten. (With us) was my uncle, Charlie Coffin (*Tutraq*), and also a young man they called *Kutvaq*. We spent a whole winter trapping for marten up there in the beginning valleys of the Kobuk. I do not remember exactly where, but it is further above Pah River and even further above *Aqusrivik*. We spend a whole winter and I remember when my parents were traveling.

“I remember things happening up there, but I was still pretty young and did not understand too well yet. But when they first took me in the outer country (*Silialiniq*), outside of the Kobuk country, I remember well. I knew enough to be leading the dogs. Going in through the Kogoluktuk River (*Koqluqtuq*), we went through a pass and came out just below a place called *Qaqurnulimaat*, made camp, and began to live.

His family also stayed at *Akuligiaq*, a site on the Kobuk River about five miles east of Kobuk. “I was

a young boy when we lived there,” Wesley said. “Frank Ferguson, they called him ‘Foguson,’ father of Archie and Warren, was a prospector at California Creek and my father worked for him. That was why we stayed at *Akuligiaq*, to be close to him so that he could come home. Sometimes he was gone for a month and would be home for two weeks.

Some of Wesley’s early memories were of his life in Kobuk. Their home was across the river from the present community. “There was already a school when I was aware again. Then I became aware again and it was Christmas time, the people were having fun giving each other gifts. That was when I first saw a Santa Claus. But I did not understand the meaning of him, because I was a child. I later learned that it was Charlie Lee who was Santa Claus.

A vivid early memory was when his father had gone to cut cottonwood to make sled runners. “In the process of cutting the cottonwood,” Wesley said, “he cut himself with his axe. When he came out on the trail across from us, we noticed that he was hurt. We went to him and took him home.

“I remember that evening when Tommy had his feet on his lap, wrapped because the wound was quite large.” Fortunately for his father, a doctor was visiting Kobuk. “He did not have all his clinical items with him. He did not give him anything for pain but just gave him surgery and repaired his tendons. He helped him. Otherwise the loss of blood would have been detrimental for my dad. He was just lucky that the doctor was up there then, and he lived.”

Wesley remembered that Kobuk had a lot of people, living in two rows of houses. The Native residents made their living fishing the summer, and trapping in the winter. In summer, most families moved up river to camps at places like Selby River (*Sulupaugaqtuuq*) and *Qala*.

“In the fall, after spending the summer in camps, they made rafts and headed back down river to their winter homes,” Wesley said. “The rafts were used for firewood during the winter. They pulled the logs up on to the ground. That was how they used to make living up there at Kobuk. They did that too here at Shungnak.

Trapping was an important source of income for most families. “During the winter, when living at

Kobuk,” Wesley said, “life was good. They trapped for fox, lynx, otter, mink, marten. The price for lynx was good. They lived good up there.”

“Every now and then,” Wesley remembered, “Visitors would come from Allakaket (*Allasupaqmiut*), the Indian country. From Allakaket, called ‘Cutoff.’ The village of Huslia was not established yet.” They came “just to visit, to come and join us having fun in games, and to trade for items that the *Iñupiaq* had.”

Sometime in the 1920s, Wesley’s father bought a log cabin at the mouth of the Shungnak River from Harry Brown, who had been prospecting down there. “We spent two years there,” he remembers, “and I became aware of it at several occasions.”

Sometime in the 1920s – the actual date is uncertain – the Kobuk school was moved from Kobuk down river to a new site that became the community of Shungnak. “When they were trying to move the school, I remember here and there again,” Wesley said. “Riley Jim Woods (*Suqnuquu*), my dad’s older brother, and Harry Woods (*Tutraq*) had a contract to move the school.” Joe Sun, who was 18 years older than Wesley, remembered that Wesley’s father Tommy, had the contract to move the school (Lee et al 1992:35). In any event, it was a Woods family operation.

Wesley’s family relocated from Kobuk to Shungnak when Wesley was about ready to go to school. Their first home was on the beach in Shungnak, where in later years Wesley maintained a large garden. That site was prone to flooding, and they moved back to a higher bench at the base of a bluff, about 200 yards from the river.

There were two small reindeer herds near Shungnak when Wesley was a boy, and his father and uncle Peter were involved with the herding operations. “Evans Commack’s herd was on the south side of the Kobuk River and my dad’s herd was on this side by Shungnak. They called Shungnak “*Nurviraq*,” that was its name.

In late December of 1929, The Lomen Company of Nome began driving a herd of 3,400 reindeer from Naboktoolik, near Buckland, across northern Alaska to Canada (North 1991:58). In charge of the drive was a Lapp herder, Andrew Bahr. Their route was to take them across the Kobuk Valley into the

Noatak Valley, down the Collville River to the Arctic Coast, and then east to Canada. After they reached the Kobuk River valley in the spring of 1930, three of Bahr's *Inupiaq* herders quit, and Bahr need replacements (North 1991:103).

"Andrew Bahr came up here in 1930," Wesley recalled. He knew Peter Wood (*Inuugniliq*). They had herded together before. Peter had worked for him before at Lomen's, when he was very young. He began coercing him to go. Peter did not want to go alone, so he began coercing his younger brother, my dad.

"School was out by that time, so I quit and got ready," Wesley said. "We left with a dog team with our own dogs; we did not have many. My uncle Peter got a shepherd dog from Louie Commack Sr. for \$100.

"When we reached Hunt River, we followed it and got to the herders. They spent the summer there. When fall was near, Dan Crowley, the superintendent, came to inspect the herd. It was then that he saw the Wood brothers, getting ready to go, and they were selected to go Canada.

"When it was time to go school," Wesley said, he returned to Shungnak. "My mom and I spent the winter here in 1930. When summer came, she and I caught up to them, not too far from the mouth of Colville River.

"We spent the winter in a place called *Saviiqvik*. We spent Christmas there at *Saviiqvik*, and 1931 came. We traveled the winter in 1931. We spent the summer around mouth of Kuquak River, it was called on the map. When fall came we finally reached Canada. It was then 1932.

"My uncle Peter, who was second to Andrew Bahr, was making \$150. My dad was making \$125. The other herders were making \$100 or \$75. This was for the whole year round. They get paid even if they are not there and can even go home with the same salary.

"I was never paid," Wesley said. "I only followed. He (Andrew Bahr) was going to give me \$500 and I did not answer too quickly and lost out on my own. I at least tried to ask for \$1000, but he said that he could not give me a thousand, but only \$500. So I did not take it. I was a reindeer herder. I even learned to run a reindeer team.

"Afterwards we came home with Captain Peterson's big boat from Herschel Island. We did not cross to the mainland. The brothers (his dad and uncle) decided to come home, because the reindeer made it there to Canada. They were homesick.

"Enroute to Barrow, the last part of September, Nellie had a baby. Captain Peterson's wife was the midwife and was worried about her. They let her and dad's older brother get off at Barrow. We were supposed to ride as far as Point Hope, spend the fall there, and return home with dogs after freeze up.

"My dad did not want his older brother to get off alone. He took us off the ship, also, to follow them. So we got off at Barrow and spent the winter there. The following spring, in April, we flew home on a plane. It was 1933.

"I began making a living myself. My dad took us to Nome to work again, because he had money to travel. The Lomens were in Nome, and we spent the winter there." The family made its way up to Kotzebue, and "during that summer, my dad had food poisoning, and died." They buried him in Kotzebue. "After he died, my mom and I came back to Shungnak.

"We lived here for a long time," Wesley said. "When I became able, I began running dogs, and went up to the Noatak with other people. Then one time I went by myself."

Although caribou were abundant in the upper Kobuk Valley in the late twentieth century, earlier in the twentieth century caribou were scarce. Moose had not yet penetrated from the interior. Upper Kobuk elders talk about depending on rabbits and ptarmigan for meat in their youth. Wesley's family was one of many who took long trips north to the Noatak Valley to get caribou and sheep, in both summer and winter.

"They would leave around July" to go the upper Noatak Valley, Wesley said. "A person would take two, three, or four dogs with packs carrying personal belongings. They traveled through Kogoluktuk River (*Qaugluqtuq*), or inside the Ambler River through a pass called *Natmaktugiat*. They call the pass that because it is so mountainous on the back side (*qitnuiq*). In the winter time, it is impossible to come down. Do not even try during the winter. But in the summer, hunters going out can easily do it

with their dogs backpacking. Kogoluktuk River is good. It has a good pass. You can use dogs and get through the pass.

"People who went out there during the summer would stay a little over a month out there in the Noatak," Wesley said. They would get "marmot, sheep, and bull caribou for mukluk soles. The marmots would be sold for about \$2.50, sometimes for \$5. Their meat is a delicacy.

"They dried (the sheep meat). Then they came back on the Kogoluktuk, Mauneluk, Reed, and Beaver rivers, using rafts."

Only men went on the summer trips to the Noatak, but families would go on the winter trips, probably because it was easier to travel by dog team than on foot.

"One time, a lot of us that went out there. Charlie and Annie Lee, Joe and Laura Sun, Luke and Grace Wood. There were some that left ahead of us.

"The women always collected the bones that were discarded after their meals while they were out there. Then, in March, when we were getting ready to come back, they would crush the bones, cook, and slowly boil them to render their oil (*Puiniq*). Then they would gather caribou *qisragauq*: a sack that is called the stomach. They would clean these, fill them with bone marrow, and pour *Puiniq* over them, and let them freeze. The women always make several of these out there.

"I saw this done several times on my trips out there. Sometimes, there were a lot of women, who follow their husbands to go and live out there. They sometimes stay for a month, two months.

"When we are returning about the end of March, we would first bring a load of food ahead, prepare them, store them, and return. The following day, we would take our camping gear, travel past our stored food, go a certain distance, and make camp. Then we would return to get the stored food supplies, go ahead, and store them again. The following day, we went through the same motions again. We did this until we reached home (*Qaniraqtuq*)."

Still, he did not stay at home very long. "We were always on the go and moving, even for muskrat hunting over to the Kugarak River (*Kuuqgrauq*, in the Selawik drainage). We would leave in the spring by dog team, close to May, when there were snow

blotches on the ground yet. After muskrat hunting over there, we would leave our sleds over there and backpack it back to here," using the dogs as pack dogs. After freeze-up, they would hike back over to *Kuuqgrauq* with the dogs and retrieve the sleds.

"We were not the only ones that did this," Wesley remembered. "There were others from here that did the same trapping trips. We always went in the spring. There would be no one here (in Shungnak) during the summer. Most people went up river, hardly any went down river. We always went up river, poling, and pulling the boats from the beach.

"Poling up river with dogs was like running a dog team. When they are going across to reach another sandbar (*atniq*), they let the dogs in at the bow of the boat. People would paddle or use oars to cross. When the boat docks, the dogs will get off, because they have learned. They can even pull from the beach by themselves, with just someone from the boat handling them. Someone is always with the dogs, holding the rope from the boat."

In some years, after muskrat hunting on the *Paa* River, people did not come back to Shungnak, Wesley said. "They made a circle. They went down with rafts through the Selawik River, caught a ride with Selawik people going to Kotzebue, and came up the Kobuk River to return. Our family was not the only one to have done this. Joe Sun did this too several times, as did Charlie Lee. Joe Sun's older brother (*Patkuraq*), did this. But he never came back. They kept him in Selawik because they liked him. That is where he and his wife are buried.

"People went to Kotzebue to gather seal oil. But they did not go empty handed when they left for muskrat hunting. They brought other furs with them for trading for bearded seal skins or seal oil. Then they left for home again."

Wesley returned from Kotzebue on steam-powered boats belonging to Archie Ferguson or other traders. "Before I was born, when my dad, Sauluq, was a young man, he ran a business buying fox skins during the winter time. When summer came, he would leave with about three boats and head for Kotzebue. Once there, he would trade with the Russians. He would load up his boats with commercial food, and return by poling and pulling back up."

When World War II came, Wesley joined the

Army. "I was in the Army for two years, maybe a little bit more." He returned to Shungnak, continued the subsistence life, and traveled to find work. During summers, that work was for mining companies, "on the dredges, trying to earn a little money. Sometimes I went to work in Fairbanks for a mining company called FE, sometimes in Candle."

Wesley and Josephine were married in 1947, for the rest of his working life Wesley combined subsistence hunting and trapping with a variety of wage labor.

Wesley and Josephine Woods

"I stopped going to school when I began living with Wesley in 1947," Josephine recalled. "After school in 1948, we went to Kotzebue to get married, with a boat that he owned named Molly May."

The next summer, they went up to Tommy Lee's camp at *Qala*. "Tommy always went down with a kayak to *Agiaq*, and set a net. We ate fish and nothing much else. Sometimes Clara (Lee) and I would check the net with a river boat, poling. Tommy always babysat Wynita (Josephine and Wesley's oldest daughter), holding her on his lap. They had their own children too. After spending the summer, we moved back down (to Shungnak)."

"While my mom was still with us, we used to go and spend spring camp down at *Moki*. I was having children then. We also camped at *Panika* when the children were a little older. Across from us was Pancy Berry. Then, later she moved over to our camp. We would seine together. Vera, Pancy's daughter, used to hold the rope from the beach when Nora and I seined. Also, mom and Pancy would walk down the beach to sit and wait for approaching schools of salmon. They would call us, and we would seine.

When we began having our own family, (Wesley) built a house right behind where his garden is today, in the fall when Raymond was a baby. We moved up here to top of the hill in 1966 or '67, when Nellie was a baby.

We lived up here alone, but we had neighbors, Walter and Florence Douglas, and Gene and Magdeline Lee. There was nothing up here, only spruce trees and our pathways, very undeveloped then. We had pathways to that lake back here, where we got water to cook dog food."

One summer, Wesley and his cousin, Gene Lee, went to work for Bear Creek Mining at the Bornite copper mine near Kobuk. "Then, we went to spend the summer at mouth of Mauneluk River," Josephine remembered "Samuel (*Sauluq*) was a baby then. Magdeline and I spent the summer there alone. When we were going to seine, Hilda and Melvin held one end of the seine at the beach for us. Wynita and Sally babysat the other children.

We ate a lot of salmon heads, and also got a lot of dried salmon. At one salmon seining we would get 300. Then we would slave to cut, wash, hang, dry and take care of them. We lived and worked without much, and later moved back home to Shungnak.

"We would spend the winters at Shungnak with the children attending school." Formal education was very important to Josephine and Wesley. They supported and encouraged their children to continue with school. "The children at first were small, then grew, began attending school, then went to boarding schools," Josephine said. "We hardly left Shungnak except to go to summer camp somewhere nearby.

"Wynita went to Wrangell (to boarding school). They would leave in the fall, be gone all winter and return in May. We had no airstrip then. The plane would land on *Sililik* Lake in the spring. When they landed there and dropped them off, they would walk down to the village. When the lake ice got rotten, they would land at Dahl Creek, and haul them with small planes.

"Hilda attended Nome Beltz High in Nome. She then went on to Haskell Institute to continue her education. Now, she has worked for NANA for many years, since she came back from the states. Valera and Nellie went to Mt. Edgecumbe, and later moved home and graduated at Shungnak. Dempsey attended school here and graduated.

"The children graduated from high school, and began to work. Tommy, Samuel, Wesley, Jr. and our youngest boy, Dempsey, joined the National Guard and went to training. The five boys all graduated from high school, and all but one joined the National Guard. Raymond joined the Army and was gone from home for a long time.

"I really worked hard to put them through school," Josephine said. "A high school diploma meant a lot to us, for us to sacrifice for them to finish school.



Figure 3-10. Wesley and Josephine Woods.

Now, I am busy keeping my grandchildren in school. We work with them to get their high school diploma, because today no one can go to work without a diploma.”

Like Wesley, Josephine remembers the trips long ago to the Noatak Valley, to hunt caribou and sheep. “Sometime ago before we had any children,” Josephine said, “early in the winter we went outside of Kobuk Valley. Then, we went again after Wynita and Hilda were children. I was carrying Hilda on my back then. When I got tired of carrying her. I would put her parka on and they would ride. I am not sure how old Wynita was.”

By the time of this study, relatively few people from the upper Kobuk still traveled into the Noatak Valley. People could get caribou much closer to home now than they could then, and it wasn’t necessary to go so far to hunt.

In March of 1999, Wesley returned to the upper

Noatak Valley with three of his sons, so that they would know how to get through the mountains separating the Kobuk and Noatak valleys, and where to find game in the Noatak. They stayed in a wall tent on a tributary of the Noatak near Douglas Creek, inside Gates of the Arctic National Park, and hunted sheep. In the wall tent at night, Wesley told stories of his youthful days in the country there, walking, dog teaming, and hunting. The following year, in March 2000, one of his sons and a son-in-law repeated the trip, to further familiarize themselves with the country.

Wesley commented about the loss of knowledge of the area. “People do not know the way with dogs to go out there. All the ones that have gone out there are gone. Wilson Tickett Sr. (*Aliqsaiyaq*) and I are the only ones left.” Wesley wanted to make sure his sons, at least, knew the way.

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APPENDIX 1

CONSENT AND RELEASE FORM

CONSENT AND RELEASE

HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

The Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the National Park Service (NPS) are studying how residents of the upper Kobuk River used their region during their life times. A project overview is attached to this document. This form is an agreement between you (as an interview respondent), NPS, and ADF&G.

- You agree that your interviews may be recorded on audio tape, video tape, or computer files. Your interviews may be translated from Iñupiaq into English, and written down in both Iñupiaq and English. They may be included in one or more project reports.
- You give NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts of your interviews in project reports for scientific and educational purposes. NPS and ADF&G may keep audio tapes, computer files, transcripts, and the project reports on file and available to the public. ADF&G agrees to provide you copies of audio tapes, transcriptions, translations, and project reports before they are released to the public.
- ADF&G agrees to pay you for each interview.

If you copyright your interviews, NPS and ADF&G will include a copyright notice on transcripts and on project reports. If you do not copyright your interviews, they may be published by other people without your permission. If you wish to copyright your interviews, please initial the yes box below:

☐ YES ☐ NO I want to copyright my interviews in my name. Copyright protection ordinarily lasts for the author's life plus 70 years.

If you do copyright your interviews, then NPS and ADF&G will need your permission to use your interview or portions of your interview in books, on the radio, or on computers. Initial each box below to give or withhold permission for NPS and ADF&G to use your interviews.

☐ YES ☐ NO OK to use in journals, magazines, books, or other printed formats for scientific or educational purposes.

☐ YES ☐ NO OK to use in programs on radio, television, audio, or video cassettes.

☐ YES ☐ NO OK to use in computer programs with limited audiences for scientific or educational purposes (for example, a school district local area network).

☐ YES ☐ NO OK to use on CD-ROMs or the Internet (world wide web).

Respondent (signature)

Date

Researcher (signature) Date

Respondent (printed name)

Researcher (printed name)

PROJECT OVERVIEW

HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

Who is doing this project?

The National Park Service and the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. The people include Jim Magdanz, Jonas Ramoth, Eileen Devinney, and Cyd Martin. Susan Georgette also may be involved. David Spirtes and Dave Mills – NPS park superintendents — are funding the project.

What do you want us to do?

We would like you to talk about your life, especially when you were younger. We would like you to talk in Iñupiaq, unless you would rather talk in English. We also would like to talk about places where you lived or camped on the upper Kobuk and upper Noatak Rivers.

We would like to record our talks on a tape recorder. We would like to write down what we talk about in Inupiaq, and translate that into English. We would like to print what you say in a report, along with pictures and maps of the upper Kobuk River and (possibly) the upper Noatak River. Later on, we may also want to put some of what you say in a book or in a computer program.

We will pay elders \$25 an hour, up to \$1,000 each (40 hours) for the recorded interviews.

Why are you doing it?

We are concerned about the conflicts created when people come from outside the region to hunt and fish. Knowing more about how upper Kobuk River people use the river might help us manage (or control) use by other people. We are interested in knowing how you think the Park Service and Fish and Game should deal with outsiders who want to use the upper Kobuk River.

To provide for subsistence and reduce conflicts, we think it is very important to understand the history of the river, and how it has been used by local people. Therefore, we want to know more about the history of upper Kobuk River people. Especially, we want to know how upper Kobuk River people survived when you were young. We are interested in how your lives have changed over the years, and how your lives have stayed the same. We are interested knowing which places are especially important to you, and why.

This project has many purposes. In general, we are interested in writing down elders' knowledge, in both Iñupiaq and English. We would like to help elders pass that knowledge on to children and grandchildren. We want to make your information available in schools and libraries.

Who is the project boss?

Jim Magdanz is responsible for getting the project done. He works for the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. He will schedule interviews, take care for elders' payments, arrange for translators, and put together elders' reports.

Elders also are bosses in this project. You decide what you want to tell us about your life. We will ask questions, but the answers are up to you. You tell us what you think is important. You do not have to answer any question if you do not want to.

Each elder can, if she or he wants, copyright his or her recordings in his or her own name. Each elder will be able to review the transcripts and translations to make sure they are correct. The Park Service or Fish and Game may want to put the elders tapes in a book or computer program. Each elder will be able to decide whether that is OK with them.

Once we are sure that we all understand what this project is about, we will sign a paper that states what we have all agreed to do.

What are you going to do with my information?

After the tapes are translated and transcribed, we will put the translations and *Iñupiaq* transcriptions in a preliminary report, which will be sent to the National Park Service in Kotzebue, Fairbanks, and Anchorage. That report will also include a short history of the upper Kobuk River, and some maps of the area with *Iñupiaq* place names. The reports will be stored in Park Service and Fish and Game files, and will be available to other researchers in the future.

If funding becomes available and if elders are interested, we may do more. We may try to interview more people. We may try to put some of the interviews in a book. We may try to put some interviews in a computer program, which would include elders' speaking in *Iñupiaq*. Right now, though, we don't have any money for these other things.

What will happen to the tapes?

Each elder will get a copy of his or her own tapes. We would like to send the original tapes to the archives at University of Alaska in Fairbanks. The University can keep them safe for generations, help preserve the *Iñupiaq* language, teach students from the region, and teach people in general about *Iñupiat* use of the region. However, anyone can listen to the tapes at the university, and someone may misunderstand or misinterpret the information. If you do NOT want your tapes sent to the university, we can give them to the school district, to your local IRA council, or to another organization. If you do not want anyone to have the original tapes, we can send them back to you when the project is over. You decide who gets to have the tapes.

We hope this project is as much yours as it is ours. We can help you preserve some of the history of your life. We hope people in the Park Service, Fish and Game, and the public may better understand how important this country is to you and your family.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide for Places

Before this interview, respondent and interviewer should mark on a map each permanent home in which the respondent lived during their life. Also mark seasonal camps that were used in multiple years, for example fish camps and trapping camps. Record the dates of use or occupancy, or if dates are uncertain, the sequence in which these homes and camps were first used. Make a list of these places, and for each place, explore the following questions...

When and How Long Were You in this Place...

About how old were you when you first started living at this place?

How many years did you live at this place? (age of first occupancy? age of last occupancy?)

What time of year did you move there? (how – dog team, boat?).

Did you live here all year, or just part of the year?

When and why did you leave this place?

Who was there...

Who else was living at this place with you (family, others)?

Was anyone born at this place while you lived there?

Did anyone die at this place while you lived there? (If so, where were they buried?)

Neighbors – what was the next camp or settlement down river? up river?

Did people from other places visit you here (from other camps, from the villages, from Kotzebue, Fairbanks, or elsewhere)?

Why did they visit?

How did they come (boats, dog teams, airplane)

Did you ever see airplanes flying around this place? If so, who and what were they doing.

What was it like...

Draw a quick map of site. (show river, sandbar (if any), and location of dwelling)

Was there more than one structure there? (If so, add locations of other houses, caches, meat racks, etc.)

What kind of house did your family have at this place? (Who built it, what kind of material, how big, how many rooms)

What kind of houses did other people have at this place?

What did you do here...

What did you and your family do at this place? (what kind of fishing, hunting, etc)

Social Activities (story telling, feasts, holidays, funerals)

Non-Local Foods and Tools?

What kind of store-bought things did your family use at this place? (for example, canvas tents, metal stoves, wooden boats, outboard motors?)

What kind of store-bought foods did your family use at this place?

Why this Place?

Why did you think your family lived at this place?

What was good about it?

What was not so good about it?

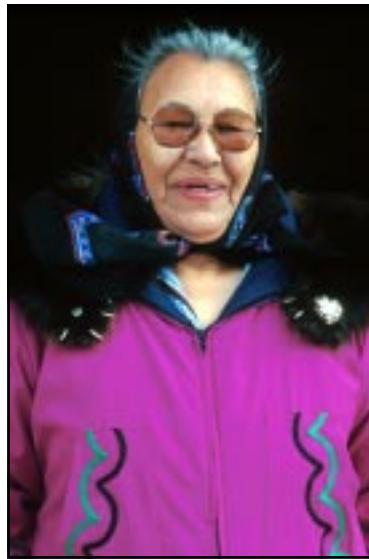
Appendix 3

Transcripts

Leonard and Vera Douglas



Aaquk



Anugaaq

The Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project explored human-land relationships through oral life histories of elder Inupiaq Eskimo residents of the upper Kobuk River area. The project was a cooperative effort funded by the National Park Service (NPS) and conducted by the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G). The elders interviewed for this project granted permission to NPS and ADF&G to make copies of their recordings, translations, and transcriptions, and to make those copies accessible to the public for educational and scientific purposes. They gave NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts in project reports for scientific and educational purposes, and in some cases additional rights to publish material in other formats. Copies of their consent and release forms are included in this appendix. While these materials are available to the public to hear, read, and study, copyright to these materials remains with the elder authors. Individuals or organizations wishing to republish portions of the tapes, transcripts, or translations must obtain permission from the elder authors. The project was directed by James Magdanz, Division of Subsistence, ADF&G.

© Copyright 2000 Leonard and Vera Douglas

CONSENT AND RELEASE

HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

The Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the National Park Service (NPS) are studying how residents of the upper Kobuk River used their region during their life times. A project overview is attached to this document. This form is an agreement between you (as an interview respondent), NPS, and ADF&G.

- You agree that your interviews may be recorded on audio tape, video tape, or computer files. Your interviews may be translated from Iñupiaq into English, and written down in both Iñupiaq and English. They may be included in one or more project reports.
- You give NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts of your interviews in project reports for scientific and educational purposes. NPS and ADF&G may keep audio tapes, computer files, transcripts, and the project reports on file and available to the public. ADF&G agrees to provide you copies of audio tapes, transcriptions, translations, and project reports before they are released to the public.
- ADF&G agrees to pay you for each interview.

If you copyright your interviews, NPS and ADF&G will include a copyright notice on transcripts and on project reports. If you do not copyright your interviews, they may be published by other people without your permission. If you wish to copyright your interviews, please initial the yes box below:

☒ YES ☐ NO I want to copyright my interviews in my name. Copyright protection ordinarily lasts for the author's life plus 70 years.

If you do copyright your interviews, then NPS and ADF&G will need your permission to use your interview or portions of your interview in books, on the radio, or on computers. Initial each box below to give or withhold permission for NPS and ADF&G to use your interviews.

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use in journals, magazines, books, or other printed formats for scientific or educational purposes.

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use in programs on radio, television, audio, or video cassettes.

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use in computer programs with limited audiences for scientific or educational purposes (for example, a school district local area network).

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use on CD-ROMs or the Internet (world wide web).

Leonard Douglas 03/03/00
Respondent (signature) Date

Jim Magdanz 8 MAR 2000
Researcher (signature) Date

Leonard Douglas
Respondent (printed name)

JIM MAGDANZ ADF&G
Researcher (printed name)

CONSENT AND RELEASE
HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

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☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use in computer programs with limited audiences for scientific or educational purposes (for example, a school district local area network).

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use on CD-ROMs or the Internet (world wide web).

Vera J. Douglas 8 MAR 2000
Respondent (signature) Date

Jim Magdanz 8 MAR 2000
Researcher (signature) Date

VERA J. DOUGLAS
Respondent (printed name)

JIM MAGDANZ ADF&G
Researcher (printed name)

TAPE 1

(Recorded February 9, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Kotzebue, Alaska, with Jonas Ramoth, Leonard Douglas, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Jonas Ramoth.)

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

Good morning. This is Jim Magdanz. I am in Kotzebue, Alaska, on February 9. I am talking with Leonard Douglas from Shungnak, and Jonas Ramoth. Jonas is with the National Park Service. I am with the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. We're here today to record an overview of Leonard's life on the upper Kobuk River.

Yesterday, Leonard and Vera sat down with Jonas and I, and we talked about what we were trying to do with the upper Kobuk Human Land Relations project. This morning we have gone over a consent and release form, and we will be making a formal agreement about the use of this material before it is published. At this point the consent and release form has not been signed, and this material is not to be used until that form has been signed.

I have written down some questions this morning that will guide the interview. What we are doing in this project is looking at the relationships of people to the land on the upper Kobuk River. The interview will be structured by place. We are going to ask Leonard where he was born, when that was, who was there with him, and what his family did there, and why they leave that place. Then we will move on to the next place, and ask questions about when his family moved there, and what they did, and so for, and work through Leonard's life place by place. Later on we'll do the same thing with Vera and with other people. This interview is intended to structure our work with Leonard and Vera in the future.

So at this point I am going to turn it over to Jonas, and turn off my mic and let Jonas proceed.

JONAS RAMOTH

Suunauraq, time for you to start. From your birth, where and how things were when you begin to realize and see from the angle down there.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yeah, I was born in Kobuk, April 24, 1929. My mother was *Niqigraug*, Buelah Tickett, who was living with the family of Robert Cleveland, *Nasrauluq*, and *Sanmigan* (Flora Cleveland) when I was born. Four months later, during the summer, my real mother died when I was only four months old. And *Manuluk*, Irene (Douglas), whom I always call my mom, took me from the Cleveland's and raised me from then on. With her husband, *Unaviqsraug* (John Douglas), *Manuluk* raised me and moved to Shungnak sometime around that time. Hmm...wonder what I missed here.

TAPE 1

JONAS RAMOTH

The time when you were a boy growing up packing water maybe and later big enough to hunt.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yeah. We or they had moved to Shungnak as it goes. Our house was up on the hilltop but had to move our house lower near the up hill road, when they were going to make room for a school house. As I was getting to help around my parents had a very large garden down river at Riley Camp and at the house area. We really work hard carrying water, me and my brother *Silaigaaq* (Arthur Douglas). We kind of push *Silaigaaq* hard doing this knowing he is a lazy one. That was one of the things I did when I was growing up at *Nuurviiraq* (Shungnak) also I started to follow the trapper as I grew older. I was about 7-8 years old when I begin to be really aware of things I remember my parents would go to *Isiqnaq* (Shungnak River) to work, that is they prospect for gold hoping to find enough to finance the whole winter. I can recall that part of our life.

(The commonly accepted Iñupiaq name for Shungnak is "Isiqnaq," which translates as "jade." However, Leonard, Vera, and some other residents of Shungnak call their community "Nuurviiraq," which translates as "new place" and refers to the move down river from Kobuk to the new village site at Shungnak. They use Isiqnaq to refer to the Shungnak River.)

JONAS RAMOTH

Did you go to school then?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes. I was going to school.

JONAS RAMOTH

Right age for muskrat hunting as you are only one year older than me.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes. when I was old enough I was given a very funny gun. A single shot kind, they never give me a repeating kind maybe I was not trusted. Well usually that single shot is the first gun. It's called that because you cannot load it anywhere.

When I was about eleven years old when my dad died leaving me and *Silaigaaq* with my mother, but it wasn't long after he had to go to the hospital. I did live with my mother for a long time until I was big enough to follow when my uncles go trapping. I was always helping hunting for our food. My mother did lots of sewing that she sells to supplement our needs because no other jobs then.

When I was 14 years old probably after FAA built their house, these guys who will be doing signals, and after visiting my mother they let me have a job of packing water once a week. After one month I would get my check of fourteen dollars. What a thrill that was. I would take off for Kobuk with my kayak to shop and fill it with white man's food almost over-loading it. Well, coffee cost fifty cents a pound in those days also ten pounds sugar was only seventy five cents.

TAPE 1

Maybe they were not even considered food because of how unbelievably cheap they were.

My grade school history is poor I may have gone up to sixth grade and had to drop out because of home conditions that prevented me from continuing. Someone has to hunt, gather wood at home. I would go to school part of the day, like in the afternoon. I would have to go get wood with three dogs and, boy, those dogs were the best because they were of good Eskimo breed, real dogs.

About now I was able to do a man's task like trapping. It was easy for me now, but still I have to rely on the experience of others whom I follow like Tommy Douglas. I guess our last trapping trips may have been around 1948.

In 1949 I first went to work at Kenai and life somehow got better for me and my mom. Not long after that my older brother *Silaigaq* (Arthur Douglas) came home after seven years in the hospital but was not contributing much at home. Maybe he thinks like a white man now I don't know.

When I was around 21 years of age I found a lady. Or it may be she was the one who found me. I am a little bit hazy on that cause there were lots of girls to choose from. But when I got married to Vera I know how important it was to work, to hustle to get job.

I first go to work for any white people that come to our area be they archeologist or what ever. I also went to work at Bornite. We moved to Kobuk and live for a while maybe about ten years. To back up a little bit I did hunt for muskrats when I was very young with my brother *Silaigaq*.

We don't move like other people we stay in the village and walk to a hunting spot which is about five miles out. But when I become older and was on my own more or less I hunt by myself over to *Kougrauq* (Kugarak River). Ever since I matured I didn't ask any one to go with me. I just go to it alone. I don't know why I was a loner on hunting, maybe because I am an impatient man. Muskrat hunting was the way of life for most people but for some it was different.

When I was getting big enough to hunt muskrats there were no beavers at all in Kobuk. But later on they start to mention them more often and I was hoping I would get to see one. But I didn't for a long time.

I found out later that a beaver had made a lodge by my muskrat hunting area. So I sat down because I really wanted to see one. I didn't realize I would sit there all night. I didn't see it when it surfaced right in front of me, and here I scan and scan over yonder in other places. When I finally saw it right in front of me, it was looking right at me. All the time I was motionless. Well, it finally submerged after looking at me without whacking his tail. That was the first time I ever saw a beaver. At that time I just wanted to see what it looked like.

We don't have any caribou then, our food staples consist of rabbits

TAPE 1

and ptarmigans. Only time we eat caribou is when someone comes back from the North Slope in the spring, when they share with us.

After I got married we lived in Kobuk. I would work sometime in the summer and trapped in the winter for beavers. At Bornite in 1951, it was the very first time I ever worked along with Rhinny Berg, the one who discovered it. There was no one else at that time except us, and I always thought we were the first ones to work at Bornite those two summers.

JONAS RAMOTH

Do you know how much an hour?

LEONARD DOUGLS

We were making big bucks, man! When I cleared \$400 every two week, I considered myself a millionaire. That white man was one of the nicest guys I know. I mean he always had a good attitude, and never changed.

After working at Bornite, I went to work at Dahl Creek, mining for gold and I work here for many years.

We were living in Kobuk for a good while when we decided to move to *Nuurviiraq* (Shungnak). By this time we had about six children so we moved to Shungnak and before long I was hired to work for the school. That was 1962. When I was about to reach 20 years of work, the State of Alaska took over the school system, maybe 1978. When that happened my salary was reduced to almost nothing, so I quit them.

My wife and I had eleven children, of which two died. Nine of our children have become adults as of now. When we felt something was missing we adopted one more to make it ten, so all of them are making their own living now. There were two small ones that we lost.

When we first moved to *Nuurviiraq* (Shungnak), we moved again to the real village across the river. I started working for the school. By that time we had made enough from my income to afford a house so we built one.

After we raised our own children, they finished grade school, went to high school, and left us by ourselves. We felt lonely so we became foster parents and had over 20 foster children from all the villages, even as far as Pt. Hope and Nome, girls or boys. What else can I say?

JONAS RAMOTH

How about camping?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Oh yeah. Even when we were living in Kobuk, I didn't go with my wife when she go camping for fish. I always watch the children, so she could do her thing all she wanted.

JONAS RAMOTH

Wasn't it the woman's task to do the fishing?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yeah, even now it is. Also when there's no one in the house I always keep it occupied. We were lucky to have had an Evinrude while others

TAPE 1

who don't own Evinrude still using oars to move around. I always made sure she has all her net supplies or other provisions.

In our subsistence life style, my wife handles the food and puts them away, while I am a hunter and take home the animals that I catch. When the caribou are migrating I hunt them, also bears and moose or any other animals I can able to get.

In our life style she put away enough food for our use, when she has spare she gives it to those who are needy or don't have one to hunt in their family. I begin to realize something I should've known that her mother had raised her that way and from experience she knew how it is to be in need. Something that we knew is, if you hold on to the food it will not increase. In later years, fish or what ever it was she shared came back to us abundantly. This is very obvious when you live it.

JONAS RAMOTH

Probably you did bear hunting, and observed the traditional rituals when dressing it.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes. Whenever we catch it we do all the traditional rituals associated with dealing with the taboos. Like taking off the worm from underneath the tongue and placing on a willow stem after splitting it and wedged it in.

But here's what I suspect, that there are many people who are ignorant of the fact that "he who walks," I mean both species of bears, black and brown, are capable of eating anything he has an opportunity to catch, including humans. But they will not eat a certain part of salmon, that is a little piece of the pectoral fin. It is easy to notice, and it is connected to the pectoral fin. The two bear species, even a cub will not eat it and usually it is the only thing left. We suspect he has a taboo to follow too.

When we were growing up, ready to do hunting my uncles always told me all there is to know about hunting. One of the important ones to follow is when a bear is feasting on berries you must not attempt shooting it from below, never! Only from above the animal. One time I decided to see for myself. I said to myself if the shot hit him it will miss me if dying. What fool I was!

JONAS RAMOTH

Did you make an attempt?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, I did, and I shot it from the lower side of it (laughing).

SIDE B

LEONARD DOUGLAS

When I shot the bear, it appeared like a ball starting to roll towards me

TAPE 1

from above. Frantically I looked and saw a small birch tree. Desperately I jumped to it hoping I would reach it in time. When I did I shot it again there probably almost my gun barrel touch it. I have been advised many times and violate it and come to pay the penalty of it I probably deserved.

After dressing the animal I packed some of it home. Next day when I went back for the rest of meat my brother-in-law *Aqpaliq* (Charlie Sheldon) followed me. When we got there, *Aqpaliq* asked me, from which side did I shoot? I told him the bear was eating berries above me. "We just waste words advising you about the rules," he said. "Only a good advisor will make you understand."

Well, on these rules of hunting you must never violate them to suit yourself, I found that out.

(Jonas Ramoth annotation: Vera came in from babysitting and reminded Leonard of his mission. Interview resumed...)

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Well, we lived at *Nuurviiraq* (Shungnak) for quite sometime while I was employed at the school. I did some wolf hunt in between. Sometime getting and sometimes missing on this.

When I got serious about wolf hunting, I learned something that never really registered in my mind until later. That is about these ravens. They really mingle with humans, and they also have uncanny knowledge of other animals. This is something told to me much later by some one I can't remember. When I am out in the country hunting, a raven would show up and circle and leave any which way. I usually go towards the way it came from and I always encounter what ever I pursue like either a wolf or wolverine.

(After a short discussion, Leonard was asked to talk more of subsistence existence even when moving from place to place.)

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Oh yes. After moving to *Nuurviiraq* from Kobuk for awhile, we decided to move to the village settlement which was now Shungnak. We owned a home for ourselves and it was good for us. We live here for a quite awhile.

Then when our house here become old, we moved up the hill and built a log cabin. It was much better for us all around. When people had new housing, they do look good from outside. But my log cabin was much warmer than those new housings.

I was employed by the school for a long time, more than fifteen years. When I realized how low paying it was, I resigned and started working at airport maintenance. Sometimes I worked at the pipeline between jobs. And when Red Dog was opening. I didn't keep track though.

We had to live in tents when it (Red Dog) first opened. That was the last job I had. My job was using heavy equipment, because I didn't

TAPE 1

know any other trade. I only knew how to do heavy equipment, knew how to maintain them when needed.

After working at Red Dog, it wasn't long before I started to have health problems. When I was younger, I had smoked too much. I may have burned the inside of my lungs. Now it must have been about ten years with this serious health problem.

I smoked tobacco that came in cans, like Velvet, and later when cigarettes came, like Camel without filters. To some extent, I abuse by smoking excessively. And people should not use that tobacco to excess. I will speak more on this serious subject on later tape as this should be a good advice like a warning.

Seems like I don't have much left to speak of. If my wife starts to talk more, we should be able to expose many things, but hopefully not my secrets. (laughter)

JONAS RAMOTH

Just a reminder anything about subsistence or significant harassment by outsiders is being sought here. Also if subsistence laws were out of balance you can be free to talk about them also.

LEONARD DOUGLAS (English) Stop it for a little while.

TAPE 2

(Recorded February 9, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Kotzebue, Alaska, with Jonas Ramoth, Vera Douglas, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Jonas Ramoth.)

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

This is Jim Magdanz. I am with the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. With me here today I have Jonas Ramoth with the National Park Service and Vera Douglas from Shungnak, Alaska. We're here to do an overview of Vera's life history, as part of a Park Service and Fish and Game project on human-land relationships on the upper Kobuk River. Yesterday and this morning we have gone over with Vera and Leonard the purposes of the project and the informed consent form. We have not signed a final copy of the consent and release to use this tape, and so until that is finally signed, this tape is not for use in the project. I am going to turn the discussion over to Jonas. The purpose of our tape today is to guide our work in this project, to give us an overview of Vera's life, so that we then can come back and look at specific places and specific times in more detail on subsequent tapes. So at this point, I am going to turn it over to Jonas and to Vera. Go ahead.

JONAS RAMOTH

Now is time for you to start. Tell them who you are and tell about the times when you are becoming aware and the way you are starting to face life's struggles. Now is time to start on it, in your own words, how you want to do it.

VERA DOUGLAS

Good Morning. I am *Anugaaq* from Shungnak, and in English, Vera Douglas, Vera Jenny Douglas. That's how it was, up river. I was born at *Qala* where they were fishing for fresh ones. So along with my grandmother *Nataagnaq* (Annie Mark), my real mother *Taapsuk* (Effie Commack) and her husband *Saiłauraq* (Johnny Hopson) were there also, and quite a few others. That was where I was born.

After about 2 months, my other siblings got sick, these children of my real parents. *Unaqsiq* (Cora Gooden) and the rest. When my mother could not keep up taking care of them my grandmother started to take me home sometimes for a day to stay with her and my grandfather *Akitñaaluk* (Mickie Mark). After doing this for a time, my mother decided to give me to my grandparents because my grandparents love for me was the deciding factor. I was adopted traditionally by them.

As time went on I began to become aware of things, also now I realize I was way up in camp. And I came to know how my busy grandmother and grandfather worked hard to make a living. I begin to realize there were other people like *Naalunaaq*, *Tulugaq* (Louis Berry), and *Iñigaq* (Pancy Berry), also *Kuutuuq* (Dora Tobuk) and many others who live up there with us. Here in this camp I was

TAPE 2

maturing and now I was able to keep up with *Qaluvik* (Daisy Tickett), *Qunuyuk*, and *Lula* and the rest of the girls bigger than I am.

After staying here for awhile all of the people would move further up river to *Sagvaksigaaq* for the Spring. On the way to this camp I remember sleeping in the sled and waking up to the rattling of dishes on the front of the sled. As I listened to the rattling I realized that my family was still on the trail, my grandmother and grandfather.

Later I begin to see again that it was now late afternoon towards getting dark, and now they were setting up the tent and ready to camp. While this was going on, the kids decided to go up the bluff. I decided I would go up, too, right after them. As I was making my way up, the one leading said, "There's blueberries here!" It was winter time and there was still snow on the ground. When she said that, I looked and noticed that she had picked some berries up and was ready to put them in her mouth. She did one chew, and she blew them out of her mouth. That was *Qunuruk*.

These "berries" were actually a patch of crowberries that had turned blue in Spring and become visible on the melted spot on the snow cover. Not knowing these were what they were, and she had mistaken them for blueberries.

JONAS RAMOTH

Medicine?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, medicine. Probably we all taste them. No doubt we were willing to sample them, too.

After staying awhile in this camp when it was time to move. I never knew which way, because I was always sleeping inside the sled. Up river near *Saiyuu* (?) inside *Sagvaqsigaiq*, a usual camping place, I remember the children somewhat bigger than me were moving around the area. They went back somewhere one time. I followed them, and we found some cranberries where the snow had melted on the tundra. As we frequented that place more now they let the bigger girls carry containers to pick cranberries. Some of us smaller girls were only followers, but we can remember lots of thing to know by now.

After staying there a while, one day I went to my grandmother who was fishing through the ice, she just loved to fish as early as she can for pikes. She always got lots of these fish. So many now, they cut them to dry so early in the spring.

The campers stayed here all Spring, until it was time to go downstream after the ice broke up and was gone. Rafts were made to travel down river, including my grandfather *Akitñaaluq*. Now everyone was on the way with their rafts somehow. I was kind of apprehensive of one area which was always known to be swift called *Tulugagnat* area, always scary because of lots of current. I can see the rushing water through the logs sometimes. But it sure was a relief when we passed that area. Another threatening spot was near the those little island that also have swift current. When we pass these areas, we made it out of

TAPE 2

that stream to the mouth of the Pah river, where we usually spent our winter and made our camp on the sand bar across the river. Tents were set up here along with putting up dry racks to hang the fish, half dry fish ready for cooking.

JONAS RAMOTH

No hunger here?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, no hunger here, (there are) other food items like goose and hang the fish. Summer activities begin, like seining when the fish arrived. We don't go back to Shungnak at all. We just stay here as far as I can remember. Now the people were now eating lots fish, lots of seining going on now.

My grandfather Henry Stocking *Aligsauraq* liked to hunt with his *qayaq*. He is the husband of *Anigniq* Susie Stocking, mother of Daisy Ticket. He was a good hunter and provided an abundance of food to the family for ages. As far I can remember, food was there all the time and seems too easy to be gotten by them. Their life was spent mostly up river, these two, *Anigniq* and *Aligsauraq*.

My grandfather *Aligsauraq* on one of his kayak trips got me a pet gull, and I sure love my pet gull. A little bit up river from *siqiniq*, on the end of the sandbar, entering the stream a little bit, this was where my grandmother and I had set our summer camp, the one where we will be for awhile. The rest of those that were with us up to now left to camp at *Sulukpaugaqtuuq* (Selby River) to fish for salmon. My grandmother and I stayed in our camp whole or some part of the summer and later join them at *Sulikpaugaqtuuq* and set our camp across from *Siiqalauraq*. My pet gull who meant a lot to me had gone flying before we left the last camp. I loved my pet so much I began worrying about it, thinking it is now lost.

JONAS RAMOTH

Does it usually return after flying?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, it always goes home. Seemed like when it was hungry it went home to eat after flying for a long time.

We had finished setting up our summer camp in *Sulukpaugaqtuuq* (Selby River) and now were making preparation to fish for salmon. *Aqlannitkuk* and the others were slow in going up river. On the way up, they stopped at our last camp for a little bit. This place had provisions for setting camp as there were poles still there to put up a tent easily. *Kuutuuq* brought some fish to the edge of the sand bar near the boat and started to cut the fish for cooking. She noticed a gull flying unusually low and near, and started to observe it closely. The gull landed near and started to call, *Kuutuuq* tossed some fish livers saying to it, "here." The gull walked near and took no time to eat them. So that was my beloved pet gull no doubt.

JONAS RAMOTH

The bird recognized them, too!

VERA DOUGLAS

Yeah, because when *Kuutuuq* and the others finally moved up river to *Sulukpaugaqtuuq* (Selby River) and told me, I was ever so happy to find out my pet didn't die. I was worried of the consequences. We spend time in our camp up river. The area of our place is on the sandbar above *Sulukpaugaqtuuq*. Right across from *Sulukpaugaqtuuq* is the sandbar of *Siigalauraq*, that's the place we had chosen to spend the summer. The upriver end of the bar was the exact area.

My brothers *Akpiksraq* and *Akpaliq*, also *Argachauq* who was older than me and was also bigger. They are building a *tupiq* (cabin) off shore from the bar among the trees and a bit above *Siigalauraq*. This type of log cabin is called *maptigaq*. Nice and roomy one they were making.

By this time I was getting to be big enough to follow my grandmother when she tended to her snares. My grandparents do subsistence gathering very well. Making shelters to store their food like *ikigaqs*, *unaluts* etc. All the food is secured, with protection in mind hoping that will be enough for the winter. Everything is preserved by drying because we didn't have freezers like today. And after the winter we would have some left of which we can always get them anytime we need to. When it is summer time when everything is thawed out we would soak the dried fish or meat and make soup from them, no freezer then. My grandmother sure don't let up on her work as far as women's chores are concerned and I was beginning to keep with her as she does her task.

By this time as we were going down river to Shungnak. My grandfather, *Akitñaaluq*, grandmother's husband had become sick. I was getting big and fully aware of things by now. Grandpa just died. As I remember our tent was set near or upriver of *Tapkaq* as we had just arrived from up river camp. When grandpa died my grandmother and I were left to live the way we do, as my brother *Argaichauq* left with *Aqivauq* when he was of young age to live at *Alasupaanun* (Allakaket?) *Aqivauq* and them were his relatives the one he left with when he was very young. I was very sad when they left. My brother whom I used to follow around. When he left, only *Aqpaliq* and *Aqpiksraq* and I were only at home with grandmother also my grandfather was gone too.

But after grandpa died at Shungnak, my grandmother took us up river to camp again even though she does not have a husband now. As it is now I work along with grandmother where ever she goes now that I have no one to stay at home with.

Some mornings she would tell me we are going to pick berries and may sleep a couple days in the country. Sometimes this happened in the fall time when it cooled off. She would cook ptarmigan or rabbits for our food, these were there because she always had snares for these animals. She prepared food for our berry picking trip. When we were setting up temporary camp, at bed time she would tell me my breakfast food will be placed under her pillow so it will not be frozen in the

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morning. When we bed down we sleep comfortably with rabbit skins for bedding, not worried about getting cold. I would wake up to realize my grandmother already making fire and making hot water and when I finally get up and join her she would remind me that my breakfast was under her pillow and quickly go get them for me. After breakfast we resume picking berries, at this time my grandmother was picking frozen blueberries. Nearly all day she pack a seal skin poke and finally make it to our home. She really work hard lugging a poke whether it is half full or really full one. I always see how she does this to the time it will be ready to be put away. When she fills it with frozen blueberries, the ones we picked, she would hang it quite a ways high on a tree, wrapping it all around with evergreen branches securing it with ropes around it.

JONAS RAMOTH

Poke is really the skin of seal, right?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, that's the way it got to us up river in Kobuk, from the coast. No buckets then, but it was usually the best seal oil. Neither of my brothers *Aqpaliq* (Charlie Sheldon) or *Aqpiksraq* (Henry Sheldon) were hardly ever home. But when it was time to get the berries one of them would go get them. Grandpa was no longer present to get it. That's the way my grandmother lead our young days of raising us. As I grew bigger and help her more she was relieved of her many women's tasks, because I can do most of them now.

But my two brothers were hardly home, meaning they hunted at Noatak River when they *qaki*. One time they were up there hunting. When they should have been time for them to get home, they didn't come. Now it was winter. By this time we had moved back to the village. My grandmother was frantic with worry. Usually before winter set in before snow too, they would be back. So after waiting, we decided to move from our camp. People in the village were becoming worried by now.

After that there was a pilot name John Cross, also a Mr. King who now flies regularly to the village.

JONAS RAMOTH

Kigraug, eh?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yeah, maybe *Unaviqsraq* and someone flew with maybe John Cross to look for them.

Aqpiksraq (Henry Sheldon) had walked in and got to Henry and Susie Stocking's camp. They have winter camp at mouth of *Maniilaq* River. Later, he arrived in Shungnak. He reported his brother (Charlie Sheldon) got sick, and he decided to leave him. He made sure his brother was provided with a good shelter, lots of wood, food, and water. Also for his medicine, he had some water from a water source that oozes from the ground where the sheep always come to lick when they are thirsty, and all the things he would need while waiting for his

TAPE 2

return. He instructed his brother to go easy on the medicine he provided for him. I wonder what he used for a container?

JONAS RAMOTH

Is this part of a sheep?

VERA DOUGLAS

No, it is water that oozes out of the ground. The sheep love to lick it. It is whitish in color.

When he left him and got home, finally plane went to look for his brother. As I said earlier, I was now a big girl. I was aware of my grandmother, who was really worried now. After what seemed like forever the weather cleared, the plane finally could be heard. The whole population of Shungnak went to the river, as the landing field is just that. When the plane was taxiing to its usual place to stop, more people were still coming down to see. What a relief to see my brother was alive. They were helping him out of the plane. I sure was grateful of his being alive.

JONAS RAMOTH

Which one was it? Charlie? Are these your older brothers?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, it was obvious my grandmother was really worried, and I was really concerned, not knowing where or how far up the slope he was. One cannot help but worry about what condition he was in.

When my grandfather passed away, these two guys (Charlie and Henry Sheldon) didn't always stay at home because of hunting for bigger game. My grandmother started to camp in an area much closer above Kobuk. The name of the place was the mouth of *kuukpik* (Kobuk River, the old channel mouth above Kobuk village) called "Old Johnny." We dried some fish here, and caught many fish, even though our net was a short one. But it sure was adequate because there were so many fish. Our two nets were for salmon and big white fish. The one for whitefish was a home-spun one.

(Vera humbly called this type of net qiprauraqnaaq because it was made of worn glove red cuff and about one yard of canvas. Unravel the cuff and spin it by hand with the unraveled canvas and fill a spindle with it and make a net. In the past, nets were made of willow bark in the same way, by spinning it.)

This one made for whitefish is a short one but it caught lots of fish. Our usual fall camp's real name was *akuligaq*. But now it's called Old Johnny. We would spend the time till the water freezes up. My grandmother usually set the whitefish net when the *kuukpik* (Kobuk River) froze for an under ice fishing net. What an abundance of broad whitefish, and other species of whitefish, and trout even were caught. What a joyful time it was for my grandmother, as she caught all these fish there at *Akuligaq* as we lived in a tent doing all this.

That was the way it was at that time but with so many changes

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today it is so different hard to say how, no one stay that close to town any more, may be because our family now go way up river nowadays. In the early days even though we don't have any means to go that far up, it was still done with big boats by means of towing the boat and any other means and it was no problem for those people before us. In those day we don't have ways to travel like today's power boats, *Tulugaq* (Louis Berry) husband of *Iñigaq* (Pancy Berry) had a big boat with *ikniligauraq* (little fire) it has engine...

SIDE B

VERA DOUGLAS

In those days we never had any motorized things. But *Tulugaq*, husband of *Iñigaq*, had a big boat with a little fire (*ikniligauraq*). It had an engine, not an Evinrude, but some kind of engine. He could travel up river at any speed he wanted.

But for us, speed is not what we were used to. As long as we had a boat, we could get to where we wanted to go. We just had to harness the dogs and let them get off on the shore. They would tow the boat. They are trained to do that. That's how we lived. Thinking about it now, it seems so hard, but we were used to it. It is not hard as we live it then. But now if I want to go across the river and the Evinrude cannot start I will not attempt to go over.

Sometimes I take time to review, kind reminisce of the life then, when lots of Evinrudes keep passing by. That was the way my grandmother raised me, showing me how to keep looking for food. We didn't always live in town, but mostly in camp. I never went to school, so that's the reason why I can't write well today. My grandmother lead our life in the way that was best for both us. I did go to school, but not for very long, because we don't even have a place of our own in town.

JONAS RAMOTH

But you were educated in the *Iñupiaq* way.

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, the way my grandmother taught me. I sure did get that kind of education. I can do most anything, but I cannot read well. My grandmother was getting old, not so active anymore, and by that time we had moved to Kobuk. Also *Aqpaliq* was getting to stay home more often now. By that time I had married Leonard. We lived in Kobuk for some years, I can't remember how many years.

When we lived there in Kobuk, it would be flooded every spring. We were kind of tired of this. Besides, my husband was not happy with the size of our home. He thought it was too big. So he dismantled the cabin, made a raft of the cabin, and we moved it down to Shungnak. We left Kobuk with our grandmother.

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First setting up a tent on the raft with stove, we left for Shungnak. So now we moved to Nurviiraq, on top of steep bankin a place that could never flood.

JONAS RAMOTH

Is it on the present spot? Yes...oh, no. It was placed down below (our present cabin) first. The log cabin we rafted down was built back up. We lived there many years. Now the kids have grown, and were going to school. My husband had gone to work for the school too.

My grandmother was really getting old by now and was bed ridden for a while. I took care of her and gave her the best care I could, as she was the one who had raised me. When she was gone, it was hard to get used to. I sure missed her. The food was there, but somehow there was something missing. When she was still active, she had given me lots of advice that gave me something to think about. That gave my husband and I the will to live. We had lots of kids, too, by now. We lived here for awhile, until at last I was hired to work in school as kitchen helper washing dishes.

I started working now. But every fall time, I was having a hard time when I started to imagine those camps up the river. That prompted me to resign from working in school. Also our food supply was changing now, too. Store-bought food was now the only option for our children, no *niqipaaq* (Eskimo food). That was not good for all of us.

I started to go up river to do camping now, leaving my husband with the kids. Every fall I would travel up river with either *Sailaq* (Louise Wood) or Elizabeth (Jackson). Daisy (Tickett) usually went up too. About now my children were getting big and helpful also when Daisy was still able to do work well and we were spending the summer in *Qala*.

Some white people came to us saying they want workers. They were going to tag sheefish. It made me wonder what that means, or what they were going to put on them. Those people wanted me to ask Daisy if she can work with me for two weeks for them. We both have boats with outboard motors. So when I asked her she said, yes, saying we may earn some money to spend. I was willing to do things as long as Daisy was, although she was older than me. So *Qaluvik* (Daisy Tickett), *Sailaq* (Louise Wood), and I started working for them, seining for sheefish for them to tag. The name of the Fish and Game worker was Ken Alt.

JONAS RAMOTH

His name is Mayauyuk?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, so that was his name. From our experience occupying this river, Qaluvik and I know what species of fish we want and we can set our net or seine where ever we want. When the time came to do our work that fall, we chose the *Qala* site for this project. We set up our seining there. The Fish and Game guys would help at appropriate times when

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we are seining. As we started our two week's work seining, *Sailaq* (Louise Wood) was there, too. She was a spokesperson for us, because she can speak English well to white people. Daisy and I cannot speak English well enough. So we and the spokesperson had fun doing what we did. Sometime we always brought in a good load. Those that wanted these fish would really be busy doing the tagging and releasing same time. When we did things right, we would haul in 50 and some time 100 or more (fish). By then, these guys were OK with seines. But when they first started, they needed a few pointer to know how.

On our first set, Daisy and I were in the water leading the net to shore and beaching our boat. When you get to the beach the net is usually pulled in. I was pulling in the slack. Then there was not so much room (in the net) and (the fish were) splashing. I don't know why, but I turned to look around. I noticed one of the white guys running towards the middle of the seine as if he knew what to do. He grabbed both the float and the lead line and drug them to shore. As he did so, the middle of net now had a way for the fish to escape.

I wanted to shout at him, but I couldn't. I desperately looked around for *Sailaq*, the spokesperson. At this point I noticed she was on the other end of the seine in her proper place pulling her end on the line. I yelled at her that this guy is messing up. As *Sailaq* turned to look, she saw Ken Alt picking up the seine in the middle, lifting it on both lines, creating a pass for the fish to escape.

Sailaq started laughing. Here, I said for her to scold him. But this was the start of our fun thing for all of us as. These guys were learning now and doing things as they were taught.

This went on for about three summers. Every time they came to tag, we were always the ones they hired. Later on, as we lived there, we began to notice or rather we see some of the sheefish that were tagged would die when the tag is snagged on water stumps that are under water. We told them what was happening. By now we began to communicate with them. Ken Alt was quick to understand when you're trying to say something.

I said, "Ken, we find those sheefish dead, the ones you tag."

I would let him know about them. Also when ever we set the seine there would be some fish just tagged and they would become very skinny. I don't know what problem was though, maybe tag in too deep on the flesh. I don't know. But I would suspect they would have pain during tagging or after.

JONAS RAMOTH

Sheefish dies very quickly too as you know.

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes. Sometimes we would catch some fish tagged in Selawik, too, we were told. The tag would be stained quite a bit. They put the tag behind the top fin, with short loop and tied.

JONAS RAMOTH

That was him who had tagged them.

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes. Because he recognized his work and where it was done. I didn't approve of this tagging fish. So when they came in later summers, I kept telling them of my disapproval when they came to our camp. Last summer was the first time they never come to do this (visit our camp). It was a long time they tagged fish (in another NPS and ADF&G study in 1999). It was not natural for us to find fish dying on the river. There were other people who found dead fish. As we informed them, they confirmed it themselves too. Lots of way *Qaluvik* and I do things.

At the time when our grandmother Susie Stocking spend her last time up river with us, *Mikailauraq* was also with us at *Qala*. Susie had told us during spring time that she would like to spend her last summer in our *Qala* camp. She want to step on the ground of her first husband, which was on the mouth of Pah River. That was the grave of *Naalunaam* (Dick White) her first husband. By that time our children were well grown, like Mabel, Michael, and Henry. We went with our big boat and load our grandmother and took off to the place where she wished to go.

When we got there the portage was very slanted and would be hard for the old lady. So the boys put her on a winter caribou skin. It was uneven on the way, with lots of tussocks. Some how everyone was overcome by laughter and had to set grandmother (Susie Stocking) down. She was the culprit who probably said something very funny. She was laughing herself too. They had not gone far with her. When they went again, they got to where she wanted to go. She walked, sometimes crawled the rest of the way up to the grave. We stayed there the whole day, as it was her last time up here.

JONAS RAMOTH

How old was she, wasn't she kind of old?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yeah, she was. But I'm not sure how old. After spending time having a snack we took her down river again. We painted the cross and the little shelter of the grave. We covered her up trying to protect her from the wind. But she would uncover herself, and protest being covered up, saying not to cover her because she wanted to see what was being done. After this experience, she said she seemed to have no more worry. Finally, she had accomplished the last thing on her mind. This was really the last time she was able to go.

When both of our grandmothers died, it was hard for most of us. It seemed like they took something with them. It was a grief that was tolerated by the relatives, unbearable as it could seem at times. When my grandmother passed away, she had lived to the limit of her life span, really too old to do any thing anymore. She affected the food system in a way that food seemed to be gone fast, and didn't last as it used to. You feel like you eat lots, but you don't feel satisfied anymore.

TAPE 3

(Recorded March 8, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Linda Lee, Vera Douglas, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Hannah Loon.)

SIDE A

LINDA LEE

Tell about why you camped here (at *Ukiuvigruaq*, near the mouth of Pah River).

VERA DOUGLAS

After the fishing had been completed, they would travel down river to spent the winter, by the mouth, right there. I know there were others like *Aniḡnitkut*, *Tulugatkut*, *Qaksritkut*, *Aḡḡnitkut*, and our family. Sometimes, my real parents *Taaktutkut* and *Saiḡauratkut* were there. They were not there all the time. Sometime in nineteen-something, when we were spending the winter there, *Qalaiḡraitchauq*'s son, *Aula*, remarried to Ella. Their first child was *Aqargiyaik*, their daughter. There I clearly remember when the child was born in *Ukiuvigruaq*. It happened in nineteen-something, I am unable to remember.

As we spent the winter there, my parents took us out to snare rabbits and ptarmigan just so we can have meat. But there was a variety of food that had been harvested in the fall. There were berries, Eskimo potatoes, fish oil, avattauralik with roe that they gathered for food. Fish roe were dried and preserved into fish oil. The avattauraq of the sheefish were dried and boiled. After they are boiled, they are put out to dry again, but not allowed to rancid. The fish roe of the small white fish are dried and baked into the oven. They are aromatic. Then they are preserved in fish oil. They are mixed with dried, sheefish avattaurat. Sometimes, sliced Eskimo potatoes are added on. These are their ways of preparing food, and how ever way they can make food.

Also, their men, who went north to hunt for sheep and caribou that had been dried, and maybe sometimes bear. These were ways to gather food.

Also, even the intestines of the bear were not discarded. It is emptied and turned inside out and allowed to roast over an open fire and cooked. The intestine of the bear was good food. This kind of prepared food, the inside content have *puiḡniq*, 'melted fat.'

One time, they gathered to eat, perhaps with dried fish. One of the family members take out a piece of the intestine. It is sliced and eaten as oil along with dried fish and berries. There were no white man's food, but they ate from the land with these animals. They had food. Yes, there were had some white man's food too around there.

That was how they spent their winter. Their men trapped I wondered where. Or, they would go to Kobuk to go store in winter with dog teams. No wonder, the way they lived was very good. There was all kinds of food and they never lacked food.

In summer, their women picked berries and dried fish. But they did not throw away things. As they cut salmon, they dried their roes.

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The heads are cut in the middle and hung into big branch willows. They do not even discard the iḡriḡruuraq. They are dried and saved for dog food.

Salmon heads are for dog food. A large pit is dug into the ground and insulated with grasses. The heads, roe, and iḡriḡruaq are placed into the pit to make fermented food. These are edible too. The fermented iḡriḡriḡitñik of the salmon is good. However, it is protected from the sun.

In summer, when the fish cannot dry, they made pits. What they caught in their nets are placed into the pits for winter, dog food. In fall, just before it gets too cold, just when it starts to get really cold, it is opened. This is called qasraluaqtin, or dog food. The fish are taken out and allowed to freeze. In winter, when one is unable to cook dog food, it is cut and given to dogs. That was how their dogs were strong and they ate good. They never eat these kinds of trash. (She may be referring to today)

As time went, we get visitors with Itqilīq(s) or Indians. Saati'iñḡaaq and his family came from Cut Off. Their grandchildren and the Huntington's come here to look for seal oil. They wanted to buy real seal oil from Harry Brown. They do not usually come all the time, but they occasionally do come.

Also, visitors come from Aalaasuk. They came in pairs with a dog team. We often wondered where they came from. As children we know they do come.

The food they caught are stored in uḡalut or caches, ikiḡḡaurat, or just boxes to store fish. I see these things above the river. The boxes full of fish, and caches of dried fish. There are fish racks around there. In fall, fish not dried hung on them. They had lots of these things, and worked very hard to get food because they had dogs too.

Around that time of the year, during spring, when snow hardens in the mornings, they move to Saḡvaqsīḡiaq. They spent the spring there in Saiyuuq. Large families live off fish such as pike and ducks. When the snow melts, there are cranberries. We all followed when they go out to pick berries. They just went up to pick cranberries.

And then, the roe of the pike are crushed, and cranberries too. Now this is an excellent meal after it is mixed and added with a little bit of sugar. A person eats this quickly because it tastes very good. It is called ittukpalak.

Saḡvaqsīḡiaq people eat these kinds of food in spring. What ever was edible is easily accessible, but they did not play around with animals. The people of the past mostly dried meat or fish for winter.

They treated the animal the right way that time. Today the way of living is different. Today, those came to fish from outside, cut a piece of meat and throw the rest into the water. Those of the past used everything. Even some of turn that way, but myself will not just get a fillet and throw it away. I do occasionally throw away heads and innarts away, but whatever is edible I try to put away.

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LINDA LEE	Where did you have a house and the saiyut in Ukiuvik?
VERA DOUGLAS	We are here by the river. We have a house here. Outside our house is the food rack. Our storages of boxes full of fish are across down there by the river. They are filled with whitefish and sheefish.
LINDA LEE	What do you use to make the boxes?
VERA DOUGLAS	With any kind, driftwood or cottonwood (ninnguq). Then around here are Aliqsauraq and his family. They too have a cache, box, and food rack.
LINDA LEE	Where are their boxes and food rack?
VERA DOUGLAS	Down there by the river banks like these.
LINDA LEE	And there food racks?
VERA DOUGLAS	Down there close by them near the cache. Aqłagniq and his family lived around there too. They have a small house too. Frank Tobuk? Kuutuutkut.
LINDA LEE	His wife Kuutuuq?
VERA DOUGLAS	Yes. Daisy's sister.
LINDA LEE	How many children did they have?
VERA DOUGLAS	Taalak and Aqpik, the oldest ones.
LINDA LEE	Did Aliqsi's family have children?
VERA DOUGLAS	Qaluvik and Aliitchak. The first husband, Naalunjaq's first childrens were Kuutuuq, Qaluvik, and Aliitchak. But, she had passed away and maybe remarried to Aliqsauraq.
LINDA LEE	And who is the wife?
VERA DOUGLAS	Anigniq. Aliitchak is a boy, and the two are girls. But, one more between Kuutuuq and Ella were adopted to Irene Douglas.
LINDA LEE	So there were four families; Tulugaq, Aliqsi, your family, and Aqłagniq's families?
VERA DOUGLAS	And Aula's family.
LINDA LEE	And where did they have a house?

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VERA DOUGLAS They stayed with their mother's that time with Qaliagraitchiaq.

LINDA LEE And where did they live?

VERA DOUGLAS Somewhere around there, write it there.

LINDA LEE Qaliagraitchiaq?

VERA DOUGLAS She is Aula's mother. She was adopted and raised with her. That around there, that year, he got married to Ella Black (used to be).

LINDA LEE Who is married to Aula?

VERA DOUGLAS That one across there, old man.

LINDA LEE Didn't he die recently?

VERA DOUGLAS Did he die?

LINDA LEE Someone Wright, Aulatchiruuraq? Didn't you know? He died in Fairbanks.

VERA DOUGLAS No. Oh!

VERA DOUGLAS They had lots of children when they left. But, he was really sick. Last time when I heard, he was in home (elder home).

VERA DOUGLAS Aulatkut and Ella-tkut were there. They had a baby with Aqargigiaq, their first baby. Aula's and Ella's girl.

LINDA LEE Did Qaliagraitchauraq have a wife around that time?

VERA DOUGLAS He lived by himself. But, later on he lived with several times.

LINDA LEE So there were about five families living there. Kobuk's, Berry's, Ward's, Stocking, and Hopson's.

VERA DOUGLAS And my natural parents, Saiḷaq. Put them there. Tom and Effie Hopson.

LINDA LEE And all had food racks and boxes?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. They all had food storage.

LINDA LEE After having stayed in Ukiuvik, from where did you come from to here?

VERA DOUGLAS From Sulukpaugaqtuuq.

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LINDA LEE Did you leave from Shungnak?

VERA DOUGLAS No. We spent the winter there. We don't go there, only to go to store.

LINDA LEE Was Shungnak not there that time?

VERA DOUGLAS Shungnak was there. There is. But, we always stay in camp.

LINDA LEE All year long?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

LINDA LEE And how did you travel?

VERA DOUGLAS With small boats, boats, or dogs. There were not evinrudes. ___ have boat with engine.

LINDA LEE And these families, how many dogs did they have?

VERA DOUGLAS (Laughing) I can't answer, but not too much. Some of them have just right, like five. Some have lots of dogs. Piruaq have ten but not over, I guess.

LINDA LEE And from there you move to Sulukpaugaqtuuq?

VERA DOUGLAS We go to Saiyuuq for spring from Sagvaqsigiaq.

LINDA LEE All of you go?

VERA DOUGLAS Some always stay behind.

LINDA LEE And their children?

VERA DOUGLAS They took along their children.

LINDA LEE They did not babysit?

VERA DOUGLAS They never baby sit at that time. They carried their babies on their backs.

LINDA LEE And what did you do at Saiyuuq?

VERA DOUGLAS We spent the spring there at Saiyuuq. They live off pike and summer ducks. And they eat ittukpalak around there in spring.

LINDA LEE Did you not have white man's food around that time?

VERA DOUGLAS There is coffee, tea, and flour even that we sometimes have.

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LINDA LEE	And rice?
VERA DOUGLAS	Yes, there were some but not that much.
LINDA LEE	Where did you buy them?
VERA DOUGLAS	From Harry Brown.
LINDA LEE	What about weapons?
VERA DOUGLAS	There were weapons and guns.
LINDA LEE	Axes, shovels.
VERA DOUGLAS	Yes, these things were already available when we quagri 'become aware.' But tarp. When they make saiya, 'fish racks' with cover', they always peel the spruce tree barks and covered them with that. They are very cool and did not leak. They called them amigaaq.
LINDA LEE	And how did you built the houses?
VERA DOUGLAS	We lived in sod houses or ivruligauraq. But I think Aqłagniq and his family lived in log cabins or maptiqqat. But, the rest of us lived in sod houses.
LINDA LEE	You have rooms?
VERA DOUGLAS	No, just one room. (laughing).
VERA DOUGLAS	Waste.
LINDA LEE	And while in Saiyuuq, what kind of dwelling did you have?
VERA DOUGLAS	With tents.
LINDA LEE	Did they have camp stoves?
VERA DOUGLAS	I never see them, but they had wood stoves.
LINDA LEE	And while in Ukiuvik did you have visitors?
VERA DOUGLAS	Yes, with Indians or trappers.
LINDA LEE	And did you play games?
VERA DOUGLAS	Yes, we go sliding all the way across the river. Our sliding area has sunk, and it used to be a big hill. We played games anyhow or we had

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snare where we can reach. The oldest ones taught us how to set snares.

LINDA LEE

When there are storms do you tell stories?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes. We play out also too. But, when it is wet, we would not want to get our parka's wet.

LINDA LEE

Do you have games?

VERA DOUGLAS

We have kataiyuqaq, just like knitting and throw something into it.

LINDA LEE

did you have darts?

VERA DOUGLAS

(laughing) Not me.

LINDA LEE

Were there deaths?

VERA DOUGLAS

No.

LINDA LEE

Did you have neighbors that spent the winter?

VERA DOUGLAS

I sure don't know.

LINDA LEE

Didn't Kotzebue people come around here?

VERA DOUGLAS

No. But, when we moved to Kobuk, just when I had grown up, Ilaityyauraq delivers mail once a month from Kotzebue with dog team. He always bring me candy. I was around nine years old.

LINDA LEE

Did he bring lots of mail?

VERA DOUGLAS

I wondered how much. I never saw how much load he had. Ataunuraq, Harry Panik, occasionally delivers mail from Kotzebue. These two take turns delivering mail. They had good dogs.

LINDA LEE

How long do they stay in the village?

VERA DOUGLAS

Not too long, I guess. Just rest first. We did not know about Kotzebue. They used to stay with us in Kobuk. This was May Panik's father.

LINDA LEE

While at Ukiuvik did people gather here?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, our relatives sometimes did come to Kobuk for Christmas, because later on Shungnak became a village. People lived in Kobuk, and later on they moved here (Shungnak). And they called this Nuurviuraq after the people moved. Then it started to grow.

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LINDA LEE Did they have Christmas when they learn about it? And feast?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, they had Christmases and feasts.

LINDA LEE How about the sod houses and who built them?

VERA DOUGLAS My father, ____luum.

LINDA LEE Did the family members help?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, they all helped each others. The people of the past helped one another without pay. If someone needed help, they pulled together and helped the family.

LINDA LEE And as you lived daily, you probably had trash to throw away. How do you throw trash?

VERA DOUGLAS Over there was a large pit for trash. There were no cans or paper towels then.

LINDA LEE What do you dispose of? Bones?

VERA DOUGLAS Most obviously bones and few cans they throw away. They did not throw away things. What they bought and used everything for themselves and for dogs.

LINDA LEE And where did you go to bathroom?

VERA DOUGLAS Outside our houses, there are designated areas, but not too close.

LINDA LEE In winter, what do you hunt and do all year long in Ukiuvik?

VERA DOUGLAS These men walked to hunt for moose and bear. There were no moose or caribou at that time. But, they walked and hunted for sheep. They walked through Maniilaq and Qugluqtuq passes. They packed. They did not travel by boat. They walked in fall around August. In September they returned home. They had dogs that packed. Some have one or two dogs.

LINDA LEE And what do the women do?

VERA DOUGLAS They seined, looked for Eskimo potatoes, and gathered lots of fish for winter's supply. In winter they gathered wood and trapped.

LINDA LEE Did you sew?

VERA DOUGLAS Sewing was not in my mind in those days (because she was young).

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LINDA LEE	They made all their clothes?
VERA DOUGLAS	Have to, mukluks, no snowgo boots. They used caribou or reindeer skin for mukluks.
LINDA LEE	What do you do when one gets sick?
VERA DOUGLAS	There is stinkweeds and spruce tree needles used as incense for bad colds. Or you boil these.
LINDA LEE	Do people have tooth aches?
VERA DOUGLAS	They had part of the grayling that is dried. Or even in winter, they take off the suluk and put it in the mouth. They let him bite on it. Immediately it is good. I have tried it and it is good. The toothache goes away right away. And when a child has a sore throat or sores in the mouth, a feather is taken from a swallow nest. It is dipped from a cup and it cleans the mouth. It cleans the canker sores. I know these real well, the grayling fins and the swallow feathers.
LINDA LEE	Were these people healthy?
VERA DOUGLAS	They were healthy because they ate fresh fish including the broth. Or fresh meat including the broth.
LINDA LEE	How long do you stay at Saiyuuq?
VERA DOUGLAS	Until June.
LINDA LEE	When do you start to go summer camp?
VERA DOUGLAS	Around first part of May.
LINDA LEE	What else do you get besides dried pike?
VERA DOUGLAS	Beaver and pike. And when the wild rhubarbs start to grow, they ate those too.
LINDA LEE	You travel by boat?
VERA DOUGLAS	Yes. They built rafts. We went down river with rafts. The one up there in Pah River, is an island, Tulugagnaurat is what I used to dread. I know this well. When rafting, the current is fast. The raft drops down fast and exits fast under the cliff.
LINDA LEE	Can you see it here (map)?
VERA DOUGLAS	I wouldn't recognize it.

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LINDA LEE

Don't they have accidents there?

VERA DOUGLAS

They did not have accidents there because they knew it well. There is a person with a pole by the bow and when it starts to get close to the bank, he pushes it off with the pole. But, that area is pretty hard area by the Tulugagnaurat. It has a strong current. Once you get pass this it is good and gets one into Pah River. Across from Ukiuvik is a sandbar, and that is where they spent the summer around June and July. (she points it on the map). It is very close. And at the end of the sandbar is a slough from back there is where pikes go out. When we stay up at night, we go to the end of the sandbar with clubs. And when a pike exits in a shallow area, those who were skilled like Quṇuyuk and Aliitchak, got pike. They did this by clubbing them and pulling them out. It is a long, shallow area where the pike goes out. When it is uvluayyaaq I take part.

LINDA LEE

Women don't leave their babies?

VERA DOUGLAS

No, they packed them. Even a woman with a baby on her back seined.

LINDA LEE

They must be strong.

VERA DOUGLAS

Indeed, they were strong.

LINDA LEE

When there are a lot of mosquitoes, how do you keep them away when working?

VERA DOUGLAS

With open fire in old buckets. We can take them in boat. And when boating, it smokes. And when walking in the spruce woods, the green plants that grow in the ivruqs with one leave and one stem. They gathered these and dried them. And put a small incense of this in the house, the mosquitoes are afraid of it. It is one flower with one stem. It is colorful green and grows in the ivruqs inside the trees. You can gather these and put them into flour sacks and dry them. They are very good.

(BREAK)

LINDA LEE

After Ukiuvik, you go to Saiyuuq?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, sometimes we go to Saiyuuq. Once in a while Susie and her family lived in mouth of Maniilaq River. And sometime right there. They go back and forth.

LINDA LEE How do they go back and forth?

VERA DOUGLAS To the best way they can. Mostly for food. They followed the food source. (meaning the migratory patterns of the animal). They try to access the easier way or successful way to get food. The mouth of Maniilaq is close to Kobuk. That is why I guess.

LINDA LEE You said there was hardly any moose or caribou.

VERA DOUGLAS No. It had some moose, but rarely. And those who walked up north brought back sheep. There were porcupine and bear for meat. And picked what grows from the land in large numbers. The blueberries are stored in ditches in the permafrost or placed in caches. But, cranberries, as long as they are dry, they be placed in a shade where mouse would not get into them. But, blueberries will tend to boil when put in warm areas. And that is why they put them into the permafrost by digging it. It is good there. In fall, the barrels of salmonberries and sour dock, are taken out. They gather sour dock and mixed uncooked ones with salmon berries into seal poke. It has some oil in it. It is very good. The sour dock still retains it's color when they get out the sour dock. It still appears fresh because the oil preserved it well. It is place into an underground food cache where there is permafrost. It is cold. It is called sigluaq. The weather will not affect them as long as they are in the cache.

LINDA LEE And when you leave for Ukiuvigruaq, who all will go from there?

VERA DOUGLAS Some will go and some will stay.

LINDA LEE Do young ones go or who?

VERA DOUGLAS Anyway. Sometimes two families go up river to Saiyuuq to go muskrat hunting. There were lots of muskrats that time.

LINDA LEE With dogs?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. They travel and come back with rafts.

LINDA LEE How many days does it take to travel here?

VERA DOUGLAS I always know when we started from Ukiuvigruaq, we spent the night at the cliff, maybe Itivliq. To the one on the other side, they would let us spent the night there. And from there we go directly here. It is not very long.

LINDA LEE You traveled all day?

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VERA DOUGLAS Some, not even a full day. When it becomes very cold to make travel easy, it would be quick.

LINDA LEE And then you guys spent the spring here?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. In Saiyuuq.

LINDA LEE And when you go to Saiyuuraq, you go to Siquñiq?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, Siquñiq. Just go around the bend in that sandbar is Siquñiq.

TAPE 4

(Recorded March 9, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Linda Lee, Vera Douglas, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Hannah Loon.)

SIDE A

- LINDA LEE Do you spent the summer here in Siquiñiq?
- VERA DOUGLAS Yes.
- LINDA LEE Who all?
- VERA DOUGLAS Me and my mother alone.
- LINDA LEE With a tent and dogs?
- VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Not too many, just five or so.
- LINDA LEE Do people visit?
- VERA DOUGLAS When they are passing through to go to Sulukpaugaqtuuq.
- LINDA LEE And for what do you go to Sulukpaugaqtuuq for?
- VERA DOUGLAS In summer, they do fishing. They fish for salmon because that area has lots of salmon. Even by Shelby Lake all the way to Tiiqqaatauna there is an abundance of salmon. It is easy to fish as long as you have a net.
- LINDA LEE Why did they call it Sulukpaugaqtuuq?
- VERA DOUGLAS I wondered why graylings always follow the salmon. That rive up there is also abundant in grayling. Mostly by Tiiqqaatauna and Shelby. So that Sulukpaugaqtuuq has it's name since time immemorial.
- LINDA LEE And whereabouts there do you spent the winter?
- VERA DOUGLAS We do not spent the winter there. But we do at Uqqaq? Our winter camp is by Uqqaq close to Tiiqqaatauna, Maptiqqamik. Did they call it Uqqaq? (She was not sure if it is called Uqqaq or Maptiqqaq.) Perhaps they call it Uqqaq. We did not spent many years there. We moved down. My older brothers Aqpaliq and Aqpiksraq were trapping. That was why they build a house there for us. We stayed there few years. They started traveling by themselves. My mother and I stayed among other people.
- LINDA LEE What did they trap for?
- VERA DOUGLAS Wolverines, foxes, and minks. Because they do sell these furs to the

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store during winter time. Harry Brown bought mink, marten, weasel. And lynx. And they bought groceries. That time, things were cheap. When a person obtained furs, he gets so many things.

LINDA LEE

How many of you go to Kobuk in winter?

VERA DOUGLAS

Once a year for Christmas. And when my older brothers left, my mother and I moved to Kobuk when they built houses there. I became aware around there. I was very small when living in Tiiqqaalauna, above Sulukpaugaqtuuq. I can understand good when we moved to Kobuk.

LINDA LEE

So when you moved to Kobuk then you must be a teenager?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yeah. I've grown up around there. But, in fall, I follow to go upriver to harvest fresh fish.

LINDA LEE

Then you mom must be old somewhat around there? And you leave your mom in Kobuk?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, she was getting old but was doing good. Aqapliq stayed with his mother. I had Lydie as my child, and I packed her on my back and followed up river and Saiḷaq. Louise something. We two pulled a small boat.

LINDA LEE

Did she have a baby too? Just both of you and your babies?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, a little younger than Lydie. And later on, when she got a little bigger, I leave her to my moms and just take Angeline on my back.

LINDA LEE

And you return to Kobuk?

VERA DOUGLAS

After we get sheefish first and return to Kobuk. We were staying at Qaliḡaq's family and Nasrukḷuuraq was there too. I was packing Angie all the time. She had a sore which started from mosquito bites. She couldn't heal. Kiasruuluk was going to pick blackberries. I packed Angie in hot weather. The sore reached to her eye and she couldn't see. Her eye had swollen when we returned. Nasrukḷuuraq told her to drop blackberry juice into her eye. We washed her eye with it. She developed a scar from the sore. I packed her around in hot weather. Luckily it did not get infected.

From there on, I started to upriver again from Kobuk with my mother. Sometimes to Saiḷaqpak's. Sometimes Saiḷaq and I would spent the fall in Paugviuraq. We do this to harvest sheefish. Saiḷaq and I go with people and we had our own boat.

LINDA LEE

Around that time, did you purchase nets from store?

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VERA DOUGLAS Yes. We make nets. We mesh. Saiḷaqpak's family had a seining net. And Anigniq's family.

LINDA LEE And you fellas share with the seining net?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, when we help, they share with us. When they divide. We never did set nets that time, I wonder why. I had a net, but it would be too much setting a net. When camping with a small boat, it is too much.

JIM MAGDANZ So after you started wintering in Kobuk, did you come back up to Ukiuvigruaq?

VERA DOUGLAS No. Never.

(Linda explained to Jim about her and her baby with Saiḷaq and her baby too.)

JIM MAGDANZ Where on the river do you go when you go summer camping? When you live in Kobuk and went upriver to summer camp, where do you camping?

VERA DOUGLAS While I am staying at Kobuk? We always waiting for __, right there. But one time, we camp behind the boat landing. Right there by the road by Harry Browns. We have a spring camp right there. Couple times we camped there.

JIM MAGDANZ Yesterday you talked about camping right there at Akuliḡaq. Have we talked about Akuliḡaq?

VERA DOUGLAS Not yet.

JIM MAGDANZ When did you spent time in Akuliḡaq? When you were a teenager or before your kids were born?

VERA DOUGLAS Even after the kids were born. For sheefish and berrypicking.

LINDA LEE Did you go there every year?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. One time we stayed there until it freezes. My mother and I. We had a little net that was made of qipraq. It was real short, alright. My mother set it under the ice in the front. We got lots of whitefish or quasriḷuks and trout.

JIM MAGDANZ It sounds to me in your life, it changed from the Pah River area down to the Kobuk. About how old were you?

LINDA LEE You were a teenager when you started going to Kobuk.

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VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ What changed to cause you go to Kobuk?

VERA DOUGLAS Cause it was too far when you go with a little boat. Too far to go up. And we move down to Kobuk. Cause my mother and I stayed along. Charlie and Henry go work somewhere like Fairbanks. Because we were alone.

JIM MAGDANZ Did Nataagnaq live up here after Miki died? You and she were up there alone when Miki was gone?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ When you were living in Kobuk at that time, were there still others families still living in Ukiuvigruaq?

VERA DOUGLAS No too long. They come down too. Some of them to Maniilaq cause Susie Stocking used to stay in Maniilaq, right there. They have house right there. So Henry and Susie use to stay right there.

JIM MAGDANZ How about the Tobuk family, did they move down to Kobuk?

VERA DOUGLAS They come down, alright, but they go to Allakaket. Cause Tobuk from over there. They go over there.

JIM MAGDANZ And Kathy and Johnny?

VERA DOUGLAS They go to Kiana.

JIM MAGDANZ Was it about same time when you went to Kobuk?

VERA DOUGLAS A little earlier.

JIM MAGDANZ Do you remember why they went down to Kiana?

VERA DOUGLAS Cause my dad from down there.

JIM MAGDANZ So he just wanted to go home?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. And he died down there.

JIM MAGDANZ He lived for sometime there, or was he sick when he left?

VERA DOUGLAS He lived for long time down there, but he get sick after. Linda said when he was young he had left. Down there he had children. And he get sick and he die.

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JIM MAGDANZ What about the Ward family that was up there?

VERA DOUGLAS That old man, Qaksri Ward.

JIM MAGDANZ I need a list. I should get my list of the families that were living at Ukiuvigruaq. Do you know where the Ward family went after this, or where they were, when they were not living here?

VERA DOUGLAS No. That old man was stay in Kobuk too. Cause he get really old. That is Aakataq's father.

JIM MAGDANZ Who is his name?

VERA DOUGLAS Qaksri Ward.

JIM MAGDANZ And the Berry family. Pansy and her husband, where did they go after they no longer lived in Ukiuvigruaq?

VERA DOUGLAS He stay in Maniilaq for a while. With Henry and Susie? Yes. But, after that they go to Shungnak.

JIM MAGDANZ Did anything, as far as hunting and fishing camp, it seems like this camp disbanded when you were a teenager, that people stopped living there. Was it just people separated?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ Was there a conflict in the camp or something?

VERA DOUGLAS No, just decided to go somewhere. But, they always go there once in a while. And hardly go up with a little boat. But if you stay up there all year round, it easy.

JIM MAGDANZ Was this about the time when people started having evinrudes? Or was that later.

VERA DOUGLAS Later. Wilson and Herman Ticket , motor, and after that Joe Sun. And after that, Charlie. 10 horse, with that tank in the behind. Real fast with 10 horses. (she is laughing)

JIM MAGDANZ Was trapping one of the reasons people liked the trapping?

VERA DOUGLAS Yeah. They always go to even Pah River trapping.

JIM MAGDANZ You mentioned that your brother did some trapping around here. One of the things that happened in the 30's was the fur prices dropped off, and you couldn't trap. You couldn't make money trapping any more. I

TAPE 4

wondered if that had to do with anything to do with people moving down. It didn't matter to be so far up , and out anymore.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. My brother like to go work like to Fairbanks that time. And Henry go army. And after that he get sick was in hospital for a long time in Seward. And then he died over there.

LINDA LEE What kind of sickness?

VERA DOUGLAS He had TB. When Angie and __ arrived. They cannot find his grave over there, who went to look for it. He has a cross with jade. They can't even find the jade over there by the old ones. It's in there but the jade is gone.

LINDA LEE Somebody took it?

VERA DOUGLAS I guess so.

JIM MAGDANZ Coming back to Ukiuvigruaq. You first went there when you were a baby.

VERA DOUGLAS I was small, but I could.

LINDA LEE Maybe two or three?

VERA DOUGLAS Yeah maybe. Because I become aware a little bit, but later on, I became really aware.

JIM MAGDANZ Before that, before you live in Ukiuvigruaq in the winter time, were you down there at *Qala* with your family? You winter down there at *Qala*?

VERA DOUGLAS Yeah there's lot of people down there at *Qala* too. I don't know who all, but Herbert Custer's dad in there. And Iyaḡaaluk, Tikilipiaq, Wilson and his siblings mother and father. They live in *Qala* too. There were many of them. Wondered who all. It was a big village and it is an old village, like this. Lots of house in *Qala*. I don't know who all, cause, but I know the Tickets was there. Wilson's parents were there, and Piḡliḡiaq, Nora and her siblings father.

LINDA LEE Someone Custer?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, Custer. Herbert Custer's father, Piḡliḡiaq. And Naulik was there too. Nora Custer.

LINDA LEE These had a big family, eh?

VERA DOUGLAS Mmmm. Ahhhh.

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JIM MAGDANZ Do you know when you first went to Ukiuvigruaq, had other people been living there before your family started living there?

VERA DOUGLAS I sure don't know before that. But, old people used to stay up there any place.

JIM MAGDANZ During the years you were in Akuliġaq, there were still people living in *Qala*? And this was a winter village also?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ Can you think about how many houses might have been winter time in *Qala*?

VERA DOUGLAS I sure don't know.

JIM MAGDANZ But the Custers and the Tickets were down there.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

LINDA LEE *Qala* was a large settlement and there were large families, and later moved to Kobuk?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ Do you think of yourself as Pahmiut?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, I am Pahmiut.

JIM MAGDANZ And not *Qalamiut*?

VERA DOUGLAS No, I am not. (convulsive laughing) I guess.

JIM MAGDANZ When we were off tape, we talked a little bit about Maniġappaat, you mentioned about Foxgloves.

VERA DOUGLAS And Henry Stocking. They live right there all the time after they left Ukiuvigruaq.

JIM MAGDANZ And who was the Foxgloves that were there?

VERA DOUGLAS Maude Douglas used to be. You know Tommy Douglas? That his mom.

JIM MAGDANZ Inupiaq name?

VERA DOUGLAS Qapqana. And her husband is Iyaġak. First husband. Call'em Roxie.

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- JIM MAGDANZ Lets talk about Akuliḡaq. That was your mom's allotment at Cutback. Was there others there or was there just your family? Maybe you guys could run through some of that? There's questions about this camp site.
- LINDA LEE How old were you when you spent the winter here?
- VERA DOUGLAS We only use that for ukiaksri- 'camp till freeze-up'. And we reach there in spring. And when we are there in summer, sometimes we have another camper with Aliqak, Bessie. That was after their father passed on. Sometimes we stay there. Sometimes Nunāḡiaq, Tommy's mother, always spent time the summer there too with us. Right there in Akuliḡaq. Just for fishing. And after we are done with fishing, we go down river.
- LINDA LEE Do you winter here?
- VERA DOUGLAS Yes, but one time, my mother and I spent the winter here with Tuutraq and his family. Tuutraq's old house is behind us. Their winter house. These two, Angeline and ___. My mother's sister. We did spent the winter there, wonder when. We did snaring. Because we had no houses here in Shungnak. We did not stay long. We stayed mostly up river. That was why I had not attended school, no wonder. Then, I started to not know. (meaning no knowledge or much schooling).
- LINDA LEE Who all lived here when you go there?
- VERA DOUGLAS Only in summer they would visit us. Iḷiqsraqtuq's and Tuutraq's families spent the winter there. Back there behind us, (arguptitni) below the river from us, sort of far. But, there is a little trail. (Jimmy: please check this word, arguptitni. It's either, "below or up river."
- LINDA LEE Did they have a sod house?
- VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Is it a sod house or is it "maptiq" house? It might be a "maptiq" house. We too did spent several winters there with the Iḷiqsraq's, how many, I wonder. (Jim: I gots no ideas what "maptiq" is."
- LINDA LEE Do people go there, but?
- VERA DOUGLAS People going to the Hotsprings do come there to Iḷiqsraq's. Including Iḷiqsraq too goes to across there too. (to hotsprings) Tuutraq's wife. She had dogs herself. She used to travel around.
- LINDA LEE Do you make dry fish or harvest for fish in Akuliḡaq?
- VERA DOUGLAS Yes, to make dry fish. For salmon, sheefish, and whitefish in summer.

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LINDA LEE And pick berries?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, we pick berries. For Eskimo potatoes, or whatever is edible is stored.

LINDA LEE When in Akuliġaq, did you have some white man's food?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

LINDA LEE Weapons?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, we had weapons around there. We had axe, shovels. When these were already available, we stayed up there. Even when in Ukiuvik, we had these tools including saws. But, not like these chainsaws. We didn't know about chain saws around there.

LINDA LEE In the evenings, do they tell stories?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. My mother always talk all the time. All the time, she talk. When I wake up, I hear her talking. When I go to sleep, I hear her talking. Being forgetful, I forgot them. If I had listened to her attentively, today I would have talked a lot. She spoke of her experiences of traveling into the interior and up to the North Slope with her mother.

LINDA LEE So when they were young she traveled up north and interior?

VERA DOUGLAS yes.

LINDA LEE Did they have visitors from the north?

VERA DOUGLAS If they had visitors from the north, I wouldn't know. But, there used to be visitors from the Itqiliq(s) or Indians.

LINDA LEE Did Inupiat intermarried with the Indians? Or bear children from one or the other?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Tulugaq was part Indian. I mean she was an Indian. She got married from there with Iñigak. They presumed she is part Indian. I wouldn't know how much Indian she is, but she does have Indian in her.

LINDA LEE When how do they bury the dead? Do they pray for them? Do people gather? Do they bury like today?

VERA DOUGLAS Those of the past, helped one another. When a person needs help, the people get together, those of the past. When a family loses a relative, the people helped them. They buried them. But they never buried them when they used to nutaiqqi-. When someone say, he died from sick-

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ness. Or sometimes when a village perishes from sickness, they called it nutaiqqi-. When a person dies from nutaiqqi-, those of the past, they do not handle the body or prepare it. They covered it (body), and buried it under the tree. Or, make ikiggaq for the body, those of the past, or when a child dies. They would put the body on top. (Here she speaks softly). Not bury it, because 'how do they do it?' Over there by Kobuk is called Iḷuvaurat, there are children's graves there. They are wrapped and placed on trees. They placed them on the ikiḡḡaurat. That is why it is called Iḷuvaurat, over there, by Kobuk.

LINDA LEE

Did they die lots from starvation?

VERA DOUGLAS

They were hungry and died of starvation when they talked about it. I have not seen it. Those who told stories spoke of deaths because of starvation.

LINDA LEE

By Akuliḡaq there is a grave?

VERA DOUGLAS

No. But over there, inside the old channel, on the other side of it, around there is a grave, I don't know where. Around there are old houses from our 'sivuptitni' those ahead of us or before us? Around there by Kuukpik there are old houses, alright. Lot's of them. But, I don't know.

JIM MAGDANZ

Are you done with Akuliḡaq? How was it for a teenage girl to move from Ukiuvigruaq, when you were just out here all year with a small group of people down to Kobuk where there was a store and a lot more families? With more things going, what was Kobuk like for you when you move down here with your mom?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yeah, there was a lot of people there. There were living in Kobuk.

JIM MAGDANZ

Talk to Linda in Inupiaq about that.

LINDA LEE

Around here you lived alone. You had no relatives, that's why. You're brothers were not here.

VERA DOUGLAS

My brothers were gone. I mean those two men, the third one, Argaitchuaq was in the army. Aqpaliq went to work to Fairbanks, and Aqpiksraq went to the army too.

LINDA LEE

Did you have an oomah in Ukiuvigruaq?

VERA DOUGLAS

I did not have a girl friend. Qaluvik was older than me. All of them, like Iḷuuraq were older than me. But Quṇuyuk is about my age, Luula's nukatchiaṇa. (not sure if Luula is a brother or sister, younger

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- or older). Aliitchak may be a little older than me. I have no knowledge of having a friend girl of my age, called uumaa.
- LINDA LEE After having stayed without people around you, and when you moved to Kobuk, and arrived to lots of people, did you get happy?
- VERA DOUGLAS Laughing. Yes, I did alright, but I missed the one upriver because I was raised up there. But, even though we start to make a living there. My mother and I started making a living there. Because Tuutraq's and Sailaq's family moved there too to Kobuk from up there.
- LINDA LEE So you have lots of uumaa's and friends to play with at Kobuk?
- VERA DOUGLAS Iriqtaq is my uumaa.
- LINDA LEE How did you make a living you and your uumaa?
- VERA DOUGLAS Obviously (laughing) we did make a living alright. But, we used to go pick berries as they told us to do. We do what we are asked to do like pick berries, go fishing, get wood. We didn't worry about basketball. (laughing) We made a living trying to gather food.
- LINDA LEE They made you sew too?
- VERA DOUGLAS Yes, they made us to sew. When my mother cuts the skin for me, I can sew mukluks for myself. I sew and tan. When she works on moose hide, I help her. I observed her, and come to realize I did not learn. I know how to do it, but I've become an old woman without really making one.
- LINDA LEE Does anybody here work on it?
- VERA DOUGLAS No.
- LINDA LEE Do they allow the fur to fall off?
- VERA DOUGLAS No, they do not let the fur fall off, but cut it with ulu the hair. They sharpened the ulu, and removed the hair. After that, hang it all year round. There is a scraper that is not an ichuun (another kind of scraper), but kiluqtuq-. With this scraper, the hair is scraped including the roots, and the black part with a sharp tool. It is like a skin scraper, but has a different handle. Then it is hung all year round tied. It is called siiglaksigaa, "_____" when it is hung. Then towards spring, with 2-3 caribou brains, my mother thaw them to coffee can. Then is allowed to ferment. During the spring, it becomes very smelly, the brains in can. Then it becomes warm. My mother, with the half of a drum, boils only water. After boiling it, it is allowed to cool off. And

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while the brain is still warm, that had become very smelly, it is mixed into the drum, and shavings of handsoap. I always stir it. Humbly, she stirs it. She is told that this is the tanning mixture for the one up there (moose hide). After mixing it, the hide is taken down. The moose hide is folded and put into the drum,. When it is moistened, it is allowed to sit overnight in the soaking mixture. When it is fully soaked, it is pulled out. The ends are tied into the root of the tree. And the other ends are poked with unaqsiq. The hind part is put like this. Then it is rung. There are ichuutaqs to make holes like making birch bark baskets. Pokers. And as there is water gather, like a bubble, she always asked me to poke it. When I poke it, water would shoot. It is rung and after it is done ringing, it is hung to dry on fish racks after tying it. There is a tool similar to ulu, but it is somewhat long. You always see the hand saw, their faces, with holes on them. It has a handle like that. Then with this tool, she does it like this including the other side.

LINDA LEE

What is being removed?

VERA DOUGLAS

She is trying to dry it. Later on, and moving it around, it starts to have dust. My mother's hair would start to become white from the apyuq, 'dust.' She continually does this all day and allows it to become dry. And when she wants to find out if it dries up, and when she wants to know, she cuts it and bites it. If it becomes bright, then it is still wet. Then she keeps scraping it all over again, all of it, turning it around on the other side. The top and other side. She continually checks it, and when it doesn't become dark, it dries. And when it dries. It dries.

With ausruliñik(s), rotten wood?, she put them on the bottom of the tank in the middle. She sews the moose hide all the way down, folding it. It is started from the neck part, all the way down. Then the bottom part are placed with old materials or pants, but made long. Then the rotten spruce wood is allowed only to smoke, with no fire, is placed inside it. (moose?). She lets it smoke all day, and checks on it. How much she wants it to be dark. If she wants to make natiguak, then she makes it light. She always say she make natiguak, and not let smoke too much. And when she wants to make mitts or moose hide mukluks, she allows it to smoke longer to make it darker. And then the saalgui starts to become brown. This is for mittens and moose hide mukluks. Then she removes it. A large moose hide, is really, really pliable.

LINDA LEE

Why did they stop doing this?

VERA DOUGLAS

Wonder why? Was it too hard? When I helped my mother, it wasn't that hard. But only the part of taking off the hair with ulu. That was the only part

LINDA LEE

Taking the hair off while wet?

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VERA DOUGLAS No, when it dried. Or even when it became frozen. Wonder why I never remove hair off, then she laughs. That was how my mother tanned moose. I never did tan moose. I can't even.

LINDA LEE Did you tan caribou?

VERA DOUGLAS Yeah we utitchiq 'let the hair fall off' caribou alright but too hard. The moose is large and thick. Never even.

LINDA LEE As you lived, did you guys go back and forth with evinrude to Kobuk and Shungnak?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. We did not go back and forth too much. When we moved to Shungnak. We two started making a living here. We stayed across there first. Leonard started working at the school. All of us whole family can't go no place. They started going to school.

LINDA LEE You started spending the winters in Shungnak?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Every Fall, I go upriver for two weeks all the time.

LINDA LEE To where?

VERA DOUGLAS To mouth of Maniilaq River, or going beyond it, to Daisy and her family at *Qala*, or to Vera's camp, to the island further over there. Sometimes a little over two weeks just to get sheefish. We have to go back down river before freeze up. We both had boats and evinrudes.

LINDA LEE Your whole family never come up here.

VERA DOUGLAS No.

LINDA LEE Why wouldn't they go up here?

VERA DOUGLAS Because the children had to go to school around there. I always leave them to their father and go up. Sometimes taking the youngest one. Sometimes, Qaluvik and I along with our children expeditedly do go upriver. Because Daisy and Wilson had a big boat. Any myself with a small boat. We go up river. We spent the summer sometimes harvesting fish, and suddenly it becomes fall. After harvesting fish in fall, then we go back down river.

LINDA LEE Then you won't go until next fall again?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

LINDA LEE You go to spring camps?

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VERA DOUGLAS No, we can't after we move here. That is all.

LINDA LEE Who all went to spring camp in Pah River?

VERA DOUGLAS Those ones which I had talked about previously.

LINDA LEE To Pah River?

VERA DOUGLAS When we went to spent the winter.

LINDA LEE How long have you lived here now?

VERA DOUGLAS Wonder how long. Since we moved here, we never go back to winter long time ago.

JIM MAGDANZ Did we talk about how many families came up at spring time to Pah River? Wesley and his family? A long time ago? Were there other families from Shungnak and Kobuk or *Qalamiut* that would move over to spring time to Pah River?

LINDA LEE Did all Shungnak and Kobuk people go upriver to Pah River?

VERA DOUGLAS Sometimes only men go spent the spring. We heard them. Because they children are here. Sometimes all of them, and go down river with rafts. Like Iyaġak and his family. I don't recall what where we go around that time.

LINDA LEE And when the men go up river, do they go "qaki"? (hunting for sheep?) Or just camp around here by the river?

VERA DOUGLAS Those of the past, yes, like Aula hunted for sheep (qaki-). Pigligiaq up north to hunt for sheep, somewhere by Quġluqtuq. Even Aqpiksraq used to go hunt for sheep. They harvested lots of sheep because that was their only source of meat. They dried them and packed them, or had the dogs packed them. Right now, if they go qaki- it would be easier for them using an outboard motor. They can be successful getting sheep by going into Reed River or Beaver River in a days worth of work. With these outboard motors designed for shallow waters. Putting a four wheeler in it.

JIM MAGDANZ How important was trapping for sale in Ukiuvigruaq? Were they selling or trading the furs to Kobuk trading post? Or were they using the furs just for camp?

VERA DOUGLAS They trade them to store. Get the groceries.

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JIM MAGDANZ Was that the big part the men spent winter time trapping up there?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Lots. Almost all the mens trapping any place with dog teams.
Camping. Trapping.

LINDA LEE there was no place to work that time?

VERA DOUGLAS There was no place to work that time. They have to trap and get fur.
That's it. And trade and sell it to the stores.

LINDA LEE So they always gather furs plenty all winter and go sell?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ So they would take dog sleds down to trade? Or go down in summer
time first?

VERA DOUGLAS No. In winter time.

JIM MAGDANZ How often would the men go down in winter? Would one guy take a
whole bunch of furs down.

VERA DOUGLAS No. Take his own if they have dogs.

TAPE 5

Recorded March 10, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Linda Lee, Leonard Douglas, Vera Douglas, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Jonas Ramoth.

SIDE A

JAMES MAGDANZ (English)

Good afternoon. It's Thursday, March 9, 2000. I am in Shungnak, Alaska, with Leonard Douglas and Linda Lee. We're about to begin an interview about some of the camps Leonard used in his life. This is the second tape in a series of interviews with Leonard for the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships projects.

(This is Leonard's second tape, tape 2 being his first. Tapes 1, 3, and 4 were recorded primarily with Vera.)

Yesterday, we discussed a consent and release form for this project. We previously discussed this in Kotzebue. We brought a revised consent form up to Shungnak yesterday. Leonard and Vera and I went over it. Leonard signed the consent and release for this project.

In that consent and release, Leonard agreed that the interviews could be recorded on audio tape and translated from Iñupiaq into English and included in one or more project reports. He granted the Park Service and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game limited rights to publish those transcripts or portions of the transcripts in project reports for scientific or educational purposes. He understands that we will keep these audio tapes and project reports on file and available to the public. We are paying Leonard for his time on this interview. Leonard wants to copyright these interviews in his name. So we are attaching copyright notices to each of these tapes and to the transcripts. Leonard reserves all rights under that copyright. He has granted permission to the Park Service and ADF&G to use the materials from the interviews in journals, magazines, books, or other printed formats for scientific or educational purposes. It's OK for Park Service and Fish and Game to use them in broadcast programs on radio or TV, audio or video cassettes, computer programs, or on CD-ROMs.

This is all stipulated in the consent and release that Leonard signed on March 8. Any additional uses of this material will require additional permission from Leonard.

(Telephone rings)

So we are going to stop for a moment, and then we'll begin the interview.

(Tape paused)

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

OK. We're back with Leonard and Linda. Go ahead...

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LINDA LEE During 1948,49 and 50, you had been trapping.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yeah.

LINDA LEE Where did you go, what month and year? Also how did you go did you move to camp or what.

LEONARD DOUGLAS In 1948 I always followed Aliqsi who uses dog team, we went to our camp at Pah River. I made a mark on the map where our camp is situated.

LINDA LEE What kind of game were you trapping?

LEONARD DOUGLAS For marten, our trap line is near the border of the hills going up river and I have another mark near the lakes going down stream. When we trapping here we did not get very many martens probably due to lack of experience in trapping I guess.

LINDA LEE Did you guys move back to Shungnak?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes that was because Aliqsi had move to Shungnak from Maniilapaanin.

LINDA LEE How did you travel up river and how many dogs?

LEONARD DOUGLAS By dog team, I think and I'm almost sure Aliqsi had eleven dogs, usually take all day to travel from Maniilampaa to here. We usually sleep at his house there and go for Pah river. At that time there was deep snow so we had to break trail on foot slowly entering the river. There was old trail made be other people that used the area and there were passes, cut brush trail by them and well known by Aliqsi of the area, he lead us along.

LINDA LEE Did you use one sled?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes we use only one dog team cause here at uumaq only way to travel is by use of a G-pole.

LINDA LEE What is a G-pole?

LEONARD DOUGLAS It is a wooden pole tied to the front of the sled to steer the sled and you have to be able to run and turn the sled when you need to.

LINDA LEE Do you go there in spring or in fall?

LEONARD DOUGLAS In the fall time when trapping time comes in November. When the trapping season closes in January we always return to town and go back when it is time to hunt for beaver. Usually we make our beaver

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camp down river close to the mouth from our trapping camp, near the sloughs I'm lost for the names of them. After our attempt to get beaver we weren't so lucky we went home earlier than we wanted to.

LINDA LEE

Were there other men trapping beside you?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, there were some going to the head waters of Kobuk somewhere I don't really know where but us usually to that way I spoke of. I don't know for sure who but guys like Ulaaq and others go up the Kobuk somewhere to trap too.

LINDA LEE

Do you all go by dog teams?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes.

LINDA LEE

Were there planes available?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, there were airplanes but no excess funds to fly around with.

LINDA LEE

How was the country like where you were trapping, were there trees etc.?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes there were trees, bushes, hills all around natural setting for trapping. But the place where we were hunting for beaver, the habitat is different. Lots of sloughs and rivers and lakes that have maybe three or more beaver lodges known by Aliqsi. We put in a good effort there but we weren't getting them so we went home.

LINDA LEE

When you're on your trap line do you check your traps by walking?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, we always walked and use snow shoes. You can't get by without snow shoes when you are in the hunting area.

LINDA LEE

Does it take all day or what?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, all day to do all that forward and back. Any more question while we're on the trapping?

LINDA LEE

When you catch anything trapping do you skin them and dry them in camp?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Just skinned them and freeze the fur and when we go home we work on them.

LINDA LEE

How about your dogs what do you feed them?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

We bring food for them. We cut up dry fish and pack them in gunny sacks we always prepare for them and load them on the sled. We don't

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use frozen fish because of weight, along with personal belongings, trapping gear, our own food and dog feed takes lots of room. Takes a long trip with all that stuff.

LINDA LEE

How about your sled were they big or long?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Long ones, here in Kobuk area they use sixteen or fourteen footers as they are made long and narrow for deep snow traveling. On other year in 1939 I follow Aqpiksraq, Harry Ticket to trap again at an area I can't recall the Inupiaq name for the area, all areas have identity in Inupiaq alright. Qutan, Herbert Custer was also with us at the upper side of the place where Aliqsi and I had trapped year before because Martens were not plentiful there. We use dog teams to get there. At Sulukpaugaqtuuq my trapping partners have stashed some salmon for later use when trapping time comes. Usually we only pack dry fish for our dogs now we can depend on these salmon when ever we need them either going up river or coming back down from trapping camp.

LINDA LEE

Do you guys use net to get them?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, but these salmon are ready to die in the mouth of Qalugriuvik, these fish are almost dead ready for spawning. There are also other salmon caught be other trappers I don't know who but they also use them during trapping time for their dogs.

LINDA LEE

Was there other men who make efforts to hunt for your food.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

No, there were no caribou here at that time although there was moose around. But if you happen to kill one there were Game Warden who will grab you. They never let us have that option of being able to do what you want to do. This is the area of our camp as I show you the markings, Aqpiksraq's trap line to the up river area and my area is towards the hills. Qutagrauq Custer's area is maybe down river but I'm not so sure of his area that well. Later on after Christmas Immalluraq Sun came to trap with us but left after about three weeks. We sure got quite a few marten that time.

LINDA LEE

Did you all get lots?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

I think I caught 12 or 13, and Aqpiksraq Ticket about 14 or 15.

LINDA LEE

Was there a good price for a marten?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

One marten was \$35 to \$40 at that time. As for Qutagrauq Custer we weren't aware of how many he caught because we did not really watch him that well although we live with him during the season.

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LINDA LEE What kind of house you use?

LEONARD DOUGLAS We use tent because it is winter time.

LINDA LEE You take stove when you go?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes, everything, stove, food and everything necessary for this kind of camp is prepare and load to the sled, even prepared food for the dogs.

LINDA LEE How about chain saw?

LEONARD DOUGLAS No chain saw, but with hatch we use all the time. From their stash of salmon at qalugruivik they freight their fish somewhere near the camp I don't really know what spot, because I didn't go with them. So after we set our camp they went back for them and that's the reason we never lack for dog feed. The area of my trap line is not very far from our camp and I usually was home before my fellow trappers who came home quite a bit after dark. I take care of the camp more or less, like taking care of dogs, getting wood and stuff, helping them out was my job in camp.

LINDA LEE Was it because you were younger?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yeah.

LINDA LEE How come you go far and don't trap close by the village?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Because we know where the martens are likely to be more plentiful and they are there up river. In our village area marten are not very many almost nil but at uumaq they are plentiful.

LINDA LEE If the men go up there would they be able to catch marten?

LEONARD DOUGLAS I would say there would be marten there. There is like to be marten anywhere even around here. Not like in those days marten is getting abundant nearly all over.

LINDA LEE Is there anything else you want to add to this section.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Not really.

LINDA LEE Were there other trappers that kind of crowd you?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Not really, only Immalluraq Sun was the only one who came for awhile. But before we go from Kobuk we encounter Neal Sheldon and Selaq Charlie Horner who trapped up river too, we met them on the way up to our camp but when we were returning we didn't meet them again maybe because they went home earlier.

LINDA LEE At the end of your day how do you pass time? Telling stories or some kind of amusement?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Our older trapping partner Qutan said if some one comes home with a marten he would tell a story. Well, I happen to get one and here I don't have any story to tell but I would talk about something. Aqpiksraq Ticket don't go for telling stories even get cross when pushed a little bit. But Qutan usually tell stories cause that was the agreement that who ever take a marten home provide a story but as for me I don't have those traditional legend stories to tell so I gab about anything that come to mind.

LINDA LEE You must have fun sometimes.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes, we had some fun because we always pick on each other in good nature.

LINDA LEE How about lanterns, stoves or anything else?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes, all those and of course tent and stove that Aqpiksraq and I made especially for camping when we decided to go trapping. When the season closed we went home and after Christmas we return to our camp for additional trapping effort.

LINDA LEE Where did you do more hunting the next year to that time further up or down?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes with Tommy Douglas in 1950 and we fly to camp by airplane. As you can see these small lakes, one of them I can't recall which, but that was our camp. Paanikalaq Douglas and our camp was toward the up river section of the quqsila. The hills there known as qugsila are those hills this side of Hogatza River and that's the border or our trapline that way. The other area of our trapline is across the sagvaqsigaiq to the border of those hills toward the down river and that's the completion of the trapline and then home to the tent. When we were tending to our traps it takes three day trip, camping temporary each night to finish when we do the up river ones. When we go across to do those it would take us about 3 nights camping when the snow is not so deep but sometimes when the snow is deeper it take up 4 nights.

LINDA LEE So it takes three or four days to complete the trip?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes, sometimes coming back from the four day one we can cut the time to a day because we follow our trail back which is easier to do because the it is pack down.

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LINDA LEE

What kind of animal are you trapping for there:

LEONARD DOUGLAS

We are trying to get marten.

LINDA LEE

Were there lots of marten there:

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, we do this together not separately and we caught eighteen altogether.

LINDA LEE

Any other animal you seek there?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

We just trap for martens only. But when marten season closes my suunaaq Mailuk who was trapping with Qatlu at Sagvaqsigaag and when Qatlu went home my suunaaq move in with us to do beaver hunting on those lakes. Paanikalaiq left me and my suunaaq with his suunaaq Qatlu to go home in town. Later he returned by dog team with his wife back to our camp. Also Aumaluk came to hunt beaver also but he left after not very long. Later in November fall hunting season my hunting partner and I went to our camp by airplane. We stay all winter although my partner went home but I stay till April and got home also. When we were on this trap line my partner and I would spent the night when we need to. Usually he pick a slant for the place and after we shovel some snow we would build a big fire on top of the ground, then when it melt to the ground into a big snow free area, we would have a wall of crusted snow of melted snow and re-freeze. When we feel like it is big enough and wanted to go to bed, the fire is move a few feet further up the slant. Then we put spruce boughs on the spot where the ashes of the fire originally was and put our beddings on it. This type of sleeping place I consider it the best, you can feel the heat coming from under you for about four or five hours maybe.

LINDA LEE

What do you put over your area?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

We don't because the wall of snow when melted by the heat of the camp fire, freezes to solid wall, ice crusted and doesn't have cold breeze at all. There was one time on one of our check of traps when we camp for the night I sure had a hard time trying to sleep. Although we build a fire and it is hot there but when you turn your back to the fire I can feel the unbearable tingle of cold on my face. When I wake up in the middle of the night I would put more wood on the fire and was able to go back to sleep and then while I sleep my partner would put more wood on the fire. We alternate this way because we don't carry our sleeping bags during the check of our traps.

LINDA LEE

What kind of ways do you go for beavers, do you use traps?

Tape 5

LEONARD DOUGLAS We don't use traps, we use snare. The way to use a snare is, a pole that is dry not green one is used for the snare. Bait is green willow tied to the pole and snare is put on it when the beaver try to eat the fresh wood bait, his feet or front paws get caught. We only use snares to get beaver that time.

LINDA LEE Do you put your snares close to the lodge?

LEONARD DOUGLAS The regulations was you can use snare fifty feet away from the lodge. This regulation is by the game warden.

SIDE B

LEONARD DOUGLAS After hunting for beaver we all head home. Qupraksraq, my suunaaq, and I walked all the way to Maniilapaa starting in the morning.

LINDA LEE In one day?

LEONARD DOUGLAS All day we left in the morning at five AM and got to Maniilapaa around twelve.

LINDA LEE Did you have a pack?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Only with food to eat on the way.

LINDA LEE Why were you walking?

LEONARD DOUGLAS We are on the way home, Paaniikalaq and his wife were going on dog team behind us and we were breaking trail same time for them.

LINDA LEE Were your intention to only go part way or what?

LEONARD DOUGLAS We were on our way home. It is far, when I look at the map and when we see the distance to Maniilapaa the distance floors me because when we flew it seem so far. Had to be fifty miles or better. Well, we were young men around eighteen or nineteen years old. This look like the end of my trapping experience.

 Some where around 1960 I first bought a snow go. I never did trapping for wolves maybe because I hate to set traps too. But I do my hunting for wolves with snow go. The area of Pick River and the Selawik area all the way to Niliq I can cover all that area in the Spring looking for wolves. And this way to the Rabbit Mountain area is good for search of wolves. Ambler residents always report that they hunt below their village and also I don't always hunt behind the mountains.

TAPE 5

When I'm having a good average I usually get 18-20 wolves from that area I described.

LINDA LEE

What time of the year do you do the hunt?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

February and March. The fur is always the best in February. December and January fur is usually short hair. When the weather is very cold the fur get longer in a short time. But when it is not so cold they remain short.

LINDA LEE

How do you make preparation for hunting wolves on your snow machine?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

When I plan on going a wolf hunt I take my sled loaded with gas so I can distribute some in several places so I can get to them as needed because when I'm on a wolf hunt I don't take my sled, when your sled over turn during the fast chase you can demolish it.

LINDA LEE

Do you use gun?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, I use 17 Remington all the time, it is good for it's small hole on fur.

LINDA LEE

Do you take along food?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, in case I broke down I always go prepared. When ever I hunt either wolverine or wolf I always have the ravens as my partners. I observe them very carefully because they know it all. When I'm in the country I always stop to use binoculars I'm ever looking for ravens too. Ravens would come to me, make a circle over me and left. I make sure I head to the direction it came and as always I would encounter either a wolf or a wolverine so it is easy for me to depend on them as partners. Very seldom when I headed home I would encounter a caribou I would kill it and just split it for the ravens to eat. There are time when the ravens would follow me as I head for home and when I catch a caribou they stop following and feast. These ravens are very knowledgeable. One time down river from the Isinaq I climb up the mountain and look around the flats below me with binocs. As I was doing this for sometime a raven came towards me, circled above me, calling once or twice and took off again. The raven flew near the other side of a slough and near semi circle shape of the slough and the raven appears to notice some not know to me at this time and after circling twice, took off again following the down river pattern. By now I suspect some events and kept on looking through binocs and as I looked again a wolf stood up over there where the raven was circling earlier. Now I know after flying over me it circle on the wolf pack

TAPE 5

who was sleeping over there, after this it become a habit for me to depend on them ravens.

LINDA LEE

Other men hunt wolves with snow machines?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, from Ambler and from here too, but some don't hunt often I guess they don't really know how or have confidence maybe. I had a snow machine with a spedometer one time. On a very smooth trail on the flats I had an occasion to chase three wolves at 45 mph but I was not gaining on them at all. I upped my speed to 55 mph and started gaining on them so you see wolves are fast, especially the black ones, they are the fittest. I think I finish the wolf hunts anything else?

LINDA LEE

When you and Tommy Douglas went logging in 1952 what month or how did you travel with?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Maybe fall time, wonder when did Tommy build that house I mean that house we stay when we were logging. Well we did go after freeze up.

LINDA LEE

How did you go? By dog team?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, by dog team. Did we stay at Agayukluk for awhile and move later?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

When we did move to the log camp, my atiq qapvinnaq, Robert Cleveland and I start logging. Robert and I work all winter and we did it alone.

LINDA LEE

What was the purpose of your working for logs, house or what?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

No, Paaniikalaq had obtained a saw mill, but don't know where from. That was the purpose of our working to gather log. Robert and I. And we use regular saw and axes, no chain saws then. Another thing Tommy had obtained was some kind of wheels that looked like wheels used by railroad, we wonder where he got them from but when we make rails by using some small trees we found we can haul logs by using these things, even big logs we were able to handle easy. After logging whole winter when spring break up came, my attiq and I made raft and take them to the saw mill. The saw mill is below Kittik's camp. We made four very large raft that time. I think we moved to Kobuk soon as I recall I didn't help when they were using the saw mill.

TAPE 5

VERA DOUGLAS We did stay there for a short time at Paanikalaiq's place when they start sawing wood and left after a short time.

LINDA LEE Where did you folks go?

LEONARD DOUGLAS To Kobuk, when they complete sawing the logs they gave us lumber for our house.

LINDA LEE Did you make a house with it?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes, in Kobuk.

LINDA LEE Were there other men who went logging?

LEONARD DOUGLAS No, only Qapvinaq and I were cutting log all winter but when it was time to raft them Qupraksraq and Paaluk came to help raft them so as a crew of four we did them. Qapvinaq and Qupraqsraq were partners and Paaluk and I, we make 2 large raft and after that we went back for another 2 large rafts like the other two. That's lots and lots of logs.

LINDA LEE When you raft do you take the dogs in it?

LEONARD DOUGLAS No, the dogs were at the camp, we would just go up to raft only.

LINDA LEE Do you walk to the place to raft?

LEONARD DOUGLAS No, Paaniikalaaq had Evinrude, I can't remember what kind but they were five horse and he thinks he had power and status.

LINDA LEE Was his boat big or small?

LEONARD DOUGLAS His boat was not very big.

LINDA LEE Did paaniikalaaq give you guys ride to the logging area?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Vera and I moved to Kobuk before they complete the sawing of logs.

LINDA LEE What kind of equipment do you use?

LEONARD DOUGLAS I said earlier how Qapvinaq and I improvise rails to work with the wheels to haul the logs down to the river.

LINDA LEE Why did you go get logs?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Why did we? Well sometimes we look for choice logs and time to easily haul them to the raft area. Selecting logs especially for house

TAPE 5

logs is crucial and trying to find trees that don't have curves cause by the sun baking them called ikik. You want to find log without this defect. When this kind of logs is used for cabin it can bent when it dries toward the baked side so person got to be selective especially if the logs will used for house.

LINDA LEE During the time in camp November to April do you see anyone else?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Very seldom. Once in a while trappers when they are passing would sleep overnight. Putuuraq, Henry Foxglove when he became an in-law went trapping with his wife Kapkan and trap some where I don't know.

LINDA LEE What do you eat in camp?

LEONARD DOUGLAS We're persuaded by the cooks to eat ptarmigan. Annarauq had a four ten shot gun and she is the expert rabbit hunter. Spruce grouse, rabbit, ptarmigan we never lack for food and they also use snares with Vera on the force.

LINDA LEE Do you save rabbit skins? Vera: yes, rabbit skins are gathered. Dried and tanned, children's parka is made with rabbit skins.

LINDA LEE Know how many rabbits you catch?

VERA DOUGLAS I don't know how many, but we eat many rabbits.

LINDA LEE Make blanket out of them too?

VERA DOUGLAS Annarauq did make a blanket, not a big one called saiktaurat.

LEONARD DOUGLAS There are rabbit use for toddlers feet, very warm.

VERA DOUGLAS You put a sock over a rabbit skin, after dealing with the opening of the neck part and let a toddler wear it crawling around on the floor, never have cold feet even if the floor is cold.

LINDA LEE Can the toddler wear it outside?

VERA DOUGLAS No, only inside the house for a baby who can crawl. But for outside use is the same idea only thing is wear mukluk over them, especially when a trip is in the plan, but they can use there regular mukluku.

LEONARD DOUGLAS At the time we were logging we had two children.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, Percy and Angie (?)

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yeah, Percy and Angie.

Tape 5

LINDA LEE Did you take the kids along? Vera: yes, they were there.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Maybe Angie was either 6 or maybe 5.

VERA DOUGLAS Those two and Paaluk and them had Nauyaq and Aqpik, a couple of girl when we were there.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Aqpik drive us with her talking, she can talk all the time.

LINDA LEE Do the kids play in the daytime?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, they do play together.

LINDA LEE Anything to add to this like any other food items beside rabbits or ptarmigan?

VERA DOUGLAS These guys catch a moose once for our food.

LEONARD DOUGLAS But they had lots of fish.

LINDA LEE You also had white mans food though?

VERA DOUGLAS Yeah, we did have some, not very much but we can have some beverage and that can at times dwindle down too.

LEONARD DOUGLAS When we finished logging we went back to Kobuk. Maybe in 1950 I started working for Riley (?) Berg at Bornite. I worked for Riley Berg for quite sometime about 3 summers driving tractor till 1954. I was probably the very first one to work in Bornite and I help Riley Berg driving tractor when he was working on claims. I had to be the first guy to work in Bornite but after working for 3 summers Immaq came on later. After the bornite work I started to work for (?) who was mining for gold. I work for a long time here for maybe six years or six summers.

LINDA LEE Where was this located?

LEONARD DOUGLAS At Dahl Creek. We also work for the other mining company on the side making road to Bornite.

LINDA LEE Were you on the tractor all the time?

LEONARD DOUGLAS During that time I was learning how to drive the tractor. When my work with these people was over I found out that I had become very good on tractors so I started to work on heavy equipment jobs.
After this last job after we got married I work to some archeologist, one of the first ones to come. Maybe Louis Giddings Jr, he was an archeologist. Anyway we went to Itivliq Lake. We were there for two months looking for artifacts over there.

TAPE 6

(Recorded March 10, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Linda Lee, Vera Douglas, and James Magdanz. Side A translated from Iñupiaq to English by Jonas Ramoth. Side B translated by Barbara Armstrong.)

SIDE A

LEONARD DOUGLAS

After working at all start until we exhausted what we were supposed to do. We tended to all claims. After living in Kobuk for awhile we moved here to Shungnak in 1962. That year I started to work at the school in 1962 and work for quite a long time, until 1978, I think. Not quite making it 20 years with the BIA. After the state took over and BIA was no longer there, I worked for them for all little while, and quit because the wages were so poor that I knew I could never make a living that way. I started working other places and looking for another job often.

LINDA LEE

Did you make all those roads back there?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, when I work for DOT. I did lots of road projects around here starting at Ambler, Shungnak and Kobuk. After Ambler, we moved here to work on the roads till they were completed and then to Bornite to make road connecting to Kobuk. I don't know how long I worked for DOT. One of the jobs I have after working at school was with BLM as firefighter. I had to go to Fairbanks to train as firefighter for a good while and I was stationed in Bettles and some times in Galena. We did a lot of traveling with a helicopter in many places like Koyukok and sometime as far as Venetie.

LINDA LEE

When you were living in Kobuk do you move to fishing camps for the summer.

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, our favorite spots, qasruniks, for seining always get shallow, those spots that have less current suitable for setting a seine, alters from time to time that we have to look for good spots, that can yield good fishing so we always move near them. But in *Qala* fish are always there, also those places with soft current also alters too. Especially when river opens with a new passage and channel those spots for seining changes too. Due to erosion when new channel by Margaret's camp those spots change and then by Elmer's camp. But *Qala* is so good for fishing; it never lack for fish. We always stay up river at these camps.

LINDA LEE

Why did you go to Harvey's?

VERA DOUGLAS

We always go to them to help with their fishing. It is some cooperative effort of people doing to help and later get a share. We seine with their

TAPE 6

seine and work on the fish and when its time for us to go back down river to our homes they always give us fish. These people of Kitty Harvey's family.

LINDA LEE You must have been young in those days.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, I was young, as Lydia was still carried on my back.

LINDA LEE How do you travel up river?

VERA DOUGLAS We travel with human power going up, me and Sailaq. Sometime we tow the boat from the shore, ukamaq-ing.

LINDA LEE Do you pack you babies on your back?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

LINDA LEE Do you remember those years?

VERA DOUGLAS I can't remember. It was quite awhile ago because Lydia is now getting old.

LINDA LEE There must be other times when you fish in summer.

VERA DOUGLAS After that Qaluvik and I start to fish together. When Leonard went to work in Fairbanks I went to spend the summer with Aliqsauratkut by that time Angie was small but can walk pretty good.

LINDA LEE Was it that time when you were at Maniilapaag?

VERA DOUGLAS

Anigniq summer camp at Maniilapaa. Daisy's mom's summer place. I had been coming to this place for quite awhile, I don't remember how many summers I always go there. After that Sailaq and I would only go there for fresh fish but not spend the whole summer or camp there. During the time of my last children I was still going up there for fresh fish and not staying long to do it and I would leave them at home when they become school age. That was after we move here permanently they had gotten big and many.

LINDA LEE After you have moved here where did you go for the summer?

VERA DOUGLAS To *Qala* with Daisy. Our camp was on the island there.

LINDA LEE Was this during the ‘70s?

VERA DOUGLAS Yeah, some where on the '70s.

LINDA LEE Did you always leave the children behind?

TAPE 6

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, I would only take the younger ones.

LINDA LEE Because they were in school?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes...

LINDA LEE And was Leonard working?

VERA DOUGLAS Yeah, he was working.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Watching the kids same time.

LINDA LEE How long of a trip?

VERA DOUGLAS A short time only long enough to get fresh fish.

LINDA LEE One month or so?

VERA DOUGLAS No, not one month but maybe two weeks because the kids were small yet.

LINDA LEE Did you move to Vera's camp then?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, I moved to the island some where between Josie's and them, me and Daisy spent our summer together last time. After one summer there I moved to Veras camp. It was not called Vera's camp at that time, that place below Kuuchaiq. But it is an island also, because behind us there is a channel and when the water rises it become navigable.

Ever since I moved to this camp it always flood quite a bit every summer. But I stayed on even if it wrecked my property. There are all kinds of drying racks, Paiviks there and when I left them as they are. The floods mess them all up and spread them all over the area. When Leonard is available and is home we go up and gather them all and set them back, Innisaqs, paivik every thing. It happens every summer we always get flooded out.

One time when we went up to the camp to check on it after the ice breakup, were we ever surprised! Everything were just the way we left it and we were very happy that the drying rack, innisat were intact.

When the time to go to camp both of us went up as we didn't need to scavenge for our drying rack and everything like our tent poles were not wrecked by flood. We spent the summer as always doing routine things and Leonard made a small boat. Brand new boat but the weather was not so good raining, raining. During the bad weather I see Leonard making net floats and here I was working on birch baskets for berry picking near the front of the tent. We were trying to occupy the time we had since we didn't even have fish to do anything with.

TAPE 6

During this time the CB radio was open, I hear Dave (?) calling us about the flood warning for up river, he said for us to be aware of this and that it is raining very hard up there. He said the water will rise very fast.

I become excited very fast too so I went to Leonard to let him know Dave called, that flood is threatening because it is raining very hard up river from us. I asked him ,what shall we do? But he never say anything but kept working on his net float project. As for me I was worried.

There were two tents in the camp, one we use and the other one my boys used for over night stay when they visit us. I went to this tent and start bundling the mattresses and beddings. I made several trip to the cache, maybe three times I was tying the beddings with rope so they can be carried easier.

While we were doing this I notice that the water was really rising very fast, and Leonard sprang into action by now but almost too late. His work project area was located on a good ground with tarp over head and good quality wind breakers, he usually work on his net floats even when it is raining. All of his stuff like rod and reel, chain saw, tools, and he had a small portable light plant, electrical tools like drill, Skil saw were hanging inside the wind breakers protected by additional tarp. And our gasoline near the water, our poor gas in a big plastic container.

Leonard said, lets hand our gasoline on the shelter. So we did just that. But while we were doing some other stuff, and after a second thought, he said it won't do on the shelter and said we should put in the small boat. Just when he said that we went to the shelter with the boat.

As you see we now can run around with the boat in our tents that how fast the flood came upon us. We went to the shelter and put the gas in the boat from its hanging place on the shelter. While we were doing things in a flash we never think for a moment to grab anything else because it was kind of a higher ground they were on, our food stuff in the tent but we did grab out beddings and put them in the boat along with our only two dogs,

Leonard made couple trips to do this and had taken the small tent but by now ground under me was almost gone. When he got to me and pick me up we moved as soon as he got me. We had a couple of boats, big one and small one.

Leonard untied the dogs and as soon as they were free they ran away but we know they would have no place to go because beyond us it is all water. They did come back after a short time but we left them when we had to go. And when Leonard came back there to pick up some more things he said the dogs were sure in a welcome mode and didn't have to coax them to get in.

We can see our former camp from our temporary one among the trees where we set our tent, but water all over the place, sound of

TAPE 6

water rushing and later getting choppy from wind. When we got back to the tent from the now immersed camp, it was now on the water also and here we had put flooring of spruce branches so we had to stay in the big boat for three days. We had to take the dogs to a higher ground by Josephine's camp to make ends meet on their own while we had to spend three days in the big boat.

I can see our old camp now in the water and later one morning when I wake up and look there was not a tent to be seen or other things that were there. Everything was washed clean during that big flood that was not too long ago. We were cleaned up also everything we have was gone, the seine went with the current, seen with lots of debris. There were all kinds of tools, chain saw, another outboard motor with a brand new lower unit put on, ready for use now they were also gone, all the things we thought would be saved now we have nothing. These were on the place with tarp over work place now everything was washed away. Some how we had enough sense to put up the old light plant in the shelter, the one that can hardly work but the other new one we lost it.

LINDA LEE

You were really stripped of everything!

VERA DOUGLAS

Yeah, all our food was gone too. But those canned stuff which we never opened like jam and peanut butter we found down river among the willows. Our freezer that was near the portable light plant had some how snagged on to the cache and stayed. We were able to retrieve that one and some other stuff that had snag when we went down the next day. The other things like chain saw, outboard motor, and other tools were all gone including the ground where they were on because of the strong current in the middle of the summer.

LINDA LEE

Was it in July?

VERA DOUGLAS

In August, last part of August.

LINDA LEE

What year was this?

(Jim Magdanz annotation: This flood occurred in August of 1994.)

VERA DOUGLAS

I don't know but it was not too long ago, almost recent. It was the time when a white man died some where near qugluq and they were searching for him, that was the time flooding happened. Yes that was definitely that time.

LINDA LEE

Did you move from that spot?

VERA DOUGLAS

We stayed here for two days and when the flood subside and our camp

TAPE 6

became visible we move back to it. Linda: you mean back to your camp?

VERA DOUGLAS

We did went back to our camp, our tent was pretty much in one piece as it had frame, it was moved by the current down river. We had several empty drums under the cache and they were not affected by the high water. We place those drums under the tent frame and rolled it back to its place. We really wanted to stay on that spot don't we seemed like? (laughter)

LEONARD DOUGLAS

One time while we used to stay in this camp, after a whole summer of fishing, gathering time we went down river and after that we decided to go up river on our leisure toward the up river portion of Kobuk, wonder how far we went up. Was it near Aqusruigvik?

VERA DOUGLAS

I think below Aqusruigvik but very near it.

LINDA LEE

Where was Aqusruigvik?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

It is way up river but we went just a little bit below it.

SIDE B

VERA DOUGLAS

When he got down there and cast his hook, he began pulling in grayling. We were sitting on the beach, watching. Lowana (*Lowana Goodwin was a foster child*) had a little stick and began clubbing them as she took them off his hook for him. She and our son, Vernon, were about the same age.

I finally told them that they had caught enough that we would not finish them all. We must get ready to go. I wove two large sticks by putting a willow through their gills. It was a nice, big catch. They did not stop, because whenever he cast his hook, the grayling would bite right away. Leonard went and took the hook away from his son.

On our way back down river, we stopped at campers, Truman Cleveland and his wife. They were gathering birch bark and had been busy. We gave them one of the grayling strings that we had. They were thankful and began preparing to cook them because they had been so busy that they did not have time to fish for their food.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

I wonder if she has any questions to ask.

VERA DOUGLAS

I have been talking a lot.

LINDA LEE

After getting married, having children, did you not travel up there anymore?

TAPE 6

VERA DOUGLAS I did.

LINDA LEE To stay, like for a year?

VERA DOUGLAS No, no, not year. Only for a short time, mostly just at fall time in September for fresh fish to ferment. But, when they grew up and could be on their own, I would also spend summers at camp.

LINDA LEE When snowmachines and Evinrude came, how did that affect your lifestyle?

VERA DOUGLAS When I became an owner of an Evinrude, I wanted to spend a lot of time up there, because now I had a way to get around. We (*Daisy Tickett and Vera*) had ways to get around. Daisy Tickett also had a small motor and boat that she operated. We always took two boats and traveled.

When we planned to travel further up the Kobuk, we would take one boat. On a long boat ride, we reminisced as we passed the old sites of the past.

LEONARD DOUGLAS We were living at Kobuk when we first purchased a motor.

LINDA LEE What brand?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Mercury. (*To Vera*) They were 16 horsepower?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, they were small, but they had power, lots of bubbles in the in the back. (Laughing)

LINDA LEE Was the river then kind of deep ,being only one channel, no tributaries?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, lots of water and only one channel, a large river with lots of gusto. Today, up there by *Qala*, there are so many new channels that when you're travelling, you have to look for the deeper channel to get passed it. But when you follow the right channel and have the know-how, its deep. It's all different today. We, too, have come to adjust to easy living. When we do not have a motor to go anywhere, we stay now.

LINDA LEE What about work, how was life then?

VERA DOUGLAS It has really changed. Very different from the past. But also we have aged and we don't travel well anymore. We're not going so much anymore.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Everything is easy.

TAPE 6

VERA DOUGLAS Very easy life. The children today, some, will not even know how to camp.

LINDA LEE Even us, we do not leave to camp.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. But there are some children, when I begin to prepare, who always ask when I will be leaving for camp, my grandkids, wanting to follow, when they are not in school. They enjoy it, and it's fun for them. It has become fun for my grandchildren to enjoy camp up there.

LINDA LEE Do young people go up there today?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, today, young people are traveling up river to hunt. They really always go up river, hunting.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Rod and reel fishing.

VERA DOUGLAS Rod and reel fishing.

LINDA LEE Do young mothers travel up there too?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Some of them will go up today, and have learned to camp. They have learned what to gather, prepare and preserve. They know it now but they have jobs and have to work too.

LINDA LEE Because electricity needs to be paid?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Electricity and water must be paid every month. Especially in winter, it's sort of OK. But during the summer, when the freezers are full, the electricity needs to be paid.

LINDA LEE Has the fish and game regulations changed?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. They have changed. The hunters then used to be able to get any animal, we ate that they came upon. They know when the moose season opens and can't wait. In their own timing. It all has changed.

LINDA LEE With fish and game regulations, you did not hunt, just to get furs.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes. The caribou regulations are not so controlled. Except the regulations for moose, it changed some but I have not been able to hunt that much either lately. A few years ago though, we hunted them and harvested as long as we did not get caught. We did not follow the regulations. (*Annotation: The hunters knew that after the moose has fed on the fresh greens, the meat was good in early or mid August.*)

LINDA LEE Few years ago, were there regulations on marten.

TAPE 6

LEONARD DOUGLAS Today there are so many outside hunters in the upper Kobuk. The local hunters, when hunting up there, are not getting anything or seeing any game. This was last summer and the summer before that.

LINDA LEE So what is it?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Those are the floaters, other sport hunters that are preventing.

LINDA LEE Oh. So noisy.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. So much airplanes flying.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Hunters from Bettles being dropped off around Selby Lake. Harvesting moose.

LINDA LEE The animals around there got brushed or pushed off?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes. There are hardly any moose up there. There has even been some local people reaching Beaver River, but have not seen any moose. Maybe there may be some, further inland where they cannot be reached.

LINDA LEE Who are the ones flying up there?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Non-Natives from Fairbanks or Anchorage.

LINDA LEE Dropping off hunters.

LEONARD & VERA Yes.

VERA DOUGLAS When I travel up river from my camp up to Llaki sometimes, I would see airplanes parked on sandbars. At one time, I counted seven. These planes belong to non-Natives who were camping. Beginning from my camp up to Llaki -- seven airplanes. I wondered if there would be more further up river, where I did not travel.

LINDA LEE This is a change from the past years?

VERA DOUGLAS There were no planes back then.

LEONARD DOUGLAS No floaters.

VERA DOUGLAS It was definitely quiet.

LINDA LEE The animals were abundant and near the river.

LEONARD & VERA Yes.

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VERA DOUGLAS The animals were seen and harvested back then too. It's different today. Some animals are closed to being harvested. But when I am out there, at times with Daisy Tickett, I always think that if we are not able to find food to feed ourselves, I would harvest an animal even if it is closed season. I would then prefer to suffer the consequences.

LEONARD DOUGLAS The animals have also changed from the past. Some animals are very big now. Like there are some very big beaver now. In some species, some large animals are among them now. There are also some very huge bears that have been seen. These are among the animals that we used to hunt.

LINDA LEE Why is this happening, how?

LEONARD DOUGLAS I do not know why this is happening. I, myself, do not understand that too. But, even the Indians living in the Interior say that their game have some large, big ones too among them. Steve Attla from Huslia always talk about a beaver who has an igloo over there, that is huge.

LINDA LEE How or why did they get large.

LEONARD DOUGLAS I don't know why, but maybe it was to happen that way. Because not too long ago Neal Sheldon and Homer Cleveland, Sr. were trapping and they trapped a big, big beaver. We had never seen one that big, it was very big! Sometime ago, when we traveled up river in the fall, I harvested a very big beaver too. It was big and heavy. When Vera said: "I will haul it down to the boat." I was slow to answer with a yes. I noticed the size and weight when I was retrieving it from the water. She tried pulling it but it did not budge but for a few feet. She would not even carry it, it was so big.

LINDA LEE How was the size when you skinned it.

LEONARD DOUGLAS It is really big!

VERA DOUGLAS Very big indeed, about the size of a seal. We dragged it with a rope.

LEONARD DOUGLAS When she could not carry it, she went to get a rope from the boat and dragged it to the boat.

LINDA LEE Was it old?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Maybe old, I don't know. The animals have just gotten big, I think.

VERA DOUGLAS Even the fish have some large ones now. All fish and game have some large ones. How or why is a mystery to us. When I personally think

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myself about this, I always think that these animals are not always going to be around for a long time.

LINDA LEE Last fall, the grayling that were being caught were very, very big.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, they were real big.

LINDA LEE We got some too.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Very dark in color.

LINDA LEE Yes, dark ones.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Sometime ago, when I had a gillnet over there at Saiyuuq in the spring. I went to check my net and had caught a sheefish. I took it home and it was a BIG one.

VERA DOUGLAS It was then June 1st. Because when I removed the head. You know these black roasters?

LINDA LEE Yes.

VERA DOUGLAS I placed the head in that kind of roaster, it completely filled it with no room to spare, you could not even squeeze your hand in on the side.

LINDA LEE Just the head?

VERA DOUGLAS Just the head.

LINDA LEE Aullai! (*Expression of wonderment!*)

LEONARD DOUGLAS That fish. We should have taken a picture of it. We never even thought about a camera.

VERA DOUGLAS Or weigh it even.

LINDA LEE Where did you harvest it from?

VERA DOUGLAS From Saiyuuq.

LEONARD DOUGLAS The mouth of Saiyuuq, I had a gillnet set there in the spring. But all fish and game have some that are big now.

LINDA LEE Native allotments-ANCSA. This allowed us to claim Native Allotments. Has this made a change on our lifestyles?

VERA DOUGLAS It's OK. As long as you know who or what land belongs to whom. I, myself, will not go to anyone's allotment to cut or do anything without

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first asking the owner of that land. This shows respect to the owner. Animals can be harvested though. But I won't go there to cut or make any changes to the land that belongs to someone. I always think about this and I personally always want to know where the allotments are and who they belong to for that respect.

LINDA LEE

Are they marked.

VERA DOUGLAS

They are marked up there. The markers are always noticeable.

LINDA LEE

Oh.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Didn't they put markers last summer. Eva Erlich traveled up there last summer to put markers.

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

To put markers for the allotments up there.

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, markers were put up but only one up there, that is not put up properly. I told Eva (She is their granddaughter that they raised) that and she said that she told her superior. They answered saying "They don't know." They may not know down there but we who live up here know it, how large it is and who it belong to. It had a marker but it fell and the marker floated off with the river current. The new marker was put up but its not where it used to be. But, they will find out and realize it when it gets surveyed.

LINDA LEE

The Shungnak people know of this?

VERA DOUGLAS

They know them.

LINDA LEE

They won't go to anybody's allotment?

VERA DOUGLAS

I do not know what they do but I, myself, know of this when I am making my living.

LINDA LEE

But you can hunt?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes. You can get animals like maybe beaver, muskrat or porcupine or others from the land. But the trees should not be cut without permission from anyone's allotment.

LINDA LEE

Do non-Natives come and float, sport fish and hunt up there?

VERA DOUGLAS

It's different now. There are hardly any moose, not like before up there. Sometime ago, went up river for a boat ride after the non-native hunters have gone. We stopped in an area that they had camped. As we

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came upon the camp place, we noticed some filled gunny sacks. They were filled with meat. There were quite a few.

LEONARD DOUGLAS There were lots probably 6 or 7 sacks, I guess.

VERA DOUGLAS They were boned meat, put in plastic bags first and were left behind.

LEONARD DOUGLAS The meat was moose.

VERA DOUGLAS Moose meat. Lots of meat.

LINDA LEE Were they spoiled?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. The odor was strong. We did not touch them but smelled them. They were in plastic bags. Boned moose meat, prepared to be taken but left behind.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Also, one time we visited some campers across from Llaki. One of them asked Vera about Eskimo potatoes. How they look, the recognition of the plant. Vera answered: there may be some back here, let's go look.. They went back there in the thickets were two more hunters who were curing a bear hide.

VERA DOUGLAS When I reached them. One of them began talking to me. I asked them where they harvested the animal. Down below there, they said. What did you do with the meat? They left it down there by the sandbar behind the drift wood. You throw it away? Yes. When did you harvest it, since it was fall time. Last night. I told them that we would check the meat out to see if its edible. They agreed. They said that they did not want the meat but only wanted the fur. (Annotation: In this area, Fish and Game regulations require hunters to harvest either the hide or the meat of a black bear, but not both.)

We left. We found it. Gooooood fat meat of a black bear. Left on the rocky beach under a drift wood. We cleaned it, taking the rocks off and butchered it. We left with all the meat. We stopped at Gene, Sr. and his wife's camp at mouth of Maniilaq and gave them some meat. They were thankful too. We stopped at the next camp of Wesley Woods, Sr. and his wife, and gave them some meat too, and went home.

This practice probably happens all the time with non-native hunters up there where there are not anyone around.

LINDA LEE The natives do not throw the meat of an animal that they harvested. They do not do that, they respect what they get.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. No. We do not throw meat away. We will not.

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LINDA LEE The animals are highly respected.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes, also we eat them.

LEONARD DOUGLAS The hunters do not even throw their moose meat away. They take all edible meat of their catch.

VERA DOUGLAS All of the moose can be eaten.

LINDA LEE Even the head?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. Even the head, taking the meat off of it.

LEONARD DOUGLAS The horns of the moose, I use for handles when I am making ulus.

LINDA LEE What else has become different in our lifestyles? You are elderly now.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

LINDA LEE Also, your health is now what it used to be. You may talk.

VERA DOUGLAS All is different today. It's not like how it used to be.

LEONARD DOUGLAS When you become an elder, not being out and about like you were used to, you come to think a lot. You also think that you are still very able to do things. (Laughs). You even become very smart when you think. (Laughing)

LINDA LEE You have done so much in your lifetime. Now you are not able to do them, and are only thinking.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes. When even knowing how bad your neighbor is or someone not doing good in the village (laughing).

LINDA LEE Even the postal mail is fast.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes. The postal mail is fast.

VERA DOUGLAS It has really changed. Because even today, how many planes always come up in a day? We can't even keep track but when it flies over our house, we always know.

LINDA LEE Few years ago, there were no CB's when you were camping. How did you know when certain events, things were happening?

VERA DOUGLAS By a person who stops by traveling with *qayaq*. Henry Stocking for one. He traveled a lot with his *qayaq* to go to the store to Kobuk. Or Mark Cleveland, his family camped at qalukrivik. They used to camp

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there for the summer, he and his wife, Olive (Qasraqniq), up there below Rosie's *Putu* camp. They called it *Qalukrivikrauq*. (A fishing place for the bear a long time ago) That place is called that too.

When Mark was there, he loved to hunt. When my mom and I lived up there, he would come and visit when traveling with his *qayaq*. Without even getting out of his *qayaq*, he used to use his poling pole to take out meat to give to us. He took time to stop to give some of his catch of meat to my mom, who was an elder. My mom would be so thankful.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

This is how they shared.

VERA DOUGLAS

They shared with each other then.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

The hunters would, on their way back down, would stop at each camp and give a share whether it's raw or cooked. They shared their catch a lot then. Today, they don't do that anymore.

LINDA LEE

Hardly sharing huh?

VERA DOUGLAS

But, they have fed us. Today, Leonard has not hunted for sometime now, but we have not been hungry yet. The local hunters share with us, especially all sorts of fresh meat, and bring it to us. We hardly ever go out anymore, but have not felt any hunger pains yet.

LINDA LEE

The Natives always try to help each others.

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes. The hunters today who hunt are bringing back what he had shared with others when he was able back in the past. It is truly all coming back.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

In the past, when I hunted caribou, moose or whatever I harvested. I would take home. She handles it from there. She takes what she needs from the catch and gives the rest away. I used to think that I hunted for naught. But, I now realize that when I do not hunt anymore, it would all come back to me in abundance.

LINDA LEE

Oh.

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(Recorded March 10, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Linda Lee, Vera Douglas, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Hannah Loon.)

- LINDA LEE (Unintelligible...)
- VERA DOUGLAS It is. They are like that.
- LEONARD DOUGLAS Some of them.
- VERA DOUGLAS Because they have fed us. We are having fresh game like ptarmigan; rabbit are brought in now. We both do not even cross the river. We do eat fresh game. Some are like that, and some are not. However, you too will find out, and you will experience it. They were told and those who have been given advice know. Those who listen to their parents are knowledgeable. When a person gave, and when it comes to a time when he/she needs something, he/she will not receive from the person he/she gives to all the time; but, through his/her children or distant relatives, in the future, or another persons children; what he/she gave receives comes back in abundance. This person's giving to another person comes back to him/her. It must be true. When (Leonard) becomes unable, I come to find out about more. We do not run out of food. We have fresh meat. I do not hunt, and I wonder where it came from.
- LINDA LEE It is good. You do not have to worry now.
- VERA DOUGLAS Yes. In addition, when someone does not return in a while, I start to get worried. When someone calls to see if there are lights from the Hot Springs trails. I look out the window and stand outside the house looking for travelers. And when I see a light, I call the person who reported the traveler. I say, "Over there is the light. "
- LINDA LEE It is now easier when we have CB?
- VERA DOUGLAS Everything is easy for us.
- JIM MAGDANZ We are going to talk about Leonard's childhood in Shungnak.
- LEONARD DOUGLAS First, I will talk about my mother, Irene. My real mother was Niqigruaq. Perhaps it was in spring, when they had started to go to spring camp? To where? She lived Nasrualuk and Sanmigan in Kobuk. She went into labor and had a baby with me. From there on, where they went, my mother had not told me. When I was four months old, my natural mother died, upriver in *Qala* in August. She was breast feeding me, they said. When my mother died, there was nothing to suck milk. There was nothing. Aliqsi went to Kobuk to get milk. When

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he left, my mother, while he was down there cooked rice. My mother spoon fed me with the rice broth, and started to let me survive. My mother told me of this. These two, Kunakiksraun and my mother, Irene raised me.

I do not recall how old I was, but I started to know. I once know in Kotzebue. My father was holding me by the hand, and we went into a big birthday party. I saw people playing baseball. I never let go of my father. I became aware that way. Later, there was baseball between fresh water and salt-water people. This was when I became aware in Kotzebue.

Later, I became aware that we had returned home to Kobuk. I wondered how we traveled up river. However, I did become aware in Riley __? When I was about 11 years old, my father passed away in 1944 in summer.

When they were making a living, I know quite well. In summer, after my father went to hunt for muskrats. He returned around July. Then they went mining to Jade Mountain. They would be gone. Sił aigaq and I were boys then. They leave us to Sanmigan and Nasualuk. However, Nasualuk did not stay home much. We stayed behind with Sanmigan. I was probably around eight or 9 years old. They were gone for three weeks looking for Gold in Shungnak or Jade Mountain. *He said Isiḡnami.* When they return, my mother would start fishing for salmon when she returned. She dried fish for our winter food. Our father would return to the mining place, but I did not really know how long he stayed. However, I do recall three weeks was too long to be gone from my father, and he loved me very much. I did not let him do anything much when he was around.

Later, I started going to school. Aqpiksraq, my uncle, Harry Ticket and I started going to school together. After school, when my uncle went to his mother, he milked from his mother and I watched him. (laughing) Because I was not raised sucking, milk all the time. When I remind Aqpiksraq about this, he would get mad at me.

I did not stay in school very long. I completed school up to sixth Grade. My mother and I were alone. Ella, after my mother passed away, it was not very long, 13 years, she passed away (maybe). Sił aigaq went to hospital. My mother and I were alone. Sił aigaq, who had inflicted bone disease, was in Mt. Edgumbe for seven years, he told me.

LINDA LEE

Where did you and your mom live?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

We had a cabin down there. Down there where we had our first house. We lived around here, after we moved.

However, my parents, while they were living, grew many plants. They had a garden down there where my mother's house was. In addition, in Riley Camp they had a large garden. When they brought Sił aigaq and I down there, we packed water, from up there above the

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cliff from the lake. It was easier to go downwards packing water. They grew many plants for our winter food. I wonder where they put them and how they stored them; but all year round, they fed us vegetables. If they had a cache or dug subterranean storage, I was not aware. I was too mischievous that time to watch for these.

LINDA LEE

What did they grow?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Turnips, cabbage, carrots, and rhubarb. In the latter part, my mother started growing rhubarb.

LINDA LEE

Who taught how to grow vegetables?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

I believe the teacher, Mr. Wotneiler. Mr. Light(?) or Knight(?) introduced the rhubarb. Once planted, it will grow again next year. They are like the qusrimmaqs 'wild rhubarb'. I wondered what happened to them how they stopped growing.

I did not go to school very long. I went to school in the mornings. In the afternoons, I gathered wood because there was not one to get wood for us. I had three dogs and a flat bed sled. One time, I cut a thick spruce tree. It was a large tree and I brought it home. It lasts one day.

LINDA LEE

When you were small, you play?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

We play out every evening. Down there by the lake, we play soccer with older kids. There were not only young ones but older ones too. Maybe they were watching us. That time I was not nice. I wasn't allaayuk-, and I was bad.

LINDA LEE

Your neighbors were quiet?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes, it was quiet. The planes started coming around there. The sound of plane was heard as it is coming in because there were no other noises besides dogs. In addition, around that time of the era, people from the North Slope would arrive with dogs.

LINDA LEE

How many?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

There lots of them. Towards spring, they came to go get groceries. With their furs, they would go to Harry Brown's to go get groceries. When they traded for groceries that will last them all summer and fall. They came once a year from where I wonder. Perhaps from Anaktuvik Pass or somewhere. These people lived on the land.

LINDA LEE

They did not have stores?

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LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes, they did not have stores. Around that time of the era, they came to Kobuk to get groceries. I always know when they came.

LINDA LEE Harry Brown was the only one who had a store?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Harry Brown was the only one with a store.

LINDA LEE What did he have in the store?

LEONARD DOUGLAS He had everything to buy. The people from the North bought tobacco because they were heavy smokers. They even bought them by the boxes and go.

LINDA LEE They sell clothes too?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes they bought clothes. They bought ammos, guns, and go back north, to where, I wonder.

LINDA LEE That time people did not kill himself or herself? A person can live for a long time.

LEONARD DOUGLAS Yes. People did not drink. People drank occasionally, and some drank home brew. Sometimes in Christmas. However, a person was a steady drinker. Sometimes only. The people did not try to be strong and fight against each other. However, they helped one another.
When I was able, when a person starts to build a log cabin, the men gathered and helped the person complete the house. They helped the person who is trying to make a house. He did not try to look for help but they persevered to help each other's.
They watched for those who had no helpers in those days. They helped them whatever needs to be done. When their food started to get scarce, they were provided with food. There was no price. In the village, the people watched each others to help each other.

LINDA LEE Why did people move here?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Because they started going to school. They had to go to school. There were teachers and there was a school around there. The school was built up there. My father first build a house. After one year, they moved us down there because they wanted to build the school there. Around 1929, we lived around here. The BIA School was build around 1930.

LINDA LEE Why did they move to here from Kobuk? Because it floods?

LEONARD DOUGLAS Because they wanted to have a village? Yes, it does flood although it

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does not always flood. The people searched for a place to move and found this.

LINDA LEE

And when did the city office and post office got build?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Here in Nuurviuraq? In 1948, Anica reorganized. The IRA sent them a letter to Seattle and started the store. Around that year, in 1948 the men got together and build a large log cabin store. I was a store keeper around 1950 and 1951 after we got married. I was a store keeper for about 4 months. I got paid \$50.00 a month and getting the logs myself.

LINDA LEE

How did the goods arrive?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

By barge. When the store started, the store manager was Aumatuk, George Cleveland. The post office got started to around there at the same year. George Cleveland ran both the post office and the Native Store. He was a post master for a long time. He retired. He was a postmaster for 30 years.

LINDA LEE

Long time ago, did people visit each other?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

When the store got started, in the evenings the men gathered there. They told stories and legends. They told everything what needed to me done. They met and planned.

LINDA LEE

When we want to do something, we announce it on the CB. We rarely carry on a conversation with people.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

This village was organized. When a person performs badly, the city council, had a court on him. They do not send him down to Kotzebue. They corrected the person by telling him and advice him. Then they would eliminate bad performances, not like today.

LINDA LEE

Long ago, did people fear the law? Today, they don't fear.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

When we were growing up, we listen to our elders. We listen to our parents. We did not handle anything on ourselves. How they expected us to live, we try to making a living that way. They advice us although by elders whom we are not even related to. When a person or elder...
(Tape ends.)

Side Two

LINDA LEE

Speaking to Vera, she asked if she wants to talk about her life.

VERA DOUGLAS

Even though I already talked about it, but my mother and I did not live here all the time. We stayed up river. In Kobuk too. When I got

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married to him, we spent several winters in Kobuk. We build a house up there.

LEONARD DOUGLAS We lived about 14 years up there.

VERA DOUGLAS Yes.

LINDA LEE Were there a lot of people in Kobuk then?

VERA DOUGLAS Some. Not very many.

LEONARD DOUGLAS About seven families I guess.

VERA DOUGLAS My mother and I lived up there or in Akuligaq going back and forth. When we got married, we moved here, living across there.

LEONARD DOUGLAS When Aqpaliq was building a house across there, I helped him. He was building a house. Vera and her mom were moving from up river. So it was, I was earning an in-law. Laughing. They started living across there, and I started to fall in love. I helped her brother, Aqpaliq whatever he was doing. Suddenly I got an in-law. I reached to a point of marriage.

LINDA LEE When you were getting married, did you have a big wedding?

VERA DOUGLAS No. No.

LEONARD DOUGLAS It was around Christmas in December when we got married. We lived together up until June without getting married. It wasn't acceptable to the elders to live together without getting married. They told us to get married when we start to live together. We lived together six months without getting married. We started to get pressure from the elders. Then we got married.

LINDA LEE Is that okay with the elders today?

LEONARD DOUGLAS No. It is not acceptable, all right. Today is not like the past.

VERA DOUGLAS He started working when we moved across there. We started living across there and he worked. Next to my mothers, we had a tent that year. Angeline was talking around there. Lydie, her older sister, lived her grandmother. We spent the winter there. Later, she adopted her.

LINDA LEE In the tent?

VERA DOUGLAS Yes. He went to work. Then Iliqsraqtuq started going to school. When it snowed, he would pack her on his back and take her to school and go to work. Because the snow was deep. There was no snow go to rive

TAPE 7

up. Then she begin to go on her own. She reported one day after school that her teacher's rhubarb did not smell good. She asked her if the teacher had rhubarb. Yes she had rhubarb but it didn't smell good. It was spinach. I never forget this.

LINDA LEE

Did your children speak Inupiaq?

VERA DOUGLAS

Yes, they spoke Inupiaq. We spoke real Inupiaq, because we ourselves did not know English very well. There were white men. I didn't speak it well. I didn't attend school much.

LINDA LEE

And did those who attend got punished for speaking Inupiaq?

VERA DOUGLAS

I was a part of it. I got punished holding heavy books in a corner. I got tired. This was when I spoke Inupiaq. Today, it is not like today. They want to teach Inupiaq. It must be difficult.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

When we got together, she had two children already. I had lessons from these two. I liked my step daughters. I loved the youngest one. I raised her. I loved her more than my own kids because I raised her. I came to realize later, when I got old, I worked towards my home. I told her several times, when a person joins to someone with children, he/she has to live and love his step children. Those step children will become hosts, 'tukkuksrau-'. When my step daughter, Iliqsraqtuq sees me, she would start crying. Today, she doesn't do that.

I've shared this to many from what I learned.

LINDA LEE

And how does one who scolds his/her children, how does he/she live?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

The person only works to affect himself. They wouldn't have anything to do with the person if he chooses to live that way. I have seen many who lived with step children.

LINDA LEE

Today, people live with one another. After they had children, and moves on to another relationship. This has changed from the past?

LEONARD DOUGLAS

Yes.

VERA DOUGLAS

Everything has changed. Today, when we travel to Anchorage, she is first to meet us. His own children who wanted to meet him although, she is usually first to be there. When she isn't at the airport, she calls right away. On his birthdays, she is first to call in the morning than his own children. All the time. She loves him more than me. He doesn't scold her, and I am a scolder. He named her first from his own children.

LINDA LEE

Do you have any more to talk about?

VERA DOUGLAS

We no other to talk of.

LEONARD DOUGLAS

With what? I have no other to talk of.

Appendix 4

Transcripts

Wesley and Josephine Woods



Qaulġutaitiaq



Qupiġuraq

The Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project explored human-land relationships through oral life histories of elder Inupiaq Eskimo residents of the upper Kobuk River area. The project was a cooperative effort funded by the National Park Service (NPS) and conducted by the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G). The elders interviewed for this project granted permission to NPS and ADF&G to make copies of their recordings, translations, and transcriptions, and to make those copies accessible to the public for educational and scientific purposes. They gave NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts in project reports for scientific and educational purposes, and in some cases additional rights to publish material in other formats. Copies of their consent and release forms are included in this appendix. While these materials are available to the public to hear, read, and study, copyright to these materials remains with the elder authors. Individuals or organizations wishing to republish portions of the tapes, transcripts, or translations must obtain permission from the elder authors. The project was directed by James Magdanz, Division of Subsistence, ADF&G.

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CONSENT AND RELEASE

HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

The Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the National Park Service (NPS) are studying how residents of the upper Kobuk River used their region during their life times. A project overview is attached to this document. This form is an agreement between you (as an interview respondent), NPS, and ADF&G.

- You agree that your interviews may be recorded on audio tape, video tape, or computer files. Your interviews may be translated from Iñupiaq into English, and written down in both Iñupiaq and English. They may be included in one or more project reports.
- You give NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts of your interviews in project reports for scientific and educational purposes. NPS and ADF&G may keep audio tapes, computer files, transcripts, and the project reports on file and available to the public. ADF&G agrees to provide you copies of audio tapes, transcriptions, translations, and project reports before they are released to the public.
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Wesley Woods 4-17-2000
Respondent (signature) Date

WESLEY WOODS
Respondent (printed name)

Jim Magdanz 4-17-2000
Researcher (signature) Date

JIM MAGDANZ
Researcher (printed name)

CONSENT AND RELEASE

HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

The Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the National Park Service (NPS) are studying how residents of the upper Kobuk River used their region during their life times. A project overview is attached to this document. This form is an agreement between you (as an interview respondent), NPS, and ADF&G.

- You agree that your interviews may be recorded on audio tape, video tape, or computer files. Your interviews may be translated from Iñupiaq into English, and written down in both Iñupiaq and English. They may be included in one or more project reports.
- You give NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts of your interviews in project reports for scientific and educational purposes. NPS and ADF&G may keep audio tapes, computer files, transcripts, and the project reports on file and available to the public. ADF&G agrees to provide you copies of audio tapes, transcripts, translations, and project reports before they are released to the public.
- ADF&G agrees to pay you for each interview.

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Josephine Woods 4-18-2000
Respondent (signature) Date

JOSEPHINE WOODS
Respondent (printed name)

Jim Magdanz 4-18-2000
Researcher (signature) Date

JIM MAGDANZ
Researcher (printed name)

TAPE 1

(Recorded April 17, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong.)

SIDE A

- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. I am going to say a few things right here at the beginning. This is Jim Magdanz. It's April 17, 2000. I'm in Shungnak, Alaska, talking with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee. We are here as part of the Kobuk Human Land Relationship project. We are going to talk with Wesley today, an over view of his life and where he has lived, especially as a young man.
- We've just finished going over the consent and release form with Wesley. He would like to copyright the interviews in his name. He has given permission to us to use the interviews in a project report, in a, let's see the consent and release. He has given permission specifically to the National Park Service and ADF&G to publish the transcripts or portions of them in project reports for scientific and educational purposes, and that we can keep those tapes on file. But the copyright to these interviews remains with Wesley and Josephine Woods and cannot be used by other people or other organizations without his permission. It's OK for NPS and ADF&G to use these in journals, magazines, books, or other printed media for scientific or educational purposes. It's OK to use them in broadcast programs by NPS and ADF&G. It's OK to use in computer programs or CD-ROMs or on the Internet, again by NPS and ADF&G.
- So with that introduction, I am going to turn the interview over to Linda and Wesley. I guess what we would like to do, Linda, is start out with his birth, and place of birth, and work forward chronologically through his life, where he has lived, who has lived with him. Kind of like we did with Leonard and Vera.
- LINDA LEE (English) He's prepared to just start with his childhood and what he remembers.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. Alright. Maybe we could shut that CB off.
- JOSPEHINE WOODS (English) Yeah. I'm going to.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. Let's get a level on you, Wesley. Test 1 2 3.
- LINDA LEE Say 1, 2, 3.
- WESLEY WOODS 1, 2, 3. Should I speak in *Iñupiaq*?
- LINDA LEE Yes.

WESLEY WOODS

I am Wesley and my *Iñupiaq* name is *Qaulgutailiaq*. My parents are, my dad is *Paaraq*, Tommy, and my mom is *Nikrauruk*. She was the daughter of *Aliigaq* and *Aula*. My dad's parents are *Narvaugauraq* and *Sauluq*. I was born at Kobuk in 1918.

When I first became aware of my surroundings in life, I was being packed on my mom's back (*aummaaqsik*) and the cold winds were reaching me through the small holes of the parka but many do not believe me (*argautuq*). I became aware of my life and surroundings when I was very young. There was already a school when I was aware again. Then I became aware again and it was Christmas time. The people were having fun giving each others gifts. That was when I first saw a Santa Claus. But I did not understand the meaning of him because I was a child. I later learned that it was Charlie Lee who was Santa Claus then.

We lived up there across from present village of Kobuk. It was called *Lauqvik*, the sandbar side. It was not called Kobuk when I came to be aware.

My dad had gone across to look for cottonwood (*ninnuq*) for *aklus* (runners?) for his sled. During the process of cutting the cottonwood, he cut himself with his axe. When he came out through the trail across from us, we noticed that he was hurt. We went to him and took him home. I know and remember that evening, when *Panaigruk* had his feet on his lap, wrapped because the wound was quite large.

Dr. (name unintelligible) was up here, but he did not have all his clinical items with him. He did not give him anything for pain but just gave him surgery and repaired his tendons. He helped him. Otherwise loss of blood would have been detrimental for my dad. He was just lucky that the doctor was up there then and he lived.

I remember things happening up there. The people were not famished, suffering. But I was still pretty young and did not understand too well yet. When they first took me in the outer country, outside of the Kobuk country, called *Silialiniq*, I remember well. I knew enough that I was leading the dogs. Going in through *Koqluqtuq* we went through a pass (*naqsraq*), and we came out just below a place called *Qaqurnulimaat*. We made camp there and began to live.

I even remember when Archie Ferguson and Hadley (*Asailuk*) got married. Hadley was the daughter of *Suqnuquu*. Archie, a white man from lower 48, was one of the first to run to a store. I remember these things from when I was very young. That is how my life began up there at *Lauqvik*.

Later, we moved. I do not remember when we moved. When they were trying to move the school, I remember here and there again. *Suqnuquu*, our uncle, my dad's older brother, had a contract with him and *Tutraq* (Charlie Coffin), and worked with them to move the school. I always remembered but not for very long periods yet. I do not even remember my age. This is how I first came to being in remembering my first stages of life.

TAPE 1

In later years came the reindeer. I began trying to attend school. I will, if time permits, tell about *Ulauqtuun's* premonition. It is kind of long but, maybe I will return to it. The reindeer were in two sets. Evans Commack's herd was on the south side of the Kobuk River and my dad's herd were on this side by *Nurviraq* (Shungnak). They called Shungnak, *Nurviraq*, that's its name. I have a problem in remembering now.

LINDA LEE Where were your parents living?

WESLEY WOODS Up there too.

LINDA LEE At Kobuk? Tell the story about it.

WESLEY WOODS My parents living?

LINDA LEE Yes.

JOSEPHINE WOODS Where they used to spring camp, where they used to go?

LINDA LEE Where they used to go? Lived in houses?

WESLEY WOODS Log cabins.

LINDA LEE Called *Maptiqat*?

WESLEY WOODS Yes.

LINDA LEE What kind of houses did you have then?

WESLEY WOODS Log cabins, with logs laid vertically.

LINDA LEE Oh

WESLEY WOODS I was not raised in a sod house (*ivrulik*).

WESLEY WOODS Would it be appropriate for me tell my life and trip to Canada? What does he want to know, my parents life and where they lived?

LINDA LEE Yes, your parents living, where they have been and lived.

WESLEY WOODS (To Josephine) They were *Paamiut*, from Pah River, huh?

JOSEPHINE WOODS You used to say that they used to spring camp across there?
 Ougraugmi.

WESLEY WOODS That too?

TAPE 1

JOSEPHINE WOODS Yes, have to, that was the life of your parents.

WESLEY WOODS Yes. We moved over to Quqraug.

JOSEPHINE WOODS You moved over that way to Quqraug.

WESLEY WOODS Yes.

LINDA LEE What did you move for, for hunting?

WESLEY WOODS For trapping purposes.

LINDA LEE Tell the story about it.

WESLEY WOODS No. Yes. I want to go further up river to where I first became aware in my first stages of life. *Qapvaichiaqviki*. When I was a child living at Kobuk, my parents moved further up river to trap for marten, along with my uncle Charlie Coffin (*Tutraq*) and a young man they called *Kutvaq*. We spent a whole winter trapping for marten up there in the beginning valleys of the Kobuk. I do not remember exactly where, but it is above Pah River (*Paa*) and even above *Aqusrivik*. We spend a whole winter, and I remember when my parents were traveling.

LINDA LEE How did you travel?

WESLEY WOODS By dog team with dogs, making trail all the time. The snow was so deep whenever we moved.

LINDA LEE How many sleds?

WESLEY WOODS We each had a sled.

LINDA LEE (English) (To Jim Magdanz). You could ask him.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Well, I'd say. What I'd like to do is take that Canada trip and do a whole interview just about that Canada trip, yeah, like tonight or tomorrow. I don't know if we could do the whole thing in 35, 45 minutes, or whatever is left.

LINDA LEE (English) He'd like to come back and talk about it.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That's what I would like to do. Let's take it, you can come back after your appointment or after supper and do the Canada trip.

WESLEY WOODS (tape index 15:30)

LINDA LEE (English) He wants to know if he should also talk about...

TAPE 1

WESLEY WOODS	(tape index 15:53)
LINDA LEE (English)	...events that happened way before he lived, before he was born. It's about a war (unintelligible).
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Potentially, yeah. I'd say that, what I would like to get, at a minimum, what I need to get, is an overview of where you lived and where you camped.
WESLEY WOODS	Our way of life and living?
LINDA LEE	Yes, show where on the map where you lived, moved to?
WESLEY WOODS	When we were trapping for marten, I do not know exactly where it is but somewhere around above Beaver River.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	As long as we get that, everything else is fair game. Especially with an elder, I'd say, tape as much as we can. The Canada trip, and this old story, absolutely. I want to make sure that we don't not get the minimum stuff that I need for this other purpose.
WESLEY WOODS	(tape index 17:18) Kuuqrauq?
LINDA LEE	You can talk about that.
WESLEY WOODS	(tape index 17:32)
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	So one approach right now, we have only until 3:30. He was born in Kobuk, and he lived in Kobuk. When did he leave Kobuk, or he and his family, leave Kobuk to live somewhere else?
LINDA LEE	When did you move from Kobuk, how old were you?
WESLEY WOODS	I do not exactly know, but I was about school age then.
LINDA LEE	You were quite small then?
WESLEY WOODS	Yes. In the old village down there, the place I use now for my garden, is where our log cabin was when we first moved here. Then we moved further back, behind Charlie Lee's house. He was not there then. When he came, he built in three places, moving down in front of our house. You can easily see today. But that is where we first lived when we moved here, where my garden is today.
LINDA LEE	Were both your parents alive then?
WESLEY WOODS	Yes, they were still alive then.

TAPE 1

LINDA LEE And moving, camping?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, we always go and move, even for muskrat hunting over to the Kugarak River (*Kuuqraug*). We always return on foot, with backpacks.

LINDA LEE Could you tell us about that, how you left?

WESLEY WOODS We left in the Spring by dog team for *Kuuqraug*, this time of the year (i.e. April), close to May. There were snow blotches on the ground yet. Then after muskrat hunting over there, we left our sleds over there and backpacked it back to here.

LINDA LEE Did you leave your dogs?

WESLEY WOODS No. We took them with us. They helped pack our belongings back with us. We make backpacks for them.

LINDA LEE Did you leave your sleds?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, we left them.

LINDA LEE When did you retrieve the sleds?

WESLEY WOODS In the fall after freeze up. We were not the only ones that did this. There were others from here that did the same trapping trips.

LINDA LEE Hunting only for muskrats? For the pelts?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, because we only hunt for muskrat in the spring. But during the winter, when living at Kobuk, life was good. They trapped for fox, lynx, otter, mink, marten. The price for lynx was good. They lived well up there.

LINDA LEE Why did they move away from Kobuk?

WESLEY WOODS Where they built the school, it was flooded every spring. The government built it. Then they decided not to have the school there. There were two bidders (who said), "If they would pay me this amount of money, I would move it." Riley Jim Woods (*Suqnuquu*) won. He was Tommy's older brother, my uncle. If the other person had won, he was going to move it up to the mouth of Kuikcherk River (*Kuuchiaq*), the old CAA site between Kobuk and Shungnak. *Suqnuquu* won and he wanted to move it to Shungnak. I was a young boy when his family moved to Selawik and that is where they died.

LINDA LEE Why did they settle in Kobuk then?

Tape 1

WESLEY WOODS Prospectors. When white men came and found money in Dall Creek, the jobs opened it up as a village. It had been settled previously, but it had a big cut bank and large beach. Some had spend summers there, and began settling there because money (gold) was found in Dall Creek, and also down in Shungnak River (*Isiqnaq*). They are always saying 1980 and also talking about 1898, when white men first came here.

LINDA LEE 1898.

WESLEY WOODS Yes. Around here in upper Kobuk that is but they had come earlier down river.

LINDA LEE How did they reach here, by boat?

WESLEY WOODS By boat.

LINDA LEE Did they have gardens?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, people learned from them. Our parents learned from them and I have learned from my parents. They first came by poling and pulling their boats with rope from the beaches (*uukumaq*), then later they began to use steamers. The first captain of a boat was named Riley. He could not quite get to Kobuk. They would use small boats to haul the store supplies the rest of the way. Kobuk had two stores.

LINDA LEE What about here (Shungnak), there was no store?

WESLEY WOODS No people here then.

WESLEY WOODS But there was Riley, alone, *Narvaugauraq*, my grandmother. They called her "Momma Riley. The white folks came to her every now and then and came up with that name, because one of the steam captains was named Riley. Riley and Agnes Berg would be the ones to come up. Agnes Berg was also another person who ran a steamer. Those are the first boats that came up here.

LINDA LEE (English) (To Jim Magdanz) OK. We talked about living in Kobuk, and why they moved here. What else do you want me to ask him?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) What years did he live there?

LINDA LEE (English) He doesn't remember.

WESLEY WOODS (tape index 24:54) Riley and Agnes Berg, they go past to...

LINDA LEE (English) (Wesley and Linda talking at same time, Linda unintelligible) mining at Dall Creek, Shungnak River.

TAPE 1

JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Does he remember about how old he was? Was he already an adult?
LINDA LEE (English)	He doesn't remember how old he was, but he was a little kid.
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	I think they came down when they moved the school.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	So he came down (from Kobuk to Shungnak) when they moved the first, when they first moved to Shungnak, because we know what year they did that. So when they moved the school, they moved down the same time?
LINDA LEE (English)	They moved same time.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	OK. (To Wesley) When you were growing up, did you live all year in the village or did your family go to camp?
LINDA LEE	Did your family stayed here during the winter or whole year or did you leave now and then?
WESLEY WOODS	We always moved or leave. We always left in the spring and there would be no one here during the summer. Mostly all up river but hardly any down river. We always went up river, polling, and pulling the boats from the beach.
LINDA LEE	What do you go up for?
WESLEY WOODS	To go fishing.
LINDA LEE	Fall time?
WESLEY WOODS	Summer time around July, August.
LINDA LEE	What kind of fish?
WESLEY WOODS	Salmon, whitefish, sheefish. Because they are the only sustenance for our dogs and us.
LINDA LEE	Drying them?
WESLEY WOODS	Yes. Drying them. When fall comes, they store fresh fish to make them stink, ferment them. They make fish caches (<i>suluuns</i>), built up off the ground to store them and leave them.
LINDA LEE	They leave them then?
WESLEY WOODS	Yes, up there, they also have caches (<i>unnalus</i>) on higher stilts for storing dry fish. Now, there are none today. Those are the people's ways of life, living then.

TAPE 1

Also, they poled up river with dogs, and with a person handling them like a dog team. Then when they were going to cross the river to reach another sandbar (*atniq*), they let the dogs in at the bow section. The people would paddle or use oars to cross. When they docked (on the other sandbar), the dogs would get off because they have learned. They could even pull from the beach by themselves, with just someone from the boat handling them. Someone was always with the dogs, holding the rope from the boat.

LINDA LEE

When going to summer camps, how long were they gone?

WESLEY WOODS

Until September, just before October. If they wait longer, it will freeze up on them.

LINDA LEE

Then when they come back in October, do they have a feast in November?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, the feast and Christmas has been with us since its inception.

LINDA LEE

So after Christmas, and it's this time of the year (April), where do they move again?

WESLEY WOODS

Some will leave for muskrat hunting up in Pah River (*Paa*), some inside *Saqvaqsigiaq* river.

LINDA LEE

Muskrat hunting?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, it had muskrats before beaver became so abundant. There were a lot of muskrats. Some of them always went down to the Kobuk River delta. Some of them do stay here.

LINDA LEE

For the pelts only?

WESLEY WOODS

For pelts to use to purchase supplies from a store.

LINDA LEE

Then return here again?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes. In later years, we made rafts and went down to Selawik. Then we would get into their boats, and go to Kotzebue.

(SIDE B)

WESLEY WOODS

They spent their winters here because their children were going to school.

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LINDA LEE After getting pelts, they return here?

WESLEY WOODS After muskrat hunting. This cycle was continued every year. I never really went to school because my parents would always take me away. That is why I am not literate.

LINDA LEE You began talking about going down to Selawik with a raft, and on to Kotzebue?

WESLEY WOODS Yes.

LINDA LEE What do they do that for?

WESLEY WOODS After muskrat hunting, they always made a circle. They went with a raft down the Selawik River, caught a ride with Selawik people going to Kotzebue, and then came up the Kobuk River to return. Ours was not the only family that did this. Joe Sun did this, too, on several trips. Also, Charlie Lee. There was also *Patkuraq*, who went to do this, but he never came back. (He was) Joe Sun's older brother. They kept him in Selawik because they liked him. That is where he and his wife's bodies are buried. This was his ground, too, where he was from and where he once lived.

LINDA LEE Did they go to trade for seal oil?

WESLEY WOODS They went to Kotzebue to gather seal oil. But they did not go empty handed when they left for muskrat hunting. They brought on their person some other fur for trading for bearded seal (*ugruk*) skins or seal oil. Then they left for home again then.

LINDA LEE How do they travel then? With Evinrude?

WESLEY WOODS I myself traveled by steamboats, when I did this. Either with Archie Ferguson or with others who had boats. They always used them to bring people home. But before I was even born and my dad, *Sauluq*, was a young boy, he ran a business buying fox skins during the winter time. When summer came, he would leave with about three boats and head for Kotzebue. Once there, he would use them to trade with the Russians, when they used to come over to trade yet. They would load up their boats with commercial food and return by poling and pulling from the beach back up.

LINDA LEE Did the Russians come up here?

WESLEY WOODS No, he met them at Kotzebue. The Russians were running a business. Probably before we came under the United States.

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LINDA LEE	What did they carry and how did they get there?
WESLEY WOODS	The Russians?
LINDA LEE	Yes.
WESLEY WOODS	They came with sailboats. Big sailboats with four posts for sails on the large boats.
LINDA LEE	What did they carry?
WESLEY WOODS	Supplies to use for trading.
LINDA LEE	Food?
WESLEY WOODS	Yes, food. Later, when US took over, they also began coming with such supplies.
LINDA LEE	How long did they spend time in Kotzebue?
WESLEY WOODS	They always came back early, to try to catch the salmon run, while it was still good to dry them.
LINDA LEE	Where do they hunt caribou?
WESLEY WOODS	Outside and beyond the Kobuk Valley. There were no caribou over here then. The caribou just recently came. <i>(Sophie Cleveland commentary: Fall of 1946, my parents and Bertha Jack were living at Ambler; my mom saw them with her naked eye on that ingiachaiq.)</i>
LINDA LEE	How did they travel out there, by foot?
WESLEY WOODS	With dogs. During the summer when they left, around July, a person would take two, three, four dogs with packs to carry personal belongings, and leave. They would travel through Kogoluktuk River (<i>Kauqluqtuq</i>), and inside the Ambler River, a pass called <i>Natmaktugiat</i> . They called the pass that because the pass is so mountainous on the back side (<i>qitnuiq</i>). Only in the winter time, will they backpack to get past it. When they go out there in the winter time, they always have to push their sleds. But it is impossible to come down. Do not even try during the winter. But the summer hunters going out can easily do it with their dogs, backpacking. Kogoluktuk is good, it has a good pass. One can use dogs to do it, and get by the pass.
LINDA LEE	Were they gone for a month?

TAPE 1

WESLEY WOODS The ones that went out there during the summer would stay a little more than a month. Out there in the Noatak, there were marmots, sheep, and bull caribou for mukluk soles. Sheep were for parkas. The marmots would be sold for about \$2.50. Sometimes he (the trader?) bought them for \$5. They are about this long, their meat is a delicacy. They are getting ready to come out now (in April).

LINDA LEE The sheep was dried?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, they dried them. Then they came back on the Kogoluktuk Mauneluk, Reed, and Beaver rivers, using rafts. Behind Kobuk there is a large waterfall (*Koqluqtuq*).

(Sophie Cleveland annotation: Before that there is a lake and they take their rafts apart and let the logs go.)

WESLEY WOODS There were warriors from Noatak that tried to come over to war with us. But they did not know about this big waterfall. They fell and all died, except for one. I would tell a story about it.

LINDA LEE Did women follow?

WESLEY WOODS No, women did not follow.

LINDA LEE Only men.

WESLEY WOODS Only men. But long ago, before the white men came, they gathered all their belongings, moved and traveled.

LINDA LEE Young men?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, when a boy was old enough to follow his dad, he would go and learn the trail and learn from him. That is how the Kobuk River people lived. Maybe they had a little more hardship then the down river and coastal villages. But they had good food. That was why they traveled hard and kept their food intact, in check.

LINDA LEE At their home, when the man was hunting, what did the women do?

WESLEY WOODS They camped and fish.

LINDA LEE Leave all of them home? The men leaving?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, because they were probably so many bends from each other, apart, never together. Lot of kayaks travelling. They always visited each other. The news traveled with them during their kayak travels.

LINDA LEE They had kayaks?

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WESLEY WOODS Yes, practically everyone had kayaks, because they were the only means of getting anywhere.

LINDA LEE The people then probably had a lot of stamina, strength, or will power.

WESLEY WOODS Yes, they had that. Strength. Because they do not abuse their bodies with cigarettes or alcohol.

LINDA LEE Did they ever get sick?

WESLEY WOODS I do not really know of anyone being sick. But some of the old people got sick and died, because they really did not have any medicine or doctors to help them.

LINDA LEE Did they gather medicinal greens or berries from the land to help themselves?

WESLEY WOODS Wormwood (*sargig*), juniper berries to help themselves. People have known about these and used them for medicinal purposes for long time.

LINDA LEE When and what time of the year do they pick these?

WESLEY WOODS You pick the wormwood in the summer when they grow, and hang them to dry. Also, you can pick them in the spring when the snow is melting. They are good, too. Some coastal people do not really know this.

LINDA LEE (English) (To Jim Magdanz) We talked about living in Shungnak year round, and the activities, what activities he did during the year.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) (To Wesley Woods) So basically, there have been two places you have lived in your life, Kobuk and Shungnak?

LINDA LEE Have you only lived in Kobuk and Shungnak all your life?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, also up river, during the summer.

LINDA LEE What is the name of that camp?

WESLEY WOODS I lived above Kobuk at *Akuligiaq* (old channel). Also, I stayed at *Qala* for a long time when I was young.

LINDA LEE Tell us about your stay at *Akuligiaq*.

WESLEY WOODS I was a young boy when we lived there. Frank Ferguson — they called him “FogusonL— father of Archie and Warren, was a prospector at California Creek then. My father worked for him. That was why we

TAPE 1

stayed at *Akuligiaq* trying to be close to him ,so he could come home. Sometimes he was gone for a month and would be home for two weeks.

LINDA LEE

When you lived there, what did you eat?

WESLEY WOODS

Fish. White fish, salmon and sheefish. *Akuligiaq* then had lot of sheefish. They always came in schools. When we seined them, we got a lot. We would fill up two boats, small river boats, not big like your boats today. We picked berries, rhubarb, Eskimo potatoes, high bush cranberries. Do you know what high bush cranberries are?

LINDA LEE

Yes.

WESLEY WOODS

You have to cook them, though. They are not too good eaten raw.

LINDA LEE

What about at *Qala*?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, we also lived that way at *Qala*?

LINDA LEE

Why did your family go up there?

WESLEY WOODS

To stay with my grandparents, *Aula* and *Aligiaq*. That was the base camp of my mother's parents. They stayed there for a long time with their large family. I did not stay there too long myself. My mother's siblings.

LINDA LEE

Did they spend winters up there?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, they spent winters there before moving, there were some houses there. I have never seen them or been there, or maybe I had been there. But I probably was not aware of them then again.

That was when *Ulaughtuun* had a premonition, there were many people living there. Then, the price of a fox pelt was high, and the families hardly lived in a village. *Qala* always had lot of dead salmon in its eddy, and foxes were abundant. The people liked to stay there and spend the winter.

LINDA LEE

They always spent the winters?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, there were some that spent the winter. I have never spend winters there, because this was when I was young and not aware of my surroundings yet.

LINDA LEE

How many families lived there?

WESLEY WOODS

As far as I know, there were about three or four houses that were there.

TAPE 1

LINDA LEE When your were not busy with making a living, what kind of games did you play? How do you play? Did you have football?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, at Kobuk, they used to have big football games, also at Shungnak. There is a lake where they played big football games, it was quite large then. When it froze over, covered with snow, and became good and hard, they would play football on it during winter.

LINDA LEE What about in the house, were there games played? The children?

WESLEY WOODS What?

JOSEPHINE WOODS Eskimo games, endurance games (*anaktaq*-the best wins).

LINDA LEE Did they have Eskimo games?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, they had Eskimo games, hand ball, there had many games that they played. But, they hardly did any Eskimo dancing because God's Word was being taught then, when we became aware then. We (his age group) became aware when the Word began to be spread up this way.

LINDA LEE (English) (*To Jim Magdanz*) We talked about living in *Aquliaq* and *Qala*.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So he lived there at some point?

LINDA LEE (English) He lived in those two places.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) As a boy or as a grownup?

LINDA LEE (English) As a boy.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Winter time? Summer time?

LINDA LEE (English) Summer time.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Those were fish camp places?

LINDA LEE (English) One is fish camp. The one that is *Aquliaq* was when his father was mining. Those people wanted to have a closer place to go fish. But they lived off the fish.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Can we figure out on this map where those places are? (Gets out map) We are looking at an inch-to-the-mile map.

LINDA LEE Can you point out *Qala* here on the map?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yes. They always call it "cabin" because it has cabins.

TAPE 1

(Sophie Cleveland annotation: Qalgiqsuq lake is across from Qala, a little further up from the old channel. A little bit over from Umaivik mountain, under Kaisrauluk, is the mouth of Qalgiqsuq. It is usually called Ivagik. The mouth of old channel coming out on the other side is called Tulukaligauraq.)

- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Other families?
- LINDA LEE Others?
- WESLEY WOODS (With Josephine) *Tutratkuq*, my uncle, Harry Wood, his dad's brother. He was married to Angeline (*Iliqsraqtuq*), Annie Mark's, *Nataqnaq*'s younger sister.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS They were the only ones? Your family and them?
- WESLEY WOODS Yes, but others' camps were close by. *Akitnialuratku* and Annie Mark's camp is *Nikralluk*. (Now back to map again)
- (Sophie Cleveland's annotation: Annie Mark's first husband was Iyaquna Sheldon, real father of Henry and Charlie Sheldon. She adopted Vera Hobson from Johnny and Effie Hopson.)*
- WESLEY WOODS Mark down Qala in the map. Neal and Margaret's camp is real Qala. The one above is Putu camp.
- WESLEY WOODS Is this called Qala? Exact place of Qala is where Neal and Margaret's camp is.
- (Josephine commented that she is not good with map and cannot see too well anyway.)*
- WESLEY WOODS Here is *Paukviraq*. They called it that because in early years this was where they blocked the river, the whole width with cotton wood and branches. They would stand on a slim line of wood to spear sheefish when they are coming back down river. I have been there, too, when I was a young boy. So that needs to be marked.
- LINDA LEE They speared them like this?
- WESLEY WOODS Yes, they blocked the whole width of the river with cottonwood and branches and make them sturdy. They tied the boat in its bow and watched. When a sheefish appeared to get by, it was speared. The spearer would make cheery noise "oo hu hu huii.Ĺ. Others would know who caught one because this is during the night. That is why they call it *Paukviraq* (*paukvik* is a sturdy pole stuck in the ground, where you

TAPE 1

tie your net when fishing). Here is *Ivagik*. My namesake's (*atiŋ*) land is here somewhere. That is really here. Tell him that now.

LINDA LEE (English) (To Jim Magdanz) He said this place right here was called *Paukviraq*. They used to make a little dam with trees, or willows, and then spear fish that were passing through.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yes, that's just above old channel.

WESLEY WOODS (English) That's a good place to tell in the record. That's the whole village, though, every man, they divide them up.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) From Kobuk?

WESLEY WOODS (English) From Kobuk. From Shungnak, Yes.

LINDA LEE (English) You got to go clinic.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah, we're just...

JOSEPHINE WOODS You have to go to the clinic.

LINDA LEE (English) We'll come back tomorrow.

WESLEY WOODS OK.

TAPE 2

(Recorded April 17, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong.)

SIDE A

- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK, are we ready to go?
- LINDA LEE (English) Uh huh.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Let me do just a brief introduction. It's April 17. We are in Shungnak, Alaska, with Wesley and Josephine Woods, and Linda Lee. This is Jim Magdanz. And we are going to talk about Kobuk and some of the camps where Wesley lived as a young boy and a young man. OK. This is the second tape.
- LINDA LEE When you were a young man, young boy, where have you lived?
- WESLEY WOODS All up river. Also down river by mouth of Shungnak River. My dad bought a house from a white man. We spend 2 years and I became aware of it at several occasions.
- LINDA LEE Were there a lot of people when you lived at Kobuk?
- WESLEY WOODS Yes. There were a lot of people. There were only homes in like two rows, some in the front and the back section. I did not understand the surroundings of it but I only became aware of my immediate home surroundings.
- LINDA LEE You were very young when you lived in Kobuk?
- WESLEY WOODS Yes. But that is where I became aware (qauqri).
- LINDA LEE How did they live up there?
- WESLEY WOODS by fishing during the summer and trapping in the winter. They trapped by dogteam, no snowmachines then.
- LINDA LEE Did they fish right in front there?
- WESLEY WOODS No, and also moving to camps up river, Silupaugagtuuq and others like many at Qala and other camps below us and on down the river. The river then was one but now it has made new channels and changed a lot.
- LINDA LEE Why did they live in Kobuk then, spend winters? The people?

TAPE 2

WESLEY WOODS Because they are Kuuvanmius, they were called Itqiliaquks then too. It had good land and trapping areas. Also, the white men found monies in Dall Creek, California Creek and Ling creek, also Shungnak River. That is how this village got its name.

LINDA LEE Who all lived in Kobuk, you and your parents?

WESLEY WOODS Yes. Up there. Yes, there were many, because they have a school and two stores.

LINDA LEE At Kobuk? Who had stores?

WESLEY WOODS Tom Barryman and do not know the other but they said that they had 2 stores.

LINDA LEE What about Harry Brown?

WESLEY WOODS When I became aware, there was Harry Brown, was already a store. Then when I really became aware, the Fergusons, Archie, Warren also had a store there. Kobuk had two stores continuously. Then when some moved here to Shungnak, there was none.

LINDA LEE When they were living up there, did they have houses?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, they had houses. Nice, warm, log cabins.

LINDA LEE What about lights?

WESLEY WOODS The kerosene lights with mantels also lamps with kerosene. Linda:: Stoves?

WESLEY WOODS Homemade stoves from drums that they made themselves. Later, they began to own the stoves with a shelf attached to them. (The white ceramic stoves which they called *qikuu*, forgot the English name).

LINDA LEE When they lived there, did they have any games?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, they had foot ball games.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: To begin this game, the team numbers are even and these teams go on forever, you do not ever move to the other side. There are two people like basketball in the center and players all around. They “saqpikL with their right foots, they wrap the ball by their ankles and whichever weasles it out, kicks it to his partner and the game begins. There are markers on each end that the players must bring it to score. A long process for one point each time, a lot of work but fun. This is mostly played during Sunday afternoons. The winners always kept the ball. The losers will “qunnauqL some-

TAPE 2

thing like give up for the time being. When they see the winners running around down there, the other team will come down and others will see that their partner is being ruffled up, will get ready and go to support. The major rule is to wear mukluks.)

WESLEY WOODS

Then during the summer after muskrat hunting and returned. They have a big blanket toss. I have been on the blanket too but I could not stand up, I was a young kid then.

LINDA LEE

What did they use for blanket?

WESLEY WOODS

They import a walrus skin from the coastal people, and they put up 4 young pliable spruce tree posts and tie each corner with rope from the posts. Then when someone gets on the blanket and began to tramp on it, the blanket flips up (mitiklaq). They are used like spring and throw the person up.

LINDA LEE

To try to have fun?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, they always had a lot of fun. But, I do not know that much about Eskimo dancing, i was not aware of them. But when they had blanket toss and big handball games (nalluqsragaq), i know.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: When they blanket toss, they also sang Eskimo songs.)

LINDA LEE

What is a handball?

WESLEY WOODS

Fighting in fun for possession of a ball (aqsautraq). That's handball.
(*Wesley asks Linda to tell Jim in English.*)

LINDA LEE (English)

(Chuckles) He tell me about the games they played, and one of the games they played...

WESLEY WOODS (English)

In Kobuk

LINDA LEE

...where they tried to take it from the men to the women.

WESLEY WOODS (English) And sing sometimes. They have, they own, each man, each woman, they have singing. I learn three, but I can't sing them no more. But they always singing.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

Blanket Toss?

WESLEY WOODS (English)Right here just like dance, dance. I mean they have singing the old Eskimo songs.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

What did they call the game where you tried to get the ball?

JOSEPHINE WOODS

Handball (*nalluqsragaq*)

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: Handball, nalluqsragaq) is strictly women against the men. It begins by a person throwing the ball up in the air and saying in jest: "there is no one coming to get this ballL (airaichuq-uuna). If there is no response, then they will grab a lone person and rub the ball at the top of his/her head. This shows how weak they are and feeding it blubber (uqsrugauragtuqtitchi). This will heighten the other side to come to the rescue. Then it begins. This goes on continuously. Sometimes the ball leaves with a person with a ball and the women/men won't forget when that person returns because you must come back with it. If you do not want to hear about it for the rest of your living days. If men/women can't find the ball, a break is taken, rest until whoever has the ball decides that its time to bring it out. Sometimes there is always a big pile, like football players on top of each others to try to take it away from a strong man or woman. There were strong woman too, Edna Commack, Edna Greist that I can think of. Its not a place to be when you are ticklish, every kind of touching is open. If you do not want to get barraged by 10 women at one time, throw the ball to your partner. If you are tempermental and will get mad when manhandled, don't play. The game can go from Kobuk to Shungnak including the camps in between. Bertha Sheldon's camp and Edna Commack just below. Stepping out in to the water is no barrier, the whole village, its surroundings is an open gym.)

WESLEY WOODS

(To Linda) Your dad sure can sing them good because his dad, Charlie used to sing them. She, meaning Josephine, probably can sing them too.

JOSEPHINE WOODS

(Inaudible.)

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

Did people come down river for those kinds of things, for games, for celebrations, like Christmas?

WESLEY WOODS

Then in the fall time after spending the summer in camps, they make rafts and head back downriver to their winter homes, the rafts to be used for firewood during the winter. They pull the logs up on to the ground and they was how they used to make living up there at Kobuk and they did that too here at Shungnak.

LINDA LEE

The people helped each others?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, They helped each others.

LINDA LEE

No payments for work done?

WESLEY WOODS

No, no payments were made. They had no money to pay them anyway.

TAPE 2

LINDA LEE When they lived there, did visitors come?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, every now and then visitors would come from the Indian country. From Allasupaqmiut-called Cutoff. Village of Huslia was not established yet.

LINDA LEE What did they come for?

WESLEY WOODS Just visit, to come and join us having fun in games. Also, trading with items that the Eskimos had.

LINDA LEE Did they stay for a week?

WESLEY WOODS I do not recall, I think that some do stay for a long time.

LINDA LEE Women/men too?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, married couple.

LINDA LEE What about their children?

WESLEY WOODS I do not know, I don't recall seeing any children.

LINDA LEE Then after visiting, they head for home again?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, to their homes, while the trail is good for their dogs.

LINDA LEE What about the Eskimos ever go over to visit over there?

WESLEY WOODS The people of Kobuk had such a good living, not wanting anything hardly went muskrat hunting. In the spring, they would camp to places where good duck/geese hunting spots are and good fishing streams and not muskrat hunt because they had enough supplies already by their pelts caught during their winter trapping.

LINDA LEE Did the Eskimos visit the Indians?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, they always visit over there?

LINDA LEE In the spring?

WESLEY WOODS In the winter time. Maybe sometimes in the spring too, i do not know about that, maybe meeting each others over there somewhere.

LINDA LEE At Kobuk, during thanksgiving or Christmas, did they have visitors?

WESLEY WOODS I don't recall, but maybe they had visitors. But the trappers always come to the village when Christmas is nearing.

TAPE 2

LINDA LEE Today when we are having thanksgiving or Christmas, we have these at the church, how did they do it then?

WESLEY WOODS I do not know, I don't really know, because they do not have a church then.

LINDA LEE Did they have a men's house (*qargi*)?

WESLEY WOODS No. We did not know of one then but they always gather at the school.

LINDA LEE What about living in Qala? Who all lived there?

WESLEY WOODS My grandparents, Aula and Aligaq, my mother's parents and their children. Sometimes other families always live close by like next door neighbors but not too many.

LINDA LEE Can you remember them, can you name the people who lived there?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, in the fall time, since we moved I can remember, but there are many. They used to cut trees for raft for firewood from across the way then and also we can cut trees from anywhere then too. When the supposed owner of the land does not object, they would cut trees to make a raft for wood. But that is different today.

LINDA LEE Did people spend winters there at Qala?

WESLEY WOODS Before my time, the houses were gone when I found out.

LINDA LEE What kind of homes did they have?

WESLEY WOODS Log cabins.

LINDA LEE Did they have boats?

WESLEY WOODS What? I think so, when they were there, I was not even born but I have seen the old foundations of the homes.

LINDA LEE Where did you live when you were a young man? (*Nukatpiaq*)

WESLEY WOODS While I was at school here, I reached third grade, my parents left as herders when the reindeer were leaving or moved. I left then.

LINDA LEE Did you leave from here then?

WESLEY WOODS No, from Paungaqtuqruk. We spend a summer there. Paungaqtuqruk is below Amber, the big ikpik, high ridge hill by Hunt river and that is where they spend the summer.

TAPE 2

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: For clarification, on this paragraph, Wesley did say that he left and that is so stated in translation but on the following paragraph, he says that he stayed behind and attended school while staying with his mother).

The reindeer were divided at Buckland from their herd and the herd size given to them was about 2000 reindeer, that we started with.

LINDA LEE

To bring back here?

WESLEY WOODS

No, they did not bring them here but they went up through Reed River on over to Nunataq, down there through Iklauyaq, they are now traveling that with snowmachines today.

I stayed here and attended school. When summer came, my mother, and Inunniliq's wife, Nellie, left and caught up to them *(Barabara Armstrong annotation: by Hula Hula River, I have read this)* above Barrow. We caught up to them on the east side of the mouth of Colville River (arguranani). That is where they were. I recognized the reindeer, because I had spend the summer with them down there at Paungaqtuqruk.

LINDA LEE

Before getting married to Josephine, where did you travel or live?

WESLEY WOODS

I went to Canada afterwards we came home with Captain Peterson big boat from Herchel Island. We did not cross to their mainland, the brothers (his dad and brother) decided to come home since the reindeer made it there anyway to Canada. They were homesick. Enroute to Barrow, the last part of September, Nellie had a baby. Captain Peterson's wife was the midwife and was worried about her. They let her and dad's older brother get off at Barrow. We were suppose to ride as far as Point Hope and spend the fall there and return home with dogs after freeze up. My dad did not want his older brother to get off alone and took us off the ship too, to follow them. So we got off at Barrow and spend the winter there. So the following spring in April, we flew home on a plane to Pila (? spelling, location uncertain) and went home from there. 1931, 32 ,33. It was 1933.

LINDA LEE

After being gone how many years?

WESLEY WOODS

Myself for two years. My dad for three years?

LINDA LEE

All of you returned back here to Shungnak?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, we returned. We had a house here, that we left, down there behind present Charlie Lee's house. It was empty then. A large house 14x30. They used to use it for church services and Eskimo dancing.

TAPE 2

LINDA LEE So from there you built a house down there by your present garden place?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, when I began making a living myself. When we returned that spring. During that summer, Nome had a big fire. My dad took us to Nome to work again because he had money to travel. Lomens were in Nome and spent the winter there. During that summer, my dad had food poisoning, and died. After he died, my mom and I returned back to Shungnak.

LINDA LEE Where did your dad die, in Nome?

WESLEY WOODS No, at Kotzebue.

LINDA LEE Is he buried down there?

WESLEY WOODS Yeah. He's been buried down there in Kotzebue.

[illegible]

WESLEY WOODS Yeah, we came back up here. We lived her for a long time, and when I becam eable to, began running dogs, and went up to the Noatak (Nunataq) with people. And then one time by myself. When World War II came, I joined the Army. I was in the Army for two years, maybe a little bit more.

LINDA LEE And you came back here again?

WESLEY WOODS Yes.

SIDE B

LINDA LEE Now you can tell a story.

WESLEY WOODS Yeah. (chuckles)

[illegible]

WESLEY WOODS Yeah, sure but my life is still going on now.

LINDA LEE OK, go ahead.

WESLEY WOODS Yeah, but I really don't have much to say. I am mostly telling the highlights of my life.

TAPE 2

LINDA LEE Go ahead and talk some more. About what you have done in your lifetime.

WESLEY WOODS Yeah.

LINDA LEE After you returned from out there, Canada? Where did you go?

WESLEY WOODS After, we returned from out there. I always go muskrat hunting over in Kugruaq by foot.

LINDA LEE Again, where did you go? After going out there, then here, then where did you go?

WESLEY WOODS Sometimes I go to work at Fairbanks for a mining company called FE. Sometimes in Candle. Mining company working on the dredges, the miners, trying to earn a little monies.

LINDA LEE During the summer?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, during the summer. They don't work during the winter.

LINDA LEE Work first, then come home again?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, then we would go outside of Kobuk valley (*siliialiniq*) again. At one time, there were a lot of us that went out there. Charlie and Annie Lee, Joe and Laura Sun, Luke and Grace Wood. There were some that left ahead of us.

The women always collected or gathered bones that were discarded after their meals during the months that they spend out there. Then at this time of the month, in March, when we are getting ready to come back, they would crush the bones, cook, and slow boil them to render their oil called *Puiniq*. Then they would gather caribou *qisragauq*: a sack that is called the stomach. They would clean these, then fill with the bone marrow and pour the *Puiniq* over them and let it freeze. The women always make several of these out there.

LINDA LEE They are probably delicious.

WESLEY WOODS Yes. I was still single then when I went out there with them. They had been others too who went out ahead of me. I have seen this done several times on my trips out there. Sometimes, there are always a lot of women, who follow thie husbands to go and live out there. They sometimes stay for a month, two months.

LINDA LEE Do they have trails?

WESLEY WOODS Then, when we are returning about the end of March. We would first bring a load of food ahead, prepare and store them and return. The

TAPE 2

following day, we would leave with our camping gear and travel, passing our stored food to a certain distance and make camp. We would then return to get the stored food supplies. Then go ahead and store them again. The following day, travel and do the same motions again. This is done until we reach home. (*Qaniraqtuq*). There would be a lot of food, and there are a lot of them too.

LINDA LEE Is there a trail to go out there?

WESLEY WOODS What?

LINDA LEE Is there a trail?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, there is. He knows it (meaning Jim Magdanz). He already traveled it.

LINDA LEE Why can't people go out?

WESLEY WOODS What?

LINDA LEE Why can't the men go out there today?

WESLEY WOODS Because they don't know, no one to show them. They do not know the way with dogs to go out there. All the ones that have gone out there are gone. Wilson, Sr. and I are the only ones left. Wilson Sr., (*Aliqsaiyaq*) used to go out there too.

LINDA LEE Oh, when was the last time they went out there?

WESLEY WOODS What?

LINDA LEE When was the last time, they went out there?

WESLEY WOODS With dogs?

LINDA LEE Yes.

WESLEY WOODS When now? I have taken Josephine out there twice.

LINDA LEE Oh.

WESLEY WOODS Our camp sites are there.

LINDA LEE Where?

WESLEY WOODS Where?

WESLEY WOODS (English) (To Jim Magdanz) Where's Noatak?

TAPE 2

JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Noatak River?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Oh, way up there, eh?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	(Pointing to map) Up there. Douglas Creek, right there.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Midas Creek?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Midas Creek, right there. You want next one (map) north?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Uh Huh. Where's...
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	(Gets another map) I've got the next one. (Unrolls map) OK, here's Douglas Creek. Here's Midas Creek.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Oh, Midas Creek right there.
JIM MAGDANZ	Yes.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Where's Douglas Creek?
JIM MAGDANZ	Here.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Right here?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	That's Douglas, right up to that lake.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Yeah, that's the one I talking about. Right here, lake between those Noatak, you know, that's (unintelligible) point them up.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Yeah, I remember.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	There's our places, right here on this mountain. Right here. Right here. That's where me and Josephine stay here. Wynita about this high.
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	No, Hilda is baby.
WESLEY WOODS	What about Hilda?
JOSPHINE WOODS (English)	Baby.
WESLEY WOODS	Baby.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Here's a pen. Go ahead, mark that one. Where you stayed that time.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	There's a creek right there, eh?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Yeah.

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WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah, right there. Yeah, Right there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Right on the creek?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah, right on the creek.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Uh huh.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Etivluk (*Itivluk*) right there, see? No. Yeah. That's Etivluk. No. Way up there, eh? Etivluk. Etivluk River?

(*Barbara Armstrong annotation: Itivit means to go over, short cut from one place to the other.*)

JIM MAGDANZ (English) This is Nigu. Here. Let's turn around. I don't read upside down so well. Here's Etivluk.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Huh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Etivluk River.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh. Way up there?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Here's Howard Pass. Etivluk flows down, or it flows to the North and drains into the Colville.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) It heads in Howard Pass on the other side of the Aniak.

WESLEY WOODS (English) I thought it was here some place. Maybe I mistake, eh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Well, let's see.

LINDA LEE (English) There's Etivluk right here, too, eh? Or what's this?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That says, Fork Etivluk. I think that's the east fork of the Etivluk. Let's see what that river you were looking at flows into.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Etivluk, right here, eh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) It's all part of the same river. Yeah. This is all part of the Etivluk here. The place you drew on the map is the very headwaters of the Etivluk watershed. And it's on a little creek that on this map is called Rough Mountain Creek. But you may have thought, you may have called it and it may really be Etivluk. No, wait. No. Rough Mountain Creek flows into the Aniak. But this all would have been, this side right here is Etivluk.

TAPE 2

WESLEY WOODS (English)	Oh, Right here Etivluk, too, eh? Yeah, that's what I thinking about.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Yeah right up to here. All that is Etivluk. And then on this side, this side of the divide is Nigu.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Yeah. And Colville River over there, eh?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Colville up here.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Uh huh. They leave about 20 or 15 sleds, they leave in here. Too many.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	At the mouth, on the Colville?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	At Etivluk mouth, yeah, in Colville River. That (unintelligible). He tell me, he said, leave 10 or 15 sleds. Too many. They give it to us, alright. Anybody could pick them up. Take them home.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Long ways up there.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Yeah, too far off. Not much too far off. (Unintelligible) right here someplace. It's (unintelligible) by Etivluk. Because it's a wolf country, right here. That time when I was here with a dog team.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Now this camp, that was later.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Yeah, that was a (miners?) camp. That's right.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	And that's. OK. I am just going to tell the tape that that's a little tributary of Mountain Creek just through the pass north of Lake Amitchiak.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	What's this. Right. Otirgon (<i>Utigun</i>)?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Otirgon?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Otirgon? Otirgon? Yeah. Otirgon.
JIM MAGDANZ	Yes.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Where's the Noatak. Right there, eh?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	That's Nigu.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Oh. Where's the Noatak?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Over here.

TAPE 2

WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh. No. Oh. I mean Etivluk. Not Noatak. Etivluk.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah. Yeah. This is, this is Nigu. It is a tributary of Etivluk.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Otirgon. Right here. That one. That Etivluk right here, eh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Uh, huh. This is all Etivluk watershed.

WESLEY WOODS (English) That one is the, that the main camp right there for us.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Otirgon. That was your main camp?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. In Otirgon. In Etivluk River. Yeah. And next one is small one, they call it *Utigugaiyak*. That's the one I want to go see with a snowgo when I was up there. I could see it from here, when we get to here.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Uh huh. Now I put a dot on the map, and marked it number 2. It's right at the confluence Otirgon Creek and Nigu in the Etivluk watershed. That was your main camp?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh Huh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) When you were with the reindeer up there?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. That's our main camp. We stay here.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Now here's.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Lot of people in there. Even (Selawik ?) people used to here in there. I know a couple of them one time stay with us.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Now this lake, they call it Etivluk Lake on the map.

WESLEY WOODS (English) And then, I been up there with dog team. Even I been up there with dog team to (Kitlik?), outside the mountains, other side the mountain.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) On the North Slope?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. I go long ways. But I'm not only one. We was lots. And then we found families of Arctic people, right there then.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Where were they from?

WESLEY WOODS (English) From Barrow.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) From Barrow.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Those Greists. Greists.

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) Greists?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) From Barrow, were camped up there.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) What was the name of the river?

WESLEY WOODS (English) They was camped there with (unintelligible). They forget how to go. Because his mother from Selawik. They want to go home from Selawik. They buried over there now. Nelson's mother. Nelson Greist.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: They traveled down here almost starved, starving. They came down the Ambler River on a raft and stopped at Happy and Bertha Jack settlement there. They sparingly shared with them, fed them back to health. That is why Nelson Greist named a girl in her honor. Naming one of your children after someone who has helped you in your life shows a high respect towards that person. The surviving family will feel so honored).

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Uh Huh. Now here's Etivluk River.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. That's right there. We found the people right there. Nineteen, 1935. Long time (chuckles).

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Now that was after the reindeer, then.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Huh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) When you found those people. That was when you were up there with the reindeer? Or that was...

WESLEY WOODS (English) No. When we hunting from here?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) When you were hunting from here.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Umm. After make trip up there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) 1975, you thought?

WESLEY WOODS (English) 1935.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) 35. So how did they get up there from Selawik. They went all the way around from Barrow and come down that way?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Who?

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JIM MAGDANZ (English)	You said the Greists...
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Oh No. They live up there since the beginning. They born up there.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Oh, the Greists are.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Uh Huh.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	OK
WESLEY WOODS (English)	You see they would have money. They got no birthday month or something. They never been in school.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Oh.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	That's why they can't claim them money, \$5,000 a year (Native corporation dividend?). All those Greists.
LINDA LEE (English)	From North Slope?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	They lost so they can't find them the first day. (chuckles) They're from North Slope alright, but no record. That's too bad. Yeah. That's where I been You see me when I go to camp. I mean map.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	(Talks briefly with Josephine about the sun hitting the thermostat on the heater).
WESLEY WOODS	What?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	(Talking about thermostat) Somebody bring it way up. When it's way up, they don't much heat.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	We talked about Kobuk. We talked about both camps on the Kobuk. When did you guys start going to Qalugrivik? What ws the first year you guys went?
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	We go 19... Jay and Dempsey were small.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	After Dempsey was born, then?
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	Uh hum. Yeah. Dempsey (untelligble).
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	How old is Dempsey now?
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	He was born in '68.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	'68. So it would have been early seventies. When he was in school, maybe, or before.

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JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah, he was in school. He was just a boy (intelligible).

JIM MAGDANZ (English) '75?

LINDA LEE '73, '74, '75?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Maybe.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. And that was the first time you guys camped at *Qalugrivik*?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Eh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That was the first time you fish camped at *Qalugrivik*?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah. Uh hum.

WESLEY WOODS Ask Vera Douglas , when we first began staying at Qalugrivik. Maybe she don't know, too.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Long time. We use them about, almost 20 years, eh?

LINDA LEE (English) You guys go there every summer, eh?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

LINDA LEE (English) For Fishing?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

LINDA LEE (English) You have a cabin there now?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Huh uh. Just that little igloo (sod house) across (the river). Jim knows.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Did you camp there long ago? When you set your allotment up there, was it a place you used a long time ago?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) When they start picking things, I mean, picking land, we pick it.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) I see

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) But that was not his.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) When you guys, before you fished at Qalugrivik, where (unintelligible) have a camp

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) When my mom's still living, we used to stay down there, tw or three bends, down there.

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) Alright.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) And then only two times, one time, up at Wynita's camp, little, one bend from Bertha Sheldon's (*Kittik*) camp.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So you fished around Shungnak then until you finally went up to Qalugrivik...

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah. Uh huh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) ...in the 1970s.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah. Long time ago, we used to stay in *Qala*, too, when we first married.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) When you were young. When you were just having kids?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So you fished up at *Qala* for a while, when you first got married, and started a family, and then you started fishing around Shungnak where your mom's...

JOSEPHINE WOODS (english) And then after mom died, we were going up to Qalugrivik.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) After your mom died.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Mom died '59.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Mom died in '59. Did you fish for a while down here after your mom died?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh. Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Just in her camp, or up at...

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Up there, you know that next bend from Bertha Sheldon's (*Kittik*) camp.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Up above?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Uh huh. Where that old boat is?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah. Across.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Right.

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JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) That old boat across.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Kind of, the river kind of splits. When it's real low water, there's a big sand bar in the middle.

WESLEY WOODS What?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Now, what I should do, I should mark this on... (unrolls map)... figure this out on the map. So, you were at *Qala* for a while. We're back to the inch-to-the-mile map. So when you first were together, you were fishing at Qala.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) And then you started fishing at your mom's camp. And where was your mom's camp. Down below Shungnak?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Down below. Uh huh. But we never used it since, long time.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Where was their camp? Do you find it on the map?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) You know that Riley camp. That's Wynita's.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) At Riley Camp?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Riley Camp. One bend from Riley Camp down. Above (unintelligible)

JIM MAGDANZ (English) The channel... This is what I was thinking of as Riley, Riley Camp.

LINDA LEE (English) One bend down.

WESLEY WOODS (unintelligible 22:10)

JIM MAGDANZ (English) This is Pick River mouth.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Paanika. In between.

WESLEY WOODS *Qala*

JIM MAGDANZ (English) (unintelligible) mouth and Riley Camp.

LINDA LEE (English) So you're in between there?

JOSEPHINE WOODS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) On the sandbar.

JOSEHPINE WOODS (English) Yeah. On that other side.

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LINDA LEE (English)	Oh, this side.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	High side?
JOSEPHINE WOODS	TAPE 22:29
LINDA LEE	Paanika.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Oh, Paanika. That. I got two kinds down there, two places, where we stayed. Paanika. (moves closer to map) This is Shungnak.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	This is Shungnak, right here. Down here's where the main channel is.
WESLEY WOOD (English)	Uh Huh. Yeah. That's right. Right there.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Right in here?
WESLEY WOOD (English)	Right here.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	On this side?
WESLEY WOOD (English)	Yeah. South side.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	On the south side.
WESLEY WOOD (English)	South side.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	OK.
WESLEY WOOD (English)	Because it's Riley Camp right there, huh?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	OK.
WESLEY WOOD (English)	Yeah, Riley Camp right there. And then <i>Paanika</i> right there. And then Pick River mouth right there. George Cleveland and Sophie allotment.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	So let's see. I'm going to make a couple marks on this map. I'm going to make a mark at, I'm going to call this A, and that's Cut Bank. I've marked A where your camp is at Cut Bank. Then B was Qala, and that's up where Margaret camps today. We don't know exactly, because the river has changed course a lot there. And after Qala, then you fished down here, what I am going to mark C, which is between...
WESLEY WOOD	Paanika
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	...Riley Camp and Pick River mouth. Paanika?
WESLEY WOOD (English)	Uh huh. Paanika.

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) And then you fished up...

WESLEY WOODS (English) And this one across, right here, there used to be someone there. Johnny Cleveland. They called him, *Qanaaliq*. Eskimo.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Where the cabin is.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Summer camp, too, for Johnny Cleveland, George Cleveland.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. So he was down here. I'll mark it.

WESLEY WOODS (English) They had allotment. Somebody owns it.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That's D on my map now. That's just across from the Pick River mouth, opposite Pick River mouth. And then you fished up above Shungnak. And I'm gonna find Bertha Sheldon's (*Kittik*) camp right here. And you were one bend above Kittik's.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Right across there is a, that slough that goes back.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah, that's where my allotment is.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. So I'm going to call that E on this map. And that's where you guys fished after your mom died, Josephine. OK

WESLEY WOOD (English) Allotment?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That's where your allotment is?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Across (inintelligible) Wynita's camp.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. And that's where you fished until you went up to *Qalugrivik*.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Then you started fishing at Qalugrivik in the mid-seventies. So *Qalugrivik*, we have a dot on the map and I'll mark that F. We know where that is. It's below Mauneluk River where the river comes back together.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Well, um, at her, long time we stay in that, above Kittik's camp. Then we stay at Mauneluk Mouth, Magdeline (Lee) and I.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Oh. OK. So, you guys camped on that...

WESLEY WOOD (English) At the mouth. On that side where Henry Stocking. Not over by

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Magdeline. Across, downwards. (north west bank of the confluence of Mauneluk and Kobuk River.

- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Where Henry's place was?
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh Huh.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Used to be big sand bar in there.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) I marked that G on the map.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Our kids were small. Samuel was baby when we was in there. And Wayne.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) So how many summers did you go up to Mauneluk to camp, do you think? Do you remember?
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Only one time, I think.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Just one time. You know what we might want to do, is continue with Wesley. And then we can come back and talk with you later, Josephine, about some of this fishing history.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Well before that I got started (unintelligible).
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. Yeah, we got to go back that way. So it might make more sense to do that.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah, it will be. Because we can't (unintelligible).
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) We're almost done with this tape. We've talked about these different places.
- (Recorder turned off for a minute to talk about what to do next. Wesley began to talk about reindeer herding on the Noatak and recorder was turned back on.)*
- WESLEY WOODS (English) You heard, you know, you found Spring up there, eh, Noatak.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) You go by Spring? You see 'em?
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) We did.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) There's a very little baby we, they buried up there. They buried up

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there. There grave up there. In the Spring. Spring Creek. Herbert Custer. And Rose. They go both of them and the boy, little baby, passed away up there. So they buried him up there. They don't want to bring him down with the meat.

And Etivluk. I never see 'em. But I see 'em (graves) when they pointed. There's two men got killed, from Selawik. Selawik men.

TAPE 3

(Recorded April 18, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong.)

JIM MAGDANZ

I am with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, and Linda Lee in Shungnak Alaska on April 17. We are going to talk about where families, upper Kobuk families lived in the 1920s and 30s above Kobuk village.

LINDA LEE

TAPE 0:20-0:29

WESLEY WOODS

Around that time-there was really no one that was really making a living or living there but later on. There at Paa. Henry (*Aliqsauraq*) and Susie (*Aniqniq*) Stocking and Pancy (*Inigak*) Berry, who was married to Louie (*Tulugaurai*) Berry. They stayed there for a long time. Daisy Tickett, Susie White Stocking's daughter with *Nalunaiq* White, her first marriage, was practically raised there. This family is the only ones that used to continually live there - their old home foundations are there. There really was no one that lived in that area. This was later on when we grew up and we became aware and moved here to Shungnak.

(Pancy Berry was Henry's adopted daughter from Siqinaluraq and Nasruk Sun while he was married to Paniyaq.)

I really am not aware of anyone living elsewhere when all were at Kobuk. Only from here. I learned then to live there.

LINDA LEE

Oh.

WESLEY WOODS

Also, Henry Sheldon, *Aqpiksrauraq*.

LINDA LEE

Where did they live? Living where?

WESLEY WOODS

There where Vera's land is. Vera's camp land, that is where *Aqpiksrauraq* lived. Have you been up there?

LINDA LEE (English)

I don't know.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)

Vera's camp - you know Vera's camp?

LINDA LEE (English)

I go up one time, a couple years ago. I don't remember when.

LINDA LEE

Do you know other people who have gone up there?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, across *Agaiyukluk*. *Sailiaqpuk*, Kitty Harvey, lived up there for long time. Joseph Harvey and them. Mildred Black knows of this. She

TAPE 3

was raised there during the summer. Their winter place was just below their summer camp. They are no longer there today. We always stop at their place when they are wintering there. During winter on our way to trap for marten. Spend the night with them.

LINDA LEE You don't recall anyone else that lived up there?

WESLEY WOODS Yeah. (*To Josephine.*) Just them that we know of?

JOPSEPHINE WOODS *Iyagallutkut, Tikilipaitkut, Qutatkutlu*

WESLEY WOODS Oh yeah. Paul Tickett (*Tikilipaitkut*), Herbert Custer (*Qutatkutlu*),
Albert Commack (*Ullatkutlu*). They are here (*pointing to map*).
Where?

WESLEY WOODS (English) (To Jim Magdanz) Above *Qala*. Where's *Qala*?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) *Qala's in here.*

JOPSEPHINE WOODS Martha Kiana (*Nuriratkut*).

WESLEY WOODS Yes. Martha Kiana.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Let's see. Where's old channel?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Old Channel starts here.

WESLEY WOODS (English) And then went up this way, eh?

JIM MAGDANZ Yes.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Old Channel right there. Yeah. Right there. The one they stay, I don't know how many families. Because that's *Qala* right there. See? Eh? Ain' it? Right here. *Qala*. What's this?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) I put that B right there to mark the general area of *Qala...*

WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh. Oh Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) ...because I am not sure exactly where it is. But you think it is right here?

WESLEY WOODS

WESLEY WOODS (English) I don't know how many, three houses right here, two houses. One time.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Right here?

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WESLEY WOODS Yes

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. And right here. That's *Qala* right here. Right here.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So at *Qala* there were three houses?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. There's two *Qala*, you see.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) There's two *Qala*.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh.

WESLEY WOODS *Qagun* is here. Two *Qala* channels. *Qaguna* is little below.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) It says cabin right here.

WESLEY WOODS (English) That's Neal Sheldon camp right there. Yeah, Neal. *Qala*. Lower *Qala* and this is up *Qala*.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) I am going to mark this Q.

WESLEY WOODS (English) And then long time ago here, two, two houses used to be. Stay whole winter long up there. Herbert Custer and...

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Albert Commack

WESLEY WOODS (English) ...and Albert Commack.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. So I've made two marks on the map now, above and below where old channel divides from new channel. I've marked LQ for lower *Qala* and UQ for upper *Qala*. And you're saying that the upper camp was Herbert Custer and Albert Commack.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh. And their parents, Herbert's wife's parents, Paul Tickett and Mrs. Tickett.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Paul Tickett and his wife were there, so there were three.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh. And Herman Tickett and his wife.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) And Herman Tickett and his wife.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) All these families in there, yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) At the upper *Qala* camp. And then at lower *Qala* camp, were there people there all winter.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. The lower *Qala*, that's my mom used to be up there.

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) That was where she was from?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) She's fishing in there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) She was fishing. That lower *Qala* was...

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Fishing. Not winter. We got no cabin down there. Only fish cash, little house, some of them. And a frame tent.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So lower *Qala*...

WESLEY WOODS (English) Only use them for summertime. But those upper, they stay even in winter.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) And there were three houses up there.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Three houses up there before. They all gone. They wash them out (river erosion).

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So they're gone?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) And that *Putu* camp, little below *Putu* camp, there is other *Qalugrivik* (salmon spawning place) called, on that sand bar where Mark Cleveland and his wife and their kids used to sleep with them.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. Were there other winter houses in there in the 20s and the 30s, or just at upper *Qala*? Was that the only winter housing in this area?

WESLEY WOODS What did he say?

LINDA LEE Are there others that winter up there?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah, *Putu*.

LINDA LEE (unintelligible)

WESLEY WOODS (English) Where's Vera's camp?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Vera's camp, let's see. Here's *Qalugrivik* (Wesley's camp). Vera's camp today is right here.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh, Vera?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That's where she camps today.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh. Yeah. Right here, used to be cabin for Joseph Harvey's

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mother. That's the one he stayed, Joseph Harvey. That time, he's kind of boy.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So Joe, Joseph Harvey.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Joseph Harvey. His family, that have house right there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Now, Joe Harvey's place was down here. Joe's...

WESLEY WOODS (English) They move down there, you know, when he's alone.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Oh. OK.

WESLEY WOODS (English) But his parents stay here.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Up here.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Where's Vera's camp.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Vera's camp right here.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh. Yeah, right here. Right in there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Were they around...

WESLEY WOODS (English) There's some timbers, kind of island, timber right here. That's inside. Yeah. Log cabin. Good cabin.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. So that was Joe Harvey...

WESLEY WOODS (English) That's where...

WESLEY WOODS (To Josephine) Who was *Aqpiksraqpauraq*?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Georgie Harvey.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Georgie Harvey.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) It's Georgie? OK.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Joseph Harvey's Dad.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. I put a GH on the map for Georgie Harvey's winter cabin. Now, they were just one house there?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Where's Kobuk?

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) Right there.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Right there, eh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Kobuk. Here's cut bank. Here's the new channel.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Kobuk channel?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) The new channel, the main channel of the river today.

WESLEY WOODS Where's Georgie Harvey (*Aqpiksraqpauraq*)?

JOPSEHINE WOODS That's *Akisaqpauraq*, where Laura Sun (*Siqinauraq*) used to stay. *Nunavikraumi* was Charlie Lee (*Qinugan*). *Qalukrivikmi* was Mark Cleveland (*Ullautchiaq*)

WESLEY WOODS (English) Let's see.

WESLEY WOODS What is this now?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Try to find that sandbar across Daisy's camp, Daisy and Wilson's camp. (*Daisy and Wilson Tickett*)

JIM MAGDANZ Their camp right now?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

WESLEY WOODS (English) There's another camp used to be right here. That's Lake Wood (*Narvaq*) and his mom (*Qaulik*), long time ago.

(*Lake Wood and Kitty Harvey are brother and sister. Kitty and Georgie Harvey are Joseph, Mildred, Nina's parents.*)

JIM MAGDANZ They were winter camping here?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Uh huh. They stayed here round in there. They, somebody camp right there. But sod. Sod building.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Sod house?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) When was that? When you were a boy, do you remember them living there?

WESLEY WOODS (English) No. Later on?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) After you were young?

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WESLEY WOODS (English)	Uh huh. After. When I get up to know everything. When, after we move here (Shungnak). Long time ago.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	So 1930s?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Yes. Before that, I guess. Nineteen, yeah, before 1940. About 1935.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	OK. And who was there?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Now it's gone. It's Luke Wood.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Luke?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Luke? No.
WESLEY WOODS	<i>(To Josephine)</i> Who was it?
JOSEPHINE (English)	Lake.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Lake Wood.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Lake Woods?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	No s. Just Wood.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Lake Wood.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Uh huh.
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	And his mom.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	And his mom lived there.
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	Yes.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	I marked an LW. And that was a sod igloo (unintelligible). How many people? Just the two of them?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Yeah. Just few.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Just those two?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Uh huh.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	And where did they go? There's no Wood (family name) around here now.
JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)	They die.

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) They just pass away?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Passed away, both of them. Not even, no even, no house here (in Shungnak). They never build. They stay up there. Because they both of them old. His mother pretty soon gone. And him kind of old too.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) What was his mom's name?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) I think they used to call him (sic) Momma Woods. I really don't know.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Iñupiaq?

WESLEY WOODS *Qaulik*

WESLEY WOODS *Qaulik*. Yes.

WESLEY WOODS (English) That's Mildred, where they came from. Mildred.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Grandma. His mom's mom. Her mom's mom.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Mildred's mothers mother?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh. Yeah. *Qaulik*. Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Lake Wood would have been Mildred's uncle.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uncle. Uncle.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. His mother's brother. Mildred's mother's brother.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. So Mildred would be the one to talk about that.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) You could see them, family tree.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Tomorrow morning, I called Mildred, I going to go to the school tomorrow at nine and look at the...

WESLEY WOODS (English) Where you go?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) ...school and look at family tree tomorrow.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Dolly and Mildred.

WESLEY WOODS (English) One more. Just little bit. Won't take long. Where's the Old Channel?

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) Old Channel starts right here.

WESLEY WOODS (English) That's Qala, eh?

JIM MAGDANZ Yes.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Right here. Right about, no, right about here. Walter Douglas show me one time. A house and machine. They gone.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Walter Douglas?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Florence's husband.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Tommy and Walter, them both.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Tommy (unintelligible) a little bit further. Sawmill.

JIM MAGDANZ OK. I put an SM here about a mile inside Old Channel, from the top of Old Channel.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Gee. Lot of houses gone, you know, above *Qala*.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Now I, Leonard has talked about a sawmill way up above *Qalugrivik*...

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah, we talk...

JIM MAGDANZ (English) ...that's a different one.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) (*Unintelligible*) different one.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That's a different one.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) After that when we (unintelligible)

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So Tommy moved...

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) By that old (unintelligible)

WESLEY WOODS (English) So you marked two, eh, Magdalene house. Mouth of *Qala*, mouth of Mauneluk. Yeah, there should be.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Mouth of Mauneluk.

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WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. There should be

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That, Henry Stocking and Roxie Douglas had places there. There was another one?

LINDA LEE (English) It used to be theirs. Now it's my mom's.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Shes on up here, right. She's on the North side, on the East side. Upriver. Just above Mauneluk. Henry was just below. And Roxie. What about where Vera was with...

WESLEY WOODS (English) Graveyard? Or Pah River?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Up at Pah River. *Ukvigruak*?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh Yeah.

LINDA LEE Who stayed at *Ukivikraug*?

WESLEY WOODS Where does he mean?

LINDA LEE Paa River.

JOPSEPHINE WOODS *Ukivikraug* means over there where *Nalunaiq* (Mr. White) is buried where across lot of people used to spend winters and lived there.

WESLEY WOODS Me, I don't know that.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) (To Jim Magdanz) He don't know that.

WESLEY WOODS (English) I don't know much Pah River. Maybe someone know.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah. OK. And *Sulupaugaqtuuq* (Selby River)? Where there people living there all winter? Do you remember that?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Who?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Yeah, long time ago, yeah. (Henry and Susie) Stocking family, and Tobuk family, and (Louis and Pancy) Berry family.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So Stocking, Tobuk, and Berry, up at *Sulupaugaqtuuq*.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) I think so. I can't remember.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Between old channel, from Kobuk River, and to the Kogoluktuk Mouth, there's a good story. That one true story. Some Indians came in from, old Indians, they came in in the fall with their arrows, spear. They never kill nothing, but they killed two houses, I guess. I don't

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know where they at. But they (unintelligible) going back home. One Eskimo doctor, woman, say kill them. They chew up the soul inside, with these spears. And all of them go, they never make 'em home. Story has good power.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) They all died on the way?

WESLEY WOODS (English) But if you didn't hear 'em like that. No good, I guess, in the story.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Well let's, pause it for a minute.

(The tape was paused while group talked about direction of interview. Jim suggested that Wesley tell the stories on a separate tape, and they are on tape 6. Jim also suggested a more focussed discussion on settlement patterns on this tape. Prompted by a question in Iñupiaq from Linda, Wesley began to speak in Iñupiaq again.)

JIM MAGDANZ (English) I guess there are two other things that might be useful on this tape. One is, just why people who were living up here (the upper Kobuk River) didn't move to village like everybody else?

LINDA LEE Why didn't those people who lived up here did not move down here to Kobuk.

WESLEY WOODS The land was good. That is trappers' land. They want to trap for fox that was abundant then. Also, lot of rabbit and ptarmigan to harvest. They really had no interest in schooling. But they later move to Kobuk. The campers were getting fewer, many died.

LINDA LEE Why did they move?

WESLEY WOODS They just decided to move, I guess. There were hardly anymore living up there anymore. Also, many died.

LINDA LEE 19... What (year) did they start moving?

WESLEY WOODS I don't know. This happened before I was born. But, some of them came back. Joseph Harvey's dad built a house here and his kids went to school. He came back.

LINDA LEE They went back up there?

WESLEY WOODS No, moved here and lived in his country up there. But I do not know the ones living up there before my time. The Pah River people (*Paamiut*) came back. The *Paamiut* were numerous. Frank Tobuk (*Aqlaqniq*), Henry Stocking (*Aliqsauraq*), Louis Berry (*Tulugaurai*) were real *Paamiut*.

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LINDA LEE (English)	Pah River?
WESLEY WOODS	Yes, at Pah River up there. There are old home settlements up there. They know them. Daisy Tickett (<i>Qalluvik</i>) really knows this, her stomping ground. She can point them are out.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	When they moved out. Lake Wood and his mom. Did they die up there?
JOSEPHINE WOODS	No. They came down.
WESLEY WOODS	He moved to stay with Kitty Harvey, his sister after his mom died. <i>(Barbara Armstrong annotation: Lake was deaf. From stories, though, he was a good hunter. He had harvested bears by clubbing them on the head, it's been told that he said that if you walk toward a bear, directly from the front-he won't see you. He is my brother Miles' aungauchaq - like a good luck charm. Miles bought him his first catch to him, cooked and the hunter will give him a blessing, telling the young man his hunting story, something that no one has done. What he is good at.)</i> He stayed with Kitty's until his death. He stayed at Igaiyukluk with them, built a house, even during winter until then.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Why did people finally stop living up river and start living in a village?
LINDA LEE	Why did people stop living up river and start living in a village?
WESLEY WOODS	It was hard to stay away, maybe old age, also school for their children then. They also always summoned all to bring school age children in to the village for schooling. I think that is why they came back and leaving hardly anyone up there anymore. Only the last ones, <i>Aliqsauraq</i> and <i>Tulugaurai</i> stayed up there the longest. <i>Tulugaurai</i> later were preparing to go spring camp to <i>Saqvaqsigiaq</i>. All of them. Muskrat hunting, lots of muskrat up there then. Hardly ever coming down here only to purchase supplies. Living as rich people, not wanting. Louis opened up a Coleman light and the gas tank was pumped up with air. He wanted to let the air out first before storing it behind. It was spring time, this time of the year. The air hole of their stove was open. As he opened the pump, the air caught on to the heat from the air hole of the stove and caught on fire and burst while he was holding it. They ran out but all their belongings, staples and supplies burned including their rifles. They did not go spring camp. That was when

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- they started to become less fortunate after that and began living here. No worldly material stuff. That was the reason that they moved here.
- LINDA LEE (English) Anyway, he was talking about this one family who, when they were closing camp up. He had a Coleman stove, I mean light...
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Light.
- LINDA LEE (English) ...and he was trying to pump it up or take the air out of it or something. And the wood stove had all that heat coming up through that little hole. And it caught fire and exploded. Burned everything. After that, their family came down.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) They have to take that man down.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) You know which family that was?
- LINDA LEE (English) Louis Berry
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Louis Berry was the one who was burned.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. They gone right in the money, in two hours. Big off it. That big man, that one. They buy 'em by the cases all the time. Not for the few cans. By the case. Lot of fuel was catch, you know. From Harry Brown, in Kobuk. And then, it burned from there. They never move (anything) from there. They come down here with nothing. They can't buy even more, no more from store.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Berry's camp, was that the one up here at *Qala*? Where were the Berry's living on the river?
- LINDA LEE Where were they living and burned? Pah River?
- JOSEPHINE WOODS TAPE 24:50
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh. Pah River. Where's the map(*pointing to map*).
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) *Ukiviguak*? Here's Pah.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. There's a village. They have island right here, see. They stay here, right here, they camp. Right here. Pancy (Berry) and (Henry and Susie) Stockings. They (unintelligible) right here. Maybe here. This camp burning. Messed up. And then they stay here (in Shungnak?) all the time because they got nothing to go with.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. So that's, uh, we're at the Pah River mouth now, I'm going to

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mark this B for Berry. So, let's see, I'll just spell Berry out here. There are two cabins here. And that was Pancy Berry.

- WESLEY WOODS (English) Pancy Berry was adopted to Stockings.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) And Stockings...
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh. That's why they stay together.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) And that's, that was a distance away from Ukivigruak, if I remember where Ukivigruak was, it was over here.
- LINDA LEE Is *Ukivikrauq* across there? Across from Berry's camp?
- WESLEY WOODS (English) I never follow (*understand the question.*) Maybe there's some all right. But I never, don't know. Later on, another one right here. Another log cabin.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) On this side?
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Now Susan and I have found old sod houses right here.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Let's see.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) There's a couple sod houses right here.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh, Yeah. I mistake this one.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) That's where they are?
- WESLEY WOOD (English) Yeah. Two. One used to be right here. Big log cabin.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah. We...
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Down there...
- WESLEY WOODS Who were they? (*Aqlatnitkuk*)
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. That's where the Berry's...
- (*Mechanical bird sounds from clock. Discussion stops to wait for clock to finish singing.*)
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Those no good (*talking about bird sounds*).

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) Susan and I walked up to those one time, and we thought that was where Vera was.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) What's that? Graves?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Where Berry's were. But that helps explain that, because when Vera's went over the map the other day, she put her camp on the other side of the river, and we were trying to figure out who was up there.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Where's Beaver River? Another house, for the, Old Man *Qaqsri* (William Ward).

LINDA LEE (English) Here's Reed, Beaver.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Where's Kobuk?

WESLEY WOODS Cabin long ago. Where is it? Maybe inside.

WESLEY WOODS (English) That old man *Qaqsri*.

SIDE B

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. Now we are at the mouth of Beaver River (*showing location on USGS map*), and we've made a mark.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Where's Beaver River, right here, huh?

JIM MAGANZ Yes

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Right in the mouth. Used to be there. It's gone. No house. Somebody lives in there year around.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) And that was William Ward.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah, William Ward. You heard that, too, huh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) No, I just heard you. That's what you said.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh, Oh, yeah. Yeah. That's the one.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. His Eskimo name? *Iñupiaq* name?

WESLEY WOODS *Qaksri*.

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JIM MAGDANZ (English)	<i>Qaksri</i> . And when did he stop living up there?
LINDA LEE	When did he live up there? After you were born?
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Aw gee, long time. Nineteen, maybe thirty five, maybe forty.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	1935 or '40.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	Yeah. Yeah. Something like that.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Who was living up there with him?
LINDA LEE	Others living there?
WESLEY WOODS	What?
LINDA LEE	Were others living there?
WESLEY WOODS	Yes, maybe there was. But he's the only one I am aware of. I think it was some one's place. But he stayed in it, old house.
LINDA LEE	Then where did he go after leaving that?
WESLEY WOODS	He came here when got old and died here. He has only lived there. Winter time, they always go to him.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Log house, Sod house?
LINDA LEE	What kind of a house did he have?
WESLEY WOODS	Sod house (<i>ivrulik</i>)
WESLEY WOODS	How do you call, <i>ivrulik</i> .
LINDA LEE	Sod, sod house.
WESLEY WOODS	Window in the ceiling.
WESLEY WOODS (English)	And one time that same man, he have, where's the Pah River, right there?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Yeah.
WESLEY WOOD (English)	He have sod igloo again, right here, someplace, right, right close, right here. Yeah right here. Someplace right here. Him. That's old man <i>Qaksri</i> . Stay here sod igloo, with, while he stay here, though they three four.

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JIM MAGDANZ (English) There were four?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. They're four. That one from Koyukon people, I don't know.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So there were Koyukon people here, too?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Huh?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Koyukon people here, too.

LINDA LEE Koyukuk people live here?

WESLEY WOODS He's not from Koyukuk. Frank Tobuk (*Aqlaqniq*) is from Koyukuk, an *Allasupaqmiu* but originally an *Iñupiaq* from here.

LINDA LEE Lot of *Allasupaqmiut* here?

WESLEY WOODS No, he only mingled with them, grew up over there but was originally a Kuvanmiut from here. He is married to Susie Stocking's oldest daughter by her first marriage to Mr. White (*Nalunaiq*), Dora (*Kuutuhauraq*). They stayed with her parents. Trapping for pelts during the winter.

LINDA LEE William Ward (*Qaqsri*), when he got done living here-where did he go?

WESLEY WOODS He moved here.

LINDA LEE To Pah?

WESLEY WOODS Yes.

LINDA LEE He did not move to Kobuk?

WESLEY WOODS He periodically lived at Kobuk but he did not built a house.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Does this place (mouth of Pah River) have a name?

LINDA LEE Does this winter place have a name by Pah?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, that's Paamiut.

LINDA LEE Paamiut?

WESLEY WOODS (English) *Paa*, *Paamiut*. Shungnak and Kobuk people, something like that.

LINDA LEE Does that island have a name?

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WESLEY WOODS I don't know of a name. It probably has a name. That is where Daisy Tickett grew up.

JOSEPHINE WOODS She knows it.

WESLEY WOODS She knows it.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) And, what happened to William Ward? Did he ever move in to town?

LINDA LEE (English) He said he moved to Pah and (unintelligible).

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) He moved down here with his son, Jonas Ward. Down here, behind Charlie Lee's house, they used to have house.

WESLEY WOODS (English) And Selawik, Fay Foster. That's Johnnie Foster's wife. They gone. Both of them gone. That Daniel, right here our pastor one time, Danie Foster, that his boy. Fay and Daniel, I mean, Johnnie, Johnnie Foster.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation. William Ward is father of Jonas Ward, husband of Faith Ward/Moyer. And Fay Foster is wife of Johnnie Foster of Selawik, parents of Daniel Foster.)

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Well, I mean, this is all real interesting to me, how many people lived out in the 20s and the 30s. I had no idea.

LINDA LEE (English) Uh huh. A lot of people did. That's (unintelligible, three people talking)

WESLEY WOODS (English) Between (unintelligible) they some grave in there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) (unintelligible) that's what the books tell us.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) What's that?

LINDA LEE (English) When did Shungnak become settled or established, 1927 or 1949.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: I was born 1/1949; my mom 1927 and my dad 1917 and he became the postmaster in 1949, Mrs. Warbelow in 1945, My taata, Johnnie Cleveland born about 1882.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) (unintelligible) be that time. They moved from here, from up there to here.

LINDA LEE (English) It must be in the 20s. Because IRA got a charter in 1940, 1940.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) No that...

JIM MAGDANZ (English) We, we have pictures of...

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JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) ...1930

JIM MAGDANZ (English) ...of Florence (Douglas) and Margaret (Sheldon) at the school up here.

LINDA LEE (English) 1936, Maybe? '34?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) There are pictures of Florence and Margaret in school, elementary school up here. I'm pretty sure it was '27, '29. The church records are pretty clear about when that happened.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) (unintelligible) staying upriver (unintelligible) they stay across Mauneluk mouth (unintelligible) he bring them here (unintelligible).

LINDA LEE Want some tea?

WESLEY WOODS No, I do not want any now.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Can you think of anyone else who lived up here winter time? We've got the Wards and the Berrys and Henry Stocking and the Douglasses, and Vera and her mom, and then the *Qala* families.

WESLEY WOODS (English) How about in Mauneluk mouth, graveyard. You got marked, too?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Up on this, over here, on this side?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. Right there. Yeah. Graveyard (unintelligible).

JIM MAGDANZ (English) You mentioned that you had a story about, this afternoon, a story about war long time ago?

LINDA LEE Tell a story about *Ullaugtun*.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Tom Coffin.

LINDA LEE (English) Tom Coffin.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Huh?

LINDA LEE (English) Tom Coffin?

WESLEY WOODS Oh, Tom Coffin in Kobuk?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah.

WESLEY WOODS (English) I thought you going to school?

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- JIM MAGDANZ (English) You told me you had an old story, before, long before. Well, it involved a war, or at least fighting, and shells...
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Oh yeah. That's the one. When Tom Coffin sees things and it wasn't true. And they get ready for that war. They thought he really mean it. Good story.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) That one is happening while they in Kobuk. Only village, Kobuk. Nothing here. No Shungnak.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) If you wanted to tell that story, it would be a good time to tell that one.
- WESLEY WOODS I don't know, I do not know the year, before me, though, before I born. While they stay in Kobuk. Only village, Kobuk, had two stores and school house.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) You can tell it in *Iñupiaq*.
- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) You can speak in *Iñupiaq*, Linda will translate.
- WESLEY WOODS Tom Coffin (*Ullauqtun*) he's from here. He has siblings around here and he is a real *Kuuvanmiu*. He is half brother of Flora Cleveland, wife of Robert Cleveland. He is a relative of Homer and Levi Cleveland.
- He was a messenger, a *Kivgiq*, an *Aqpataq* over to Cutoff (Indian Country). There was only Cutoff then, before they established Huslia. He always brought back Indians. Then a feast would begin, with lots of Eskimo dancing. He only had a small backpack (*natmalaukatachaaq*). No dogs, just himself.
- Then later, the Word of God came and it reached us here. Christianity came. The Eskimo dancing became taboo, and we were told to stop dancing. Since that time. This was started by our first pastor, Robbiraq, who began to preach. They believed him and (dancing) was wiped out by the Selawik, Kobuk, and Noatak people.
- But, dancing happened here for a time, I was aware of it. The last big dances were held at the school, Indian dances.
- (Barbara Armstrong annotation. There is an Indian dance that is lost now, since Pancy Berry, Maude Foxglove, and others in that age group have died, I have seen Maude, and Pancy do it. Its like doing the shimmy but the movements are different.)*
- Then, Tom Coffin, he probably was advised not to go. But he left again as a messenger (*Kivgiq*). He was to go and bring Indians again. The people behind him fervently prayed that somehow he would return home before reaching Cutoff.
- In route, Tom was traveling by foot, leaving the Kobuk country

TAPE 3

(*Qaqkaiq*). He came to a place called *Sanigutalik* (which means, like it has a cross). He stopped to have coffee at *Sanigutalik*, on a lake shore.

While he was here, he had a vision (*tauturag*). To him it was real. A mass of people were closing in on him, surrounding him already. He ran and took off.

(To Josephine) Which way did he go now, to Pah River people (Paamiut)?

JOSEPHINE WOODS

To Qala people (*Qalamiut*).

WESLEY WOODS

He reached *Qala* first because they are close only go a ways from where he was. He told them (what he had 'seen'). Then he went on to Kobuk (*Lauqvik* or Long Beach). They called it *Lauqvik* then, it was not Kobuk. The people heard him say, warriors (*Suqruich*) are up there, and he barely got away with his life.

They had to believe him, an elderly man. They discussed the matter among themselves. There were two homes that are two stories tall, that were at Kobuk. One belonged to *Tikilipiaq* and someone else. We had lived in a two-story house too. That is where I became aware and I was born there.

Then they talked to their store managers. They received shells; 25-35 and 30-30 were their only rifles then. They went to the second story part of the two homes, and made holes on the walls, so that they could have see from a higher level, so they could shoot from there if they are encircled by the warriors. They really prepared to defend themselves, because they feared who was coming.

I am telling this as Robert Cleveland told it, but I have heard it from someone else too.

Robert was not spooked or stirred spiritually. He wondered how so many people would let one person get away with his life. He was talking about his brother-in-law, Tom Coffin. He sees him walking around, pacing in fear, because he really believed that he had seen them.

Robert laid down. He was lying down when his father-in-law came to him and began telling him. "Gee, so you won't go to defend your family? He was trying to get him to worry.

He (Robert) continued to lay down and still was not worried. He was having hard time believing his brother in law, because of his theory. Finally, he got up and left. He began to walk on the back side of the homes there at the village.

While he was walking he saw up ahead of him an old lady, named *Ullaq*. She was gathering wood chips and wailing, "it was so sad (*iluichuguuq*). He knew of her dilemma in the Indian country. She had not told the truth. The Indians had killed her husband while living over in the Indian country.

TAPE 3

Albert Commack was named after her, an old lady, a big shaman. Robert reached her.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: Wesley is now telling of an another story that he heard from Robert Cleveland, an aside to the Tom Coffin story.)

They had been over there (in Indian country). Her husband had begun having dreams, realizing that Indians were about to harm him. He had packed his belongings, lock, stock and barrel and left. But he had stopped somewhere along the way and built a house.

While he was doing this, the Indians. He worked his entrance by placing young spruce trees in a distance from each others but being able to see outwards from inside. His children are many and young. When they (the Indians) reached him, they attacked him. A person by name of *Ikaiqliq*, what relation, his older brother.

(Josephine warns him that he has sidetracked from his original story. Wesley acknowledges but continues to finish the aside.)

They (the two brothers) made a plan. He told him, after shooting begins and I holler “Yeah, ̵ you take off towards Kobuk. *Ikaiqliq* began sleeping across the river from their home. He heard gun shots, lot of them, then silence, then another single shot. This is when he heard the signal of “Yeah. ̵

He knew that he got shot by an Indian, that he was wounded, that he pretended to die when he walked past him, and that he shot him in the back.

Ikaiqliq, as planned, left. When he reached there and told her, she (*Ullaq*) said that her husband had died of being sick. She even asked that their home not be checked. She had lied then.

(Robert Cleveland knew this history about the old woman (Ullaq). Now Wesley returns to the Tom Coffin story. He picks up at the point where Robert Cleveland had encountered the old woman behind the houses in Kobuk.)

Upon reaching her (*Ullaq*), she was not in her right mind. She was just rambling on, and scurrying about in the wood chips. She then told him. He passed them (?).

He continued his walk, and saw what the people in the village had done. They had prepared and loaded their sleds. They had spread out their dog harnesses for a quick get away, so when the warriors reached them, they would harness their dogs, load their families, and take off. They had taken their stored food supplies out, taking only the choice items.

Then, he continued his walk. He heard someone talking, and

strained to see who it was. He found William Ward (*Qaksri*) and Charlie Coffin (*Qupatkuq*) talking. They were elders. They were planning to send three young men to go out, without consulting with others, to go and scout out the warriors up river. It was towards evening, getting dark.

They were talking to the young men, saying “be sure to make certain, definitely sure of the warriors before returning. Robert listened and heard this. The three young men were *Kisik* (he later went to live at Anaktuvuk Pass), *Tilak*, and *Tuksruk*. They were all about the same age. *Tuksruk* is the younger brother of Joe Sun and *Tilak*, the younger brother of Robert. *Kisik* was an orphan.

Robert intervened and asked them in a stern voice. “Do the others here know of this? You will not send children to go up there.

Hearing him, one of them answered. That was Charlie Coffin. He said “When people want to damage a plan, they always get that tone of voice.

But just as he said that, *Kanaug*, who had also been listening to their conversation (he was the boss, their chief) spoke in defense of Robert and said, “That person giving you advice is correct. Young boys must not go up there. He advised them to first hold a meeting, with others from behind them.

As this was happening, Robert sent his brother home. *Tilak* had prepared, and gotten ready to go, because he too knew exactly where the place was (like you and I know exactly where Kobuk is). It’s kind of close, but also a distance away when going there on foot.

When daylight came upon them, they placed guards at each trail entrance to the village and also on the Kobuk River. The guards were armed with loaded rifles. They also placed some men with loaded rifles on the second story of the two homes.

Daylight was finally upon them. Robert was dozing, fell asleep. They woke him up. They informed him that *Itiqsraq* was leaving to go and check that place up there, but needed a partner. We thought of you, to be able to keep up with him, and came to tell you.

They did not directly ask him, but came to tell him. The people then knew who was able, strong, and could endure. They knew the strengths and different talents each person had. In this case, these were the two gentlemen who were good, strong fast runners in their prime. But, in this case, they considered *Itiqsraq* to be better than Robert. They said it, “We thought of you, to be able to keep up with him.

He answered, accepting the task by saying “the snowshoes should have new harnesses, I will not leave with old, worn ones. They did just that to both of their snowshoes, as they prepared them to go. Tom Coffin told them that he left his packsack with his grub up there with food, if they should get hungry. He was the one who barely got away from the warriors up there.

After they left and were away from the village, *Itiqsraq* told him that they wouldn’t travel together but close enough to hear each other

TAPE 3

when called. They traveled. He became very cautious and alert when they reached the danger zone. He reached the packsack. Tom Coffin's tracks were visible as he had left running for *Qala*. He had really seen people (in his vision).

So they started for home, he began leading again, he led all the way up. After they crossed the tundra and reached the river and started down, he thought to himself, "How good is this guy anyway, that they say is the best, (and of course, better then me, remember they cut him because of this guy being the best). He lengthened his snowshoe walking gait and sped up. He noticed that he was trying to run a little to keep up with him. He found out that if he was really going at top speed, *Itiqsraq* would not have kept up.

They reached Kobuk appearing as early darkness fell. The bench in front of the village was packed with people. They asked them. They replied that they did not see anything, but only saw Tom Coffin's tracks leaving for *Qala*. It was there, Robert talked to him and corrected him (*algaqsruq*).

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: Wesley inserted that he need not be corrected because he really had seen (in his vision) many people closing in on him with weapons. He saw them in himself. Wesley spoke in a soft tone of voice when he said that, showing respect for Mr. Coffin.

Later, then, after this happened, *Siliagaq* and *Iyagaqsaq* had an old living place across there. They lived there. They made a burbot trap, somewhere near and not far, maybe at *Panika*. When they were done, her husband left and she could not see him. She was slow to follow, as she was trying to store some items at the last minute. She realized that people had already blocked the river, just like what *Ulauqtun* had seen.

She took off running. The next day her son-in-law, Evans Commack, tracked her with a two-reindeer team (*malgugaqtanik*, *malguk* means two). He found her at the side base of the foothills (*Salaiguchik*) facing towards Shungnak.

(Salaiguchik are the foothills before the mountains. Saliq means up front.)

When it became hard to continue with the team, he followed by foot. At times, he tried to match his pace to hers and could not do it. She was really traveling at a very fast pace. When he found her, she was bowed down. When he spoke to hers she was still seeing visions of people bothering her.

(The Tom Coffin story continues on tape 4.)

TAPE 4

(Recorded April 18, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong. Wesley continues with a story begun on tape 3.)

SIDE A

WESLEY WOODS

Then, some guests came over from *Kuqraug*, *Takiigiq*, they had been hunting for marten. This was probably in early fall, winter or towards spring when the days are getting longer., Johnny Cleveland (*Takiigiq*) and Suqnuquu. This was before Suqnuquu moved to Selawik.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: Takiig = is an expression used with no real meaning to it but is the same as saying Suunaqs or good friends. My grandpa Johnny and his brothers were Takiigs to the Wood brothers (Wesley's dad and his brothers) I talked to Wesley.)

So he told them the news about Tom Coffin's vision and what is going on up there. Their families are at Kobuk, their wives. They continued their journey and they were just below Kobuk but not too far maybe a little below Dahl Creek. *Kanauq* asked his renegades, how would you fight a war, you won't keep those rifles stored with shells. He told them to find a target across the way and use up their shells. So the men, considered an army (*chuckles*), his army (*laughs*), maybe Lieutenants or Sergeants. (*He added that on for color*).

Their targets were towards them and they heard the rifle shots being relentlessly being fired but this did not stop them, they continued to travel. In their target range, the men saw the teams coming and quit shooting. They had continued their travel to reach there because their families were there. They had pulled their rifles too and readied them on top of their sled loads (really chuckling from within). That was Tom Coffin's vision.

They did not have a war but just prepared themselves for one. That was Tom Coffin's vision, I have only summarized it and made it short.

She (Josephine) can probably add some on. When Mr. Coffin reached the people in Qala and informed them of the warriors, they left, not turning their lights off. The doors to their homes were wide open. There was a guest, a trapper, traveled in from towards up river and reaching there he found the homes with lights on and doors open and immediately left without stopping for very long. A man with good dogs, who was it, Isaac Coffin (*Irrauraq*)?

JOSEPHINE WOODS

Maybe.

WESLEY WOODS

I think they said that he was Isaac Coffin.

The warriors were heard by the people of Qala. That night after

Tape 4

Tom Coffin told them of many people coming. They heard their feet scrunching (*qikiganich*) in the snow and they were many from across the river but not crossing. It was only a vision, only a spirit which the people who prayed made it come up. Even after that experience, he later still crossed over and served as a messenger. That is as far as I can tell it, (asking Linda) do you remember it?

JOSEPHINE WOODS

They taped it.

WESLEY WOODS

Oh, tell some of it to Jim.

LINDA LEE (English)

He was telling us a story, about when the Christians first started, they used to have lots of dances, Eskimo ceremonies and dances. This one guy he was coming from (unintelligible) he thought he saw lots of warriors coming to attack them (unintelligible). So he got back to town and got all ready to fight. They made holes in the walls of their houses, on the top floor. They got ammunition and guns and stuff like that.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

(unintelligible)

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)

Good story.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

Yeah. Have we got the whole thing, though?

WESLEY WOODS (English)

I heard that story from two men. But they stayed up there the winter, that Robert Cleveland, Homer Cleveland's brother, uh...

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)

Dad.

WESLEY WOODS (English)

Yeah. Dad, *Nasrauluk*. I heard from him. And from Albert Wood, one of 'em went up to North Slope, the one we stay. They tell me that one too, same story, they never mistake. Two men, from North Slope and here. That's true story.

WESLEY WOODS

How do they say (in English), *tauturag*?

LINDA LEE (English)

Imagine, I guess. Your imagination, when you see things?

(*Barbara Carter annotation: Tauturag is a "vision" that is very real to you.*)

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

That aren't really there.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English)

Oh.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

OK. So we've done, maybe we should shut the tape off for a minute and talk about where we are and where to go.

TAPE 4

(Tape paused)

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

This is Jim Magdanz. One, two. There we go.

This is Jim Magdanz in Shungnak, Alaska. I'm with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee, in Wesley's house. It's April 18, Tuesday. We are continuing our interview with Wesley and Josephine. Today, Wesley wants to talk about his trip to Canada with his father, herding reindeer, in the 1930s.

WESLEY WOODS

You don't have a writing pad?

LINDA LEE (English)

I don't need it.

WESLEY WOODS

Oh.

WESLEY WOODS

The Canadian travel is just about me?

LINDA LEE

Yes.

WESLEY WOODS

I will also tell of how they began, got started.

LINDA LEE

Yeah.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

We're on tape now. And I guess, perhaps I would suggest that you start by telling us how you got involved in that reindeer drive, your father, why he went on that reindeer drive, what happened to the rest of the family, your mom and your sisters. Then you and your dad went off on that reindeer drive, and then just take us down the reindeer drive from there.

LINDA LEE (English)

OK.

LINDA LEE

To begin, where your parents were, your sisters. You were all here?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, we were all here.

LINDA LEE

And who called you to become a reindeer herder?

WESLEY WOODS

Him, Andrew Bahr.

LINDA LEE

When?

WESLEY WOODS

1930.

LINDA LEE

Where did you start from?

WESLEY WOODS

From here. When the Canadians asked for some reindeer, they asked to get some from Lomens in Nome, who had the large reindeer herd

TAPE 4

then over in Kiwalik. Two thousand head were to be taken from there. After the 2,000 were given, they reached down there sometimes in March or April. But they stayed for a long time down there by Hunt River, spring time before May, in April. Andrew Bahr came up here in 1930. He knew Peter Wood (*Inuuqniliq*). They had herded together before, he also had worked for him before there at Lomens when he was very young. He began coercing him to go. He did not want to go alone, he began coercing his younger brother, my dad (Tommy Woods). School was always out by that time, so i quit and got ready and left with dog team with our own dogs, we did not have many. My uncle, Peter Wood, got a shepherd dog from Louie Commack, Sr. for hundred dollars.

When we reached Hunt River, we followed it and got to the herders. There were herders there by the names of Theodore Kingeak and Sam Segeok from Unalakleet and there were others. So while it was winter, he wanted to scout the trail and sent for a plane from Nome. Wanted to take someone who knew the area, and Rob Blankenship had worked as a surveyor for many years and knew the land where they were to travel in the Noatak area and outside the Kobuk Valley. He, Andrew Bahr and the pilot left in the morning. Just to check their trail for the coming winter. They found the only trail to follow is what is called Iklauyaqa,(a trail used for many years to go outside the Kobuk Valley) and it looked like the reindeer can travel it.

We spend the summer there. The plane returned back to Nome because they only flew for the day. The reindeer fawns were born down there behind *Paungaqttauqruk* on a hill not too far away from Hunt River.

They herd grew. They spent the summer there. When fall was near, Ken Crowley, the superintendent, came to inspect the herd. It was then he saw the Wood brothers , getting ready to go. They were selected to go Canada. He selected men to go.

When it was time to go school, I returned. My mom and I spend the winter here (in Shungnak) in 1930. When summer came, she and I caught up to them, not too far from the mouth of Colville River. I can point it out on the map.

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| LINDA LEE (English) | (to Jim Magdanz) We can take a break and you can get your northern map. |
| JIM MAGDANZ (English) | OK. |
| WESLEY WOODS (English) | Oh. You got no around the coast, around the mouth of Colville River? North Slope. |
| JIM MAGDANZ (English) | No. Not farther north. |

TAPE 4

- WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh Yeah. That's alright. I thought I see them other day. No you have nothing. Yeah.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Just, yeah. Just the Kobuk... (*unintelligible, both talking at once.*)
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Just only this side.
- LINDA LEE It (*the tape recorder*) is running.
- WESLEY WOODS Now, they moved down there to Ambler, which is a village today, where they stayed with reindeer. They left through Reed River, and really followed the trail that Jim had traveled.
- (*Jim Magdanz, Wesley's son Raymond, and Wesley's son-in-law Donald Lee had recently traveled up the Redstone River to the Cutler, and through several passes to the Noatak River. They had camped near Douglas Creek, and so Jim was familiar with the area Wesley is speaking about. Wesley had a copy of Arctic Exodus by Dick North, and occasionally referred to maps in that book during the following discussion.*)
- Then they followed Colville river through Etivlik and when they reached the mouth, they left their sleds.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) You see the mark (*in Arctic Exodus map*), that is the way the reindeer went. I travel.
- JIM MAGDANZ Yes.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) My mom and I spent the whole winter here. When summer came, we went up with a ship, me, mom, and Nellie. We met here and caught up with them there.
- When winter came there in a place called *Saviiqvik*, we spent the winter. Some reindeer got lost, about half of their herd when they came out. There were so many mosquitoes. Some (reindeer) left with the caribou. They retrieved some in the fall.
- We spend Christmas there at *Saviiqvik*, and 1931 came. We traveled the winter in 1931. We reached Canada's border in the spring. In March at Shingle Point we reached Canada. No, here we spent the summer around mouth of *Kuqruak* River, it was called on the map. When fall came, we finally reached Canada. It was then 1932.
- There, we spent the summer. When fall was coming, we left to return with Capt. Peterson. Then, *Nakauraq* had a baby. She was concerned about her health, and was let off in Barrow, and we got off, too. We finally came back the following April by plane. There was no one up here, everyone was down there at the old village.

TAPE 4

That was how I lived with the reindeer herd for two years including the summers. That's the story of the reindeer story.

LINDA LEE

Who all worked with you there?

WESLEY WOODS

Peter and his wife, *Nakauraq*, and their children. Melba, Mariah, and my youngest sister, Mary, were born in Canada. Peter and his wife also lost a small child out there in the mouth of Kuqarok, a still-born child. It was alive for a while. It was fall time. The baby died; the baby was sick.

LINDA LEE

Were there reindeer herders here, too?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, there were reindeer here too.

LINDA LEE

Who, from there?

LINDA LEE

No, from Shungnak.

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, they had reindeer here at Shungnak then, too.

LINDA LEE

They bought them here?

WESLEY WOODS

They were here for some time, even before I was born. Not very large herds, though.

LINDA LEE

Did you have a herd then too?

WESLEY WOODS

Yeah, we had a herd on this side too and across from us were another herd with other herders. There were two sets of herds across from each other back then.

LINDA LEE

Oh.

WESLEY WOODS

The corral (*kanigaq*) back there is today the airport. It was a hill long ago. A corral was made all around it. Also, the end of that big lake had a chute away from the other side. They had them enter from this side. (That was) the branding and counting entrance.

LINDA LEE

Who were the owners?

WESLEY WOODS

The people of Shungnak. When they became a company, they began following rules, and worked. The Lomens made them do that. Then the corral was built. Before they were divided, they used to make corrals back there in other places. It does not take very long to make a corral; it just takes time to set up branches against the poles. Then the fawns would be marked with their mother's brand. Someone's herd.

TAPE 4

LINDA LEE When you traveled, how did you camp?

WESLEY WOODS Where?

LINDA LEE When you are traveling.

WESLEY WOODS When we were down there, we stayed in tents. All the way to Canada, we did not built houses because we were traveling.

LINDA LEE Just tents?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, but there would be tarps over them (*like a blanket over them*). But, when we traveled in the winter we would make ice blocks in a circle all around and put a tarp over it. It would be warm, because the tarp would be covered with snow. We used this method all the way to Canada.

WESLEY WOODS (English)

WESLEY WOODS When I said *Saviiqvik*, this is where it is. (*pointing on map*). This is where we first spent the winter, when we first caught up to them. Here is a snow house (*looking at a picture in Arctic Exodus*) all made of snow with stove.

LINDA LEE Igloo, they called it igloo?

WESLEY WOODS Yeah, (*looking at a picture in Arctic Exodus*) here is the reindeer team (*unirautit*).

LINDA LEE What are the harness made?

WESLEY WOODS Here is the person.

LINDA LEE What were the harnesses made of?

WESLEY WOODS Here. They are using them, collars made of wood. They were put over the deer, and put together at the bottom. There. That one is using them. Here.

LINDA LEE This is leather (*qisik*)?

WESLEY WOODS Yeah, these are different then what we used. Ours were used with a block of wood in the back center for pulling. These here are real harnesses (*looking at picture in Arctic Exodus*). These were the people who bought us food when we reached Colville river, over from Fairbanks, as advised by the company in Nome. We were very lucky to have found them. Without any sense of direction, we finally landed at their camp, bringing food. There are lot of stories.

TAPE 4

Here are the Laplanders (*Lavlatt*) that met us from Canada. Their names were Hatta, Asla and Mishki (*looking at picture in Arctic Exodus*). They did not speak English. We began just staring at each other. We, the Eskimos, learned a little bit of their language. I learned to speak their language, too. Here are their wives. Here's Ashla's, here's Hatta's and there is Mishki's. There are their families, and they met us from that side.

They wore their traditional wardrobe and our reindeer were scared of them. Because they were really different. They had no parkas, but all had bleached seal skins (*sukinaq*), sewn for clothing, all with trimmings. Even their headwear, the flaps that flew up, their mukluks style. They took them off, because they were not good for the cold weather. They adopted our style, our kind of mukluks. Since they met us, they stayed with us all the way. In the spring, though, they left to get their families. Then when we got close to Shingle Point, somewhere behind there, we met up together again with their families. I think those pictures were taken there after we left and were gone.

LINDA LEE How did you communicate with them?

WESLEY WOODS Huh?

LINDA LEE How did you communicate with them?

WESLEY WOODS They knew very little English and we had an interpreter, Andrew Bahr could talk like them. He would question them first and would speak English to us and vice versa. That was how we knew about each other. Once they took me under their wing, they began teaching me about their language.

LINDA LEE How long were you over there in Canada.

WESLEY WOODS

When we reached there, we spent the summer, and left before freeze up. We were supposed to cross, where is the trail on the map, the other one, the larger one, there it is, there, here is Herschel island. We spent the summer there. Here is Shingle point and somewhere over here just beyond, a big American ship always reached as far as here. There was a store there that they did business with. When it was about to return, there was a discussion amongst themselves. Andrew Bahr told them that it was up to them. The Woods brothers wanted to go home because the ship was docked here.

So, we had relatives there from Noorvik, real *Inupiaq* like us. We were among them, who had lived there for many years, and are even buried up there.

LINDA LEE What were they doing up there?

TAPE 4

WESLEY WOODS They were making a living, surviving.

LINDA LEE Oh.

WESLEY WOODS Because there was a big village there, larger than Kotzebue, called Inuvik. A mixture of non-Natives, Indians, Eskimos were there. Over here is the village of Tuktauyaqtuq; it was smaller. Here is Aklavik; mostly non natives lived there. So, after we left, they tried to cross, but spent the summer there. When winter came, they crossed there where their land was to be. They bought the herd there.

Side B

WESLEY WOODS Maybe in 1933, we started back. Because in 1932, we were still traveling up. We kept spending summers, even if we could move and travel. But it was that Andrew Bahr, who was making more money. He had a contract for 3 years but it took him 5 years to get there. We, my dad and his brother, only stayed for 3 years.

LINDA LEE Did your dad make some money?

WESLEY WOODS Yes. He had a salary. My uncle Peter was making \$150. He was second to Andrew Bahr. My dad was making \$125, and the other herders were making \$100 and, some, \$75. But, this was for the whole year round. They got paid even if they were not there, and can even go home with the same salary.

I was never paid, I only followed. He was going to give me \$500 and I did not answer too quickly and lost out on my own. I at least tried to ask for \$1,000 but he said that he could not give me a \$1,000, but only \$500. So I did not take it. I was a reindeer herder. I even learned to run a reindeer team.

There when we lived at *Saviiqvik*, I learned to run reindeer team.

LINDA LEE What are you saying when you say *Uniraq*?

WESLEY WOODS Reindeer taught like a horse and harnessed to pull a sled, that is what is called *Uniraun*.

Here, there is, here it is, (*looking at picture in Arctic Exodus*). Here he is with skis, holding on to a rope to the reindeer's neck. The harness is tied to a sled to pull. The herder talks or make sounds for the deer to go or stop, making sounds they know, like running a dog team. Then when they want to travel any faster, the herder will get on the sled and run them using ropes as reins from the sled. Sometimes

TAPE 4

there would be two reindeer (*malgugaqtaq*) side by side connected to the sled by rope. That is what *Uniraq* is (*like running a sleigh with one or two horses*).

Here it is when they were going forward on Colville river and were preparing to go. The herder handled them as he wished. Here are his sleds, the reindeer are harnessed and with their Uniraun.

LINDA LEE (English)

How many thousand?

WESLEY WOODS

Little over three thousand were sold. The herd would have really grown, but some got lost or left with the caribou. But it's astounding that they reached their destination with that many. It was their fault, traveling slow. If they had traveled faster, including summers, they would have reached (Canada) with a larger herd to sell. Andrew Bahr was going for (more) money. I heard later they only paid him for three years, and not for the two (extra) years. Because anyone can reach Canada in two years even with reindeer and traveling during the summers too.

I think their herd should be about over 5,000 or now maybe 6,000 reindeer.

LINDA LEE (English)

In Canada?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, in Canada. (*Pointing to a map in Arctic Exodus*) Here, it is small, but here, right here, where they call Inuvik.

WESLEY WOODS (English)

That Inuvik that's more bigger than Kotzebue. That's all Native, up in Canada. You never been there? And another village they called Tuktauyaqtuq, not more than that one, kind of smaller. And Aklaqvik down there smaller than Tuktauyaqtuq. I know three of them. There some other smaller villages, but I never been.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

I heard of all of them, but I've never been to them.

WESLEY WOODS (English)

That Hudson Bay Company, when they start, right there in that country, white fox, up, you known. Good demand, They sell them pound of tea and coffee, right there and in two years time, they made \$2,000,000. They cheat all the Eskimos and all the Indians. That was long time ago. When they wanted to by a rifle and rifle, stand them up to their white fox, until to top. One box of shell, about 15 or 20 foxes, 20 shot. They get them about \$1.50 apiece up there I guess but long ways to bring it up there, somehow.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

No competition.

WESLEY WOODS (English)

No plane, no train, only boat and sled. That was long time ago, though. When we was Russia, I guess.

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WESLEY WOODS That is about all I can say on my Canada trip. But I know I only summarized it and did not exactly tell all. If I was to tell all that we did, every nook and cranny, it would impossible.

LINDA LEE That's fine.

WESLEY WOODS That's fine.

LINDA LEE (English) He said he'd rather (unintelligible). He said if he was going talked about everything, (unintelligible) it would (unintelligible). He can't remember some.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Let's pause for a moment.

(Tape paused.)

WESLEY WOODS Some story in Canada. Yeah. Where's the map? Where was *Saviiqvik* now?

LINDA LEE This one?

WESLEY WOODS No, the large one. Oh this is Canada itself.

LINDA LEE (English) This is the only map (with Canada).

WESLEY WOODS Yeah, here is *Saviiqvik*, and there is *Kugruaq*. When we spent the fall there, or winter, I got lost. Then there again, Foggy Island. There was a trading post, and he purchased supplies from there. We began to leave with the reindeer here through *Saviiqvik* to get to a higher level. When they loaded the sleds, one sled was loaded with 200 pounds of tobacco. The herders from up there were sure smokers. He only had about 20 people working for him, and about 11 of them smoked. There would be lots (of tobacco) because it was so much cheaper, too.

 It was there that I was lost. I was lucky to harvest a white fox. I kept it between my legs for warmth, and that helped keep me alive. I spend the night there. It was stormy and cold. I dug in to the snow a bit in the tundra. I really lost my way, and could not figure out which way I went. But it was there at *Saviiqvik*. I missed telling that.

 Also, when we reached Canada, around here (pointing to the map), we were staying at someone's house, a Lapp, and I got lost. Andrew Bahr had directed us to go on top of the hill where the reindeer were and to bring them down when it was getting stormy. Just when we reached the herd up there, the storm hit and it was hard even to see each other at a close distance. We could not move to go anywhere. The reindeer had already left. We made it down hill and I remembered the way. But the Lapp went against my judgement and

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we missed the camp, we went behind it. We spent the night, and we walked to a place that he knew, a place called 12 Mile.

It was then my hands were frostbitten. They were white all the way up here. (*He showed how far they froze.*) The Lapp even cried thinking that I would die. He was worried. He was not cold and dressed well. I was not dressed well, because I was young boy. I was doing something outdoors, and I had only followed him. Andrew Bahr also had directed me to go.

LINDA LEE

It probably is no good up there when it storms.

WESLEY WOODS

It is not good, the very instant, the storm will make it hard to see in a distance.

LINDA LEE

No trees?

WESLEY WOODS

No, no trees. The trees are way up there by mouth of *Ikitchut*. I have been lost twice too.

LINDA LEE

Oh. Did you guys use compass?

WESLEY WOODS

Yes, we had a compass. But, it was easy. We only had to travel by the coast, because they were by the coast. I did not know them either. I was lucky that I could understand one of them speaking *Iñupiaq*.

LINDA LEE

Can you understand the people of Inuvik?

WESLEY WOODS

I never made it to Inuvik. We did not cross over. But I am reporting what I heard about them. I have never personally been to Inuvik, Tuktauyaqtuq, or Aklavik. But I have been to Shingle Point and Hershel Island.

There was a jail on Hershel Island, a place where they did hanging. The door was always open. It had policemen all the time, Mounty police with red uniforms. I saw up there two crosses of people whom they had hung. They called them *Kaqmalailuich*, I do not know what they call them in English.

There were more than the Natives up there. There were two Russians that came over with two reindeer, spending winters on the islands. They grew to a large herd and became caribou. They were small caribou, but reindeer. They grew to a large population from that small family, the *Kaqmalailuich*, and also called *pamielgich*, with tails. Their uniforms had tail-like back hanging. In Canada, they are way up from Inuvik, up in the islands. They have large living establishments there. But they belong to Canada and maybe some to Greenland.

LINDA LEE

Do you have best friends over there?

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- WESLEY WOODS Yes, because we got to our relatives in Canada. My sister, Elsie was raised by *Qaqmauraq*. Her sister, *Qalaihaq*, was there and saw her. She spent the summer with us. Also, an elder, *Kuvigaugauraq*, from around here in Kuuvaq. Also, from Selawik, *Panichiaqruaq*, who came over in the spring to visit when they heard that their relatives were there to visit us. They talked like us.
- LINDA LEE Then where did they live?
- WESLEY WOODS Out there in Canada. They became Canadians, making a living probably there at Inuvik, where there were many people. There were a lot of muskrats and white fox, they were living richly then.
- LINDA LEE Do you keep in touch by writing?
- WESLEY WOODS To here. Not up there, but to here. We received letters.
- LINDA LEE Oh.
- WESLEY WOODS When we were at the mouth of *Kugraug*, a big ship arrived from Nome called *Arirang* (*spelling?*). He loaded about 200 pounds of tobacco from him again. From the herders, the real heavy smokers were gone. The only ones left were the ones that hardly smoked (*chuckles*). He was not worried. But he purchased food supplies from him again, and the ship captain knew the need and hauled some up there. Maybe Lomens directed him to do that, but he had his own business. He was also buying fox, white fox, then, too. I think Canada is towards the end. What did he want us to talk about?
- (*Tape paused.*)
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. This is Jim Magdanz. We're concluding our overview with, uh, our detail interview with Wesley on his Canada trip. We're going to end this tape, and put in a new tape, and start working with Josephine.

TAPE 5

(Recorded April 18, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong.)

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. This is Jim Magdanz. I'm in Shungnak, Alaska. It is April 18, 2000. I am with Josephine and Wesley Woods, and Linda Lee. We are about to do an overview of Josephine's life history.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) My mom, my grandpa, Nora, they was staying in winter with Kitty Harvey, Kittie, and Georgie Harvey, and Kittie's mom, Momma Woods, they used to say. *Tara*, I was born there. Joseph (Harvey) always tell me when he was living. He say he was a boy, I don't know how old was he. He say he was small. And he start, he was playing outside and his mom call him, "Go get my Mom.Ĺ That my mom was having baby. He *tupuq* (was startled). "Baby?Ĺ he said to his mom. "Baby?Ĺ And he run to his grandma, and his grandma go there. While they was playing, my mom had baby girl, and it was me. So I was born there. They say, my mom used to say that it's a big house with two rooms, log cabin. I don't know whose house was that.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That's where, the place we marked on the map?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Uh huh. Tara. I could talk Eskimo and start.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah, why don't we start that again and you could tell Linda in *Iñupiaq*.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (Speaking *Iñupiaq*) I have been told that I was born (in 1929) where there was a large log cabin, two log cabins connected like two rooms. We were staying with Kitty Harvey, Qauliik, Momma Wood, and us. That was where my mom went in to labor. Joseph (Qaulgutailiaq Harvey) always say that, he was playing out, his mom called him and told him that my mom was having a baby. He was startled at first because he had not known. Then he ran to fetch his grandma, who was not too far from there. He said that his grandma hurriedly went over. It was not too long afterwards, they said that my mom had a baby girl, when his mom went out to tell him. Here it was her then, Joseph said laughing, when we are teasing each other.

(Aliquti = the up river people always humorously tease each others if your husband has a namesake (atiin) of another whether he/she is a man or woman or vice versa. There are many stories regarding this. Teasing is not because they do not like you but like you)

Now it begins, my life: We left there and moved to Shungnak along with me. We had a house down below in the old village behind the old pastor cabin. When I became aware, it was pretty big house, large log cabin. Back then, they always had log cabins for house. When I was still very young and became aware - there's Panika (it's a sandbar 3 riverbends below Shungnak). It was mentioned yesterday

we began summer camping there. Sometimes we always have others camping with us. That is where I became aware since childhood. As I can remember when my mom ask me to fetch water-our house is further back there, a house made.

I was already aware when my grandfather begin to built a sod house during the summer. The uqpiqs, birch trees and spruce trees are sapped and become easy to bark. I always follow him when he goes in to the thickets to bark trees. They used these a lot back then. Then he always pile them up back to back because if they are left there-they will dry up and overlay them with moss. *(That would keep the moisture so that the bark will be pliable when being placed where its use).* We would go home then. He used barked uqpiqs, nice and white, and young spruce trees to use as building materials (sauniqs). When the spruce tree barks prepared earlier are ready to be used, he and Nora hauled them down.

He made us a summer house like that. Nice and white, bright, lighted with a lantern at night we would be nice and bright. Our stove in the center. My grandpa on the other side, my mom, Nora and I were on this side of the house.

At one time, Johnny Cleveland and his family spent the summer with us. Another time, Mark Cleveland, Herbert Custer spent the summer.

When we are camping and my mom asked me to fetch water and we were camping alone. I always was scared because up there above Riley Camp is a grave, while it was new, Ullaq's grave, and it was white, was visible from our camp. It's quite a distance from our camp. I always filled my pail and ran home with it. Scared of a grave that was so far away. We used to be scared of graves then. Even when someone passes away, we always be scared.

We spend the summer there and when fall came around the end of September. My grandpa always leave with kayaq and his dog to follow him to hunt. We, after we store our summer catch, dried fish. We, alone, me, my mom and Nora, we would leave with 2 boats tied to pull each others. Four dogs, our tent, stove and our little staples, some dried fish, our gill nets on the boat.

Nora would be at the oars and my mom at the stern (aquut).

When we spend the summer there, one bend below at Qanalik are Siqinaluratkuk and his wife Nasruk. Then another bend above us at Riley Camp is Itnauraq and Sailiatchuraq (Evans and Susie Commack). Panika is down there across from Pancy Berry always camp. It was marked on the map last night.

The old lady, Nasruk from Qanalik always go to check her net in the eddy (Qasruniqsaiq) across from the belly of the sand bar of Panika. I always go and call her to come and eat. She always come across. She always use her polling poll, poked to the beach, to tie her boat and we always go to our tent. She always ask “what am I going to eat?L

At one time, after my grandpa Pigligiaq had left again, our dogs began barking relentlessly especially at night. Nasruk, the old lady, said that it was little people (Iniquns), she had us come and spend the night twice at her camp. Nanuu was there too. We always heard our dogs barking. When we came home at one time, my mom would work the dry fish so that it would be noticeable if anything was missing even in the house. But they were never bothered.

One time while sleeping, my mom gets up early and goes out. She came in and woke Nora up. There’s a porcupine heading towards the beach. Try catching it before it reaches the river. Nora jumped out of bed, put her mukluks on, grabbed a piece of wood and left. I ran after her too. I was a young girl then, I do not even know how old I was. When reaching the animal, she confronts its path, clubbed it and harvested it.

We took it home. We have drying racks with a roof covered with birch bark to keep dry. We do not have metals for roofing but only barks of birch or spruce trees and use flaky, gluey type mud (Tininiq) hauled from a bank for tar on top. We had that kind of drying rack. My mother butchered it and began to cook it. We can hear the old lady, Nasruk making clubbing sounds across checking her gill net. My mom asked me to go and invite her. I went down to the beach and called her. I always say “come and eatL. When she docked on the beach. I guess I do not even how to say porcupine then. I informed her that Nora caught some kind of animal and my mom is cooking it. She wants you to come and eat. She always laugh when you talk to her.

When she got to the house. She began teasing Nora again saying that she was glad that she caught an animal. She and my mom were namesakes. She ate her fill and prepared a dish for her husband, Siqinaluraq and left for home. That night when we went to bed, our dogs were silent. Here it was that the porcupine hung around, making rustling sounds that they barked at and us taking it for little people.

When fall comes, we always leave for down river and stop on the way to Sisauq (this is just above black river, a high bank with rolling sand, that slides when someone walks on it). Nora sets up the tent, unload our dogs and stove. We would spend the nite then early the next morning, we would leave and would reach Black river before noon.

We always spend the fall there alone. I can’t be lonely either. I can’t want to be with people because I had been raised out there alone and not among people. When the dogs bark, my mom always ask me to go out or listen for any gun shot. Then, when hunters are out and

when returning and getting close to their home would shoot the rifle three times in a row as a signal that he is coming home.

One late afternoon but before dark, they heard the three gunshots from up river. My mom said that my grandpa was coming. Waiting, waiting for him to appear up there by the bend, there at last my grandpa was coming. His dog would be riding with him in his kayaq. A big black dog, he was even bigger then this dog here and he learned how to ride well. Grandpa got it from Wesley's parents and trained it as a partner when hunting.

(Barbara Armstrong annotation: Tulugaq was the dog's name. When he is out hunting and shot a bear or any game, the dog would go to check and howl if it was dead. If it was wounded and he got it to tree, he would bark till he got there. Talked with Josephine.)

When he comes home, we would spend the fall there and the river would freeze. They always make fall camp on the other side of Black River. The other time that we spend fall time there we moved to a house that belonged to Wesley's parents across in the sand bar that was in the trees.

We did not have any commercial food but have some tea and coffee. We also never wished for anything then too. We were content when we had our Eskimo food. We never had any visitors and we always spend the fall time there until even after freeze up.

At one time, we spend time at fall camp again, I was school age then. One late afternoon shortly after freeze up with hardly any snow yet, our dogs began suddenly barking towards evening. We listened and heard a dog team traveling and coming. It was John Wright (Aullachiruraq). He came for me and my mom. Herbert Custer sent him to get us when I became school age.

We left the next morning. We traveled fast, the dogs running and so the sled is balanced from tipping over. We reached Katyaaq (fork river) where Siqinaluraq and Nasruk were spending the fall in a sod house. When we entered their home, she was baking fish and gave us a warm welcome. She told John Wright to feed his dogs lunch from their white fish catch out there. He fed them after giving them some time to rest. We ate and left soon afterwards. There was a short cut trail below Shungnak and traveling through and as soon as we appeared, the people then used to give cheerful holler, Aviimik (-something like "hey, hey, hooL, this lets people know that guests are here). As soon as we appeared, they hollered at us. The men were standing around their dogs pounds and cooking dog food..

Herbert's family was staying at our house. I was then 6 years old. I first went to school but I do not know what year. Mr. Widna (Widner) were the teachers and I started to attend school then. Ever since then, we stopped going anywhere but would occassionally go to Panika but when my grandpa died, we stopped going anywhere. I was

13 years old when he died. They took him by plane to Kotzebue. We don't know if he died of cancer or not, he's even buried down there.

We attended school. We always be alone here in the village. Further over in the village are mother and son, Irene Douglas (Manuluk) and Leonard (Aaquk). Also, Nanuu and her daughter.

There is no one else in the village and we would spend the summer. At summer's end, people would return home and school would begin again.

We continued school and later, Marvin and Lou Warblelow became our teachers. People did things then too, they always had Christmas. Their gifts are never wrapped with Christmas wrapping paper, that are so noisy. All gifts were handmade-sewn. Just adding name tags, some had messages and this was how they gave each others gifts.

Santa Claus, it was then that I first seen one and I was scared because I had become aware and here it was Robert N. Cleveland. Charlie Lee acted as Santa Claus before him at Christmas time. I kept going to school and lived at that house. It was re-done twice.

I ended my schooling when I began living with Wesley in 1947. I was in 7th grade when I left school. Since we have been married, we have had 11 children. He always bring us up river while he had a boat. A baby, Wynita, born this winter in January along with the dogs, took us to Tommy Lee's camp at *Qala*.

We spent the summer there. Tommy with a kayaq always go down to Agiaq, set net and ate fish with nothing much else, started spending the summer. Sometimes Clara and I always check the net with river boat, polling. Tommy always baby sit, Wynita. Holding her on his lap. They had their own children too. Mida was there too. (She is Tommy's daughter from previous marriage).

We lived next door to each others. After spending the summer, we moved back down. Hilda, a baby was born.

We went to spend a spring camp over outside of the village over beyond Jim Commack's house. After spending the spring, we moved back down. While my mom was still with us, we used to go and spend spring camp down at Mokey. I was bearing children then. We also camped at Panika when the children were a little older. Across from us is Pancy Berry. Then, later she moved over to our camp. We always seine together. Vera, Pancy's daughter used to hold the rope from the beach when Nora and I seined. Also, mom and Pancy would walk the beach to a distance and sit to wait, as look outs for sighting school of salmon approaching, They would call us and we would go and seine.

We continued to live there. Wesley began working at the B&R Tug and Barge. We would stay home.

Sometime ago, early on in the winter, before we had any children. We went outside of Kobuk Valley. Then, again after Wynita and Hilda were children. I was then carrying Hilda on my back. When I get tired

of carrying her. I would put her parky on and they would ride. Wynita was at what age, I am not sure.

After school and in 1948, we went to Kotzebue to get married in 1948 with a boat that he owned named Molly May. Wynita was born in 1949 and continued to make a living.

Then, we went to spend the summer at mouth of Maniilaq River. Samuel (Sauluq) was baby then. Wesley and his cousin, Gene worked at Bear Creek at Bornite that summer. Magdeline (Sun, Gene's wife) and I spend the summer there alone. When we are going to seine, Hilda and Melvin always hold the end of the seine at the beach for us. Wynita and Sally always babysit the other children. We ate a lot of salmon heads and also got a lot of dried salmon then. At one salmon seining we would get 300. Then we would slave to cut, wash, hang, dry and take care. We lived and worked without nothing much and later moved back home to Shungnak.

We spend the winter at Shungnak and children attending school. Rotating teachers and just making a living. When we began having our own family, he built a house right behind his garden is today, in the fall. Raymond was a baby and moved there. We had other children too. Then, we moved up here to top of the hill in 1966/67. Nellie was a baby.

We lived up here alone but we had neighbors with Walter and Florence Douglas' family and Gene and Magdeline Lee. There was nothing up here, only spruce trees and our pathways, very undeveloped then. We had pathways to that lake back here which we packed water to cook dog food.

The children at first were small, then advanced, began attending school, then boarding schools. We hardly left Shungnak but to go to summer camp somewhere nearby. The children grew and graduated from High School, they began to work, finding jobs. Tommy, Samuel, Wesley, Jr. and youngest boy, Dempsey joined the National Guards and went training. The five boys all had graduated from High School and all but one joined the National Guards. Raymond joined the Army and was gone from home for a long time.

The girls: Wynita went to Wrangell. We had no airstrip then and the plane would land to Sililik Lake (Pike) in the spring. They would leave in the fall, be gone all winter and return in May. When they land there and drop them off, they always walk down to the village. Then when the lake ice gets rotten, they would land at Dahl Creek and haul them with small planes. Hilda, graduating from grade school attended Nome/Beltz High in Nome. She and Melvin Lee and graduated from there. Hilda then went on to Haskell Institute to continue her education. Now, she has worked for NANA for many years since she came back from the states. I do not know the years. Valera and Nellie went to Mt. Edgecumbe and later moved home and graduated at Shungnak. Dempsey attended school here and graduated. The 10 children-I really worked hard to put them through school and not having much. High

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school diploma meant a lot to us, for us to sacrifice for them to finish school.

Now, when they are adults, we have made a camp at Qalukrivik. I don't remember the year that we begin to camp up there- but we have been going up there since.

One summer we spend at Wynita's camp, a river bend up from Bertha Sheldon's camp but went up river when fall came. Now, we go up there every summer to present. Now, I am busy keeping my grandchildren in school-not all the time but we start to work with them again for them to receive their High School Diploma. Because today, no one can go to work without a diploma.

That is how I was raised by my mother, Nora and my grandpa, Pigliagiq. My grandpa used to hunt.

When I was being raised and lived there at Shungnak. We did not play any games but they played football. Then, when we were able, we began playing football too. And, yet when lot of us playing football and the church bell rings, everyone playing would stop and go to church. Leaving only the old people and sick people at home. Everyone else would be at church. We had no games. No basketball, we did not know about that. Later, they start playing basketball when our children who went to school and come home and are obsessed with basketball.

We did the jumping boards. (Long lumber with high wood or drum in the center for height. There would be 2 persons on each end and begin by slowly jumping and throwing each others up, someone would sit in the center to keep stability.)

We used to play games at our school play ground, jumping board (described above), teeter pole: (A pole set up with rings at top with ropes with loops and would begin by running around the pole to get height and just swing around, others may keep running with you to keep the momentum going). A slide: (a metal slide was there with steps which was about 8 or 10 feet off the ground, it seemed pretty high then) and swing (sets made of chains were set up).

Mr. Widna (Widner) would let us play games during 4th of July at the school play ground and have a potluck. Then when that is over with. The people would go down to the village river side and have boat races, jump rope contests (Kaliviqtaq and also handball (naluqsragaq). The elders even always jump rope. I have personally seen Alex Lee and Johnny Cleveland jump rope.

SIDE B

JOSEPHINE WOODS

When 4th of July came, we used to have new mukluks. My mom would make me a pair, called nukilhauraq or pinigaichainik. (Nukilhauraq are made of any canvas material with seal skin for bottoms). Qisik , bleached seal skin, dyed red with uqruk bottoms were called pinigaichag. My mother made mukluks for me.

When Nora hunt in the spring, I always follow her. My grandpa-Piqligiaq always tell me since Nora had hearing problems since she was young. He always tell me to really listen for danger. But, she had such good eyes that she always see anything first before I could hear it. Also, my mom and I always stay behind when they go for spring camp, Nora and her dad, alone up to Saqvaqsigiaq, with few dogs to go with them, they probably always have some others with them. They always hunt for muskrat and make a living. Some hunters always stop to them.

At one time, while they were up there again, Jonas Ward family were living in Nauyatuuq and they lost their first daughter named Ayakaq (Elma), Nora was there with them. Wilson and Herbert buried her and her grave is at Nauyatuuq.

One time when they were going again, they always go every spring, hoping to get some kind of pelts to purchase some items to help with our living. While they were traveling, Nora began losing her eyesight on one eye, the blue-eye had started to cover her eye. Her dad told her that if she would stay behind, he would go up on the hills and look for blackberries and left her.

He went up on the hillside and using his snowshoe to shake off some snow from black berry patches, he filled his hand, he started back to where he left his daughter. The berries were to be used for medication of her daughter's eye. When he got there, he thawed one berry and dropped the juice on to her eye and did this everyday thereafter. Her eye began to clear up. That blackberry juice had always been used for medicinal purposes for the eye. The juice of the berry is strong and will melt the blue-eye that start to cover the eye. Also, head lice was used to clear the eyes being covered with the blue-eye. They would tie a head lice with a hair and put it in the eye to scrape or scratch the blue-eye covering the eye. It would also take the blue eye off. I became aware when this kind of living was being done. Then Nora's eye got its good vision again and continued their trip for spring camp. Then when its time to come back down, they would make a raft, drift down, stop at Kobuk and purchase commercial items by trading with their muskrat pelts and come on down to Shungnak. I was a young girl of 13 then when my grandpa died. Those were all who I was raised by until I became aware are all dead now-Nora, my mother, my grandpa and uncle Herbert.

We never grow up by playing with anything, never had much clothes to change often to, we never throw away any clothing, we wore mukluks. Our parkies, cloth calicos. For Christmas, my mom sewed some items or make mukluks for people to get me new clothes. Mr. Widna, the teacher also had her sew some items for them. That was how she provided new clothes for me or got commercial food for us by sewing. That is how I was raised without having much for my own and if our grandkids would go back to that life today, they would

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suffer immensely. They want to be given good food and want sweets all the time.

When my grandpa would sell his pelts and purchase a small bag of candy for me. I would not gorge and eat them all at once. I would have a small piece here and there when I would decide that I wanted something sweet and would make them last for a long time. That was how we saved and kept for a long time. But today, we are not like that anymore. Lot of caribou and other animals are among us. Long ago they would snare rabbits and ptarmigan for meat and they would also pick berries during the summer.

That was how I was raised and grew up. I really do not have much more to add or tell. I may have missed some or forgot. Today I am 71 years old since I was born. This is the end of my story of my life. I can't think of any more to say.

- JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Now, Jim.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) OK. We finished with Josephine's life history overview. And we're getting out a map so Wesley can show us where his family lived for two years at Black River.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) No Black River down there?
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) No, this map doesn't go far enough down, I don't think. Huh uh. Not quite. Here's Black River, but Black River mouth is over here.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh, Oh. Maybe that one there.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) *(Gets out a different map)* This one shows it. OK. *(Pointing to map)* Shungnak. Black River. Black River mouth.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh. Black River mouth?
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Right were that little,
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Cabin. Shungnak, Shungnak River right there?
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yes.
- WESLEY WOODS (English) Black River mouth right there? Cabin right there. Black River mouth. Right across there, timber. There's two houses right there, connected together, two rooms. And then one cache with a cabin, another cache just open, and one for dog house, and one tool house. Rich. Because Harry Brown, *(laughing)* everybody know how many years, he got mining up there in Shungnak Creek, claim, mining summertime.
- JIM MAGDANZ (English) So, Harry Brown built those?

TAPE 5

WESLEY WOODS (English) Harry Brown, before he work on the store. Before. That's when my Dad bought it. That one place. I think a muskrat skin, I guess. I don't know how many muskrat skin he buy 'em. He buy 'em cheap, but take whole thing. Tools and all. Dogs and all. Later on, they bought him (unintelligable) from Harry. That right there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So your Dad got all that from Harry Brown.

WESLEY WOODS (English) I can't remember what year, though.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) You were...

WESLEY WOODS (English) But I think I am about eight, nine, ten years old.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So that was...

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah. I could help a little bit, my Dad, when I work on mudshark trap with, uh. White man with him. White man stay with us, spend down there whole winter long.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Hugo?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Hugo. That one of those from Germany, I guess, long time ago.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) He later went to Kotzebue, to trade?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah, that's the one. Kotzebue. Maybe you hear this Hugo place down there. Kotzebue.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) You were telling me about it.

WESLEY WOODS (English) That log cabin that used to be that store donw in the front, on the beach, Kotzebue

JIM MAGDANZ (English) By the Post Office?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Right below, next Rotman's Store.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Yeah, I know which one (later Walsh's store)

WESLEY WOODS (English) That one right there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That was Hugo's store.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Yeah, he married, he ordered a woman from Germany, and Germany woman come in and take American in Kotzebue. They stay together. No enemy that time. Good friendly man.

Tape 5

JIM MAGDANZ (English) So you lived down there two winters? One winter? Two winters, you lived down there?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Two winters, I remember two winters. When I had first winter I can't really remember all of it. But next time I kind a remember little bit. Because I can even set the trap for weasel.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Where did you live after that?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Kobuk, I guess.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Back to Kobuk?

WESLEY WOODS (English) Uh huh. After that moved down there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) To Shungnak

WESLEY WOODS (English) I mixed up. I can't remember that one. Which one. After we move. I guess.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) That time when you lived at Black River, if you were eight, then it would have been 1926. Shungnak, I think, was founded about 1927. Just about that same time.

WESLEY WOODS (English) Oh, before that, huh.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) He always says he's a boy, But he's not. He must be older.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) At Black River?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Um

WELSEY WOODS (English) Maybe 12 years old? I remember. I don't. I should remember. What year, I say.

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) Because it was still there when he was down there in 1934, 34, 35, 36 I think fall time down there.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) You and Wesley?

JOSEPHINE WOODS (English) No. With my family. My Mom. Nora.

WESLEY WOODS (English) But while we're at the Canada, they all gone. Somebody have 'em. Without say nothing. We don't know where he went. Two houses. All (unintelligible). Tools.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) When you came back it was all gone.

TAPE 5

WESLEY WOODS (English)

I know that man. But I don't want to say too much. It's OK. It's over. But that's the one I want to make cabin in there before, when I was young, before. There's some more few, but I can't remember. That's just about all.

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

OK.

TAPE 6

(Recorded April 17, 2000, in the Iñupiaq language in Shungnak, Alaska, with Wesley Woods, Josephine Woods, Linda Lee, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong.)

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ (English)

WESLEY WOODS Which one does he say? Did he say two brothers.

LINDA LEE (English)

LINDA LEE It's up to you. *Tiiqalauraq* first?

WESLEY WOODS Yes, *Tiiqalauraq* first?

LINDA LEE Yes.

WESLEY WOODS Where is... *(looking for the map and pointing out to Linda)*... right here.

LINDA LEE *Tiiqalauraq*, right here.

WESLEY WOODS Yes. Here is *Tiiqalauna* and here is Selby Lake creek. There is the settlement. They would go over a portage because this belonged to the Indians. Let this be first, huh?

LINDA LEE Yes.

WESLEY WOODS Here (unintelligible). People were living here (near Selby River mouth), and for some time. Then later, they mingled with some Indian as residents among them because they were friends. And, they lived together for some time. They began speaking each other's languages. The *Kuuvanmiut* began talking their language, probably because the Indians could not speak their language well, the real Indians. Then, when they started to multiply. After talking. The Indians had two strong, tough Indians among them. The *Kuuvanmiut* could not over come them.

After discussion, there at Pah, there were some people living too. Then, the people living down there, called *ikliqtisqiviniut* living just above Kiana, were like the rulers of the people living up there. They were like guards of the upper Kobuk people. They knew that the Indians were living among the *Kuuvanmiut* and probably sending word to them verbally by travelers.

Ikliqtisqiviniut got to the Selby River people (*Silupaugaqtuqmiut*) and told *Unaliimuraq* to be their messenger. A

man who was good for that kind of job, who had the reputation of always not telling the truth. Upper Kobuk people were not at fault with what happened.

Barbara Armstrong annotation, based on later discussion with Wesley. It was the people from around Kiana and Noorvik who did the wrong things)

The *Kuuvanmiut* began started fearing the situation, too, thinking that the Indians would take over their land because they loved the country up there and liked it, wanted it from the very beginning. So they talked amongst themselves.

They told the Indians living among them that there was a disease, a sickness that would kill them was coming up from the coastal region, was coming up the Kobuk River. Telling them, we do not want you to get sick, but we want you to live. We want you to leave, to go back to your land over to the Koyukuk country. Just enticing them to leave.

They believed without question and they left. They settled over just inside *Saqvaqsigiaq*, just close enough to go over the portage to their country. They speaker for the *Kuuvanmiut* was *Unaliinia*. He would travel to them from Pah. They began sending him again after they left.

One of the strong, able men of the Indians had a girlfriend from *Tiiqalauna*. They knew that it was hard for him to leave, and he was hesitant to leave. So they sent *Unaliinia* again to catch up with them. If he caught up with them, to bring the Indian back down to them, the one with the girlfriend. This time he wants a partner, he began fearing since the Indians had separated from his people. He was given a partner.

They started after the Indians. When they caught up to them — this was in winter — they had settled. They had make lean-tos and had an open fire going because they were still travelling. *Unaliinia* told the Indian with the girlfriend that his girlfriend wanted him to come and have a last meal of sheefish eggs first. He was hesitant to leave anyway. They were lying to him. His girlfriend probably did not even know about this.

When they prepared to leave, the other strong, able Indians kind of discouraging him from leaving, say, “You don’t know that you are going to” in a tone of not wanting him to go. He became curious, but the Indian was adamant to go with them because he was hesitant to leave anyway.

When they began to travel back and reached there, towards evening, the other *Kuuvanmiut* had gone below the mountain side, under the *qipalauq*, and they set up spears. They were not seen by the travelers when they came from above, because it was through their paths. But *Unaliinia* knew of this plan already.

When they got there, *Unaliinia* was the same age as the Indian (*suunaq*), and said to him, “Suunaq, let’s hold each other’s hands and run down the hill.L

The Indian questioned him, "Suunaq, what are you going to do with me?L

The other man grabbed him on the other hand. I do not know the name of the other *Kuuvanmiu* that went with *Unaliinia*, but there were two *Kuuvanmiu* there. They ran down hill. The Indian's arms were not free, but they were joyous and happy because they were just across from the settlement.

When they reached the embankment and suddenly appeared, he saw the spears there. The Indian freed himself. But *Unaliina* stepped on his snowshoe from behind and he fell on his back. The men speared him there and killed him instantly.

After this, they prepared themselves and went after the Indians on warpath. They knew that there was only one strong and able Indian with them. They reached them, travelling during the night. They are not too far because they have paths. It was still dark when they caught up to them. They began waiting for daylight. It was not a custom to begin a war (*Paasri*) at night, but as soon as the arrow was able to be seen, where it would land when aimed. They attacked also with spears.

They were successful in getting all of them. The other second, strong, able, Indian was among them, and was aware when he left. But they could not get him and they knew it. He grabbed his bow and arrows, his snowshoes, and ran. He would throw up his snowshoe and put it on his foot as he was running, and the other side the same way. He took off through the spruce trees, and he had his bow and arrows. They knew they couldn't get him and wouldn't catch up to him either. He also could not be hurt or be killed with their arrows (*immortal to human arrows, so to speak*).

They returned. The strong and able Indian got away and reported this, they were sure. This was the last war fought on the upper Kobuk. This also severed all connections of living together or coming together again. They only returned as little people (*ulikaans*) I think.

We grew up with the fear of the little people (*Uliqaans*). Everyone here always was being bothered (*ulliqqa*) at their camps supposedly by hidden people, when fall came or during the summer. They had rocks thrown at their homes, or in to the water. These were to tempt people to go, get out, were like signals from the *inniqquns* versus their own, who would really like to kill them. This would warn them to go and flee for their lives, feeling sorry for them because there were fierce ones among them too. It is known that a rock thrown is a signal.

This is a short one, I think I probably missed some.

There is also *Kilgiragan* (a person who went to tell). This also happened after the incident up there. This place is just above Kiana around *Kitliqpaani*. They have been telling the story about the Indians approached and surrounded a small camp. There was a woman alone. They began to want her life. She is a *Kuuvanmiu*, and they would have to kill her again. The Indians have killed a lot of *Kuuvanmiut*. They would attack them when they least expected them, when their hus-

bands were gone. They also would not be on guard, to watch out. The *Kuuvanmiut* never warred again after that incident at *Tiiqalauna*.

One of the warriors felt sorry for the woman with children, and had a boat. He spoke up saying that she was a woman, let me take her. I will take her. You stay here. He started for her camp, feeling sorry for her. When he reached there, and was behind her camp, he appeared in person before her and told her to hurry and get on her boat and get out. She understood him and did so, left with her boat. When he returned, he told them that she got away. They probably did not believe him, but he probably had some prestige that they could not handle. They always really did argue amongst themselves when they were travelling.

I told of rock throwing as a signal. And this story is also separate.

Another one, where is Pah River? (*looks at the map*) In between Pah River and Beaver River, somewhere. It is above Pah River, though. I have also heard this.

There were two brothers living. This does not have any Indians involved. This is pure *Kuuvanmiut*. The older brother was becoming elderly and not able to hunt outside the Kobuk. But his younger brother always did. They were both married. They always talked about them there. He and his wife were elderly. The younger brother was out hunting again during the summer. After the berries ripened, the younger brother's wife, the elder's sister-in-law, picked some and took them to him. He was so thankful when she did this, he held her hands and kissed them.

She misunderstood the situation and became shameful, embarrassed about what her husband would think of such an ordeal that had happened. Just before her husband returned from his hunting, she went behind the camp, and hung herself. It was because her husband's brother had kissed her hands and she was embarrassed about it. She was afraid of her husband because she would have to tell her husband. She misunderstood the situation, thinking that he was interested in her.

He loved and respected his sister-in-law so much that he prepared and buried her in a high crib, covered her with willows, making sure that the water would not get to her, not too far from their camp.

His brother returned in the fall and found that his wife was gone, and mourned. He took it so hard, the death of his wife. Not long afterwards, he committed suicide by hanging, too. The elder brother found out about the suicide, and since this had happened already, he took his body across the river, and took him up on a hill like in a look-out post so that he would be able to see, wrapped and buried him up on the spruce trees. The branches were cut in the bottom and placed up there like a bed, and wrapped with them (*miliqtuqtaug*).

It was a fall spent in mourning. Then he came to blame his sister-in-law who brought this mourning on them. He became angry with her and began blaming her. One day, as the first ice began flowing down, he went over to her grave. He began tearing the willows that he used

TAPE 6

to bury her. When he got to her body, he began tearing off her body parts and throwing them in the river. He was enraged because she caused all this agony by hanging herself. He was himself to blame for kissing her (chuckles). He got rid of her body parts, and soon the ice froze.

He would be stark naked, with only some skin pants on, with bare feet. He would cry in pain, and hurt, and would run across to his brother's grave and throw himself on his grave covered with branches and tear his body and blood would be drawn.

It was then known that you will never see the dead again. No hope. This was before the word of God came about.

His wife would go running after him with his clothing, and began trying to force him to dress across there. There would be times when he would request for food and would eat his fill, but not all the time, when he remembered what his brother used to be doing.

The two brothers' story is short. These are the two brothers that I have heard about, from two different people. One is from Robert Cleveland, and I can't remember the other. But there is not much difference in both the stories.

That Pah River up to *Aqusriqvik* is the place where the *Kuuvanmiut* really lived. There were hardly any living down river. Now we hear that the white people are taking over, our first stepping grounds.

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| LINDA LEE | They have taken it already. |
| WESLEY WOODS | What? |
| LINDA LEE | They have taken it already. Gates of the Arctic (National Park). |
| WESLEY WOODS | They got it already. |
| WESLEY WOODS (English) | It's not around here, but over in <i>Nayatuug</i> . You have it on map (<i>looking on map</i>). |
| JIM MAGDANZ (English) | This is a 250 quadrangle... |
| WESLEY WOODS (English) | Right here, when I heard... they name <i>Akruukaluk</i> . Half Eskimo and half Indian. Someplace near Alatna. |
| WESLEY WOODS | There was <i>Akruukaluk</i> , who, during his travels on the Kobuk, did some bad things to the Eskimos on the way. He was a <i>Kuuvanmiu</i> , but he stayed with the Indians more. So when this was happening, the warriors from <i>Ikliqsiqsivik</i> went on warpath after him (<i>suuqruk</i>). He was not home, but his wife was home with children. There was a little boy old enough to get around, following his mom. When (the warriors) reached there, they killed his wife and took the little boy's eyes |

out and let him go. Their own person, half-Eskimo, half-Indian. Upon returning, he knew who had done this to him. But he did not go to fight back right away. Probably spent a few summers. He got two Indians to go with him. He had a double-bladed knife, maybe not really using a bow and arrow.

When he reached down there, he got behind their camps. He was trying to get to the ones that did this to his family. Then, further down, somewhere around Kiana, around *Ikliqtisivik*, he saw where they were singing (*Aniqsauriq*). Back then, songs used to be made, telling of what the warriors did on the warpath, and how they treated their captives. They would have these during festive times. They were made into blanket-toss songs.

He was behind this camp and hearing, listening to the songs, a song about his son, “where did you go, after his eyes were put out...L

(Barbara Armstrong annotation, based on later discussion with Wesley: Hearing this, he strained to go down to fight them, but the two Indians held him back, advising him that he would not have a chance. It would be better to bide his time because they were all awake and there were many of them.)

After the festivities ended, they finally went to bed, probably after blanket-tossing all night. When the sun began to get high and warm, they would be very sound asleep.

He had them tie his double-bladed knife to his arm. Upon reaching camp, he went in to the large one, and killed them all, and the smallest also. He stabbed them all. That was how he revenged the life of his family. There are some songs about this. The *Kuuvanmiut* songs, Joe Sun and Robert Cleveland used to sing the song. “We wonder what happened to *Akruukaluk*’s son, with busted eyes, wonder where he wentL (*Aniqsauriq*).

Also, when the *Kuuvanmiut* went after *Saityan*, the *Ikliqtisivikmiut* would come up from down river and kill who was bothering them. This is a long one.

These are the three stories that are true and that really happened. There are others, but I am tired of talking. There I have ended. That’s a true story.

Appendix 5
***Iñupiaq* Place Names**
Kobuk River

Source	ID	Name	Description
Ambler	0	Kiggaich	Path or trail.
Ambler	1	Aakatauraq	A steep hill where Rudy Black's camp is. Known as Aakataq by Kiana people. Persons by the name of Aakatauraq and Qapqaghruaq's grave are here.
Ambler	3	Aatut	This area is similar to lilyughuich. People climb these cliffs to look for bearberries. Above and beyond these cliffs are bearberries.
Ambler	4	Agliġaaq	Lit. girl in puberty stage. An area to set nets in early spring.
Ambler	5	Agliġauraq	Lit. a girl in puberty stage. A little lake with no outlet.
Ambler	6	Akiññiq	Lit. the opposite side.
Ambler	7	Akiġruaq	Lit. a large hook. Beneath Tulukkaat is the mouth of slough with little lakes.
Ambler	8	Akiġuq	This river flows into Hunt River.
Ambler	9	Akivak	Part of a river.
Ambler	10	Aksraksiagvik	A sandy area.
Ambler	12	Akuliġagutit	There are clusters of lakes here.
Ambler	14	Aluuraq	Lit. foot sole. A creek on the Kuugruaq River.
Ambler	15	Amaqtuq	
Ambler	16	Anuġituut	A slough leading to Qaviat and lakes. Beaver habitat.
Ambler	17	Anuġituut Paawa	Lit. mouth of Anughituut River.
Ambler	18	Awattaaq	
Ambler	19	Apikkiilik	This is an overnight camping spot 'nullaghvik.' There is a cabin behind the isla
Ambler	20	Aqiġuġluich	Cliffs where Ambler people look for cranberries.
Ambler	21	Aqiġuġluk	Lit. aqiaghuaq, 'stomach.' A lake.
Ambler	22	Aqsaaqtuk	Two long-connecting lakes.
Ambler	23	Ataatchiaq	A lake.
Ambler	24	Atigit	Lit. parka. A beach
Ambler	25	Aumaluraq	A creek. On the beach is the mouth. In high water only, this creek is navigable. A long time ago, men went to this slough with their qayaq to hunt for muskrats.
Ambler	29	Igruwnaqturuaq	Lit. lots of rose hips.
Ambler	30	Iguaqpak	A lake near Kuutchaurlaq.
Ambler	31	liñuġruich	Cliffs. Similar to Aatut.
Ambler	32	Ikpigruk	Lit. big cliff. A boat landing to hunt for bear or gather bear berries.
Ambler	34	Imaġluktuaġruk	Little Black River.
Ambler	35	Imaġluktum Paawa	Lit. mouth of Black River.
Ambler	37	Iġiġruich	Lit. big mountains. Mountain range behind Qaviurat and Qaviat (Big and Little Sand Dunes).
Ambler	37	Iġiġruich	Lit. big mountains. Mountain range behind Qaviurat and Qaviat (Big and Little Sand Dunes).
Ambler	39	Iġisugruich	Mountains.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Ambler	41	Iḷuuraqtuqtuat	Trees by the lakes.
Ambler	42	Isigakpak	Lit. large foot. The point cross from the village.
Ambler	43	Isiwnaq	Lit. jade. A little creek.
Ambler	44	Israqaḡliq	Lit. molting duck place. A lake behind Paunghaqtughruk.
Ambler	45	Israqaḡliq	Lit. molting duck place. A U-shaped lake with the Ivisaaq River.
Ambler	46	Isruḡun	An old dog team trail on this slough. There is a sudden drop.
Ambler	48	Itchuḡvik	Lit. place to stalk for game.
Ambler	49	Itchuḡvik	Lit. place to stalk for game.
Ambler	50	Itivliḡruich	An overland pass leading to Tuulhuk. This cliff in this area is called Itivligh
Ambler	51	Itivliq	An old dogteam trail.
Ambler	52	Itivruk	Perhaps when a channel formed on this particular spot. The main channel was on a different spot.
Ambler	53	Ivḡana	A bend.
Ambler	54	Ivik	Lit. grass. A lake surrounded with grasses.
Ambler	55	Ivisaam Paawa	Lit. mouth of Ivisaaq River.
Ambler	56	Ivisaappaat	Lit. mouth of Redstone River. Ivisaappaat is derived from ivisaag or redstone found farther up river.
Ambler	57	Ivisaaq	Lit. redstone. Ivisaaq is similar to clay. A stone used for painting sleds and snowshoes. Ivisaaq are found up river.
Ambler	58	Iyaḡakpak	Lit. big rock.
Ambler	59	Kaattyaaṭṭhaak Paawak	Lit. mouth of two rivers. There are two long narrow ponds.
Ambler	60	Kawigaaḡruk	Lit. old corral. A long river. Spring camping area.
Ambler	61	Kapuqqaagvik	A non-native by the name of Howie lived on the land behind the island.
Ambler	62	Katuksi	Where people hunt for muskrats. A taksruk.
Ambler	65	Kikdikkat	Suaghruks or warfarers were invading a group of people here. In doing so, they kikliq- 'tracked' the land.
Ambler	66	Kilvaḡaiyyaaq	Lit. a small ascending trail. Right now, it is difficult to sight mouth of this slough. This slough and Kilvaghiaḡhruaq has excellent fish. A spring fishing and camp.
Ambler	67	Kilvaḡiaḡruaq	Lit. an old ascending trail. A short slough. A fishing spot.
Ambler	68	Kukuich	
Ambler	69	Kutakatuk	A beach.
Ambler	71	Kuugaatchiavak	Travelers cross this creek in winter to get into the Selawik Trail.
Ambler	72	Kuugaatchiavaum Akia	A creek that leading into Selawik winter trail.
Ambler	73	Kuugruaq	Lit. big river. Five sloughs flow into Kuugruaq River.
Ambler	74	Kuugruaq	Lit. big river.
Ambler	76	Kuuwuluk	A river connecting to Siilyvik River.
Ambler	77	Kuutchauroaq	
Ambler	78	Kuuvak	The main river system.
Ambler	78	Kuuvak	The main river system.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Ambler	78	Kuuvak	The main river system.
Ambler	79	Makliin	There was a prospector by the name of McClain who had a cabin here. There are lots of trees here.
Ambler	80	Manuiñisat	A small mountain.
Ambler	82	Maqduk	Located across from Paunghaqtuaghruk.
Ambler	84	Masrutuuq	A long bend, iivaqsaaqpauraq with qipaluaq or with lots of willow bushes. There are little lakes in this area. This slough is navigable with qayaqs in spring time.
Ambler	85	Millñr Pass	A river named after a man name Miller. Miller and another person were boating up river. They camped under a bank. The bank caved in on them. Miller was killed there. Ambler people named it Miller Pass.
Ambler	86	Milugiat	A slough.
Ambler	87	Milugiuviuk	Located near the mouth of a river.
Ambler	88	Milugiuviuk	A dead end slough behind Kiggaich.
Ambler	89	Miluktuksrat	Lit. baby beavers. Little lakes.
Ambler	90	Misrak	A little slough which connects to lakes. In the earlier years, men set traps for mink around this area. Fishing and berry picking spot.
Ambler	91	Misraum Piwuqsraatchiawi	Lit. Misrak's round hills. There are old graves here.
Ambler	92	Naağaayich	Lit. frogs. There are frogs in this area in early spring. A little lake near Paatitaak that dries up.
Ambler	94	Naparuq	Lit. standing Within the Milugiat tributary, is Naparuq. A rocky area to nasrich, 'look out for game.'
Ambler	95	Nappaqutat	Lit. trail markers. An ascending trail.
Ambler	96	Naqsraiñaq	Lit. no trail or path. A slough within the Inyghisugruich Mountains.
Ambler	97	Naqsraq	Lit. pass.
Ambler	98	Narvasrugrautchiaq	Lit. a big lake.
Ambler	99	Nasirviich	Lit. look-out places. Hills.
Ambler	100	Niaqquk	Lit. two heads.
Ambler	101	Niaqutchialik	A creek by the sand dune. This creek is too shallow to navigate a boat. But, going into the creek a little ways, is a berry picking spot.
Ambler	102	Nigaqtuǵvik	Lit. snaring place. A creek flowing from the Inyghaitchiat Mountains. It's possible to go boating only in spring, but it is extremely impossible to ev enter the mouth. The water from this creek just rolls down to the river.
Ambler	103	Nigiqdiq	Lit. the north side. Tirraqpak, 'a large beach.'
Ambler	104	Niksikuǵvik	Lit. hooking place. A forbidden place to camp.
Ambler	105	Niyaliaq	
Ambler	106	Niyaliaq	A big bend of the river.
Ambler	107	Nukkaǵruaq	There is a grave here. An area with trees.
Ambler	109	Nullaǵvigruaq	Lit. an old campsite .
Ambler	110	Nuna	Lit. land. A slough inside Akighuq River.
Ambler	111	Paaduuraq	Above Aqiaghughluk is Palhuuraq's grave, a child.
Ambler	112	Pawuutitallak	A lake draining into the Imaghluktuq River.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Ambler	113	Paaram Narvaa	Lit. Paaraq Lake.
Ambler	114	Paatitaak	Lit. wild onions. The Inyupiaq race originated from this site. An archaeological site dating as far as 9600 B.P. (Before present) There are wild onions along the edges of the lake in summer seasons. Refer to Stone Age Campsite at Gateway to America by Doug Andersen, 1968.
Ambler	115	Paungaqtuagruk	Lit. paunghaq, blackberry. A cliff.
Ambler	116	Piñagvik	Lit. place of butchering. Mouth of a slough just below Clarence Wood's place.
Ambler	118	Pitqim Kuugaatchiawa	A creek above Miller Pass.
Ambler	119	Pitqim Sallia	This side of Irikitchut, is a long lake.
Ambler	120	Pitqiq	A lake. This was once a reindeer camp.
Ambler	121	Pituqqiq	The end of the bluffs.
Ambler	123	Qaatchiaq	A trail.
Ambler	125	Qakkiaq	Ambler word to go over land. An old dog team trail to go up or down from the river. This is a danger spot for persons not familiar with this area. But, the trail route has been changed to avoid this spot.
Ambler	126	Qakkiaq	A winter trail.
Ambler	127	Qakkiaq	Lit. an ascending trail on the bank.
Ambler	128	Qaliwak	An old grave.
Ambler	130	Qaluksiaġayuat	Lakes. Long ago Inyupiat carried their qayaqs to this lake to hunt for muskrats
Ambler	131	Qaluksiaġayuat	Two lakes.
Ambler	132	Qaluksiaġayuam Kuugaatchiawa	Lit. Qaluksiaghayuat River.
Ambler	133	Qaqdikuvik	Lit. place to shed skin pants. Long ago, Inyupiat shed their skin pants here when they looked for bearberries. The land was so dry to keep their skin pants on, so they left them by this creek.
Ambler	134	Qauriyaaq	An old dog team trail on this slough. There is a sudden drop.
Ambler	135	Qaviat Qaviagruich	Lit. big sand dunes.
Ambler	136	Qaviurat	Lit. small sand dunes. Bearberries are common on this dune.
Ambler	137	Qayaaq	A long-straight beach. Inside the trees in this spot are old shelter sites. Whatever kind of spirit lays in this area makes it a forbidden place. Places such as this are avoided.
Ambler	138	Qirġiqsiun	Lit. an old sled. Where an old sled had been left. A small creek. There are mounds in this creek.
Ambler	139	Qikuġruich	This is an old site. Since time immemorial, this has been a nullagvik, overnight camp spot.' When the men hunted on Natmaktughiaq pass. The women camped and picked berries herewhile the men hunted.
Ambler	140	Qimiqqat	
Ambler	141	Quahuum Narvaa	Lit. Quahuuq Lake.
Ambler	142	Qulliqaat	A cliff with trees. An old site.
Ambler	143	Qupsiksut	Located below Aalhuk and just a bit above the graves. In this area are ninnguq trees which are described as being qupsik and tall.
Ambler	144	Qutitchauraq	Above Maqatlatchiviuraq. A river bank.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Ambler	145	Sallaiġutchiik	Mountains north of Rabbit Mountain.
Ambler	146	Saukpak	As the warfarers were invading, a boy started to cross the river. An aglinyghaaq looked at him. He became a rock. Saukpak means ilyisiilyaq. That rock is called Saukpak. Long ago, people travelling here oiled the rock.
Ambler	147	Siñalulivaiyyaaq	The smaller mountain next to Silyaluvighruk Mountain. It is also south of Qaviurat, Little Sand Dunes.
Ambler	148	Siñaluliviagruk	South of Qaviurat or Little Sand Dunes, is a mountain.
Ambler	149	Sigñauraq	Lit. A small cache. A straight, long taksruk.
Ambler	150	Sisuaq	Lit. belukha. An eroding area behind the island. Long ago, there was a boulder here. Sughruch, 'warfares' held a boy as hostage. He was crossing when an aglinyghaaq, a girl in her puberty, saw him. As a result, he turned into a rock. People used to oil it. This rock is called Sauppak.
Ambler	151	Siulikturuam Nalġuniksrawa	Lit. Siulikturuuq stretch. Close to Aakatauraq.
Ambler	152	Siuqaqtuaq	Lit. once there were sheefish. This was once a big lake near Pitqiq. It is now a creek.
Ambler	153	Tagluġruuralik	Across from Qayaaq and above Aumaluuraq Creek.
Ambler	155	Takiruak	Lit. two long ones. Lakes.
Ambler	156	Taqqiġ	Place to set nets.
Ambler	159	Tirġum Kuugaatchiawa	Lit. Tirghuq Creek.
Ambler	160	Tirġum Narvaa	Lit. Tirghuq lake.
Ambler	162	Tulukkaat	Lit. young ravens. A hill.
Ambler	163	Tunutam Akia	Lit. Across from Tunutaq creek.
Ambler	164	Tunutam Narvawa	Lit. Tunutaq Lake.
Ambler	165	Tunutam Paaqtawa	Lit. Mouth of Tunutaq River. A slough which leads to Qaviurat. It is navigable only in high water.
Ambler	166	Tunutam Tirrawa	Lit. Tunutaq beach.
Ambler	166	Tunutam Tirrawa	Lit. Tunutaq beach.
Ambler	167	Tunutaq	There are spring camps along this short river, across from Paatitaak.
Ambler	168	Tunutaq	A creek.
Ambler	169	Tunutauraq	Located across from Natatqughviuraq. In front of lakes.
Ambler	170	Tunutqutchauroq	When this section of the river is too low, there is an island where people go around. It is on the mouth of Siuliksaghrvik, where you can tunutqut, or go around
Ambler	171	Tunuuraq	Lit. back. A little island and main river shares the name.
Ambler	172	Tuuduk	Maqsraluuraq. A winter trail leading to Itivlighruich.
Ambler	173	Tuutaksram Paawa	Lit. mouth of Tuutaksraq River.
Ambler	174	Tuutaksram Qikiqtawa	Lit. Tuutaksraq island. The elders said area has become an island with trees. Perhaps this was a submerged land.
Ambler	175	Tuutraaluk	A lake.
Ambler	177	Ukallim Iġġii	Lit. Rabbit Mountain.
Ambler	178	Ukallim Paawa	Lit. mouth of Ukalliq Creek. The creek is Ukalliq also.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Ambler	180	Unaviqsruaq	A lake.
Ambler	181	Uniq	
Ambler	182	Uwaluḡruich	Lit. old cache(s). This is now a grave site. The slough near it is also called Ungalughruaq.
Ambler	183	Urgiīñaitchialik	Lit. place with birch trees. A slough. A spring fishing camp. This slough yields white fish and pike.
Ambler	185	Utkusriksraḡrualik	Lit. place having a pot. This area had materials to make pots. This is located across from the village, along the trail. The slough flows to Kangighaaaghruk.
Ambler	186	Vista	
Ambler	999	Aaduk	A qattuniq, or large mound near Qupsiksut.
Ambler	999	Iḡaitchiaq	A mountain.
Ambler	999	Irikitchut	Round hills.
Ambler	999	Natquqtuḡvik	A beach. There are little islands in this area. Snaring place.
Ambler	999	Nuviqduit	Several lakes close together.
Ambler	999	Nuviqduit	Several lakes close together.
Ambler	999	Qalugraitchauraq	
Ambler	999	Qalugraitchiaq	In the past, hunters went through this path to travel north into the mountains. (Joe Sun) A river between Salmon River and Coal Mine.
Ambler	999	Quluqutat	
Ambler	999	Quluqutat	
Ambler	999	Siksrikspaich	Lit. large ground squirrels. A large bluff. Ground squirrels were hunted around this area.
Ambler	999	Siuliksaagvik	Lit. place to catch pike. Starting from a slough, this has become a river system Good fishing spot for pike.
Ambler	999	Siuliksaagvik	Lit. place to catch pike. Starting from a slough, this has become a river system Good fishing spot for pike.
Ambler	999	Siulikturuaq	Lit. mouth of Tuutaksraq River.
Ambler	999	Tunutaagruk	
Ambler	999	Tuttulluḡvik	Lit. a place where caribou had been successfully killed. (On the river, or near the mountains?)
Kiana	1	Aakataq	Rudy Black's camp.
Kiana	2	Aasriḡraḡaawim Kiluagun	Lit. behind Aasriḡraḡaangiq Mountain. A winter trail leading to Selawik Lake from Kiana.
Kiana	3	Aattatit Kuugaatchiawat	A slough in Ayugraq channel.
Kiana	3	Aattatit Kuugaatchiawat	A slough in Ayugraq channel.
Kiana	4	Aḡniyalaq	A persons name who may have been buried there.
Kiana	6	Aksraksiagvik	An old village site located on the other side of this little slough.
Kiana	7	Alalauram Qikiqtawa	An island with gravel bar. A seining area in the fall season.
Kiana	7	Iñusriḡ	A mountain.
Kiana	8	Amaḡuat	Lit. wolves. A slough in the Siksriktuuq River. (The map does not show the slough. This and the area across it shares the name.)

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kiana	9	Amaguat	This area is between two lakes, and across from Amaghuat Creek.
Kiana	10	Amichuq	A boat landing from the mining days.
Kiana	11	Anirulik	Lakes navigable by qayaq. Located within the Siksriktuuq River.
Kiana	12	Awiñgagiaq	Lit. homeward bound trail. In the early times, this was a pathway for dogteams, and backpacking
Kiana	13	Awmaluawat	There are low hills here.
Kiana	14	Awmanauraq	Lit. a small pass. A pass within the Inyghaitchiat Mountains between Kiana & Selawik.
Kiana	15	Awmaniğruaq	Lit. a big pass. A pass within the Inyghaitchiat Mountains between Selawik and Kiana.
Kiana	16	Awuutituut	A slough. Muskrat hunting area, and place to set nets. Located above Masraun Mountains.
Kiana	17	Apaghuq	A slough inside Siksriktuuq River.
Kiana	18	Asrialivik	Lit. berry place.
Kiana	19	Atchiitkut Kuugaatchiawat	Lit. Atchiitkut Slough.
Kiana	20	Atchiitkut Narvawat	Lit. Atchiitkut Lakes.
Kiana	21	Auqtuutaiñiaq	A point with sandbar.
Kiana	22	Ayugraq	A shallow slough located across from Uqaq.
Kiana	23	Iñawiağruawuluk	A short river located across from Sisit.
Kiana	24	Iliagruawuluk	
Kiana	25	Iñawiağruawuluuraq	A small lake.
Kiana	26	Iñuliaq	A bend.
Kiana	28	Iñuturuq	A slough flowing into Apaghuq. (Find Apaghuq on map.)
Kiana	29	Iñuvilik	Lit. Having a grave. An island in Siksriktuuq River.
Kiana	30	Igliqtiqsiuğvigruaq	A legendary place. Refer to legend, Lore of the Inyupiat, Vol. 1, 1989.
Kiana	31	Igliqtiqsiuğviuraq	Lit. igliq, 'travel.' Some parts of the river is shallow and some parts of the Kuuvak River is deep. There is a strong current in this area.
Kiana	32	Iğmalitñuwnat	A small channel.
Kiana	33	Imağñiq	A lake.
Kiana	34	Iniqagñiq	Lit. old place.
Kiana	35	Iğgiawuluk	A mountain having wild lemons.
Kiana	36	Iğgiğruak	Lit. two large mountains
Kiana	37	Iğgitchiat	A mountain range between Selawik & Kiana.
Kiana	38	Iğgiuraq	Lit. 'small mountain'. It is near the village of Katyaak.
Kiana	39	Iłutaq	Albertha Atoruk's native allotment. A camp.
Kiana	40	Iqsiuğvik	War Place. In the early times, Noatak people came here to fight Katyaanyimut.
Kiana	41	Iriliin	A mountain.
Kiana	42	Itiqsraq	Lakes.
Kiana	43	Iyağauraq	Lit. rock. A mountain with rocks.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kiana	44	Kakiaqtuġvik	Lit. place to spear fish.
Kiana	45	Kawuqturuaq	Lit. having lots of swans. A fairly large lake.
Kiana	46	Katyaak	Lit. a river fork. Community.
Kiana	48	Kavġiġ	A persons name who may have lived there.
Kiana	49	Kiglavaich	The highest range of mountains.
Kiana	50	Kikdikkat	A small knowl or hill where war farers went down on the bank which was thick with willows. Kikhlighnighaat. 'They cut through the bank'. (Joe Sun)
Kiana	51	Kiwitluktauyyaat	Lit. the highest ones. Mountains.
Kiana	52	Kitik	Bluff area with beach located below Katyaak village.
Kiana	53	Kurriaq	Lit. formation of a river.
Kiana	54	Kurviġvik	Lit. set netting place.
Kiana	55	Kuugauragraitchiaq	Lit. a big slough.
Kiana	56	Kuuġuqpak	Lit. big river.
Kiana	57	Kuukpik	A river.
Kiana	58	Kuutchauraq	A slough.
Kiana	59	Maġaraq	A beach where Katyaaghmiut seine for fish in spring and fall seasons.
Kiana	60	Malġutchiak	lit. Two objects. Two Mtns.
Kiana	62	Mayuaqtuaġiaq	Lit. climbing pathway. In early times, qakiruat, 'those who went hunting for caribou,' climbed over this mountain to get to the other side.
Kiana	63	Naaluwiat	Winter trail.
Kiana	64	Nalluq	A slough. The current on portion of this river is not so strong. One of the oldest sites used as a fishing spot for white fish. (Joe Sun)
Kiana	65	Napaaqtuqtuuq	Lit. napaaqtuq,' spruce tree.' A creek between mountains.
Kiana	66	Napaaqtuqtuuq	Lit. napaaqtuq,' spruce tree.' A river channel within Siksriktuuq.
Kiana	67	Napaaqtuqtuuq	Lit. napaaqtuq,' spruce tree.' A mountain. A creek next to it shares name.
Kiana	68	Napaaqtusrugraitchiaq	Lit. a fairly large spruce tree. And old shelter cabin.
Kiana	69	Napuoram Qikiqtawa	Lit. Napuuraq Island.
Kiana	70	Napuuraq	A hill.
Kiana	71	Narvat Attatit	Lakes
Kiana	72	Nasraqupak	Mountain.
Kiana	73	Nasrutchauraq	A small gravel island below Qalugruich River
Kiana	74	Nauyaġruaq	Lit. big-old seagull. An island.
Kiana	75	Niaquq	Lit. head.
Kiana	76	Nigaqtuġvik	An old Inyupiaq term for snaring caribou.
Kiana	77	Nigraq	A slough.
Kiana	78	Nuiñaaraq	Lit. point of appearing or becoming visible when boating.
Kiana	79	Nunavaitchiaq	Qalhhaq's grave is located here. A shallow area. Seining and berrypicking area .

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kiana	80	Nuyaqqisraq	Nunavik or good ground where berries grow, and the caribou graze in fall.
Kiana	81	Paalitqiun	Lit. new channel.
Kiana	82	Paalitqutim Kawia	The end of Paalitqiun River. A lake.
Kiana	83	Piwuqsraq	Lit. round hill.
Kiana	85	Putu	Lit. channel. An island in Siksriktuuq River where a channel had formed.
Kiana	86	Qaagliuraq	Lit. sharp-nosed white fish. A beach. A person's name who may have lived there .
Kiana	87	Qadhaq	A person's name who may have lived there
Kiana	88	Qaayaan	The real Inyupiaq pronunciation for Kiana.
Kiana	89	Qagguḡruaq	A creek which flows from the mountains.
Kiana	90	Qakdikuvik	Lit. place to shed skin pants. Bearberries are harvested in this area.
Kiana	91	Qakkiaq	Lit. overland pass. In the early times, Siilyviniut people used this path when hunting for caribou. They returned to Siilyvik through Ikkuīyiq by rafting,. They cached their meat here. After freeze-up they retrieved their food with dog teams.
Kiana	92	Qaliḡruaq	A berry picking place.
Kiana	93	Qaliaq	There are graves.
Kiana	94	Qalugraitchauraq	Lit. A young salmon.
Kiana	95	Qalugraitchiaq	A river.
Kiana	96	Qalugruich	Lit. Salmon. A river.
Kiana	97	Qargiḡruaq	Lit. qargi, 'men's house.' A village summer camp.
Kiana	98	Qaulluuraq	Large Mountains.
Kiana	99	Qikuḡruich	Lit. clay. Cliff rocks.
Kiana	100	Qikuli	Lit. qiku, 'clay.' Located within the Siksriktuuq River.
Kiana	101	Qimmim Isrua	Lit. end of the bluffs. Berry picking area.
Kiana	102	Qiwaaqpak	Bluff area with beach located above Kitik. Paul Outwater's native allotment.
Kiana	103	Qitiqdiuraq	Lit. middle one, or smaller finger.
Kiana	104	Qusrimmaqtuuq	Lit. Qusrimmaq 'rhubarb'. A short slough below Qalgruich.
Kiana	105	Salliḡiq	A point across from Katyaak. Nuvughauraq.
Kiana	106	Sapusrigaitchiaq	Term for blocking game. At the end of the beach across from Nigaqtughvik.
Kiana	107	Sauniqtuuguruaq	An island
Kiana	108	Sauniqtuuwuraq	A little slough located across from Nauyaghruaq.
Kiana	109	Siksisaat	An island.
Kiana	110	Siksrikpaich	Lit ground squirrels. A bank. There are siksrikpak around these mounds. An old site.
Kiana	111	Siksriktuuq	A river.
Kiana	111	Siksriktuuq	A river.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kiana	112	Sisit	Lit. burrow
Kiana	113	Sisuaq	Lit. belukha. In this area is a large rock located across from Kiklhikkat.
Kiana	114	Sisugǵaurat	A creek located at the east end of Inyghiuraq Mountain.
Kiana	114	Sisugǵaurat	A creek located at the east end of Inyghiuraq Mountain.
Kiana	115	Siuligaaǵruk	Quaghrugaaq. At the lower end of an island is a long knowl. A spring camp.
Kiana	116	Siulikturuaq	Lit. abundant with pike. A river.
Kiana	116	Siulikturuaq	Lit. abundant with pike. A river.
Kiana	117	Sugliurat	Lit. young horned grebes. On these hills are three pointed rocks.
Kiana	118	Taimmalii	Clusters of lakes below Napaaqtuqtuuq Mountains
Kiana	119	Taksruǵruaq	A slough located across from Tirraqpak. Moose area.
Kiana	120	Taupak	Located below Katyaak.
Kiana	121	Tiitaǵaariq	A mountain abundant with blueberries.
Kiana	122	Tiktaaliqsuuq	Lit. mudshark place. Located inside Tunutaq channel.
Kiana	123	Tirraqpak	Lit. long or big beach.
Kiana	124	Tunutaq	An old channel. An old village site. On the mouth of the river is a fishing spot. Historically been used for hunting all kinds of game. (Joe Sun)
Kiana	125	Tuttullugvik	Lit. lucky for killing a caribou. Across from Qalugraitchauraq is a place where a person successfully killed a caribou. (Joe Sun)
Kiana	126	Tuunǵivik	A beach on the Kuuvak River. There is an eddy here where Katyaanymiut seine for fish.
Kiana	127	Tuutaksram Qikiqtawa	Lit. Tuutaksraq Island.
Kiana	128	Tuutaksraq	Lit. for a labret. This place is named after a pace where Inyupiat searched for rocks for their labret farther up river. A white rock. (Joe Sun)
Kiana	129	Uliksuaq	A creek which leads to a lake. There are lakes here which empties during dry season and usually becomes lakes after spring break-up. A grassy area where moose live. This place is known to be Ivaluilaq's summer camp.
Kiana	130	Ullaǵraitchiaq	A beach.
Kiana	131	Umiǵruaq	Lit. big old boat.
Kiana	132	Uqaq	Lit. a tongue, or to speak.
Kiana	133	Uummatim Kuuǵua	Lit. Umman Creek. Uuman, 'heart.'
Kiana	134	Yuugruam Qikiqtawa	There was a white man, Yuugruaq, who lived here. This island was named after Yuugruaq. English name?
Kiana	999	Aiwiñam Qikiqtawa	
Kiana	999	Napaaqtautchiaq	
Kiana	999	Nuqaqti	
Kiana	999	Tuunǵaum Sisaa	
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	1	Itqiñǵiaq	"Way to go to Indian people." Itilyiargiok Creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	2	Isitiquq	"Like an arrowhead." A creek.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	3	Utiġun	"Returning." Otirgon Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	4	Kawianiq	The upper Colville River.
Kuuvangmuit	5	Isitquq	The Itivilik River
Kuuvangmuit	6	Akutuqtuq	"Lots of [akutuq]." A creek at the head of Anvik River.
Kuuvangmuit	7	Akutuq	"Eskimo ice cream." So named because the blowing snow there is like whipped fat. Howard Pass.
Kuuvangmuit	8	Quġrivik	A lake and caribou drive area: also called [Itivliq]. Itivilik Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	9	Uluksraqtut	"Like material for an ulu." The upper Aniuk River and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	10	Irautaiyautraġvik	A creek. Old Mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	11	Aniuyaaq	"Wind hits hard on south side." Aniuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	12	Iñiġgaagruk	"Boy." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	13	Niaquġnaq	"Like a head." A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	14	Sulukpaat	"Feather." A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	15	Aalaasuuraq	"Small Aalaasuq, Little Alatna." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	16	Ipnaġruich	"Cliffs on two sides." A creek at the head of the Nigu River.
Kuuvangmuit	17	Aalaasuq	Alatna River
Kuuvangmuit	18	Kauknuk	Gull Pass.
Kuuvangmuit	19	Quunġunaq	The Lucky Six Creek and mine.
Kuuvangmuit	20	Alugiivik	"Salt lick place." Twelve mile creek.
Kuuvangmuit	21	Ivisaaqtignilik	
Kuuvangmuit	22	Utkusriksraq	"Pot material." A steep draw into a mountain west of Portage Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	23	Pannavik	"Spearing place."
Kuuvangmuit	24	Qaġrum Nulimmaat	"Arrow breaks." A creek below Papik Mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	25	Ayuukkaa	"Always frozen." Oyukak Mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	26	Tupilik	"Has a house." Tupik Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	27	Papiġuq	"Fish tail." Igikpak Mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	28	Tupilik	Pass from Reed River to Tupik Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	29	Yufiġa	A creek, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	30	Yaġuna	A creek, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	31	Kuugruaq	"Big River." Kugrak River
Kuuvangmuit	32	Ikniġ	"Chert." Igning River.
Kuuvangmuit	33	Sulukpatchiaq	"Rocks like feathers." Shulakpachak Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	34	Awunaitchuaq	"Somewhere one doesn't hunt animals." The pass from Mauneluk River to Tupik Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	35	Awiġgaġiaq	"The way to go home." Reed River.
Kuuvangmuit	36	Uunaqtaa	"Hot thing." Hot springs.
Kuuvangmuit	37	Alaqanalik	"A legendary creature, half beaver and half marmot." (said to inhabit lakes). The headwater lakes of Beaver River.
Kuuvangmuit	38	Qalugluktuaq	"Big fish." Walker Lake.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvan̄muiit	39	Aqusriuḡvik	"Beaver place." Beaver River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	40	Savigiksaḡvik	"Place to fix a broxen knife." A creek between Beaver River and Avarraat Lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	41	Avaaraḡaat	"Something yells." Avarraat Lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	42	Avgun	"Dividing line." A creek running into Mauneluk River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	43	Uqpigruaq	"Big willow." A creek and campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	44	Qupyuk	"Ice cracking noise." Kipmik Lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	45	Ninwuq	"Balsam poplar." Midas Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	46	Paaqtig	"Pass by and meet."
Kuuvan̄muiit	47	Kawiḡaq	"Caribou corral." So named because caribou were once driven through here into snares. A tributary of Midas Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	48	Isigak	"Foot." Isiak Lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	49	Qalukpalik	
Kuuvan̄muiit	50	Ninwuayaag	"Little poplar." A tributary of Midas Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	51	Iyaḡak	A campsite, named for a person.
Kuuvan̄muiit	52	Ipnañiviich	"Sheep place." A mountain.
Kuuvan̄muiit	53	Nasrauraq	"Little parka hood." A mountain.
Kuuvan̄muiit	54	Kisiulit	A creek. Old Mountain.
Kuuvan̄muiit	55	Naqsraḡluk	Karachurak Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	56	Ipnañiviich Narvawat	Sheep Lakes (two narrow lakes near Tunukuchiak Creek).
Kuuvan̄muiit	57	Kaviqsuurak	"Two little knolls." Two mountain peaks near Kavachurak Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	58	Iḡḡiqdak	A creek. Old Mountain.
Kuuvan̄muiit	59	Iñupquaḡruuralik	"Somebody left their old underwear." A creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	60	Ikaiwaruq	
Kuuvan̄muiit	61	Niqipalugruuraq	"Strong north wind." A creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	62	Tunuuraq	"Way around the mountain.: A pass west of Kayachurak Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	63	Akutuḡruaq	"Big leaf." A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	65	Ĺilpuuluḡaqtiḡvik	"Place to use a gee pole." A pass.
Kuuvan̄muiit	66	Ikiaqsaaḡiat	"Walking along a slope." A creek and a trail.
Kuuvan̄muiit	67	Quulḡut	A canyon on a tributary of Imelyak River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	68	Imaiñaq	"No water." Imelyak River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	69	Qiḡluq	A large creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	70	Imaniḡruurat	Several dry lakes.
Kuuvan̄muiit	71	Auksaaq̄iak	A mountain near the mouth of Cutler River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	72	Qaggaḡniaq	"Salmon." A site on Natmolirak Creek where salmon spawn.
Kuuvan̄muiit	73	Siksrikpakturuat	"They have big marmot."
Kuuvan̄muiit	74	Quḡḡaḡiaq	Road to Noatak. Ipnelivik River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	75	Iłilailagalik (Iñiñgaaḡruk)	A tributary of Ipnelivik River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	76	Quggaḡniaq	Road to Noatak.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	77	Sisuuktat	"Killed by snow slide." A pass from Kogoluktuk River to Ipnelivik River. A group of [Kuuvanmiut] were killed there in an avalanche many years ago. The pass is no longer used for fear of avalanches.
Kuuvangmuit	78	Ulapniġiaq	A tributary of the upper Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	79	Ulapniġiuraq	A pass used as a trail to the Noatak River.
Kuuvangmuit	80	Naqsraġluktuaq	"High, steep, rocky pass." A pass near the head of Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	81	Kaviqsuġruaq	"Big red one." A mountain at the head of Redstone River.
Kuuvangmuit	82	Kaviqsuġruaġiaq	Red Mountain Creek. A tributary of Amakomanak Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	83	Amaqum Anaq	"Wolf feces."
Kuuvangmuit	84	Qalukpiñivik	"Place with trout."
Kuuvangmuit	85	Awayuk	"Someone older than you." Cutler River.
Kuuvangmuit	86	Qalukpiñiviuraq	"Trout place." A pass from Cutler River to Amakonamak Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	87	Apqugaaġruk	"Old pass trail." A pass between the Redstone and Cutler rivers. A major pass between the Kobuk and Noatak river drainages.
Kuuvangmuit	88	Nuwwuich	"The last timber." A valley leading to the pass from Redstone River to Cutler River.
Kuuvangmuit	89	Akiññiq	"Opposed to (something)." A pass between the Redstone and Cutler Rivers. too steep for dogs. It is used when men backpack loads from Cutler River to Redstone River.
Kuuvangmuit	90	Siiqsiniq	"Overflow." A braided area of the upper Redstone River subject to extensive glacering in the winter. Also the limit of boat travel up the creek.
Kuuvangmuit	91	Akuliqqat	"Junction." A mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	92	Naparuatchialik	
Kuuvangmuit	93	Akiññiq	"Opposite one." Same as no. 89.
Kuuvangmuit	94	Nasritchuġvik	"Lookout place." A small mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	95	Mawwuq	Nuna Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	96	Nuna	"Land." Akillik River.
Kuuvangmuit	97	Qalugriivik	"Salmon spawning place." A site on the middle of Akillik River where salmon spawn.
Kuuvangmuit	98	Nuqaqti	"Bow string." Nekakte Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	99	Siiqsiniq	"Overflow." A site of heavy winter overflowing.
Kuuvangmuit	100	Iłukiñisuq	"Funny-faced man." A campsite, named for a white prospector who lived here long ago.
Kuuvangmuit	101	Kuugruaq	"Big river." Hunt River.
Kuuvangmuit	102	Aqiāuq	"Stomach." A tributary of Hunt River.
Kuuvangmuit	103	Siññiļ	"Whetstone."
Kuuvangmuit	104	Saquwaruġniq	"Not straight."
Kuuvangmuit	105	Sulukpatchiak	"Two feathers."
Kuuvangmuit	106	Nunaġarich	A Person's name.
Kuuvangmuit	107	Qaluksaġvikturuq	"Lots of little gulches."
Kuuvangmuit	108	Qalugrualik	"Has salmon." The upper Shungnak River.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	109	Iyaġak	"Rock hill." A mountain at the divide between the Shungnak and Ambler rivers.
Kuuvangmuit	110	Tiwmiagsiugiat	"Look for geese." Lakes on trail to the middle of Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	111	Qikiqaqtuaq	Big rock. The site of a large rock in the middle of Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	112	Urgiĩĩqsuug	"Birch hill." The end of a ridge near the trail to the upper Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	113	Avuġaluk	
Kuuvangmuit	114	Naniġurat	"Dead falls." Kalurvik River.
Kuuvangmuit	115	Aniraq	Anirak Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	116	Uluksaurat	"Little ulu material."
Kuuvangmuit	117	Qaluktalgum Paaqtawa	A pass.
Kuuvangmuit	118	Tadhiaq	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	119	Alaqaiñaq	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	120	Qalugriivik	"Salmon spawning place." Cross Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	121	Tuuduk	A campsite and old settlement.
Kuuvangmuit	122	Ataatchiaq	A creek. Old Mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	123	Tuuduk	A campsite, named after a person who died there.
Kuuvangmuit	124	Akuliġaq	"Rivers meet." The mouth of Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	125	Tiġitiġaaqturuaq	"Many arctic terns." ([Tighitighaaq] is an old word for arctic tern.) A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	126	Maqatlitchiġviuraq	"Stuck in the mud." A place on the east side of Ambler River mouth.
Kuuvangmuit	127	Ukiivigruich	"Winter houses." An island at the confluence of the Kobuk and Ambler rivers, named for an old settlement on the east end of the island.
Kuuvangmuit	128	Qutliqpaat	"Highest one." A high place on an island.
Kuuvangmuit	129	Piqqaqduk	A campsite on an island, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	130	Happy Lack's	A cabin site.
Kuuvangmuit	131	Kutvak	"Arrowhead." A cabin site and grave site, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	132	Uwaluġruaq	"Old cache." A small creek.
Kuuvangmuit	133	Ivisaappaat	"Redstone River mouth." The site of Ambler village.
Kuuvangmuit	134	Isigakpak	"Big foot." A point of land.
Kuuvangmuit	135	Kutukatuk	A place on an island, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	136	Qaluksiuġayuat	"Young osprey." A place on an island.
Kuuvangmuit	137	Paaduk	(real name = [Aqiaghughlungnat]) A lake, named after a child who died there about 1950. Before this it was called [Aqiaghughlungnat], big stomach."
Kuuvangmuit	138	Imaġlitchiġviuraq	"Boat slats." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	139	Nigraq	"Tassel hanging on a parka." A slough: also where the winter trail between Ambler and Shungnak leaves the river.
Kuuvangmuit	140	Iwaluagtuyusrivik	"Place for learning to eat spruce grouse entrails." A small slough.
Kuuvangmuit	141	Qauriyaaq	"Roasted fish." An oxbow lake.
Kuuvangmuit	142	Miluktuksrat	"Children breast feeding." A lake and riverbank.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	143	Kawigagruaq	"Big corral." Kanezrok Creek, named for old "caribou corral."
Kuuvangmuit	144	Nigiqdiq	"Northern one." A sandbar on Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	145	Kuukpik	"old channel." The old channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	146	Milugiat	"Mudsuckers." Miluet Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	147	Ilgisugruich	"Big mountain." Jade Mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	148	Naparuq	"Something standing there." A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	149	Manuiñisat	A mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	150	Ivisaaq	"Red stone." Redstone River.
Kuuvangmuit	151	Niyaliaq	A sharp bend where river turns back.
Kuuvangmuit	152	Iyaǵakpak	"Big rock." A section of the Ambler River above Milugiat Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	153	Natmaktuǵlaq	"Pack across divide." Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	154	Pituqqiq	"Portage." An old portage trail from Ambler village to Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	155	Qattuniǵruaq	"Old hill." A ridge north of Ambler.
Kuuvangmuit	156	Qirñiqsiun	"Hawk trap." A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	157	Pitqiq	An oxbow lake. Pitkik Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	158	Siqaqtuaq	"Used to have sheetfish." An old lake bed west of [Pitqiq] Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	159	Ukalliq	"Snowshoe hare." A creek. Also called [Ukallim Kurba], here long ago. "has lots of rabbits sometimes."
Kuuvangmuit	160	Niyaliaq	"Sharp bend where the river turns back." A river bend and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	161	Kuugvaich	A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	162	Kuugaatchiavak	Long slough. Slough entering Kobuk River below McClair.
Kuuvangmuit	163	Makdiin	A campsite, named for McLean, a white man who had a camp there for cutting wood to sell in downriver villages.
Kuuvangmuit	164	Kuuwuluk	"Small channel." A channel of Kobuk River above Ambler River.
Kuuvangmuit	165	Atigutit	Long lake beside a hill. A like.
Kuuvangmuit	166	Misrak	A creek, named after a person. Misuk Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	167	Tunuuraq	"Area behind." A small channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	168	Qupsiksut	"Straight-grained trees." A creek, named for the easily split straight-grained spruce that grow along it.
Kuuvangmuit	169	Tagluǵruuralik	"Old snowshoe place." A sandbar.
Kuuvangmuit	170	Awattaaq	A sandbar on the south side of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	171	Aaduk	Hills, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	172	Aumaduuraq	Omaluruk Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	173	Ikpigruk	"Long high bank."
Kuuvangmuit	174	Qaviurat	"Little sands."
Kuuvangmuit	175	Niaqutchialik	"Supplied with a new little head."
Kuuvangmuit	176	Sigñauraq	"Little cache."
Kuuvangmuit	177	Qayaaq	Across from Onion Portage. Sandbar toward Ambler.
Kuuvangmuit	178	Isiwnam Paawa	"Jade mouth." The mouth of Jade Creek.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	179	Isiwnaq	"Jade." Jade creek.
Kuuvangmuit	180	Paatitaaq	"Wild chives." Onion Portage.
Kuuvangmuit	181	Tunutam Paaqtawa	"Circles around." A creek below Onion Portage, misnamed Tunutuk.
Kuuvangmuit	182	Tunutaq	"Comes back around."
Kuuvangmuit	183	Nigaqtuġvik	"Snaring place." Niaktuik Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	184	Tunutam Akia	"Across from [Tunutaq]." A large sandbar.
Kuuvangmuit	185	Masrutuuq	"Lots of [masru]."
Kuuvangmuit	186	Pituqqiq	"Portage." The place where the portage trail across Onion Portage formerly reached the river.
Kuuvangmuit	187	Paungaqtuaġruk	"Crowberry picking place." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	188	Uniq	"Armpit."
Kuuvangmuit	189	Maqduk	Named after a person who died there. A channel.
Kuuvangmuit	190	Kilvaġiayaaq	"Place for a short walk back away from the water." A new creek.
Kuuvangmuit	191	Kilvaġiaġruaq	"Place for a long walk back away from the water." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	192	Apikiulik	Named after a person who is buried there.
Kuuvangmuit	193	Paungaqtuaġruk	(c.f. 187) "Crowberry picking place." A steep bluff along the inside of Kobuk River: an area known for its powerful north winds.
Kuuvangmuit	194	Israqaġliq	"Molting place." A lake frequented by numerous white fronted geese during summers when the adults are undergoing molt.
Kuuvangmuit	195	Amaqtuq	"Humpbacked fish." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	196	Kapuqqaagvik	"Fish spearing place." A cabin site.
Kuuvangmuit	197	Aksraksiagvik	"Rolling place." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	198	Milugiuvik	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	199	Kiggaich	
Kuuvangmuit	200	Nuna	"Land." Akillik River.
Kuuvangmuit	201	Israqaġvik	"Has molting geese." Formerly a lake west of Hunt River, used by molting geese in summer now overgrown.
Kuuvangmuit	202	Nasrirvik	"Lookout place."
Kuuvangmuit	203	Piñagvik	"Butchering place." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	205	Tulukkaat	"Young ravens."
Kuuvangmuit	206	Natatquqtuġvik	"Place for eating willow shoots."
Kuuvangmuit	207	Tunutauraq	
Kuuvangmuit	208	Tunutauraq	"Little one comes back around."
Kuuvangmuit	209	Anuġituut	"Strong wind." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	210	Ataniqdiġiik	"Two lakes together." Ahnewelut Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	211	Anuġituut	"Strong wind."
Kuuvangmuit	212	Quġlut	"Big waterfall." The upper kobuk canyon.
Kuuvangmuit	213	Unaqsigiaq	"Look for good wood." A tributary of the upper Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	214	Nautauraqti	Nutuvuki Lake.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	215	Awĩṅḡaḡiaq	"Going way home." A trapping area. Way to go home.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	216	Miniaqusa	Lake Minakokosa. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	217	Qulaḡaasiulat	Mountains east of Narvak Lake. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	218	Iggiaq	"Throat." A channel joining Narvak Lakes.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	219	Narvak	"Two lakes."
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	220	Savigiksaḡvik	"To fix a broken knife." A creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	221	Anauliḡvik	"Place to beat something." Selby River.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	222	Killaq	"Hole in the bottom." Coal Pass.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	223	Awayuqaatchaak	"Two old men." A creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	224	Tauditinna	An old Indian village site. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	225	Kuukisaana	A grave site, bar, and campsite below Selby River. A person's name.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	227	Tiiqaadauna	A sandbar. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	228	Suluppaugaqtuuq	"Place with many grayling." A slough and area, just above the mouth of Selby River.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	229	Siaktuurat	"Rocks standing up." A mountain.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	230	Qiṅḡiṅviatchiaq	"Small hawk." A creek. (Tape says [kigaviatchiaq].)
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	231	Kuuqquppaat	"Creek mouth." A creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	232	Tinittauḡaq	A point of a hill where Indians used to live. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	233	Taadadhiautit	A gravel bluff. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	234	Qulaḡaasilat	A small creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	235	Quyuuḡiilua	A small lake.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	236	Aqpaliq	A creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	237	Aqiat	"Round like a belly." Hills north of Bear Island.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	238	Qalukpiṅviuraq	"Trout spawning place." A tributary of the upper Kobuk River, next to Nilunorat Hills.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	239	Niuluwnaurat	"Hard walking." Nilunorat Hills.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	240	Aqusriḡvik	"Place to look for beaver." Beaver creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	241	Quḡlut	"Waterfall." The name of Kobuk River from the lower canyon to its source.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	242	Nauyyaat	"Young seagulls." Lower Kobuk Canyon.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	243	Quḡluich	"Big falls." Upper Kobuk Canyon.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	244	Qalugluktuaq	"Lots of fish." A lake west of Norutak Lake. Walker Lake.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	245	Nauyatuuq	"Young seagull." Norutak Lake.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	246	Uluqsiuraq	A creek, named after a person.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	247	Iḡḡik Akullaaq	"Between two mountains." A creek.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	248	Iṅaatqutchim Iḡḡii	"Mountain with porcupine quills." East Norutak Hills.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	249	Kisimmaluat	"Hill by itself." A small hill south of Norutak Hills.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	251	Kuuḡuqpak	"Big River." Hogatza River.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	252	Agiatchianaq	Site near a portage to Kobuk River from Hogatza River.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	253	Itivliq	"Portage place." A portage between the Hogatza and Pah rivers.
Kuuvangmuit	254	Siitina	A creek. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvangmuit	255	Tulugaq	Ravens Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	256	Tuqaatqan	A creek, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	257	Tigligiaġvik	"Place to go to steal." A large lake.
Kuuvangmuit	258	Niksiksugvik	"Place to hook fish." A creek, used in the winter to hook fish.
Kuuvangmuit	259	Tulugaq	"Raven." A campsite at the junction of three creeks.
Kuuvangmuit	260	Atannigiutchiak	A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	261	Tulukkaat	"Young Ravens." A campsite and irregularly shaped lake.
Kuuvangmuit	262	Paa	"Mouth of stream." The mouth of Pah River.
Kuuvangmuit	263	Daakkig	
Kuuvangmuit	264	Killaq	"Hole in the bottom." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	265	Kayuqtuaġvik	"Place to get fox." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	266	Qikiqtaqpak	"Big island."
Kuuvangmuit	267	Maniiñaq	"Rough place." A mountain at the mouth of Mauneluk River.
Kuuvangmuit	268	Uumman	"Heart." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	269	Tuuvaasaq	An Indian work.
Kuuvangmuit	270	Maniiñappaat	or [Maniilyam Paanga] "Mouth of [Maniilyaq] River.
Kuuvangmuit	271	Qalugriivik	"Salmon spawning place." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	272	Kuutchiagruaq	"Not a big river." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	273	Narvasrugruk	"Big Lake."
Kuuvangmuit	274	Awutigiik	"Man and Wife."
Kuuvangmuit	276	Tirravak	"Big bar." A sandbar.
Kuuvangmuit	277	Aaġayukluk	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	278	Patkuraq	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	279	Qargiat	"Their dance house."
Kuuvangmuit	280	Iivvaġik	"Something going around."
Kuuvangmuit	281	Taadauraq	A sandbar, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	282	Qaluksiuġayuat	"Young osprey."
Kuuvangmuit	283	Qala	"Churning water."
Kuuvangmuit	284	Umiaviuraq	"Little umiak place." The site of a legend about three men in a boat who were turned to stone.
Kuuvangmuit	285	Aaquaksraatchiak	"Two old women." A bluff.
Kuuvangmuit	286	Pututchiaq	"Cutoff."
Kuuvangmuit	287	Kaġġu	The channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	288	Kuutchauraq	"Small river."
Kuuvangmuit	289	Tauiliik	A riverbank. (An Indian name.)
Kuuvangmuit	290	Saattuviksuruaq	"Many flat rocks."

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	291	Kaisrualuk	The point of a hill down from Kalla.
Kuuvangmuit	292	Ipaurat	"Little bluffs."
Kuuvangmuit	293	Saavaayiqsuruaq	"A kind of small fish." A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	294	Quḡluqtum Paaḡruaq	The mouth of Qugluqtuq.
Kuuvangmuit	295	Quḡluqtuq	"Waterfall."
Kuuvangmuit	296	Kawiwiiqsivik	"To drive caribou." A narrow canyon through which caribou were driven for killing.
Kuuvangmuit	297	Qalluiqsat	Kollioksak Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	298	Tulukkaaqsuḡayuk	"Obtain young ravens."
Kuuvangmuit	299	Sivutmugiaq	"Going on a straight course." (i.e., on the way north.)
Kuuvangmuit	300	Uqquqdīḡiq	"Below big creek."
Kuuvangmuit	301	Ḳḡivak	"Big mountain."
Kuuvangmuit	302	Qaiqsuq	"Flat place."
Kuuvangmuit	303	Kiiksugaq	Camp Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	304	Qalugrualigauraq	Cosmos Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	305	Isiwnaq	"Jade." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	306	Upingivaitchiaq	A campsite and gravesite.
Kuuvangmuit	307	Aanaruḡiik	"Grandmother and grandson."
Kuuvangmuit	308	Qiruktaḡvik	"Wood cutting place."
Kuuvangmuit	309	Irikitchut	"They have small eyes."
Kuuvangmuit	310	Pitqiq	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	311	Aayugīakkiak	A campsite, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	312	Pitqiq	A creek and lake.
Kuuvangmuit	313	Tuutraaluk	A creek, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	314	Kuugaatchiavak	A long slough.
Kuuvangmuit	315	Pitqaq	A patch of timber in tundra, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	316	Ḳuuraqtuqtuat	A stand of timber projecting into tundra.
Kuuvangmuit	317	Quluqutat	Patch of trees. Near [Kuugaatchiavak] Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	318	Takiruaq	A long lake.
Kuuvangmuit	319	Aqsaaqtuk	"Looping." A large lake.
Kuuvangmuit	320	Tunutaq	"Comes back around." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	321	Putuuraq	"A cutoff." Miller Pass.
Kuuvangmuit	322	Katuksiq	
Kuuvangmuit	323	Siuliksaḡvik	"Pike catching place." The confluence of two channels of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	324	Imaḡluktuaḡruk	"Little dark water." A small creek just above Black River; part of [Kuugaatchiavak] Slough.
Kuuvangmuit	325	Itivruk	"New channel."
Kuuvangmuit	326	Urgiīñiatcialik	"Has young birch." A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	327	Iraaquḡruaq	An area named after a person.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvan̄muiit	328	Mitqulgich	"Duck feathers."
Kuuvan̄muiit	329	Imaġluktuaq	"Dark roily water."
Kuuvan̄muiit	330	Aviñuqtauraq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	331	Katyaatchiaq	"Fork in the river."
Kuuvan̄muiit	332	Takiruaq	A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	333	Imaġluktuaq	"Dark roily water." Black River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	334	Katyaatchiaq	"Fork in the river."
Kuuvan̄muiit	335	Kawisugruk	The head of Black River Lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	337	Iyaqiqutallak	A group of lakes.
Kuuvan̄muiit	338	Sikñaksraq	"Material for a pickax." Pick River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	339	Narvasrugruich	"Lots of lakes." A group of lakes.
Kuuvan̄muiit	340	Paawuutitallak	"Double paddle." A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	341	Igaun Narvaak	"Igaun's lakes."
Kuuvan̄muiit	342	Siliaġutchiik	"First ones." The first mountains one reaches going south from Ambler.
Kuuvan̄muiit	343	Qaluksiugayuat	"Young osprey."
Kuuvan̄muiit	344	Kuutchauraq	"New river." Kerchurak Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	345	Ukallim Iġjiik	"Rabbit mountains." The Sheklukshuk Range.
Kuuvan̄muiit	346	Kuutchauraq	
Kuuvan̄muiit	347	Igaupak	Egaupak Lake, named after a person.
Kuuvan̄muiit	348	Aluuraq	A creek at the headwaters of Kugrak River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	349	Ataniġruaq	A large lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	350	Ukallim Kuuġuq	Rabbit Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	351	Tuqunaqtut	"Everyone who goes this way dies." A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	352	Qiñġivakduk	"Got a hawk." A creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	353	Iqsraġutiliqag̃liq	"Geese in molt." A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	354	Awutiġruaq	"Big man."
Kuuvan̄muiit	355	Nigaqtuġvik	"Place for snare." A tributary of Pah River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	356	Saġvaqsiuġiaq	"Drifting with the current." Pah River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	357	Anauliġviuraq	"Little place to hit something."
Kuuvan̄muiit	359		A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	360	Piġniq	"Where the creek turns." Shiniliack Creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	361	Uunaqtaa	"Hot thing." Selawik Hot Springs.
Kuuvan̄muiit	362	Quġluqtum Paawa	"Mouth of Qubluqtuaq."
Kuuvan̄muiit	363	Kanayium Narvaat	"Sculpin Lake."
Kuuvan̄muiit	364	Napaaqtuġvik	"Timber place."
Kuuvan̄muiit	365	Ayauppivik	"net pole making place."
Kuuvan̄muiit	366	Savium Kivvivia	"Place where knife sank."
Kuuvan̄muiit	367	Nuvugluktuaq	"Broken-top tree."

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	368	Akuligaaq	A poing of two channels.
Kuuvangmuit	369	Itqiñiqjuk	"Old Indian." A cutbank.
Kuuvangmuit	370	Akitchiaq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	371	Aktuq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	372	Aqpatchuiñaq	A name given by the saltwater people.
Kuuvangmuit	373	Iñuvaurat	"Little graveyard." A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	374	Nausrugniqturuaq	"Lots of snags."
Kuuvangmuit	375	Sautnaq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	376	Ipligvik	"Somebody fell down." A place where a person died.
Kuuvangmuit	377	Ayugaitchiaq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	378	Aqpatchuilaq	"Not running." A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	380	Salliñauraq	"Little seining place." An Island.
Kuuvangmuit	381	Patiqturuqsuqtuaq	"Bone marrow gets too cold or too painful (from icy water)."
Kuuvangmuit	382	Iqsratchiaq	A grave site. Name of a person buried there.
Kuuvangmuit	383	Naattaat	"Young great gray owls." A sandbar.
Kuuvangmuit	384	Isruqtauraq	"Muddy water." The mouth of a slough.
Kuuvangmuit	385	Sivulliqsruti	"One who goes ahead or leads." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	386	Itchugvik	"Goose blind place." A group of lakes.
Kuuvangmuit	387	Kuutchaurlaq	A small river.
Kuuvangmuit	388	Qaama	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	389	Kuugaatchiavak	"Big creek."
Kuuvangmuit	390	Qayaitchuq	"It has no kayaks."
Kuuvangmuit	391	Iglugautchiaq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	392	Kuutchiaq	"Big creek."
Kuuvangmuit	393	Kiirim Narvaa	"Gray jay lake."
Kuuvangmuit	394	Saiyuuq	"Water like tea." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	395	Umittaq	
Kuuvangmuit	396	Sugliat	"Young grebes."
Kuuvangmuit	397	Kawigaañruk	"Caribou corral."
Kuuvangmuit	398	Qiiñaaq	A Sandbar.
Kuuvangmuit	399	Awatkuq	"Shaman." An island.
Kuuvangmuit	400	Mayuñiañruaq	"Way to go uphill." The bluff at Shungnak.
Kuuvangmuit	401	Putusraaqpak	"Big hole." A channel.
Kuuvangmuit	402	Saiyuuñiaq	
Kuuvangmuit	403	Napuurlaq	A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	404	Aullaqsruñaitchialq	"Way to go pick berries."
Kuuvangmuit	405	Ipnaigrualik	"Has big sheep." A salt lick.
Kuuvangmuit	406	Qurraaq	

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	407	Qasruniqsiao	An eddy in the channel.
Kuuvangmuit	408	Panikaq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	409	Sikḡaksram Paawa	The mouth of [Sikḡyksraq] Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	410	Qanalik	"Tent frame."
Kuuvangmuit	411	Tayaḡaralik	"A wrist band." A lake and a creek.
Kuuvangmuit	412	Tikiḡasrugruk	"Big thicket." Takeaksarak Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	413	Kinnaq	"Crazy man."
Kuuvangmuit	414	Itrigusruk	"Cold." A lake, slow to thaw in spring.
Kuuvangmuit	415	Tikiḡasrugruk	"Big thicket." A lake, creek, sandbar, and archaeological site.
Kuuvangmuit	416	Imaiqsigtuaq	"Lake dried up."
Kuuvangmuit	417	Iraaquḡruaq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	418	Tulukkaat	"Young ravens."
Kuuvangmuit	419	Aviḡutquḡruaq	The mouth of Cosmos Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	420	Suḡauqdiḡayuktuaq	
Kuuvangmuit	421	Paniiyavik	A campsite, named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	422	Uqquqdiq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	423	Nasruk	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	424	Siqiḡḡaatchiaq	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	425	Siksrik	"Ground squirrel."
Kuuvangmuit	426	Pauyuuraq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	427	Qaksriḡlauraq	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	428	Igruwnaqturuaq	"Has lots of rose hips."
Kuuvangmuit	429	Sisuaq	"Beluga." A Bluff.
Kuuvangmuit	430	Sisuaq	"Beluga." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	431	Upingḡaatchiaq	A bluff and campsite. (Tape: [upinghivaitchiaq].)
Kuuvangmuit	432	Suvalialuuraq	A sandbar and large eddy, where lots of whitefish can be caught.
Kuuvangmuit	433	Igauna	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	434	Qipmim Nanigvia	"Place where a dog got trapped."
Kuuvangmuit	435	Kaliktugjurat	"Dragging a boat."
Kuuvangmuit	436	Ikaatchialik	"Place to cross."
Kuuvangmuit	437	Aḡnauraq	"Little lady."
Kuuvangmuit	438	Siqiḡḡaatchiaq	A place named after a person.
Kuuvangmuit	439	Kawisugruk	"Head of a lake." A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	440	Iraiayut	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	441	Aniraiyayut	"Fish come out."
Kuuvangmuit	449	Qaqdikuvik	"Sealskin boot place." Kavet Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	450	Sisuaq	"Beluga." A bluff and archaeological site.
Kuuvangmuit	452	Siksrikpak	or [Siksrikpaich] "Marmots." A bluff at the bend of the river.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	453	Aatut	A section of the riverbank and archaeological site.
Kuuvangmuit	454	Niaqquk	"Two heads." A hill on the east bank of the river.
Kuuvangmuit	455	Napaaqtusrugruatchiaq	
Kuuvangmuit	456	Tuttullugvik	A gravel beach.
Kuuvangmuit	457	Qalugraitchauraq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	458	Siulikturuaq	"Has lots of pike." A high bank of the river.
Kuuvangmuit	459	Tuutaksraq	"Materials for labrets." Tutuksuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	460	Qadhaq	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	461	Qalugruaq	or [Qalugruich] "Salmon." A river (Salmon River) and adjacent area on Kobuk River near its mouth.
Kuuvangmuit	462	Nigraq	"Fringe." A Slough.
Kuuvangmuit	463	Qualugriivik	
Kuuvangmuit	464	Awmaluq	"Amulet." The end of a knoll.
Kuuvangmuit	465	Iñiliaq	A bend of the river and sandbar.
Kuuvangmuit	466	Qusrimmaqtuuq	"Has lots of wilk rhubarb." An oxbow lake.
Kuuvangmuit	467	Qusrimmaqtuuq	A bend of the river and sandbar.
Kuuvangmuit	468	Qitiqdiuraq	"Little one in the middle."
Kuuvangmuit	469	Kuugugaqiatchiaq	A bend of the river.
Kuuvangmuit	470	Kiksraq	"Path over a portage." The beach at one of the portages along the winter trail.
Kuuvangmuit	471	Igliqtisugvigruaq	A section of the river with a swift current.
Kuuvangmuit	472	Tittaaliqsuuq	"Has lots of burbot." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	473	Qavagił	A low bluff.
Kuuvangmuit	474	Tuungivik	A riverbank: also called Coalmine.
Kuuvangmuit	475	Igliqtisugvigruaq	A riverbank and archaeological site.
Kuuvangmuit	476	Tunutaq	A newly dry slough.
Kuuvangmuit	477	Kuvrigvik	or [Kuugruivik] A bend in the river and fish camp.
Kuuvangmuit	478	Qalugraitchiaq	The portion of Kobuck River at and immediately below the mouth of Salmon River.
Kuuvangmuit	479	Igñukisaaq	A boulder at river edge.
Kuuvangmuit	480	Alallauraq	A riverbank opposite the island.
Kuuvangmuit	481	Napuuraq Qikiqtatchiaq	or [Napuuraq Qikiqtatchianga] An island.
Kuuvangmuit	482		A cabin site.
Kuuvangmuit	483	Nasrutchauraq	A beach and adjacent bluff.
Kuuvangmuit	484	Alallauraq	A riverbank opposite the island.
Kuuvangmuit	485	Sisit	A riverbank.
Kuuvangmuit	486	Kakiaqtugvik	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	487	Uliksuq	A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	488	Ilaḡuwaluk	A creek.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	489	Napuoram Qikiqtawa	or [Napuuraq Qikiqtatchiaq] An island.
Kuuvangmuit	490	Napuuraq	A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	491	Tiitaḡaariq	A hill and creek. Trinity Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	492	Tiitaḡaarim Qikiqtawa	An island.
Kuuvangmuit	493		A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	494	Iḡiawuluk	A mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	495	Iyaḡagruaq	A mountain.
Kuuvangmuit	496	Qaḡḡuḡruaq	A river.
Kuuvangmuit	497	Nuna	A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	498	Paalitqun	A slough. Same as no. 736.
Kuuvangmuit	499	Itiqsraq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	500	Atchitqut	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	501	Masrun	A hillside and bluff.
Kuuvangmuit	502	Kawisugruk	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	503	Iigavisii	Bluffs.
Kuuvangmuit	504	Awuutituut	An area of several lakes and connecting sloughs.
Kuuvangmuit	505	Qiquli	A broad rise of land on the east bank: also a lake and slough.
Kuuvangmuit	506	Amaḡuat	"Wolves." A slough and the land at its outlet.
Kuuvangmuit	507	Qaluksiuḡayuat	"Osprey." A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	509	Iqsiuḡvik	A bank of a slough and archaeological site.
Kuuvangmuit	510		A grave site within the area of [Iqsiuḡvik].
Kuuvangmuit	511	Amaḡuat	A slough. Same as no. 506.
Kuuvangmuit	512	Siuligaagruk	Bluffs.
Kuuvangmuit	513	Amitchuq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	514	Atiḡun	also, [Atighutit] A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	515	Putuḡruaq	A river cutoff.
Kuuvangmuit	516	Iḡuviḡiik	A lake and a gravesite.
Kuuvangmuit	517	Putuḡruaq	A river cutoff.
Kuuvangmuit	518	Iḡaluwnat	"Like intestines." An oxbow lake.
Kuuvangmuit	519	Apaḡuq	A creek. Cross Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	520	Kuviatchaḡuq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	521	Apaḡuq	Cross creek. Same as no. 519.
Kuuvangmuit	522	Nunavaitchiaq	A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	523	Qaglu.	A riverbank and fish camp.
Kuuvangmuit	524	Malḡutchiak Saputiwik	"Twins' fish weir."
Kuuvangmuit	525	Nunavaitchiaq	A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	526	Inigaḡliq	A campsite opposite the mouth of Omar River.
Kuuvangmuit	527	Auriviuraq	"Little summer camp." Omar River.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	528	Anirulik	Several lakes.
Kuuvangmuit	529	Kakiaq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	530	Iyaġak	Bluffs.
Kuuvangmuit	531	Kuviatchaġuq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	532	Kuuġuġruaq	"Big stream." A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	533	Uqaq	or [Tauqsighnyiaghvigruuraq] "Old place where you intend to buy." A river bank and hill. Okok Point: also the location of an old trading post.
Kuuvangmuit	534	Sisuġaurat	A bluff.
Kuuvangmuit	535	Mitqutaiñaq	The point of an island.
Kuuvangmuit	536	Qalugruaq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	537	Tunutqutchuġaq	A small channel of the river.
Kuuvangmuit	538	Tuukun	An island.
Kuuvangmuit	539	Tunutqutchuġaq	A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	540	Imaiġatpak	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	541	Pamakwat	A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	542	Sisuġauraq	A stream and steep bank near its mouth.
Kuuvangmuit	543	Tunutqutchuġaq	A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	544	Aurruk	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	545	Taupaatchiaq	Bluffs.
Kuuvangmuit	546	Iyaġaurritqaaġvik	A bank along the channel.
Kuuvangmuit	547	Asruġauraq	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	548	Asrialivium Kuuġua	A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	549	Taupaatchiaġiaq	Bluffs.
Kuuvangmuit	550	Kawiġaq	"Corral." A slough, campsite, and former reindeer corral.
Kuuvangmuit	551	Nigaqtuġvik	"Snaring place." A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	552	Nigaqtuġvik	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	553	Akdaaqtuġvik	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	554	Aksium Kuuġua	Oksik Channel.
Kuuvangmuit	555	Aasriġraġaawiq	Hotham Peak.
Kuuvangmuit	556	Kiglavaich	"Big rocky depressions." The southwestern end of Hockley Hills.
Kuuvangmuit	557	Siwiaġruk	A creek.
Kuuvangmuit	558	Ikpiq Qikiqtaq	
Kuuvangmuit	559	Ikpiich	"Bluffs."
Kuuvangmuit	560	Kuuqquppaat	Kokopuk River: also site of a former reindeer corral.
Kuuvangmuit	561	Sauniqtuuġruaq	or [Sauniqtuuq] Site on shore of Selawik Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	562	Paiñaat	A dry lake.
Kuuvangmuit	563	Paiñaġiaq	A long channel or lake. Same as no. 803.
Kuuvangmuit	564	Qapqauraq	Bluff.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvan̄muiit	565	Tutturvik	A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	566	Nunawiaktuq	"Has lots of big alder."
Kuuvan̄muiit	567	Qanialaaq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	568	Tutipqialuk	A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	569	Quaḡaqaqtuq	"Has sourdock." A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	570	Nigrat	"Fringes." A slough and nearby lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	571	Kuugauraq	A slough and large lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	572	Aki	"Hook-shaped slough." A slough.
Kuuvan̄muiit	573	Siw̄ligruaq	A campsite on the oxbow lake called [Siingnyiligrua taksrua]. Same as no. 815.
Kuuvan̄muiit	574	Awarraaqaqtuaq	"Has pieces of crossed wood." A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	575	Atawan Taksrua	A campsite area from there to no. 576.
Kuuvan̄muiit	576	Atawan Taksrua	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	577	Aliqataaq	A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	578	Awarraaqaqtuaq	"Has pieces of crossed wood." A grave site on a small channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	579	Kuuḡuquraq	A small channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	580	Qirḡiiruaq	"Lots of gray hair." A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	581	Kuuḡuquraq	"Stream." A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	582	Siuligalik	A slough formerly open to the lake, but now overgrown.
Kuuvan̄muiit	583	l̄nutmugayuktuaq	A slough and campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	584	Putuḡruaq	A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	585	Pututchiaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	586	Uukkautrivik	An area of riverbank. The name derives from [uukkaq], "falling mud from a bluff."
Kuuvan̄muiit	587	Qayuḡruaq	Lakes.
Kuuvan̄muiit	588	Nauligalik	A slough.
Kuuvan̄muiit	589	Putuḡruaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	590	Kuukpik	or [Nasruuraq] Nazuruk Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	591	Kuviqsaun	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	592	Taksruk	A slough or inactive channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	594	Qavlunat	"Like eyebrows." Bluffs and rolling tundra.
Kuuvan̄muiit	595	Ulaḡnaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	596	Imaiḡliq	A dry lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	597	Kawiñiq	A hill.
Kuuvan̄muiit	598	Nuyaqqiq	A slough entering Selawik Lake, and campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	599	Nuyaqqim Kawiwi	Two large lakes.
Kuuvan̄muiit	600	Taksruum Paawa	
Kuuvan̄muiit	601	Qaulluuraq	A slough.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvan̄muiit	602	Makkaksraq	"Diaper material." A campsite at the entrance of Mukuksok Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	603	Makkaksragiaq	Mukuksok Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	604	Iglutuuq	The mouth of Mukuksok Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	605	Iglutuuq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	606	Narvagiaq	A channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	607	Attiniġiaq	A channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	608	Attiniq	A bank of the channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	609	Imaaḡvigruaq	Emanvicrok Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	610	Qasrigialigauraq	"Little place with spotted seals." A channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	611	Qasrigialigauram Paawa	A channel, mouth of no. 610.
Kuuvan̄muiit	612	Aviḷḷaq	"Lemming." An inactive channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	613	Imaaḡvik	or [Nasruuram Paanga] The mouth of Nazuruk Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	614	Kuusrugruk	An inactive channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	615	Tittaaliq	"Burbot." A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	616	Kuutchauraq	An inactive channel in the delta.
Kuuvan̄muiit	617	Kuutchauraq	A campsite at the mouth of the slough.
Kuuvan̄muiit	618	Aattaam Paawa	An old campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	619	Saiñaq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	620	Aliqataaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	621	Ninwuġiaq	Lewis Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	622	Taataksraq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	623	Taataksraq	A channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	624		A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	625	Aquliġaġun	Harvey's Camp. A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	626	Qanisaaġruk	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	627	Takusruĩñaq	A channel, also called Pisik River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	628	Ataniq	A lake edge campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	629	Nuviññuk	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	630	Upinḡiviuraq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	631	Kukikpak	"Big hoof or fingernail." Violet and Walter Pungalik's camp.
Kuuvan̄muiit	632	Akiqqirauraq	A lake and fishing site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	633	Tuutliqaqtuaq	"Has yellowbilled loons." A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	634	Aġviġiaq	A grave site and campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	635	Iyavġam Nuiñawa	The confluence of two channels.
Kuuvan̄muiit	636	Akigpak	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	637	Aġnagiayaaq	A grave site and house site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	638	Aliqataaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	639	Siisuruq	A slough and grave site.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvan̄muiit	640	Quǵluqtauraq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	641	Ikkaninaaq	A creek.
Kuuvan̄muiit	642	Iyavǵaq	A channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	643	Qaluksiuǵayuich	"Ospreys." A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	644	Akulikitchuǵruich	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	645	Uqpium Tunua	A part of Riley Channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	646	Ninwuq	A fishing camp.
Kuuvan̄muiit	647	Nasruum Uwataa	Hills.
Kuuvan̄muiit	648		A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	649	Sivugaatchiaq	A site where there was once a store.
Kuuvan̄muiit	650	Tulugaǵnat	"Swallows." A high bluff.
Kuuvan̄muiit	651	Nauyat	"Sea gulls." Riley channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	652	Nauyaq	The end of a series of bluffs.
Kuuvan̄muiit	653	Mayuǵiaqpak	"Big place to go up." A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	654	Naatat	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	655	Uqsruǵaaluk	
Kuuvan̄muiit	656	Taluyat	The location of a former fish trap.
Kuuvan̄muiit	657	Taluyaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	658	Kawiñigaiq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	659	Amaamnunaǵiaq	A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvan̄muiit	660	Uwaluǵruaq	A grave site with a tipi-type grave and a cache.
Kuuvan̄muiit	661	Ikpitchiaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	662	Tuunǵalik	"Has spirit-demons." A channel. Same as no. 668.
Kuuvan̄muiit	663	Uutauraq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	664	Iyavǵaq	A slough.
Kuuvan̄muiit	665	Sattu	A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	666	Sattu	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	667	Siḷaaniqsat	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	668	Tuunǵalik	"Has spirit-demons." A channel. Same as no. 662.
Kuuvan̄muiit	669	Panitchauraq	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	670	Siisuruq	A slough and grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	671	Saawiam Narvaa	A lake.
Kuuvan̄muiit	672	Iñuviq	"Grave." A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	673	Taimmalii	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	674	Taimmalii	A grave site.
Kuuvan̄muiit	675	Cap Nñlsñ's Rivñr	A channel and campsite.
Kuuvan̄muiit	676	Kurguraq	A channel.
Kuuvan̄muiit	677		A grave site.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	678	Qiruuraq	"Has lots of wood." A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	679		A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	680	Snydñr's Camp	A campsite, with a cabin.
Kuuvangmuit	681	Nunaksraq	"Hand." A campsite and slough.
Kuuvangmuit	682	Kurguraq	A channel.
Kuuvangmuit	683	Akiqqaqsiiq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	684	Atigutim Kuugaatchiawa	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	685	Atigun	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	686	Ninwuq	"Balsam poplar." A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	687	Kuukutchiaq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	688	Amaamnunaq	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	689	Amaamnunaagjaq	A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	690	Amaamnunaq	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	691	Amaamnunaagjaq	A channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	692	Qadhapak	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	693	Avalliq	Melvin Channel.
Kuuvangmuit	694	Kawigaaruaq	A former reindeer corral.
Kuuvangmuit	695	Paalitqun	"Reach the river mouth again." A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	696	Sivugaatchiaq	A spruce-covered bank of the river.
Kuuvangmuit	697	Narvagruraqjaq	Nulvororok Channel.
Kuuvangmuit	698	Ayaqawulum Kawia	Lakes.
Kuuvangmuit	699	Ayaqawuluk	A channel.
Kuuvangmuit	700	Qimmitchiat	A series of bluffs and high ground at the edge of Hotham Inlet.
Kuuvangmuit	701	Qimmitchiat	A series of bluffs and high ground at the edge of Hotham Inlet.
Kuuvangmuit	702	Narvagruraq	Nulvororok Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	703	Ugrivik	"Bearded seal hunting place." Ogriveg Channel.
Kuuvangmuit	704	Uluḡḡaagrum Paawa	A grave site.
Kuuvangmuit	705	Putuwwiḡruaq	Potoniek Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	706	Putuwwiakuk	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	707	Kurguraq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	708	Amaguat Kuḡuat	"Wolf creek." A creek and cabin site.
Kuuvangmuit	709	Ikitchiaq	A campsite at the edge of a lake by the same name. Ekichuk Lake.
Kuuvangmuit	710	Asrialivik	"Salmonberry place." A bay.
Kuuvangmuit	711	Qikiqtatchiaq	An island.
Kuuvangmuit	712	Qalḡuḡviich	"Bird call places."
Kuuvangmuit	713	Qalḡuḡvik	"Bird call place." A slough and point of land.
Kuuvangmuit	714	Puivñich	An area of campsites.
Kuuvangmuit	715	Qimiḡruich	A series of hills southeast of the river.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	716	Maǵǵaqdak	"Mud." A sandy strip of the river beach.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	717	Suǵliuraq	"Little grebe." Hills.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	718	Qaliǵruaq	A mountain series of heavily forested hills.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	719	Nalluq	"Game crossing." A slough and a hill.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	720	Piwuqsratchiaq	"Knolls." A series of knolls.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	721	Napaaqtuqtuuq	"Has lots of spruce." Napautokik Creek and Mountain, specifically the northwest side.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	722	Qaǵǵuǵruaq	A campsite.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	723	Nauyaǵruaq	"Big gull." A sandbar across from an island.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	724	Nuiñauraq	The fork of the river where the main channel branches.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	725	Sauniqtuǵruaq	Bluffs.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	726	Nauyaǵruum Qikiqtawa	"Big gull island." An island.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	727	l̄utaq	A hill.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	728	Taimmalii	A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	729	Qapaisrualuk	A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	730	Putu	"Hole." A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	731	Napaaqtuqtuuq	"Spruce tree." A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	732	Sivugauraq	A bluff.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	733	Kawuqturuaq	A lake.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	734	Itiqsraq	A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	735	Akiqqiñaq	A riverbank: also called [Akiqqilyauraq].
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	736	Paalitiqjun	A slough. Same as no. 498.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	737	Paalitiqjutim Kawia	A lake.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	738	Quluuraq	A mountain.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	739	Napagsraǵniaǵvik	"Place to obtain birch for sled stanchions." A former hill, now quarried.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	740	Kitlit	A series of bluffs.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	741	Asriaqsiaǵvik	An old river levy and archaeological site.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	742	Kurriaq	
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	743		Lakes.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	744	Annat Kuuǵuurawat	A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	745	Salıñiq	A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	746	Qikiqtatchiaq	"Small island." The point at the confluence of the Kobuk and Squirrel rivers.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	747	Uqtutaiñaq	A point of an island.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	748	Qayaina	A point.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	749	Kuuǵuqpak	"Big stream." A slough.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	750	l̄ǵiñaq	"One with no mountains." A small mountain.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	751	Kuukpik	"Real river." The main channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvan̄m̄uiit	752	Sapusrigiatchiaq	A shallow section of the river, suitable for erecting fish weirs.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	753	Nigaqtugvik	"Snaring place." A bend in the river and point bar.
Kuuvangmuit	754	Igmaliṭṭuwnat	The smaller channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	755	Qimim Isrua	The southwestern end of a hill.
Kuuvangmuit	756	Sivugauraq	A hill near the riverbank.
Kuuvangmuit	757	Qasrunigruaq	"Big eddy." A bend in the river and adjacent eddy.
Kuuvangmuit	758	Kuutchauraq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	759	Piwuqsraq	"Future knoll." A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	760	Kuutchauraq	A slough. Same as no. 758.
Kuuvangmuit	761	Tirraqpak	"Big sandbar." A broad bend in the channel and point bar.
Kuuvangmuit	762	Sauniqtugruaq	"Big bone." An island.
Kuuvangmuit	763	Siksisat	"Quiver." An island. Also called [Qikiqtatchiaq], "new island."
Kuuvangmuit	764	Ayugraq	A small channel of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	765	Quluqutat	A stand of spruce.
Kuuvangmuit	766	Kuutchauraq	A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	767	Taksrugruaq	or [Siilyivighiaq] The beginnings of the Kiana-Selawik winter trail.
Kuuvangmuit	768	Taksrugruaq	or [Siilyivighiaq] A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	769	Awmanauraq	"Little opening." Unmanokuk Creek.
Kuuvangmuit	770	Ayugraq	A slough or small channel of Kobuk River
Kuuvangmuit	771	Qariaqiarairuaq	([Qargighruaq?]) "Big men's house." An area of campsites.
Kuuvangmuit	772	Naatat	"Great gray owls." A bend in the river.
Kuuvangmuit	773	Kigiaqaqtuaq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	774	Mayuḡiaqpak	"Big way to go up." A cemetery.
Kuuvangmuit	775	Aksik	An old village site.
Kuuvangmuit	776	Kitliqpaat	A point bar at the bend of Kobuk River.
Kuuvangmuit	777	Aḡvigiauraq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	778	Tapligiaq	or [Kurguraq] A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	779	Quputit	A channel and point bar.
Kuuvangmuit	780	Piquuraq	A grave site and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	781	Piquuram Qikiqtawa	An island.
Kuuvangmuit	782	Kawisugruk	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	783	Taisiksraḡvik	A cemetery.
Kuuvangmuit	784	Nasruuraq	A cemetery.
Kuuvangmuit	785	Maḡḡaqtuut	"Lots of mud." A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	786	Aki	"(Gaff) hook." A cutbank and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	787	Qupugauraq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	788	Qupugauraq	A channel.
Kuuvangmuit	789	Katyaarat	or [Katyaq] "Fork in the river." A fork in the river and fish camps.
Kuuvangmuit	790	Iivaqpak	An oxbow lake.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Kuuvangmuit	791	Kuugaaġasrugruk	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	792	Sayuwat	A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	793	Kurrakatniq	The entrance to Riley Channel: also the name of Riley Channel.
Kuuvangmuit	794	Attiviak	([Anniviaq?]) A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	795	Anaanaraq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	796		A portage along the winter trail to Kotzebue.
Kuuvangmuit	797	Manniksruaq	"Has lots of eggs." A cutbank and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	798	Qiluġiuraq	A cutbank, campsite, and portage on the Noorvik-Kotzebue winter trail.
Kuuvangmuit	799	Kiwittaaq	or [Nigraqpak] A cutback and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	800	Anniviuraq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	801	Isruqtuq	A cutbank, slough, and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	802	Ipnam Isrua	"End of a cliff." A cutbank.
Kuuvangmuit	803	Paiñaġiaq	A lake. Same as no. 563.
Kuuvangmuit	804	Ataniġruaq	
Kuuvangmuit	805	Kawisugruk	A lake.
Kuuvangmuit	806	Ukunaq	A campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	807	Umiivik	"Skin boat building place." A hill.
Kuuvangmuit	808	Nunaksraq	A cutbank and area between it and a lake.
Kuuvangmuit	809	Kiksraqpaich	A cutbank and portage. Also called [Kaimitaghliq], the place where one speared sheefish with a [kaimitaq].
Kuuvangmuit	810	Nunaqpak	A slough and a portage.
Kuuvangmuit	811	Ukiuvigruraq	"Little wintering place." A campsite. Same as no. 680.
Kuuvangmuit	812	Milugiuvik	A slough and campsite.
Kuuvangmuit	813	Quġluqtauraq	A slough.
Kuuvangmuit	814	Qimutaġliq	A spring fish camp.
Kuuvangmuit	815	Siwŋiligruaq	An oxbow lake. Same as no. 573.
Noorvik	1	Allutun Ittut	There are berries here.
Noorvik	2	Qalġuġviit	Masses of geese gather here and honk, so it means, "place to make noise."
Noorvik	3	Ikitchiaq	Spotted seal and geese often seen here during fall season.
Noorvik	4	Quvalaaq	An area on the coast of Kobuk Lake.
Noorvik	5	Putuwwiq	
Noorvik	6	Amaġuat	Creek.
Noorvik	7	Iġiġruaq	A mountain.
Noorvik	8	Sallaġutchiq	Mountain close to Inyghighruaq. Sallighiksuk. "They are close together."
Noorvik	9	Avalliġ	Farther over. e.g. avaniakliġ. Mikian (Daniel Snyder, Sr.) made a channel somewhere in this area.
Noorvik	10	Kavluqpak	A big island with good land where the young people of Noorvik set their summer camp. Ideal place to look for eskimo potato or roots.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Noorvik	11	Taupaatchiaq	
Noorvik	12	Aurrit	On the hill are graves of related families. One of the graves related to Minnie Morris including the Coffins. An ideal place to stop to have coffee, and this used as a path for those hunting out into the mountains.
Noorvik	13	Tunutqutch - Auraq	A winter trail going to and from Kiana. This trail was used during the dogteam days. This area has spruce trees which people go to get wood for fuel or logs.
Noorvik	14	Asrialivik	
Noorvik	15	Qimitchiat	Hills near the coast of Kobuk Lake. There are small lakes here. Legends were told that two killer whales swam in this area that became hills.
Noorvik	16	Ayaqiwuluk	A small slough on the coast of Kobuk Lake.
Noorvik	17	Puyam Kuugaatchiawa	Joe Carter's camp.
Noorvik	18	Narvak Akuniq	Place to pick salmonberries.
Noorvik	19	Atigun	Dorcas Jackson's spring camp.
Noorvik	20	Narvaḡruuraq	There was a monstrous pike here. Long ago, it wasn't safe to go canoeing here.
Noorvik	21	Uluḡḡaaḡruk	Named after Tommy Coffin's grandfather.
Noorvik	22	Ugrivik	A slough used as a short cut going to Kotzebue. Big waves on the Kobuk Lake cause travellers to go through this route.
Noorvik	23	Ninwuq	
Noorvik	24	Qaayiana	A slough.
Noorvik	25	Amaam Nunaḡiaq	
Noorvik	26	Amaam Nunaq	Someone's land long ago.
Noorvik	27	Qitiqdikaḡiaq	Travelling by way of Qitiqlhiq.
Noorvik	28	Ikpitchiaq	Here too are remains of grasses and willows which early Inyupiaq people used for storing fish in ditches.
Noorvik	29	Qĩḡauram Kurga	Qilyauraq River.
Noorvik	30	Atauqaqtuat	
Noorvik	31	Sivisuuq	
Noorvik	32	Kiviwaraqtuḡvik	Ivan Field's papas camp around 1927.
Noorvik	33	Anaannaraḡun	
Noorvik	34	Tavñu	Sounds like the letter "W" Ramona's grandparent's camp.
Noorvik	35	Akiqqirauralik	Fish camp. Two lakes share same name.
Noorvik	36	Kakiḡḡaat	
Noorvik	37	Ataniq	Ivan Field's CB call sign is Ataniq, a muskrat camp.
Noorvik	38	Piquuraq	Piquuraq's grave.
Noorvik	39	Qattuluuraq	
Noorvik	40	Auriviuraq	Field's fish camp.
Noorvik	41	Siḡalliḡauraq	
Noorvik	42	Kuuḡaaḡasrugruk	Spring fishing camp .

Source	ID	Name	Description
Noorvik	43	Annat	Long ago, there were duck droppings here. "Feces or droppings."
Noorvik	44	Qugruqaġliq	
Noorvik	45	Limmy Rññd	Named after an old man from Nome.
Noorvik	46	Iivaqpak	
Noorvik	47	Naataq	Mayughiaq. A trail going up into the mountains and hills.
Noorvik	48	Qupugauraq	Stretch of river used for salmon fishing during summer.
Noorvik	49	Iivaqpauraq	
Noorvik	50	Putu	People of Deering moved here long ago, and named it Putu.
Noorvik	51	Nasriqsruaġvik	Place to look out. A hill.
Noorvik	51	Nasriqsruaġvik	Place to look out. A hill.
Noorvik	52	Nuurvium Qikitawa	The first airport was located here. but I don't know where. But those two are the main ones.
Noorvik	53	Maġġaqtuuq	
Noorvik	54	Isivrugvik	Where we always pick aqpiq.
Noorvik	55	Paalitqiurn	A slough.
Noorvik	56	Qupugaurat Avalligmun	Another river system shares this name; however, this river going towards Naataq is called this.
Noorvik	57	Aki	
Noorvik	58	Akim Qikiqtawa Piquoram Qikiqtawa	Place to search for masru (Eskimo potatoes). There are moose here.
Noorvik	59	Piquuraq	A grave belonging to Piquuraq, Mabel Akpak's (Qaayaana) aanaruanga, Mabel is mother to Tommy Coffin. The second island from Noorvik (going upriver).
Noorvik	60	Aġviġiuraq	A shallow slough.
Noorvik	61	Ĺksik Channñl	
Noorvik	62	Kaniġaq	The late Aquppak (Louie Commack's) reindeer corralling place.
Noorvik	62	Kaniġaq	The late Aquppak (Louie Commack's) reindeer corralling place.
Noorvik	63	Mayuġiaqpak	Saputitughvik. "Place to set fish traps."
Noorvik	64	Aksium Ipnawa	Bluffs of Aksik.
Noorvik	65	Akdaaqtuġvik	There is a creek which stems from the mountain. A spot used for hooking for mudshark in fall.
Noorvik	66	Nigaqtuġvik	A slough which connects to lakes. An ideal spot for fishing. Joseph Beaver grew up here.
Noorvik	67	Dunġny's camp	Spring camp.
Noorvik	68	Kawiġaq	Agnes Smith kuugaatchiaqtukkanga.
Noorvik	69	Uqquam Tapligiawa	One can go through there with a boat.
Noorvik	70	Uqquaq	The late Pina Jackson used this area to pick cranberries.
Noorvik	71	Tuunġaq	Devil. Place to hunt for muskrats in spring.
Noorvik	72	Awilqisraq	
Noorvik	73	Qiruuruaq	
Noorvik	74	Itivrugniq Snyder's Camp	Daniel Snyder Sr.'s permanent camp. This area is close to Kaipnailisiuratkut.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Noorvik	76	Kaipnailisiuram Kuugaatchiawa	A river named after a whiteman name Captain Nelson where Arthur Field's camp is now located.
Noorvik	77	Aġviġiaq	Thomas Pungalik built a house here. His CB call sign is Aghvighiaq.
Noorvik	78	Harvñy's camp	Pauline Harvey's camp.
Noorvik	79	Akuliġaġun	A small slough which almost connects to Kobuk Lake. Kuutchaauruq Taataksramun.
Noorvik	80	Qadiġniq	That was were Ikniqtuyuayyaq, Nina was born. Hazel's father named it Qalhighniq.
Noorvik	81	Takusuiñaq Takusuiñaq	Located across from Harvey's camp. Yuugruaq's river.
Noorvik	82	Kukikpak	Across from this place is Aghvighiaq.
Noorvik	83	Ikiġġat	Kuugaatchiaq where Pauline Harvey used to set her net.
Noorvik	84	Kuugaatchiaqpak	Vivian Zimmerman has a fish camp here.
Noorvik	85	Iñuvaurat	There is a grave here.
Noorvik	86	Aġviġiaq	Tapliksimailyaaq (Unopened piece of land). A slough but not opened. It's close to Akiqpak or Aki.
Noorvik	87	Qikiqdiuñaq Kurriaq	Tommy, Daniel and two of Hazel Snyder's ating (namesakes) chopped off pieces of ground; as a result, it became a short river.
Noorvik	88	Akiqpak	Hazel Snyder's camp.
Noorvik	89	Kimaglugviaġruk	Near Mercy Foster's land is a small slough.
Noorvik	90	Kimaglugvik Kimagluvigruaq	
Noorvik	91	Tuunġalik	Place having devil.
Noorvik	92	Tuunġalik	Paniyavluk lived here.
Noorvik	93	Siisuruayyaaq Siisuruuraq	Kuugaatchauraq. A small slough where Josephine Outwater camps in spring. Taplaruq to lakes.
Noorvik	94	Niaqutchiaq	
Noorvik	95	Siisuruq	Aggie Black's camp.
Noorvik	96	Imiġnaiñaq	
Noorvik	97	Miiyuuluk	A lake by a river.
Noorvik	98	Taksrugauraq	
Noorvik	99	Aniruatchialik	
Noorvik	100	Iyavġaq	Behind Iyavghaq lived innyuqlhut.
Noorvik	101	Attiniġiam Paawa	Another danger spot on the mouth of Attiniq during spring (March-April). The ice becomes thin in those months. In summer, an area used for hooking sheefish.
Noorvik	102	Akulikitchuġruich	It has a lot of pike.
Noorvik	103	Atawan Taksrua	Nuyuqqun and Pakik camped here. Pakik was very sick here. He sent for Tommy and Hazel Snyder, where they first performed their bloodletting acupuncture.
Noorvik	104	Nasruum Uwataa	Ramon Field's allotment.
Noorvik	105	Uqpium Tunua Uqpiit Tunuat	Riley Channel. Johnny and Bessie Coffin's camp.
Noorvik	106	Uggiuqhiñivik	Mallard ducks.
Noorvik	107	Anaanaraq	Hill with a big bank.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Noorvik	108	Umiuvik Umiuviuraq	Cemetery. Blueberry Hill
Noorvik	109	Anniviaq	Good spot to set nets for whitefish.
Noorvik	110	Isruqtuq	Place to set nets for whitefish in fall and spring.
Noorvik	111	Kawisugruk	Goes through Selawik trail.
Noorvik	112	Aksik	An old village site. Around 1914 people moved to Noorvik.
Noorvik	113	Taataksraq	Spring camp. Louie Rich channel. "Our people lived along this river." Pakik said there were old graves. Kunangnaaluk's father was buried here. When the whitemen arrived in 1998, they took some wood from that grave. They were not aware it was a grave. While they slept, the wood returned. The grave is still there. It is a traditional burial in which wood had been piled into teepee style.
Noorvik	114	Taataksram Kuugaatchaurawa	Taataksraq's river. Spring camp.
Noorvik	115	Quiqusraun L̥uiñ Rñich Channel	An old man, Louis Reich, lived there long ago.
Noorvik	116	Kiggaich	Place to set nets and for hooking for fish. An ideal spot for picking salmonberries.
Noorvik	117	Aliqataaq	Aghviaghiaq is close to Aliqataaq, unfortunately there is no way to get there.
Noorvik	118	Aliqataaġiaq	A long stretch of river which flows out into the Kobuk lake. Going by way of Aliqataaq channel. Place to pick berries.
Noorvik	119	Aattaam Paawa	Mouth of Aattaaq River.
Noorvik	120	Aattaaq	A slough with taksruk (dried up creek).
Noorvik	121	Qirgiuruaq	Grave of Qurruq. "Lots of gray hair."
Noorvik	122	Aqqaluk	
Noorvik	123	Iñutmugayuktuaq	Tommy Coffin (Qaaghraq) was raised here. Johnny Nazuruk was also grew up here. A short river, and it's currents sound like breathing in and out.
Noorvik	124	Iñuvikuvik	Grave yard. Nasruuraq was buried here, and later became a grave-yard.
Noorvik	125	Siwniligaigyaaq Siwniligauraq	A small river used as spring camp. An ideal river for fishing for pike and hunting muskrats.
Noorvik	126	Aki	Kagoona's spring and summer camp.
Noorvik	127	Ulaġnaq	Name of a person who camped there long ago. Camp named after him.
Noorvik	128	Taksruk	
Noorvik	129	Siwniligruaq	A larger river which connects to Aliqataaq. Good area for picking salmonberries. Nakaaq or water weeds grow there.
Noorvik	130	Nigrat	Kagoona's native allotment.
Noorvik	131	Qavlunat	There are hills here with rocky tops.
Noorvik	132	Kuugauram Kawia	This dialect from Kobuk. They fish for sheefish there.
Noorvik	133	Kuugauraq	Where Sally and Charlie set their nets. Place to go hooking.
Noorvik	134	Kaimitaġliq	Taavakngaqtaq Kuuvangmiuni? taamna atiq. Taimanigguuq siunyik itna. kaimitaqlhugit siu??iaghuruuat
Noorvik	135	Nuviññuum Tunua	Across there samma theres a clearing. I don't know. It doesn't have a name, but that's where there are two big graves with lot of people in it,

Source	ID	Name	Description
			and some of them were on top of that hill tatpichani. They aqsrautraghiaq from all over the river tamaaknga camp-aurani?, I guess, in that lake they katauti. All of them tuqu. When we were growing up they use to tell us about it. It nunagik. All these years tara our i?uuniaghvik. Some people always uliqqa but not some, you know. I don't know about the slough manna, it has old graves,
Noorvik	136	Aaquaksrauraq	
Noorvik	137	Aaquaksrauraq	Ruth's (Outwater's?) Eskimo name.
Noorvik	138	Sapnauvik	A little slough where we always set our nets for white fish in the spring time.
Noorvik	139	Kiiriq	Hill named after Rosie Outwater.
Noorvik	140	Kawisugruk	
Noorvik	141	Paiñaǵiaq	
Noorvik	142	Mayukanitchak	Winter trail leads to Selawik Lake for sheefishing.
Noorvik	143	Kuuqquppaat	Sampsons' camp winter and summer camp by Selawik Lake. Ideal place to pick berries.
Noorvik	144	Siiwniligauraq	
Noorvik	145	Kuusrugruk	Maggie Newlin's allotment.
Noorvik	146	Siulikturuaq	A long taksruk.
Noorvik	147	Israǵuligauraq	A slough. Before Putughruaq opened, this was the main channel, but the slough dried up.
Noorvik	148	Siulikpalik Aviŋŋaq	A large pike was seen in a lake in this area. Today, it's hard to tell if it is slough or not because rivers have dried up or changed over time.
Noorvik	149	Putuǵruaq	A river close to Nasruuraq channel. Tommy Coffin said there was no channel here when he was a child. When they returned to the camp the following spring around 1917-18, a channel was opened.
Noorvik	150	Nunatuǵliq	Tommy Coffin's parents built a house here in 1924. A winter camp.
Noorvik	151	Pututchiaq	
Noorvik	152	Uukkautrivik	
Noorvik	153	Qayuǵruaq	An old site inhabited by the early Inyupiat people. Signs showed it had lots . of fish there once. There are ditches in the ground containing fish scales
Noorvik	154	Narvaǵiak	There is a lake other side of Kobuk Lake. "Going towards the lake."
Noorvik	155	Attinigiam Narvaǵiamlu Nuiŋawak	A dangerous spot where ice is usually thin, around March and April.
Noorvik	156	Nauligalik	Spring camp.
Noorvik	156	Nauligalik	Spring camp.
Noorvik	157	Iglutuuq	Around 1924, Tommy Coffin's parents lived here.
Noorvik	158	Qualluuraq	A short slough. Good spot for setting nets. Ruth George and Angie Newlin set their nets in summer.
Noorvik	159	Kuukpik Nasruuraq	Kuukpik shares name with Nasruuraq channel. Nasruuraq is a person, Qatiqsinyauraq's father. This wide river is named after Nasruuraq.
Noorvik	160	Attinigjaq	Going to the direction of Attiniq. This river flows into the channel between Selawik and Kobuk Lake.
Noorvik	161	Makkaksraq	Tommy Coffin said there was no island here around 1916-18. Willows

Source	ID	Name	Description
			have grown here. A moss called ivruq was used for babies' diapers. Makkak means diaper and -tughvik "place to get."
Noorvik	162	Nuyaqqiq	Long ago, dipnetting for qalusraaq (small fish) took place here.
Noorvik	163	Qanialaaq	A grave of a person. Small lake.
Noorvik	164	Nunawiakturuaq	There are nunangiak (alder trees) by the hills
Noorvik	165	Qapqauraq	Ideal place to hook for sheefish on Selawik Lake. In front of Qapqauraq is a shallow area but has amu or small sheefish.
Noorvik	166	Imaagvium Paawa	Mouth of Imaaghvik
Noorvik	167	Imaagvik	River going into the Attiniq Channel.
Noorvik	168	Qasrigialigauraq	Qasrigiaq "spotted seal." Spotted seal often swim into this channel. Place having spotted seal.
Noorvik	169	Quḡluqtauraq	A small slough that is near Akiqpak.
Noorvik	170	Attiniq	Place to hook for sheefish and mudshark.
Noorvik	170	Attiniq	Place to hook for sheefish and mudshark.
Shungnak	1	Aaḡayukduk	Named after Aaghayuk, a person. A summer camp with a beach.
Shungnak	2	Aakadium Tinniqaḡlia	Lit. Aakalhuk bearberry place. Kuuvangmiut walk here to look for tinnik, 'bearberries.'
Shungnak	3	Aanaruḡiik	Lit. mother and child. Cleveland's camp.
Shungnak	4	Aaquaksrauraq	Lit. old woman. A channel on the river leading into Saghvagsighiaq River. Daisy grew up here. When she was two years old, two of her sisters died here one day apart.
Shungnak	5	Aasrivak	Lit. a spider. A person by the name of Aasrivak is buried here.
Shungnak	6	Agiaq	A historical site where many Inyupiat people lived. A beach area near the river fork of Kuukpik and main river, Kuuvak.
Shungnak	7	Akisaqpauraq	Grave of a female child, kisaqpauraq. A long beach by Tunughun.
Shungnak	8	Akiqqirauralik	Lit. having a tree branch
Shungnak	9	Akitchiaq	Fish camp
Shungnak	10	Aktuq	Camp
Shungnak	11	Akuligaq	Lit. A river fork.
Shungnak	12	Alugviuraq	Lit. licking place. The low hills this side of Maniilyaghruat mountains is Alugviuraq, where sheep come to lick. A little creek here leads to Alugviuraq.
Shungnak	13	Aniraiyayuk	A long lake connected to Kangisugruk.
Shungnak	14	Aniraq	A lake which is known for having large pikes.
Shungnak	15	Awayuqaatchaak	A spawning area above Killaq River.
Shungnak	16	Awutigiuk	A beach across from Putu.
Shungnak	17	Aqpatchuiḡaq	A place to set nets
Shungnak	18	Aqpik	Lit. salmonberries. A persons name.
Shungnak	19	Argum Isrugruaq	A sandbar.
Shungnak	20	Atiḡutit	Near these lakes are graves of Nasruk, Joe Sun's mother, and Flora Sanmighan Cleveland.
Shungnak	21	Aumaduk	Josephine Wood's camp.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Shungnak	22	Auwaraq	Lit. a ripe one. An island.
Shungnak	23	Avallaq	Name of river
Shungnak	24	Avattauraq	A bend. Located across from Nukkaaghruaq.
Shungnak	25	Aviñudhuğruaq	The mouth Qalugrualik across from Tulukkaat. One of the harvest areas for sheefish.
Shungnak	26	Ayauraq	River - there are graves here
Shungnak	29	Iñuvaurat	A place where children were place long ago. Lit. graves.
Shungnak	30	Igauna	Grave site - name of person
Shungnak	31	Igluğraalik	Lit. place with iglus. Lakes within the Kuutchauraq river system. A spring camp. There are all kinds of water fowl in these lakes. This was once a reindeer camp.
Shungnak	32	Igruwnaqturuaq	Lit. plentiful of igrunnat, 'rose hips.'
Shungnak	33	Iivvaaḡik	Lit. a curved area. A river channel.
Shungnak	34	Ikaatchialik	Tirraq. A beach.
Shungnak	35	Imaḡiinaq	Lit. bad water. In winter, the overflowed water looks yellow.
Shungnak	36	Imaḡiḡruaq	This lake was once a large lake with lots of muskrats. Now, it has become just ground. Also known as Sirraghnighruaq.
Shungnak	37	Iḡit Tunua	Lit. behind the mountains. A pass.
Shungnak	38	Iḡivak	Lit. high mountain.
Shungnak	39	Ipliḡvik	Lit. drowning place, or where someone had suffocated. It is near Nausrugniqturuaq.
Shungnak	40	Ipnaurat	Lit. cliffs. Small cliffs near the mountains.
Shungnak	41	Ipnayukkat	Lit. cliffs. A straight stretch of river. One of the coldest spots in winter.
Shungnak	42	Ipniaḡrualik	Lit. having sheep. There were sheep here a long time ago. A long time ago, Kuuvangmiut left their boats in this spot when hunting for sheep. There is a flat rock, where sheep skins were placed to dry.
Shungnak	43	Iqsiḡaatchiaq	Round hills with birch trees.
Shungnak	44	Iqsraḡutiliqaḡliq	Lit. Canada goose place.
Shungnak	45	Iqsraatchiaq	Named after person - grave site
Shungnak	46	Iriilin	The top surface of a mountain.
Shungnak	47	Isiwnam Paawa	Lit. mouth of Isingnaq River. This river system has two names, Isingnaq and Qalugrualik. Quagrualik is at the headwaters of Isingnaq.
Shungnak	48	Isiwnam Quulḡui	Lit. jade canyons.
Shungnak	49	Isiwnaq	Lit. jade. Village of Shungnak.
Shungnak	49	Isiwnaq	Lit. jade. Village of Shungnak. (the Shungnak River, Jeff Bennett NPS interpretation of duplicate label.)
Shungnak	50	Isruqtauram Paawa	Lit. mouth of Isruqtauram River. The river is murky, which resembles milk. Isruq-, murky, foggy.' The edge of the river has a rusty color. It is located between Kobuk and Shungnak.
Shungnak	51	Itchuḡvik	Lit. stalking place.
Shungnak	52	Itiqsraatchiaq	Lit. pit.
Shungnak	53	Itqiñiqḡuk	Lit. funny Indian.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Shungnak	54	Iyaġuna	Located within the Saghvaqsighiaq River.
Shungnak	55	Iyaqqiqutallak	Also known as [Iyaqqiqutalik]. Dried up lakes.
Shungnak	57	Kagguq	A channel with leads to either Kuukpigruaq or Kuuvak. It is just below Nunavigruaq, Florence Douglas' camp.
Shungnak	58	Kaisrualuk	Lit. kiasruk, 'shoulder blade.' A mountain which resembles a person's shoulder blade.
Shungnak	59	Kakitñigutik	Lit. two thorny ones. It is near Qala. It is also a channel, but very narrow. This creek becomes dry when the water levels gets low. However, it is a spawning area, and often used as fall time fishing spot.
Shungnak	60	Kawigaaġruk	Lit. old corral.
Shungnak	61	Kanayam Narvawa	Lit. Camp Robber Lake. Lake
Shungnak	62	Kawiwiuqsivik	Perhaps when caribou are driven into a spot . Kangighaq, 'corralling,' was a way of hunting long ago by driving game into a dead end. A salmon spawning area.
Shungnak	63	Kawisugruk	A lake leading to Aniraiyayut.
Shungnak	64	Katyaak	Lit. river fork. Place where Joe Sun's family lived long time ago.
Shungnak	65	Katyaatchaak	Lit. river fork.
Shungnak	66	Katyaarak	Lit. a river fork. A burned area.near Sulunggughruaq Mountain.
Shungnak	67	Kiasrualuum Kuuġua	Lit. Kiasrualuk Creek.
Shungnak	68	Kigvalluat	Lit. young muskrats. This was once a lake. Possibly it was named for having kigvaluk 'muskrats.'
Shungnak	69	Kiiraiñivik	A mountain.
Shungnak	70	Kiirim Narvaa	Lit. camp robber lake.
Shungnak	71	Killaq	A shallow river flowing from the mountains. An iglauyaaq, or pathway when Kuuvangmiut returned from hunting on the Noatak side.
Shungnak	71	Killaq	A shallow river flowing from the mountains. An iglauyaaq, or pathway when Kuuvangmiut returned from hunting on the Noatak side.
Shungnak	72	Killaum Paawa	Lit. mouth of Killaq River.
Shungnak	73	Kipyaaġiaq	A trail term which leads to and from Ambler.
Shungnak	74	Kuvriġviuraq	Lit. small area to set a net. A dead and creek.
Shungnak	75	Kuugaatchiavak	A small creek at the end of Qaama beach.
Shungnak	76	Kuukpik	This was once the only channel. Later, a new channel formed. An old river channel.
Shungnak	77	Kuuqquppaat	Lit. mouth of a river.
Shungnak	78	Kuutchiaġruaq	Also known as [Kuutchiaqpak]. A river connecting into the mountains.
Shungnak	80	Kuutchaauraq	A river.
Shungnak	83	Laugviik	This was named as Long Beach by white man. Communtiy of Kobuk.
Shungnak	84	Maniiñappaat	Lit. mouth of Maniilyaq River.
Shungnak	85	Maniiñagruich	Lit. maniinnyiqsuq, 'jagged surface or no flat surface.' Mountains.
Shungnak	86	Mauki	This place belonged to a non-local person.
Shungnak	87	Miġġuna	A beach across from Avallaq.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Shungnak	88	Mitaiñaq	A lake.
Shungnak	89	Mitqulgich	Lit. furry or hairy. A long stretch of beach.
Shungnak	90	Naannuu	Daisy Ticket's camp.
Shungnak	91	Naattaat	Lit. young owls. Great gray owls breed in this area.
Shungnak	92	Naattaat Saliraat	Camp
Shungnak	94	Napaaqtulik	Lit. spruce trees. A lake surrounded by spruce trees.
Shungnak	95	Napaaqtulik	Lit. with trees. The only lake on the natighnaq, flat tundra' with spruce trees' surrounding it.
Shungnak	96	Narvasrugruk	Lit. big lake. The biggest of all the lakes around it.
Shungnak	97	Natmaktuǵiaq	Lit. packing trail. Named Ambler River.
Shungnak	98	Nausruǵniqturuaq	Lit. a place that showed growth. This was once a river channel.
Shungnak	99	Niguuddi	A Koyukan word. An old woman's name. Niguullhi lived here. Itqilyit lived here.
Shungnak	100	Niituqhuq	A Koyukan word.
Shungnak	101	Niliq	Fish camp
Shungnak	102	Nitaattaala	An Koyukan word. An old village site. Winter camp. A grave of an Itqiliq (Athabaskan) whose name was Nitaattaala.
Shungnak	103	Nukkaaǵruaq	A high bank.
Shungnak	104	Nunavigruaq	Lit. big land. Florence Douglas' camp.
Shungnak	105	Paniikaq	A person's name.
Shungnak	106	Paluwaluǵruaq	Also known as [Palungalughrui] or [Paluwalubruich]. There were shamans living in this mountain. Loud bangs are heard from this mountain. When it does, it sounds like a door had been shut, and Kuuvangmiut say, talurut, 'doors are shut.'
Shungnak	108	Patiqturuqsuiqtuaq	Lit. pati, 'bone marrow.' When one wades on this area, the knees gets very painful.
Shungnak	109	Piwalu	A small creek.
Shungnak	109	Piwalu	A small creek.
Shungnak	110	Putu	Lit. channel or hole. Vera Douglas's camp.
Shungnak	111	Putusraaqpak	Lit. A large channel. Where a new channel formed.
Shungnak	112	Putuuraq	This was recently called Putuuraq when a channel recently formed.
Shungnak	112	Putuuraq	This was recently called Putuuraq when a channel recently formed.
Shungnak	113	Puvaǵui	Lit. lungs. A mountain next to Uumman resembling the lungs.
Shungnak	114	Qaagliat	Fish camp.
Shungnak	115	Qaalǵiqsuuq	Lit. qaalǵhiq, smaller sharp-nosed white fish. A large lake having all kinds of fish. Fish scales become visible on the edges of the slough, when the fish are coming out of the lake. A fishing spot.
Shungnak	115	Qaalǵiqsuuq	Lit. qaalǵhiq, smaller sharp-nosed white fish. A large lake having all kinds of fish. Fish scales become visible on the edges of the slough, when the fish are coming out of the lake. A fishing spot.
Shungnak	116	Qaama	A beach named after a person name Qaama.
Shungnak	117	Qaanauraq	A mining place for jade above the canyons.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Shungnak	118	Qakiq	There is a large rock here. In this area are graves. This is also a look out place.
Shungnak	119	Qala	This was once a community of 400-500 Kuuvangmiut. They lived here because of the abundance of fish. Long ago, as a result of two rivers meeting into one spot caused the water to boil from the forces of the currents. A spruce tree swirled in the middle of it. That is why it is called Qala. A historical site.
Shungnak	120	Qaliam Kuugua	Lit. Qaliaq River. There are salmon berries in this river in the summer season.
Shungnak	121	Qalugriuvik	A beach on the Putuuraq channel.
Shungnak	121	Qalugriuvik	A beach on the Putuuraq channel.
Shungnak	122	Qalugrualigauraq	Lit. having salmon. A river ranging into the Inghit Tunuat.
Shungnak	122	Qalugrualigauraq	Lit. having salmon. A river ranging into the Inghit Tunuat.
Shungnak	123	Qalugrualik	Lit. having salmon. A river ranging into the Inghit Tunuat.
Shungnak	124	Qalutalik	Lit. having a qalutaq, 'wooden berry picker.'
Shungnak	125	Qanalik	A large bend. Qanalik is a very old site.
Shungnak	126	Qapqagruaq	A flat land next to Akisaqpauraq.
Shungnak	127	Qargiat	Lit. fish traps. Joe Harvey's camp.
Shungnak	128	Qasruniqsiaq	Lit. an eddy. Located across from Paaniikaaq.
Shungnak	129	Qikiqtaqpak	Lit. big island.
Shungnak	130	Qimitchaat	
Shungnak	131	Qimmim Akuniq	Lit. in between two hills. A large hill.
Shungnak	132	Qiruktagvik	Lit. wood gathering place. A creek.
Shungnak	133	Qiuqaaq	A beach. Nasruuraq's parents lived here. Qupilghuuraq and siblings lived here too.
Shungnak	135	Qualliuk	Summer camp
Shungnak	136	Qugluqtum Paaqruawa	Lit. mouth of Qughluqtuq River. Lore of the Inupiat, Vol. 1, 1989. An old village site.
Shungnak	137	Qugluqtuq	Summer camp
Shungnak	137	Qugluqtuq	Summer camp
Shungnak	138	Quraaq	A lake.
Shungnak	139	Qusrimmaqtuuq	Lit. qusrimmaq, wild rhubarb. A lake which grows wild rhubarb and sourdocks. A muskrat hunting place.
Shungnak	140	Quulgut	Lit. canyons. This area is too dangerous to navigate with boats.
Shungnak	141	Quviqsugaurat	Lit. cranberry pit. A method how cranberries were stored. This area produces cranberries, and around this area was where pits were dug. The pits were lined with moss, and filled with berries, and covered again with moss. The pit is called quvsigauraq. The round hills with birch trees. The shaded green areas are Quviqsugaurat.
Shungnak	142	Rilfiy Camp	Named after a steamboat
Shungnak	143	Saattuviksrauraq	Fish camp
Shungnak	144	Saiñauraq	A small creek near Wesley Wood's camp.
Shungnak	145	Saiyuuq	A river. A historical site where fish nets were set.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Shungnak	146	Saiyuuḡiaq	Lit. leading into Saiyuuq River.
Shungnak	147	Salliḡauraq	Island
Shungnak	148	Sanniḡutalik	There are two lakes here. It is next to Utkusrigualik. A burned area. An old dog team trail to get to Qala.
Shungnak	149	Sikḡaksram Paawa	Lit. mouth of Siklyhaksraq River. Siklyhaksraq, 'a digging tool.
Shungnak	150	Sikḡaksraq	Lit. siklyhaq, 'digging tool.' Pick river.
Shungnak	151	Simiaq	Pring camp
Shungnak	152	Siḡiktaḡnaiḡiaq	Lit. A forbidden place. Travelers are forbidden to camp here. Campers will not wake up from their sleep. Winter travelers are cautioned that the northside of the island overflows in winter.
Shungnak	153	Siḡiḡḡaatchiaq	Lit. new sun, month of January. A persons name.
Shungnak	154	Sisit	Lit. a burrows.
Shungnak	155	Sisuaq	Spring camp
Shungnak	156	Sivulliḡsruḡti	Lit. leader, or lead dog. An old dog-team winter trail near Isruḡtauraq. People travelled through in the old days. A person with dogs was leading and got lost around here. He died there. WT recommended we mark this place from the lake, because it is an iglauyyaaq (trail).
Shungnak	157	Siulilik	Lit. pike place. When Isingnaghmiut moved here, they packed their nets to harvest siulik. They set the net by pushing it out with a long pole.
Shungnak	158	Suḡliat	Lit. sughliq, 'horned grebe.' Horned grebes and muskrats are common in this lake.
Shungnak	159	Suluwwuḡruaq	Mountain
Shungnak	160	Taatchiwalik	A lake.
Shungnak	161	Tadhiaq	A lake.
Shungnak	162	Taḡatala'aiyat	The mountains range starting from Kuutchiaghruaq to Saghvaqsighiaq.
Shungnak	163	Taḡḡiḡ	A lake.
Shungnak	164	Tatauraq	
Shungnak	165	Taugaaiḡḡviuraq	Lit. tobacco. A deep creek at the end of the cliffs, pass Nelson Walker's camp. It is a long stretch of river and is usually very cold. Travelers stopped here to have a last smoke.
Shungnak	166	Tau'iiliik	A Koyukan word.
Shungnak	167	Tauttitina	A Koyukan word. Tauttitiina is by a river within Saghvaqsighiaq River, and is located at the end of a cliff.
Shungnak	168	Tavluḡutit	Lit. tatoed chin. A mountain which resembles a giant woman's tatoed chin.
Shungnak	169	Tayaḡralik	A lake. At the mouth of this slough is a place to kuvraḡtuq, or set nets.
Shungnak	170	Tikiḡasrugruum Tirrawa	Lit. Tikighasrugruk beach. A beach.
Shungnak	171	Tikiḡasrugruum Narvawa	Lit. Tikighasrugruk Lake.
Shungnak	172	Tikiḡasrugruum Paawa	Lit. mouth of Tikighasrugruk. Tikighasrugruk, 'big island.'
Shungnak	173	Tiksu	Lit. qiku or clay.
Shungnak	174	Tirravak	Lit. long beach. A spring camp.

Source	ID	Name	Description
Shungnak	175	Tulukkaaligauraq	A beach across from Naannuu. Lit. having young ravens. Also located at the mouth of Kuuvak and Kuukpik Rivers.
Shungnak	176	Tulukkam Siyyuuk	Lit. raven's beak. A mountain.
Shungnak	177	Tulukkat	Lit. ravens. Ravens inhabit and breed in this area. A sheefishing spot.
Shungnak	178	Tuppaalaala	Long ago, an Itqiliq came from the other side to visit his partner. He flew. He was a shaman. While doing so, there were two girls in their puberty stage fetching water. A thunder flash whizzed into the area where the girls were. The Itqiliq landed, and said, "Tuppaalaala!" In other words, he said, Tutigiptitnga. You stepped on me.
Shungnak	179	Tuqdumaagruk	A dried up creek. An area for setting nets.
Shungnak	180	Tuuyugvik	Spring camp. Named after a person - Tuuyuq
Shungnak	181	Ugiiq	This long stretch of river is called Ughiuq. A winter camp.
Shungnak	182	Ukallit Tikigaat	Lit. rabbit island. Also know as Argum Isruk.
Shungnak	183	Uluksrauraq	Lit. for an ulu. This was where early Kuuvangmiut got slabs of rocks for women's ulu.
Shungnak	184	Uluqtagvik	A long stretch of beach below Lee's camp across from Maniilaq River.
Shungnak	185	Umiaviuraq	A creek near Isingnaq Creek. leading into a lake on the flats.
Shungnak	186	Umittaq	A beach. This and Qiughaaq are seining places.
Shungnak	188	Uqquqdaiyaaq	A lake. Lit. small Uqquqlhiq.
Shungnak	190	Uqquqdim Kawii	Change name, instead of Kangia.
Shungnak	191	Uqquqdim Paawa.	Lit. mouth of Uqquqlhiq River. In spring, there used to be lots of fish here. It leads to Uqquqlhiq lakes.
Shungnak	192	Utkusrigrualik	Lit. having a cooking pot. There are two lakes here. A trail. There is a cooking pot hanging here.
Shungnak	193	Uumman	Lit. heart. A mountain resembling heart of moose or caribou. This located across from Maniilaghruit mountains.
Shungnak	193	Uumman	Lit. heart. A mountain resembling heart of moose or caribou. This located across from Maniilaghruit mountains.
Shungnak	999	Ikpitchiaq	
Shungnak	999	Isruqtauraq	
Shungnak	999	Kaliktuḡviurat	
Shungnak	999	Kipnik	
Shungnak	999	Qiaqsuq	
Shungnak	999	Qipmim Naniḡvia	
Shungnak	999	Suwaḡiaq	
Shungnak	999	Taaḡurahaat	
Shungnak	999	Taakki	
Shungnak	999	Tuuvaasaq	
Shungnak	999	Upingivaitchiaq	

