

# “Religious Frenzy” and the Application of Canadian Law

## The Belcher Island Murders, 1941

Edited by Corah Lynn Hodgson and P. Whitney Lackenbauer

The Belcher Islands murders of 1941, and the official archival records related to them, provide a lens through which to illuminate and examine various aspects of the religious, legal, and political history of the Canadian North. The religious context of the murders provides insight into the strategies and techniques by which the Anglican missionary enterprise sought to convert Inuit, and the syncretic movements these strategies and techniques enabled among Inuit communities. The investigation of the murders, and subsequent coroner's inquests, preliminary hearings, trials, convictions, and sentences, also allow an examination into the unique nature of police investigations and judicial proceedings in the Canadian North during this period. They provide insight into the government's concerns about the suitability of applying British-Canadian punishments to the Inuit, without due consideration of their values or distinct customs. Politically, the federal government's enduring emphasis on returning these Inuit to the North and their traditional hunting-trapping economies testifies to what scholars have called the government's "policy of dispersal." Hence, the events on the Belcher Islands in 1941 reveal more than simply the crimes committed by individual Inuit.

**Landmark Northern Canadian Legal Cases #2**  
**Trent Centre for the Study of Canada**

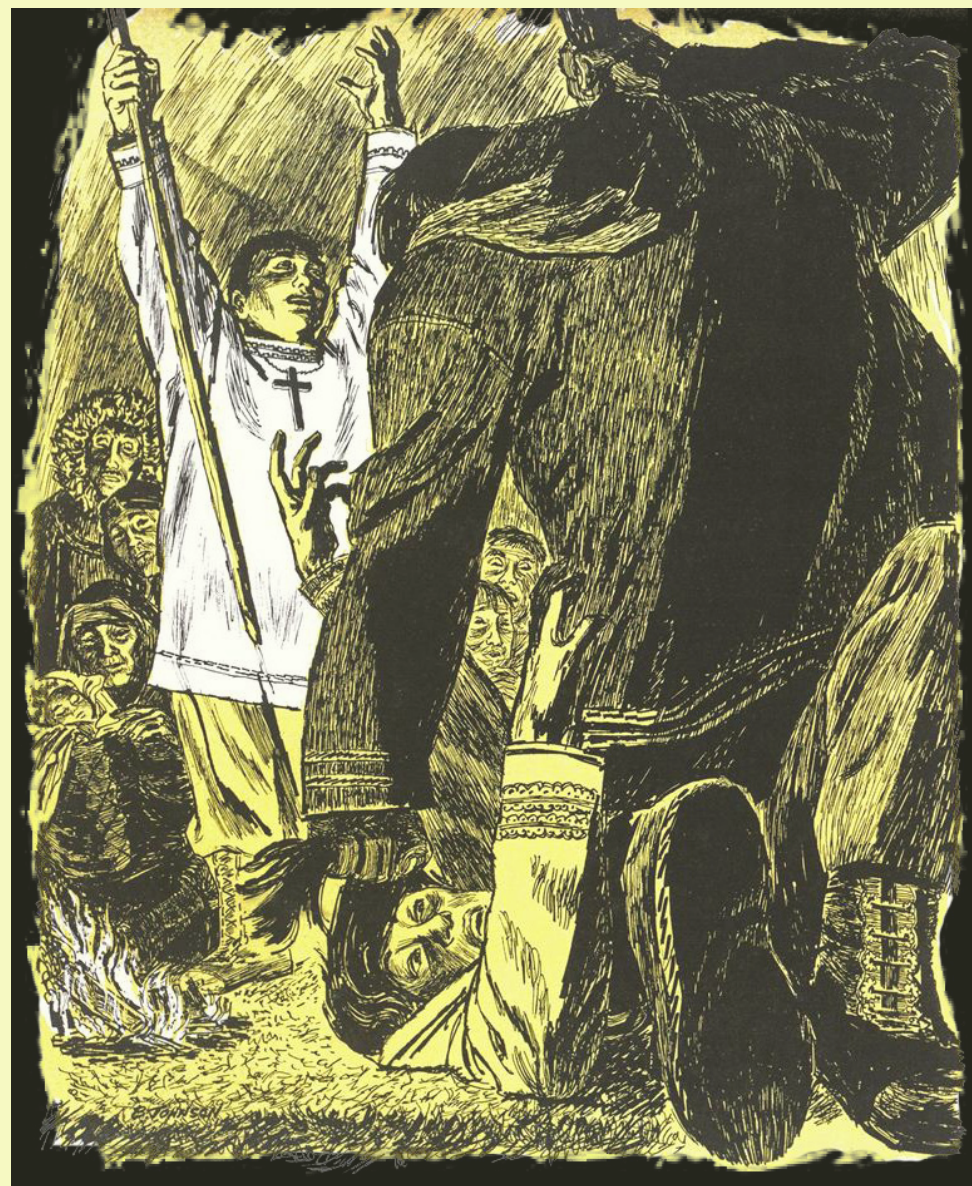
ISBN 978-1-77397-072-1

Hodgson and Lackenbauer

“Religious Frenzy” and the Application of Canadian Law

# “Religious Frenzy” and the Application of Canadian Law

## The Belcher Island Murders, 1941



Edited by Corah Lynn Hodgson  
and P. Whitney Lackenbauer



# “Religious Frenzy” and the Application of Canadian Law

The Belcher Island Murders, 1941

## **Landmark Northern Canadian Legal Cases**

Series Editor:

P. Whitney Lackenbauer

Trent Centre for the Study of Canada

Trent University

1600 West Bank Dr.

Peterborough, ON

Canada K9L 0G2

Copyright © the authors/editors, 2020

All rights reserved. Permission policies are outlined on our website

### LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION

Title: “Religious frenzy” and the application of Canadian law : the Belcher Island murders, 1941 / introduced and edited by Corah Lynn Hodgson and P. Whitney Lackenbauer.

Other titles: Belcher Island murders, 1941

Names: Hodgson, Corah Lynn, 1993- editor. | Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, editor.

Description: Series statement: Landmark northern Canadian legal cases ; 2 | Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: Canadiana (print) 20200276182 | Canadiana (ebook) 20200276387 | ISBN 9781989811085 (softcover) | ISBN 9781989811092 (PDF)

Subjects: LCSH: Trials (Murder)—Nunavut—Belcher Islands. | LCSH: Murder—Investigation—Nunavut—Belcher Islands. | LCSH: Murder—Nunavut—Belcher Islands—Religious aspects—Christianity. | LCSH: Criminal justice, Administration of—Nunavut—Belcher Islands. | LCSH: Inuit—Nunavut—Belcher Islands—Religion. | LCSH: Inuit—Legal status, laws, etc.—Nunavut—Belcher Islands.

Classification: LCC HV6535.C32 N9 2020 | DDC 364.152/30971952—dc23

Cover design: Jennifer Arthur-Lackenbauer

Cover credits: Avataq Cultural Institute; P. Whitney Lackenbauer

# “Religious Frenzy” and the Application of Canadian Law

---

The Belcher Island Murders, 1941

Introduced and Edited by Corah Lynn Hodgson  
and P. Whitney Lackenbauer





## Contents

Foreword <i>by Kenn Harper</i> .....	i
Preface .....	iii
Introduction .....	vi
“The stars shall fall from heaven”: The Belcher Islands Murders, 1941 .....	vi
The Media, Missionary Roles, and “Mania of Religious Madness” .....	x
With “Full Formality and Procedure”: The Application of Canadian Investigative and Judicial Procedures in Canada’s North .....	xvi
Maintaining Traditional Lifestyles and Subsistence Styles: Indigenous Policy and the Preservation of the Hunting-Trapping Economy .....	xxv
A Note from the Editors .....	xxvii
List of Abbreviations .....	l
List of Individuals .....	liii
List of Alternate Spellings and Names Appearing in the Text .....	lvii
<b>THE DOCUMENTS</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1. Information to Hold Inquest, of Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) Corporal William Grant Kerr, Moose Factory Detachment, regarding Johnny, before Thomas J. Orford, Coroner for the Northwest Territories, Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, and Indian Agent at Moose Factory, 14 April 1941 .....	3
2. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Johnny and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941 .....	3
3. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Johnasie, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	4
4. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Johnasie and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941 .....	5
5. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Moses, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	6
6. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Moses and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941 .....	6

7. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Nukarak and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941 .....	7
8. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Kumudluk Sarah and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941 .....	8
9. Information of Witness, of Moses regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnsie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	8
10. Information of Witness, of Nellie regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnsie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	10
11. Information of Witness, of Ninna/Mina/Anowtelik regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnsie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	12
12. Information of Witness, of Mina regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnsie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	13
13. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Alec, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	15
14. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Alec and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941 .....	15
15. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941 .....	16
16. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Alec Keytowieack and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 15 April 1941 .....	17
17. Information of Witness, of Anawak regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	17
18. Information of Witness, of Bertie Akparok regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	18
19. Information of Witness, of Mina regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	19
20. Information of Witness, of Eva Naroomi regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	21
21. Information of Witness, of Mary regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	22
22. Information of Witness, of Moses regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	23



23. Information of Witness, of Sarah Eerkok regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	25
24. Information of Witness, of Peter Quarack regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	26
25. Information and Complaint, of William Grant Kerr regarding Quarack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	27
26. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Quarack, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by William Grant Kerr, 16 April 1941 .....	30
27. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Quarack, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	31
28. Information of Witness, of Sarah Eerkok regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	31
29. Information of Witness, of Mary Nukarak regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	33
30. Information and Complaint, of William Grant Kerr regarding Mina, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	34
31. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Mina, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by William Grant Kerr, 16 April 1941 .....	35
32. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Mina, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	36
33. Information and Complaint, of William Grant Kerr regarding Peter Sala and Adlaykok, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941 .....	37
34. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Adlaykok, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by William Grant Kerr, 16 April 1941 .....	40
35. Police Report, William Grant Kerr, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Moses, Alec, Johnasie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) – Murder of, 26 April 1941 .....	41
36. Police Report, William Grant Kerr, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) – Murder of, Inquest, 26 April 1941 .....	50

37. Police Report, Inspector Douglas J. Martin, Commanding “G” Division, R.C.M.P., regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Eskimo, Keytowieack – Murder of, 26 April 1941 .....	58
38. Police Report, Douglas J. Martin, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Sarah (Eskimo Female)]– Murder Of, 26 April 1941 .....	61
39. Police Report, Douglas J. Martin, regarding Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., 30 April 1941 .....	64
40. Memorandum, Major D. L. McKeand, Superintendent Eastern Arctic, Northwest Territories Administration, to R. A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories and the Director of the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Department of Resources, Ottawa, 3 June 1941.....	69
41. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to D. L. McKeand, 4 June 1941 .....	70
42. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, Commissioner of the R.C.M.P., Ottawa, 5 June 1941 .....	71
43. Police Report, Constable George E. Dexter, R.C.M.P. Constable at the Moose Factory Detachment, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T., 7 June 1941 .....	72
44. Fill Calhoun, “Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay,” <i>Life Magazine</i> , 9 June 1941 .....	77
45. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. Chesshire, Assistant Manager of the Fur Trade Department, Hudson’s Bay Company, Winnipeg, 11 June 1941 .....	80
46. Letter, R. H. Chesshire to R. A. Gibson, 16 June 1941 .....	81
47. Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, 8 July 1941 ..	82
48. Order, Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M.P. on the Belcher Islands, to Post Manager, Hudson’s Bay Company, Belcher Islands, 14 July 1941 .....	82
49. Letter, C. B. Farrar, Director of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital, to Whom Concerned, 25 July 1941 .....	83
50. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Quarack and Charlie Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, 25 July 1941 .....	84
51. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Charlie Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, 25 July 1941 .....	86
52. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Charlie Ouyerack, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 25 July 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by Henry Kearney, 29 July 1941 .....	86
53. Coroner’s Report on Examination of Body, by Thomas J. Orford regarding Keytowieack, 26 July 1941.....	87

54. Information to Hold Inquest, of Henry Kearney regarding Sarah Apawkok, around 26 July 1941 .....	88
55. Information of a Witness, of Alec Apawkok regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941 .....	89
56. Information of a Witness, of Johnasie regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941 .....	90
57. Information of a Witness, of Kugveet regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941 .....	91
58. Information of a Witness, of Nellie regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941 .....	92
59. Information of a Witness, of Akeenik regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	93
60. Information of a Witness, of Bertie Akparok regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	94
61. Information of a Witness, of Mary regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	94
62. Information of a Witness, of Sarah regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	96
63. Information of a Witness, of Louisa regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	96
64. Information of a Witness, of Shooluksuk regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	97
65. Information of a Witness, of Mina Sala regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	98
66. Information of a Witness, of Peter Sala regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	99
67. Information of a Witness, of Charlie Ouyrack regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	101
68. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Sarah Apawkok and upon the oath of Henry Kearney, 26/28 July 1941 .....	102
69. Information to Hold Inquest, of Henry Kearney regarding Keytowieack, around 28 July 1941 .....	103
70. Information of a Witness, of Peter Sala regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	104
71. Information of a Witness, of Johnasie regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	105

72. Information of a Witness, of Sarah regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	106
73. Information of a Witness, of Nellie regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	107
74. Information of a Witness, of Mina Sala regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	108
75. Information of a Witness, of Mary regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	109
76. Information of a Witness, of Louisa regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	110
77. Information of a Witness, of Shooluksuk regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	111
78. Information of a Witness, of Charlie Ouyerack regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	113
79. Information of a Witness, of Apawkok regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	114
80. Information of a Witness, of Kugveet regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	115
81. Information of a Witness, of Bertie Akparok regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941 .....	116
82. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Keytowieack and upon the oath of Henry Kearney, 26/28 July 1941 .....	117
83. Affidavit of Interpreter, of Harold Udgarden, Hudson’s Bay Company employee and interpreter, regarding the death of Keytowieack, sworn before Thomas J. Orford, 29 July 1941 .....	118
84. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Peter Sala, before Douglas J. Martin, 29 July 1941 .....	118
85. Affidavit of Interpreter, of Harold Udgarden regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, sworn before Thomas J. Orford, 29 July 1941 .....	119
86. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Akeenik, before Douglas J. Martin, 29 July 1941 .....	120
87. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Akeenik and Alec Apawkok, before Douglas J. Martin, 29 July 1941 .....	121
88. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941 .....	123

89. Statement of the Accused, of Adlaykok, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941 .....	142
90. Transcription, Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941 .....	143
91. Statement of the Accused, of Alec Apawkok, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941 .....	168
92. Transcription, Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941 .....	169
93. Statement of the Accused, of Peter Sala, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941 .....	189
94. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Akeenik, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941 .....	190
95. Statement of the Accused, of Akeenik, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941 .....	214
96. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Mina, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	215
97. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Adlaykok, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	218
98. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by Corporal J. R. McFarland, R.C.M.P., in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 31 July 1941 .....	218
99. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex v. Akeenik, 31 July 1941 .....	219
100. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Akeenik, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	220
101. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, 31 July 1941 .....	221
102. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Alec Apawkok, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	221
103. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland in the case of Rex vs. Mina, 31 July 1941 .....	222
104. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Mina, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 31 July 1941 .....	223



105. Statement of the Accused, of Mina, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	233
106. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Mina, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by Henry Kearney, 31 July 1941 .....	234
107. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Mina, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	235
108. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex v. Charlie Ouyerack, 31 July 1941 .....	236
109. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 31 July 1941 .....	237
110. Statement of the Accused, of Charlie Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	248
111. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Charlie Ouyerack, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	249
112. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala, 31 July 1941 .....	250
113. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Peter Sala, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	251
114. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex v. Quarack, 31 July 1941 .....	251
115. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Quarack, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 31 July 1941 .....	252
116. Statement of the Accused, of Quarack, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	263
117. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Quarack, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941 .....	265
118. Oath of Office of Charles P. Plaxton, Judge of the Ontario Supreme Court and Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the Northwest Territories, 31 July 1941 .....	265
119. Letter, R. A. Gibson to W. Stuart Edwards, Deputy Minister of Justice, Ottawa, 31 July 1941.....	266
120. Newspaper Clipping, “To Hear Eskimo Trial,” <i>Victoria Times</i> , 31 July 1941 .....	267

121. Newspaper Clipping, "Eskimo Trials In Mass Death Start Shortly," <i>Sydney Post-Record</i> , 1 August 1941 .....	267
122. Police Report, George E. Dexter, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T., 3 August 1941 .....	269
123. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company, Manitoba, 4 August 1941 .....	271
124. Telegram, R. A. Olmsted, Crown Prosecutor, Department of Justice, to R. A. Gibson, 4 August 1941 .....	272
125. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 4 August 1941.....	273
126. Newspaper Clipping, "Seven Eskimos to Stand Trial on Murder Count; Judicial Party Starts Off For Far North Scene of Violence," <i>Montreal Star</i> , 4 August 1941 .....	273
127. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Thomas Green, representative of the <i>Toronto Daily Star</i> , Parliamentary Press Gallery, Ottawa, 5 August 1941 .....	275
128. Telegraph, R. H. G. Bonnycastle to R. A. Gibson, 5 August 1941 .....	276
129. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 5 August 1941.....	276
130. Letter, R. H. G. Bonnycastle to R. A. Gibson, 6 August 1941.....	277
131. Letter, W. Stuart Edwards to John Grierson, Film Commissioner, National Film Board, Ottawa, 7 August 1941 .....	278
132. Letter, Superintendent K. Duncan, Assistant Director of Criminal Investigation, R.C.M.P., to R. A. Gibson, 7 August 1941 .....	278
133. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, 7 August 1941.....	279
134. Newspaper Clipping, James McCook, "The Law Reaches Into Hudson Bay; Belcher Eskimos A Lonely People," <i>Calgary Herald</i> , 7 August 1941 .....	280
135. Letter, R. A. Gibson to John Grierson, 9 August 1941 .....	282
136. Letter, R. H. G. Bonnycastle to R. A. Gibson, 11 August 1941.....	282
137. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. K. Carnegie, Canadian Press, Parliamentary Press Gallery, Ottawa, 11 August 1941.....	283
138. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, 13 August 1941.....	284
139. Letter, R. A. Gibson to W. Stuart Edwards, 13 August 1941 .....	285
140. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, 13 August 1941.....	286
141. Letter, Ross McLean, Assistant Film Commissioner, National Film Board, to R. A. Gibson, 13 August 1941 .....	287

142. Newspaper Clipping, “BELCHER ISLANDS PARTY IS DELAYED; Judicial Group to Try Eskimos Reaches Great Whale River,” <i>Montreal Gazette</i> , 13 August 1941 .....	288
143. Telegram, W. Stuart Edwards to Charles P. Plaxton, 14 August 1941 .....	288
144. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to A. L. Cumming, Superintendent of Mackenzie District, 14 August 1941 .....	289
145. Telegram, Charles P. Plaxton to W. Stuart Edwards, c.14 August 1941 ...	290
146. Memorandum, Chief Treasury Officer, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Department of Mines and Resources to A. L. Cumming, 15 August 1941 .....	290
147. Invoice, Department of Mines and Resources, Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, in account with Thomas J. Orford, 6 August 1941 .....	291
148. Voucher, regarding Thomas J. Orford’s care of Mina, 1941 .....	292
149. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to W. Stuart Edwards, 16 August 1941 .....	293
150. Telegram, Charles P. Plaxton to W. Stuart Edwards, 14 August 1941 .....	293
151. Newspaper Clipping, “Insanity is Plea of Eskimo Woman; Mina to Stand Trial Shortly on Murder Count,” <i>Montreal Herald</i> , 16 August 1941 .....	294
152. Telegram, Charles P. Plaxton to W. Stuart Edwards, 18 August 1941 .....	294
153. Telegram, W. Stuart Edwards to Charles P. Plaxton, 18 August 1941 .....	295
154. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to A. L. Cumming, 18 August 1941 .....	295
155. Clerk’s Oath of Office, sworn by Henry Kearney, before Charles P. Plaxton, 18 August 1941 .....	296
156. Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Apawkok and Akeenik, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 18 August 1941 .....	297
157. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Ud garden, 18 August 1941 .....	297
158. Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok and Peter Sala, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 19 August 1941 .....	327
159. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Ud garden, 19 August 1941 .....	328
160. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Ud garden, 18 August 1941 .....	349

161. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Mina, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 19 August 1941 .....	360
162. Newspaper Clipping, William Kinmond, "Hudson's Bay Arctic Post Court for Eskimo Hearing," <i>Toronto Daily Star</i> , 19 August 1941 .....	363
163. Telegram, Henry Kearney to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., "G" Division, 20 August 1941 .....	364
164. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Dr. Ross Millar, Director of Medical Services, Department of Pensions and National Health, Ottawa, 20 August 1941 .....	365
165. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, Commissioner, RCMP, 20 August 1941 .....	366
166. Letter, Ross Millar to R. A. Gibson, 20 August 1941 .....	367
167. Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 20 August 1941 .....	368
168. Form of Recognizance to Keep the Peace, in the case of Quarack, sworn before Charles P. Plaxton, 20 August 1941 .....	369
169. Newspaper Clipping, William Kinmond, "Jury Acquits Two Eskimos of Murdering Girl 'Satan,'" <i>Toronto Daily Star</i> , 20 August 1941 .....	370
170. Newspaper Clipping, James McCook, "Eskimos Thought Satan Slain When 15-Year-Old Girl Killed," <i>Globe and Mail</i> , 20 August 1941 .....	372
171. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Adlaykok, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	374
172. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Adlaykok, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	375
173. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Akeenik, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	376
174. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Akeenik, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	376
175. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Mina, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	377
176. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Mina, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	378
177. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Charlie Ouyerack, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	379
178. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Charlie Ouyerack, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	380

179. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Peter Sala, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	381
180. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Peter Sala, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	381
181. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Quarack, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941 .....	382
182. Letter, W. Stuart Edwards to Stuart Taylor Wood, 21 August 1941 .....	383
183. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 21 August 1941 .....	384
226. Letter, T. B. Caulkin to Stuart Taylor Wood, 15 September 1941 .....	386
235. Memorandum, R. A. Olmsted to F. P. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of Justice, Ottawa, 11 October 1941 .....	386
254. Letter, R. A. Gibson to F. P. Varcoe, 12 November 1941 .....	395
260. Memorandum, D. L. McKeand to R. A. Gibson, 17 November 1941 .....	397
262. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Akeenik, 18 November 1941 .....	399
263. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Charlie Ouyerack, 18 November 1941 .....	400
264. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Alec Apawkok, 18/19 November 1941 .....	402
265. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Peter Sala, 18/19 November 1941 .....	404
266. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Adlaykok, 19 November 1941 .....	407
267. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Mina, 19 November 1941 .....	408
268. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Quarack, 19 November 1941 .....	411
292. Newspaper Clipping, Philip H. Godsell, ““Messiah” of The Ice-Fields: How Charlie Ouyerack, Self-Styled “Messiah,” Brought a New Cult to the Iglulik Tribesmen of Hudson Bay, Condemning Disbelievers to the Harpoons of Strong-Arm Disciples,” <i>Winnipeg Free Press</i> , 10 January 1942 .....	413
404. Memorandum, D. L. McKeand to R. A. Gibson, 24 June 1942 .....	420
449. Newspaper Clipping, “New Start for Eskimo Slayers of Doubters,” <i>Globe and Mail</i> , 29 August 1942 .....	422
Further Reading .....	424
About the Editors .....	428





## Foreword

Between 1911 and 1923, a number of killings of white men in the far north of Canada resulted in investigations by the Royal Northwest Mounted Police (renamed Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1920) and trials of the Inuit accused. The trials were show trials, intended to demonstrate to Inuit and others the authority of the Canadian government, at a time when the young nation's sovereignty over its northern territories was felt by some, in and out of Ottawa, to be in doubt. At the same time, in generally showing leniency to those convicted, Ottawa felt that it was sending a message to Inuit, who had previously had little or no interaction with officialdom, that they could expect compassionate treatment from those in authority. (In fact, charges were never laid at all against the Inuit acknowledged to have killed the adventurers Harry Radford and George Street at Bathurst Inlet.) Sinnisiak and Uluksuk, convicted in Calgary of murder for the killing of one of two priests at Coronation Gulf, had their death sentences commuted. Nevertheless, leniency had its limits; the brazen killings of a police officer and a trader by Alikomiak at Tree River in 1922 led to his trial at Herschel Island and his hanging in 1924, along with another Inuk, Tatamigana, convicted of killing an Inuk. In Baffin Island, the necessary killing of a white trader in 1920 led to a trial at Pond Inlet in 1923 and the conviction of Nuqallaq for manslaughter; he received a sentence of ten years' incarceration in a southern penitentiary, but was released after two years.

Critics of these show trials, and even some officials, felt that their purpose was to make the north safe for white men; this feeling was not mitigated during the trial of Sinnisiak when the erudite Crown counsel, C. C. McCaul, pointed out to the jury that “white men travel through the barren lands; white men live on the shores of Bear Lake; white men go to the shores of the Arctic Ocean.” When he added that “the Eskimo must be made to understand that the lives of others are sacred,” it was clear that the “others” he had in mind were white men.<sup>1</sup> Other objections, especially the well-publicized feelings of Anglican clergymen, centred around their belief that the Inuit were like children and should be treated as such.

It would be almost two decades before another trial of Inuit attracted the attention in the press that had attended the earlier show trials. To be sure, other trials of Inuit had occurred, but the crimes were Inuit-on-Inuit murders and had attracted little or no attention in the southern press. But in February 1941 Inuit in the Belcher Islands were perturbed by a shooting star streaking through the

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in R. G. Moyles, *British Law and Arctic Men* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979), 9.

night sky above their camp. Such a meteorological phenomenon was nothing new, but this occurrence happened at a time when some Inuit had been having vigorous discussions about the meanings of certain passages in the Bible, which they read in the syllabic orthography and in the absence of any missionary who might have helped them understand the writings. They focused on a verse in Matthew 24: “And the stars shall fall from heaven... and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.” They concluded that the end of the world was near.

Religious fervour ensued. Despite two exhortations in the same chapter of Matthew to beware false prophets (“For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ,” and “many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many”), one man, Peter Sala, a natural leader and skilful hunter, proclaimed himself God, with Charlie Ouyerack as Jesus. Soon nine Inuit would be dead.

The Inuit of the Belcher Islands, despite living in southern Hudson Bay, were among the most isolated Inuit in Canada. Yet in the years since the 1923 trials in Herschel Island and Pond Inlet, rapid advances in radio and aircraft technology meant that justice could be swift. Only two months after the first murders, a police plane arrived with an investigative team. In August a trial was held in the islands, in keeping with Ottawa’s desire to have justice be seen to be done in the location where an offence had occurred.

The Belcher Islands trials differed from previous well-publicized trials in that the accused had killed other Inuit; indeed, white men only knew of the first killings because of Peter Sala’s confession to an elderly white friend in Great Whale River. But other aspects of the trials were depressingly the same, in particular the composition of the jury, comprised of six white men. In this case it included the local trading manager and, amazingly, two newspaper reporters who had accompanied the court party and who felt no conflict in subsequently filing stories about the trial. Five Inuit were convicted, and leniency was shown in their sentencing. No-one was hanged. Press coverage was intense, much of it exoticizing the Inuit. Nonetheless the message of this trial was not primarily for the south. It was that Inuit were subject to the same laws as other citizens of Canada, and that message was for Inuit.

Kenn Harper  
Ottawa, Ontario  
May 2020

## Preface

As Richard Diubaldo noted in his pioneering overview on the Canadian government and Inuit, “in 1941 the Inuit of the Belcher Islands, directly opposite Great Whale River in the eastern portion of Hudson Bay, were torn asunder by a religious frenzy. Dissension, hysteria and finally murder erupted between opposing factions—between those who believed that the Second Coming was at hand and those who scoffed at such notions.” The local HBC trader informed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who dispatched officers and a coroner to the Belcher Islands to apprehend the perpetrators. By the time they arrived, another set of murders had occurred involving some of the same people, leaving nine members of an extended family group dead in total.

For officials in Ottawa, the Belcher Island murders were ---. Canadian courts had tried and convicted Inuit for a series of killings of *qallunaat* (non-Inuit) in the western Arctic since the First World War-era, with the first examples yielding relatively lenient treatment and the show trial of 1923 bringing the execution of Alikomiak and Tatamagina (see the first volume in the Landmark Northern Canadian Legal Cases series). In this case, five men and two women were ultimately accused of murder. Their trial was held in a tent near the HBC post of Tukarak Island so that Canadian legal authorities could demonstrate the importance of Canadian laws to the local people, with two newspaper reporters and the HBC trader serving as jurors. Five people were ultimately found guilty (and one “not guilty on account of temporary insanity”), with their sentences varying. The court ordered one of the convicted to remain on the Belcher Islands so that he could hunt and provide food for the families of the men sent away to prison. Of those sent to prison in Moose Factory, one died of tuberculosis and the others were sent to live in Northern Quebec under the close supervision of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

As historians Ken Coates and William Morrison explain, legal and societal responses to murder provide a lens through which to examine various facets of a society and relationships within it. Revealing mounting concerns regarding the missionary’s influence in the North, the Belcher Island case demonstrates the strategies and techniques Anglican missionaries used in their proselytizing efforts, as well as the syncretic movements that these strategies produced. The investigation of these murders, and the charges, verdicts, and sentences that followed, testify to the unique nature of Northern police operations and trial

proceedings. They further illuminate the dialogue within government circles regarding the suitability of applying traditional Canadian punishments to the Inuit. The Belcher Islands case also reflects Canadian Indigenous policy, revealing the government's limited concerns regarding Northern health care and emphasis, instead, on what scholars call the "Policy of Dispersal" or "best left as Indians" policy. In short, the Belcher Islands murders of 1941 are a valuable lens through which to critically examine the broader religious, legal, and political history of Canada's North.

The purpose of this collection is to bring together and make publicly accessible primary documents related to this episode and the ensuing legal process. Our hope is that teachers, students and scholars will use this material to discuss and debate the legal aspects of the case, the media coverage of it, and the interactions between the legal cultures of Inuit and the Canadian state. Our special thanks to Jessica Heidt, who transcribed relevant documents, and to Mark Stoller, the Roberta Bonder Postdoctoral Fellow at Trent University, for his comments on the introduction.

Whitney Lackenbauer and Corah Lynn Hodgson

April 2020



Source: <https://alchetron.com/Belcher-Islands>





Robert J. Flaherty, “The Belcher Islands of Hudson Bay: Their Discovery and Exploration,” *Geographical Review* 5:6 (June 1918): 433-458.

## Introduction

### “The stars shall fall from heaven”: The Belcher Islands Murders, 1941

Corah Lynn Hodgson and P. Whitney Lackenbauer

“I’m a bad man,” Peter Sala informed Ernest Riddell, a Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) factor on the Belcher Islands, as the Inuk guided the trader in March 1941 to the post at Great Whale River (Kuujjuarapik) on the eastern mainland.<sup>1</sup> The announcement initially baffled Riddell, until Sala revealed to HBC employee Harold Udgarden a startling tale of three murders that had occurred on the set of approximately 1,500 low-lying, rocky islands in Hudson Bay.<sup>2</sup> During a meteor shower that winter, Charlie Ouyerack had declared that he was Jesus and that Sala was God. Inuit who had not displayed sufficient belief in their divine status were killed. Appalled, Riddell wired to the HBC’s head office in Winnipeg, advising of the reported murders and the necessity of a police investigation.<sup>3</sup> The HBC relayed the message to the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories in Ottawa, who in turn forwarded it to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). After a delay in locating an available airplane (given competing wartime demands), RCMP Inspector Douglas J. Martin, Corporal William Grant Kerr, and Dr. Thomas J. Orford, a Justice of the Peace and Coroner for the Northwest Territories, arrived on the Belcher Islands on 11 April and launched an investigation into the startling murders that had occurred among the islands’ Inuit.<sup>4</sup>

From the investigations and trials emerged a tale of what Martin deemed a “religious frenzy” that had culminated in nine deaths among the approximate 150-200 Inuit living on the Belcher Islands. These people had struggled through the rough winter of 1941, suffering from poor returns on their sealskins, a general scarcity of game, and a subsequent poverty which prevented many from acquiring their usual ammunition, tobacco, and tea supplies from the HBC post.<sup>5</sup> Some Inuit who had read the syllabic version of St. Matthew, and its pronouncement that “the stars shall fall from heaven ... and they shall see the Son of man coming

in the clouds," interpreted a shooting star or falling meteor that blazed across the Arctic sky early in 1941 as "a sign from the Almighty."<sup>6</sup> Charlie Ouyerack, who was in his late 20s, declared that the world's end was nigh, and he began to promote himself as Jesus. Peter Sala, a camp leader in his mid-30s, became Ouyerack's disciple, touting himself as being possessed of God's spirit. They acquired a substantial following among their fellow Belcher Islanders, most of whom concurred with the impending coming of Jesus and with Ouyerack and Sala's divine claims. Perceiving that this end of the world would soon render material goods useless, they and their followers destroyed their rifles, killed dogs that they thought housed evil spirits, and set fire to the religious texts that would not be needed when Satan had been killed and Jesus arrived with new books.<sup>7</sup>

Not all Inuit embraced Ouyerack and Sala's divine claims. On 25 January, when Inuit of the Eeteeveemiuk camp on Flaherty Island gathered in a snowhouse to pray to Ouyerack and Sala, Alec Apawkok, a 29-year-old believer in Ouyerack, questioned whether his 13-year-old sister Sarah was fervent in her belief "in the coming of Jesus."<sup>8</sup> Although she professed to believe, some Inuit remained unconvinced that she accepted Ouyerack's claims to be Jesus, Sala's claims to be God, or the idea that the world was nearing its end. Alec, enraged at his sister's alleged "heresy," held her by the hair, punched her, and beat her with an "enowtuk" (a stick used to beat snow from clothing).<sup>9</sup> According to later witness testimony, Alec asked Ouyerack whether Sarah should live or die, to which Ouyerack responded that it was not worth sparing her for she was "no good" and it was "just as well to kill her."<sup>10</sup> After she fell to the floor, several Inuit dragged her outside the igloo, where a 19-year-old girl named Akeenik proceeded to smash in Sarah's head with a rifle butt. Content that this girl, whom "Satan" had clearly possessed, was dead, the Inuit abandoned Sarah's body in an igloo that was later "knocked down ... on top of her."<sup>11</sup>

Keytowieack, a man approximately 46 years of age, more explicitly protested against Ouyerack's self-identification as Jesus. Keytowieack had been an Inuit catechist who, his widow later testified, had been a fervent reader of the Bible and persistently "tried to make them [the other Inuit] believe" in the "true God."<sup>12</sup> With Sarah's murder affirming his disbelief in Ouyerack and Sala and his concern that their religious instruction was leading Inuit "astray," he argued with Ouyerack during a religious meeting following Sarah's death. Reprimanding the Inuit for "talking the wrong things about God," he stormed from the igloo. Witnesses reported being frightened of the elder Inuk, with five Inuit recounting in the later proceedings that they had agreed with or believed in Ouyerack and

Sala's denunciation of him as being "Satan" or a devil.<sup>13</sup> When Keytowieack peered into the igloo the following morning pleading for support, Sala struck him in the mouth with a piece of wood. Keytowieack returned to his igloo, which had been relegated to the camp's left side because he was no longer considered "good." There Sala later found him, sitting with his head lowered. Witnesses described Sala reaching through the window of the snowhouse and striking him with a steel-tipped harpoon, proclaiming that he was God and asking Keytowieack what he was "going to do now." Adlyakok, emboldened by Sala's declaration that Keytowieack was "Satan" and thus should be killed, approached Keytowieack's igloo with a rifle and cartridges that Ouyerack had given him to kill "Satan." The first shot struck Keytowieack in the shoulder, the second in the head. Pleased that "Satan" had been dispatched from the camp, the Inuit denied Keytowieack a customary burial, instead leaving him in the igloo, knocking the structure down around him, and burying him in the snow as they had done with Sarah.<sup>14</sup>

About two weeks later, the religious dispute claimed another victim when Alec Keytowieack (also referred to in the documents as Alec Ekpuk) was shot and killed on Tukarak Island. According to witnesses, Ouyerack was teaching "God's word" to Inuit at the camp and continued to assert that Jesus would arrive imminently. While some camp members embraced his message enthusiastically, neither Ekpuk nor his wife Eva Naroomi were convinced. In response to this slight, Ouyerack declared that Ekpuk and his wife were devils. While Eva conceded to the pressure and expressed her belief in Ouyerack, Ekpuk refused, continuing to insist that while he believed in God and Jesus, he did not accept that Ouyerack was either.<sup>15</sup> When the first Inuk who Ouyerack asked to murder Ekpuk refused to do so, Ouyerack approached one of his staunchest believers, Ekpuk's father-in-law Quarack. Under Ouyerack's orders to kill "Satan," Quarack fired three shots at Ekpuk as he retreated from the snowhouses. Two bullets entered Ekpuk's back, with the third striking him in the head as he lay on the ice. The assailants left the body in the snow until Sala arrived at the camp later that day and instructed them to bury the remains. Since the Inuit considered Ekpuk to have housed Satan's spirit, camp members celebrated his death while Quarack, Charlie, Mina, and Moses (another Inuk) forwent a proper burial of carefully covering the body with stones and instead carelessly tossed rocks upon it.<sup>16</sup>

In the final days of March, the movement claimed its last victims on the sea ice around Camsell Island. As noon approached on the 29<sup>th</sup>, Mina, Sala's 34-year-old sister who was afflicted by the same "relig[i]ous frenzy" that had consumed her brother, began to bound about the camp, informing the women and youth

about the imminent second coming of Jesus. Witnesses told police that, through a combination of force and threats, she “chased members of her Camp” onto the sea ice to meet Jesus, tearing at their garments and commanding that they remove their clothing, alleging that it would not be wise to provoke Jesus’ ire when He arrived by being dressed in the skins of God’s creations.<sup>17</sup> On the ice a fair distance from land, she removed the children’s remaining clothing and prohibited them from retrieving their garments. Although some Inuit, including Mina, fled back to the warmth of their clothing and igloos, others later discovered the frozen bodies of six Inuit who had perished from exposure. Dr. Orford’s 14 April 1941 inquisition into these deaths revealed that the deceased – Johnny (aged 7), Johnasie (aged 6), Alec (aged 8), Moses (aged 13), Nukarak (aged 55), and Kumudluk Sarah (aged 32) – had all perished “as a result of intense cold and insufficient clothing.” Their exposure had resulted from the “Eskimo Woman Mina inciting ... [them] to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and [imminent] end of the World.”<sup>18</sup>

The police investigations into these murders, as well as the April and July coroner’s inquests, July preliminary hearings, and August trials, have re-emerged in recent years as the subject of descriptive, popular histories which have tended to emphasize the religious element of this case.<sup>19</sup> Kenn Harper’s seven-page chapter on the murders, in *In Those Days: Arctic Crime and Punishment*, highlights that the majority of Belcher Islands Inuit owned and read copies of the Bible “in the syllabic orthography,” but a missionary had never resided among them to instruct them in the Christian faith and biblical interpretation, thus giving rise to “different interpretations” and, ultimately, “a religious cult.”<sup>20</sup> By comparison, Lawrence Millman’s quirky 2016 book *At the End of the World: A True Story of Murder in the Arctic* condemns the Northern missionaries for replacing Indigenous deities, names, and cultures with Christian fanaticism.<sup>21</sup> Although much of Millman’s narrative of the murders is clearly drawn from the RCMP reports and trial records, his lack of citations is regrettable, and his brief analysis of the murders is subordinated to an overarching thesis that juxtaposes the destructiveness of Christianity on traditional Inuit lifestyles with the destructiveness of technology on human life today.<sup>22</sup>

The Belcher Islands murders of 1941, and the official archival records related to them, provide a lens through which to illuminate and examine various aspects of the religious, legal, and political history of the Canadian North. The religious context of the murders provides insight into the strategies and techniques by which the Anglican missionary enterprise sought to convert Inuit, and the



syncretic movements these strategies and techniques enabled among Inuit communities. The investigation of the murders, and subsequent coroner's inquests, preliminary hearings, trials, convictions, and sentences, also allow an examination into the unique nature of police investigations and judicial proceedings in the Canadian North during this period. They provide insight into the government's concerns about the suitability of applying British-Canadian punishments to the Inuit, without due consideration of their values or distinct customs. Politically, the federal government's enduring emphasis on returning these Inuit to the North and their traditional hunting-trapping economies testifies to what scholars have called the government's "philosophy of preservationism." Hence, the events on the Belcher Islands in 1941 reveal more than simply the crimes committed by individual Inuit.

### **The Media, Missionary Roles, and "Mania of Religious Madness"**

Commentary on the Belcher Island murders illuminates concerns about the potential ramifications of missionary work, and the fusions of Christianity with Inuit shamanism it inspired. Religious studies scholar William Closson James observes that newspapers adopted one of two approaches when relating news of the murders. Some reduced them to a tale of religious fervour pushed to the extreme, employing terms such as "hysteria," "mania," and "frenzy" to explain the onslaught of violence.<sup>23</sup> Journalist Fill Calhoun, in the 9 June 1941 issue of *Life Magazine*, accredited the deaths to "fanatical" Inuit and a "tragic tangle of religious emotions" which had stemmed from Ouyerack's pronouncement, on the basis of his "illusions," that "he was Christ returned to earth."<sup>24</sup> The *Toronto Daily Star* characterized the situation as a "mania of religious madness,"<sup>25</sup> while writer Philip Godsell portrayed Inuit who had "run amok under the influence of misplaced religious fervor."<sup>26</sup> Some legal authorities involved with the case adopted a similar perspective. Police reports suggested that the deaths stemmed from the irrational "religious hysteria" and "frenzy" that had swept the islands.<sup>27</sup> In his address to the jury during the trial of Alec Apawkok and Akeenik, presiding judge Charles P. Plaxton identified the community as having been seized by "a religious frenzy or hysteria" which had "gained expression in violent form."<sup>28</sup> Thus, a common perception of the murders at the time depicted them as the product of an excess of misdirected religious zeal.

Other commentators saw the problem not as one of excessive religious fervour but rather of "too little Christianity among the Belchers Inuit, or Christianity

little understood, or Christianity introduced without sufficient teaching and supervision.”<sup>29</sup> A 26 July 1941 article in the *Toronto Daily Star* presented the murders as stemming from a missionary leaving a copy of the syllabic version of the New Testament on the Islands in 1924, prompting misunderstandings and disagreements about when the Second Coming of Jesus would occur.<sup>30</sup> Calhoun’s *Life Magazine* article noted how Ouyerack began venturing across the Belcher Islands preaching “his version of what an occasional white trapper or northern missionary had told him about Christianity.”<sup>31</sup> Canadian Press reporter James McCook, who served as a juryman for the court proceedings, also saw the deaths as the unfortunate outcome of a people with little access to religious instruction, emphasizing that “no missionary had visited the islands for an extensive period of sixteen years.”<sup>32</sup> William Kinmond, the *Toronto Daily Star* reporter who also served on the jury, noted that it was “in the absence of missionaries to mediate the disputes” that Ouyerack and Sala had seized control of the religious community and portrayed dissenters as “Satan.”<sup>33</sup> In the 10 January 1942 issue of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, Philip Godsell expanded on this image of an Inuit community left to its own devices to interpret “the white man’s religion.” By his account, the murders stemmed from Ouyerack’s receipt of “a Bible from the hands of some transient apostle and with it a smattering of the religion of the Kablunats—the white men.” The Inuk was able to read the Bible’s words, presented as they were in syllabic writing, but in the absence of any religious instruction, he was unable to comprehend their meaning and thus developed a flawed understanding on the basis of the meagre details he had previously learned from a missionary.<sup>34</sup> J. P. Madden, the counsel representing all seven defendants, cited this lack of religious guidance (and misguided Inuit beliefs) to build arguments for the defendants’ temporary insanity.<sup>35</sup> As such, his questions during the trial sought to establish that the Inuit harboured a widespread belief about the wickedness and evilness of the victims, evidenced by the failure to accord the victims a customary burial and celebration of their life.<sup>36</sup>

Madden suggested that this fragmented understanding of Christianity emanated from a lack of religious guidance. Through his cross-examination of Bertie Akparok during the trial of Apawkok and Akeenik, the defence counsel asserted that Belcher Islands Inuit understood Christianity based on their own readings of the “little religious book” obtained from the HBC post:

Q. Where did you learn what you know about religion?

A. I learned it from reading the book.

Q. Did anyone teach you or did you just learn it yourself[?]

- A. The Minister used to teach us.  
Q. What Minister was that?  
A. Mr. Walton.  
Q. Did anyone teach the Eskimos any religion here since Mr. Walton was here?  
A. Only one Eskimo.  
Q. Who is that?  
A. Timothy.  
Q. Did Mr. Walton teach you on the Islands here?  
A. Away up on the Mainland. A Minister came here one time and he couldn't talk to us.  
Q. The Eskimos used to go to Great Whale River and study from the Minister there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How many winters ago [was it] that you went to Great Whale to study religion?  
A. About sixteen years ago.<sup>37</sup>

According to this testimony, the only religious instruction that the Inuit had received was from the visits of an Inuit catechist or when they visited the mission at Great Whale River (Kuujjuarapik). When Ouyerack was cross-examined during the same proceedings, he testified to the self-taught nature of Inuit spirituality. When Madden asked if the Inuk had ever travelled to Great Whale River in order to study Christianity, Ouyerack reported he had been there once, prior to the erection of the HBC Post on the Belcher Islands.<sup>38</sup> This would situate Ouyerack's last encounter with a missionary prior to 1928, when the HBC established its Belcher Islands post.<sup>39</sup> Although he also possessed a copy of a "little book," he admitted that he could only read it "a little," and "could not read it right" or understand it entirely.<sup>40</sup> Given this minimal contact with missionaries, Madden explained to the jury that "the interpretation of Christianity had been left to the Eskimos' own resources."<sup>41</sup> Consequently, a flawed understanding of Christianity, resulting from the missionaries' failure to accord them the required instruction, constituted a key component of his clients' defence. According to this logic, the Inuit were not culpable for the murders, having acted upon religious beliefs they had been compelled to construct themselves in the absence of proper missionary guidance.

The prosecuting counsel, Richard A. Olmsted, acknowledged this mitigating factor in an 11 October 1941 memorandum on the trials. In his view, the primary “Causative Factor” was that “[m]any years ago an Anglican missionary worked for a time among the Eskimos at Great Whale River” and had “left a number of syllabic translations of the New Testament with them,” some of which made it to the Belcher Islands. Since all the perpetrators but one of the murderers had been young children two decades previously, Olmsted concluded “without fear of contradiction that they have not had religious direction of any kind,” particularly since “no missionary has been in contact with the Belcher Islands Eskimos until after the murders.”<sup>42</sup> This was not entirely correct (as a missionary had visited the islands in 1924), but the general point was sound.<sup>43</sup>

These discussions incited broader debates within government about missionaries and their influence. The Superintendent of the Eastern Arctic, David Livingston McKeand, noted with chagrin that the Director of Medical Services at the Department of Pensions and National Health, Dr. Ross Millar, had incited “the age-old difference of opinion as to whether the influence of missionaries on primitive races is for good or bad.”<sup>44</sup> Although few individuals overtly condemned the missionary endeavour, several attributed the murders, at least in part, to the fragmentary religious comprehensions that such missionaries had provided.<sup>45</sup> Lacking proper instruction, this line of argument suggested, Ouyerack and Sala were able to convince themselves and other community members that they embodied divine spirits, that the Second Coming was imminent, and that anyone who opposed them was a vessel inhabited by Satan.<sup>46</sup>

The record of these events furthermore testifies to the importance of Indigenous catechists and syllabic Bibles to the Anglican Church’s proselytizing efforts, and how such strategies enabled the rise of certain fusions of Christianity and traditional religious customs. Keytowieack illuminates a common element of the operation of the Anglican missionary enterprise in Canada’s North. As witness testimony revealed, Keytowieack had been a catechist who had read the Bible with devotion, believed in “the true God,” and sought to make the other Inuit believe in that “true God.”<sup>47</sup> Bertie Akparok, in his testimony, had also indicated acquiring some of his religious understanding from an Inuit catechist named Timothy.<sup>48</sup> Indigenous catechists like Keytowieack and Timothy were fixtures of the Anglican Church’s Northern missionary practice, seeking (in the words of historian Ken Coates) to “make Christianity more culturally relevant and comprehensible,” and less disruptive in its imposition. These individuals were integral, considering the difficulties of recruiting missionaries for the Northern

mission field and high attrition rates for mission staff. With the missionaries' aim to train at least one catechist in each Indigenous band, these catechists sustained Inuit exposure to Christianity at minimal cost, offering services, prayers, and hymns in the dispersed camps.<sup>49</sup>

Anglican missionaries' distribution of religious texts like hymnbooks and Bibles, translated into the vernacular and presented in syllabic writing, also constituted an integral part of the Church's efforts to make Christianity more coherent, intelligible, and culturally pertinent for the Inuit.<sup>50</sup> Hymnals and copies of the New Testament were clearly in use, given Keytowieack's frequent reading of the Bible, Bertie Akparok's reference to the "little religious book" that he had received from the HBC post, and Ouyerack's testimony that he possessed a copy of a "little book" that he could "not read ... right."<sup>51</sup> Some reports indicate that it was their familiarity with the syllabic version of St. Matthew that convinced Ouyerack and others about the world's imminent end and thus instigated the murderous movement.<sup>52</sup>

The murders also can be situated within the context of Indigenous communities seeking to come to terms with Christianity.<sup>53</sup> Historian Xavier Blaisel and anthropologists Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten categorize the Belcher Islands movement as a Parousial movement – an attempt "to incorporate and integrate Christian beliefs and practices within Inuit traditions [like shamanism], resulting in new and original combinations" in an effort "to come to terms with Western religion and its forms of organization." In many respects, the events on the Belcher Islands in 1941 and their subsequent coverage by contemporary commentators are quite "typical" of the eleven Parousial movements that Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten document in the Eastern Canadian Arctic during the first half of the 1900s. Such movements tend to be framed with emphasis on the "deviant, erratic or fanatic behavior of the main protagonists."<sup>54</sup> The 10 January 1942 issue of the *Winnipeg Free Press* serves as a clear example: Philip Godsell titled his account of the murders "'Messiah" of The Ice-Fields: How Charlie Ouyerack, Self Styled "Messiah," Brought a New Cult to Iglulik Tribesmen of Hudson Bay, Condemning Disbelievers to the Harpoons of Strong-Arm Disciples."<sup>55</sup> Moreover, all eleven Parousial movements occurred in regions "within the sphere of influence" of Anglican missions but outside of their "direct control."<sup>56</sup>

The Belcher Islands certainly fit this description. Although Henry Hudson identified the Belcher Islands in 1610, and more recent incidents of contact included Robert Flaherty's prospecting in the 1910s, the RCMP's 1921

investigation of another murder among the islands' Inuit and later patrols, and the HBC's opening of a seasonal post in 1928,<sup>57</sup> Inuit living on the Islands only encountered missionaries infrequently and briefly. Anglican missionaries resided at Great Whale River (Kuujjuarapik) beginning in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, but seemingly only once had they visited the islands approximately 120 kilometres to the west, in 1924. In 1938, the bishop of the Arctic, Archibald Fleming, attempted to cross to the Belchers, but fog had rendered his travel impossible, later prompting his confession that “it had been many years since there was a missionary on the Belchers who could help the Eskimos solve their theological difficulties.”<sup>58</sup> Inuit from these islands only encountered missionaries during their sojourns to the mainland, particularly to the HBC post at Great Whale River for trading and socialization, where there also existed a “permanent church building ... served by an Anglican missionary resident at Great Whale River or Fort George.”<sup>59</sup> Although ostensibly within the sphere of influence of those missions, for all practical purposes the Belcher Islanders existed beyond their oversight.

Common elements in each of these Parousial movements reflected a fusion of Christianity and shamanism. The identification of Inuit as possessing divine spirits, the execution of dogs, and the anticipation of the world's end – all following a portent (in this case, the meteor or shooting stars) – reflect broader tendencies within Inuit Parousial movements. According to Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, Inuit beliefs about the “end of the world” may have pre-dated Christianity and “contributed to the acceptance of Christian eschatological ideas in Inuit culture” by providing “a fertile ground for the belief in the imminent end of the world on the basis of Biblical texts.” These movements emphasized preparing for the world's end, seeing the community demonstrate their “new morality” by accepting a religious leader, forsaking earthly possessions, and adopting certain rituals or symbols. The burning of religious books and destruction of worldly goods that thus occurred on the Belchers could have been in abidance with Inuit tradition, Christian pronouncements, or some combination.<sup>60</sup> As James observes, these elements echoed both shamanic practices and Jesus' decree, in the Gospel of Luke, to “Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for the body, what ye shall put on.”<sup>61</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the ensuing violence on the Belcher Islands indicate a similar fusion of Christianity and Inuit shamanic traditions. As Quarack testified, Keytowieack's death followed an argument in which he had engaged with Ouyerack “over who was the biggest or best man in regard to the bible,” potentially demonstrating what James refers to as “a shamanic contest”

between two spiritual leaders. That these movements' leaders often claimed to be Jesus or God, as a means to indicate their leadership and "vision," resembled how a shaman's claims to visions and "their control of the spirits" were key to retaining his authority. Sala's testimony that "[w]e all thought we had halos," and Ouyerack's belief in Jesus looking "like a person only he was brighter than the sun," reflect elements of this. As James intones, such images of brightness and light harkened back to the Inuit conceptions of shamans, who appeared as "fiery presence[s], or shining with an inner light."<sup>62</sup>

For Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, the declarations that the unbelievers were Satan, devils, or demons also demonstrate the integration of Christianity into existing Inuit worldviews by associating these individuals "with the shamanic complex."<sup>63</sup> The perception of some Inuit that it was their duty to kill those "devils" also reflected an Inuit tradition of killing individuals whose behaviour was perceived as deviant and threatening to group survival. The idea that individuals were being possessed by Satan, or the spirit of Jesus or God, shows a combined knowledge of Christian figures with customary shamanic belief in spiritual possession.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, Parousial movements like that on the Belcher Islands demonstrate the persistence of elements of Indigenous spirituality, despite the missionaries' proselytizing efforts. Since the missionaries did not disrupt the connection of deities with the spirituality of the surrounding world, Inuit and other Indigenous peoples could simply integrate the Christian ideas of the single monotheistic deity of God into their pre-existing worldview.<sup>65</sup> This religious element became a key consideration during the investigation, preliminary hearings, and trials that ensued in 1941.

### **With "Full Formality and Procedure": The Application of Canadian Investigative and Judicial Procedures in Canada's North**

The government correspondence, police reports, and trial records reveal the challenges of early efforts to apply the Canadian judicial system in an Arctic context. They demonstrate the distinct nature of Northern police investigations, the unique character of the remote courtroom, and the discourse in government circles about whether the Southern Canadian approach to detainment was a suitable option for punishing Inuit offenders.

Broadly speaking, the Belcher Islands case – spanning from the police investigation to the trials and punishments of the accused according to the judicial system – is representative of the Canadian government's general efforts in



the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to establish its colonial administration of and authority over, and apply its cultural and societal standards of behaviour to, the North.<sup>66</sup> For the Belcher Islands, the police’s arrival in the region signalled “the start of the contemporary era of government control.”<sup>67</sup>

That the Belcher Islanders were actually tried, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment reflected broader shifts in the approach to Inuit crime in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Historians Ken Coates and William Morrison observe that initially the police treated Inuit infringements of the law with leniency, based on the “official view ... that it was unreasonable to expect” Inuit to abide by laws of which they were unaware. For example, Canadian authorities did not punish the murderers of explorers Harry Radford and George Street in 1912, instead explaining to Inuit the necessity to obey Canadian laws. Official attitudes toughened progressively after the murders of Fathers Guillaume Le Roux and Jean-Baptiste Rouvière in 1913, of Robert Janes in 1920, and particularly of RCMP Corporal W. A. Doak and HBC trader Otto Binder in 1922. After an “Arctic show trial,” Alikomiak and Tatamigana (who admitted that they killed Doak and Binder) were the first Inuit to receive the death penalty: a sentence intended to demonstrate to the Inuit, as the RCMP’s assistant commissioner, Cortland Starnes, had noted, that “such disregard for human life will not be tolerated.”<sup>68</sup>

The 1941 police investigation on the Belcher Islands testifies to persistent challenges of policing in Northern areas and the constraints in trying to enforce law and order in vast territories with dispersed Indigenous populations. The RCMP had been forced to pause their investigations in April, when plans to fly to Flaherty Island to investigate Keytowieack’s death were scrapped on account of poor weather. Concerns that the impending break-up of the ice covering the mainland’s rivers would prevent the police plane from landing again on its skis, and fears of the danger of the warmer weather’s inevitable fog, compelled the RCMP to depart early. Thus, the police abandoned their plans to examine the bodies of Sarah Apawkok and Keytowieack, and had to postpone the completion of their investigation until late July when the ice disappeared enough to permit the aircraft to land on its pontoons.<sup>69</sup> Weather conditions had also necessitated the forgoing of standard features of the investigative process, due to the challenges posed by remoteness and extreme climatic conditions. Dr. Orford could only perform external examinations of the remains because their frozen state did not allow for internal examinations.<sup>70</sup> Rather than locating witnesses for questioning,

the dispersed nature of the Inuit camps forced the police party to rely on sending out Inuit from the HBC post to instruct others to visit the post for questioning.<sup>71</sup>

Furthermore, the RCMP's reliance upon HBC cooperation to facilitate investigations reflected a regular feature of Northern police work. The judicial party ventured to the Belchers on a Company vessel, the *Fort Charles*, in August 1941, with the HBC assuming responsibility for the transportation and sustenance of the party to and from the Islands (a cost of \$500). Because there was no RCMP detachment there, the trials were held on the HBC post grounds on Tukarak Island.<sup>72</sup> The police also relied upon the HBC to ensure the welfare of the Inuit prisoners and community members during and after the trial.<sup>73</sup> Throughout Ouyerack, Sala, and Adlyakok's imprisonment, the RCMP authorized the HBC to distribute weekly rations to their families to ensure their well-being: 10 pounds of flour, 0.5 pounds of tea, 1.5 pounds of lard, 0.5 pounds of baking powder, 2 packages of matches, and 0.5 gallons of gasoline (when required). The HBC also provided "ten rounds of ammunition weekly, or equivalent value in shot and powder," to Quarack and two other Inuit men to hunt for the families of the detained Inuit, and distributed fabric and thread in the fall of 1941 and summer of 1942 so that the prisoners' families could replace their clothing.<sup>74</sup> It also assumed the responsibility of supplying the necessary rations and supplies to the Inuit prisoners at Moose Factory. At the behest of the RCMP, the Company was responsible for issuing weekly rations of 1 pound of tea, 18 pounds of flour, 7 pounds of biscuits, either 4.5 pounds of rolled oats or 10 pounds of beans, 5 pounds of lard, 31 pounds of corned beef, 1.5 pounds of baking powder, 3 bars of laundry soap, 2 large boxes of matches, 0.5 pounds of salt, and 5 pounds of molasses to the Moose Factory prisoners. The HBC also provided cigarette papers and tobacco, as well as underwear, overalls, windbreakers, dresses, and stockings to clothe the prisoners.<sup>75</sup>

On the basis of the police investigations, Akeenik and Alec Apawkok were jointly charged with Sarah Apawkok's murder. Peter Sala and Adlyakok were jointly charged with Keytowieack's murder, while Quarack and Charlie Ouyerack were charged with Alec Ekpuk's murder. Mina was charged only with murdering Johnasie, one of the six victims the Arctic climate claimed through exposure at Camsell Island.<sup>76</sup> The preliminary hearings of 30 and 31 July committed all seven accused to stand trial for murder, and the trials began on the Belcher Islands on 19 August 1941, under Chief Justice Charles P. Plaxton (a judge with Ontario's High Court and former federal Deputy Minister of Justice).<sup>77</sup> The Department of Justice endorsed Plaxton's appointment as Stipendiary Magistrate for the

Northwest Territories due to his experience as the Canadian government’s counsel during the 1939 *Quebec Eskimo reference* case.<sup>78</sup>

Although the correspondence does not indicate why officials decided to hold the trials on the Belcher Islands, the Qikiqtani Truth Commission noted that that destination was selected “because the government believed that it would help demonstrate the importance of Canadian laws to the local residents.”<sup>79</sup> In the 1920s, federal officials began proposing that trials be conducted close to where crimes had been committed. They and the police on the ground predicted that conducting the trial near the crime scene would more effectively deter future crime and demonstrate the dire ramifications of disregarding Canadian laws, particularly if the offenders’ family members and friends attended.<sup>80</sup> That this series of murders on the Belcher Islands had occurred two decades after the RCMP’s investigation into the death of Ko-Okyaok – for whose death no individual was ultimately charged or tried – may have convinced authorities that a formal judicial proceeding on the Belcher Islands was needed to demonstrate to its residents that they had to abide by Canadian laws.<sup>81</sup>

Newspapers set the scene when they reported on the trial: in a sizable tent, Justice Plaxton sat in “the robes of his office” at a table draped with the Union Jack and adorned with a photograph of the Royal family. His audience was perched on the moss floor, jurors wrapped in bearskins to protect against the Arctic chill, and counsel attired in their customary black gowns and “winged” collars. Despite the peculiarities of this scene, William Kinmond assured readers in the *Toronto Daily Star* that “the dignity of the court-room is maintained throughout” the trials.<sup>82</sup> Canadian Press reporter James McCook also emphasized that the Belcher Islands trials were “conducted along [the] procedure of any Canadian court,”<sup>83</sup> and Sergeant Henry Kearney’s police report concurred that “[t]he trials were conducted with [the] full formality and [procedure]” of any Canadian court room.<sup>84</sup> Although the proceedings had been visually structured to align as closely as possible with typical Canadian and British courtrooms,<sup>85</sup> the unique challenges of projecting the Canadian justice system into a remote Arctic climate produced a police investigation and criminal trial that, while operating under the principles of Southern justice, necessarily differed in form and format.

One of the most obvious distinguishing characteristics of the Northern judicial procedure was the rapidity with which the proceedings progressed. As Coates and Morrison indicate in their study of Yukon murder, the “wheels of justice turned a good deal faster” in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century than in the modern system. The judicial process itself was swift, with trials rarely exceeding a

handful of days.<sup>86</sup> That Dr. Orford completed his inquest into the deaths by exposure on 14 April, into the murder of Alex Ekpuok on 15 April, and into the deaths of Sarah Apawkok and Keytowieack from 26-28 July testify to an expedited judicial process during the Belcher Islands proceedings.<sup>87</sup> The preliminary hearings for the seven Inuit charged with murder were completed over a two-day time span (30-31 July). The trials proceeded with similar haste. Commencing on 19 August 1941, the trials of all seven accused cumulatively took only two days, with the jury reaching their conclusions and Judge Plaxton passing all sentences before 3:00 p.m. the following day.<sup>88</sup> The joint trial of Akeenik and Apawkok began at 10:00 a.m. on 19 August and was adjourned from 12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m., with the jury delivering their verdicts that afternoon. The proceedings against Peter Sala and Adlyakok began at 10:00 a.m. the following day, with the jury reaching verdicts for both accused that morning. At 2:30 p.m. the court reconvened for the joint proceedings of *Rex v. Quarack* and *Rex v. Ouyerack*, and the jury passed verdicts that same afternoon. At 5:00 p.m. that evening, the court turned its attention to determining whether Mina was mentally fit to stand trial.<sup>89</sup>

By virtue of the haste with which the Belcher Islands trials were conducted, the extent of the counsels' preparation is questionable. The *Fort Charles*, carrying Crown prosecutor R. A. Olmsted and defence counsel J. P. Madden, only arrived at the Belcher Islands at 5:00 p.m. on 18 August.<sup>90</sup> It seems unlikely that Madden was able to meet and discuss the cases with each of his seven clients and prepare individual defences when he arrived the evening before the trials began.<sup>91</sup>

The composition of the jury also raises questions. It was comprised of six men: Canadian Press reporter James McCook, *Toronto Star* reporter William Kinmond, *Fort Charles* engineer Edward G. Cadney, Belcher Islands HBC post manager Ernest Riddell, mining engineer M. E. Holtzman, and prospector Jack Rubie.<sup>92</sup> Kinmond noted that the use of the same jury members, throughout the four trials, was necessitated by "the shortage of white subjects of the crown available."<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, it may strike the modern reader as legally dubious that the same six jurymen decided the outcome of all seven accused, and raises questions of tainted juries and conflated facts. While the number of members conformed with territorial law, did an all-white jury constitute a trial by the accused's "peers" (in accordance with the Magna Carta)?<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, the inclusion of two newspapermen, who had previous knowledge of and opinions on the matter given their coverage of the murders in the lead up to the trial, also invites the question of whether the jury was "tainted."<sup>95</sup>

The judge's conduct during the trial also suggests peculiarities. Scholars have demonstrated how judges presiding over Northern courtrooms often expressed to juries what they perceived to be the appropriate outcome of the proceedings,<sup>96</sup> and Plaxton's addresses to the jury displayed characteristic bias. The prosecuting counsel addressed the judge's apparent lack of objectivity and willingness to direct the jury as to the “appropriate” verdict in his October 1941 memorandum on the case. According to Olmsted, Plaxton's remarks had cornered the jury into finding Akeenik not guilty “on account of temporary insanity.” Despite clear evidence that she murdered Sarah Apawkok, “the jury gave full effect to the testimony that her action took place during a period of violent religious hallucinations.” It had done so because “His Lordship made no reference to manslaughter in this case so the jury, in the absence of any direction or evidence of manslaughter and not wishing to convict of murder, had no alternative but to find as it did.”<sup>97</sup> The jury had not wished to convict of murder, presumably on account of Plaxton's paternalistic and social Darwinistic conceptualization of Inuit. He described them as “still in an early stage of evolution as human beings,” of a “childlike” nature, “low mental growth,” and “primitive condition of life.”<sup>98</sup> In light of this characterization, and Plaxton's failure to advise the jury of their ability to pass a manslaughter conviction, the jury would not pronounce Akeenik a murderer, instead finding her “not guilty on account of temporary insanity.”<sup>99</sup>

In the trial of Adlyakok and Sala, Olmsted argued that Plaxton again indicated his preferred verdict. Although the evidence for murder was “direct, conclusive and not refuted,” the prosecutor lamented that Plaxton had directed the jury to return a manslaughter verdict. He had done so by launching into a description of the applicability of the 1896 *R. v. Machekequonabe* decision. Olmsted quoted how, in that case, the proceedings concluded in a manslaughter verdict because the defendant had killed “under a mistaken belief that the object shot at and killed was not a human being but an evil spirit called a ‘Wendigo’ which had assumed human form and would, according to the belief of the Defendant's tribe, attack and eat human beings.”<sup>100</sup> As the trial transcripts reveal, Plaxton connected that precedent to the Belcher Islands matter, instructing the jury that the accused's belief that Keytowieack was Satan “seems to me to have a bearing as to whether or not they were sane entirely or labouring under the delusion that Keytowieack was Satan and by doing away with him they were doing away with a wrongful thing.”<sup>101</sup> On the basis of this direction, Olmsted implied, the jury convicted the accused of manslaughter rather than murder. He suggested that this

precedent also influenced the trial of Quarack and Ouyerack, who were convicted of manslaughter even after admitting their guilt on the stand.<sup>102</sup>

When the trials ended, four of the seven defendants were found guilty of manslaughter. Apawkok was acquitted of murder, owing to insufficient evidence that his assault had resulted in his sister's death.<sup>103</sup> Akeenik was found "Not Guilty" on account of temporary insanity," having been "carried away with religious hysteria" at the time, and was to be detained at Moose Factory for three months' supervision.<sup>104</sup> Adlyakok, Sala, and Ouyerack were all found guilty of manslaughter, with the jury recommending mercy for the former on the basis of Sala having counselled him to kill Keytowicack. Adlyakok was sentenced to "one year's imprisonment with hard labour in RCMP guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet," with Sala and Ouyerack receiving the same sentence increased by a year.<sup>105</sup> Since it was too late in the season to transport these Inuit to Chesterfield, the prisoners spent the winter at the Moose Factory detachment before being transported to Chesterfield the following summer.<sup>106</sup> The jury found Quarack guilty of manslaughter but recommended mercy, observing that he had been "carried away with religious hysteria" and had acted upon Ouyerack's instructions.<sup>107</sup> Considering Quarack's character, age, and previous good behaviour, as well as the circumstances of the offence, Plaxton released him on a two-year suspended sentence and "recognizance to keep the peace and be of good behaviour and to provide meat for and protect" Sala's family during his imprisonment.<sup>108</sup> Mina, meanwhile, was adjudged insane following Madden's request that "an Issue be directed" into whether she was fit to stand trial. She, too, was committed into RCMP custody at the Moose Factory detachment for observation until the NWT Commissioner decided on her ultimate fate.<sup>109</sup>

Did Inuit perceive Southern detainment as a punishment at all? "With three square meals a day, without the trouble of hunting them, a warm place to sleep in, and everything provided, they felt they were in clover," Godsell reported in the *Winnipeg Free Press*.<sup>110</sup> Olmsted also opined that imprisonment had no deterrent effect, asserting that Inuit did not comprehend imprisonment as a punishment:

To take him away, and shelter, clothe and feed him for months on end, meanwhile giving similar treatment to his family is not his idea of punishment. Being complacent and easy going by nature, a term of imprisonment is a holiday about which he will be able to talk for the rest of his life. Hard labour means nothing. If by reason of personal interest or incentive it is possible to get an Eskimo to do manual labour, he may work but he will undoubtedly quit when the interest

has been satisfied or the incentive removed... In fact, one accused was begging before the trials commenced to be taken away. He frequently asked, “Me, Moose, plane”, meaning that he wanted to be taken by plane to Moosonee. He actually gloated and beamed with pleasure when he learned that he was to go. Moreover, he knew that in his absence the white man would provide his family with relief rations.<sup>111</sup>

Thus, the trials seem to have prompted some doubt about the appropriateness of applying Southern Euro-Canadian conceptualizations of justice, without due consideration of Inuit values.<sup>112</sup>

Officials’ concerns about the suitability of detainment also revolved around the detrimental impacts of Southern confinement on prisoners’ health. Indeed, report after report pointed to the prisoners suffering from various medical afflictions.<sup>113</sup> Dr. Orford’s 4 February 1942 invoice for services revealed that he had treated Mina for grippe in May 1941, Adlyakok for bronchitis in July 1941, Sala for otitis media twice in October 1941, Akeenik for scabies and furunculosis in October and December 1941, and Ouyerack for bronchitis in October 1941, tonsillitis in November 1941, and acute influenza on six different occasions.<sup>114</sup> All the prisoners suffered from serious chest colds throughout February and March 1942, with three being admitted to hospital for influenza and Akeenik suffering from whooping cough. April reports indicated that Peter, Adlyakok, Mina, and Akeenik were afflicted with measles, which, together with the chest colds, had produced notable declines in weight for Mina and Adlaykok.<sup>115</sup> Ouyerack’s health deteriorated particularly rapidly with his detainment. Orford diagnosed him in January 1942 with “advanced Pulmonary Tuberculosis and Abdominal Tuberculosis,” with which he had likely been afflicted prior to his imprisonment.<sup>116</sup>

Concerns about the appropriateness of Southern imprisonment to Inuit health had begun to surface from Moose Factory in early March, when Constable George E. Dexter reported that “[i]t is believed that a great deal of their ailments are caused by the change of diet and contact with civilization.”<sup>117</sup> McKeand’s memorandum to the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Roy A. Gibson, a few days later suggested the desirability of removing the Inuit prisoners from “the James Bay environment where health and morale is being undermined.”<sup>118</sup> Given the prisoners’ “unsatisfactory” health conditions, Gibson informed the manager of the Baffin Trading Company that “it is likely that we will have to apply for clemency” to move the Inuit “to a place where they will have a better chance of living the life to which they are accustomed.”<sup>119</sup> Noting



Ouyerack's illness in particular, McKeand forecasted in April 1942 that "another year at Moose Factory and he is likely to follow Nukoodlah of Pond Inlet and Katcho of Pangnirtung" – Inuit who had previously died during or following their detainment in Southern Canada.<sup>120</sup> McKeand's prediction was tragically accurate: despite receiving care at Moose Factory's Newnham Cottage Hospital, Ouyerack indeed died on 27 May 1942.<sup>121</sup>

Dr. Ross Millar advised Gibson at the end of April that "the whole question of imprisonment of natives, especially if removed to a locality different from that in which they were living[,] is one which would tend to militate against their usual health." He suggested that "the remaining prisoners be released on parole and returned to Belcher Island, where they will be under an accustomed climate without any restraint, and can obtain the usual native food."<sup>122</sup> Under this advisement, the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories Administration informed the Deputy Minister of Justice, F. P. Varcoe, in early June that "if these Eskimos are left at Moose Factory they will not likely survive."<sup>123</sup> They requested that the Department of Justice apply for the remaining sentences of Adlyakok and Peter Sala to be remitted, so the Inuit could be "moved during the navigation season this year."<sup>124</sup>

Adlyakok was released on 30 June 1942, having served his sentence with good behaviour, and Peter Sala was released on or around 7 July on a ticket-of-leave with the condition that he not return to the Belcher Islands.<sup>125</sup> Akeenik and Mina were slated to "remain in custody during the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories."<sup>126</sup> Officials from the Department of Mines and Resources had determined that the Inuit would be relocated to Great Whale River (Kuujjuarapik), with their families being transferred to accompany them. That location was preferable, in part, because Reverend George Neilson, an Anglican missionary with a comprehension of Inuktitut and experience with Inuit, lived there. He could be relied upon to instruct the Inuit "in harmonious living," provide the Inuit with the same education being offered at the Fort George residential school, and constitute a good influence for them.<sup>127</sup> With the aid of a grant from the Northwest Territories Administration, Neilson would operate a school for these Inuit, aiming (as Gibson indicated) "to straighten out their thinking about human relations" and instruct them in the necessity to abide by Canada's laws.<sup>128</sup>

Beyond the fate of the Belcher Islands Inuit, this matter raised questions about the suitability of Southern imprisonment for Inuit offenders more generally. In his October memorandum, Olmsted indicated that the Criminal Code itself

should “never again ... be applied to the Eskimo.” Equating “these primitive people” to “white children of tender years,” who would not be punished to the full extent of the law, the prosecuting counsel argued that it was inappropriate to apply Canadian jurisprudence to a people whose intellectual development was “thousands of years behind us.” It was “unfair to treat [them] as equals,” particularly in the case of the Belcher Islands Inuit who “had never even seen a white man or had any knowledge of his standards of conduct.” This illuminates the racist and social Darwinistic discourse surrounding the Inuit. Olmsted’s conclusion that “any future offences should not be charged under the Criminal Code” also shows an emerging recognition of the injustice in seeking to punish a people according to a foreign and unfamiliar judicial system without a consideration of their customary understandings of justice.<sup>129</sup>

The prosecutor’s remarks inspired a discussion among government departments about how to apply the Canadian judicial system to Inuit. On 12 November, Gibson wrote to Varcoe reflecting upon Olmsted’s proposals made in light of several previous Inuit trials. Though the Northwest Territories Administration concurred with the assessment as to the unsuitability of applying the Criminal Code to the “primitive” Inuit who were like “undeveloped children,” Gibson admitted that “we are at a loss to suggest something to take the place of the Code.”<sup>130</sup> In his 17 November response, McKeand identified these discussions as part of a broader, enduring debate about the Criminal Code’s unsuitability in its current form for application to the Inuit and the need for its amendment. As such, he considered Olmsted’s comments “comforting” and repudiated “loose talk” about adapting punishments to whip Inuit convicted of a crime. Although McKeand rejected the recommendation (explaining that the Radford and Street murders had demonstrated the ramifications of seeking to publicly “ridicule an Eskimo”), the suggestion indicates that officials considered potential punishments in light of differing cultural contexts.<sup>131</sup> Hence, in addition to revealing the unique character of police operations and judicial procedures in the North, the Belcher Islands case also demonstrates a burgeoning recognition that there were problems associated with imposing the Canadian system of justice on a people with different customs and values.<sup>132</sup>

### **Maintaining Traditional Lifestyles and Subsistence Styles: Indigenous Policy and the Preservation of the Hunting-Trapping Economy**

Elements of the Inuit prisoners’ experiences at the RCMP detachment at Moose Factory, as well as the government decision to transfer them further North

in the summer of 1942 to a region more reminiscent of their homeland than Moose Factory, also reveal the Canadian government's broader Indigenous policy and priorities at the time. The aftermath of the Belcher Islands murders illuminates a desire to maintain a traditional Inuit hunting and trapping economy, as well as the government's stance on Northern health care. Indeed, the means by which officers and Dr. Orford at the Moose Factory detachment sought to address Ouyerack's condition testifies to what ethohistorian David Damas characterizes as the low prioritization of Northern health care until the conclusion of the Second World War.<sup>133</sup>

The government's encouragement of Inuit traditional hunting and trapping activities during their imprisonment at Moose Factory reinforces the government's commitment to the maintenance of the traditional Indigenous economies in the North. From the first days of the prisoners' detainment at Moose Factory, the RCMP reports revealed the officers' efforts to maintain the prisoners' hunting and trapping activities. Inspector George McClellan acknowledged in his 4 September 1941 report that "Moose Factory is entirely different from their natural habitat" and their detainment would not permit them to hunt to their customary degree. Accordingly, he noted the RCMP's assurance that the Inuit would have opportunities to obtain their customary subsistence.<sup>134</sup> Sergeant Henry Kearney's report of the same day encouraged the prisoners to be "taken under escort [on certain days] to a point in James Bay about twenty miles from Moose Factory where they can hunt seals, for their own consumption and for the Detachment dogs."<sup>135</sup> Over the following months, the detachment officers acquired seal meat for the prisoners, encouraged the Inuit to install fish lines, and permitted Sala to snare rabbits.<sup>136</sup>

Government officials also emphasized the importance of returning the Inuit prisoners, after their incarceration, to a region with favourable conditions so that they could resume their traditional hunting-trapping economy – "the life to which they are accustomed."<sup>137</sup> These same officials worried, however, that these Inuit would face reprisals and social ostracism if they returned to the Belcher Islands.<sup>138</sup> Accordingly, RCMP Inspector George B. McClellan (after conferring with Dr. Orford and the Moose Factory HBC post manager) suggested that the prisoners and their families be moved to "some point further north, such as Chesterfield Inlet, where there would be some opportunity for them to hunt and fish and where they would not undergo a complete change of diet" (as they had endured at Moose Factory).<sup>139</sup> McKeand proposed in April 1942 that a Northern region such as Sugluk (Salluit) or Port Harrison (Inukjuak) might be appropriate,

given that these areas had “similar climatic and hunting conditions” to the Belcher Islands.<sup>140</sup>

Ultimately, the government elected to relocate the Inuit prisoners in the summer of 1942 to Great Whale River (Kuujjuarapik). Although partially fuelled by Reverend Neilson’s promise to supervise these Inuit and ensure a reformation of their thinking, a *Globe and Mail* article emphasized that this location – which was similar in hunting and climate conditions to the Belcher Islands – would permit them to resume their hunting and trapping lifestyle and re-adopt “their self-reliance as hunters.”<sup>141</sup> The RCMP decision to issue both Adlyakok and Peter Sala with a used single-shot Ross Sporting rifle and 250 rounds of ammunition upon their release confirmed the government’s commitment to facilitating their return to a traditional hunting economy.<sup>142</sup>

Mina, Akeenik, Sala, and Adlyakok were flown to Great Whale River in early September 1942, and Adlyakok and Sala’s dependents relocated there in the following weeks.<sup>143</sup> Since Inuit were expected “to provide for their own needs,” officials from the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs emphasized that it was “necessary for them to operate” in dispersed camps “at a distance from the settlement.”<sup>144</sup> Once Neilson, through visits to their camps and a summer schooling program, had trained the Inuit in what Gibson called “the proper conception of their responsibility toward their fellow men,” the families would again be relocated to another Northern region with more country food and “brighter prospects for living on a more abundant scale.”<sup>145</sup> Perhaps anticipating criticisms that this seemed to reward rather than punish convicted murderers, Gibson explained to Reverend Archibald Fleming that this “experiment” was designed to ensure that the Inuit children would get “every opportunity to follow the hunt and continue the Eskimo mode of life.”<sup>146</sup> These plans reflect the federal government’s “philosophy of preservationism” and its policy desire to maintain geographic dispersal of Inuit and their self-sufficiency through a hunting-trapping economy that extended into the 1950s.<sup>147</sup>

## A Note from the Editors

The following documents concerning the events on the Belcher Islands in 1941 are transcriptions of material in archival files held by the Library and Archives Canada (LAC). They record the investigative, judicial, and bureaucratic proceedings surrounding the criminal cases and subsequent disposition of the prisoners. They also include a selection of newspaper articles, clipped and

appended in the archival files, that illuminate additional details on or varying conceptualizations of the murders and subsequent trials. This book contains a near-complete census of the LAC records, with the exception of duplicates, purely administrative correspondence, and some newspaper clippings.

As editors, we have sought to replicate the contents of the original documents as accurately and transparently as possible. The text has been edited for spelling, grammatical, and typographical errors, and the formatting and spacing of the individual documents standardized for consistency. Missing or additional spaces have been remedied silently, as have typographical repetitions, with all larger grammatical, spelling, or typographical issues being addressed openly. The contact information for the correspondence's addressees has been retained on the first clear reference, with repetitions thereafter exerted for the sake of brevity. Similarly, typists' initials have not been included in these transcriptions. Documents attached or connected in the original files have been largely kept together, and missing pages and text have been noted. Readers will note substantial variation in the spelling of particular names and locations. Rather than standardizing and amending these, we have included a reference list of the alternate spellings and misspellings that appear in the documents. This list follows this introduction, as does a compilation of the abbreviations used in the text and a list of the key individuals appearing in the documents, identifying their positions at the time of this matter.

These documents are intended to both encourage a broader scholarly understanding of the events which transpired on the Belcher Islands in 1941, as well as to inform and inspire discourses on the religious, legal, and political history of Canada's North. As previously indicated, the documents offer insights as to the operation and impact of Christian missionaries in the North, the existence of syncretic Parousial movements among the Inuit, the unique nature of Northern police investigations and judicial proceedings during this period, as well as the government's evolving approach to Inuit crime and Indigenous policy. As editors, we hope that this collection of investigative, judicial, and bureaucratic records will document and make more accessible the records of a series of murders which were not only sensational, but which raise more general questions about Canadian Northern history, the *qallunaat* influence upon the peoples there, and the aftermath of the Indigenous-white contact on the remote Belcher Islands.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Fill Calhoun, “Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay,” *Life Magazine*, 9 June 1941 (Doc. 44), 2; William Closson James, *Locations of the Sacred: Essays on Religion, Literature, and Canadian Culture* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998), 111; Alan Phillips, “The Tragic Case of the Man Who Played Jesus,” *Maclean’s*, 8 December 1956, 23.

<sup>2</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 111; Philip H. Godsell, “‘Messiah’ of the Ice-Fields: How Charlie Ouyerack, Self-Styled ‘Messiah,’ Brought a New Cult to the Iglulik Tribesmen of Hudson Bay, Condemning Disbelievers to the Harpoons of Strong-Arm Disciples,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 10 January 1942 (Doc. 292); R.A. Olmsted to F.P. Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 1; Phillips, “Tragic Case,” 23, 121; Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC), *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media, 2013), 9, 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> Phillips, “Tragic Case,” 23, 119-21; Douglas J. Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; Calhoun, “Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay,” 9 June 1941 (Doc. 44), 1-2; Godsell, “‘Messiah’ of the Ice-Fields,” 10 January 1942 (Doc. 292); James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 108, 111; D.L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 25 April 1942 (Doc. 361), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Phillips, “Tragic Case,” 23, 121; Thomas J. Orford, Report on “Inquisition” on view of Johnny, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 2); Thomas J. Orford, Report on “Inquisition” on view of Alec Keytowieack, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 16); Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1, 4; William Grant Kerr, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Moses, Alec, Johnasie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) - Murder of,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 35), 1; William Grant Kerr, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) - Murder of, Inquest,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 36), 1; McKeand to Gibson, 25 April 1942 (Doc. 361), 1; Calhoun, “Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay,” 9 June 1941 (Doc. 44), 2.

<sup>5</sup> Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders,” 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; Xavier Blaisel, Frédéric Laugrand, and Jarich Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders: Parousial Movements among the Inuit of Northeast Canada,” *Brill* 46, no. 4 (1999): 392; Phillips, “Tragic Case,” 23, 119; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 119.

<sup>6</sup> Kenn Harper, *In Those Days: Arctic Crime and Punishment* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media, 2015), 128; Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 392.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas J. Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of: -,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37), 1-2; Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; “Information of a Witness” - Louisa, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 63); “Information of a Witness” - Mary, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 75); “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 2, 7, 9, 11-

13; "Proceedings of Hearings" in Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 160), 10; James McCook, "Eskimos Thought Satan Slain When 15-Year-Old Girl Killed," *Globe and Mail*, 20 August 1941 (Doc. 170); R.A. Gibson to R.H. Chesshire, 19 March 1942 (Doc. 333), 1; R.A. Gibson to J. Cantley, 23 April 1942 (Doc. 358); D.L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 24 June 1942 (Doc. 404), 1; R.A. Gibson to E.H. Coleman, 27 July 1942 (Doc. 424); Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, "Shamans and Leaders," 392-93; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 108-09; Phillips, "Tragic Case," 119-20.

<sup>8</sup> Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; Douglas J. Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Sarah (Eskimo Female[]) - Murder Of," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 38), 1; "Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing" in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 90), 1, 3-5, 7-11, 17; McKeand to Gibson, 24 June 1942 (Doc. 404), 1.

<sup>9</sup> Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Sarah (Eskimo Female[]) - Murder Of," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 38), 1; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of: -," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37), 1-2; "Information of a Witness" - Alec Apawkok, 26 July 1941 (Doc. 55); "Information of a Witness" - Charlie Ouyerack, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 67); "Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing" in the case of Rex vs. Alex Apawkok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 90), 3-6, 8, 11, 13-15; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Akeenik, 18 November 1941 (Doc. 262); "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 1, 3, 6, 8, 11, 13.

<sup>10</sup> "Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing" in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 90), 4, 9, 16; "Information of a Witness" - Kugveet, 26 July 1941 (Doc. 57); "Information of a Witness" - Shooluksuk, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 64); "Information of a Witness" - Charlie Ouyerack, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 67).

<sup>11</sup> Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37), 1-2; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Sarah (Eskimo Female[]) - Murder Of," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 38), 1; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; "Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing" in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 90), 6, 9, 12, 14-16; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Akeenik, 18 November 1941 (Doc. 262); Gibson to Chesshire, 19 March 1942 (Doc. 333).

<sup>12</sup> Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of: -," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37), 1-2; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; "Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 88), 1, 3-4, 8, 9; "Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing" in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 92), 1, 6, 8, 9, 14; "Proceedings of Hearings" in the



case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 159), 12; Phillips, "Tragic Case," 119; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 118.

<sup>13</sup> These Inuit were Nellie, Enookpuk, Mary, Johnasie, and Moses ("Information of a Witness" - Nellie, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 73); "Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 88), 1, 4, 9-11; "Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing" in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 92), 1-2, 4, 6, 8-11; "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 159), 4, 6, 16). Furthermore, eight Inuit recalled a widespread conviction among the Inuit generally that Keytowieack was Satan, including Peter Sala, Nellie, Shooluksuk, Apawkok, Johnasie, Sarah, Moses, and Mark (see "Information of a Witness" - Nellie, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 73); "Information of a Witness" - Peter Sala, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 70), 1; "Information of a Witness" - Shooluksuk, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 77); "Information of a Witness" - Apawkok, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 79); "Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 88); "Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing" in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 92); "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 159), 4-7, 15. See also Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of: -," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37), 1-2; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1; "Information of a Witness" - Sarah, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 72); "Information of a Witness" - Mary, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 75); "Information of a Witness" - Louisa, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 76); "Information of a Witness" - Shooluksuk, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 77).

<sup>14</sup> Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of: -," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37), 2-3; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 1-2; "Information of a Witness" - Nellie, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 73); "Information of a Witness" - Mary, 28 July 1941 (Doc. 75); "Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 88), 2-3, 4-5, 7-14; "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 159), 1-2, 4, 7-8, 11, 13, 15-17; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Peter Sala, 18/19 November 1941 (Doc. 265); R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Adlyakok, 19 November 1941 (Doc. 266).

<sup>15</sup> William Grant Kerr, "Information to Hold Inquest" in the case of Alec Keytowieack, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 15); "Information of Witness" - Eva Naroomi, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 20); "Information of Witness" - Moses, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 22); "Information of Witness" - Sarah Eerkok, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 23); "Information of Witness" - Peter Quarack, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 24); William Grant Kerr, "Information and Complaint" in the case of Quarack, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 25); Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) - Murder of, Inquest," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 36), 1; Martin, Report on "Alleged

Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 2; "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 160), 1, 7-8; Phillips, "Tragic Case," 121.

<sup>16</sup> "Information of Witness" - Mina, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 19); "Information of Witness" - Eva Naroomi, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 20); "Information of Witness" - Moses, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 22); "Information of Witness" - Sarah Eerkok, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 23); "Information of Witness" - Peter Quarack, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 24); Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 2-3; Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) - Murder of, Inquest," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 36), 1; "Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Ouyerack, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 109), 1-8; "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 160), 1-7, 9; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Charlie Ouyerack, 18 November 1941 (Doc. 263); R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Quarack, 19 November 1941 (Doc. 268).

<sup>17</sup> Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Johnny, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 2); Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Moses, Alec, Johnasie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) - Murder of," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 35), 1; Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 3; "Information of Witness" - Moses, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 9); "Information of Witness" - Nellie, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 10); "Information of Witness" - Ninna/Mina/Anowtelik, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 11); "Information of Witness" - Mina, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 12); "Information of Witness" - Sarah Eerkok, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 28); "Information of Witness" - Mary Nukarak, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 29); "Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Mina, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 104), 1-7; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Mina, 19 November 1941 (Doc. 267), 2; Godsell, "'Messiah' of The Ice-Fields," 10 January 1942 (Doc. 292); McKeand to Gibson, 24 June 1942 (Doc. 404), 1.

<sup>18</sup> Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Johnny, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 2); Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Johnasie, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 4); Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Alec, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 14); Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Moses, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 6); Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Nukarak, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 7); Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Kumudluk Sarah, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 8); Martin, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 30 April 1941 (Doc. 39), 3-4. See also "Information of Witness" - Moses, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 9); "Information of Witness" - Nellie, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 10); "Information of Witness" - Ninna/Mina/Anowtelik, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 11); "Information of Witness" - Mina, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 12).

<sup>19</sup> Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Moses, Alec, Johnasie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female

Adults) - Murder of,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 35); Henry Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., CHANGED TO: Eskimo Females MINA and AKEENIK; Eskimo Males ALEC APAWKOK, QUARACK, PETER SALA, ADLAYKOK, and CHARLIE OUYERACK - Murder - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 1-2; “Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 90), 1; “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Akeenik, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 94), 1; “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Quarack, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 115), 1.

<sup>20</sup> Harper, *In Those Days*, 128-29. Harper’s chapter on the Belcher Islands murders was originally published in three parts in the *Nunatsiaq News* in December 2014. Harper erroneously indicates the date of this falling star as being in 1942. *In Those Days*, 1, 128, 156.

<sup>21</sup> Lawrence Millman, *At the End of the World: A True Story of Murder in the Arctic* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2016), 36, 49-50, 59-60, 80-83, 154-56.

<sup>22</sup> Millman, *At the End of the World*, second cover.

<sup>23</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 116.

<sup>24</sup> Calhoun, “Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay,” 9 June 1941 (Doc. 44), 1.

<sup>25</sup> William Kinmond, “JURY ACQUITS TWO ESKIMOS OF MURDERING GIRL ‘SATAN’; Star Man One of Six Making Decision in Tent Trial on Belcher Islands; DIVINITY CLAIMED,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 August 1941 (Doc. 169).

<sup>26</sup> Godsell, “‘Messiah’ of the Ice-Fields,” 10 January 1942 (Doc. 292).

<sup>27</sup> Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of: -,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37), 1; Kerr, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) - Murder of, Inquest,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 36), 1.

<sup>28</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 16.

<sup>29</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 116.

<sup>30</sup> *Toronto Daily Star*, 26 July 1941, as cited in James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 116.

<sup>31</sup> Calhoun, “Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay,” 9 June 1941 (Doc. 44), 1.

<sup>32</sup> James McCook, “Eskimo, True to Faith, Was ‘Devil Hunt’ Victim,” *Globe and Mail*, 26 August 1941 (Doc. 211).

<sup>33</sup> William Kinmond, “CONGREGATION GAVE ESKIMO BULLET TO SHOOT ‘SATAN’: Belcher Islands’ Jurors, Bundled in Bearskins, Find Four Guilty; ONE JUDGED INSANE,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 22 August 1941 (Doc. 194).

<sup>34</sup> Godsell, “‘Messiah’ of the Ice-Fields,” 10 January 1942 (Doc. 292).

<sup>35</sup> “Insanity Is Plea Of Eskimo Woman; Mina To Stand Trial Shortly On Murder Count,” *Montreal Herald*, 16 August 1941 (Doc. 151); James McCook, “Two Eskimos Acquitted; Two Guilty Manslaughter,” *Regina Leader-Post*, 21 August 1941 (Doc. 187).

<sup>36</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 159), 3-5, 7-9, 15; “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 160), 3-4, 6-8.

<sup>37</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 5-6.

<sup>38</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 14.

<sup>39</sup> “History of Sanikiluaq,” *Municipality of Sanikiluaq*, 2009, <http://www.sanikiluaq.ca/i18n/english/history.html>; QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 16; Peter J. Usher, *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories 1870-1970* (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971), 141, <http://parkscanadahistory.com/publications/north/nsrg-71-4.pdf>. According to Bertie Akparok’s testimony, an Anglican minister had previously offered instruction - likely William Gladstone Walton, an English missionary whom the Church Missionary Society had dispatched to Fort George in 1892, and who travelled to camps throughout the region until his retirement in 1924 (“P205-William G (Reindeer) Walton Collection,” *Laurentian University Library & Archives*, accessed 17 May 2018, <https://biblio.laurentian.ca/research/sites/default/files/pictures/P205%20Walton%20Collection%20August%202015.pdf>).

<sup>40</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 15; Kinmond, “CONGREGATION GAVE ESKIMO BULLET TO SHOOT ‘SATAN’,” 22 August 1941 (Doc. 194).

<sup>41</sup> McCook, “Two Eskimos Acquitted,” 21 August 1941 (Doc. 187).

<sup>42</sup> Olmsted to Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 1.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 105.

<sup>44</sup> D.L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 19 February 1942 (Doc. 312); R.A. Gibson to Ross Millar, 20 August 1941 (Doc. 164); Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), 57.

<sup>45</sup> This was not the first occasion on which government officials had voiced concern over the lack of religious guidance given to Inuit on the Belcher Islands. The RCMP had responded to a murder on the Islands in 1920, of an Inuk named Ko-Okyauk (Commissioner of the RCMP to Deputy Minister of Justice, 27 November 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459). Inspector J. W. Phillips’ October 1, 1920 report summarizes the investigation’s findings. In September 1919, Ko-Okyauk had abandoned his family for his sister-in-law, fleeing with her to a distant camp for weeks. Upon his return, he acted “strangely,” threatening to execute the camp’s inhabitants. The camp’s men decided to minimize his opportunity for doing harm, tying his feet and hands, and transporting him to a nearby island (J. W. Phillips, “Crime Report re Alleged Murder of Ko-okyauk, Eskimo, of the Belcher Islands,

N.W.T.,” 1 October 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 1). When the Inuit observed him, the following afternoon, walking about the island, they dispatched five men to ask he amend his behaviour and release him if he promised to do so, but otherwise to retie him (Phillips, “Crime Report re Alleged Murder of Ko-okyauk,” 1 October 1920, 1, 3; Statement of Tukaulook, Eskimo of the Belcher Islands, 13 September 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 2). Although recollections varied on whether Ko-Okyauck had pledged his commitment to reforming, the end result was the same: the men used seal line to bind his legs together, secure his arms behind his back, and pull his head between his legs, resulting in his strangulation (Phillips, “Crime Report re Alleged Murder of Ko-okyauk,” 1 October 1920, 1). As the investigation found, the Inuit had presumed Ko-Okyauck to be insane, and a danger to their well-being. The primary element that had convinced them of his insanity had been his open pursuit of extra-marital affairs, abandonment of his family for his wife’s sister, and his return with that woman (Phillips, “Crime Report re Alleged Murder of Ko-okyauk,” 1 October 1920, 1, 2, 4; “Information of Witness” - Oyarauk, 8 September 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 4; Statement of Tukaulook, Eskimo of the Belcher Islands, 13 September 1920, 1). Several Inuit testified that they had frequently heard, from the Anglican catechists and missionaries at Great Whale River and Fort George, that it was morally wrong for a wedded man to run off with a woman not his wife. That, they reported, had been of greater emphasis in the sermons than the Ten Commandments, which many reported either not knowing or thinking to be of lesser import than the admonitions against adultery (Statement of Tukaulook, 13 September 1920, 2-3; Statement of Emookotilauk, 14 September 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 2; Statement of Kakbeek, 14 September 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 2; Statement of Mekoo, 11 September 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 2; Statement of Aukpayauk, 13 September 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 2; Shelagh D. Grant, *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 47). Furnished with this understanding of it being “insane” to pursue and cohabit with women outside of marriage, the Inuit were convinced that Ko-Okyauck was no longer “right,” feared him, and sought to eliminate the threat (Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 47; Phillips, “Crime Report re Alleged Murder of Ko-okyauk,” 1 October 1920, 1, 3, 4; Statement of Tukaulook, 13 September 1920, 2, 3; Statement of Aukpayauk, 13 September 1920, 1; Statement of Mekoo, 11 September 1920, 1; Statement of Ameyktauk, 11 September 1920, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459, 1). This prompted Inspector Phillips, in his summarizing report, to suggest that the missionaries bore some responsibility for the death: “...the question of morality is taken too seriously by them, or impressed upon them too strongly by their spiritual advisers, apparently so much in fact they believe a person to be insane when he cohabits with a woman not his wife. I do not write this in a sense to be-little the work of

the missionaries ... but it does seem that the seriousness of murder should take precedence to morality in their preliminary teaching” (Phillips, “Crime Report re Alleged Murder of Ko-okyauk,” 1 October 1920, 4; Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 47). Clearly, then, the events upon the Belcher Islands in the early 1940s may be situated, too, within enduring concerns regarding the partial understanding of Christianity upon the Belchers.

<sup>46</sup> Olmsted to Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 1-2.

<sup>47</sup> “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 88), 1, 3-4; “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 159), 12; Phillips, “Tragic Case,” 119; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 118.

<sup>48</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 5-6.

<sup>49</sup> Ken S. Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991), 117, 120-28.

<sup>50</sup> Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 117, 121. See also Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 401-02; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 104.

<sup>51</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 5, 15; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 118.

<sup>52</sup> Harper, *In Those Days*, 128-29.

<sup>53</sup> James indicates that the Belcher Islands murders could be characterized within “a prophet movement,” for the presence of “a visionary proclaiming the imminent transformation of the world.” James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 121.

<sup>54</sup> Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 370-71, 392, 404. These authors record similar Parousial movements in Iglulik in the early 1920s, Kangiqsuk in 1920, Home Bay in 1921, Cape Dorset in 1925, Tasiujaq in 1931, Iglulik in 1941, Millit Island in the 1940s, Cape Dorset in 1944, and Moffet Inlet/Siuralik in 1946 to 1947 (Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 379, 383-84, 387, 389, 391, 395-97). A similar example to the Belcher Islands situation occurred in 1901 on Baffin Island, at Seekooseelak in the region of Kinngait. Simigak, while hunting for seal, purported to have seen Jesus descend to observe him. He informed the Inuit of his camp that he had witnessed Jesus, and demanded they construct an igloo to serve as a church. Another Inuk, Keegak, believing in Simigak’s vision, began to identify himself as God, and declared he would be “going up” to Heaven. Commanding that Inuit cut their hair and beards so the hair would not drag them “back when they were going up,” they interpreted Reverend Peck’s instructions to not be possessive of worldly goods to mean they should ruin their clothes with blubber, discard their rifles and beads, and dispose of their food. They subsequently assaulted two people who did not resist, because “when Jesus was crucified he wasn’t fighting back,” upon which the movement disintegrated. Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 375-78.



<sup>55</sup> Godsell, “‘Messiah’ of the Ice-Fields,” 10 January 1942 (Doc. 292).

<sup>56</sup> Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 400-01, 370. According to James, the development of such movements may have been facilitated by economic hardship. Noting the scarcity of game and financial difficulties with which the Belcher Islands Inuit were confronted in the winter of 1941, he indicates that this hardship may have “made the Inuit more receptive” to the missionary enterprise, offering hope in otherwise difficult times. James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 119; John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), as cited in James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 119; Åke Hultkrantz, *The Religions of the American Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 151, as cited in James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 120.

<sup>57</sup> QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 11, 14-16; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 103; Usher, *Fur Trade Posts*, 141.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 103, 105, 118. See also Archibald Lang Fleming, *Archibald the Arctic* (Toronto: Saunders, 1965), 287; *Toronto Daily Star*, 9 April 1941.

<sup>59</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 103-04; QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 11-12, 14-16; Usher, *Fur Trade Posts*, 141.

<sup>60</sup> Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 378, 382, 386, 394, 404-05.

<sup>61</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 109.

<sup>62</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 110-11, 120; Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 403. See also Daniel Merkur, *Becoming Half Hidden: Shamanism and Initiation Among the Inuit* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985), 158-68.

<sup>63</sup> Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 395.

<sup>64</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 108, 122-23; Bernard Saladin d’Anglure, “Inuit of Quebec,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. David Damas (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 504; Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 116. James cites Hugh Brody’s observation that “[m]any missionaries ... told people that what they believed was true, but that the spirits central to shamanism constituted the devils in Christian theology.” Such an approach, James contends, may have enabled the Inuit to rationalize and justify such murders, by reframing individuals apparently “possessed by spirits,” who previously would have required shamanic exorcism, into individuals possessed by or embodying Satan, who now “must be destroyed.” Hugh Brody, *Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), 207, as cited in James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 123. This explanation would suggest that Anglican missionaries sought to adapt their proselytizing approaches to the Northern mission field. Indeed, they utilized Inuit spiritualities as a basis into which to insert Christian deities as opposed to seeking, as Coates notes the historiography often suggests, “to reform, restructure, and ultimately undermine all vestiges of “pagan” traditions.” Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 115, 117.



<sup>65</sup> Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 134; See also Blaisel, Laugrand, and Oosten, “Shamans and Leaders,” 370-71. According to Coates, this occurred by virtue of the fundamental difference in the breadth of the Christian and traditional spiritualities. Due to the fluidity and flexibility of the Indigenous beliefs and practices, and their dependence upon personal and local interpretations, Christianity did not offer a worldview that similarly encompassed the full breadth of the geographical, human, and animal landscapes. Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 134. For James, this syncretistic blend of shamanism and Anglicanism emerged from the tendency of missionaries to instruct “people that what they believed was true, but that the spirits central to shamanism constituted the devils in Christian theology,” thereby utilizing Inuit spiritualities as a basis into which to insert Christian deities. James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 123.

<sup>66</sup> William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), xiv, xviii, 2, 37, 50; Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 159, 175; Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 5-6. The government often deployed the RCMP, and the introduction of law and order, to affirm its sovereignty over the North (Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 50, 75, 78, 88; Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 25-26, 30-31, 240). Although the correspondence does not note sovereignty being a concern in the decision to hold the trials on the Belcher Islands, it is not unfeasible that sovereignty played a role, particularly given the mining prospects on the islands (QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 12; see Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 42-43, 154). However, demonstrating Canadian sovereignty over the Islands was likely not a critical concern, given the RCMP’s previous investigation in the 1920s, and patrols made to the island since, both of which would have served as demonstrations of Canadian sovereignty.

<sup>67</sup> Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, xviii, xix. The case does seem to have opened the door for government intervention in the Belcher Islands. In 1947, the government issued a sailboat to the Inuit on the southern islands, to facilitate their travels to the mainland (QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 19). 1950 saw the Department of Health and Welfare dispatching a dentist, X-ray technician, and doctor to survey the Inuit’s health, and 1954 had the government authorizing an airdrop of relief following an epidemic of influenza (QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 19, 20). The Islands also became involved in government relocation schemes, when the government decided in the early 1950s to relocate some Inuit living in Quebec to two of the Belcher’s islands, and pressure Inuit from Inukjuak to move there in the fall (QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 22). In 1970, the government relocated all the Inuit of the Islands to one community, Sanikiluaq, where housing, health, and educational services could be consolidated (QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 11, 29-30). It appears that the judicial system’s 1941 activities in the Belcher Islands thus set this process of

government interventionism into motion by introducing government agents to the Islands.

<sup>68</sup> Ken S. Coates and William R. Morrison, *Strange Things Done: Murder in Yukon History* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 102-04; Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 86, 153-54; C. Starnes to W. W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, 14 August 1922, quoted in Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 111. On these trials, see Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 103-19; Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 137-40, 158-61; Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 4, 40-43, 128-29, 188; P. Whitney Lackenbauer, and Kristopher Kinsinger, eds., *Arctic Show Trial: The Trial of Alikomiak and Tatimagana, 1923*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) no. 9 (Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America, 2017).

<sup>69</sup> Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo, Keytowieack - Murder of: -,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 37) 1, 3; Martin, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Sarah (Eskimo Female[]) - Murder Of;,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 38), 1; Calhoun, “Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay,” 9 June 1941 (Doc. 44), 2-3; George E. Dexter, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 3 August 1941 (Doc. 122), 1; Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 175; Phillips, “Tragic Case,” 23, 122.

<sup>70</sup> Kerr, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Moses, Alec, Johnasie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) - Murder of,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 35), 2; Kerr, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) - Murder of, Inquest,” 26 April 1941 (Doc. 36), 1-2.

<sup>71</sup> Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 1.

<sup>72</sup> R.A. Gibson to E. Miall, 21 October 1941 (Doc. 241); D.L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 21 October 1941 (Doc. 240); George E. Dexter, Report on “Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 28 October 1941 (Doc. 244). The upper story of the store building was made available in the event the cold and wind were too much for the Southern Canadian visitors to endure (William Kinmond, “HUDSON'S BAY ARCTIC POST COURT FOR ESKIMO HEARING; Seven Go on Trial for Murder at Belcher's Islands; ONE WITNESS DIES,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 162); QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 16.

<sup>73</sup> As ethnohistorian David Damas illustrates, HBC posts and traders in this period were often responsible for issuing such government relief. See *Arctic Migrants, Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 38. In the case of the Belcher Islands, the RCMP ordered the HBC to issue rations to the “heads of all families” while the witnesses and accused remained at the HBC Post awaiting the judicial party's arrival, including ammunition so they could acquire fish and meat for both

their families and those of the prisoners. Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 1).

<sup>74</sup> Henry Kearney to the Manager of the Hudson’s Bay Post, Belcher Islands, 21 August 1941 (Doc. 185); Order, Henry Kearney to the Post Manager, Hudson’s Bay Company, Belcher Islands, 22 August 1941 (Doc. 193); Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 3; Henry Kearney to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., “G” Division, 30 March 1942 (Doc. 336), 1-2; Invoice, Hudson’s Bay Company, Belcher Post, to the R.C.M.P., “G” Division, 31 July 1942 (Doc. 458). On *Reference as to whether “Indians” includes in s. 91 (24) of the B.N.A. Act includes Eskimo in habitants of the Province of Quebec*, [1939] S.C.R. 104, see Richard J. Diubaldo, “The Absurd Little Mouse: When Eskimos Became Indians,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16, no. 2 (1981): 34-40; and Constance Backhouse, “‘Race’ Definition Run Amuck: ‘Slaying the Dragon of Eskimo Status’ Before the Supreme Court of Canada, 1939,” in *Law, History, Colonialism: The Reach of Empire*, eds. Diane Kirby and Catherine Coleborne (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 65-77.

<sup>75</sup> Henry Kearney to the Post Manager, Hudson’s Bay Company, Moose Factory, 29 August 1941 (Doc. 212); Henry Kearney to the Post Manager, Hudson’s Bay Company, Moose Factory, 29 August 1941 (Doc. 213); Itemized details of rations issued in August 1941, 31 August 1941 (Doc. 238). See also Invoice, Hudson’s Bay Company, Moose Factory, to the Department of Mines and Resources, Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 230); Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 4; Invoice, Hudson’s Bay Company, Moose Factory, to the Department of Mines and Resources, Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch, 31 August 1941 (Doc. 237).

<sup>76</sup> Henry Kearney to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., “G” Division, 5 September 1941 (Doc. 218); “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Mina, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 161), 1.

<sup>77</sup> Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 1-3; “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 88), 1, 14; “Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 90), 1, 17; “Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing” in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 92), 1, 14; “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Akeenik, 30 July 1941 (Doc. 94), 1, 17; “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Mina, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 104), 1, 8; “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Ouyerack, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 109), 1, 8; “Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Quarack, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 115), 1, 8; Kerr, “Information and Complaint” in the case of Quarack, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 25); Henry Kearney, “Information and Complaint” regarding Akeenik, 29 July 1941 (Doc. 86); Henry Kearney, “Information and Complaint” regarding Peter Sala, 29 July 1941 (Doc. 84);

Graham Price, “Remote Justice: The Stipendiary Magistrate’s Court of the Northwest Territories (1905-1955)” (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Manitoba, 1986), 111, 240.

<sup>78</sup> Price, “Remote Justice,” 111, 143n157; Dexter, Report on “Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 3 August 1941 (Doc. 122), 2; R.A. Gibson to W. Stuart Edwards, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 119); “Oath of Office” of Charles P. Plaxton, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 118).

<sup>79</sup> QTC, *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*, 16.

<sup>80</sup> Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 41-42, 129, 153-54; Justice Charles P. Plaxton’s conduct following the trial indicates its intended deterrent function. According to newspaper reports, Plaxton encouraged the Inuit at the trial to promise to commit no further killings, eliciting a pledge to demonstrate proper behaviour (“Eskimos Promise To Kill No More,” *Regina Leader-Post* (Regina, SK), 23 August 1941 (Doc. 199); Kinmond, “CONGREGATION GAVE ESKIMO BULLET TO SHOOT ‘SATAN’,” 22 August 1941 (Doc. 194); James McCook, “30 Eskimos Give Pledge They Will Kill No More,” *Globe and Mail*, 25 August 1941 (Doc. 206)). During his address, Plaxton had warned the Inuit that “[i]f there are any more murders on these islands the police and other white men will come again and the Eskimos who have been bad will be punished more severely.” Thus, in addition to informing the Inuit that “[n]o man has the right to kill any man, woman or child,” these trials clearly had a deterrent intention (McCook, “30 Eskimos Give Pledge They Will Kill No More,” 25 August 1941 (Doc. 206)). It would also have been more economically feasible to transport the court party to the Belcher Islands, as opposed to transporting the prisoners and witnesses to a Southern court and accommodating them there (Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 42, 154; Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, 109-10).

<sup>81</sup> In 1921, the police and Deputy Minister of Justice E.L. Newcombe decided not to proceed with legal action against the individuals whom the investigations had suggested could be charged in relation to his death. This decision stemmed from doubts that any trial would produce a conviction given “the barbarous and primitive conditions in which the natives of Belcher Islands find their livelihood,” and concerns that the suspects’ trial and imprisonment would eliminate their dependents’ ability to sustain themselves. The authorities were furthermore convinced that the Belcher Islanders were not “criminals at heart,” but instead had firmly believed that Ko-Okyauck had posed a threat to their people, and that the investigation alone would “have a beneficial and lasting effect on these natives.” E. L. Newcombe to the Commissioner, R.C.M.P., 9 June 1921; J. W. Phillips to the Commissioner, R.C.M.P., 8 June 1921; and E. L. Newcombe to A. B. Perry, 10 June 1921, LAC, RG 13, vol. 259, file 1238, no. 2459.

<sup>82</sup> Kinmond, “Jury Acquits Two Eskimos of Murdering Girl ‘Satan’,” 20 August 1941 (Doc. 169); “Seven Eskimos to Stand Trial on Murder Count; Judicial Party Starts Off For Far North Scene of Violence,” *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1941 (Doc. 126);

McCook, "Eskimos Thought Satan Slain When 15-Year-Old Girl Killed," 20 August 1941 (Doc. 170); Kinmond, "Congregation Gave Eskimo Bullet to Shoot 'Satan'," 22 August 1941 (Doc. 194); James McCook, "Heard [Weird] Story at Eskimo Trial," *Charlottetown Patriot*, 23 August 1941 (Doc. 198).

<sup>83</sup> McCook, "Heard [Weird] Story At Eskimo Trial," 23 August 1941 (Doc. 198).

<sup>84</sup> Kearney, Report on "Alleged Murders...", 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 3.

<sup>85</sup> See Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 152, 165-67, for an analysis of how the 1923 trial of Nuqallaq on Pond Inlet for the murder of Robert Janes was also structured to reflect the Canadian and British court room.

<sup>86</sup> Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 9-10. For example, the three trials conducted for the Alikomiak and Tatamigana matter concluded within two days, while Paddy Duncan's trial, ranging from the jury selection to his sentencing, occurred in one day.

<sup>87</sup> Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Johnny, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 2); Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Johnasie, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 4); Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Moses, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 6); Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Nukarak, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 7); Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Kumudluk Sarah, 14 April 1941 (Doc. 8); Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Alec Keytowieack, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 16); Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Moses, Alec, Johnasie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) - Murder of," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 35), 2; Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) - Murder of, Inquest," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 36), 1; Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Sarah Apawkok, 26/28 July 1941 (Doc. 68); Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Keytowieack, 26/28 July 1941 (Doc. 82). The *North-West Territories Act* required that "in every case of an inquest six jurors must agree in order to render the verdict valid." *The Revised Statutes of Canada: Proclaimed and Published Under the Authority of the Act 49 Vict., Chap. 4, A.D. 1886, Volume 1* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1887), 732. In this case, the records from the preliminary proceedings note that no juries were summoned due to the lack of prospective jury members available. Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Moses, Alec, Johnasie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) - Murder of," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 35), 2; Kerr, Report on "Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) - Murder of, Inquest," 26 April 1941 (Doc. 36), 2; Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Sarah Apawkok, 26/28 July 1941 (Doc. 68); Orford, "Inquisition" on view of Keytowieack, 26/28 July 1941 (Doc. 82).

<sup>88</sup> Kearney, Report on "Alleged Murders...", 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 1-3.

<sup>89</sup> Henry Kearney, "Information and Complaint" regarding Akeenik and Alec Apawkok, 29 July 1941 (Doc. 87), 2; William Grant Kerr, "Information and Complaint" regarding Peter Sala and Adlaykok, 15 April 1941 (Doc. 33), 3; Kearney, "Information and Complaint" regarding Quarack and Charlie Ouyerack, 25 July

1941 (Doc. 50), 2; Kearney, “Information and Complaint” regarding Mina, 31 July 1941 (Doc. 96), 2.

<sup>90</sup> Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 2; Kinmond, “HUDSON’S BAY ARCTIC POST COURT FOR ESKIMO HEARING,” 19 August 1941 (Doc. 162); “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 1.

<sup>91</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 15. See Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 168 for a similar issue occurring in the 1923 trial of Nuqallaq on Pond Inlet. The archival records only note Madden and Olmsted completing trial preparations during the five-day delay that the judicial party endured at Great Whale River as they awaited more favourable weather to continue to the Belcher Islands for the trial (“Insanity Is Plea Of Eskimo Woman,” 16 August 1941 (Doc. 151)).

<sup>92</sup> Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 2; Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Apawkok and Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 156); Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok and Peter Sala, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 158); Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyrack and Quarack, 20 August 1941 (Doc. 167).

<sup>93</sup> Kinmond, “Jury Acquits Two Eskimos of Murdering Girl ‘Satan’,” 20 August 1941 (Doc. 169).

<sup>94</sup> Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 10; W. G. Morrow, “A Survey of Jury Verdicts in the Northwest Territories,” *Alberta Law Review* 8 (1970): 50. This, too, was seemingly a common feature of Northern trials, as Grant demonstrates that Nuqallaq’s 1923 murder trial could also not be classified as a trial by one’s peers. Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 5, 42-43. See also Harper, *Thou Shalt Do No Murder*.

<sup>95</sup> Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 55.

<sup>96</sup> Coates and Morrison demonstrate this as occurring frequently in Yukon murder trials. For instance, the judge trying Ned Elfors for murder restated the prosecution’s case before challenging the defendant’s, later reporting he had done so to ensure that no “gross miscarriage ... of justice” would occur in this case as it had in others in which juries had yielded “to just such ridiculous arguments as were advanced in this case.” *Strange Things Done*, 67-74. In the trial of Alikomiak and Tatamigana, the judge also made clear to the jury which verdict would be most appropriate, in what Coates and Morrison deem a “histrionic and one-sided speech.” The judge emphasized the jury’s commonalities with the victims, suggested that anything but a guilty verdict would be “a mockery and travesty of Justice,” and admonished the jury to “make these tribes understand that the stern but at the same time just hand of British justice extends also to these northern shores.” *Strange Things Done*, 114-16.

<sup>97</sup> Olmsted to Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 4.

<sup>98</sup> “Proceedings of Hearings” in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, 18 August 1941 (Doc. 157), 16, 18-19; Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 93. As



Morrison argues, this Social Darwinistic and paternalistic conceptualization of Inuit was common among police. *Showing the Flag*, xv, 144.

<sup>99</sup> James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 113.

<sup>100</sup> Olmsted to Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 5; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 113. See also Sidney L. Harring, *White Man's Law: Native People in Nineteenth-century Canadian Jurisprudence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 217-38.

<sup>101</sup> "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 159), 21.

<sup>102</sup> Olmsted to Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 5; James, *Locations of the Sacred*, 113. Such remarks by a judge, although biased by modern standards, were "consistent with the way criminal trials were conducted in the Yukon and North-West Territories in this era." Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 55, 67-69.

<sup>103</sup> R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Alec Apawkok, 18/19 November 1941 (Doc. 264).

<sup>104</sup> R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Akeenik, 18 November 1941 (Doc. 262); Kearney, Report on "Alleged Murders...", 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 3; George B. McClellan to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., "O" Division, 4 September 1941 (Doc. 216), 1, 3; R.A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 20 August 1941 (Doc. 165), 1-2.

<sup>105</sup> R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Adlaykok, 19 November 1941 (Doc. 266); Kearney, Report on "Alleged Murders...", 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 3; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Charlie Ouyerack, 18 November 1941 (Doc. 263); R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Peter Sala, 18/19 November 1941 (Doc. 265).

<sup>106</sup> R.A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 8 September 1941 (Doc. 221); R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Peter Sala, 18/19 November 1941 (Doc. 265).

<sup>107</sup> R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Quarack, 19 November 1941 (Doc. 268); Henry Kearney, Telegram to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., "G" Division, 20 August 1941 (Doc. 163).

<sup>108</sup> "Form of Recognizance to Keep the Peace" in the case of Quarack, 20 August 1941 (Doc. 168), 1; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Quarack, 19 November 1941 (Doc. 268); Kearney, Report on "Alleged Murders...", 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 3; Charles P. Plaxton, "Certificate of Conviction" in the case of Quarack, 21 August 1941 (Doc. 181).

<sup>109</sup> "Proceedings of Hearings" in the case of Rex vs. Mina, 19 August 1941 (Doc. 161), 1; R.A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 21 August 1941 (Doc. 183); Kearney, Report on "Alleged Murders...", 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 3; R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Mina, 19 November 1941 (Doc. 267), 1-2. For much of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Northern courts tended to treat Northern Indigenous offenders with leniency, in recognition of the police's historical perception of these people as being admirably hard-working, moral, thrifty, clever, generous, and self-reliant. See, for example, Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 180; Morrison, *Showing the Flag*, xv, 152-53; Price, "Remote Justice," 125, 284-88, 302, 307. Other factors may have played a role



in this case. Madden’s efforts to establish the defendants’ insanity and emphasis on the lack of religious instruction may have been a mitigating factor in sentencing, in addition to Judge Plaxton’s own tendencies “to find for the defendant” and require high standards of proof. Price, “Remote Justice,” 318. It is likely that Plaxton decided upon such minimal sentences with the understanding that these Inuit were previously unaware of Canadian laws and the judicial process.

<sup>110</sup> Godsell, “‘Messiah’ of the Ice-Fields,” 10 January 1942 (Doc. 292).

<sup>111</sup> Olmsted to Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 4.

<sup>112</sup> Nor were these new concerns. Coates and Morrison note that the 1920s trial of Alikomiak and Tatamigana had instigated a similar discussion over the suitability of traditional punishments for Inuit. Judge Dubuc had proposed that Inuit did not take Northern imprisonment “seriously,” for how detainment offered them housing and regular meals that were more comfortable than their customary “fight and struggle for food and existence.” Nor was imprisonment in a Southern penitentiary appropriate, for that meant “sure death.” Dubuc suggested the Criminal Code should be amended to enable Inuit to be sentenced to imprisonment on diets of water and bread, and punishments of lashing, since being whipped “like a dog” would constitute “the greatest humiliation.” Capital Case file 24861, 1923, as cited in Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 116. The “life imprisonment” of Sinnisiak and Uluksuk at the Fort Resolution detachment for the murder of Father Le Roux, which had only lasted two years, elicited similar questions regarding the effectiveness of detainment for Inuit. As Grant indicates, the Inuit had perceived their sentence as a “reward,” given their later employment at the detachment, and how they returned home to “boast” of the free clothing, food, and warm shelter they had received. They had thus learned the lesson “that crime paid,” due to the inconsistency between the punishment and Inuit values. *Arctic Justice*, 40-41, 49.

<sup>113</sup> Dexter, Report on “Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 28 October 1941 (Doc. 244), 1; Dexter, Report on “Belcher Islands Murderers,” 1 December 1941 (Doc. 278); Dexter, Report on “Belcher Islands Murderers,” 31 December 1941 (Doc. 285); L. E. Wilson, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 27 January 1942 (Doc. 296), 1; Wilson, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 17 February 1942 (Doc. 310); Dexter, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 3 March 1942 (Doc. 320).

<sup>114</sup> Invoice “For Professional Services to Eskimo prisoners at Moose Factory,” 4 February 1942 (Doc. 303). See also Dexter, Report on “Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 28 October 1941 (Doc. 244), 1.

<sup>115</sup> Wilson, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 17 February 1942 (Doc. 310); L. E. Wilson, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 24 March 1942 (Doc. 335); George E. Dexter, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 10 March 1942 (Doc. 327); George E. Dexter, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 18 March 1942 (Doc. 332); “Hospital Account Form,” Newnham Hospital to the Missionary Society of the Church of England, regarding Charlie Ouyerack, Adlaykok, and Akeenik, 31

March 1942 (Doc. 339); Wilson, Report on "Belcher Island Murderers," 14 April 1942 (Doc. 350); Wilson, Report on "Belcher Island Murderers," 21 April 1942 (Doc. 357); William Grant Kerr, Report on "Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., Eskimo Prisoners at Moose Factory," 19 May 1942 (Doc. 371), 1.

<sup>116</sup> "Statements of Hilda Lowe and Dorothy Carroll" regarding the death of Charlie Ouyerack, 28 May 1942 (Doc. 409); "Information of Witness" - Thomas J. Orford, 15 June 1942 (Doc. 394); Wilson, Report on "Charlie OUYERACK et al, Murder - Belcher Ids. N.W.T.," 27 May 1942 (Doc. 379); Wilson, Report on "Belcher Island Murderers," 21 April 1942 (Doc. 357); Thomas J. Orford to R.A. Gibson, 6 April 1942 (Doc. 342), 1; L. E. Wilson, Report on "Belcher Island Murderers," 7 April 1942 (Doc. 346); Ross Millar to R.A. Gibson, 29 May 1942 (Doc. 382).

<sup>117</sup> Dexter, Report on "Belcher Island Murderers," 3 March 1942 (Doc. 320), 2. See also D. L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 27 February 1942 (Doc. 317); R.A. Gibson to J. J. Heagerty, 3 March 1942 (Doc. 321).

<sup>118</sup> D. L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 6 March 1942 (Doc. 323).

<sup>119</sup> Gibson to Cantley, 23 April 1942 (Doc. 358), 1.

<sup>120</sup> McKeand to Gibson, 25 April 1942 (Doc. 361), 2. Nuqallaq had been convicted in 1923 of the manslaughter of Newfoundland trader Robert Janes, and sentenced to a 10-year term of hard labour at Manitoba's Stony Mountain Penitentiary. He served about eighteen tumultuous months in which prison officials recorded him sobbing and losing the desire to live, before he was diagnosed with tuberculosis and returned home to Pond Inlet on a "ticket of leave" by Canadian officials who presumed that the brisk and chilly air would facilitate his recovery. Instead, he died in December 1925, leaving behind a tuberculosis outbreak that seized the region in the following months. Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 4, 5, 36, 191, 194, 197-98, 205-06, 211.

<sup>121</sup> Thomas J. Orford, "Inquisition" into the death of Charlie Ouyerack, 15 June 1942 (Doc. 393); "Information of Witness" - Dorothy Carroll, 15 June 1942 (Doc. 395). Ouyerack's death from tuberculosis testifies further to the destructiveness of that disease amongst Inuit. See Pat Grygier, *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

<sup>122</sup> Millar to Gibson, 29 May 1942 (Doc. 382).

<sup>123</sup> R.A. Gibson to F. P. Varcoe, 10 June 1942 (Doc. 391), 2.

<sup>124</sup> Gibson to Varcoe, 10 June 1942 (Doc. 391), 2; R.A. Gibson to A.L. Fleming, 24 June 1942 (Doc. 403), 1.

<sup>125</sup> E. H. Coleman to Stuart Taylor Wood, 6 July 1942 (Doc. 414); E. H. Coleman to Stuart Taylor Wood, 6 July 1942 (Doc. 415); Charles Camsell to R.A. Gibson, 13 July 1942 (Doc. 417), 1; "Extract from the Minutes of the One Hundred and Forty-fourth Session of the N.W.T. Council, held 14th July, 1942," 14 July 1942 (Doc. 420); William Grant Kerr, Report on "Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," 8 August 1942 (Doc. 440).

<sup>126</sup> “Extract from the Minutes of the 145<sup>th</sup> Session of the N.W.T. Council,” 14 July 1942 (Doc. 420); Camsell to Gibson, 13 July 1942 (Doc. 417), 1.

<sup>127</sup> R.A. Gibson to A.L. Fleming, 7 July 1942 (Doc. 411); Gibson to Coleman, 27 July 1942 (Doc. 424); “New Start for Eskimo Slayers of Doubters,” *Globe and Mail*, 29 August 1942 (Doc. 449).

<sup>128</sup> Gibson to Fleming, 24 June 1942 (Doc. 403), 2; Neilson would also assume the responsibility of reforming Sophie Wetaltuk, an Inuit woman being relocated from the Cape Hope Islands in the hopes of reforming her apparently incestuous conduct and preventing “further unnatural relations” by separating the family (Gibson to Fleming, 24 June 1942 (Doc. 403), 2; R.A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 15 July 1942 (Doc. 422); R.A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 3 August 1942 (Doc. 431); William Grant Kerr, Report on “Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 12 September 1942 (Doc. 454), 1; “New Start for Eskimo Slayers,” 29 August 1942 (Doc. 449)). Sophie Wetaltuk’s relocation to Great Whale River also illustrates the government’s apparently growing recognition of the ineffectiveness of simply applying Southern punishments to the Inuit, without regard to their differing cultures or lifestyles. In a 24 June 1942 memorandum to Gibson, McKeand summarized that Rupert Wetaltuk and his sister, Sophie, had been convicted of incest on 21 July 1933. While Rupert was sentenced to imprisonment at Stony Mountain Penitentiary for two years, Sophie “was released on suspended sentence for two years.” Rupert’s sentence had been ineffective, McKeand observed: “It is said Rupert had a good time at Stony Mountain and returned with glowing tales of his treatment.” So ineffective had his punishment been that “[h]e is now accused of repeating the offence and involving the same woman” (McKeand to Gibson, 24 June 1942 (Doc. 404), 2). Removing Sophie to Great Whale River appears to have been an attempt to adapt the judicial system to Northern realities, replacing ineffective Southern imprisonment with the supervision and rectifying instruction of qualified Christian instructors.

<sup>129</sup> Olmsted to Varcoe, 11 October 1941 (Doc. 235), 5-7.

<sup>130</sup> R.A. Gibson to F. P. Varcoe, 12 November 1941 (Doc. 254), 1-2.

<sup>131</sup> D. L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 17 November 1941 (Doc. 260), 1.

<sup>132</sup> Grant, *Arctic Justice*, 246. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the Belcher Islands cases impacted the broader approach to Inuit offenders. There did occur, in the Yukon, one effort to integrate considerations of Indigenous justice into the judicial response to Inuit crime. Paddy Duncan, convicted of murder in 1936 and imprisoned in British Columbia, was granted parole in 1948. Although initially forbidden from returning to the Yukon, the Department of Indian Affairs successfully recommended his parole be revised to permit his return, with officials discussing and seemingly recommending that Duncan hold a party to make restitution, offer a formal apology, and renew his relationship with his victim’s tribe, in accordance with Indigenous custom. Coates and Morrison, *Strange Things Done*, 130-44. It is challenging to assess whether the Belcher Islands case, so geographically distant, had

any bearing upon that decision to consider Indigenous law in the handling of Northern criminal matters. The 2009 Government of Nunavut Report Card indicated that “culturally appropriate and local treatment facilities” and diversion alternatives remain few in number, demonstrating a continuing governmental failure to consider Inuit conceptualizations of justice (2009 Government of Nunavut Report Card, as cited in QTC, *QTC Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatiqiniq* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc., 2013), 75-76, [https://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic\\_reports/thematic\\_reports\\_english\\_final\\_report.pdf](https://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_final_report.pdf)).

<sup>133</sup> Damas, *Arctic Migrants*, 40-41, 116. The Moose Factory region possessed no medical facility capable of conducting any laboratory or diagnostic imagery testing, so Orford was compelled to send Ouyerack’s blood and sputum samples to Toronto. In light of the Inuk’s declining condition, Orford recommended that Ouyerack be transferred to Cochrane with its “well equipped hospital and diagnostic facilities.” Orford to Gibson, 6 April 1942 (Doc. 342), 1-2; Wilson, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 27 January 1942 (Doc. 296), 1; L. E. Wilson, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 31 March 1942 (Doc. 337), 1; Ross Millar to R.A. Gibson, 16 April 1942 (Doc. 351); Wilson, Report on “Charlie OUYERACK et al, Murder - Belcher Ids. N.W.T.,” 27 May 1942 (Doc. 379).

<sup>134</sup> McClellan to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., “O” Division, 4 September 1941 (Doc. 216), 3.

<sup>135</sup> Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 4.

<sup>136</sup> Dexter, Report on “Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 28 October 1941 (Doc. 244), 2; Dexter, Report on “Belcher Islands Murderers,” 1 December 1941 (Doc. 278), 1; Wilson, Report on “Belcher Island Murderers,” 31 March 1942 (Doc. 337), 1.

<sup>137</sup> Gibson to Cantley, 23 April 1942 (Doc. 358), 1.

<sup>138</sup> Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 5.

<sup>139</sup> McClellan to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., “O” Division, 4 September 1941 (Doc. 216), 3.

<sup>140</sup> McKeand to Gibson, 25 April 1942 (Doc. 361), 2.

<sup>141</sup> K. Duncan to R.A. Gibson, 5 August 1942 (Doc. 435); R.A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 7 August 1942 (Doc. 439); Gibson to Wood, 15 July 1942 (Doc. 422); R. C. Bowen to the N.C.O. in Charge, the R.C.M.P., Moose Factory, 3 August 1942 (Doc. 436); “New Start for Eskimo Slayers,” 29 August 1942 (Doc. 449).

<sup>142</sup> K. Duncan to R.A. Gibson, 5 August 1942 (Doc. 438); Gibson to Wood, 7 August 1942 (Doc. 439); “New Start for Eskimo Slayers,” 29 August 1942 (Doc. 449).

<sup>143</sup> T.J. Doyle to A.L. Cumming, 26 September 1942 (Doc. 456), 1; Nickel Belt Airways, “Detailed Statement of Flying done from Sept. 7th, 1942 to Sept. 14th, 1942 for Dept. of Mines & Resources, Administration of North West Territories,” 24 September 1942 (Doc. 473); Nickel Belt Airways, Invoice to the Department of Mines and Resources, 24 September 1942 (Doc. 472). Officials considered it

“undesirable” to return Mina to the Belcher Islands where she would certainly be “an outcast” and where her husband “does not want to have anything more to do with her.” Because Neilson had no accommodations for either her or Akeenik, Mina -- who according to Orford showed “no indications of the mental disorders to which she was subject previously” -- was set to reside with her brother Peter. Akeenik would join Adlyakok’s household. Kearney, Report on “Alleged Murders...,” 4 September 1941 (Doc. 217), 5; Thomas J. Orford, Report on Mina, 29 August 1942 (Doc. 448); Kerr, Report on “Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 12 September 1942 (Doc. 454), 2.

<sup>144</sup> Doyle to Cumming, 26 September 1942 (Doc. 456), 1. See also Kerr, Report on “Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,” 12 September 1942 (Doc. 454), 2.

<sup>145</sup> George L. Neilson to R.A. Gibson, 26 September 1942 (Doc. 455), 1; T.J. Doyle to A.L. Cumming, 2 September 1942 (Doc. 452); M. Cowan to R.H.G. Bonnycastle, 1 August 1942 (Doc. 430); R.A. Gibson to George L. Neilson, 15 July 1942 (Doc. 421).

<sup>146</sup> Gibson to Fleming, 7 July 1942 (Doc. 411).

<sup>147</sup> See Damas, *Arctic Migrants*, 32, 46, 107, 190, for an examination of this Indigenous policy, and how it shifted in later decades. The archival records related to Inuit involved in the Belcher Islands case conclude in 1942. However, Harper and Millman extend the narrative in their writings. Mina and Peter Sala, who were relocated to Great Whale River in the summer of 1942, were later again relocated with Peter’s family to the Nastapoka Islands. Harper, *In Those Days*, 134. Millman speculates that this was because they were still considered “risky.” He notes that they were transferred later to Port Harrison, where they attended the Anglican church and Mina worked as a housekeeper. Millman, *At the End of the World*, 176, 189. Adlyakok and Akeenik continued to reside in a camp 20 miles north of Great Whale River. A 1944 RCMP report indicated that all these Inuit were “living normal lives” and “following their normal mode of living” post-release. Quoted in Harper, *In Those Days*, 134. By the 1970s, Sala had returned to Great Whale River, and in 1982, having decided that, at the age of 82, he likely “could not cause much harm,” the Canadian government allowed him to return to the Belcher Islands. He remained there, remorseful over the deaths yet socially ostracized even by his family until his death in either 1988 (Millman, *At the End of the World*, 183-84) or 1990 (Harper, *In Those Days*, 134).

## List of Abbreviations

A/Commr	Assistant	Corpl. / Cpl.	Corporal
/ A/Comm'r	Commissioner	CP	Canadian Press
A/Sergt.	Acting Sergeant	Cst.	Constable
Asst. / Ass't.	Assistant	DD	Diary Date
Attn.	Attention	DD	Doctor of Divinity
BA	Bachelor of Arts	Dept.	Department
bd. ft.	board feet	Det.	Detachment
Bg.	Bag	D/Insp.	Deputy Inspector
bl.	bale	Div. / Divn. /	
B.Powdr.		Div'n.	Division
/ B. pdr.	Baking Powder	DM	Deputy Minister
Bsk	Basket	DMJ	Deputy Minister of Justice
btl.	bottle		
Bus	Bushel	Doc.	Document
bx.	box	doz.	dozen
Can.	Canada	Dr.	Doctor
Capt.	Captain	ea	each
CC	Criminal Code	Eng.	England
CF	Canadian Forces	Esk.	Eskimo
CGS	Canadian Government Ship	Esq.	Esquire
		F.	Fahrenheit
CIB	Criminal Investigation Branch	F'lette	Flannelette
		FT	Fort
CMG	Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George	Fw'd	Forwarded
		gal.	gasoline
CNR	Canadian National Railway	Galv.	galvanized
		HBC / HBCo. /	Hudson's Bay
CNT	Canadian National Telegraph	HB Company	Company
		Hon.	Honourable
Co.	Company	Hosp.	Hospital
c/o	care of	HQ	Headquarters
Commdbg. /		hs care	bedtime care
Comdg.	Commanding	Ids. / Is.	Islands

incl.	inclusive	PEI	Prince Edward Island
Insp. / Insp.	Inspector		
inst.	instant	pkt.	packet
Inv.	Invoice	plg.	plug
Is.	Islands	PO Box	Post Office Box
JP	Justice of the Peace	PQ	Province of Quebec
KC	King’s Counsel	pr.	pair
LAC	Library and Archives Canada	Pros’g	Prosecuting
		PWNHC	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre
lb. / lbs.	pound(s)		
LL. D.	Legum Doctor	QC	Quebec
L.L. M.	Master of Laws	QTC	Qikiqtani Truth Commission
Ltd.	Limited		
MA	Master of Arts	Que	Quebec
Man.	Manitoba	RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
M.D.	Medical Doctor		
Mdse.	Merchandise	RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
MF	Moose Factory		
Mgr	Manager	RCMPolice	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
MS / M/S	Motor Ship		
MSCC	Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada	Ref.	Reference
		Reg.	Registered
MV	Motor Vessel	Reg. No.	Registration Number
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer	Rev.	Reverend
		RG	Record Group
NWT	Northwest Territories	RMS	Royal Mail Ship
		RSC	Revised Statutes of Canada
NWT & Y	Northwest Territories and Yukon	S/Cst.	Special Constable
		S.Div.	Sub-Division
OC	Officer in Charge	SE	Southeast
ON / Ont.	Ontario	Sec.	Section
PC	Privy Council	Sgd.	Signed
		Sgt. / Sergt.	Sergeant



Sig.	Signed	Terr	Territories
SK	Saskatchewan	Thos.	Thomas
Spl. Cst.	Special Constable	vol.	volume
SS	Steamship	Wm.	William
Supt.	Superintendent	yds.	yards
TB	Tuberculosis	yrs	years

## List of Individuals

Adlaykok – male Inuk, charged with murdering Keytowieack on 26 January 1941, convicted of manslaughter

Akeenik – female Inuk, charged with murdering Sarah Apawkok on 25 January 1941, found not guilty on account of temporary insanity

Alec – 8-year-old victim of exposure at Camsell Island on 29 March 1941

Apawkok, Alec – male Inuk, charged with and acquitted of murdering Sarah Apawkok on 25 January 1941

Apawkok, Sarah – killed on 25 January 1941, for whose murder Alec Apawkok and Akeenik were charged and tried

Armitage, R. – R.C.M.P. Inspector, Director of Criminal Investigation

Bonnycastle, R. H. G. – Manager, Fur Trade Department, Hudson’s Bay Company, Winnipeg

Bowen, R. C. – R.C.M.P. Inspector, Acting Officer Commanding “G” Division c. Summer 1942

Cadney, Edward G. – Engineer of the Hudson’s Bay Company *Fort Charles*; jury member for all trials of August 1941

Calhoun, Fill – Writer for *Life Magazine*

Camsell, Charles – Commissioner of the Northwest Territories; Deputy Minister of the Department of Mines and Resources

Cantley, James – Manager of the Baffin Trading Company, Montreal

Carnegie, R. K. – Canadian Press and Parliamentary Press Gallery, Ottawa

Carroll, Dorothy – Registered Nurse at Newnham Cottage Hospital, Moose Factory, Ontario

Caulkin, T. B. – Assistant Commissioner of the R.C.M.P., Commanding “G” Division

Chesshire, R. H. – Assistant Manager of the Fur Trade Department, Hudson’s Bay Company, Winnipeg

Coleman, E. H. – Under-Secretary of State, Ottawa

Cowan, M. – District Manager, Hudson’s Bay Company, James Bay District

Cumming, A. L. – Superintendent of Mackenzie District

Daly, K. R. – Senior Solicitor for the Department of Mines and Resources, General Administrative Offices, Legal Division

Dexter, George E. – R.C.M.P. Constable, in charge of the Moose Factory Detachment (until c. April 1942)

Doyle, T. J. – Department of Mines and Resources, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs

Duncan, K. – Superintendent, Assistant Director of Criminal Investigation, R.C.M.P.

Edwards, W. Stuart – Deputy Minister of Justice

Ekpuk, Alec – See Alec Keytowieack

Farrar, C. B. – Director of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital

Fleming, A. L. – Reverend; Bishop of the Arctic, Toronto

Gallagher, M. F. – Chief of Remission Service, Department of Justice, Ottawa

Gibson, R. A. – Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Department of Mines and Resources; Director of the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Department of Mines and Resources

Godsell, Philip H. – Journalist and writer; former HBC trader

Green, Thomas – Representative of the *Toronto Daily Star*, Parliamentary Press Gallery, Ottawa

Grierson, John – Film Commissioner, National Film Board, Department of National War Services, Ottawa

Heagerty, J. J. – Director, Public Health Services, Department of Pensions and National Health, Ottawa

Holtzman, M. E. – Mining engineer; jury member for all trials of August 1941

Jeffrey, Roy – Post manager of the Hudson's Bay Company Post on the Belcher Islands

Johnsie – 6-year-old victim of exposure at Camsell Island on 29 March 1941, for whose murder Mina was charged

Johnny – 7-year-old victim of exposure at Camsell Island on 29 March 1941

Kearney, Henry – R.C.M.P. Sergeant, "G" Division; Clerk of the Court for the Preliminary Hearings in July 1941

Kerr, William Grant – R.C.M.P. Corporal; in charge of the Moose Factory Detachment starting in c. May 1942

Keytowieack – killed on 26 January 1941, for whose murder Peter Sala and Adlaykok were charged and tried

Keytowieack, Alec (Alec Ekpuk) – killed on 9 February 1941, for whose murder Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack were charged and tried

Kinmond, William – Reporter for the *Toronto Daily Star*; jury member for all trials of August 1941

Kumudluk Sarah – victim of exposure at Camsell Island on 29 March 1941

Lock, J. W. K. – Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs

Lowe, Hilda – Registered Nurse and Hospital Superintendent at Newnham Cottage Hospital, Moose Factory, Ontario

Madden, J. P. – Defence counsel for all seven defendants

Martin, Douglas J. – R.C.M.P. Inspector, Commanding "G" Division; Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories

McClellan, George B. – R.C.M.P. Inspector

McCook, James – Reporter for the *Canadian Press*; jury member for all trials of August 1941

McCutcheon, L. W. – Chief Treasury Officer, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa

McFarland, J. R. – R.C.M.P. Corporal; Court stenographer for the 1941 trials

McKeand, D. L. – Superintendent of the Eastern Arctic, Northwest Territories Administration; Officer in Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol

McLean, Ross – Assistant Film Commissioner, National Film Board

Miall, E. – Department of Justice, Ottawa; appointed Assistant Deputy Minister on 20 March 1942

Millar, Ross – Director of Medical Services, Department of Pensions and National Health, Ottawa

Mina – female Inuk, charged with murdering Johnasie on 29 March 1941, found not mentally fit to stand trial

Moses – 13-year-old victim of exposure at Camsell Island on 29 March 1941

Neilson, George L. – Reverend, Anglican missionary, and teacher at Great Whale River

Nukarak – victim of exposure at Camsell Island on 29 March 1941

Olmsted, R. A. – Crown prosecutor in all trials

Orford, Thomas J. – Coroner for the Northwest Territories; Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories; Physician and Indian Agent for the Department of Indian Affairs at Moose Factory

Ouyerack, Charlie – male Inuk, charged with murdering Alec Keytowieack/Ekpuk on 9 February 1941, convicted of manslaughter

Plaxton, Charles P. – Judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario; Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the Northwest Territories; Trial Judge presiding over the Belcher Islands trials of 1941

Quarack – male Inuk, charged with murdering Alec Keytowieack/Ekpuk on 9 February 1941, convicted of manslaughter

Riddell, Ernest – Fur trader and manager of the Hudson's Bay Company post on the Belcher Islands; jury member for all trials of August 1941

Rubie, Jack – Prospector; jury member for all trials of August 1941

Sala, Peter – male Inuk, charged with murdering Keytowieack on 26 January 1941, convicted of manslaughter

Sawyer, E. A. – Chief Treasury Officer, Department of Mines and Resources, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Ottawa

Udgarden, Harold – Hudson's Bay Company employee from Great Whale River; Interpreter for the preliminary hearings and trials

Varcoe, F. P. – Deputy Minister of Justice, Ottawa

Wilson, L. E. – R.C.M.P. Constable, "G" Division, Moose Factory Detachment

Wood, Stuart Taylor – Commissioner, R.C.M.P., Ottawa

## List of Alternate Spellings and Names Appearing in the Text

### Individuals

Adlaykok	Ablaykok, Ableykok, Adlaycock, Adlayluk, Arlaykok, Joe Adlaykok, Joe Aplaykok
Akeenik	Akeetik, Akeevik, Alkeenik
Alec Apawkok	Alec A. Pawkok, Alec Ablaykok, Alex Apawkok
Alec Ekpuk/ Alec Keytowieack	Alec Epuk, Alec Erpuk, Alec Impuk, Alec Kaytowick, Alec Keytowieack, Alec Keytowrieack, Alec Keytowrieack, Ekpuk, Keytowieack
Bertie Akparok	Bertie Akporak
Captain Neilsen	Captain Neilson
Charlie Ouyerack	Charles Ouyerack, Charles Ouyerak, Charley Ouyerack, Charley Ouyirack, Charlie Onye Rack, Charlie Ouyrack, Charlie Stone, Cherlie Ouyerack
Eva Naroomi	Eve Naroomi
George Neilson (Reverend)	G. Neilsen, George Nielson
Harold Udgarten	Harold Udgarten
Henry Kearney	Harry Kearney
J. R. McFarland (Cpl)	Cpl. MacFarland, Cpl. MacFarlane, Cpl. McFarlane
Johnasie (witness)	Johanasie, Johnaise, Johnasee, Johnassie
Kawtook	Kowtook
Keytowieack	Kaytowieck, Ketowieack, Keytoeieack, Keytowieack, Keytowieck, Keytowick, Keytowrieack, Keytwoieack
Kumudluk Sarah	Kumudluk, Kumudluk Sarak, Kumukluk Sara, Kumukluk Sarah
Kupveet	Kupueep
Lucasie	Lukasie

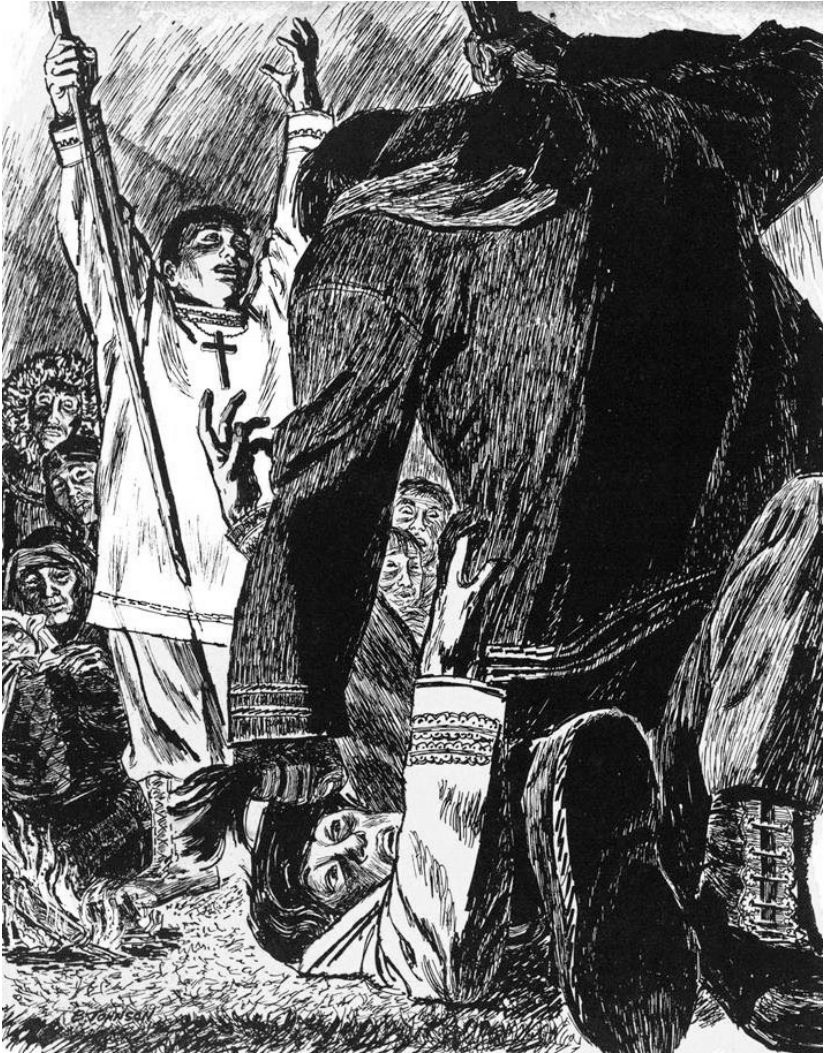
Markusie	Makrusie, Mark, Markasie, Markussie
Mina (accused)	Mino
Mina Sala (wife of Peter Sala)	Anowtelik, Minna Sala, Ninna
Nellie	Nellie Kawtook, Nellie Kaytock
Nukarak (victim) (Mina's mother)	Maria, Mary Anne, Nukarack
Peter Sala	Peter Sale, Peter Salla, Petere Sala
Quarack	Kuarack, Peter Quarack, Puarack, Quarach
R. A. Olmsted	R. A. Olmstead
R. H. G. Bonnycastle	R. H. G. Bonnicastle
Sarah Apawkok	Sara Apawkok
Sarah Eerkok	Sara Eerkok, Sarah Erkok
Shooluksuk	Shoolukshuk
Thomas J. Orford	T. J. Oxford

### **Locations**

Belcher Islands	Belcher Island, Belcher's Islands, Belchers Islands
Camsell Island	Camsell's Island, Peteolukjuak Island
Flaherty Island	Flaherty Islands, Flarherty Island
Pond Inlet	Ponds Inlet
Tookarak Camp	Tookaruk Camp, Tuokarak Camp
Tukarak Island	Tuakarak Island, Tukarac Island, Tukarack Island, Tukerak Island, Turkorka Island



## THE DOCUMENTS



“The Tragic Case of the Man who Played Jesus,” *Maclean’s* magazine,  
8 December 1956



Key figures in 1941 Belcher Islands murders were Peter Sala and his sister Mina. Sala posed as God, another Eskimo, Ouyerack, as Christ. Mina went mad and led naked women and children on the ice where six died.

Above: *Maclean's* magazine, 8 December 1956

Below: Avataq Cultural Institute



Peter Sala



Mina in 1948

**1. Information to Hold Inquest, of Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) Corporal William Grant Kerr, Moose Factory Detachment, regarding Johnny, before Thomas J. Orford, Coroner for the Northwest Territories, Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, and Indian Agent at Moose Factory, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INFORMATION TO HOLD INQUEST.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

I, William Grant Kerr of R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. make oath and say:

1. That the body of a male (Eskimo) now lies dead at Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands group, N.W.T.

2. That the said body is the body of Johnny (Age 7 years)[.]

3. That I have reason to believe the said deceased person came to his death from violent means.

4. And my reason for so believing is from information received[.]

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

in the said Territories, this 14th

day of April 1941

*<W.G. Kerr>*

*<Thos. J. Orford> Coroner.*

**2. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Johnny and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**Inquisition**

Canada

Northwest Territories

An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at Belcher Islands, N.W.T., on April 14th, 1941 at the Hudson's Bay Co. Post before Thomas J. Orford

Esquire one of the Coroners [of] our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Johnny Eskimo male age 7 years then and there lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of William Grant Kerr of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Charged to inquire for our Sovereign Lord the King when, where, how and by what means the said Johnny came to his death, do say:

That Johnny came to his death on or about the 29th of March, 1941 on the sea ice adjacent to Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands group, N.W.T. as a result of intense cold and insufficient clothing due to Eskimo Woman Mina inciting said Johnny, as well as others, to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and [imminent] end of the World[.]

In witness whereof, the said Coroner have hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner  
for the Northwest Territories

### **3. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Johnasie, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

#### **INFORMATION TO HOLD INQUEST.**

##### **CANADA:**

##### **Northwest Territories.**

I, William Grant Kerr of R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. make oath and say:

1. That the body of a male Eskimo now lies dead at Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands group, N.W.T.

2. That the said body is the body of Johnasie (Age 6 years)[.]

3. That I have reason to believe the said deceased person came to his death from violent means.

4. And my reason for so believing is from information received[.]

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
in the said Territories, this 14th  
day of April 1941

<W.G. Kerr>

<Thos. J. Orford> Coroner.  
For the Northwest Territories.

**4. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Johnasie and upon the  
oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INQUISITION.**

**CANADA:  
Northwest Territories.**

An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on April 14th, 1941 at the Hudson's Bay Co. Post before Thomas J. Orford Esquire one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Johnasie Eskimo male, age 6 years then and there lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of William Grant Kerr of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police good and lawful men of the said Northwest Territories, duly chosen, and who being then and there duly sworn, and charged to inquire for our said Lord the King, when, where, how and by what means the said Johnasie came to his death, do upon their oath say : That Johnasie came to his death on or about March 29th, 1941, on the sea ice adjacent to Camsell Island in the Belcher Islands Group, N.W.T. as a result of intense cold and insufficient clothing due to Eskimo woman Mina inciting said Johnasie, as well as others, to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and [imminent] end of the World[.]

In witness whereof, as well the said Coroners as the jurors aforesaid, have hereunto set and subscribed their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner.  
for the Northwest Territories

**5. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Moses,  
before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INFORMATION TO HOLD INQUEST.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

I, William Grant Kerr of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. make oath  
and say:

1. That the body of a male Eskimo now lies dead at Camsell Island of the  
Belcher Islands group, N.W.T.

2. That the said body is the body of Moses (Age 13 yrs)[.]

3. That I have reason to believe the said deceased person came to his death  
from violent means.

4. And my reason for so believing is from information received[.]

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

in the said Territories, this 14th  
day of April 1941

*<W.G. Kerr>*

*<Thos. J. Orford> Coroner.*

For the Northwest Territories

**6. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Moses and upon the oath  
of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INQUISITION.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at Belchers Islands,  
N.W.T. on April 14th, 1941 at the Hudson's Bay Co. Post before Thomas J. Orford  
Esquire one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest  
Territories on view of the body of Moses Eskimo male, age 13 years then and there



lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of William Grant Kerr of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police good and lawful men of the said Northwest Territories, duly chosen, and who being then and there duly sworn, and charged to inquire for our said Lord the King, when, where, how and by what means the said Moses came to his death, do upon their oath say : That Moses came to his death on or about March 29th, 1941, on the sea ice adjacent to Camsell Island of the Belcher Island Group of the N.W.T. as a result of intense cold and insufficient clothing due to Eskimo woman Mina inciting said Moses, as well as others, to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and the [imminent] end of the World.

In witness whereof, as well the said Coroners as the jurors aforesaid, have hereunto set and subscribed their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

*<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner.*  
for the Northwest Territories

## **7. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Nukarak and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

### **INQUISITION.**

#### **CANADA: Northwest Territories.**

An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on April 14th, 1941, at the Hudson's Bay Co. Post before Thos. J. Orford Esquire one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Nukarak female Eskimo, age 55 years then and there lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of William Grant Kerr of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police good and lawful men of the said Northwest Territories, duly chosen, and who being then and there duly sworn, and charged to inquire for our said Lord the King, when, where, how and by what means the said Nukarak came to her death, do upon their oath say : That Nukarak came to her death on or about March 29th, 1941, on the sea ice adjacent to Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands Group, N.W.T. as a result of intense cold and insufficient clothing due to Eskimo Woman Mina inciting said Nukarak, and others, to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and the [imminent] end of the World.

In witness whereof, as well the said Coroners as the jurors aforesaid, have hereunto set and subscribed their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

*<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner.*



For Northwest Territories

**8. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Kumudluk Sarah and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INQUISITION.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on April 14th, 1941 at the Hudson's Bay Co. Post before Thomas J. Orford, Esquire one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Kumudluk Sarah Female Eskimo, Age 32 years then and there lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of William Grant Kerr of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police good and lawful men of the said Northwest Territories, duly chosen, and who being then and there duly sworn, and charged to inquire for our said Lord the King, when, where, how and by what means the said Kumudluk Sarah came to her death, do upon their oath say : That Kumudluk Sarah came to her death on or about March 29th, 1941, on the sea ice adjacent to Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands Group, N.W.T. as a result of intense cold weather and insufficient clothing due to Eskimo woman Mina inciting said Kumudluk Sarah, as well as others to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and the [imminent] end of the World[.]

In witness whereof, as well the said Coroners as the jurors aforesaid, have hereunto set and subscribed their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

*<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner.*  
for the Northwest Territories

**9. Information of Witness, of Moses regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

Information of Witness

Canada

Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the deaths of Eskimo boys Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, and

Alec, Eskimo Women Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah at the Camsell Island of the Belcher Island group, N.W.T. on the 29th day of March one thousand nine hundred and forty one, before me Thomas J. Orford [Esquire] one of his Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the Bodies of the said Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: Moses of the said Northwest Territories being sworn, saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Moses

Q. How old are you

A. About 22 years

Q. Where were you living during the latter part of March and during April of this year

A. On Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell Island) one of the Belcher group lying S.E. of Tukarak Island.

Q. Did you identify the bodies of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny and Alec, and Nukarak and Kumudluk on April 14th, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Were you present on March 29th, 1941 when Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak and Kumudluk went outside without sufficient clothing

A. Yes

Q. What was the weather like

A. Very Cold

Q. Did the Eskimo mentioned before return to their homes

A. No

Q. Did you assist in looking for them

A. Yes

Q. In what condition did you find them

A. They were dead and frozen

Q. Where were they

A. On the sea ice adjacent to the island (Camsell)

Q. Did anyone cause or influence these children and women to go out in the cold without sufficient clothing

A. Yes. Mina went out first and told the others to follow. The others were frightened but all believed Mina when she said God was coming so they followed her along with myself and others. Some of us returned when we were cold, the others laid down on the ice and died. Mina was the leader[,] she tore off some of my clothes and she also took clothes off Moses, Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Maria (Nukarak)[,] Sarah (Kumudluk) when they were out some distance on the ice.

Q. Did Mina always appear normal in mind to you before the occurrence

A. For some days before she seemed to think God was coming. Before that I think she was normal.

- Q. Has Mina apparently been normal in mind as far as you are aware since the occurrence
- A. She has been improving every day and now appears to be over her belief of that time and is sorry for what she did

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this  
14th day of April in the year of our  
Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty one

[handwritten mark of Moses]

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**10. Information of Witness, of Nellie regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

Information of Witness

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and a[c]knowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the deaths of Eskimo Boys Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, and Alec, and Eskimo Women Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah at Camsell Island of the Belcher Island group, N.W.T. on the 29th day of March one thousand nine hundred and forty one, before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire one of his Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition there and then taken on view of the bodies of the said Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit; Nellie of the said Northwest Territories being sworn, saith.....

- Q. What is your name
- A. Nellie, a Widow
- Q. How old are you
- A. Over 30 years
- Q. Were you living at Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell) on March 29th, 1941
- A. Yes
- Q. Were the women and children of the camp out on the ice
- A. Yes
- Q. Were they clothed

- A. Some were naked[,] others had pants on
- Q. What was the weather
- A. Very Cold
- Q. Do you know why they were out in the cold on the ice without clothes on
- A. Mina told us to go out and to take our clothes off. Mina looked very wild and we were frightened—she said she was Jesus. She said Jesus was coming and scared us all. She said “Jesus is coming, come thou quickly, he is going to arrive”. We were all in a group and Mina was running in a circle around us. I took clothes off Sarah on the ice because Mina made me.
- Q. Were you out with the others
- A. Yes
- Q. Had you your clothes off
- A. Yes
- Q. Did you take them off voluntarily
- A. No. Mina told me to take them off. I was frightened.
- Q. Did you see Mina take clothes off the children some distance out on the ice
- A. Yes. She took the remaining clothes off—Pants— Alec, Sarah, Moses, Johnasie and [Johnny]
- Q. Why did the 4 Children and 2 Women not return
- A. They were a long way out on the ice and it was very cold and they were unable to walk back.
- Q. When were they found
- A. 2 days later
- Q. Where were they found
- A. Out on the ice around the Island (Camsell) at various distances
- Q. How were they when found
- A. Lying on the ice dead and frozen. Some had managed to get pants back on

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this  
14th day of April in the year of our Lord  
One thousand nine hundred and forty one

[handwritten mark of Nellie]

[handwritten] Nellie – Her mark

Witnessed by G. L. Neilson.

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**11. Information of Witness, of Ninna/Mina/Anowtelik regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

Information of Witness

Canada

Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the Deaths of Eskimo Boys Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, and Alec, Eskimo Women Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah at Camsell Island of the Belcher Island Group, N.W.T. on the 29th day of March, One thousand nine hundred and forty one, before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire one of his Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the bodies of the said Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: Ninna (Anowtelik) of the said Northwest Territories being sworn, saith:.....

Q. What is your name

A. Mina or Anowtelik, wife of Peter Sala

Q. How old are you

A. About 25 years

Q. Where were you living on March 29th, 1941

A. On Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell)

Q. On this date did you hear Mina, the wife of Moses[,] tell the Eskimos of the Camp to remove their clothing

A. Yes

Q. Did you see Mina lead these Eskimos out on the Sea ice

A. Yes

Q. What was the weather

A. Very Cold

Q. Did Mina threaten or force the Eskimo to go out

A. She was talking in a very loud voice about Jesus coming and saying she was Jesus. I didn't want to go out but Mina told me to take off my clothes and tried to take them off. She was strong enough to make me take them off. My children were frightened and took off some of their clothes and followed her. I went along at the last because I wanted to be with my children.

Q. What happened out on the ice

- A. When we were a long way out I saw Mina take the remaining clothes – the pants – off the children. Her sister Kumudluk also helped. I tried to help my children but they were frightened of Mina and ran away fast.
- Q. [Why] didn't you help your own children get back to camp
- A. I tried to but I was carrying my baby in my arms. I [m]anaged to get them all back but Alec. I put his pants back on but he was too cold to return and I couldn't carry him. I was frozen myself on the bottoms of my feet.
- Q. Did some of the Children and Adults not return to the Camp
- A. Yes. Moses, Johnasie, Johnny and Alec, and the Women Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah did not return
- Q. Did you see them again
- A. Yes. 2 days later I went out with others and found them on the ice adjacent to the Island (Camsell) frozen and dead.

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this  
14th day of April in the year of our Lord  
One thousand nine hundred and forty one

[handwritten mark of Mina]  
[handwritten] Mina – Her mark  
Witnessed by G. L. Neilson.

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**12. Information of Witness, of Mina regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

Information of Witness

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of witness severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the deaths of Eskimo bo[y]s Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, and Alec, and Eskimo Women Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah at Camsell Island of the Belcher Island group, N.W.T. on the 29th day of March, one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire of his Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the bodies of the said Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: Mina of the said Northwest Territories being sworn saith.....

- Q. What is your name  
A. Mina, Wife of Moses  
Q. How old are you  
A. About 25 years  
Q. Where were you living during latter part of March and during April  
A. On Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell Island)  
Q. On or about March 29th, 1941, were you under the belief that God was to visit the world very soon  
A. Yes  
Q. Did you cause certain other Eskimo in company with yourself to remove their clothing on March 29th, 1941  
A. Yes. I told them to  
Q. Who were the others  
A. All the Eskimos in the Camp  
Q. Were some of them Children  
A. Yes. Johnny, Johnasie, Moses, Alec, and some others  
Q. Did you cause them to go outside without their clothes on  
A. Yes. I told them to go outside and led them  
Q. Where did they go  
A. I led them out on the sea ice  
Q. What was the weather like  
A. It was very cold  
Q. Did some of these adults and children not return to their homes  
A. Yes. Moses, Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Sara, and Maria. During the night I was sad because I knew they would die  
Q. When were they found  
A. About 2 days after  
Q. Where were they found  
A. On the sea ice adjacent to the Island (Camsell)  
Q. How were they when found  
A. They were frozen to death  
Q. Were you aware of your actions on the days in question  
A. I remember afterwards all that I said and did and was very sad  
Q. Did you tear off the clothing of some of these people  
A. Yes. A long way out on the ice I took off all the clothing of Moses, Alec, Johnny, Johnasie. I threw their clothes on the ice. [They] wanted to put their clothes back on later but I told them to go on and leave them. They went because they were frightened of me.

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this  
14th day of April in the year of our Lord  
One thousand nine hundred and forty one

[handwritten mark of Mina]

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**13. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Alec,  
before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INFORMATION TO HOLD INQUEST.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

I, William Grant Kerr of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. make oath  
and say:

1. That the body of a male Eskimo now lies dead at Camsell Island of the  
Belcher Islands group, N.W.T.
2. That the said body is the body of Alec (Eskimo age 8 years)[.]
3. That I have reason to believe the said deceased person came to his death  
from violent means.
4. And my reason for so believing is from information received[.]

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
in the said Territories, this 14th  
day of April 1941

<W.G. Kerr>

<Thos. J. Orford> Coroner.  
For the Northwest Territories

**14. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Alec and upon the oath  
of William Grant Kerr, 14 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INQUISITION.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at Belcher Islands,  
N.W.T. on April 14th, 1941 at the Hudson's Bay Co. Post before Thomas J. Orford



Esquire one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Alec Eskimo male, age 8 years then and there lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of William Grant Kerr of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police good and lawful men of the said Northwest Territories, duly chosen, and who being then and there duly sworn, and charged to inquire for our said Lord the King, when, where, how and by what means the said Alec came to his death, do upon their oath say : That Alec came to his death on or about March 29th, 1941, on the Sea Ice adjacent to Camsell Island in the Belcher Islands Group, N.W.T. as a result of intense cold and insufficient clothing due [to] Eskimo Woman Mina inciting said Alec, as well as others, to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and the [imminent] end of the world[.]

In witness whereof, as well the said Coroners as the jurors aforesaid, have hereunto set and subscribed their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

*<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner.*  
for the Northwest Territories

**15. Information to Hold Inquest, of William Grant Kerr regarding Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 14 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

**INFORMATION TO HOLD INQUEST.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

I, William Grant Kerr of R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. make oath and say:

1. That the body of a male Eskimo now lies dead at Tookarak Camp, South Coast of Tukarak Island of the Belcher Island Group, N.W.T.

2. That the said body is the body of Alec Keytowieack (Also known as Alec Epuk)

3. That I have reason to believe the said deceased person came to his death from violent means.

4. And my reason for so believing is from information received

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
in the said Territories, this 14th  
day of April 1941

<W.G. Kerr>

<Thos. J. Orford> *Coroner.*

For the Northwest Territories

**16. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Alec Keytowieack and upon the oath of William Grant Kerr, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INQUISITION.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

An inquisition indented taken for our Sovereign Lord the King at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on April 15th, 1941 at the Hudson's Bay Co. Post before Thomas J. Orford Esquire one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Alec Keytowieack (Alec Epuk) then and there lying dead, upon the oath or affirmation of William Grant Kerr of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police good and lawful men of the said Northwest Territories, duly chosen, and who being then and there duly sworn, and charged to inquire for our said Lord the King, when, where, how and by what means the said Alec Keytowieack (Alec Epuk) came to his death, do upon their oath say: That Alec Keytowieack (Alec Epuk) came to his death on or about February 9th, 1941, at Tookarak Camp on Tukarak Island in the Belcher Islands Group, N.W.T., as a result of gunshot wounds in head and body. These wounds being inflicted by Eskimo Peter Quarack with intent to murder.

In witness whereof, as well the said Coroners as the jurors aforesaid, have hereunto set and subscribed their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

<Thos. J. Orford> *Coroner.*

For Northwest Territories

**17. Information of Witness, of Anawak regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INFORMATION OF WITNESS**

Canada

Northwest Territories

Information of Witness severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the Death of Alec Keytowrieack at Tukarak Island, Belcher Island Group, N.W.T. on or about the ninth day of February one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowrieack then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: ANAWAK of the said Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith-----

Q. What is your name

A. Anawak

Q. How old are you

A. Uncertain but about 40 years

Q. Where do you live

A. Augogashak Camp on the Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

Q. Did you identify the body of Alec Keytowrieack on April 13th, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Where

A. At Tookarak Camp (South side of Tukarak Island)

Q. Had you known Alec Keytowrieack before death

A. Yes.

(His Mark)

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this  
15th day of April in the year of our  
Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty  
one.

Thos J. Orford      Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**18. Information of Witness, of Bertie Akparok regarding the death of Alec Keytowrieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

**INFORMATION OF WITNESS**

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the death of Alec Keytowrieack at Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands Group, N.W.T. on or about the 9th day of February one thousand nine

hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowieack then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: BERTIE AKPAROK of the said Northwest Territories been sworn saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Bertie Akparok

Q. Do you live on the Belcher Islands

A. Yes

Q. Did you hear about the death of Keytowieack

A. Yes

Q. What was the date on which you were told he was killed[?]

A. Yes. I remember and marked it in my calendar as February 9th, 1941.

Q. Who told you of the death

A. Alec Epuk on the 10th of February

Translation of attached syllabic record-

“Alec Epuk came to us on the 10th day of February and said that yesterday Satan died”

-----  
“Satan” being interpreted as Alec Keytowieack

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this  
15th day of April in the year of our Lord  
one thousand nine hundred and forty one

(His Mark)

Thomas J. Orford Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**19. Information of Witness, of Mina regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

**INFORMATION OF WITNESS**

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the death of Alec Keytowieack at Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands Group N.W.T. on or about the 9th day of February one thousand nine

hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an Inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowieack then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: MINA of the said Northwest Territories been sworn, saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Mina, wife of Moses

Q. How old are you

A. About 26 years

Q. Were you living with your husband Moses at Tookaruk [*sic*] Camp (Tukarak Island) [i]n February, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Did you know Keytowieack

A. Yes

Q. Did you see him killed

A. Yes

Q. How was he killed

A. With a gun

Q. Who fired the gun

A. Quarack

Q. Was it Quarack's own gun

A. I do not know

Q. What did you see

A. I was outside. Charlie Ouyerack had asked Moses to shoot Keytowieack and he had refused. Charlie then walked to Quarack's Igloo. I didn't hear what he said to Quarack. Keytowieack was there and then I saw him walking away from Charlie and Quarack with his back turned. I saw Quarack aim a rifle at Keytowieack and shoot. Keytowieack fell on the ground. I saw Quarack walk towards Keytowieack, kneel down and aim and shoot again. He walked around him and shot again. Keytowieack's body was left lying in the snow. Peter Sala arrived later in the day and told us to bury Keytowieack. Moses, Quarack, Charlie and I took the body and carried it away a few yards. We threw rocks and covered his body that way fast. Quarack seemed very pleased so was Charlie over the shooting.

Q. Do you know the day on which this happened[?]

A. I have no calendar but I think it was two moons ago.

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this

15th day of April in the year of our

Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty one.

(Her Mark)

Thos. J. Orford      Coroner

For the Northwest Territories

**20. Information of Witness, of Eva Naroomi regarding the death of Alec Keytowrieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

INFORMATION OF WITNESS

Canada

Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the death of Alec Keytowrieack at Tukarak Island, Belcher Island group, N.W.T. on or about the ninth day of February one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire, one of his Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowrieack then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: EVA NAROOMI of the said Northwest Territories being sworn, saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Eva Naroomi

Q. Did you live at Tookarak Camp during the winter

A. Yes

Q. Were you the wife of Alec Keytowrieack

A. Yes

Q. Were you present when he died

A. Yes

Q. How did he die

A. He was shot

Q. Who shot him

A. Quarack, my father

Q. When was he shot

A. I do not know the date

Q. Where was he shot

A. Tookarak Camp (Tukarak Island)

Q. What did you see

A. Charlie Ouyerack told my father to shoot Keytowrieack[;] he said Keytowrieack was a devil and told my father that this was so and that I was also a devil. I then decided to believe a little in Charlie. I did not see the first two shots fired but I saw my Father fire the third shot at Keytowrieack as he was lying in the snow some distance away. My Father was close to Keytowrieack, only about 15 feet

away. I heard Charlie tell my Father to shoot. Charlie and Quarack rejoiced also my mother and Moses and his wife Mina. I was also glad a little bit.

Taken upon oath and acknowledged  
this 15th day of April in the year  
of our Lord one thousand nine hundred  
and forty one

Eva      X (Her Mark)  
Witnessed by G.L. Neilson.

Thos. J. Orford      Coroner  
for the Northwest Territories

**21. Information of Witness, of Mary regarding the death of Alec  
Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

**INFORMATION OF WITNESS**

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the death of Alec Keytowieack at Tukarak Island of the Belcher Islands group, N.W.T. on or about the 9th day of February one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an Inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowieack then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: MARY of the said Northwest Territories being sworn saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Mary

Q. How old are you

A. About 13 years

Q. [Did] you live at Tookarak camp during the winter, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Do you know Keytowieack

A. Yes

Q. Were you present when he died

A. Yes

Q. How did he die

A. He was shot



- Q. Who shot him  
A. My Father Quarack  
Q. When was he shot  
A. I don't know  
Q. Where was he shot  
A. Tookarak Camp  
Q. What did you see  
A. I saw Quarack fire the shots that killed Keytowieack. He fired three shots. Keytowieack was walking away from the Igloos when shot in the back. Charlie Ouyerack told him to walk away. Charlie told my father to shoot Keytowieack the first time, he also told him to shoot the second and third time.  
Q. Whose rifle was used  
A. I don't know

Mary X (Her Mark)  
Witnessed by G.L. Neilson

Taken upon oath and acknowledged  
this 15th day of April in the year  
of our Lord one thousand nine hundred  
and forty one

Thos. J. Orford      Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**22. Information of Witness, of Moses regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

INFORMATION OF WITNESS

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the death of Alec Keytowieack at Tukarak Island, Belcher Island group, N.W.T. on the 9th day of February one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowrieack then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: MOSES of the said Northwest Territories being sworn, saith.....

- Q. What is your name  
A. Moses  
Q. How old are you

A. About 22 years

Q. Did y[o]u know Keytowrieack before his death

A. Yes

Q. Were you present when he was killed

A. Yes

Q. Did you see him shot

A. Yes

Q. Who shot him

A. Quarack

Q. Where was he shot

A. Tookarak Camp

Q. When was he shot

A. I can't remember but it was 2 moons ago. Charlie Ouyerack came to visit the camp some days before. He told us "Jesus is coming soon". Quarack believed very much in Charlie along with the rest of us and Quarack was considered a leader along with Charlie in this matter. Charlie told me to shoot Alec Keytowrieack. Charlie said to me Keytowrieack was no good because he did not believe Charlie was Jesus. I believed in Charlie but I did not want to kill a man and did not agree with shooting Keytowrieack. Charlie then walked over to Quarack. Charlie told Keytowrieack to walk away without looking around which he did. Charlie was acting very pleased. I then went into my Igloo, it was partially built and I could look over it. I saw Quarack take aim and shoot Keytowrieack. He was using his own rifle, a 30-30 and bullets. The first bullet hit Keytowrieack in back of shoulders and he fell forward. Quarack walked over to him and fired a second bullet into his back. He went closer and fired a third bullet into his head. Charlie, Quarack and Eva, Alec's wife were rejoicing over his death also Eva's mother. They said "We will sleep well tonight because he is dead". Peter Sala and his family came along afterwards and made an Igloo in the Camp. I, Moses, and Mina and Quarack decided to take the body and bury it. Quarack told us to throw rocks on the body instead of carefully placing them. I didn't want to do it this way but was frightened and did as I was told.

(His Mark)

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this  
15th day of April in the year of our Lord  
one thousand nine hundred and forty one

Thos. J. Orford      Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**23. Information of Witness, of Sarah Eerkok regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

INFORMATION OF WITNESS

Canada

Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the death of Alec Keytowieack at Tukarak Island of the Belchers Islands Group, N.W.T. on or about the 9th day of February one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowieack then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: SARAH EERKOK of the said Northwest Territories being sworn saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Sara Eerkok, wife of Quarack

Q. Were you living with you[r] husband Quarack on or about Feb. 9th, 1941

A. Yes all winter

Q. Did you know Keytowieack

A. Yes

Q. Were you present at his death

A. Yes

Q. How did he die

A. He was shot [by] Quarack

Q. Did Quarack use his own rifle

A. I don't know

Q. Do you know the date on which he was shot

A. No

Q. Where was he shot

A. Tookarak Camp (Tukarak Island)

Q. What did you see

A. Charlie Ouyerack said to Quarack "I am Jesus" and then said to Keytowieack "Do you not want to obey me[?]" "If you do not want to obey me you will die for I am Jesus[.]" Keytowieack was frightened and said "I believe a little bit but not it all." Charlie told everyone to go outside the Igloo. He then told Keytowieack to walk away and not to turn around. Keytowieack walked away as he was told. Charlie then told Quarack to shoot. No one tried to stop him. Quarack shot once and Keytowieack fell, the shot hitting him in the back.

Quarack then walked closer and shot him again when Charlie told him to. Charlie said to shoot again and Quarack shot again. Charlie was very pleased and so was Quarack. I went back to the Igloo.

Taken upon oath and acknowledged  
this 15th day of April in the year  
of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred  
and forty one.

Sara      X (Her mark)  
Witnessed by G.L. Neilson.

Thos. J. Orford      Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**24. Information of Witness, of Peter Quarack regarding the death of Alec Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

**INFORMATION OF WITNESS**

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Alec Keytowieack at Tukarak Island of the Belcher Islands group N.W.T. on or about the 9th day of February one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Alec Keytowieack then and there lying dead, as follows to wit: PETER QUARACK of the said Northwest Territories being sworn saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Peter Quarack

Q. Did you live at Tookarak Camp (Tukarak Island) during the winter, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Did you know Keytowieack

A. Yes. He was my son-in-law

Q. How did he die

A. I shot him

Q. Did you use your own rifle

A. Yes, a 30-30

Q. Where did you shoot him

A. Tookarak Camp

Q. When did you shoot him

A. In February of this year

Q. Why did you shoot him

A. Charlie Ouyerack said Keytowieack was no good because he did not want God and Charlie was the big boss. Charlie said Keytowieack was the Devil. Charlie had come to our camp some time before and said he was God. He also said Eva, the wife of Keytowieack[,], was a devil. Charlie and Eva was visiting in an Igloo and I heard Charlie beating Eva with his fists and saying she would die unless she obeyed him. Charlie said all the Eskimos must follow him because he was God. I believed in him because I thought he would take me to God. Charlie said "Keytowieack you have stolen two biscuits from Kunnudluk" which Keytowieack himself had brought from the Company Store. He told Keytowieack he was no good. He said to me "Keytowieack is no good, shoot him". He also told Keytowieack he was worse than the dogs. Keytowieack said he did not want to believe in Charlie and did not believe Charlie was God. He said he believed in God but not in Charlie being Jesus. The two of them quarreled over who was the biggest or best man in regard to the Bible. We were all in my Igloo--Charlie, Keytowieack, Charlie's wife. I had gone outside a few minutes before. Then Charlie came outside and called for Keytowieack to come out. Charlie told Keytowieack to walk away and Keytowieack walked away with his back to us without looking around. Charlie said to me "Go ahead, shoot him." I shot him in the back and he fell down. Charlie said "He isn't dead yet". I shot again after walking closer. Charlie said "He isn't dead yet, shoot again". I shot him in the head with the third shot. We all rejoiced over his death. Peter arrived in the afternoon and told us to bury him. Mose[s], Charlie, Mina and I threw rocks on his body.

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this  
15th day of April in the year of our Lord  
one thousand nine hundred and forty one

(His Mark)

Thos. J. Orford      Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**25. Information and Complaint, of William Grant Kerr regarding Quarack,  
before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code

Form 3, Sec. 654

INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT

CANADA

North-West Territories

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF William Grant Kerr of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. taken this 15th day of April in the year 1941 before the undersigned Thomas J. Orford, Esquire one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Quarack (Eskimo Male) of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. Hunter on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the said Territories did unlawfully murder Alec Keytowieack (Also known as Alec Erpuk) contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada

*(Signature of Informant)* <W. G. Kerr>

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

<Thos. J. Orford>  
*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Appeared before me on April 23/41 and Remanded in Custody until May 1<sup>st</sup>/41  
<Thos. J. Orford>

Appeared before me on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until May 9<sup>th</sup>  
<Thos. J. Orford>

Appeared before me on May 9<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until May 17<sup>th</sup>  
<Thos. J. Orford>

Appeared before me on May 17<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until May 25<sup>th</sup>.  
<Thos. J. Orford>

Appeared before me May 26<sup>th</sup> and remanded in custody until June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1941  
<Martineau>  
*Justice of Peace*

Appeared before me on June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until June the 10<sup>th</sup> 1941.  
<Martineau>  
*Justice of the Peace*

Appeared before me on June the 10<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until June the 18<sup>th</sup> 1941.

*<Martineau>  
Justice of the Peace*

Appeared before me on June 18<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until June the 26<sup>th</sup> 1941

*<Martineau>  
Justice of Peace*

Appeared before me on June 26<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until July the 4<sup>th</sup> 1941

*<Martineau>  
Justice of Peace*

Appeared before me on July 4<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until July 11<sup>th</sup> 1941

*<Martineau>  
Justice of the Peace*

Appeared before me on July 11<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until July 18<sup>th</sup> 1941

*<Martineau>  
Justice of Peace*

Appeared before me on July 18<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until July the 25<sup>th</sup> 1941

*<Martineau>  
Justice of Peace*

Appeared before me on July 25<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1941

*<Martineau>  
Justice of Peace*

Preliminary Hearing held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories on July 31<sup>st</sup> 1941. before D.J. Martin. J.P.

Charge read over to accused - no plea taken.

Harold Udgarden duly sworn in as Interpreter.

Evidence for the Prosecution taken.

Evidence for the Prosecution closed.

Warning read over and explained to accused.

No witnesses for the defence called.

Accused committed to stand trial at the next sitting of the Court of Competent Jurisdiction to be held on the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories on or about August 12<sup>th</sup> 1941.

*<D.J. Martin>  
a Justice of the Peace in and  
for the Northwest Territories.*

Belcher Islands, N.W.T.



July 31<sup>st</sup> 1941.

**26. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Quarack, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by William Grant Kerr, 16 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 6, Sec. 659.

**Warrant to Apprehend.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories:*

WHEREAS Quarack (Male Eskimo) of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. has this day been charged upon oath before the undersigned, Thos. J. Orford, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, for that he, on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did unlawfully murder Keytowieack (also known as Alec Epuk) contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU, in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said Quarack and to bring him before me (or some other Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories) to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 15th day of April A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

*<Thos. J. Orford> [SEAL]*

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

(Certificate of execution of within  
warrant to be endorsed here.)

I certify that I have executed the within warrant on Wednesday the 16th day of April, 1941, at 6.45 P.M. O'Clock at the Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

*<W. G. Kerr> Corpl.*  
(W.G. Kerr)  
R.C.M.Police

**27. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Quarack, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

WARRANT OF COMMITMENT

CANADA

NORTH WEST TERRITORIES

To the Constables of the District of Cochrane (Unorganized), Province of Ontario, and all other his Majesty's Officers of the Peace for the said district and to the Constable in charge of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard room at Moose Factory, Ont., in the said district. Whereas, by an inquisition taken before me, one of his majesty's coroners for the North West Territories the day and year hereunder mentioned, on view of the body of Alec KEYTOWIEACK (also known as Alec EPUK) lying dead in the Belcher Islands, North West Territories, QUARACK, late of the Belcher Islands in the North West Territories, Eskimoe [*sic*] Hunter, stands charged with unlawful Murder contrary to Section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada. These are, therefore, by virtue of my office, in His Majesty's name, to charge and command you, the said Constables and others aforesaid or any of you, forthwith safely to convey the body of the said QUARACK to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guardroom at Moose Factory aforesaid, and safely to deliver the same to the keeper of the said guardroom. And these are, likewise, by virtue of my said office, in His Majesty's name, to will and require you the said Constable in charge, to receive the body of the said QUARACK into your custody, and him safely to keep in the said guardroom, until he shall thence be discharged by due course of law; and for your so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand this 15th. day of April one thousand nine hundred and forty one.

*<Thos. J. Orford>* Coroner.  
for the North West Territories.

**28. Information of Witness, of Sarah Eerkok regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

Information of Witness

Canada

Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the deaths of Eskimo Boys Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, and Alec and Eskimo [Women] Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah at Camsell Island of the Belcher Island Group, N.W.T. on the 29th day of March, one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire, one of his Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the bodies of the said Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: Sarah Erkok of the said Northwest [T]erritories being sworn, saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Sarah Erkok wife of Quarack

Q. How old are you

A. About 40 years

Q. Were you living at Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell) on March 29th, 1941

A. Yes

Q. On that date did the Eskimos of the Camp go out on the Sea Ice with their clothing removed

A. Yes

Q. Were some of them Children

A. Yes

Q. Did some of them not return

A. Yes

Q. Where were they found and when

A. Out on the sea ice at various places some time later

Q. In what condition were they when found

A. Dead, I think, I didn't go out looking for them. Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Maria and Sarah were buried on the island

Q. Who led you all out on the ice

A. Mina. I was afraid of her because of my Children

Q. Why did Mina do this

A. She said Jesus was coming and to remove our clothes and go out. I didn't want to go but my daughter Mary took [the] baby out and I followed.

Q. When you were out on the ice did you see Mina remove the clothes from some of the Children

A. Yes when we were out on the ice I saw Mina take remaining clothes of[f] some [of] the children.

Q. What was the weather

A. [V]ery Cold

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this 15th day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty one

[handwritten mark of Sara]  
[handwritten] Sara – Her mark  
Witnessed by G. L. Neilson.

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

**29. Information of Witness, of Mary Nukarak regarding the deaths of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

Information of Witness

Canada  
Northwest Territories

Information of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, touching the deaths of Eskimo boys Moses, Johnasie, Johnny and Alec, and Eskimo [Women] Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah at Camsell Island of the Belcher Island group, N.W.T. on the 29th day of March one thousand nine hundred and forty one before me Thomas J. Orford Esquire, one of his Majesty's Coroners for said Northwest Territories, on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the bodies of the said Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit: Mary Nukarak of the said Northwest Territories being sworn, saith.....

Q. What is your name

A. Mary Nukarak

Q. How old are you

A. About 13 years

Q. Were you living at Peteolu[k]juak Island (Camsell) on March 29th, 1941

A. Yes

Q. On [M]arch 29th, 1941, did Eskimos of the camp go out on the sea ice with their clothes off

A. Yes

Q. Were some of them children

A. Yes

Q. Did some not return

A. Yes. Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec, Sara and Maria (Nukarak)

Q. Why did they not return

A. They died on the sea ice some distance away. They had no clothes on and froze to death. I helped find them.

- Q. Who made the Eskimos go out without clothes.  
A. Mina. She took hold of me and wanted me to take my clothes off. My Mother tried to stop me but Mina took my clothes off and I went out on the ice because I was afraid of her. I was carrying my baby sister.  
Q. Why were you afraid of Mina  
A. The [women] were rejoicing and pretending to fight because Mina had said Jesus was coming. Mina told everyone to take off their clothes and go out on the ice. She led us.  
Q. What was the weather  
A. A small wind and cold  
Q. Did Mina take clothes off[f] some children out on the ice  
A. Yes. Mina and I had a fight on the ice. I wanted to go back but Mina tried to stop me. I managed to get my clothes on on the way back. I was the first back. Mina talked in a loud voice “Jesus is coming, come you all” and frightened all of us

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this  
15th day of April in the year of our Lord  
One thousand nine hundred and forty one

[handwritten mark of Mary]  
[handwritten] Mary – Her mark  
Witnessed by G. L. Neilson.

<Thomas J. Orford> Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

### **30. Information and Complaint, of William Grant Kerr regarding Mina, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299  
LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

## **INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

### **CANADA**

#### **North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF William Grant Kerr of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. taken this 15th day of April in the year 1940 [*sic*: 1941] before the undersigned Thomas J. Orford, Esquire one of His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Mina (Eskimo Female) of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on or about the 29th day of

March A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the said Territories did unlawfully murder Johnsie (Eskimo Male) contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada

*(Signature of Informant) <W. G. Kerr>*

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

*<Thos. J. Orford>*

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

[Handwritten:]

Appeared before me April 23/41 and Remanded in Custody until May 1<sup>st</sup>/41

*<Thos. J. Orford JP>*

Appeared before me May 1<sup>st</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until May 9<sup>th</sup>

*<Thos. J. Orford JP>*

Appeared before me May 9<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until May 17<sup>th</sup>

*<Thos. J. Orford JP>*

Appeared before me May 17 1941 and remanded in custody until May 25<sup>th</sup>

*<Thos. J. Orford JP>*

July 29<sup>th</sup>

Information & Complaint withdrawn when prisoner committed to Psychiatric, Hosp. Toronto.

*<Thos. J. Orford JP>*

**31. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Mina, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by William Grant Kerr, 16 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 6, Sec. 659.

**Warrant to Apprehend.**

**CANADA:  
Northwest Territories.**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories:*

WHEREAS Mina (Eskimo Female) of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. has this day been charged upon oath before the undersigned, Thos. J. Orford, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, for that she, on or about the 29th day of March A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did unlawfully murder Johnasie (Male Eskimo) contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU, in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said Mina and to bring her before me (or some other Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories) to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 15th day of April A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

*<Thos. J. Orford> [SEAL]*

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

(Certificate of execution of within  
warrant to be endorsed here.)

I [certify] that I have executed the within warrant on Wednesday the 16th day April, 1941, at 6.45 P.M. O'Clock at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

*<W.G. Kerr> Corpl.*  
(W.G. Kerr)  
R.C.M.Police

### **32. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Mina, issued by Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

#### **WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**

Canada  
Northwest Territories

To the Constables of the district of Cochrane (unorganized) Province of Ontario, and all others [of] His Majesty's Officers of the Peace for the said district and to the Constable in charge of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guardroom at Moose Factory, Ontario, in the said district. Whereas, by an inquisition taken before me, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories the day and year hereunder mentioned, on view of the body of JOHNASIE (Male Eskimo, age 6 years) lying dead in the Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories, MINA (Female Eskimo) late of the



Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, stands charged with unlawful murder contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada. These are, therefore, by virtue of my office, in His Majesty's name, to charge and command you the said Constable and others aforesaid or any of you, forthwith to safely convey the body of the said MINA to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guardroom at Moose Factory aforesaid, and to safely deliver the same to the Keeper of the said guardroom and these are, likewise, by virtue of my said office in His Majesty's name, to will and require you the said Constable in charge, to receive the body of the said MINA into your custody and her to safely keep in the said guardroom until she shall thence be discharged by due course of law; and for your so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand this 15th day of April one thousand nine hundred and forty one.

<Thos. J. Orford> Coroner  
for the Northwest Territories

**33. Information and Complaint, of William Grant Kerr regarding Peter Sala and Adlaykok, before Thomas J. Orford, 15 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

**INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

**CANADA**

**North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF William Grant Kerr of The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. taken this 15th day of April in the year 1941 before the undersigned Thomas J. Orford, Esquire one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Peter Sala (Eskimo male) and Adlaykok (Eskimo) both of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. Hunter [*sic*] on or about the 26th day of January A.D. 1941 at Flaherty Island of the Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories in the said Territories did unlawfully murder Keytowieack (Male Eskimo) contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada.

(Signature of Informant) <W.G. Kerr>

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands, Hudson Bay in the said Territories.

*<Thos. J. Orford>*  
*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories.*

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Appeared before me on April 23<sup>rd</sup>/41 and Remanded in custody until May 1<sup>st</sup>/41  
*<Thos. J. Orford>*

Appeared before me on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until May 9<sup>th</sup>.  
*<Thos. J. Orford>*

Appeared before me on May 9<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until May 17  
*<Thos. J. Orford>*

Appeared before me on May 17<sup>th</sup>/41 and remanded in custody until May 25<sup>th</sup>  
*<Thos. J. Orford>*

Appeared before me May 26<sup>th</sup> and remanded in custody until June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1941  
*<Martineau>*  
Justice of Peace

Appeared before me on June the 2<sup>nd</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until June the 10<sup>th</sup> 1941  
*<Martineau>*  
Justice of the Peace

Appeared before me on June the 10<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until June the 18<sup>th</sup> 1941  
*<Martineau>*  
Justice of the Peace

Appeared before me on June the 18<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until June 26<sup>th</sup> 1941  
*<Martineau>*  
Justice of Peace

Appeared before me on June the 26<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until July 4<sup>th</sup> 1941  
*<Martineau>*  
Justice of Peace

Appeared before me on July the 4<sup>th</sup> and remanded in custody until July 11<sup>th</sup> 1941  
*<Martineau>*  
Justice of the Peace

Appeared before me on July the 19<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until July 18<sup>th</sup> 1941  
*<Martineau>*  
Justice of Peace

Appeared before me on July the 18<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until July 25<sup>th</sup> 1941  
<Martineau>  
Justice of Peace

Appeared before me on July the 25<sup>th</sup> 1941 and remanded in custody until August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1941  
<Martineau>  
Justice of Peace

Preliminary Hearing held at Belcher Islands N.W.T. on July 30<sup>th</sup> 1941.  
Harold Udgarden duly sworn as Interpreter.  
Charge read over to Accused. No plea taken.  
Evidence for the Prosecution taken.  
Evidence for the Prosecution closed.  
Warning read over to the Accused - Accused declines to give evidence or call witnesses on his own behalf.  
Accused committed to stand trial at the next sitting of the Court of Competent Jurisdiction to be held on the Belcher Islands N.W.T. on or about the 12th August 1941.

<D. J. Martin>

A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.

Belcher Islands N.W.T.  
July 30<sup>th</sup> 1941.

<H. Kearney>

Aug 20<sup>th</sup> 1941 Court opened at 10.00 AM.

Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton, Trial Judge; in his capacity as a Stipendiary Magistrate for the Northwest Territories

Peter Sala	)	Arraigned and charged jointly with the murder of
	)	Keytowieack
Adlaykok	)	

20-8-1941. Plea.

<H. Kearney>

Clerk of the Court.

Crown Counsel	-	Mr R A Olmsted
Defence Counsel	-	Mr J. Madden
Interpreter	-	Mr Harold Udgarden
"	-	Mr Ernie Snowboy
Court Stenographer	-	Corporal J.R. McFarland RCMP
Prosecution opens	-	witnesses called.
Defence	-	witnesses called

Members of Jury:-

Mr M.E. Holtzman,	Foreman - Mining Engineer
Mr Jack Rubie	“ “ “
Mr E.G. Cadney	Ships Engineer
Mr E. Riddell	Fur Trader
Mr J. McCook	Newspaperman
Mr Wm. Kinmond	“

Verdict of Jury:- brought in in A.M. 20-8-1941

Peter Sala - Guilty of Manslaughter  
Adlaykok - Guilty of Manslaughter, with a strong recommendation from  
Jury for mercy.

*<H. Kearney>*  
Clerk of the Court.

Sentences:

I sentence Peter Sala to a term of two years imprisonment with hard labour  
in the guard room of the R.C.M.P. at Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

Aug. 21/41

I sentence Adlaykok to a term of one year's imprisonment with hard labour  
in the guard room of the R.C.M.P. at Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

Aug. 21/41.

**34. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Adlaykok, issued by Thomas J. Orford,  
15 April 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by William Grant  
Kerr, 16 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 6, Sec. 659.

**Warrant to Apprehend.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories:*

WHEREAS Adlaykok (Male Eskimo) of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. has this day been charged upon oath before the undersigned, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, for that he, on or about the 26th day of January A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did unlawfully murder Keytowieack (Male Eskimo) contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU, in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said Adlaykok and to bring him before me (or some other Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories) to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 15th day of April A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

<Thos. J. Orford> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

(Certificate of execution of within  
warrant to be endorsed here.)

I certify that I have executed the within warrant on Wednesday the 16th day of April, 1941, at 6.45 P.M. O'Clock at the Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

<W. G. Kerr> Corpl.

(W.G. Kerr)

R.C.M. Police

**35. Police Report, William Grant Kerr, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Moses, Alec, Johnsie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) – Murder of, 26 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

“G”                      Eastern Arctic                      Ottawa, Ont.

N.W.T.    April 26th, 1941

Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
Moses, Alec, Johnsie, Johnny (Eskimo Boys) and  
Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults) –  
Murder of

1. While at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on the 11th instant information was received of the deaths of the following Eskimo at Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands group;

Moses, Age 13 yrs. son of Kumudluk Sarah.  
Alec Oomaraluk, Age 8 yrs, Son of Peter Sala.  
Johnasie, Age 6 yrs, son of Kumudluk Sarah.  
Johnny Kokpuk, Age 7 yrs, adopted son of Peter Sala.  
Nukarak, Age 55, Mother of Peter Sala.  
Kumudluk Sarah, age 32 yrs, widow, sister of Peter Sala.

2. On the morning of March 29th, 1941, Mina, wife of Eskimo Moses and sister of Peter Sala, apparently still in the grip of the relig[i]ous frenzy that had gripped the Native Eskimo of the south Belcher Islands during the Winter, had by threats and force, chased members of her Camp at Camsell Island out on to the Sea ice and had forced them to discard practically all their clothing and as a consequence of this four children and two female adults had perished by freezing. Mina was actuated by her belief that Jesus was coming and it was necessary to go out on the sea ice to meet him without the material things that constituted their garments. The persons noted above were those who had died.

3. At noon of April 13th I left the Hudson's Bay Co. Post at Belcher Islands, accompanied by Doctor T.J. Orford, Coroner, Rev. G. Neilson, Missionary from Whale River, P.Q. as interpreter, Eva Naroomi widow of Alec Keytowieack, and Native Anawak with his dog team.

4. After a stop at Tookarak Camp on Tukarak Island in connection with the death of Alec Keytowieack (See report even date Re: Alec Keytowieack – murder of) we continued on to Camsell Island, some 7 miles southeast of Tukarak Island arriving there at Dark. We camped there for the night near Eskimo Moses and his wife Mina, who were the only other occupants of the Island. Eskimo Anawak was sent on to an island some five miles farther east to inform Native Quarack to come into the Post in connection with the death of Alec Keytowieack.

5. The next morning, accompanied by Native Moses we walked about one half mile from our Camp to inspect four Eskimo graves (Rocks piled over the deceased). The graves were opened and in them were found the bodies of Two adult Eskimo Females, and three young Eskimo Boys, two of which were in a single grave. A little farther away was another grave containing the body of an Eskimo Boy. All were wrapped in their eider duck skin parkas and were identified by Native Moses as Eskimo Boys Johnasie, Moses (In same grave) sons of Kumudluk Sarah, Johnny Kokpuk, adopted son of Peter Sala, Alec Oomaraluk son of Peter Sala (In grave separate from others)[,] Kumudluk Sarah, Sister of Peter Sala and Nukarak, Mother of Peter Sala.

6. The bodies were examined by Doctor Orford and the graves then closed.
7. The same afternoon we returned to the Hudson's Bay Co. Post, bring[ing] Mina and her husband Moses back with us.
8. On the evening of the 14th of April an inquest was opened to inquire into the deaths of Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Moses, Kumudluk Sarah, and Nukarak by Doctor Thos. J. Orford, Coroner for the Northwest Territories. No members for a jury were available.
9. Witness[es] were called and with Rev. G. Neilson acting as interpreter the following evidence was submitted in question and answer form (With the exception of Doctor Orford's).

Statement by Doctor Orford

Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
April 14th, 1941

Frozen bodies of Eskimo Boys Moses, Johnasie, Johnny and Alec, and frozen bodies of Eskimo women Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah were [identified] at their graves by Eskimo Man Moses on the morning of April 14th, 1941 on Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands group, N.W.T. in the presence of Corporal W.G. Kerr, R.C.M. Police, and the Rev. G. Neilson.

No internal examination made due to frozen condition of bodies.

There was no sign of any external wounds or violence.

The apparent ages were;

Johnny	—	7 Yrs
Moses	—	13 yrs
Alec	—	8 yrs
Johnasie	—	6 yrs
Nukarak	—	55 yrs
Kumudluk	—	32 yrs

(Sgd) Thos. J. Orford Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

Eskimo Moses (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Moses

Q. How old are you

A. About 22 years

Q. Where were you living during the latter part of March and during April of this year

- A. On Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell Island) one of the Belcher group lying S.E. of Tuakarak [*sic*] Island.
- Q. Did you [identify] the bodies of Moses, Johnasie, Johnny and Alec, and Nukarak and Kumudluk on April 14th, 1941
- A. Yes
- Q. Were you present on March 29th, 1941, when Moses, Johnasie[,] Johnny, Alec, Nukarak and Kumudluk went outside without sufficient clothing[?]
- A. Yes
- Q. What was the weather like
- A. Very cold
- Q. Did the Eskimo mentioned before return to their homes
- A. No
- Q. Did you assist in looking for them
- A. Yes
- Q. In what condition did you find them
- A. They were dead and frozen
- Q. Where were they
- A. On the sea ice adjacent to the Island (Camsell)
- Q. Did anyone cause or influence these children and women to go out in the cold without sufficient clothing
- A. Yes. Mina went out first and told the others to follow. The others were frightened but all believed Mina when she said God was coming so they followed her along with myself and others. Some of us returned when we were cold, the others laid down on the ice and died. Mina was the leader[;] she tore off some of my clothes and she also took clothes off Moses, Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Maria (Nukarak) and Sarah (Kumudluk) when they were out some distance on the ice.
- Q. Did Mina appear normal in mind to you before the occurrence
- A. For some days before she seemed to think God was coming. Before that I think she was normal.
- Q. Has Mina apparently been normal in mind as far as you are aware since the occurrence
- A. She has been improving every day and now appears to be over her belief of that time and is sorry for what she did.

(Sgd) Moses (In Syllabics)

Nellie (Eskimo, Widow) (Questioned by Coroner)

- Q. What is your name
- A. Nellie, a Widow
- Q. How old are you
- A. Over 30 years
- Q. Were you living at Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell) on March 29th, 1941



- A. Yes
- Q. Were the women and children of the camp out on the ice
- A. Yes
- Q. Were they clothed
- A. Some were naked others had pants on
- Q. What was the weather
- A. Very Cold
- Q. Do you know why they were out in the cold on the ice without clothes on
- A. Mina told us to go out and to take our clothes off. Mina looked very wild and we were frightened—she said she was Jesus. She said Jesus was coming and scared us all. She said “Jesus is coming, come thou quickly, he is going to arrive”. We were all in a group and Mina was running in a circle around us. I took clothes off Sarah on the ice because Mina made me.
- Q. [W]ere you out with the others
- A. Yes
- Q. Had you your clothes off
- A. Yes
- Q. Did you take them off voluntarily
- A. No. Mina told me to take them off. I was frightened.
- Q. Did you see Mina take clothes off the children some distance out on the ice[?]
- A. Yes she took the remaining clothes off – pants – Alec[,] Sarah, Moses, Johnsie and Johnny
- Q. Why did the 4 children and 2 women not return
- A. They were [a long] way out on the ice and it was very cold and they were unable to walk back.
- Q. When were they found
- A. 2 Days later
- Q. Where were they found
- A. Out on the ice around the Island (Camsell) at various distances
- Q. How were they when found
- A. Lying on the ice dead and frozen. Some had managed to get Pants back on.

(Sgd) Nellie (Her Mark)

Mina or Anowtelik (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

- Q. What is your name
- A. Mina or Anowtelik, wife of Peter Sala
- Q. How old are you
- A. About 25 years
- Q. Where were you living on March 29th, 1941
- A. On Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell)

- Q. On this date did you hear Mina, the wife of Moses, tell the Eskimos of the Camp to remove their clothing
- A. Yes
- Q. Did you see Mina lead these Eskimo out on the sea ice
- A. Yes
- Q. What was the weather
- A. Very cold
- Q. Did Mina threaten or force the Eskimo to go out
- A. She was talking in a very loud voice about Jesus coming and saying she was Jesus. I didn't want to go out but Mina told me to take off my clothes and tried to take them off. She was strong enough to make me take them off. My Children were frightened and took off some of their clothes and followed her, I went along at the last because I wanted to be with my children.
- Q. What happened out on the ice
- A. When we were a long way out I saw Mina take the remaining clothes – the pants – off the children. Her sister Kumudluk also helped. I tried to help my children but they were frightened of Mina and ran away fast.
- Q. Why didn't you help your own children get back to camp
- A. I tried to but I was carrying my baby in my arms. I managed to get them all back but Alec. I put his pants back on but he was too cold to return and I couldn't carry him. I was frozen myself on the bottoms of my feet.
- Q. Did some of the Children and Adults not return to the Camp
- A. Yes. Moses, Johnasie, Johnny and Alec and the women Nukarak and Kumudluk Sarah did not return
- Q. Did you see them again
- A. Yes 2 days later I went out with the others and found them on the ice adjacent to the Island (Camsell) frozen and dead

(Sgd) Mina (Her Mark)

Sarah Eerkok (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

- Q. What is your name
- A. Sarah Eerkok, wife of Quarack
- Q. How old are you
- A. About 40 years
- Q. Were you living at Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell) on March 29th, 1941
- A. Yes
- Q. On that date did the Eskimos of the Camp go out on the Sea Ice with their clothing removed
- A. Yes
- Q. Were some of them Children
- A. Yes

- Q. Did some of them not return  
A. Yes  
Q. Where were they found and when  
A. Out on the sea ice at various places some time later  
Q. In what condition were they when found  
A. Dead, I think, I didn't go out looking for them[.] Moses, Johnasie, Johnny, Alec Maria and Sarah were buried on the Island.  
Q. Who led you out on the ice  
A. Mina. I was afraid of her because of my children  
Q. Why did Mina do this  
A. She said Jesus was coming and to remove our clothes and go out. I didn't want to go but my daughter Mary took the baby out and I followed.  
Q. When you were out on the ice did you see Mina remove the clothes from some of the Children[?]  
A. Yes when we were out on the ice I saw Mina take [the] remaining clothes off some of the children  
Q. What was the weather  
A. Very Cold

(Sgd) Sarah (Her Mark)

Mary Nukarak (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

- Q. What is your name  
A. Mary Nukarak  
Q. How old are you  
A. About 13 years  
Q. Were you living at Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell) on March 29th, 1941  
A. Yes  
Q. On March 29th, 1941, did Eskimos of the Camp go out on the sea ice with their clothes off  
A. Yes  
Q. Were some of them Children  
A. Yes  
Q. Did some not return  
A. Yes. Moses, Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Sarah and Maria (Nukarak)  
Q. Why did they not return  
A. They died on the sea ice some distance away. They had no clothes on and froze to death. I helped find them  
Q. Who made the Eskimos go out without clothes  
A. Mina. She took hold of me and wanted me to take my clothes off. My Mother tried to stop me but Mina took my Clothes off and I went out on the ice because I was afraid of her. I was carrying my baby sister.

Q. Why were you afraid of Mina

A. The women were rejoicing and pretending to fight because Mina had said Jesus was coming. Mina told everyone to take off their clothes and go out on the ice. She led us

Q. What was the weather

A. A small wind and cold

Q. Did Mina [t]ake clothes off some children out on the ice

A. Yes. Mina and I had a fight on the ice. I wanted to go back but Mina tried to stop me. I managed to get my clothes on on the way back. I was the first back. Mina talked in a loud voice “Jesus is coming, come you all” and frightened all of us

(Sgd) Mary (Her Mark)

Mina (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Mina, wife of Moses

Q. How old are you

A. About 25 years

Q. Where were you living during latter part of March and during April

A. On Peteolukjuak Island (Camsell Island)

Q. On or about March 29th, 1941, were you under the belief that God was to visit the World very soon

A. Yes

Q. Did you cause certain other Eskimo in company with yourself to remove their clothing on March 29th, 1941

A. Yes I told them to

Q. Who were the others

A. All the Eskimo in the Camp

Q. Were some of them Children

A. Yes. Johnny, Johnasie, Moses, Alec, and some others

Q. Did you cause them to go outside without their clothes on

A. Yes. I told them to [go] outside and led them

Q. Where did they go

A. I led them out on the sea ice

Q. What was the weather like

A. It was very cold

Q. Did some of these adults and children not return to their homes

A. Yes. Moses, Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Sarah, and Maria. During the night I was sad because I knew they would die

Q. When were they found

A. About 2 days after

- Q. Where were they found  
A. On the sea ice adjacent to the Island  
Q. How were they when found  
A. They were frozen to death  
Q. Were you aware of your actions on the days in question  
A. I remember afterwards all that I said and did and was very sad  
Q. Did you tear off the clothing of some of these people  
A. Yes. A long way out on the ice I took off all the clothing of Moses, Alec, Johnny, Johnasie. I threw their clothes on the ice. They wanted to put their clothes back on later but I told them to go and leave them. They went because they were frightened of me.

(Sgd) Mina (In Syllabics)

10. After considering the evidence, the Coroner Thos. J. Orford, Esquire, rendered the following verdict, the same applying to the death of each of the following; Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Moses (Eskimo Boys)[,] Nukarak, and Kumudluk Sarah (Eskimo Female Adults)-

That (Name of person) came to his (Or her) death on or about March 29th, 1941 on the sea ice adjacent to Camsell Island of the Belcher Islands Group N.W.T. as a result of intense cold weather and insufficient clothing due to Eskimo Woman Mina inciting said (Name of person) as well as others to follow her in her false prophesy and belief in the coming of God and imminent end of the World.

11. In view of the Coroner's verdict, [an] information was laid before Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, Justice of the Peace for the Northwest Territories charging Mina with the Murder of Johnasie (Eskimo Male) contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada. A Warrant was issued and executed at 6.45 P.M. of April 16th, 1941.

12. Mina, along with other Eskimo prisoners (Quarack and Adlaycock) were escorted to the R.C.M. Police Detachment at Moose Factory, Ont. by R.C.M. Police 'Plane MPF, leaving Belcher Islands on the evening of April 16th and arriving at Moose Factory on the afternoon of the following day.

13. Mina will be held in custody at Moose Factory pending her return to the Belcher Islands in the summer of 1941 to stand trial.

Case still under investigation

<W. G. Kerr> Corpl  
(W.G. Kerr) Reg.No.7685

**36. Police Report, William Grant Kerr, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo) – Murder of, Inquest, 26 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

“G”                      Eastern Arctic                      Ottawa, Ont.

N.W.T.    April 26th, 1941

Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
Alec Keytowieack (Eskimo)– Murder of  
Inquest

1.        While at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on the 11th instant, information was received of the shooting of an Eskimo named Alec Keytowieack by his father-in-law named Quarack at Tukarak Island at a Native Camp called Tookarak. Alec Keytowieack was reported killed and to have been buried near the scene of the killing.
2.        At noon of April 13th I left the Hudson’s Bay Co. Post at Belcher Islands accompanied by Doctor T.J. Orford, Coroner, Rev. G. Neilson, Missionary from Great Whale River, P.Q., as Interpreter, Eva Naroomi, widow of Alec Keytowieack, and Anawak as guide with his dog team.
3.        After walking through deep wet snow we arrived at Tookarak Camp at about 2.30 P.M. some 6 miles from the Post. We found 4 deserted Igloos (Snow houses) and no Eskimo in the vicinity.
4.        Eva Naroomi pointed to a rocky ledge some 100 yards from the Igloos and told me her husband was lying under some rocks there.
5.        A pile of rocks was found at the spot indicated and on throwing them aside the body of a young Eskimo was found frozen solidly. The rocks had evidently been thrown on the body and not built up as is the custom among Eskimo when burying their dead.
6.        The body was fully clothed and the head was covered with a mixture of frozen blood and snow. The Parka was raised and the thumb of the left hand was inserted underneath the suspender with the hand resting on the bare chest. Doctor Orford carefully examined the corpse and found where two bullets had entered the back and one the head. Native Anawak positively [identified] the body as that of Alec Keytowieack.
7.        The killing of Alec Keytowieack was another episode in the relig[i]ous frenzy that had gripped the Eskimo population of the south eastern section of the Belcher

Islands during the past winter. Belief in the coming of God and the end of the world, and the claim of one Charley Ouyerack that he was "Jesus" led to the shooting. Alec Keytowieack had been of the few Eskimo who had remained rational and because he would not believe that Charley Ouyerack was "Jesus" or in the end of the World, he had been shot as he walked away from the fanatics by his father-in-law, Quarach, on orders given by Charley Ouyerack.

8. Eva Naroomi, daughter of Quarach as well as widow of Alec Keytowieack[,] stated that her father was at a distant Native Camp but had stated he was willing to come and see the Police when they arrived. The same day when we were at Camsell Island investigating the deaths of 4 Native Children and 2 Native women, Native Anawak was sent to the Camp of Quarach with instructions to have Quarach come in at once to the Hudson's Bay Co. Post.

9. Quarach arrived at the Post on the afternoon of April 15th. On the same day an inquest was opened to inquire into the death of Alec Keytowieack by Doctor Thomas J. Orford as Coroner. No members for a Jury were available.

10. Witnesses were called and with the Rev. G.L. Neilson acting as interpreter the following evidence was submitted in question and answer form;

Statement by Doctor Orford

Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
April 13th, 1941

Frozen body of Male Eskimo, about 22 years of age, [identified] at grave on south coast of Tukarak Island of the Belcher Islands Group N.W.T. in the presence of Corporal W.G. Kerr, R.C.M. Police, and Rev. G. Neilson as that of Alec Keytowieack. [Identification] made by Eskimo Anawak (Male) on April 13th, 1941, at 2.30 P.M.

No internal examination made due to frozen condition of body. A large amount of frozen blood on ground under head with right ear, nostrils, and mouth plugged with frozen blood.

The following wounds were found

1. A wound about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in length with clean edges penetrating scalp and skull about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " inches above and 1 inch posterior to right ear.
2. Circular penetrating wound  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to left of spine and at the lower of lower angle of shoulder blade.
3. Circular penetrating wound 2" to right of spine at the level of shoulder blade.
4. Wound about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in length with everted edges and moderate haemorrhage  $\frac{1}{2}$ " to left of breast bone on a level with left nipple.

5. Wound with moderate haemorrhage 3 inches to left of breast bone and 2 inches above left nipple with mushroomed bullet resting in lip of wound against the metal portion of suspenders.

6. Small perforating wound in left groin 3 inches below and to left of navel.

Holes in clothing fitted perfectly over body wounds.

In my opinion death was caused by any of the chest or head wounds.

(Sgd) Thos. J. Orford Coroner  
For the Northwest Territories

Anawak (Eskimo) (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Anawak

Q. How old are you

A. Uncertain but about 40 years

Q. Where do you live

A. Augogashuk Camp on the Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

Q. Did you [identify] the body of Alec Keytowieack on April 13th, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Where

A. At Tookarak Camp

Q. Had you known Alec Keytowieack before death

A. Yes

(Sgd) Anawak (In syllabics)

Mina (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Mina, wife of Moses

Q. How old are you

A. About 26 years

Q. Were you living with your husband Moses at Tookarak Camp in Februa[r]y, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Did you [know] Keytowieack

A. Yes

Q. Were you there when Keytowieack was killed

A. Yes

Q. Did you see him killed

A. Yes

Q. How was he killed

A. With a gun

Q. Who fired the gun



- A. Quarack  
Q. Was it Quarack's own gun  
A. I do not know  
Q. What did you see  
A. I was outside. Charlie Ouyerack had asked Moses to shoot Keytowieack and he had refused. Charlie then walked to Quarack's Igloo. I didn't hear what he said to Quarack. Keytowieack was there and I saw him walking away from Charlie and Quarack with his back turned. I saw Quarack aim a rifle at Keytowieack and shoot. Keytowieack fell on the ground. I saw Quarack walk towards Keytowieack, kneel down and aim and shoot again. He walked around him and shot again. Keytowieack's body was left lying in the snow. Peter Sala arrived later in the day and told us to bury Keytowieack. Moses, Quarack, Charlie and I took the body and carried it away a few yards. We threw rocks and covered his body that way fast. Quarack seemed very pleased so was Charlie over the shooting.  
Q. Do you know the day on which this happened  
A. I have no calendar but I think it was two moons ago

(Sgd) Mina (In Syllabics)

Eva Naroomi (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

- Q. What is your name  
A. Eva Naroomi  
Q. Did you live at Tookarak Camp during the Winter  
A. Yes  
Q. Were you the wife of Alec Keytowieack  
A. Yes  
Q. [Were] you present when he died  
A. Yes  
Q. How did he die  
A. He was shot  
Q. Who shot him  
A. Quarack, my Father  
Q. When was he shot  
A. I do not know the date  
Q. Where was he shot  
A. Tookarak Camp  
Q. What did you see  
A. Charlie Ouyerack told my father to shoot Keytowieack[:] he said Keytowieack was a devil and told my father that this was so and that I was also a devil. I then decided to believe a little in Charlie. I did not see the first two shots fired but I saw my Father fire the third shot at Keytowieack as he was lying in the snow some distance away. My father was close to Keytowieack, only about fifteen feet

way. I heard Charlie tell my father to shoot. Charlie and Quarack rejoiced also my mother and Moses and his wife Mina. I was also glad a little bit.

(Sgd) Eva X (Her mark)

Mary (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Mary

Q. How old are you

A. About 13 years

Q. [Did] you live at Tookarak Camp during the Winter, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Do you know Keytowieack

A. Yes

Q. Were you present when he died

A. Yes

Q. How did he die

A. He was shot

Q. Who shot him

A. My father, Quarack

Q. When was he shot

A. I don't know

Q. Where was he shot

A. Tookarak Camp

Q. What did you see

A. I saw Quarack fire the shots that killed Keytowieack. He fired three shots. Keytowieack was walking away from the Igloos when shot in the back. Charlie Ouyerack told him to walk away. Charlie [told] my father to shoot Keytowieack the first time, he also told him to shoot the second and the third time.

Q. Whose rifle was used

A. I don't know

(Sgd) Mary X (Her mark)

Moses (Eskimo Male) (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Moses

Q. How old are you

A. About 22 years

Q. Did you know Keytowieack before his death

A. Yes

Q. Were you present when he was killed

A. Yes

Q. Did you see him shot

A. Yes

Q. Who shot him

A. Quarack

Q. Where was he shot

A. Tookarak Camp

Q. When was he shot

A. I can't remember but it was two moons ago. Charlie Ouyerack came to visit the camp some days before. He [t]old us "Jesus is coming soon". Quarack believed very much in Charlie along with the rest of us and Quarack was considered a leader along with Charlie in this matter. Charlie told me to shoot Alec Keytowieack. Charlie said to me Keytowieack was no good because he did not believe Charlie was Jesus. I believed in Charlie but I did not want to kill a man and did not agree with shooting Keytowieack. Charlie then walked over to Quarack. Charlie told Keytowieack to walk away without looking around which he did. Charlie was acting very pleased. I then went into my Igloo[;] it was partially built and I could see over it. I saw Quarack take aim and shoot Keytowieack. He was using his own rifle, a 30-30 and bullets. The first bullet hit Keytowieack in back of the shoulders and he fell forward. Quarack walked over to him and fired a second bullet into his back. He went closer and fired a third bullet into his head. Charlie, Quarack, and Eva, Alec's wife, were rejoicing over his death also Eva's Mother. They said "We will sleep well tonight because he is dead". Peter Sala and his family came along afterwards and made an Igloo in the Camp. I, Moses, and Mina and Quarack decided to take the body and bury it. Quarack told us to throw rocks on the body instead of carefully placing them. I didn't want to do it this way but was frightened and did as I was told.

(Sgd) Moses (In syllabics)

Sarah Eerkok (Eskimo Female) (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Sarah Eerkok, wife of Quarack

Q. Were you living with your husband Quarack on or about Feb.9th, 1941

A. Yes all winter

Q. Did you know Keytowieack

A. Yes

Q. Were you present at his death

A. Yes

Q. How did he die

A. He was shot by Quarack

Q. Did Quarack use his own rifle

A. I don't know

Q. Do you know the date on which he was shot

A. No

Q. Where was he shot

A. Tookarak Camp

Q. What did you see

A. Charlie Ouyerack said to Quarack “I am Jesus” and then said to Keytowieack “Do you want to obey me. If you do not want to obey me you will die for I am Jesus. Keytowieack was frightened and said “I believe a little bit but not it all”. Charlie told everyone to go outside the Igloo. He then told Keytowieack to walk away and not to turn around. Keytowieack walked away as he was told. Charlie then told Quarack to shoot. No one tried to stop him. Quarack shot once and Keytowieack fell, the shot hitting him in the back. Quarack then walked closer and shot him again when Charlie told him to. Charlie said to shoot again and Quarack shot again. Charlie was very pleased and so was Quarack. I went back to the Igloo.

(Sgd) Sarah (Her Mark)

Peter Quarack (Eskimo Male) (Questioned by Coroner)

Q. What is your name

A. Peter Quarack

Q. Did you live at Tookarak Camp during the winter, 1941

A. Yes

Q. Did you know Keytowieack

A. Yes. He was my son-in-law

Q. How did he die

A. I shot him

Q. Did you use your own rifle

A. Yes, a 30-30

Q. Where did you shoot him

A. In February of this year

Q. Why did you shoot him[?]

A. Charlie Ouyerack said Keytowieack was no good because he [did] not want God and Charlie was the big Boss. Charlie said Keytowieack was the devil. Charlie had come to our Camp some time before and said he was God. He also said Eva, the wife of Keytowieack, was a devil. Charlie and Eva were visiting in an Igloo and I heard Charlie beating Eva with his fists and saying she would die unless she obeyed him. Charlie said all the Eskimos must follow him because he was God. I believed in him because I thought he would take me to God. Charlie said “Keytowieack you have stolen two biscuits from Kunnudluk”, which Keytowieack himself had brought from the Company store. He told Keytowieack

he was no good. He said to me "Keytowieack is no good[,] shoot him." He also told Keytowieack he was worse than the dogs. Keytowieack said he did not want to believe in Charlie and did not believe Charlie was God. He [said] he believed in God but not in Charlie being Jesus. The two of them quarrelled over who was the biggest or best man in regard to the bible. We were all in my Igloo—Charlie, Keytowieack, Charlie's wife. I had gone outside a few minutes before. Then Charlie came outside and called for Keytowieack to come out. Charlie told Keytowieack to walk away and Keytowieack walked away with his back to us without looking around. Charlie said to me "Go ahead, shoot him." I shot him in the back and he fell down. Charlie said "He isn't dead yet." I shot him again after walking closer and Charlie said "He isn't dead yet[,] shoot again." I shot him in the head with the third shot. We all rejoiced over his death. Peter arrived in the afternoon and told us to bury him. Moses, Charlie, Mina and I threw rocks on his body.

(Sgd) Quarack (In syllabics)

Bertie Akparok (Eskimo Male) (Questioned by Coroner)

- Q. What is your name  
A. Bertie Akparok  
Q. Do you live on the Belcher Islands  
A. Yes  
Q. Did you hear about the death of Keytowieack  
A. Yes  
Q. What was the date on which you were [informed] he was killed  
A. Yes. I remember and marked it down in my calendar as February 9th, 1941  
Q. Who told you of the death  
A. Alec Epuk on the 10th day of February

Translation of syllabic record

"Alec Epuk came to us on the 10th day of February and said that yesterday Satan died".

(Satan being interpreted as Alec Keytowieack)

(Sgd) Akparok (In Syllabics)

11. After considering the evidence submitted the Coroner, Thos J. Orford, Esquire, gave the following verdict;

That Alec Keytowieack came to his death on or about February 9th, 1941, at Tookarak Camp on Tukarak Island in the Belcher Islands Group, N.W.T. as a result of gunshot wounds in head and body. These wounds being inflicted by Eskimo Peter Quarack with intent to murder.

12. In view of this an Information was laid charging Quarack with murder contrary to section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada before Thos. J. Orford, Esquire, Justice of the Peace for the Northwest Territories by Corporal W.G. Kerr.

13. A warrant was issued and Quarack arrested the 16th day of April at 6.45 P.M. He, along with other Eskimo prisoners, was taken to Moose Factory, Ont. by R.C.M. Police 'Plane MPF and placed in custody at the R.C.M. Police Detachment at that point, pending his return to Belcher Islands, N.W.T. in the summer of 1941 to stand trial.

Case still under investigation

<W.G. Kerr> Corpl.  
(W.G. Kerr) Reg.No.7685

**37. Police Report, Inspector Douglas J. Martin, Commanding “G” Division, R.C.M.P., regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Eskimo, Keytowieack – Murder of, 26 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

F. 237

Division File No. 41 G 636-1

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Division	Sub-Division	Detachment
“G”	Eastern Arctic	Ottawa, Ontario

Province	Date
N.W.T.	April 26th, 1941.

File References	Re:	Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T. Eskimo, Keytowieack – Murder of: -
-----------------	-----	---

Headquarters	41D 636-13-L-1
--------------	----------------

1. While at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on the 11th instant investigating the recent murders there, information was received of the shooting of an Eskimo man named Keytowieack, aged 46 years, at a Native Camp on Flaherty Island one of the Belcher Island Group, on or about January 26th, 1941. The shooting was alleged to have been done by another Eskimo named Adlaykok during the religious hysteria that held sway in the Belcher Islands among the Natives during the winter.

2. Plans were made for Inspector D.J. Martin to proceed to this native camp on Flaherty Island in the Police Aircraft, C.F.-MPF from the Hudson's Bay Company

Post on Belcher Islands, for the purpose of investigating the murder of Keytowieack, but due to adverse weather conditions this was impossible, therefore this native's body was not recovered by the Police party. The imminent break-up of the rivers on the mainland made it imperative that the Police aircraft leave Belcher Islands as soon as possible.

3. The following statements were taken from Natives Peter Sala (Eskimo Male) and Louisa Eekalook (Eskimo Female) who were at the camp at the time of the alleged shooting but were now at the Post of the Hudson's Bay Company on Belcher Islands.

Statement of Peter Sala

Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

April 15th, 1941.

I was visiting a Native Camp on Flaherty Island when Sarah (Subject of separate report) was killed and was there when it occurred. Alec Apawkok asked whether or not Sarah should die and I said No. (Apawkok and Sarah were brother and sister[.]) Alec Apawkok said Sarah was no good, she was like Satan. I think I was crazy at that time. We all thought we had halos, Adleka family, Keytowieack family[,] Shoolukshuk family, Kugvik family, Apawkok family, Charlie Ouyerack family. Charlie Ouyerack said he had the spirit of Jesus[;] he made us believe him. Alec Apawkok believed in Charlie very much, but Sarah, did not. So Alec Apawkok pulled her over near Charlie and himself. Alec Apawkok pulled her head up by the hair and while holding her hit on the shoulder with a snow stick. I didn't see where he had hit her as it was dark. She fell on the floor without speaking then Mina and Akeevik dragged her outside by the arms to another Igloo. I didn't see any more but I heard she was groaning and that Akeevik (Eskimo Female) hit her on the head with a rifle and that she died. We continued to believe in Charlie Ouyerack as Jesus. I wanted to leave in the morning because I didn't think it was good to kill anyone. We didn't think Keytowieack was good because he fought with Charlie Ouyerack and with my Mother. He (Keytowieack) went outside into the snow porch and then outside and beat the snow house with a stick. I thought he was no good and was frightened of him. Keytowieack went away but he came back and looked through the window of the Igloo. I was frightened so I took the wood along the edge of the sleeping bench and hit him in the mouth with it. Keytowieack went back to an Igloo by himself. I saw Keytowieack through the window of this igloo sitting bent over and I pushed in a steel tipped spear to touch him. I hit him hard with the stick on the head – the left side, and then Adlaykok shot him twice, once in the shoulder and once in the head. The rifle was a 44-40. I don't know whose rifle it was and I didn't hear anyone say to shoot him.

(Sgd) Peter Sala (In Syllabics)

Statement of Louisa Eekalook (Eskimo Female)

I am the wife of Adlaykok and during the winter of 1940-41 I was living with my husband at Eeteveemiuk Camp in the southern part of the Belcher Islands, N.W.T. (On Flaherty Island) on or about January 25th, the following Eskimo were at the camp: Charlie Ouyerack and his wife and two children, Keytowieack, Kugvik and his wife and four children, Shoolukshuk and his wife and four children, Mark Shoolukshuk (Son of Shoolukshuk) and his wife, Enukpook and his wife and four children, Apawkok and his five children, Peter Sala and his four children, and Alec Apawkok. Some of the Natives were visiting us from another Camp.

Most of us were gathered together in an Igloo. Charlie Ouyerack said he was Jesus and Peter Sala said he was God. For about a week before Charlie, Peter and Alec Apawkok had been saying that Jesus was coming & there was no need to work any more. Some dogs had been shot and a rifle destroyed as we believed we would not need them when Jesus came.

Alec Apawkok said to Sarah (Age 13) his sister “Do you believe that Jesus is here” and Sarah said she did not. Alec Apawkok began to hit her on the head with a snow stick and she fell down. I did not see this because I was in the back of the Igloo and people were in front of me. Akeevik a widow and Mina, Wife of Moses (All at the Camp but not mentioned before) dragged her from the Igloo and I heard that Akeevik had hit Sarah over the head with a gun in another Igloo and that she was dead.

Later Keytowieack wanted to leave the Igloo but Charlie Ouyerack started to tear his Parka and fight with him. Keytowieack did not believe that Charlie was Jesus. I tried to stop Keytowieack from leaving the Igloo by grabbing his knee because at that time I believed in Charlie.

The next morning Adlaykok my husband went to Keytowieack’s Igloo and saw him sitting there with his head bowed. Peter Sala pushed a harpoon through the window and prodded Keytowieack, Adlaykok had Charlie’s gun in his hand and he asked Charlie for a cartridge and Charlie gave him one. Adlaykok then shot Keytowieack. Keytowieack moved only a little bit and Adlaykok asked for another cartridge. I do not remember who gave him the second cartridge. Adlaykok shot him again and I think he fell dead. Keytowieack and Sarah were not buried but were left in the Igloos where they had died.

(SGD) Louisa Eekalook (In Syllabics)

4. On the strength of the information received an Information was laid before Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, Justice of the Peace for the Northwest Territories, charging Adlaykok with murder under section 259 of the Criminal Code of Canada, and a warrant was issued.



5. The warrant was executed at 6.45 P.M. of April 16th, 1941, and Adlaykok was [escorted] to Moose Factory, Ont., by R.C.M. Police Plane MPF and placed in custody at the R.C.M. Police Detachment there, the 'plane leaving Belcher Island on the evening of the 16th instant and arriving at Moose Factory the following evening.

6. Arrangements were made before leaving the Belcher Islands with a native named Anawak who will bring the body of Keytowieack from Flaherty Island to the Hudson's Bay Company's Post on Belcher Island and who will leave the body there where it will be available for examination by the Police Party and Coroner upon their return to Belcher Islands this coming summer.

STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION

*<D. J. Martin>*

D.J. Martin Inspector,  
Commanding "G" Division.

**38. Police Report, Douglas J. Martin, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.; Sarah (Eskimo Female)]– Murder Of, 26 April 1941**

LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299

F. 237

Division File No. 41 G 636-1

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Division "G"	Sub-Division Eastern Arctic	Detachment Ottawa, Ontario
Province N.W.T.		Date April 26th, 1941.
File References	Re:	Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T. Sarah (Eskimo Female)] – Murder Of:
Headquarters	41D 636-13-L-1	

1. While at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. information was received from various Eskimos of the killing of a young Eskimo girl named Sarah, age around 13 years, by her brother, named Alec Apawkok, at a Native camp on Flaherty Island of the Belcher Islands group on or about January 25th, 1941, and a Native woman named Akeevik.

2. At a meeting of Natives in an Igloo presided over by Charlie Ouyerack, who believed or pretended to be Jesus, and who was the driving force, apparently, [behind]

the religious hysteria that had seized the Eskimos in the southern section of the Belcher Islands during the past winter, the killing had taken place[.]

3. Alec Apawkok, an ardent disciple of Charlie Ouyerack had become angered at his Sister's [denial] that Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus and that the World was coming to an end, and had beat her sever[e]ly around the head with a snow stick (used for beating snow off clothing) until she fell unconscious. She had then been dragged from the Igloo by Native Women Mina and Akeevik. After reaching the outside Akeevik (A widow) was reported to have alone dragged the senseless body of Sarah into an Igloo and there had beaten in her head with the butt of a rifle until she was dead. The body had been left in the Igloo and had not been accorded the usual Eskimo burial.

4. Circumstances prevented a visit to the scene of the crime, but arrangements were made with Native Anawak to bring the bodies of Sarah and Ketowieack (Shot and killed by Native Adlaykok at the same camp) into the Hudson's Bay Co. Post at Belcher Islands and bury them under rocks (The customary way)[.] Upon the return of the Patrol to Belcher Islands in the summer of 1941, the bodies will then be examined by the Coroner and the investigation continued.

5. The following statements were taken from Natives Peter Sala (Eskimo Male) and Louisa Eekalook (Eskimo female) who were at the camp on Flaherty Island at the time of the alleged shooting, but who were present at the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Belcher Islands when the Police party was there:-

Statement of Peter Sala

Belcher Islands, N.W.T.  
April 15th, 1941

I was visiting a Native Camp on Flaherty Island when Sarah was killed and was there when it occurred. Alec Apawkok asked whether or not [S]arah should die and I said No. (Apawkok and Sarah were brother and sister) Alec Apawkok said Sarah was no good, and she was like Satan. I think I was crazy at that time. We all thought we had halos, Adleka family, Keytowieack family, Shoolukshuk family, Kugvik family, Apawkok family, Charlie Ouyerack family. Charlie Ouyerack said he had the spirit of Jesus[;] he made us believe him. Alec Apawkok believed in Charlie very much, but Sarah, did not. So Alec [Apawkok] said "If you don't agree you will die". So Alec Apawkok pulled her over near Charlie and himself. Alec Apawkok pulled her head up by the hair and while holding her hit on the shoulder with a snow stick. I didn't see where he had hit her as it was dark. She fell on the floor without speaking then Mina and Akeevik dragged her outside by the arms to another Igloo, I didn't see any more but I heard she was groaning and that Akeevik (Eskimo Female) hit her on the head with a rifle and that she died. We continued to believe in Charlie Ouyerack as Jesus. I wanted to leave in the morning because I didn't think it was good to kill

anyone. We didn't think Keytowieack was good because he fought with Charlie Ouyerack and with my mother. He went outside (Keytowieack) into the snow porch and then outside and beat the snowhouse with a stick. I thought he was no good and was frightened of him. Keytowieack went away but he came back and looked through the window of the Igloo. I was frightened so I took the wood along the edge of the sleeping bench and hit him in the mouth with it. Keytowieack went back to an Igloo by himself. I saw Keytowieack through the window of this Igloo sitting bent over and I pushed in a steel tipped spear to touch him. I hit him hard with the stick on the head, the left side, and then Adlaykok shot him twice, once in the shoulder and once in the head. The rifle was a 44-40. I don't know whose rifle it was and I didn't hear an[y]one say to shoot him.

Witnessed by –

Thos. J. Orford.

(SGD) Peter Sala (in syllabics).

Statement of Louisa Eekalook (Female Eskimo)

I am the wife of Adlaykok and during the winter of 1940-41 was living with my husband at Eeteveemiuk Camp in the southern part of the Belcher Islands, N.W.T. (On Flaherty Island) on or about January 25th the following Eskimos were at the camp; Charlie Ouyerack and his wife and 2 children[,] Keytowieack, Kugvik and his wife and 4 children, Shoolukshuk and his wife and four children, Mark Shoolushuk (Son of Shoolukshuk) and his wife, Enukpook and his wife and 4 children, Apa[w]kok and his five children, Peter Sala and his four children and Alec Apawkok. Some of the Natives were visiting us from another camp.

Most of us were gathered together in an Igloo. Cherlie Ouyerack said he was Jesus and Peter Sala said he was God. For about a week before Charlie, Peter and Alec Keytowieack had been saying that Jesus was coming and there was no need to work any more. Some Dogs and a rifle had been destroyed, the dogs being shot, as we believed we would not need them when Jesus came.

Some time later when a lot of the Eskimos were together in an Igloo, Alec Apawkok said to Sarah (13 years) his sister "Do you believe that Jesus is here" and Sarah said she did not. Alec Apawkok began to hit her on the head with a snow stick and she fell down. I did not see this because I was in the back of the Igloo and people were in front of me. Akeevik, a widow, and Mina, wife of Moses, dragged her from the Igloo and I heard that Akeevik had hit Sarah over the head with a gun in another Igloo and that she was dead.

Later Keytowieack wanted to leave the Igloo but Charlie Ouyerack started to tear his Parka and fight with him. Keytowieack did not believe that Charlie was Jesus.

I tried to stop Keytowieack from leaving the Igloo by grabbing his knee because at that time I believed in Charlie.

The next morning Adlaykok my husband went to Keytowieack's Igloo and saw him sitting there with his head bowed. Peter Sala pushed a harpoon through the window and prodded Keytowieack. Adlaykok had Charlie's Gun in his hand and he asked Charlie for a cartridge and Charlie gave him one. Adlaykok then shot Keytowieack. Keytowieack moved only a little bit and Adlaykok asked for another cartridge. I do not remember who gave him the second cartridge. Adlaykok shot him again and I think he fell dead.

Keytowieack and Sarah were not buried but were left in the Igloos where they had died.

Witness

(SGD) Louisa Eekalook (in syllabics)

G.L. Neilson

STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION

D. D.

*<D. J. Martin>*

D.J. Martin Inspector,  
Commanding "G" Division.

**39. Police Report, Douglas J. Martin, regarding Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T., 30 April 1941**

**LAC, RG 13, vol. 2025, file 142299**

F. 237

Division File No. 41 G 636-1

**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE**

Division	Sub-Division	Detachment
"G"	Eastern Arctic	Ottawa

Province	Date
N.W.T.	30-4-41.

File References	Re: Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.
-----------------	---

Headquarters	41 D 636-13/L-1
--------------	-----------------

1. Upon the arrival of the Police party by Police Aircraft, C.F.-MPF, at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on April 11th. 1941, an investigation was immediately commenced into the above murders.
2. The Manager of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Belcher Islands, Mr. E. Riddell, and the Reverend G. Neilson, an Anglican Missionary stationed at Great Whale River, P.Q. who was at Belcher Islands when the Police party arrived, gave information regarding the murders.
3. Natives who were also at the H.B. Co. post when the Police party arrived were questioned and also gave information.
4. Following is a resume of the information obtained.
5. Around the first part of January, 1941, Charley Ouyerack, with Peter Sala acting as his lieutenant[,] started a campaign to impress the Natives of the southern section of the Belcher Islands that he was Jesus and that God was coming to end the World in the very near future. This religious frenzy was apparently started with a discussion of the Eskimo bible (Anglican) and the sight of either a falling meteor or shooting star that was interpreted as a sign from the Almighty. Many of the Natives believed in the preaching of Charley Ouyerack and in the belief that material things were no longer necessary, a rifle was destroyed and some dogs shot.

January 26th, 1941

6. At a gathering of Natives at Flaherty Island of the Belcher Islands group (Eeteeveemiuk Camp) presided over by Charley Ouyerack, Alec Apawkok, a fervent disciple of Charley Ouyerack, asked his Sister Sarah (Age 13) if she believed in the coming of Jesus and she answered that she did not. Alec Apawkok angered by this "Heresy" began to beat her over the head with an Enowtuk (a stick used for beating snow off clothing) until she fell unconscious. She was then dragged from the Igloo where the meeting was held by Akeevik, a widow, and Mina, wife of Moses. Akeevik then dragged her into another Igloo alone and beat her head in with the butt of a rifle until she was dead. The body was not buried but left in the Igloo.
7. Keytowieack (About 46 years of age) evidently was not a believer in the doctrine expounded by Charley Ouyerack and after the above [attack] on Sarah attempted to leave the Igloo. Angered at this Charley Ouyerack scuffled with him and tore his parka but Keytowieack managed to get outside. He later looked into the Igloo where the meeting was still in progress through an opening but was struck in the face by Peter Sala with a piece of wood. Keytowieack then retired to his own Igloo.

January 27th, 1941

8. The next day Peter Sala looked into the Igloo where Keytowieack had retired to the previous day and saw him sitting in a bent over position. Peter Sala pushed in a

steel tipped sealing harpoon and prodded him with it. Keytowieack would not move or look up at his tormentor. Peter Sala then hit him on the side of the head (left) with the harpoon. Adlaykok, who was nearby during this episode with Charley Ouyerack's gun in his hand, asked for and received a cartridge from Charley Ouyerack. Adlaykok then reached into the Igloo and shot Keytowieack through the shoulder, and Keytowieack moved only slightly. Adlaykok asked for and received another cartridge (Person not know[n]) and shot Keytowieack through the head, apparently killing him. The rifle was 44-40 calibre. Keytowieack's body was not buried but left in the Igloo.

Natives present at the Camp during [January] 26-27th, 1941.

- (Age 27) Charley Ouyerack and his wife Annie and two children
- (Age 42) Kugveet and his wife Annie and four Children
- (Age 50) Shooluksuk (Daniel) and his wife Kookkudluk and four children
- (Age 24) Mark Shooluksuk and his wife Kalight
- (Age 49) Moses Apawkok, widower and five children
- (Age 34) Peter Sala and his wife Mina and four children
- (Age 26) Alec Keytowieack (Also known as Alec Epuk) (He was shot and killed by his Father-in-law Quarack on February 9th, 1941)
- (Age 35) Adlaykok and his wife Louisa
- (Age 24) Alec Apawkok and his wife Mary
- (Age 35) Enukpook and his wife and four children
- (Age 22) Moses, and his wife Mina

February 9th, 1941.

9. At Tuokarak [*sic*] Camp on Tukarak Island of the Belcher Islands group Charley Ouyerack was again holding forth on the end of the World and that he was Jesus and that all the Eskimo must be his followers for he was also God. Most of the Natives believed in Charley Ouyerack's teaching, but Alec Keytowieack (Age 26) and his wife Eva (Daughter of Quarack) were not impressed. Eva apparently acqu[i]esced just enough to save herself from being disposed of as an "Unbeliever". Alec Keytowieack, however, held out against Charley Ouyerack's statement that he (Ouyerack) was God, and was called names by Charley Ouyerack and held up to the other Natives as a "Devil". Charley Ouyerack told Quarack (Father-in-law) of Alec Keytowieack that "Keytowieack is no good, shoot him". Charley Ouyerack and Alec Keytowieack quarreled further with Keytowieack stating that he believed in God but not that Charley Ouyerack was God. Charley Ouyerack came outside the Igloo in which the argument had taken place and then called for Alec Keytowieack to come out. When Alec Keytowieack did so Charley Ouyerack told him to walk away from the Igloo without looking around which Keytowieack did. While Keytowieack was walking away, Charley Ouyerack told him to walk away from the Igloo without looking around[.] Charley Ouyerack said to Quarack "Go ahead and shoot him" and

Quarack aimed his 30-30 rifle and shot Keytowieack in the back. Keytowieack fell to the ground and Charley Ouyerack said to Quarack "He isn't dead yet, shoot again" and Quarack again shot him in the back after walking closer. Charley Ouyerack again called on Quarack to shoot again to make sure Keytowieack was dead and Quarack shot him in the head. They all (Charley Ouyerack, Quarack, and his wife Sarah, Moses and Mina his Wife) rejoiced at the death of the man who wouldn't believe Charley Ouyerack was Jesus. On the arrival of Peter Sala the same day, the body of Keytowieack was covered with rocks by Quarack, Mino [*sic*], Moses, and Charley Ouyerack upon the suggestion of Peter.

Natives present at the Camp on February 9th, 1941

10.      [(]Age 22) Moses and his wife Mina  
            (Age 20) Eva Naroomi, wife of the murdered man and daughter of Quarack  
            (Age 27) Charley Ouyerack  
            (Age 42) Quarack and his wife Sarah  
            (Age 13) Mary, daughter of Quarack  
            (Age 34) Peter Sala (who arrived after shooting)

March 29th, 1941.

11.      On this day Natives were camped on a small island (Camsell) about 5 miles from the above named Camp. Quarack and his daughter Eva Naroomi were out on the sea ice sealing. Between 11 and 12 o'clock in the morning Mina, wife of Moses, began to tell the other women and children of the camp that Jesus was coming and to take off their clothes and go out on the sea ice to meet him. By threats and gesticulations Mina forced the following out on the ice – Kumudluk Sara, (Mina's widowed sister) age 32, Nukarack (Mina's Mother) Age 55, Johnny adopted son of Peter Sala, Johnasie, son of Kumukluk Sara, age 6 years, Moses, son of Kumukluk Sarah, age 13 years, Alec, son of Peter Sala, age 8 years (Mina is the Sister of Peter Sala)[,] Peter Sala's wife and her small sons, Moses and Quarack, and Mina's husband, Moses. Quarack's wife and her children remained in their Igloo, but Nellie, a widow, Age 30, and Mary daughter of Quarack were also forced out on the ice by Mina. She made the Natives very frightened by dashing around and amongst them and calling that "Jesus was coming" she made all take off[f] their Parkhas and some their boots, including her husband Moses. After she had led them far out on the ice she took the pants off[f] the children and prevented them from reaching or putting back on any of their clothes. Moses her husband managed to bring back one of the children that Peter Sala's wife had with her, and Peter Sala's wife brought back the other. Mina returned to the Camp but the others perished out on the sea ice from exposure. The day was cold with a slight wind. The ones who died on the sea ice were, Johnny, Johnasie, Alec, Moses, (All Children), and Kumudluk [Sarah] and Nukarak (Mina's Mother and Sister). When Quarack and his daughter Eva returned from their sealing expedition they learned of the tragedy. The next day the bodies

found on the ice were brought in and buried on the Island. Mina caused no more commotion.

Natives present at the Camp on March 29th, 1941

12. Mina and her husband Moses

Quarack's wife Sarah (Quarack was out sealing during above)

Nellie, a widow

Mary, daughter of Quarack

Mina, Wife of Peter Sale (Peter Sala away on H.B.Co. patrol).

13. Inquests were held by Coroner T.J. Orford over the bodies of the four Eskimo boys and two Eskimo women who were frozen to death on the sea ice, as well as on the body of Alec Keytowieack. Separate reports on the proceedin[gs] of the inquests are forwarded herewith.

14. Separate reports are also forwarded herewith on the murders of the second native Keytowieack and on Eskimo woman, Sarah.

15. Due to the fact that it was necessary to make a quick return from Belcher Islands to the mainland in the Police aircraft, on account of the break-up season, this investigation has not been completed. The ring leader, Cherie Ouyerack has not been arrested, nor has Eskimo woman Akeevik who killed Sarah, nor Alec Apawkok, who assisted in the killing of Sarah.

16. The following prisoners were arrested and brought out in the Police aircraft and placed in the custody of the R.C.M.Police at Moose-Factory where they are at present.

Adlaykok – who is charged with killing Keytowieack.

Quarack – who is charged with killing Alec Keytowieack

Mina (Eskimo) – charged with the death of the four children and two Eskimo women who were all frozen to death on the sea ice.

17. Arrangements are yet to be made for the return of the Police Party to Belcher Islands to continue the investigation. Inquests are yet to be held on the bodies of Keytowieack and Sarah and further arrests will be made.

STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION.

*<D. J. Martin>*  
D.J. Martin Inspector,  
Commanding “G” Division.



**40. Memorandum, Major D. L. McKeand, Superintendent Eastern Arctic, Northwest Territories Administration, to R. A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories and the Director of the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Department of Resources, Ottawa, 3 June 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

OTTAWA, 3rd June, 1941.

Memorandum:

Mr. Gibson

Regarding the division of expenses of conducting trials of Eskimos accused of criminal offences I have not read all our files but from the few examined it is evident there is no policy on the subject.

The first trial on record was held in Calgary, Alberta in 1917. Mr. J. E. Wallbridge of Edmonton, Alberta was paid \$1,576.40 in legal fees by the Department of Justice. There is no record of transportation or other expenses.

Mr. Justice Dubuc was paid by the Department of Justice for service as Stipendiary Magistrate in the Mackenzie District as follows:

1921-2	\$1,205.10
1923-4	<u>\$1,020.00</u>
Total -	\$2,225.10

There is no record of any other expenses of these trials except for Mr. T. L. Cory who acted as Defence Counsel at Herschel Island in 1923. The Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch paid all his expenses from Ottawa to Edmonton and return via Yukon Territory[, while] the Department of Justice paid legal fees and expenses from Edmonton to Herschel Island.

L. A. Rivet, Esq., K.C., was paid \$2,774.30 by the Department of Justice for services as Stipendiary Magistrate for the trial at Pond Inlet in 1922. Transportation etc. for the judicial party for that trial was provided on the C.G.S. "Arctic".

J. M. Douglas, Esq., of Edmonton was appointed a Stipendiary Magistrate at a salary of \$2,500 per annum. This salary and any travelling expenses were paid by the Northwest Territories Administration.

With the exception of Mr. J. E. Gibben and Omer St. Germain, Stipendiary Magistrates are no longer paid anything for their services or travelling expenses.

Last year Mr. Fleet G. Whittaker of Le Pas, Manitoba was paid \$825 fees and \$198.85 expenses as Prosecuting Counsel for the trial at Pangnirtung while Mr. J.

A. McLean, Defence Counsel was allowed \$202.50 for travelling expenses only. Both these Counsel were provided with transportation by the Eastern Arctic Patrol.

From the foregoing it will be seen that no precedent or policy has been established as to the payment of fees to Stipendiary Magistrates, Prosecuting and Defence Counsel or officials of the criminal courts established to try Eskimos in the Northwest Territories.

D. L. McKeand

**41. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to D. L. McKeand, 4 June 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 935, file 12409**

Ottawa, June 4, 1941.

Memorandum:

Major McKeand.

I return herewith File 12003 which relates to the trial of the Belcher Islands Eskimos.

This afternoon Assistant Commissioner Caulkin and Inspector Martin of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Mr. Chesshire, Assistant Manager of the Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company, yourself and myself conferred with Mr. W. Stuart Edwards, Deputy Minister of Justice, and it was decided:-

1. That the trial would be held at Belcher Islands.
2. That the Northwest Territories Administration would enter into arrangements immediately with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transportation and sustenance of the Judicial party which would leave Moosonee as quickly as possible after the arrival of the weekly train about August 6, and return to Moosonee, if possible, in about two weeks time.
3. That the Department of Justice would proceed to arrange for a judge and two lawyers, possibly one of these – the prosecuting counsel – from the Department of Justice (for it is evident that the file record of this case and also the files of other criminal cases in the Northwest Territories should be studied and discussed with the Deputy Minister of Justice.)
4. That the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police would be asked to supply a member of the permanent force who would be

qualified to make any necessary stenographic record of the trial and, in addition, assist with the custody of the prisoners.

Will you please prepare an appropriate communication to Mr. Chesshire and to the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. It would be well to have ready also a memorandum for the information of the Northwest Territories Council.

sgd. R. A. Gibson  
Director.

**42. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, Commissioner of the R.C.M.P., Ottawa, 5 June 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

5th June, 1941.

Dear Sir,

Immediately on the arrival of Mr. R. H. Chesshire, Assistant Manager, Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company, by plane from Winnipeg yesterday afternoon, a conference was held in the office of the Deputy Minister of Justice to consider ways and means of dealing with the Belcher Islands Eskimos now awaiting trial. Those present were as follows:-

W. Stuart Edwards,  
Deputy Minister of Justice.

R. A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner of the  
Northwest Territories.

D. L. McKeand,  
Superintendent Eastern Arctic,  
Northwest Territories Administration.

Asst. Commissioner T. B. Caulkin,  
R.C.M. Police.

Inspector D. J. Martin,  
R.C.M. Police.

R. H. Chesshire,  
Hudson's Bay Company.

It was decided:-

- (i) that the trial would be held on the Belcher Islands.
- (ii) that the Northwest Territories Administration would arrange with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transportation, lodging and subsistence of the judicial party following its arrival on the weekly train on Wednesday the 6th August, 1941, and return to Moosonee in about two weeks time.
- (iii) that the Department of Justice will arrange for a judge, prosecuting and defence counsels and interpreter. The prosecuting counsel might be selected from the permanent staff of the Department of Justice and the interpreter will be the Reverend W. G. Walton of Toronto.
- (iv) that the Commissioner of the R.C.M. Police will be requested to detail a qualified member of the Force to perform any stenographic duties required by the court in addition to acting as escort to the prisoners.

We will advise you promptly on receipt of confirmation of the understanding with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Yours very truly,

R. A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**43. Police Report, Constable George E. Dexter, R.C.M.P. Constable at the Moose Factory Detachment, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T., 7 June 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Moose Factory Detachment

May 26, 1941

Re: Alleged Murders –  
Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

Ottawa, June 7, 1941.

18-5-41.

1. Further to telegram of the 22nd. inst. regarding Eskimo prisoner MINA, it is desired to report that on this date it was decided to take all three prisoners for an exercise walk down the Island to see the Hudson's Bay Company boat "Fort Charles",

particularly for the benefit of MINA who had hardly left the tent other than to walk to the cell at night, since their arrival there.

2. On the way down MINA hesitated on several occasions but came along when told where she was going by the men. On arrival at the boat MINA did not appear interested but sat on a log with a queer look on her face. After we had spent a few minutes there and were just walking away from the boat MINA [threw] her arms around Cst. Baxter from behind and started to scream. Her tight grip was loosened and she was ordered to walk along the path to the Detachment. On the way there was some excitable talk between the men and MINA which was stopped by the writer. Cst. Baxter walked ahead and MINA followed imitating his movements. At one point Cst. Baxter uncon[s]sciously pulled at a twig at the side of the road; MINA stopped and did the same thing. Upon return to the Detachment Dr. T. J. Orford was asked to have a talk with her but apparently could not get any sensible answers from her. That night she screamed and danced in the cell and seemed to be calling for someone but when Cst. Baxter or the writer went to her there did not seem to be anything the matter and from the vacant look on her face it was evident that she did not realize what she was doing.

3. The next morning (19-5-41) MINA was allowed to go out to the tent as had been the custom. During the morning a close watch was kept on her actions. She had been given seal skins to make Eskimo socks and up until this morning had worked quite steadily. On this morning she did not do anything but sat in the tent talking to herself. Noon came and she had not cooked for the men. The men stayed a good distance from her and seemed to be afraid to enter the tent. ADLAYKOK came to me and made a motion to his head and said, "MINA no good". MINA did not eat at noon. Dr. Orford called at the tent that afternoon and MINA told him that she was just bad but didn't know why. In the afternoon she chased the men from the tent and when spoken to about it by the writer in English she had a very wicked look on her face. A few minutes later she came out of the tent and walked across the yard heading for the gate until she was stopped by the writer and lead into the cell and locked up. She danced and screamed most of the afternoon and kept calling out and making a beckoning motion as though she was suffering from hallucinations. That night Dr. Orford administered a light sedative and later morphine which only kept her quiet for a few hours.

4. The next morning (20-5-41) similar trouble was experienced although she was somewhat quieter. She stood with her face to the wall, sat on the floor of the cell tearing up a newspaper in small pieces and kept looking under the bed and rolling her eyes. She also continued the beckoning motion and still appeared to be suffering from hallucinations. Dr. Orford visited her again on this date.

5. On the (21-5-41) Dr. Orford decided that the prisoner should be removed to a mental institution for observation. In the P.M. of this date the writer

accompanied Dr. Orford to Moosonee where the O.C. “G” Division, Ottawa, was communicated with by telephone and after the situation was explained by Dr. Orford instructions were telegraphed back to have MINA escorted to the Psychiatric Hospital, 2 Surry St., Toronto, by the next morning’s train. The prisoner was quieter this date but still irrational and apparently having hallucinations.

22-5-41.

6. At 7.20 A.M. this date Cst. J. H. Baxter, prisoner MINA and matron left Moosonee for Toronto. A telegram was forwarded to Division H.Q. advising of the departure.

7. In connection with the alleged insanity of prisoner MINA Dr. Orford was requested by wire to forward a report to Dr. C. S. Farrar of the Ps[y]chiatric Hospital, Toronto. The following is a copy of the report submitted by Dr. Orford.

BEGINS:

Dear Dr. Farrar:-

Please excuse my negligence in not forwarding this report on the Eskimo woman MINA at an earlier date. Due to local schedule of train service you probably will not receive this until May 31st.

I first came in contact with Mina at the Belcher Islands in Hudson’s Bay about April 12th. while accompanying the Police party investigating a series of alleged murders. It was charged that Mina was instrumental in causing the deaths of six people. It appeared that in a burst of religious enthusiasm over mistaken belief in the second coming of Christ Mina had led children and some women out on the sea ice in cold weather to meet Him. She had caused these people as well as herself to remove clothing. When some distance from home she apparently decided to return and abandoned her companions to freeze to death.

On questioning she did not appear to have very much remorse over her actions – readily admitted what she had done and still apparently under the impression that her religious belief was right and that the second coming had been only delayed. She appeared to be a very stolid type of individual with a rather expressionless countenance.

Her conversation was rational enough at that time though evidence of others indicated that at the height of her religious emotionalism no one was able to understand her and her actions were irrational and largely meaningless to others.

She was brought to Moose Factory by plane in company with two men also involved in murders. While they showed great excitement over the trip Mina did not

seem greatly interested. From the time of her arrival here on April 17th to May 11th. she gave no trouble and worked well and steadily.

During the week beginning May 11th she would work only occasionally, was quiet and expressionless for long periods and appeared to be mentally confused. While still apparently holding to her belief of a second coming of Christ she began to say that she was wrong in causing the death of others – that she was no good and that her mind must be wrong. It is difficult to say just what she meant by this. It is probable she considered that by doing wrong in causing deaths she was now unworthy as she thought in the eyes of God.

On May 18th. she was taken for a walk in company with the two Eskimo men by the Police. Her actions were peculiar[,] she would hesitate and hold back requiring urging to continue. At one time she seized one of the Policemen for no apparent reason and as they could not understand her language could not ask what she meant. On the return walk she imitated the actions of the Police – for instance she touched what they touched. That night she did not sleep[,] screaming and moaning almost continuously. On the morning of the 19th she chased the Eskimo men who were frightened by her actions. Many of her words were meaningless. During the afternoon she had alternating periods of depression and excitement. She was noisy and active during the evening and was incontinent. A light sedative resulted in short sleep following which she was screaming meaningless words and performing meaningless actions. Morphine was administered and she was quiet for four hours. On waking she was irrational.

On the 20th she was quieter but appeared to be suffering from hallucinations – looking under her bed and apparently attempting to hide by holding her head in her hands against the wall with quick glances about. She was perspiring freely, occasionally incontinent, a look of fear on her face and with her eyes rolling. No sensible answers could be got from her.

On the 21st she was irrational in the morning, quieter in the afternoon but still apparently having hallucinations. She was sitting on the floor attempting to hide, looking under the bed and in corners and tearing up papers.

It was decided to have her removed for observation and she left here on the morning of the 22nd. When she left she was quiet.

Trusting this letter may assist you, I remain,

Yours truly,  
Sgd: Dr. T. J. Orford.

ENDS.

8. With reference to memos of the 13th. and 16th. inst. relative to the remanding of the Eskimo prisoners and pursuant to verbal instructions of Insp. F. W. Schutz whilst in telephonic conversation on the 23-5-41, attached hereto please find Information and Complaint, Coroners Warrant and Warrant to Apprehend for prisoner MINA. QUARACK and ADLAYKOK appeared before Louis Martineau in the A.M. of the 26-5-41 and were remanded in custody until the 2-6-41. This was done on the verbal request of Dr. T. J. Orford and will be continued every eight days until departure of the prisoners from Moose Factory.

9. Dr. Orford has received word that the Police party will meet him at Attawapiskat on the 28-6-41 and apparently the party will continue on to the Belcher Islands where the preliminary hearing will be held.

STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION.  
PROSECUTIONS ENTERED.

G. E. Dexter (sgd.)

Cst.

(G.E. Dexter) Reg. No. 11776.  
I/C Moose Factory Detachment.

THE O.C., "G" Division, OTTAWA.

FORWARDED for your information. The original Information and Complaint, Warrant to Apprehend and Coroner's Warrant of Commitment for the female Eskimo Mina, are being held on file here until such times, if ever, she is able to stand trial. Copies to the Commissioner, two herewith.

(F. W. Schutz) Inspector  
I/C C.I.B.

Toronto  
3-6-41  
D.

THE COMMISSIONER:

1. FORWARDED for your information. Attached hereto is copy of Coroner's Warrant of Commitment forwarded with the Assistant D.C.I.'s memorandum of the 26th ultimo.

2. A report will be submitted by the C.I.B., here from time to time, covering the result of examination of Mina at the Psychopathic Hospital, Toronto.



3. The two male prisoners will be remanded every eight days by Mr. Louis Martineau, J.P., at Moosonee, until their departure from Moose Factory for trial.  
PROSECUTION ENTERED.

TORONTO

3-6-41

D.

(V. A. M. Kemp) Supt.,  
Comdg. "O" Division.

D.D. 4-7-41

**44. Fill Calhoun, "Eskimo Murders at Hudson Bay," *Life Magazine*, 9 June 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Article taken from June 9, 1941 issue of Life Magazine

ESKIMO MURDERS AT HUDSON BAY

By Fill Calhoun

Three Eskimos have been murdered during the past winter on the Belcher Islands in Hudson Bay. Six others froze to death after being driven naked onto a blizzard-swept ice field by a fanatical woman who told them that "Jesus" was coming to meet them. In the files of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police there is now the first full account of this tragic tangle of religious emotions, and its reading makes one of the wildest tales ever to come out of the violent Arctic.

It was around New Year's day that one of the usually affable and kindly Belcher Islands Eskimos named Charlie Ouyerack announced that he was Christ returned to earth. For nearly a month Charlie preached his version of what an occasional white trapper or northern missionary had told him about Christianity, wandering over the barren islands in the bitter cold until he had won over some 35 converts from among the 200 Eskimo families who live on the islands.

Late in January he called a meeting in the community igloo on Flaherty Island, [named] after the film producer Robert Flaherty who visited the islands in 1922 and produced *Nanook of The North* there. The Eskimos, bored by the long winter and always glad to hear stories or make sly and simple jokes among themselves, listened quietly to Charlie's strange new story. But when he urged them to accept him as the long-awaited Savior of all mankind, an argument broke out.

Thirteen-year-old Sara, sister of one of Charlie's disciples, said that she knew Charlie was not “Jesus” but only another Eskimo. When she still refused to believe in Charlie's divinity, her brother beat her with an enowtuk, a hardwood paddle used to whack the snow off furs, and two of Charlie's women disciples dragged Sara from the igloo and beat her to death.

Alec Keytowieack, another Eskimo, then disavowed Charlie. There was a scuffle in the igloo and Alec was thrown out. When he stuck his head back in the igloo to continue the argument he was struck over the head and temporarily dazed. He then went back to his own igloo and was kneeling in prayer when two of Charlie's disciples came in behind him. One of them jabbed him with a harpoon and the other shot him through the head and shoulder with .22-cal. bullets borrowed from their leader. The body was left alone in the igloo. The Eskimos would not touch it because they said it was full of the devil.

Two weeks later Charlie was on Turkorka [*sic*] Island when Eva, the wife of another Eskimo non-believer, defied him. She recanted, however, when the disciples threatened to beat her and protested that she did believe “a little.” But when her husband remained obstinate, he was shot by his father-in-law at Charlie's insistence.

Two months later Ouyerack's new gospel had spread to Camsell's Island where a woman named Mina became his sta[u]nchest supporter. Believing in Charlie's teachings that all material things are unimportant, Mina decided one night that “Jesus” was coming to visit the island.

She herded the women and children of the camp out onto an ice field at the height of one of the worst blizzards of the year. Clutching and clawing their clothes off, she shouted that their faith would be rewarded when Christ appeared before them out of the storm. Then she tore the caribou hide pants off her husband, Moses, but he was so chilled and embarrassed that he went back to his igloo. His disappointed wife joined him there later, leaving behind the frozen bodies of two women and four small children on the ice floe.

Nine Eskimos had now died as a result of Charlie's illusions, but life went on much as usual among the Eskimos who continued to hunt seals and walruses. They still listened to Charlie's exhortations, but paid less attention to them since they had either seen or heard about Mina and the frozen women and children.

Not a word about these murders reached the outside world until this spring, however, when an Eskimo named Peter Sala was recalled to guide a Hudson's Bay factor named Ernest Riddell to Great Whale River. Peter, who had wielded the harpoon on one of the non-believers and had lost one of his own children on the night of the great blizzard, began to worry. When Sala told Riddell the first part of the story, the white man sent a brief wireless message to the capitol at Ottawa: “Three Eskimos murdered.”

To those who know Eskimos, it was feared at first that infanticide had broken out again. When food is hard to get, Eskimos have let newborn babes perish in the cold when the trouble of taking them on long trips imperiled the lives of others. This has always seemed sensible and logical to the Eskimos, who are a peaceful and friendly people forced to be matter of fact by the rigors of the life they lead.

It has also seemed logical to the Eskimos to kill the old people in their families when they can no longer hunt nor take part in communal life. To avoid family blood feuds, which require a life for a life, the Eskimos decree that a son must be the one to kill his aged father. This he does by shooting him in the back when cartridges are plentiful. Otherwise he sorrowfully pokes his father down a hole in the ice.

Authorities sometimes never hear of these infanticides and patricides and at other times prefer not to hear about them. They do, however, investigate murders which arise -- usually when there are shortages of women. A wife is a necessity to an [Eskimo] because she cooks his food and keeps his clothes windproof so that he can spend all his time hunting. When a "rich" Eskimo has two or more wives and another Eskimo has none, there are occasional shootings. Old men with young wives also ask for trouble. But these are not sins or violations of the law to the Eskimos. They gladly and truthfully tell a Mountie just what happened, and then are unable to understand why they have been arrested.

On the basis of Peter Sala's story, the Mounted Police knew they had something different this time. Inspector D. J. Martin, with an R.C.M.P. corporal, a doctor, a radio man and a pilot took off from the Canadian outpost settlement of Moose Factory this spring. They flew north 300 miles in a ski-shod plane just as an unusually warm spell struck the North. When they landed and began questioning the Eskimos, the Eskimos told all that had happened without hesitation.

As the warm weather had created fogs, Inspector Martin feared that if he took time to round up all the Eskimos responsible for the murders he and his party might not be able to take off and land again on skis. He therefore arrested the woman Mina and two other Eskimos and loaded them into the plane. Charlie and two of his disciples were far away on another island, and so Martin did not arrest them, but left word that the Umeealik (boss man) was displeased and wanted Charlie to quit playing God.

Then the plane took off for the trip back to the one-street town of Moose Factory. The three Eskimos were delighted with the trip. They soared like birds "many-many-sleeps" from home. "Too many sleeps," the Mounties said, for them to return home soon.

At present the three Eskimos are kept in a white tent on the shores of Moose River. A constable keeps an eye on them but allows them to wander around slashing at trees with axes which are like new toys to them.

They see nothing wrong in what they have done, but accept the judgment of the Kabloonas (white men). They will stay in their faded old tent until next fall if the white man's germs do not attack them. Then they will tell their story to a Federal judge, who they hope will keep them in such pleasant surroundings where food is plentiful and there is no work to do.

It probably will be late August before the Mounties can return to the Belcher Islands again and pick up Charlie and the rest of his disciples. There may be more violence before Charlie is finally rounded up, but the Mounties do not think so.

Thinking of a possible German landing, the Mounties have told the Eskimos around Hudson Bay that it will be a “good thing” if they keep watch for strange ships entering or moving about the Bay. These strange ships, the Mounties told the Eskimos, will be manned by “bad men” full of annermanitumai (trouble) who will want to tokoiku (kill) both the Eskimos and the white men. Why such bad men would want to come “many times many sleeps” from a far country to kill and ravage, the Eskimos do not understand. Among themselves they say that white men must be very bad at times to kill each other on such a grand scale. Nevertheless they have all promised to watch for the bad men and their strange insignia.

And because they, too, have been bad, according to the white men, Charlie and his disciples have probably quit preaching a new order and will be waiting and ready for the Mounties when an ice-breaker in August is able to fight its way north to the islands.

**45. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. Chesshire, Assistant Manager of the Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg, 11 June 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

June 11, 1941.

Dear Mr. Chesshire,

Re - Trial of Belcher Islands  
Eskimos.

This will confirm our discussion here with the Deputy Minister of Justice and officers of the R.C.M.P.

Will you please arrange to have the Fort Charles, or whatever boat is assigned to serve that part of the Territory, on hand off Moosonee to meet the judicial

party on the arrival of the weekly train about August 6th. You will be asked to take care of this party of about seven for the trip to Belcher Islands, the stay there, and the return journey, a period of about two weeks. As we understand it, you will look after everything and the charge to the Department will be about \$500.00.

We will write you again as soon as the personnel of the judicial party is known.

Yours very truly,  
(sgd) R. A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**46. Letter, R. H. Chesshire to R. A. Gibson, 16 June 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

Winnipeg, 16th June, 1941.

R. A. Gibson, Esq.,  
Deputy Commissioner,  
Administration of the Northwest Territories,  
OTTAWA, Ont.

Dear Mr. Gibson:

Re: Trial of Belcher Island  
Eskimos.

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of 11th June, in which you confirmed our discussion with the Deputy Minister of Justice and officers of the R.C.M.P., concerning the trial at the Belcher Islands this coming August.

It is understood that we will make arrangements to take in the judicial party from Moosonee on the arrival of the train about 6th August.

As we have already explained the accommodation is plain and limited but we will do our best to make your party as comfortable as possible.

The cost for this work will be about \$500.00.

Yours faithfully,  
For the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.  
(sgd.) R. H. Chesshire.  
R. H. Chesshire,  
Ass't Mgr., Fur Trade Department.

**47. Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, 8 July 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 935, file 12409**

P.C. 4930

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 8th July, 1941.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice, advise that the Honourable Charles Percy Plaxton, a Judge of the High Court of Justice for Ontario, be appointed, pursuant to section thirty-four of the Northwest Territories Act, Chapter 142 of the Revised Statutes of Canada 1927, a Stipendiary Magistrate for the Northwest Territories and that a Commission do issue to him accordingly.

*<A.D.P. Heeney>*

Clerk of the Privy Council.

**48. Order, Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M.P. on the Belcher Islands, to Post Manager, Hudson's Bay Company, Belcher Islands, 14 July 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]**

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

July 14th. 1941

To:

The Post Manager,

H.B.Co. Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

ORDER

Please supply 43 yards of duck to ANNIE, Eskimo female, wife of Prisoner CHARLIE OUYERACK, for the purpose of making a tent. And one ball of gilling twine[.]

*<H. Kearney>*

(H. Kearney) Sergeant,

R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands.

RECEIVED THE ABOVE MENTIONED MATERIAL

.....  
Annie.

Witness

.....

**49. Letter, C. B. Farrar, Director of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital, to Whom Concerned, 25 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

ONTARIO  
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH  
TORONTO PSYCHATRIC HOSPITAL

Toronto, July 25, 1941.

Re: Eskimo "Mina".

TO WHOM CONCERNED:

This Eskimo woman has been under observation in this hospital since May 23, 1941. Her general physical health is satisfactory. The heart is somewhat enlarged and a systolic murmur is heard. The liver is slightly enlarged. There is nothing in her physical condition to interfere with her ordinary activities.

Her mental condition has to be judged by behaviour inasmuch as verbal communication is impossible. Her adaptation to her surroundings has been satisfactory. She has kept herself busy a good deal of the time and has been very appreciative of attentions shown her. There has been nothing in her behaviour to indicate any form of a mental illness.

Yours sincerely,

<C. B. Farrar>  
C. B. Farrar, M.D.,  
Director.

**50. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Quarack and Charlie Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, 25 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

**INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

**C A N A D A**

**North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories taken this 25th. day of July in the year 1941 before the undersigned Douglas J. Martin one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Quarack (Eskimo male) and Charlie Ouyerack both of Belcher Islands N.W.T. on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941 at Tukarak Island, of Belcher Islands in the said Territories did murder Alec Erpuk, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

*(Signature of Informant)*      <Henry Kearney>

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

<D. J. Martin>  
*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Preliminary Hearing held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories on July 21<sup>st</sup> 1941. before D.J. Martin J.P.

Charge read over to accused - no plea taken.

Harold Udgarden duly sworn as Court Interpreter

Evidence for the prosecution taken under oath.

Evidence for the prosecution completed - closed.

Warning read over and explained to accused.

No witnesses for the defence called.

Accused committed to stand trial at the next sitting of the Court of Competent Jurisdictions to be held on the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories on or about the 12<sup>th</sup> August. 1941.

<D. J. Martin>  
a Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories  
Belcher Islands, N.W.T.



July 31<sup>st</sup> 1941.

Aug. 20<sup>th</sup> 1941 Court opened at 2.30 P.M

Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton, trial judge, in his capacity as a Stipendiary Magistrate for the Northwest Territories.

Quarack Accused) Arraigned and charged jointly with the murder of  
Charlie Ouyerack “ ) Alec Ekpuk - Eskimo male

Plea

20-8-1941 To. Se.

<H. Kearney>  
Clerk of the Court.

Crown Counsel - Mr RA Olmsted

Defence Counsel - Mr JP. Madden

Interpreters - Mr Harold Udgarden.

“ Mr Ernie Snowboy

Court Stenographer - Corporal JR McFarland RCMP.

Prosecution opened - Witnesses called

Defence - Witnesses called

Verdict of Jury - brought in in pm of 20-8-1941

Quarack - Guilty of manslaughter, with a strong recommendation for mercy made by jury.

Charlie Ouyerack - Guilty of manslaughter

<H. Kearney> Clerk of the Court

Sentences:

Sentence on Quarack is suspended, subject to his entering into a recognizance to keep the peace & to provide meat to the best of his ability for the family of Peter Sala for a period of two years.

Charlie Ouyerack is sentenced to a term of two years imprisonment and hard labour in the R.C.M.P. guard room at Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T.

Aug. 21/41

<C. P. Plaxton>

**51. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Charlie Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, 25 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

**INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

**CANADA**

**North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories taken this 25th. day of July in the year 1941 before the undersigned Douglas J. Martin one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Charlie Ouyerack of Belcher Islands N.W.T. on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941 at Tukarak Island, of Belcher Islands in the said Territories did murder Alec Impuk, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

*(Signature of Informant)*     <Henry Kearney>

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

<D. J. Martin>  
*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

**52. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Charlie Ouyerack, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 25 July 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by Henry Kearney, 29 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 6, Sec. 659.

**Warrant to Apprehend.**

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories.**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories:*

WHEREAS Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male of Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories has this day been charged upon oath before the undersigned, D.J. Martin, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, for that he, on the 9th day of

February A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did murder Alec Impuk, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU, in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said Charlie Ouyerack and to bring him before me (or some other Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories) to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 25th day of July A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

(Certificate of execution of within  
warrant to be endorsed here.)

I certify that I executed the within warrant on Tuesday, the 29<sup>th</sup> day of July, AD 1941, at 4.30 pm o'clock at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories.

<H. Kearney> Sergeant  
RCMPolice

**53. Coroner's Report on Examination of Body, by Thomas J. Orford  
regarding Keytowieack, 26 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Belcher Islands, N.W.T.,  
July 26, 1941.

**CORONER'S REPORT ON EXAMINATION  
OF BODY**

---

Body of male Eskimo Keytowieack identified in presence of Sergeant Kearney by Eskimo Johnassie. Body in a state of moderate decomposition. Perforating wound in left side of face 1¼ inches below cheek bone with fracture of upper and lower jaw. Probe in wound takes a course into the base of brain.

Perforating wound in front of right chest one inch above armpit just at edge of shoulder. Probe in wound takes a course posteriorly and to the left with point of emergence in back 2 inches below and 1 inch behind armpit.

Extensive bruising of right side of face, eye, for[e]head and scalp with haemorrhage beneath the skin and small perforating wound in skin just above right eye.

In my opinion death could have been caused by either wound in face or wound in back.

(Thomas J. Orford)  
Coroner for the Northwest  
Territories.

**54. Information to Hold Inquest, of Henry Kearney regarding Sarah Apawkok, around 26 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

**INFORMATION TO HOLD INQUEST.**

---

**CANADA :**

**Northwest Territories.**

I, Henry Kearney, Sergeant, R.C.M. Police of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. make oath and say :

1. That the body of a female now lies dead at Belcher Islands Northwest Territories

2. That the said body is the body of an Eskimo woman named Sarah Apawkok

3. That I have reason to believe the said deceased person came to her death from violent means.

4. And my reason for so believing is from information received from various Eskimos who witnessed the death

*<Henry Kearney>*

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the said Territories, this ...  
day of ... 19...

.....  
*Coroner.*

**55. Information of a Witness, of Alec Apawkok regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 26th. day of July A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows: to Wit:

Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"Sarah wouldn't believe Peter Sala was God. Peter Sala took hold of Sarah's arm and said he was God and knew what he was doing. I believed Peter Sala and I hit her in the face with my hands. I told someone to bring a stick and Moses brought a piece of a box to me and I beat her around the neck with it. Peter and Charlie made me beat her -- they didn't say exactly to do it but Peter said he was God and Charlie said he was Jesus and I believed them and Sarah wouldn't believe. After I beat her I made her sit down. Then Mina, Peter's sister, with Johnassie and Markussie and Akeenik and Mina (not the same Mina as Peter's sister) dragged her out of the snow-house by the hair. She was still calling out. I heard someone say to hammer her with the stick and Akeenik did so. They also beat her on the head with the barrel of a .30.30 rifle with no stock on it. Akeenik was the one who killed her right then outside the igloo. The body was dragged into the porch of the igloo after she was killed. I did what I did do because I believed Peter Sala was God and Charlie was Jesus and didn't think they could do any wrong.

This [happened] sometime in January in 1941 on south of Flaherty Island."

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 26th. day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
	)	
Coroner for the Northwest Territories.	)	Alec Apawkok

**56. Information of a Witness, of Johnasie regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 26th. day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:-

Johnassie, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“I saw Alec beat his sister Sarah in the snow-house. He beat her with a stick, a piece of box, around the head while holding her by the hair with one hand. I didn't see anyone helping him. Sarah was not making much noise but others were making a great noise. When he let her go she fell on her side. Then Alec and Charlie said to take her out of the igloo. There was a great deal of noise. Markussie, Akeenik[,], Mina, Minna and I dragged her out. She did not make any noise or fight against us. She knew what was going on. When we got her outside she fell over on the snow. I didn't hear anyone say to hit her but Akeenik started to beat her with the barrel of a rifle over the head or face until she was dead. Markussie and I then dragged her back into the snowporch because Peter and Charlie told us to.

This happened after New Year sometime at a camp on South Flaherty Island.

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 26th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

Coroner for the Northwest  
Territories.

)  
)  
)  
)  
)  
)  
)

Johnassie

**57. Information of a Witness, of Kugveet regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 26th. day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the said Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follow:- to wit:

Kugveet, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"In the morning we were saying the Lord's prayer. In the evening we started to have service again and again the next morning and evening. We wanted Sarah to come into the igloo where we were having service so she would believe. Alec asked her to come. She said she believed in God but not in what the rest were teaching -- that Peter Sala was God and Charlie was Jesus and praying to them. Alec said Sarah did not believe so Alec took hold of her by the hair and lifted her up. He tried to pull her hair out but couldn't. He wanted to hang her up with a piece of line but we wouldn't give him the line. Alec asked for a piece of wood but at first we wouldn't give it to him. He wanted a knife to kill her but we wouldn't give it to him. Alec said, "Is this girl worth living", and Charlie said, "No", so Alec again asked for a piece of wood. Someone gave him a stick and he beat her hard on the head with it. She fell over on one side. She didn't make any noise. Her clothes caught fire and there was much smoke in the igloo. She was dragged outside by Markussie and I don't remember who else but Akeenik was one of them and I think Johnassie went with them. Outside Akeenik killed Sarah with a rifle breaking the stock off the gun. She hit her over the head. After she was pulled out of the igloo Akeenik came back in and said Sarah wasn't dead yet then she went out and killed her with the rifle. The body was dragged into a snow-house porch. This [happened] after New Year at a camp on South Flaherty Island."

Taken upon Oath and acknowledged this 26th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories.	)	Kugveet.

**58. Information of a Witness, of Nellie regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 26 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sove[r]eign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 26th. day of July A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follow: to wit:

Nellie, Eskimo female, daughter of Kawtook, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"It was dark in the igloo and I didn't see what was done to Sarah. Alec said, "I am stronger than you, you are no good". I saw Alec hold her up by her hair and try to tie her by a string to roof but couldn't. I heard Alec hitting Sarah. I heard Alec say he would chop her head off with a knife. Someone lit a primus stove and held it close to her face so they could see whether she was good or wicked. I heard someone dragging her out of the igloo and someone saying she was Satan. I heard Akeenik and Mina named when Sarah was dragged out. After she was outside Akeenik hit her with a rifle and killed her. The rifle was all blood. Akeenik's hands were frozen by holding the barrel of the gun. Everyone was pleased because she was Satan and was dead. They all said, "Let us be thankful that Satan is gone." Before she was taken outside she was shoved down on the floor of the igloo and a paper was lit so her face could be seen. Other papers on the floor caught fire and Sarah's clothing caught too. After the beating outside the body was taken to another igloo. Akeenik came back into the igloo and I heard her say her hands were cold from holding the rifle barrel and asked Charlie to thaw them. She said, Sarah said "Oh" and "I killed her".

This [happened] after New Years at a camp on the south of Flaherty Island."

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 26th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

)  
Coroner for the Northwest )  
Territories. )

Nellie



**59. Information of a Witness, of Akeenik regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest

Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead as follows; to wit:

Akeenik, Eskimo female, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, said:

"Sarah was in the igloo with the others when Alec said to her to come to him. Alec hit her in the neck and face with his hand. Someone lifted her up by the hair. This was done to Sarah because Alec said she was a sinner. Charlie also said this. Sarah was also beaten over the head with a stick by Alec. Sarah wasn't dead and Alec said to haul her out of the igloo. Mina, Minna, Moses, Johnasee, Mark and I took her out. When she was outside I beat her head with a rifle. I hit her with the breech and held the barrel in my hands. Sarah, when we got her outside said, "I will go and stay with my father and mother". She was sitting down and then I hit her with the gun until she was dead. I killed her because the others said she was bad and I believed it. Peter, Charlie and Alec all said she was bad. Markussie, when we were outside, told me to kill Sarah. He said, "Hit her". When I finished, I went back into the igloo. This happened after New Year, 1941, at a camp on the south of Flaherty Island."

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Akeenik

**60. Information of a Witness, of Bertie Akparok regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA  
Northwest  
Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Bertie Akparok, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“I heard about Sarah's death and marked the date. It occurred as January 25, 1941.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Bertie Akparok

**61. Information of a Witness, of Mary regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA  
Northwest  
Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July in the

year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows: to wit:

Mary, Eskimo female, wife of Alec Apawkok, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"Alec hit Sarah on the face with his fists and was saying he would do worse. He said, "What's the matter with you[,] you look bad". Her eyes were swollen shut from the beating. Another sister tried to stop Alec but he wouldn't listen to her. He asked Charlie, "Will it be alright if I kill her". Charlie said, "God will not mind if you kill her, it will be alright." Peter put his hand on her heart and said, "She will not die[,] she belongs to the earth and God is up above". Alec then beat her with a stick and she cried. Peter said to her, "You can cry yet", and Alec then hit her harder saying she was a devil. He hit her over the head and neck and killed her. He had hold of her hair and wanted her tied up in the igloo but they didn't do it. Charlie said if he got hold of her he would tear her into half. She was shoved down on to the floor of the igloo and pulled her hood over her head and was still beating her. Charlie said, "We have killed a devil now we can have a good time." The Eskimos were very pleased. I thought they were telling the truth. Then the people said, "God didn't want her in the igloo and she was dragged out. There was a fire of burning papers and she was dragged over the fire and her clothes caught fire and were burning and smoking. Mina (Moses) and some others hauled her out of the igloo. She made a noise like a big breath when she was hauled out. When she was out Akeenik beat her over the head with a rifle. I didn't see this but I heard the blows and heard Akeenik when she came back in say her hands were frozen from holding the rifle barrel. The body was taken to the porch of another igloo and left there

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
	)	
	)	
	)	
	)	
	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Mary

**62. Information of a Witness, of Sarah regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows: to wit:

Sarah, Eskimo female, widow of Keytowieack, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“She was staying with me and Alec came and took her away to the igloo where the rest were. I didn't see her being killed as Keytowieack and I stayed in our own igloo.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Sarah.

**63. Information of a Witness, of Louisa regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories.

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of C[a]nada on the 28th. day of July in

the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Louisa, Eskimo female, wife of Adlaykok, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"I couldn't see Sarah being beaten for there were too many around. I heard someone say Sarah was not telling the truth when she said she believed in God. Sarah said, "I am telling the truth." Sarah wanted to believe what her father Apawkok did but someone said she was lying. Apawkok wanted to believe in what the rest were teaching but Sarah wouldn't believe in it. The rest believed Peter as God and Charlie as Jesus. Alec had hold of his sister Sarah and was beating her when Peter put his hand on Sarah's heart and told Alec to beat her more for she didn't believe yet. Sarah tried to cry and then started to thank them for what they were doing to her. There was a big noise and I couldn't see it all. We tore up all our books and set fire to them and Sarah's clothes caught fire. She was then alive. I heard Alec to say to hang her up by her hair but it wasn't done. Charlie said he would take hold of her with both hands and break her in half. I couldn't see her being taken outside but Johnassie, Markussie, Akeenik, took her out to the porch and beat her with a rifle until she was dead. I didn't see this but I heard them talking about it and saying that Akeenik had killed Sarah with the rifle. The body was taken to the porch of another igloo.

This [happened] after New Year 1941 at a camp on south of Flaherty Island.

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories.	)	Louisa.

**64. Information of a Witness, of Shooluksuk regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo Female, at

the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on and inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead as follows, to wit:

Shooluksuk, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“The Eskimos at the camp were gathered in an igloo having a meeting. We believed Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus. Sarah believed it too, but Alec, her brother, told her to go outside. Then he took hold of her and beat her with his fists until blood came out of her mouth. He tried to lift her up by the hair. Someone gave him a piece of wood and he hit her on the chest and neck with it until she fell down. Charlie and Peter both told Alec to not spare her as she was no good. We tore up all our books and had set fire to them. When Sarah fell she fell into this and her clothes caught fire. Alec said to haul her outside. She was still alive and breathing. I don't know just who took her out as it was dark, but in the morning, I heard it had been Akeenik, Marcussie, and Moses. I also heard that Akeenik, my daughter, beat her over the head with a rifle until she was dead. When Akeenik came back in her hands were frozen from holding the rifle barrel. All she said was for someone to thaw out her hands. I didn't see Sarah's body, but it was in a porch of an old igloo.

“This happened after new year, 1941, at a camp on the south of Flaherty Island.[”]

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July, in the year of Our Lord one Thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
TERRITORIES	)	
	)	Shooluksuk

**65. Information of a Witness, of Mina Sala regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA  
Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of [His] Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Mina Sala, wife of Peter Sala, Eskimo female, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"I saw Alec beat Sarah on the face with his fists then he got a stick and hit her on the head with it. She was then dragged out of the tent by Akeenik, Mina, (wife of Moses) and Johnassie and Markussie went along. Outside Akeenik beat Sarah over the head with a rifle butt. I didn't see Akeenik do this for I was in the igloo but Akeenik came back inside and told what she had done. I think Sarah was alive when she was dragged out of the igloo. Her clothes caught fire from the flame of some papers burning in the igloo and her clothing was smouldering when she was dragged out. After she was killed her body was put into an igloo porch. This [happened] after New Years at a camp on South Flaherty Island."

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
	)	
	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories.	)	Mina Sala

**66. Information of a Witness, of Peter Sala regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA  
Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one

of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Peter Sala, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“At the first Adlaykok came for Peter and the rest at the camp--about 8 families. I was away hunting and when I came in sight of the camp Johnnie was signalling me to hurry. The natives shouted out to me, “Jesus is coming to-night”, and I believed them. We [w]ent to Adlaykok's camp after hurrying to get ready as it was late in the evening. Someone said it wouldn't matter if it was dark as the “light” would guide them. When I came to Adlaykok's camp I was frightened. Some of the people came out of a snowhouse[--]they were making a big noise--to shake hands. After we stopped, Mark took my rifle off my sled and started to shoot all around into the ground and frightened me. Some were playing ball using a cap and acting very happy. I took all my luggage off my sled--my children were crying and frightened. I went into a big igloo full of people and I was frightened--the people were all pale. I shook hands with them all. I stayed for a few days. All the Eskimos wanted their God. I asked them who God was and they didn't know. Kugveet said to me, “You are not an ordinary Eskimo you [look better] than the rest of us”. Kugveet said I was untouchable? sacred? I fed them walrus meat. Some wouldn't eat because Jesus was coming, I believed all they told me. There were some leaders who sat before the rest with staffs in their hands. I believed them but I thought I was Satan. I asked them “is it true you believe in God” and no one answered. They told me I was better than they were but I told them not to think that for they were to believe in God. I told them, “I don't do [what] God wants me to do but you should.” I don't know what made the others think I was better. I told them I didn't want to try to teach them because I wasn't good. I don't know where they got the idea I was better. When I told them that they said that I was God and finally convinced me that I was God. They all said they were Christians and saved and were in heaven because all their sins were blotted out. Half the time I didn't know what I was doing. Apawkok came to our camp one day and we all went out to meet him and sh[a]ke hands and all kissed Apawkok's family. [Everyone] was making a big noise. Afterward we had a [big] meeting and prayed for God to come. They were praying to me as God. It was getting dark in the evening. I think they were sort of making a game of me by calling me God but Sarah wanted to follow me. Alec her brother took hold of her and pulled her away and said, “Is Sarah any good”[?] I said, “No”, for I didn't think she would be killed. Alec started to hit Sarah with a piece of box wood. I didn't say anything to them because they were always praying and thought they were doing right. I thought they killed Sarah in the igloo. Someone said, “take her outside”, but she wasn't dead. Mina (wife of Moses) and Akeenik took her outside and I think there were others who helped. Akeenik beat Sarah on the head with a rifle butt until she was dead. I didn't see this



but I heard about it. They put her body in a snowporch and I saw her in the morning. Akeenik came back into the igloo and said Sarah said, "Oh". Akeenik's hands were frozen from holding the rifle barrel. Everyone seemed pleased over Sarah's death saying the devil was gone and that Jesus was coming closer now that Sarah was out of the way. Everyone was talking about God and Jesus and the devil. I didn't say anything because they looked on me as a sinner. They called me God but they didn't mean it. Sometimes I thought I was God.["]

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of [July] in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories.	)	
	)	Peter Sala.

**67. Information of a Witness, of Charlie Ouyerack regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there t[a]ken on view of the body of the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"I was the one to start the business of religious teaching. I don't know how I began it. At our camp we were all gathered in an igloo with the top off and in the morning when the sun came up we said Jesus was coming. I [was] the first to say it. When northern lights were showing we also said Jesus was coming. Peter Sala was there too. Peter said he was God. I made everything. Everyone believed and so did I. Kugveet said I was Jesus and Peter said I was to teach the Eskimos. Peter and I as God and Jesus were the leaders and were teaching the people that what we did was right.

“We were all together in a snow house when Alec said his sister Sarah was no good because she wouldn’t do what she was told. Sarah didn’t believe in Peter and I and that’s the reason she was killed. I went outside and didn’t go back in for sometime. Peter said it was no use saying anything to her if she wouldn’t believe. I was in the snowhouse when Sarah was hit. I saw Alec hit her first with his fists and then a stick. She wasn’t killed in the igloo but was hauled out by Akeenik. Akeenik killed Sarah. Markusie and Johnasie were there and saw her killed. Maybe Mina was there too. I saw the dead body afterward in the porch of an old igloo. While Alec was beating her I told him not to spare her as she was no good and wouldn’t listen to us. I took hold of her by the hair and tried to lift her up. Peter hit her also in the face with his fists. When Akeenik came back inside of the igloo there was a big noise and all were calling out and asking for Jesus to hurry and come. I was doing the same and Peter was saying they should not be doing that. Keytowieack was there and went away. I couldn’t hear what Akeenik had to say because of the noise. The people said I was Jesus but at the same time they were calling for Jesus to come. Peter thought he was God and as such the people shouldn’t call for Jesus to come. Peter told me, as Jesus, to again talk to the people and teach them the right. I had a hard time to make them listen.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

)

Coroner for the Northwest Territories )

) Charlie Ouyerack

**68. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Sarah Apawkok and upon the oath of Henry Kearney, 26/28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INQUISITION

CANADA )  
Northwest Territories )

An Inquisition taken for Our Sovereign Lord the King at the Hudson’s Bay Company Post on the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories on the 26th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one (and by adjournment) on the 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one, before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of

Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, of the Belcher Islands, then and there lying dead upon the oath of Sergeant Henry Kearney, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

No jury summoned none being available

To inquire for Our said Lord the King, when, were, how and by what means the said Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, came to her death, do find and do say that

Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, aforesaid, came to her death on or about January 25th. in the year A.D. 1941, at a camp on the south of Flaherty Island in the Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories, as a result of fractured skull, the fractures being inflicted by Eskimos Akeenik (female) and Alec Apawkok with intent to murder.

In witness whereof the said Coroner has hereunto set and subscribed his hand the day and year first above written.

[unsigned]  
Coroner.

**69. Information to Hold Inquest, of Henry Kearney regarding Keytowieack, around 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

**INFORMATION TO HOLD INQUEST.**

**CANADA:  
Northwest Territories.**

I, Henry Kearney, Sergeant, R.C.M. Police of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. make oath and say :

1. That the body of a man now lies dead at Belcher Islands Northwest Territories
2. That the said body is the body of an Eskimo named Keytowieack
3. That I have reason to believe the said deceased person came to his death from [v]iolent means.
4. And my reason for so believing is from information received from various Eskimos who witnessed the death

*<Henry Kearney>*

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the said Territories, this ...  
day of ... 19...

.....  
*Coroner.*

**70. Information of a Witness, of Peter Sala regarding the death of  
Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories.

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Peter Sala, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn saith:

“I got talking to Keytowieack one day when we were all in an igloo. Keytowieack and I were talking about the people all doing wrong. Keytowieack said that God would help them and fed them. Keytowieack went outside and started to break up the snowporch then went away and started to break up another igloo. I didn't like to see Keytowieack breaking up igloos. Keytowieack went away into some old snowhouse and we didn't see him for awhile. He came back and said he wanted some help. I don't know what he meant. He was looking through the window of the igloo. I took a piece of stick and hit him in the mouth. I thought I was God and that Keytowieack wasn't good. The others were pleased at what I did, they thought I believed I was God. I don't know why they changed their minds and now actually believed in me as God. Keytowieack went away into another igloo alone. The Eskimos said Keytowieack was Satan and I told them they mus[t]n't think that of anyone. I told them I would have to leave them if they talked like that. I started to get ready to leave the camp, that they could do what they liked if they wouldn't listen to him. I went to look for my gun and it was all broken. I told the Eskimos to harness up as many dogs as possible. Charlie said he would go with me. I said to Charlie,

“What about your people”, but Charlie wanted to come along and leave his wife. I heard the people say Keytowieack was Satan. I took two harpoon rods and went to Keytowieack’s igloo. I threw one harpoon and hit Keytowieack on the head as he sat in his igloo. I threw the harpoon rod through the window. I don’t remember all I did and said. I don’t know what I said to Keytowieack when I threw the harpoon. Adlaykok shot Keytowieack from another window and I didn’t see him fire the first shot but saw him after with the rifle in his hand. Adlaykok fired a second shot at Keytowieack. Everyone was pleased to see that Satan was killed. I can’t remember what I said or did at that time but I went into the igloo where Keytowieack was dead. I didn’t touch him but I heard someone had stuck a harpoon rod in his mouth.

Charlie, Adlaykok, Moses and I with our [f]amilies left the same day for another camp. I was still God. Charlie was Jesus and the Holy Ghost. Adlaykok always prayed to Charlie as Jesus. Mina believed very much in Charlie as Jesus and Charlie was using her as his wife.

Keytowieack’s body was left in the snowhouse. This all [happened] after New Year at a camp on south Flaherty Island. My mother thought I was God and she told the others to believe I was God. I heard that Keytowieack and my mother had had a disagreement over this matter.[”]

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the North-	)	
west Territories.	)	Peter Sala.

**71. Information of a Witness, of Johnsie regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

INFORMATIONS OF WITNESSES severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July in the year, A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty’s Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an

inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Johnassie, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

Q. by Coroner. What is your name?

A. Johnassie

Q. by Coroner. Did you identify the body of Sarah on July 26th.[?]

A. “Yes.”

Q. by Coroner. “Did you identify the body of Keytowieack on July 26th.?”

A. “Yes”.

“Peter Sala threw a harpoon at Keytowieack when he was in his igloo. Adlaykok shot him through the window of the igloo. Peter Sala said, “I am God and what can you do now”, to Keytowieack. Charlie was Jesus, Peter’s son. Peter said Keytowieack was no good because he wouldn’t believe Peter was God and Charlie Jesus. I saw Adlaykok aim his rifle through the igloo window and shoot. He shot him twice then Peter Sala went into the igloo and stuck the harpoon rod into Keytowieack’s mouth twisting it around. Then Peter got his team ready and went away. Charlie and Adlaykok also went away. The body was left in the igloo. This [happened] a few days after Sarah was killed at the same camp on Flaherty Island.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Johnassie.

**72. Information of a Witness, of Sarah regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA  
Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford,

Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Sarah, Eskimo female, widow of Keytowieack, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"Keytowieack was killed because Adlaykok and Peter said he was a devil. Peter said he was God and Charlie was Jesus. Keytowieack was always reading his bible and Peter and Charlie wouldn't believe in what Keytowieack said. Keytowieack didn't believe Peter was God or Charlie Jesus. I didn't see Keytowieack shot. I didn't know until sometime afterward. I was in the igloo with the rest when Peter shoved a stick at Keytowieack through the window and hit him in the mouth. I heard Peter say he would kill Keytowieack.

Keytowieack was killed after New Years at a camp on the South Flaherty Island."

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Sarah

**73. Information of a Witness, of Nellie regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo Male, then and there laying dead, as follows; to wit:

Nellie, Eskimo female, widow, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“We were having a meeting in a snowhouse getting ready for Jesus to come. Charlie had told us that Jesus was coming but said he was Jesus. Peter said he was God. I didn’t hear Keytowieack say anything but Peter told him to speak. We thought Keytowieack was Satan because Peter said so. Keytowieack did say that when he died he would go to heaven. Keytowieack went outside and lay against the snowhouse looking in the window and asked for someone to come and be on his side. Peter then hit him somewhere on the face with a stick. We were all frightened of Keytowieack because we thought he was a devil. I didn’t see him being killed. I saw Adlaykok carrying his rifle toward Keytowieack’s igloo and I [heard] the shots. I [heard] many say for the bullet to hurry up and kill Keytowieack. The snowhouse was broken up and fell in on his body. I didn’t hear Peter say anything but I heard from others that he threw a harpoon at Keytowieack. After Keytowieack was killed Peter, Adlaykok, Charlie and Moses went away to another camp.

“This happened one day after Sarah’s death at the same camp.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me.

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	Nellie
	)	

**74. Information of a Witness, of Mina Sala regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA  
Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death [of] Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty’s Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there laying dead, as follows; to wit:



Minna Sala, Eskimo female, wife of Peter Sala, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“There were a lot of us in an igloo talking and Keytowieack got up and went outside. We were talking about Keytowieack being bad but I don’t know why. Keytowieack started to beat the snowhouse when he went outside. In the morning, [he] came back and said he wanted someone to help him. He was outside the igloo looking through the broken window. Peter poked at him with a stick but didn’t hit him as Keytowieack kept backing away. Keytowieack went back to his own snowhouse and stayed there. Later Mina (wife of Moses) saw him in his igloo and the Eskimos all went around his igloo but I didn’t go as I was preparing for Peter to leave the camp. I didn’t see Keytowieack shot, but I heard that afterwards Peter put his harpoon rod into his mouth and twisted it. Afterwards Peter and I went away and camped at another place. Adlaykok and Charlie were with us[,] also Moses. We left because the rest of the people were making a big noise and calling out that Jesus was coming. Peter said that God spoke to him and said to stop the Eskimos saying that. Charlie also was saying that all the Eskimos were bad. Keytowieack died about 2 days after Sarah at the same camp.[”]

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	Minna

**75. Information of a Witness, of Mary regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty’s Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows; to wit:

Mary, Eskimo female, wife of [Alec] Apawkok, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“The Eskimos were all talking in an igloo and Keytowieack got up and went out saying that the Eskimos were all talking wrong things and would get into trouble. He took hold of my hair and tried to drag me outside. He took his Bible and read from it, saying that those who are not strong in their faith will soon turn aside. Charlie said, “Go away to the left side of us for you are Satan too”. That same day, we shifted our snow houses. Keytowieack came to the igloo we were meeting in and asked for someone to guide him. Peter took a stick and poked it at Keytowieack. I don’t know whether he hit him or not. We were talking about Jesus coming soon. Peter said he was God. Charlie said he was a Jesus preparing the people to believe right before the other Jesus came. Keytowieack went away to the left of the other igloos and said “You say I am Satan. I’ll never come back again”. Moses found him in the igloo all alone and nearly all went to the igloo to see him, but I didn’t go. Peter started to talk to him but he wouldn’t answer and Peter told Adlaykok to shoot him. I didn’t hear Peter say this but others told me. Adlaykok shot Keytowieack. I think I heard the shots. I was [frightened] and stayed in my own igloo. The body was left in the igloo. Afterward Alec and I went back to our own camp. Peter, Adlaykok, Charlie, [and] Moses also left for their camp.

“This happened 2 days after Sarah’s death and at the same camp.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Mary

**76. Information of a Witness, of Louisa regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA  
Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the

year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows; to wit:

Louisa, Eskimo female, wife of Adlaykok, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"I didn't see Keytowieack killed. He was in a snowhouse with some men talking and came out. When he came out Keytowieack said, "[Peter] isn't saying the right things. He will put a lot of people wrong if he keeps that up." Charlie took hold of him and tore his duckskin coat. He then went to the window of the igloo and said he wanted someone to help him. Peter said he was God and Keytowieack was no good and Keytowieack meant that he wanted Peter to teach him. Peter hit him in the mouth with a stick and Keytowieack went back to his own igloo and wasn't seen until next day. Mina then saw him in his igloo and told the rest. I didn't see him killed but I heard one shot fired. I saw my husband, Adlaykok, go to the snowhouse of Keytowieack with his rifle. I said, Peter say to Keytowieack, "I can't do anything to help you. You think you can get anything you want". I heard the Eskimos making a great noise and acting very happy over Keytowieack's death. I didn't join in because I knew it wasn't right. After this Peter, Charlie, my husband and Moses went to another camp. I heard Peter and Charlie saying that Keytowieack was satan. Peter was saying he was God and Charlie was Jesus. My husband believed this.

"This happened about 2 days after Sarah's death at the same camp."

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	Louisa

**77. Information of a Witness, of Shooluksuk regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the

Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows; to wit:

Shooluksuk, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“We were talking about Keytowieack and saying he was a devil and Keytowieack went outside. When he went outside he said, “Those who have not strong faith will go wrong from listening to you”. He went away and slept in another snow house. In the morning early, he came back and looked in the window of the igloo we were in and asked for someone to help him. Then Peter took a stick and hit him in the mouth. Then Keytowieack went back to his own igloo and stayed there alone. Peter, Adlaykok, [and] Charlie were getting ready in the morning to go away. We didn't know where Keytowieack was but went to look for him and when he was seen in his igloo Adlaykok went for some cartridges and I saw him get them. I was in an igloo with some others when Keytowieack was shot and didn't hear the shots. These men were at the camp at that time, Peter, Charlie, Kugveet, Adlaykok, Moses, Shooluksuk, Markusie, Johnasie, Innukpuk, Mark (a step-brother of Innukpuk), Apawkok, Eyitook, Alec. All were outside except Kugveet and I. I was asleep.

“I saw Keytowieack's body after he was shot. It was lying in the [snowhouse]. He was left lying there and snow blocks of the igloo were knocked in.

“This happened about 2 days after Sarah's death and at the same camp.[”]

Taken upon oath and acknowle[d]ged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me.

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	
	)	Shooluksuk

**78. Information of a Witness, of Charlie Ouyerack regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th. day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows, to wit:

Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"One night Keytowieack came and looked through the window of the igloo and asked for someone to help him. Peter hit him with a stick in the mouth and knocked him down. Later Keytowieack came into the igloo and started to argue and fight as he did not believe Peter and I. That night a storm stopped us from leaving the camp and we found Keytowieack in another igloo. I didn't go to the igloo but I heard a shot. I saw Adlaykok come for more [shells] and heard him say that Keytowieack was not dead yet. I stayed in my igloo and didn't see the second shot but heard it. Later I saw the body in the snow house. He was shot early in the morning and I saw him before noon. I heard that Peter had stuck a harpoon into Keytowieack's mouth and twisted it. I wasn't outside at the time because some of my clothes were being mended. I left with Peter, Adlaykok, [and] Moses during the morning for our camp. I didn't take my wife for there wasn't room. Peter was still God. Mina still believed I was Jesus and I was using her as my wife.

"Sarah and Keytowieack were killed after new years at a camp on the south of Flaherty Island. Sarah was killed first and Keytowieack about 3 to 5 days after but I'm not sure".

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	Charlie Ouyerack

**79. Information of a Witness, of Apawkok regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses [severally] taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the [Belcher] Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows; to wit:

Apawkok, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“Keytowieack was in a snow house. The rest were outside and I heard them making a great noise and saying that Satan was coming. Satan was Keytowieack. Peter Sala took a harpoon rod and broke the window of the snowhouse in which Keytowieack was and then threw the harpoon at Keytowieack but it just went through his sleeve. With a second harpoon Peter Sala kept poking through the snow of Keytowieack's igloo and saying, “Come and look at me. I'm God”. When Keytowieack didn't move, Peter Sala said to Adlaykok, “Shoot him. I'm God and I know what to do”. Then Adlaykok said to Peter, “If that was God's command to kill all who do not believe we would all have been dead long ago. Adlaykok didn't want to shoot Keytowieack, but Peter told him again to do it. Then Adlaykok went away and got his rifle and went up to the window of Keytowieack's igloo. Peter said, “Shoot him” and Adlaykok shot. I went away then for I didn't want to see people shot. I went into my igloo and didn't hear the other shot. Before I went, I heard Adlaykok say, “I shot him through the heart.” Charlie was around too and said that he was Jesus and that Peter was God his father.

“This happened two days after Sarah was killed at the same camp on Flaherty Island.

“The body was carried with some old clothing and left in the igloo where he was shot. Peter left the camp shortly after with Charlie and Adlaykok. I also went away with my wife, but to another camp.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me

	)	
	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	Apawkok

**80. Information of a Witness, of Kugveet regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's [Coroners] for the Northwest Territories on an inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there laying dead, as follows; to wit:

Kugveet, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

"Keytowieack had said he would kill Peter's old mother because if she lived she would do a lot of harm to the Eskimos. Keytowieack didn't believe in Peter or Charlie as God and Jesus. We were all in an igloo having a service with Peter and Charlie when Keytowieack went outside and started to beat the igloo, but didn't break it in. He went away for some time then came back. The window in our igloo was broken and when Keytowieack came back he looked in the broken window and Keytowieack said, "I want someone to help me". Peter said that would be hard to do. Then Peter struck Keytowieack in the mouth with a piece of wood through the window. The next morning some children saw him in his own igloo and came back and told us. The[n] Peter Sala said, "Kill Him" and took 2 harpoons and went over to Keytowieack's igloo. He threw one through the window and missed Keytowieack. Then [he] said to Keytowieack, "I am God. You can't do anything". He told Adlaykok to get a gun. Adlaykok got his gun and fired at Keytowieack through the window hitting him in frougt [*sic*] of shoulder and ball went right through him. Adlaykok fired a second shot but I wasn't there when he did. Then Peter Sala went

into the Igloo and struck a harpoon into his mouth and twisted it. I didn't see this but heard about it. The body was left in the [snowhouse] covered over with some old clothing. Peter and Charlie and Adlaykok went away from the Camp.

“This happened about 2 days after Sarah's death at the same camp.

“I stayed at the camp for a long time after. The igloos and bodies gradually were covered with snow.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me.

	)	
	)	
	)	
Coroner for the North-	)	
west Territories	)	Kugveet

**81. Information of a Witness, of Bertie Akparok regarding the death of Keytowieack, before Thomas J. Orford, 28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INFORMATION OF A WITNESS

CANADA

Northwest Territories

Informations of Witnesses severally taken and acknowledged on behalf of Our Sovereign Lord the King touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories of Canada on the 28th day of July in the year A.D. one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of His Majesty's [Coroners] for the Northwest Territories on [an] inquisition then and there taken on view of the body of the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, then and there lying dead, as follows: to wit:

Bertie Akparok, Eskimo male, of the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, being sworn, saith:

“I heard about Keytowieack's death and marked the date. It occurred as [January] 26, 1941.”

Taken upon oath and acknowledged this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me



	)	
	)	
Coroner for the Northwest	)	
Territories	)	Bertie Akparok

**82. Inquisition, before Thomas J. Orford on view of Keytowieack and upon the oath of Henry Kearney, 26/28 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

INQUISITION

CANADA

Northwest Territories

An Inquisition taken for Our Sovereign Lord the King at the Hudson's Bay Company Post on the Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories on the 26th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one (and by adjournment) on the 28th. day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one before me, Thomas J. Orford, Esquire, one of the Coroners of our said Lord the King for the said Northwest Territories on view of the body of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, of the Belcher Islands, then and there lying dead, upon the oath of Sergeant Henry Kearney, Royal Canadian Mounted Police:

No jury summoned none being available

To inquire for Our said Lord the King, when, where, how and by what means the said Keytowieack, Eskimo male, came to his death, do find and do say that:

Keytowieack, Eskimo male aforesaid, came to his death on or about January 26th. A.D. 1941, at a camp on the south of Flaherty Island in the Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories, as a result of gunshot wounds in the head and body inflicted by Eskimo Adlaykok with intent to murder, and under the direction and influence of Eskimo Peter Sala.

In witness whereof the said Coroner has hereunto set and subscribed his hand the day and year first above written.

Coroner.

**83. Affidavit of Interpreter, of Harold Udgarden, Hudson’s Bay Company employee and interpreter, regarding the death of Keytowieack, sworn before Thomas J. Orford, 29 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

AFFIDAVIT OF INTERPRETER

I, Harold Udgarden, now at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the Interpreter appointed for the inquisition held at Belcher Islands touching the death of Keytowieack, Eskimo male.
2. That the statements shown on the papers annexed hereto is a true interpretation of the evidence given by the various witnesses named therein whose signatures are shown therein, from the Eskimo language into the English language, as interpreted by me to the best of my skill and ability.

Sworn before me the undersigned Thomas J. Orford, one of His Majesty’s Coroners for the Northwest Territories, this 29th. day of July in the year A.D. 1941

	)	
Coroner	)	
	)	Harold Udgarden, Interpreter.

**84. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Peter Sala, before Douglas J. Martin, 29 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

**INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

**C A N A D A**  
**North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories, taken this 29th. day of July in the year 1941 before the undersigned Douglas J. Martin one of His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Peter Sala, Eskimo male of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on or about the 26th day of January A.D. 1941 at a

camp on the south of Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group in the said Territories did murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

*(Signature of Informant)*      <Henry Kearney>

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

<D. J. Martin>

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Preliminary hearing held at Belcher Islands N.W.T. July 30<sup>th</sup> 1941 at 2.00 O'Clock P.M.

Charge read to the accused through Interpreter - no plea taken.

Evidence for the Prosecution taken.

Evidence for the Prosecution closed.

Warning read over to accused.

Accused declined to give evidence or call evidence for the defence.

Accused committed to stand trial at the next sitting of the court of Competent Jurisdiction to be held at Belcher Islands in N.W.T. on or about August 12<sup>th</sup> AD 1941.

<D. J. Martin>

a Justice of the Peace in and for the  
Northwest Territories.

Belcher Islands N.W.T. 30-4-41.

**85. Affidavit of Interpreter, of Harold Udgarden regarding the death of Sarah Apawkok, sworn before Thomas J. Orford, 29 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

AFFIDAVIT OF INTERPRETER

I, Harold Udgarden, now at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the Interpreter appointed for the inquisition held at Belcher Islands touching the death of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female.

2. That the statements shown on the papers annexed hereto is a true interpretation of the evidence given by the various witnesses named therein whose signatures are shown therein, from the Eskimo language into the English language, as interpreted by me to the best of my skill and ability.

Sworn before me the undersigned Thomas J. Orford, one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories, this 29th. day of July in the year A.D. 1941

Coroner )  
 )  
 ) (Harold Udgarden[]) Interpreter.

**86. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Akeenik, before Douglas J. Martin, 29 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

**INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

**CANADA**

**North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories taken this 29th. day of July in the year 1941 before the undersigned Douglas J. Martin one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Akeenik, Eskimo female of Belcher Islands N.W.T. on or about the 25th. day of January A.D. 1941 at a camp on south Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands Group in the said Territories did murder Sarah Apawkok (Eskimo female) Contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

(*Signature of Informant*) <Henry Kearney>

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

<D. J. Martin>  
*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Preliminary Hearing held at Belcher Islands N.W.T. on July 30<sup>th</sup> – 1941 at 9.00 A.M.

Harold Udgarden sworn as Interpreter.

Charge read to accused – no plea taken.

Evidence for the prosecution taken.

Evidence for the prosecution closed.

Warning read over to accused - accused declined to give evidence or call witnesses in his own defence.

Accused committed to stand trial at the next sitting of the court of Competent Jurisdictions to be held at the Belcher Islands N.W.T. on or about the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1941.

*<D. J. Martin>*

a Justice of the Peace in and for the  
Northwest Territories.

Belcher Islands N.W.T.

July 30<sup>th</sup> 1941.

**87. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Akeenik and Alec Apawkok, before Douglas J. Martin, 29 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

**INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

**CANADA**

**North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories taken this 29<sup>th</sup>. day of July in the year 1941 before the undersigned Douglas J. Martin one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Akeenik (Eskimo female) and Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male both of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on or about the 25<sup>th</sup>, day of January A.D. 1941 at a camp on south of Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group in the said Territories did murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

*(Signature of Informant)*     *<Henry Kearney>*

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

<D. J. Martin>  
*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Preliminary Hearing held at Belcher Islands N.W.T. on July 30<sup>th</sup> 1941 at noon.  
Charge read to the accused through Interpreter - no plea taken. Harold Udgarden sworn in as Interpreter.  
Evidence for the Prosecution taken.  
Evidence for the Prosecution closes.  
Warning read over to accused.  
Accused declines to give evidence or call witnesses in his own defence.  
Accused committed to stand trial at the next sitting of the Court of Competent Jurisdiction to be held at the Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on or about the 12<sup>th</sup> August 1941.

<D. J. Martin>

Belcher Islands, N.W.T. a Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.

August 19<sup>th</sup> 1941 Court opened at 10.00.AM. Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton, Trial Judge in his capacity as a Stipendiary Magistrate for the Northwest Territories.

Crown Counsel Mr R.A. Olmsted

Defence Counsel Mr J.P. Madden

Interpreters: - Mr Harold Udgarden

“ Ernie Snowboy

Alec Apawkok - male ) arraigned and charged jointly with the murder of

Akeenik - female ) Sarah Apawkok (Eskimo female)

Aug. 19<sup>th</sup> 1941. Plea. To se.

<H. Kearney> Clerk of the Court.

Jury Mr M. E. Holtzman, Foreman - Mining Engineer

Mr Jack Rubie - “ “

Mr Ed. G. Cadney Ships engineer

Mr E. Riddell Fur Trader

Mr James McCook Newspaper

Mr Wm. Kinmond “

Court Stenographer Corporal J.R. McFarland. RCMP.

Prosecution - Witnesses called.

Defence. - “ “  
Court Adjourned at 12.30 pm till 2.00 pm.

Verdict of Jury - brought in in pm.

Alec Apawkok - Not guilty  
Akeenik - Not guilty on account of her temporary insanity at the  
time of the murder of Sarah Apawkok.

Sentences Alec Apawkok - Discharged  
Akeenik - Committed in strict custody of RCMP Police to await  
pleasure of Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

<H. Kearney> Clerk of the Court.

Aug. 21/41 <C. P. Plaxton>

**88. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

PROCEEDINGS OF PRELIMINARY HEARINGS HELD AT  
BELCHER ISLANDS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BEFORE Douglas  
J. Martin, Esquire, Justice of the Peace, this 30th day of July in the year A.D. 1941 in  
the case of Rex Vs ADLAYKOK, Eskimo male, charged with the murder of  
KEYTOWIEACK, Eskimo male, at Flarherty Island, Belcher Islands group,  
Northwest Territories, on the 26th day of January in the year A.D. 1941.

Charge read to the Accused. Accused not asked to Plead.

Harold UDGARDEN, Interpreter, duly sworn

P R O S E C U T I O N

D E P O S I T I O N O F A W I T N E S S

(Preliminary Inquiry)

CANADA  
Northwest Territories.

The deposition of Johnasie, Eskimo male, taken before the undersigned, a  
Justice of the Peace in and for the said Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, in  
the presence and hearing of ADLAYKOK, Eskimo male, who stands charged that he  
did on or about the 26th day of January, A.D., 1941, at Flaherty Island, Belcher

Islands Group in the Northwest Territories, did murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Johnasie.

Q. How old are you?

A. 25 years old.

Q. Were you present at the camp on Flarherty Island last January?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to the meeting in the igloo after Sarah's death?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Keytowieack doing then?

A. He was praying and singing the same as the rest.

Q. Did Keytowieack believe that Peter Sala was God and Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus?

A. After they killed Sarah, he did not believe it.

Q. Was there an argument in the igloo between Keytowieack and Charlie?

A. That is what they were talking about, but Keytowieack would not believe Peter and Charlie.

Q. Did Keytowieack want Peter and Charlie to believe in the true God?

A. That is the last thing he said to them before he left the snow house.

Q. Did Charlie try to stop Keytowieack leaving the snow house?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did you see Keytowieack leaving the igloo?

A. I saw him after he got out.

Q. Where did Keytowieack go after he left that igloo?

A. He went away into a snow house. I do not know who owned it.

Q. Did he come back again?

A. He came back and looked in the window and said that he wanted somebody to help him.

Q. Did Keytowieack want some of the other Natives to come out and be on his side and believe in the true God?

A. I do not know.

Q. When he came back to the snow house what happened then?

A. That is the time Peter threw the stick at him and hit him in the mouth.

Q. Was it a board from a sleeping bench?

A. Yes.

Q. After Keytowieack was hit with this board where did he go?

A. He went back to his own snow house.

Q. Did one of the Natives go to that snow house and do something to Keytowieack?

A. I saw him in the snow house the next morning.



- Q. Did Peter go to Keytowieack's snow house?  
A. Yes.
- Q. What did Peter do?  
A. He had two harpoons; one in each hand.
- Q. What did he do with them?  
A. He threw the harpoon at Keytowieack through the window.
- Q. Do you know if he hit him?  
A. No.
- Q. What did Peter say to Keytowieack when he threw the harpoon?  
A. I did not hear him say anything, except, "I am God. What are you going to do now".
- Q. Did Peter say that Keytowieack was no good?  
A. I did not hear him say that.
- Q. What happened after that?  
A. They shot him.
- Q. Who shot him?  
A. Adlaykok.
- Q. Where did he get the rifle?  
A. It was sticking outside.
- Q. Whose rifle?  
A. I don't know.
- Q. Where did he get the cartridges?  
A. From Charlie.
- Q. Did you hear him asking for cartridges?  
A. I did not hear him asking for the cartridges.
- Q. Did you see Charlie give him the cartridges?  
A. No.
- Q. Did you see him shoot?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Which window did Adlaykok shoot through?  
A. The top of the snow house.
- Q. Where did the first bullet hit?  
A. On the left side under the arm pit.
- Q. Did he fall down or was he standing up?  
A. He was sitting down and fell on his side.
- Q. What happened then?  
A. I do not remember whether they shot him again or not.
- Q. Did you hear another shot?  
A. Yes, I heard the second shot.
- Q. After Keytowieack was shot what did Peter do?  
A. I didn't see what he did to him.
- Q. Did you see Peter going into Keytowieack's igloo?

- A. I didn't see him go in.
- Q. After Keytowieack was shot what did Adlaykok do?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body after he was dead?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Where was it?
- A. In a snow house.
- Q. Where was Keytowieack shot?
- A. In the side of the head.
- Q. Where else?
- A. Right on the shoulder blade.
- Q. Did you see a harpoon sticking in Keytowieack's mouth?
- A. I did not see it.
- Q. What happened to the body of Keytowieack?
- A. His body was in an old snow house and buried in the snow.
- Q. Who did that?
- A. Markusie.
- Q. Was he told to do that?
- A. I don't remember.
- Q. Why did they not give him a proper burial?
- A. Because he was Satan.
- Q. Did the Natives say that he was Satan because he did not believe in Peter and Charlie as God and Jesus?
- A. That is the reason.
- Q. Do you remember going over to where Keytowieack is now buried with the Doctor and the Police to look at Keytowieack's body, which is now buried on this Island, a few days ago?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you recognize the body?
- A. I knew the grave and I knew the man. It was Keytowieack.
- Q. When you saw the body on July 26th did you know the body?
- A. Yes, it was Keytowieack.

THE DEPOSITION OF ANAWAK, Eskimo male. THE SAID DEPONENT saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Anawak.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. 40 years old.
- Q. Did you go to Flarherty Island and bring back two bodies?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you find them buried in the snow?

A. Yes.

Q. How many did you bring back?

A. Two.

Q. You brought the bodies to this Island?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they buried about one mile from the Post?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you recognize the body of Keytowieack?

A. Yes.

THE DEPOSITION OF SARAH, Widow of Keytowieack, Eskimo female.

The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Sarah.

Q. How old are you?

A. I do not know. (Court decides about 50)

Q. [Was] Keytowieack your husband?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you living with Keytowieack on Flarherty Island last January?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Keytowieack being killed?

A. No.

Q. Did Keytowieack believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus?

A. He believed that.

Q. After Sarah's death did Keytowieack believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus?

A. He did not say anything.

Q. Did Keytowieack read his bible very much?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Keytowieack believe in the true God?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Keytowieack try to get the other Natives to believe in the true God?

A. Yes, he always tried to make them believe.

Q. Were you in the igloo when Peter Sala hit Keytowieack by throwing a board through the window?

A. That was in the snow house, but I am nearly blind. I cannot see.

Q. Did you hear Peter Sala say anything?

A. I did not hear him say anything. There was such a noise I could not hear.

Q. Did you hear the shots when he was killed?

A. I did not hear them.

Q. When did you first find out that he was dead?

A. The Natives said that Satan was killed.

Q. Whom did you take to be Satan?

A. I did not know what to think.

Q. When did you find out it was Keytowieack that was dead?

A. I did not know it until a long time afterwards.

Q. Did it not seem strange that he did not come back to see you?

A. I was in the snow house where the Natives were gathered together and he was in his own snow house.

Q. It was a long time before you found out that he was killed?

A. It was two days after.

THE DEPOSITION OF NELLIE, Eskimo female, daughter of Kawtook.

The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Nellie.

Q. How old are you?

A. I don't know.

Q. [Were] you at Flarherty Island the time Keytowieack was shot?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they having a meeting in the snow house getting ready for Jesus to come?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Charlie say that Jesus was coming and that he was Jesus?

A. I did not hear them say that he was Jesus.

Q. Did you believe what Peter said about Keytowieack?

A. I believed them.

Q. Did Keytowieack go outside and rest against the snow house and look in the window?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he want?

A. He wanted someone on his side.

Q. Was he looking in the window?

A. The hole was bigger than the window.

Q. What did Peter hit him with?

A. Peter threw a board at him.

Q. Where did it hit him?

A. I did not see.

Q. What happened to Keytowieack after that?

A. He went away to another snow house.

Q. Were you afraid of Keytowieack?

A. I was afraid of him.

Q. Did you see him being killed?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Adlaykok going with his rifle towards Keytowieack's igloo?

- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Could you see any wounds in him?
- A. No.
- Q. What did they do with the body?
- A. They broke the snow house down on top of him and left him.
- Q. Did you go away from the camp with Peter, Charlie and the others?
- A. Yes, the day after.
- Q. How long was this after Sarah had been killed?
- A. Sometime the next morning. Sarah was killed in the evening before.

THE DEPOSITION OF DR. THOMAS J. ORFORD. THE SAID DEPONENT SAITH ON HIS OATH:

- Q. You are a Registered Medical Practitioner?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You are a Medical Health Officer for the Northwest Territories?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You are a Coroner for the Northwest Territories?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you examine the body of Keytowieack as identified before you?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Will you tell us what you found?
- A. The body was in a state of moderate decomposition. There was a wound in the left side of the face 1¼ inches below the cheek bone with a fracture of the upper and lower jaw. A probe into this wound takes a course into the base of the brain. There was no exit to this wound. There was a perforating wound in front of the right chest one inch above the armpit just at the edge of the shoulder. A probe into this wound took a course posteriorly and to the left with point of exit in the back 2 inches below and one inch behind the left arm pit. There was extensive bruising of the right side of the face, eye, forehead and scalp with haemorrhage beneath the skin and there was a small perforating wound in the skin just above the right eye.
- Q. What in your opinion was the cause of death?
- A. Death could have been caused by either the wound at the base of the brain or the one through the body.

THE DEPOSITION OF MINNA, Eskimo female, wife of Peter Sala. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Minna.
- Q. How old are you?

- A. 23 years old.
- Q. Were you at the camp on Flarherty Island?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you go to the meeting of the Natives that took place in the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was Keytowieack in the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Were the people talking about Keytowieack?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. Did you hear the people say that Keytowieack was bad?
- A. No.
- Q. Did Keytowieack leave the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did he come back that same day and look in the window?
- A. He came back in the morning.
- Q. Did he say anything?
- ...
- Q. Did he tell you that Keytowieack was shot?
- A. Yes, and that he did it.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was shot?
- A. I went in the snow house after he had been shot.
- Q. Did you see where he was shot?
- A. It was in the front and under the eye.
- Q. What happened to him? Did they bury him?
- A. They left him where they shot him.

THE DEPOSITION OF LOUISA, Eskimo female, wife of Adlaykok[.]

The said Deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Louisa.
- Q. Were you at the camp on Flarherty Island?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did a meeting of the Natives take place after Sarah's death?
- A. They got in the snow house again after that.
- Q. Was Keytowieack there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Keytowieack say that Peter and Charlie were saying bad things?
- A. No.
- Q. Did Charlie take hold of Keytowieack by his coat and struggle with him[?]
- A. I don't know.

---

\* *Editors' note:* The original transcript is missing a page.

- Q. Did Keytowieack leave the igloo before the meeting was over?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. Did he come back to the igloo and look through the window?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did someone hit him?  
A. He came and spoke through the window and wanted someone to help him.  
Q. They hit him, did they?  
A. They harpooned him with a stick?  
[Q.] Who did that?  
A. Peter.  
Q. After they did that, did Keytowieack go back to his igloo?  
A. I did not see him.  
Q. What happened to Keytowieack the next day?  
A. I did not see what happened.  
Q. Did you see Adlaykok, your husband, go to Keytowieack's house carrying a rifle?  
A. He came out of the snow house and I saw him carrying a rifle and going to that house.  
Q. What did Adlyakok do with the rifle?  
A. I don't know what was done.  
Q. Did you hear any shots?  
A. I heard one shot.  
Q. When did you find out that Keytowieack was killed?  
A. I heard the Natives call out and I knew what they were doing.  
Q. Did you[r] husband tell you what happened?  
A. I don't remember. Peter told Keytowieack that he tried to pray but he did not do it right and it did not help him.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you come away with the rest of the Natives?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPOSITION OF SHOOLUKSUK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Shooluksuk.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. About 50.  
Q. Were you at the camp on south Flarherty Island in January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting of the Natives after Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were the Natives doing at this meeting?

- A. They came together on account of God.
- Q. Who was God?
- A. Peter.
- Q. Who was Jesus?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did Keytowieack believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus?
- A. He said that he believed them a little at the first, but he soon gave it up.
- Q. Did Keytowieack tell the Natives that they were wrong in believing that Peter Sala was God and Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus?
- A. They were not pleased with him when they found out he did not believe them.
- Q. Did Keytowieack leave the meeting and go to another igloo?
- A. He went away to another snow house where there was no one.
- Q. Before he went away was there a fit between him and Charlie Ouyerack?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. After he left the igloo did he come back and look through the window?
- A. He tried to break the window in and came back in the morning and wanted some one to help him.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. Peter harpooned him with a stick through the window and hit him in the mouth.
- Q. What did Keytowieack do then?
- A. He went back to his own snow house.
- Q. Did you see Adlaykok go to Keytowieack's igloo carrying a rifle?
- A. I did not see him.
- Q. Where were you when Keytowieack was shot?
- A. In the snow house.
- Q. What were you doing in the snow house?
- A. Sitting in the snow house.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body after he was killed?
- A. I did not see it.
- Q. How many days after Sarah's death did it happen?
- A. A day after.
- Q. Did you see Adlaykok go for some cartridges for his rifle before Keytowieack was shot?
- A. Yes, I did.
- Q. Was Adlaykok carrying his rifle then?
- A. I did not see him carrying the rifle, but I saw him coming for the cartridges.
- Q. Did you know what the cartridges were for?
- A. He came for the cartridges because he saw Satan and he was going to kill him.
- Q. Who was Satan?
- A. Keytowieack.
- Q. Did you see any wounds?
- A. No, I did not.



- Q. Did they bury the body?  
A. They knocked down the snow house on top of him.

THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLIE OUYERACK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath.

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. What is your age?  
A. 28.  
Q. Were you at the meeting of the Natives that took place on Flarherty Island after Sarah Apawkok was shot?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were the Natives doing at this meeting?  
A. They were praying.  
Q. Who were they praying to?  
A. Peter.  
Q. Was Peter God?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Me.  
Q. Did Keytowieack believe this?  
A. As soon as Sarah was killed, he did not believe.  
Q. Did Keytowieack leave the igloo before the meeting was over?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you try to stop him from going out?  
A. No, I did not do anything to him.  
Q.[.] After Keytowieack left the igloo did he come back?  
A. He came back in the morning and looked through the window.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. He said that he wanted someone to help him.  
Q. Did anyone hit him?  
A. Peter threw the stick and harpooned him in the mouth.  
Q. Did Keytowieack come back to the igloo after that?  
A. He went back to his own house after that.  
Q. Did he come back again or stay there?  
A. He stayed there.  
Q. What happened the next morning?  
A. I heard a shot while I was in the snow house.  
Q. Just one shot?  
A. Adlaykok came in the snow house for some cartridges after he fired the shot.  
Q. Did you know what he wanted the shots for?  
A. He said that he did not kill him.

Q. Did you give him the cartridges?

A. Yes.

Q. After Keytowieack was shot did you see the body?

A. Yes, I saw him after he was dead in the same snow house.

Q. Did you see the wounds?

A. I did not go in the snow house to see the wounds.

Q. Did you hear that Peter had stuck a harpoon in Keytowieack's mouth?

A. I heard that Peter threw a harpoon at him. I only heard that.

Q. Did they bury him?

A. No.

Q. When you went away that morning, did you take your family?

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO [C]ROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF APAWKOK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Apawkok.

Q. After the death of Sarah were you still at Flarherty Island?

A. I stayed one day after they murdered my daughter.

Q. Were you at the meeting Keytowieack was at?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember Keytowieack leaving the meeting?

A. I saw him going out.

Q. Did he have a dispute with anyone?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did you see him looking through the window?

A. I didn't see him, but I heard him.

Q. Did he ask for help?

A. Keytowieack said, "There is a lot of people that will go astray["].

Q. What happened then? Did anybody hit him?

A. They harpooned him with a stick. I don't know who did that. They say it was Peter.

Q. What did Keytowieack do then?

A. He went away to the left side to his own house.

Q. Did the Natives believe that Keytowieack was Satan then?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present with the other Natives when they went over to Keytowieack's snow house?

A. I did not go with them when they shot him, but I saw from a piece off.

- Q. What happened first?  
A. I don't remember.  
Q. Did Peter tell Adlaykok to shoot Keytowieack?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What did Adlaykok say to Peter?  
A. That he had killed Satan.  
Q. Would you say that Adlaykok didn't want to kill Keytowieack?  
A. I did not know anything about it.  
Q. Did you see Adlaykok going for his rifle?  
A. I saw him holding a rifle.  
Q. Did you see him aim it and fire it?  
A. I saw him when he fired it through the window.  
Q. How many shots did you see him fire?  
A. Two.  
Q. What did he say afterwards?  
A. "I have killed satan".  
Q. What happened to the body of Keytowieack?  
A. He was left there.  
Q. Did you look at him?  
A. I saw him in the snow house.  
Q. Did you see the wounds?  
A. The one in the face.  
Q. Do you know which side?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you go away then?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How long after Sarah's death was Keytowieack shot?  
A. I think it was two days after.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF ENOOPUK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Enoopuk.  
Q. Were you at Flarherty Island when Keytowieack was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Keytowieack teach the bible?  
A. Yes, he always had service with us.  
Q. What made you change your thoughts and think that he was satan?  
A. Charlie started it all.

- Q. Before that they though[t] Keytowieack’s teachings were good?  
A. They were all right all the time before that.  
Q. Do you remember Keytowieack leaving the igloo and looking in the window?  
A. I remember him going out and looking through the window.  
Q. Did you see Peter hit him with a stick?  
A. I saw Peter throw the stick, but Keytowieack was outside and I did not see.  
Q. When did you see him last?  
A. He came to the snow house twice.  
Q. Did he ask for help?  
A. That is the time they harpooned him in the mouth with the stick.  
Q. Did you see him in his own igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where was he when he was shot?  
A. They fired the first shot while he was in the snow house where they were all gathered together.  
Q. Did you see the second shot fired?  
A. Adlaykok came in for his cartridges and I went out after him.  
Q. What did he say?  
A. He said that he shot Satan, but he did not kill him.  
Q. Did you see him aim and fire the second shot?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see where the shot hit him?  
A. I did not see it, but I know it hit him all the same.  
Q. Was there anything said about Keytowieack not freezing because he was in the devil’s fire?  
A. Adlaykok told Peter to lift up his hands and see if they were frozen and Peter said, “His hands will never freeze because they were in Hell’s fire”.  
Q. Was Keytowieack left where he was?  
A. I left the camp.  
Q. Did they push the house in on top of him?  
A. The camp was knocked down and it buried him in the snow.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF KUGVEET, Eskimo male. The said DEPONENT SAITH ON HIS OATH:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Kugveet.  
Q. What do you know about the death of Keytowieack?  
A. I was in the snow house when Keytowieack went out.  
Q. Did you hear Keytowieack say anything?

- A. He said, "They will lead a lot of people astray".
- Q. Did he say anything when he looked through the window?
- A. "I would like some one to help me".
- Q. What did Peter do then?
- A. He harpooned him with a stick.
- Q. Did Peter say that he had hit him in the mouth?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened to Keytowieack?
- A. He went away back to his own snow house.
- Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?
- A. The next day.
- Q. Were there a number of you at Keytowieack's igloo?
- A. Keytowieack was in his own snow house when I saw him.
- Q. What was he doing?
- A. He was not doing anything.
- Q. What did Peter say to him?
- A. "What can you do now that I am God."
- Q. What did Peter have in his hands?
- A. Two harpoons in his hands.
- Q. What did he do with them?
- A. He threw one at Keytowieack.
- Q. Did he hit him?
- A. I did not see whether he hit him or not.
- Q. What did Peter do then?
- A. Peter said that he would kill him.
- Q. Did he tell anyone to get a gun?
- A. He told Adlaykok.
- Q. Did Adlaykok do it?
- A. He got a gun. He went and got a gun right off and shot at him.
- Q. Did you see where he hit him?
- A. Under the arm.
- Q. Did the bullet go on through him?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you hear any more shots fired?
- A. I was not looking on, but I heard another shot fired.
- Q. Did you see anything else after that?
- A. I did not.
- Q. Did you see the body afterwards?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What position was it in?
- A. It was lying on its side.
- Q. Did you see the bullet wounds?

- A. I saw one in the face close to his nose.  
Q. How long after Sarah's death was Keytowieack shot?  
A. They killed Sarah in the evening and Keytowieack the next morning.  
Q. Did they bury him?  
A. They buried him in a snow house.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF MOSES, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Moses.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 22 years old.  
Q. Do you remember being on Flarherty Island the time Keytowieack was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you at the meeting of the Natives the night before he was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack leave the meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you hear him say anything?  
A. He wanted some one to help him.  
Q. Did you see him looking through the opening?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What happened to him?  
A. Peter threw a stick at him.  
Q. Did you see where it hit him?  
A. On the mouth.  
Q. What happened to Keytowieack?  
A. He started off on the left-hand side of the camp.  
Q. What was the reason?  
A. They said that he was Satan. That is the reason he did that.  
Q. What made them believe he was Satan?  
A. I do not know. They said Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus.  
Q. Did Keytowieack believe that?  
A. For a little while then he changed his mind.  
Q. Were you present when Keytowieack was shot?  
A. I did not hear anyone say anything.  
Q. Who did the shooting?  
A. Adlaykok.  
Q. Did anyone tell Adlaykok to shoot him?

- A. I did not hear.  
Q. How many shots were fired?  
A. I saw him fire once and I heard the second shot.  
Q. Did you see where he was hit?  
A. I don't know, but I know he hit him.  
Q. What happened after the first shot?  
A. Adlaykok had to go and get some cartridges before he fired again.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How was he laying?  
A. On his side.  
Q. Did you see the bullet wounds?  
A. I saw one in the face.  
Q. Did they bury him?  
A. I did not see them bury him.  
Q. Did you stay there afterwards?  
A. I went off the same day with the rest.  
Q. Did you see Peter with two harpoons in his hands?  
A. I saw him, but I don't know what he did with them.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE  
DEPONENT

The deposition of Markusie, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Markusie.  
Q. Were you on Flarherty Island when Keytowieack was shot?  
A. I was at the camp.  
Q. Were you at the meeting when Keytowieack left it and looked through the window?  
A. I was at the camp.  
Q. What happened [to] him when he looked through the window?  
A. They harpooned him with a stick. Peter threw it.  
Q. What happened [to] Keytowieack afterwards?  
A. He went to his own snow house.  
Q. When did you see him next?  
A. It was just before they shot hi[m].  
Q. Was Keytowieack doing anything?  
A. He was sitting in the snow house.  
Q. Did anybody say anything to him before he was shot?  
A. I went home to my snow house and don't know what happened.

Q. Did you see them shoot Keytowieack?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?

A. Yes.

Q. How was he laying?

A. He was laying on his side.

Q. Did you see any wounds in him?

A. No.

Q. Did they bury him?

A. They left him in the snow house and knocked it down on top of him and buried him with the snow.

Q. Did you see anyone shooting at Keytowieack?

A. No.

Q. Who told you that Keytowieack had been shot?

A. I heard someone say that he was killed because he was bad.

Q. Were Adlaykok and Peter present when you heard it?

A. I don't remember.

Q. Did you see anyone looking for ammunition?

A. I was outside and I saw Adlaykok coming for cartridges.

Q. Was that after one shot had been fired?

A. I don't remember hearing the shot.

Q. Do you remember seeing Adlaykok shooting after he came for the cartridges?

A. I saw him holding the gun.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARK, Eskimo male. The SAID DEPONENT saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Mark.

Q. Were you present at the camp on Flarherty Island when Keytowieack was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know why Keytowieack was killed?

A. Because he was Satan.

Q. Who said Keytowieack was Satan?

A. Peter.

Q. What was Peter[?]

A. Peter was God.

Q. What was Charlie?

A. Jesus.

Q. Keytowieack was Satan?



- A. Yes.
- Q. Is that because he did not believe in them?
- A. That is the reason.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack at the meeting after Sarah's death?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did he go outside and look through the window?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did he say anything?
- A. He wanted someone to help him.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. That is [when] Peter threw the stick at him.
- Q. When did you see Keytowieack next?
- A. He went back to his own igloo.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. I did not see him again until after he was killed.
- Q. Did you see them killing him?
- A. No.
- Q. Where were you?
- A. In a snow house.
- Q. Did you hear the shot?
- A. I don't remember.
- Q. When did you find out that Keytowieack was dead?
- A. Adlaykok told me, "I have killed Satan", and that [is] all he said.
- Q. Did you see the body?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see the bullet wounds in him?
- A. No.
- Q. Did they bury him?
- A. They left him that way. I wanted to bury him with rocks, but they told me to leave him that way. They said, "It was Satan and it was no use of burying him". They left him in the igloo and knocked down the house and buried him with the snow the house was made out of.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

[PROSECUTION] CLOSED.  
ACCUSED ADDRESSED BY JUSTICE, GIVEN STATUTORY WARNING AND ASKED IF HE WISHES TO MAKE A STATEMENT. (SEE STATEMENT OF ACCUSED APPENDED HERETO.)

## DEFENCE

ACCUSED COMMITTED FOR TRIAL (IN CUSTODY) AT THE NEXT SITTING OF THE COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION TO BE HELD AT BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T., ON OR ABOUT 12th of AUGUST, 1941.

### **89. Statement of the Accused, of Adlaykok, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 20, Sec. 684.

## **STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED**

*(Preliminary inquiry. Indictable offence.)*

### **CANADA:**

#### **Northwest Territories**

ADLAYKOK, Eskimo male stands before me the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 30th. day of July in the year 1941, for that he the said Adlaykok on or about the 26th day of January A.D. 1941 at Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands Group in the Northwest Territories, did murder Keytoeieack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

and the said charge being read to the said Adlaykok, Eskimo male and the witnesses for the prosecution

Dr. T.J. Orford, M.D. and following Eskimos: Sarah, widow of Keytowieack; Nellie, daughter of Kawtook; Johnasie, male; Minna, wife of Peter Sala; Moses, male; Mary, wife of Alec Apawkok; Louisa, wife of Adlaykok; Shooluksuk, male; Charlie Ouyerack, male; Kugveet, male; Markusie, male; Enookpuk, male; Mark, male; Apawkok, male; Anawak, male.

being severally examined in his presence, the said Adlaykok, Eskimo male is now addressed by me as follows: “Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have

been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat.” Whereupon the said Adlaykok, Eskimo male says as follows: It is alright, I am not going to say anything at this time.

[handwritten mark of Adlaykok]

Taken before me at Belcher Islands in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**90. Transcription, Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

PROCEEDINGS OF A PRELIMINARY HEARING held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, this 30th. day of July in the year, A.D. 1941, in the case of REX vs. Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male charged with the murder of Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female at Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories, on the 25th. day of January in the year A.D. 1941:

Charge read to the Accused. Accused not asked to plead.

Harold UDGARDEN, Interpreter, duly sworn.

PROSECUTION

DEPOSITIONS OF WITNESSES

CANADA

Northwest Territories

The deposition of Johnasie, Eskimo male, taken before the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Northwest Territories, this 30th day of July, in the year A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, in the presence and hearing of Alec APAWKOK, Eskimo male, who stands charged that he did on or about the 25th. day of January A.D. 1941, at a camp on south Flaherty Island, in the said Territories, murder Sarah APAWKOK, Eskimo [fe]male, Contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

The said Deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Johnasie.

Q. How old are you?

A. 25 years old.

Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok[?]

A. Yes.

Q. When did you see Sarah Apawkok last?

A. Last winter.

Q. Will you tell whereabouts you saw Sarah last winter?

A. At the camp where we stayed on the south of Flaher[t]y Island.

Q. Tell the Court what happened on south Flaherty Island.

A. They said Jesus was coming and they danced and were glad.

Q. What else[?]

A. I do not remember what happened.

Q. Were you in the igloo when Sarah Apawkok was hit with a stick and killed[?]

A. Yes.

Q. What did you see then[?]

A. I saw them hammering at her with a stick.

Q. Who?

A. Alec Apawkok.

Q. Any one else?

A. There was someone hammering at her again after they took her outside.

Q. When Alec hit her on the head, did he knock her unconscious?

A. They hit her on the head and stunned her.

Q. Did you see her being carried out of the igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Who carried her out?

A. Makrusie [*sic*], Johnasie, Mina, Akeenik.

Q. What did they do with the body of Sarah when they carried her out of the igloo?

A. Akeenik turned on her and hammered her after they got outside.

Q. What did Akeenik hit Sarah with?

A. A gun.

Q. Did you see Akeenik hit Sarah with a gun?

A. Yes.

Q. Whereabouts on the body did Akeenik hit Sarah?

A. The jaw and side of the head.

Q. What part of the gun?

A. With the breech. The stock was broken.

Q. Did that kill Sarah?

A. Yes.

Q. What did they do with Sarah's body after that?

A. Took her into an empty snow-house.

Q. After that what did they do?

A. I went to the snowhouse where they all were.

Q. Who were the people in the snow-house when this happened[?]

A. A lot of them.

Q. What are the names of some of them?

A. Myself, Markusie and his mother, Peter Sala and his family, Charlie Ouyerack and his whole family, Shooluksuk, a fellow called Mark, Enoopuk, Adlaykok and [his] family, Keytowieack.

Q. Do you remember going over to the Island and uncovering Sarah's body with the Doctor and the Police?

A. I remember.

Q. Was it Sarah's body in the grave?

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF ANAWAK, Eskimo male; the said Deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Anawak?

Q. How old are you?

A. 40 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on Flaherty Island[?]

A. No.

Q. Did you go and bring the bodies here?

A. Yes.

Q. You brought them here and buried them on this Island this spring.

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know who they were?

A. I did not know them.

Q. Did you identify one of the bodies as Sarah's[?]

A. I did not know which was which.

Q. One was small and the other much larger.

A. One was big and the other small.

Q. Did you take the bodies out of the snow[?]

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF KUGVEET, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

- A. Kugveet.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. 48 years old.
- Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok[?]
- A. Yes.
- Q. When did you see Sarah Apawkok last?
- A. I saw her at the camp on south Flaherty Island.
- Q. When was this?
- A. In [J]anuary 1941.
- Q. Was there a meeting of the natives in the camp in a big igloo at that time[?]
- A. Yes, they were all in one snowhouse.
- Q. Was Sarah in that snowhouse[?]
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did the natives do in that snowhouse[?]
- A. They were making a lot of noise.
- Q. Did one of the natives say that he was God?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Which native[?]
- A. Peter Sala.
- Q. Did another Native say that he was Jesus?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Which native?
- A. Charlie Ouyerack.
- Q. Did everyone believe that Peter Sala was God and Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus[?]
- A. There was a strong belief in it.
- Q. Did Sarah believe that?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Why did they say she was no good?
- A. Because she did not believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus.
- Q. Then Sarah did not believe that Peter was God?
- A. She believed it at first but not afterwards.
- Q. She did not believe that Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus?
- A. She believed in both of them at first.
- Q. Did Sarah believe in Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyerack at first and then not believe?
- A. Yes, she believed first and then she did not believe.
- Q. Did Sarah say that she did not believe in Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyerack?
- A. The natives asked Sarah if she believed Peter was God and Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus and she said that she did and the natives did not believe her and got angry with her.
- Q. When they got angry with her what happened then?
- A. They turned and hammered her.

- Q. Who hammered her?  
A. Alec.  
Q. What with?  
A. With a stick.  
Q. Where did he hit her with the stick?  
A. On the head.  
Q. Did he knock her unconscious?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did anyone else hit Sarah in the igloo?  
A. No one else touched her.  
Q. What happened after Sarah was knocked unconscious?  
A. Some one said to take her out of the snow house.  
Q. Who took her out?  
A. Johnasie, Markusie, Akeenik, Mina. I could not see. It was dark.  
Q. What happened to Sarah after she was dragged out?  
A. They went out of the snowhouse and I don't know after that what happened.  
Q. Did you see her again?  
A. Not that day.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik again?  
A. Yes, after she came in.  
Q. Did you hear her say anything?  
A. I don't know what she said.  
Q. Before Alec hit Sarah with the stick did Alec struggle with Sarah?  
A. He pulled her up [by] the hair.  
Q. What did he say?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. Did he say anything to Ouyerack?  
A. He was speaking, but I don't remember what he said.  
Q. Did Alec say to Ouyerack, "Should this girl die or should she live"?  
A. That is what he said and Ouyerack said, "It is just as well to kill her."

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF BERTIE AKPAROK, Eskimo male. The said Deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Bertie Akparok.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. I must be about 50.  
Q. Do you recognize this? (Exhibit "A")  
A. It is my writing.  
Q. What is it?

A. My [calendar].

Q. When you heard about the trouble at Flaherty Island did you put down the date?

A. I thought it would be about that time of the year and I put down the date.

Q. What date did you put down?

A. January 25th. 1941.

[CALENDAR] ENTERED INTO PROCEEDINGS AND MARKED EXHIBIT “A”.

THE DEPOSITION OF Doctor Thomas J. Orford. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your full name?

A. Thomas J. Orford.

Q. Are you a registered Medical [Practitioner]?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Medical Officer of Health for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a coroner for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you examine the body of Sarah Apawkok at Belcher Islands on July 26th. 1941?

A. Yes, it was the body of a female Eskimo. It was in a state of moderate decomposition, with a fracture of the lower jaw. There was also a fracture on the left temporal region and the right side posteriorly.

Q. Where was the body?

A. In a grave on an Island in the Belcher Group situated about one mile from this Belcher Island Post. It was identified in the presence of [Sergeant] Kearney by Eskimo Johnasie.

Q. How old would Sarah be?

A. I would judge she would be in the neighbourhood of 15 years of age.

Q. Would the injuries you found cause death?

A. Either of the fractures would cause death.

Q. There were no other injuries that you could find?

A. No.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF SARAH, Eskimo female, Widow of Keytowicack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Sarah.

Q. What is your age?

A. I do not know.



Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Sarah staying in your igloo on South Flaherty Island last January?

A. Yes.

Q. Did someone come and take Sarah away from your igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Who?

A. I do not know.

Q. Were you told the name of the person who took Sarah away?

A. No.

Q. Why was Sarah staying in your igloo[?] Did she not have a camp of her own?

A. They had a camp of their own, but she came and stayed with me.

Q. Was she afraid of anything?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was she afraid of[?]

A. She was frightened of the natives in the camp.

Q. Why was she frightened of the natives in the camp[?]

A. They wanted to do something to one another all the time.

Q. Do you mean that they wanted to hurt the others?

A. Yes.

Q. Why did they want to hurt each other?

A. They wanted to be God.

Q. Who wanted to be God[?]

A. Peter Sala.

Q. Did Sarah believe that Peter Sala was God?

A. She professed to believe that Peter was God, but the natives did not believe her.

Q. Did you see Sarah after she was dead?

A. No.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF NELLIE, Eskimo female, daughter of Kawtook. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Nellie.

Q. Was your father Kawtook?

A. Yes.

Q. How old are you?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you see Sarah last?

- A. Last winter.
- Q. Where?
- A. I saw her all the time.
- Q. Did you see Sarah at the camp on South Flaherty Island?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was there a meeting one day of the natives at an igloo in the camp?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Were you present in the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Alec Apawkok hit his sister?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you know why?
- A. Sarah said that she believed in Peter as God, but the people did not believe her.
- Q. What did he hit her with?
- A. A stick.
- Q. Did she fall down?
- A. I couldn't see her. It was dark in the snow house.
- Q. Did you see Alec hold her up by the hair and try to tie her to a string in the roof?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Alec hit Sarah with a stick?
- A. Not with a stick, but with his hands.
- Q. Did Sarah fall on the floor?
- A. I do not know. I could not see.
- Q. Did you hear them take her out?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you hear anything when they were taking her out?
- A. No.
- Q. Who took her out?
- A. Akeenik, Mina and Markusie.
- Q. (Pointing to the Accused) Is that Akeenik there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik hit Sarah with a rifle outside?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you see anything?
- A. I saw the rifle and it was all blood.
- Q. Was the butt broken off?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Akeenik come back into the igloo and say that her hands were frozen from holding on to the barrel[?]
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Akeenik say that she killed Sarah?
- A. I do not know. I did not hear.

- Q. Was everybody pleased?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did they say that Sarah had Satan in her?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Sarah's clothes catch on fire as they were dragging her out?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Akeenik ask Charlie to thaw her hands out?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Akeenik say, "Oh, I killed her" [?]  
A. Yes.  
Q. You took that to mean Sarah.  
A. Yes.  
Q. This happened after New Years?  
A. Yes.  
Q. It was after Christmas and New Years?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see the body of Sarah afterwards?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was her head all bloody?  
A. It did not look bloody on her hair.  
Q. On her face?  
A. I did not see her face.  
Q. Did they bury Sarah or leave her in an igloo?  
A. The body was put in the porch of a snow-house.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS-EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF ENOOPUK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Enoopuk.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 40 years old.  
Q. Were you at the camp on South Flaherty Island last January [?]  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you in the igloo with the rest of the Natives when they were having a meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Sarah Apawkok in that igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Will you tell us what happened to Sarah Apawkok?  
A. The first thing they did was to get hold of her.

- Q. Who got hold of her?  
A. Alec Apawkok.  
Q. Then what happened?  
A. He hammered her with his fist and then got a stick.  
Q. What part of the body?  
A. The side of her head and face.  
Q. Was Sarah knocked unconscious by these blows?  
A. Her legs bent under her and she sunk on the floor. Some said that she was hurt and I got up an[d] looked between the natives and saw that she was on fire. They were burning paper for light.  
Q. Who took Sarah out?  
A. Markusie, Johnasie, Mina, Akeenik and myself.  
Q. Did you go outside the igloo when they took Sarah's body out[?]  
A. I did not go out.  
Q. Did you see her afterwards when she was dead?  
A. The next day.  
Q. Where was she?  
A. In the porch of an empty snow house.  
Q. Did you see her face?  
A. No.  
Q. Was her hood up[?]  
A. She was laying on her side with her face up against the snow.  
Q. Did you see any blood?  
A. She still had her clothes on.  
Q. When did this happen?  
A. In January at South Flaherty Island.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS-EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF MINNA, Eskimo female, daughter of Eitook. The said Deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Minna.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 20 years old.  
Q. Are you married?  
A. No.  
Q. Were you present at the camp when Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Alec hit her with his fist and then a stick?  
A. Yes, he hammered her with his fists first and then a stick.  
Q. Did she fall down?

- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. We dragged her out.
- Q. Who dragged her out?
- A. Markusie, Akeenik and I went along with them, but did not help them. Mina, wife of Moses and Johnasie helped.
- Q. What happened when you got outside?
- A. I went right back in the snow house after she was taken out.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik hit Sarah?
- A. I went right back in the snow house.
- Q. Are you sure?
- A. I did not see them do anything to her. I went right in.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik come into the snow house?
- A. That is the girl (pointing to Akeenik) that killed her with a rifle.
- Q. Did you see her then?
- A. No, I just heard them say it.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik come back into the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did she say anything?
- A. She said, "My hands are frozen. Thaw them out for me".
- Q. Did she mention holding a rifle?
- A. She said, "I froze my hands with that gun."
- Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?
- A. I saw her in the snow house.
- Q. How was she lying?
- A. On her side in the porch of an old snow house.
- Q. Why did they do this to Sarah?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Why didn't they kill you then?
- A. Because I believed in Peter and Sarah did not believe in the teachings of Peter and Charlie.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS-EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARY, Eskimo female, wife of Alec Apawkok. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Mary.
- Q. Are you the wife of Alec A[p]awkok[?]
- A. Yes.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. 28 years of age.

- Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?
- A. Yes, I knew her very well.
- Q. Were you at the camp on South Flaherty Island last January?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was Sarah there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was there a meeting of the Natives in a big igloo one day?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What were the natives doing at this meeting?
- A. They were having a happy time.
- Q. Were they praying?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who were they praying to?
- A. Praying to Jesus.
- Q. Who was Jesus?
- A. Charlie Ouyerack[.]
- Q. Were they praying to God[?]
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who was God?
- A. Peter S[a]la.
- Q. What was Sarah doing in the igloo?
- A. She was in the snowhouse.
- Q. Did you see Alec doing anything to Sarah?
- A. He was along side of me. I saw what he did.
- Q. What did he do?
- A. Sarah got angry with her mother before she died. Her mother [was] dead then and Alec told Sarah he would be her mother. That is how he started on his sister.
- Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah?
- A. With his fist.
- Q. Did he use a stick?
- A. Yes.
- Q. [Did he beat her about the head], jaw and neck and side of the face?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Alec say anything to Charlie?
- A. “Was it any harm to get that girl out of the way[?] She was doing more harm than good.”
- Q. What did Charlie say to him?
- A. He said to kill her and get her out of the way.
- Q. Did you see Sarah fall down?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. They hauled her outside.

- Q. Who?
- A. Minna, Johnasie, Markusie, Akeenik, Mina.
- Q. What happened outside?
- A. I did not see then, but they hammered her with a rifle.
- Q. Who did that?
- A. Akeenik.
- Q. Did she say so when she came in?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What about [Akeenik's] hands[?]
- A. Akeenik said that she killed her and wanted someone to thaw out her hands.
- Q. How did her hands get frozen?
- A. By holding on to the barrel of the gun.
- Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?
- A. In the porch of an old snow house.
- Q. How was she lying[?]
- A. Lying on her side.
- Q. She was not buried.
- A. Only in the snow.
- Q. Do you know why they thought Sarah was no good?
- A. Because she wasn't good.
- Q. In what way wasn't she good?
- A. She did not do what they told her.
- Q. [Was] it to do with Peter and Charlie's teachings?
- A. They couldn't get her to work.
- Q. Are you sure?
- A. I don't know about Peter. It was because she did not do what she was told.
- Q. Did they think she had the devil in her?
- A. That is what they said[,] that she had the devil in her.
- Q. When she was being dragged out did her clothes catch fire?
- A. She caught fire from some papers that were burning.
- Q. Did you hear Akeenik hitting Sarah with the rifle outside the igloo?
- A. I heard them but did not see them.

THE DEPOSITION OF LOUISA, Eskimo female, wife of Adlaykok. The said Deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Louisa, wife of Adlaykok.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Were you at the camp on South Flaherty last January?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there[?]

- A. Yes.
- Q. Were you at the meeting in the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What were the natives doing in the igloo?
- A. They were having a happy time in the snow house.
- Q. Were they praying?
- A. They were praying to Jesus.
- Q. Who was Jesus?
- A. Charlie Ouyerack.
- Q. Who was God?
- A. Peter Sala.
- Q. Did Sarah believe this?
- A. She said she believed it, but the natives did not believe her.
- Q. Did you see Alec hit Sarah?
- A. I did not see that because I was behind the rest of the Natives.
- Q. Did you hear them?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you hear Sarah crying?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you hear Alec Apawkok say anything to Charlie about Sarah?
- A. Alec said that it did not matter if they killed her or not.
- Q. What did Charlie say?
- A. I did not hear what he said.
- Q. What did Peter Sala do to Sarah? Did you see him?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you see Sarah being dragged out of the igloo?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you know that Sarah was being dragged out of the igloo?
- A. I did not see them, but I heard them.
- Q. Did her clothes catch on fire when she was being dragged out?
- A. That is what they said, but I only heard them. I did not see them.
- Q. Did they tear up their books and set fire to them on the floor of the igloo? Did Sarah's clothes catch on fire?
- A. Yes, that is right.
- Q. Did Sarah's clothes catch fire when she was being hauled outside?
- A. I don't know. I did not see them, but I heard that.
- Q. Did you see the flames?
- A. I heard the natives say that.
- Q. This happened on Flaherty Island just after New Years, 1941.
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Sarah's body afterwards?
- A. I did not go to see it.



Q. Did you see Akeenik come in after she killed Sarah?

A. I did not see her, but I heard her talking.

Q. What did she say?

A. "Oh, my hands are frozen."

Q. Did she say why?

A. They got frozen holding on to the rifle.

THE DEPOSITION OF SHOOLUKSUK, Eskimo male. The said Deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Shooluksuk.

Q. What is your age?

A. I do not know.

Q. Were you [on] the camp on South Flaherty Island last January[?]

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present at the meeting in the large igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the natives doing at the meeting?

A. They were gathered together on account of God.

Q. Were they praying?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were they praying to?

A. To God.

Q. Who was God[?]

A. Peter Sala.

Q. Who was Jesus?

A. Charlie Ouyerack.

Q. Did Sarah believe this?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the natives believe that Sarah believe[d] this?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Alec take hold of his sister and beat her with a stick?

A. I did not see him getting a hold, but he had a hold of her.

Q. Why did Alec do this?

A. Because she did not believe that Peter Sala was God.

Q. Did Alec beat his sister very hard?

A. Not very hard at first.

Q. Did you see Sarah fall down?

A. I was not looking.

Q. Did you see blood come out of her mouth?

- A. Yes, when he struck her on the side of her head.  
Q. Did you see Alec lift her by the head?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Alec hit Sarah on the neck and chest?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Charlie and Peter say anything then?  
A. I did not hear them say anything then.  
Q. When Sar[a]h fell down, who carried her out of the igloo?  
A. Markusie, Johnasie, Akeenik, Mina and Minna.  
Q. Did you go outside to see what was happening[?]  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see these people come back into the igloo?  
A. It was dark. I saw only Akeenik.  
Q. What did she say?  
A. She said, “My hands are frozen and I want someone to thaw them out”.  
Q. Why were they frozen?  
A. From holding the gun.  
Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?  
A. No.  
Q. Is Akeenik your daughter?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPOSITION OF MINNA SALA, Eskimo female, wife of Peter Sala. The said Deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Minna.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 25 years old[.]  
Q. Were you at the camp on Flaherty Island?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you at the meeting of the natives in an igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Yes, at the camp and in the igloo.  
Q. Did you see Alec hit Sarah with a stick[?]  
A. I did not see him because it was dark, but I heard him.  
Q. Was Sarah knocked unconscious?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Sarah being carried out of the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who dragged her out?  
A. Akeenik, Johnasie, Mina and Markusie.

Q. Did you see what went on outside?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Akeenik come in?

A. I did not see her come in but I heard her.

Q. What did she say?

A. "My hands are frozen", and asked for someone to thaw them [o]ut.

Q. How did her hands get frozen?

A. From holding the barrel of the gun.

Q. Did she say what she was doing?

A. I did not hear her.

THE DEPOSITION OF PETER SALE, Eskimo male[.] The said Deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Peter Sala.

Q. How old are you?

A. 33 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on South Flaherty Island?

A. They were all at the camp and I went to them.

Q. Were you at the meeting that took place in the igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?

A. Not when I got there, but she came afterwards.

Q. Was she at the meeting in the igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us what happened to Sarah in the Igloo?

A. I put my hand on her heart and Alec pulled her away from me.

Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah?

A. I saw him hitting her on the side of the head with a stick.

Q. Quite hard?

A. I did not look. I could hear him. I did not want to watch him hammering his sister.

Q. Did you see blood coming out of her mouth?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Sarah fall down?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see them take her out?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were they?

A. Akeenik and Mina. I did not see anyone else.

Q. Did you see what happened outside?

A. No.

- Q. Did you see Akeenik come back?  
A. I saw her come in.  
Q. What did she say?  
A. “I hammered Satan to death.” By Satan she meant Sarah.  
Q. Did she say anything about her hands being frozen?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?  
A. She was lying on her side in a snowhouse.  
Q. Did they bury her?  
A. No.  
Q. What was the [c]ause of Sarah having Satan in her?  
A. They thought the devil was stronger than God.  
Q. Why did you think that she was Satan?  
A. That is why she was killed because she was on Satan’s side.

THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLIE OUYERACK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 28 years old.  
Q. Were you at the camp on Flaherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting in the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Sarah came a while after.  
Q. Was Sarah in the igloo when the meeting took place?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Alec hit his sister Sarah?  
A. Yes, I saw him hammering at her with a stick.  
Q. Whereabouts?  
A. Around the head.  
Q. Why did he hit his sister Sarah?  
A. Because she wasn’t good.  
Q. Why was she not good?  
A. She wouldn’t say yes.  
Q. Did someone ask Sarah to do something or believe in something?  
A. Because they cou[l]d never get her to do anything. She would not do what they told her.  
Q. What was that?  
A. Anything at all.

- Q. Did they want her to pray?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who did they want her to pray to?  
A. To Jesus.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Myself.  
Q. Who was God?  
A. Peter Sala.  
Q. Did you see Sarah being knocked unconscious by Alec?  
A. I did not see her.  
Q. Did you see her being carried out?  
A. No.  
Q. Were you present at the time?  
A. There were too many natives.  
Q. Do you know who took her out?  
A. I did not see them, but I heard that they were taking her outside.  
Q. Did you go outside?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik when she came back in?  
A. I heard her say, "Oh". That is all.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARKUSIE, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Markusie.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 22 years old.  
Q. Were you at the camp at South Flaherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting of the natives in the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were the natives doing at the meeting?  
A. They were talking about Jesus.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. Who was God?  
A. Peter Sala[.]  
Q. Did Sarah believe that?  
A. She did not believe that. That is why they killed her.  
Q. Did you see Alec hitting his sister with a stick?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did he hit her?

A. On the side of her head with his fist.

Q. After he struck her with his fists did he do anything else?

A. He lit a match to see her face.

Q. After that what?

A. He turned and hammered her on the side of the head with a stick.

Q. Did she fall down?

A. Yes, she lost her strength and fell down.

Q. Who took her outside?

A. Someone said to take her outside.

Q. Who helped you to take her outside?

A. Johnasie, Mina, Akeenik and myself.

Q. When you got outside what happened?

A. Akeenik started to hammer her with the breech of a gun. The stock was off it. She was holding it by the barrel.

Q. Did Sarah die then?

A. Yes.

Q. Did anyone tell Akeenik to do this?

A. I told her.

Q. Why did you tell her to do it?

A. I did not know what I was doing. I was not in my right senses.

Q. Was there much blood?

A. She was only bleeding a little.

Q. After she was dead what happened?

A. Johnasie took her into the porch of the snow-house.

Q. When you got back where was Akeenik?

A. In the snow-house.

Q. Did you bury Sarah?

A. They knocked down the snow house on top of her.

Q. What was the matter with Sarah?

A. She did not do what they wanted her to do. She would not believe in their God and was not good. She had Satan in her.

THE DEPOSITION OF MINA, Eskimo Female, wife of Moses. The said Deponent saith but not being sworn:

Q. What is your name?

A. Mina.

Q. How old are you?

A. I don't know. (Court decides about 30 years of age)

Q. Were you at the meeting on the south of Flaherty Island?

(THIS WITNESS APPEARS NOT TO UNDERSTAND THE QUESTIONS ASKED HER AND WAS FOUND INCOMPETENT TO BE EXAMINED AND WAS EXCUSED)

THE DEPOSITION OF APAWKOK, Eskimo male, Alec Apawkok's step-father.  
The said deponent saith on oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Apawkok.

Q. How old are you?

A. 44 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on the south of Flaherty Island last January[?]

A. Just about the time they were starting.

Q. Did you go to the meeting held by the natives in the igloo[?]

A. I was there.

Q. Did you see Sarah Apawkok there?

A. I left them when they were all together in the snow-house and I went to another snow-house and went to sleep.

Q. Were you present when Sarah was killed?

A. They came and woke me and I went into that snow-house.

Q. What did you see there?

A. They were having a sort of service when I went into the snowhouse.

Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah?

A. Yes.

Q. What was he hitting her with?

A. With his fist at first and then with a stick.

Q. Did he knock her unconscious?<sup>†</sup>

A. Yes, he struck her with a stick.

Q. What happened then?

A. He let her go and she fell down and they tripped on her.

Q. What happened then?

A. They told me to take her outside.

Q. Did you take her outside?

A. No. Markusie, Mina, Johnasie, Minna and Akeenik.

Q. Did you go out to see what happened?

A. I sat where I was.

Q. Did you see Akeenik come back in again?

A. Yes.

Q. What did she say?

A. "Oh, I mauled her to death with a rifle."

---

<sup>†</sup> *Editors' note:* This is elsewhere transcribed as "Did he knock her senseless?" (LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]).

Q. Were her hands cold?

A. She said that her hands were frozen.

Q. Did she say why?

A. From holding the barrel of the rifle.

Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?

A. In the snow-porch.

Q. How was she lying?

A. On her side.

Q. Could you see her head? Was there any blood?

A. No, I did not see any blood.

Q. Did they bury her?

A. They buried her in the snow where she was lying.

Q. What was the reason for them doing this to Sarah?

A. Because she would not believe in Peter and Charlie.

Q. Was she a good girl before that?

A. She was a good girl.

Q. Did she believe in what they were teaching?

A. That is the reason.

Q. Did she used to work?

A. She used to work well.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Mark.

Q. What is your father's name?

A. Shooluksuk.

Q. How old are you?

A. 24 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on Flaherty Island?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to the meeting of the Natives in the igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Sarah Apawkok there?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Alec hitting his sister Sarah?

A. Yes.

Q. Why did Alec hit his sister?

A. Because she would not believe what they wanted to believe.

Q. Was that that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did Alec hit Sarah?

A. On the side of the head with his fist.



- Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah on the side of her head with a stick?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you hear Alec speaking to Charlie then?  
A. Yes, he asked Charlie, "Am I doing right or am I doing wrong."  
Q. What did Charlie say?  
A. Charlie said that he was doing right.  
Q. Was Sarah knocked senseless?  
A. She fell down.  
Q. Was there blood on her face or body?  
A. I did not see any blood.  
Q. Who carried her out of the igloo?  
A. Johnasie, Markusie, Minna, Mina and Akeenik.  
Q. Did you see what was going on outside?  
A. No, I was in the snow house.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik when she came back in again?  
A. She said that her hands were frozen.  
Q. Did she say why?  
A. From holding on to the gun.  
Q. Did she make any remark about Sarah?  
A. She said, "I killed Sarah to death with the rifle."  
Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards when she was in the igloo?  
A. She was lying on her side.  
Q. Did you see any blood?  
A. I don't think so.  
Q. Did they bury her?  
A. They pushed the snow-house in on her.

THE DEPOSITION OF CAROLINE, wife of Mark, Eskimo female[.] The said Deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Caroline, wife of Mark.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 22[.]  
Q. Were you [present] in the igloo on Flaherty Island?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Alec hitting his sister Sarah[?]  
A. Yes.  
Q. What was he hitting her with and where?  
A. His fist on the head.  
Q. Did he use anything else?  
A. He had a stick and was hammering her with the stick.  
Q. Do you know why he was doing that?

- A. Because she was no good.  
Q. Why was she no good?  
A. She was Satan.  
Q. When she fell what happened then?  
A. She was carried out.  
Q. Did you see who carried her out?  
A. Markusie, Mina, Johnasie, Akeenik.  
Q. Did Minna go out with them[?]  
A. Yes.  
Q. Do you know what happened outside?  
A. I did not see them.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik come back in again?  
A. I do not remember that.  
Q. Do you remember Akeenik say[ing] that her hands were frozen?  
A. Yes, I remember that.  
Q. What did she say?  
A. “I froze my hands holding the gun and hammering the girl”.  
Q. Did you see the body of Sarah afterwards?  
A. I did not see it.

THE DEPOSITION OF ADLAYKOK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Adlaykok.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. I don't know. (Court decides about 35)  
Q. Were you at the camp on the south of Flaherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting of the natives in the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were the natives doing at this meeting?  
A. Having a happy time.  
Q. Were they praying?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who were they praying to?  
A. Peter Sala who was God.  
Q. And who else?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack who was Jesus.  
Q. Did Sarah pray to Peter and Charlie?  
A. She did not believe in those two fellows.

Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah?

A. I did not hear him.

Q. Did you hear it?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see her taken outside?

A. No.

Q. Did you hear Akeenik when she came back in again say anything about her hands[?]

A. I do not remember.

Q. Did you see Sarah dead in the igloo?

A. I did not see her for a day or two afterwards. She was in the porch of an old snow house.

Q. How was she lying?

A. On her back.

Q. Did you see any blood on her face or head?

A. I did not go in. I only looked through a hole.

Q. Do you know if she was buried?

A. I do not remember.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS-EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

PROSECUTION CLOSES

ACCUSED ADDRESSED BY JUSTICE, GIVEN STATUTORY WARNING AND ASKED IF HE WISHES TO MAKE A STATEMENT (See statement of Accused attached hereto).

DEFENCE No witnesses for Defence called.

ACCUSED COMMITTED FOR TRIAL (IN CUSTODY) AT THE NEXT SITTING OF THE COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION TO BE HELD AT BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T. ON OR ABOUT THE 12th. DAY OF AUGUST, 1941.

**91. Statement of the Accused, of Alec Apawkok, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 20, Sec. 684.

**STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED**

*(Preliminary inquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories**

Alec APAWKOK, Eskimo male stands before me the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 30th. day of July in the year 1941, for that he the said Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male on or about the 25th day of January A.D. 1941 at Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group in the Northwest Territories, did murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

and the said charge being read to the said Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male and the witnesses for the prosecution

Dr. T.J. Orford, M.D. and following Eskimos: Peter Sala, Male, Louisa, female, Bertie Akporak, Sarah, female, widow of Keytowicack, Nellie, daughter of Kawtook, Kugveet, Eskimo male, Shooluksuk, male, Markusie, male, Enookpuk, male, Johnasie, male, Charlie Ouyerack, male, Minna, wife of Peter Sala, Mary, wife of Alec Apawkok; Apawkok (Sr)[,] Mina, wife of Moses, Adlaykok, male; Anawak, male; Mina, daughter of Eitook[;] Caroline, wife of Mark.

being severally examined in his presence, the said Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male is now addressed by me as follows: "Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat." Whereupon the said Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male says as follows: I did not have my senses at the time.

[handwritten sign of Alec Apawkok]

Taken before me at Belcher Islands in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**92. Transcription, Proceedings of a Preliminary Hearing in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

PROCEEDINGS OF A PRELIMINARY HEARING held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, Justice of the Peace, this 30th. day of July in the year A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands, in the case of REX vs. Peter SALA, Eskimo male, charged with the murder of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories on the 26th. day of January in the year A.D. 1941

CHARGE READ TO THE ACCUSED. Accused not asked to plead.

HAROLD UDGARDEN, Interpreter, duly sworn

PROSECUTION

CANADA

Northwest Territories.

The deposition of Johnasie, Eskimo male, taken before the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in [a]nd for the said Belcher Islands in the said Northwest Territories, in the presence and hearing of Peter Sala, Eskimo male, who stands charged that he did on or about the 26th. day of January, A.D. 1941, at Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group in the Northwest Territories, did murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is you[r] name?

A. Johnasie.

Q. How old are you?

A. 25 years old.

Q. Were you present at the camp on Flaherty Island last January?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to the meeting in the igloo after Sarah's death?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Keytowieack doing then?

A. He was praying [and] singing the same as the rest.

Q. Did Keytowieack believe that Peter Sala was God and Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus?

- A. After they killed Sarah he did not believe it.
- Q. Was there an argument in the igloo between Keytowieack and Charlie?
- A. That is what they were talking about but Keytowieack would not believe Peter and Charlie.
- Q. Did Keytowieack want Peter and Charlie to believe in the true God?
- A. That is the last thing he said to them before he left the snow house.
- Q. Did Charlie try to stop Keytowieack leaving the snow house?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Did you see Key[t]owieack leaving the igloo?
- A. I saw him after he got out.
- Q. Where did Keytowieack go after he left that igloo?
- A. He went away into a snowhouse. I do not know who owned it.
- Q. Did he come back again?
- A. He came back and looked in the window and said that he wanted someone to help him.
- Q. Did Keytowieack want some of the other Natives to come out and be on his [side] and believe in the true God?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. When he came back to the snowhouse what happened then?
- A. That is the time Peter threw the stick at him and hit him in the mouth.
- Q. Was it a board from a sleeping bench?
- A. Yes.
- Q. After Keytowieack was hit with this board where did he go?
- A. He went back to his own snow house.
- Q. Did one of the natives go to that snowhouse and do something to Keytowieack[?]
- A. I saw him in the snowhouse the next morning.
- Q. Did Peter go to Keytowieack's snowhouse?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did Peter do?
- A. He had two harpoons; one in each hand.
- Q. What did he do with them?
- A. He threw the harpoon at Keytowieack through the window.
- Q. Do you know if he hit him?
- A. No.
- Q. What did Peter say to Keytowieack when he threw the harpoon?
- A. I did not hear him say anything except, "I am God. What are you going to do now."
- Q. Did Peter say that Keytowieack was no good?
- A. I did not hear him say that.
- Q. What happened after that?
- A. They shot him.
- Q. Who shot him?

- A. Adlaykok.
- Q. Where did he get the rifle?
- A. It was sticking outside.
- Q. Whose rifle?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. Where did he get the cartridges?
- A. From Charlie.
- Q. Did you hear him asking for cartridges?
- A. I did not hear him asking for cartridges.
- Q. Did you see Charlie give him the cartridges?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you see him shoot?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Which window did Adlaykok shoot through?
- A. The top of the snowhouse.
- Q. Where did the first bullet hit?
- A. On the left side under the armpit.
- Q. Did he fall down or was he standing up?
- A. He was sitting down and fell on his side.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. I do not remember whether they [shot] him again or not.
- Q. Did you hear another shot?
- A. Yes, I heard the second shot.
- Q. After Keytowieack was shot what did Peter do?
- A. I didn't see what he did to him.
- Q. Did you see Peter going into Keytowieack's igloo?
- A. I didn't see him go in.
- Q. After Keytowieack was shot what did Adlaykok do?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body after he was dead?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Where was it?
- A. In a snowhouse.
- Q. Where was Keytowieack shot?
- A. In the side of the head.
- Q. Where else?
- A. Right on the shoulder blade.
- Q. Did you see a harpoon sticking in Keytowieack's mouth?
- A. I did not see it.
- Q. What happened to the body of Keytowieack?
- A. His body was in an old snowhouse and buried in the snow.
- Q. Who did that?

A. Markusie.

Q. Was he told to do that?

A. I don't remember.

Q. Why did they not give him a proper burial?

A. Because he was Satan.

Q. Did the natives say that he was Satan because he did not believe in Peter and Charlie as God and Jesus?

A. That is the reason.

Q. Do you remember going over to where Keytowieack is now buried with the Doctor and the Police to look at Keytowieack's body, which is now buried on this Island, a few days ago?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you recognize the body?

A. I knew the grave and I knew the man. It was Keytowieack.

Q. When you saw the body on July 26th. did you know the body?

A. Yes, it was Keytowieack.

THE DEPOSITION OF ANAWAK, Eskimo male. The said Deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Anawak.

Q. How old are you?

A. 40 years old.

Q. Did you go to Flaherty Island and bring back two bodies?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you find them buried in the snow?

A. Yes.

Q. How many did you bring back?

A. Two.

Q. You brought the bodies to this Island?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they buried about one mile from the Post?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you recognize the body of Keytowieack?

A. Yes.

THE DEPOSITION OF SARAH, widow of Keytowieack, Eskimo female. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Sarah.

Q. How old are you?

A. I do not know. (Court decides about 50)



- Q. Was Keytowieack your husband?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you living with Keytowieack on Flaherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack being killed?  
A. No.  
Q. Did Keytowieack believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus?  
A. He believed that.  
Q. After Sarah's death did Keytowieack believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus?  
A. He did not say anything.  
Q. Did Keytowieack read his bible very much?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Keytowieack believe in the true God?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Keytowieack try to get the other natives to believe in the true God?  
A. Yes, he always tried to make them believe.  
Q. Were you in the igloo when Peter Sala hit Keytowieack by throwing a board at him through the window?  
A. That was in the snowhouse but I am nearly blind. I cannot see.  
Q. Did you hear Peter Sala say anything?  
A. I did not hear him say anything. There was such a noise I could not hear.  
Q. Did you hear the shots when he was killed?  
A. I did not hear them.  
Q. When did you first find out that he was dead?  
A. The natives said that Satan was killed.  
Q. Whom did you take to be Satan?  
A. I did not know what to think.  
Q. When did you find out that Keytowieack was dead?  
A. I did not know it until a long time afterwards.  
Q. Did it not seem strange that he did not come back to see you?  
A. I was in the snowhouse where the natives were gathered together and he was in his own snowhouse.  
Q. It was a long time before you found out that he was killed?  
A. It was two days after.

THE DEPOSITION OF NELLIE, Eskimo female, daughter of Kawtook. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Nellie.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. I don't know.

- Q. Were you at Flaherty Island the time Keytowieack was shot?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Were they having a meeting in the snowhouse getting ready for Jesus to come?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did Charlie say that Jesus was coming and that he was Jesus?  
A. I did not hear them say that he was Jesus.
- Q. Did you believe what Peter said about Keytowieack?  
A. I believed them.
- Q. Did Keytowieack go outside and rest against the snowhouse and look in the window?  
A. Yes.
- Q. What did he want?  
A. He wanted someone on his side.
- Q. Was he looking in the window?  
A. The hole was bigger than the window.
- Q. What did Peter hit him with?  
A. Peter threw a board at him.
- Q. Where did it hit him?  
A. I did not see.
- Q. What happened to Keytowieack after that?  
A. He went away to another snowhouse.
- Q. Were you afraid of Keytowieack?  
A. I was afraid of him.
- Q. Did you see him being killed[?]  
A. No.
- Q. Did you see Adlaykok going with his rifle towards Keytowieack's igloo?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Could you see any wounds in him?  
A. No.
- Q. What did they do with the body?  
A. They broke the snowhouse down on top of him and left him.
- Q. Did you go away from the camp with Peter, Charlie and the others?  
A. Yes, the day after.
- Q. How long was this after Sarah had been killed?  
A. Sometime the next morning. Sarah was killed in the evening before.

THE DEPOSITION OF DOCTOR THOMAS J. ORFORD. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. You are a registered medical practitioner?  
A. Yes.

- Q. You are a medical Health Officer for the Northwest Territories?  
A. Yes.
- Q. You are a Coroner for the Northwest Territories?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did you examine the body of Keytowieack as identified before you?  
A. Yes.
- Q. [Tell] us what you found.  
A. The body was in a state of moderate decomposition. There was a wound in the left side of the face 1¼ inches below the cheek bone with a fracture of the upper and lower jaw. A probe into this wound takes a course into the base of the brain. There was no exit to this wound. There was a perforating wound in front of the right chest one inch above the armpit just at the edge of the shoulder. A probe into this wound took a course posteriorly and to the left with point of exit in the back 2 inches below and one inch behind the left arm pit. There was extensive bruising of the right side of the skin and there was a small perforating wound in the skin just above the right eye.
- Q. What in your opinion was the cause of death?  
A. Death could have been caused by either the wound at the base of the brain or the one through the body.

THE DEPOSITION OF MINA, Eskimo female, wife of Peter SALA. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Minna.
- Q. How old are you?  
A. 23 years old.
- Q. Were you at the camp on Flaherty Island[?]  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did you go to the meeting of the natives that took place in the igloo?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Was Keytowieack in the igloo?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Were the people talking about Keytowieack?  
A. I don't know.
- Q. Did you hear the people say that Keytowieack was bad?  
A. No.
- Q. Did Keytowieack leave the igloo[?]  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did he come back that same day and look in the window?  
A. He came back in the morning.
- Q. Did he say anything?  
A. He said that he wanted someone to help him.

- Q. What happened then?  
A. Peter harpooned him with a stick.  
Q. Where did it hit him?  
A. In the face.  
Q. What did Keytowieack do then?  
A. He went to his own snow house.  
Q. What did the Natives do to him after that?  
A. I did not hear anything said to him.  
Q. Did you see him shot?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you hear the shot?  
A. I did not. I was in the snowhouse.  
Q. Did someone tell you that Keytowieack had been shot?  
A. They were all quite happy after they shot him.  
Q. Who told you that he had been shot?  
A. A number of Natives came in and said that he was shot.  
Q. Was Peter amongst them?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Adlaykok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Charlie there?  
A. I don't think. I went out of the snow house.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?  
A. I did not go to see him.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARY, Eskimo female, wife of Alec Apawkok. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Mary.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 28 years old.  
Q. Were you at the camp on Flarherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting that was held by the Natives in an igloo after Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you hear Keytowieack say that they were talking the wrong things about God?  
A. I did not hear them, but the Natives said that is what he said.  
Q. Did Keytowieack try to stop the Natives from believing that Peter Sala was God?

- A. I didn't hear anything about it.
- Q. Did you see a struggle or fight in the igloo between Charlie and Keytowieack?
- A. I did not see them.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack go out from the meeting?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Were you [afraid] of Keytowieack?
- A. Yes, I believed that he was Satan[.]
- Q. Did Keytowieack look in the window?
- A. That is what the Natives said, but I did not see him.
- Q. Did you see Peter [h]arpoon him with a piece of wood?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened after that?
- A. He went over backwards.
- Q. Did you see him go to his own igloo?
- A. Yes, he went on the left side because he wasn't good.
- Q. Did you hear any shots?
- A. I think that I did, but I am not sure.
- Q. Did anyone tell you that Keytowieack was dead?
- A. Adlaykok told me that Keytowieack was shot.
- Q. Did he tell you that Keytowieack was shot?
- A. Yes, [a]nd that he did it.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was shot?
- A. I went in the snowhouse after he was shot.
- Q. Did you see where he was shot?
- A. It was in the front and under the eye.
- Q. What happened to him[?] Did they [bury] him?
- A. They left him where they shot him.

THE DEPOSITION OF LOUISA, Eskimo female, wife of Adlaykok. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Louisa.
- Q. Were you at the camp on Flaherty Island?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did a meeting of the natives take place after Sarah's death[?]
- A. They got in the snow house again after that.
- Q. Was Keytowieack there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Keytowieack say that Peter and Charlie were saying bad things?
- A. No.
- Q. Did Charlie take hold of Ke[y]towieack by his coat and struggle with him[?]
- A. I don't know.

- Q. Did Keytowieack leave the igloo before the meeting was over?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. Did he come back to the igloo and look through the window?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did someone hit him?  
A. He came and spoke through the window and wanted someone to help him.  
Q. They hit him, did they?  
A. They [harpooned] him with a stick?  
Q. Who did that?  
A. Peter.  
Q. After they did that did Keytowieack go back to his igloo?  
A. I did not see him.  
Q. What happened to Keytowieack the next day?  
A. I did not see what happened.  
Q. Did you see Adlaykok, your husband, go to Keytowieack's house carrying a rifle?  
A. He came out of the snow house and I saw him carrying a rifle and going to that house.  
Q. What did Adlaykok do with the rifle?  
A. I don't know what was done.  
Q. Did you hear any shots?  
A. I heard one shot.  
Q. When did you find out that Keytowieack was killed?  
A. I heard the natives call out and I knew what they were doing.  
Q. Did you[r] husband tell you [what] happened?  
A. I don't remember. Peter told Keytowieack that he tried to pray but he did not do it right and it did not help him.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you come away with the rest of the natives?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPOSITION OF SHOOLUKSUK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Shooluksuk.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. About 50.  
Q. Were you at the camp on South Flaherty Island in January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting of the natives after Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were the natives doing at this meeting?

- A. They came together on account of God.  
Q. Who was God?  
A. Peter.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did Keytowieack believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus?  
A. He said that he believed them a little at the first, but he soon gave it up.  
Q. Did Keytowieack tell the Natives that they were wrong in believing that Peter Sala was God and Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus?  
A. They were not pleased with him when they found out he did not believe them.  
Q. Did Keytowieack leave the meeting and go to another igloo?  
A. He went away to another snow house where there was no one.  
Q. Before he went away was there a fight between him and Charlie Ouyerack?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. After he left the igloo did he come back and look through the window?  
A. He tried to break the window in and came back in the morning and wanted someone to help him.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. Peter [harpooned] him with a stick through the window and hit him in the mouth.  
Q. What did Keytowieack do then?  
A. He went back to his own snowhouse.  
Q. Did you see Adlaykok go to Keytowieack's igloo carrying a rifle?  
A. I did not see him.  
Q. Where were you when Keytowieack was shot?  
A. In the snow house.  
Q. What were you doing in the snowhouse?  
A. Sitting in the snowhouse.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body after he was killed?  
A. I did not see it.  
Q. How many days after Sarah's death did it happen?  
A. [A] day after.  
Q. Did you see Adlaykok go for some cartridges for his rifle before Keytowieack was shot?  
A. Yes, I did.  
Q. Was Adlaykok carrying his rifle then?  
A. I did not see him carrying the rifle, but I saw him coming for the cartridges.  
Q. Did you know what the cartridges were for?  
A. He came for the cartridges because he saw Satan and he was going to kill him.  
Q. Who was Satan?  
A. Keytowieack.  
Q. Did you see any wounds?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did they bury the body?

A. They knocked down the snowhouse on top of him[.]

THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLIE OUYERACK, Eskimo male. The said Deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Charlie Ouyerack.

Q. What is your age?

A. 28[.]

Q. Were you at the meeting of the natives that took place on Flaherty Island after Sarah Apawkok was shot?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the natives doing at this meeting?

A. They were praying.

Q. Who were they praying to?

A. Peter.

Q. Was Peter God?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was Jesus?

A. Me.

Q. Did Keytowieack believe this?

A. As soon as Sarah was killed he did not believe.

Q. Did Keytowieack leave the igloo before the meeting was over[?]

A. Yes.

Q. Did you try to stop him from going out?

A. No, I did not do anything to him.

Q. After Keytowieack left the igloo did he come back?

A. He came back in the morning and looked through the window.

Q. What happened then?

A. He said [that he] wanted someone to help him.

Q. Did anyone hit him?

A. Peter threw the stick and harpooned him in the mouth.

Q. Did Keytowieack come back to the igloo after that?

A. He went back to his own house after that.

Q. Did he come back again or stay there?

A. He stayed there.

Q. What happened the next morning?

A. I heard a shot while I was in the snow house.

Q. Just one shot?

A. Adlaykok came in the snowhouse for some cartridges after he fired the shot.

Q. Did you know what he wanted the shots for?



- A. He said that he did not kill him.  
Q. Did you give him the cartridges?  
A. Yes.  
Q. After Keytowieack was shot did you see the body?  
A. Yes, I saw him after he was dead in the same snow house.  
Q. Did you see the wounds?  
A. I did not go in the snow house to see the wounds.  
Q. Did you hear that Peter had stuck a harpoon in Keytowieack's mouth?  
A. I heard that Peter threw a harpoon at him. I only heard that.  
Q. Did they bury him?  
A. No.  
Q. When you went away that morning, did you take your family?  
A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF APAWKOK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Apawkok.  
Q. After the death of Sarah were you still at Flaherty Island?  
A. I stayed one day after they murdered my daughter.  
Q. Were you at the meeting Keytowieack was at?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Do you remember Keytowieack leaving the meeting?  
A. I saw him going out.  
Q. Did he have a dispute with anyone?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. Did you see him looking through the window?  
A. I didn't see him, but I heard him.  
Q. Did he ask for help?  
A. Keytowieack said, "There is a lot of people that will go astray["].  
Q. What happened then? Did anybody hit him?  
A. They harpooned him with a stick. I don't know who did that. They say it was Peter.  
Q. What did Keytowieack do then?  
A. He went away to the left side to his own house.  
Q. Did the natives believe that Keytowieack was Satan then?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you present with the other natives when they went over to Keytowieack's snowhouse?  
A. I did not go with them when they shot him, but I saw from a piece off.

- Q. What happened first?  
A. I don't remember.  
Q. Did Peter tell Adlaykok to shoot Keytowieack?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What did Adlaykok say to Peter?  
A. That he had killed Satan.  
Q. Would you say that Adlaykok didn't want to kill Keytowieack?  
A. I did not know anything about it.  
Q. Did you see Adlaykok going for his rifle?  
A. I saw him holding a rifle.  
Q. Did you see him aim it and fire it?  
A. I saw him when he fired it through the window.  
Q. How many shots did you see him fire?  
A. Two.  
Q. What did he say afterwards?  
A. "I have killed Satan".  
Q. What happened to the body of Keytowieack?  
A. He was left there.  
Q. Did you look at him?  
A. I saw him in the snow house.  
Q. Did you see the wounds?  
A. The one in the face.  
Q. Do you know which side?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you go away then?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How long after Sarah's death was Keytowieack shot?  
A. I think it was two days after.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE [DEPOSITION] OF ENOOKPUK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Enookpuk.  
Q. Were you at Flaherty Island when Keytowieack was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Keytowieack teach the bible?  
A. Yes, he always had service with us.  
Q. What made you change your thoughts and think that he was Satan?  
A. Charlie started it all.  
Q. Before that they thought Keytowieack's teachings were good.

- A. They were all right all the time before that.
- Q. Do you remember Keytowieack leaving the igloo and looking in the window?
- A. I remember him going out and looking through the window.
- Q. Did you see Peter hit him with a stick?
- A. I saw Peter throw the stick, but Keytowieack was outside and I did not see.
- Q. When did you see him last?
- A. He came to the snowhouse twice.
- Q. Did he ask for help[?]
- A. That is the time they harpooned him in the mouth with the stick.
- Q. Did you see him in his own igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Where was he when he was shot?
- A. They fired the first shot while he was in the snowhouse where they were all gathered together.
- Q. Did you see the second shot fired?
- A. Adlaykok came in for his cartridges and I went out after him.
- Q. What did he say?
- A. He said that he shot Satan, but he did not kill him.
- Q. Did you see him aim and fire the second shot?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see where the shot hit him?
- A. I did not see it, but [I] knew it hit him all the same.
- Q. Was there anything said about Keytowieack not freezing because he was in the devil's fire?
- A. Adlaykok told Peter to lift up his hands and see if they were frozen and Peter said, "His hands will never freeze because they were in Hell's fire."
- Q. Was Keytowieack left where he was?
- A. I left the camp.
- Q. Did they push the house in on top of him?
- A. The camp was knocked down and it buried him in the snow.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF KUGVEET, Eskimo male. The said Deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Kugveet.
- Q. What do you know about the death of Keytowieack?
- A. I was in the snowhouse when Keytowieack went out.
- Q. Did you hear Keytowieack say anything?
- A. He said, "They will lead a lot of people astray."
- Q. Did he say anything when he looked through the window?

- A. “I would like someone to help me.”
- Q. What did Peter do then?
- A. He harpooned him with a stick.
- Q. Did Peter say that he had hit him in the mouth?
- A. Yes.
- Q. [What] happened to Keytowieack?
- A. He went away back to his own snowhouse.
- Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?
- A. The next day.
- Q. Were there a number of you at Keytowieack’s igloo?
- A. Keytowieack was in his own snow house when I saw him.
- Q. What was he doing?
- A. He was not doing anything.
- Q. What did Peter say to him?
- A. “What can you do now that I am God”.
- Q. What did Peter have in his hands?
- A. Two harpoons in his hands.
- Q. What did he do with them?
- A. He threw one at Keytwoieack [*sic*].
- Q. Did he hit him?
- A. I did not see whether he hit him or not.
- Q. What did Peter do then?
- A. Peter said that he would kill him.
- Q. Did he tell anyone to get a gun?
- A. He told Adlaykok.
- Q. Did Adlaykok do it?
- A. He got a gun. He went and got a gun right off and shot at him.
- Q. Did you see where he hit him?
- A. Under the arm.
- Q. Did the bullet go on through him?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you hear any more shots fired?
- A. I was not looking on, but I heard another shot fired.
- Q. Did you see anything else after that?
- A. I did not.
- Q. Did you see the body afterwards?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What position was it in?
- A. It was laying on its side.
- Q. Did you see the bullet wounds?
- A. I saw one in the face close to his nose.
- Q. How long after Sarah’s death was Keytowieack shot?

A. They killed Sarah in the evening and Keytowieack the next morning.

Q. Did they bury him?

A. They buried him in a snow house.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF MOSES, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Moses.

Q. How old are you?

A. 22 years old.

Q. Do you remember being on Flarherty Island the time Keytowieack was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you at the meeting of the Natives the night before he was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Keytowieack leave the meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear him say anything?

A. He wanted someone to help him.

Q. Did you see him looking through the opening?

A. Yes.

Q. What happened to him?

A. Peter threw a stick at him.

Q. Did you see where it hit him?

A. On the mouth.

Q. What happened to Keytowieack?

A. He started off on the left-hand side of the camp.

Q. What was the reason?

A. They said that he was Satan. That is the reason he did that.

Q. What made them believe he was Satan?

A. I do not know. They said Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus.

Q. Did Keytowieack believe that?

A. For a little while then he changed his mind.

Q. Were you present when Keytowieack was shot?

A. I did not hear anyone say anything?

Q. Who did the shooting?

A. Adlaykok.

Q. Did anyone tell Adlaykok to shoot him?

A. I did not hear.

Q. How many shots were fired?

A. I saw him fire once and I heard the second shot.

Q. Did you see where he was hit?

A. I don't know, but I know he hit him.

Q. What happened after the first shot?

A. Adlaykok had to go and get some cartridges before he fired again.

Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?

A. Yes.

Q. How was he laying?

A. On his side.

Q. Did you see the bullet wounds?

A. I saw one in the face.

Q. Did they bury him?

A. I did not see them bury him.

Q. Did you stay there afterwards?

A. I went off the same day with the rest.

Q. Did you see Peter with two harpoons in his hands?

A. I saw him, but I don't know what he did with them.

#### THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

THE DEPOSITION OF MARKUSIE, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Markusie.

Q. Were you on Flarherty Island when Keytowieack was shot?

A. I was at the camp.

Q. Were you at the meeting when Keytowieack left it and looked through the window?

A. I was in the camp.

Q. What happened [to] him when he looked through the window?

A. They harpooned him with a stick. Peter threw it.

Q. What happened [to] Keytowieack afterwards?

A. He went to his own snow house.

Q. When did you see him next?

A. It was just before they shot him.

Q. What was Keytowieack doing?

A. He was sitting in the snow house.

Q. Did anybody say anything to him before he was shot?

A. I went home to my snow house and don't know what happened.

Q. Did you see [them] shoot Keytowieack?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?

A. Yes.

- Q. How [w]as he laying?  
A. He was laying on his side.  
Q. Did you see any wounds in him?  
A. No.  
Q. Did they bury him?  
A. They left him in the snow house and knocked it down on top of him and buried him with the snow.  
Q. Did you see anyone shooting at Keytowieack?  
A. No.  
Q. Who told you that Keytowieack had been shot?  
A. I heard someone say that he was killed because he was bad.  
Q. Were Adlaykok and Peter present when you heard it?  
A. I don't remember.  
Q. Did you see anyone looking for ammunition?  
A. I was outside and I saw Adlaykok coming for cartridges.  
Q. Was that after one shot had been fired?  
A. I don't remember hearing the shot.  
Q. Do you remember seeing Adlaykok shooting after he came for the cartridges?  
A. I saw him holding the gun.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Mark.  
Q. Were you present at the camp on Flaherty Island when Keytowieack was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Do you know why Keytowieack was killed?  
A. Because he was Satan.  
Q. Who said Keytowieack was Satan?  
A. Peter.  
Q. What was Peter[?]  
A. Peter was God.  
Q. What was Charlie?  
A. Jesus.  
Q. Keytowieack was Satan?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Is that because he did not believe in them?  
A. That is the reason.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack at the meeting after Sarah's death?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did he go outside and look through the window?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he say anything?

A. He wanted someone to help him.

Q. What happened then?

A. That is when Peter threw the stick at him.

Q. When did you see Keytowieack next?

A. He went back to his own igloo.

Q. What happened then?

A. I did not see him again until after he was killed.

Q. Did you see them killing him?

A. No.

Q. Where were you?

A. In a snow house.

Q. Did you hear the shot?

A. I don't remember.

Q. When did you find out that Keytowieack was dead?

A. Adlaykok told me, “I have killed Satan” and that [is] all he said.

Q. Did you see the body?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see the bullet wounds in him?

A. No.

Q. Did they bury him?

A. They left him that way. I wanted to bury him with rocks but they told me to leave him that way. They said, “It was Satan and it was no use burying him.” They left him in the igloo and knocked down the house and buried him with the snow the house was made of.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

PROSECUTION CLOSES.

ACCUSED ADDRESSED BY JUSTICE, GIVEN STATUTORY WARNING AND ASKED IF HE WISHES TO MAKE A STATEMENT. (See STATEMENT OF ACCUSED ATTACHED HERETO).

DEFENCE

NO WITNESSES FOR DEFENCE CALLED.

ACCUSED COMMITTED IN CUSTODY FOR TRIAL AT THE NEXT SITTING OF THE COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION TO BE HELD AT BELCHER ISLANDS N.W.T. ON OR ABOUT THE 12 DAY OF AUGUST, 1941



**93. Statement of the Accused, of Peter Sala, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 20, Sec. 684.

**STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED**

*(Preliminary inquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories**

Peter SALA, Eskimo male stands before me the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 30th day of July in the year 1941, for that he the said Peter Sala on or about the 26th day of January A.D. 1941 at Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group in the Northwest Territories, did Murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male, Contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

and the said charge being read to the said Peter Sala, Eskimo male and the witnesses for the prosecution

Dr. T. J. Orford, M.D., and following Eskimos, Sarah, widow of Keytowieack, Nellie, daughter of Kawtook, Johnasie, male; Minna, wife of Peter Sala, Moses, male, Mary, wife of Alec Apawkok, Louisa, wife of Adlaykok, Shoolukshuk, male, Charlie Ouyerack, male; Kugveet, male; Markusie, male; Enookpuk, male; Mark, male; Apawkok, male; Anawak, male.

being severally examined in his presence, the said Peter Sala, Eskimo male is now addressed by me as follows: "Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat." Whereupon the said Peter Sala, Eskimo male says as follows: I don't want to say anything now.

[handwritten mark of Peter Sala]

Taken before me at Belcher Islands in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**94. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Akeenik, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 30 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

PROCEEDINGS OF PRELIMINARY HEARINGS held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, Justice of the Peace, this 30th day of July in the year A.D. 1941 in the case of Rex Vs AKEENIK, Eskimo female charged with the murder of Sarah APAWKOK, Eskimo female at Flarherty Island, Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories, on the 25th day of January in the year A.D. 1941.

Charge read to the Accused. Accused not asked to Plead.

Harold UDGARDEN, Interpreter, duly sworn.

P R O S E C U T I O N

DEPOSITION OF A WITNESS

(PRELIMINARY INQUIRY)

CANADA

Northwest Territories:

The deposition of Johnasie, Eskimo male, taken before the undersigned, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, this 30 day of July, in the year A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, in the presence and hearing of AKEENIK, Eskimo female, who stands charged that she did on or about the 25th day of January, A.D., 1941, at a camp on south Flaherty Island, in the said Territories, murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, Contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Johnasie.

Q. How old are you?

A. 25 years old.

Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you see Sarah Apawkok last?

A. Last winter[.]

- Q. Will you tell whereabouts you saw Sarah last winter?
- A. At the Camp where we stayed on the south of Flarherty Island.
- Q. Tell the court what happened on south Flarherty Island?
- A. They said Jesus was coming and they danced and were glad.
- Q. What else?
- A. I do not remember what happened.
- Q. Were you in the igloo when Sarah Apawkok was hit with a stick and killed?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did you see then?
- A. I saw them hammering at her with a stick.
- Q. Who?
- A. Alec Apawkok.
- Q. Any one else?
- A. There was some one hammering her again after they took her outside.
- Q. When Alec hit her in the igloo, did he knock her unconscious?
- A. They hit her on the head and stunned her.
- Q. Did you see her being carried out of the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who carried her out?
- A. Markusie, Johnasie, Mina, Akeenik.
- Q. What did they do with the body of Sarah when they carried her out of the igloo?
- A. Akeenik turned on her and hammered her after they got outside.
- Q. What did Akeenik hit Sarah with?
- A. A gun.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik hit Sarah with a gun?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Whereabouts on the body did Akeenik hit Sarah?
- A. The jaw and side of the head.
- Q. What part of the gun?
- A. With the breech. The stock was broken.
- Q. Did that kill Sarah?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did they do with Sarah's body after that?
- A. Took her into an empty snow house.
- Q. After that what did you do?
- A. I went to the snow house where they all were.
- Q. Who were the people in the snow house when this happened?
- A. A lot of them.
- Q. What are the names of some of them?
- A. Myself, Markusie and his mother, Peter Sala and his family, Charlie Ouyerack and his whole family, Shooluksuk, a fellow called Mark, Enoopuk, Adlaykok and his family, Keytowieack.

Q. Do you remember going over to the Island and uncovering Sarah's body with the Doctor and the Police?

A. I remember.

Q. Was it Sarah's body in the grave?

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

THE DEPOSITION OF ANAWAK, Eskimo male[.] The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Anawak.

Q. How old are you?

A. 40 years old.

Q. Were you at the Camp on Flarherty Island?

A. No.

Q. Did you go and bring the bodies here?

A. Yes.

Q. You brought them here and buried them on this Island this spring?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know who they were?

A. I did not know them.

Q. Did you identify one of the bodies as Sarah's?

A. I did not know which was which.

Q. One was small and the other much larger?

A. One was big and the other small.

Q. Did you take the bodies out of the snow?

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF KUGVEET, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Kugveet.

Q. How old are you?

A. 48 years old.

Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you see Sarah Apawkok last?

A. I saw her at the camp on South Flarherty Island.

Q. When was this?

A. In January, 1941.

- Q. Was there a meeting of the Natives in the camp in a big igloo at that time?
- A. Yes, they were all in one snow house.
- Q. Was Sarah in that snow house?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did the Natives do in that snow house?
- A. They were making a lot of noise.
- Q. Did one of the Natives say that he was God?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Which Native?
- A. Peter Sala.
- Q. Did another Native say he was Jesus?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Which Native?
- A. Charlie Ouyrack.
- Q. Did everyone believe that Peter Sala was God and Charlie Ouyrack was Jesus?
- A. There was a strong belief in it.
- Q. Did Sarah believe that?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Why did they say she was no good?
- A. Because she did not believe that Peter was God and Charlie was Jesus.
- Q. Then Sarah did not believe that Peter was God?
- A. She believed it at first, but not afterwards.
- Q. She did not believe that Charlie Ouyrack was Jesus?
- A. She believed in both of them at first.
- Q. Did Sarah believe in Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyrack at first and then not believe?
- A. Yes, she believed first and then she did not believe.
- Q. Did Sarah say that she did not believe in Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyrack?
- A. The Natives asked Sarah if she believed Peter was God and Charlie Ouyrack was Jesus and she said that she did and the Natives did not believe her and got angry with her.
- Q. When they got angry with her what happened then?
- A. They turned and hammered her?
- Q. Who hammered her?
- A. Alec.
- Q. What with?
- A. With a stick.
- Q. Where did he hit her with the stick?
- A. On the head.
- Q. Did he knock her unconscious?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did any one else hit Sarah in the igloo?

- A. No one else touched her.
- Q. What happened after Sarah was knocked unconscious?
- A. Some one said to take her out of the snow house.
- Q. Who took her out?
- A. Johnasie, Markusie, Akeenik, Mina. I could not see. It was dark.
- Q. What happened to Sarah after she was dragged out?
- A. They went out of the snow house and I don't know after that what happened.
- Q. Did you see her again?
- A. Not that day.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik again?
- A. Yes, after she came in.
- Q. Did you hear her say anything?
- A. I don't know what she said.
- Q. Before Alec hit Sarah with the stick did Alec struggle with Sarah?
- A. He pulled her up by the hair.
- Q. What did he say?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. Did he say anything to Ouyerack?
- A. He was speaking, but I don't remember what he said.
- Q. Did Alec say to Ouyerack, “Should this girl die or should she live”?
- A. That is what he said and Ouyerack said, “It is just as well to kill her”.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF BERTIE AKPAROK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Bertie Akparok.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. I must be about 50.
- Q. Do you recognize this? (Exhibit “A”)
- A. It is my writing.
- Q. What is it?
- A. My calendar.
- Q. When you heard about the trouble at Flarherty Island did you put down the date?
- A. I thought it would be about that time of the year and I put down the date.
- Q. What date did you put down?
- A. January 25, 1941.

CALENDAR ENTERED INTO PROCEEDINGS AND MARKED EXHIBIT “A”

THE DEPOSITION OF DR. Thomas J. ORFORD. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your full name?

A. Thomas J. Orford.

Q. Are you a Registered Medical Practitioner?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Medical Officer of Health for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a coroner for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you examine the body of Sarah Apawkok at Belcher Islands on July 26, 1941?

A. Yes, it was a body of a female Eskimo. It was in a state of moderate decomposition, with a fracture of the lower jaw. There was also a fracture on the left temporal region and the right side posteriorly.

Q. Where was the body?

A. In a grave on a[n] Island in the Belcher Group situated about one mile from this Belcher Island Post. It was identified in the presence of Sergeant Kearney by Eskimo Johnasie.

Q. How old would Sarah be?

A. I would judge she would be in the neighborhood of 15 years of age.

Q. Would the injuries you found cause death?

A. Either of the fractures would cause death.

Q. There were no other injuries that you could find?

A. No.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

THE DEPOSITION OF SARAH, Eskimo female, Widow of Keytowieack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Sarah.

Q. What is your age?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Sarah staying in your igloo on South Flarherty Island last January?

A. Yes.

Q. Did someone come and take Sarah away from your igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Who?

A. I do not know.

- Q. Were you told the name of the person who took Sarah away?  
A. No.  
Q. Why was Sarah staying in your igloo? Did she not have a camp of her own?  
A. They had a camp of their own, but she came and stayed with me.  
Q. Was she afraid of anything?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who was she afraid of?  
A. She was [frightened] of the Natives in the camp.  
Q. Why was she [frightened] of the Natives?  
A. They wanted to do something to one another all the time.  
Q. Do you mean that they wanted to hurt the others?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Why did they want to hurt each other?  
A. They wanted to be God.  
Q. Who wanted to be God[?]  
A. Peter Sala.  
Q. Did Sarah believe that Peter Sala was God?  
A. She professed to believe that Peter was God, but the Natives did not believe her.  
Q. Did you see Sarah after she was dead?  
A. No.

#### THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

THE DEPOSITION OF NELLIE, Eskimo female, daughter of Kawtook.  
The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Nellie.  
Q[.] Was your father Kawtook?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?  
A. Yes.  
Q. When did you see Sarah last?  
A. Last winter.  
Q. Where?  
A. I saw her all the time.  
Q. Did you see Sarah at the camp on South Flarherty Island?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was there a meeting one day of the Natives at an igloo in the camp?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you present in the igloo?



- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Alec Apawkok hit his sister?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you know why?
- A. Sarah said that she believed in Peter as God, but the people did not believe her.
- Q. What did he hit her with?
- A. A stick.
- Q. Did she fall down?
- A. I couldn't see her. It was dark in the snow house.
- Q. Did you see Alec hold her up by the [h]air and try to tie her to a string in the roof?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you hear Alec hit Sarah with a stick?
- A. Not with a stick, but with his hands.
- Q. Did Sarah fall on the floor?
- A. I do not know. I could not see.
- Q. Did you hear them take her out?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you hear anything when they were taking her out?
- A. No.
- Q. Who took her out?
- A. Akeenik, Mina and Markusie.
- Q. (Pointing to the Accused) Is that Akeenik there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik hit Sarah with a rifle outside?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you see anything?
- A. I saw the rifle and it was all blood.
- Q. Was the butt broken off?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Akeenik come back into the [igloo] and say that her hands were frozen from holding onto the [barrel]?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Akeenik say that she killed Sarah?
- A. I do not know. I did not hear.
- Q. Was everybody pleased?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did they say that Sarah had Satan in her?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Sarah's clothes catch on fire as they were dragging her out?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Akeenik ask Charlie to thaw her hands out?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Akeenik say, “Oh! I killed her”[?]

A. Yes.

Q. You took that to mean Sarah?

A. Yes.

Q. This happened after new years?

A. Yes.

Q. It was after Christmas and New Years?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see the body of Sarah afterwards?

A. Yes.

Q. Was her head all bloody?

A. It did not look bloody on her hair.

Q. On her face?

A. I did not see her face.

Q. Did they bury Sarah or leave her in an igloo?

A. The body was put in the porch of a snow house.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF ENOOPUK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Enoopuk.

Q. How old are you?

A. 40 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on South Flarherty Island last January?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you in the igloo with the rest of the Natives when they were having a meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Sarah Apawkok in that igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us what happened to Sarah Apawkok?

A. The first thing they did was to get hold of her.

Q. Who got hold of her?

A. Alec Apawkok.

Q. Then what happened?

A. He hammered her with his fist and then got a stick.

Q. What part of the body?

A. The side of her head and face.

Q. Was Sarah knocked unconscious by these blows?

- A. Her legs bent under her and she sunk on the floor. Some said that she was hurt and I got up and looked between the Natives and saw that she was on fire. They were burning paper for light.
- Q. Who took Sarah out?
- A. Markusie, Johnasie, Minna, Akeenik and myself.
- Q. Did you go outside the igloo when they took Sarah's body out?
- A. I did not go out.
- Q. Did you see her afterwards when she was dead?
- A. The next day.
- Q. Where was she?
- A. In the porch of an empty snow house.
- Q. Did you see her face?
- A. No.
- Q. Was her hood up?
- A. She was laying on her side with her face up against the snow.
- Q. Did you see any blood?
- A. She still had on her clothes.
- Q. When did this happen?
- A. In January and at South Flaherty Island.

#### THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

THE DEPOSITION OF MINNA, Eskimo female, daughter of Eitook.  
The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Minna.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. 20 years old.
- Q. Are you married?
- A. No.
- Q. Were you present at the camp when Sarah was killed?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Alec hit her with his fist and then a stick?
- A. Yes, he hammered her with his fists first and then a stick.
- Q. Did she fall down?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. We dragged her out.
- Q. Who dragged her out?
- A. Markusie, Akeenik and I went along with them, but did not help them. Mina, wife of Moses, and Johnasie helped.
- Q. What happened when you got outside?

- A. I went right back in the snow house after she was taken out.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik hit Sarah?  
A. I went right back in the snow house.  
Q. Are you sure?  
A. I did not see them do anything to her. I went right in.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik come into the snow house?  
A. That is the girl (pointing to Akeenik) that killed her with a rifle.  
Q. Did you see her then?  
A. No, I just heard them say it.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik come back into the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did she say anything?  
A. She said, “My hands are frozen. Thaw them out for me”.  
Q. Did she mention holding a rifle?  
A. She said, “I froze my hands with that gun”.  
Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?  
A. I saw her in the snow house.  
Q. How was she lying?  
A. On her side in the porch of an old snow house.  
Q. Why did they do this to Sarah?  
A. I do not know.  
Q. Why didn’t they kill you then?  
A. Because I believed in Peter and Sarah did not believe in the teachings of Peter and Charlie.

#### THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

THE DEPOSITION OF Mary, Eskimo Female, wife of Alec Apawkok.  
The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Mary[.]  
Q. Are you the wife of Alec Apawkok?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 28 years of age.  
Q. Did you know Sarah Apawkok?  
A. Yes, I knew her very well.  
Q. Were you at the camp on South Flarherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was there a meeting of the Natives in a big igloo one day?

- A. Yes.
- Q. What were the natives doing at this meeting?
- A. They were having a happy time.
- Q. Were they praying?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who were they praying to?
- A. Praying to Jesus.
- Q. Who was Jesus?
- A. Charlie Ouyerack.
- Q. Were they praying to God?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who was God?
- A. Peter Sala.
- Q. What was Sarah doing in the igloo?
- A. She was in the snow house.
- Q. Did you see Alec doing anything to Sarah?
- A. He was along side of me. I saw what he did.
- Q. What did he do?
- A. Sarah got angry with her mother before she died. Her mother was dead then and Alec told Sarah he would be her mother. That is how he started on his sister.
- Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah?
- A. With his fist.
- Q. Did he use a stick?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did he beat her about the head, jaw and neck and side of the face?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Alec say anything to Charlie?
- A. "Was it any harm to get that girl out of the way. She was doing more harm than good".
- Q. What did Charlie say to him?
- A. He said to kill her and get her out of the way.
- Q. Did you see Sarah fall down?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. They hauled her outside.
- Q. Who?
- A. Minna, Johnasie, Markusie, Akeenik and Mina.
- Q. What happened outside?
- A. I did not see then, but they hammered her with a rifle.
- Q. Who did that?
- A. Akeenik?
- Q. Did she say so when she came in?

- A. Yes.
- Q. What about Akeenik's hands?
- A. Akeenik said that she killed her and wanted someone to thaw out her hands.
- Q. How did her hands get frozen?
- A. By holding [onto] the barrel of the gun.
- Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?
- A. In the porch of an old snow house.
- Q. How was she lying?
- A. Lying on her side.
- Q. She was not buried?
- A. Only in the snow.
- Q. Do you know why they thought Sarah was no good?
- A. Because she wasn't good.
- Q. In what way wasn't she good?
- A. She did not do what they told her.
- Q. Was it to do with Peter and Charlie's teachings?
- A. They couldn't get her to work.
- Q. Are you sure?
- A. I don't know about Peter. It was because she did not do what she was told.
- Q. Did they think she had the devil in her?
- A. That is what they said[,] that she was Satan.
- Q. When she was being dragged out did her clothes catch fire?
- A. She caught fire from some papers that were burning.
- Q. Did you hear Akeenik hitting Sarah with the rifle outside the igloo?
- A. I heard them, but did not see them[.]

THE DEPOSITION OF LOUISA, Eskimo female, wife of Adlaykok. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Louisa, wife of Adlaykok.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Were you at the camp on South Flarherty Island last January?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?
- A. Yes[.]
- Q. Were you at the meeting in the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What were the natives doing in the igloo?
- A. They were having a happy time in the snow house.
- Q. Were they praying?
- A. They were praying to Jesus.

- Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. Who was God?  
A. Peter Sala.  
Q. Did Sarah believe this?  
A. She said that she believed it, but the natives did not believe her.  
Q. Did you see Alec hit Sarah?  
A. I did not see that because I was behind the rest of the Natives.  
Q. Did you hear them?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you hear Sarah crying?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you hear Alec Apawkok say anything to Charlie about Sarah?  
A. Alec said that it did not matter if they killed her or not.  
Q. What did Charlie say?  
A. I did not hear what he said.  
Q. What did Peter Sala do to Sarah? Did you see him?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see Sarah being dragged out of the igloo?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you know that Sarah was being dragged out of the igloo?  
A. I did not see them, but I heard them.  
Q. Did her clothes catch on fire when she was being dragged out?  
A. That is what they said, but I only heard them. I did not see them.  
Q. Did they tear up their books and set fire to them on the floor of the igloo? Did Sarah's clothes catch on fire?  
A. Yes, that is right.  
Q. Did Sarah's clothes catch fire when she was being hauled outside?  
A. I don't know. I did not see them, but I heard that.  
Q. Did you see the flames[?]  
A. I heard the Natives say that.  
Q. This happened on Flarherty Island just after New Years, 1941?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Sarah's body afterwards?  
A. I did not go to see it.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik come in after she killed Sarah?  
A. I did not see her, but I heard her talking.  
Q. What did she say?  
A. "Oh! my hands are frozen".  
Q. Did she say why?  
A. They got frozen holding [onto] the rifle.

THE DEPOSITION OF SHOOLUKSUK, Eskimo Male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Shooluksuk.

Q. What is your age?

A. I do not know.

Q. Were you at the camp on South Flarherty Island last January?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present at the meeting in the large igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the Natives doing at the meeting?

A. They were gathered together on account of God.

Q. Were they praying?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were they praying to?

A. To God.

Q. Who was God?

A. Peter.

Q. Who was Jesus?

A. Charlie Ouyerack.

Q. Did Sarah believe this?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the natives believe that Sarah believed this?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Alec taking a hold of his sister and beating her with a stick?

A. I did not see him getting a hold, but he had a hold of her.

Q. Why did Alec do this?

A. Because she did not believe that Peter Sala was God.

Q. Did Alec beat his sister very hard?

A. Not very hard at first.

Q. Did you see Sarah fall down?

A. I was not looking?

Q. Did you see blood come out of her mouth?

A. Yes, when he struck her on the side of her head.

Q. Did you see Alec lift her by the head?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Alec hit Sarah on the neck and chest?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Charlie and Peter say anything then?

A. I did not hear them say anything.



- Q. When Sarah fell down, who carried her out of the igloo?  
A. Markusie, Johnasie, Akeenik, Mina and Minna.  
Q. Did you go outside to see what was happening?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see these people come back into the igloo?  
A. It was dark. I saw only Akeenik.  
Q. What did she say?  
A. She said, "My hands are frozen and I want some one to thaw them out".  
Q. Why were they frozen?  
A. From holding the gun.  
Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?  
A. No.  
Q. Is Akeenik your daughter?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPOSITION OF MINNA SALA, Eskimo female, wife of Peter Sala. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Minna.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 25 years old.  
Q. Were you at the camp at Flarherty Island?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you at the meeting of the Natives in an igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Yes, at the camp and in the igloo.  
Q. Did you see Alec hit Sarah with a stick?  
A. I did not see him because it was dark, but I heard him.  
Q. Was Sarah knocked unconscious?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Sarah being carried out of the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who dragged her out?  
A. Akeenik, Johnasie, Mina and Markusie.  
Q. Did you see what went on outside?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik come in?  
A. I did not see her come in but I heard her.  
Q. What did she say?  
A. My hands are frozen and asked for someone to thaw them out.  
Q. How did her hands get frozen?

A. From holding the barrel of the gun.

Q. Did she say what she was doing?

A. I did not hear her.

The Deposition of Peter Sala, Eskimo male. The said Deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Peter Sala.

Q. How old are you?

A. 33 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on South Flarherty Island?

A. They were all at the camp and I went to them.

Q. Were you at the meeting that took place in the igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?

A. Not when I got there, but she came afterwards.

Q. Was she at the meeting in the igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us what happened to Sarah in the Igloo?

A. I put my hand on her heart and Alec pulled her away from me.

Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah?

A. I saw him hitting her on the side of the head with a stick.

Q. Quite hard?

A. I did not look. I could hear him. I did not want to watch him hammering his sister.

Q. Did you see blood coming out of her mouth?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Sarah fall down?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see them take her out?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were they?

A. Akeenik and Mina. I did not see anyone else.

Q. Did you see what happened outside?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Akeenik come back?

A. I saw her come in.

Q. What did she say?

A. “I hammered Satan to death.” By Satan she meant Sarah.

Q. Did she say anything about her hands being frozen?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards?

- A. She was lying on her side in a snow house.  
Q. Did they bury her?  
A. No.  
Q. What was the cause of Sarah having Satan in her?  
A. They thought the devil was stronger than God.  
Q. Why did you think that she was Satan?  
A. That is why she was killed[,] because she was on Satan's side.

THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLIE OUYERACK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 28 years old.  
Q. Were you at the camp on Flarherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting in the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Sarah came a while after.  
Q. Was Sarah in the igloo when the meeting took place?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Alec hit his sister Sarah?  
A. Yes, I saw him hammering at her with a stick.  
Q. Whereabouts?  
A. Around the head.  
Q. Why did he hit his sister Sarah?  
A. Because she wasn't good.  
Q. Why was she not good?  
A. She wouldn't say yes.  
Q. Did some one ask Sarah to do something or believe in something?  
A. Because they could never get her to do anything. She would not do what they told her.  
Q. What was that?  
A. Anything at all.  
Q. Did they want her to pray?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who did you want her to pray to?  
A. To Jesus.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Myself.  
Q. Who was God?

- A. Peter Sala.  
Q. Did you see Sarah being knocked unconscious by Alec?  
A. I did not see her.  
Q. Did you see her being carried out?  
A. No.  
Q. Were you present at the time?  
A. There was too many Natives.  
Q. Do you know who took her out?  
A. I did not see them, but I heard that they were taking her outside.  
Q. Did you go outside?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik when she came back in?  
A. I heard her say, “Oh”. That is all.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARKUSIE, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Markusie.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. 22 years.  
Q. Were you at the camp at South Flarherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting of the Natives in the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were the natives doing at the meeting?  
A. They were talking about Jesus.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. Who was God?  
A. Peter Sala.  
Q. Did Sarah believe that?  
A. She did not believe that. That is why they killed her.  
Q. Did you see Alec hitting his sister with a stick?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where did he hit her?  
A. On the side of her head with his fist.  
Q. After he struck her with his fists did he do anything else?  
A. He lit a match to see her face.  
Q. After that what?  
A. He turned and hammered her on the side of the head with a stick.

- Q. Did she fall down?  
A. Yes, she lost her strength and fell down.  
Q. Who took her outside?  
A. Someone said to take her outside.  
Q. Who helped you to take her outside?  
A. Johnaise [*sic*], Mina, Akeenik and myself.  
Q. When you got outside what happened?  
A. Akeenik started to hammer her with the [breech] of a gun. The stock was off it. She was holding it by the barrel.  
Q. Did Sarah die then?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did anyone tell Akeenik to do this?  
A. I told her.  
Q. Why did you tell her to do it?  
A. I did not know what I was doing. I was not in my right senses.  
Q. Was there much Blood?  
A. She was only bleeding a little.  
Q. After she was dead what happened?  
A. Johnaise took her into the porch of the snow house.  
Q. When you got back where was Akeenik?  
A. In the snow house.  
Q. Did you bury Sarah?  
A. They knocked down the snow house on top of her.  
Q. What was the matter with Sarah?  
A. She did not do what they wanted her to do. She would not believe in their God and was not good. She had Satan in her.

THE DEPOSITION OF MINA, Eskimo female, wife of Moses. The said Deponent saith but not being sworn:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Mina.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. I don't know. (Court decides about 30 years of age).  
Q. Were you at the meeting on the south of Flarherty Island?

(THIS WITNESS APPEARS NOT TO UNDERSTAND THE QUESTIONS ASKED HER AND WAS FOUND INCOMPETENT TO BE EXAMINED AND WAS EXCUSED)

THE DEPOSITION OF APAWKOK, Eskimo male, Alec Apawkok's Step-Father. The said deponent saith on oath:

- Q. What is your name?

A. Apawkok.

Q. How old are you?

A. 44 years old.

Q. [Were] you at the camp on the south of Flarherty Island last January?

A. Just about the time they were starting.

Q. Did you go to the meeting held by the natives in the igloo?

A. I was there.

Q. Did you see Sarah Apawkok there?

A. I left them when they were all together in the snow house and I went to another snow house and went to sleep.

Q. Were you present when Sarah was killed?

...<sup>‡</sup>

Q. Where did Alec hit Sarah?

A. On the side of the head with his fist.

Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah on the side of her head with a stick?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear Alec speaking to Charlie then?

A. Yes, he asked [C]harlie, “Am I doing right or am I doing wrong?”

Q. What did Charlie say?

A. Charlie said that he was doing right.

Q. Was Sarah knocked senseless?

A. She fell down.

Q. Was there blood on her face or body?

A. I did not see any blood.

Q. Who carried her out of the igloo?

A. Johnsie, Markusie, Minna, Mina and Akeenik.

Q. Did you see what was going on outside?

A. No, I was in the snow house.

Q. Did you see Akeenik when she came back in again?

A. She said that her hands were frozen.

Q. Did she say why?

A. From holding on to the gun.

Q. Did she make any remark about Sarah?

A. She said, “I killed Sarah to death with the rifle”.

Q. Did you see Sarah afterwards when she was in the igloo?

A. She was lying on her side.

Q. Did you see any blood?

A. I don’t think so.

---

<sup>‡</sup> *Editors’ note:* A page is missing in the original transcription.

Q. Did they bury her?

A. They pushed the snow house in on her.

THE DEPOSITION OF:

CAROLINE, wife of Mark, Eskimo female. The said Deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Caroline, wife of Mark.

Q. How old are you?

A. 22[.]

Q. Were you present in the igloo on Flarherty Island?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Alec hitting his sister Sarah?

A. Yes.

Q. What was he hitting her with and where?

A. His fist on the head.

Q. Did he use anything else?

A. He had a stick and was hammering her with the stick.

Q. Do you know why he was doing that?

A. Because she was no good.

Q. Why was she no good?

A. She was Satan.

Q. When she fell what happened then?

A. She was carried out.

Q. Did you see who carried her out?

A. Markusie, Mina, Johnasie, Akeenik.

Q. Did Minna go out with them?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know what happened outside?

A. I did not see them.

Q. Did you see Akeenik come back in again?

A. I do not remember that.

Q. Do you remember Akeenik say[ing] that her hands were frozen?

A. Yes, I remember that.

Q. What did she say?

A. “I froze my hands holding the gun and hammering the girl”.

Q. Did you see the body of Sarah afterwards?

A. I did not see it.

THE DEPOSITION OF ADLAYKOK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Adlaykok.



- Q. How old are you?  
A. I don't know. (Court decides about 35)  
Q. Were you at the camp on the south of Flarherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting of the Natives in the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were the Natives doing at this meeting?  
A. Having a happy time.  
Q. Were they praying?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who were they praying to?  
A. Peter Sala who was God.  
Q. And who else?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack who was Jesus.  
Q. Did Sarah pray to Peter and Charlie?  
A. She did not believe in those two fellows.  
Q. Did you see Alec hitting Sarah?  
A. I did not see him.  
Q. Did you hear it?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see her taken outside?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you hear Akeenik when she came back in again say anything about her hands?  
A. I do not remember.  
Q. Did you see Sarah dead in the igloo?  
A. I did not see her for a day or two afterwards. She was in the porch of an old snow house.  
Q. How was she lying?  
A. On her back.  
Q. Did you see any blood on her face or head?  
A. I did not go in. I only looked through a hole.  
Q. Do you know if she was buried?  
A. I do not remember.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

PROSECUTION CLOSED

ACCUSED ADDRESSED BY JUSTICE, GIVEN STATUTORY WARNING AND ASKED IF SHE WISHES TO MAKE A STATEMENT. (SEE STATEMENT OF ACCUSED APPENDED HERETO.)

DEFENCE

NO WITNESSES FOR DEFENCE CALLED.

ACCUSED COMMITTED FOR TRIAL (IN CUSTODY) AT THE NEXT SITTING OF THE COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION TO BE HELD AT BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T., ON OR ABOUT 12th of AUGUST, 1941.

**95. Statement of the Accused, of Akeenik, before Douglas J. Martin, 30 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 20, Sec. 684.

**STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED**

*(Preliminary inquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories**

AKEENIK – Eskimo female stands before me the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 30th. day of July in the year 1941, for that she the said Akeenik Eskimo female on or about the 25th day of January A.D. 1941 at Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands group in the Northwest Territories, did murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

and the said charge being read to the said Akeenik, Eskimo female and the witnesses for the prosecution

Dr. T.J. Orford, M.D.  
Peter Sala, Eskimo male,  
Louisa, wife [of] Adlaykok  
Bertie Akporak, male  
Sarah, Widow of Keytowieack,  
Nellie, daughter of Kawtook.  
Kugveet, Eskimo male  
Shoolukshuk, “ “

Markusie, Eskimo male  
Enookpuk “ “  
Johnasie “ “  
Charlie Ouyerack, Esk. male.  
Minna, wife of Peter Sala  
Mary, wife of Alec Apawkok  
Apawkok,  
Mina, wife of Moses  
Adlaykok, Esk. male

Anawak           “       “  
Mina, daughter of Eitook  
Caroline, wife of Mark

being severally examined in her presence, the said Akeenik, Eskimo female is now addressed by me as follows: “Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat.” Whereupon the said Akeenik, Eskimo female says as follows: I have nothing to say.

[handwritten mark of Akeenik]

Taken before me at Belcher Islands in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**96. Information and Complaint, of Henry Kearney regarding Mina, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
Form 3, Sec. 654

**INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT**

**CANADA**

**North-West Territories**

THE INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT OF Sergeant Henry Kearney of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T. taken this 31st. day of July in the year 1941 before the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, Esquire one of His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace in and for the said Territories, who saith that Mina, Eskimo female of Belcher Islands, N.W.T. on or about the 29th. day of March A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the said Territories did murder Johnasie, Eskimo male, aged about six years, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

(Signature of Informant)     <Henry Kearney>

SWORN before me the day and year first above mentioned, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories.

*<D. J. Martin>*

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories*

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Preliminary Hearing held at Belcher Islands N.W.T. on July 31<sup>st</sup> 1941.

Charge read to accused Mina - no plea taken.

Harold Udgarden sworn in as Interpreter.

Evidence taken for the prosecution.

Evidence for the prosecution closed.

Aug 20th 1941 Court opened at 5.00 pm

Hon Justice C.P. Plaxton trial Judge, in his capacity as a Stipendiary Magistrate for the Northwest Territories.

Accused arraigned and charged with murder of Johnasie, Eskimo male child.

Prosecuting Counsel - Mr RA Olmsted

Defence Counsel - Mr J.P. Madden

Plea 20-8-1941 No plea taken. Defence asks that an issue be tried to determine mental condition of accused. Issue ordered to be tried by Court.

*<H. Kearney>*

Clerk of the Court.

Jury sworn to try issue of Insanity

Members of Jury

Mr M.E. Holtzman, Foreman, Mining Engineer

Mr Jack Rubie “ “

Mr E. G. Cadney - Ships engineer

Mr E. Riddell - Fur Trader.

Mr J. McCook - Newspaperman

Mr Wm. Kinmond - “

Verdict of Jury, after evidence taken from witnesses: -

Accused found unfit to stand trial being insane.

*<H. Kearney>*

Clerk of the Court.

Sentences

Accused committed in custody of RCMP Police to await pleasure of Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

Aug. 21/41



**97. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Adlaykok, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code.  
Form 22, Sec. 690

**WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**

*(Preliminary enquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA**

**Northwest Territories**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M.Police, at Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories in the said Territories.*

WHEREAS Adlaykok, Eskimo male was this day charged before me the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of William Grant Kerr, Corporal of the R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T., and others, for that he the said Adlaykok, Eskimo male on or about the 26th. day of January A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories did murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Adlaykok, Eskimo male and keep him in your custody at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law. ...

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July in the year of our Lord 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

*<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]*

*Justice.....of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**98. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by Corporal J. R. McFarland, R.C.M.P., in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

THE KING

against

Adlaykok, Eskimo male, for Murder

I, Corporal J.R. McFarland, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the stenographer appointed by D.J. Martin, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, to report the evidence in this matter.

2. The evidence so reported and transcribed by me is set out in the 14 sheets of paper hereto annexed, and the same is a true and faithful transcript of the said evidence as taken by me in shorthand in this matter.

*<J. R. McFarland>*

J.R. McFarland

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the Northwest Territories on this  
31st day of July in the year A.D. 1941

*<D. J. Martin>*

(D.J. Martin), J.P. in  
and for the Northwest  
Territories.

**99. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex v. Akeenik, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

THE KING  
against

AKEENIK, Eskimo female, for Murder

I, Corporal J.R. McFarland, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the stenographer appointed by D.J. Martin, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, to report the evidence in this matter.

2. The evidence so reported and transcribed by me is set out in the 17 sheets of paper hereto annexed, and the same is a true and faithful transcript of the said evidence as taken by me in shorthand in this matter.

*<J. R. McFarland>*

(J.R. McFarland)

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the Northwest Territories on this  
31st day of July in the year A.D. 1941.

<D. J. Martin>  
(D. J. Martin), A J.P. in  
and for the Northwest  
Territories

**100. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Akeenik, issued by Douglas J.  
Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code.  
Form 22, Sec. 690

**WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**  
*(Preliminary enquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA**  
**Northwest Territories**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M.Police at Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories in the said Territories.*

WHEREAS Akeenik, Eskimo female was this day charged before me the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T., and others, for that she the said Akeenik, Eskimo female on or about the 25th. day of January A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories did murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Akeenik, Eskimo female and keep her in your custody at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. until [s]he shall be thence delivered by due course of law. ...

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July in the year of our Lord 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]  
*Justice.....of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*



**101. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

THE KING  
against  
ALEC APAWKOK, Eskimo male, for Murder

I, Corporal J.R. McFarland, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the stenographer appointed by D.J. Martin, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, to report the evidence in this matter.

2. The evidence so reported and transcribed by me is set out in the 17 sheets of paper hereto annexed, and the same is a true and faithful transcript of the said evidence as taken by me in shorthand in this matter.

<J. R. McFarland>  
(J.R. McFarland)

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the Northwest Territories on this  
31st day of July in the year A.D. 1941.

<D. J. Martin>  
(D.J. Martin), J.P. in  
and for the Northwest  
Territories.

**102. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Alec Apawkok, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code.  
Form 22, Sec. 690

**WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**  
*(Preliminary enquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA**  
**Northwest Territories**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M. Police at Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories in the said Territories.*

WHEREAS Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male was this day charged before me the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, and others, for that he the said Alec Apawkok, male on or about the 25th. day of January A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories did murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male and keep him in your custody at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law. ...

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July in the year of our Lord 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

*<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]*

*Justice.....of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**103. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland in the case of Rex vs. Mina, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

THE KING  
against

Mina, Eskimo female, for Murder

I, Corporal J.R. McFarland, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the stenographer appointed by D.J. Martin, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, to report the evidence in this matter.

2. The evidence so reported and transcribed by me is set out in the 8 sheets of paper hereto annexed, and the same is a true and faithful transcript of the said evidence as taken by me in shorthand in this matter.

*<J. R. McFarland>*  
(J.R. McFarland)

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the Northwest Territories on this  
31st day of July in the year A.D. 1941

<D. J. Martin>  
(D.J. Martin), J.P. in  
and for the Northwest  
Territories

**104. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Mina, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarde, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

PROCEEDINGS OF PRELIMINARY HEARINGS held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, Justice of the Peace, this 31st day of July in the year A.D., 1941, in the case of Rex vs Mina, Eskimo female, charged with the murder of Johnasie, Eskimo male, aged about six years, at Belcher Islands, in the Northwest Territories, on or about the 29th day of March, A.D., 1941.

CHARGE READ TO THE ACCUSED. ACCUSED NOT ASKED TO PLEAD.

Harold Udgarde, Interpreter, duly sworn.

P R O S E C U T I O N

DEPOSITION OF A WITNESS

(Preliminary Inquiry)

CANADA  
Northwest Territories.

The deposition of Moses, Eskimo male, taken before the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace, in and for the said Northwest Territories, this 31st day of July, in the year A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, in the presence and hearing of Mina, Eskimo female, of Belcher Islands, who stands charged that she did on or about the 29th day of March, A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did murder Johnasie, Eskimo male, aged about six years, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

THE SAID DEPONENT saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Moses.

Q. How old are you?

- A. 22.
- Q. Were you living on Camsell Island in the month of March last?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who else was living there at the same time?
- A. Moses, Quarack, Peter and all their families.
- Q. Did you know Johnasie a boy aged about 6 years?
- A. Yes.
- Q. When you were at that camp, did you see Mina take some women and children out [onto] the ice?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How many women and children were there?
- A. Nine of them.
- Q. What are their names?
- A. Mary, Alec, Moses, Johnasie, Kumudluk, Johnnie, Moses, Mina, Minna, Nellie, Sarah and Quarack, Peter Sala's child.
- Q. Why did you go out on the ice?
- A. I believed then that Jesus had come.
- Q. Who told you that?
- A. Mina.
- Q. Did you go out on the ice?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you have your clothes on?
- A. They had their clothes on on the land and took them off on the ice.
- Q. Who told you to take your clothes off?
- A. Mina.
- Q. Did she take her clothes off?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did she take the clothes off the children?
- A. I did not see her taking off their clothes.
- Q. Did she prevent the children from putting on their clothes again?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who were they?
- A. They all tried to put on their clothes.
- Q. What did Mina do?
- A. They did not take off their pants, just their coats. Mina took her coat off not her pants.
- Q. What happened [to] the children?
- A. They were cold.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. I took one and carried it.
- Q. Which child was that?
- A. Quarack.

- Q. Where did you take it?  
A. To the snow house.  
Q. Did Mina do anything when you were carrying the child back?  
A. She started to walk back herself.  
Q. Did Mina lead the others out or drive them out on the ice?  
A. She walked herself and did not bother about the others. She walked out on the ice and they followed her out.  
Q. When you got back where was Mina?  
A. Mina was in Peter's camp.  
Q. Mina came back before you?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What happened [to] the rest of them?  
A. They were on the ice. They could not walk they got that cold. We left them there.  
Q. Who were left on the ice?  
A. Moses, aged 13, Johnasie, Johnnie, Alec, Kumudluk, Mary Anne, mother of Mina.  
Q. What was the weather like that day?  
A. It was a fine day.  
Q. Was it warm or cold?  
A. It was not cold. There was no wind.  
Q. Did you assist in looking for them afterwards?  
A. I went for them.  
Q. Where did you find them?  
A. On the ice.  
Q. How were they?  
A. They were dead.  
Q. Were they frozen?  
A. They were frozen.  
Q. Did they have any clothes on?  
A. They had on their pants.  
Q. Is that all?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Mina preventing any of them getting their clothes?  
A. I did not see her taking the clothes off any of them.  
Q. [That] is when they were out on the ice?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What prevented them from picking their clothes up and putting them on?  
A. Because they did not mind whether they froze or not.  
Q. What did they do with the bodies when they got them back?  
A. They took them to the land and buried them in the stones on Camsell Island.  
Q. Were you present when the Doctor, Policeman and Minister opened the graves?

A. Yes.

Q. That was on April 14, 1941?

A. I was there when they took them out of the graves.

Q. Did you identify them?

A. Yes, I knew them all.

#### THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

The deposition of Nellie, Eskimo female, widow of Joe Oudlarok. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Nellie.

Q. Who was your father?

A. Kawtook.

Q. How old are you?

A. I don't know. (Court decides about 30)

Q. Were you living at the camp on Camsell Island last spring when some children and women were frozen to death?

A. Yes.

Q. Were these people frozen to death out on the ice?

A. Yes.

Q. Was ... a boy by the name of Johnasie one of them?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see these children and women going out on the ice?

A. Yes.

Q. Did anyone force them to go out on the ice?

A. They went out on the ice themselves. No one told them to do it.

Q. When they were on the ice what did they do?

A. They said that Jesus was coming.

Q. Who said that Jesus was coming?

A. Mina.

Q. Did these children and women take off their clothes on the ice?

A. They left their clothes close to the land.

Q. Did anyone tell them to leave their clothes close to the land?

A. Mina.

Q. Did Mina say that Jesus was coming?

A. She said that Jesus was coming and to hurry up and take off their clothes.

Q. Was it very cold that day or what was the weather like?

A. It was a fine day and not very cold.

Q. Was Mina excited that day when she said Jesus was coming?

A. I do not know. That is all she said, "Hurry up. Jesus is coming".

Q. When Mina said that Jesus was coming, did she shout?

- A. She was pointing to the sky and asking Jesus to come.  
Q. Did you see Mina taking the clothes off any of the children?  
A. I did not see her take the clothes off any of them.  
Q. Did you take your clothes off?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who told you to do that?  
A. Mina.  
Q. Who told you to take the clothes off Sarah?  
A. Mina.  
Q. How did you get back?  
A. I had Sarah on my back and I took her back because she was cold.  
Q. Did anyone interfere with you on the way back?  
A. No one met up with me.  
Q. Why did you not stay with the rest?  
A. Mina said that it did not matter to let them freeze.  
Q. Did you look for them afterwards?  
A. Out on the ice.  
Q. Were they alive?  
A. No.  
Q. Frozen?  
A. They were hard and frozen.  
Q. How many?  
A. Johnasie, Johnnie, Moses, Alec, Sarah, Mary Anne.  
Q. What did they do when they brought the bodies in?  
A. They put them on a sled and hauled them up to the land and buried them in the rocks.  
Q. Did you see them again when the graves were opened up?  
A. Yes, I was [with] her at this place.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Minna, Eskimo female, wife of Peter Sala. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Minna.  
Q. What is your age?  
A. I don't know. (Court decides about 25 years of age)  
Q. Were you living at the camp on Camsell Island last spring?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you present when some women and children went out on the ice?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Why did these people go out on the ice?

- A. They were told to do that.
- Q. Who told them to go?
- A. Mina.
- Q. Why did Mina tell them that?
- A. She said Jesus was coming.
- Q. What was Mina doing? Was she excited? What was she saying?
- A. She felt glad.
- Q. Was Mina making any signs with her hands?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What was she doing with her hands?
- A. She was beckoning Jesus to come.
- Q. Was she waving to the sky?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you believe Mina when she said Jesus was coming?
- A. We all believed.
- Q. Did Mina force you to go out on the ice, or did you go because you thought Jesus was coming?
- A. Mina told them to come[:] that is the reason we went.
- Q. Before you went on the ice did you do anything with your clothes?
- A. She told us to take them off and we took them off.
- Q. Did you leave some of your clothes on the land before you went out on the ice?
- A. We took our coats off on the ice along side a piece of rough ice.
- Q. Did they still have their pants on then?
- A. They took off their coats first and after getting a piece out they took off all their clothes[.]
- Q. Did Mina take her clothes off?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Why didn't your children come back?
- A. They couldn't come back[,] they got too cold.
- Q. When did you come back?
- A. I tried hard to get back. I had my boy Alec and I could not carry him as I had a small child also.
- Q. Did you suffer any ill effects from being out on the ice?
- A. My feet got frozen.
- Q. What kind of weather was it that day?
- A. It was fine and a very light wind.
- Q. Was it cold?
- A. The sun was hot.
- Q. Why did the children freeze?
- A. They got cold and could not walk.
- Q. Did you go out and look for the ones that did not get back?
- A. No.



- Q. Did you see any of the bodies?  
A. No, they did not bring them back to the camp. They buried them away.  
Q. How many of your children got frozen?  
A. One and Johnasie and [an] adopted boy.  
Q. When did you see them last?  
A. They were out on the ice and could not get back.  
Q. Did you see Alec when he was brought in before they buried him?  
A. I helped to bury Alec.  
Q. How long was it after they were out on the ice before they brought them in?  
A. A good while after Peter Sala [came] back from going up to Great Whale River.  
Q. Several days after?  
A. About 3 days after. I am not sure.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Sarah, Eskimo female, wife of Quarack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Sarah.  
Q. What is your husband's name?  
A. Quarack.  
Q. Were you at the camp at Camsell Island when some women and children were [frozen] to death?  
A. Yes, I went with them on the ice.  
Q. Did anyone tell you to go out on the ice?  
A. One or two of our children went and I went to tell them to come back again before they were frozen.  
Q. Who told the women and children to go out on the ice?  
A. Mina.  
Q. Why did Mina tell them [that]?  
A. She said Jesus was coming.  
Q. Was Mina making any signs when she said Jesus was coming?  
A. She was beckoning for Jesus to come and they were all doing that.  
Q. Before that day they went out on the ice did Mina tell them that Jesus was coming?  
A. The same day.  
Q. Did she tell them some days before that Jesus was coming?  
A. I did not [hear] her saying that until after they started to walk.  
Q. Was Mina excited that day?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you afraid of Mina?  
A. Yes.

- Q. Did you believe Mina when she said that Jesus was coming?  
A. I did not believe her. I went after her on account of my children.  
Q. Before they were out on the ice did they take off part of their clothes?  
A. Yes.  
Q. After they got to the ice did they take off the remainder of their clothing?  
A. After they got a good piece [out] on the ice they took off their clothes.  
Q. Did anyone take the clothing off the children?  
A. They took the clothing off themselves.  
Q. Did some of the women and children not return from the ice?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How many were frozen to death?  
A. Six.  
Q. Was Johnasie one of them?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How long afterwards did you see the bodies on the ice?  
A. Three days.  
Q. Did you help to bring the bodies in and bury them?  
A. I did not help.  
Q. When the women and children were first going out on the ice did Mina and you have a fight on the ice?  
A. We did not have a fight.  
Q. Did you try to stop your children from going out on the ice?  
A. I got a hold of the children and made them come back.  
Q. Who were trying to pull the clothes off the children?  
A. Mina and Kumudluk.  
Q. When you were on the ice, did Mina say anything?  
A. I did not hear her say anything. I was a long pi[e]ce back and calling for my children to come back.  
Q. Did you help to bring in the dead bodies?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see them when they came in?  
A. I did not see them. They had them buried before I went.  
Q. What was the weather like when all this happened out on the ice?  
A. It was a fine day. There was very little wind and the sun was hot.  
Q. How long were the people out on the ice from the time they went out until they were returned? How many hours?  
A. About midday when they went out and they did not come back until late in the evening.  
Q. Were the bodies frozen?  
A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Dr. T.J. Orford. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Thomas J. Orford.

Q. Are you a Coroner for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Registered Medical Practitioner?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Public Health Officer for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

The bodies of six Eskimos were identified by Moses in the presence of Corporal Kerr on Camsell Island on March 14th. after the [rocks] were removed and the bodies taken out and examined.

There were no signs of [external] wounds or violence. The bodies were frozen.

No internal examination was made owing to the frozen condition of the bodies.

The bodies were identified as:

Moses	aged	13
Alec	"	8
Johnsie	"	6
Johnnie	"	7
Kumudluk	"	32
Nukarak	"	55

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Mary Anne, Eskimo female, daughter of Quarack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Mary Anne.

Q. What is your Father's name?

A. Quarack.

Q. What is your age?

A. I don't know. (Court decides about 13 years of age)

Q. Were you at Camsell Island last spring?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see some of the Eskimo women and children being led out on the ice?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was leading or taking them out on the ice?

- A. Mina.
- Q. What was Mina saying to them?
- A. She was saying, “Jesus is coming”.
- Q. Was Mina making signs with her hands up to the sky?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What was she saying when making the signs?
- A. Asking for Jesus to come.
- Q. Did Mina say anything about Jesus coming before that day?
- A. I don’t know.
- Q. Was Mina very excited when she said that Jesus was coming and running around shouting for Jesus to come?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did these women and children take off their clothes while going out on the ice?
- A. They took off all their upper clothing.
- Q. Who took them off?
- A. Themselves.
- Q. Did anyone tell them to take their clothes off?
- A. Mina told them to take off their clothes.
- Q. Did you go with these people?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you take off any of your clothes?
- A. Mina told me to and tore some of them off. I took off my boots myself.
- Q. Why did you not take off the rest of your clothes the same as the others?
- A. I did not want to and Mina tore and pull[ed] some of them off and tore them.
- Q. Did you have anyone with you?
- A. I was carrying my baby sister.
- Q. Did you get back with your sister?
- A. My mother was on the ice calling for me to come and I gave the baby to mother.
- Q. Did you go out on the ice again?
- A. No, I stayed with my mother.
- Q. Did you help go out and find the ones that were lost?
- A. I went.
- Q. Which ones did you find?
- A. Moses, Johnasie, Johnnie, Alec, Mary and Sarah.
- Q. Four were young boys and two women?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What is the reason that they did not get back?
- A. They went off to find Jesus and they could not get back.
- Q. What happened to them?
- A. They got frozen and could not get back.
- Q. When did you go out and look for them? How long after they went out on the ice?

A. About 3 days after.

Q. What did you do with them?

A. Put them on a sled and hauled them to the land and buried them under the rocks.

Q. What kind of weather was it that day?

A. It was a fine day and very little wind. The sun was hot.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

PROSECUTION CLOSES

ACCUSED ADDRESSED BY JUSTICE, GIVEN STATUTORY WARNING, AND ASKED IF SHE WISHES TO MAKE A STATEMENT. (SEE STATEMENT OF ACCUSED APPENDED HERETO).

### D E F E N C E

ACCUSED COMMITTED IN CUSTODY FOR TRIAL AT THE NEXT SITTING OF THE COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION TO BE HELD AT BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T., ON OR ABOUT 12th OF AUGUST, 1941.

### **105. Statement of the Accused, of Mina, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 20, Sec. 684.

### **STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED**

*(Preliminary inquiry. Indictable offence.)*

#### **CANADA: Northwest Territories**

MINA, Eskimo female stands before me the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin, Esquire a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 31st. day of July in the year 1941, for that she the said Mina, Eskimo female on or about the 29th day of March A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did murder Johnasie, Eskimo male, aged about six years, contrary to Section 263 of [the] Criminal Code

and the said charge being read to the said Mina, Eskimo female and the witnesses for the prosecution

Moses, Eskimo male,  
Sarah, wife of Quarack.  
Minna, wife of Peter Sala,  
Mary, daughter of Quarack

Nellie, daughter of Kawtook  
Dr. T.J. Orford, M.D.

being severally examined in her presence, the said Mina, Eskimo female is now addressed by me as follows: “Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat.” Whereupon the said Mina, Eskimo female says as follows: I do not want to say anything.

[handwritten mark of Mina]

Taken before me at Belcher Islands in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**106. Warrant to Apprehend, regarding Mina, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941; Accompanied by Certificate of Execution, by Henry Kearney, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 6, Sec. 659.

**Warrant to Apprehend.**

**CANADA:  
Northwest Territories.**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories:*

WHEREAS Mina, Eskimo female of Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories has this day been charged upon oath before the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, for that she, on or about the 29th day of March A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did murder Johnasie, Eskimo male aged about six years, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU, in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said Mina, Eskimo female and to bring her before me (or some other Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories) to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

(Certificate of execution of within  
warrant to be endorsed here.)

I certify that I have executed the within warrant at 12.30 pm o'clock, Thursday the 31st day of July. AD 1941 at the Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

<H. Kearney>, Sergeant  
RCM Police

**107. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Mina, issued by Douglas J. Martin,  
31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code.  
Form 22, Sec. 690

**WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**  
*(Preliminary enquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA**  
**Northwest Territories**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M. Police, at Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories in the said Territories.*

WHEREAS Mina, Eskimo female was this day charged before me the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, and others, for that she the said Mina, Eskimo female on or about the 29th. day of March A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories did murder Johnasie, Eskimo male aged about six years, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Mina, Eskimo female and keep her in your custody at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. until she shall be thence delivered by due course of law. ...

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July in the year of our Lord 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*Justice.....of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**108. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex v. Charlie Ouyerack, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

THE KING

against

Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, for Murder

I, Corporal J.R. McFarland, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the stenographer appointed by D.J. Martin, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, to report the evidence in this matter.

2. The evidence so reported and transcribed by me is set out in the 8 sheets of paper hereto annexed, and the same is a true and faithful transcript of the said evidence as taken by me in shorthand in this matter.

<J. R. McFarland>

(J.R. McFarland)

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the Northwest Territories on this  
31st day of July in the year A.D. 1941.

<D. J. Martin>

(D.J. Martin), J.P. in  
and for the Northwest  
Territories.



**109. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

PROCEEDINGS OF PRELIMINARY HEARINGS HELD AT BELCHER ISLANDS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES BEFORE, Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, Justice of the Peace, this 31st day of July in the year A.D., 1941, in the case of Rex Vs OUYERACK, Eskimo male, charged with the murder of Alec EKPUK, Eskimo male, at TUKARAK Island, Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories, on or about the 9th day of February, A.D., 1941.

CHARGE READ TO THE ACCUSED. ACCUSED NOT ASKED TO PLEAD.

Harold UDGARDEN, Interpreter, duly sworn

P R O S E C U T I O N

DEPOSITION OF A WITNESS

(Preliminary Inquiry)

CANADA

Northwest Territories.

The deposition of Moses, Eskimo male, taken before the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Northwest Territories, this 31st day of July, in the year A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, in the presence and hearing of Charlie OUYERACK of Belcher Islands, who stands charged that he did on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941, at Tukarak Island, in the said Territories, murder Alec EkpuK, Contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Moses.

Q. How old are you?

A. 22 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarak Island where EkpuK was killed in February of this year?

A. Yes.

Q. What are the names of the other natives who were there?

- A. Peter Sala, Charlie, Sarah, wife of Quarack, myself, Quarack, Kumudluk, a female, Ekpuk.
- Q. Were there just 4 men?
- A. Four men and the 5th was killed.
- Q. What were the Natives doing at the camp?
- A. They were not doing anything. The[y] said that he was Satan and wanted to kill him.
- Q. Who said Ekpuk was Satan?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did Charlie say anything about Jesus coming?
- A. I did not hear him say anything.
- Q. Did Charlie say he was Jesus?
- A. I did not hear him say that.
- Q. Did the other Natives believe that Charlie was Jesus?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?
- A. Ekpuk believe[d] that Charlie was Jesus, but the others said that he was Satan and killed him.
- Q. Did you hear Charlie tell anyone to kill Ekpuk?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who did he tell to kill Ekpuk?
- A. Me.
- Q. Did you refuse to kill him?
- A. I would do it, but I didn't want to kill a person.
- Q. Did Charlie tell anyone else to kill Ekpuk?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who?
- A. Quarack.
- Q. Did Quarack shoot Ekpuk?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Quarack shoot Ekpuk?
- A. Yes, I saw him.
- Q. Tell us how Quarack shot Ekpuk?
- A. He was shot along the ice. He was walking when he shot him.
- Q. Was he told to walk out on the ice?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who told him?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did Charlie say anything to him?
- A. I do not know. I did not hear all that was said. I was working about the snow house.
- Q. Did you see Quarack aim and fire?

- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened when he fired?
- A. He hit him and he fell down.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. He fired another shot after he fell down.
- Q. What did he do then?
- A. He fired another shot.
- Q. Did you hear anybody tell him to fire these extra shots?
- A. No.
- Q. Did he stand still to fire the other shots?
- A. He went closer each time.
- Q. Was he closer when he fired the 3rd shot?
- A. He was closer when he fired the last shot.
- Q. Whose rifle did he use?
- A. His own.
- Q. Where did he get the ammunition?
- A. His own.
- Q. Did anybody hand him any ammunition?
- A. No.
- Q. Was he dead then?
- A. Yes, after the 3rd shot.
- Q. Did you look at him?
- A. Yes, I went to him a good while after he was dead.
- Q. He was still on the ice?
- A. He was lying the same way.
- Q. Did they bury him?
- A. They were glad after they killed him. They [buried] him in the snow of the igloo.
- Q. Who told them to bury him?
- A. Quarack.
- Q. Was Charlie beside Quarack when he was doing the shooting?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did he say anything?
- A. I did not hear him.
- Q. Did you put the rocks carefully on the body when you buried it?
- A. They threw the stones on the body.
- Q. Why did you throw the stones on[?]
- A. Because they thought he was Satan.
- Q. When did Peter Sala arrive[,] before Ekpuk was killed or after?
- A. After he was killed.
- Q. Did Peter Sala order him to be buried?
- A. I did not hear him say anything.

- Q. When Ekpuk was shot how long was it after Sarah and Keytowieack had been killed?
- A. A good while afterwards.
- Q. What do you me[a]n by a good while?
- A. I do not know how long.
- Q. (Pointing to Quarack) Is this the man that shot Ekpuk?
- A. Yes.
- Q. (Pointing to the Accused) Is this the man that you refer to as Charlie?
- A. Yes.

THE DEPOSITION OF SARAH, Eskimo female. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Sarah, wife of Quarack.
- Q. Were you living with Quarack on Tukarak Island when Ekpuk was killed?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What time of the year was Ekpuk killed?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Was it in the winter?
- A. It was early in the spring.
- Q. Did you know Ekpuk?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Charlie at the camp?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Charlie say he was Jesus?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Charlie want the Natives to do as he said because he was Jesus?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Ekpuk not want to do as Charlie said?
- A. He wanted to do what they wanted him to do, but he did not say he did.
- Q. Was Ekpuk afraid of Charlie?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Before Ekpuk was killed, did Ekpuk and the other Natives all meet in one igloo?
- A. The Natives were together outside of the snow house.
- Q. Was there a meeting in the morning or afternoon?
- A. About the middle of the day.
- Q. Did you hear Charlie say to Ekpuk, “Walk away and don’t turn around”?
- A. Charlie told him to go out on the ice and you will see something wonderful.
- Q. Did he do it?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. After he got a piece away they shot him.

- Q. Who shot him?  
A. Quarack.  
Q. What did he do after he shot once?  
A. He fired another shot.  
Q. Did he move to fire it?  
A. He went closer to him.  
Q. What happened to Ekpuk when he fired the first shot?  
A. It hit him and he fell down.  
Q. What else happened? Were there any more shots fired?  
A. He fired three shots--if I counted right.  
Q. Did Quarack move closer?  
A. He was moving up and the body was moving after the second shot and Quarack moved closer up to him and fired a third time.  
Q. Did the body move after that?  
A. No, they killed him.  
Q. Whose rifle did they use?  
A. His own.  
Q. What did they do after they knew he was dead?  
A. I do not know. I did not know what to think of it.  
Q. Did you see him after he was dead?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was the body out on the ice?  
A. He was close to the beach.  
Q. Did they bury him?  
A. They buried him amongst the stones, but I did not see them doing it.  
Q. Was this sometime after the shooting?  
A. They left him there for a good while.  
Q. Do you know why he was shot?  
A. They said that he was Satan.  
Q. Do you know who said that?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. How did the people feel after he was dead?  
A. They were told to be happy. They said he was Satan.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF EVA NAROOMI, Female Eskimo. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Eva Naroomi, widow of Alec Ekpuk.  
Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarak Island when your husband was killed?

- A. I was there, but I did not see him being murdered.
- Q. Do you know why your husband was killed?
- A. They said that he was satan?
- Q. Why did they say that?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Who was the first one to say that Ekpuk was Satan?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did Charlie say he was Jesus?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you believe that Charlie was Jesus?
- A. Yes, I believed it.
- Q. Did you hear anyone tell Quarack to shoot Ekpuk?
- A. I did not hear them.
- Q. Did you hear any shots fired?
- A. I did not.
- Q. Did you see the 3rd shot being fired?
- A. I saw him aim the 3rd time, but I turned my back.
- Q. Where was your father?
- A. He was close to him, but I did not look. I turned my back.
- Q. Did you hear the shot?
- A. I did not hear it.
- Q. Who told you your husband was dead?
- A. They went back to the snow house and I heard them say he was killed, but I don't know who said it.
- Q. After Ekpuk was killed was everyone glad?
- A. They told us all to be glad and we were glad.
- Q. Who told you that?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did you see the body afterwards?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you help bury it?
- A. I did not go because I did not want to see it.
- Q. Did they throw the rocks on it?
- A. Yes.
- Q. (Pointing to Quarack) Is that your father who shot Ekpuk?
- A. Yes.
- Q. (Pointing to Charlie Ouyerack) Is this Charlie?
- A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF PETER SALA, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Peter Sala.

Q. Did you go to the camp on Tukarak Island where Ekpuk was living?

A. I went after the killing.

Q. Did you see the body of Ekpuk after he was shot?

A. Yes.

Q. Whereabouts was Ekpuk shot? In which part of the body?

A. I did not see where he was hit. I was going to the body on the ice, but I did not get to see it.

Q. Was the body not buried when you arrived?

A. No.

Q. Did you help bury the body?

A. No, I was fixing up my snow house.

Q. Did you order them to bury it?

A. They did not bury it until I told them. It was me that told them to do it.

Q. Did they tell you why Ekpuk was killed?

A. Because he was Satan.

Q. Who told you that?

A. Charlie, because he was saying all the people were Satan.

Q. Do you know about when this killing took place?

A. It was sometime after New Years. It was after Sarah and Keytowieack had been killed. It was a good while after.

Q. Was it before you went to Great Whale River?

A. A good while.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF MARY, Eskimo female, daughter of Quarack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Mary Anne.

Q. Who is your father?

A. Quarack.

Q. How old are you?

A. I do not know. (Court decides about 15 years old)

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarak Island when Ekpuk was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Ekpuk being killed?

A. Yes.

- Q. Who killed him?  
A. My father, Quarack.  
Q. Why did he kill Ekpuk?  
A. He was not good.  
Q. Who said Ekpuk was bad?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did Charlie say that he was Jesus?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did the Natives all believe that Charlie was Jesus?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Will you tell the court how Ekpuk was killed?  
A. Ekpuk started to walk on the ice and after he got a piece they shot him.  
Q. Who told him to walk out on the ice?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did you hear what he said when he told him to walk out on the ice?  
A. Charlie told him to go out on the ice and he would get something good.  
Q. Did he walk?  
A. Yes.  
Q. When what happened?  
A. Quarack fired at him and he did not hit him right and he fell down. Charlie said that was not good. They fired another shot at him. They fired another shot.  
Q. Where was he when they fired the last shot?  
A. He was in the same place.  
Q. How far away from the body was Quarack when the last shot was fired?  
A. Not very far.  
Q. Did you see the body when it was dead?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see the wounds?  
A. I did not try to see them.  
Q. Did they bury the body?  
A. They threw the stones on it where it was.  
Q. What was the reason he was killed?  
A. Charlie said he was Satan.  
Q. Did the people rejoice afterwards?  
A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF ANAWAK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:



Q. What is your name?

A. Anawak.

Q. How old are you?

A. About 40 years old.

Q. Did you leave the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Tukarak Island and [go] to the camp where the body of Ekpuk was laying dead?

A. Yes, the Doctor, the Policeman, the Minister and myself.

Q. Who[se] body was it?

A. Ekpuk's.

Q. Did you know him and recognize him?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know Ekpuk before he was dead?

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Dr. Thomas J. Orford. The deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Thomas J. Orford.

Q. Are you a Coroner for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Registered Medical Practitioner?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Medical Health Officer for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us about the examination of the body of Ekpuk?

A. His body was identified by Anawak in the presence of Corporal Kerr. It was the body of a male Eskimo about 22 years of age.

The following wounds were found:

1. There was one wound about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in length with clean edges penetrating the scalp and skull about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches above and one inch behind the right ear.
2. There was a circular penetrating wound  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to the left of the spine at the level of the lower angle of the shoulder blade.
3. A circular penetrating wound two inches to the right of the spine at the level of the spine of the shoulder blade.
4. A wound extending about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in length with everted edges  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to the left of the breast bone on a level with the left nipple.
5. A wound which extended three [inches] to the left of the breast bone and two [inches] above the left nipple with a mushroomed bullet resting in the wound against the metal portion of the suspender.

6. A small perforating wound in the left groin three inches below and to the left of the Navel.

The holes in the clothing fitted perfectly over the body wounds.

Q. What wound would cause death?

A. The wound in the head would probably cause immediate death. Either of the wounds through the body would result in death.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

THE DEPOSITION OF BERTIE AKPAROK, ESKIMO MALE[.] The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Bertie.

Q. Did you hear about the death of Alec Ekpuk?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you note it down in your diary?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell us the date?

A. February 9, 1941.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Anne, Eskimo female, wife of Charlie Ouyerack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Anne.

Q. How old are you?

A. 24 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukerak [*sic*] Island at the time Alec Ekpuk was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. What time of the year was it?

A. In February, 1941.

Q. What were the Natives doing at that time?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did the Natives believe that Charlie, your husband, was Jesus?

A. They believed it. There was strong belief.

Q. Did Alec Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. He was just the same as the rest.

Q. Did someone say that [Alec] Ekpuk was Satan?

- A. Yes.
- Q. Who said that Alec Ekpuk was Satan?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did someone say that Alec Ekpuk should be killed because he was Satan?
- A. I did not hear anyone say that. I was away in another snow house.
- Q. Did you hear anyone tell Quarack to shoot Alec Ekpuk?
- A. I only heard them say, "Let us go out of the snow house".
- Q. Who said that?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did you see Alec Ekpuk being shot?
- A. Yes, I was going out of the snow house and I heard a shot.
- Q. Who was shooting?
- A. Quarack.
- Q. Quarack was shooting at who?
- A. At Alec Ekpuk.
- Q. What happened after he was fired at?
- A. They hit him and the Natives let out a yell.
- Q. What happened when he was dead?
- A. They fired three shots altogether.
- Q. Did the three shots kill him?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Where was he standing when he fired the third shot?
- A. Along side of the snow house. He was closer to the body.
- Q. Did you see him after he was dead?
- A. I saw the body on the ice. I did not see them bury it.
- Q. How long after did they bury it?
- A. The same day.
- Q. Did you help?
- A. No.
- Q. Did anybody say anything after he was dead?
- A. They said that he was Satan?
- Q. Were the people sad?
- A. No, they said that [there] was no use of him living.
- Q. Who said that?
- A. All the people at the camp.
- Q. Were they happy?
- A. They were glad.
- Q. Who told them to be happy?
- A. Charlie.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

PROSECUTION CLOSES

ACCUSED ADDRESSED BY JUSTICE, GIVEN STATUTORY WARNING AND ASKED IF HE WISHES TO MAKE A STATEMENT. (SEE STATEMENT OF ACCUSED APPENDED HERETO).

DEFENCE

ACCUSED COMMITTED IN CUSTODY FOR TRIAL AT THE NEXT SITTING OF THE COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION TO BE HELD AT BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T., ON OR ABOUT 12th of August, 1941.

**110. Statement of the Accused, of Charlie Ouyerack, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 20, Sec. 684.

**STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED**

*(Preliminary inquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories**

Charlie OUYERACK, Eskimo male stands before me the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 31st. day of July in the year 1941, for that he the said Charlie Ouyerack Eskimo male on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941 at Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands group in the Northwest Territories, did murder Alec EKPUK, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

and the said charge being read to the said Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male and the witnesses for the prosecution

Moses, Eskimo Male

Eva Naroomi, widow of Alec Ekpuk.

Sarah, wife of Quarack

Mary, daughter of Quarack

Peter Sala, Eskimo male

Anawak, Eskimo male

Bertie Akparok, Eskimo male

Dr. T.J. Orford, M.D.

being severally examined in his presence, the said Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male is now addressed by me as follows: “Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you

desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat.” Whereupon the said Charlie Ouyerack says as follows: I have nothing to say

[handwritten mark of Charlie Ouyerack]

Taken before me at Belcher Islands in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**111. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Charlie Ouyerack, issued by  
Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

Vide Criminal Code.  
Form 22, Sec. 690

**WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**  
*(Preliminary enquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA**  
**Northwest Territories**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M.Police at Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories in the said Territories.*

WHEREAS Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male was this day charged before me the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T., and others, for that he the said Charlie Ouyerack on or about the 9th. day of July A.D. 1941, at Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories did murder Alec Ekpuk, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male and keep him in your custody at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law. ...

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July in the year of our Lord 1941,  
at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]  
*Justice.....of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**112. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex vs.  
Peter Sala, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

THE KING  
against  
Peter Sala, Eskimo male, for Murder.

I, Corporal J.R. McFarland, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of  
Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the stenographer appointed by D.J. Martin, Esquire, one of  
His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, to report the  
evidence in this matter.

2. The evidence so reported and transcribed by me is set out in the 14 sheets  
of paper hereto annexed, and the same is a true and faithful transcript of the said  
evidence as taken by me in shorthand in this matter.

<J. R. McFarland>  
(J.R. McFarland)

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the Northwest Territories on this  
31st day of July in the year A.D. 1941.

<D. J. Martin>  
(D.J. Martin), J.P. in  
and for the Northwest  
Territories.

**113. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Peter Sala, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code.  
Form 22, Sec. 690

**WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**  
*(Preliminary enquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA**  
**Northwest Territories**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to Sergeant H. Kearney, R.C.M.Police, at Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories in the said Territories.*

WHEREAS Peter Sala, Eskimo male was this day charged before me the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of Sergeant Henry Kearney of R.C.M.Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T., and others, for that he the said Peter Sala on or about the 26th. day of January A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories did murder Keytowicack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Peter Sala, Eskimo male and keep him in your custody at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law [...].

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July in the year of our Lord 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

*<D. J. Martin> [SEAL]*  
*Justice.....of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**114. Oath of Stenographer, sworn by J. R. McFarland, in the case of Rex v. Quarack, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

THE KING  
against  
Quarack, Eskimo male, for Murder

I[,] Corporal J.R. McFarland, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am the stenographer appointed by D.J. Martin, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories, to report the evidence in this matter.

2. The evidence so reported and transcribed by me is set out in the 8 sheets of paper hereto annexed, and the same is a true and faithful transcript of the said evidence as taken by me in shorthand in this matter.

<J. R. McFarland>  
(J.R. McFarland)

Sworn before me at Belcher Islands  
in the Northwest Territories on this  
31st day of July in the year A.D. 1941.

<D. J. Martin>  
(D.J. Martin), J.P. in  
and for the Northwest  
Territories.

**115. Transcription, Proceedings of Preliminary Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Quarack, before Douglas J. Martin, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

PROCEEDINGS OF PRELIMINARY HEARINGS held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, Justice of the Peace, this 31st day of July in the Year, A.D., 1941, in the case of Rex Vs QUARACK, Eskimo male, charged with the murder of Alec EKPUK, Eskimo male, at Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands group, Northwest Territories, on or about the 9th day of February, A.D. 1941.

CHARGE READ TO THE ACCUSED. ACCUSED NOT ASKED TO PLEAD.

Harold Udgarden, Interpreter, duly sworn.

PROSECUTION

DEPOSITION OF A WITNESS

(Preliminary Inquiry)



CANADA

Northwest Territories.

The deposition of Moses, Eskimo male, taken before the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Northwest Territories, this 31st day of July, in the year A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, in the presence and hearing of QUARACK, Eskimo male, of Belcher Islands, who stands charged that he did on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941, at Tukarak Island, in the said Territories, murder Alec EKPUK, Contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Moses.

Q. How old are you?

A. 22.

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarak Island where Ekpuk was [k]illed in February of this year?

A. Yes.

Q. What are the names of the other natives who were there?

A. Peter Sala, Charlie, Sarah, wife of Quarack, myself, Quarack[,] Kumudluk, a female, Ekpuk.

Q. Were there just 4 men?

A. Four men and the 5th was killed.

Q. What were the Natives doing at the camp?

A. They were not doing anything. They said that he was Satan and wanted to kill him.

Q. Who said Ekpuk was Satan?

A. Charlie.

Q. Did Charlie say anything about Jesus coming?

A. I did not hear him say anything.

Q. Did Charlie say he was Jesus?

A. I did not hear him say anything.

Q. Did the other Natives believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. Ekpuk believed that Charlie was Jesus, but the others said that he was Satan and killed him.

Q. Did you hear Charlie tell anyone to kill Ekpuk?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did he tell to kill Ekpuk?

A. Me.

- Q. Did you refuse to kill Ekpuk?  
A. I would do it, but I didn't want to kill a person.  
Q. Did Charlie tell anyone to kill Ekpuk?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who?  
A. Quarack.  
Q. Did Quarack sho[o]t Ekpuk?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Quarack shoot Ekpuk?  
A. Yes, I saw him.  
Q. Tell us how Quarack shot Ekpuk?  
A. He was shot along the ice. He was walking when he shot him.  
Q. Was he told to walk out on the ice?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who told him?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did Charlie say anything to him?  
A. I do not know. I did not hear all that was said. I was working about the snow house.  
Q. Did you see Quarack aim and fire?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What happened when he fired?  
A. He fell down.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. He fired another shot after he fell down.  
Q. What did he do then?  
A. He fired another shot.  
Q. Did you hear anybody tell him to fire these extra shots?  
A. No.  
Q. Did he stand still to fire the other shots?  
A. He went closer each time.  
Q. Was he closer when he fired the 3rd shot?  
A. He was closer when he fired the last shot.  
Q. Whose rifle did he use?  
A. His own.  
Q. Where did he get the ammunition?  
A. His own.  
Q. Did anybody hand him any ammunition?  
A. No.  
Q. Was he dead then?  
A. Yes, after the 3rd shot.  
Q. Did you look at him?

- A. Yes, I went to him a good while after he was dead.  
Q. He was still on the ice?  
A. He was lying the same way.  
Q. Did they bury him?  
A. They were glad after they killed him. They buried him in the snow of the igloo.  
Q. Who told them to bury him?  
A. Quarack.  
Q. Was Charlie beside Quarack when he was doing the shooting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did he say anything?  
A. I did not hear him.  
Q. Did you put the rocks carefully on the body when you buried it?  
A. They threw the stones on the body.  
Q. Why did you throw the stones on?  
A. Because they thought he was Satan.  
Q. When did Peter Sala arrive[,] before Ekpuk was killed or after?  
A. After he was killed.  
Q. Did Peter Sala order him to be buried?  
A. I did not hear him say anything.  
Q. When Ekpuk was shot how long was it after Sarah and Keytowieack had been killed?  
A. A good while afterwards.  
Q. What do you mean by a good while?  
A. I do not know how long.  
Q. (Pointing to the Accused) Is this the man that shot Ekpuk?  
A. Yes.  
Q. (Pointing to Ouyerack) Is this the man that you refer to as Charlie?  
A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE  
DEPONENT

THE deposition of Sarah, Eskimo female. The said deponent saith on her oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Sarah, wife of Quarack.  
Q. Were you living with Quarack on Tukarak Island when Ekpuk was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What time of the year was Ekpuk killed?  
A. I do not know.  
Q. Was it in the winter?  
A. It was early in the spring.

- Q. Did you know Ekpuk?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did you see Charlie at the Camp?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did Charlie say he was Jesus?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did Charlie want the Natives to do as he said because he was Jesus?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Did Ekpuk not want to do as Charlie said?  
A. He wanted to do what they wanted him to do, but he did not say he did.
- Q. Was Ekpuk afraid of Charlie?  
A. Yes.
- Q. Before Ekpuk was killed, did Ekpuk and the other Natives all meet in one igloo?  
A. The Natives were together outside of the snow house.
- Q. Was there a meeting of the Natives in the morning or afternoon?  
A. About the middle of the day.
- Q. Did you hear Charlie say to Ekpuk, “Walk away and don’t turn around”?  
A. Charlie told him to go out on the ice and you will see something wonderful.
- Q. Did he do it?  
A. Yes.
- Q. What happened then?  
A. After he got a piece away they shot him.
- Q. Who shot him?  
A. Quarack.
- Q. What did he do after he shot once?  
A. He fired another shot.
- Q. Did he move to fire it?  
A. He went closer to hi[m].
- Q. What happened to Ekpuk when he fired the first shot?  
A. It hit him and he fell down.
- Q. What else happened? Were there any more shots fired?  
A. He fired three shots--if I counted right.
- Q. Did Quarack move closer?  
A. He was moving up and the body was moving after the second shot and Quarack moved closer up to him and fired a third time.
- Q. Did the body move after that?  
A. No, they killed hi[m].
- Q. Whose rifle did they use?  
A. His own.
- Q. What did they do after they knew he was dead?  
A. I do not know. I did not know what to think of it.
- Q. Did you see him after he was dead?

A. Yes.

Q. Was the body out on the ice?

A. He was close to the beach.

Q. Did they bury him?

A. They buried him amongst the stones, but I did not see them.

Q. Was this sometime after the shooting?

A. They left him there for a good while.

Q. Do you know why he was shot?

A. They said that he was Satan.

Q. Do you know who said that?

A. Charlie.

Q. How did the people feel after he was dead?

A. They were told to be happy. They said he was Satan.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Eva Naroomi, female Eskimo. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Eva Naroomi, widow of Alec Ekpuk.

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarak Island when your husband was killed?

A. I was there, but I did not see him being murdered.

Q. Do you know why your husband was killed?

A. They said that he was Satan.

Q. Why did they say that?

A. I do not know.

Q. Who was the first one to say that Ekpuk was Satan?

A. I think that it was Charlie.

Q. Did Charlie say he was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. Yes, I believed it.

Q. Did you believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear anyone tell Quarack to shoot Ekpuk?

A. I did not hear them.

Q. Did you hear any shots fired?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you see the third shot being fired?

- A. I saw him aim the third time, but I turned my back.  
Q. Where was your father?  
A. He was close to him, but I did not look. I turned my back.  
Q. Did you hear the shot?  
A. I did not hear it.  
Q. Who told you your husband was dead?  
A. They went back to the snow house and I heard them say he was killed, but I don't know who said it.  
Q. After Ekpuk was killed was everyone glad?  
A. They told us all to be glad and we were glad.  
Q. Who told you that?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did you see the body afterwards?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you help bury it?  
A. I did not go because I did not want to see it.  
Q. Did they throw the rocks on it?  
A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The Deposition of Peter Sala, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Peter Sala.  
Q. Did you go to the camp on Tukarak Island where Ekpuk was living?  
A. I went after the killing.  
Q. Did you see the body of Ekpuk after he was shot?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Whereabouts was Ekpuk shot? In which part of the body?  
A. I did not see where he was hit. I was going to the body on the ice, but I did not get to see it.  
Q. Was the body not buried when you arrived?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you help bury the body?  
A. No, I was fixing up my snow house.  
Q. Did you order them to bury it?  
A. They did not bury it until I told them. It was me that told them to do it.  
Q. Did they tell you why Ekpuk was killed?  
A. Because he was Satan.  
Q. Who told you that?

A. Charlie because he was saying all the people were Satan.

Q. Do you know about when this killing took place?

A. It was sometime after New Years. It was after Sarah and Keytowieack had been killed. It was a good while after.

Q. Was it before you went to Great Whale River?

A. A good while.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Mary, Eskimo female, daughter of Quarack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Mary Anne.

Q. Who is your Father?

A. Quarack.

Q. How old are you?

A. I do not know. (Court decides about 15 years old)

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarak Island when Ekpuk was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Ekpuk being killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Who killed him?

A. My father, Quarack.

Q. Why did he kill Ekpuk?

A. He was not good.

Q. Who said Ekpuk was bad?

A. Charlie.

Q. Did Charlie say that he was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the Natives all believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell the court how Ekpuk was killed?

A. Ekpuk started to walk on the ice and after he got a piece they shot him.

Q. Who told him to walk out on the ice?

A. Charlie.

Q. Did you hear what he said when he told him to walk out on the ice?

A. Charlie told him to go out on the ice and he would get something good.

Q. Did he walk?

A. Yes.

Q. Then what happened?

A. Quarack fired at him and he did not hit him right and he fell down. Charlie said that was not good. They fired another shot at him. They fired another shot.

Q. Where was he when they fired the last shot?

A. He was in the same place.

Q. How far away from the body was Quarack when the last shot was fired?

A. Not very far.

Q. Did you see the body when it was dead?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see the wounds?

A. I did not try to see them.

Q. Did they bury the body?

A. They threw the stones on it where it was.

Q. What was the reason he was killed?

A. Charlie said he was Satan.

Q. Did the people rejoice afterwards?

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Anawak, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Anawak.

Q. How old are you?

A. About 40 years old.

Q. Did you leave the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Tukarak Island and go to the camp where the body of Ekpuk was lying dead?

A. Yes, the Doctor, the Policeman, the Minister and myself.

Q. Who[se] body was it?

A. Ekpuk.

Q. Did you know him and recognize him?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know Ekpuk before he was dead?

A. Yes.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Dr. Thomas J. Orford. The deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Thomas J. Orford.



Q. Are you a Coroner for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Registered Medical Practitioner?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Medical Health Officer for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us about the examination of the body of Ekpuk?

A. His body was identified by Anawak in the presence of Corporal Kerr. It was the body of a male Eskimo about 22 years of age.

The following wounds were found:

1. There was one wound about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in length with clean edges penetrating the scalp and skull about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches above and one inch behind the right ear.
2. There was a circular penetrating wound  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to the left of the spine at the level of the lower angle of the shoulder [blade].
3. A circular penetrating wound two inches to the right of the spine at the level of the spine of the shoulder blade.
4. A wound extending about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in length with everted edges  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to the left of the breast bone on a level with the left nipple.
5. A wound which extended three inches to the left of the breast bone and two inches above the left nipple with a mushroomed bullet resting in the wound against the metal portion of the suspender.
6. A small perforating wound in the left groin three inches below and to the left of the Navel.

The holes in the clothing fitted perfectly over the body wounds.

Q. What wound would cause death?

A. The wound in the head would probably cause immediate death. Either of the wounds through the body would result in death.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Bertie AKPAROK, Eskimo male. The said deponent saith on his oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Bertie Akparok.

Q. Did you hear about the death of Alec Ekpuk?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you note it down in your diary?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell us the date?

A. February 9, 1941.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT.

The deposition of Anne, Eskimo female, wife of Charlie Ouyerack. The said deponent saith on her oath:

Q. What is your name?

A. Anne.

Q. How old are you?

A. 24 years old.

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarak Island at the time Alec Ekpuk was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. What time of the year was it?

A. In February, 1941.

Q. What were the Natives doing at that time?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did the Natives believe that Charlie, your husband, was Jesus?

A. They believed it. There was strong belief.

Q. Did Alec Ekpuk believe that Charlie was Jesus?

A. He was just the same as the rest.

Q. Did someone say that Alec Ekpuk was Satan?

A. [Y]es.

Q. Who said that Alec Ekpuk was Satan?

A. Charlie.

Q. Did someone say that Alec Ekpuk should be killed because he was Satan?

A. I did not hear anyone say that. I was away in another snow house.

Q. Did you hear anyone tell Quarack to shoot Alec Ekpuk?

A. I only heard them say, "Let us go out of the snow house".

Q. Who said that?

A. Charlie.

Q. Did you see Alec Ekpuk being shot?

A. Yes, I was going out of the snow house and I heard a shot.

Q. Who was shooting?

A. Quarack.

Q. Quarack was shooting at who?

A. At Alec Ekpuk.

Q. What happened after he was fired at?

A. They hit him and the Natives let out a yell.

Q. What happened when he was dead?

A. They fired three shots altogether.

Q. Did the three shots kill him?

A. Yes.

Q. Where was he standing when he fired the third shot?

- A. Along side of the snow house. He was closer to the body.  
Q. Did you see him after he was dead?  
A. I saw the body on the ice. I did not see them bury it.  
Q. How long after did they bury it?  
A. The same day.  
Q. Did you help?  
A. No.  
Q. Did anybody say anything after he was dead?  
A. They said that he was Satan.  
Q. Were the p[e]ople sad?  
A. No, they said that there was no use of him living.  
Q. Who said that?  
A. All the people at the camp.  
Q. Were they happy?  
A. They were glad.  
Q. Who told them to be happy?  
A. Charlie.

THE ACCUSED DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE  
DEPONENT.

PROSECUTION CLOSES

ACCUSED ADDRESSED BY JUSTICE, GIVEN STATUTORY  
WARNING, and ASKED IF HE WISHES TO MAKE A STATEMENT. (SEE  
STATEMENT OF ACCUSED APPENDED HERETO).

#### DEFENCE

ACCUSED COMMITTED IN CUSTODY FOR TRIAL AT THE NEXT  
SITTING OF THE COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION TO BE HELD  
AT BELCHER ISLANDS, N.W.T., ON OR ABOUT 12th of AUGUST, 1941.

#### **116. Statement of the Accused, of Quarack, before Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code  
FORM 20, Sec. 684.

#### **STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED**

*(Preliminary inquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA:**

**Northwest Territories**

QUARACK, Eskimo male stands before me the undersigned, Douglas J. Martin, Esquire a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 31st. day of July in the year 1941, for that he the said Quarack Eskimo male on or about the 9th day of February A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, did unlawfully murder Alec Keytowieack, also known as Alec Ekpuk, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code

and the said charge being read to the said Quarack, Eskimo male and the witnesses for the prosecution

Moses, Eskimo male

Peter Sala, Eskimo male

Eve Naroomi, Widow of Alec Ekpuk.

Anawak, Eskimo male

Sarah, wife of Quarack.

Bertie Akparok, Eskimo male

Mary, daughter of Quarack.

Dr. T.J. Orford, M.D.

being severally examined in his presence, the said Quarack, Eskimo male is now addressed by me as follows: “Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat.” Whereupon the said Quarack says as follows: That is alright; I have nothing to say.

[handwritten mark of Quarack]

Taken before me at Belcher Islands in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

<D.J. Martin> [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**117. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Quarack, issued by Douglas J. Martin, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Vide Criminal Code.  
Form 22, Sec. 690

**WARRANT OF COMMITMENT**  
*(Preliminary enquiry. Indictable offence.)*

**CANADA**  
**Northwest Territories**

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to Sergeant Henry Kearney, R.C.M. Police at Belcher Islands, Northwest Territories in the said Territories.*

WHEREAS Quarack, Eskimo male was this day charged before me the undersigned Douglas J. Martin, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of Corporal William Grant Kerr of R.C.M. Police, Belcher Islands, N.W.T., and others, for that he the said Quarack, Eskimo male on or about the 9th. day of February A.D. 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories did murder Alec Ekpuk (also known as Alec Keytowieack) contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Quarack, Eskimo male and keep him in your custody at Belcher Islands, N.W.T. until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law [...].

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 31st. day of July in the year of our Lord 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

*<D.J. Martin> [SEAL]  
Justice.....of the Peace in and for the Northwest Territories.*

**118. Oath of Office of Charles P. Plaxton, Judge of the Ontario Supreme Court and Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the Northwest Territories, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 935, file 12409

**OATH OF OFFICE**

"I, Charles Percy Plaxton, do solemnly and sincerely promise and swear that I will duly and faithfully, and to the best of my skill and knowledge, execute the powers and trusts reposed in me as a stipendiary magistrate of the Northwest Territories. So help me God."

<C. P. Plaxton>

SWORN and subscribed before  
me at Ottawa  
this 31<sup>st</sup> day of July  
July, A.D., 1941.

<R. A. Gibson>  
Deputy Commissioner.

**119. Letter, R. A. Gibson to W. Stuart Edwards, Deputy Minister of Justice,  
Ottawa, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 935, file 12409

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

OFFICE OF THE  
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
CANADA

OTTAWA

Copy for the information  
of Mr. Cumming

July 31, 1941.

Dear Mr. Edwards,

Chief Justice Plaxton, who took the oath as Stipendiary Magistrate for the Northwest Territories this morning before me here, told me that he would like to retain his commission as a souvenir. I told him that his request would be referred to you but that I thought it was necessary to return the commissions when the same were cancelled. If he cannot keep the original commission he would like to have a copy of it.

Yours very truly,  
<R. A. Gibson>

R.A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**120. Newspaper Clipping, "To Hear Eskimo Trial," *Victoria Times*, 31 July 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**To Hear Eskimo Trial**

OTTAWA (CP) – Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton of the Supreme Court of Ontario today was sworn in as stipendiary magistrate of the Northwest Territories previous to departure for Belcher Islands, where he will preside at the trial of three Eskimos for murder.

The judicial party, which will include R. M. Olmsted, who will act for the Crown, and J. P. Madden, defence counsel, will leave Ottawa tonight and will board a vessel at Moosonee for the remote islands in the Hudson Bay beyond James Bay.

**121. Newspaper Clipping, "Eskimo Trials In Mass Death Start Shortly," *Sydney Post-Record*, 1 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**Eskimo Trials In Mass Death Start Shortly**

OTTAWA, Aug. 1—(CP)—Out of a hard, barren land came Mina, Ablaykok and Peter Quarack, three Eskimos who have been in Royal Canadian Mounted Police custody since March and who will face trial about Aug. 9 for murder at their lonely Belcher Island homeland.

They were charged after fragmentary reports of violence on the Hudson Bay Island filtered through by radio from the north and sent an R.C.M.P. airplane on a 1,000-mile flight from Ottawa last March.

The police party learned of long debates over interpretation of religious matters which developed in the Eskimo encampments during the long, dark winter days.

**NINE PERSONS DEAD**

The discussion raged with increasing heat until violence occurred, and when the fury passed nine persons—men, women and children—were dead. Some died of bullet wounds, others were beaten to death and some, including four children, were driven naked into the snow and there perished.

When the ice of Hudson Bay began to crumble the ski-equipped police plane was forced to leave, carrying the three Eskimos charged with murder. The police told the natives they would return and see others suspected of being implicated in the killings.

#### FURTHER INVESTIGATION

Not until late July was it possible for the R.C.M.P. plane to leave Ottawa again for the north. It had to wait until there was assurance that floating ice would have disappeared from bays of Belcher Islands where the machine would land.

Under command of Inspector D. J. Martin, the police party has questioned further suspects and witnesses who could not be reached in March. They were left behind at that time after giving absolute assurance they would be on hand when the officers returned.

Travel over the ice from Belcher Island to Great Whale River[,] the nearest mainland post, is possible for only about six weeks of the year, and the Eskimo boats are too frail to permit a water crossing.

The Eskimo population of the scattered island has been estimated at 150 and their ancestors probably saw Henry Hudson's ship in 1610.

Since white men left the islands severely alone for centuries, kept off by the dreary, rocky shores, the Eskimos' knowledge of white men was gathered during their hasty visits over the ice to Great Whale to barter skins and walrus ivory, and when the occasional trader or missionary visited them.

Twenty one years ago the Belcher Islanders learned something of Canada's mounted police. At that time their quarrels over religious matters led to the slaying of two persons because other members of the tribe considered their conduct immoral.

A police party visited the islands, made a thorough investigation and brought the accused to trial. The jury of police boat crew members recommended leniency and after the gravity of their offence had been made clear to them by the presiding officer they were allowed to remain on the islands. Had they been taken away their families probably would have died of hunger.

The only variation from the [meat] diet obtained by hunting is fruit-berries gathered in moss for a few weeks during the summer months. Survival of the Belcher Island Eskimos has always depended on being able to find and kill seal, fish or birds for food and clothing.

Major disaster in the known history of the Belcher Islands came about 50 years ago when the Caribou herds which used to provide ample food disappeared.



The Eskimos have a story that after warm weather there came a severe frost which placed a glaze of ice over all the moss on the Islands, and the caribou starved.

**122. Police Report, George E. Dexter, regarding Alleged Murders – Belcher Islands, N.W.T., 3 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

F. 237

Division File No. 41 T 1800/115.

“G” Div. 41 G 636-1.

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Division “O”	Sub-Division -	Detachment Moose Factory
Province ONTARIO.		Date August 3, 1941.
File References	Re:	Alleged Murders – <u>Belcher Islands, N.W.T.</u>
Headquarters	41 D 636-13-L-1.	
Detachment	MF 174.	

23-7-41.

1. On this date Police Aircraft CF-MPF arrived at Moose Factory 5.20 P.M. with police party in charge of Insp. D.J. Martin. The party remained overnight at this point.

24-7-41.

2. On this date CF-MPF left Moose Factory with Police party for Fort George, P.Q., where Dr. T.J. Orford was picked up and patrol continued on the Belcher Islands to conclude investigation and conduct preliminary hearings.

26-7-41.

3. On this date aircraft CF-MPF returned to Moose Factory arriving 4.30 P.M. to pick up Eskimo prisoners and Cpl. McFarlane for return to the Belcher Islands.

28-7-41.

4. On this date aircraft CF-MPF left Moose Factory 1.00 P.M. with Cpl. McFarlane and three Eskimo prisoners for Belcher Islands.

2-8-41.

5. On this date Insp. D.J. Martin and Dr. T.J. Orford returned to Moose Factory with aircraft CF-MPF arriving 12 noon. The party remained until 2.00 P.M. when they continued patrol south to Kapuskasing, Ont., where it is believed they were to have some repairs done to the plane. Dr. Orford remained at Moose Factory.

6. At 7.45 P.M. this date the following telegram was received from the O.C. "G" Division:

Cst. I/C Moose Factory Det.,  
R.C.M. Police.

Ottawa, August 2, 1941.

ADVISE INSP. MARTIN NASCOPIE DELAYED WILL NOT ARRIVE  
CHURCHILL BEFORE AUGUST 17.

Sgd. O.C. "G" Div.

The following telegram was immediately despatched to Insp. Martin c/o the Kapuskasing Inn, Kapuskasing, Ont.

Insp. D.J. Martin,  
R.C.M. Police,  
c/o Kapuskasing Inn,  
KAPUSKASING.

Moosonee, August 2, 1941.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM O.C. "G" DIVISION ADVISING  
NASCOPIE DELAYED STOP WILL NOT ARRIVE CHURCHILL BEFORE  
AUG. 17.

Sgd. Dexter.

7. The judicial party arrived at Moosonee this 6.00 P.M. headed by Mr. Justice Plaxton. The party were conveyed to Moose Factory where they will be staying at the Hudson's Bay Company staff house until the departure of the company boat "Fort Charles", on the 5th. [or] 6th. of August.

8. Further report will be submitted in due course.

PROSECUTIONS ENTERED.  
CARRIED FORWARD.

<G. E. Dexter> Cst.  
(G.E. Dexter) Reg. No. 11776.  
I/C Moose Factory Detachment.

THE O.C. "G" Div.

FORWARDED for your information in duplicate.  
COPIES to the Commissioner. CARRIED FORWARD.

Toronto  
8-8-41

(F.W. Schutz) Insp.  
I/C C.I.B.

THE COMMISSIONER:

1.       FORWARDED for your information.

Embodied hereunder is copy of telegram received from the Cst. i/c Moose Factory dated the 5th instant:-

“ MR. JUSTICE PLAXTON HAS REQUESTED THAT I ACCOMPANY  
PARTY TO BELCHERS TO ACT COURT ORDERLY STOP LEAVING  
ONE THIRTY PM THIS DATE STOP DUE TO SHORT NOTICE  
WILL BE RENDERED UPON RETURN. ”

DEXTER

2.

Cst. Baxter who had been sent to Moose Factory for the purpose of assisting in guarding the Eskimo prisoners and the Police plane has now returned. It is not proposed to send another man to Moose Factory Det. in Cst. Dexter's absence, as it is felt that Special/Cst. Turner is quite capable of carrying on.

CARRIED FORWARD.

Toronto  
8-8-41

(V.A.M. Kemp) Supt.  
Comdg. "O" Div.

**123. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, Fur Trade Department,  
Hudson's Bay Company, Manitoba, 4 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Copy for the information of Mr. Cumming.

OTTAWA

August 4, 1941.

AIR MAIL

Dear Sir:

About nine o'clock on Saturday night Mr. Thomas Green, local representative of the Toronto Star, called me on the telephone to say that their special representative, William Kinmond, who had been assigned to cover the Belcher Islands

trial had been refused passage by the Captain of your boat which is transporting the Government party.

I tried to get you on the telephone but was unsuccessful and so I wired you as follows:

"Toronto Star advises your boat Captain Nielson at Moosonee refuses passage to William Kinmond their representative for whom transportation to Belcher Islands arranged by us. Please straighten this out with your Captain."

While I have not heard from you directly, I am advised by the telegraph company that the message was delivered so I presume action is being taken. The time before the departure of the boat is short and unfortunately a holiday intervenes. In this connection please see my air mail letter of the first instant to Mr. Chesshire notifying him that Mr. McCook, a representative of the Canadian Press, and Mr. Kinmond, a representative of the Toronto Star, had been included in the Government party.

Yours very truly,

*<R. A. Gibson>*

R. A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

124. Telegram, R. A. Olmsted, Crown Prosecutor, Department of Justice, to R. A. Gibson, 4 August 1941

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

#### CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

1941 AUG 4 PM 12 44

A219 32 DL 4 EXTRA VIA COCHRANE=MOOSONEE ONT 4 1200P

R A GIBSON= OR E M DENNIS

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES ADMINISTRATION OTTAWA ONT=

JUDGE PLAXTON REQUIRES THAT IF POLICE PLANE LEAVES OTTAWA PRIOR TWELFTH TAKE DOCTOR ORFORD MOOSE FACTORY TO BELCHER ISLAND ALL FILES RECENTLY LOANED TO ME AND RETURNED BE FORWARDED=

R A OLMSTEAD.

**125. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 4 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Copy for the information of

Mr. Cumming

OTTAWA

August 4, 1941.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a telegram from Moosonee, bearing today's date, addressed to me by Mr. R.A. Olmstead, Crown Prosecutor in the Belcher Islands murder cases, which reads:

"Judge Plaxton requires that if Police plane leaves Ottawa prior twelfth take Doctor Orford Moose Factory to Belcher Island all files recently loaned to me and returned be forwarded".

Will you please let me know whether your plane is taking Dr. Orford from Moose Factory to Belcher Islands.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R.A Gibson

Deputy Commissioner.

**126. Newspaper Clipping, "Seven Eskimos to Stand Trial on Murder Count; Judicial Party Starts Off For Far North Scene of Violence," *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**Seven Eskimos to Stand Trial on Murder Count**

**Judicial Party Starts Off For Far North Scene of Violence**

MOOSE FACTORY, Ont., Aug. 4-(C. P.)-Enroute to Belcher Islands to start the trial of three Eskimos charged with murder following death of nine persons by violence on the islands in February, the judicial party learned on arrival here Saturday that seven Eskimos now are charged with murder.

The accused will appear before Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton at the islands within the next 10 days.

Mina, Ablaykok and Peter Quarack were arrested last March and the other four were taken into [custody] when police returned to the islands 10 days ago to resume inquiries into the deaths. The first arrests were made after fragmentary reports of violence on the Hudson Bay island filtered through by radio from the north and sent an R.C.M.P. airplane on a 1,000-mile flight from Ottawa last March.

## RELIGIOUS DEBATES

The police party learned of long debates over interpretation of religious matters which developed in Eskimo [encampments] during the long winter days.

Reports reaching here gave further details of religious disputes which precipitated the violence. Two of the male accused, Charley and Peter Salla, are alleged to have set themselves up as leaders with divine powers after the islanders had long discussed the possible second coming of Christ at an early date.

In February, some of the islanders decided that a few others were evil, according to their beliefs, and four adults and a girl were killed by shooting, clubbing, stabbing by a harpoon or exposure. Four children driven into the snow naked also died. The violence spread from encampment to encampment during the winter and those considered evil were attacked by other Eskimos, it is alleged.

All the southern section of the island population, about 70 persons, was affected by the dispute.

A trial will be held in a large tent on the island and it is expected all the Eskimos of the district will attend. The judicial party leaves Moose Factory by boat August 5.

Inspector D. J. Martin of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in charge of police, and Dr. T. J. Orford, of the Indian Affairs Department, have returned south after completing investigations and making final arrests. Two policemen remain on the island with the prisoners.

Mina, Ablaykok and Peter Quarack, held by police residents here, quickly adapted themselves to comforts of the white man's way of life. They delighted in the abundance of food and the candy and other sweets which could be obtained. Peter Quarack and Ablaykok, the two men who were brought south, lived in a tent near the R.C.M.P. building here during the day and were placed in a cell at night.

Mina, the Eskimo woman, adapted herself to the ways of the white people until she suffered a mental disturbance and was taken to Toronto for observation.

## THEIR OWN QUARREL

Ready to accept intervention of the police, the natives still take the position that the quarrel was within their own community where all things are common property and the wrong-doer is liable to punishment by the group. They calmly await the due process of the law.

The trial will be conducted along lines similar to those of any city in Canada. R. A. Olmstead, acting for the Crown, and J. P. Madden for the defence, will appear in “winged” collars and black gowns while the judge will wear the robes of his office. R. C. M. P. officers will act as court officials and the interpreter will translate what is said to the accused and the assembled natives.

**127. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Thomas Green, representative of the *Toronto Daily Star*, Parliamentary Press Gallery, Ottawa, 5 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Copy for the information  
of Mr. Cumming

OTTAWA

August 5, 1941.

Dear Mr. Green,

I telephoned you this morning to say that I had received a wire from Mr. Bonnycastle who at present is in charge of the Fur Department of the Hudson's Bay Company at Winnipeg, reading as follows:

“Have wired Moosonee re Kinmond regret misunderstanding which arose there.”

No doubt Mr. Bonnycastle has been in touch with Moosonee and has straightened out the difficulties whatever they may have been.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R.A. Gibson,

Deputy Commissioner.

128. Telegraph, R. H. G. Bonnycastle to R. A. Gibson, 5 August 1941

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

CANADIAN PACIFIC  
TELEGRAPHS

HB WINNIPEG MAN AUG 5 933A

R A GIBSON

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER ADMINISTRATION [OF] THE  
NORTHWEST TERR

OTTAWA

HAVE WIRED MOOSONEE RE KINMOND REGRET  
MISUNDERSTANDING WHICH AROSE THERE

R H G BONNICASSTLE

1104A

129. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 5 August 1941

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

12003

5th August, 1941.

ATTENTION - Superintendent K. Duncan.

Dear Sir,-

Re - Trial of Belcher Islands Eskimos.

Your File - 41 D 636-13-L-1.

I acknowledge with thanks your letter of the 31st ultimo and enclosure, from which it is noted that Dr. C. B. Farrar, Director, Toronto Psychiatric Hospital, furnished a medical certificate on the physical and mental condition of Eskimo prisoner "Mina" for use at her trial if it is required.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R. A. Gibson,

Deputy Commissioner.



**130. Letter, R. H. G. Bonnycastle to R. A. Gibson, 6 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

**HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE**

FUR TRADE  
DEPARTMENT

WINNIPEG August 6, 1941.

Dear Mr. Gibson:

I received your letter of 4th August about Mr. Kinmond, the Toronto Star representative yesterday, and your wire of 2nd August arrived Saturday night. I was out of town when your wire arrived, but it was telephoned to Mr. Robertson, the Fur Trade Controller, and he immediately wired Captain Neilson at Moosonee instructing him to arrange for Mr. Kinmond's accommodation. We were closed here on Monday, hence the delay in communicating with you.

I am extremely sorry that this misunderstanding has occurred, and I know Mr. Chesshire will be also. He left for his trip to Labrador and Hudson Strait on Friday.

I think the trouble arose in the first place when the Canadian Press got in touch with us and asked us to arrange for accommodation for their own representative. We managed to do this after considerable difficulty, not realising that they were included in the Government party. They, themselves, apparently did not realise that they were to be included either. Later on, they discovered they were members of the Government party and advised us, and later still, Mr. Kinmond was in touch with us and informed us he was a member of the party. This occasioned Mr. Chesshire's wire to you asking for details of the number to be included in the party.

Unfortunately, the party then arrived at Moosonee before our final advice about the composition of the party which was contained in your letter of 1st August.

As I say, we all regret the trouble which has been caused, and our apologies are due to you and to Mr. Kinmond.

Yours faithfully,

For the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY,

<R. H. G. Bonnycastle>  
R.H.G. Bonnycastle,  
Fur Trade Department.

**131. Letter, W. Stuart Edwards to John Grierson, Film Commissioner,  
National Film Board, Ottawa, 7 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Ottawa, August 7, 1941.

Dear Mr. Grierson,

Re: Eskimo Trial, Belcher Islands.

Referring to your conversation with me this morning, I may say that the Minister of Justice has no objection to your Board making a film of the trial, provided this is done with the consent and subject to such restrictions as may be imposed by the Judge so that it will not in any way interject any interference into the smooth and proper conduct of the trial or cause any embarrassment or disturbance to witnesses or others. It is further understood that no part of the cost will be chargeable to this Department, and that the film is for purposes of the archives and not for public distribution.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) W. STUART EDWARDS  
D.M.J.

**132. Letter, Superintendent K. Duncan, Assistant Director of Criminal  
Investigation, R.C.M.P., to R. A. Gibson, 7 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

OTTAWA, August 7, 1941.  
CANADA

Sir:

Re: Alleged Murders - Belcher  
Islands, N. W. T.

Receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in which you embodied copy of telegram from Mr. R. A. Olmstead, is acknowledged.

2. It is regretted that the R. C. M. Police plane will not be available to take Dr. Orford from Moose Factory to Belcher Islands. I understand that Assistant Commissioner Caulkin advised you to this effect in a recent telephone conversation with you.

Yours truly,

<K. Duncan>  
K. Duncan, Supt.,  
Assistant Director,

Criminal Investigation.

**133. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, 7 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

Copy for the information  
of Mr. Cumming

OTTAWA

August 7, 1941.

Dear Mr. Bonnycastle,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your message of the 5th instant reading –  
“Have wired Moosonee re Kinmond regret misunderstanding which arose there.”

This information was passed along to the local representative of the Toronto Star. However, I have since learned from the local representative of the Canadian Press that your captain has asked the press representatives to pay for their meals while on this trip. In this connection I would ask you to refer to the correspondence with Mr. R.H. Chesshire, and particularly my letter of the 11th June which confirmed discussion which Mr. Chesshire and I had had with the Deputy Minister of Justice and officers of the R.C.M.P. here. It was made clear in that letter that you would be asked to transport and provide for a party of seven, that is, you would look after everything and that the charge to the Department would be \$500.00. This was confirmed by Mr. Chesshire's letter of the 16th of June. The government party, which includes the two newspaper men, who will probably be required as members of the jury, numbers five not seven, and of course we will pay the \$500.00 contracted, but this covers all necessary transportation and sustenance for the government party.

While the difficulty of arranging these matters at long range is appreciated, it does seem unfortunate that any misunderstanding has occurred with regard to these newspaper men. Will you please straighten it out as promptly as possible.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R.A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**134. Newspaper Clipping, James McCook, “The Law Reaches Into Hudson Bay; Belcher Eskimos A Lonely People,” *Calgary Herald*, 7 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**The Law Reaches Into Hudson Bay**

**Belcher Eskimos A Lonely People**

By James McCook  
(Canadian Press Staff Writer)

OTTAWA, Aug. 7—Even for Eskimos, the natives on Belcher Islands in Hudson Bay are a lonely people.

“The Kittoktangmuits are different from us, the Itivimuits,” say the mainland Eskimos when they speak of their brethren of the islands where a judicial party headed by Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton has gone to try two men and a woman for murder. It is expected the trials will open about August 9.

Nine persons died in violence which flared in Belcher Island Eskimo encampments last winter as the result of a bitter controversy over religious matters.

While extension of the fur trade, the search for minerals and the coming of the airplane brought northern posts and their Eskimo visitors into more frequent communication with the outside world, the Belcher Islands and their people were almost ignored.

Three hundred years ago Hudson’s Bay Company captains sailing by Belcher Islands noted in their logs that it was “a poor, miserable place” and hastened to leave its inhospitable shores and dangerous shoals.

Early charts of Hudson Bay showed the islands but later editions simply dropped them and inserted a warning to skippers that there were islands “in this area.”

**CARIBOU LEAVE**

Until the caribou left the islands about 50 years ago, the Kittoktangmuits—it means “people of the islands”—lived as comfortably as any of their race. But after the big animals disappeared they knew all the hardships of a land of rock with sparse moss where the anemone flourishes in the brief spring.

While mainland Eskimos could make their clothing from deerskin, the islanders had to use the skins of birds, foxes and seals. They could not kill a few caribou and then rest until the meat was done. They had to hunt every day, and find

food, unless they were fortunate enough to capture a white whale on which all the encampment could live for days.

Eskimos in frequent contact with white men have, like the Indians, absorbed many English words into their vocabulary. The Belcher Islands still use only the rudimentary language of their forefathers.

“The Kittoktangmuits talk like children,” say the mainland natives.

Most of the islanders are believed to be descendants of those who lived on this barren land for hundreds of years, although there have been infrequent additions to their numbers when other Eskimos outlawed by mainland tribes, made the ice crossing during the few weeks when such travel to the islands is possible.

## **INDUSTRIOUS**

The few visitors who have gone to Belcher Islands, where a Hudson’s Bay post now is established, have always paid tribute to the industry, independence and good nature of the natives.

The commander of a mounted police party which investigated two murders 21 years ago commented on the eagerness of the Belcher Eskimos to trade for articles they urgently needed. He said they never asked gifts or charity despite their poverty.

The islanders have demonstrated ingenuity in making clothing to suit the climate, making use of the skins of birds which come in multitudes during the summer to make their nest and raise their young in shallow lakes which dot the islands. Sometimes garments are made with the feathers on the outer side but more often the feathers are turned inward.

Such clothing lacks the durability of deerskin or sealskin and the islander who can catch no seals has a persistent clothing-repair job on his hands.

## **AUDIENCE EXPECTED**

White men who have examined the iron ore deposits on the islands said the Eskimos marvelled at their equipment—but while rifles, food, clothing and oil had to be left with light covering for long periods the Eskimos never displayed anything more than curiosity and were completely honest.

Ottawa officials said it was probable that many of the 150 islanders would attend the trials of the three who have been held in Royal Canadian Mounted Police custody in Ontario since their arrest on murder charges last March.

As they listen to the words of the interpreter at the trials, officials said, they will learn something of the white man’s law and that those who are found guilty of a crime must suffer punishment.

**135. Letter, R. A. Gibson to John Grierson, 9 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

Copy for the information of  
Mr. Cumming.

OTTAWA  
August 9, 1941.

Dear Sir,

Mr. McLean of your staff called me at home last evening for information about the Hudson's Bay Company's boat which the Northwest Territories Administration engaged for the transportation of the judicial party to the Belcher Islands for the trial of certain natives. I referred him to the Fur Trade Department of the Company.

This is the first that we had heard of your plan to send by aeroplane operators and equipment to take a record of the trial using both picture and sound equipment. I have obtained from the Deputy Minister of Justice a copy of the letter which he wrote you on the 7th instant. Mr. Edwards explains that this merely covers the interest of the Department of Justice in the matter.

This letter is to make it clear that the Northwest Territories Administration has not been consulted in regard to these arrangements.

Yours very truly,  
*<R. A. Gibson>*  
R. A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**136. Letter, R. H. G. Bonnycastle to R. A. Gibson, 11 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

WINNIPEG      August 11, 1941.

Dear Mr. Gibson:

Immediately on receipt of your letter of 7th August, I wired our manager at Moosonee as follows:

"OTTAWA ADVISES CAPTAIN NEILSON HAS ASKED PRESS REPRESENTATIVES TO PAY FOR MEALS ON TRIP STOP PLEASE RADIO HIM IMMEDIATELY WHENEVER HE CAN BE REACHED THAT NO CHARGES WHATEVER TO BE LEVIED AGAINST THEM OR ANY OTHER MEMBER OF GOVERNMENT PARTY"

I also confirm my telegram to you of today's date as follows:

"HAVE AGAIN WIRED MOOSONEE TO INSTRUCT CAPTAIN NEILSON IMMEDIATELY THAT NO CHARGES TO BE LEVIED AGAINST PRESS REPRESENTATIVES OR ANY OTHER MEMBERS GOVERNMENT PARTY AS EVERYTHING COVERED BY LUMP SUM ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN YOU AND CHESSHIRE"

I cannot understand why there should still be any mix-up because we have wired and written Moosonee and Captain Neilson explaining the status of the press representatives.

I confirm that there is no question about the lump sum arrangement of \$500. to cover the Government party up to seven people.

I am hopeful that Captain Neilson's mistaken ideas about charging the press people were corrected before leaving Moosonee, and that the present complaint about asking them to pay for their meals originated prior to our advice to them that they were included in the Government party.

In any case, this should take care of the matter, and I hope there will be no further difficulty.

Yours faithfully,

For the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY,

<R. H. G. Bonnycastle>

R.H.G. Bonnycastle,

Fur Trade Department.

**137. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. K. Carnegie, Canadian Press, Parliamentary Press Gallery, Ottawa, 11 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Copy for the information  
of Mr. Cumming

OTTAWA  
August 11, 1941.

Dear Mr. Carnegie,

Re - Transportation of Canadian  
Press Representative to  
Belcher Islands Trial.

I am in receipt of a telegram from the officer in charge of the Fur Trade Department, Hudson's Bay Company, in which he assures me that he has wired to Moosonee instructing Captain Neilson that no charges are to be levied against the Press Representatives or any other members of the Government party as everything is covered by the lump sum arrangement which the Northwest Territories Administration made with the Company. This will cover the point which you mentioned over the telephone.

Yours very truly,

R.A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**138. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, 13 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Copy for the information of

Mr. Cumming

OTTAWA

August 13, 1941.

Dear Mr. Bonnycastle,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant in which you confirm the telegram you were good enough to send me on the same date indicating that you had straightened out with Captain Neilson the matter of the transportation and sustenance of the government party to Belcher Islands, including the two newspaper men.

It may interest you to learn that when the Toronto Star representative in the Press Gallery here complained to me that Captain Neilson had refused passage to the Star's representative, Mr. Kinmond, who had been included in the government party, he said that Mr. Kinmond showed Captain Neilson the letter which I had written to the Toronto Star notifying them of the arrangements made for Mr. Kinmond on your boat, and that the Captain's remarks were such that the Star man did not wish to repeat same.

I do not know Captain Neilson, but I told the Star man that I could not believe that any servant of your Company would be willfully discourteous because my experience over many years had been quite to the contrary.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>  
R.A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.



**139. Letter, R. A. Gibson to W. Stuart Edwards, 13 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Copy for the information  
of Mr. Cumming

OTTAWA  
August 13, 1941.

Dear Mr. Edwards,

Re – Trial of Belcher Islands Natives

Mr. F.C.C. Lynch, Chief of the Bureau of Geology and Topography, of the Mines and Geology Branch of this Department, has shown me the telegram addressed to him by Messrs. Carroll and Shaw who are engaged on a survey contract along the east coast of Hudson Bay, and who have been asked by Judge Plaxton to allow two or three members of the survey party to attend at Belcher Islands for jury service. I am informed that this telegram was discussed with you this morning and that Assistant Commissioner Caulkin, R.C.M.P., is wiring to Moosonee to see whether the officer in charge there has any alternative suggestion to make as to how the additional jurors could be sent to Belcher Islands.

As I was under the impression from the beginning that there would be plenty of people on the Hudson's Bay Company's boat to make up the jury panel of six, even without the services of the two newspaper men on the government party who were warned that they might be required for jury duty, I called Mr. Bonnycastle, who is in charge of the Fur Trade Department of the Hudson's Bay Company at headquarters, Winnipeg, during the absence of Messrs. Chester and Chesshire. He informs me that the following white men are on board the boat:

Captain Neilson  
Engineer Cadney  
Mate Barber  
The new company manager for Belcher Islands – Jeffrey,  
and possibly District Manager Cowan.

There are three additional members of the crew but these may be half-breeds or natives. Mr. Bonnycastle adds that the Hudson's Bay Company's manager for Belcher Islands, by name Riddell, is still on duty, and moreover that there may be other white men on board the boat, although he is not sure on this last point. One would think that with the six names given by Mr. Bonnycastle and the two newspaper men it would be possible to choose a jury of six.

Incidentally, Mr. Bonnycastle told me that Mr. Chester, the General Manager of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Mr. Chesshire, his assistant, are tied up at Richmond Gulf across from Belcher Islands and that he is trying to get two planes

to go in and bring them out. So far he has been unsuccessful. He asked if the survey plane would be available and I told him that I understand the survey was being done under a contract arrangement and that the method employed was to set out members of the party at widely separated points, that the plane which was servicing the members of the party could not leave that locality without first bringing the members of the party to the base camp, and so it did not seem possible to grant his request.

Mr. Lynch has explained to you the arrangement with respect to the survey party and the urgency of the work which is being done. I can only suggest that if possible communication be established with Judge Plaxton and that it be suggested to him that if possible the jury be chosen from those already available as the difficulty of adding to the number available for consideration in this capacity would be very great indeed.

I notice by the morning paper that the judicial party has been delayed at Great Whale River.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R.A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**140. Letter, R. A. Gibson to R. H. G. Bonnycastle, 13 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

Copy for the information  
of Mr. Cumming

OTTAWA  
August 13, 1941.

Dear Mr. Bonnycastle,

Re – Trial of Belcher Islands Natives

Thanks for the information which you were good enough to give me over the telephone.

I have advised the Deputy Minister of Justice that you understand that there are the following white men on board the boat:

Captain Neilson  
Engineer Cadney  
Mate Barber  
New Company Manager for Belcher Islands Jeffrey,  
and possibly District Manager Cowan;

that there are three additional members of the crew but these may be half-breeds or natives; that your company manager for Belcher Islands, Mr. Riddell, is still on duty there, and that possibly there may be other white men on board the boat, although you are not sure about this last feature. It would seem that with the six names which you have given and the two newspaper men it should be possible to choose a jury of six. However, the Deputy Minister of Justice will endeavour to get in touch with Judge Plaxton and ascertain why those conducting the contract survey party along the east coast of Hudson Bay were requested to permit two or three members of their party to attend at Belcher Islands for jury service.

As I explained to you over the telephone this morning, this is not a regular government survey party but a contract survey undertaken for the government by surveyors in private practice. The method employed is to set out members of the party at widely separated points and these are serviced by the plane. I am advised that it is not feasible for the plane to leave the locality without first bringing the members of the party to the base camp.

The arrangements for this survey were made by another branch of the department and I have advised the officer in charge of the fact that Mr. Chester and Mr. Chesshire are tied up at Richmond Gulf and that you are experiencing difficulty in getting planes to bring them out. If there is any prospect of the survey plane being available for this task, even temporarily, you will hear from Mr. F.C.C. Lynch, Chief, Bureau of Geology and Topography, Mines and Geology Branch.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R.A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**141. Letter, Ross McLean, Assistant Film Commissioner, National Film Board, to R. A. Gibson, 13 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

Ottawa, August 13, 1941.

Dear Mr. Gibson:

Mr. Grierson has asked me to acknowledge your letter of August 9 about the proposed expedition to the Belcher Islands. The expedition proved rather difficult to mature so it has been abandoned.

Yours very truly,

<Ross McLean>

Ross McLean.

**142. Newspaper Clipping, "BELCHER ISLANDS PARTY IS DELAYED;  
Judicial Group to Try Eskimos Reaches Great Whale River," *Montreal  
Gazette*, 13 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**BELCHER ISLANDS PARTY IS DELAYED**

**Judicial Group to Try Eskimos Reaches Great Whale River**

Great Whale River, August 12.-(CP)-Delayed by fog and storms out of Moosonee, Ont., the judicial party enroute to Belcher Islands for the trial of seven Eskimos charged with murder, arrived at this settlement on the east coast of Hudson Bay today. The party left Moosonee by boat August 5.

Weather permitting the party will reach its destination Thursday.

Two interpreters have been taken on board to act at the trial, and Rev. Geo. Wilson, Great Whale River missionary, also was picked up and will be among witnesses called at the strange court proceedings.

The judicial party, headed by Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton, arrived at Moose Factory August 3.

First arrests in this strange drama of the northland were made after fragmentary reports of violence on the Hudson Bay Island filtered through by radio from the north and sent a Royal Canadian Mounted Police airplane on a 1,000-mile flight from Ottawa last March. Nine persons met death, police learned, after debates over interpretation of religious matters which developed in Eskimo encampments during the long winter nights.

Four adults and a girl were killed by shooting, clubbing, stabbing by harpoon or exposure when islanders decided they were evil, according to their beliefs, and four children were driven into the snow naked and died. It is alleged that the violence spread from encampment to encampment during the winter and those considered evil were attacked by other Eskimos.

**143. Telegram, W. Stuart Edwards to Charles P. Plaxton, 14 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

For the information of Mr. R. A. Gibson.

T E L E G R A M

Ottawa, August 14, 1941.

Hon. Mr. Justice Plaxton,  
c/o Hudson's Bay Company,  
MOOSE FACTORY,  
for  
relay to Ship.

YOUR TELEGRAMS TWELFTH TO LYNCH AND THIRTEENTH TO ME (STOP). DEPARTMENT CONCERNED THINKS NOT PRACTICABLE TO DIVERT CONTRACT PLANE ON SURVEY WORK AT THIS STAGE THEREBY JEOPARDISING LARGE INVESTMENT AND ENDANGERING MEMBERS PARTY ON GROUND (STOP). AM ADVISED THERE ARE SUFFICIENT WHITE MEN AVAILABLE AT BELCHER TO COMPLETE JURY (STOP) POLICE WILL ARRANGE BRING YOU BACK BY PLANE WHEN TRIAL COMPLETED.

W. STUART EDWARDS

Charge Justice.

Send C.N.R.

**144. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to A. L. Cumming, Superintendent of Mackenzie District, 14 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

August 14, 1941.

Memorandum:

Mr. Cumming

Re - Trial of Belcher Islands Eskimos

The Deputy Minister of Justice has been good enough to send me a copy of a telegram which he received this morning from Judge Plaxton.

I discussed this over the telephone with Assistant Commissioner Caulkin who says that he is going to suggest to the Commissioner, R.C.M.P. that the aeroplane which has taken Inspector Martin on his inspection of the posts in Hudson Bay District should proceed to Moose Factory as quickly as it can be released so that it will be at the disposal of Judge Plaxton.

I have just heard from Mr. Edwards that arrangements are being made accordingly.

*<R. A. Gibson>*  
Deputy Commissioner.

**145. Telegram, Charles P. Plaxton to W. Stuart Edwards, c.14 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

CANADIAN NATIONAL  
TELEGRAPHS

A609 138 COLLECT 4.31 & 90 & 5 VIA COCHRANE VIA MOOSONEE  
FORT G[E]ORGE ONT 13 745 P

DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE  
OTTAWA ONT

DUE SEA AND PORTS OF CALL PROBABLY NOT REACHED BELCHER  
UNTIL FRIDAY AFTER ELEVEN DAYS OF WATER STOP SAME TIME  
PROBABLY FOR RETURN STOP ESTIMATED MINIMUM LENGTH OF  
TRIALS FOUR DAYS POSSIBLY SEVERAL DAYS DELAY ON RETURN AT  
MOOSONEE AS TRAIN LEAVES MONDAY ONLY STOP ANXIOUS TO  
KEEP JUDICIAL ASSIGNMENT TORONTO SEPTEMBER SECOND STOP  
COULD YOU POSSIBLY ARRANGE SEND UP POLICE OR AIRFORCE  
SEAPLANE OR IN ALTERNATIVE EMPLOY PLANE CHARTERED BY  
MINES AND RESOURCES FOR SURVEY PARTY AT EASTMAIN STOP  
PLANE SHOULD LAND HUDSONS BAY POSTCOVE ON WEST SIDE OF  
TUKARAC ISLAND ABOUT SIX MILES NORTH OF FAIR WEATHER  
SOUND AS SHOWN ON TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY MAP OF BELCHER  
PUBLISHED 1933 STOP PLANE CAN REFUEL AT MOOSONEE OR FORT  
GEORGE OR AT BELCHER STOP WIRE REPLY HUDSONS BAY CO AT  
MOOSE FACTORY FOR RELAY TO SHIP

PLAXTON.

**146. Memorandum, Chief Treasury Officer, Lands, Parks and Forests  
Branch, Department of Mines and Resources to A. L. Cumming, 15 August  
1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Ottawa, August 15, 1941.

Memorandum:

Mr. Cumming.

I return your file No. 12003, together with account for Dr. T. J. Orford for  
\$11.00 for services rendered to Eskimo prisoner, "Mina".

I have checked with the Treasury Officer of the Indian Affairs Branch who  
advises that it is not the practice to pay fees to Doctors of their branch who are

regularly employed. It is suggested that as this officer is a full-time employee, approval of Treasury Board should be obtained before any payments are made to him over and above his regular salary.

<signed>  
Chief Treasury Officer.

Encl. (2)

[Handwritten Addendum:]

Mr. Doyle:

As Dr. Orford is a full time medical officer in this Department he is supposed to examine wards of the Government as part of his regular duties = D. L. McKeand - 12:II:42.

...

**147. Invoice, Department of Mines and Resources, Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, in account with Thomas J. Orford, 6 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Date August 6, 1941.  
File 12003

Department of Mines and Resources

*BUREAU of NORTHWEST TERRITORIES and YUKON AFFAIRS*

*In account with Dr. T. J. Orford, Moose Factory, Ontario.*

1941.

May	To Account re Services rendered to Eskimo Prisoner "Mina" (as per voucher attached)	<u>\$11.00</u>
-----	--	----------------

Vote 27      Primary 14      Enc. 58  
Etab 014                      Object 953  
Goods received - Services rendered  
Prices fair and just - Certified correct.  
RECOMMENDED FOR PAYMENT.

<T. J. Doyle>

AUG 6 '41

**148. Voucher, regarding Thomas J. Orford's care of Mina, 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Division - 16

Moose Factory Det. - 13-010.

Form No. 6

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE  
NO BILLHEADS AVAILABLE

To Dr. T. J. Orford,

Moose Factory, Ont.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Service</u>	Dr. \$ cts.
1941.		
May 18	1 visit at Detachment, Eskimo prisoner MINA	3.00
" 19	2 visits at Detachment, Eskimo prisoner MINA	4.00
" 20	1 visit at Detachment, Eskimo prisoner MINA	2.00
" 21	1 visit at Detachment, Eskimo prisoner MINA	<u>2.00</u>
		<u>\$11.00</u>

Certified correct as rendered \$11.00

'sgd' T. J. Orford

(Dr. T. J. Orford)

Moose Factory, Ontario.

DETAIL: Necessary expenditure incurred for professional services rendered to Eskimo prisoner MINA, suffering from alleged insanity. SERVICES PERFORMED, PRICES FAIR AND JUST. "O" Div. Ref. 41 T 1800/115, H.Q. 41 D 636-13-L-1, Re: Alleged Murders - Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

CERTIFIED CORRECT.

'sgd' G. E. Dexter Cst.

Reg. No. 11776.

I/C Detachment.

APPROVED.



**149. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to W. Stuart Edwards, 16 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Copy for the information  
of Mr. Cumming.

Ottawa, August 16, 1941.

Memorandum

Mr. Lynch

The Deputy Minister of Justice has just sent me a copy of a telegram addressed to him by Mr. Justice Plaxton which reads as follows:

“Prospecting party at Belcher will make up sufficient number of jurors.”

I telephoned this to you.

<R. A. Gibson>  
Director.

**150. Telegram, Charles P. Plaxton to W. Stuart Edwards, 14 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

For the information of Mr. R. A. Gibson.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM.

1941 AUG 14 PM 5 20

RB 148 12 COLLECT 53-90 AND TAX VIA COCHRANE ONE -  
ATTAWAPISKAT

ONT 14 420 P

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE  
OTTAWA ONT

PROSPECTING PARTY AT BELCHER WILL MAKE UP SUFFICIENT  
NUMBER OF JURORS

PLAXTON.

**151. Newspaper Clipping, "Insanity is Plea of Eskimo Woman; Mina to Stand Trial Shortly on Murder Count," *Montreal Herald*, 16 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**Insanity is Plea of Eskimo Woman**

**Mina to Stand Trial Shortly on Murder Count**

Great Whale River, Aug. 16 – (CP) – Mina, Eskimo woman charged with murder, will plead insanity when her trial comes up before Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton of Toronto, at Belcher Islands, defence counsel J. P. Madden said yesterday.

Insanity would be a secondary defence in the case of six other Eskimos, charged jointly with Mina following an outbreak of violence on Belcher Islands last March that resulted in [the] death of nine persons. Police said the deaths were the outcome of debates over interpretation of religious matters which developed in Eskimo encampments during the winter.

Mr. Madden and R. A. Olmsted, acting for the Crown, completed preparation for the trial during a delay of five days here due to bad weather. The trial, to be held in a large tent, will start as soon as the judicial party reaches the island after the weather clears.

Mina, alleged to be a follower of Charlie Ouyriack, who claimed divine power, is charged with driving two women and four children into the snow where they died of exposure. She allegedly believed that with the coming of a divine power clothing would be unnecessary.

Guns and other hunting equipment were destroyed by other Eskimos holding this belief.

Mina, taken south after her arrest, adapted herself to the ways of the white people until she suffered a mental disturbance and was taken to Toronto for observation. In her case the court will be asked to try the issue as to her fitness to stand trial.

**152. Telegram, Charles P. Plaxton to W. Stuart Edwards, 18 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

CANADIAN NATIONAL  
TELEGRAM

1941 Aug 18 AM 10 22

RB 5      57      COLLECT \$1.00 & 90    AND 5 VIA COCHRANE ONT  
MOOSONEE ONT

DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE

OTTAWA      ONT

13th DAY ON SHIP AND STILL AT GREAT WHALE RIVER STOP  
DEPARTURE FROM HERE UNCERTAIN ON ACCOUNT OF TIDES AND  
SEA STOP IF POLICE PLANE AVAILABLE SUGGEST IT BE SENT IN TO  
TAKE US TO THE BELCHERS AND LET US GET ON WITH THE JOB  
STOP PLEASE WIRE REPLY TO HUDSON BAY CO MOOSE FACTORY

C P PLAXTON.

**153. Telegram, W. Stuart Edwards to Charles P. Plaxton, 18 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

T E L E G R A M

Ottawa, August 18, 1941.

Hon. Mr. Justice Plaxton,  
c/o Hudson's Bay Company,  
MOOSE FACTORY,  
for  
relay to ship.

TELEGRAM EIGHTEENTH - PLANE NOW EN ROUTE  
INSTRUCTED CALL GREAT WHALE RIVER.

W. STUART EDWARDS.

Charge Justice.

Send C.N.R.

**154. Memorandum, R. A. Gibson to A. L. Cumming, 18 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

OTTAWA  
August 18, 1941.

Memorandum

Mr. Cumming

I am sending you herewith a copy of an exchange of telegrams between the Deputy Minister of Justice and Mr. Justice Plaxton. From this you will observe that

the Judicial Party is still tied up at Great Whale River and that the police plane has been sent to take the party to Belcher Islands.

*<R. A. Gibson>*  
Deputy Commissioner.

**155. Clerk's Oath of Office, sworn by Henry Kearney, before Charles P. Plaxton, 18 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

CLERK'S OATH OF OFFICE

CANADA

Northwest Territories.

I, Sergeant Henry Kearney, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, do swear that I will truly and faithfully perform the several duties of a clerk of the Stipendiary Magistrate's Court of the North-west Territories at Belcher Islands in the Northwest-Territories, to which I have been appointed without fear, favour or malice. So help me God.

Sworn before me at Belcher )  
Islands in the Northwest )  
Territories, this 18th day )  
of July, A.D. 1941 )

*<H. Kearney>*

*<C. P. Plaxton>* )  
Stipendiary Magistrate for the )  
Northwest Territories. )

**156. Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Apawkok and Akeenik, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 18 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

IN THE COURT OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE

JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF THE NORTH WEST

TERRITORIES OF CANADA

B E T W E E N:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING

-AND-

Alec Apawkok (Eskimo male) Akeenik (Eskimo female)

To: Mr. M.E. Holtzman; Mr. Jack Rubie; Mr. Edward G. Cadney; Mr. E. Riddell,  
Mr. James McCook; Mr. Wm. Kimmond.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the North West Territories Act, R.S.C. 1927, Chapter 142, Section 48, you are hereby required and commanded to be and appear at the Court House, at Laddie's Cove, Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands, in the North West Territories of Canada, on Tuesday, the 19th day of August, A.D. 1941, at 9:30 o'clock, in the forenoon, to serve as a juror in the above named matter.

Herein fail not at your peril.

GIVEN under my hand at Belcher Islands, in the said Territories, this 18th day of August, A.D. 1941.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

Stipendiary Magistrate.

**157. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Alec Apawkok and Rex vs. Akeenik, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 18 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

PROCEEDINGS OF HEARINGS held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before C.P. Plaxton, Esquire, Stipendiary Magistrate, this 18th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, in the case of Rex vs Alec Apawkok, Eskimo male, and Rex vs Akeenik, Eskimo female, charged jointly with the murder of Sarah Apawkok,

Eskimo female, at Flaherty Island, Belcher Island Group, Northwest Territories, on the 25th day of January in the year A.D., 1941:

HAROLD UDGARDEN, Interpreter, duly sworn.

PROSECUTION

Johnasie, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(Questioned by R.A. Olmstead, Prosecution Counsel)

Q. “What is your name?”

A. “Johnasie.”

Q. “How old are you?”

A. “Twenty-five”.

Q. “Were you on Flaherty Island last winter?”

A. “Yes.”

Q. “Were you present at a meeting of the Eskimo one evening?”

A. “Yes.”

Q. “Was there a meeting of the Eskimo in a snow-house?”

A. “Yes.”

Q. “Were you there?”

A. “Yes.”

Q. “Was Sarah Apawkok there?”

A. “She was not there when they started the meeting, but she came.”

Q. “Who brought her there?”

A. “Her father brought her along.”

Q. “Tell the court what happened at that meeting?”

A. “They were having a jolly time and praying.”

Q. “What happened then?”

A. “They went for Peter Sala.”

Q. “What else happened?”

A. “After that Peter came and they waited for Jesus to come.”

Q. “Was the Accused, Alec Apawkok, there?”

A. “Yes.”

Q. “Was Akeenik there?”

A. “Yes.”

Q. “What did Alec Apawkok do?”

A. “He turned on his sister and hammered her.”

Q. “With what?”

A. “With a stick.”

Q. “What did his sister do?”

A. “She didn’t know anything. She just went down on her knees.”

Q. “Where did he hit her?”

- A. "On the side of the head."  
Q. "Did he have hold of her?"  
A. "He had her by the hair of her head."  
Q. "What did she do then?"  
A. "She thanked him for it."  
Q. "What was done with Sarah then?"  
A. "He said to take her outside and they took her outside."  
Q. "Who took her outside?"  
A. "Mina, Akeenik, Mark."  
Q. "What happened outside the snow house?"  
A. "They turned and hammered her with an old rifle."  
Q. "Who did it[?]"  
A. "Akeenik."  
Q. "What did they do with her body?"  
A. "Mark put it in an old snow-house."  
Q. "Did she die then?"  
A. "They did not leave her until they killed her."  
Q. "How long did they leave the body in the snow house?"  
A. "A good while. She lay in that snow-house for a good while. I don't know how long."  
Q. "Was there anyone at this meeting who thought he was Jesus?"  
A. "Charlie Ouyerack."  
Q. "Was there anyone there who thought he was God?"  
A. "Peter Sala."  
Q. "What caused the Eskimos in the snow-house to divide into two groups?"  
A. "I do not know."  
Q. "Why was Sarah attacked with a stick?"  
A. "Because she didn't do what they told her."  
Q. "What did they want her to do?"  
A. "They wanted her to work and she didn't do it."  
Q. "What kind of work?"  
A. "Any kind of work around the snow-house."  
Q. "Did Sarah believe that Peter Sala was God and Charlie Ouyerack was Jesus?"  
A. "She didn't believe that Peter was God and that is the reason they killed her."

The Deponent, Johnasie, cross examined by J.P. Madden, Counsel for the defence:

- Q. "Did all this happen at night?"  
A. "In the evening."  
Q. "Was it dark?"  
A. "Yes."  
Q. "Very dark?"

- A. “No.”
- Q. “Was there any lights on?”
- A. “No.”
- Q. “Was it hard to tell one person from another?”
- A. “It was dark. They couldn’t tell one from another.”
- Q. “How do you know it was Alec that hit Sarah with the stick?”
- A. “He was [striking] at her with the stick before it got dark.”
- Q. “Was it dark when Sarah was killed?”
- A. “Yes.”
- Q. “It wasn’t the stick that killed Sarah, was it?”
- A. “No.”
- Q. “It was whoever had the gun that killed Sarah?”
- A. “Yes.”
- Q. “When Sarah was taken outside the tent, did you hear her say that she wanted to go home to her father and mother?”
- A. “I didn’t hear her say that.”
- Q. “Were you outside?”
- A. “I was outside when they took her out.”
- Q. “Did someone tell you that Akeenik hit Sarah or did you see her?”
- A. “I saw her.”
- Q. “Sarah wasn’t dead when she was taken out of the snow-house?”
- A. “She was alive.”
- Q. “Did you believe that Peter Sala was God?”
- A. “I believed all that Peter said and that he was God.”
- Q. “Sarah was killed because she did not believe that Peter was God, is that right?”
- A. “She did not believe in God. That is the reason they killed her.”
- Q. “How long before Sarah was killed had you thought that Peter Sala was God? How many moons?”
- A. “I do not know how many days I had that t[h]ought.”
- Q. “Would it be one moon?”
- A. “No, not a whole moon.”
- Q. “Would it be half a moon?”
- A. “No.”
- Q. “When Sarah thanked Alec for what he had done, do you remember her words?”
- A. “She did not speak.”
- Q. “You said a little while ago that Sarah thanked Alec for hitting her?”
- A. “Sarah thanked him in the Eskimo manner by saying e-e-e-eh.”

Kugveet, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(Questioned by R.A. Olmstead, Prosecution Counsel)

- Q. “What is your name?”



- A. "Kugveet."  
Q. "How old are you?"  
A. "Forty-Eight."  
Q. "Were you on Flarherty Island after new years of this year?[""]  
A. "Yes."  
Q. "Were they living in snow houses?"  
A. "In snow houses."  
Q. "[Was] there a meeting of the Natives in a snow house?"  
A. "Yes."  
Q. "Were you at a religious meeting?"  
A. "No."  
Q. "Was it not a fact that they were saying the Lord's Prayer?"  
A. "They said the Lord's Prayer when they first got together."  
Q. "Were Apawkok and Akeenik there?"  
A. "Yes."  
Q. "Was Sarah Apawkok there?"  
A. "Yes."  
Q. "How did she come there?"  
A. "They fetched their camp there."  
Q. "How did Sarah come to this meeting?"  
A. "They told her to come."  
Q. "Who told her?"  
A. "I don't know."  
Q. "[Were] Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyerack at the meeting?"  
A. "It was only Charlie that was there."  
Q. "Did any quarrel or discussion arise there?"  
A. "No."  
Q. "Did they argue about God and Jesus?"  
A. "Charlie and Peter were having a bit of a quarrel about God."  
Q. "Was Peter there[?]"  
A. "He wasn't there in the night. They brought him along the next day."  
Q. "Did Sarah join in these meetings[?]"  
A. "Yes."  
Q. "Was there any trouble with Sarah at the meeting?"  
A. "Yes."  
Q. "What was it?"  
A. "She didn't do what they told her[.]"  
Q. "Did anyone at the meeting hit Sarah?"  
A. "They hit her."  
Q. "Who hit her?"  
A. "Alec."  
Q. "With what[?]"

- A. “A stick.”
- Q. “Where did he hit her?”
- A. “On the side of the head.”
- Q. “What did Sarah do[?]”
- A. “She fell down.”
- Q. “Did she speak?”
- A. “I did not hear her say anything.”
- Q. “Was she unconscious?”
- A. She was all right, but she could not get up.
- Q. What happened to Sarah then?
- A. They took her outside.
- Q. Did Alec say anything to Sarah?
- A. He was speaking.
- Q. What did he say?
- A. He told her, “You don’t want to say yes”.
- Q. Did Alec say anything to the people there about Sarah?
- A. He was speaking.
- Q. What did he say?
- A. That it would be nothing to kill her.
- Q. Was Charlie there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did he say?
- A. Charlie said that he was Jesus.
- Q. What else did he say?
- A. “You want to follow me for I am Jesus”.
- Q. Did he say anything about Sarah?
- A. I did not hear him say anything.
- Q. Was there a fire in the snow house?
- A. They had a fire the first thing in the evening. After it got dark, they had no light.
- Q. When Sarah fell down, did she fall in or near the fire?
- A. That is what they said. I did not see her.
- Q. What did they do with Sarah then?
- A. She lay that way for a good while and they took her out.
- Q. They dragged her out?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did the fire catch her clothes?
- A. She had on a shawl that burnt.
- Q. Who took her outside?
- A. Johnasie, Mark, Mina and Akeenik.
- Q. Did you go out with them?
- A. No.
- Q. Did Akeenik come back in the snow-house?

- A. I do not know when she came in. I fell asleep.  
Q. Did you hear Akeenik say anything about what happened to Sarah?  
A. I did not hear her say anything.  
Q. Do you know what happened to Sarah's [b]ody?  
A. They put it in an old snow-house.  
Q. Did you see it there?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

- Q. When you were praying that night, were you praying for Sarah that she might believe?  
A. No.  
Q. Do you remember about a month ago you were telling your story to the Doctor, Doctor Orford, do you remember that?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Do you remember telling him that, "We wanted Sarah to come into the igloo where we were having a service so that she would believe"?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you think that Sarah was bad?  
A. No.  
Q. Did anyone tell her that night that she was bad?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who told her?  
A. Alec.  
Q. What did Alec say to her?  
A. Alec said, "You wouldn't say Yes. You are no good".  
Q. Did Alec want her to believe that he was God?  
A. Yes.<sup>§</sup>  
  
A[.] Yes.  
Q. There was a lot of noise in the tent?  
A. Yes.  
Q. There was a lot of noise in the tent that night that Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Everyone was excited?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you excited?  
A. Yes, all the time.  
Q. They were burning some books that they had around?

---

<sup>§</sup> *Editors' note:* The final line(s) from the page are cut off.

A. I did not see the books burning, but they said they were burning them.

Q. You saw Sarah with her clothes on fire?

A. Her clothes were singed.

Q. You did not see what happened outside?

A. No.

Bertie Akparok, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(Questioned by R.A. Olmstead, Prosecuting Counsel)

Q. What is your name?

A. Bertie Akparok.

Q. What is your age?

A. Fifty-five. I said I was fifty at first.

Q. Do you know what this piece of paper is?

A. The months.

Q. What month?

A. January.

Q. Is that your writing?

A. Yes.

Q. What does it mean?

A. That fellow they call Luke came to my tent on January 25th.

Q. Why did you put down that date?

A. That Luke came to my tent and I put it down.

Q. What did Luke tell you?

A. He did not tell me anything. They came to my camp to get meat.

Q. Did you hear about the trouble on Flarherty Island?

A. I came to the Post and there were a lot of Eskimos here and they told me.

Q. What did they tell you?

A. They said the Eskimos had murdered some people down there.

(Cross examined by J. P. Madden, Defence Counsel)

Q. Where did you learn your writing?

A. I was away down South when I learned to write at Charlton Island.

Q. Do any of the other Eskimos write on this Island to your knowledge?

A. I don't know.

Q. Do you know if Alec writes?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did you have a little religious book?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you get that?

A. I got it from the Hudson's Bay Post.

Q. Where did you learn what you know about religion?

- A. I learned it from reading the book.  
Q. Did anyone teach you or did you just learn it yourself[?]  
A. The Minister used to teach us.  
Q. What Minister was that?  
A. Mr. Walton.  
Q. Did anyone teach the Eskimos any religion here since Mr. Walton was here?  
A. Only one Eskimo.  
Q. Who is that?  
A. Timothy.  
Q. Did Mr. Walton teach you on the Islands here?  
A. Away up on the Mainland. A Minister came here one time and he couldn't talk to us.  
Q. The Eskimos used to go to Great Whale River and study from the Minister there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How many winters ago [was it] that you went to Great Whale to study religion?  
A. About sixteen years ago.

Nellie, daughter of Kowtook, Eskimo female, saith on her oath:

(Questioned by R. A. Olmstead, Prosecuting Counsel)

- Q. Is your name Nellie?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Daughter of Kowtook?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you know [Sarah] Apawkok?  
A. Yes.  
Q. When did you see her last?  
A. About the time they killed her?  
Q. Where was that?  
A. On Flarherty Island.  
Q. Were you at this meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah at this meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What happened at this meeting?  
A. They were having a good time.  
Q. What happened to Sarah?  
A. They pulled her hair.  
Q. Who pulled her hair?  
A. Alec.  
Q. Did he do anything else to her?

- A. He hit her on the side of her head with his fist.  
Q. Did he hit her with a stick?  
A. Afterwards.  
Q. What happened to Sarah then?  
A. I did not see what happened to her.  
Q. Was she badly hurt?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was she lying on the ground?  
A. She was laying in the snow-porch.  
Q. Did Alec try to do anything else?  
A. He did not touch her then.  
Q. Who took Sarah out of the snow-house?  
A. Akeenik, Mark and Johnasie.  
Q. Did you go outside when they took Sarah out?  
A. No, I did not go.  
Q. Did you see the rifle?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What condition was it in?  
A. It was all bloody.  
Q. Did Akeenik come back into the snow-house?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Akeenik say anything?  
A. I didn't hear her say anything.  
Q. What did the Eskimos think about what happened to Sarah?  
A. They were all pleased.  
Q. Did Sarah's clothes catch fire?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Akeenik say anything when she came back into the snow-house?  
A. She said, "My hands are frozen".  
Q. Did she say anything else?  
A. She wanted someone to thaw out her hands.  
Q. Did you see Sarah's body afterwards?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where was it?  
A. In the porch of the snow-house.  
Q. [Were] there any marks on her body?  
A. There [were] no marks.  
Q. Did you see anything on her body?  
A. I did not see anything on her.  
Q. Where did they leave the body?  
A. They left it in the snow-porch.

(Cross examined by J. P. Madden, Defence Counsel)

- Q. Do you remember about one moon ago you told your story to Dr. Orford?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you remember telling him at that time, "Everyone was pleased because they t[h]ought Satan was dead"?
- A. That is what they said.
- Q. Who was Satan?
- A. Sarah.
- Q. Did you hear Alec say that night that Sarah was Satan?
- A. They all said that.
- Q. Do you remember telling the Doctor, "Let us be thankful that Satan is gone"?
- A. That is what I said.
- Q. Is that true?
- A. Yes.
- Q. There were some papers burned that night on the floor?
- A. Books.
- Q. Were they religious books?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Why were they burning their religious books?
- A. They said that they were finished and did not need them any more.
- Q. Why did they not need them any more?
- A. They were going to get some other books?
- Q. Did they believe in them any more?
- A. They were going to get some better books than that.
- Q. Was it because Satan was dead that they thought they did not need the books?
- A. Yes.

(Questioned by His Lordship C.P. Plaxton)

- Q. Did Alec suggest to the others that they should hit Sarah again?
- A. They all wanted to get her out of the way.
- Q. What did Alec say?
- A. Alec said to take her out of the snow-house.
- Q. Did he say anything more to them?
- A. I did not hear him say anything else.

Enoopuk, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Enoopuk.
- Q. How old are you?

- A. I do not know.
- Q. Were you at the camp on Flarherty Island last January?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was Alec Apawkok, Sarah and Akeenik there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happened at the time?
- A. They had a good time of it.
- Q. What happened to Sarah?
- A. Alec hammered her with his fist and then with a stick.
- Q. Did she become senseless?
- A. She fell down and she did not move and her clothes started to burn.
- Q. What happened? What did they do to Sarah?
- A. They took her outside.
- Q. Who took her outside?
- A. Johnasie, Mark, Mina, Akeenik.
- Q. Did Alec say anything about taking Sarah out?
- A. I didn't hear him.
- Q. Did you go outside?
- A. I sat in the snow-house. I did not even get up.
- Q. What happened after that? Did they come back in the snow-house?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who came in?
- A. I don't know. I couldn't see. It was dark and they had no light.
- Q. When did you see Sarah next?
- A. I saw her in the porch of a snow-house after she was dead.
- Q. When was that?
- A. A good while after they put her in the snow-porch. I do not know how many days.
- Q. Did you see any marks on her head?
- A. I did not see any marks or blood on her.

Louisa, Eskimo female, wife of Adlaykok, saith on her oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. Is you[r] name Louisa?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Are you the wife of Adlaykok?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Were you at this meeting on Flarherty Island?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Were Alec Apawkok, Sarah Apawkok and Akeenik there?
- A. Yes.



- Q. Did you hear Apawkok saying anything to anyone about Sarah?  
A. I did not hear him say anything.  
Q. Did you hear Alec say anything to Charlie about Sarah?  
A. I do not remember anything about it.  
Q. Did you see Akeenik coming back into the snow-house?  
A. I could not see her.  
Q. Did you hear Akeenik say anything?  
A. I did not.  
Q. Who took Sarah out of the igloo?  
A. I did not see them. I only heard.  
Q. Did you hear Akeenik come back in the snow-house?  
A. I heard her say that the girl said, "Oh!".  
Q. Did you hear Akeenik say that her hands were frozen?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Akeenik say why her hands were frozen?  
A. They got frozen hold[ing] the barrel of the gun.  
Q. Was Sarah senseless when she was taken out or not?  
A. I don't think she had her senses.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL)

- Q. Do you remember giving your story to Doctor Orford about a month ago?  
A. I don't remember all that I said.  
Q. Do you remember telling him this, "I could not see Sarah being beaten because [there] were too many around"?  
A. That is what I said.  
Q. Is that true?  
A. Yes, I could not see.  
Q. What you have been telling us here today is what someone else told you?  
A. I could not see them because there were too many Eskimos.  
Q. Did you see Sarah being taken out of the snow-house?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you believe that Peter was God?  
A. I believed then.  
Q. Do you still believe that he is God?  
A. No.  
Q. Were there any books burnt that night?  
A. They say that they burnt them, but I did not see.  
Q. Did you see them being torn up?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What books were they?  
A. The books that they got from the Parson.

- Q. Were the books torn up the night that Sarah was killed?  
A. They were tearing them up more than one night.  
Q. Were [they] torn up the night Sarah was killed?  
A. I don't remember.  
Q. Do you know if any were torn up before Sarah was killed?  
A. I don't remember.  
Q. Do you remember telling Doctor Orford that day, “We tore up all our books and set fire to them and Sarah's clothes caught fire”?  
A. That is what I said. I could not see, but I knew it.  
Q. You just said that because you heard it?  
A. Yes.

Minna Sala, Eskimo female, wife of Peter Sala, saith on her oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Minna.  
Q. Are you the wife of Peter Sala?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. Were you at the meeting of the Eskimos on Flarherty Island last January?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were Apawkok, Sarah and Akeenik there?  
A. They were all there.  
Q. Tell us what happened at this meeting?  
A. They had a big meeting and they started to pray and say that Jesus was going to come.  
Q. Did someone hit Sarah Apawkok?  
A. I did not see them hit her, but I heard it.  
Q. Did you hear Sarah being struck with a stick?  
A. I heard him say that he was going to hammer her and I heard him hammering at her.  
Q. Did you see Sarah being taken out of the igloo?  
A. I heard them, but I didn't see them.  
Q. Did you go outside?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you see them come back in the igloo?  
A. I heard them come in.  
Q. Did Akeenik come in?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Akeenik say anything?

- A. She spoke and said that her hands were frozen.
- Q. Did Akeenik say why her hands were frozen?
- A. From holding a barrel of a gun.

(THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL)

- Q. Could you tell us the words that Akeenik used when she came in? What did she say?
- A. She said her hands or fingers were frozen.
- Q. Did she say anything else?
- A. She wanted someone to thaw out her hands.
- Q. Did she say anything else?
- A. I don't remember anything else.
- Q. Why do you say that her hands were frozen because she was holding a gun?
- A. She said that she was hammering at the girl with the gun.
- Q. How do you know that?
- A. I heard her say it.
- Q. What did she say?
- A. She said that she had a hold of the muzzle of the gun and her hands got frozen.
- Q. Did Sarah's clothes catch fire that night?
- A. I heard the Natives say that, but I did not see it.

Peter Sala, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(WITNESS GIVEN THE PROTECTION OF THE CANADA EVIDENCE ACT)

(Questioned by R.A. Olmstead, Prosecuting Counsel)

- Q. What is your name?
- A. Peter Sala.
- Q. How old are you?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Do you speak any English at all?
- A. I can't.
- Q. Have you travelled much around the Hudson's Bay[?]
- A. Only on the Belchers.
- Q. Have you been to Great Whale?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Have you been to Fort George?
- A. No.
- Q. Have you been to Charlton?
- A. No.
- Q. Were you on Flarherty Island last January?

- A. I do not know anything about the month. I went to the camp meeting.
- Q. Were you at the camp meeting in the winter?
- A. I went to them, but I left them.
- Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?
- A. She came there when I was at the camp.
- Q. Who brought her there?
- A. Her father.
- Q. Was Alec Apawkok there?
- A. Alec was at the camp, but Apawkok was not there yet.
- Q. Was Alec there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was Akeenik there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Peter, will you tell His Lordship and the Jury what happened to Sarah in this igloo?
- A. I told already what happened and I can't tell again. I don't remember.
- Q. Do you remember that someone hit Sarah in the igloo?
- A. I saw Alec when he was hitting her with the stick.
- Q. Why did Alec hit her with a stick?
- A. Because they thought she was Satan.
- Q. Where did Alec hit Sarah?
- A. I was not looking at him.
- Q. Did he knock her down?
- A. She just went down.
- Q. What did you see then?
- A. The next thing I saw them doing to her was dragging her out of the snow-house.
- Q. Who dragged her out?
- A. I did not see who it was.
- Q. Did you follow her out?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you see Akeenik when she came in?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did she say?
- A. She said that her hands were frozen.
- Q. Did she say anything else?
- A. I do not remember what she said.
- Q. Did she say anything about Satan?
- A. She said that she had killed Satan by hammering at her.
- Q. Did you think that you were God?
- A. I did not think I was God, but all the natives told me I was.
- Q. Did you say anything to Charlie Ouyerack?
- A. He said something to me.

- Q. What did he say?  
A. He told me to talk to the natives that he was Jesus.  
Q. Who said that he was Jesus?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did you tell them that you were God?  
A. I talked to the natives and they told me that I was God.

(THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J. P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL)

- Q. Peter, did you believe that you were God?  
A. I did not think it, but I thought that I could talk like God.  
Q. Do you remember about a month ago telling your story to Dr. Orford?  
A. I do not remember all what I said.  
Q. Do you remember telling your story?  
A. I remember telling him, but I do not remember what I said.  
Q. Do you remember saying this, -- we have it written down -- "Sometimes I thought I was God"?  
A. That is what I said. I remember that.  
Q. Is that true, or is it not?  
A. I did not think my body was God, only my thoughts.  
Q. I understand everyone was pleased when Sarah died?  
A. Yes.  
Q. They thought she was Satan, is that right?  
A. They not only thought it, but said it.  
Q. Did you think she was Satan?  
A. I did not think so; it was the other people that thought that.  
Q. Were you there, when they were praying that night that Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who were they praying to?  
A. They were praying to God and Jesus?  
Q. Who was God?  
A. Some of the Natives said that Charlie said that Jesus was coming.  
Q. Were they [praying] to you because they thought you were God?  
A. They did not pray to me.  
Q. Do you remember saying to the Doctor, "They were praying to me as God"?  
A. I do not remember saying that.  
Q. Was it another night before this that the people were praying to you as God?  
A. I do not remember. I think that they must have wanted to make me God, but I do not remember.  
Q. There was a lot of excitement the night that Sarah was killed, was there not?  
A. They got excited and were burning their books in the tent. I thought the same.  
Q. Do you know an Eskimo by the name of Mark?

A. Yes.

Q. Mark was there that night?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Mark doing?

A. He was shaking and at last he fell over.

Q. Would you call it dancing?

A. He was jumping about in the snow-house.

Q. Did he have a gun?

A. I do not know whether he had a gun or not.

Q. Do you remember telling the Doctor this, “After we stopped, Mark took my rifle off my sled and started to shoot all around into the ground and frightened me”?

A. I remember saying that.

Q. How many shots did he fire?

A. Three shots I think?

Q. Did Mark do that? Is that true?

A. Yes.

(THE DEPONENT QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD,  
PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

Q. Do you understand what will happen to you if you do not tell the truth?

A. Yes.

Q. What do you understand will happen to you?

A. I will get what I want if I tell lies.

Q. What do you want?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you understand that you will be punished if you tell lies?

A. I know that.

(THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE  
COUNSEL)

Q. Did Mark shoot a rifle three times into the ground that night, is that true?

A. Not Mark.

Q. You told the Doctor that the people were pale looking that night. Is that true that they had no blood in their faces?

A. They had no blood in their faces.

Q. Was Alec pale?

A. Yes.

Q. There was no blood in any of their faces?

A. [*Editors’ note:* The final line(s) from the page are cut off.]

Q. What books were they burning that night, Peter?

A. They were burning the New Testament.

- Q. Why were they burning the New Testament?  
A. Jesus was going to come and bring new books for them.  
Q. Who did you expect Jesus was?  
A. The people said that Jesus was going to come, but they did not know what he would look like.  
Q. Were the books burnt before Sarah died or afterwards?  
A. Before.  
Q. Peter, did you think that Charlie was Jesus?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Why did you expect Jesus to come after you thought Charlie was Jesus?  
A. When Charlie said that he thought Jesus was going to come, I thought he meant another one.  
Q. Who said that Jesus was going to come?  
A. Charlie, Adlaykok, Akeenik, Alice.  
Q. Peter, how long had the people been thinking that you were God?  
A. I do not know, but some of them might be able to tell you.  
Q. At the time Sarah was killed, did you say they were all excited?  
A. Yes.

CHARLIE OUYERACK, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(DEPONENT GIVEN THE PROTECTION OF THE CANADA EVIDENCE ACT)

(DEPONENT QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. How old are you?  
A. Twenty-eight I think.  
Q. Were you on Flarherty Island last winter when they had this meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Alec Apawkok and was Akeenik there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Sarah Apawkok there?  
A. She came afterwards.  
Q. Who brought her there?  
A. She came with her father.  
Q. Did anyone send for her?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who was it that sent for her?  
A. They came to the tent before that and they came again.  
Q. Who sent for Sarah to come to the meeting?

- A. I do not know.
- Q. Who did Sarah live with?
- A. She came in the snow-house where they were when they came. They were off somewhere else and visited the camp.
- Q. Who did Sarah live with? Did she live with Sarah Keytowieack?
- A. She was staying with her father.
- Q. Who went for Sarah to come to the meeting?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Did anyone hit Sarah in the snow-house?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who was it?
- A. Alec.
- Q. What did he hit her with?
- A. A piece of stick.
- Q. Where did he hit her?
- A. I could not see where he hit her.
- [Q]. Do you remember giving your evidence to the Justice of the Peace on the 31st of July last?
- A. I remember some of it, but I have forgotten some of what I said.
- Q. Do you remember saying, “Alec hit her around the head”?
- A. I did not see them doing it, but I heard them say it.
- Q. What happened to Sarah then?
- A. I heard them say to take her out of the tent.
- Q. Do you know whether she was taken out of the tent?
- A. I did not see them doing it, but I heard them.
- Q. Who took her out of the tent?
- A. Johnasie, Mark, Mina, Akeenik.
- Q. Did you see them take her out?
- A. I did not see them; I only heard them.
- Q. Did you go out yourself?
- A. No.
- Q. Why did Alec hit Sarah?
- A. Because she would not do what she was told.
- Q. What did they want her to do?
- A. Anything at all about the camp.
- Q. Did they want her to pray?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Who to?
- A. They wanted her to pray to me and Peter and God as well through us.
- Q. Who were you supposed to be?
- A. Jesus.
- Q. Who was Peter supposed to be?



A. God.

(THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL)

Q. Charlie, did you start this religious teaching that they all believed?

A. I started it.

Q. When did you start it?

A. I do not know.

Q. How long was it before Sarah died?

A. It was more than a month before they killed Sarah.

Q. Who taught you what you know about God?

A. I do not know who I heard first.

Q. Why did you believe that you were Jesus?

A. They told me that I was Jesus and I thought it was true.

Q. Who told you?

A. Kugveet.

Q. The night that Sarah was killed was there a lot of noise around the igloo?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you touch Sarah that night?

A. I tried to lift her up by the hair of her head.

Q. Why did you pick her up by the hair of the head?

A. I was just crazy. I did not know what I was doing.

Q. Did you ever get that way before?

A. I never heard about it.

Q. Did these Eskimos ever get that way before?

A. No.

Q. Charlie, the night that Sarah was killed was there a lot of shouting?

A. They were like that before. They were making a lot of noise.

Q. Were they making a noise all night?

A. Before and after Sarah was killed.

Q. Before and after Sarah was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you make out what Sarah was saying?

A. No. They were all calling out for Jesus to come.

Q. Did you ever go over to Great Whale River to study about God?

A. I remember going to Whale River once.

Q. When was that?

A. I went before they put up the Post on the Belchers.

Q. Can you read?

A. Some of it. I cannot read it all.

Q. Could you read the little book that you had?

A. I could not read it right. I could read a little.

Q. Could you read all of that book and understand it?

A. I never tried to read it right.

Dr. T.J. Orford, saith on his oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

Q. Doctor, you are one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories, are you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You came to the Belcher Islands on or about the 26th day of July, 1941, to hold an Inquest on a body?

A. Yes.

Q. Whose body was it?

A. The body was identified as the body of a[n] Eskimo female aged about 15 years by the name of Sarah Apawkok. The identification was made in my presence by Johnasie.

Q. Do you recall what condition the body was in?

A. The body was in a moderate state of decomposition. There was a fracture of the lower jaw. There was also a fracture on the left temporal region and the right side posteriorly.

Q. In your opinion, were these injuries sufficient to cause death?

A. Either fracture of the skull would cause death.

(THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL)

Q. Was the body of the deceased properly buried?

A. According to Eskimo custom, yes.

Q. How was it buried?

A. It was wrapped in canvas and covered with lumber and that was covered with stones and a cross erected.

Q. Where was it?

A. About one and one-half miles from this Post.

Q. You conducted several inquiries here and it is fair to say that the killing is one of a series of killings that took place on these Islands?

A. Yes.

Q. In which these Eskimos were involved?

A. So far as I am aware.

PROSECUTION CLOSES

NO DEFENCE ENTERED.

Gentlemen of the Jury, in the sombre gloom of these island tundras, there was enacted a [series] of tragedies which brought death to nine members of this primitive Eskimo community. These grim episodes occurred under circumstances which have excited widespread public interest and invoked the intervention of His Majesty's law enforcement officers to see that the offenders--if offenders they should be proved--are punished according to law.

Something of the nature of a religious frenzy or hysteria seems to have seized a number of these people. It gained expression in violent form; and in consequence some seven of these poor Eskimos now face charges for one of the most serious capital offences--that of murder.

They are defended by counsel. They have put themselves upon the country and that country, gentlemen, is you.

In these cases, you are called upon to perform a task which is at once delicate and difficult. The task involves the application of the criminal laws of Canada--the white man's laws--to the primitive Eskimos of these Islands.

It is a delicate task, because these people, though in some aspects of their behaviour very childlike (Nansen speaks of them as, "A charming people of happy children, mirthful and lovable") are in many other aspects of their behaviour very childish--of low mental growth judged by our standards. Their processes of thought and action must, in consequence, appear for us, who have had little or no contact with them, somewhat elusive and, if not wholly baffling at times, always perplexing.

The task is also a difficult task because we are here seeking to apply to a primitive people, who to a large extent, have lived without God and without the law, the moral standard and concepts of organized civilized society.

Nevertheless, these people have for many years past had, and presumably studied, prints of the New Testament in Eskimo Syllabics. These appear to have been distributed through the agency of the Anglican Church Missionary at Great Whale River.

Moreover, primitive as these people are, they fully appreciate, I am reliably informed, the meaning and significance of the Scriptural commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill".

Who are these people? Their ancestors were here, so it is said, when [Henry] Hudson was cast adrift in this Bay in 1610. How long before that no one knows. They had, it is reliably stated, no contact with any Europeans until about 1905, and since then have met only the odd scientist and trader. They saw no white woman till three years ago when two scientists from Pittsburgh visited the Islands with their wives. There has never been a Police Post on these Islands or on the mainland

opposite. They have known no laws save the time-honoured customs handed down from one generation to another. Still less have they had any knowledge of law courts, judges or juries.

Untutored in our ways of life, uninfluenced by any form of alien culture, these "Children of the twilight" carry on today, as did their ancestors through countless generations, in this bleak, inhospitable region a ceaseless struggle for existence, grim and merciless in its character. A struggle perhaps unequalled by any aboriginal people in the qualities displayed of ingenuity, endurance and fortitude. There is hardly any country in the world more harsh and unfriendly than theirs or more destitute of all that is generally regarded as necessary to mere existence. It is truly, in the terms of the description applied by Jacques Cartier to the Labrador coast, "The land that God gave to Cain". Perhaps, periods of dearth must not have been infrequent. The grim spectre of starvation must have at [*sic*] to wrest from these wind-swept, rock-bound Islands and the circumambient sea a livelihood, which, if relentlessly precarious, has enabled them, or at any rate some of them, to survive. These, then, are the people of whose number some seven now find themselves at the bar of justice.

A people must naturally be viewed in the light of their environment, of the conditions under which they have lived and had their being. These Eskimos are, in fact, still in an early stage of evolution as human beings. We should also bear in mind that life in this desolate region, exposed as it is to the cruelest conditions and ever on the verge of extermination, is not conducive to excessive gentleness. Moreover, the terrible uncertainty of life in this region may account to some extent for the childish superstitions and mysteries with which they invest the earth and the universe.

Notwithstanding all this, the King's Writ runs in these Islands as our presence here attests. The criminal laws of Canada apply here as elsewhere throughout Canada. They are applicable no less to these aboriginies than to the other inhabitants of the Dominion.

There is, however, no good reason from a humanitarian and social point of view why the criminal laws of Canada should not be applied to these people. It may well have an enlightening and salutary influence. But entirely apart from that consideration, the laws of Canada are fair and just laws. To every citizen--however humble or primitive--in every well-ordered society--those who have the good fortune to be living under the regime of Pax [Britannica], have special reason to appreciate the force of this remark--is secured the protection of life and property and the pursuit of happiness.

When the life of one of them is wantonly taken by another, the sanctions of the criminal law are then invoked because the wrong done is not merely a wrong--the

supreme and ultimate wrong--to the individual who is the victim, it is a wrong to society itself; a grave violation of the King's peace.

It follows then that the provisions of the Criminal Law must be vindicated. The sanctions for which they provide must be enforced. Our duty in this regard, you and I, gentlemen, cannot and I am satisfied you will not shirk from discharging.

But I have thought it fitting to introduce my charge to you by the remarks I have made about these people, because, although the criminal laws of Canada must be applied to the accused Eskimos, the application of those laws to them ought, I venture to suggest, having regard to their primitive condition of life, to be eminently fair and merciful.

There may be some among you, who entertain the view that our code of punishments for crime, more particularly in the case of the major crimes, is not suited to the condition of these people and as applied to them will fail to attain the prime object in view; namely, to deter the commission of crime among them. There may be some merit in that view. As to that, I express no opinion. So far as these cases are concerned, gentlemen, you and I are bound to take the law as it stands. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the same laws, the same punishments for infractions thereof, must be applied to these Natives as to the other inhabitants of Canada. If the application of these laws and punishments to the Eskimos should appear to be attended by unjust consequences, His Excellency the Governor General, in the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, is competent if so advised to moderate the [rigorous] application of the laws and punishments to these offenders--if offenders they should be found to be and may, I do not doubt, be counted upon to deal justly and compassionately with their cases. The quality of mercy is not strained.

Gentlemen of the jury, in this trial your duty is to find the facts. My duty is to instruct you as to the law. What I tell you is the law relating to this case and which you must accept. In arriving at your verdict, you must apply that law to the facts as you find them.

I have the right and it is also my duty to sum up the facts and make such comments on them as I see fit. I may, perhaps, go quite far in expressing my opinion as to what your verdict should be in this case, but in the final analysis, the responsibility rests with you. You can entirely disregard any suggestions I may make to you regarding the facts if they should be in conflict with your own views. You must not disregard what I say in respect to the law.

There is no reason, however, why a jury should disregard what a Trial Judge tells them. We have only one interest in this case, you and I, and that is to see that a proper verdict is found. We have both taken an oath and they practically amount to the same thing. It is our obligation to see a true verdict is found according to the evidence.

The oath that you have taken, Gentlemen of the Jury, is try the accused upon the evidence in this case. If he is not tried upon the evidence in this case, you will fail in your duty. If you try him upon the evidence in this case, and come to the conclusion that he is guilty then you have nothing for which to reproach yourselves. You have nothing to fear from your own conscience or from the reproaches of any person. For this, you will have discharged your duty as jurors. You will have tried him upon the evidence and you will have given what you believe to be a true verdict on the evidence. It is a solemn obligation that a juror undertakes. It carried with it great responsibilities and do not shirk from your task in this case either in acquittal or if you believe the accused guilty in returning a verdict of guilty.

Gentlemen, you are entitled to weigh the evidence. You are entitled to believe the whole of any witness's evidence or disbelieve the whole of such evidence. You are, on the other hand, entitled to believe the evidence of any witness in part or reject it in part. You have seen each of the witnesses give his evidence. You have observed his demeanour in the witness box. You should consider whether he has given his evidence in a clear-cut, honest, straight-forward fashion or in a confused and shift manner. You should consider whether his evidence is colored by any element of interest or is biased. You should consider whether any witness has now given [evidence that] is consistent with any deposition he or she made upon a previous occasion or with any facts which you feel disposed to accept as having been established by the evidence of other witnesses. The credibility of a witness, in the proper sense, does not depend solely upon his honesty in giving evidence. It depends also upon his opportunity for accurate observation, his capacity to observe accurately, the firmness of his memory to carry in his mind the facts as observed, his ability to resist the influence--frequently unconscious--of interest to modify his recollection, his ability to reproduce in the witness box the facts observed and the capacity to express clearly what is in his mind. All of these factors are to be considered in determining what weight or effect should be given to the evidence of any witness.

I agree it is rather difficult, in dealing with these primitive people, to apply all of these factors.

Under the criminal law of this country a man is presumed to be innocent until he is proven guilty and the burden is upon the Crown throughout the trial to satisfy you as to guilt of the accused beyond a reasonable doubt.

What is a reasonable doubt? A reasonable doubt is an honest doubt. A doubt that remains in the mind of an honest juror having regard to the sanctity of his oath after a fair and honest consideration of the evidence. An honest doubt as to whether the crown has satisfied him beyond a reasonable doubt of the [guilt] of the accused.

It is not a fanciful doubt, not a doubt conjured up by a weak juryman to escape responsibility in a case. Neither is it a doubt actuated by a feeling of sympathy. There is no place for sympathy here.

The meaning of the expression, reasonable doubt, must be considered in the sense I have indicated. If on the evidence you honestly entertain a reasonable doubt as to the guilt of the accused, then the accused is entitled to the benefit of that doubt.

Now, Gentlemen, what is the law? I should tell you that I propose to read Section 69 of the Criminal Code of Canada and that Section provides:

“Every one is a party to and guilty of an offence who,

- (a) actually commits it; or
- (b) does or omits an act for the purpose of aiding any person to commit the offence; or
- (c) abets any person in commission of the offence; or
- (d) counsels or procures any person to commit the offence.

2. If several persons form a common intention to prosecute any unlawful purpose, and to assist each other therein, each of them is a party to every offence committed by any one of them in prosecution of such common purpose, the commission of which offence was, or ought to have been known to be a probable consequence of the prosecution of such common purpose.”

I am going to read to you Section 70 which provides:

“Every one who counsels or procures another person to be a party to an offence of which that person is afterwards guilty, is a party to that offence, although it may be committed in a way different from that which was counselled or suggested.

2. Every one who counsels or procures another to be a party to an offence is a party to every offence which that other commits in consequence of such counselling or procuring, and which the person counselling or procuring knew, or ought to have known, to be likely to be committed in consequence of such counselling or procuring.”

Now, gentlemen, the charge preferred against the accused in this case is the charge of murder. It is accordingly my duty to tell you what, in the eyes of the law, constitutes the crime of murder.

Homicide is the killing of a human being by another, directly or indirectly by any means whatsoever.

It may be culpable or non-culpable.

Culpable homicide is either murder or manslaughter.

Homicide which is not culpable is not an offence. Homicide which is not culpable may be divided into that which is (a) justifiable; e.g., capital execution or killing human beings in the advancement of public justice by preventing a prisoner from escaping, or in the course of war and (b) into that which is excusable; e.g., misadventures. I am loading a shot gun and accidentally the gun goes off and someone is shot; and self-defence. One is entitled to defend himself.

Culpable homicide is murder if the offender means to cause the death of the person killed, or if the offender means to cause to the person killed any bodily injury which is known to the offender to be likely to cause death and is reckless whether death ensues or not. A person is taken to intend the consequences of his intentional acts, but not of his accidental acts.

Now, gentlemen, when dealing with a murder charge, the Crown must prove:

- (1) death as a result of a voluntary act of the accused; and
- (2) malice of the accused.

Malice means a wrongful act done intentionally without just cause or excuse. The Crown may prove malice either expressly or by implication. For malice may be implied when the death occurs as a result of voluntary act of the accused which is:

- (1) intentional; and
- (2) unprovoked

When evidence of death and malice has been given and that is a question for the jury, the accused is entitled to show by evidence or by examination of the circumstances adduced by the Crown that the act on his part which caused death was either unintentional or provoked.

If the jury are either satisfied with his explanation or, upon review of all the evidence, are left in reasonable doubt whether--even if his explanation be not accepted--the act was unintentional or provoked, the prisoner is entitled to be acquitted.

Now, gentlemen, that is the position where the defence of insanity is not raised. The onus is on the Crown to establish to the satisfaction of the jury beyond a reasonable doubt that the prisoner killed the deceased and that he did it with malice.



On the other hand, as in this instance, the accused pleads he was insane at the time of the alleged killing, the position is different. The onus is placed definitely and exceptionally on the accused to establish such a defence. The defence of insanity must be proved by the accused, not beyond a reasonable doubt, but, "It must be clearly proved that at the time of the committing of the act, the accused was labouring under such a defect reason from [disease] of the mind, as not to know the nature and [quality of what he] was doing, or if he did know it, that he did not know he was doing what was wrong."

The definition of insanity is set out in Section 19 of the Criminal Code and this Section reads:

"No person shall be convicted of an offence by reason of an act done or omitted by him when labouring under natural imbecility, or disease of the mind, to such an extent as to render him incapable of appreciating the nature and quality of the act or omission, and of knowing that such an act or omission was wrong.

"A person labouring under specific delusions, but in other respects sane, shall not be acquitted on the ground of insanity, under the provisions hereinafter contained, unless the delusions caused him to believe in the existence of some state of things which, if it existed, would justify or excuse his act or omission.

"Every one shall be presumed to be sane at the time of doing or omitting to do any act until the contrary is proved."

The last Sub-Section provides that the burden of insanity is on the defence. That must be proved to the satisfaction of the jury.

Insanity is a good defence under that Section when it is shown either:

- (1) That the mind of the accused was affected to such an extent that at the time of the commission of the act complained of, he was not able to realize that he was doing wrong, or
- (2) That, though sane in other ways, he had certain delusions which caused him to imagine a condition of affairs which, had it been so, would have justified or excused his act.

It is sufficient if the defence establishes either one of these conditions, but such a condition must be established, I repeat, not beyond a reasonable doubt [but] by a preponderance of evidence to the satisfaction of the jury.

Insanity may be total or partial. You must bear in mind that a man does not become irresponsible for his acts by the ... [*editors' note: words cut off in original*] insane. Such a man may retain as much control over his passions as when in mental

health. He may, too, commit offences with which his infirmity has nothing to do. He may be sane as to his crime; understand its nature and be governed in regard to it by the same motives as other people, though on some other matter, having no relation to it, he may be subjected to delusions.

In a case reported, a defendant was convicted of cheating by false pretences and was not saved from punishment by his insane delusion that he was the lawful son of a well-known prince.

The first thing, therefore, to be impressed upon you is that wherever partial insanity is relied on as a defence, it must appear that the crime charged was the product of the morbid condition and connected with it and was not the result of sane reasoning or natural motives which the man may be capable of notwithstanding a circumscribed disorder of the mind.

It must be shown that when he committed the offence, the accused was so insane--insane to so great an extent--as to render him incapable of approaching or appreciating the nature or quality of his act or to prevent him from knowing that it was wrong. If the defence be that the accused, though sane in other respects, was, when he committed the offence, labouring under some delusion it must be shown that the specific delusion under which he was labouring caused him to believe there then existed a state of things which, had it existed in reality, would have justified or excused his act. For instance, a delusion that he was being violently attacked and in danger of being murdered and that he was obliged in self-defence to kill his antagonist. To give another example more closely analogous to this case, he was under the delusion that the Almighty had commanded him to do the act and in consequence of this delusion he was incapable of seeing that it was a wrong thing to do. In such a case, the prisoner was, at the time the act was committed, not in a responsible condition of mind and is an object of compassion and not of justice and ought to be acquitted.

Now, Gentlemen, that is all I have to say to you about the law, but I should add [to] this that mental deficiency, which is not insanity, is no defence.

The defence of uncontrollable impulse is unknown in English Law.

I am not going to say much about the facts. You have heard the witnesses, [except] to say this. There was a meeting of the Eskimos on the south part of Flarherty Island in January last. That there was a series of killings [is] clearly established. The meeting was something in the nature of a religious meeting. One of the witnesses said that they were praying for the coming of Jesus.

Sarah was struck by Alec first with his fist and then on the side of the head with a stick. This is established by the evidence of several witnesses. She was rendered

helpless by these blows is also established. That she was dragged out of the igloo by Johnasie, Mark, Mina and Akeenik is also, I suggest, satisfactorily established.

Johnasie says that he saw Akeenik strike Sarah with an old rifle until she was killed. I think, he is the only one of the witnesses to really say he [saw] it done. Many of the others say that Akeenik, Mark, Johnasie and Mina took her outside.

Any way as a result of blows first struck by Alec and secondly by Akeenik she died.

All the witnesses who have given any direct evidence at all agree that she was struck on the side of the head.

I believe that Dr. Orford's evidence is important. Dr. Orford says that he found fractures of the skull and that either fracture of the skull would cause death.

You will have to determine whether the accused were or were not guilty of murder. The Counsel for the Defence has said something about [manslaughter]. In my opinion, it is either murder or nothing.

Johnasie, Eskimo male, recalled on his former oath and questioned as follows by MR. R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL:

Q. When Sarah was dragged out of the igloo did you see her struck by any blows?

A. Yes.

Q. Who struck the blows?

A. Akeenik.

Q. What did she use?

A. The barrel of a rifle with no stock on it.

Q. Did you see Alec use the rifle?

A. He did not have it to strike her with.

Q. Did Alec go outside when they took Sarah out?

A. No.

**158. Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Adlaykok and Peter Sala, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 19 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

IN THE COURT OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE  
JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF THE NORTH WEST  
TERRITORIES OF CANADA

B E T W E E N:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING

-AND-

Adlaykok (Eskimo male) and Peter Sale (Eskimo male)

To.

M.E. Holtzman; Jack Rubie; Edward Guy Cadney; Ernest Riddell, James McCook; William Kinmond; Esquires, all [recently] at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the North West Territories Act, R.S.C. 1927, Chapter 142, Section 48, you are hereby required and commanded to be and appear at the Court House, At Laddie's Cove, Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands, in the North West Territories of Canada, on Wed[nes]day, the 20th day of August, A.D. 1941, at 9.30 o'clock, in the forenoon, to serve as a juror in the above named matter.

Herein fail not at your peril.

GIVEN under my hand at Belcher Islands, in the said Territories, this 19th day of August, A.D. 1941.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

Stipendiary Magistrate.

**159. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Peter Sala and Rex vs. Adlaykok, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 19 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

PROCEEDINGS OF HEARINGS held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before C.P. Plaxton, Esquire, Stipendiary Magistrate, this 19th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, in the case of Rex vs Peter Sala, Eskimo male, and Rex vs Adlaykok, Eskimo male, charged jointly with the murder of Keytowieack, Eskimo male, at Flarherty Island, Belcher Islands Group, Northwest Territories, ....

HAROLD UDGARDEN, INTERPRETER, DULY SWORN

P R O S E C U T I O N

Johnasie, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(Questioned by R.S. Olmstead, Prosecuting Counsel)

Q. What is your name?

- A. Johnasie.
- Q. [Were] you on Flarherty Island last winter?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you go to the meeting in the igloo after Sarah's death?
- A. I was not there at the time, but I went afterwards.
- Q. Were Peter Sala and Adlaykok there?
- A. Peter was not there when I got to the camp, but Adlaykok went for Peter and brought him to the camp.
- Q. Was Keytowieack there?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What was he doing?
- A. All of them were having a good time. Keytowieack was into it to[o].
- Q. Was there any dispute between Keytowieack and Peter Sala?
- A. That is what happened. That is why they killed him.
- Q. Because of the dispute they killed Keytowieack?
- A. Yes.
- Q. After the dispute where did Keytowieack go?
- A. He went to his snow house.
- Q. Did you see that?
- A. I stayed in the snow house. I did not see him.
- Q. Did Keytowieack leave the igloo that you were all in?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did Peter Sala do then?
- A. Keytowieack went out of the snow house in the night and they did not know anything about him until the next day.
- Q. What happened the next day?
- A. Keytowieack came the next morning to the window in the snow house and looked in through the hole.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. He came and looked in the window and wanted some one to come on his side.
- Q. Did any body go?
- A. No one went.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. They had a pretty long stick and they hit him in the mouth with it?
- Q. Who hit him?
- A. Peter.
- Q. Did you see Peter throw it?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How long was the stick?
- A. About four feet long.
- Q. Was it a heavy stick?
- A. No.

- Q. How heavy would it be?
- A. It was not as heavy as the harpoon rod. It was a little lighter than that.
- Q. What did Adlaykok do then?
- A. He was in the snow house.
- Q. Where did Keytowieack go or what did he do after he was hit?
- A. He went to his own snow-house.
- Q. Did you see him go to his snow-house?
- A. No.
- Q. Where did you go after Keytowieack was hit?
- A. I stayed in the same snow-house.
- Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?
- A. When they were killing him.
- Q. You saw them?
- A. I was looking on.
- Q. Who was killing him?
- A. Peter Sala threw a harpoon at him.
- Q. Did you see Peter Sala throw a harpoon at him?
- A. I saw Peter throw the harpoon, but I did not see Keytowieack.
- Q. What did Adlaykok do? Was he there?
- A. He shot at him through the window of the snow-house.
- Q. Who shot him?
- A. Adlaykok.
- Q. Did you see him shoot him?
- A. I saw Adlaykok shoot, and the fellow he shot at.
- Q. How many shots did you see fired?
- A. Two shots.
- Q. Did you go in Keytowieack's igloo after the shooting?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body any time after the shooting?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Where was it?
- A. In the inside of the snow-house.
- Q. Did you see any wounds on it?
- A. I saw some of them.
- Q. Where were they?
- A. A mark on his cheek and a bullet hole going through his chest. It went in one side and out the other.
- Q. What do you mean by a mark on his cheek?
- A. It was a bullet hole from a .44-40 rifle.
- Q. Did they bury Keytowieack's body?
- A. No.
- Q. Why did they not give it the usual Eskimo burial?

- A. Because they thought he was Satan.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body this summer?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where?  
A. Across the Island.  
Q. Are you sure it was Keytowieack's body?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

- Q. When [P]eter threw the harpoon, you don't know what he threw it at do you?  
A. I could not see what he threw the harpoon at.  
Q. When Adlaykok fired the rifle, could you see what he fired at?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was the rifle fired through the window of the igloo?  
A. Yes, he fired through the window.  
Q. Weren't you on the outside?  
A. Yes, I was outside.  
Q. How could you see through the window?  
A. It was a big window and I could see.  
Q. That shot killed Keytowieack?  
A. I wasn't looking at him then.  
Q. This was just the day after Sarah was killed?  
A. Not the day after, but the second day after.  
Q. Were the Eskimos still excited?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you excited?  
A. I was the same. I believed all what they told me.  
Q. Who told you?  
A. The one they said was God and the one they said was Jesus.  
Q. The day that Keytowieack was killed did you believe that Charlie was Jesus?  
A. I believed it all the time.  
Q. Did you still believe that Peter Sala was God?  
A. Yes.  
Q. The day that Keytowieack was killed was there any talking about God or Jesus that day?  
A. I did not hear them that day.  
Q. Did you hear anyone talking about Satan that day?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you think Keytowieack was Satan?  
A. They said that Keytowieack was Satan and I believed it.  
Q. Was there anything said about burying Keytowieack after he died?

A. No.

Q. Why wasn't he buried?

A. They said that he was Satan.

Q. Who said that?

A. Peter.

Q. Did you hear Adlaykok say anything about him?

A. I did not hear him say that he was Satan.

Q. But you did hear Peter say that he was Satan?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you afraid of Keytowieack?

A. No.

Nellie, Eskimo female, daughter of Kawtook, saith on oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

Q. What is your name?

A. Nellie.

Q. Were you on Flarherty Island last winter?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you at a meeting in the igloo after Sarah's death?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Peter Sala there?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Adlaykok there?

A. Yes.

Q. What did Keytowieack do?

A. He was in the snow-house and he went out of the snow-house.

Q. Why did he leave the igloo?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did he come back to that igloo again?

A. He came back to the window and said, "I want some one to be on my side".

Q. What happened?

A. He threw a stick at him through a hole.

Q. Who threw the stick?

A. Peter.

Q. Did you see him throw the stick?

A. I saw him.

Q. What happened then?

A. Keytowieack went back to his own snow-house.

Q. Did you see the stick hit Keytowieack?

A. I did not see it. It was dark.

Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?



- A. [T]he next day.  
Q. Where was he?  
A. In his own snow-house.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. I did not see him again until after he was dead.  
Q. Did you see Peter Sala or Adlaykok that day?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were they doing?  
A. They left him and went off somewhere else and shifted their tent.  
Q. Who shifted their tent?  
A. Peter and Adlaykok.  
Q. What else did Peter and Adlaykok do?  
A. They went off the same day.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body after he was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where was it?  
A. In the snow-house.  
Q. Did you hear any discussion in the snow-house about Satan?  
A. I only heard them say that Keytowieack was Satan.  
Q. Who said that?  
A. All the people.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL

- Q. Was it dark the first night that Keytowieack came to the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Keytowieack was killed shortly after Sarah's death, is that right?  
A. Yes.  
Q. How long after?  
A. They killed Sarah in the evening and Keytowieack the next day.  
Q. Before Keytowieack was killed was there a meeting going on?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were you doing at the meeting?  
A. They were praying.  
Q. What were you praying for?  
A. Praying and singing and saying that Jesus was coming.  
Q. Was Peter Sala at that meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Adlaykok at the meeting?  
A. Yes.

- Q. Do you know whether they were praying or not?  
A. I did not hear them praying.  
Q. Who did you think God was that night?  
A. Peter.  
Q. Who did you think Jesus was?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. Were you afraid of Keytowieack?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Why were you afraid of Keytowieack?  
A. Because he was Satan.  
Q. Were you [glad] when you heard Keytowieack was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Why were you glad?  
A. Satan was killed.  
Q. Do you know if anyone else was afraid of Keytowieack?  
A. They were all afraid of him.  
Q. Why?  
A. Because I heard them say it.  
Q. What did you think that Satan would do?  
A. I do not know.

Shooluksuk, Eskimo male, saith on oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Shooluksuk.  
Q. Were you at Flarherty Island last winter?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you at a meeting of the Natives in the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were Peter Sala and Adlaykok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Keytowieack there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What happened at the meeting?  
A. They believed in God and had a good time of it.  
Q. Who was God?  
A. Peter.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Was there any trouble between Peter and Keytowieack?  
A. No.

- Q. Did they have any dispute?  
A. They did.  
Q. What was it about?  
A. About God.  
Q. Were you in the igloo at this time?  
A. Yes.  
Q. While you were there, was there any dispute between Keytowieack and any of the others?  
A. They weren't very well pleased with one another.  
Q. Where did he go then?  
A. He came back to the snow-house and they threw a stick at him through the hole.  
Q. Who threw the stick?  
A. Peter.  
Q. Did you see Peter throw the stick?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where did it hit Keytowieack?  
A. In the mouth.  
Q. What did Keytowieack do then?  
A. He went back to his own snow house.  
Q. When did you see Keytowieack after that?  
A. I did not see him again until after they killed him.  
Q. Where was Keytowieack when you next saw him?  
A. He was in his snow-house.  
Q. Was he alive?  
A. He was dead[.]  
Q. What time did Adlaykok return to his snow-house?  
A. They went to hunt him up the next morning--Peter and Adlaykok.  
Q. Peter and Adlaykok went to hunt who up?  
A. Keytowieack.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

- Q. Were you afraid of Keytowieack?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you hear anyone [say] that he was Satan?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who?  
A. All the people that [were] in the snow-house.  
Q. What did you think Satan would do to the Eskimos?  
A. I did not have anything in mind [as to] what Satan would do to them.

Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(WITNESS GIVEN THE PROTECTION OF THE CANADA EVIDENCE ACT)

QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Charlie Ouyerack.  
Q. Were you at a meeting of the natives on Flarherty Island last winter?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were they doing at this meeting?  
A. They were praying.  
Q. Who to?  
A. Praying to Jesus.  
Q. Who was Jesus?  
A. Myself.  
Q. Was Keytowieack there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were Peter Sala and Adlaykok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was there any dispute between Keytowieack and Peter Sala or Adlaykok?  
A. No, not while they were all in the snow-house.  
Q. What did Keytowieack do?  
A. He went out of the snow-house.  
Q. Why did he go out of the snow-house?  
A. I don't know why.  
Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?  
A. When he came back to the snow-house in the morning.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. He said that he wanted someone to come on his side.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. I don't remember what was done to him.  
Q. Did he stay at the window very long?  
A. He stayed a little while, but not long.  
Q. What did Peter Sala do then that you saw?  
A. I saw Peter throw a stick at him.  
Q. Did the stick hit him?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What did Adlaykok do at that time?  
A. He was in the snow-house.  
Q. Where did the stick hit Keytowieack?  
A. In the mouth.  
Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?  
A. After they killed him.

Q. Before he was killed did you see Peter Sala or Adlaykok?

A. Yes.

Q. What were they doing?

A. They were in the snow-house.

Q. Did Adlaykok go anywhere out of the snow-house?

A. I do not know.

Q. Was there any discussion in the snow-house about Satan?

A. They said that Keytowieack was Satan.

Q. Did you hear anything going on outside?

A. No.

Q. Did you hear any noise?

A. They were in the snow-house.

Q. Did you have any cartridges?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you do with them?

A. I shot the dogs with some of them.

Q. Did you give any to anybody that day?

A. I gave one to Adlaykok. He wanted a cartridge.

Q. Why did he want a cartridge?

A. He said that he did not kill it that time.

Q. Didn't kill what?

A. He said that he did not kill him and he wanted a cartridge.

Q. Did Adlaykok say what he was shooting at?

A. He said that he was shooting Keytowieak.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

(REMARK OF DEFENCE COUNSEL TO WITNESS, CHARLIE OUYERACK:

Charlie, I want you to remember that you have to tell the truth.)

Q. The morning that Keytowieach was killed were you not in your own igloo getting you[r] clothes mended?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see anything that went on outside?

A. I did not see anything.

Q. Tell us again what Adlaykok said to you when he came in that morning?

A. I do not remember.

Q. What was all this trouble about in the igloo that night?

A. They said that Jesus was going to come. They expected him to come.

Q. Was Sala and Adlaykok in the igloo when they said that?

A. They were all in the snow-house.

- Q. Were you still Jesus at that time?  
A. Yes.  
Q. And Peter Sala was God?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you hear anyone say that night that Keytowieack was Satan?  
A. I do not remember.  
Q. Did you believe that Keytowieack was Satan?  
A. I believed it all what they said.  
Q. When they said that Keytowieack was Satan, you believed that?  
A. I believed them.  
Q. Were you afraid of Keytowieack?  
A. No.  
Q. Are you the one that teaches the Eskimos this religion?  
A. Yes, me and Peter.  
Q. Keytowieack was killed just a short time after Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.

APAWKOK, Eskimo male, saith as follows on oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Apawkok.  
Q. Were you on Flarherty Island last winter?  
A. I went to them.  
Q. Are you the father of Sarah?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you go to the meeting in the snow-house after Sarah's death?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who were at the meeting?  
A. Peter Sala and Adlaykok were off when I got to the camp.  
Q. Did they come to the meeting afterwards?  
A. Peter and Adlaykok were at the meeting when I got there.  
Q. Was Keytowieack there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What were they doing at the meeting?  
A. They were making a noise, and calling out.  
Q. Was it a religious meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What did Keytowieack do after the meeting or during it?  
A. He didn't do anything.  
Q. Did he stay there?  
A. Peter and Charlie were doing the talking.

- Q. What did Keytowieack do?  
A. He stayed there listening to them.  
Q. Did he go away?  
A. He went out of the snow-house in the night.  
Q. When did he come back?  
A. He came back in the night.  
Q. Did he say anything when he came back?  
A. I heard him say that the people who were going to listen to Peter he would lead them all wrong.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. I do not remember rightly.  
Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?  
A. I did not see him again until after they killed him.  
Q. Did you see Adlaykok or Peter Sala after Keytowieack was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Adlaykok say anything to you?  
A. No.  
Q. Did Peter say anything to you?  
A. No, he did not. I don't remember if he said anything.  
Q. Did you examine Keytowieack's body?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you notice anything about the body?  
A. I did not take any notice of anything.

THE DEFENCE DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE DEPONENT

The Deponent, Enoopuk, Eskimo male, saith as follows on oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Enoopuk.  
Q. Were you at the meeting on Flarherty Island after Sarah was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who [was] there?  
A. There was a lot of them there. If I were to name all of them it would take a good while.  
Q. Was Peter [sic] there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Adlaykok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Keytowieack there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did Keytowieack leave the snow-house?

- A. He went out of the snow-house.
- Q. Why did he leave?
- A. He went out of the snow-house because he did not believe what they wanted him to believe.
- Q. When did you next see Keytowieack?
- A. He went out of the snow-house and he came back the same morning. I saw him then.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. They had a big hole where the window was and he looked in and said that he wanted someone to help him.
- Q. What happened then?
- A. Peter threw a stick at him.
- Q. You saw Peter throw the stick?
- A. I did not see him do it as I was sitting down.
- Q. What happened after that?
- A. He went away to his own house[.]
- Q. Did you go out to see where Keytowieack went?
- A. I did not go out.
- Q. What happened next?
- A. I did not see him again until they killed him.
- Q. Did you see Adlaykok after that?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Where did you see him?
- A. I saw him outside.
- Q. Did Adlaykok come into the igloo?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Why did he come in?
- A. He came for a cartridge.
- Q. What did Adlaykok say?
- A. He said that what he shot is not dead.
- Q. Did he say what he was shooting at?
- A. He did not name what he was firing at.
- Q. Did he say anything about Satan?
- A. I do not remember.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

- Q. Keytowieack was a teacher?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did he teach?
- A. He used to talk about religion.
- Q. Who was Jesus?



- A. He was always teaching the Eskimos and would also talk about Jesus.  
Q. Who was God?  
A. He talked about God and Jesus and one day we would see them up in Heaven.  
Q. Did you believe that Charlie was Jesus?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you believe that Peter was God?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you think there was a God in Heaven?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPONENT, KUGVEET, Eskimo male, saith on oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Kugveet.  
Q. [Were] you at a meeting on Flarherty Island?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Keytowieack at the meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were Peter Sala and Adlaykok there?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What happened at this meeting?  
A. They were praying to Jesus.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. Keytowieack went out of the tent.  
Q. When did you see Keytowieack again?  
A. The next day.  
Q. Where did you see him?  
A. Through the window in the snow house.  
Q. What did Keytowieack say?  
A. He said that he wanted someone to help him.  
Q. What happened then?  
A. Peter threw a stick at him.  
Q. Peter threw it at who?  
A. Keytowieack[.]  
Q. Did it hit him?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see it hit him?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where did it hit him?  
A. On the mouth.  
Q. Where did Keytowieack go then?

- A. He went back to his own snow-house.  
Q. When did you see Keytowieack after that?  
A. When they were going to kill him.  
Q. Where was he?  
A. Inside his snow-house.  
Q. Do you mean [they] were going to kill him?  
A. Peter Sala said to kill him.  
Q. Where did they go?  
A. They went to Keytowieack's snow-house.  
Q. Did you go with them?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What happened at Keytowieack's snow-house?  
A. I saw Peter [t]hrow the harpoon rod at him from outside.  
Q. What else happened?  
A. I saw Adlaykok shooting him.  
Q. Where did he shoot him?  
A. He was in the snow-house.  
Q. Adlaykok shot him where?  
A. In the chest.  
Q. Did you see the wounds?  
A. I only saw the clothes.  
Q. How many shots were fired?  
A. Two shots.  
Q. Did you see them both fired?  
A. I saw them fire one shot.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack's body afterwards?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Where was it?  
A. Along the edge of the snow-house and inside.  
Q. What snow-house?  
A. His own.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL

- Q. Was Keytowieack beating the snow-house when the meeting was going on?  
A. Yes, the outside.  
Q. What was he beating it with?  
A. I saw him holding something, but I do not know what it was.  
Q. Who broke the window in the igloo?  
A. Alec.  
Q. Alec who?  
A. Alec Apawkok.

- Q. When did he break the window?  
A. In the evening.  
Q. Why did he break it?  
A. He wanted to look on what was going on.  
Q. The next morning after the meeting there were some children who told you something, were there not?  
A. Yes.  
Q. What did they tell you?  
A. The girl told me that Jesus was coming.  
Q. Was that the day that Keytowieack was killed? The day the girl told you that Jesus was coming?  
A. No.  
Q. When was it[,] before or after?  
A. After.  
Q. The day that Keytowieack was killed was there any noise around the camp?  
A. I heard them say that they thought it was awful to kill a person. After they killed him, they thought it was nothing.  
Q. Why did they think it was nothing?  
A. Because they thought they were good and Keytowieack was bad.  
Q. Were you afraid of Keytowieack?  
A. No.  
Q. Was any one afraid of him?  
A. I do not know.

Moses, Eskimo male, saith as follows on oath:

QUESTIONED BY R[.]A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Moses.  
Q. Were you on Flarherty Island last winter?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you at a meeting the day following Sarah's death?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Was Keytowieack at that meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were Peter Sala and Adlaykok at the meeting?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see Keytowieack leave the igloo?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you see anyone shooting a rifle?  
A. I saw them fire one shot.  
Q. Who was firing the rifle?

A. Adlaykok.

Q. Do you know who Adlaykok was firing at?

A. I knew he was shooting a person.

Q. Do you know what person?

A. Keytowieack.

Q. How many shots were fired?

A. Two [shots].

Q. Did you see Keytowieack after he was dead?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any wounds on his body?

A. One.

Q. Where was it?

A. On the cheek.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. What were they talking about at the meeting?

A. God.

Q. Who [was] doing the talking?

A. Charlie.

Q. Was that the night that Keytowieack was shot?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Keytowieack shot the night of the meeting?

A. I saw him when he was shot.

Q. When was that? The night of the meeting?

A. They shot him in the morning. I saw him in the snow-house in the morning.

Q. Was that after he was shot?

A. No, before he was shot.

Q. Was there any excitement or noise around the camp that morning?

A. I heard them making a noise, but I don't know what they were saying.

Q. Who [was] making the noise?

A. They were all making a noise.

Q. The morning that Keytowieack was shot was there any noise?

A. No.

Q. Were you glad when Keytowieack was shot?

A. Yes.

Q. Why were you glad?

A. They said he was Satan.

Q. Did you believe he was Satan?

A. I believed it with a strong belief.

The Deponent, Dr. T.J. Orford, SAITH AS FOLLOWS ON OATH:

QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL:

Q. Doctor, you are one of His Majesty's Coroners for the North-West Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. You held an inquest on the body of an Eskimo on the 28th of July of this year?

A. Yes.

Q. You identified the body as that of whom?

A. The body was identified as that of Keytowieack.

Q. Were you able to ascertain how he came to his death?

A. There was a wound in the left side of the face 1¼ inches below the cheek bone with a fracture of the upper and lower jaws. A probe into this wound took a course into the base of the brain. There was no exit to this wound. There was a perforating wound in front of the right chest one inch above the armpit just at the edge of shoulder. A probe into this wound took a course posteriorly and to the left with point of exit in the back and two inches below and one inch behind the left arm pit.

There was extensive [bruising] of the right side of the face, eye, forehead and scalp and haemorrhage beneath the skin and there was a small perforating wound in the skin just above the right eye.

Q. Would any of these wound[s] cause death?

A. The wound into the base of the brain would cause immediate death. The wound through the body would also cause death.

THE DEPONENT NOT CROSS EXAMINED.

CHARGE TO THE JURY

Gentlemen of the Jury, many of the remarks I addressed to you yesterday I need not repeat. You will recall what I did say as to our relative functions. You must take the law from me and apply that law to the facts as you find them. You will also recall what I said to you in regard to the way you should size up the evidence of the witnesses and so on. You also recall that the Crown must establish the case beyond a reasonable doubt.

There was a meeting of these Eskimos on the south part of Flarherty Island last January. Peter Sala and a number of others were there. It was a meeting of a religious nature. Charlie Ouyerack had cast himself in the role of Jesus and Peter Sala was God. They apparently said that Keytowieack was Satan.

Keytowieack apparently left the meeting and then came back and looked in through a window of the igloo and asked for help. He asked that some one should join his side.

The evidence is that Peter Sala threw a stick at him and hit him in the mouth. He went away to his own igloo. The next morning, Sala threw a harpoon through his window. No witness said what it struck. One witness said that Sala said to shoot Keytowieack and Adlaykok got a gun and cartridges and fired two shots and the evidence is that these both shots took effect and killed him.

Now, Gentlemen, they are the outstanding facts.

This is the law. I think I will repeat what I did say about the law.

Homicide is the direct killing of a human being by another. It may be direct or indirect. It may be culpable or non-culpable. Culpable homicide is either murder [or] manslaughter. Homicide which is not culpable is not an offence. Culpable homicide is murder if the offender means to cause the death of the person killed [or] any bodily injury which is known to the offender to be likely to cause death and is reckless whether death ensues or not. A person is taken to intend the consequences of his intentional acts, but not of his accidental acts.

In dealing with a murder charge, the Crown must prove:

- (1) death as a result of a voluntary act of the accused;
- (2) malice of the accused.

Malice means a wrongful act done intentionally without just cause or excuse. The Crown may prove malice either expressly or by implication. Malice may be implied when the death occurs as a result of voluntary act of the accused which is: (1) [intentional], (2) unprovoked.

When evidence of death and malice has been given and that is a question for the jury, the accused is entitled to show by evidence or by examination of the circumstances adduced by the Crown that the act on his part which caused death was either unintentional or provoked.

If the jury is satisfied with his explanation or, upon a review of the evidence, is left in reasonable doubt whether the act was unintentional or provoked, the prisoner is entitled to be acquitted.

That is the position where the defence of insanity is not raised. The onus is on the Crown to establish to the satisfaction of the jury beyond a reasonable doubt that the prisoner killed the deceased and that he did it with malice.

On the other hand as in this instance, the accused pleads he was insane at the time of the alleged killing, the position is different. The onus is placed definitely and on the accused to establish such a defence. That defence must be proved not

beyond a reasonable doubt, but by a [preponderance] of evidence to the satisfaction of the jury.

It must be clearly proved that at the time of the committing of the act, the accused was labouring under such a defect of reasoning from [disease] of the mind, as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or if he did know it, that he did not know he was doing what was wrong.

The definition of insanity is set out in Section 19 of the Criminal Code and this Section reads:

“No person shall be convicted of an offence by reason of an act done or omitted by him when labouring under natural imbecility, or disease of the mind, to such an extent as to render him incapable of appreciating the nature and quality of the act or omission, and of knowing that such an act or omission was wrong.

“A person labouring under specific delusions, but in other respect sane, shall not be acquitted on the ground of insanity, under the provisions hereinafter contained, unless the delusions caused him to believe in the existence of some state of things which, if it existed, would justify or excuse his act or omission.

“Every one shall be presumed to be sane at the time of doing or omitting to do any act until the contrary is proved.”

The last Sub-Section provides that the burden of insanity is on the defence. That must be proven to the [satisfaction] of the jury.

Insanity is a good defence under that Section when it is shown either:

- (1) that the mind of the accused was affected to such an extent that at the time of the commission of the act complained of, he was not able to realize that he was doing wrong, or,
- (2) that, though sane in other ways, he had certain delusions which caused him to imagine a condition of affairs which, had it been so, would have justified or excused his act.

It is sufficient if the defence establishes either one of these conditions, but such a condition must be established, I repeat, not beyond a reasonable doubt but by a preponderance of evidence to the satisfaction of the jury.

Insanity may be total or partial. You must bear in mind that a man does not become irresponsible for his acts by the mere fact of being partially insane. Such a man may retain as much control over his passions as when in mental health. He may, too, commit offences with which his infirmity has nothing to do. He may be

sane as to his crime; understand its nature and be governed in regard to it by the same motives as other people, though on some other matter, having no relation to it, he may be subjected to delusions.

In a case reported, a defendant was convicted of cheating by false pretences and was not saved from punishment by his insane delusion that he was the lawful [son] of a well-known prince.

The first thing, therefore, to be impressed upon you is that wherever partial insanity is relied on as a defence, it must appear that the crime charged was the product of the morbid condition and connected with it and was not the result of sane reasoning or natural motives which the man may be capable of notwithstanding a circumscribed disorder of the mind.

It must be shown that when he committed the offence, the accused was so insane--insane to so great an extent--as to render him incapable of approaching or appreciating the nature and quality of his act or to prevent him from knowing that it was wrong. If the defence be that the accused, though sane in other respects, was, when he committed the offence, labouring under some delusion it must be shown that the specific delusion under which he was labouring caused him to believe there then existed a state of things which, had it existed in reality, would have justified or excused his act. For instance, a delusion that he was being violently attacked and in danger of being murdered and that he was obliged in self-defence to kill his antagonist. To give another example more closely analogous to this case, he was under the delusion that the Almighty had commanded him to do the act and in consequence of this delusion he was incapable of seeing that it was a wrong thing to do. In such a case, the prisoner was, at the time the act was committed, not in a responsible condition of mind and is an object of compassion and not of justice and ought to be acquitted.

Now, Gentlemen, that is all I have to say to you about the law, but I should add this that mental deficiency, which is not i[n]sanity, is no defence.

The defence of uncontrol[l]able impulse is unknown in English Law.

I am not going to say much about the facts. You have heard the witnesses.

The evidence of all the witnesses shows very strongly that Keytowieack was believed to be Satan. That evidence seems to me to have a bearing as to whether or not they were sane entirely or labouring under the delusion that Keytowieack was Satan and by doing away with him they were doing away with a wrongful thing. You will recall what I said to you in this regard.

If you come to the conclusion that the alleged crime does not constitute murder, then the Jury is entitled to reduce the charge to manslaughter.



I Think, I need not add anything more to what I have said. You may retire.

**160. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 18 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

PROCEEDINGS OF HEARINGS held at Belcher Islands in the NORTHWEST TERRITORIES before C.P. Plaxton, Esquire, Stipendiary Magistrate, this 18th day of August in the year A.D. 1941, in the case of Rex vs CHARLIE OUYERACK AND QUARACK, Eskimo Males, charged jointly with the murder of Alec Ekpuk, Eskimo male, at Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands Group, Northwest Territories, on or about the 9th day of February, A.D., 1941.

Harold Udgarden, Interpreter, duly sworn

P R O S E C U T I O N

Moses, Eskimo male, saith on his oath:

(QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL)

Q. What is your name?

A. Moses.

Q. Was Alec Ekpuk also known as Alec Keytowieack?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you at the camp on Tukarack Island last winter?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Alec Ekpuk there?

A. No.

Q. Did he go to the camp?

A. No.

Q. Were you present on Tukarack Island with Quarack and Charlie Ouyerack last winter?

A. Yes.

Q. Where was that?

A. On the east of Tukarack Island.

Q. What were the Natives doing in that camp?

A. They were working on God's word.

Q. Who was teaching them?

A. Charlie.

Q. Was Alec Ekpuk there?

A. Yes.

Q. What happened at the camp?

- A. They were talking about God's word.
- Q. Did any trouble start there?
- A. They murdered Alec there. They told me to do it, but I wouldn't.
- Q. Who told you to do it?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Why did they want to kill Ekpuk?
- A. They said that he was Satan.
- Q. Did you hear Charlie tell any one to kill Ekpuk?
- A. He told me to kill him[.]
- Q. What did you say?
- A. I said, no.
- Q. Did he ask anybody else to kill Ekpuk?
- A. I wasn't there when they killed him.
- Q. When Charlie asked you to kill Ekpuk what did you say?
- A. I told him all right.
- Q. Why didn't you do it?
- A. I didn't want to kill a person like myself.
- Q. Were you there with Charlie at the time?
- A. Yes, I was there.
- Q. Did you hear Charlie ask anybody else to do the shooting?
- A. No.
- Q. What happened after you refused to kill Ekpuk?
- A. I don't remember.
- Q. You were at the camp when Ekpuk was shot?
- A. I was in a snow house.
- Q. Did you know that Ekpuk had been shot?
- A. I was looking at them through the snow-house.
- Q. What were you looking out of?
- A. The top was off a snow-house.
- Q. What did you see that they were doing?
- A. They told him to walk out on the ice.
- Q. Told who?
- A. Alec Ekpuk.
- Q. Did you hear them telling him to walk out on the ice?
- A. No.
- Q. Do you remember telling about this at a hearing before Inspector Martin about 3 weeks ago?
- A. I can't remember it all.
- Q. Do you [remember] being in the store about 3 weeks ago when you were asked a lot of questions about this?
- A. I remember some of it.
- Q. Do you remember saying that Charlie told Quarack to shoot Ekpuk?

- A. I did not hear him saying that, but I heard it from the people.
- Q. Do you remember them asking you this question, "Did you see him shooting Ekpuk?" and you answered, "Yes, I saw him"?
- A. I saw him shoot him.
- Q. You saw who shoot who?
- A. Quarack shooting at Alec Ekpuk.
- Q. Where were you when the shooting was going on?
- A. I was in the snow-house.
- Q. Where was Alec Ekpuk when he was shot?
- A. He was along the ice. There was a crack in the ice.
- Q. Was he walking on the ice?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Why was he walking on the ice?
- A. There was a little black thing out on the ice and they told him to go and see it.
- Q. Who told him to go and see it?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did you hear Charlie tell him?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did Ekpuk do when Quarack fired the first shot?
- A. He fell down on the ice and commenced to look around.
- Q. What happened after that?
- A. He fired another shot at him.
- Q. Did he fire it from the same place as he fired the first shot?
- A. He went a little closer.
- Q. What happened after that?
- A. He went closer up and fired the 3rd shot.
- Q. Do you know whose rifle Quarack had?
- A. His own.
- Q. Did you go and see Ekpuk's body on the ice?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Where was Charlie when Quarack was doing the shooting?
- A. He was outside of the igloo.
- Q. Whose igloo?
- A. Quarack's igloo.
- Q. Was he near where Quarack was?
- A. He was at the same place as Quarack was.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

- Q. Alec's wife's name is Eva, is that right?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Quarack is Eva's father?

- A. Yes.
- Q. Was Alec buried like any other Eskimo?
- A. They buried him by throwing the rocks on him.
- Q. They did not put the rocks on him carefully like any other Eskimo?
- A. They just threw the rocks on him.
- Q. Why didn't they bury him properly?
- A. Because he was Satan.
- Q. Who said that he was Satan?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Did any one else say that he was Satan?
- A. I did not hear anyone else say that.
- Q. Were you glad when Alec was dead?
- A. Yes, I was [glad] because they said he was Satan.
- Q. Was Quarack glad?
- A. They were all glad.
- Q. Even Alec's wife?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Before Alec was killed did you have another one of those meetings?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. Were you expecting Jesus to come at that time?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you remember when Sarah was killed?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you remember when Keytowieack was killed?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was it long after Keytowieack's death that Alec was killed?
- A. A good while after Keytowieack was killed.
- Q. Were you excited that day?
- A. I was glad. I believed then what they told me.
- Q. Who was God at that time?
- A. Charlie.
- Q. Who was Jesus at that time?
- A. They did not say that any one was Jesus.

THE DEPONENT, EVA NAROOMI, ESKIMO FEMALE, ON OATH,  
SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

THE DEPONENT QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING  
COUNSEL:

- Q. Are you Eva Naroomi the widow of Alec Ekpuk?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Were you at the camp at the time your husband was killed?

- A. I wasn't right at the camp.  
Q. Do you know of your own knowledge why he was killed?  
A. They said he was Satan.  
Q. Who said that?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. How did the Eskimos regard the shooting of Ekpuk?  
A. I don't know.  
Q. Did anybody say anything to you about your husband after he had been shot?  
A. No.  
Q. Did anybody tell you to be glad?  
A. They told me to be glad.  
Q. Who told you?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did you see your husband's body after the killing?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

- Q. Did Charlie tell you that you were a devil?  
A. Yes, Charlie told me that I was Satan.  
Q. Both you and your husband?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you believe Charlie?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Did you believe your husband, Alec, was Satan?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you glad when Alec died?  
A. I was told to be glad.  
Q. Did you and your husband quarrel before this time? Were you happy?  
A. I never quarreled.  
Q. Was your mother glad when Alec was killed?  
A. Yes.

THE DEPONENT, PETER SALA, ESKIMO MALE, ON OATH, SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL:

- Q. What is your name?  
A. Peter Sala.  
Q. I understand that you came to this camp after Ekpuk was killed?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Do you know why Ekpuk was killed?

A. They said he was Satan.

Q. Who said that?

A. All the people said that in the snow-house.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. Peter, is Quarack a good hunter?

A. Yes.

Q. Is he a very good hunter?

A. Yes.

Q. Does he live by himself or with the rest of the Eskimos?

A. By himself.

Q. Does he stay in the camp with the rest of your Eskimos?

A. He stays alone.

THE DEPONENT, ANAWAK, ESKIMO MALE, ON OATH, SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL:

Q. What is your name?

A. Anawak.

Q. Did you go with the Doctor, the policemen and the Minister to get the body of Ekpuk?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you recognize it as Alec Ekpuk?

A. Yes.

THE DEPONENT NOT CROSS EXAMINED.

THE DEPONENT, DR. T. J. ORFORD, ON OATH, SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTIONED BY R.A. OLMSTEAD, PROSECUTING COUNSEL:

Q. Doctor, you are a Registered Medical Practitioner and one of His Majesty's Coroners for the Northwest Territories?

A. Yes.

Q. On April 15th, you held an Inquest on the body of an Eskimo named Alec Ekpuk or Keytowieack?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you find?

A. The following wounds were found on the body:

1. There was a wound about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch in diameter with clean edges penetrating the scalp and skull about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches above and one inch behind the right ear.
2. There was a circular penetrating wound  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to the left of the spine at the level of the lower angle of the shoulder blade.
3. A circular penetrating wound two inches to the right of the spine at the level of the shoulder blade.
4. A wound extending about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in length with everted edges and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to the left of the breast bone on a level with the left nipple.
5. A wound which extended three inches to the left of the breast bone and two inches above the left nipple with a mushroomed bullet resting in the wound against the metal portion of the suspender.
6. A small perforating wound in the left groin and three inches below and to the left of the Navel.

The holes in the clothing fitted perfectly over the body wounds.

Q. What do you think caused these several wounds?

A. They would appear to be bullet wounds.

Q. Would they cause death?

A. The wound through the skull would cause immediate death.

THE DEPONENT CROSS EXAMINED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. Doctor, are you quite familiar with the Eskimos?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you familiar with their habits?

A. Yes.

Q. You heard the evidence today how Alec was buried? Apparently, he was thrown roughly into the grave?

A. As a rule they place the stones carefully over the body. When it is available, the[y] cover the body with canvas or new skins.

Q. It would indicate to you that who ever buried him had no respect for him?

A. He was not given the usual rites.

## DEFENCE

THE DEPONENT, QUARACK, ON OATH, SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTIONED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. Quarack, are you married?

A. Yes.

- Q. How many children have you?  
A. Five.  
Q. How old are they?  
A. I know one is twenty-seven. I don't know the ages of the rest of them.  
Q. Are they younger than twenty-seven?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Is the youngest one just a baby?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Do you get enough to eat?  
A. I get lots to eat all the time.  
Q. Your family is well fed?  
A. When there is something to get, they are not hungry.  
Q. The Eskimos say that you killed Alec?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Will you tell us about what happened that day?  
A. I don't want to tell any lies, but I couldn't tell it right, because I don't know how to put it.  
Q. Did any one tell you to kill Alec?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Who?  
A. Charlie.  
Q. Did you have a quarrel with Alec?  
A. No.  
Q. Did you have a quarrel with him that morning?  
A. No.  
Q. Why did you shoot him?  
A. Charlie said that he was Satan and he ought not to be in the world.  
Q. Did you believe that?  
A. I believed him. He said that last summer that Jesus was going to come soon and that He didn't want to see any bad people.  
Q. Who said that?  
A. Kumudluk.  
Q. When Kumudluk told you that last summer did you believe it?  
A. I believed then because Charlie told me the same thing.  
Q. When did Charlie tell you that first?  
A. They were on this side and they shifted their camp up to where I was.  
Q. Was it in the winter?  
A. Yes.  
Q. Were you afraid of Alec Ekpuk?  
A. He was making an awful noise in the night and was calling out for Charlie to take a hold of him.  
Q. When you killed him were you afraid of him?



A. Yes.

Q. Why were you afraid of him?

A. He was bad in his faith.

Q. What did you think he would do?

A. I did not think what he was going to do. I was afraid of him. Charlie got a handkerchief and tied it around his head and we got a hold of Ekpuk.

Q. What did Alec say to that?

A. Charlie was asking him what was making him so bad.

Q. Asking Alec?

A. Yes.

Q. What did Alec say?

A. Alec said what was making him bad was that he was always going around with the women.

Q. What did Charlie want Alec to believe?

A. He wanted Alec to believe that he was Jesus.

Q. Are you sorry that you killed Alec?

A. I am sorry now.

Q. Were you sorry the day you killed him?

A. I was sorry that day.

Q. Why?

A. I believed what Charlie was telling.

Q. When did you find out that Alec wasn't Satan?

A. I didn't find out until the Minister came across here.

Q. That was after the children were frozen out on the ice?

A. He came out not many days after they were frozen.

THE DEPONENT NOT CROSS EXAMINED.

THE DEPONENT, CHARLIE OUYERACK, ON OATH, SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTIONED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. How old are you?

A. Thirty.

Q. Are you married?

A. Yes.

Q. How many children?

A. Two.

QUESTIONED BY HIS LORD, C.P. PLAXTON:

Q. How many wives have you?

A. Four.

QUESTIONED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. Do you remember the day that Sarah was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember the day that Keytowieack was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember the day that Alec was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Who killed Alec?

A. Quarack.

Q. Did any one tell Quarack to kill him?

A. It was me that told him to kill him.

Q. Why did you tell Quarack to kill him?

A. I didn't have my right senses.

Q. How do you know you didn't have your right senses?

A. If I had my right senses, I would not have told him to murder that fellow.

Q. What did you think was wrong at the time?

A. I don't remember anything of what I thought.

Q. Did you think you were Jesus?

A. They told me that I was Jesus.

Q. Did you believe it?

A. I did not believe it at first and after a while I did.

Q. What did Jesus look like?

A. He looked like a person only he was brighter than the sun.

Q. Where does he live?

A. I don't know where he lives.

Q. Do you know of heaven?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of a place called Hell?

A. Yes.

Q. Who is Satan? What does he do?

A. I think, he is always trying to get the people to go wrong.

Q. What did you think about Alec?

A. I don't remember what I thought.

Q. [Why] did you think that Alec was bad?

A. I don't know.

Q. Was your father killed when you were a boy?

A. I don't remember, but I know he was killed.

Q. Can you read?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever read that little religious book that the Eskimos have?

A. I read it sometimes.

Q. Did you ever have it explained to you by any person?

- A. Yes.
- Q. Who explained it to you?
- A. One they called Opik.
- Q. [Were] the Eskimos shooting some of their dogs last spring?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What were they shooting them for?
- A. They said the dogs were [bad]. They were Satan.
- Q. Why were the dogs Satan?
- A. All the Natives said they were Satan.
- Q. Did you shoot any dogs?
- A. I did not shoot any.
- Q. Did you tell any one to shoot any of the dogs?
- A. I don't remember telling any one to kill the dogs.
- Q. Do you still believe you are Jesus?
- A. I don't believe it now.
- Q. What happened to change your mind?
- A. I would like to live longer. That is why I don't think I am Jesus.
- Q. Did any one say anything to you to change your mind?
- A. The one that I was talking about.
- Q. Do you remember seeing the Rev. Mr. Neilson here last spring?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What did he say to you?
- A. He said that they were doing a very wrong thing.
- Q. Did you believe what Mr. Neilson told you?
- A. Yes, I believe him.

THE DEPONENT NOT CROSS EXAMINED.

#### CHARGE TO THE JURY

Gentlemen of the Jury, I don't propose to repeat what I told you this morning concerning our relative functions.

The offence committed is either murder or manslaughter or not guilty on account of insanity. It is up to you to come to a decision on the evidence.

**161. Transcription, Proceedings of Hearings in the case of Rex vs. Mina, before Charles P. Plaxton, interpreted by Harold Udgarden, 19 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

PROCEEDINGS OF HEARINGS held at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories before, C.P. Plaxton, Esquire, Stipendiary Magistrate, this 19th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, in the case of Rex vs Mina, Eskimo female, charged with the murder of Johnasie, Eskimo male, aged about six years, at Belcher Islands, in the Northwest Territories, on or about the 29th day of March, A.D., 1941.

HAROLD UDGARDEN, INTERPRETER, DULY SWORN.

D E F E N C E

STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE C.P. PLAXTON ADDRESSED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

My Lord, I am entering no plea on behalf of the Accused and pursuant to Section 967 I am asking that an Issue be directed to see if the Accused is fit for trial. I have good reason to believe she is not.

THE DEPONENT, DR. T. J. ORFORD, ON OATH, SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTIONED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. Doctor, you are a duly qualified Medical Practitioner?

A. Yes.

Q. You are a member of the Canadian College of Physicians and Surgeons?

A. Yes.

Q. How many years of practice?

A. Ten.

Q. You first observed Mina on the 14th day of April of this year at the Belcher Islands when you were conducting an Inquest into the death of a number of women and children?

A. Yes.

Q. After that she was taken to Moose Factory?

A. Yes.

Q. Then she was removed from Moose Factory and she was returned?

A. Yes.

Q. You have seen her in Court today?

A. Yes.

Q. What do you say about her condition?

A. In my opinion, the woman is insane.

Q. Is she fit to stand her trial?

A. No.

Q. What type of insanity would you call it?

A. Dementia Precox[.]

Q. What was her behaviour at Moose Factory?

A. At Moose Factory, she was suffering from delusions. She was looking under the bed and in dark corners. She was afraid if she went to sleep someone would get her. She cried out throughout the night. She did not have control of her bladder or bowels. She took no care of herself at all. She would screech, laugh and cry all through the night. It required narcotics to keep her quiet.

Q. What effects did the narcotics have?

A. Two doses of [morphine] only lasted three hours.

Q. Do you mean by two doses twice the amount you would give to a normal individual?

A. Twice the amount.

Q. Have you anything else to add?

A. No, I have nothing else to add.

THE PROSECUTION DECLINES TO CROSS EXAMINE THE WITNESS:

The DEPONENT, GEORGE E. DEXTER, ON OATH, SAITH AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTIONED BY J.P. MADDEN, DEFENCE COUNSEL:

Q. You are on the strength of the R. C. M. Police?

A. Yes.

Q. You are stationed at Moose Factory?

A. Yes.

Q. I understand you were there at Moose Factory all during the time when Mina was there?

A. Yes.

Q. For what length of time did you have an opportunity of observing her conduct?

A. A little over a month.

Q. What happened in the first instance to draw your attention to anything unusual?

A. She had been just about a month there and we decided to take her for an exercise walk as she had not been out of the tent since she had been there. We started out in the afternoon. She walked a little piece and did not want to walk on. The men, Quarack and Adlaykok, I told them to explain to her that we were going down to see the Fort Charles. She came on a little further and hesitated again. Then Quarack spoke to her and she decided to come along.

When we got to the boat, she did not appear to be interested. She sat with a strange look on her face and we decided to leave. As we were walking away from the boat, Mina threw her arms around Constable Baxter and threw him down on

the ground. We got them separated and I ordered her with a motion to walk. On the way along through the bush road, Constable Baxter, who was walking ahead, would reach out and pull at a branch of a tree and Mina would imitate all of his movements.

When we got back that afternoon, she stayed in the tent until that night when she returned to the cell where she slept. The next morning, we observed her quite closely and she just sat in the tent and rocked back and forth.

She would not cook for the men and the men had to cook their own meals. That afternoon shortly after lunch, the men appeared to be afraid to go into the tent. They went into the tent and she chased them out. They were white in the face and appeared to be very much afraid. It was just an hour or two that she came out of the tent and was heading for the front gate. I went after her and put her in the cell. That afternoon, she started to talk to herself and shout. It went on most of the afternoon and night. I believe it was that night I called the Doctor over to have a talk with her but he did not appear to be able to get much from her. This kept up for two days on and off. She only [slept] for a short while at a time.

Q. In any event, it was seen fit to send her away from Moose Factory?

A. Yes, Doctor Orford decided that.

Q. I understand that she was at the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital?

A. She was.

Q. Did you observe her conduct when she returned for this [trial] or did you notice any difference?

A. She seemed to be all right. I asked Adlaykok and he said that she was O.K.

Q. Did you have any trouble bringing her to Court today?

A. I observed that she was brough[t] in on a stretcher.

THE DEPONENT NOT CROSS EXAMINED.

### CHARGE TO THE JURY

Gentlemen, in a case of this nature, the defence must establish the accused is [unfit] on account of insanity--that is present insanity--to take her trial. We are required to prove that beyond a reasonable doubt by a preponderance of evidence.

**162. Newspaper Clipping, William Kinmond, "Hudson's Bay Arctic Post Court for Eskimo Hearing," *Toronto Daily Star*, 19 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**HUDSON'S BAY ARCTIC POSTCOURT FOR ESKIMO HEARING**

Seven Go on Trial for Murder at Belcher's Islands

ONE WITNESS DIES

By WILLIAM KINMOND

Belcher's Islands, Aug. 19 - (Special to The Star by Short Wave) - Justice came to the Belcher's today. The official schooner, Fort Charles, with its judicial party aboard, ran into the windswept harbor of Laddies Cove under a rolling Arctic fog, and this morning hearing opened of murder charges against seven Belcher's Island Eskimos.

The voyage from Moosonee, planned for four days, took two weeks, and in the time elapsed one of the witnesses died. She was Sarah Keytowiek, widow of one of the men who was killed, police charge, when a murder-wave of Arctic hysteria swept the islands last February.

Other witnesses were among the 50 Eskimos who met the government party as it landed on this lonely, windswept rock.

Peter Sala and Ablaykok, two of those facing murder charges, helped take the Arctic court ashore from the schooner. Sala, a chief figure in the strange case, whom police claim was one of the self-appointed trio of "devil-hunters" responsible for the deaths, shook hands in a friendly manner with his judge and other court officials. Ablaykok embraced R.C.M.P. Constable George Dexter.

There were two choices for the courtroom. A large tent was possible, but the driving Arctic winds might make it too cold for comfort, in which case the court was expected to sit in the upper room of the frame building of the Hudson's Bay Co. post.

This would only be done in case of real necessity, because the thick aroma from the half-tanned seal-skin artikes [*editors' note: atigi*] and pants of the Eskimo witnesses and accused produces too strong an atmosphere.

Insanity will be [pleaded] for Mina, one of two women accused, Defence Counsel J. P. Madden has announced.

**163. Telegram, Henry Kearney to the Officer Commanding, R.C.M.P., "G" Division, 20 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

SCHOONER FT CHARLES AUGUST 20, 1941

OFFICER COMMANDING RCMP

"G" DIVISION OTTAWA ONT

BELCHER ISLANDS NWT AUGUST 20TH 1941 PRISONER ADLAYKOK, PETER SALA, QUARACK AND OUYERACK FOUND GUILTY OF MANSLAUGHTER STRONG RECOMMENDATION OF MERCY FOR ADLAYKOK AND QUARACK STOP SENTENCES NOT YET PRONOUNCED FEMALE MINA FOUND INSANE BY JURY AND COMMITTED BY JUDGE TO AWAIT PLEASURE OF COMMISSIONER OF NORTHWEST TERRITORIES JUDGE STRONGLY RECOMMENDS COMMUTATION OF SENTENCES OF QUARACK AFTER SENTENCE PRONOUNCED GROUNDS QUARACK [MISLED] BELIEVED THAT MAN HE MURDERED WAS A DEVIL STOP QUARACK IS BEST HUNTER AND HAS BEST FED AND CLOTHED FAMILY IF SENTENCE IS COMMUTED HE WILL HUNT FOR FAMILIES OF OTHER PRISONERS JUDGE WISHES OPINION OF DEPARTMENT RE COMMUTATION PLEASE ADVISE PLACE TO WHICH MINA IS TO BE TAKEN JUDGE INTENDS TO SENTENCE ADLAYKOK[,] PETER SALA AND OUYERACK AND POSSIBLY QUARACK TO TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT WITH HARD LABOUR AT SOME RCMP POST IN NORTHWEST TERRITORIES I HAVE SAID CHESTERFIELD INLET MOST SUITABLE PLACE JUDGE WISHES TO HAVE OPINION OF DEPARTMENT CONCERNED THIS REGARD BEFORE PASSING SENTENCE PLEASE EXPEDITE REPLY AS FORT CHARLES MAY LEAVE ANY TIME STOP IF REPLY NOT RECEIVED BY TWO PM TOMORROW JUDGE WILL PASS SENTENCE FOR DETENTION AT CHESTERFIELD INLET STOP POLICE PLANE NOW AT FORT GEORGE MAY BE HERE TOMORROW

KEARNEY



**164. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Dr. Ross Millar, Director of Medical Services,  
Department of Pensions and National Health, Ottawa, 20 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

August 20, 1941.

Dear Dr. Millar:

Trial of Belcher Islands Eskimos

The Officer Commanding "G" Division Royal Canadian Mounted Police, has referred to me a message which he has received by wireless from Sergeant Kearney, the Officer in Charge of the Police Detachment with the judicial party at Belcher Islands. This message, from the Schooner "Fort Charles" under yesterday's date, reads as follows:

"Alec Apawkok acquitted today Akeenik found not guilty on account of temporary insanity at time of murder of Sarah Apawkok STOP Akeenik committed in custody to await pleasure of Commissioner of Northwest Territories STOP Verdict of jury not yet formally reported therefore place of custody for Akeenik not specified as required by code STOP Judge wishes to be advised regarding place of custody STOP If Akeenik and possibly other prisoners who may be found to have been suffering from temporary insanity at time of murder are not brought out on Fort Charles it will be necessary for Corporal MacFarlane or myself to remain here with prisoners until pleasure of Commissioner of Northwest Territories is known STOP Expect Fort Charles will leave here immediately after trial possibly Thursday or Friday STOP Trial of others continuing tomorrow and day after STOP Judge suggests that persons such as Akeenik might well be released."

You will observe that already one Eskimo, Akeenik, has been declared not guilty on account of temporary insanity and will be released in custody of a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer awaiting the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories; moreover, that there may be other similar decisions and that the Judge is of the opinion that such prisoners might well be released.

I shall be glad to have your opinion on this subject as promptly as possible so that a decision may be communicated after consultation with the Deputy Minister of Justice.

I believe Dr. Orford is with the judicial party.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R.A. Gibson

Deputy Commissioner.

**165. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, Commissioner, RCMP, 20 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

August 20, 1941.

Dear Sir,

Re. Trial of Belcher Islands Eskimo

Assistant Commissioner Caulkin Commanding "G" Division Royal Canadian Mounted Police sent me about noon a copy of a message received from Sergeant Kearney in charge of the Police Detachment with the judicial party at Belcher Islands. I referred this to Dr. Ross Millar, Director of Medical Services, Department of Pensions and National Health, Ottawa, who advises the Northwest Territories Administration in all medical matters, and I am enclosing a copy of the reply which he has made after conferring with Dr. Cathcart, Neuropsychiatrist of that Department.

The recommendation contained in Dr. Millar's letter has been discussed over the telephone with the Deputy Minister of Justice and with his concurrence I would ask that the following message be sent to Sergeant Kearney as direction from the Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories:

"Specialists suggest that period of temporary insanity has now passed but Alkeenik and any other prisoners receiving similar verdicts should be sent under guard to Moose Factory where she can be kept under restricted activities and observation by Dr. Orford for appropriate period at least three months Stop [If] during that period symptoms of insanity again arise prisoner can be sent to asylum under Ontario Lunacy Act Stop I would concur in suggestion if judge approves".

This should dispose of the matter for the time being and we can consider any reports which Dr. Orford may make later on as to the mental condition of this and any other prisoner in custody under like circumstances.

Yours very truly,

<R. A. Gibson>

R. A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

**166. Letter, Ross Millar to R. A. Gibson, 20 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

Ottawa, August 20, 1941.

Re: Eskimo Prisoners at  
Belcher Islands

Dear Mr. Gibson: -

This is in reply to your letter of August 20th, and your enquiry as to the best disposition of the prisoner, Alkeenik, and any other of the prisoners in whose cases a similar verdict is found "not guilty on account of temporary insanity at the time of murder."

2. The actual wording of this verdict is unusual – as far as I can remember it usually is "guilty but insane," and it would appear that this woman can be discharged from the custody of the law and would then become an innocent civilian, and if she shows continuing symptoms of insanity aside from the temporary insanity which the Jury found, she would then come under the Lunacy Act for committal to an asylum.

3. I took into consultation the Chief Neuropsychiatrist of the Department, Dr. Cathcart, and from the somewhat meagre details available it would appear to us that the so-called temporary insanity was of the same nature as occurs at Camp Meetings, or among crowds of people who have lost their heads, and come under the general heading of "mob psychology" and if that is the state of affairs Alkeenik is no longer insane in a committal sense.

4. We do not think that any good purpose could be obtained at the present time by bringing her, or any others in whose cases there may be similar verdicts, down to Central Ontario for observation in mental institutions, because we think that the same results would be obtained as were found in the case of Mina, who was brought South and in whom the specialists could find no symptoms of mental abnormalities.

5. Our suggestion therefore is embodied in the radio message beneath as being the most practical way out of this difficulty, and at the same time impressing the natives inasmuch as the woman would be taken away from her domicile under guard, which probably would serve the ends of justice:

"Specialists suggest that period of temporary insanity has now passed but Alkeenik and any other prisoners receiving similar verdicts should be sent under guard to [Moosonee] where she can be kept under restricted activities and observation by Dr. Orford for appropriate period at least three months stop [If] during that period symptoms of insanity again arise prisoner can be

sent to asylum under Ontario Lunacy Act stop I would concur in suggestion if judge approves."

(Sgd) Gibson."

Yours truly,

<Ross Millar>

Ross Millar, M. D.

Director Medical Services.

**167. Jury Summons, in the case of Rex vs. Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 20 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

IN THE COURT OF THE STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE  
JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF THE NORTH WEST  
TERRITORIES OF CANADA

B E T W E E N

HIS MAJESTY THE KING

-AND-

Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack, Eskimo Males

To: M.E. Holtzman, Jack Rubie, Edward Guy Cadney, Ernest Riddell, James McCook, William Kinmond, Esquires, all recently at Belcher Islands, N.W.T.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the North West Territories Act, R.S.C. 1927, Chapter 142, Section 48, you are hereby required and commanded to be and appear at the Court House, at Laddies Cove, Tukarak Island, Belcher Islands, in the North West Territories of Canada, on Wednesday, the 20th day of August, A.D. 1941 at 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon, to serve as a juror in the above named matter.

Herein fail not at your peril.

GIVEN under my hand at Belcher Islands, in the said Territories, this 20th day of August, A.D. 1941.

<C. P. Plaxton>

Stipendiary Magistrate.

**168. Form of Recognizance to Keep the Peace, in the case of Quarack, sworn before Charles P. Plaxton, 20 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

FORM OF RECOGNIZANCE TO KEEP THE PEACE

CANADA  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
BELCHER ISLANDS

WHEREAS Quarack of Belcher Islands, in the Northwest Territories, was charged before the undersigned and a Jury on the 20th day of August, 1941, A.D., that he was guilty of having committed the offence of murder; and

WHEREAS the Jury after hearing the case against the said QUARACK returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter with a strong recommendation for mercy; and

WHEREAS regard being had to the age, character and previous good conduct of the said QUARACK and to the circumstances under which the said offence was committed, it appears to the undersigned (with the concurrence of the counsel acting for the Crown in the prosecution of the said offender) to be expedient that the said offender be released on probation of good conduct and that the undersigned should, instead of sentencing him at once to any punishment, direct that he be released on his entering into a recognizance upon the conditions hereunder written.

Be it remembered that on the 21st day of August in the year 1941 A.D. QUARACK of Belcher Islands, Eskimo Hunter, personally came before the undersigned and acknowledged himself to owe to our Lord the King the sum of TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS (\$200.00) to be made and levied of his goods and chattels, lands and tenements respectively, to the use of our said Lord the King, if he, the said QUARACK, should fail in the conditions hereunder written.

Taken and acknowledged the day and year last above mentioned at Laddie's Cove, Tukarak Island of the Belcher Islands Group, before me

*<C. P. Plaxton>*  
Stipendiary Magistrate in and  
for the Northwest Territories

The condition of the above written recognizance is such that if the within bounden QUARACK of Belcher Islands appears and receives judgement when called

upon, and in the meantime keeps the peace and is of good behaviour towards His Majesty and His liege people, and to the best of his ability hunts and provides meat and fish for the family of Eskimo Peter Sala and cherishes and protects the said family for the term of TWO (2) years now next ensuing, then the said recognizance to be void, otherwise to stand in full force and virtue.

<handwritten mark of Quarack>

**169. Newspaper Clipping, William Kinmond, “Jury Acquits Two Eskimos of Murdering Girl ‘Satan,’” *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

**JURY ACQUITS TWO ESKIMOS OF MURDERING GIRL ‘SATAN’**

Star Man One of Six Making Decision in Tent Trial on Belcher Islands

**DIVINITY CLAIMED**

By WILLIAM KINMOND

Belcher Islands, Hudson Bay, Aug. 20 - (Special to The Star by Radio) - The story of how a 15-year-old Eskimo girl was clubbed to death because she was believed to be Satan was told in a big khaki tent here yesterday as a court probed the mania of religious madness that swept these islands last February. How her clothing caught fire from a blaze of holy books ordered burned by Eskimos who thought they were “God” and “Jesus Christ” was also related.

I was one of the jury of six men who decided that Alec Apawkok and Akeenik, charged with murder of Sarah Apawkok, should be acquitted of the murder charge. We found Akeenik, an Eskimo girl of 18, not guilty because of temporary insanity, and Alec Apawkok, brother of the girl victim, not guilty.

Four Eskimo men and a woman come before us today to be arraigned. It is expected they will be judged not fit to stand trial because of insanity.

**Union Jack Drapes Table**

A table for Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton stands on a dais at one end. A Union Jack [is] draped across the table, and a picture of the royal family hangs behind his seat. There are wooden benches for the jury and for the counsel, R. A. Olmstead for the crown and Jack Madden for the defence.

Another newspaperman beside myself, a ship's engineer, a fur trader and two mining engineers are the six-man jury. We are charged with decision in all cases, because of the shortage of white subjects of the crown available.

The dignity of the court-room is maintained throughout, except that the Eskimo audience is recovering from influenza and there is a constant background of coughing, sneezing and snuffling. At one time yesterday the coughs were so constant that Mr. Justice Plaxton ordered the coughers removed so that he could complete his address to the jury.

In his address the judge told us it was our responsibility to decide whether or not the two accused before us were guilty of the murder of the Eskimo girl. He warned us that a verdict of "guilty" left no choice but the death sentence for the accused.

### **Faltering Story Told**

Then began the tragic story of the night of Jan. 25, in an igloo on Flaherty island, when Sarah Apawkok was clubbed to death with a rifle. It was hard to get a concise story, because the witnesses gave a faltering, often incoherent account through the 70-year-old lips of Interpreter Harold Udgarten, half-breed of Great Whale River.

Dr. T. J. Orford, Indian agent who acted as coroner, testified the girl died of a fractured skull. Her jaw, he said, had also been broken with some hard instrument.

Two other witnesses, Charlie Ouyerack or "Charlie Stone" and Peter Sala, are themselves accused of murder.

From other Eskimo the court heard that Ouyerack and Sala believed they were, respectively, Jesus and God.

### **Body Buried in Sack**

Sarah's death, witnesses said, came at the end of an evening of frenzied activity on the south end of Flaherty Island - an evening which saw the New Testament burned - and the hunting of Satan.

Sarah was chosen as Satan - she was clubbed to death with a rifle, and her beaten body was buried in a sack with lumber and rocks above her and a cross above the grave.

Witnesses testified that Apawkok grabbed his sister by the hair and beat her with his fist. Then he took a stick and beat her. She fell to the ground murmuring "ceyah," which means "please stop!" in Eskimo.

Four Eskimo dragged her from the snow house, and fell on her again, beating her to death. The hands of the girl Akeenik were frozen when she returned to

the igloo, witnesses said, because she had held the fro[z]en steel barrel [of] the rifle in her bare hands as she struck the dying girl.

### **Didn't Believe He was “God”**

“Sarah didn't believe that Peter Sala was God, and that is why they killed her,” a witness said. “They said the Lord's Prayer first.”

Johnasie, 25-year-old chief crown witness, took the stand.

“They were having a jolly time,” he said, “that evening. They had burned the books because they were going to get new ones, and they were waiting for Jesus to come.”

“I believed I was God because other Eskimo told me so,” Peter Sala told the court. “I believed it for a while.”

Mina, the other woman accused, who is charged with leading six people naked out on to the ice to seek Christ, was to have been tried, but R.C.M.P. officers were unable to get her to the court. They would have to carry her, they explained. Mr. Justice Plaxton adjourned her hearing until today.

### **170. Newspaper Clipping, James McCook, “Eskimos Thought Satan Slain When 15-Year-Old Girl Killed,” *Globe and Mail*, 20 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]

#### **Eskimos Thought Satan Slain When 15-Year-Old Girl Killed**

**(By JAMES McCOOK.)**

Belcher Islands, Aug. 19 (CP).—Eskimo witnesses at the murder trial of Alec Apawkok and the woman Akeenik testified today that when 15-year-old Sarah Apawkok was killed in an outbreak of violence on the lonely islands last winter other natives believed Satan had been slain.

The girl was one of nine Belcher Eskimos murdered during the arguments that arose from the contention of some of the natives that Christ had come to earth again. Seven Eskimos are charged with the murders and the trial of the slain girl's brother and Akeenik, one of the two women under arrest, began today.

It opened not long after the arrival of Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton and the judicial party. The courtroom where the strange tale of shootings and beatings among the naturally peaceful Eskimos will be told is a large tent.



Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyerack, whose claims to divine power are believed to have touched off the arguments out of which the violence arose, testified today. They are among the seven accused.

Sala said he had believed he was God in thoughts but not in body. Ouyerack said another Eskimo had called him Jesus and he believed what the other Eskimo told him.

An Eskimo named Johanasie, held as a witness, testified that Sarah thanked her brother when he struck her with a stick in the snowhouse where the claims to divine powers by Sala and Ouyerack were discussed. She fell after further blows and then was taken out and allegedly beaten to death with a rifle carried by Akeenik.

The girl did not believe Sala was God and that was their reason for killing her, Johanasie said.

Kupueep, another witness, testified Sarah was struck because she failed to do certain work in the camp.

A woman witness, Nellie, said the other Eskimos were pleased when Sarah was dead. Religious books were burned afterwards, because it was felt they were no longer needed.

#### **Accused's Wife Testifies.**

Mrs. Peter Sala, wife of the accused, testified with a child almost buried in furs on her back. While she gave her testimony, the child stared steadily at Harold Udgarten, the interpreter.

Mr. Justice Plaxton and the judicial party arrived early today after a thirteen-day journey by schooner from Moose Factory. The setting for the trial was almost as strange as the story being told. Mr. Justice Plaxton sits at a plain table covered with a Union Jack, with a picture of the Royal family beside him, while the Eskimo witnesses and audience sit on moss.

When word came out of the tragedy Royal Canadian Mounted Police flew to the lonely homeland of the Belcher Eskimos to investigate. Bit by bit they pieced together a story of long discussions over religious matters in the Eskimos' huts during lengthy winter nights.

When Hudson Bay's ice began to crumble the police plane, equipped with [skis], had to leave, but the Eskimos were told the police would be back to continue the investigation and, in July, Inspector D. J. Martin made the 1,000-mile flight again.

Three Eskimos were taken back to the mainland at Moose Factory by the police on their first trip. Four more were placed in custody when Inspector Martin returned to complete the investigation among the 150 Eskimos who hunt and live on the scattered islands.

Mina, an Eskimo woman who is [among] the accused, will plead insanity, it was learned from her defense counsel, J. P. Madden. She suffered a mental disturbance while being held with Ableykok and Peter Quarack at Moose Factory, and had to be treated in Toronto before being returned to stand trial.

**171. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Adlaykok, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

CERTIFICATE OF CONVICTION

CANADA  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
BELCHER ISLANDS

Be it remembered that on the 20th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, ADLAYKOK, Eskimo male, on Belcher Islands, in the said Territories, herein after called the accused, being charged before me, the undersigned, and a Jury is convicted before me for that he, the accused, did on or about the 26th day of January, A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code, and I adjudged the accused for the said offence to be imprisoned at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard Room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories and there kept at Hard Labour for a term of one year next ensuing.

Given under my hand this 21st day of August in the year A.D. 1941.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*  
STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE FOR  
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES.

**172. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Adlaykok, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

WARRANT OF COMMITMENT

CANADA )  
Northwest Territories )  
Belcher Islands )

To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories and to the keeper of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet in the said Territories. Whereas ADLAYKOK, Eskimo male, of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, was charged before the undersigned and a Jury on the 20th. day of August, A.D. 1941, that he did on or about the 26th. day of January, A.D. 1941, at Flaherty Island of the Belcher Islands group in the Northwest Territories, murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male:

AND WHEREAS, the Jury after hearing the case against the said ADLAYKOK returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter with a strong recommendation for mercy:

AND WHEREAS for this offence and conviction, I the undersigned do adjudge that the said ADLAYKOK shall be imprisoned with hard labour for a period of one year next ensuing at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said ADLAYKOK and him safely convey to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet aforesaid and there to deliver him to the Keeper thereof together with this precept.

AND I DO HEREBY COMMAND YOU the said Keeper of the said Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard-room to receive the said Adlaykok, Eskimo male into your custody in the said guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories and there keep him safely until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 21st. day of August in the year of our Lord 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

A Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the  
Northwest Territories.

**173. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Akeenik, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

CERTIFICATE OF CONVICTION

CANADA  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
BELCHER ISLANDS

Be it remembered that on the 19th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, AKEENIK, Eskimo female, of Belcher Islands, in the said Territories, herein after called the accused, being charged before me the undersigned, and a jury, for that she, the accused, did on or about the 25th day of January, A.D. 1941, at a camp on the south of Flaherty Island, Belcher Island Group, in the said Territories, murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code, and the Jury, after considering the case, found the accused not guilty on account of temporary insanity at the time of the murder of Sarah Apawkok and I adjudged accordingly that the accused be kept in strict custody of the R. C. M. Police to await the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

Given under my hand this 21st day of August in the year A.D., 1941.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE IN AND  
FOR THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES.

**174. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Akeenik, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

WARRANT OF COM[M]ITMENT

CANADA )  
Northwest )  
Territories )  
Belcher Islands. )  
)

To all or any of the Peace Officers in the Northwest Territories.

WHEREAS AKEENIK, Eskimo female, of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories was charged before the undersigned and a Jury at Belcher Islands on the 19th. day of August, A.D. 1941 that she did on or about the 25th. day of January A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in Northwest Territories murder Sarah Apawkok, Eskimo female.

AND WHEREAS at the trial of the said AKEENIK, the Jury after hearing the case against the said AKEENIK returned a verdict of not guilty, suffering from temporary insanity at the time of the said offence.

AND WHEREAS in accordance with the said verdict, I adjudge that the said AKEENIK be kept in [strict] custody until the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories is known:

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said AKEENIK, Eskimo female, into your custody and keep her in your strict custody until the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories is known.

GIVEN under my hand this 21st day of August in the year of our Lord, 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*  
Stipendiary Magistrate in and  
for the Northwest Territories.

**175. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Mina, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

CERTIFICATE OF CONVICTION

CANADA  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
BELCHER ISLANDS

Be it remembered that on the 20th day of August in the year A.D. 1941 at Belcher Island in the Northwest Territories, Mina, Eskimo female, of Belcher Islands in the said Territories, herein after called the Accused, being charged before me the undersigned and a jury for that she, the accused, did on or about the 29th day of March, A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the said Territories murder Johnasie, Eskimo male, aged about six years, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code, no plea was taken it being adduced by the defence that the accused is insane, whereupon an inquiry was there and then ordered to be taken by the jury to try the issue of the

insanity of the accused. The Jury, finding that the Accused is insane, the accused was accordingly adjudged by me, the undersigned, to be kept in [strict] custody of the R.C.M. Police to await the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

Given under my hand this 21st day of August in the year A.D., 1941.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

Stipendiary Magistrate in and  
for the Northwest Territories.

**176. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Mina, issued by Charles P. Plaxton,  
21 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

WARRANT OF COMMITMENT

CANADA                                 )  
Northwest                                 )  
Territories                                 )

To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Northwest Territories:

WHEREAS MINA, Eskimo female, of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories was charged before the undersigned and a Jury on the 20th. day of August, A.D. 1941 that she did on or about the 29th. day of March A.D. 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories murder Johnasie, Eskimo male child:

AND WHEREAS at the trial of the said Mina it was pleaded that the Accused is insane:

AND WHEREAS an issue was then and there tried to determine whether the Accused is insane and the Jury who tried this issue returned a verdict that the said Mina is now insane and unfit to stand trial:

AND WHEREAS in accordance with the said verdict I adjudge that the said MINA be kept in strict custody until the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories is known:

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said MINA, Eskimo female, into your custody and keep her in your strict custody until the pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories is known[.]

GIVEN under my hand this 21st day of August in the year of our Lord 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

A Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the  
Northwest Territories.

**177. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Charlie Ouyerack, issued by  
Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

CERTIFICATE OF CONVICTION

CANADA  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
BELCHER ISLANDS

Be it remembered that on the 20th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, of Belcher Islands, in the said Territories, herein after called the accused, being charged before me, the undersigned, and a Jury, is convicted before me for that he, the accused, did on or about the 9th day of February, A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands, in the Northwest Territories, murder Alec Ekpuk, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code, and I adjudged the accused for the said offence to be imprisoned at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard Room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories and there kept at Hard Labour for a term of two years next ensuing.

Given under my hand this 21st day of August in the year A.D. 1941.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE FOR  
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

**178. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Charlie Ouyerack, issued by  
Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

WARRANT OF COMMITMENT

CANADA )  
Northwest Territories )  
Belcher Islands )

To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories and to the keeper of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard Room at Chesterfield Inlet in the said Territories. Whereas Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, was charged before the undersigned and a Jury on the 20th day of August, A.D., 1941, that he did on or about the 9th day of February, A.D. 1941, at Tukarak Island of the Belcher Island Group in the Northwest Territories, murder Alec Ekpuk, Eskimo male:

AND WHEREAS, the Jury after hearing the case against the said Charlie Ouyerack returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter.

AND WHEREAS for this offence and conviction, I, the undersigned, do adjudge that the said Charlie Ouyerack shall be imprisoned with hard labour for a period of two years next ensuing at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard Room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Charlie Ouyerack and him safely convey to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard Room at Chesterfield Inlet aforesaid and there to deliver him to the Keeper thereof together with this precept.

AND I DO HEREBY COMMAND YOU the said Keeper of the said Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard Room to receive the said Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, into your custody in the said Guard Room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories and there keep him safely until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 21st day of August in the year of our Lord 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Territories aforesaid.

<C. P. Plaxton>  
Stipendiary Magistrate in and



for the Northwest Territories

**179. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Peter Sala, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

CERTIFICATE OF CONVICTION

CANADA

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

BELCHER ISLANDS

Be it remembered that on the 20th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, PETER SALA, Eskimo male, of Belcher Islands, in the said Territories, herein after called the accused, being charged before me, the undersigned, and a Jury, is convicted before me for that he, the accused, did on or about the 26th day of January, A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code, and I adjudged the accused for the said offence to be imprisoned at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Guard Room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories and there kept at Hard Labour for a term of two years next ensuing.

Given under my hand this 21st day of August in the year A.D., 1941.

<C. P. Plaxton>

STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE IN AND  
FOR THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

**180. Warrant of Commitment, regarding Peter Sala, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

WARRANT OF COMMITMENT.

CANADA )

Northwest Territories )

Belcher Islands. )

To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories and to the keeper of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet in the said Territories. Whereas PETER SALA, Eskimo male of Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories was charged before the undersigned and a jury on the 20th. day of August

A.D. 1941 that he did on or about the 26th. day of January A.D. 1941 at Flaherty Island of the Belcher Islands group in the Northwest Territories murder Keytowieack, Eskimo male:

AND WHEREAS the jury after hearing the case against the said PETER SALA returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter with a strong recommendation for mercy:

AND WHEREAS for this offence and conviction I the undersigned do adjudge that the said PETER SALA shall be imprisoned with hard labour for a period of two years next ensuing at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said PETER SALA and him safely convey to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet aforesaid and there to deliver him to the keeper thereof together with this precept.

AND I DO HEREBY COMMAND YOU the said Keeper of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guard-room to receive the said PETER SALA, Eskimo male, into your custody in the said guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories and there keep him safely until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this 21st. day of August in the year of our Lord 1941 at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories.

*<C. P. Plaxton>*

A Stipendiary Magistrate in and for the  
Northwest Territories.

**181. Certificate of Conviction, in the case of Quarack, issued by Charles P. Plaxton, 21 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

**CERTIFICATE OF CONVICTION**

CANADA  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES  
BELCHER ISLANDS

Be it remembered that on the 20th day of August in the year A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, QUARACK, Eskimo male, of Belcher Islands in the said Territories, hereinafter called the accused, being charged before me, the undersigned, and a jury, is convicted before me for that he, the accused, did on or

about the 9th day of February, A.D., 1941, at Belcher Islands in the Northwest Territories, murder Alec Ekpuk, Eskimo male, contrary to Section 263 of the Criminal Code, and I adjudged the accused for the said offence to be bound over on suspended sentence for a period of two years next ensuing and to enter into a recognizance to keep the peace for the aforesaid period, on acknowledgement of [sureties] to the sum of two hundred dollars (\$200.00) and a further condition that the accused do, during the period aforesaid, to the best of his ability hunt for and provide meat and fish for the family of Eskimo Peter Sala and cherish and protect the said family, whereupon the accused did enter in this written recognizance.

Given under my hand this 21st day of August in the year A.D., 1941.

<C. P. Plaxton>  
Stipendiary Magistrate in and  
for the Northwest Territories.

**182. Letter, W. Stuart Edwards to Stuart Taylor Wood, 21 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

August 21, 41.

Re: Belchers Islands Trials.

Dear Sir,

Referring to copy of telegram signed "Kearney" from schooner "Fort Charles", August 20th, I suggest that the following paragraph be included in the telegram which you are sending in reply:-

"Re Quarack Minister of Justice unable to consider question of clemency until officially advised Court has sentenced prisoner stop In event of sentence being imposed and upon receipt of telegraphic report of case from Mr. Justice Plaxton matter would receive immediate attention stop Suggest Judge consider section ten hundred and eighty-one subsections two and five Criminal Code."

Yours truly,  
W. STUART EDWARDS  
Deputy Minister of Justice.

**183. Letter, R. A. Gibson to Stuart Taylor Wood, 21 August 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [2-2]**

Copy for the information of  
Mr. Cumming.

OTTAWA  
August 21, 1941.

Dear Sir:

Re. Trial of Belcher Islands Eskimos.

Assistant Commissioner Caulkin sent me just before noon a copy of a message dated the 20th from Sergeant Kearney at Belcher Islands which deals with several matters as follows:

1. Eskimo Quarack has been found guilty of manslaughter and is about to be sentenced by Judge Plaxton. Sergeant Kearney reports Judge Plaxton as being of the opinion that the sentence he may impose on Quarack should be remitted on the grounds that –

- a. Quarack was [misled] as he believed that the man he murdered was a devil;
- b. Quarack is the best hunter and has the best fed [and] clothed family and will hunt for families of other prisoners if sentence is remitted.

I am advised over the telephone by the Deputy Minister of Justice that he is conferring with the Remission Branch of his Department and possibly with his Minister as well and that he will communicate with you as early as possible this afternoon giving you the message that is to be conveyed to your officer for the information of Judge Plaxton and himself.

2. The Eskimo Mina has been found insane by the Jury and committed by the Judge to await pleasure of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

In this connection I may say that I have consulted with Dr. Ross Millar, Director of Medical Services, Department of Pensions and National Health, who advises the Northwest Territories Administration in all matters of this nature and Dr. Millar has recommended that in view of the reports obtained from Dr. Farrar, Director of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital of the Ontario Department of Health, it seems unnecessary to commit this woman to an insane asylum. Dr. Millar recommends that the female Eskimo Mina be removed from Belcher Islands to the police post at Moose Factory to be kept there in custody of the police, and under observation by Dr. Orford, who has had experience in treating Eskimos. Dr. Millar's opinion is concurred in and as Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories I would ask that arrangements be made accordingly.

3. As for Eskimos Adlaykok, Peter Sala, and Ouyerack, found guilty of manslaughter, who, Sergeant Kearney reports, will be sentenced to terms of imprisonment with hard labour at some R.C.M.P. post in the Northwest Territories, I take it that Sergeant Kearney in suggesting Chesterfield as the most suitable place had in mind the fact that Moose Factory, the port to which the boat will return, is in Ontario. It does not seem necessary to interfere in any such sentences at the present time. Of course, we know it is not feasible to transfer these three Eskimos to Chesterfield for some considerable time but our opinion is that they should be kept at Moose Factory until there is a chance to consider the reports which the Judge may make following the trial. It will then be possible to decide whether they will be –

- a. taken to Chesterfield;
- b. committed to a Provincial institution or Dominion penitentiary[:]
- c. released from custody.

Yours very truly,  
<R. A. Gibson>  
R. A. Gibson,  
Deputy Commissioner.

Editors' Note: The following selected documents are drawn from the second volume on the aftermath of the trials and the incarceration and ---. They have reproduced here as they provide a ---. We have retained numbering consistent with their chronological place in volume two.

**226. Letter, T. B. Caulkin to Stuart Taylor Wood, 15 September 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

“G” Division

Ottawa, Ont. Sept. 15th. 1941

Re: Murders - Belchers Islands, N.W.T.

Interpreters Fees at Trials.

1. Attached hereto will be found an account submitted by the Hudson's Bay Company, Great Whale River, P.Q., for the sum of \$18.00, covering fees paid to Mr. Harold Udgarden, Interpreter at the recent trials on the Belchers Islands, on an order issued by Sergeant H. Kearney at the request of R.A. Olmsted, Esq., Crown [Prosecutor], of the Department of Justice, Ottawa.

2. An order was also issued on the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort George, P.Q. for the sum of \$54.00, in favour of Ernie Snowboy in payment of his services as Interpreter at the trials. The account covering this order has not yet been submitted by the Hudson's Bay Company, but will be submitted in due course, and will be changed to the Dept. of Justice.

(T.B. Caulkin) A/Commr.  
Commanding “G” Division.

**235. Memorandum, R. A. Olmsted to F. P. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of Justice, Ottawa, 11 October 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

Ottawa, October 11th, 1941.

Re: Belcher Islands Murders

Causative Factors

Many years ago an Anglican missionary worked for a time among the Eskimos at Great Whale River on the East coast of Hudson Bay. He left a number of syllabic translations of the New Testament with them. In the years following, some of these books got over to the Belcher Islands. All but one of the perpetrators of these crimes were young children 20 years ago and I think I can say without fear of contradiction that they have not had religious direction of any kind. In fact, no missionary has been in contact with the Belcher Islands Eskimos until after the murders.

Ernest Riddell, Post Manager on the Belchers, until September this year, had to cross to Great Whale River last winter and took Peter Sala who had an excellent dog team, along as guide. Sala disclosed the murders in conversation with Harold Udgarden[,] a half-breed who lives at Great Whale.

The Belcher Islands comprise a large number of strips of barren rock. Apart from some moss in secluded spots there is no vegetation of any kind. Any soil that may be formed by nature is promptly blown away by the high winds.

In the summer months (July, August and September) they live either in the open or in sealskin or canvas tents set up on the rock. The period between the advent of cold weather in the autumn and the arrival of snow in depth sufficient to make igloos, is the worst time of the year for them. Winter is their great season and once they are settled in their igloos, they need little more, provided sealing and hunting is good. Confinement in igloos for the long winter months with short days and broken only by occasional sorties for food, is conducive to outbursts of excitement, sometimes amounting to frenzy or, in uneducated minds not controlled by reason, logic or an innate sense of right and wrong, a form of hysteria. Any suggestion or statement by one Eskimo will quite readily be accepted by another as factual. The latter promptly spreads the information throughout the camp where it is immediately seized upon and, if need be, executed. Similar instances have occasionally been met with in our penitentiaries where one convict giving voice to an imaginary wrong has stirred all inmates to rioting.

At a meeting of a considerable number of Eskimos held in an igloo in February last, the discussion took a religious trend and an Eskimo, Alec Apawkok, finding his younger sister, Sarah, reluctant to accept and acknowledge another Eskimo, Peter Sala, to be God, beat her into insensibility with a snow stick. According to the evidence at the trial, all Eskimos in the igloo approved the action, basing their attitude upon their conviction that, failing to believe, she must be Satan or possessed of Satan. Other Eskimos dragged her body outside, where the woman Akeenik clubbed her to death with a rifle barrel. The killing was not for the purpose of simply doing away with the girl for something she had done or because of malice against her. Its motive was to rid their camp of Satan which, according to their interpretation of

the New Testament, they were in duty bound to do. Everyone was greatly pleased that Sarah had been killed and a celebration was held.

Another Eskimo named Keytowieack, refusing to acknowledge Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyerack to be God and Jesus, respectively, was evicted from an igloo, harpooned and shot next morning by Adlaykok. This killing was also celebrated in the belief that once again they were rid of Satan. Later another Eskimo named Alec Keytowieack, or Ekpuk, who also was outside the clique led by Sala and Ouyerack, was named as Satan by Sala and on his instructions was shot by Quarack.

In her reading of the New Testament or, more probably, as it may have been explained to her by others, the Eskimo woman, Mina, became obsessed with the idea that what she had read or been told could only mean one thing, namely, that Jesus was coming. To her this meant immediately. Also believing Scripture, as she learned it, she spread the word that, with the arrival of Christ, there would be no more need for dogs, guns or clothing. These things would not be necessary in the new life. Dogs were killed, guns were broken. In her excited state of mind she succeeded in driving a number of men, women and children out on the sea ice, forcibly removing the clothing from some, prevailing upon others to help her[,] and departed with the clothing. Four children and two adult women perished.

#### The Accused

Alec Apawkok and Akeenik (female) were charged jointly with the murder of Sarah Apawkok - C.C. 69-70.

Peter Sala and Adlaykok were charged jointly with the murder of Keytowieack - C.C. 69-70.

Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack were charged jointly with the murder of Alec Keytowieack (Ekpuk) - C.C. 69-70.

Mina, female, was charged with the murder of

Moses - age 13 years, son of Kumudluk Sarah  
Johnasie - age 6 years, son of Kumudluk Sarah  
Alec Oomaraluk - 8 years, son of Peter Sala  
Johnnie Kokpuk - 7 years, adopted son of Peter Sala  
Nukarak - age 55 years, mother of Peter Sala  
Kumudluk Sarah - 32 years, sister of Peter Sala

#### The Verdicts

Alec Apawkok - Not Guilty



Akeenik - Not Guilty on the ground of temporary insanity.

Peter Sala and Adlaykok - Guilty of manslaughter

Charlie Ouyerack and Quarack - guilty of manslaughter.

Mina - Counsel for the Defence informed His Lordship that his client was unable to plead to the charge on account of insanity and requested His Lordship to direct an issue to be tried by the jury. The accused was brought into court bound hand and foot and strapped on a stretcher, by several men. She raised quite a row about it all. Having been present when arraigned, she was then permitted to be taken out. Evidence in support of insanity was presented by the Defence. Dr. T. J. Orford, Indian agent of the Department of Indian Affairs and one of His Majesty's coroners for the North West Territories, testified that in his opinion the accused was insane and suffering from a progressive dementia praecox. Constable George Dexter of the Mounted Police who had had charge of the accused on several occasions related his experiences with her. It was not possible to produce any evidence that the accused was not insane. The jury found insanity without leaving the box.

#### Sentences

Alec Apawkok was discharged.

Akeenik, female, was committed to be held until the pleasure of the Commissioner of the North West Territories should be known.

Charlie Ouyerack and Peter Sala were each sentenced to two years, hard labour, at the Mounted Police barracks at Chesterfield Inlet, which is a penitentiary by virtue of the North West Territories Act.

Adlaykok was sentenced to one year at hard labour.

Quarack who is very highly regarded by the white men on the Islands, is the best hunter in the settlement. He has a large family and, since the murder, has had to look after his daughter who thereby became a widow. He was given suspended sentence and bound over in the sum of \$200 to keep the peace for two years. He is also charged with the responsibility of providing meat and fish for the families of Sala, Ouyerack and Adlaykok to the best of his ability. He is to be given extra ammunition free for this purpose.

Mina was committed to an institution.

#### Comments on Verdicts

It is my opinion that it would be very difficult to secure a jury of white men in the James and Hudson Bay districts who would convict any Eskimo of murder arising out of the killings of last winter or any other time. White men resident in these areas appear to have what amounts almost to an affection for the Eskimo. They understand that he is probably the friendliest and happiest Aborigine anywhere in the world; that he lives in a country and under conditions far more rigorous than exists

elsewhere outside the Arctic regions; that he is continuously engaged in a fight, not for existence or better, but for survival, and that any killing that may occur is due very rarely to actual malice, but has behind it some motive, belief, transgression or tradition which justifies it in his eyes. I am satisfied that hanging following a conviction for murder would not have the deterrent effect it is supposed to have among white men, even if it were carried out on the site. The motive, whatever it may have been which prompted an Eskimo to commit murder, would still be a motive in the minds of other Eskimos and I do not believe that, with their short memories, the lesson intended to be taught by hanging would remain long with them. The Eskimo mind would have difficulty in realizing that a hanging was the white man's penalty for doing something which the white man considered to be wrong but which they believed to be right and entirely justified.

Similarly, with regard to imprisonment. It is not understood as punishment. The Eskimo mind cannot understand punishment unless it is associated with physical pain. It is the only form of punishment he knows. He whips his dogs frequently and hard when he thinks they deserve it. To take him away, and shelter, clothe and feed him for months on end, meanwhile giving similar treatment to his family is not his idea of punishment. Being complacent and easy going by nature, a term of imprisonment is a holiday about which he will be able to talk for the rest of his life. Hard labour means nothing. If by reason of personal interest or incentive it is possible to get an Eskimo to do manual labour, he may work but he will undoubtedly quit when the interest has been satisfied or the incentive removed. I do not think that any of the Eskimos on the Belcher Islands would object to similar punishment being accorded them, without cause. In fact, one accused was begging before the trials commenced to be taken away. He frequently asked, “Me, Moose, plane”, meaning that he wanted to be taken by plane to Moosonee. He actually gloated and beamed with pleasure when he learned that he was to go. Moreover, he knew that in his absence the white man would provide his family with relief rations.

With regard to the first verdict, re Alec Apawkok and Akeenik, the jury undoubtedly found Apawkok not guilty of murder because the evidence was that the child Sarah was alive after the beating he gave her and it also chose to disregard Sections 69 and 70 of the Code which linked him with Akeenik's crime.

Akeenik, female, was found not guilty of murder on account of temporary insanity. Notwithstanding the direct and unrefuted testimony of murder with a rifle barrel, the jury gave full effect to the testimony that her action took place during a period of violent religious hallucinations. His Lordship made no reference to manslaughter in this case so the jury, in the absence of any direction or evidence of manslaughter and not wishing to convict of murder, had no alternative but to find as it did.

With regard to Peter Sala and Adlaykok, the evidence of murder as defined by the Code was direct, conclusive and not refuted. In this case, however, His Lordship recognizing the force and relevancy of the case of *R.v. Machekequonabe*, 2 Canadian Criminal Cases 38, directed as to manslaughter and went to considerable lengths to explain it. He also explained the case. The jury readily accepted the direction and returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter. In the cited case it was held that homicide committed by a pagan Indian, - "under a mistaken belief that the object shot at and killed was not a human being but an evil spirit called a 'Wendigo' which had assumed human form and would, according to the belief of the Defendant's tribe, attack and eat human beings, is manslaughter."

In the third joint trial, that of Ouyerack and Quarack, the evidence was practically the same as in the second with a similar verdict, notwithstanding that Counsel for the Defence placed the accused in the box and both readily admitted their respective parts in the shooting.

#### Recommendations

1. This is a subject to which I have given my best consideration. I have little regard for anyone who makes a week's trip through a country and then, posing as an authority on its economic and sociological problems, writes a book about it, but these murders demand the recording of impressions and beliefs even though the time was short. I met with situations which, at first glance, appeared to demand correction -- situations which others more versed and better qualified have undoubtedly observed with remedial measures in mind -- but there was no time to enquire into all phases in order to get an accurate and unbiased perspective.

Before my departure it was suggested to me that I keep in mind the matter of any amendments to the Criminal Code which seemed to me to be desirable or expedient in its application to the Eskimo. In this regard I have no hesitation whatever in recording my conclusions based upon observations of these Eskimos, my experience in these trials, and information gleaned from white men in the James and Hudson Bay districts. I recommend and strongly urge that never again should the provisions of the Criminal Code be applied to the Eskimo. The cap of Canadian criminal jurisprudence does not and cannot be made to fit the head of these primitive people. The Criminal Code is not applied to white children of tender years. Should it happen that, moved by a desire for revenge or otherwise, a white child commits a major crime, it is considered by the authorities as irresponsible. Evolution in primitive man is slower in some races than in others and it ill behooves the most advanced race to apply its rigid rules of conduct to another race which, by reason principally of geography[,] has made little or no advance in the last two or three thousand years. Anthropologists state that the Eskimo originally came from southern Asia in the area of the Malay Straits. They have been able to trace the migration up the east coast of

Asia and across to Alaska and Northern Canada, through articles found in mounds and graves. What compelled them to settle in the barren and frozen tundras of the Arctic is not known but I would think that weather and environment have forced them to lose any whatever veneer of civilization is common to tropical races. Henry Hudson found Eskimos on these islands in 1610.

The Eskimo is still a child. His attitude towards life, his customs and traditions have been handed down to him through countless generations. He is said to be free from guile, excepting in the hunt, predominately honest and unconcerned about provision for the future. When he is hungry he goes hunting and gorges himself on his kill. If he did not know that the white man is willing to exchange certain commodities for the skins of certain animals, it is unlikely that he would kill more than he needed for food and clothing at the moment.

I contend that it is unfair to treat as equals, those members of an Aboriginal race who, up to about 25 years ago, insofar as the Belcher Islands are concerned, had never even seen a white man or had any knowledge of his standards of conduct. He does not and cannot be expected to know what it is all about. The distinction between, for instance, murder and manslaughter, is entirely beyond his understanding. I am satisfied that any killings that have occurred among the Eskimos have had their motive in either sex or some other cause which to them call for extreme measures. They are not naturally killers unless they have been deeply provoked, when the killing is to them really a form of self defence -- defence against a repetition of the offence. It is true that there have been instances where an Eskimo has killed a white man. If the motivating factors leading to the crime were known, I am confident that it would be found to have arisen through unwarranted encroachment on the sanctity, as the Eskimo sees it, of his family life; in requiring him to do something which he considered beneath his dignity, or to acquire something possessed by the white man. He may consider it entirely proper at times and under certain circumstances to exchange wives with another Eskimo. This may be considered immoral, judged by our standards, but the Eskimo apparently places no value upon chastity. He is entirely consistent, according to his teaching, in taking the only effective means known to him to prevent a recurrence of whatever it was that raised his anger. He cannot sue for damages or bring the offender before a judge, jury or magistrate for punishment.

The Eskimo can become a problem to the people of Canada if they choose to intervene to any extent in his life. His existence is not essential to the welfare of the country except as a source of certain furs. He could be entirely ignored and still thrive. He lived, moved and had his being thousands of years before we came to this country. It is gross cruelty to him to attempt to assimilate him into our way of life. The Eskimo is many thousands of years behind us in intellectual development. Our problem is not how should we deal with the Eskimo[.] It is, more accurately, should we interfere with him at all. Personally, I am strongly against intervention of any

kind. If, however, it is felt that some interference or supervision is indicated for humanitarian reasons, then its extent must be carefully watched so as to interfere as little as possible with their normal and natural mode of life.

The Eskimo is a nomad. Being [dependent] for his food on seals, fish, deer and bear, he must follow them. He has few permanent settlements so it would be almost impossible and inordinately expensive to bring all Eskimos under the watchful eye of any Government official. It is true that in certain localities, including the Belchers Islands, the Government is supplying relief rations to certain Eskimos. This practice tends, in my opinion, to make an [independent] people [dependent].

I do not wish to appear as condoning killings among the Eskimo or suggest that the white man should be indifferent to them but I do submit that any future offences should not be charged under the Criminal Code. I suggest that, should another crime occur in the future, the R.C.M.P.[.] as soon as they hear of it, should take the perpetrator away to a police barracks and place all the facts before the Commissioner of the N.W.T. who should be authorized to prescribe, in his discretion, an appropriate period of detention. As the only punishment known to the white man which the Eskimo can appreciate as such, is whipping, it has been suggested that in major crimes a few strokes of the lash could, with benefit, be administered upon his return to his camp. I cannot sincerely approve the suggestion because I realize that the Eskimo is a child; that he would undoubtedly resent such treatment but, having greater physical strength with more ingenuity and resourcefulness, would at the first opportunity avenge his pride and dignity. It is recognized that among a large number of white children whipping is not the proper corrective measure in all cases.

2. In dealing with the subject matter of this recommendation, I assume that the North West Territories' Administration is aware of the information that came to me while on the Belchers Islands. The Hudson's Bay Company Post comprises a residence occupied by the manager and his assistant, a store, and a couple of small storage buildings. These, like Peter's house, are built upon the rock. The Post is visited once a year in August by the boat "Fort Charles". The Eskimo population of the many islands comprising this group, is said to be 168. They are scattered far and wide over islands that may be a few hundred miles apart. They must follow the seal or fish for food and they camp in favourable locations to these sources of food, clothing and fuel, in single families or in groups comprising several families. Unless they have a credit established at the Post or have accumulated a number of furs for trading, there is no occasion for them to visit the Post.

Trading at this Post is chiefly with Hudson Seal skins--which, I am informed, are a glut on the market and worth only a few cents each--and white fox pelts. Apparently foxes originally came to the Island over the ice in winter. These comparatively small, barren and rocky islands, lacking normal supplies of food for

foxes, would not be a natural habitant for them. There would be some annual increase in the number of foxes but that increase would not offset the numbers killed. Consequently the Hudson's Bay Company cannot possibly find that the Post on these Islands produces annually a quantity of high class furs sufficient to warrant them keeping the post open. I also understand that this Post was originally established by the Company, not because it believed it would be remunerative but because it was requested so to do by the Government, as through the Post Manager a means would be afforded of extending relief and certain supplies to the Eskimos who were believed to be on the point of starvation.

I understand further that the Company does not exactly appreciate its position as a Government relief agent charged with the responsibility of supervising the welfare of Eskimo, in sickness and in health, and policing them in the event of infractions of the white man's law. I heard it said that if the R.C.M.P. would establish a post on the Belchers Islands to take over relief and police duties, the Company might consider keeping the post open, but unless this is done the Company would find it more profitable to close the post, appoint one Eskimo to take charge and make an annual call at a previously designated point to pick up whatever furs the Eskimos brought together for trading.

Any such change in present arrangements would have far reaching effects. It would entail consideration of the problem of appropriate action with respect to the welfare of these Eskimos should the Hudson's Bay Company pull out. If it is decided that supervision of the welfare of 168 Eskimos scattered over dozens of small islands is an unavoidable responsibility of the Government, suitable men for the task who are willing and able to live that sort of lonely life, would have to be obtained. Permanent residence would have to be established and arrangements made to furnish them with all necessary supplies for themselves and the Eskimos during the short navigation season. Further, they would have to have a dog team, motor boat and radio transmitting and receiving set. All this would constitute a large annual appropriation, in my opinion, out of proportion to the benefit thereof. Only a few of the Eskimos might need assistance, the majority being able to fend for themselves. Personally, I cannot see why two white men should be asked to live in that region at great expense to their Government in order to supply certain commodities to a few dozen Eskimos who might or might not need them.

These Eskimos should not be on these Islands and they should not be allowed to remain there. If the Government insists upon supervising their welfare, then it should move them to localities where they would have a better chance of avoiding starvation; where R.C.M.P. posts are already established and serviced; where it would cost less money to supervise them and where there are more of their own kind. I have in mind points farther north, such as at Lake Harbour in Baffin Land

and Chesterfield Inlet. I understand that most of these Eskimos originally came from Baffin Land.

I believe that if the Government wishes to make more assured the welfare of these Eskimos, to make them more readily accessible to the influence of missionary work; to enable them to obtain matches, tea, cloth, coal oil, tobacco or other commodities, it can be done with less trouble were they located at some point on the mainland closer to established Government ports of call.

The Hudson's Bay Post on the Belchers Islands is now managed by a young man, Roy Jeffrey, with an assistant named Bradstreet. One can not feel assured that some other Eskimos, either coveting the valuable articles of food, clothing, tobacco, rifles and ammunition in the store, or merely for the purpose of observing the unusual antics of the white man's justice, will not commit other murders. Further, Peter Sala, Charlie Ouyerack and Adlaykok, should not be regarded, upon their return from a delightful holiday, as reformed criminals. They are bad men and left to themselves will probably be disposed of, in time, by others. Charlie Ouyerack, particularly, carries a grudge. Many years ago, his father was killed in a series of murders. Anything may happen when these three schemers return to the Belchers. They will have become accustomed in the meantime to many things which are in that store; they will have suffered no punishment for murders committed; they will be heroes among their own people; they will want things in that store and being excellent shots with a rifle will take the easiest way of getting them quickly as in the case of the Eskimo who murdered the priest for his rifle.

I most strongly urge that those Eskimos now under detention, except Mina, be returned next August and not held for two years; that the Hudson's Bay Post be closed as a permanent post; that unless and until some church considers it worthwhile to the Eskimo to place a missionary permanently on the islands, no sporadic attempts at religious instruction be made; that these people be left entirely to themselves so far as government intervention be concerned and, lastly, that, under no circumstances, should the Eskimo on the Belchers or elsewhere in the Arctic be considered amendable to the Criminal Code.

R. A. Olmsted.

**254. Letter, R. A. Gibson to F. P. Varcoe, 12 November 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

OTTAWA  
November 12, 1941.

Dear Mr. Varcoe,

Re - J.R. 5776/41.

We are pleased to have the copy of the report of Mr. R.A. Olmsted on the Belcher Islands murders which you were good enough to enclose with your letter of the 28th October.

Mr. Olmsted observes that it seems manifestly unfair to apply the provisions of the Criminal Code to the Eskimo in the light of their primitiveness. The suggestion made by Mr. Olmsted has been put forward at previous Eskimo trials as your records will most likely bear out and we are inclined to agree with him, but we are at a loss to suggest something to take the place of the Code. It is obvious that the Government could not simply withdraw the rigid rules of the Code and leave it at that, which Mr. Olmsted seems to advocate.

Mr. Olmsted, in his recommendations, likens the primitive Eskimo to undeveloped children of, say, 12 years of age, and in some respects this is very near the truth. He states that the Code does not hold such a child responsible for criminal actions and therefore it is not amenable to the laws. Again we are inclined to agree with Mr. Olmsted, but children of tender years have parents to guide them and instill in their minds what is right and wrong, with the result that when they become a little older they are supposed to know the difference and then they are subject to the laws like any other citizen. The Eskimo has no such guiding influence where not in touch with civilized people and so will go on each enforcing justice as he sees it and as he is able, on his neighbours.

Mr. Olmsted's remarks apply only to primitive Eskimo and would not apply to the Eskimo who are close to the Police and Missionaries and should know that the white man's law must be respected.

As you are probably aware, Mr. Edwards had discussed on various occasions with Mr. Plaxton the desirability of an officer of your Department paying a visit to the Northwest Territories for the purpose of gathering local information about the suitability of the legislation that governs the administration of law and order. Unfortunately, your Department was always so short-handed that it was not possible to undertake such an investigation, which would probably take some time.

Intimately related to the suggested amendments in Mr. Olmsted's report is the task of revising the Northwest Territories Ordinances, which has been undertaken by the Northwest Territories Council as opportunity permitted, and with the fullest degree of co-operation from your Department. Precedence has been given to the consideration of the Ordinances of immediate importance and steady progress is being made. In fact, we have reached the point where we were about to ask you to look over a consolidation.



The revision of the Judicature Ordinance and Rules of Court is particularly important. This Ordinance forms the foundation of our practice and procedure. The present Ordinance, having been made when the old Territories had fully organized Courts including a Supreme Court with all the necessary Court Clerks, Registrars and other officials, most of whom had had legal training, is very difficult to work with when we have very little organization and that little extemporized from the Medical Officers, Mining Engineers and other departmental officials available. Most of these men have had no legal experience or training and advice and instruction are a long way off. I should like to make some arrangement with you to take up this question when it will be convenient to you - perhaps, to start with, a discussion with yourself and Mr. Miall who has been most helpful in the past in connection with Northwest Territories legal problems. We might be able to devise a program so that within a reasonable time we could make an up-to-date consolidation of the Northwest Territories Ordinances, including the necessary revisions.

Yours very truly,

*<R. A. Gibson>*

R.A. Gibson,

Deputy Commissioner.

**260. Memorandum, D. L. McKeand to R. A. Gibson, 17 November 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

Ottawa, 17th November, 1941.

Memorandum:

Mr. Gibson.

Referring to the letter of the 28th ultimo from the Deputy Minister of Justice and the report on the Belcher Islands episode prepared by Mr. R. A. Olmsted, I respectfully point out that this material was removed from Room 801 without my knowledge. Moreover, neither Mr. Daly nor Mr. Cory mentioned the matter to me although I sat in on all the conferences when preparations for the trials were discussed last spring.

You will recall that during one conference in the office of the Deputy Minister of Justice last spring, Mr. Edwards asked me point blank if I thought the Criminal Code could be applied to Eskimos. Without hesitation I replied, "Not in its present form" and suggested a remedy. I have not discussed the Belcher Islands affair with Mr. Olmsted or anyone else since my return to Ottawa but I reported to you the effect of the garbled and misleading accounts of the trials broadcast this summer.

Your radiogram was not delivered to me until the patrol arrived at Pangnirtung, the last port of call on the itinerary and too late to correct the mischief. As an example of the rumours circulated, Corporal Hamilton told Inspector Martin and me that the Eskimos convicted on the Belcher Islands and serving sentences at Moose Factory had been transferred to Chesterfield. When asked how this had been arranged he glibly said by the R.C.M. Police plane. Inspector Martin was inclined to believe it but it seemed fantastic to me.

After a very trying summer it is comforting to find Mr. Olmsted making such a strong denunciation of the application of the Criminal Code as applied to Eskimos.

May I respectfully point out also that the Belcher Islanders ought to be the most "civilized" of all Eskimos in Canada. If they did not see the white man in 1610 they saw the ships of the Hudson's Bay Company passing in and out of James Bay from 1668, 100 years before Samuel Hearne saw the so-called Copper Eskimos.

There has been a lot of loose talk about whipping Eskimos convicted of criminal offences. We know of one case (Radford and Street) which resulted in murder. If the white man attempts to ridicule an Eskimo before his fellows tragedy will follow as day follows night. I reported to you that I saw negroes whipped by white men in South Africa forty years ago but the negro has a tribal system and, moreover, has been the slave race since the dawn of history. Eskimos have no tribal system and the family is the independent unit. Any attempt to ridicule or to inflict whipping on Canadian Eskimos would bring forth a vigorous protest from all white persons who know them personally.

The only way of administering Eskimo affairs (including justice) is in the exercise of common sense by government officials resident in Eskimo territory. These government officials should be married men and prepared to serve not two or three years but for at least twenty years with adequate provision for furlough, refresher courses, etc. Moreover, there should be an Advisory Board at every center where there are two or more white residents. It would not be long before the Eskimos realized they could not play one white man against another. Perhaps it is too much to expect in my day but it is by no means impossible that we will have Eskimo game wardens and radio operators just as there are expert Eskimo sailors and motor mechanics today.

*<D. L. McKeand>*

D. L. McKeand.

Major McKeand

No doubt the Deputy Minister of Justice will indicate in his reply the course of action that he prefers to follow. After all the matter of amending the criminal code is one which falls very definitely within the purview of the Minister of Justice. No

doubt, the co-operation of those officers familiar with the local problems will be appreciated and when Mr. Varcoe replies you will be advised.

<initialled: *R. A. Gibson*>  
Deputy Commissioner

18/11/41

**262. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Akeenik, 18 November 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

H.Q. File No. 41 D 636-13-L-1      Div. File No. 41 G 636-1      F. 264 B.

**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE**

				R.C.M.P. Seizure
Sub-Division	Eastern Arctic, NWT	S.Div. Ref.	---	Number --
Detachment	Belcher Islands, NWT	Det.Ref	----	A.R.V. No. ---
Defendant	AKEENIK (Eskimo female)	Address	Belcher Islands, NWT	
Occupation	Native life	Status in Canada	Canadian born Eskimo	
Nationality	British	Colour	Brown	Date of Birth Approx.1923
Place of Offence	Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands, NWT		Date	About Jan 25th.1941
Offence	Murder	Criminal Code	Sec. 263	
Information	Sergt. H. Kearney	29-7-1941	D.J. Martin, Esq, J.P.	Belcher Is. NWT
Arrest or Summons	Arrest	Date 30-7-41	Place Belcher Islands, NWT	Date 19-7-41 of Trial
Tried By	Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton, A Stipendiary Magistrate for the NWT, and Jury.		Plea	Not guilty
Prosecutor or Pros'g Counsel	R.A. Olmsted, Esq.		Defence	J.P. Madden, Esq. Counsel
Disposition of Charge or Sentence imposed & date	Not guilty on account of temporary insanity. Committed in custody of R.C.M.Police to await pleasure of Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. Taken to Moose Factory Detachment, RCMP. for further observation and disposal.			
Fine paid or gaol term taken	----			

<u>Costs Collected (Police)</u>			Authority for Search	----
Serving Summons	NIL	\$	Complainant: Sergt. H. Kearney, RCMP	
Arrest	NIL	\$	Fingerprints to H.Q.	Not taken, no equipment.
Attending Court	NIL	\$	Photograph to H.Q.	Not taken, no equipment.
Witness Fees	NIL	\$	Last previous conviction (quote F.P.S. Number if known)	NONE
Mileage	NIL	Miles @	c.p.m.	\$
Costs other than R.C.M.P.: NIL.				

REMARKS:- For particulars of the charge against this Eskimo please refer to the report on the preliminary hearing, Form 264.

At the trial the Accused was tried jointly with Alec Apawkok, male Eskimo, for the murder of Sarah Apawkok. Evidence was given by several Eskimo witnesses that after the murdered girl had been beaten with a stick and received other maltreatment from her brother, Alec Apawkok, because she would not believe in the new religious teachings then being propagated by certain natives, and having been rendered helpless by these beatings, she was carried out of the snow-house where the beating occurred, by four natives including the Accused Akeenik and laid outside on the snow, where she was clubbed over the head with a rifle by the Accused and killed.

The jury, after retiring to consider the case, returned the verdict as noted above, it being their opinion that the Accused was carried away with religious hysteria when she committed the murder.

		) Insp. D.J. Martin,	
Diary Date.....		Investigated by) Sergt. H. Kearney; Cpl. W.G. Kerr	
Fw'd on...to O.C.S-Div. Fw'd on 18-11-1941 to O.C.Div. Fw'd Comm'r 18-11-41			
		<H. Kearney>	<D. J. Martin>
		H. Kearney Sgt.	(D.J. Martin) Insp.
		"G" Div. H.Q.	

### **263. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Charlie Ouyerack, 18 November 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

H.Q. File No. 41 D 636-13-L-1      Div. File No. 41 G 636-1      F. 264 B.

**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE**

Sub-Division	Eastern Arctic, NWT	S.Div. Ref.	--	R.C.M.P. Seizure Number	--
Detachment	Belcher Islands, NWT	Det.Ref	---	A.R.V. No.	--
Defendant	Charlie OUYERACK (male Eskimo) Address Belcher Islands, N.W.T.				
Occupation	Hunter	Status in Canada	Canadian born native		
Nationality	British subject	Colour	Brown	Date of Birth	Approx. 1913
Place of Offence	Belcher Islands, N.W.T.		Date	About Feb. 9th. 1941	
Offence	Murder	Criminal Code	Sec. 263		
Information	Sergt. H. Kearney 29-7-1941 D.J. Martin, Esq. J.P. Belcher Is. NWT.				
Arrest or Summons	Arrest	Date	30-7-41	Place of Trial	Belcher Islands, NWT Date 20-7-41
Tried By	Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton - A Stipendiary Magistrate for the Northwest Territories, and Jury.			Plea	Not guilty
Prosecutor or Pros'g Counsel	R.A. Olmsted, Esq.		Defence Counsel	J.P. Madden, Esq.	
Disposition of Charge or Sentence imposed & date	Found guilty of Manslaughter - Two years imprisonment with hard labour at RCMP. guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet, NWT.				
Fine paid or gaol term taken	Serving sentence. Taken to Moose Factory, Ont. and placed in custody of RCMP Detachment pending further removal.				
<u>Costs Collected (Police)</u>		Authority for Search ---			
Serving Summons	NIL	\$	Complainant: Sergt. H. Kearney, RCMP.		
Arrest	NIL	\$	Fingerprints to H.Q. Not taken - no equipment.		
Attending Court	NIL	\$	Photograph to H.Q. Not taken - no equipment.		
Witness Fees	NIL	\$	Last previous conviction (quote F.P.S. Number if known) NONE.		
Mileage	NIL	Miles @	c.p.m. \$		
Costs other than R.C.M.P.: NIL.					

REMARKS:- For particulars of the charge against this Eskimo please refer to the report on the preliminary hearing, Form 264.

The Accused was tried jointly with Eskimo Quarack for the murder of Eskimo Alec Ekpuk (Quarack's son-in-law). Evidence was given by eye-witnesses to the effect that the Accused, who was recognized as Jesus by most of the natives, ordered Quarack to shoot Ekpuk, saying that Ekpuk was Satan. The murder was carried out by Quarack because he believed that Ouyerack was Jesus and because he had been told by Ouyerack to shoot Ekpuk and also because he believed that Ekpuk was Satan. The murdered native Ekpuk was shot three times from a rifle fired by Quarack.

The jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter against Ouyerack no doubt because the evidence showed that Ouyerack really believed that Ekpuk was Satan.

CONVICTED. CONCLUDED.

Inspector D.J. Martin

Diary Date..... Investigated by Sergt. H. Kearney; Cpl. W.G. Kerr.

Fw'd on..to O.C.S-Div. Fw'd on 18-11-1941 to O.C.Div. Fw'd Comm'r 18-11-41

<H. Kearney>                      <D. J. Martin>  
(H. Kearney) Sgt.                      D.J. Martin, Insp.  
"G" Divn. H.Q.

**264. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Alec Apawkok, 18/19 November 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

H.Q. File No. 41 D 636-13-L-1      Div. File No. 41 G 636-1      F. 264 B.

**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE**

Sub-Division	Eastern Arctic, NWT	S.Div. Ref.	---	R.C.M.P. Seizure
				Number --
Detachment	Belcher Islands, NWT	Det.Ref	----	A.R.V. No. ---
Defendant	Alec APAWKOK (Eskimo male)	Address	Belcher Islands, N.W.T.	
Occupation	Native hunter	Status in Canada	Canadian born Eskimo	
Nationality	British	Colour	Brown	Date of Birth Approx. 1916

Place of Offence Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands, NWT Date About Jan.25th.'41

Offence Murder Criminal Code Sec 263

Information Sergt. H. Kearney, 30-7-41 D.J. Martin, Esq, J.P. Belcher Islands

Arrest or Arrest Date 30-7-'41 Place Belcher Islands, NWT Date 19-8-41  
Summons of Trial

Tried By Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton - A Stipendiary Plea Not guilty  
Magistrate for the N.W.T., and Jury

Prosecutor or R.A. Olmsted, Esq. Defence J.P. Madden, Esq.  
Pros'g Counsel Counsel

Disposition of Charge or Not guilty, Acquitted. 19-8-41  
Sentence imposed & date

Fine paid or gaol term taken -----

Costs Collected (Police) Authority for Search ----

Serving Summons NIL \$ Complainant: Sergt. H. Kearney, RCMP.

Arrest NIL \$ Fingerprints to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.

Attending Court NIL \$ Photograph to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.

Witness Fees NIL \$ Last previous conviction (quote  
F.P.S. Number if known) NONE

Mileage NIL Miles @ c.p.m. \$

Costs other than R.C.M.P.: NIL.

REMARKS:- For particulars of the charge against this Eskimo please refer to the report on the preliminary hearing, Form 264.

At the trial the Accused was charged jointly with Akeenik, female, for the murder of Sarah Apawkok, female Eskimo. The murdered woman was a sister of the Accused. Evidence was given by several Eskimo witnesses that the Accused, during a religious meeting held in a snow-house, struck Sarah Apawkok several times over the head with a stick and also subjected her to less severe mal-treatment, because she would not believe in certain new religious teachings then being propagated by the natives, and particularly because she would not believe that one, Charlie Ouyerack, Eskimo male, was Jesus. After being beaten by the Accused and rendered helpless, Sarah Apawkok was carried out of the igloo by four other natives, laid on the snow outside and clubbed to death with a rifle by Akeenik. It was not established that the

blows inflicted upon Sarah Apawkok by Alec Apawkok were sufficient to cause death, and the jury, after considering the evidence, returned a verdict of “Not guilty” on that account.

Insp. D.J. Martin,

Diary Date..... Investigated by Sergt. H. Kearney, Corpl. W.G. Kerr.

Fw'd on...to O.C.S-Div. Fw'd on 18-11-1941 to O.C.Div. Fw'd Comm'r 19-11-41.

<H. Kearney>                      <D. J. Martin>  
H. Kearney Sgt.                      D.J. Martin, Insp.  
CONCLUDED                      “G” Div. H.Q.

**265. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Peter Sala, 18/19 November 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

H.Q. File No. 41 D 636-13-L-1      Div. File No. 41 G 636-1      F. 264 B.

**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE**

Sub-Division		Eastern Arctic	S.Div. Ref.	---	R.C.M.P. Seizure
					Number --
Detachment	Belcher Islands, NWT.	Det.Ref	---	A.R.V. No.	--
Defendant	Peter SALA (Eskimo male)	Address	Belcher Islands, N.W.T.		
Occupation	Native hunter	Status in Canada	British subject		
Nationality	Canadian Eskimo	Colour	Brown	Date of Birth	Approx. 1906
Place of Offence	Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands, NWT		Date	About Jan.26th. 1941	
Offence	Murder	Criminal Code	Sec. 263		
Information	Sergt. H. Kearney, 29-7-1941, D.J. Martin, Esq, J.P. Belcher Is. NWT.				
Arrest or Summons	Arrest	Date 30-7-41	Place	Belcher Is. N.W.T.	Date 19-7-41 of Trial
Tried By	Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton - Stipendiary Magistrate for the N.W.T. and Jury.			Plea	Not guilty.
Prosecutor or Pros'g Counsel	R.A. Olmsted, Esq.		Defence	J.P. Madden, Esq. Counsel	
Disposition of Charge or	Guilty of Manslaughter		Two years imprisonment with		



Sentence imposed & date    hard labour to be served in R.C.M. Police Guard-room at Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T.

Fine paid or gaol term taken    Serving sentence. Taken to Moose Factory, Ont. and placed in custody of R.C.M.P. Detachment pending further removal.

Costs Collected (Police)

Authority for Search    ----

Serving Summons    NIL    \$    Complainant: Sergeant H. Kearney

Arrest    NIL    \$    Fingerprints to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.

Attending Court    NIL    \$    Photograph to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.

Witness Fees    NIL    \$    Last previous conviction (quote  
F.P.S. Number if known)    None

Mileage    -    Miles @    c.p.m. \$

Costs other than R.C.M.P.:    NIL

REMARKS:-    For particulars of the charge against this Eskimo please refer to the report on the preliminary hearing, Form 264.

The Accused was tried jointly with Eskimo Adlaykok for the murder of Eskimo Keytowieack. The Accused was recognized as God by most of the natives. The murdered man did not accept the Accused as God and counselled other natives not to believe in the religious teachings of the Accused; on this account the Accused declared that Keytowieack was Satan and counselled the natives to kill Keytowieack. Acting on the counsel of the Accused, Eskimo Adlaykok fired two shots from his rifle into Keytowieack[s] body killing him, the murder taking place in the murdered man's igloo. Before Keytowieack was shot, the Accused had struck him in the mouth with a stick or harpoon.

The jury brought in the verdict of manslaughter no doubt because the evidence showed that the Accused really believed that Keytowieack was Satan.

CONVICTED. CONCLUDED.

Insp. D.J. Martin.

Diary Date..... Investigated by Sergt. H. Kearney; Corpl. W.G. Kerr.

Fw'd on...to O.C.S-Div. Fw'd on 18-11-1941 to O.C.Div. Fw'd Comm'r 19-11-41

<H. Kearney>  
H. Kearney Sergt.  
"G" Divn. H.Q.

<D. J. Martin>  
D.J. Martin Insp.

*“...the stars shall fall from heaven...”*

---

**266. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Adlaykok, 19 November 1941**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]

H.Q. File No. 41 D 636-13-L-1      Div. File No. 41 G 636-1      F. 264 B.

**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE**

				R.C.M.P. Seizure
Sub-Division	Eastern Arctic, NWT	S.Div. Ref.	--	Number --
Detachment	Belcher Islands, NWT	Det.Ref	----	A.R.V. No. --
Defendant	ADLAYKOK (Male Eskimo)	Address	Belcher Islands, N.W.T.	
Occupation	Native hunter	Status in Canada	Canadian born Eskimo	
Nationality	British	Colour	Brown	Date of Birth
				Approx.1906
Place of Offence	Flaherty Island, Belcher Islands, NWT		Date	About Jan.26th.1941
Offence	Murder	Criminal Code.	Sec. 263	
Information	Corpl. W.G. Kerr,	16-4-41	T.J. Orford, Esq. J.P. Belcher Is. NWT.	
Arrest or	Arrest	Date	16-4-41	Place
Summons				Belcher Islands, NWT
				Date
				19-8-41
				of Trial
Tried By	Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton - A Stipendiary		Plea	Not guilty
	Magistrate for the NWT, and Jury.			
Prosecutor or	R.A. Olmsted, Esq.		Defence	J.P. Madden, Esq.
Pros'g Counsel			Counsel	
Disposition of Charge or	Guilty of Manslaughter - strong recommendation for			
Sentence imposed & date	mercy from Jury. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment			
	with hard labour in RCMP guard-room at Chesterfield			
	Inlet, N.W.T.			
Fine paid or gaol term taken	Serving sentence. Taken to Moose Factory, Ont. and			
	placed in custody of RCMP Detachment pending			
	further removal.			
<u>Costs Collected (Police)</u>	Authority for Search -			
Serving Summons	NIL	\$	Complainant: Corporal W.G. Kerr, RCMP.	
Arrest	NIL	\$	Fingerprints to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.	



Occupation	Native life	Status in Canada	Canadian born Eskimo
Nationality	British	Colour	Brown
		Date of Birth	Approx.1908
Place of Offence	Belcher Islands, N.W.T.	Date	About Mar.29th.'41
Offence	Murder	Criminal Code	Sec. 263
Information	Corpl. W.G. Kerr	16-4-41	T.J. Orford Esq.J.P. Belcher Is.
Arrest or Summons	Arrest	Date 16-4-41	Place Belcher Islands, NWT
			Date 20-8-41 of Trial
Tried By	Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton - A Stipendiary Magistrate for the NWT, and Jury		Plea None taken
Prosecutor or Pros'g Counsel	R.A. Olmsted, Esq.	Defence	J.P. Madden, Esq. Counsel
Disposition of Charge or Sentence imposed & date	Murder charge not proceeded with. Issue tried by Jury to determine present mental condition of Accused. Found insane.		
Fine paid or gaol term taken	Committed in custody of RCMP. to await pleasure of Commissioner of NWT. Taken to Moose Factory Detachment		

Costs Collected (Police)

Authority for Search ---

Serving Summons	NIL	\$	Complainant: Corpl. W.G. Kerr, RCMP
Arrest	NIL	\$	Fingerprints to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.
Attending Court	NIL	\$	Photograph to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.
Witness Fees	NIL	\$	Last previous conviction (quote F.P.S. Number if known) NONE
Mileage	NIL	Miles @	c.p.m. \$

Costs other than R.C.M.P.: NIL.

REMARKS:-

Please see sheet 2.

Insp. D.J. Martin,

Diary Date..... Investigated by Sergt. H. Kearney, Corpl. W.G. Kerr.

Fw'd on...to O.C.S-Div. Fw'd on 19-11-1941 to O.C.Div. Fw'd Comm'r 19-11-41

<H. Kearney>  
H. Kearney Sergt.  
"G" Divn. H.Q.

<D. J. Martin>  
D.J. Martin Insp.

REMARKS: Please see the report on the preliminary hearing of this charge, Form 264.

The Accused was charged with the murder of Eskimo boy Johnasie, aged 6 years, who was frozen to death on or about March 29th. 1941, on the ice near a native camp on the Belcher Islands as a result of being stripped of his clothes by the Accused in below zero weather. The Accused had caused the deaths of five other natives in the same way at the same time but was charged only with the death of Johnasie. Evidence had been given at the inquest and preliminary hearing that on the day of the deaths the Accused suddenly became convinced that the Saviour was coming to earth that day and that the people should go out on to the ice to meet Him and should meet Him in their naked state. By threats and persuasion the Accused led the people out on to the sea ice and whilst so leading them she repeatedly lifted her hands toward the sky, calling, "Come Jesus, come Jesus".

When the Accused was brought into Court for the trial the Defence Counsel stated that he was entering no plea and asked that an issue be directed to determine if the Accused is fit for trial, [pursuant] to the provisions of Section 967 of the Criminal Code which section deals with the issue of insanity of an Accused person. His Lordship the Judge thereupon directed the jury to try the issue.

Evidence was given in Court by Doctor T.J. Orford, of Moose Factory, Ontario, and Constable G.E. Dexter, R.C.M. Police of Moose Factory, Ontario, touching on the woman's mental condition during the time she was confined in the R.C.M. Police guard-room at Moose Factory before being brought back to the Belcher Islands for trial, and her conduct whilst so confined at Moose Factory. They testified that the Accused is insane.

The jury saw the Accused in Court and noted her conduct therein. They brought in a verdict that the Accused is insane and unfit to stand trial.

<H. Kearney>  
SUBMITTED BY Sergeant H. Kearney.  
19-11-1941

**268. R.C.M.P. sheet regarding Quarack, 19 November 1941**

**LAC, RG 85, vol. 173, file 541-2-1 [1-A]**

H.Q. File No. 41 D 636-13-L-1      Div. File No. 41 G 636-1      F. 264 B.

**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE**

					R.C.M.P. Seizure
Sub-Division	Eastern Arctic, NWT	S.Div. Ref.	--	Number	--
Detachment	Belcher Islands, NWT	Det.Ref	---	A.R.V. No.	--
Defendant	QUARACK (Eskimo male)	Address	Belcher Islands, NWT		
Occupation	Native hunter	Status in Canada	Canadian born Eskimo		
Nationality	British	Colour	Brown	Date of Birth	Approx. 1891
Place of Offence	Belcher Islands, NWT	Date	About Feb.9th.'41		
Offence	Murder	Criminal Code	Sec 263		
Information	Corpl. W.G. Kerr	16-4-1941	T.J. Orford, Esq, J.P.	Belcher Is.	
Arrest or Summons	Arrest	Date 16-4-41	Place Belcher Islands, NWT	Date 20-8-41	
			of Trial		
Tried By	Hon. Justice C.P. Plaxton - A Stipendiary Magistrate for the NWT, and Jury			Plea	Not guilty
Prosecutor or Pros'g Counsel	R.A. Olmsted, Esq.		Defence	J.P. Madden, Esq. Counsel	
Disposition of Charge or Sentence imposed & date	Guilty of Manslaughter - Sentence suspended for two years. Entered into written recognizance to keep the peace and be of good behaviour and to provide meat for and protect the family of Prisoner Peter Sala, during the latter's absence from Islands				

Fine paid or gaol term taken

Costs Collected (Police)

Authority for Search ----

Serving Summons	NIL	\$	Complainant: Cpl. W. G. Kerr, RCMP
Arrest	NIL	\$	Fingerprints to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.
Attending Court	NIL	\$	Photograph to H.Q. Not taken, no equipment.

Witness Fees                      NIL        \$        Last previous conviction (quote  
F.P.S. Number if known)        NONE

Mileage                      NIL        Miles @        c.p.m. \$

Costs other than R.C.M.P.:

REMARKS:-

For particulars of the charge against this Eskimo please refer to the report on the preliminary hearing, Form 264.

The Accused was tried jointly with Eskimo Ouyerack for the murder of Alec Ekpuk. Evidence was given by eye-witnesses that the Accused shot Ekpuk three times with a rifle, killing him. The murder took place on the ice near a native camp on Tukarack Island one of the Belcher Islands group, N.W.T. The Accused had been ordered by Eskimo Ouyerack (who was recognized as Jesus by the natives) to shoot Ekpuk because Ekpuk was considered to be Satan. The Accused believed that Ouyerack was Jesus and also that Ekpuk (his son-in-law) was Satan and he killed Ekpuk on that account and admitted killing him at the trial.

The jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter with a strong recommendation for mercy. The evidence showed that the Accused and all other natives concerned were carried away with religious hysteria.

CONVICTED. CONCLUDED

Inspector D.J. Martin,  
Diary Date..... Investigated by Sergt. H. Kearney; Cpl. W.G. Kerr

Fw'd on...to O.C.S-Div. Fw'd on 19-11-1941 to O.C.Div. Fw'd Comm'r 19-11-41

<H. Kearney>  
(H. Kearney) Sgt.  
"G" Div. H.Q.

<D. J. Martin>  
D.J. Martin Insp.



292. Newspaper Clipping, Philip H. Godsell, ““Messiah” of The Ice-Fields: How Charlie Ouyerack, Self-Styled “Messiah,” Brought a New Cult to the Iglulik Tribesmen of Hudson Bay, Condemning Disbelievers to the Harpoons of Strong-Arm Disciples,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 10 January 1942

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

## “Messiah” of The Ice-Fields

How Charlie Ouyerack, Self-Styled “Messiah,” Brought a New Cult to the Iglulik Tribesmen of Hudson Bay, Condemning Disbelievers to the Harpoons of Strong-Arm Disciples

By Philip H. Godsell

AGAIN the red hand of murder has struck among the Arctic ice-fields. Only, this time, it's not an avenging blood feud or Polar triangle that's stained the ice-fields scarlet. This time a woman shortage due to infanticide-practising mothers isn't the key to the mystery. Nor is the ebullition of savagery due to the cosmic forces that have set “civilized” nations tearing each other's throats.

It all hinges around an aboriginal quarrel as to whether oily-faced Charlie Ouyerack, self-styled Eskimo “Jesus” is really the Saviour returned this time to the blizzard-flailed ice floes of the Arctic, and the inability of Stone Age savages to distinguish between divinity and the black magic of their ancient gods.

First news of the bizarre tragedy which has taken toll of 14 lives among the snow igloos of the fur-clad Iglulik Eskimos was reported to Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Ottawa last April in a laconic message from Ernest Riddell, Hudson's Bay factor on barren Belcher Islands, relayed by short-wave radio from the lonely post of Great Whale River, on the east coast of Canada's inland Mediterranean.

It wasn't till Peter Sala, Eskimo guide and snowhouse builder, arrived at his lonely trading post off the rock-walled shore of Hudson Bay that Factor Ernest Riddell learned of the eruption of violence that had stained the ice-fields and left on the blizzard-swept Belcher Islands the frozen bodies of women and children who'd been driven naked into a howling blizzard to welcome Jesus.

It all started when Charlie Ouyerack received a Bible from the hands of some transient apostle and with it a smattering of the religion of the Kablunats—the white men. Unable to read, Charlie studied the Bible in the flickering light of the stone blubber lamp that illuminated his snow domicile.

The missionary had told of Jesus—the Great White Angatkuk of the Kablunats who was able to raise the dead, walk on water and, some day, would visit the earth again. It all bore a strong resemblance to the witchcraft of their own medicine men who could go into a trance and project their astral bodies far through the ether to look for caribou and tell them to come along and be killed—that the Eskimos were starving.

The same Angatkuks would go into a trance, “die” and come to life again with wonderful visions. In fact, Charlie reflected, without any thought of sacrifice, that since he, too, had done a little aerial scouting while in a trance he must be pretty close himself to Jesus. As his beady eyes gazed meditatively into the smoky flames of the kudlik Charlie decided that he was the reincarnation of the Saviour.

Attired in a white stole of dirty cotton bartered from the traders and sewn into the shape he’d seen the black coat wear he greased the path by saying that Jesus was getting very close. That any time He might descend upon the ice-fields and be hungry after his long terrestrial abode. It would be well if the Innuit—the Eskimos—saw to it that there was a good supply of blubber, venison and seal meat available for the blubber banquet when the celestial visitor arrived.

### ***Simple Polar Children Pulled in Their Belts***

Hospitable by nature, and anxious to do the honors to the visiting Messiah, the simple children of the Polar spaces pulled in their belts, cached stores of meat and pokes of blubber they would have preferred to eat—and waited.

But as the days passed and knife-edged blizzards screamed down from the Pole; as fish and seal got scarce and hunger gnawed, faith in the coming of the Messiah commenced to dwindle and factions formed against Charlie’s converts.

While one devout family maintained that Christ might come next day—next week—any time, in fact, the other hungry family thought differently. As they dug up the food caches reserved for the entertainment of their Saviour and proceeded to assuage the pangs of hunger they insisted they’d thought things over and changed their minds.

No! Jesus won’t come in our time, not for many times, many years, maintained one broad-faced old patriarch, the best thing to do would be to satisfy that inner gnawing that was far more convincing than Charlie Ouyerack’s preaching.

Realizing that his hold on his congregation was slipping Charlie decided to “sub” for the Saviour. While the blubber banquet was at its height in the igloo of the unbelievers Charlie’s shaggy head appeared in the snow tunnel. It was followed by his fur-clad body, complete with stained and greasy surplice and wooden cross. Surveying

the circle of feasting Huskies he told them they'd been a little premature. Jesus had arrived! He, in fact, was Jesus. He'd just arrived to save them.

Aghast at this sudden metamorphosis of one of their own flesh and blood into divine stature the Huskies surveyed him, open-mouthed. But thirteen-year-old Sara, sister of one of his disciples, who'd been to the white man's school at Fort George, was unconvinced.

"That's not Jesus," she affirmed, "that's Charlie Ouyerack." With needless [sarcasm] she added: "Jesus never looked like that!"

Such sacrilege couldn't be tolerated. To a couple of his broad-hipped, furl-clad "angels" the Eskimo "savior" made a sign. Promptly the offending Sara was seized by the Eskimo women, hauled out of the igloo and beaten to death with a wooden snow shovel.

Still disbelief in Charlie's divinity persisted. Disapproving of his summary method of disposing of unbelievers, Alec Kaytowick gripped his harpoon aggressively, turned smouldering eyes on the spurious saviour and hinted that Charlie didn't look like Christ to him.

Promptly he landed on his ear. Returning he stuck his shaggy head through the igloo door to argue the matter out-and was laid out with a snow shovel. Reeling groggily over to his igloo he decided to do a little praying on his own. He was still on his knees when a couple of Charlie's "apostles" crawled silently through the snow tunnel and ran him through with their harpoons.

Next to feel the weight of the "Messiah's" disapproval was Eva, wife of another unbeliever in whose igloo Charlie had camped on an apostolic round of his diocese. Like Sara, Eva expressed in no uncertain terms her insistence that despite his dirty surplice Charlie's greasy person looked anything but god-like, and anyway he didn't have a halo around his head!

AGAIN Charlie's strong-arm disciples swung into action. Faced by a poised harpoon Eva decided she'd been a little premature, that Charlie "did look a little like Jesus" after all. When her burly husband, relative of the murdered Sara, refused to be converted he was shot through the head by one of the "Messiah's" apostles.

Ere long Charlie's new gospel had reached another huddle of snow houses on the icy reaches of Camsell Island. And here, in the portly matron Mina, the new "Messiah" found one of his most ardent "angels." A little uncertain as to whether Charlie was actually Jesus Himself or just His advance agent visiting Mother Earth to blaze the trail for a second coming, she went into a trance and, awakening, declared

she'd received a vision. Jesus was coming to the island on the wings of the Polar blizzard that soon then was clawing at the igloo as though bent on tearing them apart.

Asserting that to meet Him one should ... not be adorned with the skins of animals, or ... associated with the killing of God's ..., she clawed and stripped the clothes from all the women and children in the camp and herded them out into the hundred-mile-an-hour blizzard that was screaming down from the Pole. Faith, she told the shivering wretches, was all they needed—they'd be well repaid when Christ materialized from the driving smother of snowflakes.

Unable to claw the fur ahtegi from the back of her husband, Moses, she compromised by tearing off his polar bear-skin pants ere chasing him out into the storm. Doubtful of the propriety of meeting the Messiah in the near nude Moses circled around. Covered with embarrassment and frost-bite he sneaked, shivering, back into the igloo. And there the disappointed Mina joined him, leaving the naked bodies of two women and five children lying frozen on the ice.

These nine deaths Sala reported to Factor Riddell from first-hand knowledge, since he'd wielded the harpoon that had despatched at least one of the unbelievers to the Eskimo equivalent of the Happy Hunting Grounds, while one of his own children had been a victim of Mina's ill-founded enthusiasm. Five other parishioners were also said to have suffered the extreme penalty for their belief in Charlie's "Messiahdom," but of these he could speak only vaguely. Charlie's chief apostles he named as Kuarack and Arlaykok.

Fearing a widespread blood purge by avenging Eskimos, Mounted Police snapped into action. At first it was thought that another epidemic of infanticide had swept the Polar haunts of the Huskies. Up in the western Arctic the Mounted Police had become only too familiar with the curious and tragic aftermath of this Oriental custom of killing off unwanted female children like puppies.

Among the so-called "blonde" Eskimos of Coronation Gulf, northwest of the locality where the present outbreak had occurred, it led to a shortage of women. The idea, of course, was to prevent women outnumbering bread-winning male hunters and placing an undue tax on their dusky debutantes for the up and coming hunters who, when they wanted a wife, had to resort to the caveman practice of taking one from some other man by force.

And since the approved method was to watch one's chance and eliminate the superfluous husband by putting a bullet or a copper snow-knife in his back when off his guard, resultant blood feuds had been frequent.

***Fall Beneath Eskimo Snow-knives, Bullets***

Usually the avenging of the killing would be taken up by the next of kin, and in one of these feuds on Kent Peninsula eighteen Eskimos bit the dust—or rather the snow—ere the Mounted Police intervened. Embroiled directly, or indirectly, in these tribal killings, two priests, two American explorers, Radford and Street, Corporal Doak of the R.C.M.P., and Otto Binder, Hudson's Bay factor at the Coppermine, had all fallen beneath Eskimo snow-knives and bullets, and peace was only restored when Tatamagama and Aligoomiak were hanged by Mounted Police at Herschel Island in the storehouse where Yankee whalers once stored their whalebone. Now there was this new outbreak!

Accompanied by Pilot Roy St. John, Al. Swainey, mechanic, and Interpreter Joseph Kerr, Inspector J. D. Martin headed north from Ottawa to Kapuskasing, en route to the lonely Belcher Islands, where this tribe had been outlawed half a century before for an outbreak of violence that had claimed the lives of several white traders. By gas-jigger, airplane, dog-team and snowshoe, the patrol sighted at last a huddle of sealskin tupeks rising from the snow-encrusted islands.

But instead of being alarmed at the appearance of the representatives of the white man's law, Mina and her two strong-arm disciples, Kuarack and Arlaykok, seemed to welcome the break in the monotony of hunting seal. Setting seal meat and blubber before their visitors they readily told their story to the Mounted Police.

With chuckles of delight they piled aboard the white man's mechanical thunder bird with their shingabees and were whisked into the sky. They weren't, however, particularly impressed with the ability of the airplane to fly them through the clouds since as far back as Eskimo memory goes their angatkuks had boasted of being able to send their astral bodies on long voyages through the ether, and that without all the clumsy machinery needed by the white man for a similar terrestrial tour. But they thoroughly enjoyed the trip. And great was their astonishment when the skis touched the ice before the ancient fur fort of Moose Factory, built in the days of King Charles, and for the first time in their lives they saw endless miles of forest.

Meanwhile the spurious "Jesus" had disappeared in the Polar mists to the northward to try his hand at bringing salvation to more sympathetic and understanding Huskies. And from Port Burwell a wireless message from the factor there to Mounted Police at Ottawa reported further alleged disturbances among the Polar nomads at the eastern entrance of Hudson Strait. Perhaps the Eskimo "Messiah" had reached there!

When the Ss. Nascopie headed north from Montreal on her annual round of missions, trading posts and Mounted Police detachments in the eastern Arctic, last

July, a number of scarlet-coated men of the Mounted were aboard, assigned to bring the Eskimo “Jesus” back to earth—and custody.

Charlie Ouyerack isn’t the first Eskimo to run amok under the influence of misplaced religious fervor. There was Neuktuk, who went one better than Charlie, and with no intention of being [sacrilegious], declared that he was God.

DURING a religious revival that swept the igloos of Baffin Land during the days of low fur prices and depression Neuktuk also found himself in possession of a big Bible which he wasn’t able to read. Yet, locked within its pages, he’d been assured, was the cure for all man’s ills. Convinced it contained the secret that would forever banish depressions, poor fur hunts and low prices from the igloos of his tribe he studied it with diligence. If only he could read those magic letters!

Finally he prevailed on a friend to pound him over the head with a club so that he could obtain “the light of understanding.” The effect was magical. When he’d recovered from the over-enthusiastic application of the club Neuktuk affirmed that he could not only see stars but the light as well. In fact, he explained, he was Almighty God Himself—with a special message for his people.

The first “message”—a leaden bullet from his rifle—he delivered to his mother-in-law, who promptly departed all earthly cares for a place where depressions and economic upheavals were unknown. In the role of saviour he next shot his father. Then Muneak, a blind man, filled with religious fervor, came to him saying, “I want some wind inside me so I can go up to Jesus.”

Since Muneak was “full of God’s spirit,” and later on might become bad and lose that spirit, Neuktuk decided the time was ripe to unfold the heavenly regions before him. So two of Neuktuk’s “apostles” were appointed to start him along the dim trail to eternity with their ivory-shod harpoons.

Next Lemik, unable to read or write because he was “bad inside,” became inspired with the ability to scribble. A sure sign he was too full of virtue to encumber this sinful earth. So he was removed with the bloodstained snowknives of Ketauk and Kedluk.

By this time his converts were a little skeptical of the white man’s religion as interpreted by Neuktuk. Not wishing to be delivered so peremptorily and permanently from their earthly cares they decided to “save” Neuktuk. And when he seemed uncertain as to which path to Paradise he’d prefer to tread they decided for him by prodding him through a hole in the sea ice with the handles of their harpoons.

It remained, of course, for the Mounted Police to straighten out these religious complications. With two Eskimo snowhouse builders and dog teams,

Constables McInnes and MacGregor set out from Pangnirtung for Keveetukmbuit, where they took down the statements of the fur-clad witnesses, warned against any further excesses, and returned after a five-hundred-mile hike across the ice-fields.

### *Stirring Spiritual Frenzy by Teaching*

Soon Constable McInnes was engaged in quelling still another case of religious hysteria. Appointed to act as an incumbent amongst the natives of Leaf River, an Eskimo named Miller decided he was qualified to become a full-fledged missionary. Making himself an imitation stole he presented his dusky congregation with flags and ordered them to sew patches on their clothing in compliance with “a Mosaic injunction to the Children of Israel.” Then he proceeded to parade his dusky congregation about the igloos and huts of the whites, bellowing hymns at the top of their voices, circling the buildings and mysteriously tapping with a stick the komatiks of incoming Eskimos and whites, with a gleam in his eye that inclined them to think he’d soon be tapping them over their skulls instead. Fortunately McInnes arrived before the half-demented Miller developed homicidal tendencies and he was brought to a summary realization that his missionary days were over when he was hauled into the Mounted Police post at Fort Chimo.

It was amongst these same Belcher Islands that the Mounted Police were faced with more trouble some time ago. Stirred to spiritual frenzy by the teachings of some Kablunat, and not quite able to grasp the meaning of it all, they developed a weird morality complex.

When Ketaushak, following an Eskimo custom, invited a comely Eskimo lady to share his sleeping bag and seal meat with himself and wrinkled spouse during a blubber banquet, a local Eskimo reform league decided something should be done about it. So they strangled Ketaushak to death with a rawhide line to improve his morals. Then, rather than countenance the marital irregularities of another Eskimo named Koyauk, they strangled him as well.

In fact, quite a few Eskimo Lotharios succumbed to ivory-tipped harpoons and rawhide strangling cords of this aboriginal purity league by the time Bob Flaherty, who filmed *Nanook of the North* and *Elephant Boy*, managed to get word of the killings to the Mounted.

What made things particularly awkward for Inspector Phillips when he reached there was the discovery that the killings had been committed in the name of the Cross. Knowing the natives—and realizing that if he jailed the guilty parties their families would starve to death—he appointed a jury from the crew, accepted the Eskimo plea for clemency and let them go with a warning. Now the red hand of murder has struck again, and the Mounted are faced with the tragic results of mixing Christianity with the black magic of their Stone Age gods.

Camped at Moose Factory on the shores of James Bay, Mina and the strong-arm “apostles” wandered around while awaiting trial, gleefully slashing at the trees they saw for the first time in their lives. With three square meals a day, without the trouble of hunting them, a warm place to sleep in, and everything provided, they felt they were in clover.

Now the last act in this dramatic story of Stone Age superstition and black magic has been played before Chief Justice Plaxton of the Ontario supreme court and a red-coated escort seated behind a flag-draped table in a tent on bleak Belcher Islands, where a Mounted Police patrol had brought in the deflated “Messiah” whose claims to divine power had touched off the trail of voodoo killings.

Testifying in his own defence, Sala admitted he believed he was God in thought but not in body, while Charlie Ouyerack said that another Eskimo had called him Jesus and he believed what his friends had told him. Other Eskimo witnesses recalled that Sara had thanked her brother when he had struck her in the snowhouse, and when she was finally despatched with a blow on the head from the butt of a rifle there’d been a general celebration, under the belief that Satan had been destroyed.

Now the deflated Peter Sala and Charlie Ouyerack are cooling their heels at Chesterfield Inlet police post, working out their two-year sentences. One of the Eskimo “apostles” has drawn a year’s hard labor, another suspended sentence, two of the Eskimo “angels,” Mina and Akeevik, have been judged insane, and peace [has] settled once more upon the ice-flecked waters of lonely Hudson Bay.

#### **404. Memorandum, D. L. McKeand to R. A. Gibson, 24 June 1942**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

Ottawa, 24th June, 1942.

Memorandum:

Mr. Gibson.

The death of prisoner Charles Ouyerack at Moose Factory on the 27th May, 1942, from a lingering illness in less than one year of his two year sentence again raises the question of what is to be done with Eskimos (and their families) charged with offences against the Criminal Code.

Altogether there were seven Belcher Islanders brought to trial on the 19th August, 1941, and sentences passed as follows to be served at Chesterfield, N.W.T.:-

1. Charles Ouyerack, male, age 29 years, married - two years imprisonment.
2. Peter Sala, male, age 36 years, married - one year imprisonment.



3. Adlaykok, male, age 36 years, married - one year imprisonment.
4. Mina, female, age 34 years ) awaiting the pleasure of the  
Commissioner of the Northwest
5. Akeenik, female, age 19 years ) Territories at Moose Factory.
6. Quarack, male, age 32 years - two years suspended sentence.
7. Alec Apawkok, male, age 29 years - not guilty (discharged).

The three male and two female prisoners were taken into custody and brought to Moose Factory, Ontario. Their general health was never satisfactory nor was it expected to improve while these Eskimos remained inside the timber line. Arrangements were made for the care of the prisoners' relatives remaining on the Belcher Islands as follows:-

1. Weekly rations to Families of Charles Ouyerack, Peter Sala and Adlaykok, consisting of the following:-

10 lbs. flour	½ lb. baking powder
½ lb. tea	2 small boxes matches
1½ lbs. lard	29 gal. gasoline (when required)

Issue to commence 23rd August, 1941, and continue until further notice.

2. Ten (10) rounds of ammunition or equivalent value in shot and powder each week to three Eskimo hunters to assist in providing game for prisoners' families as follows:-

1. Kugveet to hunt for Charles Ouyerack family.
2. Quarack to hunt for Peter Sala family.
3. Lukasia to hunt for Adlaykok family.

Issue to commence 23rd August, 1941, until further notice.

The trial judge and counsel for the defence thought Akeenik might be released at the Belcher Islands and allowed to return to her family. This was not done, however, and she was brought to Moose Factory, more as company for Mina than anything else. She was afflicted with measles in addition to the usual cold.

There is also the case of the Wetaltuk family on the Cape Hope Islands. Rupert Wetaltuk was sentenced on the 21st July, 1933, to two years in Stony Mountain Penitentiary for incest and Sophie Wetaltuk (sister) was released on suspended sentence for two years. At that time Rupert Wetaltuk had a wife and two sons aged five and three respectively. It is said Rupert had a good time at Stony Mountain and returned with glowing tales of his treatment. He is now accused of

repeating the offence and involving the same woman. Unless there is some intervention, another trial will have to be held on the Cape Hope Islands.

According to reports, old man Wetaltuk and his wife are good natives but the sons, daughters and grandchildren have become more or less depraved and are generally half starving. The old man has been trying to get prospective brides and other Eskimos to go to the islands and the late Indian Agent is said to have been continually trying to get the whole Wetaltuk family to go back north to the Belchers or above Richmond Gulf on the mainland. If the Administration had a medical officer at Port Harrison the Belcher and Cape Hope Islanders could be moved there this summer. Under supervision they would be given opportunities to recover their self-respect and be encouraged to hunt for the support of their families in an environment to which they are more or less accustomed. While the fur traders may be willing to cooperate in any scheme for native welfare, Port Harrison must be ruled out in so far as they are concerned because it is a competitive fur trading point.

The only other alternative is an experienced missionary who understands the Eskimo and speaks their language. If he could be appointed as a part time Eskimo agent he would be clothed with the necessary authority to direct their hunting, guide the adults and teach the children the true meaning and effect of the white man's laws.

D. L. McKeand.

**449. Newspaper Clipping, “New Start for Eskimo Slayers of Doubters,” *Globe and Mail*, 29 August 1942**

LAC, RG 85, vol. 174, file 541-2-1 [2]

**New Start for Eskimo Slayers of Doubters**

**Ottawa**, Aug. 28 (CP).—Peter Sala, Adlaykok, Akeenik and Mina are travelling back into Eskimo country for a new start in life after having learned that the justice of Kabloona, the white man, extends even to the barren shores of the Belcher Islands.

A year ago they faced trial on the Hudson Bay Islands before Mr. Justice C. P. Plaxton of the Ontario Supreme Court on murder charges following an outbreak of violence in which nine persons lost their lives. Sala was sentenced to two years detention, Adlaykok to one, and Mina and Akeenik, both women, were held to have been insane at the time of the crimes of which they were accused.

A fifth Eskimo, Charlie Ouyerack also was sentenced to two years' detention at a northern Royal Canadian Mounted Police post. The five were brought south by

boat to Moose Factory, Ont., and held there pending transfer to detention points. Ouyerack died at Moose Factory early this year.

Mines and Resources officials said the four Eskimos were being moved north from Moose Factory, Ont., to Great Whale River, on the east coast of Hudson Bay, where Rev. George Neilson, a missionary and teacher with knowledge of the Eskimo language and who visited the Belchers last year, would see they were given instruction in harmonious living and prepared for a new start in life somewhere in the north. At Great Whale, the two men will be joined by their families who will be moved from the islands about seventy miles to the east.

Officials said there was no intention of returning the four who had appeared before the court to the Belcher Islands, and when their instruction had been completed they would probably be settled on some point on the mainland. While they are at Great Whale they will not be maintained in idleness but will be encouraged to hunt and trap for their livelihood, as the climate and hunting conditions will be like those on the Belchers.

Only in case of need will Government assistance be given in feeding them, as authorities have no wish to remove their self-reliance as hunters.

Two or three Eskimos from the Cape Good Hope Islands in James Bay are also being moved to Great Whale River. They are part of an isolated band which made this territory their hunting ground several years ago. As the band had grown, new hunting grounds were needed, and the younger men being moved to Great Whale will be assisted in making a fresh start.

Since the five prisoners were moved from the Belchers peace has reigned on the lonely islands in contrast to the sporadic violence which flared in igloo and tent during the winter of 1940-41. Sala and Ouyerack were charged with having claimed divine powers and encouraged those who believed in them to kill those who doubted.

Twenty years previously another outburst of violence involving controversy over religion sent the Mounted Police to the Belchers to investigate two deaths.

## Further Reading

- Backhouse, Constance. “‘Race’ Definition Run Amuck: ‘Slaying the Dragon of Eskimo Status’ Before the Supreme Court of Canada, 1939.” In *Law, History, Colonialism: The Reach of Empire*, edited by Diane Kirby and Catherine Coleborne, 65-77. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.
- Bell, Catherine, and David Kahane, eds. *Intercultural Dispute Resolution in Aboriginal Contexts*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.
- Blaisel, Xavier, Frédéric Laugrand, and Jarich Oosten. “Shamans and Leaders: Parousial Movements among the Inuit of Northeast Canada.” *Brill* 46, no. 4 (1999): 370-411. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3270433>.
- Coates, Ken S. *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991.
- Coates, Ken S., P. Whitney Lackenbauer, William R. Morrison and Greg Poelzer. *Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North*. Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2008.
- Coates, Ken S., and William R. Morrison. *Strange Things Done: Murder in Yukon History*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004.
- Damas, David. *Arctic Migrants, Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002.
- Department of Justice (Canada). “Inuit Women and the Nunavut Justice System.” *Department of Justice of the Government of Canada*. 2015. [http://justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/aj-ja/rr00\\_8/p4.html](http://justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/aj-ja/rr00_8/p4.html).
- Desgoffe, Claude. “An anthropological survey of the Belcher Islands.” *The Arctic Circular* 8, no. 2 (1955): 19-23. <http://www.thearcticcircle.ca/pdf/Arctic%20Circular%20Volume%208%201955.pdf>.
- Diubaldo, Richard J. “The Absurd Little Mouse: When Eskimos Became Indians.” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16, no. 2 (1981): 34-40.
- Doherty, Mike. “Revisiting a grisly mass murder in Canada’s North: After two Inuit announced they were Jesus and God, nine people in their community lost their

- lives." *Maclean's*. 5 January 2017. <https://www.macleans.ca/culture/books/lawrence-millman-revisits-a-grisly-mass-murder-in-canadas-north/>.
- Drummond, Susan G. *Incorporating the Familiar: An Investigation into Legal Sensibilities in Nunavik*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Ferranti, Seth. "How Two Men Used the Bible to Unleash Mass Murder in the Canadian Arctic." *Vice*. 17 January 2017. [https://www.vice.com/en\\_ca/article/vvwm44/how-two-men-used-the-bible-to-unleash-mass-murder-in-the-arctic](https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/vvwm44/how-two-men-used-the-bible-to-unleash-mass-murder-in-the-arctic).
- Flaherty, Robert J. "The Belcher Islands of Hudson Bay: Their Discovery and Exploration." *The Geographical Review* 5, no. 6 (June 1918): 433-458.
- Fleming, Archibald Lang. *Archibald the Arctic*. Toronto: Saunders, 1965.
- Grant, John Webster. *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Grant, Shelagh. *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- Grygier, Pat Sandiford. *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Harper, Kenn. *In Those Days: Arctic Crime and Punishment*. Iqaluit: Inhabit Media, 2015.
- Harper, Kenn. *Thou Shalt Do No Murder: Inuit, Injustice, and the Canadian Arctic*. Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College Media, 2017.
- Harring, Sidney L. *White Man's Law: Native People in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Jurisprudence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- "History of Sanikiluaq." *Municipality of Sanikiluaq*. 2009. <http://www.sanikiluaq.ca/i18n/english/history.html>.
- Holland, Paula Lee. "Seven Eskimo Religious Movements: Description and Analysis." Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979.
- James, William Closson. *Locations of the Sacred: Essays on Religion, Literature, and Canadian Culture*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998.

Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, and Kristopher Kinsinger, eds. *Arctic Show Trial: The Trial of Alikomiak and Tatimagana, 1923*. Introduced by Ken Coates and Bill Morrison. Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) no. 9. Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America, 2017.

Loukacheva, Natalia. “Indigenous Inuit Law, “Western” Law and Northern Issues.” *Arctic Review on Law and Politics*, 3, no. 2 (2012): 200-217.  
<http://site.uit.no/arcticreview/files/2013/09/Indigenous-Inuit-Law-“Western”-Law-and-Northern-Issues.pdf>.

Millman, Lawrence. *At the End of the World: A True Story of Murder in the Arctic*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, St. Martin’s Press, 2016.

Morrison, William R. *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985.

Morrow, W. G. “A Survey of Jury Verdicts in the Northwest Territories.” *Alberta Law Review* 8 (1970): 50-58. <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=2ahUKEwiytcDZ6IvoAhWDg-AKHbmMAOkQFjAAegQIARAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.albertalawreview.com%2Findex.php%2FALR%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F1891%2F1880&usg=AOvVaw3jzZEv6U1XjiVf5pK7Ul-n>.

Phillips, Alan. “The Tragic Case of the Man Who Played Jesus.” *Maclean’s*. December 8, 1956. <https://archive.macleans.ca/article/1956/12/8/the-tragic-case-of-the-man-who-played-jesus>.

Price, Graham. “Remote Justice: The Stipendiary Magistrate’s Court of the Northwest Territories (1905-1955).” L.L.M. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1986.

“P205-William G (Reindeer) Walton Collection.” *Laurentian University Library & Archives*. Accessed May 17, 2018. [https://biblio.laurentian.ca/research/sites/default/files/pictures/P205%20Walton%20Collection%20October%204%202016\(1\).pdf](https://biblio.laurentian.ca/research/sites/default/files/pictures/P205%20Walton%20Collection%20October%204%202016(1).pdf).

Qikiqtani Truth Commission. *Community Histories 1950-1975: Sanikiluaq*. Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc., 2013. <https://www.qtcommission.ca/en/communities/sanikiluaq>.

- Qikiqtani Truth Commission. *Nuutauniq: Moves in Inuit Life*. Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc., 2013. [https://www.qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic\\_reports/thematic\\_reports\\_english\\_nuutauniq.pdf](https://www.qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_nuutauniq.pdf)
- Qikiqtani Truth Commission. *Paliisikkut: Policing in Qikiqtaaluk*. Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc., 2013. [https://www.qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic\\_reports/thematic\\_reports\\_english\\_paliisikkut.pdf](https://www.qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_paliisikkut.pdf).
- Qikiqtani Truth Commission. *QTC Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatiqiniq*. Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc., 2013. [https://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic\\_reports/thematic\\_reports\\_english\\_final\\_report.pdf](https://qtcommission.ca/sites/default/files/public/thematic_reports/thematic_reports_english_final_report.pdf).
- The Revised Statutes of Canada: Proclaimed and Published Under the Authority of the Act 49 Vict., Chap. 4, A.D. 1886, Volume 1*. Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1887.
- Tester, Frank James, and Peter Kulchyski. *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994.
- Usher, Peter J. *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories 1870-1970*. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971. <http://parkscanadahistory.com/publications/north/nsrg-71-4.pdf>.
- Zaslow, Morris. *The Northward Expansion of Canada 1914-1967*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.

## About the Editors

**CORAH LYNN HODGSON**, M.A., completed her Honours Bachelor of Arts in History and Sociology and minor in Classical Studies at the University of Waterloo, as well as her Master of Arts in History at UW under the supervision of Dr. P. Whitney Lackenbauer. The recipient of the University of Waterloo’s Dan Watt Scholarship, President’s Graduate Scholarship, David E. Wright Scholarship, Pierre Elliott Trudeau Scholarship, and departmental awards for sociology and history, Corah’s research interests include the commemoration of Canadian history, Northern issues, and French-English relations. Her Master’s thesis, entitled “A Window into October: Examining the Framing of the October Crisis of 1970 in Canada’s English-Language Newspapers” (2019), was also supported by a SSHRC Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship. Currently, Corah is working on co-editing the memoir of a Northern missionary wife with Dr. Lackenbauer, and is researching in support of projects regarding the introduction of Canadian law and order into the Canadian Arctic.



**P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER**, Ph.D., the Canada Research Chair (Tier 1) in the Study of the Canadian North and a Professor in the School for the Study of Canada at Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario. He is also the network lead of the North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network (NAADSN) and Honorary Lieutenant Colonel of the 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Ranger Patrol Group. His recent books include *Understanding Sovereignty and Security in the Circumpolar Arctic* (co-edited, forthcoming 2020); *Governing Complexity in the Arctic Region* (co-authored 2019); *Breaking the Ice Curtain? Russia, Canada, and Arctic Security in a Changing Circumpolar World* (co-edited 2019); *China’s Arctic Ambitions and What They Mean for Canada* (co-authored 2018); and *Roots of Entanglement: Essays in Native-Newcomer Relations* (co-edited 2017).