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THE NUNIVAK

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

NUNIVAK island rises bluffly from Bering sea approximately at the intersection of 60° north latitude and 166° west longitude. The chart shows that the island lies about fifty miles to the westward of that part of the mainland between Kuskokwim river on the south and Cape Romanzof on the north, an extremely low, flat coast with many narrow, shallow inlets. Numerous inlets are a part of the intricate net of waterways which form the mouth of the Yukon and its delta.

Nunivak island extends east and west about one hundred and twenty miles, with a distance of fifty miles between its most northerly and southerly points. The shore-line is bluff and rocky, and its few harbors are suitable only for small craft. Such harbors as are not obstructed by dangerous reefs or sandbars with tortuous ever-shifting channels offer little real protection and must be navigated with the utmost care. The interior of the island is comparatively level, with only a few mountains grouped in the southwestern end and one in the centre whose heights have been estimated to be between five hundred and eight hundred feet above sea-level. The entire area is treeless; the vegetation is tundra-grass, moss of several varieties, and edible herbs and roots. Over this bleak, cheerless island sweep the heavy winter storms, intensified because of the unbroken expanse of Bering sea in which to accumulate force from both north and south. Few Eskimo have penetrated the interior, which is given over to the recently introduced reindeer and to foxes and other animals. The natives prefer to dwell along the coast, where they are assured of a fairly abundant supply of birds, and sea mammals and other sea food, and where the broken coast affords a slight degree of shelter.

The villages on Nunivak island are situated with respect to accessibility of the food supply. Since the major part is derived from the sea, the inhabitants of each village erect their homes close to the shore, facing the water. Again, because of dependence on the seasons for their various foods, it is necessary for each group of people to possess more than one village, thus moving with all their belongings from one place to another to take advantage of the seal run, the different fish runs, the bird season, the berry season, *et cetera*. The loss of one seasonal

item of provision might entail serious hardship, even starvation, for if one should fail to reap the harvest, be it fish, bird, or berry, a full year would be required to make up the loss. Thus the people at Cape Etolin alone occupy five villages and camps. From December to the end of March is spent in the winter village, Mihkóyak, containing permanent structures and the men's and women's houses. The season of April, May, and June finds them at the spring fishing village, Pungóhpuk, also permanent. The months of July, August, and September are spent in two widely separated fishing camps — Watáwiya, a village of temporary structures and not containing men's and women's houses, and Kúngiéhslu, both summer and fall and permanent. Another fall settlement is the seal-netting village, Akítoh, also permanent.

Most of the villages of Nunivak island, so far as known, are situated on the northern and eastern shores, especially on such prominent headlands as Capes Corwin, Manning, and Mendenhall. The people on each of these capes have at least two villages and camps. These settlements, or groups of villages, scattered as they are along the coast, contain only as many as about forty inhabitants each. A census of the whole island, made in 1926, gave one hundred and seventy-seven natives; in 1928 only fifty-two were reported.

The winter village at Cape Etolin, typical of all the permanent settlements, included eight structures, two of which were men's houses and two women's, all within an area of fifty by forty-seven paces. This small cluster was built on an incline facing the sea and a wide stretch of sandy beach. Behind and above the houses, etched sharply against the skyline of the hill, were a number of graves and grave-boxes. As observed from the water, the village appeared to be merely a group of grass-covered mounds or hummocks; only human figures and the evidence of human occupation betrayed the presence of a community. The structures were grouped irregularly, as follows: A men's house and a women's house side by side; obliquely to these were three ordinary houses in a row; parallel to these, and but a slight distance away, another men's and a women's house, with another ordinary house to the rear. A tunnel passed along the front of each row of houses, and the two were joined by an intersecting tunnel. The only ingress to the village was through two shafts which descended into the tunnels by the men's houses at each end of the village. The tunnel permitted communication between the occupants of the houses without the necessity of

appearing above ground, a great advantage in winter, as the inhabitants wear little clothing while indoors. Air and light are provided by means of smoke-holes in the individual houses. Evidences of a larger village in former times are seen in a row of grass-grown pits and demolished houses below the present site, with which it was connected by sloping tunnels.

The centre of activity in any village is the men's house (*gíya*). Here ceremonies are performed, especially during the winter months; here the men make kaiaks, weapons, utensils of all kinds, and carve ivory; here they smoke, gossip, and have their sweat-baths. Such a house is built to contain a whole village on ceremonial occasions, each family being allotted a space at one of three sides of the room, with a lamp before it. Large villages boasted of two or more men's houses. During the spring, summer, and fall seasons, when the people move from camp to camp or from village to camp, and are sometimes scattered and busy gathering the year's food supply, the men's houses are largely unused. Men of family usually remain with their families, hunting, fishing, working, eating, sleeping, performing the various functions which make up their lives. Youths and young unmarried men may occupy the *gíya*. In winter, most of the men, including heads of families, occupy their places in the men's houses. Above each man hangs his seal-bladders for the Bladder feast. From pegs depend gear of various kinds. Here he keeps weapons and tool-box, and his lamp burns before him. He sleeps here, with head on a wooden head-rest, and his wife brings his meals. In winter the numerous lamps and the warmth of the bodies heat this underground dwelling so that few clothes are necessary. The men's house is a community club house.

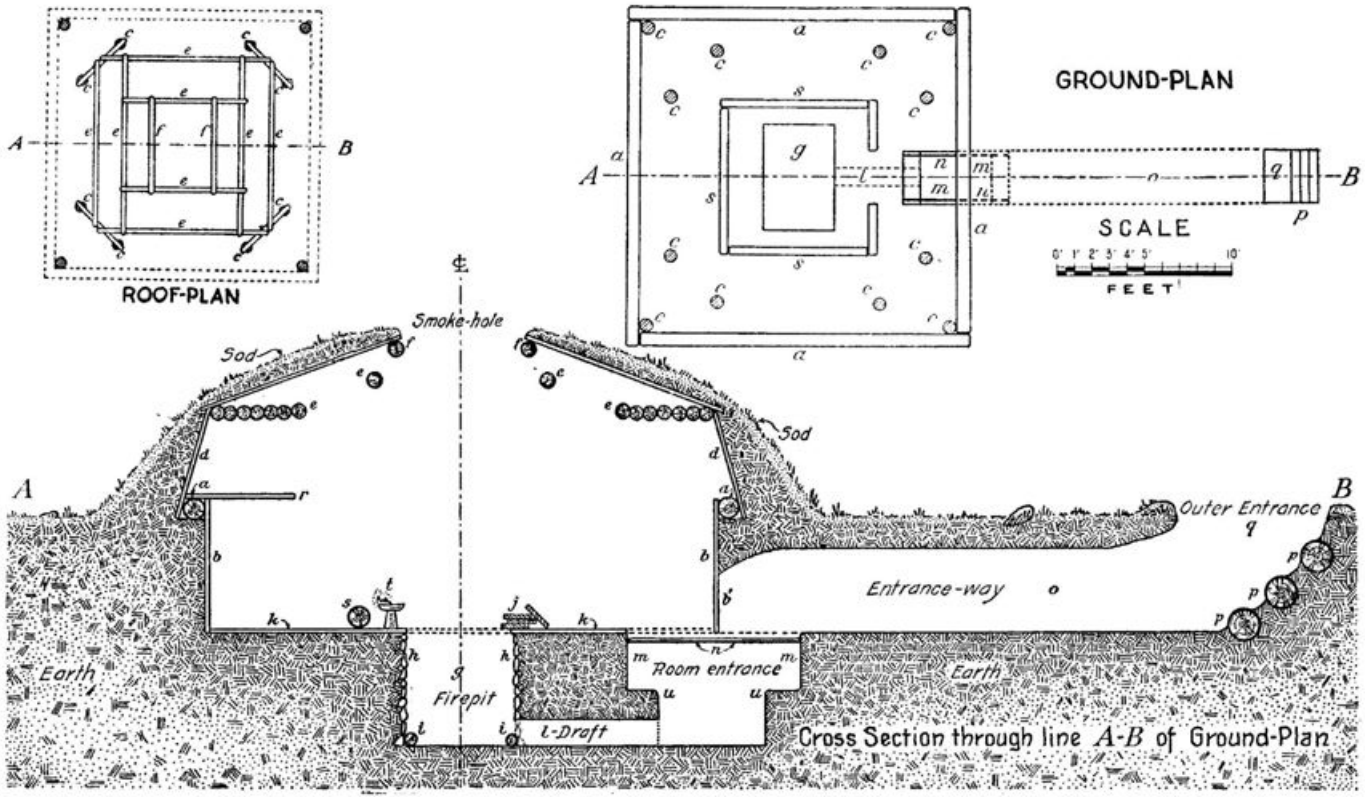
Somewhat similar in function is the women's house. In the winter the women gather there, work, sleep, eat, and prepare meals for the men. However, it has no part in ceremonial life, for all of this takes place in the men's house.

Other individual family houses are much smaller and are used more for storage of clothing, food, and various supplies than for actual habitation. Each family has such a house in each permanent village and camp, where are stored such food supplies from the particular season's catch as are not put away in the caches. They take back to the winter villages, where they remain longest, enough to last them through the winter. These houses are used for dwellings in the summer.

In the construction of the men's house, a pit about eighteen feet square and four feet deep is first dug. Around the pit edges logs (*dúset*) are laid (*a* in the plan). From these logs to the floor the pit walls are sheathed with split timbers (*b*). About three feet out from each wall and at each corner is a post seven feet high and about six inches square (*c*). Thus, in each corner are two adjacent posts. Each pair is connected at the top by a cap timber on which rest horizontal beams. Thus, the first framework, a horizontal square, extends three feet above ground and is three feet away from the pit edge, the first step toward the conical appearance of the roof. Split timbers (*d*) lean from the pit edge, logs against these eaves beams (*águlut*). Then the rafters *(kanágut)* are placed in position (*e*). Across the eaves beams stretch two parallel rafters, each about three feet from the corners of the framework. At right angles to these and again away from the ends are two parallel rafters. The final set (*f*) forms the square sides or sills (*kíituh*) of the small smoke-hole (*tunnakiúm*), an opening four feet square covered in stormy weather with a sheet of gut, thus admitting light but keeping out rain. The rafters are overlaid with split timbers and covered heavily first with earth and then sod, rendering the structure impervious to stormy weather. The appearance of the finished house is that of a mound of earth.

In the centre of the room a rectangular firepit *(kanégiwih)* is dug, six feet long, four feet wide, and four feet deep (*g*). This is walled with stones (*h*) and edged with small logs (*i*). The firepit, for sweat-baths mainly, when not in use is covered with planking (*himugíahut*) easily taken up or laid down *(j)*. The floor *(nájitit)* of the room is of wooden planking (*k*). A draft (*chupúhhun*) is bored through the ground to that part of the entrance which tunnels beneath the house wall (*l*).

The entrance (*lúyuh*) to the room *(m)* is tunnelled four feet deeper than the floor and extends on each side of the house wall (*b'*). This has wooden hand-rails (*ayápuhiyuh*), which become highly polished from constant use (*n*). The outer passageway (*ámih*) is at the same level as the floor of the house, that is, about four feet under ground, and extends out about eighteen feet (*o*). At the farther end are three log steps (*p*) and a square opening (*q*) at the top. One first descends through the outer opening, creeps along the passageway, swings down and under the house wall, and finally pulls himself up into the room. In cold weather the inner entrance is usually covered with a mat (*pahótti*).



GROUND-PLAN, ROOF-PLAN, AND SECTION OF ESKIMO MEN'S HOUSE

a, Logs about pit edges; *b*, split wall timbers; *b'*, house wall; *c*, posts; *d*, split timbers; *e*, rafters; *f*, smoke-hole sill; *g*, firepit; *h*, stones; *i*, small logs; *j*, planks for firepit covering; *k*, flooring; *l*, draft tunnel; *m*, room entrance; *n*, wooden hand-rails; *o*, outer passageway; *p*, log steps; *q*, square opening; *r*, bench; *s*, small log head-rests; *t*, lamp-stand and lamp; *u*, steps. Scale of ground-plan, six feet to the inch.

Along three walls, at the height of the eaves, extends a bench (*r*) about three feet in width. This is used as a seat during ceremonies; at other times it forms the sleeping platform for boys and youths. Around the three sides, on the floor, about five feet out from the walls and parallel to them, are small logs *(s)*. In the space thus formed, matting *(aslíikat)* is laid. Upon this men work, recline, and sleep, using the wooden rails as headrests (*agítut*). Before each man, outside the headrest, is his lamp-stand (*nuníglu*) with lamp (*kúmun*) on top (*t*).

The women's house (*n'na*) *is* built in the same manner, but the interior furnishings vary. Light sticks are laid across the lower rafters for the suspension of fish, meat, or drying sealskins. Two long hooks (*wiúlichtit*) depend and swing over the fire for roasting meat. On the rear wall is a shelf at eaves height for cooking-pots, and a second shelf two feet above the floor to hold food about to be cooked. Similar shelves extend on each side of and above the entranceway to accommodate clothing, sewing bags, and various household utensils and oddments. The other two walls have sleeping benches (*áchit*), raised some two feet above the ground and extending five feet into the room, covered with matting and having the usual head-rests. The fireplace near the rear wall is a square mound, two feet high, walled with stones and the interior filled with earth and ashes. The top is edged with stone, and in the enclosure the fire is built. Because of the scarcity of wood, the greater part of the cooking is done over oil lamps.

The individual houses follow the same general method of construction, but are much smaller, about eight feet square, with the entrance opening into the tunnel. While the winter village of the Cape Etolin people was tunnelled, the spring village consisted of separate houses, each with its own outside entrance and not connected in any way with the men's and women's houses.

The most important garment of the Nunivak, and of the Eskimo generally, is the parka. This is a frock, made of animal, bird, or fish skins, which is slipped over the head and reaches about to the knees. The general style for men and women is similar, except that while the bottom hem of the men's garment is regular all the way around, the parka of the women has a deep slit or open seam on each side, in much the same manner as a white man's shirt. Parkas for outdoor wear, for travelling or hunting, and for winter use, are provided with a hood, which may be drawn up to cover the head, or thrown back at pleasure.

Such a hood, made of the same material as the parka itself, usually has a strip of long hair, wolf or wolverene commonly, attached to the edge for ornamentation, so that the wearer, with hood up, seems to have a halo of long hairs outlining his face.

The Nunivak have a variety of parkas, each for its own purpose. Indeed there is seemingly no limit to the number and kind that a person may possess. Of the bird-skin parkas alone, six different styles were counted: the very light in weight (*chibílit),* the light (*tunúnut*), and the medium (*múthut*). These three are fashioned to be worn indoors. The *ásput* is a bird-skin parka for ordinary outdoor wear; the *kilánut* is a waterproof outdoor parka, and the *tunôhtit,* of gull-skins, is worn in hunting or in warfare. Of furs for parkas, those in general use are caribou (reindeer in these times), mink, and squirrel. These are for outdoor wear. The caribou garment (*káliluh*) is worn in travelling. In winter two parkas are often worn: an inner one (*úvwutel*) of light fawn-skin without a hood, the fur turned next to the skin, and an outer one (*átkut*) with hair-side outward.

For decorative effect, fur parkas may be made of strips of alternately colored fur, such as brown and white, or they may be of a solid color with a long white strip, the belly-fur of reindeer or caribou, extending over each shoulder and well down both front and back. Bird-skin parkas are either of a single color or have alternating squares of dark and white skins.

For wet weather, or for use in kaiaks, parkas are made of seal intestine. These have draw-strings about the face and the wrists to keep out water. A hunter in a kaiak wearing such a garment lashes the bottom edge around the manhole rim with a thong, and thus may paddle his craft in rain, spray, or choppy seas, and keep dry.

It is not customary for women to wear any kind of head-covering other than the elaborately beaded headgear which forms a part of the dance costume. Caps (*wífkoh*) for men and boys, worn in either summer or winter, are made of squirrel-skins, sewn to fit the head snugly. A circular piece of fur forms the crown, around which strips are sewn in coils until the cap is of the proper size. Such caps are often adorned with beads, tufts of hair, or tails.

Trousers for both sexes are made from two sealskins with the bellies removed. In former times the skin from caribou legs made up the trousers. At the top a loop is formed by turning down and sewing the

edge; a thong passed through this loop and secured by an ivory toggle serves as a belt. Men's trousers end at the ankle, but those of women are of full length, terminating in a crimped sole for the foot. Women's trouser boots *(yúnikluga)* are of three varieties: the light for indoor wear; the outdoor and travelling boots, usually hairless and waterproof (*átayúhsluga*); and the decorated dance or ceremonial trouser-boot.

Boots worn by men extend to below the knees, where a drawstring (*tahpúhha*) holds them firmly to the legs. To the feet are attached hard sealskin soles (*atúni*), which are bent up, crimped at toe and heel, and thus sewn to the uppers. Two long tanned strips of hide, about eighteen inches long and an inch wide, are sewn on each side of the ankle by the sole. These thongs pass up through horizontal loops, cross above the instep, are passed about the ankle and tied in front, thus holding the boot bottom securely on the foot. Such a boot (*ángiutih* or *ívahóchih*) is hairless and waterproof for ordinary wear, or it may have highly decorated fur tops for ceremonial or house wear (*achihslúhuh*). The fur boots may be of seal alternating with wolverene strips, or of brown caribou with strips of the white belly fur running horizontally down the legs. Two or more bands of alternately colored fur make up the top edges. Further ornamentation often consists of brightly colored yarn tassels hung from the tops. For summer and indoor use men sometimes wear a short ankle boot (*kumúksih*).

Socks (*alíksuh*) woven of grass are worn inside the boots. Dried grass is doubled over or bunched into pads (*túnimi*) and placed in the boots as inner liners. These not only provide a soft cushion, but absorb moisture that may have leaked through seams.

Mittens (*arítfit*) are of four types. Women wear one kind only; these extend nearly to the elbow and have wolverene trimming along the upper edge. Men also wear this kind of mitten, mainly when travelling overland. A second type (*pinívyet*) has a forefinger and is used while working outdoors near the house. A third kind (*árislúgut*) is both hairless and waterproof. The last (*árikúhhut*), for wear while paddling a kaiak, is short, barely extending to the wrist.

Facial ornamentation consists of tattooing and the wearing of earrings (plain, *águt;* beaded, *chíujítit*), nose beads (*ínichut*), and labrets (*tútet*). Of these forms of adornment men use only the labrets; but at the present time these lip ornaments are becoming rarer, though they are worn on Nunivak island to a far greater extent than on the

mainland, where contact with whites has made them almost obsolete. The holes for labrets are punched through the flesh just beneath the extremities of the lower lip, both of youths and maidens, about the age of puberty. At first a small ivory plug is inserted to keep the aperture distended. As the skin heals and hardens, larger plugs are used, thus gradually enlarging the orifice to the desired size. Men's labrets consist of a disc worn on the inner surface of the lip and which rests against the teeth. A shank projects through the hole and terminates in a rounded point slightly larger than the shank proper, the point extending beyond the lips. A variation of this most common form is a curved, slender ivory bar attached horizontally to the shank, so that when both labrets are in place the tips of the bars nearly touch in the middle of the lower lip.

In connection with ceremonial and dance costume, women wear a labret with a straight, slender, horizontal ivory bar attached to the shank. From this bar hangs a row of beaded strings measuring several inches in length. As a part of the everyday costume, women insert labrets similar to those of the men.

Young girls frequently have the nasal septum pierced and insert a small ring or hook from which four plain or white beads dangle.

For ceremonial and dance wear, several styles of ear-ornaments are worn by the women. One such was a pendant, several inches long, consisting of rows of beaded strings on a horizontal ivory bar. A small hook fastened to the centre of the bar was then inserted in the pierced aural cartilage. There is a variation of this form of ear-ring in which the strings of beads form a long loop from one ear-ring to the other, the loop passing under the chin or around the back of the neck. A third ear-ring observed had on its hook a flat piece of ivory about three inches long and an inch and a half wide, inlaid in which was a piece of bright-colored cloth.

Tattooing, employed by women only, consists of simple parallel vertical lines extending from each corner of the mouth to the chin. Other parallel lines may be tattooed around the wrist. The process of tattooing consists of dipping a sinew thread into a mixture of charcoal dust and seal's blood; then with a small, sharp ivory needle, fine stitches are taken in the skin and the thread drawn through, leaving particles of the mixture permanently beneath the skin.

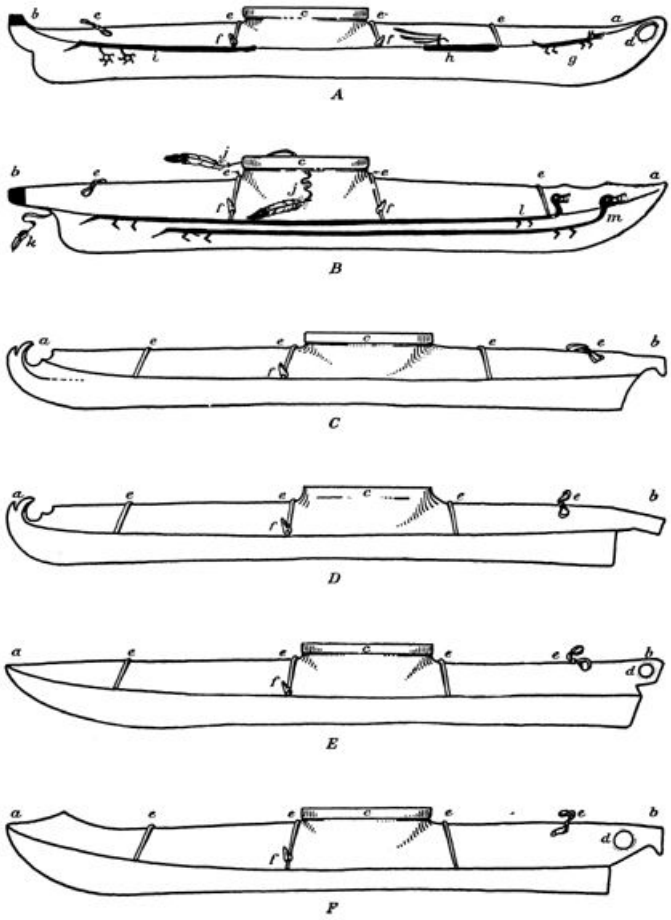
The kaiak (*kaíyuh*) is the most important craft of many of the

Alaskan Eskimo, for by means of it the livelihood of the people is chiefly obtained. Men transport themselves from one hunting camp to another in the kaiak; from it they fish, spear waterfowl, and pursue seal and walrus. Almost as soon as a boy can walk, he learns to paddle and manœuvre this small but efficient craft.

New kaiaks are made in late winter or in early spring during the season of Qígitánit ("Mother of Rivers" — when rivers begin to open up). Their construction takes place with ceremony in the men's house, usually under the supervision of some old man well skilled in boat-making. The men measure and cut each individual part of the wooden frame according to a prescribed system based on the length of various members of the body or a combination of such members. Thus each man's kaiak is built according to the specifications of his own body and hence is peculiarly fitted to his use. For instance, the length of a kaiak is determined by the following standards of length: Little finger to elbow; first finger of right hand to thumb of left when arms are outstretched; elbow to middle finger; the span of middle finger to thumb; first finger of right hand to thumb of left when arms are outstretched; the width of first and second fingers held together. After each part is meticulously made according to measurement, the frame is put together with lashings of rawhide. The workmanship must of necessity be fine, because no cutting with edged tools may be done once the parts are finished and are being joined. The measurement of a typical Nunivak kaiak showed a length of fifteen feet over all, a beam of three feet, and a manhole thirty inches in diameter.

The kaiak frame consists first of a keel with bow and stern posts. The curved ribs, lashed to the keel, are mortised into the gunwales. A number of longitudinal strips extend from bow to stern, and the ribs are lashed also to these. The deck is formed by many slightly triangular supports or crossbeams whose ends are mortised and lashed into the gunwales. Two strips, one from bow to manhole and one from stern to manhole, run along the apexes of the deck supports and form ridge-poles. Slightly abaft the centre is the manhole, framed with a wooden hoop about thirty inches in diameter, lashed to the framework of the kaiak. The bow for hunters and married men may have a hole some three inches in diameter, used mainly for mooring or towing. The stern for this type has a quadrate projection several inches long and either straight or slightly upturned. The accompanying drawings illus-

trate the several types of kaiaks.



ESKIMO KAIAKS

A, *B*, Kaiaks for hunters and married men, showing talismanic paintings. *C*, *D*, Kaiaks for young unmarried men; these have no talismanic paintings. *E*, *F*, Kaiaks for boys, also without talismanic paintings. (*a*, bow; *b*, stern; *c*, manhole; *d*, mooring hole; *e*, rawhide lines; *f*, ivory hooks; *g*, mink; *h*, body and wing of fowl; *i*, posterior body and feet of fowl or mink; *j*, eagle-feathers; *k*, pintail feathers; *l*, white fox painted blue; *m*, red fox painted red.)

The night after the lashing of the kaiak frames is completed, the women gather to cut sealskins to size for the coverings, three thick and heavy hair-seal skins for the bottoms and sides, and two spotted-seal skins for the lighter decking. As they work, the women wear water-

proof parkas, which are believed to prevent any evil influence from entering or afflicting the new kaiaks. After the cutting is finished, the women prepare food for the men.

The following day, while the women, dressed as before, are sewing together the skins, the kaiak owners sit before the bows of the completed frames and sing their hunting songs in an almost inaudible tone, since these songs are both sacred and secret. Kaiak owners often have their sons beside them to learn these chants, which descend from father to son. After the singing, when the hides are nearly sewn, each wife brings to her husband a new wooden dish of fish or berries. Stripped to the waist, he throws a portion of the food to the floor as an offering, and prays for good luck during the coming hunting season. He then gives the food to the oldest man present (often the one who has supervised the kaiak-making), who distributes it to all the men at hand. The owner then walks once about the kaiak frame, pretending to carry a lighted lamp. Next he motions as if to shove a lamp underneath the bows, that seal may see and approach his kaiak as he hunts.

As the last flap, on the after-deck, is sewn, after the frame is shoved into the completed covering, the now naked owner, accompanied by all the men present, sings his childbirth song to his new kaiak. The owner washes the cover with urine to remove any oil that may adhere to the surface, and rinses it in salt water. He then hauls his craft through the smoke-hole of the house and rests it in the snow, which will absorb dampness from its surface. Later he puts the kaiak on its rack and drapes over it his talismans, strung on belts, which are later to be kept in the kaiak. Here it remains a day and a night. Then at night he carries the craft to the ice where he sings his hunting songs, sacred only to him and to his family. Outside in the freezing weather the skin coverings bleach white. As soon as each new kaiak is finished, the owner performs his ceremony.

On returning to the men's house, the owner dresses in new parka and boots, and, grasping a bunch of long grass fibres, makes motions of sweeping toward the entrance. By this action he brushes outside any evil influence or contamination from his kaiak, the covering of which has been made by women.

The kaiaks for hunters and married men are painted and inscribed with the owner's talismanic mark in the spring hunting camp in the following season of Takókit-tánoket ("When young seals are born").

Boys, youths, and young unmarried men have no talismanic devices on their kaiaks.

Near the bow is drawn or painted the head of the bird, animal, or fish representing the spirit-power of the owner. A narrow line running from stem to stern symbolizes the body. This line terminates in animal, fish, or bird tails or flukes according to the nature of the drawing. Near bow and stern the fins, flippers, or legs are drawn and in each case the male genital organ is represented. One craft had a combination mark of fowl and mink; another bore a representation of both white and red fox. The former had legs and wings in the same body, and the latter had both animals drawn separately. The belief is that the spirit-power of the animal will become embodied in the kaiak and aid materially in catching game. The original talismans may be the shaved noses of land animals, such as bear, mink, or fox; or birds, or sea animals, and are often objects carved from ivory or wood. These are kept in a wrapping of bark inside of a parchment roll of hair-seal bladder and are taken from their coverings only during the Bladder feast, when they are worn on headgear. When a man dies, his talismans are all wound in one bundle and given to the surviving sons; or, failing sons, are divided amongst the nearest relatives. Usually some particular talisman is handed down in a family from father to son.

The possessor of a talisman acquires supernatural power through the spirit of the animal, bird, or fish which it represents. A man's mark on kaiak, masks, weapons, or walrus- and seal-skins, is a medium through which the spirit-power always keeps in touch with the owner. It is also a mark of identification. It is taboo for a man to eat, wear, or even touch the animal, bird, or fish which his talisman represents, for his spirit would then be destroyed. The talismans at present extant at Cape Etolin and Nash Harbor on Nunivak island are: ancient flint knife, arctic loon, auklet, brook trout, cormorant, crane, crow, eider duck, pintail duck, flounder, helldiver, human hands, mink, polar bear, rock cod, sea-horse, barn owl, white owl, walrus tooth, white fox, wild goose, wood.

The finished kaiak, with hooks and lashings properly adjusted and a paddle set upright to represent the owner, when drawn up on shore or placed on racks is pointed seaward so that the spirit-power of the kaiak may always be thinking of and watching out for game.

The kaiak rack is constructed as follows: Two poles are crossed

and lashed together at the point of intersection so that the two ends project well outward. The lower ends are stuck firmly in the ground and the crosswork supported by a third pole. A similar arrangement is set up at a distance of about ten feet. The kaiak rests between the projecting ends of the poles.

Nunivak kaiaks are broader of beam, deeper of draft, and heavier than those of the mainland farther north, which are very narrow of beam and light of draft. Those of King island and south of the Yukon mouth, both north and south of Hooper bay, are similar to the craft of Nunivak. The open water, rarely smooth, necessitates a sturdy craft. Often killing and cutting up his game far from home, either on the water or the ice, the hunter must have room beneath the decking for loading meat, which the deep draft provides. Around home waters it is not uncommon to see two people riding a kaiak, one facing aft, the other paddling. These seemingly frail craft are in reality very seaworthy, riding rough waters safely. The lashed framework readily yields to wave action, while a rigidly constructed boat would pound, and the decking sheds sea and spray alike. Besides the occupant, a kaiak carries a full complement of weapons, food, tools, and paddles, and, if the hunt has been successful, a load of meat, fish, or birds. The kaiak is used also for cruising along the shore and gathering driftwood. If the weather becomes too stormy for safety, two boats are tied together with thongs carried for that purpose. To relieve the monotony of the sitting position, skilful paddlers sometimes propel the boat standing up. Adept men can upset a kaiak and right it again with a paddle.

The ordinary kaiak equipment, other than weapons, consists of two single-bladed paddles (*únuahun*), one held in reserve in case of possible breakage or loss, and a small paddle (*únuahógah*) for use in working a kaiak near a seal before the spear is cast. The small paddle, a sculling blade, is used on the side of the kaiak away from the seal; thus the kaiak, while ever moving closer, appears to be drifting, there being no perceptible movement to frighten the intended quarry.

The paddler has beneath him a seat (*akúmuqôtut*) of wooden slats to keep him dry from the inevitable seepage. For his further comfort a grass mat (*ikáhaslítit*) is provided to sit on or to be used as a windbreak or as a ground cloth for sleeping when out overnight on the ice.

The combination landing hook, a boat-hook and ice-pick, consists of a wooden shaft, five inches in circumference and four and a half

feet long, bearing on one end the ice-pick and on the other the hook. The hook (*luhchíhpuh*), of bone about eight inches long, is set in a slot in the shaft and held in place with two rawhide lashings passing through holes drilled in both bone and shaft. The ice-pick (*dugúa*), about sixteen inches long, on the other end of the shaft, is also of bone. Four inches of its length are laid along the shaft and neatly inset. A wooden peg passes through shaft and bone, and the pick is further made firm with a rawhide lashing. The pick is used mainly for enlarging seal blow-holes when hunting on the ice, in order that a harpoon may be thrust through when the seal comes up to blow. A smaller hook (*lúhchikichóa*) for poking cut-up seal pieces under the bow and stern decking, and pulling them forth again, is carried; this has a hook, four inches in length, set in a four-foot shaft with a circumference of three inches, in the same manner as the hook on the larger implement. On the end of the shaft is a bone heel, laid and lashed with rawhide on one side of the shaft, spike-shape and projecting about three-quarters of an inch. This heel, with its sharp point, greatly aids in stowing away the meat cargo beneath the fore- and after-decks, while the hook is the simple and ready means of withdrawing the meat when the hunter returns to his village. For convenience in handling meat while cutting up on the ice, the hunter uses a hook (*klomíhjiun)* the size of the hand and resembling a long-shoreman's hook. These various hooks are usually painted red and may also bear the hunter's talismanic mark.

The hunter at sea slakes his thirst with water carried in a bag of walrus-bladder (the gall-bladder is used in the Bladder feast). This container has a wooden stopper and a cup attached to it by a thong.

An air-bag *(k'uinuh),* or float, is carried on the sled on the after-deck; or, if the hunter goes out alone, he may carry two bags to be placed in the water, one on each side of the kaiak, to steady the craft while the paddler cuts up his seal. Small seals and baby seals, skinned carefully so that there is no break or opening in the hide except at the neck where the head has been lopped off, form the airbags. The skinning is so delicately done that even the claws remain on feet and flippers. The hair is left on. The neck opening is then puckered or gathered in and lashed tightly with sinew, forming a projection about the size of a knife handle. Attached to this projection is a strong line of walrus- or seal-hide, five feet long and ending in a loop. The purpose of the loop is for making the float fast by means of a toggle (*choh*) to the harpoon

line (*úshah*). Then after the weapon is cast and the line runs out, the attached air-bag is thrown overboard. When not in use, the air-bag is released from the toggle and carried on the sled. The bag is inflated through an ivory tube inserted and firmly lashed to the anus. A wooden stopper fits tightly into the tube and is attached to it by a sinew cord.

The hunter carries four lines (*achíhuta*) of seal-rawhide in his kaiak, each line six feet long by an inch wide, used to secure his catch to the craft while he cuts up the meat, or, in a storm, to lash two kaiaks together, the lines passing under and over both boats. Another line is a painter of seal-or walrus-hide, fastened to the bow to make the boat fast when drawn up to the ice or to the shore. A cord (*agáhun*) also passes about the manhole rim, so that in rain, spray, or choppy seas, the paddler may lash down the skirt of his waterproof parka to the rim and thus prevent water from entering the boat. Immediately before and behind the manhole, cords (*tápha*) pass over the deck and are secured at the gunwales. Similar cords are passed over the decking at a distance halfway between manhole and bow, and manhole and stern. On each cord at the deck edges or gunwales are small ivory hooks (*akúgiyuhkúta*). Paddle handles, boat-hook shafts, and harpoon shafts rest on the small hooks nearest to the manhole, ready to the hand of the paddler; while the blades, hooks, and harpoon-heads are shoved beneath the cords farthest from the hunter. In this manner the implements are not only held securely in place, but are ready and convenient for use.

The line tray (*acháluh*) rests on the forward deck. This consists first of a wooden hoop, about twelve by twenty inches, roughly rectangular in shape with rounded ends and with edges about two inches high. The floor is formed of two thin slats, each six inches wide, running the length of the tray, projecting about fifteen inches at one end and tapering to the width of an inch. These projections are designed to hold the tray in position when they are thrust beneath one of the cords passing around the kaiak. The line attached to a harpoon is carefully coiled on the tray, so that when the weapon is flung it will run out rapidly and free from snarls. The sled (*kámoká-tuh*) carried on the kaiak is about five feet long; it is without stanchions and railings, consisting only of runners, the longitudinal strips over the runners, and three cross members or braces. In hunting on broken ice and approaching open water the kaiak is unloaded and launched. With the craft in the

water, the sled rests on the after-deck; thus the hunter is equipped to haul his kaiak easily over ice and to carry his sled while in the water. These sleds may be used as an additional drag on the end of a harpoon-line to tire out a wounded seal or walrus.

The ice knife (*chikutákun*), of ivory, three inches long, is used to scrape frozen spray from the kaiak. Ice or frozen spray tends to soak into the kaiak skin and to render it leaky, or else to reduce its buoyancy.

For protection of the boat-covering in crushing through skim or slush ice, a nose-piece of old, tough kaiak-covering, about three feet square, is lashed over the bow.

Wooden eye-shades, shaped to conform to the facial contour about the eyes and bridge of the nose, and with narrow slits to look through, are worn to protect the eyes from wind, spray, and glare. On land, goggles and shades protect the eyes from the snow glare.

The large skin boat (*úniyuh*), commonly known in the northland as the umiak, is used mainly for transporting a family, or perhaps two families, together with dogs and the household goods, from one village to another, depending on the season of the year. These craft are very seaworthy in spite of their lightness, though necessarily much slower than the smaller kaiak. With a following wind an umiak travels under a single sail; at other times it is propelled with oars and paddles alone. It is not uncommon for the family kaiaks to be towed while the men paddle the larger craft. One umiak seen not only had several kaiaks attached, but towed also several long beams lashed together, to be adzed out later into an umiak frame.

When these boats make a trip of several days' duration, the procedure is to paddle while light lasts, then to draw up on shore for the night and make camp. In such an instance the crew unloads, draws the boat above tidewater, and tips it on one side, the upper gunwale supported by notched poles. Such goods as are not needful for the overnight camp are left beneath the boat for protection from the elements. In stormy weather, if the crew is without a tent or it is impossible to pitch a tent or to build a suitable shelter, the upturned craft offers temporary relief, although it may prove somewhat drafty and spindrift may enter. When not in use it may be set on shore in the manner described or inverted on a rack. Such a rack consists of four posts firmly driven in the ground, each pair connected by a stout crossbar. To this

frame the umiak is lashed tightly.

To maintain the tightness of skin, the cover lashings must be kept tightly drawn. If kept in the water or frequently used, the cover must be oiled every few days to prevent waterlogging and rotting. Tightness and a well-oiled surface are vitally necessary to seaworthiness.

While the general size of such boats is fairly constant, varying only a few feet, for illustrative purposes the dimensions of a typical umiak were found to be: length over all, twenty-eight feet; depth from keel to gunwale, four feet; beam, six feet. The boats are somewhat smaller on Nunivak island, however. Some of those in the vicinity of Kotzebue sound measure nearly forty feet in length. The construction is similar in all cases.

The keel, sternpost, and bowpost are adzed out of one timber. The bowpost (*tuníya*) curves upward schooner-fashion, while the sternpost (*chúnuyeskúti*) rises at a right angle to the keel.

The bottom of the umiak is flat. Two long beams (*jagúnarit)* stretch fore and aft on each side of and flush with the upper surface of the keel, so that the keel projects as on modern dories. These beams swell out slightly to give the bottom its dory shape; their respective extremities are attached to the sternpost and the point where the bow curve begins.

At points midway on bowpost and sternpost respectively are the extremities of two fore and aft beams, one on each side. These are held apart by the six or more thwarts (*akómuwe*), the longest thwart in the centre, the others diminishing in length toward bow and stern. These thwarts and sometimes additional braces (*núhlumit*) with their varying lengths give the craft its shape. They also are used as seats (*inútai*) for paddlers. Since these seats are from a foot and a half to two feet below the gunwales, just that much freeboard is provided for the protection of the crew.

The gunwales (*ápamuk*) extend from bowpost to sternpost. A flat wooden platform, six inches square, is lashed on top of the bowpost; on this the gunwales are secured with thongs passing through holes in the platform. A similar but larger platform, about two feet square, is lashed on top of the sternpost, and to this the after-ends of the gunwales are made fast. This platform serves also as a seat for the steersman.

Numerous floor braces are laid across the keel, their ends secured

to the long fore and aft bottom beams by lashing. Sideposts (*napógiyut*) rise from the floor-beams to the inner sides of the gunwales, lashed to floor-beams, midway-beams, and gunwales. These not only support the main framework, but also press out the skin covering against water pressure.

Next the covering of walrus-hide (*amíh*) is put on, overlapping the gunwales and coming down in the interior of the boat for a foot or more. The edge is pierced along both gunwales at intervals of a few inches, and lashings (*numúhhut*) pass through these holes and around the middle fore and aft beams. By tightening these thongs, any slack is taken up and the cover kept taut.

In former times a mat sail (*tupiyágunut)* was raised between two poles so that the sail appeared wedge-shape. With the innovation of canvas and in imitation of sailboat rigging, several rigs are in vogue: catboat, leg-of-mutton, lateen, and a single square sail or lug. Sail in its varieties, however, is much more prevalent farther north, especially about the Kotzebue Sound region.

The most usual propulsion is by means of oars (*jáwun*). These, crudely shaped and light, are held firmly to the gunwales by lashings (*chauchikáwit*), but in such manner as to allow a free movement of the oars. The steersman, perched in the stern, uses a paddle. It is not uncommon to see paddles alone used, or to see both oars and paddles, especially when a boat is crowded and all the oars are in use.

The large family sled (*ikúmaruh*), for moving and hauling household belongings from place to place, is drawn by four dogs. The sled, about twelve feet long, has runners of wood (*ákuhtuh*), gently curved upward at the front for a distance of two feet. The runners, with whalebone shoes (*asígumíhhak*) to give good traction in frozen or wet snow, are about four or five inches high and three inches wide. Longitudinal strips, about three inches above the runners and extending the full length of the sled, rest on and are lashed to three crosspieces (*chaníb'naiyuh*) spaced at regular intervals along the runners. These crosspieces in turn rest on and are tied to short wooden posts which are lashed to the runners. These posts make the three-inch space between longitudinal strips and crosspieces, and these in turn form the bed of the sled.

The railings (*kulamúyuk*) angle from a three-foot height at the rear to the point of intersection with the upturned runners at the front.

The railings are supported by four stanchions (*nupákutárut*) on each side, spaced at such intervals that their bottom ends are at points midway between the crosspieces on which the flooring rests. Railings are lashed to stanchions with rawhide (*númuhit*), and stanchion bottoms are mortised into the runners and also lashed to the longitudinal strips above the runners. The rear stanchions are slightly curved and their tapered upper ends pass through slots in the railing ends. These are strengthened by two diagonal braces (*kikiyáguth*) fastened into slots in the stanchions.

Across the railings at the rear is a bar (*kúzzimohháduh*) whose ends project almost two feet on each side. On this the driver rests his weight while guiding the sled.

The hunting sled, built for the use of one person, is constructed in a manner similar to the family sled, but it is only six feet in length. Dogs which draw the sleds formerly were community property, people needing to use them taking them at will. In the last few years, however, dogs have been owned individually. The Nunivak method of attaching dogs to sleds differs from that employed by other natives of the North Pacific region. Rather than the customary long string of dogs forward, the Nunivak hitch one dog to each side of the sled, in some cases two on a side. The draft- or tug-line is fastened to the sled aft of the middle. Thus the dogs have nothing whatsoever to do with the direction of the sled — they merely supply the motive power. The driver, leaning his weight on the rear crossbar, directs the sled. The bone used for the shoes of the runners is from the jawbones of large whales and retains a polish equal to that of ivory. The making of a set of bone shoes involves such a great deal of labor that they are regarded as a most valuable possession. Each shoe is about an inch thick and three inches wide, and must be shaped, especially the curved forward part, with great care. No other material is equal to bone for sled shoes. White men who have used sleds shod in this manner claim that two dogs will pull as much with a Nunivak sled as will twelve with the ordinary iron-shod sled.

In killing walrus, sea-lion, and larger seals, heavy harpoons and lances are employed. Both weapons are similar in detail, except in the construction and setting of the points. A typical harpoon (*asôkok*) measures about five feet five inches in length, of which four feet five inches form the wooden shaft. This has a diameter near the head of an

inch and a quarter, and tapers gradually to a butt three-quarters of an inch thick. A heavy bone head is attached to the shaft. One dovetailed end of the head fits into a deep slot in the shaft. A hole is pierced through the bone at its extremity and a similar hole passes through the shaft; through these a stout length of sinew is drawn taut. The joint is further lashed tight by coils of sinew passed around the shaft. The bone head, eight inches long, gradually increases to a diameter of an inch and three-eighths. At this point it is bevelled off sharply and at the extremity is cut off squarely. Into this end a hole is drilled and plugged with wood. The plug is then drilled to hold the point, because wood, especially when wet, swells and grips the point tighter.

Harpoons, javelins, and lances are all made in this manner in proportion to size, the exceptions being carved heads and varying arrangement of the points.

The points are in three parts. First, a sharp triangular piece of metal, about an inch and a quarter long, is set in a slot in a flat piece of ivory about three inches long and commonly carved into the talismanic figure of the owner. Into the butt of this a hole is drilled for the insertion of a slender ivory rod about two and a half inches long. The other end is thrust into the drilled hole in the bone head. Through holes drilled in both rod and point-holder, thongs are looped, each loop about eighteen inches long. These are attached to a long heavy line which is wound many times about the wooden shaft.

When the harpoon is flung from the kaiak, the coiled line on the line tray, attached to the line on the spear-shaft, rapidly runs out and the attached air-bag is cast overboard. The point sinks to full length in the animal and disengages itself from the ivory rod. The pull of the line causes the point to swivel, so that it is at a right angle to the line and hence firmly embedded in the flesh. The spear-head and -shaft form a drag, as does the air-bag on the other end of the line, helping to retard the wounded animal's progress. The weight of the heavy bone head with the impetus of the throw hits the animal with bone-crushing force.

A much lighter harpoon had an ivory head, flat on one side. On it were etched the head and flippers of a seal. Beads were used for eyes.

A complete harpoon-point assemblage, when not in use or carried as spares, is set in a wooden stick and the thong loop stretched flat along the stick and held by a notch. Flattened conical wooden covers

protect the points when not in use, and further serve to keep the owner from inadvertently stabbing himself. It is said that at one time good hunters made these point-protectors of ivory. When asked why they are now of wood, the invariable reply is: "Long ago when a hunter lost at sea or driven by storms arrived at a strange village, the people there would kill him if they saw ivory point-protectors. They would think that a good hunter and warrior might some day return to attack their village, so they slew him. When strangers saw wooden protectors, they thought: 'Oh! He is a poor hunter and warrior. We need not fear him. Let us feed him and let him go.'"

Lances are similar to the harpoons, but have a heavy metal point in one piece to which the line is attached. The point formerly was of barbed bone or ivory tipped with a sharp metallic piece. Several hunters attacking walrus at close quarters often drive in point after point from the same shaft, the extra points being carried in a small bag. Both harpoons and lances may be used as clubs, hence their appellation*kóhch'tah* ("club-spear"). On the shafts near the point of balance are ivory finger-pegs. These show the hunter where to grasp the shaft and aid in giving impetus to his thrust.

For small adult seal and baby seal the javelin or throwing harpoon (*nuhhíaqíyut*) is used. This is constructed in the same manner as the larger harpoons, but is much lighter. In length these implements are about four feet seven and one-half inches, with a diameter of half an inch. The points are single pieces of ivory about two and three-quarters inches long, bearing two barbs on each side of the blade, and are ground and polished to exceeding sharpness. These are thrown with the attaching line, as are the larger harpoons, or without them. The javelins are feathered near the butt. The three feathers are secured on one end by inserting their split quills in slots and lashing them down. The other ends, the feather tips, are thrust in slits in the shaft and glued in place.

The length of the throwing-stick (*nok*), used in connection with the javelin, is always exactly the distance from the middle finger to the elbow of the owner. The inner flat side is grooved to hold the javelin shaft, the groove shallowing toward the handle end. An ivory wedge is mortised in the far end of the groove. The outer side of the implement is bevelled off so that it presents a roughly triangular shape. On the handle end on one side is a grooved slot for the thumb. The other

side is cut away to a depth of half an inch so that the fingers cross the full width of the handle easily. Into this edge are driven two ivory pegs spaced so that they will project on each side of the middle finger. In use, the butt of the javelin rests against the ivory wedge; the shaft lies along the groove and passes over the fourth and fifth fingers; while the thumb and the first and second fingers hold down the shaft. With the leverage obtained by this implement it is possible to hurl the light javelin fifty or sixty yards.

The fish-spear (*nulayáhshutit*) is a barbed implement for use either in shallow streams or through holes in the ice. When the fish make their runs upstream, the spear is frequently employed in addition to nets and hooks. In winter the spear is carefully let down into the water through a hole in the ice. The shaft is twirled slowly between the palms in order that the slow motion and gleaming ivory may attract the attention of the fish. As the quarry draws near to investigate, its curiosity proves its undoing, for then a sharp downward thrust securely grasps the fish. The serrated barbs hold the fish, not impaling it.

Of one such weapon the total length, barbs and all, was exactly five feet. The diameter of the slender wooden shaft was about half an inch, swelling at the extreme butt to three-quarters of an inch. Toward the head for five inches the diameter gradually tapered to an inch; then it sharply inclined to a small nub.

The three barbs for a length of four and one-half inches, a length tapering almost to a point, were beautifully inset into the head of the shaft so that they were flush with it. The gently sloping head thus gave the barbs the proper pitch. A small cord passed then three times around each barb and the nub projecting from the head, the nub being in the exact centre between the barbs. The same cord was then carried down the inset barb ends, and, at intervals of about an inch, passed around the head twice in half-hitches. It was then wound around the lower ends of the barbs in a coil of twenty-two wrappings. The cord next wound in a long spiral to the very butt and returned spirally to the head where it was made fast, the spirals giving a decorative effect.

The three ivory prongs or barbs jutted out six and three-quarters inches, each tapering gradually to a point. These prongs, ovoid in form, whose greatest width was a quarter of an inch, were provided on the inner edges with about twenty-five small teeth, each of which pointed toward the shaft-head. Two of the barbs projected outward slightly on

the same plane as the slightly inclined shaft-head. The remaining barb curved outward crescentically, thus allowing enough space between the three points to catch and hold a fish of fair size. Small fish would be driven by the impact of the thrust much farther up between the barbs.

In the bird season, in addition to snares and nets, pronged spears (*nuiyáhpit*) are employed. Birds often nest and hatch along the bluffs, in such great numbers that a spear cast, as in the case of the bolas farther north, can hardly miss. The spears are also thrown from kaiaks, especially in moulting season when the birds are unable to rise from the water. Here the wooden shaft keeps the missile afloat, either with the kill or in the case of a miscast. The spears may be hurled by hand, or may be of such shortness and lightness as to permit the use of the throwing-stick.

An unusually fine specimen of such a weapon had a total length of six feet three inches. The wooden shaft was four feet eight and one-half inches long, with a three-quarter inch diameter. The last several inches toward the head were sliced down nearly to a point. On this taper point was laid the similarly cut-down shank of the head and the two were lashed together firmly. For seven inches the wooden head-shank was of the same diameter as the shaft, then it rose abruptly in a shoulder an inch and a quarter in diameter and an inch and a half long. Into the extreme edge of this shoulder the ivory prongs were mortised at an angle. The shoulder then fell away into an eight-inch projection to which was jointed the centre prong of ivory.

The seven fine ivory prongs, each thirteen inches long, were flat strips half an inch wide and a quarter of an inch thick, and slightly bow-shape. When set in place they had a span of about six inches from one tip to the diametrically opposed point. The last few inches of each prong were carved into several blunt teeth. In addition to being firmly set in the shoulder of the wooden shank on the shaft, strong cord passed several times around each one and about the centre barb at a point about a third of its length. While the centre prong may impale a bird, the purpose of the spear is to catch head or body between the barbs where the teeth hold it in an inescapable position.

The arrow for caribou, before that animal became extinct on Nunivak island, was either sharp-pointed with two barbs, or had one sharp point of wood or stone (*chíniluk*). A bird arrow (*núyut*) usually had a long point and a wide outset barb that the bird's head might

be caught in the interstice. Another form of bird arrow bore an ivory crosspiece set behind a blunt head in order that, should the arrow-head miss the bird, the crosspiece would strike. For the hunting of baby seal, the arrow-shaft was blunted at the point and a hole drilled for the insertion of a harpoon-point carrying a rawhide line.

Bows (*úgolówuh*), commonly about six feet in length, were of spruce. A tough, flexible bow could be formed only from the resinous, grainless, dark wood cut from the underside of spruce which had grown by the bank of a stream. The proportioned wood was first steamed by being wrapped in wet moss surrounded by hot stones to make it pliable. Then it was placed in a wooden frame and lashed down with roots for shaping. The shaped bow, when thoroughly dried, was wrapped with caribou-sinew.

Large nets for seal and walrus are set out between rock headlands or at the entrance of a small bight. Because such natural places are few, and because they must be in a directional line with the seasonal run, the nets are often at a distance from a village. The nets, of seal and walrus line, their very size necessitating a great number of skins, can be made and owned only by few, the greatest hunters and wealthiest men of a village. A single net carefully handled and repaired will last from three to six seasons, that is, years, in spite of strong currents, freezing water, ice, and other natural conditions which may tend to destroy them. In addition to disintegration by natural means, the struggles of the catch to escape often tear meshes, or the occasional large whale enmeshed may carry away or destroy such a net entirely. It is not uncommon for the white whale, or beluga, to drag a net several miles seaward before succumbing. The seemingly frail net overcomes such a powerful denizen of the sea by the fact that it is not made fast to the shore, but is anchored to large stones, hence forming a resisting drag which soon wears down and kills the hopelessly entangled animal. However, walrus and seal are not of sufficient strength to drag the net from its moorings, but exhaust themselves vainly trying to escape from the yielding but relentless meshes.

Usually two men make and own a large net, which may require fifty or more skins for anchor-lines, guy-lines, and the net itself. As many as five hundred seals have been caught in a good season, when the animals were moving southward. Rarely are more than two such nets found in a single village. When a chance beluga is caught, the head

is taken to the oldest man in the village. The skin and meat are divided equally amongst the two owners, as is the case with the skin and meat of the several kinds of seal caught. Should a walrus become enmeshed, the first person to see the animal may slay it. In this instance the killer receives half the skin, the owners the other half, while the carcass is divided equally amongst the entire village. Fish often gill themselves on the meshes.

The story of the origin of netting large animals is that two men from Cape Mendenhall once remained on a small headland to catch birds with light casting-nets. After a summer and fall, they set out to return to their village, but the wind was so strong and the swells ran so high that the men were forced to land on a small offshore island — an island still much used for netting. There, in a little bight, they saw seal in great numbers. Being without the customary harpoons, the men bethought themselves of their bird-nets and accordingly set them out with satisfactory result in spite of their seeming frailty. Since then men have made large, strong nets for seal, and the people from Cape Mendenhall, as the inventors, claim the best netting methods.

Nets (*takúgasun*) are made of seal and walrus line, smoked after the stretching. During the weaving, the makers must remain continent. The net proper in dimensions is sixty by three fathoms (three hundred and sixty feet by eighteen feet). The meshes measure twelve inches between knots. Along the upper edge, wooden floats (*putákotut*) are fastened at eighteen-foot intervals. Thus twenty such floats, each eighteen inches long, are required. Suspended several feet below the bottom edge are large stone sinkers (*símuqai*) set at thirty-six-foot intervals, or ten sinkers in all, which are attached to lines (*simuqákiutai*) running through the net to the top edge. Four long guy-lines (*chásutut*), twelve and a half fathoms each (seventy-five feet), attached to top and bottom edges at each end of the net, extend out to toggles (*núhtokuh*), thus forming bridles to stretch the net. To these toggles are attached four anchor-stones (*chimúhbit*) at the ends of each of twelve-and-a-halffathom lines. These stones anchor in place the extremities of the stretched net, the floats hold the top edge at the surface, and the sinkers hold the bottom edge under water so that the net is in a vertical position.

Such a net is set in a calm sea between two headlands, in an inlet or bight when the current sets in, and in line with the seal-run. In

setting, the anchor-stones of one end are placed in position and the bridle lines are attached to the anchor-line toggle. The net is then carried out to its full length, and the opposite anchor-stones are dropped and attached. Last, the sinker-lines are attached to the top edge and the stones dropped. Men engaged in handling nets wear waterproof parkas and mittens, the object being to prevent any evil influence passing from them to the nets and keeping the seal away. An additional reason is to prevent the net from being tainted with the human scent, since seal, being air-breathing animals, possess the sense of smell. A few years ago one man, part Russian, scoffed at the idea and departed from the custom by refusing to wear mittens while setting out his net. That season two other men enjoyed a particularly successful catch, while his net yielded only one young seal.

Gill-nets and seines, or drag-nets, for fish, are used, but to no great extent; doubtless the rocky and stone-strewn shores prevent their successful employment.

For ice fishing and stream fishing hand-lines with bone or ivory hooks, and fish-spears, are used.

The large bird net (*hkákun*) is of fine mesh made from caribou (of recent years, reindeer-) sinew. This is twenty-seven feet long by twelve feet wide. Light sticks or stretchers (*ajíwun*) at each end serve to stretch the net to its width. A long line, called a purse-line (*útgoh*) runs along each edge. This net the hunter carries coiled up on his arm as he walks along the bluffs where the birds nest and where they continually circle and fly. When he has chosen a favorable spot and a propitious time, he drops one end over the bluff in such a manner that the net swings at a right angle to it, and the birds in their blind and endless circling fly into the net. The hunter then draws up the far end by means of the purse-lines, forming a large bag, and secures his catch. Such a net is used in the vicinity of Cape Mohican about the month of July for auks and cormorant.

On headlands, where air currents are strong and eddies swing birds in flight inland along the top of the headland, dip-nets on long handles are employed. The first bird so netted is impaled on a stick and set up as a decoy. Others then approach to alight near their supposed comrade and are easily netted; the more decoys, the greater the catch. As on King island and the Diomedes, birds of many species are literally numberless, hence the task of netting is by no means as difficult as

might be supposed.

Spring and fall are the seasons in which the greatest catch of seal and walrus is made. After the New Kaiak ceremony, when the ice is breaking up along shore, the men, wearing new white parkas and white conical wooden caps, set out in their fully equipped kaiaks — setting out when the water is choppy, which allows them to approach closer to the animals. Seals are both seen and heard. The peculiar whining sound of the sea-lion (sometimes called mourning seal) emitted under water indicates to the hunter where the animal will come up. Seal in general, unless frightened, emerge in approximately the place where they went down. After the animals are located, by noise or sight, the hunters approach as near as possible, but remain hidden from the seals by ice-floes. When there is no longer available cover, the men come out to open water, where at a short distance their white costumes and kaiak-covers make them seem like floating pieces of ice, to the seal, at least. Once the quarry is chosen, the hunter, or a pair of them, works as closely as possible, using the short sculling paddle. With this means of propulsion there is no apparent motion to the kaiak. When finally close enough, the hunter casts the harpoon with line and air-bag attached. If a seal dives before coming close enough, the hunter waits for it to break the surface again. The animal, which usually has its eyes closed when first coming up for air, is a good target for the man. If two or more hunters are together, all try to catch the line and make fast to it, thereby forming a heavy drag and greatly impeding the wounded animal's efforts to escape. The hunter, when the exhausted seal ceases its struggles, pulls up the slack in the line and then kills it with the head of a heavy harpoon or with a large stone on a three-foot line. Young sea-lion, hair-seal, and spotted seal are killed by the light casting javelins to which no lines are attached. These young animals are carried home in a kaiak before being cut up.

The kill of mature animals is towed to the nearest floe and there butchered. The skin with blubber is removed first; then the meat is cut up and the portions are stowed away beneath the forward- and after-decks. When the kaiak is loaded, the owner paddles home, and if it should be the first catch of the season, the appropriate ceremony is held. If the hunt takes place on open water and there is no ice, and such a hunt often ranges far from the village, the carcasses are butchered at sea. Two hunters lash their sleds together to form a float for the

body and cut it up as best they can then and there.

When two or more hunters have made the kill, the flesh is divided according to the order in which harpoons were cast, or air-bags and kaiaks were attached to harpoon-lines. The man casting the first weapon is termed the owner of the animal, and to him, besides other parts, are always allotted the skin and intestines. When two kill the seal, the owner receives the upper half to the lower end of the ribs, while his companion takes the remainder. For three hunters, the owner takes the upper part to the lower end of the front flippers; the remainder is divided equally between the second and the third man. Of four hunters, the owner receives the upper portion to the lower extremities of the front flippers and a third of the remainder on the right side; the second hunter is allotted an equal portion on the left side; the remaining strip in the centre is divided equally between the third and the fourth man, the upper portion of the strip belonging to the third hunter. Young sea-lions killed by hunters are divided equally, the owners, as always, taking the upper portion. It is cut up, hide and all, without skinning. In summer, young sea-lions are often clubbed to death while sunning on the rocks.

Walrus, fiercer, larger, and more wary than seal, are hunted by a group of men. After the feeding walrus are discovered, one hunter, the quickest and most alert, dons his waterproof parka, tying it around wrists and face in the event that if his boat capsizes, as frequently happens, he may remain as dry as possible. He carefully paddles his craft in good position for throwing his harpoon, because a quick, accurate cast is necessary to wound the wary animal. Immediately after a hit has been made, the others paddle up and cast weapons or make fast to the lines with their kaiaks. The heavy harpoons and lances have force enough to break ribs, and the barbs work themselves deep into flesh. Extra points, carried in bags, are inserted in the heavy shaft-heads of lances thrust until the animal is dead. In the cutting-up process the hunter recovers his barbs, for they bear his own mark. The walrus is then held up between four kaiaks with slings of rawhide, and taken to ice or shore for the butchering, which lasts over two tides. It is generally agreed upon before-hand how the carcass will be divided; but usage dictates that the man who first harpoons it, the owner, will receive the hide, the upper half of the body, and half of the intestines; the second hunter is given the lower half of the body; the third receives

the ivory tusks; the fourth is allotted half of the intestines, and the fifth takes the stomach.

There are now no herds of caribou on Nunivak island, but the great quantities of bones and horns testify to their former numbers. The gradual extinction of these animals has caused the natives to depend almost entirely on the sea for their food supply. In recent years the island has been used as a reindeer experiment station for one of the northern reindeer companies. The ease of herding, because the mainland is too far for the animals to swim, the richness of the tundra grass, the abundance of moss, and freedom from ticks which spoil both hides and meat on the mainland, all contribute toward making Nunivak island an ideal place for a reindeer herd. The Biological Survey is watching with interest the crossing of imported caribou bulls with reindeer females. To date the result of this experiment has been a heavier animal and meat of finer texture. The herds wander at will about the interior, being rounded up only once or twice in a season for census, the marking of calves, and the slaughter of a small proportion. Hides are sold at a nominal price to the Eskimo through a small trading station maintained by the company, for there is little commercial demand as yet for reindeer-hides. The skins with light summer hair take the place of the former caribou-skins for making clothing.

Hunters formerly set out in winter with bows and arrows for caribou. When a herd was located, the men worked as closely as possible to windward without being scented, and then, wrapped in their parkas, dug themselves into the snow. When the herd had come quite close, the hunters would rise suddenly. The caribou, which nearly always run upwind when frightened, would dash by near the hunters, who loosed their arrows and often killed a large number.

In summer the band of hunters divided on sighting a caribou herd. The best hunters stalked to windward and concealed themselves; others, after working to leeward of the herd, stampeded the animals with shouts and yells. The frightened beasts then plunged up-wind before the ready bows of the hunters and many were shot down. The front portions of the kill were divided amongst the hunters and the rear quarters went to the stampeders.

Caribou were often caught with snares. A brush enclosure was built, one side being left open. Directly opposite this space, in the wall of the other side, a narrow opening was made, on each side of which

was a heavy stake, nearly six feet tall, concealed by the brush.

A thick line of sea-lion hide was firmly attached near the top of one of these posts. This line was carried to and passed through a loop in the opposite post, carried down the post through a loop at the bottom, then back a short distance above the ground to and through a loop at the bottom of the first post; thence it ran up this post and was attached in a running noose to the secured end of the line. In form the snare was simply a rope rectangle with a running noose at one corner. The hunter drove one or more animals into the enclosure, where the foremost would endeavor to break through the snared opening. Horns or neck then became tangled in the line, and the more the beast plunged and strove to break away, the tighter the line became. The exhausted animal was then easily killed.

Pits were often dug in snow in these enclosures with a shovel made from the scapula of a whale. Caribou falling into pits could be killed with little difficulty. The animals very often wandered into enclosures, by day or by night, and became entangled without the necessity of the hunter driving them in. Smaller animals, before the day of steel traps, were caught by snare and pitfall. For fox, both white and red, pitfalls were dug with sides sloping steeply away from the opening. The opening was then covered with withes and brush, and bait placed on top. The animal, approaching to seize the bait, crashed through the hole into the pit, where it was readily killed by the hunter. Such pitfalls were watched closely, for should more than one animal tumble in, for instance, a red fox and a white fox together, the red would kill and eat the other.

For puffins, a sinew snare — a loop with a running noose on a four-foot stick — is used. The hunter waits patiently, with snare set over the hole, and quickly tightens the noose when the puffin pops its head above ground.

Where mink and other water animals are known to have holes and runways, a brushwork fence is built triangularly across the stream. At the apex of the triangle a wicker fish-basket, well submerged, is set. The animal attempting to break through the fence finally comes to the apex, looking for an opening. It enters the trap and is drowned.

For land animals which live in holes, a spring snare is set. Near the entrance to the hole a pliant stick is firmly planted. This is bent over and an attached thong is lightly hooked by a trigger under a cross-stick

bent across the runway. A noose attached also to the stick is set over the entrance. The lightest touch releases the trigger, the stick springs up, and the luckless animal, caught in the tightened noose, dangles helplessly in air.

Another form of snare is a wooden cylinder set in an underground runway. The inside of the cylinder has a deep groove around one end in which a noose is laid. The free end of the noose passes through a hole and is led above ground to a bent stick. A thong which holds down the stick passes through a hole in the other end of the cylinder, and stretches across the opening and through the bottom of the cylinder, where it is knotted. The animal passing through the runway enters the cylinder. Finding the other end barred by the thong, it gnaws through. This releases the stick, which springs upward and draws the noose tightly about the animal's body.

The Eskimo of Nunivak depend for sustenance mainly on sea animals, fish, birds, berries, and plants indigenous to the region, of which there is a great variety. It is rare indeed to find a family which has not houses and caches well stocked with food in each seasonal hunting and fishing camp. Indeed the population of a village might well be sustained for a year at least by the supplies in hand.

The most important item of food is blubber obtained from sea-lion, seal, and walrus. These animals are killed in the spring during their northward migration, appearing in this order: hair-seal and sea-lion; smaller seal with their young; spotted seal and walrus. They are also slain in the fall when migrating southward. At this time the men owning nets proceed to the seal-netting grounds. The blubber and meat are cut into large steaks and strips, which are hung over the drying racks to cure. A portion of this product may be kept in houses for immediate use, but the greater part is stored away in pokes.

Blubber and oil pokes, the latter containing oil from tried-out walrus- and seal-blubber, are of sealskins. In skinning animals when the skins are to be used as food containers, but one incision is made, that at the head. The filled bags, termed "pokes" throughout the north, are tied tightly at the opening. For storage these are placed in caches in layers, each layer transversely to the next and separated by moss and stones. The caches (*knganíhhut*) are merely shallow pits dug in the unfrozen muck of swamp, down to the frozen ground or ice, the depth usually being from three to four feet.

A common method of preparing blubber, seal or walrus, is to cut long strips and put them in a pot. The pot, or a pair of pots, is set on a fire and the blubber allowed to boil in water until fairly well cooked; then finely minced dock-leaves are added. As soon as the water boils once more, fish-eggs are put in and the whole allowed to cook until the eggs are done. The food, both liquid and solid, is then served in wooden dishes.

In the early summer, cod are caught on hand-lines. The women pack the catch to a suitable spot and there clean the fish. The heads, minus eyes, are split open, as are the cleaned bodies, and both are spread out on rocks near the shore to dry. After this sun curing, bodies and heads separately are strung on lines and stored in houses. At the same time as the cod catch, or shortly after, appear the smelt, which are caught in dip-nets. As many as possible, owing to the great numbers caught, are washed in salt water, strung on lines through the gills, hung over the drying racks (*inítut*), and put in storage in the houses when cured.

The drying racks consist of two parallel rows, in some instances two or more such series of rows, of upright posts set firmly in the ground and connected at the tops with long poles. At right angles to these poles other poles connect the parallel posts. When the catch of fish is so great as to preclude immediate curing, the remainder, for future use, is put in pits (*akúmtet*) dug in dry ground, lined with grass and covered with sod.

Midsummer is occupied with salmon - and trout-fishing, first on the coast and later along the streams. On the shore, drag-nets are used, a man at one end and his wife at the other. When filled, the man hauls in his net, hand over hand, until the flopping, wriggling catch is on the beach. When the salmon-run along the coast is over, fish are caught in the streams with hand-lines, dip-nets, and seines. Split heads and eggs are buried in dry, grass-lined and sod-covered pits, while the split bodies, tails tied together, are hung on drying racks and when cured are stored in the houses. Other edible fish caught in fewer numbers than those above mentioned, cured and stored in the same manner, are blackfish, bullheads, dogfish, flounder, halibut, herring, freshwater sardine, and whitefish. Fresh fish must be cooked to be edible, but when dried are usually eaten raw, dipped in oil. Fish put away and frozen in pokes may be eaten raw with oil or cooked after thawing. Mussels and

other sea food such as the clam, crab, saltwater snail, and shrimp, are eaten whenever found.

Cowslips, which are picked in the spring as they emerge, are boiled before eating. Willow-leaves, soaked in oil, are laid away in pokes for winter use, at which time they are eaten with dried fish. Dock-leaves are picked and parboiled to softness at the beginning of the rainy season, before they are full grown. Next they are laid away in holes about two feet deep, lined with grass and covered with sod.

These sod covers press the leaves dry. When ready to use, they are minced fine and parboiled, thus making a soup. Sometimes fish-eggs, fish, or oil are added to the soup. Plain dock-leaf soup is often used as a beverage, a tea. Wild-parsnip roots are stripped of outer fibres and picked to the tender inner part, which is eaten by dipping in oil. Lesser items of vegetal foods are sedge, wild cabbage, Alaskan potato, nut plant, fern-roots, Hudson's Bay tea, and lake weed.

Berries are gathered when semi-ripe by the women, who collect them in wooden buckets. Those not used immediately are stored in dry pits, lined with leaves and grass to absorb moisture, and covered with sod. Another form of berry cache is a small box-like structure of flat stones lined with grass and covered with sod until air- and water-tight. The most common berries are blackberries, blueberries, cranberries, and mossberries.

The flesh of birds, either fresh or dried, is eaten usually with oil, or perhaps in a dock-leaf soup. Bird-eggs are consumed either in raw or cooked state. Among the geese are the Canadian Emperor, yellow-legged geese, and brant; of ducks, the eider, broadbill, mallard, pintail, and sprig; of snipe, Wilson's, yellow-leg, sand, red, and lake. Other varieties of birds are auks and auklets, cormorant, hell-divers, loons, ptarmigan, puffins, and sea-parrots.

Wooden pots and bowls (*kúndut*), vital addenda to culinary implements for cooking and eating, range greatly in size, although shape and methods of construction are similar in all cases. They are usually made by the men in the men's house as a part of the preparations for the Bladder feast. The utensils of larger size are used generally for cooking and for storage purposes, while the smaller ones hold food for immediate consumption. The largest seen was thirty inches long, eleven inches wide, and six inches deep. The smallest was about seven inches long from edge to edge, four inches wide, and three deep; it was rectangu-

lar, with rounded ends.

The bottoms of these vessels are of single blocks of wood, hollowed out on the inner surfaces, while the outer surfaces round up to meet the rims. Bottoms comprise from a half to two-thirds or more of the depth of the entire vessel. Rims are made of single wooden strips (*lúnapuh)* steamed and bent into shape to fit the bottoms. The ends of the rims are gradually bevelled and joined together with glue made of seal-blood. Steaming is done while the men take their sweat-bath. The strips, wrapped in wet moss, are laid on hot stones and weighted down with other hot stones; after being thoroughly steamed, they are bent into the required shape. When set on the bottoms, to which the rims are glued, they project from half an inch to an inch on the outside of the bottom and a quarter to half an inch on the inside, depending on the size of the vessel. The inner rim edges are bevelled, and this slanting surface contains two or more wide, shallow grooves. The completed pot or bowl is painted red with a mixture of iron oxide (*wítuhah*) obtained from Nelson island, and seal-blood. Each is decorated on the inner surface of the bottom with the talismanic mark of the owner and maker. One such bowl had in addition an etched line painted black on the outer rim, drawn completely around the vessel. Another bowl had two parallel lines on the top and bottom of the outside of the rim, and three parallel lines circumscribing the inner surface of the bottom, in addition to the owner's mark.

Much of the fish food and cooked solid pieces of meat, are taken in the fingers, dipped in oil, and eaten. Liquids and the "salad" of dock-leaf, tallow, meat, berries, and snow, are dipped and eaten with spoons (*kasúchiet*). The examples of spoons examined were of wood, in one piece, with long, curved handles and wide, shallow bowls. Spoons vary in size according to the whim of the owner, from a few inches long to the ladle size (*kalútit*).

Nunivak basketry (*kúllinmih*) is of the coil type and ranges in size from three to eighteen inches in diameter. The warp of a coil is composed of straight grass fibres bound with a grass woof. The coils are started and wound until a flat bottom is made; then coils are superposed, each projecting slightly above the last, until the maximum circumference has been reached. From this point the basket slopes to the opening. Covers, also of coiled weave, are made to fit snugly. In some instances the cover handle is a loop of braided grass, or else the

coils themselves are carried above the cover proper and form a vertical handle.

Decoration is meagre, for the greater part consisting of such simple designs as squares and crosses, usually red in color. These, which are widely spaced and run in rows from top to bottom, are woven into the coils. The coils of some baskets are arranged irregularly to break the monotony. On one such basket the two coils immediately above the greatest circumference slightly undulated. On another basket one coil was in steep waves and occupied the space ordinarily taken up by four coils, thus giving an appearance of open-work. This design was carried out both above and below the maximum circumference.

It is claimed that basketry is a recent innovation, the art having been introduced by an Eskimo from Unalakleet.

While the wearing of wooden masks (*agaíyut*) in various festivals and ceremonies forms a part of ritualistic procedure, it is especially difficult to procure any knowledge of their significance chiefly because the customs of the people have become so modified that complete and reliable information as to masks is well-nigh unobtainable. However, it is possible to classify masks into two groups: those of the medicine-men and those of the people in general. The leading medicine-man vaguely asserted: "Our masks are symbolic of the world and all the people. They must not be taken from the men's house. Anybody may wear other masks and take them out. They represent, in our festivals, only what people desire."

Though the masks of medicine-men may, in their meaning, embrace the universe, it is probable that at the same time they represent the particular being or object from which the owners derive their supernatural powers. That such is the case is well illustrated in a story of Manína, heard on Nunivak, King island, and Little Diomede. Two Nunivak medicinemen's masks are carved in such a way as to bear out the description of the spirit-power in the tale. The face of the male mask *(híjih)* is bisected. From a frontal view the red-painted right half appears as half of a normal human face with moustache and one labret hole. The left half, colored blue, has an eyebrow, eye, and complete broad mouth, all set at about forty-five degrees from normal. This mouth, wide and painted red, has a moustache with bristles widely separated, while the teeth are wooden pegs set alternately in upper and lower jaws. Surrounding the face is a thin wooden hoop held in place

by three wooden pegs, two jutting out angularly from the forehead and one from the chin. On the top of this hoop, three tail-feathers, about three inches apart, are inset. Two small hands carved from wood and mounted on feathers are next inset, diametrically opposed. Below there are two more feathers, similarly opposite; and last come two feet mounted in the same manner. A corresponding medicine-woman's mask (*íhjih)* has the slanting features on the right side.

Both medicine-men's and people's masks (and these latter are carved to represent the normal human face) are facial size and have hoops, hands, feet, and feathers as described above. The ordinary masks, the people's, were all painted red, the point of differentiation between those of men and women seemingly lying in the moustaches of men's masks. Both display labret and tattoo designs. The significance, outside of the vague explanation by the medicine-man, was unobtainable.

Of maskettes there are very many. Those seen on Nunivak are for wear on the forehead. The common forms are the heads of animals, birds, or fish mounted on hoops or head-bands of a size to fit the head. One such, a fowl maskette (*túngumihslúkuh),* was the head of a predatory bird bearing a fish in its mouth. The bird's head, fish, and hoop were colored blue. The eyes, mouth, and nostrils of the bird, and eyes, mouth, and fins of the fish, were etched or outlined in red. Two carved wings were mounted on feathers about three inches long, stuck into the hoop. A miniature spear, feather-mounted, was stuck in the top of the bird's head. Three tail-feathers, two diametrically opposed on each side and one in the rear, were inserted on the hoop.

A seal maskette (*tákokúmra*), mounted similarly on a wooden headband, was in the form of a seal's head, with wooden ears and ivory buttons for eye pupils. The flippers were mounted on feathers and the quill-ends were inserted in the sides of the seal head. Mouth and eye outlines were painted red, nostrils were burned in, while the whiskers were represented by simple carved lines. A miniature feather-mounted spear was stuck in the head.

A third masquette examined had a hoop, with arms, legs, and feathers, attached in a manner similar to the large masks. This one in miniature, the hoop only about six inches in diameter, was to be held on the forehead by means of a thong passing around the head. It *(palóhtuh)* was a grotesque caricature of a beaver. Above the slanting

supraorbital ridge it was painted blue, with black eyebrows; the cranial ridge was in high relief, and the remainder of the face was colored red. In its wide, grinning mouth, between four peg teeth, it held a fish by the tail.

It is probable that these maskettes are representative of the spirit-powers of their owners and that when worn the owner is believed to be imbued with the spirit of the animal, bird, fish, or object which his maskette may depict.

The drums, used chiefly in the winter ceremonies, vary in diameter from a foot to five feet, but the method of construction for all is similar. These single-headed and narrow-framed instruments are in reality tambourines. The frame of a drum is a two-sectioned hoop; the diameter of the one in the illustration is three feet six inches, three inches wide and half an inch thick. At the points of union, the ends, one overlapping the other, are gradually thinned so that the joints are uniform in thickness with the rest of the hoop. The joints cover about twelve inches each of hoop circumference, and the ends are fastened tightly with root withes which pass through several bored holes. On the outer circumference is a shallow groove an inch wide to hold the head in place, a groove formed by two raised, carved ridges an eighth of an inch high.

The handle, about fourteen inches long, has one end carved into the head of a bird, the talismanic mark of the owner, tapering from this point to a size suited to the hand. On the top of the head is a slot about an inch deep into which the hoop rim fits snugly. For ease in holding, a thong of sinew or a willow withe is passed through a hole near the end of the handle, forming a loop through which the hand may be thrust.

The drumhead is of walrus stomach or bladder, carefully scraped and cleaned. This is put on while wet and is held in place with a long line which passes several times around the grooved hoop and is fastened at the end to the handle. When the head is loosely in place, it is tightened as much as possible by pulling up the edges under the cord, working gradually around the hoop. As the head dries, in sunlight or over a fire, it becomes very tight. When the drum is beaten, it is held in a position varying from horizontal to vertical, and the owner raises and lowers it as he beats upon it with a wand. The beating, either from beneath or above, gives forth a resonant sound depending in pitch upon the diameter of the drum, the largest producing a deep bass tone.

The lesser tools used by men, such as small adzes, awls, chisels, drills, and punches, usually remain by the owner's place in the men's house. These are kept in wooden boxes about twelve or fifteen inches long by six inches wide and deep, the sides of which are formed by dovetailing, while the bottoms are pegged through to the sides, although in recent times nails and screws have come into use. Sinew and rawhide are widely used for the cover hinges. Many of the boxes are plain, while others are painted the conventional red and bear the owner's talismanic mark inside the cover.

The adze (*kábun*), for chipping bone or ivory, has a flat blade about an inch in width, set on a haft of wood, bone, or ivory. The wood-cutting adze carries a blade as wide as four inches; it is made of a steel axe-blade, of saw steel, or of hoop-iron set in a wooden haft and lashed in place with rawhide. Other adzes, with wood or horn blades and wooden hafts, serve as ice-picks, root-picks, or as sod-cutters for use in building houses.

Chisels, for splitting small pieces of wood, for incising grooves, especially in carving, are of bone or horn. These, from eight to ten inches long, are round-pointed. In these times chisels are often edged in the white man's manner and set in the shafts.

Three main parts comprise the drill (*pátuh*). The drill proper is a shaft with a point of metal or of flint inset and lashed firmly. The tapered upper end of the drill fits into a hole in the cap. The cap is a crescentic piece of wood or bone having a projection on the concave side wide and long enough to be held firmly in the teeth. On the convex side is the hole for the insertion of the drill. By means of the cap the craftsman is enabled to hold the drill in place with his mouth, leaving the hands free for the manipulation of the draw-string (*kaiiútuh*), which has a handle at each end. This is passed twice around the drill-shaft, and the worker, grasping the handles, rapidly twirls the drill. Another method is to hold the drill in position with one hand and to bear on the cap and twirl the drill by means of a bow. In former times fire was made with the bow-drill (*chúkichúki*). To hasten the spark, powdered charcoal was dusted into the slot in which the drill revolved. The glowing coal was then deposited in a tinder of oil-soaked moss, and wood was piled on when it had ignited sufficiently. Later, when flint-and-steel were introduced, sedgegrass cotton was used as tinder.

Knives (*chôwih*) for woodworking have blades ranging in length

from an inch to four inches, lashed in ivory, horn, or wooden hafts with sinew or rawhide. The blades, bevelled on one side only, have edges similar to chisel-edges. They are made of saw-steel or hoop-iron, the flat side curved to fit thumb and forefinger which are laid along either side of the blade. While using these knives, men wear leather coverings on thumb and forefinger, held in place by thongs passing about the wrists. Knives are used for carving and finishing a great variety of wooden implements: shafts for harpoons, spears, and arrows; bows, net-floats, umiak and kaiak frames, drum-hoops, dishes, masks, *et cetera*. The rough work, the blocking out, is done with the adze, while for the finishing process the knife is employed. As a rule the Eskimo are clever and skilful woodworkers.

Other tools commonly in use are ivory wedges; ivory, bone, or steel punches, and awls for etching. In etching, the outlines of the design are scratched with an awl; they are then smeared with soot that they may be plainly discernible, and carved with knife and chisel.

Women keep small objects used mainly in sewing, such as needlecases, bodkins, thimbles, sinew-twisters, and threaders, in "housewives" (*túkiwih*). One such receptacle was about fourteen inches long by seven wide. The backing was of soft-tanned leather with an outside covering of salmon-skin, and the several pockets sewn on the leather were of caribou-ears. The borders of the "housewife" and the edges of the pockets were trimmed with freeze-tanned seal intestine. A beaded thong for tying passed around the rolled-up kit. Other examples bore decorations of colored clothwork or beads around borders and pocket edges.

The most common form of needle-cases (*chikíwih*) are those made from ivory or the hollow wing-bones of large birds. The ivory is bored out and the outside carved or etched to resemble an animal or a bird. The closed end is carved, for instance, into a seal's tail, while the carved stopper forms the head. A hollow wing-bone needle-case is plugged at each end with a stopper representing the head and tail, respectively, of some bird or animal.

Steel bodkins for punching holes for sewing, and triangular steel needles, are in use today. Formerly sharp-pointed bodkins with intricately carved handles were made of ivory, bone, or horn, while needles (*chíkut*) were of bone, commonly the ulnæ of loon's wings.

Thimbles (*kuniútut*) are rudely formed from small, tough, oval

pieces of sealskin commonly taken from old kaiak-covers. A strap is formed by cutting a slit close to one edge, through which the forefinger is thrust. This narrow strip crosses the nail and serves to hold the leather in place on the inner side of the finger.

Boot-crimpers (*túhqasun*), used for crimping heels and toes of boot-soles, are flat pieces of ivory about seven inches long. One edge is straight, while the other is an asymmetrical crescent. The wide horn of the crescent runs up abruptly to meet the upper edge, while the narrow horn meets the upper edge gradually and ends in a sharp point. This point is used to pull stitches, while the opposite blunt edge is the crimper. The flat sides may be either carved or etched with the family marks, figures of birds or animals, or scenes representing Eskimo life.

Sewing sinew (*iwálu*) is shredded from fibres taken from the legs and back of reindeer or caribou. The shredders consist of ivory handles carved into animal or fish shapes, with eyes and feet or flippers etched in. In the mouths are inserted steel points to separate the sinew fibres. Larger line (such as that used for harpoons), heavy thongs, and lines for nets, are continuous strips often cut from the entire skins of seal and walrus. To insure uniform thickness, the line, after being stretched and dried, is passed through an ivory gauge (*túllun*) merely a square hole in the end of an ivory handle. An ivory implement, one end fashioned similar to a buttonhook, is used to draw line through punched holes in sewing kaiak-covers. The flat handle may be used to straighten out snarls in the line.

Women's knives vary greatly in size, depending on their use, but are similar in shape. The blades are crescentic, honed until very sharp, and are made of saw-steel or iron. From the crescent horns the edges of the flat sides converge gradually until they reach the horn, ivory, or wooden handle. In skinning game, separating hides into layers, or cutting meat or fish, the knife (large, *uhchlátigútliluh;* small, *ulugúhwuh)* is held almost horizontally and a wrist motion toward the body is employed. Flensing knives of stone or iron are made in the manner of the men's knives.

Small skimmers — hoops about two feet in diameter with root nets attached to short handles — are used by women to skim slush from water-holes.

Urine, the uses of which are many, is collected from the containers in the men's house only (since that of women is believed to be

unclean), to be stored in tubs for at least two days before using.

Women, in taking their baths, which are individual because the collective sweat-bath is confined to the men only, first bathe in urine, followed by a rinsing in either salt or fresh water. Both sexes frequently wash hands and faces in urine, and rinse with water; for urine, coming into contact with the body oils, acts as soap in removing grease and other impurities. The men, when about to take a sweat-bath, which is held frequently during the winter months but is not ordinarily ceremonial or purificatory in nature, gather in the men's house. There the floor boards are removed and a roaring fire built in the pit. When only glowing coals remain, the entranceway and smoke-hole are tightly covered to keep in the heat. Men and boys sit or lie in their places, completely naked except for perhaps a bird-skin cap as a head protection from the heat. The temperature rises to such a degree that respirators are necessary. These are of willow withes or shavings tightly woven together; in size about four square inches; in shape oval with a wooden pin placed horizontally in the centre of the concave side that the wearer may easily clench the device between his teeth. The participants, soon drenched with perspiration, bathe themselves with urine from the central pot (*kun*). After their bodies are aglow and all have sufficiently bathed, the smoke-hole and doors are opened, floorboards are replaced, and all repair outside where they rinse with either fresh or salt water. In winter the bathers often roll in snow or pour ice-cold water over their bodies, seemingly suffering no ill effects from the sudden and tremendous change of temperature. Indeed it might be argued with much truth that the profuse perspiration is very beneficial in aiding kidneys and skin to eliminate bodily poisons.

Sugar of urine, a white precipitate, scraped from the bottoms of urine pots, is taken internally for medicinal purposes by people suffering from lung ailments, especially tuberculosis.

Urine is further used as a soap to remove grease and other impurities from clothing; to clean the coverings of newly made kaiaks or those of old ones preparatory to oiling. In the curing and tanning of hides, urine is an essential ingredient, for it removes grease, oil, and particles of flesh from skins and soaks off hair. Soaking in urine renders dried hides pliable and easily worked. The smoking of bird-skins, or of any skin, tends toward hardening, hence urine is used as a softening agent before the actual tanning process is begun, because it does not

remove feathers, although it attacks hair.

In the tanning process, caribou- (now reindeer-) skins are first pegged down and the hide stretched as carefully as possible. After the skin has dried, it is soaked with urine, then scraped with flensing knives to remove the loosened dirt, blood, and flesh particles. Following the flensing, ground-up lava is sprinkled on the hide, which is then carefully worked by hand. In this manner the grit removes any clinging flesh particles and the working renders the hide soft and pliable. The hides of young caribou undergo the same process of drying, soaking, and cleaning. The skins are oiled and tied in bundles, two to a bundle, and rolled hide to hide, hair-side outward, and left overnight. Each is then stretched and thoroughly dried, after which it is smoked until hard and brittle. While in this condition another scraping, very light, takes place; this breaks the grain of the leather and covers the epidermis at the roots of the hair with innumerable fine cracks, a process which makes the skin very pliable. After another and more vigorous scraping, warm fish-eggs are rubbed into the skin; it is again rolled up and then worked with the hands until dry and soft. Skins so treated become very soft and pliable, with a gleaming white inner surface.

Small seal, after the heads have been cut off, are usually skinned, without splitting, by peeling off the hide as one would take off a glove. The skins are scraped down to the grain and allowed to dry. The rinsing, after the urine soaking and before the scraping, is with snow rather than with water in winter. Such a skin after tanning may be split open and the hide used for boats and other purposes. In preparing small seal for air-floats, care is taken not to tear the skin near the flippers. The scraped and dried skin is turned hair-side outward, the neck-opening sealed, and a hollow tube with a plug for inflation lashed into the anal opening. Sealskins for pokes, removed in this manner, are washed thoroughly, but not scraped; then, with the hair-side inward, they are ready for use. When no longer suitable for use as pokes, they are cut up for boot-soles or for the legs of waterproof boots. Sealskins for water boots are scraped and dried, then turned hair-side outward. A wooden arch, but slightly crescentic, is inserted in the neck-opening. One end of the arch is almost vertical for eight inches, and from that point it curves slightly for about two feet. In removing the hair, a woman sits astride the skin with the arch inside, and after rubbing sand and ashes well into the hair, scrapes off the fur with a hardwood scraper.

Large hair-seal and sea-lion are split open when skinned; the skin is then soaked in urine and scraped. Sometimes the hair is removed, at other times not, depending on the intended use. Next the skin is stretched on a square framework of four poles lashed together, the hide being secured with thongs which pass through holes in the hide a few inches apart and around the poles. Often two hides, one superposed on the other, are stretched and dried at the same time. The framework usually rests on four supports, two lower than the others, faced to secure a maximum amount of sunlight. When removed from the frame, the skin is ready for use.

Young hair-seal skins, after preliminary scraping and dehairing, are twisted by hand with two sticks, then stretched lengthwise and dried. After drying, or at such time when need arises for their use, they are soaked in water for three days and taken to the men's house, where they are again scraped and rinsed. Now they are ready for use as kaiak-coverings, and while wet are cut to size and sewn together.

After walrus-hide has been scraped and dehaired, it is split in two sheets, the one being of a thickness varying from an eighth to a quarter of an inch. Both sheets are pegged out and stretched as tightly as possible until thoroughly dried. The thinner sheet is then used for kaiak- and umiak-covers. The larger sheet is cut into a long line and stretched out to dry between poles (*ikiútut*). When dry, the line is soaked in water, restrung, and stretched. This process is repeated four times to take all the stretch out of the line. The finished line is used mainly for tug-lines on nets.

The hind-quarter portion of the young hair-seal skin is cut up into a line about a quarter of an inch thick and treated in the same manner as the walrus line described. After the final stretching, it is passed through an ivory gauge to give it uniform thickness and shape. It is then wound tightly on a wooden drum, which not only keeps the line dry, but gives it a natural coil, so that it will run out freely when attached to a hurled harpoon and prevent snarling which might result in a miscast.

When women receive intestines of walrus and seal, they strip off, as much as possible, the outside adhering tissue and ligaments with their fingers. Next they are bloated with salt water, and scraped outside with clam- or mussel-shells to remove the flesh adhering to the outside, and to loosen any solid matter, congealed intestinal juices, or blood-clots on the inside. For this latter purpose the women also em-

ploy horn rings set on handles, the rings having a diameter of from an inch to two and a half inches. To remove this material, the intestine is filled with urine, which is changed daily for several days. The outside is also treated with urine. Then follow a thorough rinsing with salt water and soaking in water for five days, making the long coils of gut clean and pliable. When it becomes white through the action of the uric acid, it is stretched on the ground and dried. The dried intestine is then cut open, the cut following the outside of the curves, and is ready for use in making waterproof parkas and ground blankets.

Life on Nunivak island, of necessity highly seasonal, follows a routine which varies but slightly from year to year. In fact, any variation arises from natural causes, such as a late seal- or fish-run, which crowds the activities of one season into those of another; or a small seasonal catch which minimizes that particular season's occupations. Hence the twelve seasons of the Nunivak year, which are not lunar, but follow the dictates of nature, are elastic. The following enumeration of seasons contains a brief synopsis of activities occurring during these periods.

Dúnkelloyúh ("worst of the moon," about January). This first season of the year, which bears the same name as the last, is a time for story-telling and the preparation for and holding of the Bladder feast. Many foot-races are held, in which the father of a winning contestant, or any old man, offers gifts which are divided among the old men and women. The races are held in honor of the dead, and it is believed that spirits accompany the runners; hence the distribution of gifts pleases and placates these spirits of the dead. After a race the contestants are given homilies and lectures in the men's house.

Qígitánit ("mother of rivers"; literally, "when-rivers-and-streams begin-to-open-up," or "when-the-ice-breaks-up"). The first part of Qígitánit is devoted to the New Kaiak ceremony, in which the kaiaks for the forthcoming seal season are made. Following this ceremony is the Messenger feast, when visitors from the villages invited come during the full of the moon.

Takókit-tánoket ("when young seals are born"). At this time the people leave the winter village and proceed to the spring fishing camp. Before the seal-hunt takes place, the new kaiaks are set on racks, bows seaward, and a ceremony held — The Consecration of the New Kaiaks.

Tinôtik-tánoket ("sea-fowl appear"). This season is devoted almost

entirely to the hunting of sea-fowl, such as auks, sea-parrots, and tufted puffins. During this period, when men, dressed in new clothing and with new kaiaks, engage in catching hair-seal, a seal ceremony is held.

Tinméarut-tánoket ("land-fowl appear," about July). As the last of the ice goes out, land-birds, ducks, geese, and cranes, come north. When a child catches his first bird, a ceremony is held — The First Bird-catch ceremony. Not only are fowl caught, but now the main sealing season begins as these animals migrate northward. First come the hair-seal and sea-lion, next smaller seal with their young, followed last by spotted seal and walrus.

Tinméyakat-tínutit-tánoket ("young fowl are hatched and fly"). At this time eggs are gathered; seal-oil is tried out and put in pokes; seal, walrus, and bird meat is dried and stored away. The latter part of the season is occupied with cod, salmon, and trout fishing.

Aspájozwih-túnokih ("hawks fly south"). In this period berries and dock-leaves are picked and stored; the beach is combed for driftwood, which is cut, piled, and dried for winter use; and trout seines are set upstream on small rivers.

Tilánmaiózwih-túnokih ("puffins fly south"): Grass of two kinds is gathered: one of long and strong fibres growing on the margins of lakes and ponds is woven into ropes and boot socks; the other, found growing on sand dunes, is woven into matting. Fish is dried and stored away. Houses are repaired.

Kokklíhawih-túnokih ("going toward running-nose season," early fall). Men go up the river for salmon trout and store away the catch in dry sod caches. After seal-nets are overhauled, the people move to the netting grounds for the southward seal migration.

Núnwahlachíkutit-tánoket ("ponds are freezing"). Swamp moss, which, because of its absorbent quality, has many uses, is gathered and dried. This moss is used for bathing and drying babies, for diapers and menstruation pads, for packing foodstuffs, for padding boots, and padding house walls. Seal-nets are set at this time, because freezing water aids in preventing decay. Those who have no seal-nets, seine for tomcod, which are put into pokes and allowed to freeze. As it freezes, the meat cures and excess water freezes out of the meat tissue. Then in the winter the frozen meat may be thawed and eaten. Wood is hauled home in kaiaks before the freeze-up.

Ímumumuguti-tánoket ("when the ocean closes up"). When there

is no more open water, nets are pulled in and the catch hauled on sleds to caches and stored. The people move to the winter village.

Dúnkelloyúh ("worst of the moon"). Because of the short days, most of the people work inside, the men carving wood for kaiak frames, weapons, and dishes; the women sewing and working on furs and skins. This is a period of repair and preparation for coming hunting seasons. Women spear fish through the ice; and young men, sometimes with their wives, trap fox, the trap-lines extending only a few miles from the village. In the latter part of the season the Division of Men and Women feast is held.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

A Nunivak village is composed of small family groups, each headed by the father or the grandfather, an arrangement which is in accord with the prevalent marriage custom whereby a newly married man is accepted as a member of his wife's family. No evidence was obtained in regard to a division of a village into clans, gentes, or bands, although the two or more men's houses in a single village in former times might indicate such a social condition to have existed. There is no actual chief or ruler of a village, although some one man, noted for wisdom, knowledge of ceremonial rules and precepts, or for hunting ability, is often recognized as a headman (*unaíyukah*), a counsellor and advisor to all who seek him. His decisions are ever respected, but are not always acted upon. Such a man, of strong and dominant character, or one noted as a powerful medicine-man, might become absolute in power, ruling through might and awe, as many of the legends attest.

It is usually customary for a man to choose and woo the woman of his desire. After she has been won and the respective parents notified, her father carries goods, as much as he thinks his daughter is worth, to the men's house, where he exchanges them for an amount of firewood of equal value from any of the men present; for wood, the only source of which is drift, commands a high price in barter. The father then gives a sweat-bath to all the occupants of the men's house. After the bath, the women bring food for their husbands, and the bride places food before the man of her choice. This act of bringing food constitutes the marriage ceremony. Marriage is sometimes arranged by the heads of families, but in each instance the consent of the prospective couple must be obtained. Often before the marriage occurs, the man and

woman exchange gifts. After they are wedded, the man, although he usually lives in the men's house, is considered a member of his wife's family. Exchange of wives is not common among the Nunivak people. In rare instances it may take place, as when two youths, perhaps brothers, reared together and close comrades, marry and exchange wives from time to time. The purpose is to make exact paternity doubtful, so that the children of both families will consider themselves brothers and sisters together and be as close in spirit as were their fathers.

The usual causes for a man to divorce his wife are failure to perform her household duties, disobedience to her husband or even to her parents, or adultery. The procedure is for the husband to call together his wife's relatives, and before them, and in the presence of his wife, to announce the reason for his leaving. He then goes to his own family or relatives, of whom he is once more considered a member. A woman, if her husband fails to provide, if he has committed adultery, or if the couple are unable to live together harmoniously, divorces her husband by refusing to carry food to him in the men's house.

For a period of three days after a birth, the members of a family must engage in no work and must remain very quiet. After this time the father carries barter goods to the men's house, which he exchanges there for firewood. Friends bring in berries, of which some are cast on the floor in sacrifice, while those present pray that the new-born child may grow to be a good hunter, if a boy, or a good worker in skins and foodstuffs, if a girl. The father then offers the bartered wood for use in a sweat-bath. Since only goodwill and friendship must exist at a sweat-bath, any enemy of the father, the donor, must absent himself.

The first-born, if a boy, is given the father's name; if a girl, the mother's name. A parent is then called "The father of —" or "The mother of —." Succeeding children bear the names of relatives. Should the parents die childless, their names, perhaps handed down for generations, are lost to that family, though they might continue in the village should relatives give those names to any of their children. No ceremony is held in connection with the naming, of children, nor are names given in adult life in recognition of noteworthy deeds.

A person dying, or dead, at night has a light placed before him. The body, if that of a man, is dressed as if for distant travel in his finest hunting costume, with the waterproof parka; if a woman, in her best clothing. The body, legs drawn up, is then lashed inside a large

hair-seal hide and lifted by cords through the smoke-hole. The corpse is removed from the house as soon as possible, that it may proceed at once on the "spirit road," and taken to a burial place, selected by the relatives, outside the village. At Cape Etolin graves are placed along the edge of a bluff overlooking the village. The body, face to the east, is then put in a wooden grave-box about four feet square by about two feet deep, and placed on posts about three feet high, one at each corner. Inside the box, with the body, are laid food, dishes, and tools. If the deceased be a male, his kaiak, sled, spears, and hunting gear are piled on the box or on the ground, or both. In the vicinity of Nash Harbor it was customary to lay the body extended, face to the east, in a shallow grave. The body, with food, utensils, and implements, was then surrounded with stones, in a roughly oval shape, and covered with earth and stones.

The prevalent belief is that the spirit hovers about the village for forty days before departure, but during that time it is harmless and often visible. At the end of that period the spirit loses all consciousness for a time, but awakes to find itself in a land of spirits among whom are many who have never existed in human form or been on earth. The location of this land is vague and indefinite. Those dying of violence go to this place "somewhere," as do the spirits of those who drown. These latter, however, travel with the wind until their clothing is blown off before they can proceed to the spirit land. The spirits of people who have led evil lives go somewhere below.

The actual number of games played by the Nunivak Eskimo, that is, the variety, is small. During the ceremonies, such as the Bladder feast, foot-races occur, and in the Division of Men and Women feast there is a tug-of-war between the sexes wherein the women attempt to drag the men from the men's house. Singing and dancing during ceremonies, as well as feasting, form diversions. During the long winter nights, stories of valiant deeds, hunting experiences, legends, and myths, are related. Small children play with dolls and imitate the work of their elders, and boys practise with weapons to fit them for hunting careers. The few games noted, and which are accompanied with much betting, are as follow:

The sand-bag game is played between men and women, the one opposing the other. A small skin stuffed with sand is tossed up, the object of each side being to retain it as long as possible, preventing the

other side from obtaining the ball by passing it quickly from one player to another. This game may continue for hours.

Another amusement is the tossing of individuals in a blanket. Those cast in the air endeavor to gain an upright position and come down on their feet.

A popular diversion is rope-jumping. While two men swing the rope, two loops one way and then reversing the motion for two loops, three contestants jump. The one remaining longest without stopping the rope's movement wins.

In the wand game, four contestants, two on a side, cast wands at a mark set between them about twenty feet away. Each side throws ten wands from a kneeling position. The cast nearest the mark wins for that side which then possesses all the wands.

An interesting intimate glimpse into Eskimo life is contained in the following fragmentary narrative related by an old woman recalling the days of her childhood:

When I was a child, my relatives took me to a large spring fishing camp where many kaiaks were up on stilts. Arrived there, a woman carried me on her back to the women's house, where they were preparing food for their men. But that winter we nearly starved, and all food had to be divided equally. Then in the spring, seal and walrus came in abundance, so that there was a great repairing of gear and mending of nets. I asked the men why they worked so hard. They answered: "Seal and walrus have broken our nets in many places. We must repair them for the next catch."

I stayed with my grandmother. After the snow melted and roots began to grow, all the women went out to dig fern-bulbs, which we ate raw with oil. One day when the women were cutting up walrus, I saw my father land his heavily laden kaiak. Women and boys met him to help unload; but one boy ran home crying when my father said that his partner would never return, that he was drowned.

In the men's house my father told the tale: "As we paddled along, a walrus suddenly came up close to my friend. I called to him not to harpoon, but to paddle away as fast as he could; but my friend would not heed my warning and cast his heavy spear. Then the walrus punched holes with his tusks in the kaiak, until it overturned. It seized my friend between its flippers and dragged him screaming and struggling beneath the sea. His yells became gurgles, and soon the last bub-

bles ceased to come up. I was powerless to help. I waited. In a short time the walrus broke surface, still holding my friend and rubbing his whiskers against my friend's face. Again the walrus dived. That is the last I saw of my friend. I brought home his weapons."

I looked at the drowned man's gear and saw the holes in the air-float and the cut line where the walrus had used his tusks. Near noon, while the women were blowing air into gut before curing, people began to shout and run to the shore. Something was drifting in, blown by the wind. It was the kaiak of my father's partner, still carrying its load of meat.

Many seal and walrus were killed, and some of the men drove a beluga into shallow water and harpooned it. Then the men put up racks for drying the meat, while the women sewed pokes of walrus-hide. We packed the pokes first with a layer of meat and then a layer of blubber until they were filled. Other pokes were filled with oil. These the women rolled into holes in the ground, putting in a layer of oil pokes on the bottom and then a layer of meat pokes until they had enough in the cache. These holes fill with water in the summer, but drain in the winter, so that the supply keeps. In winter we take out the pokes as we need them.

A few days later I heard a great commotion and ran to the beach where all the people were. I was afraid, and hung back, but I learned that the drowned man's body had been washed ashore. His relatives stripped off all his clothes and boiled them, because that drives away evil spirits. Then they put new clothes on him. A man tied a child's outfit of parka, mittens, and boots on the body, saying, " When you get up there, give these to my child." I asked my grandmother why he said that, and she replied: "That man had a child who was drowned. Relatives always give things to a drowned man's body, that he may give them to those who, drowned, have gone before." Then I saw others hang things on the body. The people then propped the body up, stiff-legged, with arms outstretched and walking-sticks in both hands, as if he were ready to go somewhere. They piled all his clothes and weapons and his kaiak about him, and much driftwood. When this was set ablaze, the body melted like a lump of fat. My grandmother said that people worked fast with the body in order to get it started on its journey as soon as possible.

One night I was awakened by a man who said that my father had

sent from that point of land in the bight. I dressed and carried food to him. There I found nearly all the village netting a herring-run. Even people who did not own nets were taking herring from them. The run lasted a long while, and we built shelters on the beach. We girls and women picked up seaweed with herring's eggs stuck to it. These we dried on the rocks. We filled pokes with cooked herring strips and oil.

That winter the men made masks and dance equipment, and composed new songs. Much food was collected and stored away. When I heard a great drumming and singing in the men's house, I knew that messengers had been sent with invitations to the people on Nelson island. My grandmother told me that the messengers would bear greetings from people of our village, asking people there for gifts.

One day, just as my father had finished making a kaiak, the messengers returned and went to both men's houses. There they delivered messages, asking our people for gifts. Next day I heard a great shout, "Kaiak! Kaiak! " and knew that our visitors were coming. My people paddled out at full speed to meet them, and they and the visitors raced back with much yelling, and with spray flying from the flashing paddles. One Nelson Island man turned his blade the wrong way and capsized. The visitors claimed they lost the race because of this man.

The Nelson islanders all landed at one point, and those who had umiaks used them for shelters. We carried much food to them - berries and caribou-fat mixed with snow. Our men stood the visitors in small groups, passed a line about them, and dragged them to the men's houses. Thus were they welcomed. There our people set up a pole and loaded it with many skins and articles of great value. A Nelson Island woman, accompanied by drumming and singing, danced around the pole, while her husband put on it gifts of equal value. Then one of our people had to cover its value. We lost the pole and gifts when we could no longer cover their value. Then our people presented the gifts which the Nelson Island people had asked for by messenger.

The next night, the visitors, dressed in their best, gave our people whatever we had asked for, starting with the oldest and coming down to the youngest. They then gave a dance for our people and sang their new songs. Their headman gave our headman a new outfit of clothes. We all feasted, and later went to the fishing camp.

In the bird-hunting season we used the skins for parkas; we ate the flesh and the eggs. Then also we dug up wild cabbage with sticks. We

washed it clean and ate it raw or cooked with oil. We caught cormorants, auks, sea-parrots, and puffins with nets. The men climbed down cliffs on lines and flung out long nets which the birds flew into. Many were caught in this way.

I next went with my family to Cape Mendenhall in the fall, when we picked berries, grasses, and moss for the winter. Then we moved to Cape Mohican, but it is very dangerous to go around there, because of strong winds and breakers. There we had to pack water over the cliffs in seal pokes. We went to Nash Harbor, catching seal on the way, and there I saw most of the people on the beach cutting up a dead walrus which had been washed ashore. My grandmother and I returned to our own village overland. It was now winter; the ice had frozen over the nets, so that people had to fish through holes.

During the winter the men made much new gear and began to prepare for the Bladder feast. They had already started in the fall. The younger people, in order to have their elders wish them good luck, gave away food every night — berries, dried fish, and fish that had been stored away in oil.

WARFARE

Warfare, which is quite rare, since the Nunivak people are peaceably inclined, is entirely unorganized. Offensive fighting, when engaged in, is usually the result of a desire for revenge against a village or other smaller group of people. When an offensive is to be begun, some man makes a small war-arrow and carries it to the men's house, where he thrusts it into the middle of the floor. Then all the adults and youths prepare to descend by kaiaks upon the enemy. The attacking party, stealthily and at night, advances to the sleeping villagers, and bowmen are posted at all doors and smoke-holes. As the people inside are being shot down by those at the smoke-hole, the survivors endeavor to escape by the door, where they meet with a volley from the warriors outside. The invaders aim to exterminate all male adults, kill or capture the women, and make prisoners of the children. They do not scalp or take head trophies. The children are adopted and reared by the families of their captors, and possess the same privileges as other members of the families. That villages were not always surprised is shown by the following narrative:

A Nunivak village, desiring, to wage war against a village at the

mouth of the Yukon, decided to invite the Nelson islanders to become allies. Before proceeding by kaiak to the mainland, the allies held a big dance. As the flotilla neared the mainland, they were seen by the people of the Yukon village, who immediately sent out messengers to neighboring villagers for aid.

During the night, the allied Nunivak and Nelson Island people crept close to the watchful village to attack at dawn, unaware that their enemy was prepared. As day broke, before the allies could cover doors and smoke-holes by the customary tactics, the Yukon warriors rushed out and gave battle. While the fight raged about the houses, one party of the Nunivak succeeded in besieging a men's house. Those inside were so densely packed together that they had to hold their weapons overhead to make room. The continuous rain of arrows through the smoke-hole making the place untenable, the survivors rushed to the door, some succeeding in breaking through the enemy bowmen at the entrance.

For a time both sides held their ground; then the warriors from other villages, summoned by scouts, came to the rescue of the Yukon people and the combined forces put to rout the Nunivak and Nelson islanders, killing nearly all. The survivors ran for their kaiaks and quickly paddled out of range. Until they were out of earshot they heard shouts of triumph and jeers and yells to them: "You Nunivak people go home in your big kaiaks! You do not know how to fight! If you come back we shall feed you to the dogs!"

The villages of Nunivak, however, did not always take the offensive. In their turn they were raided. A story of an invasion and immediate revenge follows:

One evening at Cape Etolin a woman, wandering outside the village, saw, or thought she saw, strange faces peeping from behind a knoll. Frightened, she rushed to the women's house and told her tale. One old woman advised: "Say nothing to the people of what you have seen, because they may become excited. What you saw were probably foxes, which look like humans at this time of year."

The next morning, after all the men had left, as usual, to hunt, the enemy from the mainland burst upon the defenseless village. They entered all the houses and killed the women and children. Some of the bodies they wrapped in sealskins and threw them into the fires. Most of the children were hurled into a pond of stagnant tundra water. The

enemy tied thongs to the arms and legs of one old man and pulled him limb from limb. One boy thrown in the pond pretended to drown, but later made his escape. The enemy then took one promising youth and departed for the mainland. Once there, quickened by success, they made immediate preparations for another raid, this time to the northward.

Meanwhile the Nunivak men, observing the haze of smoke, hurried home and gazed in helpless rage upon the devastation wrought by the enemy. A hasty council of war was held, and heavily armed they set out in swift pursuit. As they neared the shore, still far out, the captive Nunivak youth and a companion spied them. The heart of the Nunivak captive beat fast in anticipation of freedom and revenge. but he carefully concealed his emotion. His companion pointed, and cried: "Look! Those are kaiaks!"

"No," evaded the Nunivak, "those are sea-gulls."

When night fell, the youth crept silently from the village and met two scouts, to whom he reported that all the men had gone north. Then the Nunivak men wreaked heavy revenge. They burned all the houses and killed every remaining inhabitant, sparing none. They went home, the elation of victory saddened by their own loss.

Among the villagers themselves there was little violence. Quarrels were settled by combat between the two involved. No punishment followed for a killing in fair fight, though a murder would be avenged by friends or relatives of the deceased. Within the memory of the oldest informants there has been no suicide.

CEREMONIES

The most important of the Nunivak ceremonies occur during the winter season, when the long nights and severe storms force the people to spend the greater part of their time indoors. Of these ceremonies the Bladder feast, which consists of days of preparation followed by ritual and ending in gift-giving "good times," is the most important. At this feast not only is reverence paid with sacrificial food to the spirits of the dead, who are believed to be present during the rites, but the culminating act of the Bladder feast proper, that of thrusting bladders through a hole in the ice, is to insure a plentiful food supply and consequent good hunting throughout the following year. Of lesser importance, but nevertheless solemn and serious, are the rigidly ritualistic

New Kaiak ceremony and the Spring Hunt ceremony, both held with the object of insuring a plentiful food supply by the careful observance of customary ritual. More social in nature are the Division of Men and Women feast and the Messenger feast; the latter forms a medium through which friendly intercourse between villages is maintained. Later in the spring and summer, after the hunting has commenced, other minor ceremonies are held, such as the Hair Seal ceremony, the Summer Hunting ceremony, the ceremony for a boy on the occasion of catching his first bird, and the Walrus ceremony, all of which have as their primary objective the continuance of successful hunting. In nearly all of the ceremonies and feasts occurs a distribution of food, or of useful articles generally termed gifts, or both food and gifts. Outside of its ritualistic significance, such distribution accomplishes a function of social value, inasmuch as the aged, the widowed, and the helpless obtain many needed supplies. In the greater ceremonies, not only do the needy gain relief, but a great exchange of gifts takes place between all participants, which may include the entire village, or, in the case of the Messenger feast, two or more villages.

The origin of the Bladder feast, held in the season of Dúnkelloyúh ("worst of the moon"), in our month of January, is contained in the following legend:

A childless couple, who always had many furs and much food stored away, dwelled alone. They knew that they were alone, because they never saw another person. As time passed, the thought often came to them what the land would be like if there were other people. They pondered how to have children. The man thought that if he stored away the bladders of game, perhaps he might learn the extent of his next year's catch; perhaps something might happen. After the short days had come and winter was upon them, the man brought out these bladders and inflated them. That night, as the couple were sitting by the fire, they were startled to see a hand with outstretched fingers appear above the entrance hole. It ordered, "You must use these five days for your Bladder feast." No sooner were the words spoken than the hand disappeared.

Suddenly six spirits stood before the couple, then vanished through the walls of the house. In a short while the man and woman were startled by the sound of footsteps rapidly approaching, and soon heard the spirits moving about on the roof, where they were lowering wild

parsnips through the smoke-hole. After entering the house, five of the spirits began to dance and sing, while the sixth sat on the log head-rest to drum for them. Nearly all night they danced and sang.

On the following night the couple heard rapid footsteps outside their door. As they watched, they saw spirits enter, who began to paint the bladders hanging on the walls. These had now changed from birds' to seals' bladders. After putting the wild parsnips in the corners of the room, the spirits went outside to place stones and to plant paddles upright about the house. They had directed the man, "While we are busy outside, you must circle the room in the same manner as the sun makes his path across the sky."

On reentering, the spirits bore with them a heavy walrus clubbing spear, which they set upright beside the stone lamp. All the while the man circled the room. Again they vanished. Because no one appeared on the next, the fourth, night, the man dared to sleep with his wife. The following day he found that the bladders had changed back to birds' bladders. Thus was he punished for not obeying the law of continence during a ceremony. That night, while sitting alone, he saw two old men spring up through the floor and sit facing each other by the entrance hole, where they sang the entrance song:

My elbows I must use for walking-sticks.
My shoulder-blades hump toward my neck.
My legs are weary;
But my spirit refuses to become aged.

When the song ended, the woman entered, followed by the six spirits, who at once began to dance and sing. As the couple watched, many people suddenly appeared about the room, sitting on the log head-rests. These people, some naked, some fully clad, sang, swaying their bodies in unison to the rhythm. In the course of the singing, other people entered, bearing gifts which they gave away during the songs. Just before dawn, three calls were heard outside; the first syllable of each call was short and low-pitched, the second was shrill and long-drawn-out. Thus they yelled: "*Luah! Luah! Luah!*" Then, one by one, many persons came in with gifts. When these had been distributed, all within the room suddenly disappeared, leaving all the gifts for the man.

Early in the morning many men brought in wild parsnips to be

tied on the walrus spear. They went outside and gave a long call. Then women rushed in, carrying bundles of dry grass which they threw at the entrance. These women the man saw very clearly, but they were invisible to his wife.

The two old-men-spirits by the entrance, who now wore bird-skin caps, told the story of an owl who went beneath the sea. When they had finished the tale, one went outside and climbed to the roof, where he shook and rattled the smoke-hole cover, that the people might know day was breaking. The second old-man-spirit donned his water-proof parka and flopped about the floor, imitating the movements of the seal. Some of the people smeared soot on their faces. Then the old-man-spirit loudly announced from the smoke-hole, "It is now time to go out!"

All departed, one of the number bearing the stone lamp, and the man following, to a water-hole in the ice in which they thrust all the bladders. After returning to the house, they stripped themselves of all clothing and rolled through the entrance. Inside they began their race, after which all disappeared.

After nightfall, women entered to perform their dance. At the end, Khugúyúk, an old spirit, spoke to the man: "In the future you will have children; there will be many people. Every year, when the proper time comes, you must do as you have seen us do — then you will catch much game. You will never see us again."

BLADDER FEAST

First Night — Preparation

While all the men are gathered in the men's house, some one person lowers an article of value through the smoke-hole. Any man of the assemblage is privileged to receive it, provided he returns to the donor something of equal value, be it fur, skin, weapon, or any article. This recipient must further furnish wood for the sweat-bath immediately to follow. The heads of families then begin to make wooden bowls for each member of their respective households — small bowls for the youngest and larger for the oldest. On this night the side-walls of the utensils are steamed while the sweat-bath is in progress. The wood is steamed by wrapping in wet moss, the whole surrounded with hot stones above and on top. When thoroughly steamed, it is bent into the

shape desired and the ends are joined. Then it is dried and seasoned. While working on their family vessels, men are required to fast during the day, eating at night; they must keep clean in body and remain continent.

Second Night

On this night the men cut to size and hollow out the vessel bottoms from solid wood. These are fastened to the shaped side-walls of the receptacles with glue composed chiefly of seal-blood, a glue which will prevent leakage and withstand boiling liquids.

Third Night

Family talismanic marks are drawn on the bottoms and sides, inside the bowls. These symbols, which are handed down from eldest son to eldest son with the family names, are derived from some great deed done in the past at the time when the family name originated, and they also represent animal, bird, or fish spirit-powers. Then the bowls are painted with a paint of which the component parts are seal-blood and an iron oxide obtained from Nelson island.

Fourth Night

Another sweat-bath is held, given in the same manner as the first, at which the painted vessels are taken to the respective homes of the makers.

Fourth to Ninth Nights — Collection of Food

As soon as the bowls are taken to their owners' homes, the women of the families prepare food — trying out oil, cooking meat and blubber, making mixtures of oil, meat, berries, and snow, and bringing plant foods from the caches.

Then five young men, without parkas, but dressed as grotesquely as possible with wisps of straw about elbows, wrists, necks, knees, and ankles, with small straw bundles on foreheads, chests, and backs, and with soot-smeared faces, visit each family home in turn. The five, one bearing an old dish, enter at the extreme right of the entrance-

way. The family inside must fill the old dish full of some kind of food, and at the same time sing a song whose burden is some mysterious happening which has occurred to its members during the year. Next the family load the five men with the new dishes, each filled with food, while the food-bearers cry *"Kavetá* ['Put more on top']*!*" As the women pile the full bowls, one on top of the other, following the direction of the cry *"Kavetá!"* these five call out the names and deeds that the bowls represent. As they leave a house, they make their exit at the extreme left of the entranceway. Bearing the stack of new bowls and the old one, they return to the men's house, where they pass the bowls through the entrance to two assistants, who in turn slide them along the sleeping logs or head-rests, where they remain until ready to be used. After bowls have thus been collected from all houses, the five enter the men's house, where singing is going on, and in the midst of a song the bearer of the old bowl flings it to the floor. All stop singing to shout and cheer. The five food-bearers then strip naked.

Each night, after the work of bowl-making and the collecting of food is over, all lights in the men's house are extinguished, so that complete darkness and quiet prevail. Each individual present composes a song to himself. When some one, even a boy, is "bursting with a new song," he picks up a drum and sings it through once, immediately repeating, with all present joining in the song. After all have given songs, a light is brought in from some home, and all lamps are lighted, the lamp-bearer following the course of the sun. These are the songs to be used during the coming year, for those of former years will no longer be employed. However, if a song is especially appealing to all the people, it may continue in use year after year. While such a song is common property, it is always known as the song of the originator. A father who is very proud of a song composed by his son often distributes gifts to all present.

On each of the four nights, after the food is collected and the songs sung, two young men sweep the floor, piling the refuse on grass mats in each corner. Each corner is representative of one of the four winds. In the corners which the sweepers think are unfavorable, that is, are indicative of unfavorable winds, they pile the most dirt, saying: "O, wind, stay away! I am plugging up your corner, your entrance." Then the two fling the refuse outside. This gesture symbolizes the casting away of bad luck and evil influence. When the lamps are lighted after

the new songs, a lamp is placed in each corner.

Ninth Night — Distribution of Food, or "Mother of Distribution"

On this night, when all are assembled in their places in the men's house behind the head-rests containing the bowls of food, it is believed that the spirits of the dead, of the men who originated the family names and the symbols on the bowls, are also present. Mothers with nursing babies are barred from the house, because in some way the spirits of the children might be influenced, perhaps harmfully, by one of these spirits. The small girls of the village next enter and sit on grass mats before the laden headrests.

One of the five naked food-collectors who has a good memory now picks up a bowl, which he holds out, saying: "This bowl belongs to — [giving his name]. It was given by his relative —. Here also is tallow for him. This food and tallow are for his spirit."

Then he puts down the bowl and picks up one from the head-rest on the opposite side of the room, announcing from whom it was given and to whose spirit it belongs. After all the dishes are thus named, all the food is separated by kinds: all oil, all fish, all berries are placed in bowls, each group by itself. The little girls who came in last carry home the choicest bits of food; the remainder is distributed to all present, the amount varying according to age, the oldest receiving the largest portions.

While two men dance to the new songs, the young boys go outside and yell three times. At the third call, all women, even those with babes in arms, enter to watch the dances and to hear the new songs. After the last song, the boys race for the entranceway, for it is said that the first out will grow up to be the best hunter. They are followed by their elders, the last one to go out pretending that he is not last, and shouting, "I am already out!" This exodus signifies a driving out of any evil spirits which might have entered the house.

The men reenter, while the women bring more food to them and their day's fast is broken. The men hold a sweat-bath, during which heads are shaved, except for one patch cut in a design handed down from parents or grandparents. These long hairs on the unshaven patch are supposed to bring longevity. Following the sweat-bath is a housecleaning, which ends the night's proceedings.

Tenth Day — Bladder Ceremony

At daybreak, the men, carrying the bladders of their year's seal-catch tied on sticks, followed by their wives bearing dishes of berries, and all dressed in new clothing, take their places in the men's house. The men inflate the bladders, cover them with sealskins, and hang them above their respective places. Their sons, with the skins of animals and birds killed during the year, sit on the benches behind and above their fathers. The dishes of berries are piled in the centre of the room and the contents distributed — the largest portions to the oldest — by some old man, who sings, "This is my wish: that I may breathe deeper; that I may live to catch more fish during the year." As he finishes handing out berries, he throws one berry to the middle of the floor. The bringing in and distribution of berries signifies the driving of spirits back to spirit-land.

During the day, the hunters and youths regard their bladders and skins and then recall stories and incidents of their hunting. Following the tales, the boys call in all the women by giving three loud yells.

These enter and stand behind the men, who are massed on one side of the room, which has one centre light burning. All sing the new songs, swaying their bodies from side to side in unison. When the songs are ended, at the last word of the last song all the boys rush out; the first through the entrance, it is believed, will be the best hunter. The last event of the day is the bringing in of food by the women and the breaking of the day's fast.

Tenth Night

In the evening, while others sleep, and only the centre light is burning, two young men in new parkas go out very quietly and slowly for water. During the night, a man who has kept awake to see that the one lamp did not go out, lights all lamps and returns the centre one to its place.

Eleventh Morning

Before, daylight, the men leave the house, each to go to his wife's house and awaken her by singing: "Hear! Hear! Hear! There is a big whale before the village. No spirit can touch [harm or influence] it."

The first man to leave the men's house brings back a large spear, with a wild parsnip tied near the point, and sets it upright in the centre

of the right side of the men's house. Then the women enter, bearing the morning meal. Immediately after breakfast, five grass mats are placed in the centre of the room and five young men, volunteers, sit on them. Men go out and call before each woman's house, "The parsnip-pickers are starving!"

Hearing these cries, the women bring in small dishes of food, rich in fats, for it is each woman's wish as she prepares it that the ensuing year may be rich and plentiful in game. The five now begin to eat as fast as possible, throwing aside each dish when empty. The first to finish wins. Then a bowl of berries is offered to them, with the injunction, "Eat more, so that you will always get plenty of what you want."

These five now dress, while all the men dance around them, following the direction of the sun's path and making all possible noise. Then the five proceed to one corner, while a man places upright five sticks, each with a dried fish tied to it, in a row. The first of the five men chooses the second stick; the second picks up the fourth; the third man takes the third stick; the fourth pulls up the first stick, while the fifth young man takes the last. Day has not yet broken when these five leave the men's house. They depart in pairs, except for the fifth man, each carrying a bundle of wild parsnips and unreeling a long line as he goes to guide him back safely to the men's house. They proceed to the place where they think the parsnips will grow thickly during the coming year, then return. At the men's house they lower their bundles through the smoke-hole, and the dry stalks are placed beside the lamps. As the five enter, they line up on one side of the room and dance to two songs, while men drum for them. Young children next dance. Fathers of children who have killed their first game distribute gifts to the children. (Skins of the first kill of each kind of animal used are kept as a matter of record, since boys are not of marriageable age until they have killed one of each.)

Eleventh Night

The women are called in to the men's house by the yells of the boys, and all sing the new songs. Next the wild parsnips are removed from the lamps and placed in the firepit. After the last song, a feast is held. Some time during the night, two men, volunteers, paint the men's talismanic marks on the bladders. These men also take up the wild parsnips and hang the stalks in bundles from the walls, while they tie

the parsnips to the bladders. When they have finished, they wake the men and all go out to give the morning song.

Twelfth Morning

Food is brought in by the women to all but the two painters, who must fast during the day. Men now make drums, each with some tool attached to it. The youngest have the largest, while the oldest use the smallest drums. Fathers of boys who have never had a drum before, offer gifts in exchange for wood for future sweat-baths. This fuel is piled outside the men's house. At the same time, a circular lamp-frame to be hung from the smoke-hole is made.

Twelfth Afternoon

The women are called to the men's house by the boys. Then some boy who has caught his first bird or animal, his head wrapped in cured intestines, stands on a sealskin by the entrance, while the assemblage sing for him. Standing in a circle, wearing ceremonial caps and holding drums, the gathering first sing all the old songs, next spin around the new hanging lamp, and finally sing the new songs. After the mother of the boy has given out tallow, all depart.

Twelfth Night — "*Give-away Night*"

The women are again called into the men's house, and they carry dance equipment and finery, such as decorated caps, rings, bracelets, labrets, ear-rings, and nose-beads, all of which they don later. The oldest man and his family face the assemblage, sing his new song, and give the family dance. The sons of that family pile gifts in the middle of the room, and each family does likewise in turn according to age. When the last has finished, all jump up and crowd outside to drive evil spirits away. As soon as they reënter, the massed gifts are distributed in order of age. The more gifts a man has placed in the centre, the greater the respect accorded him, because his donation shows his ability as a hunter, worker, and provider.

Thirteenth Morning

Before daybreak two young men, dressed in hunting costume, go to the shore and pick a hole through the ice. Meanwhile the women bring

in bundles of dry grass to the men's house, one for each man. Women give bundles also to their second cousins, whom they ridicule and of whom they tell stories of mishaps and misdeeds of the past year. The cousins must listen to all in silence.

The other young men, also dressed in hunting costume, sing old songs. By this time the ice-pickers return, circle the room counter-clockwise, and sprinkle salt water on head-rests and people.

A man, dressed as fearsomely as possible, comes up the entrance hole three times. As he thrusts himself up the last time, the youngest infant in the room, regardless of his yells of terror, is thrust toward him and drawn back. This act symbolizes the protection a mother seal gives her young while on top of the ice.

Next, the men, while the youths and boys stand and sing by their animal- and bird-skins, approach and withdraw three times from the entrance hole while drumming and singing old songs.

After all have dressed in hunting costume, one man gathers up the old dried-grass bundles and the parsnip-stalks, picks up a lamp, and goes out, followed by all. After burning his burden before the village, he leads the procession to the hole in the ice and circles it once. The people divide into two parties and march about the hole, singing hunting songs. As the last song is ended, each man in turn shoves his stick with the bladders under the ice. Each family group now faces the rising sun and sings its ancient hunting song.

Returning to the men's house, the eldest enter first, the rest in order of age. The younger boys roll through the entrance. Inside, the boys race single-file, clockwise, about the room. If one can touch another from behind, that one must drop out. When but one is left, he is the winner. A feast is held, after which two young men sweep the room. Stories are now told of wonderful happenings and outstanding events of the year. Hunters are not mentioned by name in these stories; the narrator points to where they sit. At the finish, all rush out, men first, to chase away evil spirits and bad luck. The sweepings of the room are thrown on a fire outside. This act ends the Bladder ceremony.

During a few days following the ceremony, games are played and feasts given in a spirit of fun and joy; but first the "asking ceremonies" are held.

Thirteenth Night

Near midnight the men have a sweat-bath, using for fuel the wood piled outside the door. Inside the house, in place of bladders little drums are hung up. After the bath, men tap signals on the floor with their heels. When a woman, waiting outside, hears her husband's signal, she brings in food. At this time the men ridicule their wives and the wives' second cousins, who must all listen in silence. Many games and tests of strength follow the feasting. Some woman dressed in dancing finery brings in a strong rope, and, after giving her dance, a tug-of-war is held in which the women attempt to drag the men through the entrance.

Some time during the night, a stick is thrown into the men's house, and all with loud ejaculations wonder what it can be. The man who picks up the stick tells the men present that the objects tied to it represent things that the women desire, and he interprets the meanings of the objects. The men then tie on the stick similar objects, signifying that they will fulfil the women's wishes.

Fourteenth Night

A partition of grass mats is raised, dividing the men's house. On this are hung objects representing what the women have asked for. The women are then called in, and they sing on their side of the mat while the men dance on theirs. Afterward the men hang their gifts over the mat partition. These men hang up additional gifts, singing, "No one has taken what I have hung up, so I have promised this for — [naming the person]." When a named woman takes this gift, the man is privileged to read her a moral lecture.

An "asking" stick is now given the women, and its meaning is explained to them. As they rush to provide these needs, two of their number raise up the partition again and hang on it objects representing those things which the men desire. Then the men sing while these two women dance. The women by this time reënter and hang their gifts on the screen. As each man takes what he has asked for, the woman reads him a moral lecture.

Fifteenth Night

During a sweat-bath, men paint boys' faces with a mixture of iron oxide, seal-blood, and soot. As the boys retire to one corner, the women

are called in. As the women sing, the boys in their corner dance as grotesquely and comically as possible. Following the dance, they go outside to wash off the paint with snow. The men now present one woman with many gifts, gifts for all her family, including unborn children, men, and dogs. The women likewise shower gifts upon some one man. These two, man and woman, represent all of both sexes in the village. Lastly, the heaped-up pile is distributed among all present.

THE ANÚCHCHIHKIYUM CEREMONY ("WHEN WOMEN-TAKE POSSESSION OF THE MEN'S HOUSE"), OR DIVISION OF MEN AND WOMEN FEAST

This ceremony, held during the season of Dúnkelloyúh ("worst of the moon" — full moon of January), is said to have been originated by a couple living alone at Cape Mohican. It was their custom when feasting or celebrating to exchange gifts.

Some night after the men have taken their sweat-bath, the women gather outside of the men's house and cry in unison to the men inside: "Look here! Look here! You are a fine spoon-maker!"

The oldest woman enters first, bearing a dish of fat and berries, which she gives to her second cousin or other relative, and at the same time requests a gift of some article which she needs. All the women, in order of age, follow with food and make requests of their second cousins or relatives, coming through the entrance after giving the above cry. When all are inside, two women, clad in their best clothing and finery, face one wall and dance to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by the men. After they have finished, the women, followed by the men, leave the house, the men to bring the articles requested.

The women, all carrying small lamps, now reenter, and one of their number signals the men that they are ready. Each man, in order of age and bringing his gift, enters and dances by the entrance to a tune sung by those still outside. After all are inside, the gifts requested are presented to the women.

The women then leave to get suitable gifts for the men in return for those they now have. While they are absent, the men gather in a circle, blacken their faces with soot, and trace their talismanic marks in the soot. The women bearing gifts reënter in order of age. Each one dances, after presenting her gift, to the singing of the men, and all continue to dance until the last woman has entered. Women often bring

their children to dance with them.

THE MESSENGER FEAST

The preparations and the sending of the messenger take place in the early part of the season Qígitánit ("mother of rivers"), while the actual feast occurs during the full of the moon.

After the Bladder feast and its attendant "good times," a sweat-bath is held in the men's house. As an indication of the initial rites, some man, henceforth to be known as the headman, the giver and initiator of the Messenger feast for that year, brings to the men's house a staff about six feet long. To one end of this staff he fastens a dog-skin; below the skin he paints two bands, one of soot, the other of red oxide, both bands about the width of a thumb. The decorated staff is planted in the middle of the room.

After a long period of silence, in which the assembled men plan details of the coming festival, a young man, to show that he is volunteering to act as messenger, grasps the stick and immediately thrusts it beneath the eaves. A lamp is removed from a stand, lighted, and placed beside the messenger, now seated near the entrance. The headman, facing the messenger, places between them a number of wood splinters and names them, each name being that of some individual in the village which is to be invited to the festivities. The headman then binds the splinters together with sinew, and fetches food and water to the messenger. Before consuming the proffered meat and drink, the messenger pours a libation on the floor and rubs food on his insteps. Again the headman faces the messenger, this time pointing out carvings on a staff, the carvings indicating certain people in the village which is to be invited and the gifts which they must bring. Each name mentioned represents some group of people in that village; for instance, the name of an old man would mean all the old men and all the old women. (It is obvious that the names, or rather the carved marks, of a whole village could not be included on a single staff.)

He points to a mark, saying, "From this person [that is, the oldest group in the village] we want a seal-net." This request implies all the accessories to the net, such as lines, floats, and sinkers.

Indicating another carving, he instructs:

"From this one we ask a kaiak-load of seal meat and prepared intestines. Let them bring also a sealskin whose hide represents gifts

of cloth, whose eyes are cooking-pots, and whose penis is ivory. These articles must they furnish.

"This person shall bring us a hair-seal whose eyes are pots, whose penis is traps, whose hair is a white fox, the breath gunpowder, and the ears gun-primers.

"That man shall convey to us a family sled, the handle-bars of which are saws, the sled-handle cloth. Let him bring in the sled a hair-seal whose head shall represent a cooking-pot, the eyes gun-primers, the breath gunpowder and the penis ivory. Let him also bring knives for cutting up meat.

"Let this one who stands for all the youths bring us a smoke-hole cover. The edges will be seal meat and sinew."

And so he reads off all the marks.

Before daybreak, the messenger, who has memorized his instructions, dresses for travelling, and, carrying his mnemonic staff and a new smoke-hole cover, walks to his sled, accompanied by all of them. The headman pulls his own parka over the messenger's head and presents him with some black soot. He then departs for the other village.

Before reaching his destination, the messenger leaves his sled some distance from the village and endeavors to enter unnoticed. At the men's house he climbs to the roof and fastens the new cover on the smoke-hole. Next, with soot-blackened face and carrying the messenger stick, he enters the men's house and stands silent before the occupants. At length the oldest man present calls out: "Messenger! Messenger! Messenger!"

He answers: "Messenger! Messenger! Messenger! The headman of my village wishes to see the headman of this village. Let him come with a gift of a large hair-seal skin."

As soon as he sits in the middle of the floor, a lighted lamp is placed beside him, and the headman in person proffers food and water. Before breaking his fast, the messenger rubs food on his in-steps and pours water on the floor. He then unwraps the bundle of

small wooden splinters, names each one and hands it to the person named, beginning with the headman, thus indicating that these people are invited to his village to participate in the Messenger feast. The wooden tally-sticks are then thrown in the firepit. The messenger reads from his carved staff the gifts they are to bring. The stick is then hung by the smoke-hole, to be consumed eventually by heat and fire.

The messenger remains as long as a month in this village, performing many tasks and helping the men as much as possible — this to create a favorable impression, so that all those invited will return with him at the proper time.

Meanwhile, in the messenger's own village, on the night of his departure to invite the guests, men and women gather in the men's house, where, without lights, they practise all their songs. The following day and evening are devoted to the making of masks and many bird and animal ornaments of wood.

On the third night the mechanism of an agility test to be performed later is set up and practice in the usage of it is held. This mechanism consists of a heavy water-logged timber suspended horizontally about three feet above the floor. On one side stands a strong man to swing the log; on the other is an agile, naked young man. As the log is swung toward him, the youth must leap over it. Failure to time the log properly results in the jumper being hurled heavily against the rear wall. A variation of this pastime is for the nimble youth to stand in the entranceway. The log is swung toward him and allowed to hit the wall. As it rebounds, the youth follows, leaps, and dodges before the log can crush him against the opposite wall.

During the early part of the fourth night, the masks and the bird and animal ornaments, with the frames to hang them on, are painted. After the painting four large drums are made and suspended near the entrance, and four men are chosen to beat them. The best singer selects three men and three women singers. These, the men kneeling and the women standing behind them, to the drum accompaniment are rehearsed in songs and the motions and gestures proper to each song. There is a song for each invitation stick sent out.

In the following days caps of deer, fox, seal, and wolf are made. All the articles of preparation — drums, ornaments, masks, and caps — are laid away until they are to be used. Much food is prepared and stored.

The messenger, face blackened with soot, and carrying a new carved staff from the invited village, enters his own men's house and stands silent in the middle of the floor. After the oldest man calls "Messenger!" three times, he answers similarly, and adds, "The headman of that village has no hair-seal." Then the messenger reads from the staff the articles that the visitors have asked from various people of

the village. At the conclusion, a young man snatches the message stick, breaks it, and throws the pieces outside. At night all implements made in preparation are brought in, put in place, and a sweat-bath is held.

Early in the morning, an old man, face blackened, wearing a white parka and dragging a small sled, goes to meet the approaching visitors. As he draws near their line of sleds, he dances until abreast of them. Then all stop and wait. Young men from the village run up and halt in a line with the visitors. Next, two men circle the assemblage counter-clockwise, and as soon as they come abreast, all, guests and hosts together, race to the men's house. There the visitors remain with their sleds, while the villagers raise a pole and afterward carry food to their guests.

The headman of the village fastens a sealskin to the raised pole and dances about it. The headman of the visitors then takes down the sealskin and puts up one of greater value, such as a wolverene - or a whitefox-skin, in its place, keeping the former skin. In turn, hosts and guests raise and take down skins until each has a large pile. The last skin, raised by the hosts, is allowed to remain on the pole. Next, the villagers bring out all the articles that have been requested and distribute them in order of age to the visitors, who are now standing by their respective sleds. The guests are then invited to various houses.

The messenger calls out, "That man wants food!" When his dish is filled, he carries it to the visitors' headman. The men of the village, who are in the men's house, strip to the waist and put on masks and animal-head caps. Then they rush to the entrance, singing the song which the messenger had brought back as a welcome to the visitors who are by this time waiting outside. The men line up about the room, with a great stamping of feet and loud yells, while the agile young man jumps over the suspended log.

When the noise has abated and all are quiet, the messenger is bidden to fetch in three visitors. As these enter, they are grasped by their hosts and stood up against the wall. All lights but one small one are now put out, and a medicine-woman, crouched and swaying, enters, bearing a lamp. She places her lamp on the head of one of the visitors, and with outstretched forefinger draws an imaginary line past the noses of all three to drive away any evil. In this manner all the visitors enter and are seated on new mats. All night and the following day feasting prevails, and songs in honor of the guests are sung.

At night the headman of the village and his wife, in dance costume, dance for the guests to the accompaniment of singing. After this dance, the visitors leave the men's house. In their absence all lamps and ornaments are carefully adjusted in their places and the trained singers, swaying and gesturing to the accompaniment of the four drummers, render a song for each of the guests. As the song progresses, the headman of the visitors reënters and presents a complete outfit of clothing, four sealskins and whatsoever else had been asked of him, to the headman of the village, to whom a song is now sung. In turn, each of the visitors enters with those articles requested of him by the messenger. At the conclusion, the singing ceases and the pile of gifts is distributed to the villagers, in order of age.

On the fourth day, provisions of all kinds are brought to the men's house to be distributed to the visitors and taken home by them, and a feast is held.

On the fifth day the headman of the village and his wife offer gifts to the headman of the visitors, who dances while the villagers sing. All the visitors then troop outside, sing for their hosts, and reenter, bearing small gifts. They conclude the gift-making with dances and new songs to their hosts.

The concluding day and night, before the visitors depart for their own homes, are devoted to singing, dancing, and feasting.

SPRING HUNT CEREMONY, OR THE CONSECRATION OF THE KAIAK

The first day after reaching the spring hunting camp in the season of Takókit-tánoket ("when young seals are born"), the men remain, fasting and continent, in the men's house, breaking their fast only at night. In the hunting of any game, hunters must have weapons in good condition, clean clothing, and clean persons. During the seal season, new kaiaks are used, or at least new covers, while sealers wear new white parkas. However, after the season, old kaiak-covers may be stretched on the frame for fishing.

On the second day, each man makes two paddles, measured by the length of the arms outstretched, with handles fist wide. On the third day each paints his talismanic mark on his kaiak in light blue, a paint of cupric oxide obtained from Nelson island. Each day is one of fasting, followed by a feast at night. After the painting, the boatowner carries

his craft to the shore, where he fastens it by a line to his upright boat-hook and ice-pick.

Early in the morning of the fourth day, before daybreak, the wife of a hunter bathes in urine, followed by a salt-water rinsing in the open; then she dresses in a complete new costume. Meanwhile, the man, with two handfuls of snow, enters the men's house, stands on a new grass mat, and rubs himself from the feet upward with the snow. His wife places a lighted lamp before him as he dresses in a complete new costume. The hunter, bearing a lamp, followed by his wife bearing berries in a new bowl, and his children also carrying lamps, goes outside to the kaiak, which they circle slowly. The man now inserts his lamp into and immediately withdraws it from the kaiak, and sets it in the snow. The children place their lamps beside the father's. The hunter, after putting each weapon and piece of equipment in its proper place, carries the kaiak to open water. There he paddles along slowly, praying for good hunting, plenty of seals, and good weather. He prays especially that he may catch sea-lions and hair-seals which have spirits.

Next he offers berries to the sea, with the invocation that many seals will come before his kaiak, and afterward divides the berries amongst his sons. When the dish is empty, the hunter paddles clockwise in three circles and then straight out to sea. Thus begins the spring hunt.

As the father departs, his sons cast their berries into the water and offer a prayer that their father will kill a seal before sunset; that they may have fresh meat. While her husband is hunting, the wife, with a sled-load of dried fish, distributes this food to widows and old people.

The man, after killing a hair-seal, skins it, cuts up the meat, thrusts it below deck with his hooked meat-stick, and paddles home. At the camp he draws the nose of his kaiak on shore. Now, talisman under chin, he waves a grass mat on a paddle as a signal for his children to come to him. Then he places the talisman on his cap, rolls up the mat, and runs to the roof of the men's house where he slaps each wall with the palms of his hands, yells his hunting song, and finally lays a paddle horizontally before him.

In the meanwhile his wife changes into her new parka, and the couple take the meat on a sled to their home. The man leaves his kaiak on a rack, bow pointing to the house, signifying that the craft has brought home seal. The wife carries the meat inside.

Hunters usually perform their ceremony and go out hunting in pairs. However, a man may paddle away alone. Often all the hunters go out on the same morning.

HAIR-SEAL CEREMONY[1]

When a hunter has brought home a hair-seal, he cuts off the head before taking the meat inside the house. The head, complete with eyes, nose, mouth, and whiskers, but with skull removed, is hung on the wall facing the entrance. The hunter then proceeds to the men's house and changes his clothing. His wife, wearing a waterproof parka, places a strip of oil-blubber in a lamp and lights it. This, with the seal's bladder and a bowl of food, she brings to her husband. She distributes oil and food to the old people present, and departs.

The man, while the assembled people sing his childbirth song, inflates the bladder, attaches it to a sooted stick, and hangs it above his place in the men's house, where it is kept until the Bladder feast. In the morning, the meat is stored away and the kaiak's nose is pointed seaward. For other seal there is no ceremony, but the bladders are inflated and kept for the Bladder feast.

SUMMER HUNTING CEREMONY[2]

When the proper time for the summer hunting and fishing season arrives (July), some man, an experienced hunter, calls out to the villagers to prepare. All begin to gather excess gear, weapons, clothing, oil, and food, for this is one of the many "give-away" ceremonies. Even visitors in the village overhaul their supplies for articles to give away.

The entire village assembles in the men's house. The oldest man's daughter dances while the gathering sing for her. Then the oldest man goes out to bring his gifts. As he reënters, his wife likewise departs and returns. In order of age, husbands and wives, men and women, similarly bring in their gifts, all of which are divided amongst the unfortunate, the helpless, the aged, the crippled, and the widowed. It is an opportunity for them to obtain enough supplies to insure subsistence

1 Held during the season of Tinôtik-tánoket ("sea-fowl appear").

2 Held during the season of Tinôtik-tánoket ("sea-fowl appear").

for the coming winter. As the gifts are distributed, the people pray to the spirits for aid and good luck in their summer hunting.

CEREMONY FOR A BOY ON CATCHING HIS FIRST BIRD[3]

A boy, catching his first bird, brings it to the men's house. There the father covers the bird with the skin of a young hair-seal, one under three years. If he does not possess such a skin, he purchases one with firewood. The boy, clad in a waterproof parka to ward off any evil influence, offers this sealskin to some old man who will skin the bird in return. During the skinning, those present sing a birth song for the boy, usually some family song. From this occasion the boy possesses this song as his birth song.

The boy's mother gives berries mixed with grease to the old people present. Other relatives offer dried fish and other food. As people accept food, they throw portions to the floor as offerings, at the same time invoking longer life and good hunting for themselves; that the boy may be healthy and long-lived; that he may become a successful hunter, and always able to eat his game.

WALRUS CEREMONY[4]

This ceremony is held after the walrus-hunt, about the month of July. Sea animals appear in this order in their northern migration: first the hair-seal and sea-lion; next, smaller seal with their young; third, spotted seal, young hair-seal, and walrus. After the hunt, a walrus-head is hung on the rear wall of the men's house, facing the entrance. Women bring in gifts, which are first piled in the middle of the room and afterward divided among the assemblage. Many songs, the endings of which are in imitation of the voice of the walrus, are sung. After the songs, boys cast toy spears made of sticks with attached lines of woven grass at the head. Then the walrus-head is carried to the beach and placed in a position facing the village that it may bring in more walrus.

3 Held in the season Tinméarut-tánoket ("land-fowl appear").

4 Held in the season 'Tinméarut-tánoket ("land-fowl appear").

MYTHOLOGY

THE ORIGIN OF NUNIVAK ISLAND[5]

Two brothers, one strong and one weaker and younger, were out at sea when a stiff blow came up. For protection they tied up on the lee side of some anchor ice. By the second day the younger began to whimper and cry. The elder warned: "Do not cry so. Schúmyoa ['Spirit Of The Universe,' sun, moon, stars, earth] will hear you."

The boy kept on crying. Then they saw a spirit-being descending from the sky toward them. The elder said: " I told you that we should go home in calm weather, but you kept on crying. At last Schúmyoa has heard you. Do not be afraid now, you who cried."

'The spirit stood with one foot on each kaiak. It wore a woman's parka of white fish-skin and carried something inside. The elder brother explained: "My brother has been crying since yesterday. I told him to hush, and not to call down a spirit."

"As soon as I heard, I knew some one needed aid, so I came to you."

With these words she scattered something on each side of the kaiaks, which became land, while the ice they were tied to turned into a mountain in the middle of the land. She sprinkled something more, which became plants and animals. The younger brother discovered himself changed into a woman. Since then woman has always been weaker than man. From these two descended the people of Nunivak. Young people are instructed never to yell loudly while in the village, because Schúmyoa might hear, and, thinking it a real call of distress, come to give aid. If Schúmyoa is called needlessly, she may not come when one is in real trouble.

HOW PEOPLE CAME TO CAPE ETOLIN

There was a time, long ago, when a man all at once became conscious of himself. He found that he was a man standing naked in a men's house which was devoid of all furnishings, even grass mats. He saw light, which hurt his eyes, coming through the smoke-hole and flood-

5 As told at Cape Etolin.

ing the entranceway. Going outside, he had to blink his eyes many times before he became accustomed to the sun's glare. Then, glancing about, he saw many strange things: calm smooth water, grass and plants, and animals. Closer observation showed that these animals, moving in herds, were unlike him, because they had four legs, tails, and horns on their heads. He thought: "Those animals are clothed, while I am naked. I must do something to cover myself."

Near the house was a cache — a small hut on a raised platform with a notched pole for a ladder. Inside, the man found clothing, and, after much trying on, discovered which parts of the body the different articles were to cover. There were also bows and arrows, though he knew not their names and uses; to him they were only so many sticks. By manipulation he found that the stick with the string could be bent, and that other notched sticks fitted on the string. When he pulled on the bow and let go, he saw that the arrow flew away; the harder be pulled the farther it went. To make it fly straighter and be more effective, the man set flint in the head. In the cache were many wooden vessels.

He stepped outside with his weapons, and the idea came to him to see what effect they had on the animals. He thought, cautiously: " I must not take any chances. I shall stay close to the house, so that if I hit an animal he will not be able to run me down and devour me."

The animals, which were caribou, gazed curiously at the man, and some even started slowly toward him, but at that he became frightened and ran into the house. After peering through the entranceway for some time, courage returned, and he went out again. Cautiously he approached within bowshot and let fly an arrow, which to his surprise remained sticking into the animal instead of falling to the ground. The herd, now frightened, thundered away. The man thought: "They are running from me. I shall chase the one I hit."

The man followed the blood-flecked trail until he came to the animal, lying still. He saw that the eyes were open, and he thought: " I do not think that animal is dead. It is pretending."

He walked slowly about the carcass, thumped the ground with a stick, and finally poked the caribou. The carcass was stiff, and he then knew the animal was dead. Now he faced the problem of taking it back home. Though he pulled at the legs, and even bit the hide, he could not take off the skin nor separate the flesh into pieces. An idea

came that if a flint on a shaft could penetrate flesh, with another flint he could cut the body. So it was skinned and quartered. A few mouthfuls of meat, the first he had ever tasted, were good. At home the hide was pegged out to be dried.

While sharpening a flint arrow-head with a stone, sparks often flew up, and an acrid smoke wafted to his nostrils. "Now, why are those little points of light given off and where does that smoke come from? I must find out." The man then hit a flint hard against a stone and many sparks flashed briefly. One spark landed in some dry grass, so that flame sprang up. The man then built his first fire. When he compared the heat of the fire with the coldness of the meat, he decided to warm the meat. The sweet smell of the roasting flesh was so good that he put a portion in his mouth. It was much better than raw meat. He declared, "I shall always prepare my meat like this."

When the man returned to the carcass, he found that it was sun-dried and hard, but still good to eat. Thereafter he hung much of his meat in the sun.

Once the man, on going to the beach, saw what appeared to be a hollow log, the hole in the middle being large enough for a man to sit in; but it had a wooden framework and skin covering. The idea came to him to float it and to get in, but he found that it continually tipped over. To hold it steady, be put stones in the bottom; then he was able to paddle about, soon becoming used to the waves. While in the kaiak he saw many sea animals, seals, a few of which he killed with harpoons.

Returning home, he found a steaming dish of food. He knew that some one had been there during his absence. He wondered now about the house, cache, weapons, and kaiak — who had made them; where all had come from; and what person had prepared the food. One day, while hunting caribou, he saw other animals, and noticed how they varied in size, shape, and weight. After killing some small game and returning home, he noticed smoke rising and knew that some one must be in his house. The person, who had hair much longer than his, looked up at his noiseless approach. She said: " I took notice of you and saw that you were doing everything alone. You have found a bow and arrows, spears, a kaiak, clothes, and wooden dishes, all made for you. You have a grandfather, though you did not know it, who made these things for you."

Soon the person gave birth to a son. When he was old enough to

be left alone, the mother departed one day to bring back more household utensils. On her return she found her son grown to manhood and become a great hunter. For him she made parkas and boots from land and sea animals. Often she told him that his great grandfather had made his equipment. When the wind blew ashore, Son would find parts for kaiaks, sleds, snowshoes, and everything needful to a hunter. These pieces he assembled.

Once his mother directed: "You are strong and able to travel far, It is time for you to go out and see things. You must travel down the shore, keeping land on your right until you cross the bay. There, on a point of land, you will find your great grandfather. From him you will learn something."

Arrived at the point, he found a house among tall grasses, a house so old that grass and weeds almost covered the smoke-hole. Smoke was coming out. As Son cleared the hole and put on a new cover, he heard a voice inside: "A fox is going to eat my smoke-hole. A fox is going to eat my smoke-hole." Son found a bent old man huddled in a comer. After being carried to the light, the old man exclaimed: "I have been suffering a long time. Who is this who treats me roughly and makes me suffer more?"

Son cleaned the house, emptied the urine pot, filled the water bowl, brought in fresh dried grass and skin robes, carried in provisions of meat and oil, and finally clothed the old man in a new outfit. Then Son was instructed: " I do not know if you can find any one where you are going, but you may try. Follow the sun's path, and to return keep your face to the setting sun; that will be your path. If you meet any one, you must be very careful. You will go where I once went, long, long ago. There you will meet some one who was very old even when I was there. She will tell you what you wish to know. If you find some one, do not pass by on your return, but stop and talk with me."

As Son was about to leave, the old man gave him the head of a pintail duck, saying, "Put this head on the nose of your kaiak." Son departed toward the rising sun and came at length to some habitations on a small bay. Before one of them a wolf's head swung in the wind, sus pended from a pole. Son looked through the entrance and saw a lamp burning within. Then he heard the voice of an old woman, saving: "My granddaughter, no one has ever been at our door before. Some one is there now. Go and see if he is in trouble."

The girl looked and saw Son. She called back, "There is a man here whom I have never seen before."

"If he is in trouble, tell him to come in."

Entering, Son saw much dried fish, berries, and roots. The old woman said to him: "It is too bad that you came here, for you are in great danger. There are two evil spirits who kill and eat people. If you try to leave here, they will get you, for they are very powerful."

At daybreak the spirits knew that there was a newcomer with the old woman. In the form of one person they came and demanded of him, " I should like to see you alone." This was an invitation to combat.

The old woman instructed Son: "Wait. Wait until he again asks you to fight."

The spirits, as one person, again demanded, "You must come out to see who is the stronger and better hunter."

The old woman said to Son: "My granddaughter has a small bow. Use that."

On a nearby hill Son stalked a caribou, killed, skinned, and butchered it, and brought it back to the old woman. The spirits had not yet returned, but when they did so they brought only a small fawn. In a second contest they hunted the big hair-seal, going out after the chal lenge had been issued twice. Son soon returned, his kaiak heavy with meat, but the spirits came back at sunset with only a small spotted seal.

Son was then challenged to the men's house, where he stripped for combat, but wore on his forehead the head of the pintail duck. The spirits, who were as one person, wore the noses of a wolf and a weasel on a belt. The firepit was filled with water containing seaworms, which could strip the flesh from a man. The spirits instructed: "We shall race around this pit. Who ever loses will be thrown into the water."

For a time the contestants ran side by side, neither at top speed. Son saw that his opponent had become half wolf and half weasel, and also had begun to draw ahead. In spite of all his efforts, Son was left behind. Then he thought of his talisman, and changed into a pintail duck, going as fast as wings could bear him. The wolf-and-weasel person was now panting heavily from fatigue, his tongue sticking far out. Son, with tremendous flapping of wings, came abreast and passed. He had won.

Then he threw the evil spirits, wolf and weasel, into the pit, where the worms devoured the flesh.

Son and the granddaughter of the old woman departed for home, stopping on their way to see his great grandfather, who instructed, "Any time you are in trouble and want to travel fast, wear your talisman and you will be able to make as much speed as a pintail duck."

They lived at Son's home, and during their lives had many children, who, when they grew up, married and also had many children.

THE ORIGIN OF NUNIVAK ISLAND[6]

Two brothers lived together in a far land. One was still very young and weak, so that when the elder went on hunting trips he packed the younger on his back. One spring, when the younger was quite grown up, they made a kaiak and went hunting, but though they went far, they saw no game. At last, almost exhausted, they stopped by some anchor ice, intending to go home the following day. That night a stiff blow came up. "Let us go home!" often cried the younger.

"No, we shall set out for home tomorrow," always answered the elder. The frightened younger brother cried so loudly that the elder threatened: "You had better stop that crying. If you do not, a spirit will hear you."

But the crying continued. When the moon broke through the clouds for a brief moment, the elder saw, on looking up, something coming down to the water. Frightened, he exclaimed: " I told you not to cry! I told you that a spirit would hear you! Now look and see what is coming down to us!"

The younger stopped wailing, and they watched. The spirit came closer, singing as it approached: " I hear people preparing for the night. I want them for my own. I shall have them for my own."

The spirit woman, with fancy trimming on her parka and holding something inside it, stepped on their kaiak. Said she: " I heard that you are in trouble. I have come to help you."

"I told my brother over and over that I should take him home tomorrow, but he wants to go now."

The spirit woman took something from her parka and threw it

6 As told at Nash Harbor.

on both sides of the kaiak, and it became land. The younger brother turned into a woman, whom the elder married. Then all animals, both of land and sea, became so numerous that the man, who was a great hunter, was able to provide everything in great plenty.

Once, while hunting, his bow-string broke, so he returned home to have his wife make him a new one. As she was shredding sinew, he lay beside her watching, and began to tease her. As she edged away, he moved toward her, continually teasing, until at last she thrust her sinew-threader toward him. This she did many times, whenever he moved closer. Finally he became very still. Frightened by his quietness, she looked at him very carefully and saw that his body was full of tiny holes. Then she carried the corpse outside and buried it.

That night the spirit woman entered and inquired for the man. "My husband broke a bow-string and came home for a new one. He went out again and has not returned since," the wife lied.

The spirit, not quite satisfied with the answer, searched about the house, finally asking: "Where did he go? Did he really go?"

"Yes, he went away, taking his new bowstring with him."

One winter night, as the woman built her fire, the smoke hung in the room instead of going through the smoke-hole, so she went outside to build a windbreak. While she was busy, the spirit woman returned and sat down to watch. As she reclined, she felt something pro truding into her back, something which felt like a human knee-bone. She dug, and found the body of the man, punched full of holes.

She asked the woman: "Why did you lie to me? You said your husband had gone away, but you killed him."

"He was teasing me, but I only motioned at him with my sinew-threader, and that had to happen."

"Why did you do that? You were intended to live together as man and wife."

The woman sprang to her feet to run away. As she did so, the spirit woman reached out to grab her, but just grazed the sole of her foot. As the woman disappeared, she sang:

Up shall I go; Up shall I go;
To the middle of the sky shall I go.
Where all the spirits go, there shall I go.
Up shall I go.

The spirit woman felt so distressed because the man had been killed and the woman had gone to the sky, that she broke her knife in two, inserting the halves into her upper jaws to make long fangs. Then she turned into a wolf and all of her wolf off spring later became humans.

HOW PEOPLE CAME TO NASH HARBOR

Far away, somewhere on the mainland, lived a great hunter with his daughter and a big dog. The daughter persistently refused to marry any of the young men who sought her hand, disregarding the wishes of her father, who desired a son-in-law to help provide for the family. At last, in exasperation, he cried: "You must marry one of these fine young men; or would you rather have this dog for a husband?"

She refused to answer, but the dog, on hearing the question, cocked his ears, then went out, to return soon, carrying in his mouth a boot-sole which he placed before them. Then he married the girl. The young men who had proposed marriage to her laughed in scorn when they heard about it.

The father in disgust, and with a desire to be rid of such a son-in-law, told the dog: "Now that you are married, you must hunt for the family. Go out and get furs for parkas."

When the dog had gone, the father put much food on a sled and with his daughter departed south. Past Cape Romanzof he went; crossed to Nelson island, from which he saw a land farther out to sea; essayed the straits and landed safely at Cape Manning on Nunivak island, but travelled on northward until he reached Nash Harbor, where he built a house. Now he thought he had successfully avoided his unwelcome son-in-law. After the long winter was over, and much food had been stored during the summer, the father left his daughter to return to his own village.

There he found the dog, who had been seeking vainly for his wife. To avoid the dog, the father went northward along the coast. The wise dog back-trailed the man and finally found his wife safe on Nunivak island. By this time she had given birth to five male puppies and one human female. The dogs she had taught to provide food, and by her teaching they had become capable of human thought.

After a year's absence, the father returned to live with the family, though he never could reconcile himself to his son-in-law or his grand-

children. When he could no longer tolerate the dog, he determined to kill him. He filled a sealskin poke with stones and tied it about the dog's neck in such a manner that it could not become unfastened. Then he ordered: "There is little food here. Here are supplies for you in this poke. Go out and hunt for us."

As soon as the dog entered the water, the stone-laden poke dragged him under, so that he drowned. In the meantime the man hurriedly departed for the mainland. When her husband failed to return, the girl sadly told her children, the dogs: "My father has killed your father. When he returns, you must kill him."

Early the following spring they saw a kaiak approaching their home and the dogs knew that their grandfather was arriving, so they hid behind a bluff near the shore. The moment he stepped on land, they rushed at him and with tooth and claw tore him to pieces.

The girl and her children continued to dwell on Nunivak island, and from them the present people descended.

THE OBTAINING OF LIGHT

When all the land was in darkness and there was no daylight, there were two brothers who lived near the shore. Even in the darkness they were able to hunt seal and caribou. When ever they looked far away on the horizon, they could see a spot of brightness. They often spoke of it, wondered what it could be, and planned some time to travel there and to satisfy their curiosity. After they had provisioned a kaiak and prepared all equipment, they made ready to start. At that moment the younger brother exclaimed: "I have forgotten our sewing bag! I shall go back to the house for it."

He found the sewing kit, and, as he was about to return, some one seized him. He vainly tried to escape, but he was helpless, unable even to cry out. The elder brother, impatient at the delay, and receiving no answer to his calls, decided to investigate. As he entered the house, he stumbled over his brother's body, and exclaimed, "What are you doing, lying there on the floor?"

The younger brother, who had regained his voice, answered, "A person is holding me down."

A strange voice spoke to them: "You brothers were preparing to go toward the light. You never could have reached it if you paddled a long time. You stay here while I fetch it."

The brothers, angry at being detained, paid no heed, but set out in their kaiak. For a long time they paddled, until they thought that they must be far out at sea, but when they looked back they were astonished to find that they had not moved even the length of a kaiak. Puzzled and vexed, they returned home and lighted a lamp. In the light of the room they saw a young woman, who told them: " It is no use to attempt to reach the light. You could travel for more than a lifetime, so long that you would be humpbacked from paddling, and then be no farther than when you started. I shall go for you; but while I am away, you must sleep."

When the woman returned with light, she awakened the elder brother: " It is time to get up. You must not sleep too long."

He opened his eyes and cried out in pain: "Oh! That hurts!"

Soon, by opening and closing his eyes, he became accustomed to light. Then he awakened his brother, who also had to become used to the unfamiliar glare. The woman said: "You have wished for light, and I have brought it. Now you must look about and make use of it. The night is for sleeping."

The brothers liked the light and made use of it, hunting caribou and seal. In the night time they slept. Since that time there have been day and night. The woman was an *ihchi* (wolf-spirit).

THE SEAL-SPIRITS

A seal suddenly discovered that she was alive, lying on a woven mat on a rocky bench by the water, under the ice. Below was water, above a hole in the ice through which the sky could be seen. As the water rose and covered the bench, she felt the need of air, so she popped her head through the bole and saw land near by. Then for the first time she used her flippers, swimming along close to shore. There was a village, with people moving about, but she thought: "Those people are not like me. I must keep away from them."

She saw a new white kaiak disappear behind a floe, and when it emerged, the paddler had changed to a white ptarmigan parka and wore a white pointed cap. He resembled a piece of ice. Then the seal saw him put something, a talisman, in his mouth. Immediately a mist floated from the hunter to her, making her feel very drowsy. The man slowly approached, making ready his harpoon, but then the seal dived, breaking the spell. She thought, "That man meant some harm to me."

A long time she swam, following the shore. She fed, swam, and often slept in the sun on an ice-floe. Finally she arrived at a large seal rookery. A big seal, which had the power of be coming human at will, desired and took possession of her. One day food became distasteful to her; she was heavier and moved sluggishly. Her mate chose a solid ice-floe for her to rest upon, and there a male seal was born to them. In its early days it made much noise in its sleep, and would not wake up. The parents, frightened, thought, "If a hunter should pass by here the baby would be killed."

Then the baby had waking intervals. The parents taught it to swim, and they all moved down the coast, close to land, but always in such a manner that they could get to sea quickly. They passed a village, but because an unclean woman was there (one in a menstrual period), they kept far out at sea. Many hunters came out in kaiaks, one wearing a white cap and parka approaching close. The man put a talisman in his mouth, and its power made them feel drowsy and helpless. As the hunter was about to cast his harpoon, they dived and escaped. Looking up, he could be seen, weapon in band, waiting. The parents instructed: "When you are alone and hunters come out, be very careful, because they will throw sticks which tear the flesh and kill. You must always move swiftly. While swimming, keep close to shore, because if you are out, you may run into nets stretched between rock points."

Once they came to a clean village where there was no garbage on the shore and the people were neat. The male parent said: "That village and those people are clean. We can go near them."

A kaiak approached; the equipment was new. The hunter was well dressed, and the kaiak was a new one with white covering. The male parent said: "This is a good man. Even if he comes close, let us stay on top of the ice."

The hunter used his talisman, and when the seals were overcome, he cast his harpoons at all three. They came back to consciousness and knew that they were dead. The scratching and tickling of the stone knife as it cut into their flesh made them feel good. They were happy when cut up and stowed away in the kaiak. On shore the man's wife carried them to the house on a sled. They were glad, because she was clean. Inside, after lighting a small lamp, she poured water in their mouths, which tasted sweet. Then she cut off their faces and placed them before the house. Before retiring, the man and wife burned bark

and passed it under the seals' noses. This greatly pleased them.

Late in the spring, as soon as some one had found an egg on the tundra, the woman, putting on new clothes, carried the seal flesh in a woven grass bag outside the village. There she built a small cache, facing the sun, and stored the meat within, placing on it her "medicine."

This the seals disliked, so they went back to the ocean. Much swimming brought them to a small bight where a house stood on the shore. Leaving their skins behind, and becoming human, the seals entered the home occupied by a woman and her daughter.

The young seal married the girl. Once the woman said to him, "Today you must be very careful, for your wife's relatives are coming."

The young man's parents answered, "You must stay here, but we shall leave."

Soon two women, entered and seized the young man, taking him from his wife. Cunningly he told them, "Do with me as you will, but first take me to the water."

On the shore, he broke away, diving into the sea, where he became a seal. Surprised and unable to catch him, the women went away. Then the young man, again a human, returned, as did his parents. The parents took the woman on their backs; the husband took the girl, and all set out for the land of the seals where they lived together on a goodly supply of clams, mussels, and fish.

THE FLOUNDER-SPIRIT

Five brothers and their sister lived by themselves away from the village, where they had their own men's house. These brothers adhered strictly to spirit teachings, and were always careful to make their fires with the fire-drill and to hold a Bladder feast. After all the bladders had been painted, they slept. Some time during the night the lamp ran dry and flickered out — the lamp that must be kept burning all the time. The eldest brother awoke first, and, dismayed at what had happened, ordered one of the others to bring a new light from the women's house. This one, as he entered, called out, "Sister, the light is out in the men's house!"

The women's house was also in darkness, and when the brother felt about for his sister, he soon found that the house was empty. The brothers hastily made new light and searched for their sister. All was in perfect order, but she was nowhere to be found. They also found

that their newly-painted bladders had disappeared. All winter, summer, and spring they searched, finally giving up hope of ever seeing their sister again.

One spring night, as dawn was near, the eldest brother arose and went outside to look around. All was very still, and a light fog overhung the water. Listening very carefully, he heard the swish of a paddle when it dipped into the water, and the spattering of drops as it was pulled out, but, although he strained his eyes, he could see nothing. He rushed into the men's house, crying, "Some one is going to arrive soon!"

All went to the shore, where they plainly heard paddling and singing. The eldest instructed: "When the kaiak touches land, grab his arms and pull him out. Hold him, because I know that he is after some one!"

The brothers tried to hold the man fast, but he easily shook them off in spite of their efforts. This man, who was Nutúhanuh,[7] spoke through his mouth, which was strangely twisted to one side: "Why do you try to hold me? I know you want your sister back."

"If you know where our sister is, we shall not harm you," they answered, and led him to the men's house. There he commanded them to construct new kaiaks, and to oil them so that they would slip fast through the water. When the work was finished, he said, "Tomorrow, if the weather holds good, I shall take you brothers with me."

The anxious brothers hardly slept all night. After daybreak, when they saw that all was calm and the water smooth, they wakened Nutúhanuh. He arose, scratched his head, yawned, looked through the smoke-hole, and said: "O my! It is very stormy out there. We should be very foolish to go out in this weather. We shall wait."

During that night a stiff blow came up and the seas ran high. Then Nutúhanuh awakened the brothers, saying: "This is fine calm weather. Let us go now." The brothers wondered and muttered among themselves: "We must be careful. He is perhaps trying to get rid of us!"

Nutúhanuh knew their thoughts, but made no reply, except to order: "Make ready! Get in your kaiaks and let us start!" After they had paddled a short distance, all the brothers became unconscious, as

7 Flounder-spirit" — a good spirit (*yíjih*) sent to help the brothers, who were polar bears.

if asleep. After a time Nutúhanuh woke them, asking them why they slept. at this time of day. As they looked about, they were astonished to find themselves in a dead calm and out of sight of land. He drew off a short distance, and said: "You have talked of killing me. Now try to catch me!"

They worked hard with double-bladed paddles, but he, paddling slowly with only a single blade, easily drew away. So it went from day to day. He would lead easily, while the brothers strove to keep up, but at night all ate and slept together. One day they saw a black speck far in the distance. Drawing closer, it was seen to be a bare rock with a tiny speck on top. "Look!" directed Nutúhanuh, "Your sister has been here! There are her feces on the rock!"

They passed the rock, and for many days travelled on until finally land was sighted in the distance, which proved to be an island. There they pulled up their kaiaks, and Nutúhanuh said: "Your brother-in-law who lives beyond that point will receive you. I shall guide you there."

Around the point they entered a village and were welcomed in a house where lived an old woman and her daughter. The old woman informed them: "The great hunter of this village possesses many seal-bladders. On one trip he brought back a fine young woman, and I have long awaited people searching for her. Now you have come. Your sister married the great hunter, and he will kill you if you try to take her away."

The following day they entered the men's house, which had an entrance so spacious that they did not have to stoop. Inside they saw the great hunter, who, as soon as he spied them, leaped from his bench and lifted each brother in turn by his armpits to arm length overhead to show his strength. The hunter's father cried: "My son, you have always been the best man here. You have always performed well, but now you will have to do your best."

The great hunter stripped naked, moved a huge whale shoulder-bone to the entrance, and placed a urine pot beside it. He wore bear-claw armlets, and, walking like a bear, sang, "Now strangers, get down to me and meet me." He and the youngest brother fought until the hunter threw him to the floor. Then the hunter rubbed the face of the youngest brother through the hole in the whale's shoulder-bone until it was scarred and bleeding. Next he washed the face in urine. To show that the fight was ended, he threw the body into the entranceway. The

hunter started for the next brother, but Nutúhanuh objected, "Do not fight him; fight me!"

Several times the hunter threw Nutúhanuh, but could not drag him to the whale's shoulder-blade. At last, when the hunter was exhausted, Nutúhanuh killed him, rubbed his face on the shoulder-bone, and washed the face with urine, then threw the body into the entrance. In like manner he treated the hunter's father. Next he gathered the bones of the youngest brother from the entrance, poured water on them, and the brother became alive and as well as before. Nutúhanuh, the brothers and their sister, ran to their kaiaks and paddled away as fast as they could. Looking back, they saw a huge wave sweeping the sea toward them. Now they were by the rock in the sea, and hastily climbed it. After the huge wave had passed and they looked for their kaiaks, they found only one fit to use, the one belonging to Nutúhanuh. They all tried to get into it, but no matter how they tried, one person was always left without a place. Nutúhanuh then split it open, put all in, and bound it up with lashings. After they had gone a short distance, all became unconscious, though once the eldest brother revived, noticed the tremendous speed they were making, and felt the kaiak tremble. He saw they were on the back of a flounder. The flounder, Nutúhanuh, ordered, "I told you not to look about!" Straightway the eldest brother became unconscious again. When they awoke, they were home.

Nutúhanuh married the sister, but he was never happy. He always went around wearing the same parka, never chanting. Finally, when he could bear living on land no longer, he said:

"You have always thought me to be human. Now watch me!"

He sat in his kaiak. Both he and the kaiak became flatter and flatter. When very flat, they flopped to the water and became a flounder.

THE WOLF-SPIRIT

There were five brothers and their sister who lived alone, a long distance from a village. The sister was very industrious, collecting and storing away much food in the different seasons. One time, when she was gathering dock-leaves and had filled her pack, she was accosted by a strange young man, who asked her: " I have come to fetch you to thy village. Will you go with me?"

"If I go, I must first tell my brothers."

"I have already talked with them. They said that you could go with me."

"Now, I think that you are lying to me."

The man, when she doubted his word, seized and carried her struggling to the shore, where he had a kaiak hidden. Her brothers, hearing her screams and cries, said one to another: "The gulls in the bay are screaming and fighting over fish. The tide must be out."

The man and the sister camped on the shore when the sun went down. During the night she made her escape and wandered about, lost, but in the daylight the man easily found her by following her tracks. He was not angry; he laughed, and said: "I was frightened when I awoke and found you gone. 1 thought perhaps I could not find you again."

They followed the coast until they reached his village. There she lived with him as his wife. In the springtime the village held games, playing especially hide-and-seek. One man, whenever he hid, could not be found. His face was half white and half brown: he was a spirit, one of the wolf-spirits who know all things, even the thoughts of people; he had the power to ascend into the sky at will; as a wolf-spirit he could raise the dead; he could be either good or evil.

In the games, the wolf-spirit always was near the sister. Once he touched her arm, and said: "Why are you so foolish as to stay here? Your brothers are very sad because they have lost their sister, and are searching everywhere for you."

She answered: " If you know where my brothers are, will you bring them to me? They will reward you with a cache full of fairs, clothing, and food."

When the wolf-spirit refused her request, she urged further, "If you will bring my brothers to me, you may take me to wife."

The brothers had searched long for their sister, finally giving up all hope of ever seeing her again. One foggy evening, the eldest brother, who was on the shore, heard a noise like thunder booming over the water. He ran to the men's house and cried to his brothers: "Some one took away our sister! Now a spirit is coming to us!"

As they listened, the thunder sounded closer. Soon, through the fog, they could see a small, twisted kaiak approaching. Then the eldest brother told his plan: "I think that person must be the one who has stolen Sister. When he lands, let us seize him."

When the kaiak came close, the stranger ceased paddling and came to a stop, drifting on the water.

"Why do you not come ashore?" called the brothers impatiently.

"Because you plan to seize me. I have taken pity on you and have come to help you, but you are thinking of holding me. I have come from your sister, who has sent for you. If you want to see her, follow me in your kaiaks."

The brothers eagerly paddled after the stranger, who led them a long distance to a village. He pointed to a house standing alone, and said: "My grandmother lives there. You may stay with her."

The sister's husband, who was headman of the village, and a friend who was a great hunter, ordered the five brothers to move to the men's house, where all visitors were received. On each side of the entrance were deep pits of water. The wolf-spirit instructed them: "You will be challenged to fight, each in his turn. He will try to throw you in those pools of water, but I shall help you when you are in distress."

The husband and the great hunter, wearing hawk bodies on their hoods, were sitting on a bench, but rose and challenged the newcomers. The hunter quickly overcame the eldest and the second brothers, and threw them into the pools. As their bodies splashed the water, he screamed like a hawk.

The wolf-spirit challenged the hunter, "Now you and I shall wrestle,"

"No, I shall not fight you." The hunter, to defend himself, had to fight, but the wolf-spirit soon conquered both him and the sister's husband, throwing their bodies into the pools; but he informed the brothers: "Tomorrow those two will reappear and challenge you to combat. Now I shall bring back to life these two brothers."

Next day, as the brothers were sitting on a bench in the men's house, their enemies entered, swollen and bruised. One said to the other: "Why should I suffer so? I wish we could have a sweat-bath."

The hunter answered: "There is plenty of wood outside. Let us bring it in and build the fire."

They filled the firepit, and soon a great blaze roared, filling the room with suffocating heat. The wolf-spirit instructed the brothers: "You will now have a heat contest. Here are pieces of ice. If the fire burns you, rub yourselves with the ice."

Although the heat was fierce and the air thick with smoke, the

brothers felt cool as they rubbed themselves with the ice. The challengers, overcome, fell to the floor. Then the brothers built up the fire still more, and threw into it the bodies of their sister's husband and the great hunter. They were quickly burned to a crisp.

The five brothers married women of the village; the wolf-spirit married their sister, and all returned to their own home.

THE CANNIBAL DWARFS

A young woman and her brother lived so far inland that they had no knowledge of the ocean. While still young, the boy accompanied his sister, who provided for both by fishing, snaring mink, and netting squirrels; but, after attaining manhood, he hunted while she remained at home. The young man became a great hunter, and his caches were filled with squirrel- and caribou-skins.

One day, late in the afternoon, when in need of meat, the young man set off for caribou, though his sister objected because of the lateness of the hour. Not far from home, he found a herd and shot one, which limped away wounded. He gave chase, but it was long after dark before he killed and skinned the animal. Unable to find the trail home, he wrapped himself in the fresh skin and slept. All winter he roved about the country, vainly endeavoring to reach home. Summer came, and by then he had reached the water, which was so vast in extent that he was unable to see the opposite shore. Now his boots were worn through, and his parka was tattered because he had cut strips from it to bind on his feet. One day, exhausted, he fell beside a stack of freshly piled driftwood. Not long afterward, he heard dogs howling, and soon two men, brothers, came by. Seeing him, they stopped, and noting his weak, emaciated condition, carried him to the men's house in their village. There, after being clothed and fed, he told the rescuers his story. He was sad because his sister was alone, except for a dog.

After the young man had recuperated, his rescuers told him: "You are just breathing [Your life is in danger]. Some day some people here will cause you trouble."

Not long after, the men heard shouting outside and knew that a visitor was approaching the village. When near enough to be recognized, the young man saw that the stranger was his sister with her dog. She said to him, "The dog smelled your tracks and trailed you here."

Later, when sitting in the men's house, the young man was ap-

proached by a youth, a messenger, who said, "You, the stranger, must come with me."

The two brothers, the rescuers, asked the messenger, "Who wants him?"

"My sister wants him."

The two then informed the young man, "You may go with this messenger, but if you see his sister, you will never return alive."

He followed the messenger to the home of the sister, where he saw the girl crying. She sobbed, "When shall I see you again?"

The young man saw her parents in the room, two dwarfs (*jusúh-hat,* "little people"), who said to him, "We pity you when you go out."

When they began to prepare food for him, their future son-in-law, the girl said to him: "Do not eat their food. Come and sit with me on this bench."

The dwarfs brought food to the young man, saying, "Our son-in-law, you must eat."

After giving him the dish, they returned to their side of the room. The girl said to her new husband: "Do not eat their food. Pour it out close to the wall."

On inspecting the food, he saw that it was composed of human fat. In place of it he ate caribou meat, which the girl handed him. After going to bed, his new wife said, " I wonder how long you and I shall be able to live together."

For a long while he was unable to sleep, but thought of what the dwarfs might do to him. Toward morning he was awakened by a crackling sound and the sting of smoke in his nostrils. Then he saw that the house was blazing furiously. He dashed through the entrance, his clothing and skin scorched. Outside, his wife was crying because she thought him burned to death, but the dwarfs were dancing and laughing: "Why are you crying so? Did you not give a thought to your parents and uncles who might need fresh meat?"

Upon hearing those words, the young man, enraged, threw the two dwarfs into the fire and turned to his wife, "Were you crying for them?"

"No. You cannot kill them, no matter how hard you try. They will be back again soon."

He then went to the men's house, where his sister and his two rescuers were glad to see him alive and whole. The following day the

messenger entered and again asked him to go to the girl. He went to his wife's home against the wishes of his sister and his rescuers. There he found his wife, eyes swollen with much crying, and the dwarfs, his parents-in-law. Again they prepared food and brought it to him, but he ate caribou meat instead, when he saw that the dish contained human hands.

At midnight he awoke just as the house, in flames, collapsed, and he was overcome. He came to consciousness in a strange men's house. All about him he saw dwarfs, uncles of his wife, sharpening flint knives and exclaiming gleefully to each other, "How glad we are that our niece has brought us meat!"

He noticed his own dog beside him. On discovering the dog, the dwarfs in glee shouted, "Our niece has brought us a relish to go with the man meat!"

The dog, very large and vicious, was an *áhlgalúnuh* (polar bear) in a dog's form. The young man asked the dog: "What shall we do? What shall we do?" After much thought of escape, he mounted the dog's back and the two floated up through the smoke-hole, escaping the clutching hands of the dwarfs. Outside he saw his two dwarf parents-in-law dancing, and singing: "Now our brothers are going to feast! Now our brothers are going to feast!"

The young man angrily exclaimed: "What mean little people! They are always playing tricks on me!" Snatching a club, he beat his parents-in-law, smashing their bodies and throw ing the pieces in their men's house. They were never seen again in the village.

He went to his own men's house, where he found his two rescuers, his sister, his wife, and his wife's brother, the messenger. With the last he often hunted, going out with him in a kaiak in the spring to catch seal. One time, when the two were hunting together, the young man killed a seal and stepped out of the kaiak onto an ice-floe to skin and cut up the carcass. Then the messenger paddled off. "Why are you paddling away in my kaiak?" he called.

"You killed my father and mother," was the answer, and the messenger started back for the village, leaving his companion on a drifting ice-floe. When he did not return, his sister and the dog traversed the shore, searching. At each village they inquired for the missing man. At one they told her, "We saw some one on the ice very far out, but it was impossible to go out in kaiaks to get him." At another village she was informed, "Yes, we saw a man on an ice-floe during a heavy storm."

While travelling alone shore, the dog suddenly stopped, sniffed the air, and plunged into the water, swimming until he disappeared from the sister's sight. After a long wait, she saw the dog again, carrying her brother on his back. They all then journeyed back to the village. Close to it they halted, and the young man instructed the dog: "The people here have played many tricks on us. Now we must do something to them, but my two rescuers and their wives are not to be harmed. You go to the village, select a man for a husband to my sister, and take a wife for yourself. Do as you please with the rest of the people."

When the dog returned, his jaws, flanks, and breast were flecked with blood. Entering the village, brother and sister found that all the people had been killed with the exception of those they had instructed the dog to let live. Their whole party then set out for the home of the young man and his sister.

SPIDER COMES TO EARTH

There lived in the sky a spider who had as neighbors a sea-gull and a hawk. Often, when alone in her house, Spider rolled aside the log head-rest and watched the people on earth. Far below there was a village in which dwelt a great hunter. The village was industrious, especially in the spring when the inhabitants were intent with preparations for the seal-catch.

When all down below were making ready for the Bladder feast, Spider spotted two of the most industrious people, the great hunter and his wife. The man she could see clearly, but the wife seemed to be enveloped in a haze or mist. Spider's heart was filled with desire. She muttered: "I wish I could go down there and marry that man. I shall be here alone until my time to die comes. That will be bad. I wish that man were my husband."

Again, looking downward at the village, Spider saw the Bladder feast being held. The man, the great hunter, was transparent to her. She could see through him, although there was one dark spot in his body, which was his stomach. Spider made up her mind. She told her neighbors, Seagull and Hawk: "I have been alone all my life. Now I am going down to earth. You must be ready to help me if I am attacked."

That night, while the people were singing the new songs in the men's house on earth, Spider swung down on her long thread. As she landed, the women came out of the men's house. Spider hid by the

path and quickly killed the great hunter's wife as she passed Spider's place of concealment. Spider then followed the women to the women's house, where she cooked food. With the other women she carried a bowl of food to the men's house and laid it at the feet of the great hunter. She lived with the hunter as his wife and nobody noticed that Spider was not his real wife.

One day the hunter, now her husband, said: "You must be very careful in what you do. I know that you are not the wife I had before, and that her relatives suspect you. She had five brothers and five uncles. The youngest brother is the child who often comes here. Those people wish to know where their relative has gone."

Soon Spider had a child by her husband, and then he warned her: "These people are trying to kill you. You have no chance to get away."

One night, while Spider was walking with her child, she saw something sparkle on the ice far ahead of her. The sparkle travelled toward her, and soon she saw that it was a whale, plowing through the snow as whales push aside water with their blunt snouts. Spider was frightened, and thought of her neighbor, Sea-gull. As the whale approached near enough to strike, Sea-gull flew down and harpooned it with his long beak.

The next morning, when she awoke, her husband said: "How did you escape the uncles and brothers of my former wife? You must be very careful now, for her father is searching for

you. Perhaps I had better stay by you while you are in trouble."

"No," Spider answered, "you must stay in the men's house."

That night Spider tied her child on her back and walked over the snow. Again she saw a sparkle on the snow moving toward her. As it approached, she saw that it was a beast with a serrated back, cutting through the frozen ground as easily as if it were swimming through water. Spider thought, "Now I am in trouble and need help."

As the beast was about to strike her, she heard the thunder of wings and the wild screech of a hawk. Hawk swooped down and killed the strange beast with a thrust of his beak.

In the morning, her husband said: "How do you escape the ferocious animals sent to kill you? The relatives of my former wife are very angry, because they all have the power to conjure up beasts, evil spirits. The next attempt will be the strongest, because all will work together."

Spider was then so frightened that her teeth chattered. That night, when she opened the smoke-hole, all the brothers and uncles of the former wife entered the house. They said to her: "You have killed all the beasts, the evil spirits, that we have sent against you. Now we our selves are going to kill you!"

In her fright, Spider thought of Sea-gull and Hawk. As each one of the relatives came to grab her, Sea-gull and Hawk, poking their heads through the smoke-hole, killed them with their beaks, sparing only the youngest brother. That one said, "I told my uncles and brothers not to try to kill you, but they did not listen to me."

The boy lived with them until he was grown, and old enough to take a wife. Then her husband told Spider: "That youngest brother, to avenge his relatives, will try to kill you. You must be very careful."

Spider replied: "I am tired of being hunted and of people trying to kill me. Tonight I shall return to the sky. You must remain on earth, because this is your home."

The husband felt very badly. He wanted to go with her, because he did not want to be alone on earth. At night Spider made preparations to leave, lashing the child securely on her back. After much pleading, Spider permitted him to go with her. She went up into the sky, dragging him after her. There they lived happily, often pulling aside the head-log to watch the people on earth. Sea-gull and Hawk entered the body of the husband and became his supernatural powers.

THE MONSTER SERPENT

In a village of many people, who had never heard of other villages, men disappeared each year. Men would go caribou-hunting and fail to return. People wondered. One time the son of the greatest hunter of the village set out for caribou. As he was cooking food by a large rock, he saw something coming over the horizon, becoming larger as it approached. The youth hid behind the rock and watched. He saw a monster with a huge head and body and with many legs go past his hiding-place. The body was so long that it stretched far beyond the horizon, and although the legs ran by all day, the monster did not pass the young man. At dusk the legs and body stopped moving, then began to run back in the direction from which they had come. As the head passed, the youth saw that the monster had a caribou and a man from the village. The monster stopped by the rock, and cried: "Some one

has been watching me! My body feels someone nearby!" The young man was badly frightened, and as soon as the monster was out of sight over the horizon, he ran back to the village, but told no one of what he had seen.

The two following years the young man saw the monster, but be still remained silent. The third year he prepared weapons and hunting gear and set out in his kaiak. After five days of paddling, he came to a steep point of rock jutting far into the sky from the water. On one side only, which had steps cut into the rock, could it be climbed. On the top the monster made his home. The young man climbed and hid near the house. He saw a woman come out of the hut and soon reënter. Then he heard the monster saying: "I can not hunt in a small place like this. I must go a long distance from here."

The monster uncoiled his long body and started off through the air, in the direction from which the young man had come. All day the body and legs ran past him. When they stopped he hewed at the body with an axe. Although he used all his strength, be was unable to cut the monster, but under the force of his blows the body bent and sagged till it touched the water. Soon that portion of the body sank and dragged down the rest, until finally the head became submerged and the monster drowned.

The young man went to the top of the rock, where he found caches, one filled with caribou carcasses and the other with human bodies. As he was searching the caches, he heard voices. He hid and saw a kaiak approaching with two people. When they reached the top, one said,

I shall take the caribou; you take the humans."

The other answered, "No; you always take the humans." Then the two went into the hut.

The young man, peeping through the smoke-hole, saw two women and their parents, sleeping. He entered and cut off the heads, but the heads awoke and bounded up and down, jumping over to the eating bowls where they ate as though they still had bodies. The youth clubbed the heads, which snapped and bit at him, until they were dead. He paddled back to his village, where he told the people what had happened, and said that now men could hunt caribou without being in danger.

THE WOMAN IN THE FISH-SKIN PARKA

A man, his wife, and five sons lived by themselves. The wife combed only half of her hair, allowing the remainder to fall unkemptly over her eyes. The man was a great hunter, but when his sons had grown and had been taught the lore of the chase, he chose to remain at home.

One time, when all the sons had gone hunting, two of them failed to return. A long search revealed no sign of them. The following spring two more disappeared, never to come back. Now the father and the youngest son hunted for the family. On a trip where they were forced to stay overnight and had made camp on solid ice, a woman, travel-stained and wearing a fish-skin parka, came up to them and said: "You have worried about your sons. I have come for you."

Immediately father and son became unconscious. When they awoke they saw a village near by, but there was no sign of the woman with the fish-skin parka. They approached the village and entered a house, where a woman greeted them: "You will suffer for coming here. Your sons would have been killed long ago, but I kept them alive so that you could see them before they died. There they are on that sleeping bench."

Father and son saw the others, bodies scratched and emaciated, barely able to move, side by side on the bench.

During this time the man's wife was alone. All winter and all spring she waited for the return of her husband and sons. One day a woman wearing a fish-skin parka entered her house, and said, "Your sons, who are very ill, sent me for you."

The wife then became unconscious. She awoke in a strange village. She entered the first house, which was that of a woman, who spoke: " Now that you are here, you will suffer. Your husband and sons are nearly dead, but I have kept them alive, so that some day they can help me. The woman in the fish-skin parka caused their suffering."

The wife replied: "I did not know what was happening. If I had known, I could have brought along my wooden dish."

"You stay here. I shall go for your dish," she answered.

Soon the woman returned with the dish. Then the wife said, "I shall go to the men's house and try to save my husband and sons."

In the men's house she saw her husband and sons, bodies scratched and emaciated, barely able to stand. All about the room were people, and opposite the entrance was the woman with the fish-skin parka. The wife placed the dish in the middle of the floor, and said: "I am

poor. I can not do much, but I want you people to listen to my song:

Eya! Eya! I can not see that woman's uncle.
Can I see that woman's uncle?
With my own eyes shall I see him.

At the end of her song, she tossed back her unkempt hair, so that her whole face could be seen. She stared hard at all the people, and so intense was her gaze that they caught fire and burned up. The woman with the fish-skin parka was the last to burn. Then the wife killed all the people in the village. She and the woman cared for and fed the man and his sons until they were able to travel.

After walking many days, they came to a graveyard, where the woman, who was guiding them, said: "We must go down through that graveyard to reach your home. The evil woman in the fish-skin parka brought you up here through the graveyard. The spirits of people, after death, go up into the middle of the sky, where they travel about."

The woman married one of the sons and obtained widows for the others. All lived together in one place.

HOW A FAMILY PRESERVED YOUTH AND STRENGTH

A man, with his wife and wife's mother, lived apart from the village. The wife bore five sons, each of the last four births occurring as soon as the previous son was able to walk; but then she became feeble and unable to bear more children. Her mother said to her: "I am about to die. Bury me standing up beneath my head-rest and facing the entranceway."

The boys, who had toy spears and bows and arrows, in their play used their grandmother's head for a target. When they reached manhood, all had kaiaks. One night the youngest son, waking and having thirst, left the men's house for water. As he passed the women's house, he saw within a fire instead of a lamp, and decided to investigate. Inside he saw that his grandmother had come to life and was eating her daughter. In great fright he ran to his kaiak and paddled away as fast as possible. He heard behind him his grandmother calling: *"Ye-e-e!* My grandchild is frightened and running away from me!"

Looking back, he saw her running through the air toward him, and though he paddled with all his strength, she rapidly overtook him. In despair he aimed an arrow at her, which struck her in the mouth; then

she fell in the water and sank out of sight.

The young man paddled all summer along the coast, and, when the ice set in, he abandoned his kaiak to walk along the shore. Finally lie came to a place where there were the tracks of many people. He found a pile of wood, and built himself a shelter. In the morning he was awakened by dogs howling, and heard a sled approaching, a sled driven by two men. When near one said, "Some one has been here and disturbed our wood."

The other, spying the young man, replied, "There is the person who has found our woodpile."

These men, who acted friendly, took the young man to their village and clothed and fed him. He was adopted by one of the men, who were brothers. In a short while he married the daughter of the other man. Although he was happy, he often thought of his own village and family, and finally decided to visit them. After travelling a long distance, he arrived home safely and was welcomed by his family, who were glad to see him. He found that now his mother was young and well again, and that his grandmother was also alive. She said to him: "My grandchild, when you were frightened, you ran from me. You shot me before I could eat you. Here is the arrow which you shot at me. I swallowed it and have held it as a keepsake."

Whenever any one became old and feeble, the grandmother ate and defecated them while they slept. Thus they preserved youth and strength.

The other brothers returned with the young man to the village of his adoption, where they obtained wives. Then they went back to their own village.

THE FIFTH BROTHER MARRIES A CORPSE

Five brothers and a sister lived on the shore of a small bight near a village. They had never heard of any other people or of other villages. The brothers were great hunters, and each had a cache of his own. The sister was very fast in sewing, but the lower half of her body was that of a bird. As she grew older, her body became more and more human. When the brothers had all grown moustaches and were old enough to marry, the sister called them into the house, and said, "You must tan skins for me to sew into women's clothes."

They went to the men's house, grumbling because they must tan

skins, but soon they had plenty ready to be sewn. When all the clothing had been made, the sister said to them: "There are five villages near here. You must take the women's clothing, go to these villages, and pick out wives, the daughters of the best hunters. The youngest must go to the nearest village and the eldest to the farthest. You must bring back a husband for me."

Four brothers soon obtained their wives, and a husband for their sister, and returned home. The eldest went to the men's house in the fifth village and stated his errand. The men said: "You have come for a wife. That is too bad, because the daughter of the best hunter died yesterday."

That night the eldest brother was unable to sleep. Finally be arose and walked about the village, coming finally to the grave-box of the girl. This he opened and crawled into, lying beside the dead body. Soon he went back to the men's house and slept. During the night he was awakened by the sound of footsteps rapidly approaching. The dead girl entered with a pot of food for him, then went out. As he finished the food, she returned with a bowl of water and waited for him to drink. Then be knew that he must go with her. She was now alive. They went to her house and slept together. During the night, when he awoke feeling cold, he saw that she was again a corpse; but she became alive before morning. On the second night, he awoke several times, sometimes finding her with eye-sockets empty, again with the skull rolled to one side, or grass growing between moldered bones, or a grave stench arising from the corpse; but before morning she always came to life again. Five nights he slept with her, and each night was a year in length.

Then they bathed, threw away all old clothes and made new ones, preparing to return to his village. He drove the dogs, while she guided the sled. Once when the sled grew heavy, if dragging a burden, he looked back and saw that his wife was a skeleton dragging on the handles. Then the sled moved fast and light again, and he saw that she was once more alive. Five days they travelled, each day a year, and on each day she became a corpse.

They were welcomed home by the sister, who was now all human, a fine slender girl, and by the brothers with their wives. All entered the house except the sister and the wife of the eldest brother, who remained outside for a long time. At last the sister entered alone, and the eldest brother asked where his wife was. The sister answered: "I have

eaten her. I defecated her body, so that now she can never become a corpse again while she lives. She will bring in your food to you."

RAISERS OF THE DEAD

The best beloved son of a family died and was buried. The parents grieved so that at the end of three days they sent for two brother medicine-men, Gíhlleayuh and Nuzsíhyoh, who had the reputation of raising people from the dead. In the men's house they called on their spirits in song and instructed the parents to seize the boy and hold him fast whenever he should appear. Then they went out, opened the grave, stood the body on its feet, and started back. The body followed them.

Inside the men's house, in spite of the terrible charnel odor, the parents seized the boy. "Now take off his clothes as fast as you can. Work his limbs until they are limber. Give him flounder to eat and then any food after that," they instructed. The youth lived in the village for many years.

In the same village a boy was drowned, but the body was recovered and buried. The two brother medicine-men were sent for again. When they opened the grave-box and took out the body, they found that from the waist up it was human, but that the rest was animal. Though they tried hard to make him entirely human and alive, the boy remained as he was, so that they had to give up and return home.

People on the mainland heard of Gíhlleayuh and Nuzsíhyoh, and sent for them to employ their medicine-powers to bring a young man back to life. They sang their songs in the men's house, and the body followed them when they reentered the house after opening the grave-box, They ordered, "Seize him quickly!"

But the charnel odor was so strong that all were powerless to move, sitting with heads bowed. "Why do you not seize him? We have tried hard, but you are mocking us!" cried the two brothers, who knew then that it was useless to try further, because some medicine-man was working against them. After leaving the village, they found that, no matter how hard they paddled, they remained in one place. They knew that a medicine-man from the village was using his power to oppose them. The elder brother then threw his two walking-sticks into the sea, and they were able to return home without further mishap. After that time neither attempted to raise the dead.

THE WOMAN WHO WENT INTO THE SKY

In the times of long ago, two villages stood, one on the north, the other on the south side of a river. In the north village dwelt a great hunter, noted for cruelty to his wife. On each return from a hunting trip, he beat her severely. In despair she cried and wailed to the spirits of her parents. On hearing her pleadings, they came to her house and gave her instructions.

The following morning, after the hunter had gone forth, insects and bugs of every kind crawled through the doorway and circled about the room, following the direction of the sun's path. Upon these, according to instruction, the wife poured water from a wooden dipper. Then she went outside, where she saw a tall pole, and near by it a bowl of blood. After dipping her hands in the blood, she found that they readily clung to the pole, so that she could climb with ease. Up, up she went, until she was far above the village.

About sunset the hunter returned. He entered the house, ready to beat his wife, as was his custom. All about the house and through the village he searched. When he chanced to look up, he saw his wife resting on the top of the tall pole. Angrily he commanded her to come down, and when she refused, he shot arrows at her, all of which fell far short of the mark. She laughed at him, calling: "Even though you command me to come down, and shoot arrows at *me,* I shall remain here! If you wish to reach me, you will have to climb as I did!"

The man, now very angry, began to climb, pulling himself up hand over hand. When she saw that he could reach the top easily, his wife became frightened. In desperation she rocked the pole violently, until her husband's hold was broken and he fell to the hard ground, where his intestines burst from his body.

The villagers, who had watched, gathered about and in revenge for the loss of their great hunter, began to chop down the pole. As it was about to fall, the woman asked, "Where are my two sparks?" Immediately two sparks fell to the ground, where they blazed into huge fires and burned up all the people. Then the pole fell and crushed the houses.

The woman next raised the pole until it pointed to a sky-hole (a star), and climbed until she was able to crawl through. As she lay, panting from exertion, many people walked back and forth over her

body. One person finally said, "She must be dead by this time." Then they all went away.

The woman painfully limped on, reaching the house of an old woman, who welcomed her. She married one of the old woman's sons. One morning the old woman announced that her husband would arrive some time during the night. After dark, she bathed and went to bed. Long after nightfall her husband entered, wearing mittens and a waterproof parka. He was a sea-serpent, and his coils nearly filled the room. He slept with the old woman. In the morning, after he had gone, they found the bodies of many sea animals piled beside the door.

A second time when the old woman said her husband was coming that night, another serpent arrived and left fish by the door. The third time, the old woman changed into a young girl and eagerly awaited her husband. Near evening people shouted that some one was coming. They saw approaching a man who was inside a cache on four stilts. The cache-man gave each person in the village a parka before going to his wife. In the morning, after he had gone, she became once more an old woman.

The woman who had come through the sky-bole disliked the serpent husbands of the old woman, and planned to kill them. When they came to the house, each in his turn, she cut off the heads and chopped up the bodies.

Some time later the cache-man came to his wife, bearing marten parkas for each one in the village. The young woman knocked his stilts from under him, so that he was helpless, and followed his tracks back until she arrived at the home of his other wife. There she saw the wife making a parka, and two skulls crawling about on the floor. These the young woman picked up and hurled at the wife, cutting deep gashes in her cheeks.

The wife in great rage picked up fire, flung it on the floor, and ran around it as fast as she could, but the blaze was so great that she burned up, and the house was soon in flames. Then the young woman ran back to her village, where she put the cache-man back on his stilts and he departed for his own village.

Soon people called, "Men are coming!" The young woman knew that the cache-man had found his wife dead and was leading his village over for revenge. She at once went to the men's house and instructed her husband to strip the skin from her forehead. Next she climbed to

the men's house, knife in hand, to await the attack. The avengers shot all their arrows, but they fell short at the feet of the young woman. After all the arrows had been spent, she descended, and, charging the attackers with her knife, killed all but the cache-man. Him she let remain with the old woman, his other wife.

THE MAN WHO BECAME A FOX

There once lived a man who was much talked about for his hunting ability on land and sea a man who always carried the best and most complete equipment. He rarely came home, except to bring in game. While away he offered sacrifices to the dead at fox-holes. When his son became a man, about to go on his first hunt, the father instructed him: "Take food with you and sacrifice it to the dead at fox-holes. Then spend the whole day alone and in idleness, but hunt early the following day. Then you will always get game in plenty."

The youth built himself a hunting lodge, with racks for drying meat. When he caught more Caribou than he could carry home, he buried the carcasses in the snow, leaving the intestines on the surface for the foxes, which would eat those and leave the meat alone. The skins he folded and placed on one skin, hair down on the snow, which he used as a sled. The youth became a better hunter than his father.

Once on his return from a hunt, he found a fire in his hut and the remains of a meal. He wondered who could have been there. Next day he set out as usual, wearing a new pair of boots, but on returning that night he found a pot of food and his old boots repaired with fine left-handed sewing. He decided to go out and watch at a distance for the person. Soon he saw the water-pot come out, moving as if some one carried it. It returned to the house, filled to the brim. Then he saw stones rolled off the roof, and the smoke-hole cover removed, but still no person was visible. Quickly entering, he saw no one; but, when he sat down, a naked woman suddenly appeared, sitting on the grass mat, cutting meat on a board. At first she took no notice of him, keeping her head bowed. He liked her, and spoke: "Why have you acted so secretively? Do not hide from me, but always remain visible, as you now are. Be a person. Do not leave me."

She looked up, and answered, " I am following the wishes of my parents, who wanted me to come here."

He picked the finest fawn-skin and gave it to her, saying: "You may

go home and tell your parents that you are going to stay with me. I also shall be away several days."

On his return he found that she was there also, and had hung the meat, dried the skins, and made sinew. When the ice was thick enough on the rivers to be crossed safely, they went to his home. The people said, "Our best hunter's son has returned with a girl we have never seen before."

His parents, glad to receive her, gave her new clothes and made a place in the home for her. In two years she had a baby. One day, leaving the baby in the woman's house to go for water, she heard a woman say to the baby: "Why are you crying so for your mother? She is nobody. Her boots are falling down about her ankles, and her eyes are like fox-eyes."

Hearing, this, she felt so sad that she took the baby and ran away. The husband pursued when he learned what had happened, but could not catch up to her until they reached a fox-hole. Turning into a fox, she dived down, but he grabbed her tail and the tip remained in his hands. Soon a fox came out, and said: "My sister wants her trimmings. She is groaning in pain."

"She must come out and get them herself."

Several others pleaded for the tail, but he remained firm in his demand. Finally, weeping in agony, she came out. "Why did you leave me without saying anything? Did my relatives say anything or do anything to you?" demanded the man.

"I could not stay after hearing them say that my fingers are like fox-claws, that I have fox-eyes, and my boots hang down over my ankles."

She refused to return with him, but, after replacing the tail, invited him to stay. It was difficult for him to squeeze his head in the hole, but that once done his body became smaller and easily entered. In an underground room he saw his wife's family. The father spoke to him: "I sent my daughter to you, because you needed help. She went to your village, where she received such bad treatment that she had to come back here. You can go home or stay here, as you please."

That night some beings in human form entered hurriedly and snatched up weapons. "They are going hunting. You may go with them and take my sled, skimmer, and ice-pick," offered his father-in-law. He followed the men to the ice and skimmed the shell ice from a hole.

They said to him, "When you see anything floating, scoop it up with your hands."

He fished up dirt, leaves, and wild parsnips, and disgustedly thought: "What are these good for? We can not eat this stuff. Well, I shall do as I have been told."

Looking down at the débris, the man saw to his surprise that it had changed to white whale, walrus, seal, and fish. He gave away what he could not carry to those who had caught nothing, and all went home. His father-in-law and all the village were surprised and pleased at the size of his catch.

He lived with them a long while and happily as a fox, and had great plenty. Once he thought of his home village and journeyed there for a visit, but, as he drew near, the noises were so loud and the stenches so vile that he returned to his fox home.

Thus his village lost a good hunter because a person had said what she had no right to say about some one else.

THE PRICE OF A WIFE

In a village by the sea lived a hunter, Kaiúga, and his daughter Mírok. Mírok refused to consider seriously the youths of the village, and whenever one proposed marriage she would accept his gifts and carry food to him in the men's house. If he was liked by her, she would bring back the empty dish, but never again would she take food to him. Thus the father found himself burdened with an unapproachable daughter and all the youths of the village as sons-in-law. In his distress, he ran his fingers through his hair so much that it stood on end permanently.

One day an umiak containing a man and a woman, who were messengers, pulled up to the village. The woman went direct to Mírok and said, "Unúgchoaóchin told me to fetch you to him."

"I have beads on my bed and my possessions are here beside me. Can he replace what I now own?"

"Yes, will you come now?"

"Can Unúgchoaóchin spread sealskins from the umiak to his house for me to walk on?"

"It can be done."

"Will Unúgchoaóchin have caribou-skins spread from his door to the men's house for me to walk on when I carry food to him? Will the meat be caribou breast?"

"If you will come with me, all shall be done."

"Will Unúgchoaóchin have caribou-skins spread from my door to the urine pot, and will he have two reindeer-hides to stand on and reindeer-fur for drying?"

"If you will come with me, it shall be done. He told me to fetch you."

"Will Unúgchoaóchin have three grease pots, one with blubber, one with grease, and one inlaid with ivory?"

The woman messenger hesitated. Angrily Mírok exclaimed: "Even if Unúgchoaóchin is a good man and if he were here, I should throw urine in his face!"

The messenger went back to the umiak, and they pushed off, anchoring some distance from shore. Then the other messenger opened a box containing an inner box, inside of which was a small whale of carved ivory. This, attached to a long string, he dropped overboard, and sang:

Down there below me;
Down there below me;
Under the waves;
Come up, daughter Mírok.

At once the messengers heard the voice of Mírok on the shore, shouting as if in pain, "Oh, oh! My arm has gone!" At the same instant a whale thrust his head above the sea, bearing the arm of Mírok. This the man with the whale-power took aboard. Again and again he sang, and each time the whale brought up some part of Mírok. As soon as all the parts were there, the man assembled them and clothed her. When he had reached the village of Unúgchoaóchin he bade her remain aboard while he spread sealskins from boat to house for her to walk on.

Mírok felt greatly humiliated for having asked for so much. She saw many riches in the house: nose- and ear-beads, clothing, and all necessaries. There were three grease pots, one with blubber, one with grease, and one inlaid with ivory. She found fresh caribou breast to eat, and caribou-skins to walk on to the men's house and to the urine pot, all as she had desired.

Unúgchoaóchin, a great hunter, married her, thus winning her over all the youths of her village and the surrounding country.

THE PENALTY FOR LEAVING THE PUBERTY HOUSE

Long, long ago a couple had a daughter born to them. When she arrived at the age of puberty, she became frightened about her condition and ran to her mother, who said: "My daughter, be not afraid. All women have such experiences. Your brothers will build you a snow-house to stay in until it is over. In summer they will build a shelter. We shall be able to talk to you."

Said the father: "Be not afraid, daughter. There is much food here already prepared. When the time comes, call your mother and she will prepare you for the bath."

After three days in the puberty house, the daughter was bathed with urine, and the mother instructed her: "Be sure to keep the lamp burning all the time. I shall feed you dry fish and dock-leaf soup when you are hungry."

Two days later the girl had another bath, and one on the eighth day. On the ninth day the mother came to give her the last bath. The girl was tired of her confinement, frightened, and wished to go home. The mother replied: "You must stay here tonight, but you may come home tomorrow. All girls remain alone during their first menstruation. After this you can live with us; but when your period comes, you must wear mittens, so that people will know."

The girl was unable to rest well that night, but tossed restlessly in broken slumber. Once she was awakened by the creaking of sled-runners over the snow. The sled stopped by her small snow-house, and two strangers, one with frosted whiskers, entered. They said: "We have come for you. We ask you to come with us."

She was too frightened to answer.

"Tell us now whether or not you are coming," they demanded.

She thought: "I do not know these people, where they come from or where they are going. But my mother would not take me home yesterday, so I might as well go with them."

Outside they put her on the sled, which had two tug-lines to draw it. She sat on a mat, and they flung caribou-robes over her.

"After we start, be sure and not look out," they admonished her.

They started out at normal speed, and she soon fell asleep. Once, waking to find the sled travelling at tremendous speed, she peeped out and saw that it was drawn by two wolves, mouths open and tongues

hanging out. She cried, "Oh!" They stopped at once, and said: "We told you not to look. We are trying to go as fast as we can. Now do not peep out again." When they spoke, they were in human form again.

The sled started off at normal speed, but soon gained rapidly. At last it stopped, and one of the wolves said: "Now you may look out. We are in our village."

She was taken into the women's house, which was richly equipped with utensils, clothing, and food supplies. Soon she married one of her abductors. One day the cry "Caribou!" rose in the village. The girl's husband shouted, "Bring me my bow-sheath!" She hunted all about the house, unable to locate it, while he stamped about outside impatiently. "Where is my bow-sheath? Why do you not bring it?" he cried.

"I have searched, but I can not find it."

"Can you not see it hanging on that post?"

The bow-sheath was the nose of a wolf. In the hunt the husband brought down but two caribou, and blamed her, "If you had not been so slow, I should have killed more."

"At home our sheaths are different; that kind is what I was looking for," she answered.

One day all the people put on wolf-noses, becoming wolves, and went out. The husband said to his wife: "The two 'Fetchers' of 'Woman Who Has Power' have come. You must remain inside."

Listening to the commotion outside, the girl thought: "Those people told me I could not watch games. I might as well." When she went out, she saw the two "Fetchers" flying in the air. They had long sticks with which they reached down and struck the wolves. The wolves jumped and snapped at the sticks, but were unable to touch the "Fetchers." When she appeared, the wolves were beaten badly. Later her husband scolded her severely for disobedience.

That winter, after her baby was born, the "Fetchers" arrived once more, and all the wolves went out to fight again. She was told to stay indoors, because the "Fetchers" would fly away with her if she went out. She thought: "It is not right for them to keep me inside like this. I do not like the way they treat me. I shall take a chance with these 'Fetchers,' whoever they may be."

She put snow in the baby's mouth to stop its crying, and ran out. When the "Fetchers" spied her, they stopped beating the wolves, swooped down, and flew away with her. Soon the cries of rage and

the pursuit were left far behind. When at last they came to a house, she was put down and told to enter. An old woman offered her a dish of berries and tallow, and said: " I am Woman Who Has Power. I am the Oldest of the Oldest. People sacrifice to the dead through me. This food is what your parents sacrificed to me. When young girls leave the puberty house too soon, the evil spirits, the 'Fearful Things' [*ihchi*] who dwell in the walrus and wolves, take them. I sent out my two 'Fetchers' to bring you back. Eat and then return to your family, who are grieving for you.

"How am I to travel?"

"Outside you will see several bird and animal noses. Take your choice."

The girl put on a raven-nose, became a raven, and flew away. Whenever she came to a village, she was unable to enter, because she was forced to peck around in garbage dumps as ravens do. She thought, " I shall never get home travelling like this."

Next she tried a white-fox nose, but found that she merely went from knoll to knoll, unable to go long in any one direction. Then she put on a red-fox nose, and was able to go toward her village, but often had to sit motionless a long time in one spot. She thought, "I am going home now, regardless of how long it takes."

Finally arrived, she was unable to enter, because foxes are shy of villages in the daytime. Then she took off the fox-nose, which immediately started back to Woman Who Has Power. In her home she saw her parents, now old, eyes red from weeping, each sitting in a corner. Her mother was wailing: "Why does my mind always make me see my daughter? I want my real daughter."

"Mother, I am here. I am your real daughter. I heard that you wanted me, and I came."

"Daughter, I did not think you were alive and real. If I had known that, I should not have said it."

The girl learned that the man who was to have married her had taken another wife. Now she was left to live alone.

THE WIFE-STEALER

A great hunter lived alone with his two sons, who, under his instruction, also became good hunters, so that all the girls in the village sought to become their wives. In time the sons married. In the same village

lived a poor young man with his grandmother; to him the hunters gave weapons, while their wives provided clothing and food. In return for this kindness, the poor young man performed much work.

One day, when the wives of the two brothers were away from the village gathering firewood, they saw a large white kaiak approaching. Thinking that it might be carrying a man from the village, they watched and waited, but the man proved a stranger. "I am going to take you away with me," he announced. "Will you come?"

"No, we shall not go with you," they responded.

"You must come with me," he insisted.

Then he seized and bore them struggling to his kaiak and set out over the sea. After a long journey, they arrived at a land strange to the women. Their husbands searched long and anxiously, until they were forced reluctantly to give up the quest. It happened that, when the poor young man was gathering driftwood, he saw many footprints, those of two women and a man. The signs told him of a fierce struggle, which led to the water's edge. He could even see where the paddle had dipped, leaving a trail across the water. The poor young man, throwing a light load into his kaiak, hastily paddled home. He told his grandmother, excitedly:

"By some driftwood I saw signs of two women carried off by a man! I wonder if they were the wives of our hunters!"

"Perhaps; but you had better keep the discovery to yourself, because if they were not the wives, you would be putting the brothers on a false trail," she counselled.

The poor young man, after much disturbing thought, told the two brothers. The three went and carefully examined the signs. The hunters loaded their kaiaks with oil, meat, and fish-eggs. They packed clothing and weapons, but also borrowed old worn-out clothing as well as useless weapons from the poor young man. Then they set out in pursuit.

For ten days they paddled before sighting a strange land. There they saw a poorly kept house, with seeds and grasses almost entirely overhanging the smoke-hole. By the door sat an unkempt, ragged old woman. The brothers pulled away the weeds, cleaned the house, emptied the urine pot, and put new grass mats inside. After they bathed and clothed the old woman, they asked, "Grandmother, have you seen a man with two women pass by here;

"A long time ago a white kaiak went by going across the sea. When it returned, I saw the man had two women behind him. His village is over there."

The brothers stripped themselves of clothing, rubbed fish-eggs on their bodies, rolled in soot and ashes, put on borrowed old clothes, and took up the old bows and arrows with no flint points. They appeared to be very poor. Next they departed for the village, where they entered the men's house. There the wife-stealer beckoned to them, "You strangers come and sit by me." He laughed and ridiculed them, saying: "You two are stinkers. Where did you come from, and what do you want here?"

"Our grandmother sent us to get the meat which you throw away."

The wife-stealer picked up their weapons and held them so that all the men could see. "Look at these bows of rotten wood," be jeered; "and see these pointless sticks for arrows! What would these two do if they saw a caribou?" He stood a grass mat by the entranceway, and said to them: "This is a caribou. Try to hit it."

The brothers shot and purposely missed the mark. Then the wife-stealer derided: "What will these people think of you, you stinkers? You can never get game; why carry those useless things? I shall make you my servants, since you are fit for nothing else. I shall give you a fitting new name. I shall call you 'Rotten Fish-eggs!'"

The men in the house were displeased at this treatment of the strangers. They talked among themselves: "Those two servants are well-built young men. Their muscles are hard. I believe they are deceiving us and that something will happen." Another said, "Our leader is carrying things too far with them."

The following day the two said that they were going back to their grandmother. The wife stealer laughed and jibed at them, and laughed till the harder when they began to run and stumbled in their effort to get away. Once out of sight, they tore off the old clothes and went naked to the old woman's house, where they bathed, put on new clothing, and equipped themselves with good weapons. Then they went back to the village by kaiak. The wife-stealer, not recognizing the men, greeted them in the men's house and with much laughter told the story of the two "Rotten Fish-eggs" who had visited him the day before. They also went into the women's house and found their wives eager to return home with them.

The wife-stealer challenged the two brothers to a seal-hunting contest. With weapons they set out, and the brothers soon returned loaded down with a big hair-seal, while after a whole day the wife-stealer came in with only a small spotted seal. The following day the three hunted caribou. It took the brothers but a short time to bag more than they could carry, but the wife-stealer was gone all day before he succeeded in killing a small fawn. On the third day a challenge was again sent to them, but they replied that it would be a waste of time to go out; that they had beaten the wife-stealer twice before.

The brothers loaded their kaiaks, took their wives and the wife of the wife-stealer, who begged to go along too, and set out for home. They all stopped at the old woman's house. The wife-stealer, in pursuit, came by and asked the old woman if she had seen two men and three women go by. She replied that she had seen them headed out to sea. The wife-stealer went home to his village to prepare for a long chase, while the small party came out of the old woman's house and went on their way. When the wife-stealer came past again, in pursuit of the two brothers and the three women, the old woman stretched out her hand with fingers outspread.

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