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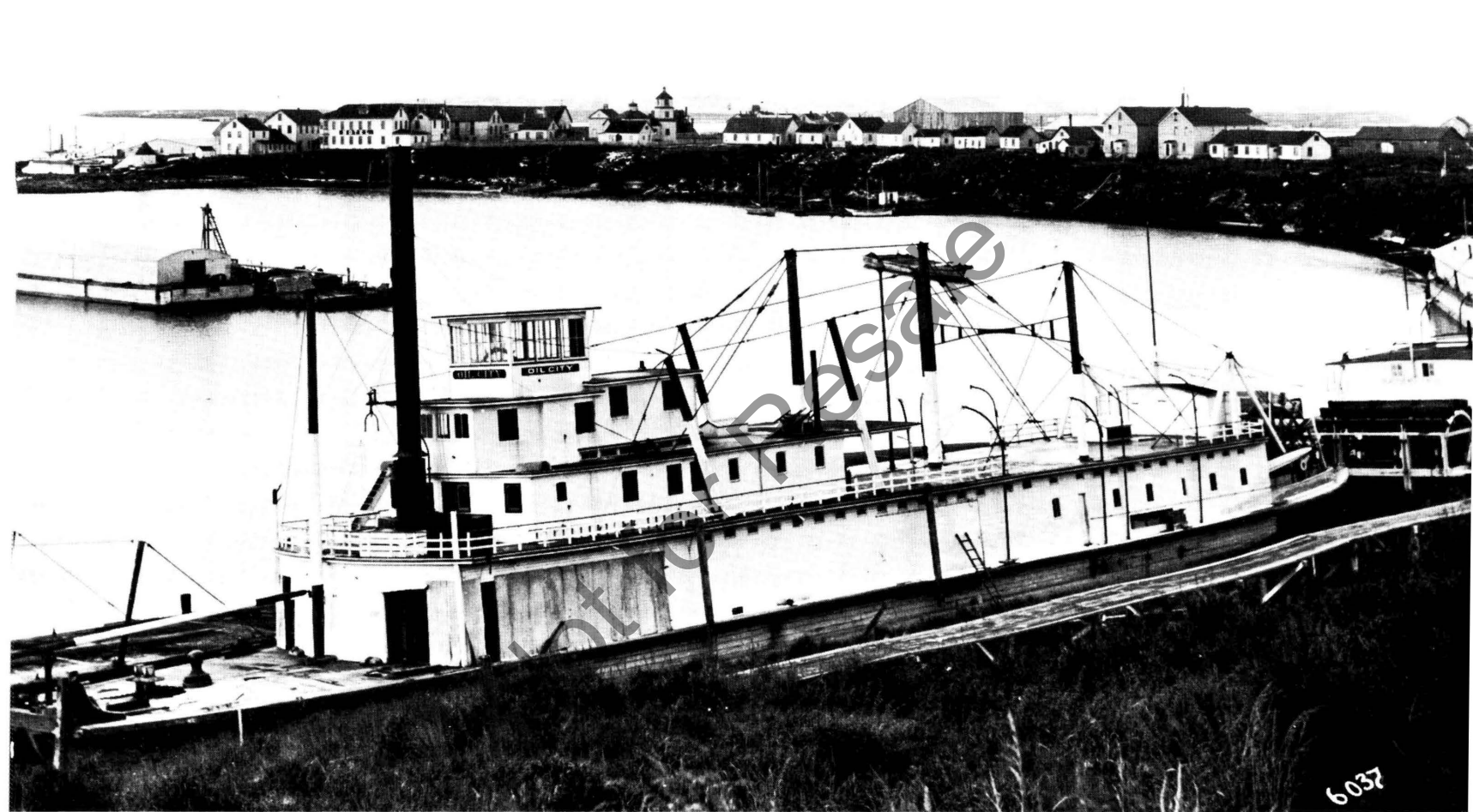
Not for Resale



Volume 13, Number 2

December, 1966

College, Alaska



Photograph of St. Michael with Northern Commercial Company Plant, September 1908. Photograph by F. H. Nowell. Photographic Collection, University of Washington Library.

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B. G. Olson

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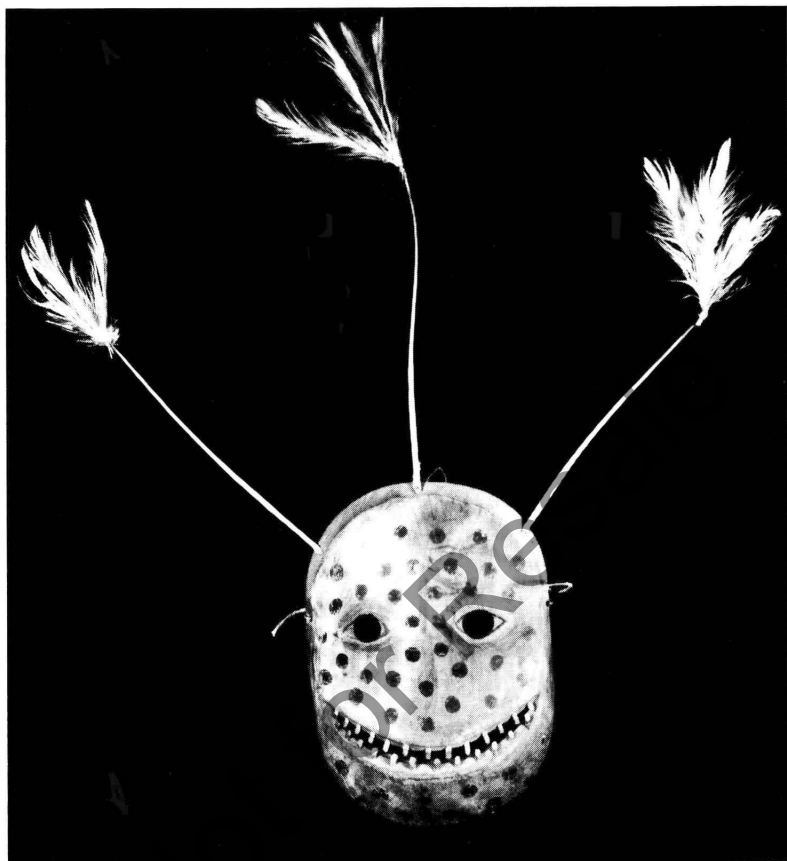
Price per Volume — \$4.00

**H. M. W. Edmonds' Report on the Eskimos
of St. Michael and Vicinity**

**Edited by
Dorothy Jean Ray**

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Mask of a sculpin. 7-7/8 inches high. Collected by H. M. W. Edmonds in Alaska ca. 1898. Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Catalog number 2-6914. *Photograph by Alfred A. Blaker.*

PREFACE

Dr. H. M. W. Edmonds prepared the accompanying paper for publication as a report of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. The fact that it was never issued may be the consequence of the contemporary appearance of the comprehensive work by Edward William Nelson, *The Eskimo About Bering Strait*. However, from the perspective of the present day it is clear that the Edmonds paper is a significant contribution in its own right, presenting a detailed account of the people of St. Michael and vicinity, an ethnographically important unit of the western Eskimo. Furthermore, Edmonds was a highly competent observer: an intelligent man with scientific training and an absorbing interest in the Eskimo. His observations and interpretations, being almost contemporary with those of Nelson, are valuable for supplementary and comparative purposes. With the increasing recognition of the worth of ethnohistorical studies for the understanding of native peoples, the publication of the Edmonds paper is especially timely.

The manuscript was included in the John Francis Pratt papers recently acquired by the Manuscripts Collection of the University of Washington Library, Seattle. Mr. Richard C. Berner, curator of manuscripts, recognized the value of the Edmonds paper and suggested that I prepare it for publication. The manuscript had, indeed, been typed in form for publication by Edmonds. In the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey office a few editorial marks had been entered by Watch Officer Arthur H. Dutton. (The copy in question is type-script carbon. The original, which has never appeared, may have been retained by the author.) I have, therefore, given my attention to the provision of explanatory and interpretive footnotes, and to the writing of an introduction for historical and ethnographic orientation.

The Edmonds text is presented exactly as he wrote it except for (1) the correction of obvious typographical errors and misspelled words; (2) the elimination of quotation marks from the words, labret, kamlika [kamleika], parkie [parka], and kayak, which are now accepted terms; and (3) the change to lower case of words capitalized in the manuscript: shaman, delta, winter, spring, summer, and fall. Watch Officer Dutton's editorial changes made in pencil have been utilized only when a phrase is clarified without altering its meaning.

The report was typed in two unnamed parts with several hyphens and a space dividing the two. I have provided headings and sub-headings for various portions of the report, and have also added reproductions of early sketches of St. Michael in 1867 and 1879, a photograph as of September, 1908, four recent photographs of objects in Edmonds' collection, and a map.

Included with the manuscript were forty-nine small photographs, now brown with age, but of good quality. They are reproduced here with their original captions. Edmonds left several spaces in the text for diagrams or drawings, but they were omitted in this copy. Coincidentally, several of the masks that Edmonds collected and presented to the University of California are included in the book, *Eskimo Masks: Art and Ceremony* by Ray and Blaker, to be published by the University of Washington Press in the autumn of 1967. Two of the professional photographs of masks by Alfred A. Blaker are reproduced here for comparative purposes and to show the full beauty of some of the ceremonial objects for which we are indebted to Edmonds. Also illustrated are two of the wooden bird figurines, collected and illustrated by Edmonds in his photograph number 40.

Edmonds submitted his manuscript to the Coast and Geodetic Survey on 26 November 1899, and his accompanying letter is the first page of his typed draft:

Assistant J. F. Pratt, U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey

Sir:—

The following notes on the Eskimos of the region between St. Michael and the southern extremity of the Yukon Delta, Alaska, are based upon observations made by me while a member of your party during the Summer of 1899 [1898]¹ and also while in the party of the late Assistant J. Henry Turner, U. S. C. & G. S., in 1890 and 1891.

No attempt has been made to consider the inhabitants of Norton Sound and of the Yukon Delta separately, although attention is

called, where deemed necessary, to certain marked differences in social customs and in utensils, clothing, etc.

My object throughout has been to present as accurately as possible the Eskimo life of the present and recent years, confining myself solely to what I observed personally along the coast while doing field work in the Coast Survey. The inhabitants of the interior, and elsewhere than in the region named, did not fall within my field of observation.

Respectfully yours,
H.M.W. Edmonds, M.D.
[signed by printed stamp in
purple ink]

San Francisco, Cal.,
Nov. 26, 1899.

Edmonds had first gone to Alaska in the autumn of 1889 as a member of J. Henry Turner's party, which was surveying the Alaska-Canada boundary in the vicinity of the Porcupine River. The members remained there until the summer of 1890 when they steamed down the Yukon for St. Michael, hoping to board the Revenue Cutter, *Bear*, for San Francisco. However, the *Bear* had left a week before their arrival, and did not return. They consequently spent the winter at St. Michael, and returned to San Francisco during the summer of 1891.

The U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey report for 1890 listed Edmonds' position as assistant astronomer (1891:87) but offered no information about his activities. Of Mr. Turner, however, the report states: "During his stay in Alaska [he] made a valuable collection of bird and animal skins which he presented to the University of California. The expenses of this collection he bore personally. While at St. Michael, he made a study of the native (Tachek) language² and will in due time prepare a treatise on the subject" (1891:89).

Turner's report apparently never materialized. However, Edmonds had also been making ethnographic notes and collecting artifacts. These notes, together with the additional data recorded in 1898, were the raw materials from which the present manuscript developed.

On the 1898 trip Edmonds was a member of the Coast and Geodetic Survey party that surveyed St. Michael Island and the Apoon Pass branch of the Yukon from July 1 to September 26. Although he had acquired an M. D. degree since his first trip, his eagerness to return to Alaska is reflected in his willingness to take a non-medical job, another man serving as physician to the expedition. Edmonds

was listed in the Survey report for 1898 as "Dr. H. M. W. Edmonds, Foreman," with no further comment (1900:212).

Early in 1898 Edmonds had written to the director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Dr. H. S. Pritchett, who forwarded his letter to John Francis Pratt, leader of the party. This letter, however, is not preserved in the Pratt collection, nor are a number of letters that Pratt acknowledges in his copy letterbooks. Substantial information is found in only one letter from Pratt to Edmonds:

Dr. Harry M. W. Edmonds
Dunlap, Fresno Co., California
Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 8th inst. addressed to Dr. Pritchett has been referred to me.

I expect to take a party to the mouth of the Yukon, to survey its entrance during the coming season. Will probably leave Seattle, Washington during the latter part of May, for St. Michaels [sic]. The work will be very hazardous, the pay, for recorder, will be \$100.00 per month and board commencing when the steamer leaves Seattle and ending on its return, you will have to pay your own transportation from your home, to and from Seattle. The work will be very hard and owing to the shortness of the season, the working days will be about sixteen hours long.

If you are anxious to go, I will take you, but felt it my duty to appraise [sic] you that it is to be an exceedingly hard trip.

Trusting that I will soon hear from you, I remain,

Very Truly,
J. F. Pratt
Assistant United States Coast and
Geodetic Survey (Pratt Papers:vol. 12:330)

The only other pertinent letter is a brief communication dated 8 March 1898 from Pratt in Washington, D. C., acknowledging receipt of material "descriptive of some of the stations at St. Michaels" from Edmonds, 24 February 1898 (*ibid.*:vol. 12:336).

Edmonds made a third trip to the St. Michael area in 1899 with another Coast and Geodetic Survey party under the leadership of Assistant G. R. Putnam. Though Edmonds' principal work as foreman of a traverse party was a six-weeks' reconnaissance of the shoreline from the Kwikluak, or southern branch, of the Yukon to the Apoon Pass branch, he also went upriver as far as Andreafsky (near present-day St. Mary's).

Apparently Edmonds did not include in his report ethnographic information that he might have got during the 1899 survey because he submitted his completed manuscript to Pratt on November 26, only a month after his arrival in Seattle on October 21 (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report 1901:186).

In April, 1900, Edmonds was on temporary duty with the Coast and Geodetic Survey in Washington, D. C. "receiving instruction in magnetic work," and "On June 17 he started to Sitka, Alaska to take charge of the magnetic observatory at that place" (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report 1902:70). However, that same summer he was a foreman during a four-month survey of Prince William Sound (*ibid.*:159), and did not begin his permanent duties in Sitka until July 15, 1901 (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report 1903:135). He remained there until January 31, 1909 when he was relieved by another man (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report 1909:45).

Nelson's study of the Bering Strait Eskimo appeared in print the same year that Edmonds completed his monograph. However, Nelson's observations were made between 1877 and 1881, and covered a wider area. The later dates for Edmonds' work make his findings useful for the study of culture change, which was occurring rapidly at this period. Edmonds' medical training makes especially valuable his considerable contributions on medical and health problems faced by the Eskimos of the area. He also gave extended attention to Eskimo ceremonial practices, recording data that are highly informative and sometimes unique.

Edmonds' scientific training permitted him to appraise his material objectively; his findings are presented sympathetically but he never descends to sentimentality or romanticism. His approach reflects the good judgment, and the calm, unbiased detachment that characterize the work of E. W. Nelson. Edmonds rarely editorializes about unusual or even disagreeable practices, and though his observations are sometimes one-sided, such is to be expected from an untrained anthropologist.

His report is composed mainly of easily observable phenomena: clothing, household and hunting equipment, means of transportation, food, physical characteristics, festivals, and so forth, though he attempts discussions of such topics as the family and marriage. The section on sexual and marital relations bears the usual lack of information and understanding of the casual observer, and Dr. Edmonds' material appears to have been gathered from discussions

with non-natives. Edmonds, like his peers, had no understanding of the complicated system of sexual relationships outside the primary family in the kinship structure, which is only now beginning to be understood (Heinrich 1963-a).

Edmonds fares better with his observations on ceremonialism, though he does not give names to specific festivities. They are, however, easily identifiable from other contemporary descriptions and field research data. Certain parts of his description of the Asking Festival are more detailed than Nelson's (1899:359-60). Despite his success with ceremonials, it is surprising that he almost entirely neglects cosmological beliefs and religion. Communication difficulties may have been responsible, though glimpses are occasionally caught in the section on ceremonialism.

Edmonds' inclusion of the Yukon delta Eskimo with the St. Michael Eskimo is justified in his case because the delta of his experience included a much smaller area than usually designated as delta, that is, from below the southernmost mouth of the Yukon to Point Romanof near St. Michael. Likewise, he writes of only a small southern section of Norton Sound, about one-fifth of the Sound's coastline. The bulk of his data came from St. Michael and its neighboring village, Stebbins. For this reason, the title that Edmonds gave to his manuscript, "Report on the Eskimos of Norton Sound and the Yukon Delta, Alaska," is somewhat misleading. I have provided a title that is geographically and ethnically more accurate.

I wish to thank Alfred A. Blaker of the University of California, Berkeley, and Robert D. Monroe of the University of Washington for use of photographs; Ludmila Kuvshinoff for assistance with certain Russian passages; Frank A. Norick of the Lowie Museum staff for information about the Edmonds' collection of artifacts; and Mr. Berner for facilitating the work of editing the manuscript.

Dorothy Jean Ray, Seattle, Washington

INTRODUCTION

The Eskimos of St. Michael and vicinity were numerically and ethnically an important segment of the great western Eskimo world where many aspects of Eskimo culture reached their highest development. They lived in an environment of abundant natural resources, and in a more hospitable climate than their relatives in polar regions of the far north. They resided in permanent villages during the winter, and moved to fishing camps in the summer. Though the villages and camps were usually located on flat tundra, the surrounding country was rolling, and mountains and small spruce forests were not far inland.

Like all Eskimos of Alaska they made fur clothing, oomiaks, kayaks, dog sleds, wooden dishes, and typical Eskimo tools like the bow drill, adz, and ulu; built semi-subterranean houses and kazgis (ceremonial houses) of driftwood and sod; hunted fowl, seals, beluga (white whale) and bearded seal; fished both summer and winter; and celebrated various festivals based generally on the western Eskimo religion.

Differences, however, resulted from local variations in natural resources and cultural development. No Eskimos of this area hunted the large bowhead or right whale of northern Alaska, and only those near Sledge and Besboro islands of northern Norton Sound caught walrus. Their mainstays were seals and fish. They probably had more caribou meat either through trade or hunting than most northern coastal Eskimo groups.

They built larger houses, kazgis, and storehouses than their kinsmen to the north. The large piles of driftwood on the beaches made this possible. Their art reflected the abundance of wood and the scarcity of ivory, and it was here and in areas to the south that the making of masks, and the painting of wooden dishes and boxes

developed to a height unknown elsewhere during the nineteenth century.

All western Eskimos had developed a complex system of ceremonials integrated with various aspects of art and religion. The two most important ceremonials in the St. Michael area were the Bladder Festival, honoring the seals, their staff of life, and the Feast of the Dead, honoring the human dead and their living namesakes. The Messenger Feast, a predominantly northern trading festival originally celebrated between inland and coastal villages, also received considerable attention.

All clothing, weapons, tools, and transportation had an unmistakable western Eskimo look, but with local variations of design and construction. For example, in comparison with northern Eskimos, oomiaks were generally smaller (they did not have to withstand the long journeys in the open sea to islands of the Bering Strait and Siberia); ceremonial dishes and spoons were painted with more intricate designs; the hunting visor was used more often; and greater use was made of fishskins in clothing and bags. In these examples they were more like the Eskimos between the Kuskokwim and the Yukon than those to the north.

The language spoken was Unaluk, a dialect of Yupik, the language prevailing south of Norton Sound. The entire area from Pastolik, near the Apoon branch of the Yukon, to Golovnin Bay was inhabited at one time by the Unalit, or Unaluk speakers.³ However, by mid-nineteenth century, pockets of northern Inupiaq speech (mainly the Kobuk River Malemiut and Kauwerak dialects) had been established here and there along the coast between St. Michael and Golovnin Bay within Unalit villages or at abandoned sites.

The Eskimos discussed by Edmonds were coastal Eskimos; he did not include the Yukon River Eskimos who lived as far upstream as Paimiut, about 200 river miles from the ocean. However, the people of the seacoast were sometimes visited by upstream people, particularly during the height of the fur trade. The most important aboriginal coastal villages related to St. Michael in speech, customs, and kinship were Kikigtaruk (sometimes called Kiktaguk on maps), Unalakleet, and Egawik to the north, and Stebbins (Atowak), Pikmiktalik, Pastolik, and Chaniliak to the south, all within a fifty mile radius of St. Michael. (Some of these villages are not as important now as they were then).

Thus, it can be seen that the area in which the Unalit moved freely and without apprehension was rather large. Along with the inhabi-

tants of Kikigtaruk and Unalakleet, the people of St. Michael hunted caribou as far north as the Shaktolik River, 70 miles northeast of St. Michael (Zagoskin 1847:78), and regularly hunted beluga in the shallow waters of Pastol Bay, fifty miles south, and caribou in the mainland hills. In the nineteenth century the northern Unalit occasionally took walrus at Besboro Island near Unalakleet with permission of its inhabitants.⁴

The Klondike gold strike of 1896, almost 2000 miles up the Yukon, made St. Michael a lively port. But no sooner had St. Michael begun to glow as a metropolis, when gold was found on Anvil Creek near Cape Nome, and the new town of Nome, 130 miles across Norton Sound from St. Michael, became, and remained, the center of commercial activities and population for northwest Alaska. Slowly St. Michael faded to a little village on the tundra, almost forgotten by the shipping companies, the airlines, and the tourists.

But St. Michael once had been a powerfully magical name in the history of both Russian America and American Alaska. In the 1830's, sixty years before gold seekers came to the Nome beaches, huge loads of pelts streamed down the Yukon into newly established St. Michael for trade with the Russian-American Company. And for fifty years before that, Bering Strait Eskimos had scoured the same country for furs to be taken to the international market at Kotzebue Sound. There they were transferred to Eskimo and Chukchi middlemen going to Siberia and the Anyui trade fair, which the Russians had established in 1789 expressly for the tobacco-fur trade (Ray 1964:86-87).

The Russian-American Company's attention was turned periodically to this rich intercontinental commerce, which they viewed with envy and greed. Consequently, a search for a strategic trading post location was an important part of their early explorations. In 1822 two ships, the *Baranof* and the *Golovnin*, set out from Sitka (then called Nova Arkhangelsk or New Archangel) for a two-year journey to the Bering Sea. They sailed as far north as Golovnin Bay, which they named, but they ignored the coastline between Bristol Bay and Stuart Island, where shoal water compels ships to keep far from shore. Before 1822, three expeditions—Cook in 1778, Billings in 1791, and Kotzebue in 1816—had sailed past this stretch of coast, but only Cook commented on seeing land there.

When the Kuskokwim River was explored for the first time by a land expedition in 1829-1830, Vassilief, the leader, met Eskimos from Norton Sound who convinced him that their territory was suitable for

a trading post. Thereupon, Etolin was sent to explore Norton Sound, the Bering Strait, and St. Lawrence Island during the summer of 1830. He agreed with Vassilief that Norton Sound was ideally situated for a post, and plans materialized when Lieutenant Michael D. Tebenkof explored the area further in 1833 and decided to build a small fort on an island—really a peninsula—separated from the mainland by only fifty feet of water. Tebenkof called his fort, which had been brought in prefabricated form from Sitka, Mikhailovski Redoubt, or Fort St. Michael, after his name saint. The island was also called St. Michael. For many years English-speaking persons used the name, St. Michaels or St. Michael's, but by the end of the nineteenth century, most maps and writings were printing today's accepted usage, St. Michael.

The fort, built that same year on the only harbor within fifty miles of the Yukon (Kwikipak as it was then called after its Eskimo name) was surrounded by palisades. However, the Eskimos of the nearby village, Tachek, were friendly and peaceable, and assured Tebenkof that they would trade with the Russians, which was good news to an agent of a company eager to put the Bering Strait trade out of joint.

By the time of St. Michael's establishment, the inhabitants of the area already were familiar with a variety of European goods brought from Siberia by northern Eskimo traders.⁵ Thus, they were alert to trading potentialities when St. Michael was built, and fell easily into trading relationships that continued throughout both Russian and American occupation.

The Yukon, from which a great part of their furs were to come, was explored from St. Michael for the first time by Andrei Glazanof's expedition in 1834. He traveled via a widely used route to the large village of Kikigtaruk, ten miles east of St. Michael, and then by portage to the Anvik River, a tributary of the Yukon. Once on the Yukon, however, the expedition was unable to proceed as planned, and returned to headquarters. During the following two years, however, a large area as far away as the Kuskokwim was successfully explored (Bancroft 1884:546-52; Tikhmenev 1861:part 1:283-86; Zagoskin 1847:63).

The Russians found two native villages on St. Michael Island in 1833, Tachek (meaning bay) less than a half mile from the post, an area that forms a part of the town today, and Atowak (Zagoskin's "Atchvik") near Cape Stephens. This village is now known as Stebbins, apparently after the Russian pronunciation of Stephens (Baker 1906:598).⁶ When Zagoskin visited the area in 1842-1844 the popula-

tion of Tachek was 19 and Atowak, 45 (Zagoskin 1847:75). The fort, though small with only a commandant and twenty-three men in 1833, was a good-sized village according to Eskimo standards. The villages of Tachek and Atowak were in year-round communication, and both had strong, but less frequent relationships with Pastolik to the south and Unalakleet to the north.

According to Zagoskin, two large aboriginal trading centers, Pastolik and Tachek, had been located between Norton Sound and the Yukon. This trade had been engaged in long before the founding of the Anyui market in Siberia by men of the same groups who participated in the later fur trade: Sledge and King islanders, and people from Cape Prince of Wales and Kotzebue Sound. Aboriginal trade items were mainly domesticated reindeer skins from Siberia for wolverine furs and wooden dishes from America. The Anyui market intensified and accelerated already established trading relationships that took place at specified coastal points as far north as Point Barrow.

The intrusive northern Inupiaq—the Malemiut and Seward Peninsula Eskimos—did not settle in Unalit territory until after the beginning of the fur trade, and not in any significant numbers until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1842, more than half a century after the founding of the Anyui fair, Zagoskin wrote that the Malemiut were constantly on the move in their capacity as traders between Bering Strait or Kotzebue Sound and St. Michael, and had no permanent residence in the South. He reported no northern Eskimos living in St. Michael, and only Unalit, survivors of the smallpox epidemic of 1838, in Unalakleet. He stated, however, that King and Sledge islanders were known to go as far south as Pastolik by boat to trade (1847:66, 76, 108, 138).

The establishment of St. Michael was decisive in determining the permanent residency of northern peoples in Unalit territory, although the independent traders at first gave only half-hearted attention to the St. Michael trade, preferring to deal as usual with the Chukchi. By mid-nineteenth century, however, many more had drifted south to Norton Sound where the supply of goods was larger and more dependable.

It doubtless was difficult at first for the northern peoples to enter foreign territory. An Eskimo did not ordinarily enter strange country without the safety of a guide or a relative, even at the end of the nineteenth century, but apparently foreign wares gave special protection to traders in hazardous positions. Every man and woman in

Alaska yearned for a puff of tobacco, and when the organized market of Anyui began providing tobacco with regularity, the safety of its bearers was paramount.

By 1865, however, both Malemiut and Kauwerak people (from east of Teller) had settled semi-permanently in the South, sometimes only as one-family villages. At that time, Unalakleet (Ungalaklik) was composed of three ethnic groups—Malemiut, Kauwerak, and Unalit. Dall wrote that a small Kauwerak contingent, headed by a man named Kamokin, was attached to Unalakleet: "To the north [of the fort] are two assemblages of houses occupied by Innuits of the Kaviak [Kauwerak], Mahlemut, and Unaleet tribes during part of the year, the latter being the only permanent residents" (1870:24). Another observer said that the Kauwerak and Malemiut contingents were large (Whymper 1869:159). A few northern Eskimos later settled in St. Michael and Pastolik, but Unalakleet with its satellite villages was better located for hunting caribou and trading with the Indians via the Unalakleet-Nulato portage than those farther south. The inhabitants of Unalakleet and other villages of Norton Sound are a mixture of these people today.

St. Michael had grown considerably by the time Lieutenant L. Zagoskin, of the Russian Navy, arrived in 1842, nine years after its establishment. It had six buildings enclosed within a stockade with two lookout towers and six three-foot cannons at opposite corners. Outside the fence were a blacksmith shop and a small chapel (1847:67-68).

Shortly after his arrival, Zagoskin went to Unalakleet, where in 1837 the Russian-American Company had established a way station. The native village of Ungalaklik at that time was situated about a half mile from the mouth of the river on the left bank. It was strategically located for summer fishing in the river, winter fishing and sealing on the ocean ice, and hunting of caribou in the nearby hills. Berries, greens, and driftwood were abundant.

In 1842, however, Zagoskin found that the native village had been moved to the right bank, about a quarter mile from the Company's two buildings after the smallpox epidemic of 1838 (1847:66). Zagoskin decided to make Unalakleet a full-fledged trading post with four additional men (*ibid.*:65). He also harbored a desire to supplant St. Michael with Unalakleet, whose pure, fresh water, sandy soil for gardens, and abundant fish and animals far surpassed St. Michael's resources. St. Michael's two advantages—nearness to the Yukon and position for defense—became less important with discovery of the

aboriginal trade portage from the Yukon to Unalakleet and the friendliness of the Eskimos.

St. Michael, however, remained as the main post, and Unalakleet's little palisaded huddle of buildings, its satellite. Unalakleet's Russian population, moreover, was always small, and unlike the capital at Sitka, few, if any, Russian women lived there, or in other trading posts of the Yukon or Norton Sound. Some of the Company's employees married Eskimos, preserving a few Russian names for the future. However, Eskimo immigrants from the North made Unalakleet an important and large native village, overtaking St. Michael in population. It has kept the lead ever since except for the fleetingly busy days of the gold rush when thousands of people poured through the port of St. Michael.

Few outside events disturbed the dull but harsh existence of St. Michael Redoubt until the gold rush. In 1836 St. Michael supposedly was attacked by Sledge Islanders in ten oomiaks (i. e. "Ten baidara from the island of Asiag [Ayak]"). Zagoskin reported that the Ayakmiut, disgruntled by the Russian's fur trade, attacked several men gathering wood at Cape Stephens, twelve miles from St. Michael. One Russian was killed and seven wounded, but the rest were saved by a workman named Kurepanov, who stole an oomiak and pushed the rest out to sea (Tikhmenev 1861 part I:287-88; Zagoskin 1847: 68-69). Though the Eskimos might have initiated a fight, it is more likely that they were defending themselves against a provocation. Seward Peninsula Eskimos rarely fought, particularly when 140 miles from home, and the oomiaks undoubtedly represented traders from other places besides Sledge Island, which, at the most never had more than fifty men, women, and children at one time. At the end of his narrative, Zagoskin said: "The Asiagmut never dared show themselves again [at the time of his writing, 1842-1844] on the south coast of Norton Sound" (*ibid.*:69)

The first real influx of foreigners other than Russians—the Yankee whalers—had little effect on St. Michael and vicinity. The whaling ships, which first sailed through Bering Strait in 1848, rarely stopped at St. Michael or appeared within sight of the coast because the seas were not whaling waters, and representatives of an alien power were too near.

However, almost simultaneous with the coming of the whalers to the Arctic was the search for Sir John Franklin, which affected the Eskimos of that area to a much greater degree. When no further word of Franklin's expedition (last seen in July 1845 near Baffin

Island) had been received by 1848, two ships, the *Herald* under command of Captain Henry Kellett, and the *Plover*, with Commander T. E. L. Moore, were sent to Bering Strait. Northern Alaska was thoroughly searched during seven years (1848-1854) by eight government-sponsored vessels and a private yacht. The Eskimos came into greater contact with Europeans than ever before, and the resulting observations by members of the search party are an invaluable addition to the history of the Eskimo (Great Britain Sessional Papers).

A ship sailing on the high seas would not by itself have been of importance to the Eskimos, but all of the search ships stopped frequently at St. Michael for news about Franklin, and two of them, the *Plover* and the *Rattlesnake*, spent several winters frozen in the ice of Kotzebue Sound, Point Barrow, and Port Clarence, where they were visited constantly by Eskimos. The sailors learned that news from one part of Eskimo country to another, no matter how insignificant, was well known within a short time over an area of several hundred miles. The native guides employed to aid in the searches usually knew their territory well, and trips from Port Clarence to St. Michael or from St. Michael to Nulato were common occurrences.

Both Kellett and Moore offered rewards to Eskimos for information about Franklin, but this ultimately led to a flood of fabrications and exaggerations. However, they tracked down every rumor, and when it was learned that white men had been seen in the interior, the search party used every means to ascertain whether or not these were Franklin's men. After the *Plover* froze in the ice of Kotzebue Sound, the crew hoped to hire guides to take them to distant villages and tribes for information, but the Eskimos misunderstood the reasons for the ship's presence at first, and assumed it was a trader. Therefore, instead of accepting guiding jobs, as offered, the Eskimos brought huge loads of caribou meat, fish, and furs to the ship for barter. Finally, however, Lieutenant Bedford Pim hired a man to guide him overland to St. Michael for further news of the rumored white men (Great Britain Sessional Papers 1856, Vol. 41:2124). Pim made a successful trip to St. Michael and back to the ship, but could learn nothing about the men's identity.

That summer (1850), Berthold Seemann of the *Herald* said that the Russians "could not be persuaded by Mr. Pim . . . that the *Plover* was [not] trading; these suppositions were . . . set aside by our visit . . . It is possible that the *Plover* may have interfered with

their trade,—the natives finding they could obtain from her all they wanted for fish and venison, articles much more easily obtained than furs, and disposed of without going so great a journey” (1853:183).

By autumn, 1850, the men of the *Plover*, which was to stay in Port Clarence that winter, determined to get to the bottom of the rumors once and for all by traveling into the interior. Therefore, Lieutenant J. J. Barnard and two companions were taken by ship to St. Michael where they learned conclusively that the men were not Franklin’s, but instead, five English traders living on the upper Yukon. We now know that they were Hudson’s Bay traders, who, in establishing Fort Yukon in 1847, had caused the decrease in the Russians’ fur trade.

St. Michael’s pace quickened with the arrival of members of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition in 1865. The vigorous young men made St. Michael one of their headquarters, and explored the country in all directions for the proposed telegraph line. They wrote journals and books of their daily activities, and their composite descriptions and narratives provide us with the most complete picture of that area since Zagoskin’s *Pedestrian Journeys* (in Russian) of twenty years before. Books by Richard Bush, W. H. Dall, and Frederick Whymper sold in both Europe and America, and for English-speaking readers who longed for far away places, St. Michael became synonymous with the exotic land of Russian America.

Headquarters at St. Michael and subheadquarters at Unalakleet were provided by the Russian-American Company, whose posts had grown little in size since the Franklin search. According to Whymper, the English artist of the expedition, the St. Michael fort was painted yellow with red roofs, “which gave it a rather gay appearance” (1869:153).

The Americans at St. Michael had a rare opportunity to observe the isolated, stringent life of a Russian outpost, and its relationship to the surrounding Eskimos. The workmen for the Russian-American Company were a heterogeneous lot—Russians, Finns, Yakuts, Aleuts, and Eskimo half-bloods. Of the Russians, Dall wrote that all but the two company agents (at St. Michael and Unalakleet) were ex-convicts or outcasts from their homeland, and the consensus of the sprightly young expedition members was that they were one of the laziest bunches of men they had ever seen (Dall 1870:11; Whymper 1869:154).

Unalakleet in 1866 was still St. Michael's nearest outpost with a contingent of five Russians and a native helper (Adams diary, December 12 entry; James 1942:201). Dall reported that on October 3, 1867, there was only one Russian workman (named Ostrofskoi), but two native men, and a half-blood woman (1870:131). Unalakleet's principal purpose at that time was for summertime trade in oil, ivory, and furs, but even this little village had its foreign competitors. Along with the whaling ships to the Arctic at mid-century had come numerous independent traders, and Henry M. Bannister mentions a Honolulu brigantine, *Victoria*, whose "captain (Fish) is a great trader with the Eskimos and we had often heard of his vessel at Unalakleet" (James 1942:242).

The telegraph men commented frequently on the Eskimos' constant, and often lengthy travels, particularly to the annual Russian supply ships. Fred M. Smith, in his diary for June 18, 1866, wrote: "Three Magamiuts from Cape Romanzoff [Eskimos near Hooper Bay] arrived here. The head chief and two of his men. Every two years all the head chiefs of Indian [including Eskimo] tribes in Russian America come here to meet the ships and receive presents from the Company. The chief brought with him 40 white fox skins, a few brown or yellow & 2 slate colored fox skins quite a rare fox. Steppy [Sergei Stepanoff, the commandant] had the old man in to take tea with him."

Not only did Indians and Eskimos come to St. Michael from the middle and lower Yukon, and Eskimos from Kotzebue Sound, the Kobuk River, Bering Strait, and Cape Romanzof, but all the way from Kolmakofsky Redoubt on the Kuskokwim (*ibid.*:July 4, 1866).

Many names of individual Eskimos from St. Michael, Unalakleet, and the Yukon appear in the writings of the telegraph men. A few Malemiut and Seward Peninsula Eskimos had switched allegiance from the Bering Strait trade to St. Michael by that time, and had settled permanently in the Norton Sound area. Some traveled the year-round for the St. Michael fur trade, in winter with sturdy sleds and dogs, and in summer with oomiaks that were carried on the sleds.

During the Franklin search a few Eskimos had found the guiding business to be lucrative after all, and in 1865 placed themselves out for hire as guides, packers, post-hole diggers, line-stringers, hunters, and cooks, but as the young telegraph men observed sadly, worked only according to some inner direction. Several men, however, were in constant attendance on the expedition: Attzik, chief of Erathluik-

miut (now the ghost mining town of Council on Seward Peninsula)' "old" Alluiyanuk, a Malemiut leader from the Kobuk, and whose many descendants now live in the Unalakleet-Yukon area; Arkhannok, Ark-na-py-ak, and Myunuk, also Malemiut; Kamokin and Kupola from Kauwerak; and Itaktak (Dall 1870:125, 129, 135, 162; and *passim* in other sources). Many other helpers were given unidentifying English nicknames.

The men of the expedition were convinced that the Eskimos preferred them to the Russians, and tried to treat them kindly. Their buoyant behavior, as reflected in their books and journals, doubtless contrasted to that of the Russian workmen, of whom even Stepanoff said, "'You can expect nothing good of this rabble: they left Russia because they were not wanted there'" (Dall 1870:12). It is not surprising, then, to find that the Eskimos were making efforts to speak English where heretofore Eskimo and Russian had prevailed. George R. Adams wrote that Lunchy, the "Boss cook," an Eskimo at one of the line camps, "is very high-toned and talks a heap of English to his [native] assistants who do not understand a word he says" (Diary 1867:February 5).

When Russian America became Alaska in 1867, the Eskimos had no cause to worry that their source of trade goods would disappear, for the Americans turned out to be as eager for trade as the Russians. In 1868, the Alaska Commercial Company was organized by a group of men who had bought some of the Russian-American Company's goods at Sitka in 1867, and who had made enormous profits hunting fur seals on the Pribilof Islands (Andrews 1938:273-74n; Huley 1953:207). The Alaska Commercial Company was the only trading company in the St. Michael and Yukon area for many years though competition in the traditional American manner was occasionally attempted without success until the 1890's.

By the 1870's, the search for minerals had begun almost everywhere in the North, and an interest in many other aspects of the country—biology, ethnology, geography—was reflected in exploring expeditions and individual pursuits. The latter 1870's and early 1880's were busy times for collectors of biological and ethnological objects from one end of Alaska to the other, and St. Michael played host to all who came north. Whalers, traders, and explorers had traded for Eskimo handiwork for many years, but a concentrated operation was not undertaken until Edward W. Nelson of the U. S. Signal Corps, and J. A. Jacobsen, representing the Royal Museum of Berlin, came on the scene. Alaska Commercial Company agents gave

both men unlimited cooperation despite having to fill their own museum in San Francisco. Eskimos made or saved objects especially for Nelson during the four years (1877-1881) that he traveled to various villages. This cooperation netted him thousands of art objects, tools, utensils, and pieces of wearing apparel, which are now in the U. S. National Museum (Nelson 1899; an excellent summary of Nelson's activities is found in Lantis 1954).

Jacobsen had the misfortune to come the year after Nelson left the country with his booty, but he managed to garner a fine collection of objects, nevertheless (Disselhoff 1935, 1936; Jacobsen 1884). Both Jacobsen and Nelson became acquainted with the sub-agents of the Alaska Commercial Company who covered the entire area between the Kuskokwim River and Kotzebue Sound. These men were Eskimos and each had a special territory for his trade, taking his goods, mainly furs, periodically to the St. Michael headquarters.⁷ Occasionally an Eskimo trader brought liquor to the Yukon and St. Michael from ships at Kotzebue Sound, a development that revenue cutters tried unceasingly to discourage.

Bering Strait commerce with the Chukchi continued, though merely as a token trade for adventure more than gain, and for luxuries such as spotted tame reindeer skins rather than staple products. The real necessities of Eskimo life—iron kettles, knives, calico, tobacco, hardtack, matches—were now got almost entirely from roving Eskimo agents of the Alaska Commercial Company, whalers, or independent traders of the sea.

After 1880, explorations on the Yukon and its port of St. Michael became common, and revenue service was begun on the high seas. The U. S. Revenue Marine Steamers, *Bear*, *Corwin*, *Nunivak*, and *Rush*, patrolled the waters with a two-fold purpose: to help whalers in trouble, and to keep contraband goods, particularly breech-loading rifles and liquor from falling into Eskimo and Indian hands. Beginning with the first Arctic cruise of the *Corwin* in 1880, the steamer on active northern duty stopped at St. Michael several times each summer. During the *Corwin's* second cruise in 1881, E. W. Nelson was taken aboard to make ethnological observations in the North.

St. Michael was headquarters for hiring interpreters for the cutters and other ships. Interpreters were not difficult to find, although they often spoke only the southern Eskimo language, which was useless in northern Alaska and Siberia. Myunik (the same Myunuk of telegraph days) was unique in that he spoke both Unaluk and several Inupiaq dialects. He joined the *Corwin* to serve as interpreter for

revenue marine explorations of the Kobuk River where Inupiaq was spoken. Myunik was discharged from his duties in September, 1885, with "Government trade goods and money" (Healy 1887: 13 and plate, page 6).⁸

The year 1885 was a busy one in St. Michael. Lieutenant George Stoney of the U. S. Navy was on his way north also to explore the Kobuk River, and at St. Michael he reported: "I shipped, as ordinary seaman, the [Eskimo] interpreter Aloka and 'Riley' (Ouna-look), whom I had employed on my previous expedition, and 'Bill' (Oukutkoon). The families of these two last were taken along to keep their husbands contented, and to sew, wash, dry fish and assist in various ways. Each family had one child. 'Bill's' wife was Annut-kan, and his child, Alluke; they were known to us as 'Mrs. Bill' and 'little Sophie.' 'Riley's' wife, Shopshuuck, and his child, Toggarack, were called 'Mrs. Riley' and 'little Riley.' Riley and Bill were paid the equivalent of \$15 per month in trade articles that in reality cost the Govt. but \$4. The wives and children were fed and occasionally given small presents" (Stoney 1900:16).

By 1890 and 1891 when Edmonds arrived for the first time in St. Michael, the Eskimos had seen many changes. Trading posts, exploring parties, and prospectors were no longer unusual, but the land was still a straggling frontier with no public buildings, no mail service, no law enforcement, and with few schools. In 1892, the governor reported that the closest commissioner, "when there is one," was "at Unalaska . . . fully 900 miles away" (Knapp 1893:22).

Though changes prior to 1890 had been many, Edmonds' first look at St. Michael and the Yukon was of the pre-gold rush calm: St. Michael, an easy-going trading center for the Eskimos, and a leisurely host to explorers and scientists of the North made possible by courtesy of the Alaska Commercial Company. His second look at St. Michael in 1898 was entirely different. The air of industry had changed to frenzy, and the leisurely host had been supplanted by huge, impersonal hotels for the estimated 20,000 persons who passed through within a few months' time. New storehouses and wharves lined the waterfront. Ships not only sailed in and out, but were built on the ways, and hundreds of men and women rushed from ocean steamers for transfer to river steamers and the Klondike, where millions of dollars worth of gold already had been found.

The gold rushes to the Klondike, Nome, and Kotzebue Sound in a space of three years at the end of the nineteenth century were the greatest single factor in the rate of culture change in western Alaska

from the Yukon to Kotzebue Sound. Almost overnight the thousands of persons that came to the western beaches in a year's time spread out everywhere to the surrounding country to bring irreversible changes to basic Eskimo settlement and subsistence patterns, and cultural values. Many Eskimos from the Norton and Kotzebue sounds area went to Nome to enjoy the new bonanza vicariously by pursuing old interests of trade with a new perspective: the carving of ivory and wooden objects to sell to gold seekers and tourists. They remained, and Nome grew to be a city.

The Eskimos of St. Michael and vicinity found themselves in almost the same position, but many left when the white people went home. A number went to the culturally-related Unalakleet, which had become a thriving garden and educational spot through efforts of Swedish Covenant missionaries, while others went toward the Yukon.

Because of the sudden changes that befell the Eskimos during the gold rushes, it is not out of place to repeat eye-witness accounts of this huge mass of people, 30,000 in one year alone at Nome, or more than the total native population of the whole of Alaska. St. Michael, at the portal of the easiest, though most roundabout, route to the Klondike, had its first glimpse of the future during the summer of 1897 when its vast, sprawling calm was rippled by news that gold had been found in Canada the winter before. Nine boats went upstream that season as ordinary river boats, but two of them, the North American Transportation and Trading Company's *Portus B. Weare*, and the Alaska Commercial Company's *Alice*, came down with loads of gold that were to send more people through St. Michael than it had seen in its entire history. The boxes, bags, and jars full of gold were transferred to the companies' respective ocean-going ships, the N. A. T. and T.'s *Portland*, and the Alaska Commercial Company's *Excelsior*. These loads of gold in '97 made St. Michael bustle as it never had before. Ships unloaded passengers, machinery, lumber, knocked-down steamers, and the all-important "outfits," or collections of food, tents, and clothing indispensable to the prospective millionaires. The feverish rush of the Klondike stretched almost unabated 1700 miles down the Yukon, and for two months ocean steamers came and went. Then, suddenly the ships left for the winter, and St. Michael was brimming over with men waiting to steam up the river to the Klondike.

Sheldon Jackson, who had spent almost every summer since 1890 aboard the *Bear*, wrote W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education in 1897: "I am still detained at this place waiting upon the movements

of the 'Bear.' Since reaching here, August 24, several expeditions of miners have arrived on steamers and sailing vessels from Puget Sound, Seattle, and San Francisco. They bring with them lumber and mechanics expecting at this point to build small river steamers and barges in which to proceed up the Yukon to the mines. There are eight or ten of these vessels now in the harbor and thirteen more are expected from the south.

"The season is now closed for getting up the river this year, the most the miners now here can do will be to get perhaps a hundred miles up the river to timber, then go into winter quarters erecting log huts for shelter. Those that come up later will be compelled to winter at this place. As all these people were pledged to be taken to the mines this fall you can imagine that there is not only much disappointment but almost much irritation and anger that is liable at any moment to break out into open violence.

"Among the hundreds now camped upon the beach in tents are all classes from the best to the lowest; professional men of ability and standing, gamblers and desperate roughs, the wealthy and the poor, and the presence of the 'Bear' is the only restraint on lawlessness. We are hourly expecting the arrival of another cutter, and when she comes the 'Bear' will at once set sail for the Reindeer Station, Siberia and St. Lawrence Island" (1897:357-58).

During the winter of 1897-98, transportation companies sprang into life like spring flowers along a snow bank, and a motley of mechanical wonders was built for the Yukon, with freight and men going upstream, and gold coming down. The historian, C. L. Andrews, wrote that before the season of 1898 had closed, 32 transportation companies with 60 steamboats, eight tugs and towboats, and 20 barges were plying the Yukon (1938:191-92).

By 1898 the richest ground had been staked and the rush to the Klondike was almost over, but the hundreds going upstream, lured by heady advertising and headier newspaper headlines, were not to be deterred by other hundreds going down. St. Michael had its hands full with this double tide of humanity, which was often ill-tempered and unruly. Finally, with the establishment of a military reservation and the building of barracks for soldiers, and with the appointment of a commissioner, deputy marshall, and deputy collector, St. Michael took on the semblance of order, and the look of a city.

The discovery of gold near Cape Nome in 1898 both softened and compounded St. Michael's troubles. As soon as news reached the disappointed Klondikers of the strike, they rushed pell-mell through

St. Michael for Nome, high hopes tempering their frustrations. Half of St. Michael packed up, too, and left. The Cape Nome strike, however, like that of the Klondike, sent thousands of men to claims that were already staked and to a rainbow that ended in a return ticket home.

Stranded prospectors wound up in St. Michael for several summers after the Klondike boom, but the summer of 1898 before the Nome rush (and when Edmonds was in the area) was one of the worst. Disgruntled Klondikers rubbed shoulders with sick and downhearted Kobuk River stampeders who had been swayed by false advertising of transportation companies of a fabulous discovery near Kotzebue Sound.

The sudden activity at St. Michael and on the Yukon also brought the U. S. Geological Survey and the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey into the area, and members of the 1898 parties observed an Eskimo way of life that had developed through internal as well as outside changes over a long period of time. After that summer, however, Eskimo culture changed rapidly north of the Yukon, and the first year of the twentieth century was a step into a new era.

EDMONDS' REPORT

Part I

Pattern of Life

Physical and Psychological Characteristics

The native population along the coast of Alaska, throughout the Yukon delta, is not a distinctly homogeneous one. At St. Michael especially, and to a lesser extent throughout the South, there is, beside the original inhabitants, a more or less marked element composed of natives from other localities. This is more observable during certain periods, as for instance during the fishing and festival seasons, and when the natives bring in furs and curios to the trading posts. The establishment of large commercial companies in this region has attracted many families from distant points in search of employment. These naturally remain where they come into contact with tourists and other white persons and therefore often present to the ordinary observer decided contrasts of appearance and manners.

The continued presence of rough miners at their festivities, and the constant visiting, photograph taking and bargaining with summer travelers, have modified and in many instances, entirely done away with the usual mode of life. As one gets away from the centers of commercial activity; one sees more of the original life; but evidences of the white man's influence are always present to a greater or lesser degree.

The Eskimos differ slightly in tribal characteristics, show different degrees of enterprise, and are more devoted to one or another pursuit according to the locality. In some places, better spears or bows and arrows are made; other places furnish eye goggles of superior excellence, masks from certain villages are more elaborate and are traded for. Slight—sometimes decided—differences of patterns of skin-boats, of clothing such as parkies,⁹ grass socks, boots, &c., indicate at once the locality of the maker. These points cannot be here entered into, for the task would be endless.

It is difficult to set down any one type of form or countenance as the leading one. In looks, very many resemble the Japanese more

nearly than any other familiar nation, and Japanese boys when dressed as Eskimos may very easily be mistaken for them. The faces of the Eskimos are fuller than those of the Japanese, and they are somewhat taller in body. The tribal similarity of countenance is rare, for there are many entirely distinct varieties, some of which seem to be very extensive. There may be seen oval faces with pointed chins, and generally long hair, reaching almost to the shoulder. The lines of the face are soft, the bones not prominent. The general appearance is feminine and often almost Madonna like. In this type there is often great difficulty in distinguishing the sex of the individual from the face, not only among the children but also among the adults. The usual mistake is to imagine a man or boy to be a woman or girl and one scarcely believes the assertion of the native, so misleading are the looks of the person. In another type one sees the square forehead and face of the Germans of Saxony. Others again, often half-breeds, have so much the appearance of mulattoes, that were it not for their straight hair, one might easily mistake them for such. One quite distinct type has a shrewd, inquisitive, commercial look. The nose in this type is very queer, running at the point into a sort of knob. Usually the nose is small and snub, and flat and broad at the bridge. Sometimes it is almost hooked, yet small, like that of a Jewish child.

The eyes seem in some instances to be slightly oblique. This, however, is hardly noticeable, and is not general. The color of the eyes is dark, and, both among the men and the women, very beautiful hazel eyes may be seen.

The hair is almost universally black among the full blooded, and usually so among the half-breeds. Anomalies are sometimes seen, as, for instance, a glowing red-headed half-breed, who presents a strange contrast to his comrades. The hair is thick and straight, and worn in various styles. Some of the men have long hair, worn "chrysanthemum style,"¹⁰ some have moderately long hair, with a fringe of long hair about the edge, some have it cut off short and bunchy at the edges, while in a few cases the head is close clipped with the exception of the edges. Baldness is not common, but one or two examples coming to my notice.

A slight moustache is common, but it does not appear early in life and is often but a few long bristles that appear almost as if they had been artificially stuck onto the lip. Beards are uncommon and are very scraggly. In the delta one occasionally sees an Eskimo with a very heavy and dark beard.

The women wear the hair long, hanging down the back in braids, sometimes with ornaments of beads, ivory or stone.

One may occasionally find a man or woman with the hair entirely cut off, but this is very rare, and occurs at the end of the present-giving ceremonies in winter, performed by relatives of the deceased of the past year.¹¹ Nowadays, on account of the presence of the white man and a general waning of the old customs, this custom is seldom more than very partially carried out. When done in orthodox fashion, the hair is cut off from all parts of the body, often with rude jokes, and the ornaments of the hair taken away. The person thus treated receives new ornaments for the hair immediately, if the ceremony of hair cutting is only partially performed, or later when the hair grows long again after the cutting.

The complexion varies with the season of the year. Usually it resembles, more or less, that of a Japanese. From this it varies, in the full blood, towards the deepest sunburn red. In early spring, the glare from the snow burns the face to a vivid red. To guard against this, many, while on a hunt or traveling, daub the face with soot and grease, or with a red earth paint.

Tattooing is very commonly practiced even now, but the marks are not extensive and the practice is not so universal as to be very noticeable. Usually one sees only a few almost perpendicular marks on the chins of the women, from one to five being the usual number. These are generally put on after reaching maturity.

The ornaments of the face are usually the labrets worn in the lower lip. These are worn mostly by Eskimos from Kotzebue Sound. On each side of the lower lip, under the outer angle of the mouth, is a hole, into which is inserted the plug called the labret. Many Eskimos now wear no labret in the holes, having probably bartered the ornaments to curio hunters. The labrets may, or may not, be alike; or, again, only one may be worn. There are many different shapes. One very common kind looks like a miniature plug hat, the rim resting inside the lip against the jaw, while the crown projects outward to the view. Another kind has the outer part like a knob, or like a square. Again, it may be fan-shaped. The material is slate, or porphyry, or green stone, or even glass.

The head of the Eskimo is rather rounded, the faces not often long. The proportion of head to body is rather large, especially among children.

The feet and hands are rather small and the skin soft. The arms of many of the men are rounded and shaped like those of a woman.

The young men often show a high chest development and powerful shoulder muscles. Long before middle age, the chest is less prominent and then is apt to be flat, with accompanying round shoulders, drawn forward. This is not always the case, there being many instances where very old men stand erect with shoulders well back and prominent chests. The body is ordinarily well developed and supplied with fat, cases of very fat or excessively lean persons being rare among the full-blood Eskimo. For such cases we must look to the half-breeds. The dress of the Eskimo, especially in winter, gives the appearance of rotundity not properly belonging to them, and nowadays, with the general use during at least part of the year of civilized garments, they do not appear in our eyes so fat as formerly.

The carriage of the young men who live away from the settlements is often very free and manly, erect and with the chest well forward. Later on, the joints are apt to become stiffened from exposure, and the older ones usually stoop a good deal when they walk. The occupation of the native makes considerable difference in this respect. At St. Michael many of them work regularly for the companies, occupy more comfortable quarters and are not exposed to the inclemencies of the weather. These do not exhibit the remarkable form of some of the younger men living the lives of hunters and fishers, yet they maintain for a longer time a better average of appearance and carriage.

The women, too, are very often strongly and well built and show the same freedom of movement during their youth. The burdens of the family and the constant attitude of crouching at their work, makes most of them very ugly and bent in later life.

The young married women are apt to have splendidly developed busts, but, with increasing family, the breasts become pendulous and a woman is often able to nurse a child on her back by throwing the breast back to it over the shoulder. This is increased in some cases by the women sometimes nursing their children until they are five years of age, or over.

As to stature, very tall persons are found among Eskimos, as elsewhere. At least one woman I have seen was over six feet in height and there were several among the men. This woman, though resident on St. Michael Island, came from the coast farther north. The more one goes to the southward, the more do the Eskimos approach a general medium height, somewhat below that of white races. They do not always reveal their height well on account of their ways of walk-

ing. An Eskimo moving a short distance, from one spot to another, may partially rise and move along with bent knees and body.

The younger Eskimos seem very supple. They can twist the body into and through all sorts of small holes and passageways, and their games, exercises and occupations, in which persons of both sexes participate more or less, keep them limber till the effects of climate and exposure stiffen their joints. The women at their work picking berries, and about the house, stoop over without bending the knees for hours, seemingly without discomfort. The silhouettes of a number of women out on the tundra are very grotesque.

Besides the pure blooded Eskimo, there are now many with more or less white blood. These are particularly noticeable at St. Michael, where they outnumber the pure Eskimo. They present all the gradations of appearance, from the aborigine to the almost white. Some of these, both men and women, are passably good looking and among the children are found many showing pleasing traits of manliness and brightness. Others again have a disagreeable earthy, unhealthy whiteness, unpleasant to behold. The habits of these vary much with the character of the parents. Where well provided for by parents acting in good faith, they grow up to useful habits and form a good factor in the future of the Eskimo communities. Others, devoted to the Eskimo life and habits, left to shift for themselves, differ in no respect from the pure Eskimo in actions or thought. Some of these inherit from their fathers the desire for drink, together with skill in trading and assurance of manner, and become extremely disagreeable persons to be near.

As regards physical strength, the Eskimo is not often called upon for great efforts till he enters the service of the white man. By constant practice he is able to paddle all day long or run with the sled for many miles. Still, he is not altogether careless of general muscular development, and every year, away from the white settlement, joins the feast dances and contests of skill and strength. Here running and jumping and various athletic games take place, in some of which whole villages take part.

In acuteness of the senses, they have the usual superiority over the whites in many respects, from not being occupied with such a multitude of things and from long practice in concentrating their efforts along certain lines. I would not consider them to be so quick in observation as an Indian, or better than a good white hunter with constant training. The powers of sight being long practiced in the pursuit of game, the appearance of a seal or duck or other game is

quickly noted. A kayak, a mere spot in the distance, is distinguished from a floating bit of wood or a bird. Objects distorted by mirage are quickly recognized and the difference of shallow and deep water promptly noted. Hearing is well developed, but not so, apparently the powers of smell. By constant living in the oily atmosphere of his house, the Eskimo becomes indifferent to it and to other even more objectionable odors. By many experiments in distinguishing familiar articles of strong smell, I would say that his power of discrimination by smell is weak. His sense of taste has until recently had little chance for development. What he has been accustomed to taste is good and pleasant, while some articles of food, the want of delicacy of which we never ourselves suspect, are repugnant to him. He delights in oil and grease, in high meat, and fish kept so long as to be unfit, in our opinion, to feed our least sensitive animals with.

Illusions of the senses are not unusual with the Eskimo, and unexplained phenomena of nature will drive him away from his haunts. It may happen that some uncommon freak of mirage will send him hurrying across a river to capture a supposed bear, and find that the expected game takes flight cawing in derision at him. Or mysterious sounds caused by frost or by the transmission of ordinary sounds to incredible distances by the state of the atmosphere may people to him the neighborhood with spirits and unseen powers and turn him back from his hunt.

Pain is pretty well borne if it be something he might be liable to have seen or heard of. Like a child, he might be terrified by some of the queer pranks of the surgeon with the probing when getting a fishbone out of his throat. The knife or the saw causes less emotion and I have seen many instances of indifference to pain. This sometimes did not seem so much a stoical endurance of the pain as a lack of sensitiveness to it. But there are many examples of the endurance of pain itself. Among them may be mentioned the cruel ordeals at the hands of the Eskimo doctors, [a shaman: angutkuk]. The patient might faint away with the pain and shock and yet not have given much evidence of his suffering by groaning or cries. One woman withstood the gouging by an Eskimo doctor of a great ulcer with his lance, a good sized rusty nail, which, in the darkness of the place, he declared was a feather. The pain caused her to faint away, the first time being revived by the cool breath of the native; the second time, after another vigorous application of the nail, she passed away for good, still without a murmur. One day a young fellow had the end of one of his fingers torn off by a block and tackle. The finger

was amputated and the hand dressed without anaesthetic, the patient watching with interest the whole proceeding. After it was all over he went to his companions laughing and explaining everything with glee and then went to help at the tackle with his remaining good hand.

Health; Birth and Death

Sickness is very common among these people, and as a consequence there used to be many doctors. These are not distinguished from the others by any style of dress and one may live near a village a long while without suspecting the presence of one. They often lead the usual life of an Eskimo, exercising their powers of healing when occasion requires, or they may travel from place to place in the exercise of their vocation. At the winter festivities they are most active and at all large gatherings there are apt to be many doctors. The increasing presence of white doctors has curtailed the usefulness of the native doctor, but not deprived him of all his rights and claims. In spite of him, but often because of him, the death rate of the Eskimos is large. Both whites and natives speak of the decrease of the Eskimos. The pure blooded Eskimo perhaps may be decreasing, but the half-breeds are increasing in proportion.¹²

Undoubtedly the principal cause of death among the older people seems to be lung troubles. Pneumonia carries away many every year. At St. Michael one does not come so constantly into contact with evidences of this as in the delta. Here, in many places, among a group of a dozen or two natives, crouched on the banks watching the steamer, there may be but one or two or even none at all who will not be constantly coughing. If the presence of a white doctor be known, he will be constantly called upon to see cases of severe bronchitis and of pneumonia. The common colds of the country are apt to be intractable even to the treatment of the white physician, and with a native serious lung affections are apt to follow. Scurvy is not unknown among the full blooded Eskimos. Though not often observed by the white man, it still exists, and is not easily cured. A supply of proper provisions does no good in such persons, who have reached an advanced stage of the disease, probably from neglect. Furthermore, the friends and relatives often immediately eat up the provisions and the sick man is no better. Such a one is usually some old person whose continued presence in life is not desired. One year three persons died of scurvy in one large village. Rheumatism is prevalent and skin trouble of all kinds exist. Some of these are syphilitic and in consequence one occasionally sees the disfigured face of one of these victims. Ulcers, carbuncles and eczema are common. The whole body of a child may often be seen covered over with eruption. Bladder and kidney

troubles exist and the lack of knowledge of the proper method of treatment in cases of retention of urine leads to the death of the patient. Noticeable among the Eskimos who live in the native houses are the sore eyes of many. Sometimes the patients come in for treatment, but others go about with no attention. Conjunctivitis is the principal trouble; cases of corneal affections, opacities, &c., are common, however. Venereal diseases are of course prevalent. The inhabitants having for generations come into contact with whalers and all the rough elements of the old Russian days, and later with the miners and traders, there is scarcely a group that does not show an example of active signs of either acquired or hereditary taint. Occasionally the hideous face of a person disfigured by syphilis is seen.

Now that every year many white physicians are scattered over the region, the Eskimos have become accustomed to seek their assistance. Foremost among the patients are the men and the children. The women also receive the benefit of superior care, though they are usually very shy about the treatment of ailments peculiar to themselves. *Very rarely* is a physician called in haste to attend a full blooded Eskimo woman in a difficult confinement, though cases of hard labor now occur more frequently among the Eskimos. Ordinarily there is very little trouble. Help is rendered by other women, if any are present, and the woman may suffer very little loss of time in her usual work. The good old fashioned way was to put the woman outside under a temporary shelter during the time. It is not by any means unheard of, even now, for a woman in a traveling party to be left behind alone in the morning and have her catch up in the evening carrying a new born babe which she alone had attended to—all this in midwinter. Cases are innumerable where there does not seem to be more than a slight necessary halt of a couple hours or less in the usual day's work. The increasing frequency of difficult cases may be due to the admixture of the white element and the new methods of life and articles of diet. Again, the shape of the body is now less natural, many cases of actual deformity occurring.

Abnormalities occur among the Eskimos, but are generally quickly disposed of and their occurrence unnoted. Humpbacks, victims of hip disease, undeveloped lower jaws, and ill shaped bodies are frequent. The teeth ordinarily are fine and strong and regular at first. Many, especially among the women, soon have the teeth worn down to stubs. The teeth of the half-breeds who live civilized lives are not worn off so much in front, neither are they quite so good, and among their children are many whose teeth show decided scrofulous or syphilitic marks. Cripples are seldom seen. There are many, how-

ever, who have lost fingers or toes. I have seen at least one deaf-mute, who was a very intelligent man, a good hunter, jovial and communicative and fully able to take care of himself. Albinos are extremely rare.

Except at the missions, it is not easy to keep track of the ratio of births and deaths. The natives change their abodes very much according to the seasons and do not always come back to the more permanent dwelling.¹³ An increasing scarcity of wood in any given locality, the presence of a new trading post, the decease of near relatives, or the springing up of new industries from the advance of civilization, may cause an Eskimo to change his dwelling place. Some of the older ones, not liking the great increase of the white people, feeling themselves pushed out by them, and not adapting themselves to the new conditions, withdraw from the coast villages and retire to the hills. The Eskimos, moreover, are great travelers and persons from as far south as Cape Dyer [north of Point Hope] may often be heard of near the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Sometimes years are spent in distant regions.¹⁴ Even young boys make journeys alone or with chance passersby and appear but seldom at home. The general impression seems to be that the numbers of the true Eskimo are decreasing, and all the Eskimos themselves speak of it. The women keep track of the deaths more closely.¹⁵ The births are not noticed quite so much. The infant's life is often very precarious. It is frequently killed before it is born. Many times it is not desired, or some caprice or sudden anger may influence the mother to kill the child as soon as it comes. Very often the mother announces her intention beforehand to kill her child. This happens especially where the father happens not to be in good favor with the woman. He may, for instance, have been niggardly or may even have scolded his mother-in-law and so brought on him the wrath of the woman. Other women care a good deal for the children, even when abandoned by the father. The relationship by which the child came into existence does not seem to affect in any way the woman's standing among her relatives. The woman remembers more the kindness and good heart of the man, rather than the character of their relationship. A common mode of killing infants is by rolling over on them and smothering them. This is very often done unknowingly, but it is also purposely done. As many as three infants have been thus killed by one woman. Sometimes the child is taken out onto the tundra and there exposed to die. Some of the natives have spoken to me of herbs gathered by the women and used to prevent conceptions or produce abortions. I have no personal knowledge of these.

Cleanliness and Sweat Bathing

The bodies of the Eskimos to us seem indescribably dirty. They

themselves, however, have distinct ideas of dirt and cleanliness and wash themselves and bathe, and any one preternaturally filthy is often summarily washed by the others. Their manners of life, the character of their food and the general surroundings within a few moments cause such an accumulation of dirt and grease as to remove all suspicions of their having had a bath for years. Their bodies smell of the oil so necessary to them in different ways, their clothing becomes covered with mud and grease, their utensils are black and thick with dirt and oil, and so sticky as to adhere to the fingers. At St. Michael and on Norton Sound, in general, the faces are not usually dirty looking. They may be oily and shiny, but the dirt is not incrustated on them. Every one is supposed to wash his face sometimes, even if it is not oftener than once at every death occurring in the village. These careless fellows are the exception. Not so, however, in the delta, where the dirt often seems to be over the face in layers, so mixed up with grease that the hardest rain has no effect on it. Here the children seem never to have had any more washing than what they might receive from splashing about in the mud and water or playing in the wet tundra moss. With these children, the legs are dark and black to where the mud of the stream has reached, then a medium semi-cleanliness and then the great unwashed part of the body. The dirty face is blotchy and streaked.

At the villages there is almost always a large public house, the casine, which serves also as a sweat or bath house.¹⁶ The flooring of this over the central part may be removed, and a fire built on the ground under this space. At intervals, whenever the natives desire it, a huge bonfire of driftwood is kindled here. There being but one very small entrance, which is closed, and a small hole in the roof, covered over by fishskin, the heat from this burning pile of wood is great and almost unendurable. The men undress here and lie down or lounge around on the floor or benches. In wintertime each one brings in with him a great wooden bowl of hard packed snow with which he rubs himself down. To endure the intense heat, they make a mouthpiece of grass or straw, about an inch thick and about three inches long and a couple of inches wide. This is rounding on the outside and concave on the side that goes next to the face. It has a stick run through from end to end horizontally. The Eskimo grasps this between his teeth and draws the "breather" close up to his mouth and nose and breathing through it is able to endure the terrible heat of the casine where the very walls are too hot to touch. After perspiring profusely the Eskimo often go out, in wintertime, and roll around in the snow; or in summertime, take a dip in the river or sea—even when the wind is blowing hard and cold and a white man, though clothed, would be seeking shelter.

The women do not so often go through the sweating process in the casine. In the Russian sweat house, certain times were set apart for the half-breed women. The casine is too public a house for the women to use, when white men are apt to be about and not respect the freedom and unconventionality of Eskimo life. Even when the women do use the casine, the heating is not carried to the extreme and where the men and women happen to be in the same casine at once, as, for instance, after some of the ceremonies, long before the men are through with the sweating process the women will dash out into the open air and to their own houses. The women bathe very irregularly and sometimes at very long intervals. Some are particular and take frequent baths in their own houses. Others are filthy and do not take care of their person, even at certain times in the month, and are, in consequence, unspeakably dirty.

At St. Michael, there are few persons who do not occasionally bathe. By association with the white population, soap and water have found their place generally and many a lesson in frequent ablutions is given by one Eskimo to a visiting Eskimo from afar. The improvement, however, lasts only during the time of the visit and there being less criticism at home on account of filth, laziness quickly does away with washing. Wherever easily obtained, soap is now generally bought, but it is not indispensable. Urine is equally efficacious and is always handy. For the purpose it is saved by the women in large wooden bowls. It is one of the most useful agents at their disposal. By its means, skins and leather are softened and made ready for use, floors and wooden vessels are cleaned and the person bathed. For personal use, fresh urine is desirable and here one native generously supplies to the outstretched hands of another the quantity necessary for a wash if the bather himself has not a supply. A native told me that this custom still exists, in spite of soap, on account of the less liability of the hands to chap through the use of urine. The former custom of using it as a beverage is, happily, now rare.

The Eskimos likewise recognize the necessity for clothes washing and at intervals have a scrubbing of the cloth garments. But this often does not take place till the clothes seem about to fall to pieces with grease and dirt and it is extremely unpleasant to come into contact with them. The mere touch of garments or of cooking utensils, &c., seems to make their odors cling, the grease and dirt is thick and occupies space, the atmosphere of the house is laden with smells and a short presence in an Eskimo abode carries with it the penalty of long lingering odors. Nothing less than steam baths seem to remove the dirt, and even these help in deteriorating the race. Many now omit the severe cold plunge after the sweat, and through

avoiding the shock, make themselves liable to colds and attacks of rheumatism.

What principally keeps away the desire for close contact is the almost universal presence of lice. I have never seen, except where the native was living entirely like a white man, anyone free from these parasites. Even the brightest and most cleanly looking are completely covered with them, without, however, being much troubled thereby. Occasionally, in spare moments, one may take the head of another on his lap and catch the animals and crack them in his teeth and eat them. The women are often busy at this occupation with their children. It does not appreciably lessen the numbers of the lice, for their clothing and blankets are full of them.

Occasionally filth is carried to such an extreme as to lead to general eczema, and great suffering therefrom. I have seen older children a mass of sores caused by filth.

Clothing

It is only at places far distant from white settlements that one nowadays sees an Eskimo who does not wear some article of clothing obtained from the trader. Very few persons, either from choice or necessity, can withstand the temptation to invest in overalls, shirts or calico wear. At St. Michael many dress entirely in white men's garments, especially in summer. Winter sends everyone, white men and natives, into some fur garments.

In consequence, at St. Michael and trading posts, one sees every year less of the complete Eskimo dress. Usually factory trousers and overalls are purchased at the stores, then shirts and underwear, and then outer garments, coats, hats and boots. The women purchase bright calico for gowns, breeches, long stockings and overstockings and underwear. Further away the preponderance may be in favor of furs and other native garments and yet generally every individual will wear at least a pair of cloth breeches. The women will then be more likely to possess no article of white manufacture.

There are two seasons of the year when the dress of the Eskimo is most widely separated in appearance. These are the very cold and the very rainy seasons. Between these the dress approaches more or less nearly one or the other types. Throughout the winter, furs are well adhered to. As spring thaws approach, the first change takes place in the character of the boots worn, lighter furs or fishskin are donned, and later on, during the rains, special rain clothing is adopted.

The winter clothing of the Eskimos is very picturesque, although recently the high prices given by white men have induced them to part with all their best furs and clothing. The most prominent garment is the parkie. This is an outer garment like an overshirt, reach-

ing more or less down to the knees, according to location. Sometimes it goes very little below the thigh, at other places it comes down below the knees. With the man, it is square cut at the bottom and is not open in front like a shirt, but has a simple opening for the neck. From there it is prolonged upward into a hood. It is worn hanging loosely about the body. A recent innovation has added fancy strings at the neck to draw it in, in cold weather. The material of the parkie is generally of fur dressed with the hair on. These furs are often obtained from great distances. In former days, deer [caribou] wandered in immense herds over the country and other fur animals were found in plenty. Becoming scarce with the introduction of firearms, the natives were driven by necessity to obtain deerskin [domesticated reindeer] by trade from Siberia and the upper coast, which, before, they had occasionally traded for only on account of their greater beauty.¹⁷ Nowadays the trading companies bring up from the city large numbers of deerskins, besides other furs for trimming, to supply the natives with material for their parkies and other fur clothing. Next to deerskins in value, and now more used by the natives because the deerskin parkies are bought up by the white men, come the squirrel and muskrat skins. The better class of squirrel skin parkies are very fine. Large gray skins, carefully selected, are matched, the tails being left on the skins. The parkie is often double and may have side breast pockets well lined with fox or rabbit skin to warm the hands in. The better class of ratskin parkies may likewise be fairly good looking. Some of these are made of the breasts of the muskrat and are light colored, but most of them are brownish. They wear well, but are not considered quite the vogue, and are not so ornamental as the others. Often, scarcely an attempt is made to embellish them with trimmings, though proper trimming transforms them wonderfully. Around the bottom edge there is often a border of deerskin patterns, and likewise at the ends of the sleeves and around the margin of the hood. Outside of this, strips of wolverine fur, with the long flying hair, serve as a fringe.¹⁸ This warms the wrist, and, blowing over the face in a high wind, cuts the edge of this and prevents freezing of the cheeks or nose. In the dead of winter, a native wearing the hood up, his naturally beaming countenance rounded and half hidden by the fringe of the hood, loses in one's eyes all the memories of summer dirt and winter grease, and becomes an attractive and picturesque figure.

The fur side of these parkies is usually out, but sometimes it is turned inwards. These, of course, are not attractive to the eye. Comparatively few of the fine parkies are now worn. Even if the skins from which they are made are good, they are apt to be of several pieces, patched together. The deerskins are often summer skins and

the squirrel skins yellowish brown. The fringes are apt to be of dogskin and the trimmings generally less fancy. The parkies are now worn till the fur is entirely worn off, while new parkies are sold to the miners.

In the care of the parkies rain is especially to be avoided. Snow is easily shaken off and if not allowed to get into the fur, there is no damage done. The preparation of the fur is not so good that it will stand wetting and then the heat of a fire. Fresh air is the best for drying out a parkie. As a protection to it, the Eskimo now wears during snow storms an outer covering of sheeting material, which exactly fits over the parkie and hood. In summer rains, a kamlika [kamleika]¹⁹ shirt is worn over the parkie.

Generally, even in winter, the hood of the parkie is thrown back and no covering worn on the head, except at the trading settlements, where hats are obtained. The hood is commonly used only in stormy or very cold weather. But it is never omitted from the garment, even when the Eskimo has also adopted fur caps. No belt is worn, except sometimes by the women. When at rest, and especially in the favorite attitude of the Eskimo in the delta, crouching down on their haunches on the banks and gossiping or gazing at the strangers, the arms are slipped out of the sleeves into the body of the parkie, the sleeves flapping loosely in the wind. Occasionally a native lifts up his parkie to scratch, revealing the bare body exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather.

Not requiring or receiving so much care, are parkies made of birdskin, usually duck, with the feathers on. These are seen on poorer classes; seldom at St. Michael, except on a visiting Eskimo, but more commonly in the delta. They are warm and wear fairly well. Sealskins are not often used for the purpose, but are made up rather into jackets, in shape like our rough coats.

The former Eskimo trousers were of furs, mink skins forming a light and warm garment. Clumsier, deerskin patterns were sometimes used, or even seal or ratskins. The convenience of cloth trousers and overalls has almost wholly driven the fur article out of use.

Underneath these outer clothes, inner fur garments may be worn where the native has not adopted shirts and drawers. These inner furs are of soft tanned skins, the fur being worn next to the body.

The winter boots are made of fur with seal hide soles. Two separate kinds of soles are used, one smooth and yellowish-looking when new, the other dark, almost black, with scattered bristles of hair just appearing over the surface.²⁰ The latter are rougher than the former and are better on smooth surfaces, there being less liability of slipping. The sole is turned up at the sides and ends, and crimped

at the upper edge at the toe and heel to draw it together. To this upper edge is attached the leg part of fur by an intermediate portion, generally of specially tanned reddish or yellowish white skin. Spotted seal and deerskin are most commonly used. The patterns of these boots are often very good. The greater part of the leg is arranged in vertical strips, the upper border is horizontal bands with perhaps checker work and fringes and tassels. Sometimes, the fur, instead of being turned outside, is turned in. Two standard heights are worn, the short and the long boots. The short ones reach to the lower part of the calf, the longer ones to just below the knee. The fastenings of these are a simple cord at the top fastened as a drawstring and ending often in tassels; and at the bottom a thong or narrow strip of thinly tanned hide, which passes around the heel, crosses in front of the instep and takes a turn around the ankle. Inside the boot is placed a pad of grass or straw which serves to keep the feet warm and dry, absorbing the moisture from the feet and likewise what might get in through the boot. It furnishes a soft footsole for the feet and prevents the sole from wearing out too quickly. It requires some practice to make one of these pads so that it will stay in place, the tendency being to have it gradually shift to one side or the other and crawl upward almost on top of the foot, thus turning the foot over. The Eskimo woman takes two tufts of dry grass, about three times the length of the pad. These she lays together, the grass ends of one tuft next to the root ends of the other. Grasping these at the middle, she bends each end around, in opposite directions, in such a way that the grass ends will be on the outside edge of the pad. Inside of the boots, fur socks used to be worn, generally of deerskin, with the fur side in. The inner fur garments are now seldom worn.

The clothing worn by the women in winter differs somewhat from that of the men. The parkie reaches below the knee and the lower border is cut into at the sides to form two long front and back lobes, separate almost to the hip.²¹ The trimmings and ornaments, especially those on the hood and the back, are different. Rather tight fitting trousers are worn, and often, over these, heavy woolen stockings. The boots are of a peculiar pattern. The sole fits closer to the foot at the sides and the leg part is of a simpler design, with fewer trimmings than the men's boots. The boots and the cut of the parkie are often the only means of distinguishing the sex of a native dressed in full winter clothing.

The Eskimo children are often very scantily dressed, even in wintertime. I have often seen children playing around in extremely

cold weather, when every movement of the child, or a twist of the wind, would expose the bare skin under the loose parkie. The very small child or infant is well protected from the weather by the clothing of the mother. The old fashioned way of the Eskimo, still adhered to in many places, is to carry the child inside the parkie next to the mother's skin. The child is tucked in from below and pushed up above where the belt is fastened around the waist outside the parkie. The child is thus held in a sack warmed by the body of its mother. When carrying the child around, it is shoved around to the back out of the way.²² When the mother is at rest, or when the child is being nursed, it is pulled around to the front where it may easily be put to the breast.

Belts are not usually worn except by women carrying their children in this fashion, or by women still adhering to the custom of always putting on the belt at certain periods of the month. They are sometimes of considerable value, though seldom ever passably [?] neat and pretty. Those formerly most prized, and now seldom found, are of hide and covered on the outside with cross rows of deer [caribou] teeth set close together. Sometimes as many as 150 deer furnish the teeth for a single belt. Nowadays, a double thong of seal hide usually suffices for a belt. The fastenings are of thong, on one side ending in a button or simple piece of ivory, fitting into a loop on the other side.

At St. Michael, the women of the better families carry the children in shawls on their backs, or give them over to the older children to pack about.

As soon as the severity of the winter is over, most of the furs are gradually put aside, the parkie, in many places, being the only one retained. In a very small section on the lower river, one now sees fishskin clothing and occasionally a wanderer from this region finds his way to the delta, or even up the coast to St. Michael. Seldom will he be dressed in full fishskin clothing; generally it will be only the boots that will be of that material. These are rudely made of the skins of a fish that is remarkably free from scales, tanned a dull yellow. There is scarcely any trimming and the soles are of the same material. The shape of the boot is like a clumsy oversock. The breeches and parkie of fishskin have slight trimmings of short haired fur or narrow strips of hide tanned yellowish white. These garments are waterproof and warm.²³

The usual dress during the summer and fall resembles closely the rough clothing of the average working man. The original fur garment

differ little from those of winter, except that they are lighter and generally older and more worn. The inner furs are laid aside; in fact, they are now seldom worn. Underwear, stockings and outer clothing are procured from the store. There still exists, however, the old fashioned grass sock.²⁴ When well made, it is close woven and warm. There are various designs, especially of heel, sole, and upper border. The peculiar shape of boot is still worn at this time of the year but it is now made of sealskin, tanned with the hair off.²⁵ The same material is used for the sole. The uppers are black or brownish looking and are specially adapted to the soaked condition of the mossy country. Three separate sizes are worn: the half boot, for persons who stay more in drier places, the full boot for general use and the hip boot for those who have to be in deeper water. On the Yukon delta flats, the hip boots, instead of being loose, are close-fitting and are bound firmly on at the ankle, at the knee, and to the hip strap. They are specially adapted to the sticky mud which would pull off a less securely fastened boot.

At the trading stations, disregarding the women who dress in skirts, &c., and conform more or less closely with civilized styles, one sees in general the growing use of loose gowns²⁶ of bright calicoes, reaching, without girdle or belt, to below the knees; then breeches, the lower parts of which are covered to the knee with heavy stockings; lastly the water boot. Others wear nothing but an outer parkie, the usual breeches and boots.

As soon as the rains begin the rain garment, the kamlika, is seen. This is a very loose overshirt with hood, so loose as to go easily over the parkie and coming down to the knee or below. The material used is a translucent skin, the stomach [he means intestines] of the seal. This is cut into long strips, about three inches wide, more or less, and kept in tight rolls for ready use. When sewed together into kamlikas, these strips are generally horizontal, but they may also be vertical. Here and there, small bits of bright cloths, or worsted, or bits of down or feather, are sewn into the seams to brighten the effect. These kamlikas are perfectly waterproof, very light, and, when kept soft and pliable, may be rolled up into a small compass. Unless the Eskimo is engaged in some occupation like paddling, he is apt to have his arms out of the sleeves, just slipping the kamlika over his parkie and standing or sitting around in the rain with the sleeves flapping in the wind.

While in the kayak, the kamlika furnishes an efficient protection against the spray or rain, the lower part being spread out over the

cockpit of the kayak to prevent the water getting into the boat.

In addition to the clothing above mentioned, mittens of various kinds are worn. In wet weather, and for many purposes, a water glove of the same material as the water boot is used. In colder weather, fur gloves, or rather mittens, are worn. These are sometimes double, having fur both inside and out, or single and very heavy, in which case the fur is either in or out, or partly in and partly out; that of the back being directed out, and the palm having the fur side in. The material is usually deer [caribou] or muskrat skin. Occasionally, skin of moose hide is made up into very ornamented mittens and an innovation is a thin fingered and gauntleted glove, in summer, as a protection against the mosquitoes.

In summer time the children of both sexes run around half naked, or with a parkie and breeches, paddling about in the water. Fur breeches are still very commonly worn by the children, both girls and boys.

The Eskimo looks quite *sui generis* when seated in his kayak, covered with the kamlika rain shirt. In his dirty summer furs and clothing one likes to keep at a distance from him. When dressed in his best furs at the dancing season, he is still all that one imagines an Eskimo should be. There is wide difference of skill among the women in putting together and trimming garments, and every woman takes more or less care with her work and uses or neglects the better trimmings according to the person the clothes are for. A well-liked native doctor may appear very modish in clothes presented to him by his admirers, and may have a dozen or more changes, whereas one less fortunate may have but one suit of clothes, and that very much worn.

The finest appearing clothes are those of fine Siberian spotted deer-skin [domesticated reindeer] for the parkie; mink skin trousers, and boots of deer [caribou], bear, wolverine, or other trimmings, with tassels of fur. Those dressed in new birdskins, in dark colors—black, green and blue—look well till the parkies become old, when they possess as much beauty as a moulting fowl. In many places, only the poorer classes use the birdskins. Suits made of muskrat are not so well trimmed as other furs, and, nowadays, not well matched. The clothes look heavy and clumsy, yet they wear well. Those of squirrel skins are much lighter, yet even these are poorly made now. The Eskimos used to be very particular in the selection of the furs, seeing that they were matched in size and color, and of a fine gray. With the tails all on, and with the usual trimmings, one of these parkies could be exceedingly stylish and expensive.²⁷

Hats and caps are now often worn. Away from the settlement, the great majority of the men wear no hats and the women seldom wear them anywhere. The half-breeds first adopted hats and later some of the Eskimos. Among the varieties is one with helmet-shaped top, with fur-lined earflaps and neck piece. Visorless caps of birdskins are common in the delta region.

The peculiar attitudes of the Eskimos when crouching at rest or at work, and the grotesque attitudes of the women while handling berries and other things close to the ground, accentuate all the peculiarities of dress.

Food

The food used by the Eskimos is partly that obtained through their own endeavors and partly that traded for at the stores. Flour, tea, tobacco and sugar are among the principal staples obtained there. Other goods are bought according to the desire or available cash of the individual. The food that they obtain themselves is principally composed of fish, wild fowl, eggs and berries. These berries are mostly salmonberries [*Rubus chamaemorus* L.] and are found on the tundra over this whole region. Sometimes special camps are made in favorable spots and several weeks spent in collecting the berries, the women and children doing this work, while the men engage in more congenial occupations. When half ripe, the salmonberries have a rich peach-red color, but when fully ripe, look almost straw color and rotten. They are eaten fresh, grown persons and children occasionally stopping on their travels to eat a lot of these juicy berries, or they may be saved up for the winter time. They are kept in baskets or bowls, mixed with grease and snow, or frozen. When needed for use, they are eaten in a half frozen state and are rather agreeable in taste.

Besides the above species, there are three principal kinds of berries. All of these are edible and, though not so sought after and collected, are still generally eaten. The berries closely resemble those found in northern Europe, in Sweden, Finland, etc. Though occurring in much greater numbers than the salmonberries, these others do not enter so largely as they into the food supply. Among the berries are the blueberry, on low bushes [*Vaccinium uliginosum* L.], the black crow, or crakeberry [*Empetrum nigrum* L.], and two red berries, one growing singly and the other more in bunches (probably bog cranberry [single berry], *Vaccinium oxycoccus* Langs., and the low bush cranberry, *Vaccinium vitis idaea* L.).

Besides berries, there are no products of the ground that are collected and stored except some roots, in small quantities. A few of them are medicinal and among them are found some which the women are said to use to prevent conception. Mushrooms are not used to my knowledge. Even up in the interior of Alaska, where mushrooms are plentiful, the natives have to be shown their use. In the same way, herbs suitable as a substitute for tea are not used, unless the practice is introduced by traders. Nowadays, tea is so easily obtained at the stores, that substitutes are not necessary. The use of the common *Ledum* as tea seems, wherever occurring, to be an introduction due to the influence of white men, as the Indians of the interior have obtained a knowledge of it from the Hudson's Bay traders.

Neither deer [caribou] nor bear are plentiful on this part of the coast and are seldom seen by anyone but the hunter. He goes back into the hills and during the hunting season lives on the meat of the animals obtained.²⁸ There are comparatively few now, and they do not enter largely into the food supply of the country. Other small animals, as, for instance, the Arctic hare, are occasionally caught and eaten. The furs of all these animals are sought for, together with those of numerous other animals. Game, like deer and bear, consequently are not at all depended upon in the domestic economy of food supply on the coast. What are obtained in the hills do not more than supply food for the time being to the hunters, and many a hunter has gone to the hills from the coast, gone hungry from lack of game and lost all his dogs by starvation.

The game birds, however, furnish quantities of fresh meat during both summer and winter. This is the great breeding place of duck, geese and swan, and often the noise of flying birds is enough to startle one. Duck and geese are the most common, and a dozen different varieties may sometimes be easily secured in a brief hunt. Swan are also numerous and as many as 30 or 40 may take wing at once at the approach of the hunter, making, with their great wings flapping, a tremendous noise. Besides serving for food, the feet of the swan are used in making up into ornaments, and the downy skins in making robes. The duck skins are used for clothing and ornaments.

The next most common game birds are the ptarmigan and the grouse. These are found generally throughout northern Alaska. The ptarmigan is white in winter and later on, toward spring, changes its hue to bright red on the head and on the sides of the neck. A brownish color follows, with a general gray of the body. When surrounded with

its young, the ptarmigan is very courageous and will fight any intruder on its rights.

Besides game birds, others are sought after for the value of the skins, or claws, or feathers. The white owl is the principal one of these, its perfectly white skin being very valuable.

Duck and goose eggs are naturally plentiful and are much relished by the Eskimo. It is not at all necessary that the egg be fresh, for many a time have I seen a native eat with gusto numbers of eggs so far advanced that the chicks were almost ready to come forth.²⁹

Among the products of the sea, the whale may be mentioned first as the largest, although not the most important. The whale is seldom more than 25 feet long and varies from a gray to a dark drab in color.³⁰ As soon as hauled upon the beach, the skin is cut off in long strips, encircling the body, several inches wide. The strips are divided up amongst the chief actors in the capture of the whale, the greater part going to the one most conspicuous in its capture. Those who help haul in the whale and get it ashore, receive a share, and the bystanders get a piece for immediate use. The consumption of this piece is characteristic. It is in the shape of a long strip, one end of which is jammed as far as possible into the holder's mouth, and the remainder cut off close to the lips [with a knife]. When the retained fragment is masticated and swallowed, the operation is repeated, again and again, until the entire piece is devoured, or the eater's limit is reached. This raw epidermis is not at all offensive to the taste, even to persons who at home cannot endure fatty foods. It seems to be formed of two layers, one dark drab, while the other is grayer. The dark outside layer is easily chewed and has the consistency of gum, whereas the other layer is tough, like gristle. As boiled by Eskimos, it becomes disagreeable in appearance and taste, like badly prepared pigsfeet. The tail of the whale is considered a delicacy, and is often saved up for some dance or feast, where it is made a present to the guests or hosts. When the meat is properly cooked, it is edible, but not a delicacy.

Seals are probably the most useful of all the animals caught by the Eskimo, almost every part being used—flesh, oil, skin, sinew, and stomach. The flesh of the young seal is very palatable. The larger seals, however, are tough and disagreeable. The meat is dark and often almost bluish. The oil is tried out and stored in skin receptacles, and is used for drinking, for cooking, to mix in with raw foods, for the lamps and for oiling the rain clothing and boots, and also the skin boats. The skins are sometimes carefully stripped off

and all natural or accidental openings patched up or tied together. Properly prepared, the skins will serve well to store oil in. Cut open and provided with lacing, it makes a good packing bag for furs, clothing, and valuables of all kinds. Tanned and made up with the fur still on, it can be made up into coats, boots, baby ornaments, etc. With the fur off, it is used for boot soles, legs of water boots and coverings for the boats. When cut up into long strips, it furnishes very strong rawhide lines and thongs. The sinew from alongside the backbone is used for sewing and is made up into fine lines for various purposes, such as fish nets, etc. It is used in all the better sewing work where strength and durability are required. Deer [caribou] sinew used to be preferred, but is now scarce and seal sinew takes its place. This, though, is now being driven out by thread and string. Yet, wherever particular pains have to be taken to make anything watertight and durable, the sinew still is used.³¹

Besides all these parts, the stomach is universally used for material for air floats for the spears, for rain parkies or kamlikas [not the stomach, but the intestines], for various smaller household goods and ornaments. The intestines are cleaned and tanned and blown up, and strung up both inside and outside the houses, in winter, during some of the ceremonies. Even the large teeth of the seal are utilized for clasps and buttons and many other smaller articles. The bones are used by poorer persons in many places instead of ivory.

Next to the seal, and of more importance than the whale, come the salmon and other fish. Great quantities of salmon are caught and dried during the season. On all the principal rivers temporary or permanent camps of Eskimo are found during the whole run. Long rows of poles are put up horizontally about five or six feet above the ground and countless fish are hung up to dry on these. Some of the houses are full of fish already dried or smoked, and great bundles of them are stowed away for transportation to the winter quarters. Each fish is cut in half, cleaned and hung up. Half a fish is a good meal for a dog in winter and it is largely for this purpose that so many are taken. For their own personal use during the season, they are usually eaten boiled. There are so many of them that the better ones can be kept and the poorer ones thrown away. Salmon are not alone fished for. Numerous other species are found and eaten or stored away for use. The condition of the fish makes very little difference to the Eskimo. Many fish I have seen eaten that were covered over with small knobs or projections. A woman might take hold of one of these knobs and pull it out, revealing a long worm.

Upon being released, the worm usually draws or shrinks back into its hole, almost wholly disappearing. Such a fish is cooked and eaten with relish. In the Yukon delta, where the banks are easily dug into, oblong holes, a couple of feet long, somewhat less in width and perhaps two feet deep, are dug. Into the hole is fitted closely a wicker frame and this is filled with fish, which are very carefully cleaned, about a hundred or more in a basin of water, cut open, and the insides removed. The eggs and a few tidbits are reserved, the rest of the insides being allowed to lie around and help keep up the stench common to all Eskimo habitations. The fish is not cut up but put, well packed, into the holes until within half a foot of the surface of the ground. They are then covered over with dirt, mud, or peat, until needed. By that time they are a mass of fish, flesh and worms, and are rich and nourishing. Some of these holes we saw open were full of a wriggling mass ready to furnish a good feast to the owners.

At St. Michael, the fish are not often buried but made up into bundles like bundles of kindling wood. These are mixed in with snow, frozen, and covered over tightly with matting. The bundles are stowed away in the houses or storehouses until needed. They often serve as extra seats for guests, or are used to step on to reach something high up. When the fish is wanted, the bundles are opened and the fish broken out and eaten in a raw, half-frozen state. They taste thus passably well, the freezing process making up somewhat for lack of proper cooking. It is not at all like simple raw fish. As cooked by the Eskimo, they are nauseating. It is to be noted that the advent of iron stoves and cooking utensils has greatly increased the variety in the Eskimo's larder.

Tobacco

Tobacco is universally used and to it the Eskimo attribute their present peaceful state. They say they used to be very bad until they began to use tobacco. They have at times evidenced marked likes and dislikes for particular varieties and, to obtain a favorite kind, they have traded for it as far as Siberia.³² One trader at one time received from Russia a large quantity of a certain Russian variety, which was at the time much sought after. Nowadays, cigarettes and pipes are freely used. Great ivory pipes are made and sold to curio hunters, but these are used rarely, if ever. They are made of walrus tusks, a foot more or less in length. A hole is bored through from one end to the other and a mouthpiece and small bowl for the tobacco inserted. The body of the pipe is etched [engraved] with

scroll work or hunting scenes, and scenes from daily life. The bowl is generally a piece of ivory with a narrow neck, which spreads rapidly at the top to a broad flat surface. A small hole is bored through to meet the central hole of the stem or body of the pipe. There is just room enough in the hole of the bowl for a pinch of tobacco, which it takes but a couple of small whiffs to smoke up.

The model for this expensive curio is one long in use and still much seen even at St. Michael. This is made of wood in two strips, each grooved to form, when put together, the canal of the stem. Narrow at the mouthpiece, this stem widens out in a length of nine inches or more to receive a bowl set in on the top surface near the larger end. This bowl may be made of ivory, or bone, or greenstone, slate, etc. The two pieces of the stem are held together by a thick cord of seal hide wound spirally about the stem and terminating at one end with a little bowl pick of ivory, bone, or metal. Both men and women smoke and chew, and the children begin early to chew. In communities where tobacco is scarce, the ashes of tobacco once used are saved and given to the old women or men, who mix them with better tobacco or with dry wood rot, and chew this mixture.

Tobacco is also used in the shape of snuff and for carrying this they use small oval boxes the shape of small fig boxes, made of birch bark or of whalebone and wood. The snuffers are hollow pieces of bone or ivory, slightly curved and three to four inches long. Generally, some slight etching is on the outer surface of these snuffers. The snuff used is sometimes mixed with dry wood rot.

On account of the cheapness of modern pipes and the great amount of tobacco carried in stock by all traders, the use of tobacco now among the Eskimos differs little from that in any civilized place. As it is universally used, it still forms a good medium of exchange, though cash is often demanded for goods. Outside of the lines of white travel, many of the olden pipes are used, and even at St. Michael, occasionally, an old man or woman clings to the old pipe, refusing to sell it as a specimen. Away from white settlements the mixture of wood and pieces of fur, hair, &c., is practiced. Where tobacco is scarce, it is saved up carefully after being chewed and used over and over again, perhaps with the addition of a small fresh piece. The ear is a good carrying receptacle for pieces not in immediate use. Many Eskimos are very particular to save up all the quids, and when they themselves have no more use for them, less fortunate older or poorer persons may have some enjoyment therefrom.

In a way of food, therefore, the Eskimo is very well supplied. Those who work for the white man, or otherwise obtain money to get flour and other trade food with, may live as well as any white man. Those who depend upon their own efforts in fishing and hunting may, except in poor seasons, or from lack of energy, live a life of feasting during the greater part of the year. Between the different seasons, to be sure, there often comes a time of temporary scarcity, which, however, need not necessarily be the case. Berries are so abundant over hundreds of square miles of mossland, that in places one cannot take a step without crushing some. For weeks at a time, they are collected, and later, when the festivities of winter take place, the supply stored up seems incredible and never ending. Geese, duck, swan, ptarmigan, and grouse appear in summer in marvelous numbers. The ptarmigan and grouse may be found throughout the year, and may be shot or snared. Fish appear in such numbers that no one except one who had seen them, could believe it possible. The Eskimos, however, do not obtain so many at a time, at a casting of the net as a white man would. The nets used for one kind of fish do not serve well for another kind, and so, when the same net is used at different seasons for different fish, one kind or another is apt to be lost. Seal, whale, deer [caribou], and bear hunting require the most skill and energy, and it is here where the Eskimo hunter gets his reputation. If lucky, the meat and oil add largely to the year's supply of food and alone may keep them in a surplus of fat. Every endeavor is made now to add some flour and some tea to the supply, and likewise tobacco. The tobacco is used for simple enjoyment and does not take any place in ceremonies of any kind. Neither is it much used now for its narcotic effects. In general, I would say that scarcity of food results almost altogether from improvidence. When there is plenty, there is constant feasting; when everything is gone, the Eskimo hunts for more.

Dwellings

For abodes the Eskimo have both permanent and temporary structures. Of the former one native may have more than one. It is usually a log house made of drift logs gathered from the beach, in many cases taken by boat, or, in wintertime, by dog sled, at great distances from the intended place of use. The houses are sometimes square, or they may be oblong, rectangular or hexagonal. The logs may be squared or round. The ends are sometimes notched and the logs dovetailed together. Or a frame may be made of uprights, with

sills and floor plates, and the sides filled in by horizontal logs having the ends cut to fit into vertical grooves in the uprights. Sometimes a lean-to is made, the siding being of upright pieces sloping slightly in towards the roof, and rather loose. The roof is formed of cross logs, and is sometimes flat and sometimes sloping toward a small square opening in the center. Dirt, moss, or peat cut into chunks, is plastered over the whole, both on sides and roof. An opening of varying size is cut in one side for a doorway. If large, a good door is sometimes put in. A window is apt to be found in such a house. But more often the door will be the only opening and just large enough for a native to squirm through. It is wonderful to see an Eskimo pass rapidly and easily through an opening into which a white man could barely squeeze. These smaller openings may be covered over by a matting or furs. No window opening is usually found and light enters solely through an opening in the center of the roof of the larger room. This opening is covered over by a loose square of seal gut, held down by stones or pieces of wood. When the door is closed and the top opening covered over by the seal gut, the interior of the house is dark and gloomy. The atmosphere also rapidly becomes unendurable to a white man. Some houses are even worse off than those in regard to ventilation and light. From their exposed position on a windy coast, the snow in winter may drift up around the sides of the house and almost cover over the place so that a traveler would discover the presence of a house solely by the issuance of a little smoke from a trifling elevation, or the presence of a dim light at night coming from an opening. The entrance to such a house would be through the hole in the roof. A person sitting inside the house might suddenly find the room darkened and then dimly perceive the legs of some individual projecting downwards through the roof hole, then the whole body descend and a visitor appear and give the customary salutation.

The outside of the house is unprepossessing, made up as it is of driftwood and mud and turf. Outside, there may be staying [piling?] for drying fish or for hanging their nets, &c., and keeping the kayaks and sleds above the ground. Around on the ground are sleds, skin boats, dirty cooking utensils, and all the refuse of a camp. Dogs may be tied by ropes and sticks to the posts, and snarl at every passerby. Steel traps, bladders, &c., hang from every available post and beam.

Inside the house, there is sometimes a hallway with stacks of oil bags, fur, fish, &c. There may be more than one room, or the entrance may lead directly into the single room of the house. The ex-

tra rooms are usually smaller sleeping rooms, or hall and store-rooms. In the main room, if possible, there is a stove, with the usual cooking utensils of a camp. Sometimes there is only a fire-place, which adds by its smoke to the disagreeableness of the room.

Along one side, and sometimes along two opposite sides, there is a solid raised platform, raised a foot and a half above the ground. This is about six feet wide, and extends from one end to the other of the room. It is the sleeping or lounging platform. On this, the usual occupants of the house sleep, each one with his feet to the wall, and the head toward the middle of the room. A night vessel of wood is at each one's head, for the urine is valuable for many purposes and is carefully saved and collected in larger vessels. Strangers coming to a house, where there is no public house [kazgi], roll up separately and sleep either on the floor or on the bunks. Closer friendship might permit sleeping with the others, and in old time houses, the visitor still sometimes is treated as one of the family. Several families may occupy the same sleeping bunk and often twenty or more persons may sleep in a single small room. In times of feasting and dances, the rooms are very crowded. Each group of persons may have separate rolls of blankets or a common layer of furs laid down and over this a continuous covering. Between these the sleepers may crawl, more or less undressed, perhaps entirely naked. Formerly the habit of sleeping entirely naked was much more common than now. Older settlers have thus often had to creep in among a lot of naked forms of both sexes, but it is seldom now that the white man is subjected to the custom. Sleeping under separate covers becomes more and more the rule. In very warm places not even a covering is used. This applies more particularly to the man, but does not exclude the women. Often, during the long winter night, an old woman may get up and approach the fireplace where, all naked, she will sit for hours telling some long yarn to which some chance waker may occasionally grunt approval.

These houses may remain for years the same, or the death of some member of the family in a house may cause it to be abandoned, and it may soon be destroyed by a few seasons of rough weather. Or it may be used for firewood and replaced later by a new house, the process of building being a rapid one.

Wherever there is a collection of houses, there is usually a larger house, the casine, or dance house, which serves many purposes. It is the house of entertainment where visitors or strangers may sleep if they are not invited to stay with some family. It is usually between

twenty and thirty feet across and in general outside appearance, looks like the other houses. The logs used in its construction are large and the walls double—perhaps two feet or more in thickness. Some ingenuity is often exercised in the construction of the sloping roof, the supporting and strengthening beams being skillfully placed. The top opening is about two feet or less in width and the doorway is always just large enough for a person to crawl through. On account of the thickness of the wall, a white man usually finds some difficulty in entering, except on all fours or even crawling. The native being accustomed to go in and out many times a day, may pass through in a twinkling to escape the close pursuit of some comrade.

The approach to this entrance of a casine is always through a covered passageway or hall, open in front. Even this is sometimes entirely closed in very cold weather, with the exception of another creephole. During the wintertime, heavy double mats or curtains of fur close over the main entrance and in the coldest weather it is often entirely closed. During this time, and also during certain winter festivals, use is made of another passageway. The entrance to this is a hole in the floor of the front covered way or passage. The visitor at this time wriggles through the front opening in the false front of the covered passage, then having arrived in the middle of the covered passage, he drops down about four or five feet into this hole and almost on his hands and knees, passes forward in utter darkness to the end of the underground passage, which communicates with the central opening in the floor of the main room. Upon arriving here, the head and shoulders projecting up through this small opening, he greets those present and makes his entrance into the room.

The interior of the room is always dark and black, even when the central roof opening is not covered over by the seal gutskin. When this is closed over, and especially when an accumulation of snow or condensed moisture lies thickly on the covering, it is often hard to distinguish objects in the room. The little boys are then kept busy with their little sticks, beating off the frost and snow.

Around the room is a single continuous line of thick plank shelving, from a foot and a half to two and a half feet wide, and raised about three feet or more above the level of the floor. A native may generally be seen lounging on this shelf at almost any time. Sometimes he is entirely naked, even in the daytime. At night, the sleeper takes his choice between this and the floor. At the dances and feasts

the bench may be crowded two deep with persons sitting and standing up, sometimes being separated, musicians, hosts, guests and contending parties in contests occupying different positions.

The whole central portion of the floor, occupying about half the area, is removable. The planks, a foot or more wide and two to three inches thick, rest, except in the center of the room, on heavy beams. When the house is used for sweating purposes, these removable planks are taken up and laid to one side, and a large free opening made, where a large fire may burn with safety. During contests of strength and skill, the flooring is at times removed at the request of a performer, who has some special trick to show.

Near the middle of the flooring is the central opening formed by cutting in the sides of two adjacent planks. This is used in winter-time, and also to get down to different articles that may be stored in the space under the floor.

About a third way from the walls to the middle of the room, there are seen small holes in the flooring at regular intervals, three or more on a side. These are just large enough to receive the pointed ends of the lamp holders. At intervals on the benches there are similar holes. The lamp holders are clublike sticks, about two and a quarter feet long, perhaps pieces of driftwood sharpened at one end to stick firmly in the holes dug for them and spreading at the top to form a resting place for the oil lamps. A piece of driftwood having a root end is generally sought for this purpose. The lamps are simple, rudely fashioned, saucer-shaped earthenware, utterly devoid of skill in making, black and sticky with grease. This open dish is partly filled with oil, the wick immersed therein and the free end of the wick lighted. With proper attention a dozen of these lights will throw a dim light over the room so that one can distinguish a friend across the room. Needless to say, wherever possible, the better class Eskimo now possesses a lamp from the store.

Besides the dwelling and the dance or sweat house, there is another structure of logs, the cache or storehouse. This is now gradually disappearing and new ones are not often built. It is a simple log structure about six feet square, set up on posts a few feet off the ground. The approach is either by a ladder or more properly by a leaning log with steps cut in for a foothold. Until recently, these caches were not even locked, but since the advent of the white men padlocks are considered necessary, and in many places, the natives prefer to keep their goods and furs in their own dwelling houses.

Burials

Among the more permanent structures about a village are the graves. Unless an Eskimo belongs to a mission, and, in consequence, receives underground burial, he is usually stowed away in a short box, much too short for him if he is stretched out. The dead person is bent head forward and feet behind, tied in this position, and if necessary, forced into the box, which is then put onto a slight frame work a foot or so above the ground, or rests on top of a slight knob of moss. Over the box are arranged various articles of little value, as old spears and arrows, bits of kitchen utensils and relics of any kind. Articles used by the person while alive are generally placed over the grave, but often mutilated to take away their value in the eyes of relic hunters. Valuable things are now seldom put over the graves from fear of theft. These graves age very rapidly in this climate unless protected; for example, by a coating of earth paint, as at Kripniyuk, on the coast just below the Yukon delta.

Not always, however, do the natives obtain this safe resting place after death. Often, and especially in the case of children and infants, the body may be dumped onto a hillside and left. The bodies thus disposed of may become a prey to the village dogs or to foxes, birds, and the influence of weather.³³ They often remain in winter unchanged for a long time and it is not at all unusual for a person walking over the tundra to stumble over a well preserved corpse. Occasionally the noise, fancied or real, of animals disturbing the remains of someone recently exposed out on the tundra, may induce a sensitive mother or relative to go to the spot and drive away the invaders. This, though, is not persisted in.

When once put into coffins, the Eskimos are exceedingly averse to having anyone disturb the remains of their dead. The wooden dwelling houses of the Eskimos may remain for generations, unless accidentally destroyed by fire. Others are rebuilt, occasionally almost exact duplicates of the ones destroyed. Some are so rotten as to be unable to withstand any unusual strain. In some places almost every year, this or that house would be used for firewood, and new ones put up. Since the use of the axe and saw, house building is not the task it was when stone implements were still in use.

Among less permanent houses, the principal ones are the tents. These are seen everywhere, and it is a great relief for an Eskimo family to move into a tent after passing the winter in the gloomy log houses.³⁴ The tents are often mere shelters, less than three feet in height. The ground is covered with matting or furs and sometimes

a raised platform on one side. During the day time the sleeping robes are rolled up out of the way to make room for the occupations of the day and the usual influx of visitors. The cooking is done outside, over campfires, unless there happens to be a good stove handy.

There is a so-called snowhouse made sometimes in the mountains, where there is no log house to be found. A tent is put up and covered over with a lot of snow to keep in the warmth. Later on, when the place is abandoned, the tent poles are taken out from the inside and then the tent covering separated from its frozen snowy envelope, and pulled out through the entrance. More or less of the outer snowy wall is thus left, and travelers coming across the remains imagine they have seen snowhouses like those made on the Arctic coast [of Canada].³⁵

In building, one man is able to do all the work of collecting the wood and putting up the house. Helpers may be hired or they may voluntarily aid through friendliness or considerations of food. When a new public house is built, especially in case of a large one much frequented by travelers, many Eskimo may join together, even coming many miles to help.³⁶

The houses of the Eskimos being provided with such small entrances and apertures in the roof for light, are easily kept warm by a small fire. Often, however, the occupants stay inside when the skin covering is removed from the roof hole, and the air inside, unwarmed by any fire, is damp, raw and extremely chilly. If the opening is closed and a fire started, the houses soon become close and evil smelling, the eyes suffer from the smoke from the fireplace, and the tobacco used by everyone; everything is black and sticky and there is a general creepy sensation.

Household Utensils and Tools

In latter days, the use of iron cooking utensils has greatly increased in the household. A few articles of woodware are still used. Among these may be mentioned bowls and platters for berries, fish, &c., for mixing food; spoons of wood and horn. To mend these, and wooden knickknacks in general, a good quality of fish glue is made. Not to be forgotten among the household articles of wood are individual urinals, and those used for collecting and storing urine and soaking hides and rawhide lines in it.

Matches are now universal. Occasionally fire-fanning apparatus [bow drill]³⁷ is seen, generally brought in to a trading post for sale. This, which serves the purpose of a bellows, consists of a mouth or

hand piece held firmly between the teeth or in the hand, having on the underside a metal, or stone, or ivory piece bored to fit over the top of a spindle, which rests at the bottom on a piece of dry wood and is kept whirling around by a bow of ivory and seal thong. A small box serves to carry punk or tinder. Few of the Eskimos nowadays are able to make more than a big smoke with this apparatus.

The tools used in the manufacture of all these articles, and in the building of the houses, in the making of snowshoes, boots, &c., are of metal and either bought at the stores or manufactured with shapes fitted to their particular wants. Saws, axes, planes, augers, and knives are seen everywhere. Occasionally a heavy short-handled, stone-headed axe or hammer is found among them, saved perhaps for a couple of generations or more, or manufactured to sell as a curio. Those with greenstone heads [possibly jade?] are the most valuable. None are in actual use. Great skill is shown in the manufacture of mechanics' tools. Even good foot and hand power lathes are constructed. Drills are common, similar in principle to the fire-fanning apparatus above described. Ingenious spring clamps, with thumb screws and bolts neatly cut and threaded, are made of old files tempered at the hinge joint to spring temper and capable of holding firmly the hand work they may be engaged in carving. Great numbers of carving tools, with different styles of points and blades, are used.

In the use of tools, the drawing motion is much more prevalent than the shoving motion. Not only the knife but even the needle is used just the opposite to the way employed by a white person.

Woodchoppers, boat builders, and ordinary carpenters use purchased tools. Wood and ivory carvers exercise the most ingenuity in manufacturing tools of special design. Some of these are for the purpose of piercing long holes through slender articles, many different and very ingenious clamps are made and all sorts of etching [engraving], gouging, and cutting instruments made. One knife very popular with them is curved sideways, and with it one is able to cut out from a concave surface.³⁸

Most characteristic are the stone, bone and ivory scrapers, crimpers, cutters, and awls used in the older occupations of clothes-making, preparation of skins, &c. The women have peculiar dull edged knives or crimpers to crimp the edges of the soles for tools. Ivory awls are used for sewing and scraping instruments for the furs. These are still constantly in use.

Boxes, trunks, and bags are used to store the tools in. For needles a needle case of bone or ivory is used, the bottom plugged with wood and having a wooden stopper. The needles, stuck in a piece of cloth, are tucked into the case.

Transportation

Much of the life of the Eskimo is spent on the water and for this purpose there are properly but two kinds of boats, the kayak and the oomiak. Since the occupation of the white man, these have been added to by all sorts of craft, varying in shape, size, and worth according to the needs and abilities of the owner or maker.

Peculiarly attractive is the Eskimo in the native boat, the kayak or bidarka.³⁹ This is a long, slim, skin-covered boat used exclusively by the men and boys. Occasionally one imagines he sees a woman or girl in one alone, but investigation promptly proves the error. The general appearance of the bidarka is always the same, but there is a great difference in pattern of bow and stern, in stability, swiftness, carrying capacity, and proportions. They are sometimes quite broad and squat looking, made for heavy seas and great carrying capacity. At other times they are light, narrow, and graceful.

The general length of the single-holed kayak, the one almost altogether used, is between 16 and 18 or 20 feet. The width varies from a trifle over two feet to almost three feet. They are tapering from near the middle to a prong at the forward end and to a vertical edge at the stern. The bottom is rounded at the middle and narrows to an edge fore and aft. The top surface is almost flat, being formed of two flat surfaces meeting at the center line in a very obtuse angle. The framework for the kayak is of narrow strips bent to the proper shape, running the length of the boat and bound into place by narrow strong ribs. In the upper part of the frame, just back of the center, is the framework of the cockpit, shaped like a small barrel hoop drawn out oblong. This opening is generally a little under two feet across in one direction and slightly over that in the opposite direction. The depth of the canoe is seldom over a foot and a half at the cockpit. This framework is strongly made and when resting on the ground, will bear the weight of a man standing on the upper ridge line.

Over the frame is stretched a covering of seal hide well fitted and sewed together, and soaked so as to be easily maneuvered. One principal seam is left unsewed until the cover is properly in place. Then the finishing work is done while the skin is still wet. All the

seams are on the inside excepting the last ones sewed up, namely, the one that stretches from the cockpit aft to the stern, the one along the stern, and one at the grip hole in the prow. The edges about the cockpit are turned over and fastened to the inner frame by rawhide thongs.

To protect the seal hide that covers the keel, there is sometimes a strip of bone or ivory fastened on the bottom at either end where the friction on the beach, when the canoe is hauled up, would soon wear through the hide. Two pairs of seal hide thongs stretched across the top are fastened at each side and also at the middle line. One of the thongs is just forward of the cockpit and one just abaft it, while there is one near each end. In the pair abaft the cockpit are kept the spears not constantly in use and here are fastened the various articles for transportation, which cannot be more conveniently carried inside the canoe. The paddles and articles wanted for instant use, are carried forward, and for quicker work, sometimes only the forward ends are stuck under the front loop or thong, while the handle rests against small ivory projections or teeth fastened in convenient spots near the cockpit. At the prow is a hole, and at the stern an open grip for facilitating the handling of the kayak.

In the variety of kayak most commonly seen at St. Michael and over this whole region, the lines of the boat are fine, the general effect is that of swiftness, with moderate stability and carrying power. The sheer line is straight, except where broken by the coaming of the cockpit, which projects from one to two inches above the body of the boat. The prow has a narrow opening and is shaped as shown. The stern line is vertical and cut into at the upper part by the grip as follows: [No diagrams are included in this manuscript, but he illustrates the kayak in his illustrations numbers 30 and 31.]

The next more common variety differs little in the general shape of the body but has a larger and more oval front grip hole, which causes the top ridge stick of the prow to round somewhat like this: [no diagram included] while the top ridge stick at the stern projects back about three or four inches beyond the stern line, to form a separate grip. The lines of this style of canoe [kayak], which is being introduced from King's Island [King Island], make it a far better sea boat than the common St. Michael variety. The stern is shaped as represented. [Not shown].⁴⁰

About the mouth of the river, still another kind is seen, but not often. This is heavy and broad bottomed, tapering but very little till over half way to either end, and then suddenly narrowing to an

edge. The front has quite a large grip hole which causes a good deal of a bow in the top line of the prow as shown here. [Not shown, but apparently refers to the Nunivak-type kayak.] This style of kayak is very heavy, the cockpit is large, and the carrying capacity great. The stern is like that next above.

To keep the skin canoe in good condition, it must be hauled out of the water occasionally, and never left in more than a couple of days. Generally, it is hauled up several times a day partly or completely, otherwise the skin becomes soggy. It must be kept well oiled to prevent its becoming soaked by water or rain. To patch it, small pieces of sealskin are used, and sometimes, if the hole is over a rib or pole, a temporary plug of wood is used. Sinew and seal thongs should be used in the seams and edges. As a seat, a bit of matting or some clothing, or a wooden slat matting specially made for the purpose, is used.

These kayaks are very much heavier than the birchbark canoes of the Indians. A single native can easily take up a kayak and carry it a short distance, but for any long portages, of even ten or fifteen minutes, without a sled, two persons would be necessary. The stability of the kayak in general use on the coast is variable. Some give one immediately a sense of security even when white caps are showing on the waves, while others seem about to turn over with the slightest wave or ripple. A great difference exists also in their speed and one canoe slides rapidly through the water with scarcely an effort, while another similarly shaped one almost drags along. Some Eskimos are recognized as having special skill in making swift, serviceable kayaks.

When in actual use by an Eskimo, it is seldom that a kayak turns over. Cases of capsizing do occur, however, and in consequence the occupant is often drowned. It requires some practice to get into a canoe easily, and it is still more difficult to do so while the canoe is upside down. Few of the Eskimos are good swimmers and so the chances are not favorable for an ordinary Eskimo in an upset kayak away from companions. Two persons often go out in the same kayak, both sitting up in the one cockpit, back to back. The front man, of course, does the paddling. In case of great emergency, as many as four have been known to be carried in a single one-holed kayak. Two of them lie down, stowed well fore and aft, while two sit up back to back in the cockpit. It is not so dangerous as it appears for the men stowed away where, in the event of an upset, they could not possibly get out; for the weight being so low down in the boat, it would be a

difficult matter to overturn it. Considerable freight can be carried in a kayak, such as flour, fish, seal oil, &c. These are stored fore and aft in the interior. Even on top considerable weight and bulk may be carried in safety, as, for instance, a light sled or a pile of wood, even when it is so rough that the waves break over the prow.

Very few evidences of great skill in the use of the kayak are nowadays observed. Sometimes a canoe gets adrift and a native may either tow it back with another kayak or catch the stern of the cast-away in a loop of thong at the prow of his own kayak and push the derelict ahead of him with considerable skill over the waves or crosswise to a current. In rapid water and in eddies near the bank and under overhanging trees, unusual care must be taken. Racing is sometimes indulged in, in pursuit of game. Very quick journeys are made over long distances, the Eskimos apparently using little effort in traversing a distance of twenty five miles or more. Such feats as turning over in the water and righting the canoe again are uncommon and seldom performed, save by exceptionally skilled persons, for money, and there are very few white men who have ever seen it done.

The safest way to enter the canoe is to have it alongside a rock or at the beach. The paddle blade is rested on the rock or beach and the handle held firmly across the front edge of the cockpit. By stepping in carefully with the weight thrown slightly to the side of the paddle, an amateur may, with a few violent scares, become settled in the cockpit. The native does this rapidly and easily, being careful before stepping in to scrape off the mud and water from the soles of his boots. More carelessly he may step up to the canoe at the edge of the water and throwing his weight slightly on his paddle stuck in the ground slide down into the seat. Sometimes, as the prow rests on the beach, he steps lightly upon the upper part of the kayak, wipes off his shoes carefully and in a step or two along the body of the kayak, is in position in an instant. A slight lifting movement of the body with the paddle pressed into the beach releases the canoe from the sand and sends it out onto the water.

The sitting posture, with legs outstretched, is almost altogether assumed by the paddler. Sometimes, on account of a bulky load in the cockpit not easily carried elsewhere, the native kneels. I have never seen one stand up alone in a single hole kayak out on the open water, unless it were heavily loaded, though he often raises himself part way up to look around. Boys often attempt to play tricks by standing up in the kayak in smooth water, but they are regarded as foolhardy. Some even attempt to shoot thus with the bow and arrow, and the re-

sult in more than one instance has been death by drowning. During ordinary seasons, there is very little need of any particular skill in canoeing. The water is too shallow at the beach for very bad surf and the Eskimos remain on shore during stormy weather. When the ice is moving about, there is the most need of quick work in handling the canoe and in getting in and out of the kayak and hauling it over the tilting ice blocks. A novice may then have all the excitement he wants in following an Eskimo put over and amongst the ice floes to open water.

The paddle used is from three to four and a half feet long, and has a medium sized blade about four or five inches wide, flat on one side and with a single medium ridge and two side grooves on the other. The handle ends in a cross stick about three inches long, against which the upper hand strikes every time the paddle is changed over from one side to the other. These Eskimo always shift the paddle from side to side, never paddling continuously on one side unless it be in crossing a rapid stream to keep the canoe headed in the right direction. In quiet waters, two strokes are usually taken on one side and then two on the other side, the canoe twisting slightly from one side to the other of the course. Winds or waves or tide may compel more strokes on one side than on the other. Turning is accomplished by giving a wide sweep outwards with the paddle or by backing water or tailing the paddle but not by the skillful twist of the paddle as practiced by S. E. Alaskan Indians.

By holding the paddle in one hand with the handle resting against the outside of the arm to above the elbow, the canoe, in close quarters, may be quickly maneuvered with much dexterity. With paddle-blade resting on the water and the handle held firmly at the front edge of the cockpit, it serves as an outrigger and keeps the canoe steady while lying to for any purpose in a rough sea. In such cases, neither the double nor the single paddle is passed through the loops of seal thong on the kayak.

Besides the single paddle, the double paddle is also used but not so commonly, and nearly always a single paddle is also carried along in the same kayak. The double bladed paddle is very long and slender, with blades that look ridiculously small. It is used for rapid work on long stretches and is put aside immediately on approaching shallow water or the destination, and the single paddle used to complete the trip. In case the paddles are lost, any light stick or spear will serve to get home with. Poling is seldom practiced. In very shallow water, when making a crosscut over mudflats, the native

may shove the kayak along with the paddle, the lifting motion connected therewith enabling the canoe to get over at most bare places. But he never carries along poling sticks like those used on the rivers by birchbark canoeists. There are fewer differences in paddles than in the kayaks.

Besides the one-holed bidarka or kayak, there is occasionally seen the two-holed, and even the three-holed, skin canoe. These, however, are not characteristic of the country. They are modeled after those found in the Aleutian Islands and usually made to order by some traveler or trader and passed over into the hands of the Eskimo.

The birchbark canoe is rarely seen at St. Michael. It may be met with occasionally in the delta, even close to the sea, and more frequently at Andreafsky [near present-day St. Mary's] is approached, where it rivals the kayak in popularity. Being a fresh water canoe, it rides too lightly in salt water and is not safe in a seaway. Nevertheless, although an open boat, it will stand the rather rough water often met with on the river, where it becomes so rough sometimes as to produce seasickness among the passengers on small river boats.

The only other purely Eskimo boat besides the kayak is the large open skin boat called the oomiak or bidarra. This has a strong light framework, with or without thwarts. The gunwales are rounded poles bent to the sheer of the boat and projecting a few inches at either end beyond the skin covering. The boat is upward of thirty feet long, four to six feet wide at the widest part and two and a half feet or more deep.⁴¹ The sides slope sharply down to the flattish bottom. Both top and bottom narrow at the ends to a couple of inches. Outside of the framework is stretched a thick hide of seal or walrus, the edges folded over the gunwale and secured by thongs.

The oomiak has often been called the woman's boat, not because it is used exclusively or even principally by women, but because it is the only one they do use, at least in this section, and oomiaks are often seen handled entirely by women, bringing firewood and trading articles, or engaged in racing, while the men may at the same time be out in the kayaks. In long trips, or when moving, everything, from household goods to dogs, may be carried in the oomiaks. Sails they have are used and handled by man or woman. The oomiak is slow and cumbersome, and yet, by vigorous efforts, it may sometimes attain a fair speed, which is magnified in the observer's mind by reason of the noise and effort by which it is produced. Ice and rocks must be avoided as the skin covering, softened by contact with the water, is very easily cut. The repairs are easily made, for it

requires only a little seal hide patch and sewing material, but it involves a delay which is often vexing in landing and unloading.

The Eskimos do not like to go out in rough weather even in the large oomiaks, or to use the sail, and they cannot be depended on in such cases to continue a journey already commenced. Open stretches of water are avoided, the coast being skirted in preference. In the kayak, though often outside of sight of land, they do not display the skill and enterprise of more northern Eskimo tribes.

In the oomiak the original method of propulsion was by means of the paddle. This is broader and larger than that used in the kayak and often cut off at the end instead of terminating in a point. The paddlers ordinarily sit down to their work, but when excited or racing, they often stand up. The steerer sits aft in the stern with a long broad paddle, paddling on one side or the other of the boat, keeping her on her course.

Oomiaks are now generally supplied with oars or sweeps, and a steering oar.⁴² Rude oarlocks are fastened to the gunwale and gear for the steering oar added. Paddles may also be carried. All the rowers keep separate time, and raise the oar high out of the water. The oars are clumsy, and poetry is altogether lacking in the oomiak.

Miners coming down the river abandon their boats, which are appropriated by the Eskimos. Some try their skill in making trading and fishing schooners and very fair models are often made. A single Eskimo with no help often makes a sailboat large enough to carry a fair load besides his family and household goods.

In winter, traveling is done by land with the assistance of snowshoes and dogsleds. The snowshoe is medium size and of the network variety. The front part is rounded and bent upward, and the rear is pointed. The outer frame is rather heavy and is braced by two principal crosspieces, one just in front of the toes, and the other just back of where the heel is when the foot is in place in the middle of the shoe. The mesh work in the foot space, between the two crosspieces, is wide and of coarse thongs an eighth of an inch thick. The rest of the mesh work is much finer and closer, but not so fine as that of the snowshoes of the interior, where fineness is necessary to prevent the clogging of the snowshoes by the heavy wet snow of that region. Coarse material is necessary to withstand the rough usage on the hard snow and rough ice.

There is not here the variety of snowshoes for different purposes that is found inland among the Indians. The few differences are simply those of slightly different comparative widths and a little differ-

ence in the curve of the bow and in the heel. The curve of the bow may be simple or it may have the tip drawn out into a second curve or snout. The lines go in a simple slight curve to the point behind. In other regions, snowshoes are found with the heel shaped thus [omitted in the manuscript]. The women have narrower snowshoes, often ornamented with beads and tassels.

At the point where the toes rest, there is an open space in the network about two and a half or three inches square, immediately back of the front cross stick. To the back angles of this space is fastened the seal hide thong which, passing back of the heel and crossing in front of the foot in two half loops, keeps the shoe in place. Care has to be taken to make all the fastenings and crossings of this thong that there will be no slipping. The tendency is to allow the toes to slip forward through the front loops and encounter against the front piece.

The ski is now occasionally seen, but it was never used on the coast before 1890, when the first pair was used by members of the Turner party [i.e. J. Henry Turner, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey]. Even now, but very few skis are in use.

The sleds are of light framework, the sides rising to the height of a foot or more above the floor at the rear end, and often ending in handles. To the front the sides slope down almost to the level of the bed of the sled. The runners are shod with bone or ivory, and are sometimes provided with very wide false shoes for use in the lighter snow of the interior. Several sizes of sleds are made, some quite small and light, to be hauled by hand, for light work, and over broken ice, in conjunction with the kayak. The larger ones may carry several hundred pounds and need, according to the load, from five to eleven dogs in the team, or even more.

The dogs are harnessed to the sleds by a single center line, to which are attached the separate lines for the dogs. The harness for each dog is made of three loops, one of which goes around the neck, and one around each shoulder, all three loops meeting above the shoulders in one knot to which is attached the line connecting with the center line. [The topic of dogs and dogteam travel is expanded in Part II.]

Weapons and Hunting Implements

In the matter of weapons, the Eskimos now prefer shotguns and rifles. One native may possess three, or even more, guns. These are used in almost all cases except where particular care must be taken not to injure the fur of the animal or the birdskin. The spear and bow

and arrow are gradually losing their importance and are used principally in the kayak and by the children. The kayak is still usually laden with a variety of spears, and possibly carries a gun.

The commonest variety of spear is a long slender shank, feathered, and ending with a tip of ivory, three inches or more in length, toothed or notched. There is a special instrument of wood that is used to add strength to the cast. The Eskimo call this the *no-kok*, or [spear] thrower [illustrated in Edmonds' number 17]. It is a flat stick of irregular border, narrow at the tip and widened out at the grasp to furnish a good hold for the hand. The edges are grooved at the grip for the fingers and thumb, or there may be pegs inserted in the edge or even a hole cut through for the same purpose. The front side of the thrower is grooved, with a stop at the tip end, in which the spear end rests. The general shape of the spear thrower found on Norton Sound is the same and differs somewhat from those of other regions, such as the Aleutian Islands, &c. *No-koks*, seemingly the same, frequently possess differences in qualities, so that an Eskimo will often make several until he gets one that exactly suits his style of throw.

The tips for the spears vary according to the purpose for which the weapon is intended. Some are small and detachable, connected by rawhide lines to the shaft and float bladders, and are set in an ivory headpiece.

Sometimes, besides a long ivory tip, there are placed, a little more than halfway back from the shaft, three diverging ivory prongs about three to five inches long, pointing outward and forward, the points about one and a half to two inches from the shaft, toothed and very sharp. This kind of spear is for birds, the side prongs perhaps wounding a bird not struck by the spear point. Another spear has three similar diverging prongs at the point of the spear. Still another has two rather flat and pointed ivory pieces set in at the end of the shank. These pieces are barbed on the inside and are springy. A native with such a spear sits crouched over a hole in the ice, with a blanket thrown over his person and darkening the hole. When he discovers a fish in position for capture, he hurls his spear, the two prongs of ivory separate over the body of the fish, which is transfixed by the central spear point, and the side pieces, springing back and closing up behind the fish, prevent it from slipping off the spear point into the water.

Heavier spears are made that are not thrown with the aid of the *no-kok*. These have an ivory piece near the middle of the spear to

strengthen the grasp. In disposing of spears and no-koks to traders, the Eskimos reserve for themselves those that have proved by use to be the best. Before bartering, the native will balance the spears which he is uncertain of and keep out those that have the better balance. If by chance he disposes of a good no-kok, he is apt to return soon with one less adapted to his own particular style of throw, and wish to trade back.

The tips of the spears and also of the arrows are properly of ivory or flint or greenstone. With the growing scarcity of ivory and the increased demand consequent upon the advent of tourists, ivory is now little used, and bone and metal take its place.

Bows and arrows are no longer in general use. The children often carry small bows as simple and clumsy as a piece of barrel hoop. Heavier, finer, bows are sometimes seen and traded for, being usually offered to the white man for flour. This bow has a triple curve and is strengthened along the whole length by heavy bands of sinew cord running along the back and held in place by cross cords of sinew. The arrows are winged and have many different kinds of points. A double bow holder and quiver is often made of fishskin and slung across the shoulders. The upper rod which supports the cover, and to which the shoulder strap is attached, is often carved with the heads of animals.

Steel traps are most commonly used. Besides these, there are a number of ingenious bird and animal traps of wood and line. Probably the old bird traps are more commonly in use than any other traps of Eskimo make. The women usually look after such traps and in wintertime many of the women are every day seen out doing so.

Fish nets are bought from the trader. Following the pattern of these nets, they, themselves, make some with sinew, with meshes to suit the user. Basket and wickerwork fish traps are used in the river delta in addition to the nets. A peculiar native fishline and rod are found near St. Michael. This is a narrow long stick, notched at the ends like a netting needle [for making nets]. Around it, from end to end, is wound a long line of white or black whalebone [baleen, usually imported from the North], or string, or sinew, as much as is necessary being let out for fishing. It is provided with a sinker of stone with colored beads and bright wool ornaments, and with a four-pronged hook of bone. This line is used by the Eskimo at the beginning of spring when holes form in the ice. The Eskimo sits for hours at the side of a hole which he keeps clear of slush and ice chunks by a heavy scoop. This has a short handle of wood which is

attached to the body of the scoop by seal thongs. The scoop itself is a rim of bone or horn, narrowing down at the bottom, which is closed by a network of heavy thongs. The diameter of the scoop is from five to seven inches, the depth of the scoop an inch or more.

Lead and metal are now being used in connection with fishing tackle. Formerly the Eskimo would not make use of steel fish hooks, preferring their own of bone. Now they will use any kind. To give a quietus to the fish, light pointed sticks are kept at hand.

Long handled scoop nets are sometimes used in the delta for fishing. The handles may be ten or twelve feet long, the scoop rim three feet more or less across, and fine meshes for the nets. Throughout the delta these are seen stuck up in the bank, and occasionally a native on the bank watching for an approaching fish. For canoe work, the Eskimo does not use hand scoops like those so skillfully manipulated by Indians on certain parts of the Yukon.

The old time skill in the use of all the traps, spears, bows and arrows is fast departing and may be said scarcely to exist. Although the children use the bow, it is mainly in sport, and it is not necessary that every shot should count, the actual heads of the family being supplied by more effective instruments. As a consequence, skillful shooting is rare. The only serious use of the bow and arrow is to kill, with blunt-pointed arrows, animals the skins of which are desired intact. The Eskimos still carry a supply of spears in their kayaks, but, though they may throw at fish many times, it is seldom that an actual strike is made.

Mental and Moral Characteristics

We come now to the mental and moral characteristics of the Eskimo. Wintertime is when he appears in the most favorable light. He seems then less dirty and the peculiarity of the dress of that season lends a jolly appearance to his face. The vigorous exercise of snowshoes, and the excitement of the run with the dogteam, brings life into his aspect and demeanor.

The Eskimo is not naturally staid and gloomy like some Indians. He is inclined to laugh and be merry. Till contact with the white man sharpened his desire for gain,⁴³ and increased his wants, besides decreasing the natural supplies of game, he was prodigal in his generosity and quick to help anyone without the thought of recompense. At times lazy and given up to feasting,⁴⁴ a group of Eskimos may notice someone carrying a load and immediately all start out on a run to get hold of something to carry, though it weigh eighty pounds or

more. This would be done with laughter and jokes, and without thought of asking for pay. They would expect help, also, if they should happen to need it. Guests would be invited to stay and would be welcome till the last morsel of food was eaten. Even abnormally lazy ones, who never did much of anything, would find food for themselves in any home. Now that everything gotten at a trading post must be paid for, trading is being superseded by purchase and every little service is bought or sold.

Some Eskimos dress in a very dandified manner in fine furs, some are excellent story tellers, and all are fond of games, dancing, and visiting. Their temperament fits them to the excessive use of liquor, but as yet there is not much open drunkenness. It is mostly among the Russian half-breeds that one meets with disagreeable chronic drunkards. The natives one usually meets are honest, much more so than the average white man. Not having had places of concealment for their goods, everything was kept in plain view and no one took from another. Only among local tribes was thieving common, and here it was in a circumscribed locality and visitors passing through these places invariably took care to secure everything they could lay hands on. Such is not the case nowadays, for the number of bad Eskimos about the trading posts gradually increases. The example of the white man encourages the Eskimo to steal and even to lie.

The Eskimo described is not viciously cruel. He does not even beat his dog. When he kills, it is done from jealousy or to punish a doctor who has let too many patients die, or for some apparently good reason. Violent Eskimos are often put into confinement. The insane are allowed great liberties and many do a great deal of destruction before they are interfered with. Cruelty is of a passive kind, such as cases of neglect.

The Family

In family relations, they often display much affection. The woman often holds her child close to her face, sniffs at it, and smells it. This takes the place of our kissing. The man may become furiously jealous and wreak vengeance on his wife, or the wife may become sulky from jealousy and require a beating from her husband to reduce her to order. Living together in crowded houses, they are not modest in our eyes. Promiscuous bathing, undressing, and naked dances, the publicity of all conjugal relations and everyday duties, makes them indifferent to the exposure of their persons. Should, however, the inquisitiveness of the white man draw attention to the na-

kedness of their persons, the women show their real modesty, and any amount of money will not induce a woman to stand up to be photographed nude.

Sexually the relations are often very loose, while at times very jealous.⁴⁵ An Eskimo will often offer his wife to the white man for pay, or will help a guest in this manner out of friendship. There is no bar to future married state in the conduct of an unmarried girl. Nor does the number of children obtained by haphazard relations drive away those seeking more permanent relationship. One naturally thinks of the Eskimo advancing late to the age of puberty, but this does not seem noticeably to be the case, and some authorities even affirm that this period comes early with them. Their animal instincts do not seem to be less strong than those found among more southern nations. The children are subject to the same early desires, and masturbation and early sexual intercourse was and is common, entirely independent of the influence of white men. The formerly prevalent and now vanishing custom of sleeping naked together, led to rather promiscuous relations and the openness of conjugal relations made Eskimos indifferent to illegitimate acts. In many instances, whole villages may be on the move, dancing or bathing, &c., in a state of nudity and on certain days in the yearly festivals, the women danced in the large public house naked before the men. During certain days of the month, the woman used to always wear a belt as indicative of her condition, and during the winter, a few days were set aside when the men all lived in the public house, the women staying home and never coming near the men except to bring food into the common house and then immediately departing. This custom is also well done away with where the presence of the white man would lead to its being taken advantage of.

The Eskimo may marry at any time. He does not often marry near relations, not even cousins, and cases where this is done are condemned. Revoltingly incestuous cases have been known as, for instance, where one man married his mother and then waited till the daughter born of this union grew up ready to be taken in her turn. The number of wives is usually, but not necessarily, one, and many cases occur where two wives live happily in the same household. They may, however, occupy separate houses. Three or even more wives may be supported by one man and all be held in high esteem in the village. If either man or woman got tired of the other, there were various ways of separating. The woman might be deserted or be ordered away. They might mutually leave each other without ill

feeling, simply recognizing the fact that there was no more pleasure in keeping up the relationship. The woman might be the one to take active steps to separate. As the Eskimos of both sexes usually marry many times in life, and as almost all have time and time again given themselves up to promiscuous intercourse for gain or pleasure, there is no scandal whatever attached to loose conduct. The only factor that seems to be of any prominence is the temporary jealousy of the husband or wife. This may be quickly stopped, whether the man or the woman be at fault, by the woman getting a sound thrashing. There is no morality question to it save the desire of each to be the sole recipient of the other's attention.

The question of modesty and morality is not simple. The men themselves show no lack of readiness to expose any part of the person at any time to strangers. With the women it was formerly the same, there being utter indifference to the numbers of those present when exposed naked, until their attention was drawn to the fact by the actions of white visitors. All the world seems in their eyes to be made for the enjoyment of the man, and woman takes her part in it as subject to this law.⁴⁶ She has no protector, even when young. Before she is far on in her teens, she is seized upon more than once by some gallant, and no thought of objection is made by her relatives, even if witnesses of her attempts at resistance. The only interference I have seen was where the girl was obviously too young. I believe usually there is resistance on the girl's part at first; later she gives herself freely, and talks over her experiences with her friends of both sexes. The man decides as to what disposition shall be made of the virtue of his wife. Should some popular person like an Eskimo doctor of renown, come to the village, his host, after supplying him with food, tea, and tobacco, may immediately undertake to supply him otherwise. He may get a friend's wife or daughter, or even furnish his own, or some woman may out of friendship signify her willingness to serve the guest. If there is prospect of gain, there is scarcely a man who will not prostitute his own wife, and scarcely a woman, unless she is still innocent, who will not openly make terms. Many a man coming to some rendezvous at some house, and being disappointed, has had an Eskimo offer him his wife, the Eskimo tranquilly moving away while the friend or paying stranger occupies his place for the night. Naturally, under the old conditions of life there was no privacy, and sexual intercourse being regarded as much a matter of everyday life as eating and sleeping, there was no disturbance to any but the immediate participants. Being so universal

and often public, matters of this nature form part of the daily conversation at all gatherings, and words of badinage are passed back and forth by both sexes. Men and women may listen with tranquillity to the bandying of their own wives and husbands, and may even join in poking fun at them for some experience they might have had, as, for instance, where the wife has been cheated out of her expected fee.

It cannot be wondered at, therefore, that a woman may have quite a motley crowd of children. She is not very productive, however, and a large proportion of the infants and children die. It is not always easy to discover the parentage of a child. Even where a couple remain together all their lives, they may adopt children, especially boys, from other persons, not so much because the parents may be poor, as the desire to have a child to care for and bring up.

Where more or less permanent relationship is desired, the courtship is very simple. Sometimes it progresses smoothly and ends in giving small tokens of favor by the man to the girl. Perhaps he will send to the parents a nice parkie and a pair of fancy boots for the girl. If the man is pleasing in her eyes, she may shyly don the garments and make her appearance in public with them. Later marriages lose even this romance, and the parties discuss and agree upon the relationship in a matter-of-fact way, or even placidly keep up some accidental or temporary arrangement. There is no question at all of the division of labor. Each one does his share of the work. The drudgery, the uninteresting part, that without excitement or change, falls to the share of the woman. She does most of the cooking, though sometimes some lazy fellow passing his time at the house will do a little toward helping. Most of the drudgery of camp moving is done by the women, such as loading the boats, carrying the goods to the sled, feeding the dogs, &c. Berries are gathered mostly by the women, who also bring water from the ponds, furnish sticks for kindling the fire, make and repair clothing, prepare many of the furs, and care for the boots and furs of the family at night. This latter is very important. The water boots easily become soaked through, which makes them limp and soggy, and unless they are properly cared for they shrink out of shape. The Eskimo woman stuffs them with straw, oils them thoroughly and puts them out to dry in the open air, out of reach of the dogs. This must be done to boots whenever they become at all wet. Fur boots and clothing must be hung up in the fresh air, away from the close heat of the stove. The men do the heavy wood getting, make the skin boats, build houses, hunt, and fish. Inside the

house, the man will do the carving and will help tan furs. If he wants anything, he orders his wife to get it. If she refuses, she is apt to be whipped.

The young married couple may set up housekeeping by themselves, or may live with the parents of one or the other, preferably with those of the woman. Sometimes the disrespect shown by a man to his mother-in-law may cause a separation of man and wife.

Great indifference is often shown to the welfare of old and decrepit people. If there are signs of approaching death, the moribund is removed from the dwelling to die outside. Should anyone die inside a house, such as a casine, the body is taken out through the hole in the roof. Houses are usually deserted in which anyone has died. Relatives of the deceased especially avoid making use of the house again. Not only the house, but other things used by the deceased, particularly those things in use about the time of death, are abandoned. I have seen very good kayaks belonging to dead people lying rotting unused on the tundra. Many of the customs relating to the dead arise from superstitious beliefs.

Cosmology

Even up to the present time, the Eskimos have preserved the superstitions and beliefs of former days. These have become tinged with notions obtained by contact with missionaries and other white people and it is now almost impossible to get from even the older people purely Eskimo beliefs and stories that bear no trace of civilization. Association with the wonderful inventions of the white man and tales of future life told them by the priests and missionaries have stimulated their naturally prolific imaginations and produced wonderful tales.

There seems to be a general belief in some kind of future existence, though conflicting ideas are present in everyone's mind as to what happens after death. Some speak of villages to pass in the next world before one arrives at the proper destination. Among these is first a village of dogs, which rush out and tear and bite those who, during life, have been in the habit of beating their dogs. There are many other punishments in the next world, among which may be mentioned a Tantalus-like punishment meted out to those who commit suicide. The victim is hung by the heels with the head just out of reach of water.

The world itself is peopled with spirits who may be good or bad. Some of these live near lakes where good hunting prevails and often,

by dreadful noises, scare away trespassers on their grounds. Evil spirits possess people and cause sickness and misfortune and must be driven away. One must be careful and not anger those who possess the winds and game. Offerings are made to the ocean if it is stormy; observances are gone through with to the elements of all points of the compass; animals are propitiated by games in their honor; parts of animals are saved and ceremonies connected therewith in order that the animals may not be angry and never come back in their season.⁴⁷ Animal patrons are chosen, but that does not take away the right to kill such animals for food. Some Eskimos believe that some spirits come back and inhabit the bodies of animals. It is very common for an Eskimo to say that he never beats his dogs because he is afraid, if he does, that he may be whipping his own grandmother or other near relative. Even the mosquito may be claimed by someone as his future abode after coming back from the other world.

Animals are supposed to be gifted with human powers and long stories are told by Eskimos during the leisure hours of winter, about the adventures of animals thus gifted, or of people falling amongst animals with whom they could converse. Some of the animals try to do harm to or play tricks on the human race, while others come to their aid. Some individual animals have accomplished wonderful things for the people, as for instance, the crow that stole the sun from the giant and hung it up in the sky, so that people could see. The animals play tricks on each other, too, and fall in love with animals of utterly different species.

Giants are supposed to exist, who do great deeds, carry about land under their arms and drop it out in the sea to make islands. Dwarfs are less frequent. Wonderful medicine men come along in their stories, performing cures in the most unheard of ways. Very common is the man who has a charmed life, who cannot be killed by anyone.

Natural phenomena are often queerly explained. The character of the rainbow, of the aurora, of fresh water lakes which apparently rise and fall with the ocean tide, the destruction of villages by natural phenomena, as floods and fires, are all explained by superstition. Curious are the stories of men who have reached the horizon and there got caught in the kayak between the sky and the sea and been drowned.

Even at St. Michael and at the missions, it has so far been impossible to wean the natives over from the Eskimo superstitions. Nomi-

nally belonging to one of the faiths, Catholic, Russian, or Protestant, they hear from each other and from the white men such conflicting stories, which are taught at the different missions, that their own belief is very superficial. Even the most devout is unable to withstand the impression left by ceremonies performed by the heathen brethren.

The ceremonies supposed to bring the game back are kept up with special persistence, and great care is taken to find out what may have angered the game during an unlucky season. At one time the signal poles of the survey parties were considered at fault, and in consequence, torn down.⁴⁸

Conspicuous among the Eskimo's characteristics is his curiosity. This in former days was often a great source of amusement. When it was rare to have white men well supplied with civilized implements take up their homes in the land, Eskimos often traveled great distances to have a look at some object they had heard of. They are great gossips, and are constantly visiting, never suspecting they are outstaying their welcome. They are also great beggars.⁴⁹ They are quick and appreciative of the uses of anything. Among themselves they are good observers of character. They have already made a generalization of the characters of the white population collectively and individually, and describe well the difference between a white man and an Eskimo.

Naming⁵⁰

The personal characteristics of the individual furnish names for many. Those who are baptized receive Christian names, others have names of animals. A name once given does not necessarily last. More than one name may be given the same person to indicate one or another of his traits. Among example of names may be mentioned:

Grouseman

Mountain Devil

Bad little brother-in-law (because he was not generous to his wife's relatives)

The man who never smiles

The man with the boils

The crazyman who talks and laughs loudly

Their songs are very elastic in their nature, admitting of changes on the spot to suit some occasion and provoke the admiration or laughter of the audience. Specially notable among the songs are the family or mothers' songs, handed down from generation to genera-

tion from the mothers' side. The children are always supposed to know their mothers' family song. Perhaps no one else in the village may be able to sing it, or will attempt to, except joining in the chorus attached to almost every song.

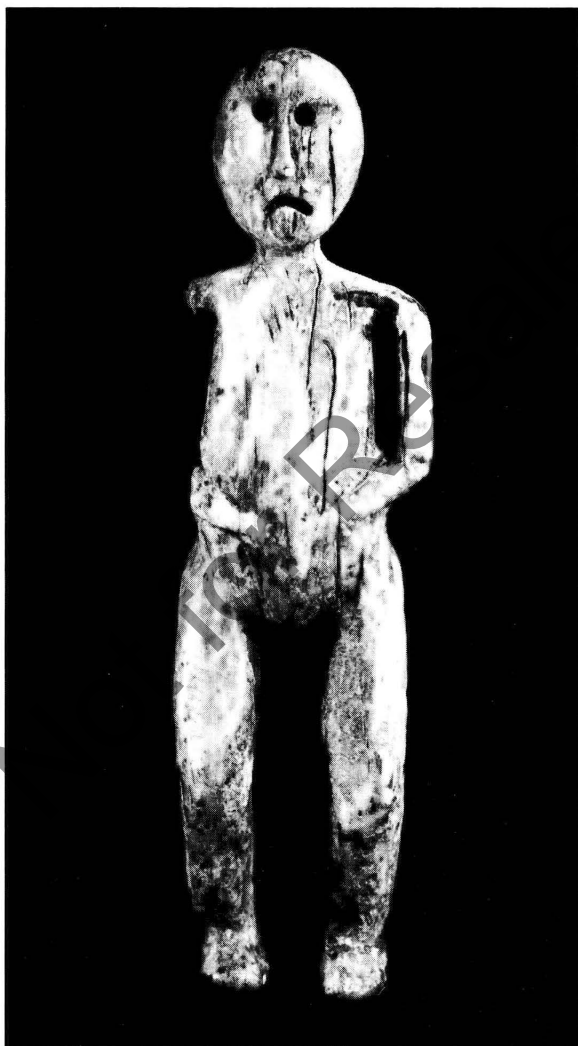
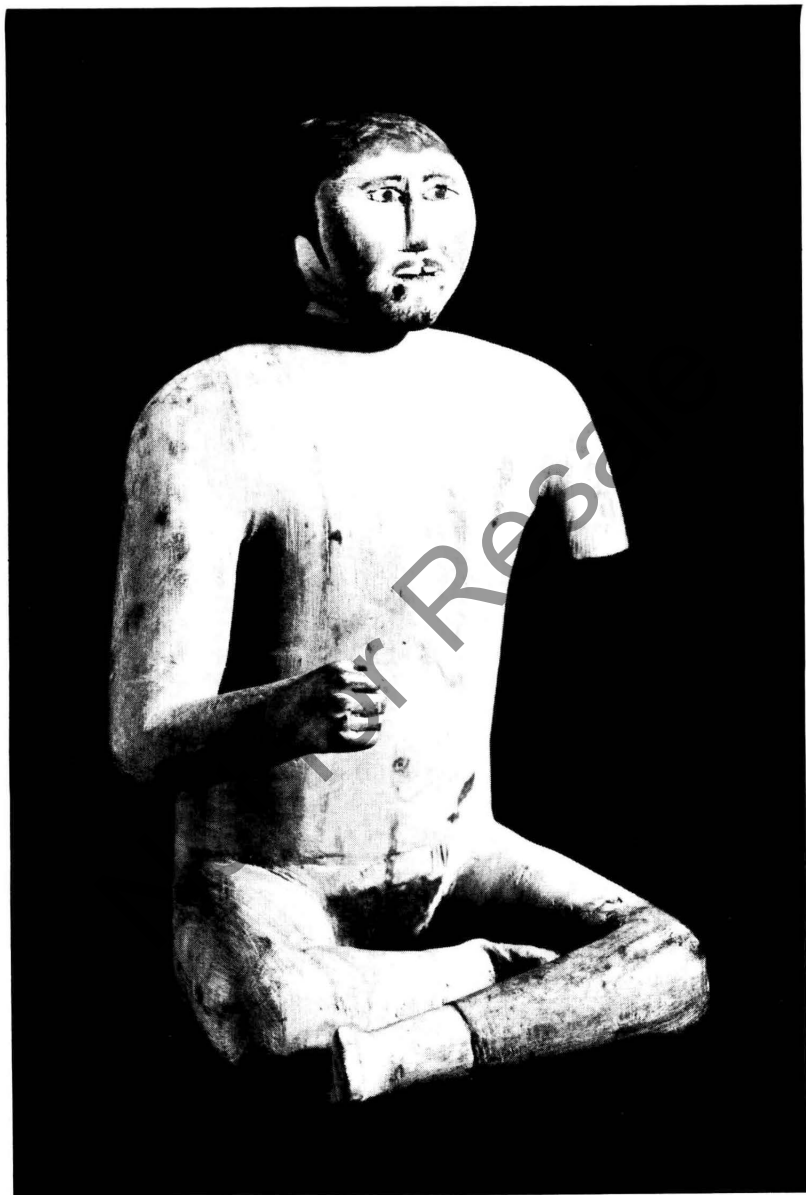


Figure carved of ivory. 4-15/16 inches high. Collected by H. M. W. Edmonds at St. Michael. Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Catalog number 2-7027. *Photograph by Alfred A. Blaker.*



Seated figure carved in wood. 4-1/8 inches high. Collected by H. M. W. Edmonds at St. Michael. Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Catalog number 2-6989. *Photograph by Alfred A. Blaker.*

EDMONDS' REPORT

Part II

The Yearly Round

After dealing thus hastily with the minute details of the Eskimos, the following sketch may serve to give a picture of their general life and habits. For a better understanding of it, a slight description of the country may not be amiss.

The island of St. Michael and the adjacent mainland, from which it is separated by a long narrow canal, or at least the first line of mountains back from the coast, is almost wholly volcanic. That part of the country at the water's edges is usually flat and continues so nearly to the bases of the mountains, which are somewhat more than four miles distant from the coast. Excepting at the few bluff facings and the edges of the banks, and along the crests of the mountains, a heavy coating of moss conceals the underlying rock. This moss is generally soaked with water, and is often very uneven, being cut up into innumerable big tough lumps a foot or so in diameter, and about the same height. In and around these lumps are intricate, crooked, narrow passages, too narrow and crooked to step in while the lumps of moss furnish uncertain footing, and are sure to turn over and threaten the ankles of the foot traveler. The moss elsewhere is marshy. Paths over this mossy lowland, or tundra, are rare and are always wet and very difficult. It is a serious undertaking to cross over the tundra where there are no paths. The peaks of all the mountains nearby are volcanic and small craters are seen everywhere. These, and the edges of the coast, are usually of basaltic blocks, loosely arranged, sometimes showing good crystal forms. Where, as is the rule, these blocks are covered over with moss, and perhaps uncertainly piled up, during cold winter weather, changes of position are apt to take place, especially under the weight of a passerby. The consequent changes of position and rumbling noises strike terror into the soul of a native and make even a white man jump many feet to escape the seeming danger. In wintertime, natives

are often driven away from good hunting grounds by the prevalence of these noises, the cause being laid to spirits jealous of the hunter's presence.

Farther down the coast, and about the delta, the moss still continues, but it covers mud and sand, and beneath the upper moss covering, many layers of mud and moss or peat may be seen. This is likewise difficult to traverse in summer. The borders of the Yukon bar at tidewater are muddy and often exhibit the features of quicksand. Shallow water extends out for miles and the mud left bare by low water may be much more than a quarter of a mile wide. Many little sloughs cut into the beach and extend from a few yards to two or three miles into the interior. These are often just too wide to jump across and may be very deep.

In winter, snow covers the ground and then the tundra is easily crossed. Then alone is there comfort in going across country. Ice and snow cover the rivers and the smaller bays and inlets, and it is then easy to go to any place by the shortest routes.

Spring and Summer

In springtime, the ice breaks up and there is a period when traveling of any kind is rather uncertain and dangerous.

Just about the beginning of the open season, when the snow leaves the ground and the ice shows signs of breaking up, the Eskimo likes to come out of his winter quarters and set up a tent in some favored spot. At the very first opportunity, when the ice begins to break up and the lanes form in the floes, and the floes themselves break up into smaller parts, he gets into his kayak and winds in and out among the floes, carefully avoiding overturning pieces that might injure his kayak and often hastily stepping out onto a floe and dragging his kayak up with him, as some lane closes up and compels him to cross the ice to another water lane. Sometimes the kayak is lashed on top of a light hand sled and dragged out over the ice to open water. Again the sled is fastened on top of the kayak as it speeds over the water. A sudden wind may, toward the beginning of the season, detach bodies of ice from shore and drive them, with the Eskimo, who happen to be on them, out to sea, and lucky is the Eskimo who is provided with both sled and kayak.

Seal are now watched for as they appear on the floating ice. Sentinels stand on bluffs and banks with old field glasses picked up at trading posts and keep a lookout for seals on floes. As soon as one is seen, the alarm is given and the hunt begins. The seals are hunted

also in the open water, and on the ice while it is yet comparatively solid. On solid ice, the Eskimos dress in white and creep up behind blocks of ice till within reach of the seal. If the seal is at a blowhole and does not make his appearance, the natives use a seal call, which is a short curved piece of wood about nine inches long, ending with a set of bear's claws. The seal is inquisitive enough to come up in the hole to find out what noise it is that is made by the scratching with this seal call on the ice. Approaching a seal on the ice requires much skillful stalking.

On open water, there is sometimes great skill shown in getting the seal. There is but a small surface to shoot at and as the canoe is probably bobbing up and down with the waves, to hit the seal in such a way as to kill it without its sinking, requires quick and sure marksmanship. Even from shore it is not easy to kill a seal and get possession of it. If spears alone are used, there is more excitement, the canoes approaching the spot where the seal once seen is supposed to appear next. As soon as discovered, the natives throw their spears, those in the rear throwing over the heads of those in front. If the seal is not killed but goes down, the natives take up the chase again, endeavoring, by loud calls, to attract the seal again to the surface. The spears once thrown are grabbed up and used again, each man striving to get his own spear, for the seal belongs to the men whose spears are afterwards found in the body.

As soon as holes form in the ice, the women and children, and sometimes the men, gather at the holes and spend the whole day there fishing.

When the water is well open, the active life of the Eskimo man is in the kayak. In this he travels along the coast, makes trips out to sea and back with the tide, and paddles up and down the rivers. During this time a supply of fish and berries and wood must be collected for the next winter season. If far from a permanent wood supply, this must be collected together and piled up or staked out ready for removal at a convenient time. Large quantities of it may be brought back in the oomiak. Even the kayak is sometimes used for the purpose. Larger pieces are marked and brought in later on dog sleds. Each Eskimo knows his own woodpile and never interferes with any that indicates by position or other mark that it belongs to anyone else.

The Yukon River brings down every year large quantities of driftwood and most of this is carried rapidly across Norton Sound in a steady stream soon after the ice breaks up. The Eskimo quickly

notes the appearance of this wood as it floats by the point of land. The tides and winds drive logs and wood ashore and provide firewood and building material for the unwooded coasts of Norton Sound and for the delta itself. Naturally, some parts of the coast receive more wood than other parts, and this supply helps largely in determining the points of settlement of the Eskimo. In the delta itself, quantities of this wood are cut up and corded, to be sold for fuel to the river boats. Along the coast near the delta, sometimes continuous lines of driftwood extend for miles, and here there is a long succession of short sticks stuck over every heavier patch to mark the ownership by some native. Sometimes for a dozen of miles there seems to be not a particle of wood unclaimed. Also, back from the coast may often be seen lines of decayed driftwood marking either some flood or an old line of the coast. At almost any time in the open season there are natives there working with the saw and axes. Some of the wood is sawed up into lengths of about four or five feet and split into pieces and dried. These are afterwards cut up into very thin strips to work into fish weirs and baskets.

When the salmon runs commence, many of the Eskimos along the coast remove to the nearest river and those higher up the rivers, at the winter quarters, come down to where the salmon are most plenty. Fish nets and traps are put out and the fish scoop used. A camp at this time often looks very picturesque at a distance, with the numberless red salmon hanging on the fish racks. Nearby, however, the smell of the refuse and the oil is unbearable. The houses, too, that are full of salmon can turn the stomach of the least sensitive.

The actual work of getting the salmon does not occupy much of the time of the men. The cleaning and drying and burying, which is done mostly by the women, keeps them hard at work during the height of the run. The men have plenty of time to go about and take note of anything occurring in the neighborhood. Should a steamer pass by, numbers of the men are apt to follow along in the kayaks, while if one stops near the village, it is immediately visited by crowds of them. They will sit around for hours on the bank staring at the boat, or, if permitted, will crowd on the steamer and grope into every nook. The women, not using the kayaks, remain at home and stand around in groups and wonder.

The hunter is on the lookout for the geese, ducks and swans which appear in incredible numbers in some places, and everywhere are very numerous over the tundra swamps. These are now generally hunted with the gun. A great many varieties are found. The ptarmi-

gan are easier to shoot during this season, as they present a slightly greater contrast to the tundra than when, perfectly white, they fly over the snow.

The mosquitoes begin their operations immediately on the appearance of moss patches through the snow. Many of the Eskimos are not at all bothered by them and the children often play around swamp puddles, half naked, when the mosquitoes are at their worst. Some of the natives, however, never do get used to the pests, even at the end of the season, and yet they do not often make use of mosquito protectors. They have no devices of their own against the mosquitoes. Inside the houses there is usually too much smoke for the mosquito to care to stay. Outside it is very amusing sometimes to watch a bareheaded Eskimo going over the tundra, slapping away at the mosquitoes which cover his head and yet too simple to pull the hood of his parkie over his head as a protection. During the height of the mosquito season, they, at times, cover the person so thickly that there is not room for them to move around on the body or clothing. To change position, they must fly off and back again to some vacant spot. Sometimes not even a high wind will drive them away. Usually there are intervals of comparative comfort and they are seldom so numerous as in localities in the interior. They are sometimes very annoying to people in a tent, for their continual alighting on the outside of the tent often makes as much noise as a hail storm. Finding magnetic oscillations with a chronometer thus becomes impossible, except by holding one end of a stick between the teeth and having the other end rest on the chronometer, the clock tick being thereby preserved. The worst places for the mosquitoes are in the swamps in low spots, but during favorable winds they often drift out to sea and it is not at all unusual for steamers two or three miles offshore to be invaded by them.

The Eskimo are not bothered by any other pest except the lice, and these, however numerous, do not cause them any worry. Fleas are not abundant. Snakes do not exist.

Fishing and the work done about the camp do not expose the Eskimo much to the torments of the mosquitoes. The men are most annoyed when hunting, and the women during the berrying season, when they go over the tundra with their faces down to the moss and their hands in the homes of the mosquitoes.

During the open water season, the Yukon delta is attractive to an observer. The fishing stations are numerous and at these there are generally numbers of kayaks at or on the bank, with starving Eski-

mos ready, at any moment, to enter their kayaks and paddle aimlessly about. The canoes are often carelessly left with the nose barely resting on the bank and it is not unusual for a canoe to get adrift. A common way to secure a canoe lightly at the bank is to run the nose to the bank and then pass a paddle under the forward end, the handle of the paddle resting on the bank. Many a paddle is lost from being swept away when the canoe breaks adrift.

Mirages are sometimes constant in summer. For days at a time, here and there, or perhaps in all directions, objects are distorted, gulls on the beach loom up like great lighthouses, houses at one moment invisible suddenly rise in the air close by, raging forest fire affects appear where only low flat beaches exist. Objects are so distorted that their real character can only be guessed at. Often kaleidoscopic movements seem to take place and are very perplexing and disconcerting. It sometimes appears as if there were a number of excited Eskimo running hither and thither on the banks, throwing their arms about and brandishing spears, whereas it may be but a number of canoeists quietly paddling in their kayaks.

Some of the villages of the delta are temporary and are abandoned at the end of the hunting season. Many Eskimo move about several times a year, occupying one place or another, according as game and stormy weather sends them to or away from a spot. On all the streams there are usually winter villages higher up away from the coasts. These are occupied whenever stormy and cold weather make the summer villages uninhabitable.

Winter

The winter among the Eskimo is in many respects most attractive to the white man. There is then more time given over to amusement and part of it is passed wholly in feasting and dancing. The ground is then covered with from one to three feet of snow, and with snowshoes the hitherto almost impassable tundra can be easily traversed. The clothing of the Eskimo is then free from mud, furs of better quality and brighter appearance are worn, and at times the Eskimos become very animated and jolly. Hunting and trapping are engaged in; trading done, sometimes to distant places; wood is hauled in on sleds. There is a constant going back and forth along the coast and up the rivers and everyone is welcome everywhere. Snowshoes and sleds are put into order and the dog harness repaired.

Dog Sled Travel

The dogs themselves, of little use in summer, now take up their work. They feel themselves of some importance and watch for any movement indicative of a sled trip. They become restless and whine when disappointed. They keep themselves clean, taking as much care as a cat in their personal appearance. The dogs have the same general build as the Spitz dogs seen in the United States, but are somewhat larger. The most common color is grayish white. The fur, which, in springtime falls off in ragged patches, at the approach of warm weather again becomes long and heavy.

Harnessed, the dogs are ready at a signal to start on the jump, and many a team dog taken unawares by the start is dragged along on back or side till recovering himself, he regains his feet and settles down quietly to the steady trot commonly practiced.

The dogs are harnessed abreast, in couples, one dog being ahead as leader. This latter is picked out from the others for his skill in following the trail, should there be one, or in keeping in a direction well given. Except where constant travel keeps a trail open, it is apt to be covered over by a foot or more of snow and it requires a good dog to be able to keep the trail. The dogs are not trained to respond to the signal of a whip. Where there is doubt of the direction, an Eskimo man or woman runs ahead on snowshoes and the dogs follow. Often it is necessary for someone to keep ahead of the team all day. Very often it is the woman who does this, meanwhile packing her child on her back, while perhaps her husband runs behind and rests at every easy spot of the road by taking a ride on the sled. On light snow the forerunner hardens the snow somewhat for the passage of the sled. Sometimes heavy loads are hauled long distances by sled, between seventy and a hundred miles being possible in a long day, and the same distance back the next.

Wherever possible, a trot is kept up, and the Eskimo jumps on and off the sled, as the way is good or as some obstruction or heavy going causes the dogs to need encouragement or help. In passing another team, the dogs must be looked after or else there is apt to be a general scrimmage and some badly used up dogs. Just as soon as a dog is in harness, he redoubles his natural fighting instincts and the sudden movement of a bystander or the approach of another dog will cause a sudden rush and attack. It makes no difference how well one dog knows another, such a chance for a fight is not to be missed. The dogs sometimes show wonderful skill in keeping together and out of the way of the sled. When going over a bank where it seems

impossible for them to keep ahead of the sled, they may be perceived later at the bottom, quietly jogging along in good order as if they had always been on the level. But should they get under the sled, it rarely bothers them. They get up, if possible, and trot on as soon as the sled passes over them, or wait patiently until the sled is turned over by the sled man and they are pulled out of the holes they have made in the snow. The food for the dogs is principally fish. When on a journey, from half to a whole salmon is given to each dog just after the day's work is over. No food is given before work, for then the dogs would be made sick and would have to be themselves put on the sled and hauled home. The dogs, like their human brethren, love to stop at every stump and clod to investigate, and are consequently often exasperating. About the only training given beyond that of pulling, is to make a dog always run outside the line of travel to attend his wants, as otherwise the sled runners would gather the freezing particles, which would act as a brake.

The dogs require some care or they are apt to sicken. Epidemics among them are common and during some seasons many dogs die and others that partially recover go about with useless hind quarters, scarcely able to drag themselves along. They sometimes become mangy. Their feet get sore from the snow being pressed and squeezed in between the toes in hauling and the feet of a limping dog must be looked after. If necessary, a stocking is put on a bad foot. At any time, one must be ready to separate fighting dogs, and one must also see that he himself is not snapped at and bitten by a passing team or even by his own. The traveler must be active in keeping the sled on the move, for if any hitch occurs the dogs will lie down quietly as if they had never had any work to do. On the other hand, upon suddenly coming to a good place, the dogs may start on a wild gallop and leave the sledman in the lurch. A novice may thus easily lose his team and perhaps having his snowshoes on the sled, be in a bad fix. Should he jump on the sled, he must be careful not to get frost-bitten for a good running place often comes immediately after a bit of hard work, where one gets into a state of perspiration. The enforced quiet on the sled, with the wind perhaps blowing hard, may cause frozen cheeks and the Eskimos in winter very often suffer from more or less severe frost bites.

Household Duties

At home, much of the time is spent in making fur and other clothing; in scraping and tanning furs; in manufacturing anything that

may be either useful or salable. It is very interesting to watch the men carving knickknacks, curios, and playthings for their own children. Chief among these are model kayaks and oomiaks. Most of these show very poor workmanship, the proportions being entirely out and the work crude. Everyone attempts to make a curio, but few are very good artists. Those that are, are so skillful that they may live off the proceeds of their workmanship and are often very rapid as well as artistic. A few cuts of an etching [engraving] tool will often, in not more than a couple of seconds, mark out the figure of an animal on ivory. With the usual amount of nicotine constantly present on their fingers, they rub over the etching and give the lines their dark color. Figures of men and animals are now made that are fairly well done. The old time animal forms were very rude and often gross.

The country of Alaska being so diversified in resources and one locality producing but few of the things needed in everyday life, there is every inducement to trade and travel among themselves. The Eskimos are constantly visiting from house to house.

The Ceremonial Season

As the winter dance season approaches, many things must be gotten in readiness. The dances of summer are more impromptu and are very simple, and take place at any time when a crowd of Eskimos feel like it. For instance, at various times, when the Eskimos return temporarily to their large villages, after a season of fishing or hunting elsewhere, they may have one of the ordinary dances. For the ceremonial dances of winter, great preparations must be made. Those among them who are good carvers will make a supply of masks to be worn by the participants.

These masks are almost wholly of wood, and are of countless shapes and sizes. The back of the mask is hollowed out to fit close to the face and the mask is held in place over the face of the wearer by a rawhide or fishskin cord, which passes around the head above the ears. Some of the masks represent ordinary human faces of different tribes, noticeable among which are always those of tribes wearing labrets.⁵¹ Half faces are common, either the lower half of the face being missing or else one side. Among human masks, many are of distorted or comical design. The faces are sometimes all askew or the mask is that of a broadly grinning Eskimo. Some masks represent devils and evil spirits, the characters of these personages being taken by persons appointed for the purpose before the dances at

which they appear. Animal masks represent every kind of animal, fish or bird that is hunted and also any animal that itself hunts and has any influence on the numbers of the game. The animals usually represented are those that are especially desired in large numbers during the hunting and fishing seasons. The masks are now often sold, even those worn during the dances. Formerly they were always destroyed. Later, when the demand for them came from relic hunters, new ones were made for the trade while the custom was still kept up of destroying those actually used. The misuse of them was supposed to bring ill luck. They must be taken proper care of and, when once made, must not be exposed too recklessly to public gaze. In taking them from one house to another, they were carried under the parkie and not taken out except in a dark corner of a room, and even then with many misgivings as to whether the animal represented will be offended by its being thus exposed to gaze. When using them in the casine at the dances, the mask wearers get under the benches next to the wall and with faces hidden, put on the masks. Then, often on hands and knees, the dancer approaches the spot where he will dance and then will stand erect, that all may see him. After the dance is over, the same care used to be taken in removing the mask and in keeping it out of sight. Wherever the dances are now kept up more for the sake of amusement or from a remaining notion that possibly the game may be angry because of their omission, there is naturally less care taken of the mask.

Besides the masks, there are little hand rings and ornaments.⁵² These have a forked or ring grip and the main part, which is almost flat, is generally circular, about two or three inches across. This portion is usually painted in simple designs or has on it, in relief, figures of animal or human heads. Around the upper edge is usually a row of feathers. These ornaments are held in the hand, the face side to the spectators, and lend grace to the waving motions of the hands and arms during some of the dances.

Of equal importance and in universal use at all dances, are the musical instruments. The only ones of native origin are drumheads. These are made of hoops, between one and two feet across, with a piece of light, tanned sealskin stretched across.⁵³ The handle is bound on, having a notch at one end, into which the edge of the hoop is inserted. It is made either of ivory or, more commonly, of wood. A thin stick is used to slap the drumhead with. It is not beaten like our drums. In many casines there are shelves on the opposite wall to the entrance, above the shelf that is occupied by the drum slap-

pers, on which the drumheads rest when not in use. In others, they are thrown about on the benches anywhere, or taken to the dwelling houses. Other ornaments and ceremonial articles will be mentioned in the descriptions of the dances.

Dancing

Any entertainment, almost, is called a dance, whether it be mainly for feasting, for medicinal, or for shaman purposes for present giving, or for dancing proper. During the winter, several weeks are given up to it and runners are often sent to long distances to invite guests.⁵⁴ In some dances, contests of skill and strength take place, and villages are divided up into opposing parties, or the hosts and guests range themselves one against the other.

Present giving is general, and quantities of presents of great value are often given by one person. Usually there is a corresponding number of presents given in return sooner or later, so that the transaction amounts to a trade.

Special care is taken by the Eskimo to preserve both themselves and guests against the evil designs of bad spirits and to prevent anything being done that will displease the game. The sequence of events during the course of the dance is usually under the direction of the village chiefs, helped out by masters of ceremony, or under the care of special individuals who give the dance.

Some of the dance festivals do not end till every particle of food is eaten up. The guests then depart and leave the hosts to seek more food. Sometimes no kind of employment is engaged in by the dancers during the time, and it is useless to ask man or woman to aid in any work. Immediately after the close of the ceremonies, however, all are anxious to earn something to get a morsel of food with.

The natives do not confine themselves to their own dancing and music, but easily learn the various dances of civilization and to play the accordion. They catch popular melodies easily, and it is not unusual to hear well known songs anywhere on the coast.

The most common dance usually seen and described, and indulged in summer and winter whenever the Eskimos desire a jollification, and sandwiched into all the ceremonial dances, is in general as follows: A number of the spectators, without special appointment, take up the drumheads and take position usually on that part of the casine bench opposite the door. When the dancing is general, the musicians are apt to be the older men. Young men may also act as musicians and where one person, for any reason, lays aside his drum-

head, anyone else so inclined may pick it up and make use of it. The drumheads are held upright in the left hand, little higher than the level of the head and thin pliable sticks are used to slap the seal hide covering. At the same time, a simple chorus, with or without intelligible words, is kept up by the musicians, joined in by any of the spectators. Where, for any reason, much enthusiasm has been aroused, the swell of the chorus is very deep and energetic. The more special the occasion, the more apt are words, and even long series of sentences, to be interspersed into the chorus by one or more of the singers, there being no break in the general rhythm. The Eskimos are very ingenious in interpolating words on the spur of the moment without breaking up the swing of the chorus. Should there be a pre-arranged song of words to come in, the main body of singers may stop their chant or continue it in low tones, and immediately awaken to great vigor as soon as the interpolation ceases. The women join in the chorus as well as the men and their voices are easily distinguishable among those of the crowd. When an individual sings his or her family song, the others remaining quiet till the chorus comes, when those who manage to catch the words and tune of the chorus join in every time it comes, keeping silent in the meantime, or else keeping up a low chant. Occasionally certain persons are appointed to break in at prearranged moments with set words or even impromptu speeches.

When the musicians have taken their places and have begun the music, one or more dancers take the floor. Usually, when one feels the spirit of dancing strong in him, he will slip off his parkie and, naked to the waist, begin the dance. Alone, or with a crowd, the dance is kept up as long as the inclination holds out, many striving to outdo others in endurance or in skill. The dancers do not necessarily partially or wholly strip. It is generally more convenient to take off the parkie, on account of the warmth of the room and the violence of the efforts. On special occasions, the amount of clothing is prescribed. One must dress fully, or appear partially or entirely naked. If in the latter condition, custom determines whether there be any painting of the body or not. With the men, the body is usually low down, the knees well bent and spread, the arms resting on the hips or else flung violently or more or less gracefully in various directions. The movements of the body are in rhythm with the music and the exercise is usually violent and exhausting. The continued movements on well bent knees soon tire out the muscles of the legs, and in the first dances of the season, before the muscles become

hardened to it, the dances are not long in duration.

The skillful dancer will often make his movements illustrate actions of life or animal traits. Comical movements of the neck and face elicit applause. The head is with a wary motion turned first to one side or another, and at very effective attitudes guttural exclamations or laughable remarks call attention to the effect. The arms are carried to one or the other side and assume whatever position may add to the general effect. The feet are stamped, generally one as the body is suddenly twisted from one to the other side.

The women are much quieter, keeping the exact spot once chosen and usually standing erect. The knees and feet are kept close together and there is an extremely monotonous and ungraceful bending and straightening of the knees. The principal part of their dance is the motions of the arms and hands. The hands may or may not be provided with the hand ornaments above described. The motions are waving and not as abrupt as those of the men and are described by some as graceful. Not only do older persons take part in the dances, but young children, not more than three or four years old, are also called upon to take position, their efforts being watched with interest and pride. Once at least during the season, the women have a naked dance to keep the good will of the spirits toward themselves. This dance is performed in the casine in public, but is falling out of custom near white settlements. The movements of the body are entirely proper and are not meant to call forth loose remarks. The same may be said of the men in their dances.

Among the first observances at St. Michael noted by a stranger toward the beginning of the festival season are those that occur about the middle of November. The future abode of spirits being very vague to them, some of them hold that the dead appear above the ground once a year, coming up out of a hole in a mountain across the way. How it is determined when this will occur is uncertain. The stage of the moon about the time ice is well formed out to sea is considered, and by a general consensus of opinion of the villagers, in which that of successful hunters and traders and shamans takes the lead, the day is determined on. During the evening the people climb up on their houses and call to the dead across the way.⁵⁵

The Asking Festival

Almost immediately following this is the great opening ceremonial of the season.⁵⁶ In this the women stay in their own houses, where female friends also congregate and assist in the reception to come.

There is also occasionally a male spectator. Inside the casine are the men and boys. The casine is dimly lighted by small earthenware lamp saucers of oil casting a gloomy uncertain light over the participants. Out of the dark corners and sides appear the dim figures and forms of the spectators, sometimes one prominent near one of the lamps having a subdued glare cast over his features.

All of the participants proceed immediately to undress and then to ornament their bodies with a black mixture of soot and grease. One Eskimo helps another or does his own work. The marks are usually of square design and are made particularly on the chests. The backs, however, do not escape. The privates and the faces are well blackened, so that in the general confusion of the ceremonies, individuals often escape recognition except by the voice. Not only full grown men, but also young boys take part. All are in excellent spirits and jump around and kick and feel the excitement of the approaching season. As soon as a few have prepared themselves, they are apt to seize upon any dilatory person or late arrival and forcibly undress him, all preserving the utmost good nature. Perhaps a spectator who has ceased to engage in the observances of the tribe is spotted by someone and a rush is made for him to get him to join in. It is wonderful sometimes to see how the intended victim will slip through their hands and glide like an eel through the narrow passageway outside.

When all are ready, they each take a wooden bowl and pass out into the outer air into the snow. Sometimes the wind blows hard and the snow is driving, but they seem to pay little attention to it. No one is supposed to be outside the houses except naked persons, for should anyone be met who has any clothes on, they believe that then, and only then, they will be subject to freezing a foot or part of the body. Care is therefore taken to prevent any such occurrence. In the open air a great noise of shouting and chanting is made as the men move on the jump from one house to the other. Arrived at the narrow entrance, each one backs in all doubled up through the almost impossible entrance hole. To a spectator in one of the houses, the first appearance is presaged by an increasing amount of shouting at the door. The women seat themselves in their places and take up their bowls and receptacles of food, tea, and tobacco. Then suddenly is seen at the miniature entrance the bold posterior of an Eskimo in all the glory of Adam, then rapidly the whole body appears followed in succession by those of all the other Eskimos. Each one then in a slightly stooping posture advances around the room, from one woman to another, receiving into his dish a little food of some kind. Every

woman or spectator is supposed to give something. Sometimes it is a piece of tobacco or a little tea, a piece of fish or some berries, or very often it is a bit of flour paste or gruel. Many of the Eskimos go dancing about on all fours like so many imps, straightening upon arriving opposite any woman, and holding out a bowl for a good offering.

As soon as all the houses have been visited, the Eskimos return to the casine, set their bowls of food near the center entrance hole and proceed to wash themselves in water and urine. Then, still naked, at a given signal, each one takes up his pan of wash water and with the usual uproar, they all rush outside and empty the vessels and return. At another signal, all grab up their vessels of food and stand in two lines stretching from the entrance to the opposite walls. The bowls are lifted with outstretched arms toward the four points of the compass and finally directly upwards, each movement being accompanied by a hissing sound like that of geese, or of a Japanese greeting. All the dishes are now set down. This is an invocation to the elements and accompanying these last motions goes the information to the spirits that all paint marks of the body have been washed off.

Most of the natives now dress themselves, though some remain naked the whole evening. Spectators and dancers join in the feast and it is wonderful to see how much an Eskimo can eat. Everyone present is invited to join in. Fingers are the prevailing table implements, and everyone sticks his fingers into pastes, berries, and all foods, scoops up a huge mouthful and slaps back into the common vessels what is left in his hands or what, not tasting quite right, he takes out of his mouth. The rejected morsals may be seized upon by someone else or come back to himself in the next grab, not the slightest sign of recognition appearing on the face of an Eskimo as he quietly swallows what a few seconds before he or someone else had rejected.

After cleaning and clearing the room, ordinary dances without masks are usually indulged in by men and women, the men first taking a turn at it and later on the women. The women almost all take a turn at dancing, even the younger girls. The women at these dances, which they perform with the usual motions, do not remove any of their clothing.

The whole dance is a propitiatory offering to the winds and sea. Sometimes it is a severe ordeal for the participants, the weather being often very inclement. So long, however, as everyone who is out-

side is wholly naked, no one is supposed to be frost bitten. Should anyone have a boot or parkie or other piece of clothing on, the corresponding part of the body will be frozen in some of the participants.

Many days of feasting and amusements follow, in which it is not forbidden an Eskimo to trade or work. Very little work, however, is done. Almost any time of the day or evening some Eskimos will be found in the casine. Some of them bring their work there and engage in scraping skins, in carving ornaments and curios, and making masks for later dances. The women are usually busy attending to the wants of the men, bringing them in food and wash bowls and anything wanted by their husbands or friends, and sometimes joining in the female dance.

One evening is given over to the naked women's dance; otherwise the active part is taken by the men. During one of the evenings, the Eskimos have wooden contrivances shaped somewhat as follows: The handle part is about a foot long, ending in a light framework like a skeleton mandolin, from which hang about three pendants of very light framework. [Although a space was left in the manuscript for a diagram, none was included. However, it probably was similar to that of Nelson 1899:359]. Once in awhile an Eskimo jumps up, grabs one of these affairs and runs outside and around for a few moments, keeping up a constant hallooing during the time he is out in the open air, commencing and ending in the casine room so as to make sure that he has not omitted yelling in the air affected by the possible presence of evil spirits. Coming back, he drops the wooden contrivance and goes back to his occupation. Many of the Eskimos engage in games of cards and risk all sorts of things in play. They empty their pockets of gun caps, matches, buttons, and ancient quids of tobacco. A stake heap is a very curious assortment.

Occasionally the play or the games are broken in upon by some Eskimo who rushes in from outside with one of the wooden pendant sticks mentioned, points it abruptly at someone in the crowd, flings a question at him and receives an answer in the same spirit. Many questions and answers provoke mirth. The person who is so addressed picks up the pendants and rushes outside with the customary clamor.

Many engage, at intervals, in feats of skill and strength, practicing the muscles for the future contests. Some of the feats show considerable strength. Among them may be mentioned one or two. One Eskimo sits down on the floor, takes another in his arms and then at-

tempts to rise with him. Lifting weights or human beings by the teeth is very popular. Another difficult trick is for one Eskimo to lie on his back and hold in his hands a piece of wood on which another balances himself to push the weight up to arm's length.

Occasionally a shaman, or several, occupy the casine for the evening, performing miracles of cure, while present giving dances are common.

Wherever a great dance, as, for instance, a ten-year dance occurs, there may be great preparations necessary. The persons who manage the dance take up their home in the village and gather together all the food and presents necessary for the guests and make arrangements for housing them. Occasionally new houses are built to accommodate prominent persons. A description of one that took place at Stebbins, on the opposite side of the island of St. Michael, will give an idea of the character of one of these dances.

Feast of the Dead⁵⁷

This dance was in honor of the dead and was one of the more important ones occurring at long intervals. One of the principal persons to take part in this was a very clever trader and ivory carver named Ogitken. He established himself in Stebbins and, even before the actual dances took place, considered himself bound to look after the welcome of any chance person visiting the village.

Toward the last of November, runners were sent along the coast from village to village, carrying plume wands in their hands and bearing words of invitation to the villages. After their return, the visitors began to make their way toward Stebbins, those farthest away starting first, being joined at every village passed through by numbers of others until the line of dog sleds became quite formidable. Plenty of time had been given everyone to get ready, for the runners were sent out about a month before the beginning of the dance. During all this time Ogitken had been keeping open house, there being always someone outside the houses to discover any visitors who might thus be met and conducted to refreshments and rest.

It was not till a little before Christmas day that the arrival of the visitors at St. Michael was announced toward evening. On the other side of the bay could be seen an interminable line of sleds, each hauled by a number of excited dogs and accompanied by a group of men, women, and children. These came in single line, and at a distance, were easily noticed. They intended to stay overnight at St.

Michael and start the next morning to Stebbins, thus giving their hosts there a chance to perfect their arrangements.

Meanwhile the news of their arrival was carried to Stebbins where all were busy until quite late in the evening in rehearsing the program in the casine. Scouts were sent out toward St. Michael, and the next morning Eskimos came in very early, announcing the starting out of the visitors from St. Michael. A line of scouts had been deployed, and these had communicated the news from one to the other and finally to the village. The distance between the villages by the trail is about nine miles. As soon as word came, the men of Stebbins began to run out toward the village, two men at a time. Each couple was stripped to the waist and had around the forehead a narrow strip of wolverine skin, with the skin side stained red. Each carried a stick or staff and had a band of smut across the cheeks, on a line with the upper lip. In the distance the visitors could be seen in a large crowd, and every time a Stebbins couple approached, the visitors halted and words of welcome passed between them. The couple hurried back to the village and handed the staffs to a fresh couple that stood ready and even met them a few yards from the casine. Each couple waits for the preceding couple to return before starting out so that before the whole welcome from the village is over, the guests generally have to make a long halt outside of the village, sometimes remaining hours in the wind and cold without food. Until the vicinity of the village is reached they approach between the greetings of the different couples until within full view of all. The last couple that went out were most carefully marked and went jumping and zigzagging toward the visitors, crossing several yards to one side and the other of the path, through the deep snow. Such violent efforts through the snow must have been terrific. Arrived in front of the newcomers, they crossed over and then came back in the same way as they went. They drove away all bad spirits into the village. Immediately after the men, the women formed in a column of files and moved out toward the crowd bearing their welcome.

The visitors were now at hand and were conducted to the different houses assigned to them. The sleds had all to be unloaded, the dogs fed and secured, and everything eatable put out of reach of the animals. The crowd, however, had long to wait before the feasting began.

The Stebbins people all came in and took seats in that part of the building opposite the entrance, while the visitors took seats on the benches lining the entrance wall and the nearest part of the adja-

cent sides. This is the recognized stranger's side, or the side of those being entertained. The room, not more than a little over twenty feet square, had more than 250 people in it. They were huddled together in every way, and all the openings being closed, the room was frightfully odorous. An experience with 250 oily, perspiring natives in a small room for several hours is long to be remembered.

In the first ceremony there were seven men seated on the ground, with their legs crossed and doubled, holding drumheads, beating music and chanting, while two lines of women stood up outside the lines of men. All were faced to the middle of the room. The women went through their usual knee motions and movements of the arms and hands. The men swayed their bodies back and forth and from all rang the general chorus of "Ung hi ya ung hi," etc.

Benches were next brought in and arranged according to the accompanying diagram [which was not included in the manuscript]. Here the general arrangement of the permanent benches, the temporary benches, in triclinium form, of the entrances and of the lights marked by a cross is shown. On the wall opposite the entrance is a higher bench or shelf for stowing music.

The temporary benches were crowded with men sitting down, faces to the middle of the room. Among these are marked the places and names of some of the more prominent.

The lights were the usual lamps set on broad-topped sticks stuck into the floor. There was, besides, a post with two arms carrying a couple of lamps, which were placed across the line of the room running to the entrance. The position of this post was carefully kept.

Eskimos named Apoorin, Tubuk and Pagusinak acted as drummers, while Popok and Kaneayuk acted as leaders. The drummers kept up a constant slapping of the drums while all "hung-hi"-ed and swayed the bodies back and forth, the benches rising and sinking with the weight and adding to the general effect. Altogether the din and motion were awful. All were naked to the waist and had bands of grease and soot across the face, and bands of wolverine skin around the forehead, the skin side turned outward. Some had more pretentious headdresses made of the wings and breast of the bodies of hawks, &c. The two leaders each had a long slight rod, plumed, with which, at intervals, they gave signals. Each of these assumed a bold and important bearing. Every now and then one of them would, by a motion of his plumed rod, cause a stopping of the chorus, when he would call across to the other leader some remark having reference to the occasion, and after the answer came, he

would set in motion again the singing and tum-tumming.

After what must have seemed an age to the starving visitors, a halt was finally called and refreshments were brought in and passed around. Everyone received a liberal allowance of food and ate it with an appetite born of a ten-mile tramp over the snow and the long hours of welcoming and singing.

At the end of the feast the second act of the program began. The stick bearing the two lights was turned around at right angles to its former position and one light was put out, leaving burning the light next to the hole in the floor. Tubuk then came crawling out from under a bench with a human mask on and took a kneeling position near one side of the room. Behind him were two women standing side by side. Tubuk was a skilled dancer and made very effective gestures and movements of the body and arms, while the two women closely followed with their arms the corresponding movements of his. Their body movements were confined to the knee bending. In their hands they held the feathered hand ornaments before mentioned.

A similar dance then followed by Tubuk, assisted by another Eskimo; Tubuk wearing the same mask, while the other Eskimo wore a half mask, the lower face being gone. Both the natives went through the same movements. These dances, as well as all the others of the Stebbins people, had been rehearsed many times.

Present giving now followed, the Stebbins people bringing in, rather unceremoniously, a wolverine skin, some calico and some "mukluk" [i.e. maklok, or bearded seal], or seal hide. The headmen among the visitors undertook the division of the presents. The wolverine skin was cut into strips for head and waistbands, the "mukluk" was cut up into pieces just large enough for a pair of boot soles and the calico into pieces sufficient for gowns for the women. These were then distributed among the visitors and all adjourned till the afternoon.

Sometimes the greetings outside last long into the afternoon and the dances take place before the feasting time comes.

In the afternoon, the present giving dance of the visitors took place. In this the benches and lights were the same as in the greeting ceremony of the morning, as shown in the diagram. Only the Stebbins and neighborhood people were at first in the casine. The Eskimos on the benches tum-tummed and "hung-hi-yah"-ed and swayed back and forth on bending benches, while the central hole of the floor was covered over with a parkie. A scout on the outside kept watch and finally came inside to warn the villagers that the guests were com-

ing. Everyone inside now settled down to drumming, chanting, and swinging in dead earnest till it seemed as if the plank benches would stand the strain no longer.

A little to one side sat two boys whose duty it was to keep the lights burning and to get the presents out of the way.

Finally, confused noises were heard outside, those within ceased singing, and the guests without began a chorus. They made use of the underground entrance and in their passage creeping through the long cramped way, the singing sounded far away and weird. Gradually the chorus grew louder and suddenly the parkie covering over the central floor opening was thrown aside and one after another of the visitors made his or her appearance, standing upright in the opening, the head and shoulders reaching up into the room. Each one dragged up from below whatever presents he cared to give. As soon as one appeared at the hole, he popped up suddenly, turned in succession to the different sides of the room, and with bold and brava-do looks and motions, shouted out boastful greetings and self-praises. One fancy shaman from up the coast was dressed almost clownishly, yet in good materials, and created much merriment by his wit and actions. The women contented themselves with a few graceful waves of the hands. As soon as one finished a greeting, he stooped down and taking up a present spread it out to the best advantage, that all might see the value of it, and then threw it to the side opposite the entrance, where it was taken care of by the small boys. If it was a piece of calico, it was all unwound to the last yard, the time taken to get through with the display adding much to the estimation in which the visitor was held. For that reason, every article was made the most of and handed separately, but one article at a time being brought up through the floor. Among the presents were mukluk [oogruk or bearded seal skin], calico, fish put up in various ways, in rolls, in baskets, and strung on sticks, also a white whale's tail, &c., &c. One man brought up a number of sacks of flour and a large number of deerskins. Great numbers of foxskins were brought in.

Each one, as he finished giving his presents, jumped up through the opening and after striking an attitude of "Well Done" stepped over to the side next the entrance and took a position at the bench. The hosts kept their places and took pride in keeping a stolid disregard of what was taking place, unless some generous gifts provoked some terms of admiration from a more impulsive person. As soon as all the presents were in they were divided up among the hosts, a few of them acting as distributors. Afterward all adjourned to a

much needed rest.

The next day was a very busy one. In the morning the visitors were the present givers, in the afternoon the Stebbins people. The presents were to certain individuals, and inquiries had been made beforehand by the members of each side as to the presents wished for by the others, so that it amounted to a trade.

In the morning the outsiders took the initiative and their musicians took up the drumheads and made a great hubbub, the fancy shaman being the leader, while one of them gave a song. Ogitken and others of the Stebbins people who were to receive presents sat down on the floor opposite the visitors, while the visitors, one at a time, came forward to the particular person he was honoring and put at his or her feet the presents intended for that one. Some valuable presents were given, often forming quite a heap. One person received several parkies, some ivory, and others, less valuable presents.

Early in the afternoon the hosts were given a dance by those of the Eskimos of the neighborhood who had given presents and had not danced. Some, unaccustomed to dancing, produced much merriment. All were stripped to the waist and had soot marks across the face and on the middle of the chest.

Later in the afternoon the Stebbins people gave away individual presents, particularly Ogitken. He had chosen for the recipient a very tall woman from Unalaklik [Unalakleet] up the coast. [She probably was his cross-cousin.] He himself was very short. The woman, like all the recipients of presents, was seated on the floor on the side opposite the entrance. Ogitken took a roll of calico and unrolled it from one corner diagonally opposite to the woman. He then went back and forth along the calico carpet, bringing one present at a time from his corner and giving it to the woman with appropriate remarks. She very quietly received everything with no signs of emotion. Deerskins, calico, a looking glass, mittens, beaver and wolverine skins, &c., were in turn brought forward and presented to the woman. Other people followed in present giving and the general crowd was not forgotten, for large numbers of presents of bags of flour, of "mukluk" skins, of calico, &c., were given to be divided amongst the crowd.

In the evening there was some ordinary dancing, followed by an exhibition of skill by the fancy shaman. These shamans sometimes have great reputation, especially those who come from a village and at great dances are careful to be present in full glory of new costume and to attract as much attention as possible. At home some are

not considered to be of much importance. If particularly unsuccessful, they may be killed or, if they escape, are not allowed to come back for a term of years under penalty of death. Both men and women shamans suffer this penalty. Ten years is a good average time of banishment, after which the exile may return with impunity.

In the Stebbins case the shaman seemed to be a favorite. He had but to say the word, and eatables, dog feed and women were at his disposal. This evening he undertook to cast the devil out of a sick woman. The woman to be freed from her trouble took a seat on the floor at one side of the room, her legs stretched straight out in front of her. On each side of the room, close to the wall benches, sat a man who acted as a responder.

The shaman came in with a drumhead and took a standing position, sometimes with his back to the woman, sometimes turning around and asking questions, which were answered by the responders [At this point a space was left in the manuscript for insertion of a diagram.] Sometimes he sat down, with his back to that of the woman, sometimes some distance in front, sometimes with his back up against her feet. At times he held the drumhead up close against his face, slapping it with the slapper and making all sorts of noises with his mouth and throat. Occasionally it was a gurgling sound; again a hissing like geese, or sizzling, out and out hollooming, gurgling and beating [bleating?]. Now and then in a sitting position, with legs stretched out in front and slightly separated, he bent forward so that his head touched the floor and in this seemingly almost impossible position he remained silent a few moments. On his feet he changed position so as to stand in front, to the back or to either side, his feet touching the woman. Twice during the performance two old men came up from either side and made passes with the hands, putting away the evil spirits from the neighborhood of the women. The shaman addressed the devils eloquently, both male and female devils, telling them that it was to their interest to depart and the devils made answer in male and female voices [the shaman making use of his ventriloquistic powers to impose on the spectators]. Gradually the voices of the devils grew fainter and fainter and finally there was no response and the woman was declared freed of her trouble.

Another woman was similarly treated and the shaman then took a seat on the floor and all the women of the crowd came up in succession and placed the palm of the hand against his back between the shoulder blades. Among the expressions used, one occurred quite frequently, which was "Yolaka Yuhaka Yulakatola,"⁵⁸ an invitation to

the devils to clear out.

During the whole of the time the shaman performance is going on, no one is allowed to leave the building for any purpose. Once in, the person must stay or ill luck will follow. Sometimes the performance lasts the whole night. It is permissible to go to sleep and arrangements are made to satisfy any wants of food or otherwise, but stay one must.

Every morning the casine is heated up to get rid of the general dampness and then the smoke let out and the top opening closed. The entrance looks very pretty with myriads of little icicles hanging from the logs.

As soon as the room is comfortable, the ceremonies take place.

On the day following the one described (and it happened to be our Christmas) the ceremonies began with gymnastic contests. The contestants were divided between the visitors and those from the neighborhood. The men who took part were nude and the women were not present. However, every participant at every trial undressed and immediately after trying, dressed, so that a great deal of time was thus wasted. Each side tries to do some trick not possible for the other side to do. Anyone trying has three chances and must then give place to another one. Whenever any side does a trick that the other side cannot do, a point is scored.

Some of the tricks were quite difficult. Trapeze tricks required both skill and strength. Among other trials, the contestant passed a band around the neck and under the knees and, held thus in this cramped position, had to jump in various directions and over open spaces from log to log. A very difficult feat was to hang by the elbows to a shelf, the small of the back being against the shelf. With a sudden spring forward, the contestant attempts to jump over a stick held all the time in the hands and, at the same time, to land on the floor beyond a given mark. After this, sticks were brought in and set up as rests for the eleven participants of the afternoon present giving one lamp for each person. This is the chief ceremony for the dead today.

First, large wooden buckets are brought in full of gruel, fish, berries, &c., and then the participants, ten of them women, the other a man, came in. Each one had a particular lamp that belonged to her during the whole of the ceremony. There is a "mother's song" that every woman hands down to her own or adopted children, and each one of the persons giving presents this day began singing her mother's song. Helpers stood ready with small buckets or bowls

and went back and forth from the giver to someone of the spectators whom the giver designated by name. Every time the small service bucket came back to a giver, she began to sing and filled the bucket, and after raising it high above her head, gave it to the helper, giving the name of the person to receive the food. This occupied the rest of the forenoon.

As the sun was going down, the present givers passed in and out of the casine, standing for a few moments silently facing the sun and afterwards going back to the casine. After sundown the casine was so packed with people that it was almost impossible to move. Every particle of space was occupied. Behind every lamp stood one of the present givers. To the accompaniment of the drumheads these individuals chanted the usual "hung hi ya" for awhile. Then they passed around the line of benches and amongst the crowd on the floor and gave to everyone some small presents. Among these may be mentioned gun caps, matches, sinew, thread, straw for boots, rawhide line, beads, small fish, and small pieces of tobacco. After this, food was passed around.

Later, the present givers took position in the corners near the entrance. One of the women began the ceremony by starting a monotonous chant, which was taken up by those present, when suddenly the skin covering was removed from the roof hole by someone outside and a string was let down with a weight at the end and swung over to within reach of the woman, or passed to her by one of the crowd. The chant temporarily interrupted during this proceeding began again, the woman commencing very quietly and with painful slowness to haul down on the string. Soon various articles began to make their appearance attached to the string at short intervals. To each string there were twenty-one presents attached. When one string was hauled in, another was let down, as many as a dozen being hauled in by one person. The presents were all stowed away in a heap by the recipient and by her assistants. Each one hauled in the presents to be given by herself and outside some trusted friend attended to their proper order and safekeeping. There was a great variety of presents. On some strings were nothing but boots. Some had deerskins or sealskins, water boots, breeches, parkies, parkie coverings of linen, shirts, &c. On a rawhide line were swung down poles hung with wooden buckets and tobacco bags. Strings of gutskins for roof holes followed, fish bags, grass socks, straw baskets, fishskin baskets, &c.⁵⁹

Each one took a turn, but only one at a time hauling down her own particular presents. While doing so, the mother's song was sung and joined by those present, who caught the refrain. After five hours were occupied altogether in this hauling down by the eleven present givers.

After the presents were all hauled down, the distribution began. The articles were all cut off from the strings and handed to the givers, who called out the names of the persons to receive them. They were then flung across the room to the persons for whom they were intended or were handed to boys to deliver in person. In spite of the confusion of names and of presents flying here and there around the room, everyone got his presents. Some, of course, among the spectators were favorites and received the lion's share of the goods. The fancy shaman, was of course, among the favored and had a lot of presents stacked up in front of him. He received, among others, at least a half dozen pairs of breeches. Others got very little, and one old man, a visitor, who seemed to be crabbed and sour, received almost nothing. No matter how little anyone received himself, he was always anxious to see that any present coming his way got to its proper owner. From every corner came cries of "here!" in Eskimo, mingled with names of persons shouted out by the givers.

Among the presents were a lot of snuffers of ivory or bone, fastened to a string and hauled around the crowd, each person taking a snuffer off the line.

The presents given away are not supposed to be kept. They may be used for any purpose, such as for trading, and many of the articles were soon afterwards brought around for that purpose.

Many of the guests left early the next morning for home, but many still stayed. It was the last day of the dance. In the morning the oil presents were made, which the recipients bore away to their lodgings. These were mostly the plain oil and, being in open wooden vessels, the smell was fearful. All other smells were endurable, but this drove away even some of the Eskimos who lived less among oil than the older native. It was enough to stand outside and watch the natives come out carrying the vessels of oil.

Following this, boxes and various receptacles for clothing are let down through the roof to the women and the men giving the presents. The boxes of clothing are opened and the clothes taken out. Then men, women or children are called up by the present givers, each one calling upon one of the sex or age of the dead person who is being honored. These are then unclothed and the new clothes put on them.

The belief is that what is worn here in fact, is worn in spirit by the dead person.

After this, the room is cleared and the ceremony of disrobing the mourners takes place. Each one is seized upon and the clothing torn to pieces and removed from the body. Some thus treated take it with much dignity, while others resist. There are always guards outside who seize anyone who manages to escape from within. Some require the force of several men to hold and undress them. One was particularly active and as the last shreds were torn from her, she slipped through the hands of the men and made a dive, head first, through the floor hole, the last particles of clothes being stripped from her as she went. The male mourner was treated the same way, being forcibly deprived of his clothing. Formerly the hair was clipped from all parts of the body. All the ornaments of the hair were removed. Everyone now being nude, as is usual at sleeping times, all for an instant leaned over to one side and pretended to sleep and perhaps snore and then rise up again. This signified that a day had passed and another began.

A fire was now [then] built inside the house and a sweat bath commenced. The women remained until the heat could no longer be endured and then ran, scampering naked across the snow, to their homes.

The dance for the dead was now ended and usual occupations might for the time being be engaged in. Among these may be mentioned that of hammering or wood chopping in the village. So fearful are the Eskimos of the results of such a proceeding, that great piles of cut wood are on hand for the use of visitors during this time.

The Bladder Festival

The dances that usually follow are the game dances.⁶⁰ During these there are many peculiar observances. The guts [mostly bladders] of animals are hung up, well cleaned and inflated, until the end of the dances or games when they are taken down and put into the water.

The men spend the time in the casine, always sleeping there while the women sleep at home. If they sleep together, the game will surely be scared away.

No work is done during the time and not for four days after the guts are sunk in the water. Feasting is indulged in and special feast dances are gotten up where great feats of gormandizing take place. There seems to be an unlimited supply of berries, for, notwithstand-

ing the great quantities eaten, there seems always a never diminishing quantity left. Great numbers of frozen fish are eaten, bundle after bundle being brought out.

Every day there is something slightly different from another day. During this whole time the front entrance to the casine is closed up and it is only by the underground passage that one can enter. Perhaps on one day the visitor coming up through the floor opening is subjected to a new proceeding. As soon as he appears, or when he has seated himself, an Eskimo goes over to a heap of dry leaves or branches and setting fire to some, takes them and makes passes around the entrance hole and about the footsteps and the person of the newcomer. This is to destroy the possible evil influence brought from without. It is the stranger and not the member of the village who is thus treated.

The contests during this time are more important than at any others. The whole village is divided into two parties, being chosen by leaders. A pile of little sticks is placed on the floor and any side winning a point takes a stick from the pile, and later from the pile of the opponent, till he has all the sticks.

Feathered darts with sharp metal points are used by all, men, women, and children, and many difficult marks are chosen as targets. Along with the bladders, a glove is hung up and between the contests is taken down and given into the charge of one person.

All the amusements are subsidiary to the great game dance, which is usually planned and rehearsed by the actors under the direction of a shaman. As an illustration, the following dance is described:

The news was given out of a great mask dance, but one going over to the casine would not suspect anything unusual for the Eskimos are lying around telling stories that seem endless.⁶¹

Finally the natives range themselves along the sides of the room and a few dances of the ordinary kind take place. Then comes the great dance. The participants all gather down beneath the floor, while the drumheads are beating. The shaman takes position near the middle of the floor, when suddenly from all sides are heard the calls of birds and the cries of animals being imitated. A dummy hawk is suspended near the roof in such a way that it can be made to swoop down upon its prey or be drawn up again in the air. The prey below is a dummy ermine fixed by its wired legs to the floor, and by the proper mechanism made to come down at every swoop of the hawk or to rise erect when the hawk ascends.⁶²

While this is going on, the Eskimos jump up through the floor, all

having masks on, representing hawks, foxes, wolverines, &c., &c. They all proceed with little hops and jumps and utter shrill animal cries, to the corners and sides of the room. All proceed with their backs to the center of the room and so remain till at a given signal turn around and advance toward the center; at the same time the hawk swoops down upon the ermine. Up through the hole in the floor jumps an Eskimo flopping about and growling like a bear while another Eskimo appears at the hole as a fish. From behind the lamps Eskimos come out rigged up in devil masks [it is not certain what is meant here] and look on at the proceedings, to see what mischief they may make. Then all, at another signal from the shaman, go to their places and repeat the preceding *ad infinitum* until, at another signal, they raise their arms aloft to the four cardinal points and, with the hissing noise, make declaration that the ceremony is over.

The day when the animal guts are thrown into the water does not wind up the games. For four days longer the games continue intermittently, but without masks, and the guts and other appliances are destroyed.

Some of the games may be noted. Among them is the scramble feast. The women bring in baskets of frozen berries and place them in the center of the room. Then there is a wild rush of naked men and the contents of the basket or dish are grabbed, scattered, and eaten or smashed underfoot. Other women bring in baskets and the husbands make up balls of berries and send their wives with them to give to their friends.

The contests are most actively kept up now. Even the women are called in to these and form sides. They are sometimes skilled in throwing the dart and many are very good jumpers and high kickers. In kicking high, they jump up and kick with both feet. Many can kick higher than the men.

Finally, after the four days are over, they may almost immediately go out in search of food or work. Another year's struggle has begun.

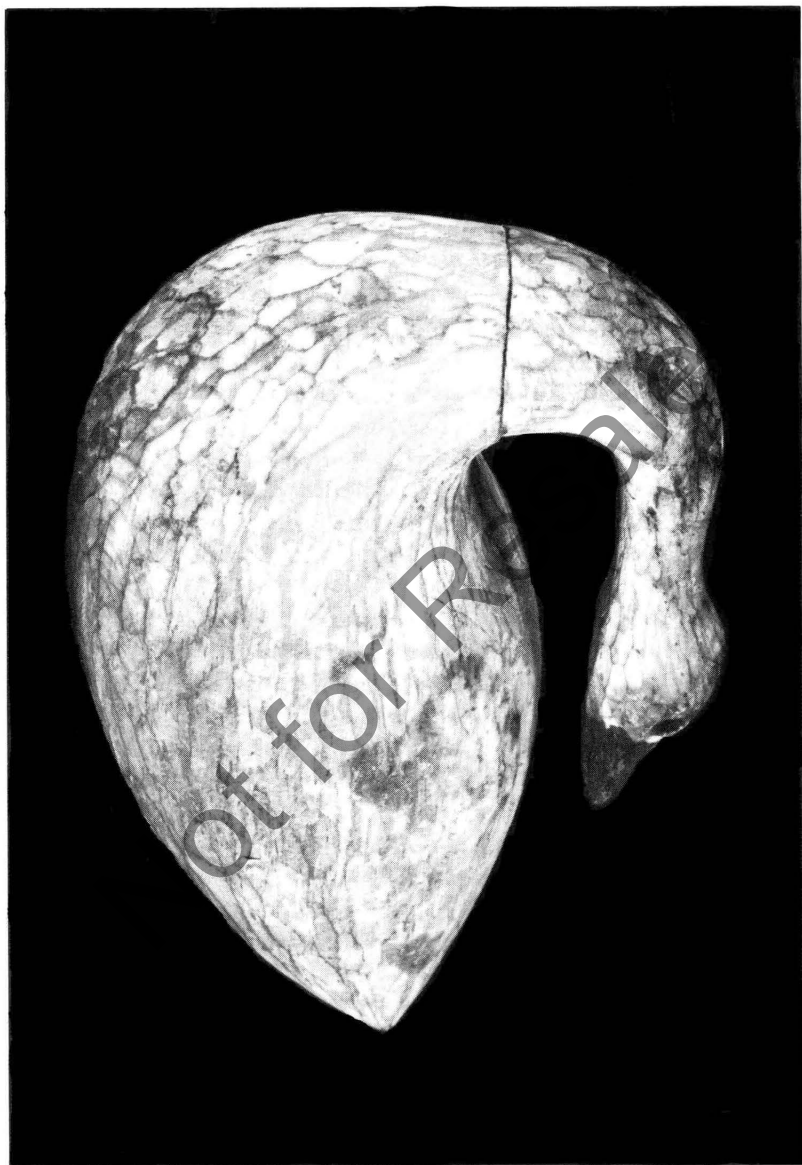


Figure of a bird (probably a wild goose). 6.2 cm. at head. Collected by H. M. W. Edmonds at St. Michael. Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Catalog number 2-7011. *Photograph by Alfred A. Blaker.*

FOOTNOTES

1. The date, 1899, is a typographical error. The Pratt party was in the area between July 1 and September 26, 1898 (U. S. C. & G. Survey Report 1900:212). In 1899 Edmonds was foreman of a surveying party under Assistant G. R. Putnam. Edmonds did not use ethnological information obtained at that time.
2. Tachek, which was also the name of the nearest village to St. Michael, was a subdialect of the Unaluk dialect of the Yupik language.
3. An alternate spelling of Unaluk in anthropological literature is Unaaliq. I am using Unaluk to conform with the usual spelling of the name Unalit, for the people. Moreover, the double vowel and back q is not always pronounced by Unaluk speakers.
4. Perhaps this permission to hunt was forced a bit because a folktale relates that the mainland people were so jealous of the good hunting and rich life of Besboro's inhabitants that they once killed everyone on the island by pouring hot oil down the ceiling hole of the community house (informant data).
5. Before the Eskimos had ever seen a Russian, the traders had distributed pots, knives, spears, iron, and tobacco as far south as the Kuskokwim (Zagoskin 1847:76, 107).
6. A brochure issued by the North American Transportation and Trading Company about 1900 used Stephan's for Stebbins: "The native women of Stephan's and Kilkikarck [Kikigtaruk, east of St. Michael] were called in to make fur clothing for the members of [De Long's] expedition. . . . One of Alexy's [an Eskimo guide] relatives at Stephan's had a silver medal afterwards awarded him by Congress for his conduct on the expedition" (n. d.:43).
7. Among the traders were Kingaseak (from Erathluik near present-day Council), Saxo (from Sledge Island, and whose real Eskimo name, I have

been told, was Anakusuk); Kaleak ("Isaac," from Ukviknaguk on Norton Bay, and after whom Isaac's Point was named) (Jacobsen 1884:231-34, 240-41, 271); and Tal-ya-luk (Nelson 1899:304). The names, Saxo and Tal-ya-luk are preserved today in the Unalakleet-St. Michael area as Soxie and Deliluk. Other surnames are Pennipchuk and Nashoalak, Deliluk's brothers, and sons of the famous Alluiyanuk (Ray 1964:87).

8. Myunik is spelled Myninck in the text, probably from a handwritten draft. His son, Alec, was still living in St. Michael in 1964 when I met him. A spry, 86-year old, he had retired from a successful career as a U. S. mail dog team driver.

9. Parkie is the colloquial pronunciation of the word, parka, a Russianized Kamchadal word meaning fur garment with attached hood. The Unaluk word for that garment, attigi, is now rarely used even by Eskimos, who use the common term, parka or parkie.

10. The first Europeans to come to Alaska found Eskimo men wearing very short hair. In some cases the crown of the head had been clipped so closely as to look shaved.

11. Festivals to the Dead were widespread in Alaska. Edmonds describes one on pages 91-101.

12. The supposed rapid decrease of the Eskimo was given widespread publicity during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Sheldon Jackson, the first Agent for Education in Alaska, was one of the most vociferous declaimers, particularly when trying to get backing for his scheme of importing Siberian domesticated reindeer for the "starving Eskimos" (Ray 1965). Following initial contact with Americans and Europeans, some Eskimos contracted diseases to which they had no immunity. In some cases mortality was high: in the smallpox epidemic of 1838; measles of 1900; and influenza in 1918. But despite the epidemics and other afflictions such as tuberculosis and syphilis, the population continued to maintain itself, and even increase over the years. There is evidence that it was increasing at the time of Jackson's writings in the 1890's.

Another commonly held belief was that the many abandoned village sites on the coast pointed to a huge pre-white population at one time. However, all sites were not occupied simultaneously. Furthermore, a large site did not necessarily reveal its exact size because all houses were usually not inhabited at one time.

Life expectancy of the Eskimo is now greater than ever before despite continued exposure to weather and crowded home conditions. Tuberculosis, however, is still common. Infant mortality, once high, has in some villages been reduced to the point where families often have three times the number of living children than they did at the time of initial white contact.

13. The discussion of Bering Strait settlement and subsistence patterns in Ray 1964 is applicable for this area also.

14. Among Alaskan Eskimos this kind of long distance travel apparently took place more frequently after trade with Russians was well under way both in Siberia and at St. Michael, although archeological sites indicate that trade and borrowing was not unknown in prehistoric times. See the Introduction for further clarification of trade.

15. See footnote 12.

16. This ceremonial house is also called dancing house, community house, or men's house, in anthropological literature. The term, "casine," or, as it is usually spelled, "kasim," or "kashim," was used in the southern, or Yupik-speaking areas. Petroff said that "kashima" was a Russian term (1884:135), but Zagoskin said that it was derived from the Kodiak Island Eskimo dialect (1847:95). The term used almost entirely now in the literature is "kazgi," a Bering Strait pronunciation. North of Seward Peninsula, the dialectical variations, "qaregi" and "qalegi," are also used. The kazgi was not used for sweat bathing north of Nome, and may not have been an aboriginal custom. A woman entered a kazgi only to take food to the men or to participate in public dances and festivals.

17. From time immemorial, the Alaskan Eskimos had traded spotted tame reindeer skins from Siberian Chukchi across Bering Strait. The height of fashion for the well-dressed Eskimo woman was to wear either a spotted reindeer skin parka (signifying wealth i.e. foreign goods) or a ground squirrel parka decorated with intricate designs of inset fur and dangling ermine, muskrat, or fox strips (signifying extensive labor and time). Siberian domesticated reindeer were not introduced into Alaska near Teller until 1892, and at the time of Dr. Edmonds' second trip, in 1898 the reindeer industry had just begun in the St. Michael area.

18. Wolverine is used round the face opening of the hood because frost does not collect on it as it does on wolf fur, used extensively today on parkas made for tourists.

19. Kamleika was the name given by Russians to a sea mammal intestine garment called *ingmangnitak* in the Wales dialect, *imahkanin* in Unaluk, but *silunhak* in Malemiut. The English terms now universally used are rain parka, gutskin parka, or intestine parka.

20. The heavy black soles are made from bearded seal skin that has been dried without removing the epidermis; the yellowish, translucent soles, from skin with the epidermis removed by soaking in water or urine, or by burying in the ground. Eskimo footwear and clothing mentioned in the text are still made for both Eskimo and non-Eskimo use.

21. A change in style has eliminated the long front and back lobes of the parka today, the square style preferred by men and women alike, with the exception of a few rare "fancy" heirloom parkas worn by women on special occasions. Though contemporary styles of parkas are geared to non-native fashions of the moment, the basic pattern is always traditionally Eskimo.

22. The Eskimo child is still carried in this manner by women of Diomedé, King, and St. Lawrence islands, and in all small villages along the western coast of Alaska where the population is predominantly Eskimo.

23. Fishskin clothing was rarely worn north of St. Michael during historic times. E. W. Nelson illustrates a fishskin frock to be worn as a raincoat. Salmon skins used in such a garment were scraped and tanned until pliable, and put together with extreme care. The main seams were overlaid with brown-dyed fish skin on which was superimposed white sealskin parchment (1899:36 and plate 19).

24. Eskimo boots, or mukluks (as they are now known from "maklok," or the Unaluk name for bearded seal) were also lined with reindeer fawn or clipped adult reindeer skin north of Norton Sound. Baleen (whalebone) shavings were also used in the northern whaling country.

25. The water boots, which sometimes came almost to the hips, were made of dehaired sealskins that were air dried, and not softened with skin scrapers. The animal's natural oil was retained, and often more oil added to make it waterproof.

26. This "loose gown," or Mother Hubbard, has had a long popularity among Eskimo women. It is used everywhere now, though the long, baggy gown with a wide bottom flounce has been discarded by many style-conscious women as old-fashioned, and its place taken by a more simply designed garment with up-to-date decorations. It is now known as the "cloth parka," though its relationship to a Mother Hubbard is unmistakable. However, it not only serves as a valuable cover for fur parkas, but has become an outlet for women's sewing talents. It is used also as a coat, and sometimes, a dress. Many women who wear smart western clothing in the larger towns of Anchorage, Fairbanks, or Nome will don this garment when in the smaller villages, or in a fishing or a berrying camp.

27. See footnote 17.

28. By the 1890's, caribou, which once were plentiful along all of the western coast, had been driven to the interior of Alaska or killed by hunters. Earlier, caribou had been an important part of almost every Eskimo's diet at some time during the year. Even those who lived on the seacoast obtained caribou meat either by trade or by hunting in the hills, which

Edmonds says was the practice at St. Michael in the 1890's. Bears were never very plentiful.

29. During the nesting season, half-hatched eggs were considered to be a prime delicacy by Eskimos everywhere in Alaska, and huge quantities were gathered and consumed.

30. Edmonds refers here to the beluga, or "white whale" (*Delphinapterus leucas*) of the dolphin family. Beluga were caught in shallow bays from the Aleutians to Icy Cape. The huge bowhead and right whale, hunted by commercial whalers and northern Eskimos, were rarely seen by Eskimos living south of Nome.

31. Sinew of domesticated reindeer or caribou continues to be preferred above all materials today for the sewing of fur clothing because it is more pliable than vegetable or synthetic threads, and does not cause the skins to pucker when they become wet. Sinew is also longer lasting than thread.

32. As mentioned in the Introduction, tobacco was one of the first European trade items carried across Bering Strait by the Chukchi for trade with American Eskimos. The first Europeans in Alaska found the Eskimos already in possession of tobacco. The earliest tobacco traded was a dark strong kind known as Cherkassky, from the old Muscovite name for the southern Russians (Bogoras 1904-06:60).

33. The burial box was rarely used north of Norton Sound; the corpse was usually wrapped in skins and placed on an elevated platform beneath a conical frame of driftwood. In rocky, hilly places, as on the Diomed islands, the corpse was placed among the rocks. Underground burial was difficult anywhere because of permafrost a few inches below the surface of the ground.

34. The custom of moving from a permanent dwelling to a temporary one is still widespread, particularly in small villages where women, and sometimes men, continue to fish away from their permanent homes during the summer. The tradition is maintained in some of the villages merely by moving from a permanent wooden house to an adjacent canvas tent at the first sign of spring.

35. The house of snow blocks was not made in Alaska. The style of wooden houses throughout western Eskimo territory was similar to Edmonds' description, but varied from place to place in number of rooms, entrance and tunnel design, placement of logs, and depth of house under the surface of the ground.

36. In 1867, W. H. Dall visited the kazgi at "Kegiktowruk" (Kikigtaruk), twenty miles east of St. Michael. It was, he said, "the largest in the country" (25 by 30 feet, and 15 feet high at the smoke hole), and had been

built to replace an old one that had decayed. Eskimos from all around Norton Sound had helped build it: "Many logs were towed from distant parts of the coast. The whole work had occupied six seasons in construction and had been standing about seven years" (1870:127).

37. Edmonds undoubtedly refers here to the bow drill, which he illustrates in his photograph number 25. The bow drill is still used by many men for drilling holes in ivory and wood, and splitting small pieces of wood. It is never used now to make a fire.

38. At mid-twentieth century several nineteenth-century implements are in constant use by Eskimo men and women for carving ivory and wood, and splitting skins and fish. The most common are the bow drill, the crooked knife (Edmonds' "curved knife") for woodworking, the adz for shaping wood and ivory, the ulu (the "woman's knife") for splitting skins, fish, etc., and scrapers for scraping skins.

39. Bidarka was the Russian word for kayak, and bidarra, for oomiak, or the large skin boat that held many persons. The two-holed kayak might have been an aboriginal design in southern Eskimo and Aleut territory, but the three-holed kayak had apparently been devised by the Russians to be paddled around by the native men (Birket-Smith 1953:45; Nelson 1899:221).

40. Edmonds' description fits both Nunivak and King island kayaks, although he undoubtedly is referring to the kind used then on King Island. E. W. Nelson said that "The kaiaks of Nunivak island and of Bering strait are curiously alike in general form, corresponding in a broad bottom and in the strength of their framework. The Nunivak island kaiaks, however, are sometimes twice the size of those used in Bering strait, and at times the bow is very strongly upcurved and the projecting end piece on the top of the stern extends out, or out and down, so that the point reaches halfway to the level of the keel" (1899:220).

41. Oomiaks varied from fifteen to forty feet long, built to accommodate only an average family and their possessions when moving to a summer home or twenty or more persons on a local expedition. Zagoskin in 1842 said that an unusually large Norton Bay oomiak was 52 feet long with two masts and centerboards (1847:97-98).

42. As soon as the outboard motor was introduced into the Arctic, the enterprising Eskimo realized its usefulness in an oomiak. Oomiaks are still used everywhere along the coast and on the islands, but never without a motor.

43. Eskimos had been traders long before European contact, and there is evidence that a few persons in each village were richer than others, and eager for gain.

44. It is not certain whether Edmonds is writing here of ordinary "feasting," or ceremonial feasting, which was a part of yearly festivals.

45. Doubtless many brittle marriages and loose sexual relations existed, particularly at St. Michael, which was an effective melting pot—fifty-seven years of first-hand contact with both Russians and Americans in a lonely outpost. For a thorough examination of the kinship structure of the Bering Strait Eskimo, which was similar to that of St. Michael, see Heinrich 1963-a.

46. Edmonds has misinterpreted actions in this context. The Alaskan Eskimo woman was far from being a slave; on the contrary, she often had great control over domestic activities, and her advice was invariably sought by her husband before he entered into any decision that might affect her or the family.

47. These observances were carried out principally during the so-called Bladder Festival. All the bladders of important game animals—mainly seals and caribou—were saved until spring when they were ceremonially deflated and returned to the sea (if seals). The bladders were considered to be alive even after parting from the body, and for that reason the festivities were aimed at their gratification and enjoyment. The bladders then were supposed to report to other seals in the ocean about how well they had been treated.

48. Similar action was taken in 1867 during the building of the Western Union Telegraph Company lines, which were to connect Europe and North America via the Bering Strait. Eskimos blamed the scarcity of caribou in the hills east of St. Michael to the line under construction (Adams diary, March 17, 1867).

49. E. W. Nelson's observation of this trait around 1880 was that "Begging is common only among those Eskimo who have had considerable intercourse with white men. This custom has evidently come about through indiscriminate giving of presents. From St. Michael southward to the Yukon mouth, and thence up the river to Chukwhûk, the people have had more dealings with white men than elsewhere in the region covered by my travels. They were also the most persistent beggars that I met, and in some villages were so importunate that they fairly drove me away.

"The people not accustomed to meeting white men were little addicted to begging, and their manners were usually much more frank and attractive" (1899:295).

50. For a comprehensive analysis of Eskimo names and naming see Heinrich 1963-b.

51. Masks with labrets were made principally by the Malemiut who had

come to the St. Michael area from the north in the early part of the nineteenth century. This movement is discussed in the Introduction.

52. These have been called "finger masks" in early accounts about the western Eskimos. These, as well as face masks, are discussed in detail by Ray (1967).

53. Tambourine drums usually were made of walrus stomach lining, or of seal and walrus bladders. Sealskin may have been used in this case, atypically. Nelson reported that large drums, two and a half feet in diameter, were made of tanned reindeer skin in the St. Mary's area (1899:392). In the whaling country of the far north, they were made of lung or liver membranes of the whale.

54. The most common festivals in the St. Michael area were the Bladder Festival, the Feast of the Dead, the Messenger Feast, and the Asking Festival. Other small festivities between men and women, or for local spontaneous enjoyment also occurred. This particular one, in which runners were sent to villages with invitations, was either the Messenger Feast or the Inviting-in-Feast.

55. This ceremony was probably connected with a Festival to the Dead, which is described also by J. A. Jacobsen (1884:269-71) and E. W. Nelson (1899:365-79).

56. This festival is called the Asking Festival by E. W. Nelson (1899:359-60). One of the characteristic emblems of this festivity was the *aiyaguk*, or wand with suspended globes made of bent wooden strips. This wand was used for asking persons to come to festivities or for asking for gifts, and was also used in the Inviting-in-Feast, and the Messenger Feast. When used for the latter, an almost universal custom was for two young men to carry the wands to another village to invite the people to a week or two of festivities. Certain aspects of the Asking Festival as found at St. Michael apparently were combined with those of the festival as described by Nelson, to form the Bering Strait version of the Messenger Feast.

57. Although Edmonds says that this festival was in honor of the dead, "a ten year dance," and "occurring at long intervals," the following characteristics are also basic to the Messenger Feast, at least in the area north of St. Michael: runners bearing invitations to villages; invitations sent about a month in advance; dog sleds congregating en route so they can arrive en masse in the host village; time of year; manner of arrival of people in the host village; exchange of presents, particularly those asked for in advance of the festival; carrying a wand; black marks on the face; and wearing of wolverine fur strips and bird feathers on the head. It is obvious that comparable features were found from area to area in two or more ceremonials. Certain aspects of the first part of this ceremony as described by Edmonds are the same as the Messenger Trading Feast on Seward Peninsula, but the portion that took place after Christmas day is

definitely the Feast of the Dead. The historic relationships of the various ceremonials among the Eskimos are not yet clear.

This description of a festival for the dead is more like the Golovnin Bay ceremony as described by Jacobsen in 1882 than that of the lower Yukon village of "Razbinsky," reported by Nelson the year before (Jacobsen 1884:259-67; Nelson 1899:366-78).

Feasts to the dead in some form or other were celebrated as far north as Point Hope, but the custom of handing down presents on a line from the kazgi's smoke hole seems to have been limited to Yupik speakers. It is likely that the Messenger Feast from St. Michael to Point Barrow, and the Feast of the Dead from Prince William Sound (Chugach Eskimos) to Point Hope may all have had a common origin or had developed from a basic ceremony.

58. I have been unable to get a translation of this from Unaluk speakers.

59. The similarity of the number of gifts and manner of hauling them into the room by a line at Ignitok in the Golovnin area and at St. Michael is striking. Jacobsen in 1882 reported that Ignitok presents were given in sets of 20; that is, 20 pairs of boots, 20 kayak mats, 20 harpoons, etc. (1884:263-64). In this case, 21 presents were attached to a string, either in miscellany or one of a kind.

60. The transition from the Feast of the Dead to what is the Bladder Festival in this account is not made clear by Edmonds. The latter appears to be a continuation of the former, but according to the schedule of Eskimo festivities, undoubtedly took place several weeks later. The Bladder Festival occurred as far north as Golovnin Bay and as far south as Prince William Sound where, however, it was "a somewhat pale reflection of the elaborate [festival] at Bering Strait" (Birket-Smith 1953:114). Variations of the traditional bladder-festivals for seals took place north of St. Michael in the Inupiaq-speaking area for caribou and whales.

61. Few masks were used in the Bladder Festival on Nunivak Island (Lantis 1946:182-87). Nelson did not mention any at St. Michael (1899:379-82) or at Kushunuk near Cape Vancouver (*ibid.*:382-89), though helmets were worn in the latter festival.

Some of the masks used in the St. Michael ceremony were collected by Edmonds and presented to the University of California. They are illustrated in his snapshots and in Ray, *Eskimo Masks: Art and Ceremony*.

62. The hawk (and eagle) and ermine are important elements of ceremonies everywhere among the western Eskimos.

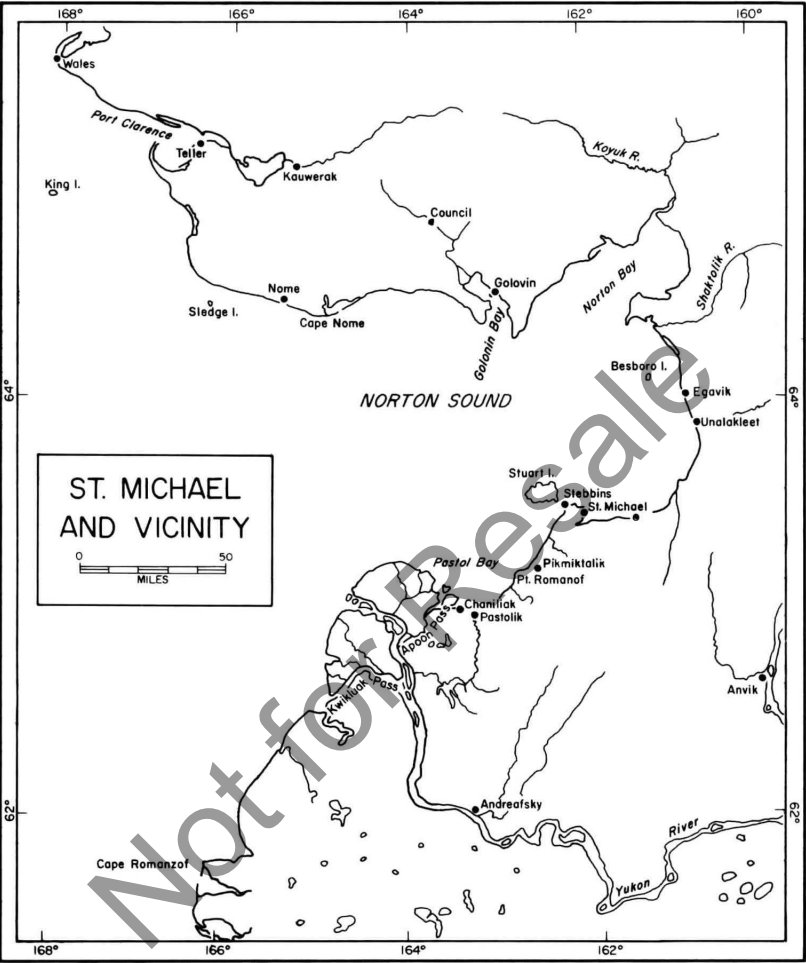
Not for Resale

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An effort has been made to equate the place names as given in Baker (Geographic Dictionary of Alaska) with Alaska Map B, western half, published by the Department of Interior, U. S. Geological Survey, 1956. When in doubt the latter was followed since Baker was published in 1906.

EDMONDS' ILLUSTRATIONS

Note to Captions

Probably all of the objects illustrated in the photographs that accompanied this manuscript were collected by Edmonds during the winter of 1890-1891 in St. Michael. As a matter of fact, during a limited visit to the Lowie Museum, where some of them are now, I found that most of the objects attributed to him are labeled St. Michael.

No data about Edmonds nor his collection were recorded at the time of presentation. In 1904 Dr. Alfred L. Kroeber initiated a search for Edmonds' identification by writing to V. H. Henderson, Office of the Secretary of the University of California. On September 13, Henderson wrote Kroeber: "We have searched the minutes of the Regents, and questioned all the members of the faculty who could be likely to know anything about the matter, and we are unable to find any light about the Edmonds' (sic) collection. I think that we had best go right ahead and catalogue the stuff, incorporating it with the rest of our collection, but labelling each individual piece, possibly, as coming principally from the Edmund (sic) collection."

All of the photographs enclosed with the manuscript are reproduced here, although several of the original prints are rather dark. The captions as written by Edmonds have been retained, with the addition of a few phrases of clarification or amplification where necessary. Illustration number 8 is missing, but was labeled, "Winter fur boots with woman's boot in center." In what is apparently Dutton's handwriting, appears a notice in the middle of the page, "Duplicate Photograph Missing."



Fishskin jacket and boots, tanned yellow, with trimmings of pale straw color and dark brick red. (The scalloped design and the style may have been copied from Russian clothing.)



Woman's fishskin garments.



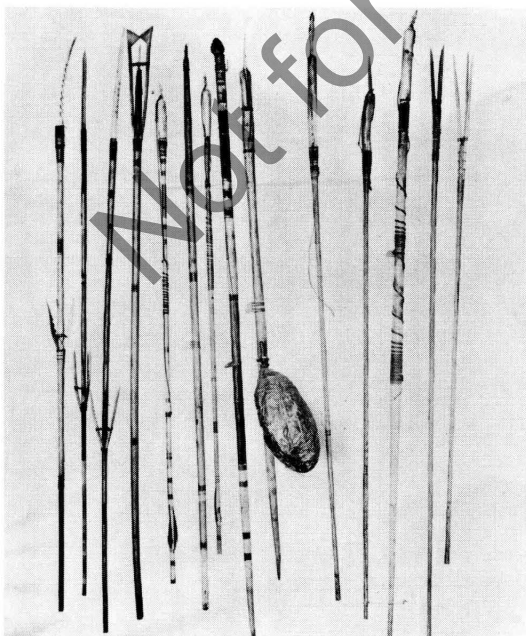
a) Fur hat, worn by some of better class Eskimos; b) moose-skin gloves; c) deerskin gloves; d) muskrat glove; e) deerskin glove.



Fishskin bags; ornamentation of upper bag was widely used from Norton Sound to Bering Strait. The bag on the right probably came from Norton Sound where women were especially adept at sewing.



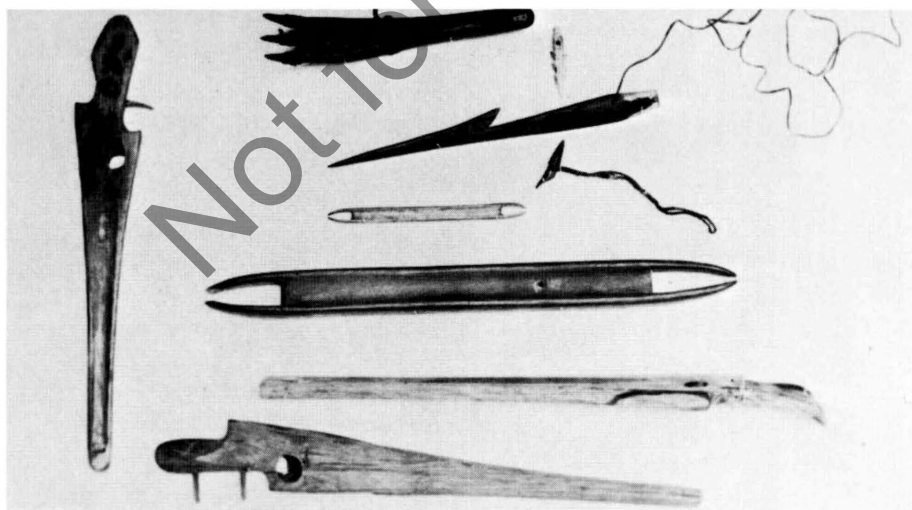
a) Four darts used in the favorite pastime of all sexes and ages of dart throwing; b) skein of seal sinew; c) stuffed ball of fishskin with fur tufts, used by girls and boys; d) two baskets for women's small implements; e) four small bags of duckskin, fine tanned deerskin, mink with beaver fur tufts, and squirrelskin.



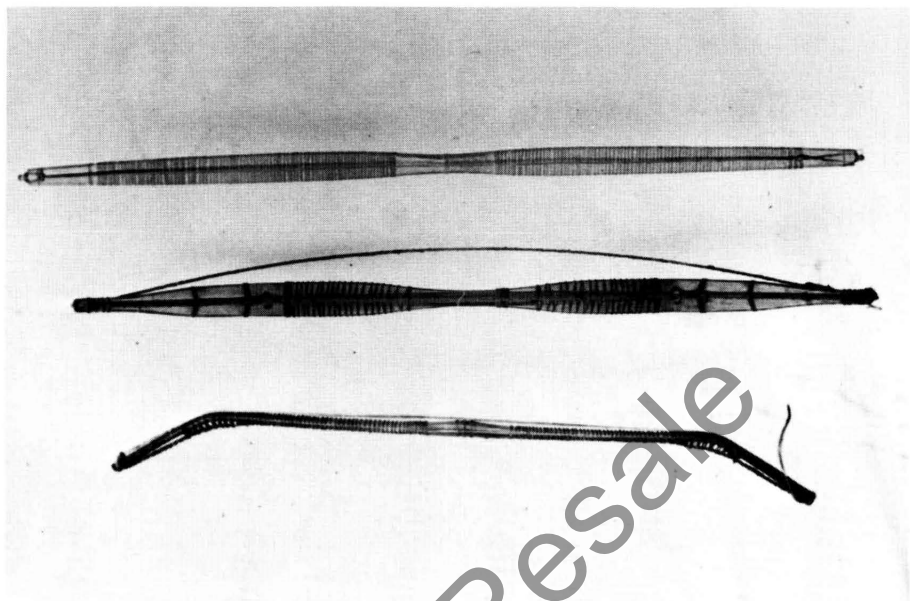
a) 3 bird spears; b) fish spear; c) spears used with or without throwing board; d) spears with side pieces or grips; e) flint spear heads; all others are bone or ivory.



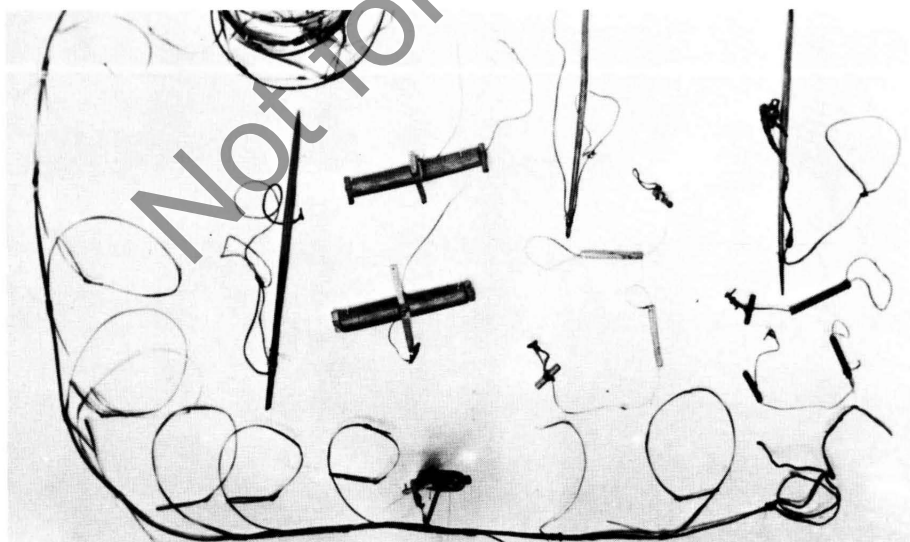
Details of spear points of plate 14.



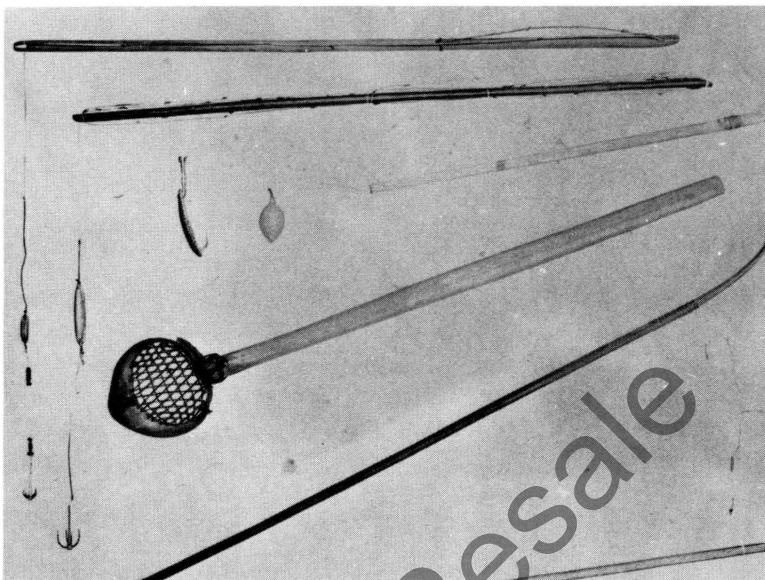
a) Front and side views of spear thrower; b) back of spear thrower showing groove; c) large and small seine needles; d) three spear points; e) one seal call, having three bear claws. With this the Eskimo scratches on the ice to attract the seal.



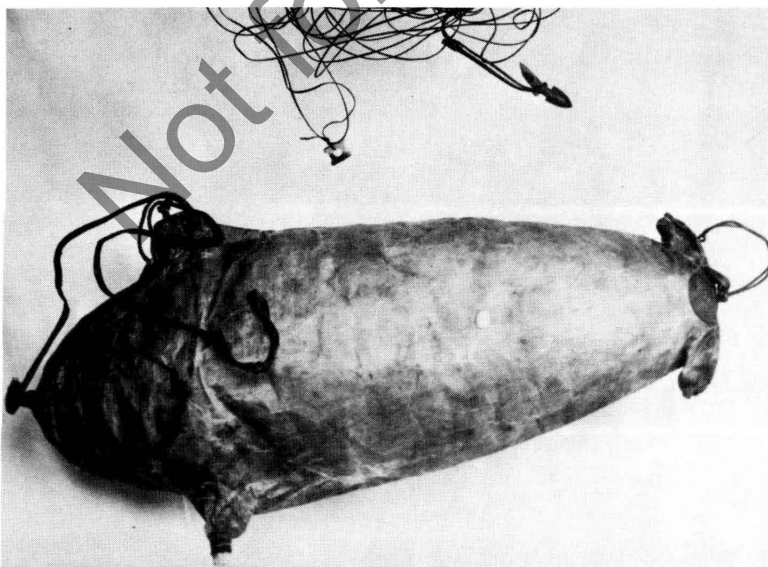
Side, front and back views of bows; side views of bows wound with sinew to strengthen the rather brittle wood.



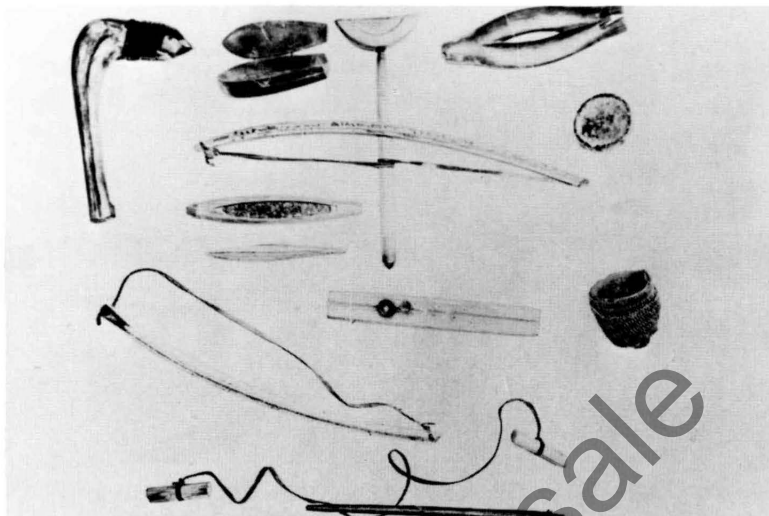
Bird snares, being cylinders of wood with twisted cords of sinew running through from end to end, acting as a spring to the two side arms. In setting, these arms are held near together by a crosspiece with hook; when sprung, one arm flying back armed with a pointed peg, transfixes the head of the bird.



a) three fishing rods for use through ice holes; b) stone sinker; c) iron pointed ivory fish hook; d) ice scoop with wooden handle, bone rim and sinew or rawhide mesh work for keeping the fishing hole in the ice clear of slush; e) fishing rod with ringed end; f) rod used as fish club.

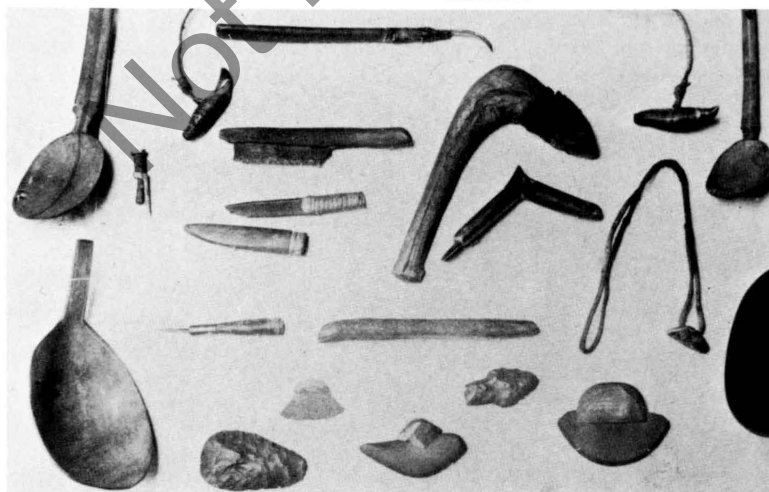


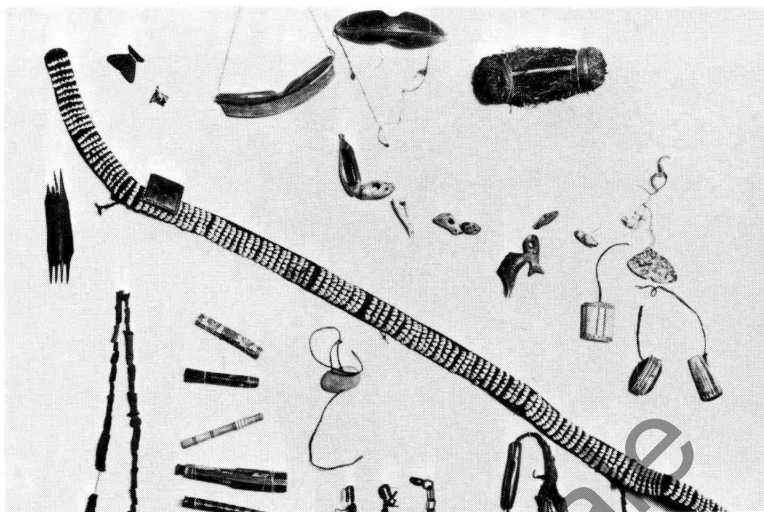
Whole sealskin blown up as a float and rawhide line and spear point.



a) Fire drill and three boxes of punk; b) two lamps; c) hatchet with greenstone blade; d) other fire drill equipment for which the same word is now used as for the bow drill.

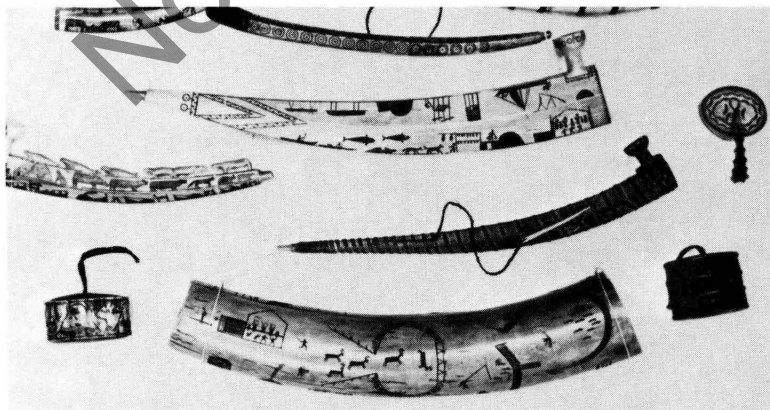
a) Four spoons; b) curved knife; c) small saw set in wooden handle; d) knife with slate blade and sheath; e) punch awl; f) plug for bladder float; g) hatchet; h) skin scraper in crooked handle; i) flat bone skin scraper; j) three women's knives or creasers; k) two flint spear heads; l) two rawhide handles.

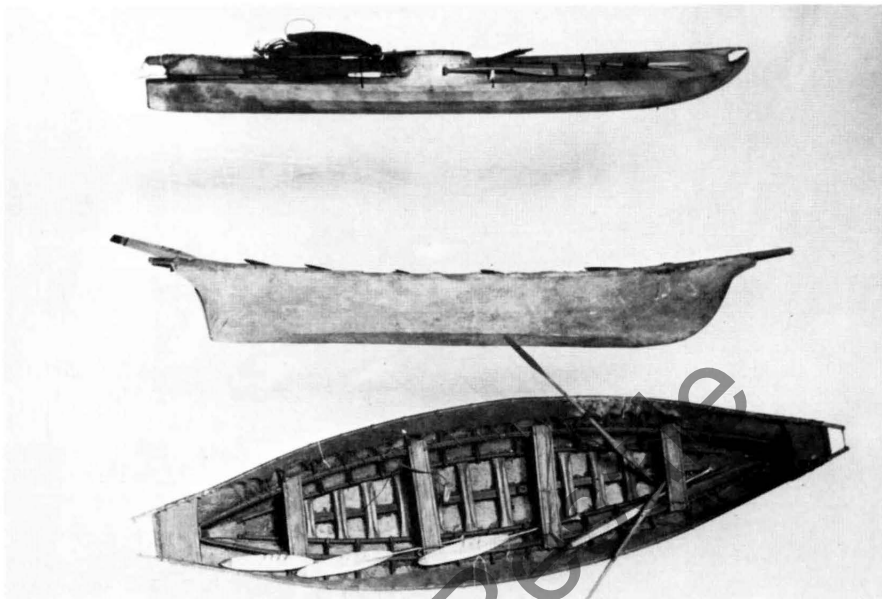




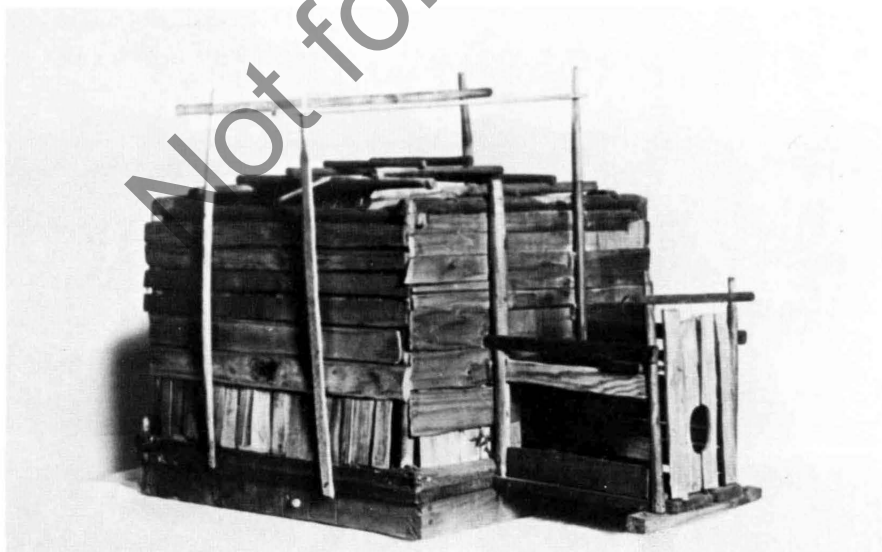
a) Woman's belt and buckle. Belt made of 130 rows of deer (caribou) teeth; b) two slate and greenstone labrets; c) two wooden snow spectacles; d) a straw mouthpiece to grip between the teeth and hold firm against the mouth and nose to breathe through in the heated sweat house; e) ivory buttons and ornaments; f) three small ivory boxes; g) a bone toothed comb; h) a string of stone beads, formerly used very much; i) a set of needle cases of ivory; j) an ivory wrist protector bound on by thongs to wrist to protect against snap of bowstring; k) ivory earrings; l) belt pendants for women.

a) Bone tobacco snuffers; b) two whalebone tobacco boxes with wooden top and bottom; c) two cigar mouthpieces; d) two wooden pipes bound with rawhide, mouth and bowl pieces of ivory, one shows bowl pick; e) five carved and etched ivory pipes; f) a piece of mastodon tusk with etchings; g) wooden tobacco box; h) cover of whalebone tobacco box.

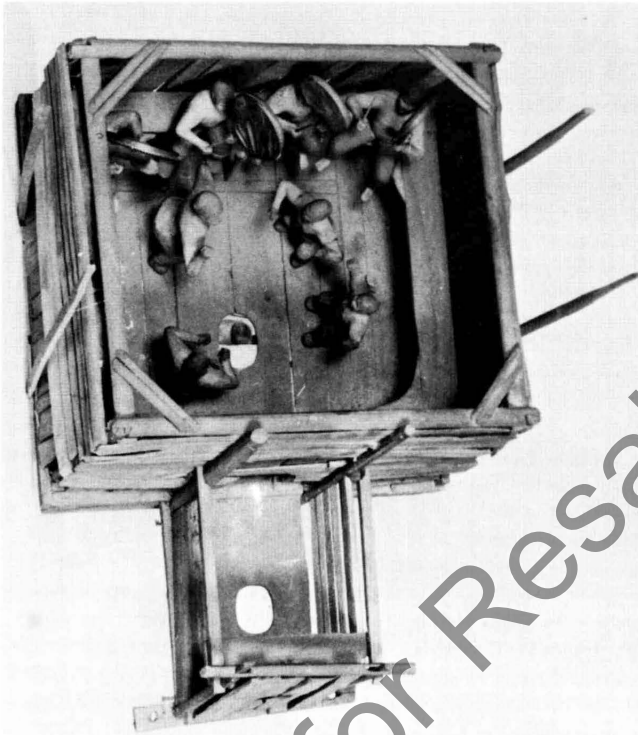




a) Kayak or bidarka for men and boys; b) two views of an oomiak or bidarras for everyone.



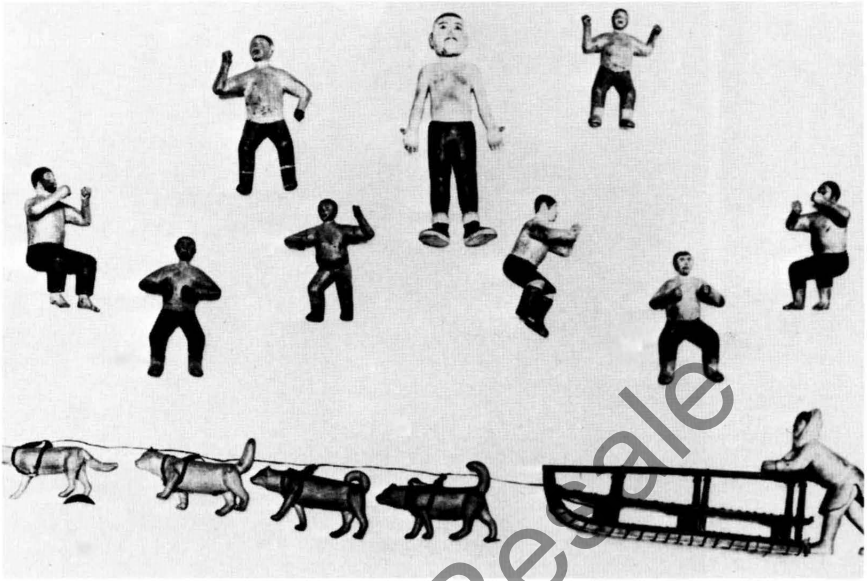
Model of dance house made by Eskimo, showing double walls, top frame for hanging things or resting sleds. Front passage shows the front boards put up in mid-winter with the small entrance hole. The side of the passage way has been partly removed.



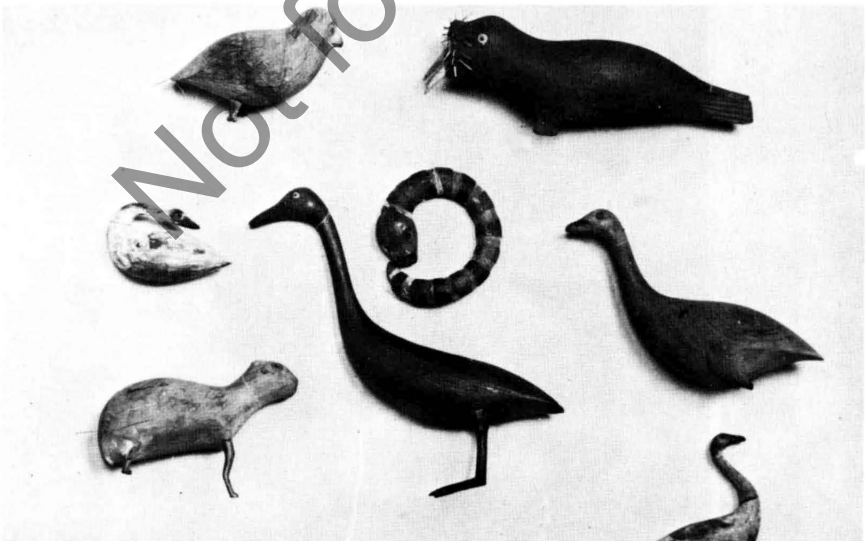
View of model from above, showing the interior. The top of the passage way has been removed to show the hole in the ground floor leading by underground passage to the hole in the middle of the floor of the main room. Wall benches shown and musicians and dancers. The figures are out of proportion to the building.



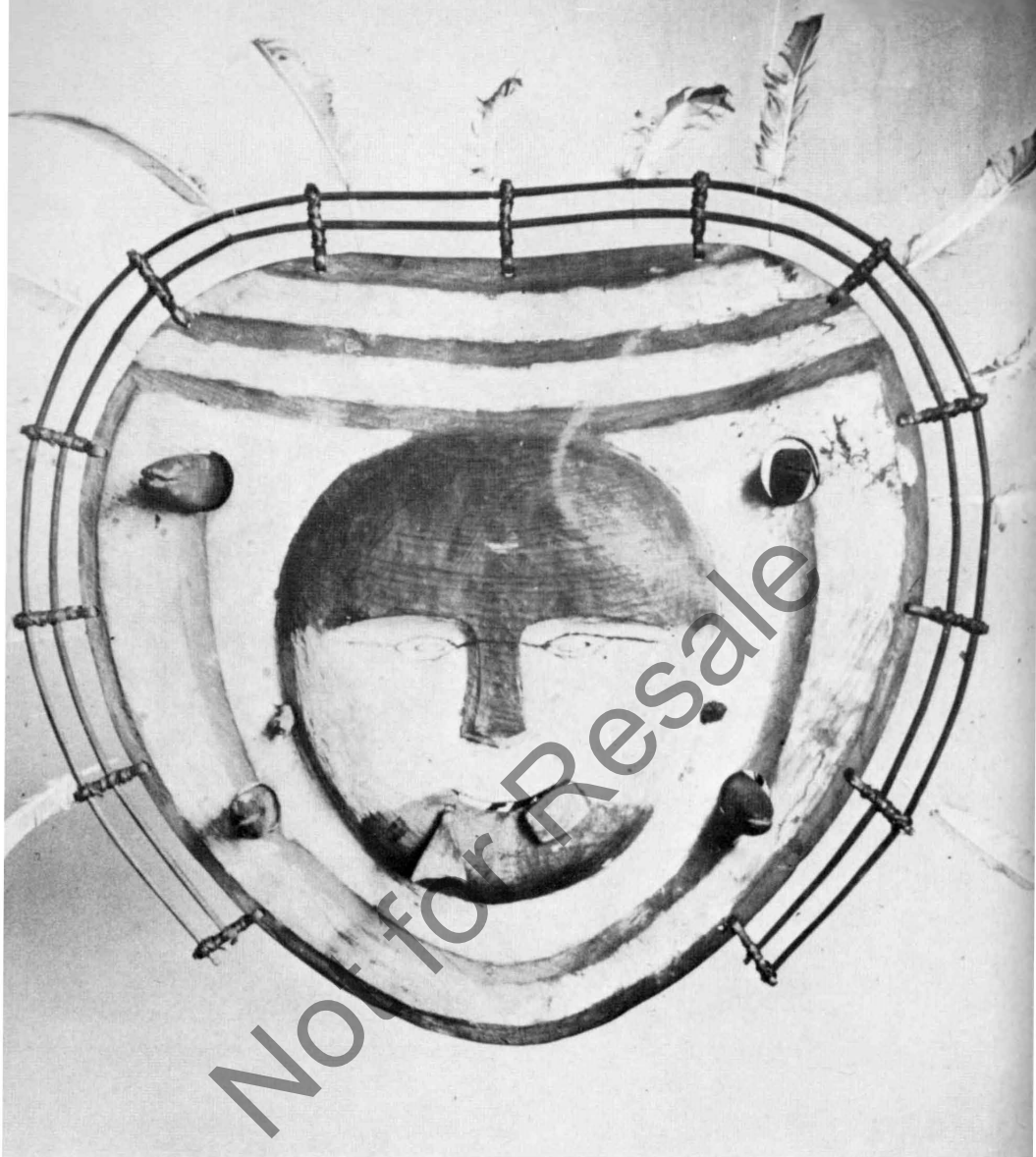
a) Specimen of Eskimo painting, illustrating dresses of various Eskimo and Indian tribes; b) Eskimo artist's pencil drawing of two masks, one being a half mask, both being worn by Tirbuk and companion in the Winter dance at Stebbins.



Wood carvings including a woman with a sled and dog team. The dogs should be in couples with a single leader. The large figure represents a man greeting his guests.



Wood carvings of animals. The rabbit is supposed to be sitting and consequently the front legs are long. The snake is from hearsay.



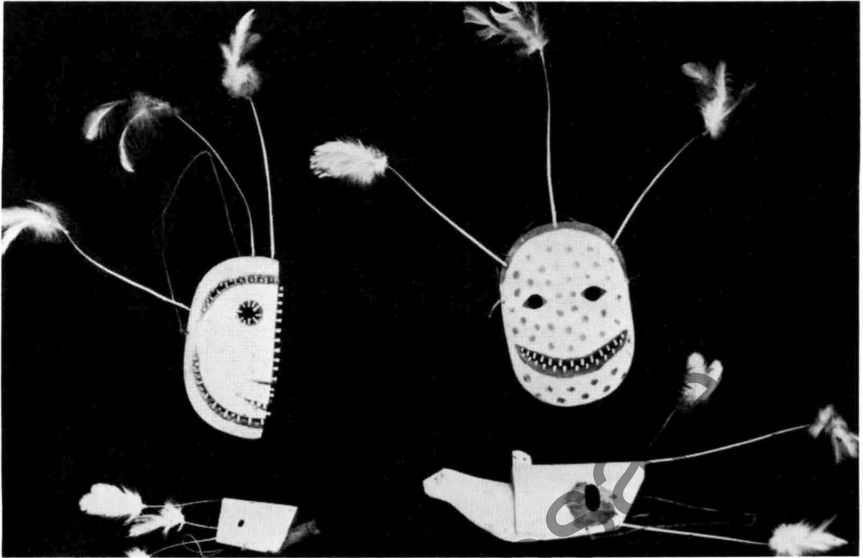
Mask used at game dances. At the four holes about the face are wooden plugs rudely representing whales. The owner or wearer wished to propitiate the whales for the coming season and hence wore this mask at the game dances.



Walrus mask in center.

Wolf mask in center; fox to left with stiff feathers; wolverine to right.

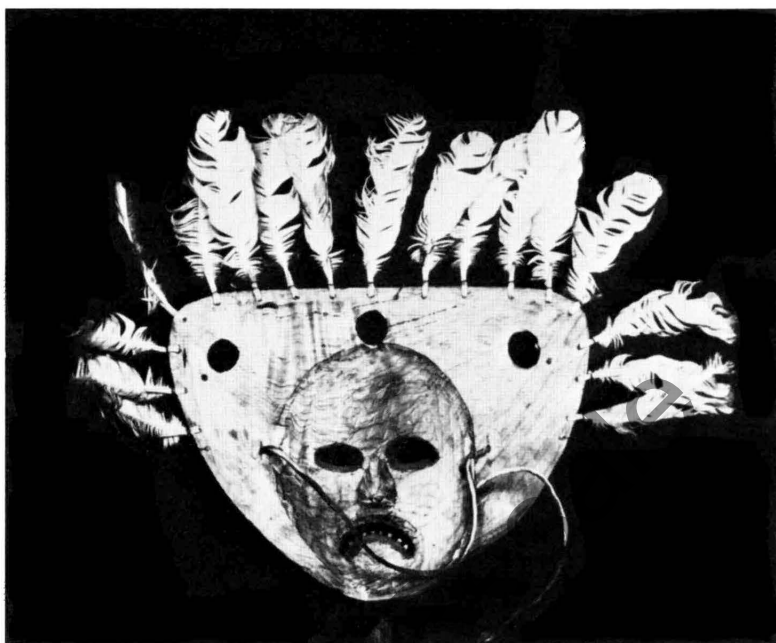




Sun mask, the larger one with red face, and moon mask.

Half mask; sculpin with spotted face; small animal masks.

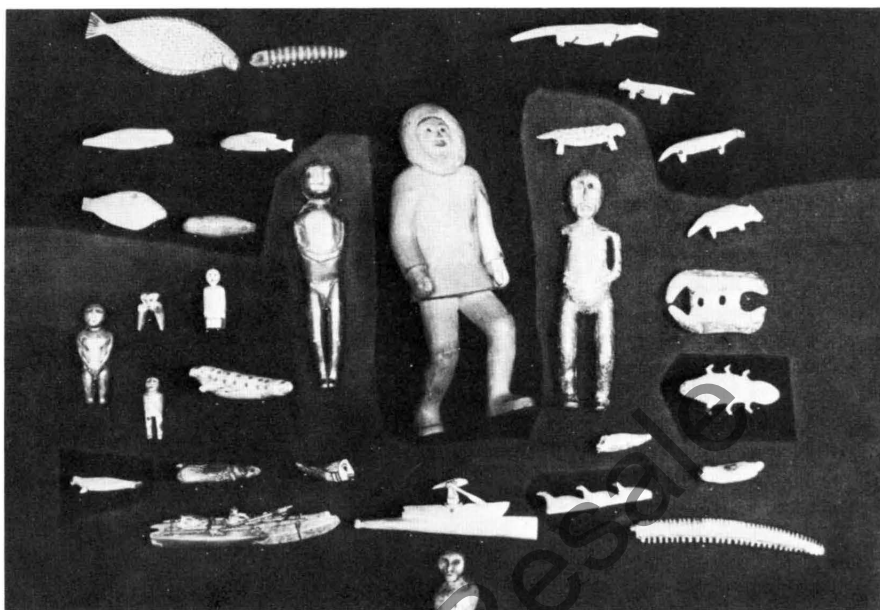




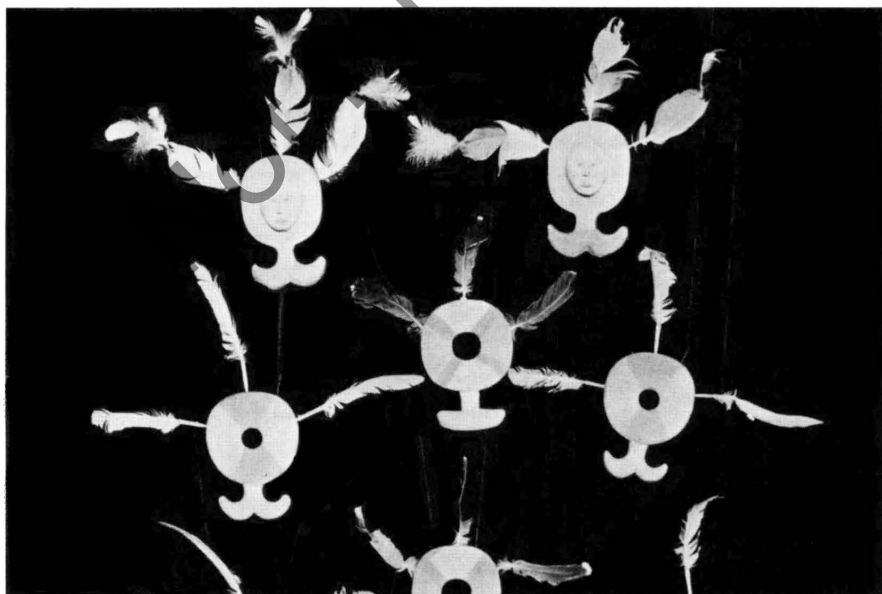
Men and bird masks.



Malemiut mask in center; tall mask with spotted forehead represents driftwood.



Ivory carvings.



Finger masks used by women in dancing.

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Not for Resale

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