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# ESKIMO OF LITTLE DIOMEDE ISLAND

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

AT approximately the middle of Bering strait, between the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales and the eastern-most Russian outpost, East Cape, Siberia, lie the two Diomede islands. Through the middle of the narrow strait separating Big Diomede from Little Diomede passes the international boundary line between the United States and Russia. Little Diomede is a bleak, forbidding shore, ruggedly resisting the gales which sweep through the straits from the vast unbroken arctic into treacherous Bering sea. Interminable fogs envelop it; the great wind-driven ice-floes of the arctic pile against its granite cliffs. The ice-fields of Bering sea, borne relentlessly northward by the arctic drifts, are split asunder by its sheer walls. In these waters sport several varieties of whale, and walrus and seal herds rest here in numbers on their northward and southward migrations. Countless birds flock, breed, and migrate to and from these islands.

Little Diomede, a few square miles in extent, rises from the sea in sheer cliffs that support a plant life represented only by a few species of mosses and berries. On the western side, a portion of a cliff, bowlder-strewn, slopes gradually to the shore, extends outward in a gravel spit, and ends in a submerged reef. Legend has it that in former times seal and walrus herds rested from their long migration on this spit. Today the small village of Eskimo, an aggregation of stone houses on terraces, is situated at a point just above the meeting of slope and gravel spit.

Each family has its own dwelling, large and roomy, the outer walls of which are of bowlders. For building, there is no lack of stone in the detritus from the crumbling cliff. The interior of one such house (*inu*) was fourteen feet square and eight and a half feet high. The framework consisted of four large uprights at each corner, connected with beams at the eaves. Two whale jawbones arched to form the main roof supports, their ends resting on the horizontal beam of the eaves; and short beams extended from the whale-jaws to the eaves as secondary roof supports. The roof itself, extending slightly beyond the walls, consisted of adzed flat timbers heavily overlaid with earth and sod. The interior walls and the floor were wooden splits. Light and ventilation came

through the smoke-hole covered with parchment of seal or walrus intestine. Three and a half feet above the wooden floor a wide bench ran around the room, above which were racks, attached to the eaves, for clothing and weapons. A stone oil lamp burned in one corner, serving for both heating and cooking.

Entrance to the room was obtained through a hole in the floor about four feet from the front wall. Below the hole was a passageway about four feet high, twenty feet long, and three feet wide, gradually widening to ten feet at the outside entrance. This passageway, dug into the ground, was lined with stones; its size allowed dry storage for small boats, nets, and various utensils. Built on the roof of the entranceway, and against the house proper which forms one wall, was a small wooden storehouse, six by ten feet, covered with walrus-hide tightly lashed down and used for stowing away furs, clothing, and dried food.

The typical men's house (*kúzugi*) is constructed in a manner similar to family houses, but on a larger scale. The social usage of the men's house — for on Little Diomede the family houses are large and comfortable — is not so complete and extensive as in the case of those, for instance, on Nunivak. Nor is the men's house used greatly for ceremonial purposes, since there are few performances of a religious character. The most important of the ceremonies are family affairs, and as such are carried on in the family houses.

Caches, dug near the houses, are used as receptacles for oil pokes or containers, meats, and vegetables. They are circular, unwalled pits about six feet deep and five feet in diameter, sufficiently large for the use of more than one family. The caches are sealed with wooden covers weighted down with stones.

The chief foods are primarily meat, blubber, and oil of walrus, seal, and whale. The excess hides, meat, and oil are articles of trade with the mainland people on both sides of Bering strait, from whom are obtained in exchange the furs of such land animals as fox, mink, muskrat, and squirrel, river fish, and other products. Fish caught with nets and with hooks, and eaten either fresh or dried, together with shellfish, clams taken from walrus stomachs, shrimp from whale stomachs, and kelp, supply the remainder of the food staples derived from the sea. During the brief summer the rocky land provides a few varieties of berries, of which the salmonberry and blueberry grow in greatest profusion, and also the Alaskan potato. Berries are usually eaten

raw. Whatever other succulent plants are gathered are either eaten raw with oil or, like the Alaskan potato, are cooked in oil. During the nesting and breeding season, birds' eggs are collected in great numbers. Men, women, and children search the rocky slopes for hidden nests, and bring back grass bags heavily laden with their find. Eggs (*manik*) are usually cooked in oil. During the summer months, birds in great number and variety are caught with nets, spears, slings, and bolas. These include, amongst many, auks and auklets, cormorant, ducks, ptarmigan, and puffins. Much of the catch is stored for winter use.

Apparently no ceremonies and feasts comparable with the Bladder, Messenger, and Asking feasts of other places, are indulged in by the village as a whole. The ceremonies which have survived, if indeed there were ever others, seem to be purely family affairs, with the ritual passed on through the generations. They have to do with whale- and seal-hunting, the naming of children, and the first bird or animal catch by a boy or a youth. The first of these, which precedes the whale-hunt, is the most intricate, symbolic, and ritualized. While each performance is broadly similar to the others designed for the same purpose, yet they differ in detail among the various families. After successful whale-hunting in the fall, meat is distributed among the villagers who helped in the butchering, and to the people in general. This is followed by feasting and dancing. Distribution, feasting, and dancing occur also in the spring.

In autumn the whaling season begins. In former years many whales inhabited these waters, and, considering the character of the native equipment, good catches resulted. In late years, however, beginning with the appearance of modern whaling ships, and especially after the introduction of bomb guns, whales became fewer in numbers and in time were rarely seen. Now, since the disappearance of the ships, it is said that whales are again increasing and are more frequently observed.

The boats and all equipment are thoroughly overhauled and made ready. The boats are of skin, smaller than the walrus boats in order to afford easy portaging over the ice when necessary. Walrus-hunting is commonly done in open water relatively free of ice. The crew of a whaleboat consists of the owner, who is the steersman; a harpooner, secondary to the steersman in importance and position; and two crew members. Before the boat may be launched for the season, the Whale

ceremony is held, as follows:[1]

When the season has been adjudged propitious, the steersman, harpooner, and the two members of the crew, all wearing parkas and mittens, and carrying ice scrapers and staffs, proceed to the southern end of the island before dawn, and there pick a willowy shrub of the species used to tie the mouths of pokes. This is brought back to the village. They carry also all boat gear, lines, pokes, paddles, weapons, *et cetera,* into the owner's or steersman's house, and, once inside, bar the entrance with a stick, a sign that a ceremony is to take place and that those within are not to be disturbed. The crew immediately busies itself with scraping the wooden shafts, burnishing the equipment, and otherwise in making all ready, aided in the sewing, when necessary, by a woman. Within the house, other than the boat crew, are only an old man, possibly the father of the steersman, who has been chosen to conduct the ceremony, and a woman who bears an important part in the ritual, symbolizing the whale-spirit and considered as a member of the crew.

As soon as all is in order, the old man sits on a bench by the rear wall, with steersman and harpooner respectively on each side of him. The woman sits in the middle of the floor, and the two crew members by opposite walls. At this time the old man sings and drums the ceremonial songs, songs which have descended from father to son and which belong to and may be used only by the crew. After the singing is finished, all gear is carried outside the entrance; the crew, aided by the villagers, remove the boat from its rack and place in it all impedimenta, each article in its proper place. Now the members of the crew don new clothing and pull on waterproof parkas and mittens. In a small procession, led by the old man and with the woman in the rear, they proceed to the house roof. The woman carries a water-bucket and a dish of reindeer fat, a portion of which latter is molded in the form of a whale to signify that the boat is going on a whale-hunting expedition. The party circles the roof once clockwise, and returns to the boat, in which the woman places her bucket and dish.

The crew now unload the boat and turn it bottomside up, the

1 Compare the Whale ceremony of Little Diomede with that of Cape Prince of Wales.

upper gunwale supported by two short poles, and the harpoon placed in the bow. While a fire burns beneath the craft, the woman dips a small grass mat in urine and carefully washes the harpoon, singing a ceremonial song as she works. At the close of the song, the harpooner shovels the fire onto a walrus shoulder-blade, carries it to shore ice, and dumps it there.

Again the boat is loaded. Four inflated pokes are tied in pairs, one of which is placed beneath the craft near the bow, the other near the stern. These, secured firmly, prevent injury to the bottom of the boat while dragging it to the water. The crew take positions by their places in the boat, while the woman, who is standing over the water-bucket and food-dish, faces them. As the crew howl like dogs or wolves four times and raise paddles in air, the woman dances and sings a ceremonial song over the whale modelled in fat. At its finish, the crew stand clear of the boat, while the old man picks up the steering paddle, walks around the boat, and taps it on each side of the bow, that the whale may hear and approach the boat. Then, singing, he grasps the stern and raises it four times.

The crew, howling, seize the boat and rush it to the shore, passing to the left of the woman. Then they return to her with the boat. She next places her dish of fat in the boat and takes up a short length of walrus intestine filled with bone ashes. She leads the way to the shore, scattering ashes at the command of the old man behind her, followed in turn by the boat crew with the boat, and all the children of the village. Woman and entourage halt at the very ice or shore edge. While she stands with bucket and dish, the old man with the steering paddle sings. At the conclusion of the song, the woman cuts up the fat and distributes the pieces to the children, who scamper home.

The crew launch the boat, take their places, give four strong paddle strokes, and stop. Then the woman sings. At the close of the song, the steersman brings the boat about and they paddle toward her as she now stands with her back toward them. When close, the harpooner makes as if to hurl his weapon into her, since at this time she represents a whale and the harpoon motion a successful cast. The harpooner now lays down his weapon and the crew disembark, pull their craft up on shore, take out all equipment, and turn the boat over it.

Led by the old man, they return home, and other villagers are at liberty to enter. A feast is begun and lasts till nightfall, when the

smoke-hole is covered and a medicine-man called in to see that everything has been carried out property. The smoke-hole may then be uncovered and stories told. The following morning, if all is well, the crew set out to hunt whales. It is obligatory for the old man and the woman to remain in the house until the crew return.

The following is an anecdotal narrative of an impromptu whale-hunt as told by an informant:

One day I paddled to sea in the large umiak with a crew of seven men to hunt walrus. Although we were out all day, not a single walrus thrust his tusks out of water. We were discouraged and sad at heart, for our families were in need of fresh meat. One man suddenly pointed, and cried, "A whale!" We dug our paddles in furiously, but our evil luck held; the whale sounded. I turned toward shore ice and carefully edged along, searching for walrus. We were suddenly startled by water breaking behind us. A hasty glance showed us a baby whale not ten boat-lengths away. It sounded, and our hearts sunk too, but we remained motionless, thinking that it might pass beneath us and come up ahead. We saw a dark form glide below, and we paddled with it. Just then a large whale suddenly came up near us. Quickly my harpooner grasped his weapon, heaved it aloft, and with desperate strength drove the barb deep into the animal's side. Others dropped the harpoon-line and air-bags into the water. Our hearts rejoiced as we foresaw a winter of feast and plenty. But alas! Our joy was short. The whale moved away rapidly, sounded, and dragged the air-bags under water. Then two other boats who had seen our whale, overtook us. The animal reappeared, but sounded again before anything could be done. It rose and dived so rapidly that the air-bags could hardly come to the surface. Finally one boat caught our air-bags and made fast to the line. This made an extra drag, and soon our whale broke water. The third boat then cast a harpoon. Now we rejoiced once more, and cast many weapons. The monster was soon dead, and exultantly we towed it to shore ice. There we cut off the flukes and hauled them ashore. Next we chopped a sloping runway in the ice. Our men of all three boats quickly cut off the whale's head, for new strength was in their arms. Head and body we heaved ashore up the runway, singing as we pulled. For two days and nights we labored cutting up the meat and hauling it on sleds to the village. There we divided it according to custom, each boat member to his share, and later held a huge feast and

gave much meat to our people. All winter long our bellies were full, and in the spring we held another feast and gave away meat.

In the distribution of the whale body, the steersman of the boat first harpooning is called the "owner." He receives the right half of the head to the fluke. The other half of the head is divided and the body to the left fluke is distributed amongst his crew. In addition, they receive twenty pieces of whalebone, and the woman of the ceremonies takes her share from among the smaller portions of the whale's body. The harpooner, in addition, takes a right front flipper, a section from the largest bone as long as a man's leg from foot to knee, and a section from the smallest bone the length of the foot of the biggest man in the village. A second boat to harpoon receives that portion from the head to the left flipper. The remainder is divided equally among all boats which aided in the hunt.

After the fall whaling season, weapons and equipment are overhauled to prepare for the walrus-hunt. This is accomplished in larger skin boats with crews of seven or eight men, of which the owner, the steersman, and harpooner, are permanent members. The others may be chosen at random. The hunt takes place on open water or along the ice edge. The crews endeavor to catch single animals or to cut walrus from the herd and then harpoon. It is dangerous for a boat to run into the midst of a herd, because the very numbers of the beasts inspire courage at times to attack the boat, with consequent ill fortune and short shrift to the crew.

After the harpoon has been flung and the frightened walrus sounds, the crew pelt it with stones when it breaks surface to make it sound again. This repetition keeps the animal under water so long that it soon becomes exhausted and may be pulled in by the harpoon-line and easily killed. Walrus are sometimes harpooned on the ice. When loaded, the boat returns to the village.

From the first few obtained, the boat-owner, or steersman, takes hide and blubber and the meat of the hind-quarters from the last three ribs, minus flippers and bones. The harpooner is entitled to the head and the body as far as the fourth rib. The remainder is divided equally amongst the crew. When the kill is great, hides, meat, and bones are divided equally amongst all.

When sea-lion are speared from a boat, the steersman receives the upper part of the bodies to the front flippers, and the hide; the

harpooner takes half of the hind-quarters; while the crew are allotted the remainder equally. Sea-lion are also harpooned through the ice, in which case the hunter plays the animal, until exhausted, on a twenty-fathom harpoon-line. Then he reels in the line and kills the sea-lion by thrusting the pick-end of his spear through one of its eyes. The blow-hole is enlarged and the carcass drawn through.

Seal are killed by the same method, or are harpooned on open water from small boats or the larger umiaks. In former times the kaiak was used.

Before firearms were obtained, bears were hunted with throwing-spears, but the hunter usually ran from these animals. A story is told of a Little Diomede man who, hunting on the ice, surprised a polar bear behind an ice hummock. The bear rushed; the man cast his spear, but it only grazed the animal's cheek. The bear's bulk flung the man unconscious to the ice. Then the huge beast pawed and flung the helpless body in air several times, leaving when his rage was spent. Other hunters who had watched, but were afraid to attempt a rescue, rushed up, only to find a crushed and lifeless body. Three men, gathering courage, gave pursuit to the bear, which had shambled off leisurely. One hunter threw his spear, which glanced from the animal's back. As the bear rose up, turning angrily, baring fangs and snarling, the second hunter drove a spear through its belly. The third also scored a hit. The bear fell badly wounded, and was dead when the other hunters came up. The second hunter, who was now owner of the bear because he had made the first hit, took the best of the meat and divided the remainder equally among the others.

An informant related a bear-hunting experience, as follows:

I was hunting on the ice near Big Diomede when I saw three polar bears by the water. I crept close and watched them from behind an ice hummock. One bear left and went to an ice hummock, where it looked around cautiously. This bear seemed to be a sentinel. The other two stretched out flat, close to the water.

Soon I saw a seal come up. It thrust its head high up and looked around, then dived. Several times I saw the seal's head, and it gradually came close to the ice. Then when the seal dived again, one of the bears slipped in the sea noiselessly. Soon the seal broke water, and when it began to splash and thrash about, I knew that the bear had attacked it from below. The seal died quickly, and the bear, holding the carcass

in its jaws, swam back to ice. Then while the bear clung to ice with one paw, the second bear leaned over the edge, reached out a paw, and with teeth and claws hauled up the seal. The two bears covered the carcass with snow to cool it, while the third kept watch from a hummock. When the seal had cooled, they pushed aside the snow and began to eat.

After a few bites, one went to the sentinel bear and took its place, so that it could feast too. Then as I was getting ready to shoot from behind my hummock, where I had built a little snow wall and thrust my rifle through, I heard shots in the distance. The bears stood up and looked around. Two were frightened and shambled off. I shot the one still eating; my bullets went through hip and chest. The other two were still within easy range, but I did not fire, because I could not carry so much meat. I took only the fore-quarters of my kill and started home. I thought to take a piece of the seal to prove my story, but did not. On my way I met two hunters and told them about my good luck. They set out for the meat I had left behind, and I went home.

Another informant narrated the following personal experience:

My son and I, armed with rifles, were paddling along the ice in our kaiaks. We heard shouting, but although we listened and looked all about us, we could not see anything, and the calling had ceased. Again we heard shouting, and then we saw three bears coming from behind an ice hummock — a mother and two large cubs, chased by some men.

I paddled fast to the ice and clambered up on it. As I ran, I shouted over my shoulder to my son, "Let us head them off!" I had not run far before I knew I was alone. I looked back and saw my son still in his kaiak. He was afraid of polar bears.

I decided to head off the bears alone, and ran toward them. The bears saw me, and I wondered whether they would stop when they realized that their way was blocked, or come to me. I thought to wait for them, but decided to keep on running. When I came within two rifles length of them I stopped, and they stood still. The mother bear rose on her hind-legs and I could feel her hot breath panting against my cheek. Then quickly, before she could attack me, I fired and killed her. Another shot killed one of the cubs. I had no more shells in my magazine, and I wanted to kill the smaller cub with my knife, but was afraid. I threw another shell in the breech and shot him too. As I was skinning, the other hunters came up. One of them was older than I, so

I gave him a cub.

## SOCIAL CUSTOMS

As soon as a child is born, a small fire is lighted in the parents' home and the baby is bathed in a wooden dish. After bathing, it is kept rolled up in a parka until the navel is healed. A male child often receives such a parka from a successful hunter. The baby is named while still in the parka. The most common practice is to give the infant the name of the most recently deceased relative, in order that the name may remain in the family and not be forgotten. Sometimes the name of the most recently deceased person in the village is given. A person with no relatives, alone in the world, in order to perpetuate his name will ask the parents' permission to have the baby named after him. When the children of a family are all of one sex, it is customary to give some of the boys girls' names, or *vice versa,* that the family names may not be forgotten. As soon as the navel is healed, the father carries the child to the beach, where, if a boy, he picks up a walrus jawbone. The belief is that if the male child plays with the jawbone he will become a good hunter. The father then returns home, where the mother is awaiting him by the entrance, and gives her the child.

Girls are reared and instructed by their mothers. At intervals in their childhood, such as when they have caught their first tomcod or picked their first berries or greens, they are given a feast. There is no puberty ceremony for boys or girls.

When a boy is of sufficient age, his father presents him with a sling, and the boy practises until expert. Slings either cast stones or are made as bolas. Bolas spread in flight, covering perhaps three feet of space when fully extended. As soon as one bola stone touches a bird, the course of its flight immediately changes and it wraps itself about the prey; then the other bolas on the line perform in a similar manner. The change of course when bolas encounter birds in flight verges on the uncanny. Boys early acquire great skill with this weapon. The father skins and dries the first bird so caught, and a feast is held in the boy's honor, at which the parents make gifts to friends and relatives, especially cousins, and to any others in the village who may ask for a gift.

A feast is given in honor of the boy for his first kill of each of the various species and kinds of animals used. The animals are given to

the man who presented the boy at birth with his parka, a gift which signified that he would train the boy to hunt by his own methods. The feasts are conducted according to ritual handed down from generation to generation, varying in the different families, as for instance when some include dancing with the feast, while others do not. As a mark of honor, the boy's head is shaved when he has killed his first polar bear. The slaying of the first sea-lion is an occasion for a great feast and the presentation of many gifts to the villagers and relatives by the family. At this time the youth's head is shaved, even the eyebrows.

As a sign of eligibility for the married state, a sign of ability to provide for a wife, it is necessary for a young man to have killed four of the larger sea animals, such as sea-lion or seal. When the parents have chosen a suitable young woman, or the youth himself has wooed and won a bride-to-be, his mother asks the consent of the girl's parents. When all has been satisfactorily arranged, either the youth or his parents present the young woman with a complete outfit of wearing apparel, after which the marriage is consummated by the youth going to dwell with his parents-in-law. He is further obliged to hunt for both his own and his wife's parents.

Divorce occurs when the couple separate, the man going back to his own home. Adultery, when either party is guilty, often results in divorce and sometimes in the death of the adulterer.

A widow, when she does not remarry, receives aid from villagers in return for work performed. She is often the recipient of help from her own and her deceased husband's parents, especially when there are children.

As soon as a person dies, the body is dressed in its best finery, and deerskin socks are put on in place of boots. The corpse is straightened; the hands are drawn in to the waist and held in place by a belt. If the death takes place during daylight, the remains are taken out at once; if at night, it is kept within the house and watched by the relatives. Those able to sleep, use the body as a pillow.

The body is next lashed to a board and pulled feet-foremost through the smoke-hole in the roof. The feet are pointed to the south if in fall or winter; to the north in spring or summer. While some carry grave-boards and the personal belongings of the deceased, the close relatives bear the body by nine lines: four on each side, and one, a spear-line, in front. It is borne feet-foremost up the mountainside to a

suitable spot. There stones are rolled aside in the form of an ellipse and the body placed within the enclosure. Two female relatives then strip the corpse and stuff the clothes into rocky crevices, though any one may take them if he so desires. Trousers are allowed to remain on the corpses of females. The grave-boards are put in place beneath, on the sides, and above the body, and weighted down with stones. All depart for the village, except close relatives, who circle the grave once clockwise. These then descend to enter the village from the north, unless the season should be autumn, when they enter from the south.

When they reach the house, some one of the relatives carries in a stone. The room is thoroughly washed, and the relatives bathe. The stone is placed in the centre of the room, and all stand about and make motions as if to brush the water from their bodies onto the stone, thereby expelling any evil influence clinging, to their bodies and transferring it to the stone. This rite of purification is concluded by rolling the stone to the beach.

The period of mourning lasts four days for a man and five for a woman, but for ten days after death the relatives, whenever they leave the house, must wear their parka-hoods up, and mittens. Should they fail in these observances it is believed that they will either become deaf or their hands will be paralyzed or weakened. If the death has occurred during the fall, the relatives must do no hunting until game has been brought in by others; if in the spring, they may not embark in skin boats until meat has been brought in by other villagers. Violation of these prohibitions would cause game animals to avoid the village and result in a period of starvation for all the people.

Spirits of the dead are said to wander often through the village. When this occurs within a year of burial, the spirit wears grave clothes and plays mild, harmless pranks. Spirits returning after a year have their eyes open and do harm, which makes all the people fearful. One informant stated: "Once, when my mother entered her home, she saw a woman who had been buried a long time, sitting by the cooking lamp. My mother reached out to touch her, but the woman disappeared. The following day my mother's arm swelled, and was very painful for a long time."

These spirits must be exercised by medicine-men and driven toÚb'rik, the land below where the lost and drowned go. This place, where there is no ocean, where darkness prevails, and whence no spirit

can return, is presided over by a long-haired woman. The spirits of the dead properly interred live in two villages, one at the north and the other at the south of the island, near where the dead are buried. Only medicine-men know these places. A medicine-man on earth is also one there after death. Here they live in plenty, in the same manner as humans; but it is said that the spirits of the northern village obtain better animals and have better food.

The spirits of the land below, when they are thirsty, hold back the ice in the fall to get water, and thus delay hunting. In this event a medicine-man builds a fire on the beach, which he allows to burn out. Then, with legs about the ashes, he sits on one edge of a waterproof parka and holds down the other edge with his feet. The sleeves he holds up and shakes. Now the spirits below can speak clearly and loudly to the assembled people. They ask their human relatives to bring fresh water, for they are thirsty; this is poured into the outstretched parka of the medicine-man. Soon after the thirst of the spirits is slaked, the fall ice comes and the people may begin hunting. When famine occurs, and it is thought that the spirits above are obtaining all the game, a medicine-man who knows the location of the spirit-land is sent up the mountainside. If he finds this is so, he orders, on his return, that the people model a seal of snow. This he takes to the north and south spirit villages respectively, and allows it to slide down the slope. This act, a sign that the medicine-man has taken the animals from the spirits, brings plenty of game, especially seal, to the people.

It is through the control of spirits, human or animal, that the medicine-man obtains his supposed supernatural powers. However, the spirits are by no means abject slaves subject to the beck and call of their masters, for, as shown in the legends, it is often a spirit who directs the medicine-man, failure on his part to carry out instructions resulting in loss of spirit-power and consequent loss of status as a medicine-man, or possibly death. Of course this leaves a loophole for the shaman in case his incantations and performances fail in the desired effect, for he can say that while he followed strictly his spirit's instructions, his assistants neglected their duties and angered the spirit, with the inevitable result.

Spirit-powers may be handed down from a medicine-man to a son, relative, or close friend, with instructions how to use them. A spirit may appear to a man when he is alone and far from the village, and

then fully instruct the man how to use his power. Then by demonstration in the village, showing what he is able to accomplish, the man assumes the functions of a shaman.

Again, a spirit may enter a person's body, making its presence known by emitting weird noises through the man's mouth. People hearing the sounds, and recognizing them for what they are, immediately seize and strip the man naked. The spirit then causes the man to bleed profusely at the mouth, and to dash wildly about. While still under this spirit influence, the man visits each house in the village, pointing out the sick and instructing them in the causes of their ailments. If he walks about thus naked in winter time, he suffers no ill results. Such a procedure is conceded to be a demonstration that a person has received some supernatural power, but a long time must elapse before he may use a drum and be acknowledged as a medicine-man, a period during which he must prove his ability by successful performances.

The political system here, as elsewhere in the north, is simple to the extreme. There is no chief or ruler, no executive, legislative, or judicial body. However, some one man is termed the headman. He may assume a nominal leadership, with the sanction of his fellow villagers, on account of his wisdom and by his example and advice. The qualities necessary for this honorary position are respect for the aged, including listening to and heeding their advice; material aid to the poor and helpless in the form of food and clothing; natural ability in excelling as a hunter and as a leader of men, by virtue of which the man is the wealthiest in the village; or by reason of being a successful medicine-man.

## MYTHOLOGY

### THE STORY OF MANÍNA

Manína, a Little Diomede hunter, had married a King Island woman. Though not a medicine-man, he, like many others, had a spirit-power which he called by stretching out flat on the floor, with a stick bound to his head. Then the spirit-power entered him, so that he became unconscious, while people questioned him. If a person could raise the man's head, the question was answered in the negative; if the spirit caused his head to be rigid, the answer was affirmative.

One time Manína visited King island and participated in the dances there. The people divided into two groups, each trying to outdo the other in dance and song. The side of Manína, weak in song, was losing, so a medicine-man drummed and bent his head to the floor, as is customary when about to send spirits out, saying that he was about to obtain songs from his spirit-powers below. He said, "If any man wishes to learn songs from my spirit-powers, he must come below with me."

Manína whispered very low to his neighbor that he would like to go. When his spirit returned, the medicine-man asked: "Who is that man my spirit heard talking and saying that he wished to go below with me? I shall take him, even though he be no medicine-man. If he refuses now, my spirit-powers will eat him."

Manína's neighbor spoke up, "This is the man."

Then Manína sat on the floor, legs and arms wrapped about the medicine-man, who directed the people, "When I lay down my drum, some one must hit Manína with a grass sock."

When Manína was struck with the sock, after the drumming, he lost consciousness. On reviving, he found himself sitting on the floor of a huge, strange men's house far down below. Amazed, he looked about at all the spirits filling the benches. Ámuktúlik, the spirit chief, sat on a bench at the rear wall. He was very ugly, with a sharp slanting mouth on one side of his face. His mumbled words were hard to understand. The medicine-man said: "Manína wants to learn songs. I have brought him here."

All the spirits had once been human. Some of them, including the chief Ámuktúlik, had killed men when he too was human.

Ámuktúlik called for his drum and directed Manína: "I shall sing a song from the mainland. You must learn as I sing it."

Instead of stopping at the end, he went into a series of songs. Then Ámuktúlik handed Manína the drum and ordered: "Sing! If you have not learned my songs, my spirits will eat you!"

In spite of the uncouth articulation of the chief, and the unfamiliar mainland songs, Manína had learned easily and well. When he had finished, all the spirits yelled in delight. Ámuktúlik said: "We shall leave this medicine-man whom we have helped in the past. Now we shall be the spirit-powers of Manína. Where are you from?"

"I am not a King Island man. I have come from Little Diomede."

"We are now your spirit-powers. When you return to your village,

we shall go with you. Now go above and. repeat these songs."

Again above, Manína gave so many new songs that his group easily won the song and dancing contest. Aided by his spirit-power, which gave him a fair wind, Manína returned to Little Diomede quickly. Following his return, he became a great medicine-man and cured many sick people, regardless of their ailment.

During the winter, the chief spirit-power, Ámuktúlik, commanded Manína to go under the ice, so that there would be many seals in the spring. Manína knew that if he refused, the spirits would eat him; he knew that medicine-men must do as their spirit-powers ordered. The people cut a hole in the ice and collected all their ropes, which they tied together. These they piled inside the men's house in two great stacks, making an end of each coil fast to the entrance posts. In the evening they bound Manína, who was clad in waterproof parka and long mittens, his hands behind his back and his ankles fastened together. While most of the men remained inside, several of them carried Manína, as soon as possessed by his powers, to the hole in the ice and cast him into the black, swirling water. Then they ran back to the men's house. After the lines ran out to the final ends and Manína was far below the surface, two men and a woman grasped each rope and hauled in. As soon as Manína was dragged through the entrance, his spirit-powers left him. The people quickly unbound and unclothed him. They found seal whiskers in his right mitten. These were distributed among the boat crews. A great catch of seal was made that year.

The next winter Ámuktúlik ordered Manína to have his head cut off and thrown into the sea. Men thereupon cut a hole in the ice and gathered in the men's house after dark. Manína ordered all lights out and brought a single stone lamp to the middle of the floor. Then he ordered his elder brother to use a fire-drill on his right eye. The brother twirled the drill rapidly, so that very soon the eye of Manína glowed with flame. This flame he put in the stone lamp and from it lighted all the lamps in the room. Next, two men held a waterproof parka under the entrance hole, while Manína lay flat on his back, head hanging over the hole. His eldest brother snatched out a long, sharp knife and cut off Manína's head. As it dropped into the waterproof parka, the two men folded it and ran to the hole in the ice, where they cast It into the water. The headless body was thrust down through the entrance hole. There the spirits ate it. The two men, bearers of the head, re-

turned quickly and reported that as they came through the entrance the body was gone. The people covered the entrance hole with a mat and commenced to sing. At the end of the third song the eldest brother became worried, and wailed, "Why did the people listen to him when he wanted his head cut off?"

At the end of the fourth song, the mat was lifted and all saw Manína standing in the entrance bole, as well as ever and with his head on his shoulders.

His power thenceforth greatly increased. Manína could pull from his body anything people asked for. He brought schools of fish, herds of walrus and seal, and whales, to Little Diomede. The following summer, when the chief spirit-power, Ámuktúlik, ordered Manína to have him self burned alive, he objected.

"If you refuse to be burned, I and the spirit-powers shall eat you," was the threat.

"But I have no wood for a fire," objected Manína.

"We shall give wood. In the morning you will see a tree with many branches drifting in to shore that will furnish enough wood."

Manína knew that spirits feared bird-droppings, and that if any fell on him while being burned, the spirits might not be able to bring him back to life. After hearing this objection, Ámuktúlik answered: "The birds may leave droppings on you. You need not be burned."

In the fall, when the ice was coming down from the north, Ámuktúlik, chief of the spirit-powers, ordered Manína to kill his son when the ice was in. Manína sat day after day in the men's house, grieving and worrying that he could not raise his son Túktuk from the dead. When the ice came in, Manína still sat in the men's house, disregarding the instructions of the spirits. Then the wound where his head had been cut off opened and bled freely. He grew so weak that he could not talk. When he ordered preparations made for the slaying of his son, the wound healed and he recovered the use of his voice. Two grass mats from Kotzebue, and a long knife, were brought in. A man was chosen to drum for the people; two others in waterproof parkas screened off one end of the room with a single grass mat. All lamps were lighted. Manína stood in the entrance hole with the knife and called Túktuk, his son, to him. At the end of several songs by the people, Manína cried and kissed his son. Quickly then he thrust the long blade in the neck of Túktuk. The two men caught the body and

shoved it behind the curtain. Manína at once stabbed himself, and his body slumped down into the entrance. Then the entrance hole was covered with the second mat. While the people sang, they heard spirits sucking the blood from the two bodies. When all songs were ended, Túktuk crawled from the curtain and Manína stood up in the entrance hole, their wounds healed. The power of Manína greatly increased, and his fame spread far.

Again he was instructed by Ámuktúlik, chief of the spirit-powers: "This fall you must make masks just like us and one like yourself. This is the last thing for you to do, and this dance to be held will be all in fun. Bring the masks and a woman's decorated parka to the men's house. Then cut off your fingers with an adze and throw them to the dogs."

All summer Manína was busy making masks, and he also made one to represent his first spirit-power, before the King Island spirits had come to him and before he was a medicine-man. This spirit, Kangína, was but half a person from head to heels, and the other spirits feared him.

When the people gathered that fall in the men's house, Manína cut off his fingers with an adze and flung the severed members to the dogs. Then he reached his hands through the entrance hole, withdrew them, and the people saw that he once more had fingers. Manína covered the entrance hole with the decorated parka and surrounded it with all his masks.

While all watched, Ámuktúlik, chief spirit-power, slipped into the parka from below. Hiding his face behind his raised forearm, he picked up and fastened on his mask. Then he danced while the people sang. At the end he dropped the mask and disappeared through the entrance hole. Each spirit-power danced in turn, and the half-man spirit, who had to have some one hold the drum because he had only one arm, danced longest. The people liked his dance best and called him back several times.

When through with the dance, Manína gathered up all the masks in a waterproof parka and stored them away. The people still hold these dances. Even now, when a spirit comes to a medicine-man, he must act like his spirit. If the spirit-power is a walrus, the medicine-man must go through all the movements performed by a walrus.

One spring some Siberians, among them a medicine-man, visited

Little Diomede, and, as was customary, were asked to dance and sing. After the singing, Manína placed a bead in a sling and cast it in the sea. He called, "Bead, return!"

When the bead returned, Manína was unable to find it. He called for a walrus-stomach drumhead, and, holding this outstretched, circled before all the people and visitors. Each time he passed the Siberian medicine-man he went very slowly. He then ran twice about the room very fast. He struck the Siberian medicine-man with the walrus stomach and ran back a few steps. When Manína shook the stomach, the bead rolled from it. As soon as the Siberian medicine-man returned to his own village, he dropped dead.

Manína was the greatest medicine-man ever on Little Diomede. His fame spread to the Alaskan and Siberian mainlands. He cured all sick, brought sea animals in the hunting seasons, and broke up the ice when it filled the straits.

## THE STORY OF ÚBUK[2]

Long, long ago, when a gravel bar extended from Little Diomede almost to Big Diomede, a couple came to live on it. No one knows whence they came. The woman said, "The people will live here forever, and never die out."

The man answered: "No; if the people live here and multiply fast, they will find it hard to feed a great number."

From this man and woman descended the people of Little Diomede. They subsisted mainly on walrus, which in those days pulled up on each side of the gravel bar. In the fall the walrus came up under the ice and poked their heads through to breathe. Even when ice is thick enough to bear a man's weight, walrus can thrust their noses through.

Úbuk, a good hunter, for sport often ran along the ice, slashing walrus on the cheeks as they came up to breathe. One day Úbuk speared a walrus by the edge of the ice. It dragged him to the edge, and when he tried to let go the line, he found his hands stuck fast. He splashed in the sea and was carried far under. Coming to the surface, the walrus, a female, caught Úbuk and rubbed her flippers over his

2 Compare the Prince of Wales story of The Man Taught by Walrus

eyes. Then Úbuk saw as a walrus. She stripped him of clothes and they started south, joining the herd to go to the home of the walrus. When they dived to feed, Úbuk was the last to reach bottom; when they rose to pursue their journey, he was always behind. They fed on clams, eating fast, but Úbuk was slow and never got his fill. He became starved, thin, and weak. He was instructed: "When it is time to go below, look up into the sky and pick out a cloud. Then kick hard, as if you were trying to touch the cloud, and you will go to the bottom fast. While feeding, do not open the clams and pick them out, but swallow them whole, as we do. Then you will get your fill."

Úbuk soon regained his strength, and was able to dive and come up as rapidly as any. After a long journey, the walrus arrived at their home in the south. There, to Úbuk, they seemed like humans, living in houses and burying their dead behind the village. He saw many with scars on their cheeks, and was told that he had caused them. Úbuk, craving the food of humans, sometimes cut meat from the dead. The herd objected strongly to this disturbance of bodies, but the chief ordered: "Let him eat. Walrus are the food of humans."

He noticed that the walrus went out in bands each summer, some going to the mainland or to Siberia, others to the Diomede islands, but all returning to winter together in the village. He travelled and lived with them for four years, becoming like a walrus, with hair growing on his body and arms. Once when his band came up on the shore ice south of his village on Little Diomede, Úbuk broke away and ran home. The village and home smelled so strongly that Úbuk set up a tent of walrus-skin some distance away, and there lived until he could become used to the odor. His mother dug roots and brought them to him to eat. After a long time he was able to go home.

Whenever the walrus on their migrations came by, Úbuk took a boatload of roots out to them. He often dived under the ice and brought a waterproof parka filled with clams from the bottom to the villagers, because clams near the Diomedes are found only in very deep water. When the people needed meat, Úbuk went to the mountain, called four times like a walrus, and the herd would come to the island.

Úbuk told the people that when he became old he would not die on the island, but would go to the home of the walrus. One day Úbuk disappeared, and all knew that he had gone to the walrus.

## SEA-MAN AND MOON-MAN

A man, a great seal-netter who always kept a full cache beneath the floor, lived with his wife, two sons, and a dog. One winter, when the straits were solid with ice, so that no fishing or hunting could be done, the people began to starve. The man died, and his family existed only by devouring his seal-nets.

One morning, during a cold north wind-storm, the elder of the sons set out with his walking-stick to see if he could find anything on the shore which might be good to eat. Far from the village he found a peculiar conical object on the ice. It sounded hollow when struck by the walking-stick. A very heavy blow toppled it over, revealing a hole beneath. Looking through, the young man saw another world beneath the water. While curiously craning his neck, his body slid through, in spite of frantic efforts to recover his balance, so that he fell far below, limbs sprawling, until at last he struck bottom. While lying dazed, he heard the sound of chopping. Following the noise, the youth came to a house, where, beside the entrance, a man was cutting up wood with an adze. The man invited him inside, and his wife fed the young man whale meat. He ate voraciously, for it was his first meal in a long while.

The man asked: "What are the people doing in your village? How are they getting along?"

"We have no food. The people are very thin and worn. My father starved to death."

"Spend the night here; you can go home in the morning."

The youth remained overnight, though he lay awake long, puzzling how he was to reach the hole far above. In the morning, his host inquired, "How many people are there in your home?"

"There are only my mother, one brother, and our dog."

The wife then gave the youth a long strip of whale blubber and meat. The man asked another question, "When your father was alive, how did he hunt?"

"He always hunted seal with nets."

"Your village is surrounded by solid ice, so you cannot fish or hunt. Take this staff, which has an ice-pick on one end and a scoop on the other. At home go outside the village, out of sight, and strike the ice with the pick, Something will happen. Spread the net, and if you get something you can not kill, touch its head with the stick. Do not take

this pick home, but bury it under snow near where you make holes."

The man brought out a large top, as wide and taller than a man. The young man, pick in hand, grasped the top's pole. Then the host spun the top, which rose in air and glided through the hole in the ice. The young man dropped the top back through the ice, and went home. The family were weeping for him; they had thought him lost or dead. He removed his parka and cut a small piece from the whale strip. It swelled until it was large enough to provide a huge meal for the entire family. They soon became well and healthy.

One evening the youth took net and ice-pick and went far to the north of the village. He chose a suitable place, struck the ice with the pick, and it cracked until there was a large space of open water. Next he scooped ice away from the hole and set the net. As soon as he felt it drag, he hauled in a large seal, which he killed by touching its head with the pick. All night the youth netted, until he had a great pile of seal. Then going back for the whole village, after hiding his pick near the hole, he had them haul in the catch. All the village, and even the people on Big Diomede, feasted, and soon were strong again. The youth became a great hunter, always keeping a filled cache and giving away much meat to others. One night, when he went to find his pick, it was gone. There were no tracks; it had disappeared. In despair, he went to where he had fallen to the world below. There he wept and cried all night. In the morning the cone-like object appeared beside him. This he rolled aside, dropped through the hole, and went to the Sea-man's home. The Sea-man, upon hearing the tale, asked his wife to bring his sealskin hunting bag. From it he drew a long piece of seaweed. As soon as he flung the seaweed to the floor, it became a boat crew of eight men. Then Sea-man called for his broad-bladed steering paddle. The handle was on a swivel, so that it could be turned in any direction; and set in the handle were two eyes. Sea-man asked the paddle, naming all the villages thereabout, " Is the person who stole my ice-pick in any of these villages?"

"No one from these villages stole the ice-pick."

"Did Sun take it?"

"No."

"Did Moon take it?"

"Yes."

"Young man, you will have to recover the ice-pick yourself. These

men will carry you to the moon. When you get there, ask for the pick. If Moon-man refuses to give it back, let my paddle steal his wife and bring her here."

The youth, paddle in hand, sat amidships and the crew took their places in the boat. They paddled up, through the hole, and then in the air toward the moon. Arrived there, the young man got out and approached a home where he saw Moon-man adzing wood. The man confronted the youth, who said, "I have come for my ice-pick."

"I did not take it. I have everything of my own which I need."

"I am told by the man who lives on the sea-bottom that you took it."

Moon-man denied all knowledge of the ice-pick, so the young man returned to his boat, but, unnoticed by Moon-man, he first threw his paddle into the entranceway of the house. Moonman's wife, startled by the clatter, rose and bent over the paddle. She saw the eyes staring at her. Curiously, she poked it with a foot. Her foot stuck to the paddle, and she was unable to release it. Desperately she kicked with the other foot, but it too became fast to the paddle. Then losing her balance, she fell to the floor. The paddle bore her to the boat and they quickly set out back to earth. Then the youth went home, while the boat crew with the paddle and Moon-man's wife went to the sea-bottom.

Near midnight the young man was awakened by something striking the smoke-hole. The voice of Moon-man called through: "I have brought your ice-pick! Return my wife to me!

"I shall not get your wife. Find her yourself!"

"I shall pay you anything for her. I shall make you the strongest man in the village," offered Moon-man; but the youth only answered as before.

"I shall make you the best hunter on earth."

"No. You must get your wife yourself."

"I shall make you a great medicine-man."

"No. You must find your wife yourself."

"Come out and see what I shall give you."

In curiosity, the young man dressed and went out. Moon-man said: " I shall give you this ivory hook. With it you can reach out and pull in anything in the world that you wish. I shall show you the man from Big Diomede who used to visit your father."

Moon-man reached over to Big Diomede with his hook and dragged back a man who was still sleeping. "This man often came to your father's house. You too can do this. I shall put the man back where I got him."

The youth accepted the ivory hook and took back his ice-pick. Then he guided Moon-man down to the sea-bottom through the hole in the ice to get back his wife. Arrived there, Sea-man rushed out of his house and began to beat both of his visitors severely, shouting the while to the youth: "What did Moon-man pay you to do this? I told you to refuse all offers from him!"

Sea-man stopped the beating, and Moon-man said: "I gave him an ivory hook with a supernatural power. For my wife I shall give you this spear. See! There is a polar bear! Watch!"

With the spear Moon-man reached far away and touched the bear. It fell over dead. Pacified by the offer, and greatly desirous of such a weapon, Sea-man replied: "I shall return your wife for that spear. It will be an easy way to hunt. I shall not take you above; you must get up by yourselves."

Moon-man declared: "Watch us! Something will take us back."

A ladder appeared, reaching far above through the hole in the ice. Moon-man and his wife, dragging the youth by his wrists, climbed. On the earth's surface, before leaving for the moon, Moon-man said: "O, youth, now I am pleased. I have my wife again. I gave you the ivory hook. Whenever you want anything, no matter how far away, reach out the hook and you will get it."

The youth, with ice-pick and hook, became a great hunter and married a young woman from Big Diomede island.

One time, on the far side of the mountain, he caught a mouse by the tail just as it was about to dive in a hole. He skinned it alive and flung down the body. Mouse, in great pain, ran home where her young ones, frightened at seeing her thus, hid whimpering. That night Mouse told her young: "That youth was helped by Moon-man and the man down below."

Then she went to the young man's home, where all were sleeping. Across the entrance she raised her paws over her head and slapped them so hard on the floor that all arose and looked at her. Immediately the youth, his wife, and all the family became old people, wrinkled, doddering, and just about at the point of death. She ran over their bod-

ies and went through the entrance and then up the slope behind the village. The youth, with his entire family, followed Mouse over the mountain. Where they went from there, no one knows.

## THE BIG DIOMEDE MEDICINE-MAN

A man, a powerful medicine-man and formerly a killerwhale who now had become human, lived with his son across the mountain. When the son became seriously ill, many medicine-men were called in, but although much food and many gifts were presented, none could cure or find the cause of the malady. Then the boy died. Instead of being buried, the body was placed in the back of the room and medicine-men were gathered from all around to try to raise the dead. The father gave each a huge bowl of food to test his supernatural powers, but none could eat all, and none could bring back the son's spirit. The distracted father brought all the medicine-men first from the Alaskan mainland, and then from the Siberian shore. None could raise the boy.

As a final resort, the father invited the only medicine-man left, one from Big Diomede who had no reputation for being powerful. This man was able to eat all the meat in the bowl, and the father said, "If you succeed, I shall give you the hind-quarters of a whale, because I am a great whale-hunter."

The medicine-man, after eating, commenced to drum and sing. Soon his spirit left the body, still drumming, and travelled all night over the world, asking every living thing if it had seen the boy's spirit. At dawn his spirit returned, and the medicine-man reported: "I have travelled all over the world, asking every living creature if it had seen or heard of your son's spirit. I could not find it."

"All medicine-men and I too have tried to raise him. I shall bury him in the morning, because I can find no one else to try."

"Let me attempt it once more, tonight," urged the man from Big Diomede.

After talking all day, then eating a pan of meat, the medicine-man drummed, sang, and sent out his spirit once more. When it returned, he said: "I have travelled all through the sea, asking every living creature if it had seen or heard of your son's spirit. I was unable to find him."

"You have tried again and failed. At daylight I shall bury my son."

"No, let me have one more trial."

The medicine-man's spirit, sent forth again, went out the entrance-way under the house, and to the rear. There he saw two pairs of tracks leading into the sky. He knew then that the Sky people had stolen the boy's spirit, so he followed through the air, arriving after a long journey in a land in the sky. There he saw a house with a bird perched on each corner of the roof

— crane, loon, eider-duck, and ptarmigan. At his approach, they protested loudly. He turned into a blade of grass, whereat the birds ceased their shrill calls; but each time he tried to approach closer as a human, the birds shrieked. Then he became a mouse, and entered the dwelling unperceived by the birds, but four spirit-powers of the house-owner saw him. They remained quiet, neither saying anything nor calling out in alarm. The house had two stories; the one below a men's room inhabited by the spirit-powers, one sitting on each bench along each wall, while the owner lived alone above.

The owner of the house, the Sky-man, shouted down to his spirit-powers: "Some one must be approaching! The birds called warnings, but I can see no one! One of you come up here!"

The chief spirit-power thrust head and shoulders through the up-stairs opening, and said: "You know that there is no sign of any human about. Those birds he sometimes."

The chief then returned to his place and instructed the others, "When our owner sends for you, do not tell him about that mouse we saw enter."

The second spirit told Sky-man: "There is no one near here. The birds have lied."

The third declared, "If any one had come here, we should have told you."

The fourth complained to his owner: "You know that I am the weakest of your powers. There was no need to call me when you knew that the others had found nothing."

In the presence of the other spirits, the chief instructed the medicine-man's spirit, which now had changed from the mouse to spirit form: " You can go upstairs now. You will be asked by Sky-man to show what you can do, so go outside and enter from the smoke-hole. If you succeed in overcoming him, refuse all his offers until he gives us to you."

As the medicine-man's spirit was entering the room above, he

heard Sky-man muttering to himself: "There must be a human about. Those birds always make a noise when any one approaches, but those spirits below sometimes lie to me."

Then the medicine-man's spirit saw the boy's spirit for which he had been searching in the room. At the same time he was discovered and told by Sky-man: "This is the first time that any human or human spirit has entered my house. I have known medicine-men all over the world, but none has ever been strong enough to come up here. Why did you come?"

"I came for the spirit of that boy."

"You came to get him, but you can not take him."

"I shall take him."

"He must stay. I took him because I like him. Now you must show me your powers. Wife, bring my drum."

The medicine-man's spirit took the drum from Sky-man's wife, and sang, calling on one of his powers. A snowbird entered, and when Sky-man struck at it, the bird disappeared. Sky man laughed scornfully: "Your power is so weak it does not amount to anything. Why did you come here, since you have powers fit only to be laughed at?"

While the medicine-man's spirit was drumming, he called, unknown to Sky-man, a hair-seal, which began to undermine the house. Next he called a gull, and Sky-man derided: " Here is another weak power. Watch me drive it away!"

The medicine-man's spirit, now angry, then brought in a many-legged monster of the sea. Sky-man, in terror, jumped back and cried: "Send that away! I shall let you take back the boy's spirit!"

As the sea-monster power was being drummed away, the hair-seal carried the house down to earth on his back and brought it to the boy's home. Then the medicine-man's spirit put aside the drum, and said to Sky-man: "I shall take the boy home. Your house is now on earth."

"You are very powerful, and you reached my country in the sky, but no medicine-man has the power to bring my house to earth."

"You know it is lighter up above in the sky than here on earth. If you doubt my word, go out and see for yourself. If you refuse to let me take this boy, I shall call back my sea-monster power."

Sky-man went out, returned, and walled: " I am on earth. Take the boy's spirit, but do not bring back your sea-monster. Send me back to my land in the sky!"

"You are a medicine-man. I shall not help you. Go back by your own powers." "I shall give you half of my powers if you will carry me back," said Sky-man.

The medicine-man, remembering the instructions of the chief spirit-power, refused. "You are not very strong, but you must go back by yourself," he declared.

"I shall give all four of my spirit-powers if you will send me back," protested Sky-man.

Then the medicine-man returned Sky-man and his house to the land above, but kept the four spirits, who belonged to him thereafter. Next he took the boy's spirit to the father's house and raised the body, so that the boy was alive and well once more. The boy, on becoming a hunter, brought much game to the medicine-man, and thenceforth was as a son and hunter to him.

## SÍUKTÍNYI AND ÁNGASUK

Three brothers, all married, lived together in one home. The eldest, Síuktínyi, so hairy that his skin was completely covered and hidden, was a powerful medicine-man. He had four forms: seal, whale, cormorant, and a knife. He always instructed his brothers to keep a careful lookout to the north, because, said he, something would come from there some day. The others continually scoffed, "No one will ever come from the north, because there is no land in that direction."

One day a speck appeared on the horizon to the north. As it grew larger, the watchers discerned a large boat with a crew of eight men. It followed the island coast to the village and landed. All were strangers to the villagers, but were welcomed, as are all newcomers, and taken to the home of the brothers. Síuktínyi asked: "Whence came you? Where is your village? Why have you sailed here?"

"Our headman has sent us to bring you to our village. We shall let you return soon."

Síuktínyi asked his brothers: "What shall I do? Shall I go with the strangers?"

They answered: "Do you not know? You are a medicine-man."

He decided: "You, my brothers, do not want me to go, so I shall stay here. Let the strangers depart without me."

The wind, which had blown from the north steadily for a long time, veered to the south the following morning, and the strangers

made ready to sail away. All the village went to the shore, but Síuktínyi remained in his home. just as the boat was launched and the stern pushed out, Síuktínyi rushed down, a long knife in a sheath under his arm, caught the stern-line, and pulled the boat back. Taking off the knife and presenting it to the steersman, he said: "Give this to your headman. It will take my place, because it represents me."

At their village the steersman gave the knife to the headman, Ángasuk, who was also a medicine-man. Ángasuk, a great whaler, used the knife to cut off flukes and flippers. His two wives examined it closely, because it was something new. When Ángasuk did not go whaling, he hung the knife from a peg on the back wall. One time a watcher called, "Whale! Whale!" In the hurry to launch his boat, Ángasuk forgot the knife, and in the bustle, unnoticed by the crew, an orphan boy slipped aboard. In the chase, each time when about to harpoon, the whale sounded. The whale was one of the forms of Síuktínyi.

In the house of Ángasuk, one of the wives saw the knife shake, then fall to the floor, where it stuck, quivering, in the wood. At once it changed into Síuktínyi. He said to the women: "I have stayed here too long. I am homesick and am going back to my village." He snatched the younger and prettier wife of Ángasuk, swallowed her, turned into a cormorant, and flew away. As he flew over the whale boat, the orphan boy pointed, and shouted, "I never saw a bird like that before!" The whale form of Síuktínyi sounded and never was seen again, so the boat went home.

Síuktínyi flew home to Little Diomede. There he vomited forth the girl and took her as his second wife. Síuktínyi had a tall pole before his house, with a live hawk chained to it. The Hawk could see anywhere in the world and tell what was happening: it foretold future events; it gave notice of any one's approach to the village. Síuktínyi drummed, and asked Hawk to find Ángasuk. After long drumming, he questioned, "Did you see Ángasuk, the medicine-man?"

"I saw him once, but he has hidden. I can not find him now."

All summer they tried to find him, but failed. In the fall, many walrus came down with the ice, so that the village was very busy hunting. All boats had gone out, except that of Síuktínyi and his brothers. Hawk called: "I still see nothing of Ángasuk, but there are birds diving for fish near our village. There is something strange about one."

Then, as other boats came in laden with meat, the brothers shoved

off. Síuktínyi, a rope about his waist, rushed to the shore at the last moment and clambered in over the stern. The walrus had left the shore ice, so the boat followed them into the straits to the floes. The brothers paddled hard to pass between two large bergs before they could come together. Suddenly, with a terrific rumbling and grinding, the floes crashed, crushing the boat.

Síuktínyi, when he regained consciousness, was sitting on the sea-bottom, the dead bodies of his brothers around him. He saw a large salmon swimming slowly near him. He knew that the fish was Ángasuk and that he had caused the ice to smash the boat. Síuktínyi swallowed his brothers, turned into a spotted seal, and chased the salmon, which he also gorged. Then he swam home and vomited forth his brothers, alive and well, and Ángasuk. He gave back his wife to Ángasuk, and told his brothers: "I must find out why Ángasuk came here. Bring me an adze and an ivory tusk."

For a long time Síuktínyi deliberated, but said nothing. Finally, he addressed Ángasuk: "You will never go back to your home. You will stay here for the rest of your life and make spear-points, nothing else."

## THE ORPHAN WHO RAISED THE DEAD

The daughter of a wealthy man died, and was buried on the mountain-side, Although the medicine-men from up and down the coast, stimulated by offers of great reward, did their best to raise her, none was successful. The daughter's spirit went up and down the coast trying to find some good hunter to help her. She found none on the Alaskan mainland, and only two on the Siberian shore who might be of some use. At last, coming to the village of Kúma, on Big Diomede, she found a hunter who could carry out her instructions.

In the morning, this hunter, seeing the weather to be calm and young ice forming, picked up harpoons, carrying the coiled line about his neck, and went out. He heard a hair-seal blowing through a hole, and carefully crept to it. Then when the seal breathed again, he thrust the harpoon downward. Immediately he lost consciousness. When he revived, he found himself standing on the sea-bottom, a woman beside him. She explained: "I came here to get you. I died, and my father had many medicine-men try to raise me, but none could do so. I have looked about for some good hunter to help me. I have found you after a long search. Here, take this harpoon-point; it possesses a power.

There is an orphan in my village, not yet a medicine-man, who is to raise me, but you must help."

The spirit-woman and man walked far on the sea-bottom; above was ice. As the sea became shallower, the ice drew closer until it touched their heads. They emerged through an ice crack and went up the mountain to her grave. There she instructed: "This is the grave containing my body. I shall enter, but you must remain here until night. When you see a stirring, roll off the stones and lay aside the boards and wrappings. First I shall sit up and then stand. You must put your arms about me. Do not be afraid, but remain, even if you are alarmed. No harm will come to you." With these words her spirit vanished into the grave.

All day he watched. After dark, he detected a movement in the grave. The hunter was frightened, but remained, because, he thought: " I can not run. I am very far from home. This spirit-woman promised no harm would come to me."

The man rolled aside stones, pulled off boards, and raised the body to a sitting position. It fell forward again, breathing out fire four times, and then sat up as if just awaking. The girl said, "I am very glad you have helped me, for I shall soon be alive again." He held her in his arms as she arose. Then she exclaimed: "Listen! That orphan is about to begin. I hear drumming and singing in the men's house." They walked toward the village. Meanwhile the orphan, as he was conjuring, said to the girl's father: "I have seen your daughter approaching with some one who walks on the ground. He must be a human. He is wearing an auklet parka and carries a harpoon and line."

The father, pleased, answered, "If you succeed in raising my daughter, I shall give you a kaiak with equipment, and fill it with seal meat and oil."

On the way down the mountainside, the girl, still part spirit, told the hunter: "The orphan has already seen us. My father offered him a kaiak filled with seal meat and oil. The orphan does not know where you are from. Now my father offers more riches. The orphan is telling him we are behind the men's house."

Then the orphan said to the father: "Your daughter and this human are now in the entranceway. They are coming in."

As the two came up through the entrance hole, the father recognized his daughter and sprang toward her, but was stopped by the

orphan, who explained that he was not quite finished in his conjuring to return her to life.

After all was done, the father embraced her. He gave the orphan an umiak, a kaiak, half his wealth, and even offered his daughter to wife. The orphan refused her, saying that because the Big Diomede man had done most of the raising, he should have the girl. The Big Diomede hunter married the daughter and took her to his own village, while the orphan became the wealthiest and most powerful medicine-man in the village.

## STORY OF ÚNGUKTÚNGUK

No one knows where Únguktúnguk obtained his power, but all knew that after drifting to sea on an ice-floe and returning with a frozen heel, he became a medicine-man.

One time he made two sets of masks and brought them into the men's house, where were all the people. After men put on the masks and danced, Únguktúnguk ordered a large piece of ice with a hole in it to be placed over the entrance hole. His seal-power took possession of him, and he went under the piece of ice. He came up to the hole three times, blowing like a seal. When he rose a fourth time, the chief dancer harpooned Únguktúnguk through the head. He bled profusely, and all present saw the weapon with attached line through his head. He then disappeared below the entrance hole, and men pulled in the line with the harpoon on the end. Soon Únguktúnguk, his seal-spirit gone, reappeared as well as before.

One summer, when two boats failed to return to the village, he announced that he would fly through the air looking for them. As is customary when medicine-men prepare to fly, all the people crowded into the men's house. There they blocked up entranceway and smoke-hole, stripped Únguktúnguk to the loins, tied his hands and feet, and laid him on a bench. Sealskin trousers were hung from beams for him to use as wings. On the floor below him they placed a plank with sharp knife-points inserted and pointing upward. To his body they attached a long rope, with a sharp knife at the end. Únguktúnguk directed: "When I fly, you must all shut your eyes. Whomsoever looks will be stabbed with this long knife trailing behind me. I shall find those lost boats."

All lights were extinguished, and two men pulled Únguktúnguk

off the bench, so that he fell on the sharp knife-points. Then his hawk-spirit entered his body and cried out loudly. They heard him flying about the room with a great flapping of the trousers used as wings. At his bidding, men lit the lamps again, and all saw him sitting on the floor, chest bleeding. Although he was still tied, the sealskin trousers, his wings, were on his arms. The long line with the knife was woven in and out among the overhead beams. Three times he flew about the room, and then commanded: " I shall fly once more; then light the lamps and look for me. If I am not here, sing until I return."

When they looked for him, he was gone, although the entrance-way and smoke-hole were still blocked. They sang all his songs, and at the end heard him call faintly from outside. Three men rushed out and found Únguktúnguk hanging on a drying rack. He was chilled through, but his nipples were the coldest. They carried him in the men's house, and he said: "I flew up in the air to go over to Cape Prince of Wales. Then the rope and knife caught on a drying rack and dragged me down. That is a sign that I can not find the lost boats and that I must not fly again."

Únguktúnguk often went under the sea, and then there was good walrus- and seal-hunting for the village. On the sea-bottom he saw ropes used by former medicine-men when they were lowered down. Down there he set up a large stone, thinking that his son, after he himself had died and turned over his powers, would get it.

One time he decided to give his supernatural powers to his son by both going to the sea-bottom together. The night before, he called all the people into the men's house and spent the whole night telling stories of medicine-men. The next day men cut a hole in the ice and prepared the lines to lower father and son. The son was naked when bound, though he felt no cold. Únguktúnguk was clad in waterproof parka and mittens. When they were cast into the sea together through the hole in the ice, their bodies broke though a thin scum of shell ice. This was an evil omen for Únguktúnguk, for the hole should remain free of ice. They were soon pulled up by the men and women inside the men's house. The son became a medicine-man, but in the following year Únguktúnguk died.

## STORY OF UNURÚTUK

In the men's house all the people were gathered to watch the med-

icine-men in their incantations. Among these latter were Unurútuk, clad only in a reindeer robe and boots, and his cousin, also a medicine-man. When Unurútuk announced his intention to visit the land below, two men doubted his ability. Bidding these come with him and watch, and instructing his cousin to keep the people informed as to his progress, he went out. As he passed the last house, he stumbled and fell. A little farther he fell so hard that his head burrowed under the ground. Falling a third time, he was nearly buried. Then Unurútuk instructed the two men, "If I fall again and do not rise, you must run back to the men's house."

Unurútuk stumbled once more, and this time his body sank completely out of sight in the earth. After waiting a long time, the two men ran back to the men's house, where they told what had happened. The cousin of Unurútuk took a drum, and, beating softly, intoned what Unurútuk was doing: "He is now far below. I see him going in the entrance of the spirits' house. He comes out. One of you men build a fire on top of this men's house to guide him." Soon he cried: "Unurútuk is returning! He is near! I can hear him on the roof! He is coming in here!"

Unurútuk, robe and body covered with earth, howling like a dog as he always did when possessed by his spirit, circled the room several times before sitting. Then the spirit left him. He beat the drum, pulled some whale-bones from his mouth, and said: "On my way back, a medicine-man in a grave asked me for some of these bones, but I refused him. In some way he made me drop a few. I shall give one to this medicine-man who built the fire which guided me, and without which I should have been lost and missed the village. The bone will bring him a whale. To boat-owners I shall give the rest, but they must be careful not to miss whales when harpooning. I went only in the entrance to the spirits' house, because they informed me that I must come four times, once each year, before I can go inside. On my fourth journey below I shall be gone two days and two nights, and one of the spirits will take me around the world. Then I shall have great power."

In the following spring, all boats speared whales, but each man lost his whale because the medicine-man in the grave had stolen some of the whale-bones from Unurútuk. As he was preparing to go below on his second trip, a child died in the village and was buried on the mountainside. Because this grave blocked his way, Unurútuk followed

the shore before diving down through the earth. On his return, he distributed walrus whiskers to medicine-men and boat-owners, saying, " I have brought these things from the land below, so that our people will have much walrus meat."

That spring the people made such a large catch of walrus that it lasted more than a year. A third time Unurútuk went to the land below, diving through the earth after the fourth stumble, as he had done before. This time he went up the mountainside, because the grave no longer blocked his way. Returning, he distributed seal whiskers, with the result that a great seal-killing was made the following spring.

As Unurútuk prepared for his fourth and last journey to the spirits below, on which he was to be taken around the world in two days and two nights and given great power, an epidemic of sickness came to Little Diomede, during which Unurútuk died.

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