Interview with: Interviewed by: Translated by: Word processed by: Date: Subject: © Igloolik Isuma Video Service/ NWT Archives/G-1992-056 Hannah Uyarak Madeleine Ivalu Celina Uttuigak Therese Okkumaluk

- 1. Pregnancy
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H. I was told to move the baby from side to side, so it would not be stuck to the side of the womb.

M. Yes. Were you shown how you would do when you got into labour? On what you would do if your due date came?

H. χ es. I was told that some people were sensitive when it came to delivering a baby.

M. Yes.

H. If I didn't have lower abdominal pain.

M. Yes.

H. If I was having abdominal pains, the pain on my lower back would not be as severe. With abdominal pains during a contraction. I would feel the pain as scratches done across my abdomen.

M. Yes. During pregnancy, were you told to go outdoors for fresh air so labour could be easier?

H. That custom was not in practice when I became pregnant with my first baby. But Kunuruluk used to tell me to do that.

M. Yes, when that custom was not in practice?

H. Yes.

M. Was it to have an easier delivery, that you were told to do these things?

H. Yes. This happened around the time women had to go certain rituals during pregnancy.

M. Yes.

H. And elder would talk to me while I would be out visiting and when I came home my in-law and his daughter told me that they were treating me as they did in the old days. It was during the

days that pregnant women had to go through certain rituals, but at the times that I was pregnant , women did not go to the $e_{X=...}$ tents anymore.

M. Yes.

H. I've only had a couple of babies that I had a difficult time delivering.

M. Yes. I wonder what one should do in order to have a fast and easy delivery.

H. Maybe it goes like this.

M. When pregnant, you are told by the elders what to do?

H. Maybe it is like this, do walking exercises, yes and do some work, but not stressful, not rest all the time. When one is spending a lot of time sitting, the baby does not lower into the pelvis as fast.

M. Yes?

H. Yes.

M. It was a habit at that time to always have something to do? H. Yes. It was like that because at that time there were no houses.

M. Yes.

H. In a house now, one is able to walk around a lot.

M. Yes. But for some women, they were told to lie down, was that also a part when wanting to have an easy delivery?

H. I was never told to do a lot of resting and lying down.

M. But today women are told to lie and rest.

H. Yes.

M. I think so.

H. Personally I was never told to do that.

M. By the Inuit?

H. Yes, but today it is the white culture that is used more. Yes.

M. Did a woman know if a baby was going to have a lot of hair?

H. Yes. I knew too when my babies were going to have a lot of hair because my babies had a lot of hair and you can feel that inside you.

M. Yes.

H. It feels like something is rubbing against the walls of the womb.

M. Yes. When a woman was in the first few month would she know that?

H. Yes. Some one would feel the abdomen.

M. So the person feeling the abdomen would know?

H. Yes.

M. Would people also know if the baby was going to be a boy or girl?

H. Yes. It is also possible to distinguish between a girl and boy by the shape of the belly. A boy is more pointed than a girl and a girl is bigger sideways.

M. Yes. Have you ever delivered babies while you were alone?

H. Yes, but not completely alone.

M. In delivering, you did all the work?

H. Yes. I did all the work by myself, because we always used to live alone with no one else in the same settlement with us.

M. You would prepare the place where you would deliver the baby?

H. I never delivered my babies lying down. I would be upright during delivery. All I would do is sort of dig a place for the baby to fall in.

M. Yes. My goodness.

H. As long as the place you were delivering in was prepared, but for arm support that would at times be a hassle cause one could never really level the supports for comfort. I delivered my babies upright, so what I had to do was make sure my spine was straight.

M. Your back didn't have any support?

H. Yes.

M. Wow. You delivered in those positions, but did you know when

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you were in labour?

H. Yes. It is possible to know because before the actual labour, something comes out.

M. Yes. But it was different at times, sometimes something would show and other times not?

H. Yes.

M. It is called preparation for labour.

H. Yes.

M. That, and would the water burst before the delivery?

H. Yes.

M. Water.

H. The water would burst on its own when I delivered mine.

M. Yes.

H. I would not do anything to burst the water, it was as the head was coming out that the water would burst.

M. But in some cases, someone would do the bursting for the mother to be.

H. Yes.

M. Would you have to clean the baby after delivery.

H. Yes. I would clean my own babies. We would, yes.

M. Yes.

H. Yes, someone was always around, but my in-law told me that since my husband and I travelled a lot, I would have to deliver on my own so she would at times leave me alone while she was at another igloo, I would deliver on my own. I was alone with Qillaq's wife when I delivered my daughter.

M. What? and would the husband at times help in the delivery?

H. Yes. My husband was always with me. He felt that he was neglecting me, with all the pain I was going through so he would always be there when I was in labour.

M. Yes.

H. He would not participate during the labour but he was there

with me.

M. Yes. Inuit did the delivering?

H. Yes.

M. Some would not be in as much pain as others?

H. Yes. I remember my sister-in-law being in a lot of pain. She would make noises expressing her pain.

M. It was a routine in some women?

H. It was known that if you made noises during labour it got to be a routine with other deliveries. Once you made noises, you did it with all the others.

M. Yes. When the delivering was finally done, the baby would be attended to, of course.

H. \forall Yes. After the baby came, you would have to attend to it too.

M. Yes.

H. what would do is put the baby to one side, reach inside myself and pull out the placenta. At times the placenta would follow immediately but at other times that did not happen.

M. Yes..you'd do the removal on you own?

H. Yes.

M. And it was dangerous if a woman did not bleed as much after the delivery?

H. Yes. I never had that problem cause I had a lot of blood. So loosing blood was not a problem for me right down to my last baby.

M. Yes. You were so courageous, you would remove your afterbirth on your own.

H. Yes. It was known too that if you reached inside yourself to remove the placenta, it got to be a habit and you did it with all you births. My in-law told me to reach inside to remove the placenta and since then I did it with all my deliveries.

M. Yes?

H. Yes. I even did that to other women. I reached inside Arnainuk and removed the afterbirth, it had been stuck to the top of the womb and it couldn't come out so I had to reach inside her

womb to remove it.

M. Yes.

H. It got to be so I could do it with women after they delivered.

M. Are there two channels in a woman?

H. Yes. The one on the top has a sharp edge and it is small.

M. So you reached inside to remove the placenta.

H. Yes and at the same time I would stretch the small opening. I would follow the route do the umbilical cord and at the some time pulling on it gradually. And finally the afterbirth would come out.

M. You would follow the route of the umbilical cord.

H. Yes, by feeling.

M. Would the sharp edge on the upper channel cause pain in the hands?

H. Yes, it was so sharp it was painful. Maybe too because it is contracting?

M. Yes, maybe too because it is cone shaped?

H. Yes. Once the placenta is through that sharp small route, then there is no problem removing it.

M. Yes.

H. When the placenta is situated in the small sharp channel, it is very difficult on the woman delivering and the midwife.

M. Yes.

H. I have actually never had that problem, but I can remember it being a problem on Arnainuk.

M. How far in did your arm have to reach?

H. Up to here.

M. Wow! Up to here, that's far. Are they situated really far in the womb?

H. Yes. Very far in the womb, for some women, yes.

M. Yes. But you managed to remove the placenta?

H. Yes.

M. The women could remove the placenta?

H. Yes.

M. So that's how you did it.

H. Yes. But you could not pull hard on the umbilical cord, you had to do it gradually. Yes, we would do that as the woman was pushing and we'd do the pulling. It would be like the placenta was thrown out.

M. It would come out suddenly?

H. Yes. And the woman would start bleeding.

M. You would save lives that way?

H. "I only did it to that one woman.

M. Yes.

H. I did it to myself but I didn't do it to others except that one time.

M. Would you reach that far in yourself too?

H. No. Not that far in.

M. Yes? After delivering with Inuit, you delivered in the hospital?

H. I delivered my babies in any settlement I was in. There would just be the immediate family.

M. Yes.

H. Kayak was the only one that I got pregnant with when we moved into a bigger settlement and I had to go to the Hospital to deliver her. (the tea is empty now, you can use the Coleman.)

M. It must be awkward to deliver on your own and then go to the hospital.

H. Yes, I was uncomfortable in a hospital. The baby was a breech. The pressure is stronger. The feet come out first cause they didn't turn the baby around.

M. Yes.

H. Maybe because I was too far into the labour so they didn't turn the baby to come head first.

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M. Yes.

H. Although the feet came out first, I didn't have any problems delivering.

M. Yes. The way the umbilical cord is tied, did the ones the Inuit tie fall out faster than the hospital tied?

H. Yes. It took a very short time for the cord to fall out. The ones used by the hospital, the clamps, take a lot longer to fall out.

M. Yes, I know. I noticed too that the belly button of some babies protrude.

H. Yes.

M. I wonder why?

H. , I only know that when a baby cries a lot, the belly button will protrude.

M. Yes? This is done by excessive crying?

H. Yes.

M. Is it too from the way the clamp is placed?

H. No. It is from the crying. As I understand it.

M. I hear too that the cord can be wound around the neck.

H. Yes, when the umbilical cord is long, yes.

M. I heard too that sometimes the baby move its bowels inside the mother?

H. Yes. That happened to my younger sister. I didn't know what to do that time. When the baby came out, she didn't bleed and her legs got all numb and couldn't move. It felt like she was full of something from all the blood that was inside her.

M. Was that because she wasn't bleeding?

H. Yes. I have heard that bowel movement inside the womb is like yeast and it can rise.

M. Yes. Something could be done had someone known what to do?

H. Yes, I think so cause I had never experience that with anyone. And it wasn't long after the birth that she died. She was conscious through the whole time.

M. She delivered the baby though?

H. Yes.

M. Oh yes.

H. Amarualik kept the baby.

M. Were there times when the delivery was so difficult that the baby couldn't come out?

H. Yes. I've heard of that.

M. Although that didn't happen all the time?

H. I don't remember anyone being in that state, but I hear it used to happen before in the old days.

M. Yes. All the deliveries were done by the Inuit?

H. Yes. I've had a lot of babies, but I didn't do any work on only two of my babies, on my two last babies. I've had 20 babies.

M. With all those babies, was the pain similar in all the deliveries?

H. It felt the same to me, yes.

M. You only felt back pain?

H. Yes. My back and the expansion of my pelvic bones would be the most noticeable.

M. Yes..although a woman may deliver many babies and know the procedure, it never stops the shaking?

H. Yes. It is always like that. I always had severe cases of shivering and shaking myself.

M. No wonder, it's scary. Because a woman has had a lot of babies does not mean she will get used to it. Isn't that how it is?

H. Yes.

M. And after the baby is born, that is the best time.

M. A long time ago, a new born would be so nice everyone would want to see it.

H. Yes. And people would come just to see the baby.

M. The mother's hand would be shaped, like everyone who saw the new mother would shake her hand.

H. Yes, it would be like that.

M. Even the baby?

H. Yes.

M. Everyone would welcome the baby?

H. Yes. Everyone would be happy for the mother and baby and they would be made to feel welcome.

M. I heard too that baby girls would not be as well liked by the parents.

H. Yes. I heard that my in-laws husband only wanted baby boys?

M. Yes?

H. After they had three or five girls, my mother-in-law went into labour again. As you might have heard, the woman would be placed in a different tent while she was in labour. And after my in-law delivered, my father-in-law was heard saying, "It's a girl again!". And he was throwing stones at the tent, the tent wasn't made of canvas. People had felt that the stones would go through the sealskin and harm either the mother or the baby.

M. Because it was a girl and he wanted a son?

H. Yes. Because he wanted a son. I heard too that the man was not that level headed.

M. Was the woman alone in the tent when she was delivering?

H. Yes.

M. And the man shouted that it was a girl again?

H. Yes.

M. That must have been scary.

H. The man was behind the tent doing his chores when he decided to do that.

M. Oh yes?

H. He really wanted a son, I guess. The man was the father.

M. Yes of course. It was his baby. He helped in conceiving the baby. The wife could not have gotten pregnant alone. She needed

the aid of a man to get pregnant.

H. Yes.

M. He must have been a scary man.

H. Yes. I hear he was a scary man. With the experience she had, my mother-in-law would talk about kindness to baby girls and tell her kids to be kind. The mother would say that it was very hard to have boys when on couldn't do anything to change the sex of the baby. So she would tell them to be good to the babies. Because my sister-in-law had a lot of baby girls and they would be adopted. Her babies were adopted out a lot. But I've never had anyone adopt my babies.

M. Ailments such as cuts and skin diseases like boils, were they very common?

H. Yes. I know about boils. If a boil did not have an opening for the pus to come out, a lemming skin would be placed on the boil and a whit spot would form which was the opening. It would be punctured with a needle so the pus would come out.

M. Yes?

H. That would be done to draw out the pus. Although at first, there would just be a hard spot.

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M. It would be big?

H. Yes. You probably know that some boils are very big.

M. Yes.

H. You see this spot? It used to be a boil.

M. Yes?

H. I couldn't open my eyes when I had the boil.

M. Yes. Was lemming skin used for your boil?

H. No. The pus came out by itself. When the boil first started getting hard in the first stages, I had a lot of pain in this area. We woke up, Kayukjuk was with us. We were caribou hunting, I had a baby on my back, my panik¹ was older then. We woke up and I couldn't open my eyes. There was no mirror. My husband had a pocket watch, the back of it was steel and it was possible to see one self on it. I used that. My husband, when he tried to

1.PANIK: daughter.

M. What about people with chronic illnesses? There was no medication for those?

H. No. There was nothing.

M. So they would be sick for long periods.

H. Yes.

M. But they would be attended to and that was by providing as much food as possible?

H. Yes. People would try to find food that the sick person would want to eat. It was known that when a sick person ate what he/she wanted to eat, they would get better.

M. Yes.

H. It was at the time when the sick person could not eat that people would try to find any kind of meat that the person would be willing to eat.

M. Because there was no medication?

H. Yes, for sure. There was completely nothing.

M. What about for people who were dying. People like to know how they were attended to in the old days.

H. Yes. I know. I don't really know of anyone dying of sickness except my uncle, Immaroitok. I was young but old enough to know, so I remember him.

M. Was he sick for a long time?

H. Yes. He was sick for long time. It was when his wife was very young and had a baby the summer before. It was winter that happened.

M. Some people were told that they would not live for long. How was that?

H. When they grew faster than normal or they did things that were not usually done by that age level, they were known to people as people who were hurrying through life. And people were scared of the progress that was done by the young person.

M. Yes. Also for people who almost drowned, things were done to revive th drowning victim?

H. Yes. They were known to foam around the mouth. Possibly from the mouth. It was known too that if the foam went over the eyes, the person would start breathing. That is how it used to

be. If the foam was wiped, the person would die.

M. Yes?

H. Yes. The foam was wiped sometimes because it was painful to see all the foam on the face.

M. Although there was no heart beat on the drowned victim, but if he was give a chance to foam, would the victim breath again?

H. Yes. I think so. Our ancestor did a lot things?

M. Yes. Because they had no other means of survival.

H. Yes. Because they had no other means of survival then.

M. Although it may be painful to see a person foaming, it should not be wiped off?

H. $_{i}$ Yes. It should not be wiped at all.

M. Was the victim lying on his back?

H. Yes. It was when the foam was beyond the eyes that the person would start to breath. That is how it was.

M. Of course.

H. Wow. They must have had a lot to do and a lot of knowledge.

M. Yes. They were very experienced.

M. Would a person who froze be amputated?

H. Yes. Inusatuardjuk did it on himself. My cousin Akitiq frozé, he was Irngaut's older brother. I think he amputated himself, I'm not sure. I have not really heard how it happened. My in-law should know, cause they were living in the same settlement or is it not that way. But he froze and I think he amputated himself or had someone do it for him. But I lived in the same settlement with this person when I had my daughter on my back. Inusatuardjuk froze and he amputated himself.

M. He amputated while he was frozen?

H. No. When he had thawed out.

M. Maybe there was no sensation?

H. Yes, he had sensation at that time. When a person freezes, the flesh gets very soft and peels off the bone. That is how it was with him. The skin became black.

M. Was it possible for that to get any worse than it already was if it was not amputated?

H. Yes. I think so. He sawed his legs off. It is known too that you cannot amputate on the joints, because if you do there is no healing and that is what he did, he amputated a little below the joints and he sawed them off.

M. He sawed them off?

H. Yes, apart of his body.

M. Yes.

H. (Maybe she's cold?)

M. Are you cold?

M.E. No.

M. Was your stepmother blind?

H. Yes. She had vision as a young person, but had problems with the eyes and later became blind.

M. She had a lot of pain the eyes?

H. Yes. Even the bone around the eye became bad. Part of the bones around the eye sockets were gone.

M. Yes?

H. I heard that she removed the bones through the eye ball area. He was your mother's father's brother.

M. Yes.

H. Yes, they were brothers. We lived with them cause we were related to them.

M. Although she was blind, she adopted you?

H. Yes, she had married a blind man.

M. Yes?

H. Yes.

M. You must have felt sorry for them.

H. Yes, they were both blind and they got married. My real mother had been adopted by the blind man, so they wanted me so they could have a helper. Tagak had been their stepson but he

was a man.

M. Yes.

I remember living with her brother at Angutikituq. There was Η. quite a few people in the family. Up to now, I am usually thankful, and when I have a lot on mỹ mind and think about my childhood. If my adoptive parents had a differet personality maybe we would have been abused children, them being blind and all. My husband used to live in the same settlement as his uncle Kadlut-I don't recall a time when I was mistreated or scolded. siak. the people we used to live with had different personalities, Ιf then I think we would have been mistreated. We would have relatives live with us and we would never be in need of anything. were living Kangillumajuk that time. Our clothes were done properly that is how I grew up. I was never hungry, was never in I don't recall ever my sister-in-law glaring at me or need. mistreating me. Maybe had they been different, I would have been treated otherwise. I am very thankful for that, for the fact tat we were never abused.

M. Yes? Did she sew?

H. Yes. She could even thread a needle. I never had to do that for her.

M. You mean needles?

H. Yes. She would feel the needle and thread with her tongue. She would thread a needle that way. I never had to help her. She did everything on her own.

M. And she'd sew although she was blind?

H. She would pattern the clothing she made a she would sew them. All she couldn't do was sew the soles of Kamiks¹ so my sister-inlaws would provide her with kamiks.

M. No wonder.

H. Yes.

M. Because kamiks soles have sharp edging, that was her only problem, right?

H. Yes.

M. She made clothing?

1.KANIKS: sealskin boots.

H. Yes. She made me clothing, she always used to have a straight bottomed amauti¹. My sister-in-laws would pattern the ... amauti for her and she'd sew it on her own. What we would do is stitch here and there and then she'd sew on her own. She would complete everything she started.

M. Could she light the seal oil lamp?

H. No. She couldn't do that and that was her only problem.

M. Se was really good at what she did.

H. Yes. Very.

M. You would walk around with her?

H. Yes.

M. You'd just lead the way?

H. ¥es.

M. As long as you held her hand from the time you could?

H. Yes. She also had a cane.

M. Yes?

H. She would use her cane to see what was in front of her. That's how it was.

M. You told stories about trapping, yes?

Yes. My husband and I always did some trapping. As I said H. earlier, my Nutaranagsag was the first one I remember who used traps. He died when we were here in Igloolik. That time people were starving. He didn't actually starve, he was ill for a long He died before people really started starving. Ipellie time. and he were very ill at the same time. After he died, there was hunger, a severe one, my husband and I had traps set up in an island and we'd go there to check up on them. Because he didn't want his runners to run out, my husband would walk me. I heard my step older sister started getting tired and ill due to hunger. We had heard that was happening. Anyway my husband heard that there was a sever shortage of food. When we went out to check the traps, we found 2 dead foxes. When I said that I saw a fox, he asked if it was still alive, I said it was dead. After he removed it, he took it and said, "Good, I have some food for Anguiliannuk". He said that Anguiliannuk was dying of starva-

1.ANAUTI: woman's parka for holding babies on back.

tion. He wanted him to live. My husband always called my brother Anguiliannuk. After taking the first fox we went to the,... second trap[and also found another dead fox. When we got home, my husband tried thawing out the foxes by keeping them warm on his belly, because our lamps were all out of seal oil. He tried thawing them, they very gradually thawed. They were cooked over open fire. After eating the two foxes, Anguiliannuk's strength started coming back. They were cooked over open fire, not a lamp.

M. Wow!

H. Wow!

M. Because there was no heat he had to thaw them out with the warmth of his belly?

H. Yes. He had them inside his parka.

M. "Really. Was it after you were married your mother died?

H. Yes. It was after I had my first baby and when winter came she died.

M. Really.

H. Winter, as spring was rolling around, she died. I remember my in-laws going to spend spring in Arctic Bay. They had not been gone long when she died. I was all alone. It felt like that I was alone.

M. It must have been really hard on you.

H. My mother-in-law had not died immediately after her husband's death. It was for about 3 years that my in-laws were alive after my mother's death. When my child was growing, they died.

M. Really.

H. My husband and I never stayed in one place for a time. We would always travel.

M. You travelled?

H. Yes.

M. We have a term for a broken leg and we say napisimayuq¹. That is not the proper term for that is it?

1.NAPISIMAYUQ: broken in two.

H. No. That is not proper, it is naviksimayuq¹.

M. It is not napisimayuq?

H. No. A broken spine would be napisimayuq.

M. So that is how it is, so for a leg it is naviksimayuq.

H. Yes, for the leg it is naviksimayuq.

M. Also could a broken bone be mended?

H. Yes, when a leg broke. When Piugattuk broke his leg, his mother made a cast from square flipper skin and put it on him.

M. Really?

H. Yes, that is how it mended. She used a skin cast for the leg.

M. Was it wrapped around tight?

H. I believe it was just a support to keep the bones in place.

M. Really?

H. Yes. She placed it properly on the leg.

M. Really.

H. Yes. When my husband had an accident, when he was crushed by a boat and his pelvic bones separated, the same woman, Piugattuk's mother and Nuyaqtuq placed a square flipper cast on his hip area and it healed that way.

M. Wow! Really?

H. Yes, that woman was very good at those things.

M. Yes? His pelvic bones separated, although he was man?

H. Yes. He was crushed from behind. The bones crushed his pelvic bones. He had to go south to have operations.

M. Yes? But he mended?

H. Yes.

M. With the aid of a square flipper cast?

1.NAVIKSIMAYUQ: broken leg or arm.

H. Yes. With a square flipper cast. That lady made casts out of square flipper.

M. She was good at fixing that, wasn't she?

H. Yes. She's the only one I know who could do that. I don't know of anyone else who could do that.

M. Was she the only one you knew who could use techniques to men broken bones and that?

H. Yes. She's the only one I know, I have never known anyone else besides her. I remember that she made casts twice.

M. Really.

H. Yes. Her son, you know.

M. Some people were very courageous.

H. Yes. Very courageous.

M. The peoples ailments got mended?

H. Yes.

M. Maybe some people just had fractures?

H. I don't think so, people could determine if a bone was actually broken, or if it was fractured.

M. What about the ones who had dislocated joints. People couldn't do anything about those?

H. I doubt it.

M. What about for bleeding? Did people cut themselves a lot in those days?

H. I don't recall people cutting themselves a lot.

M. Really. You said something about square flipper casting?

H. Yes. I have actually never witnessed it. I've just heard about it.

M. If you have anything else to talk about?

H. I really haven't got all that much, I recall.

M. How was it with the square flipper. How it was prepared or how was the casting done?

H. It would be dried, but not tanned, completely dry.

M. It would be used, when it was completely dry as a cast?

H. Yes. It would be dry. She sewed it on. When square flipper hide are not tanned, you know they're very stiff. That is how that woman used the skin as a cast.

M. Really? Really stiff?

H. Yes, really stiff.

M. She sewed it on?

H. She made holes on it first.

M. Really.

H. Yes.

M. Dried square flipper hide, wow!

M. What about headaches? Was a band placed around the upper part of the head?

H. Yes. A band was used. It was tied tightly.

M. And that helped to ease the pain, and the pain was gone?

H. Yes, I think so. I remember Okkumaluk. I thought had a bad headache. I was just a kid. He had a band around his head, so I thought he had a headache, but I later learned that he always wore that head band.

M. Really?

H. Yes. His was made from beads.

M. Really?

H. Yes. I think it was because he had long hair and the band was used to keep the hair from going on his face.

M. Really. What did they use for head bands when on had a headache?

H. Any material thing they had. I grew up when material was becoming popular.

M. Really? They must have known that tying a band around the head could ease a headache so they did that?

H. Of course.

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M. Would you know of any other people who would do whatever to ease ailments?

H. No. 1 don't know. That woman was the only one I knew.

M. It was a certain time of year when women would be making kamiks¹?

H. Yes. We sewed a lot. I sewed a lot because I never adopted out my children and they were numerous. They needed kamiks. There were no boots or shoes at that time. We chewed and sewed. Although I was very young, my husband and I travelled a lot so we were never amongst people. I would tan, dry and scrape skins. My husband showed me what to do.

M. Really?

H. Yes.

M. Scraping skins, sewing and all?

H. Yes. Making kamiks and that. But because square flipper is thick holes didn't come that easily. Fond Inlet people must have had problems.

M. You'd scrape skins when there was some not done, you'd sew and tan skins? And at the same time you had to tend to your seal oil lamp?

H. Yes.

M. My goodness.

H. One had to prepare the oil. We always had to have the oil for the stove ready. No wonder it was the only heat we used for cooking.

M. Yes.

H. It was not $QALLUNAAQ^2$ food. All the food was inuk food. It didn't seem long though for the food to cook. We never thought it took a long time for the food to cook. Maybe because we ateraw food in between.

M. Yes. You never had a moment of rest? Not like now anyway?

H. That's true.

1.KANIKS: sealskin boots.

2.QALLUNAAQ: white man.

M. And when you were going out, as that was the only time you could rest. You had to take something to chew to tan?

When we went out visiting we had to have something toΗ. Yes. chew on, like ATUNGAKSAQ¹. It got worse when we were living i n the same settlement with you mother-in-law. When we were in Pingigalik, the people from here moved into the same place with You could not visit her leisurely, when she knew that you us. nothing to do, she would get something for you to do. We had used to be so lazy. If we didn't have anything to do she would make us sew.

1.ATUNGAKSAQ: Square flipper hide used for soles of kamiks.