

in the harbor of Victoria. The assistance was promptly rendered, just in time, it was claimed, to prevent disaster; opinions on that subject were, however, divided. In due time the English man-of-war was relieved by a similar vessel of the United States navy, and since that time a vessel of that class has been constantly stationed in the harbor of Sitka, affording protection and assisting the inhabitants of southeastern Alaska in various ways.

Ledges of gold-bearing quartz had been discovered in the vicinity of Sitka before the removal of the troops, but considerable difficulty was encountered in securing the necessary capital to open the mines; but finally some capitalists in Portland, Oregon, formed a company, and for a time the prospects of Sitka were once more brightened. A stamp-mill was erected, but, though numbers of other claims were located and opened, the ore existing here was found to be of a very low grade, and would not even pay for the most economical mode of working. For years the enterprise was kept up in the constant hope of "strikes" of better ore, but at present the Sitka quartz-mines are practically abandoned. On the coast of the mainland in the vicinity of Wrangell a surface-mining camp of small extent has been in existence for several years, yielding a small profit to two or three proprietors of the claims. The most promising discovery of the kind was made at the end of the season of 1880 on the coast between Takoo and Chilkhat inlets. The gold found here is said to exist both on the surface and in quartz-veins, and rich specimens were forwarded to Portland and San Francisco, resulting in a rush of miners and speculators during the spring of 1881, and a town sprang up which has boasted of three names during its brief existence—Harrisburg, Rockville, and Juneau City. The mail-service was extended to this place, and shipments of bullion were actually made, the exact value of which cannot be ascertained. Of the value of this discovery it is impossible to judge at such an early date, but upon its success depends the development of at least this section of Alaska in the immediate future. In the meantime, in the absence of all legislation on the subject, Alaska remains as it has been, an abnormal appendage to our states and territories—not a territory even in name—only a district for the collection of customs.

CHAPTER V.—NOTES ON ALASKAN ETHNOLOGY.

The native tribes of Alaska offer a vast field for the labors of students of North American ethnology. Thus far they have only been roughly grouped in families and tribes by various writers, many of whom, possessing no personal knowledge of the subject, have built up theories from the notes of incompetent and casual observers. As an instance of this we may cite that casual remark of travelers on the facial similarity existing between certain Aleutian individuals and the Japanese resulted in the positive and reiterated assertion by scientific writers that the former migrated to their present homes from eastern Asia—a theory now thoroughly exploded by recent authorities.

Our knowledge of the distribution and classification of the tribes in the extreme northwest is still very limited, and years of careful investigation will be required to enable us to arrive at any satisfactory result and to attain to any degree of accuracy. Some fragmentary ethnological material from Russian-America has been furnished in times past by Russian and German writers; Veniaminof, Davidof, Zagoskin, Wehrman, Baer, Wrangell, Holmberg, and others have given to the scientific world valuable contributions on this subject. Veniaminof (who died but a few years ago in Moscow as the metropolite or primate of the Russian church) was one of the most reliable and painstaking investigators, but his personal observations were limited to the Aleutian islands and the Alexander archipelago. Davidof, an officer of the Russian navy, visited the island of Kadiak and the adjoining continental coast at the beginning of the present century, and Holmberg also devoted himself chiefly to the Kadiak and Sitka districts. To L. Zagoskin, a lieutenant of the Russian navy, we owe our first definite knowledge of the tribes of Norton sound and the lower Yukon region. Another naval officer, Lieutenant Wehrman, compiled in 1857 the first map showing in colors the distribution of native tribes in Russian America, a map quite accurate in its main features. Next in order is the manuscript map, also in colors, compiled by Dr. George Gibbs from information obtained from the Russian authorities at Sitka.

Since the purchase of Alaska by the United States the most valuable contributions to its ethnology thus far published have come from the pen of Mr. William H. Dall, of the United States coast and geodetic survey, who also compiled a map in colors, which was printed with Volume I of *Contributions to North American Ethnology*. A vast amount of ethnological material relating chiefly to the Yukon basin in the extreme northwest has been collected by Mr. E. W. Nelson, of the United States signal service; but this has not yet been given to the public. During repeated and extended journeys in Alaska I have been enabled to glean some fragmentary knowledge of this subject; but until intelligent investigation can be extended systematically over all sections of Alaska, and the results carefully compared and sifted, the work cannot be looked upon as complete.

All that can be done at present in the way of classifying the natives of Alaska is to divide them into four distinct families or tribes, whose habitat and boundaries can be defined with a certain degree of accuracy, subject to future corrections. The numerous subdivisions of each family (based chiefly upon dialectic differentiation) can only be vaguely indicated, in the hope of furnishing to future investigators a frame-work upon which to build a more satisfactory structure.

A comparison of the ethnological map published with this report with those previously compiled at various times will show the gradual acquisition of knowledge on this subject. The differences between the latest map and the one preceding (compiled by Mr. William H. Dall) are slight, and give evidence only of an extension of the field of investigation. This result is all the more gratifying because Mr. Dall and myself have arrived at very similar conclusions through entirely different channels, and without consultation upon the subject. The crude ground-work accomplished earlier by Russian and other writers was, of course, equally accessible to both of us, giving to a certain extent a common base to start from.

The four families or groups now distinguished in Alaska are the Eskimo (or Innuít), the Aleut (Oonáŋgan), the Thlinket, and the Athabaskan (or Tinneh). The first three named occupy the whole coast of Alaska, forming as it were a barrier between the Athabaskan in the interior and the sea-coast, except in one instance, where the latter people have succeeded in supplanting the Eskimo on the shores of Cook's inlet. The evidence in favor of ascribing to the Eskimo and to the Aleut a common origin is quite strong, but time and circumstances have wrought such changes in both physical and linguistic features of the Aleut tribes that a distinct classification appears justifiable. For the purposes of this report I have adopted the terms Eskimo and Athabaskan, in lieu of the Innuít and Tinneh of recent writers, purely in the interest of uniformity, and in deference to the action of both the American and British science associations, which have decided that priority must prevail, and that the name first given to a race or tribe in scientific classification must be retained. The terms Innuít and Tinneh represent words in their respective languages, and as such I should prefer them, but I am quite willing to bring a sacrifice upon the altar of uniformity in the work of science. In taking leave of these terms, therefore, I will only mention that *Innuít* was derived from a root signifying *man*, and existing in a majority of the Eskimo dialects. I find this root as *innúk*, *niúk*, *yúk*, *yút*, *liút*, and *liúk*; the plural being generally formed in *ing* or *iin*, with a collective form ending in *t*, meaning *people*. It has been suggested that the word *ina*, which signifies *house*, *dwelling*, in nearly all the dialects, has been blended with this root in order to describe a people living in houses, or a settled tribe; but in view of the nomadic habits of the Eskimo this theory is open to doubt. In the dialect of the easternmost Eskimo tribe on the Pacific coast, the Chugachimute, *ina* designates a *house*, but the word for *people* is *shuít* or *shvít* (from *shíúk*, *man*). Zagoskin, whose observations extended over several years, stated that after much questioning of various individuals he arrived at the conclusion that *yugguít* or *yughuít* was a collective or plural of *man* with the Norton Sound tribes, and that *kangyulít*, *kaniulít*, or *ngyulít* was the general name of all the coast people from the Arctic to the Alaskan peninsula, and that this term signified *people of one language*. The only evidence in our possession confirmatory of this assertion of Zagoskin is the name of Kangmali Innuít, reported by Richardson, and used by Dall as applying to certain tribes on the Arctic coast; to which we may add the fact that with the Bristol Bay and Togiak Eskimo the word *kang* means *the same*. Zagoskin also gives the word *kangakhtuik*, *to speak*.

The word Tinneh in various forms signifies *man* in a majority of the dialects of Alaska, and I find it in the form of *tinne*, *tinne*, *tenna*, *tynnai*, *kinna*, and in the collective *kokhtane*, *khotana*, and *ahtena*.

In discussing these four families or tribes I shall proceed without reference to their relative importance, beginning with the Eskimo.

I.—THE ESKIMO (or Innuít).

The Eskimo or Innuít, numbering nearly 18,000, inhabit the whole coast-line of Alaska west of the one hundred and forty-first meridian, with the exception of the northern part of Cook's inlet, that portion of the Alaskan peninsula lying west of the one hundred and fifty-seventh meridian, and the Shumagin and Aleutian groups of islands. The origin of the Alaskan Eskimo has been discussed by various authors, most recently by Mr. William H. Dall, in Volume I, *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, but the only tangible result of such discussion has been the establishment of a general belief that these tribes are of American origin, and that their appearance on the Alaskan coast probably occurred at the same time with the general migration resulting in the settlement of the inhospitable regions where are now found the eastern or Greenland Eskimo.

For reasons elsewhere explained more at length it appears improbable that the settlement of the Alaskan coast and the islands by the Eskimo could have been effected without the aid of the kaiak, or skin-canoe, or at least a craft of similar construction, and consequently it may be presumed that they spread gradually to the westward and southward after having reached the Arctic shore from their original habitations in the interior of our continent; for the present, however, I have nothing to do with this question, the discussion of which rests chiefly upon speculation, and therefore turn to a description of the tribes of Eskimo stock now found in Alaska.

All the Eskimo tribes without exception manufacture and use the covered skin-canoe known as the kaiak, identical with that of the eastern or Greenland Eskimo; and this feature is so distinctive and exclusive that

a tribal name might justly be based upon it should the necessity arise for another. At present I know of only one instance where an intermixture of the Innuited with another tribe has taken place under such circumstances that the foreign element has gained the upper hand, and there they have already abandoned the manufacture of the kaiak and apparently forgotten the art of its construction; I refer to the Oughalakhmute, who have mixed with the Thlinket. The open skin-boat, the *oomiak*, or women's boat, also known as *bidar*, is used by certain tribes on the north coast of Asia; but the kaiak proper is only found among the Eskimo.

When the Russians first observed this craft they applied to it the name of *bidarka*, a diminutive of *bidar*, a Kamchatkan term for an open skin-boat. This term is now used throughout Alaska wherever Russian influence once predominated, and the same word has been incorporated into several Eskimo dialects in the form of *bidali*, which is, however, applied only to two- and three-hatch kaiaks—a variety formerly known only on the Aleutian islands, and adopted by the Russians for greater convenience in hunting and traveling. From Bristol bay westward and northward the kaiak and the *oomiak* only are used.

The subdivisions thus far made of the Eskimo tribe inhabiting the Arctic coast are based almost wholly upon locality and dialectic differentiation as reported by traders and whalers who come in contact with them; but for the purpose of classification it would seem sufficient to here use the term Arctic Coast tribes as one subdivision.

The Arctic-Coast tribes include Dall's Kopagmute, Kangmaligmute, and Nuwukmute, and all the coast villages down to Cape Krusenstern.

In their mode of life all the people living on the coast between the British boundary and Kotzebue sound are very much alike. Some settlements are inhabited chiefly by whale-hunters, while at others much time is devoted to the pursuit of reindeer, each industry engendering different habits and customs, but they all have subterranean winter houses and skin-covered tents for summer use. Though they have been in contact with whites directly and indirectly for nearly a century there are still found in use among them many implements fashioned of stone, ivory, and bone; and they still consume much of their fish, seal- and walrus-meat, and blubber in a raw state. But a remarkable contrast to their primitive condition is furnished by specimens of carvings, chiefly masks and human figures, deposited in the national museum by Mr. E. W. Nelson, many of which may justly be classed as artistic sculpture. A large amount of ready-made clothing finds its way into the hands of these people, who wear it in the summer, but the excessive cold of winter compels them to resume the fur garments formerly in general use among them. The heavy parka of reindeer-, wolf-, or dog-skin, is the outside garment worn by both sexes; undergarments are generally fashioned of the tanned skins of reindeer, or of hair-seal- and fox-skins, the latter being used for trimming; and the high boots worn by both sexes are made of hair-seal- and reindeer-skins.

Of the tribal organization of these people but little is known, but there seems to be no recognized chieftainship; each isolated settlement generally containing one man who makes himself prominent by superintending all intercourse and traffic with visitors. The profits accruing to him from this position give him some slight influence among his people; but the *oomailik* (*oomvialik* of Zagoskin), as these middlemen or spokesmen are called, possess no authority over the people of their village, who pay far more attention to the advice or threats of sorcerers, shamans, or "medicine men". In the festivals, consisting of feasting, singing, and dancing, with which these hyperboreans while away the long winter nights, the shamans also play a prominent part, directing the order of the performances and the manufacture of masks, costumes, etc., while the *oomailik* or spokesman sinks back into insignificance for the time being.

During the brief summer a large proportion of these people roam eastward and westward along the coast trading and hunting. In late years their movements have been guided chiefly by those of the whalers pursuing their quarry in the narrow belt of open water between the solid ice and the coast.

THE KOPAGMUTE (Big River people).—In this subdivision I include all the Eskimo tribes living in the western interior of Arctic Alaska. Their habits are almost entirely unknown beyond the fact that they form the connecting link between the coast people in the north and the Athabaskans in the south.

THE NUNATAGMUTE (Inland people).—This subdivision includes both the Nunatagmute and Kowagmute of Dall, comprising the inland tribes living on the Noatak and the Kowak rivers. Of these people we also know but very little beyond the fact that they live on the upper rivers, have communication with the Athabaskans of the northern Yukon region, with whom they have mixed, on the headwaters of the Koyukuk river. Mr. E. W. Nelson, who saw some of these half-breeds on Kotzebue sound, describes them as resembling in stature and facial peculiarities the Athabaskan, while speaking an Eskimo dialect.

THE MAHLEMUTE.—The Mahlemute inhabit the country between Kotzebue and Norton sounds, occupying villages upon the coasts of both these estuaries. In their mode of life they resemble the Arctic Eskimo, but they are the traders *par excellence* of all this region; indulging, however, frequently in robbery and violence when trade is slack. They serve as middlemen in the exchange of commodities between Bering sea and the Arctic, drawing their supplies of stock in trade chiefly from the depots of Saint Michael, which place they visit during the summer in large open skin-boats fitted with masts and sails. The Mahlemutes are expert navigators and bold hunters, but

their reputation with whalers and traders is decidedly bad, and great caution is observed in intercourse with them. They are naturally anxious to maintain their profitable position as middlemen, and thus far have resented all attempts to locate permanent trading-stations among them or within the limits of their own mercantile operations.

In dress and appearance the Mahlemute do not differ from their neighbors. In the sketch herein inserted they are represented as they appear in their summer encampments on Norton sound. The southernmost village permanently occupied by the Mahlemute is Shaktolik, on Norton bay, but several families possess winter houses in the vicinity of the trading-post of Oonalakleet, within the boundaries of another tribe. Their festivals are distinguished for variety, there being one in honor of nearly every animal hunted by the people, most of them being celebrated during the period of winter idleness, the "reindeer dance" and the "whale dance" being among the most important ceremonies, which are accompanied by the most grotesque display of masks and costumes. The "labret" or cheek ornament, of bone, ivory, or stone, is still worn by the Mahlemute as universally as it is found among the coast tribes in the north and west; and even where the ornament itself is absent the cut made in the cheek and under lip for its insertion can be observed. All the masks are provided with an imitation of this ornament. The custom of trimming the hair of the head exists among the Mahlemute as well as among nearly all the tribes of Eskimo stock, but the shaving of the entire crown of the head of males seems to be confined to the Arctic tribes. Wherever the Eskimo appear together with their interior neighbors it is easy to distinguish the long, unkempt, matted hair of the Athabaskan from the closely-cropped bullet heads of the Eskimo.

THE KINGIGUMUTE (including the Okeegmut of Dall and the Okeegmut of King's island).—This unruly and warlike tribe occupies the country adjoining cape Prince of Wales and the islands of Bering strait. They are also great traders, and act as middlemen between the people of Asia and those of America. They hunt but little, living chiefly on the profits of traffic. Their reputation with whalers and traders is fully as bad as that of the Mahlemute on Kotzebue sound. Their festivals and superstitions closely resemble those of their neighbors; and the same can be said substantially of their southern neighbors.

THE KAVIAGMUTE.—This tribe occupies the portion of the Kaviak peninsula south of port Clarence and east of Norton bay and the Mahlemute territory.

THE OONALIGMUTE (the Unaligmute of Dall).—This tribe occupies the coast of Norton sound from Shaktolik down to the mouth of the Yukon, extending back into the interior as far as the range of hills forming the boundary between the Eskimo and the Athabaskan tribes.

THE IKOGMUTE.—This tribe occupies both banks of the Yukon river from its junction with the Chageluk river near the village of Paimute to its mouth, occupying the east coast between Kotlik and the Kusilvak branch of the Yukon.

THE MAGMUTE (or Mink people).—This tribe adjoins the Ikogmute in the south, extending to the line between the Kvichak river and cape Rumiantzof.

THE NUNIVAGMUTE.—This tribe occupies Nunivak island, and also a few settlements on the Kashunok branch of the Yukon.

THE KAIALIGUMUTE.—This tribe occupies the coast from cape Rumiantzof to cape Avinof, with the exception of the Kashunok settlement, but including the villages on Nelson island.

The three tribes last enumerated were classed together by Dall as Magmute, but sufficient differentiation has been discovered by Mr. Nelson to warrant the new divisions.

To all the coast tribes between Kotzebue sound and the mouth of the Kuskokvim river may be applied the description furnished by Lieutenant Zagoskin in the year 1843. He stated in substance that the natives of Norton sound and their neighbors are of medium stature, well built, quick in their movements, with round faces varying in complexion from an almost white to a light bronze. All the males exhibit some trace of beard, and mustaches are quite common. The hair is black, coarse, and straight, but glossy; the mouth large, not curved; teeth even and white. The men wear labrets in the lower lip on each side of the mouth, consisting of stone or bone buttons; but among the females this latter custom has long been obsolete. The men trim their hair all round the head, while the women confine this operation to the vicinity of the ears, wearing the back hair either loose or plaited.

No chiefs are known to exist among them, though some families have acquired prominence and influence, chiefly through the accumulation of what they consider wealth. The oomalik, the most experienced tradesman of the village, who serves as spokesman in all transactions with strangers, exerts his influence only as agent or business manager. If a joint action of a number of the inhabitants of a village becomes necessary for any purpose, the old men assemble in the council-house, or kashga, where they settle upon the plan of action for the distribution of labor; and no young man will venture to disregard the decision of his elders in council.

These coast tribes, being essentially a trading people, are possessed of greater shrewdness than their neighbors in the interior, but they rarely use this superiority for the purpose of cheating in trade, as all their capacity in this direction is reserved for their intercourse with white people. As a rule these tribes do not practice polygamy, though a few instances have been known of wealthy traders who maintained separate households in the various settlements visited in pursuit of their business. No especial marriage ceremony seems to be observed, though the consent of parents seems to be essential to the accomplishment of a union. The bridegroom either takes away his bride to his own people or she remains with her family. Separations rarely occur, but in such cases the children remain with the mother. A man who has lost two or three wives rarely succeeds in obtaining a fourth.



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MAHEMUTE—MAN AND WOMAN.

The females of the coast tribes are not fruitful, and to see four children of one mother is quite a rare occurrence, one or two being the common number of children to a family. Marrying early, as a natural consequence the women fade early; a wife of twenty-five is always an old woman. The children are treated with great tenderness, but grow up in perfect liberty until they are self-supporting, and their every want or whim is satisfied by the parents, even at the greatest inconvenience to themselves. The young of both sexes acquire skill in their respective labors early while playing with the diminutive arms, tools, and implements fashioned for this purpose by their parents. Festivities take place at certain periods during the lives of children; for instance, when the boy's hair is trimmed for the first time, or when he first goes to sea alone in a kaiak, or when he dons his first pair of snow-shoes, or when the first incision in his lip is made to accommodate the labrets, a feast is given by the parents if they are able to do so; but in cases of great poverty these ceremonies are frequently postponed until the young man himself is able to provide the necessary material. No youth is considered to have reached manhood until he has killed either a wolf, a reindeer; or a beluga.

The shamans or sorcerers living among these people furnish children with amulets or charms, consisting of little ivory carvings, or pieces of skin fancifully braided, or other articles to be worn around the neck, and the parents frequently go to considerable expense to secure such talismans.

The men sometimes change their names several times during their lives by assuming a new one after every great memorial feast given in memory of a deceased relative.

A woman after child-birth is not allowed to partake of fresh food for twenty days, during which time she must stay within the house, generally sitting in some dark corner with the infant; and every five days during this period she must bathe.

Like all Eskimos these tribes are superstitious and afraid of the dead or dying, though they seem to reverence the memory of the deceased; and sometimes a sick person at the point of death is carried into an abandoned hut and left there alone to die of hunger and neglect. The dead bodies are generally wrapped up in mats, with the knees drawn up to the chin, and are covered up with rocks or pieces of drift-log; and the skulls of reindeer or bear are frequently placed beside such burying places, especially if the deceased had been a hunter. After the death of a husband the wife cuts her front hair short, and abstains for a period of twenty days from fresh food; the husband frequently observing the same custom on the death of his wife. The festivals in memory of the deceased are celebrated at various times of the year, chiefly at times of leisure between the seasons for hunting various animals. In addition to the annual memorial feasts, grand festivals are celebrated at intervals of ten and fifteen years, according to the ability of the surviving relatives to accumulate sufficient property for the purpose, and on such occasions the giver of the feast frequently distributes all his property among the guests.

The clothing of these coast tribes consists of furs, especially the skin of reindeer. Garments made of marten, musk-rat, or ground-squirrel skins they receive from the Yukon river, while mink-skins are used chiefly for making gloves and the trousers of women. The upper garments, or parkas, have short sleeves and do not reach below the knee, those of the males being the same length all around, while those of the women are slit on the sides. The men wear one pair of pantaloons with the fur inside; the women wear two, one short, reaching not quite down to the knee, generally made of tanned buckskin or reindeer-fawn skin with the fur inside, the other long with the fur outside. They have no buttons or hooks, and the pantaloons are attached to a belt with straps. The boots for winter use are generally made of the skins of reindeer-legs, and reach about half way up the calf of the leg; some of these are richly trimmed with wolverine or white-reindeer skin. The summer boots are made of seal-skin, reaching up to the knee and above; the soles being made of the thickest portion of the hair-seal skin. The winter parkas are usually provided with a hood which can be drawn over the head. The most valuable of these garments are obtained from the Mahlemutes, who purchase them of the Chukches in Siberia. These garments are made of the skins of tame reindeer. A woman clothed in one of these parkas and provided with boots made of the skins of white tame reindeer considers herself dressed in the height of fashion, and attracts much attention from the youths of her tribe. For convenience in walking the parkas are girded up with a belt, the latter being worn far below the waist.

The skin of the wolf is much valued for trimming garments, and to obtain these the coast tribes formerly resorted to an artifice which has been superseded at present by the use of steel-traps. In the middle of winter, when the snow was deep and the wolf hungry, the hunter would whittle down strips of whalebone about two feet in length, roll them up, wrap them in pieces of seal-blubber, and throw them promiscuously about the vicinity. A hungry wolf would bolt down one of these frozen lumps, when, the heat of the stomach melting the fat, the piece of whalebone would be released and straighten out, killing the animal, and in the morning the hunter would go out and pick up his quarry.

Reindeer are generally captured by these tribes by surrounding the herd and shooting the animals with arrows or bullets as they approach the concealed hunters. Fish are caught both with nets and hooks and lines; and seals are generally shot or speared on the ice in the winter, or as they come up to their breathing-holes. While watching for seals the hunter piles up pieces of ice before him and wears a white-reindeer skin parka in order to conceal himself from the vigilant animal. The beluga is hunted by numerous parties in kaiaks. Sometimes a hundred or more of the natives proceed to sea on a calm summer day, observing perfect silence, and keeping well

inshore. As soon as a school of belugas is sighted an old man gives a signal, the kaiaks hurry to seaward of the school, and a tremendous noise begins, with shrill cries and yells, beating of drums and rattles, and splashing of paddles and spears in the water. The hunters gradually approach the shore, driving the belugas before them, until the latter, in the shallow water, fall an easy prey to their spears. In former times, when the beluga was more plentiful, from one to two hundred were secured in this way in a single day; and the old men and the women and children crowded the shore ready to drag off the carcasses beyond the reach of the tide.

All of these tribes shun the use of iron in killing the beluga, confining themselves entirely to spear- and arrow-heads of stone and bone. Inflated bladders of whole skins of the young seal are attached to the spear-heads, serving to buoy up the wounded animal and keep it from diving. The blubber, meat, and skin of the beluga are all valued alike as food when fresh, and the tanned hide is used for making boots, covering kaiaks, and making nets. The tanning is generally accomplished with rotten fish-roe.

All these tribes have summer dwellings distinct from those used during the winter. For the winter houses a square excavation of about 3 feet or more is made, in the corners of which posts of drift-wood or whale-ribs from 8 to 10 feet in height are set up; the walls are formed by laying posts of drift-wood one above the other against the corner posts; outside of this another wall is built, sometimes of stone, sometimes of logs, the intervals being filled with earth or rubble; the whole of the structure, including the roof, is covered with sods, leaving a small opening on top, which can be closed by a frame over which a thin, transparent seal-skin is tightly drawn. The entrance to one of these houses consists of a narrow, low, underground passage from 10 to 12 feet in length, through which an entrance can only be accomplished on hands and knees. The interior arrangement of the winter house is very simple, and is nearly the same with all these tribes. A piece of bear- or reindeer-skin is hung before the interior opening of the passage; in the center of the inclosure is the fire-place, which is a square excavation directly under the smoke-hole in the roof; the floor is generally planked, and frequently two low platforms about 4 feet in width extend along the sides of the house from the entrance to the back, and covered with mats and skins which serve as beds at night. In the larger dwellings, occupied by more than one family, the sleeping-places of each are separated from each other by suspended mats, or simply by a piece of wood. All the bladders containing oil, the wooden vessels, kettles, and other domestic utensils, are kept in the front part of the dwelling, and before each sleeping-place there is generally a block of wood upon which is placed the oil-lamp used for heating and cooking.

The summer houses are erected above ground, and are generally log structures roofed with skins and open in front; no fire is made in these houses, and therefore they have no opening in the roof, all cooking being done in the open air during the summer. They seldom have flooring, but otherwise the interior arrangements resemble those of the winter houses. The storehouses of all the Eskimo tribes are set on posts at a height of from 8 to 10 feet above the ground, to protect them against foxes, wolves, and dogs. They have generally a small square opening in front that can be closed with a sliding board, and which is reached by means of a notched stick of wood. These buildings are seldom more than 8 feet square by 3 or 4 feet in height.

In every village there is a common building known as the kashga, built after the pattern of the winter houses, but of much larger dimensions, some kashgas measuring as much as 60 feet square and from 20 to 30 feet in height. A raised platform runs all around the interior, and, in a few kashgas of extraordinary size, three tiers of such platforms have been observed. The fire-place in the center is large, often 3 or 4 feet deep, and on ordinary occasions, when no fire is wanted, is covered over with planks. The entrance is through a passage resembling that of the dwelling-houses, but divided at the end; one branch leading to the fire-place below the flooring, the other into the main compartment. In this building the men carry on their domestic labor, such as the preparing of skins, the plaiting of fish-traps, and the manufacture of sleds. In the kashga all public business is transacted and councils held; and it also serves as shelter for all guests and visitors, who are there entertained, as well as the theater for all festivals, mask dances, and representations. In addition to this the kashga serves as a sleeping-place for adult males; and finally, also serves as a bath—the most popular recreation of the Eskimo tribe.

The cooking of these natives is a very simple matter, though they do not eat raw fish or meat unless it is frozen or dried in the air. All the offal of meat and fish is given to dogs. The meat when boiled is never well done, being merely kept in boiling water for a short time. The oil of the beluga or of the seal is considered as the most palatable sauce for everything—meat, fish, or berries; while rotten fish and fish-roe, considered luxuries, are preserved in wooden vessels for festive occasions, and the heads of salmon are buried in the ground to give them the desired high flavor. With such a diet no cleanliness in cooking or eating can be expected. As a rule, these natives are moderate eaters. In the morning the wife or some other female relative brings to the husband, father, or brother who has slept in the kashga, a *kantag*, or wooden bowl, with cold water, together with a piece of dried, frozen, or boiled fish weighing perhaps a pound. After breakfast the men follow their various pursuits of hunting and fishing, and some time in the afternoon, having indulged in a bath, they partake of another piece of fish or meat of about the same weight, with the addition of a tit-bit of rotten fish or spawn, which they eat sitting on their haunches, while the women turn their backs to them, as it would be unbecoming to watch them eating. Visitors are thus served by the wives or daughters of those whom they visit. An evening meal is frequently, but not always, partaken of at home in the dwellings; but the women and children always eat at home.

Their means of transportation consist in the kaiak, the oomiak (bidar), and in winter the dog-sled, as they are all alike skilled in propelling the kaiaks and in the management of dog-teams.

The sleds used by the coast tribes are generally from 8 to 12 feet long, and the dogs are harnessed tandem. Their snow-shoes consist of a very light frame of spruce wood over which is stretched a network of seal-hide, which supports the foot—the toes only being attached to the shoe by means of a small strap. The length of the Eskimo snow-shoe is about 3 feet.

In addition to the spears propelled by hand used in hunting the beluga and the maklak seal the coast tribes also have spears especially adapted for killing birds and reindeer; these they shoot by means of bows; and the bird-spears are divided into several prongs, with the object of dragging down the bird if it be not killed. The spear-heads for killing reindeer are made of walrus-ivory, and are provided with teeth on one side; these weapons are still preferred to bone points. The shafts of both arrows and spears are made of spruce or larch wood, obtained on the Yukon at the head of Norton bay; the length of the shaft is from 2 to 3 feet, and that of the bone head from 5 to 6 inches, while the point proper measures about 2 inches. The bows also are manufactured of spruce and larch wood, and the strings are made of the sinews of the seal or whale.

Independent of the great annual and periodical festivals accompanied by religious or superstitious rites, and to attend which the people from different villages flock together, the coast tribes also indulge in private festivals or evening entertainments during the late autumn and the beginning of winter. As among other mortals, singing, dancing, and eating form the principal objects of such merry-makings. On these occasions, however, one family does not invite another to pass the evening, as either the whole population of the village attend promiscuously, or the women invite the men, treating them to delicacies of their own providing, or *vice versa*. To pass the time, masquerading is often resorted to, in which case the women who give the entertainments appear in male garments, with mustaches, and with bead pendants in the under lip, and dance like the men; the latter, on the other hand, representing women.

The subjects of their songs are of indefinite variety, but the melody as well as the time of their only musical instrument, the bladder drum, is always the same: first one stroke, then a pause; then two strokes, the second stronger than the first, then another pause; again two strokes, a pause; and so on, producing a rather monotonous noise.

All these games, both private and public, take place in the kashga. At the public performances the dancers and singers, men and women, stand around the fire-hole; and the men, to the time of the drum and the singing, go through various contortions of the body, shifting from one foot to the other without moving from the spot, the skill of the dancer being displayed only in the endurance and flexibility of his muscles. The women, on the other hand, with their eyes cast down, motionless, with the exception of a spasmodic twitching of the hands, stand around in a circle, forming, we may say, a living frame to the animated picture within. The less motion a dancer displays the greater his skill. There is nothing indecent in the dances of the sea-board natives. The dancing dress of the men consists of short tight drawers made of white-reindeer skin, and the summer boots of the Chukche, while the women on such occasions only add ornaments, such as rings and bracelets and bead pendants to their common dress, frequently weighting themselves down with 10 or 15 pounds of these baubles.

The entertainment of the women was described by Zagoskin as follows:

We entered the kashga by the common passage and found the guests already assembled, but of the hostesses nothing was to be seen. On three sides of the apartment stone lamps were lighted, the fire-hole was covered with boards, one of them having a circular opening, through which the hostesses were to make their appearance. Two other burning lamps were placed in front of the fire-hole. The guests, who formed the chorus, began to sing to the sound of the drum, two men keeping them in order by beating time with sticks adorned with wolfs' tails and gulls' wings. Thus a good half hour passed by. Of the song my interpreter told me that it consisted of pleasantry directed against the women; that it was evident they had nothing to give, as they had not shown themselves for so long a time. Another song praised the housewifely accomplishments of some woman whose appearance was impatiently expected with a promised trencher of the mixed mess of reindeer-fat and berries. No sooner was this song finished than the woman appeared and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The dish was set before the men, and the woman retreated amid vociferous compliments on her culinary skill. She was followed by another woman. The beating of drums increased in violence and the wording of the song was changed. Standing up in the center of the circle the woman began to relate, in mimicry and gesture, how she obtained the fat, how she stored it in various receptacles, how she cleansed and melted it, and then, placing a kantag upon her head, she invited the spectators with gestures to approach. The song went on, while eagerness to partake of the promised luxury lighted up the faces of the crowd. At last the wooden spoons were distributed, one to each man, and nothing was heard for a time but the guzzling of the luscious fluid. Another woman appeared, followed still by another, and luxuries of all kinds were produced in quick succession and as quickly dispatched, while the singers pointedly alluded to the praiseworthy Russian custom of distributing tobacco. When the desired luxury had been produced, a woman represented with great skill the various stages of stupefaction resulting from smoking and snuffing. All the women appeared in men's parkas.

The men's entertainment witnessed by Zagoskin took place in the same village. The preparatory arrangements were the same, one of the women, a sorceress, leading the chorus. The first song on that occasion praised the propensity of the Russian for making presents of tobacco, rings, and other trifles to the women, who, in their turn, were always ready to oblige them. This, however, was only introductory, the real entertainment beginning with a chorus of the men concealed in the fire-hole. The gist of their chant was that trapping, hunting, and trade were bad, that nothing could be made, and that they could only sing and dance to please their wives. To this the women answered that they had long been aware of the laziness of their husbands, who could do nothing but bathe

and smoke, and that they did not expect to see any food produced, such as the women had placed before them, consequently it would be better to go to bed at once. The men answered that they would go and hunt for something, and shortly one of them appeared through the opening. This mimic, who was attired in female apparel, with bead pendants in his nose, deep fringes of wolverine tails, bracelets, and rings, imitated in a most admirable and humorous manner the motions and gestures of the women in presenting their luxuries, and then gave imitations of the various female pursuits and labor, the guests chuckling with satisfaction. Suddenly the parka was thrown off, and the man began to represent how he hunted the maklak, seated in his kaiak, which performance ended with the production of a whole boiled maklak, of which Zagoskin received the throat as his portion. Others represented a reindeer-hunt, the spearing of birds, the rendering of beluga-blubber, the preparation of seal-intestines for waterproof garments, the splitting of deer-tendons into thread, and so forth. One young orphan, possessing nothing wherewith to treat the guests, brought on a kantag filled with water, which was drunk by the women amid much merriment. It sometimes happens on these occasions that lovers of fun sprinkle the women with oil, or with the fluid which they use in place of soap, squirted from small bladders concealed about their persons; and such jokes are never resented.

The Eskimo tribes all look upon the shamans or conjurers (*tungaks*) as mediators between themselves and the invisible world, but it is impossible to say whether or not they believe in the actual control of spirits by the conjurers. A majority of these individuals have considerable practice in tricks of sleight-of-hand; at the same time they do not seem to enjoy much respect, unless they combine with the business of conjuring the qualities of an expert trader and skilled hunter. The *tungak*, in addition to calling spirits proper (*ikhchhingak*), also claimed the power to force the souls of deceased members of their family to enter his (the *tungak's*) body. The spirit or principle of life (*iltkhluaghim*) is invoked on all occasions, but principally in cases of sickness. It is believed that he appears in five distinct forms. A creator of the world, called *Nunalukhta*, also occasionally appears in traditions of the coast people.

A festival in honor of the spirits of land and sea, and in memory of deceased kinsmen, is celebrated annually in the month of October or November, in the following manner: At sunset the men assemble in the kashga, and, after a hurried bath, ornament each other by tracing various figures with a mixture of oil and charcoal on the naked back. Two boys, who for this occasion are respectively named the Raven and the Hawk, are in attendance, mixing the paint, etc. Finally the faces also are thickly smeared, and then the females are summoned into the kashga. After a brief lapse of time a noise is heard, shrieks and yells, snorting and roaring, and the disguised men, emerging from the fire-hole, show their heads above the floor, blowing and puffing like seals. It is impossible to distinguish any complete human figure, as some are crawling with their feet foremost, others running on their hands and feet, while the head of another is seen protruding between the legs of a companion. They all cling together and move in concert, like one immense snake. A number of the men wear masks representing the heads of animals, and the unsightly beings advance upon the spectators, but chiefly endeavoring to frighten the women, who have no means of escaping molestation except by buying off the actors with presents. Knowing what was before them, they have brought the kantags or wooden bowls full of delicious morsels—beluga-blubber, walrus-meat, whale-oiled berries, and other dainties. When each of the maskers has eaten and filled a bowl or two with delicacies to take home, they indulge in a pantomime and gesture-play of a highly grotesque character. After completing the ceremony in the kashga the maskers frequently visit some of the dwellings and receive gifts in each, the whole performance ending with singing, dancing, and feasting in the kashga.

An annual memorial feast, celebrated in one of the villages on Norton sound, was described by Zagoskin as follows:

On the day before the festival the people from neighboring villages had assembled to the number of seventy, exclusive of children. On the following day the givers of the feast proceeded to the burial-ground, for the purpose of renewing the memorial posts and depositing the head of a reindeer with its entrails; wooden bowls with various articles of food were also deposited. In the evening the kashga was filled with people, but the most profound silence reigned. The feast was in memory of seven deceased persons, and accordingly seven huge stone oil-lamps were placed around the fire-hole. Before the beginning of the ceremonies the givers of the feast, dressed in their best apparel, deposited upon the floor the articles intended for distribution in memory of their dead kinsmen. These articles consisted of spears, arrows, garments of various kinds, seal-skins, paddles, knives, hatchets, rings, tobacco, mats, and various trifles. Each giver proclaimed in a loud voice for whom each article was intended, and then delivered it in silence. At the end of the distribution the spectators and hosts divided themselves into four groups, one in each angle of the kashga. One of the visiting old men, assisted by a number of women, began to chant a song especially composed for the occasion by the shamans or *tungaks*, acting as masters of ceremonies. The voices of the singers were kept in a low key; drums and rattles were not used on this occasion. Then the givers of the feast represented in pantomime, without stirring from their places or moving a foot, the deeds of their deceased relatives. After the pantomime, which lasted half an hour, the performers left the kashga. After the lapse of about fifteen minutes the whole floor of the kashga was covered with food; there were mountains of blubber, several whole boiled seals, huge piles of dried fish, and also, to my astonishment, several wooden dishes with clean water. Several of the givers of the feast produced as many as fifteen different dishes. All those who rejoiced in the same name as the dead in whose honor the feast was given were selected and presented with one of the small bowls of water, which they seized, wetted their fingers and sprinkled a few drops of water upon the floor, whispering, at the same time, "Drink, our dead kinsman." Then these namesakes of the dead were presented with bowls of food, and they also scattered a few morsels upon the floor, saying, "Take this, our dead kinsman, from our stores, and help us to obtain more during the coming year." After this the gorging became general.

The small-pox had decimated these tribes but a few years previously, and the number of bowls of water distributed in memory of its victims was very great.

It has already been mentioned that many individuals gave away all their property on such occasions. If it happens that during such a memorial feast a visitor arrives from a distant village who bears the same name with the subject of the celebration he is at once overwhelmed with gifts, clothed anew from head to foot with the most expensive garments, and returns to his home a wealthy man.

Another festival, in honor of the spirits of the sea (*ingialk*), is celebrated by the coast tribes during a whole month. The preparations for this gathering begin early in the autumn. Every hunter preserves during the entire year the bladders from all such animals as he kills with arrows; the mothers also preserve with the greatest care the bladders of all rats, mice, ground-squirrels, or other small animals killed by their children. At the beginning of December all these bladders are inflated, painted in various colors, and suspended in the kashga; and among them the men hang up a number of fantastically-carved figures of birds and fish. Some of the figures of birds are quite ingeniously contrived, with movable eyes, heads, and legs, and are able to flap their wings. Before the fire-place there is a huge block wrapped up in dry grass. From morning until night the carved figures are kept in motion by means of strings, and during the whole time a chanting of songs continues, while dry grass and weeds are burned to smoke the suspended bladders. This fumigating process ends the day's performances, which are begun anew in the morning. In the evening of the culminating day of the festival the strings of bladders are taken down and carried by the men upon painted sticks prepared for the occasion; the women, with torches in their hands, accompanying them to the sea-shore. Arrived here, the bladders are tied to the sticks and weighted with stones, and finally thrown into the water, where they are watched with the greatest interest to see how long they float upon the surface. From the time of sinking and the number of rings upon the water where the bladder has disappeared the tungaks prophecy success or misfortune in hunting during the coming year.

A final memorial feast in honor of a distinguished ancestor is conducted as follows:

Eight old men clad in parkas enter the kashga, or council-house, each carrying a stone lamp, which they deposit around the fire-hole. They next produce three small mats and spread them upon the floor in three corners of the building, and from the spectators three men are selected who are willing to go to the grave. The three nearest relatives of the deceased then seat themselves on the mats and divest themselves of all their clothing, wash their bodies, and don new clothes, girding themselves with belts manufactured several generations back and preserved as heirlooms in the family. To each of these men a staff is given, and they advance together to the center of the kashga, when the oldest among the invited guests sends them forth to call the dead. The messengers leave the building, followed by the givers of the feast. After an absence of ten minutes the former return, and through the underground passage the whole population of the village crowds in, from the old and feeble down to children at the breast, and with them come the masters of ceremonies, wearing long seal-skin gloves, and strings of sea-parrot bills hanging about the breast and arms, with elaborate belts nearly a foot in width, consisting of the white bellies of unborn fawns trimmed with wolverine tails. All such ornaments are carefully preserved and handed down from generation to generation, some of them being made of white sable—an exceedingly rare skin—for which high prices are paid, as much as twenty or thirty beavers or otters for one small skin. The women hold in their hands one or two eagle-feathers, and tie around the head a narrow strip of white sable. Each family, grouping itself behind its own stone lamp, chants in turn in mournful measure a song composed for the occasion. These songs are almost indefinitely prolonged by inserting the names of all the relatives of the deceased, living and dead. The singers stand motionless in their places, and many of those present are weeping. When the "song of the dead" is concluded the people seat themselves, and the usual feasting and gorging ensue. The next morning, after the bath indulged in by all the males, the multitude again assembles in the kashga. The chanting around the fire-hole is renewed in the same mournful tone, until one old man seizes a bladder drum and takes the lead, accompanied by a few singers, and followed in procession by all participants in the feast. They walk slowly to all the sepulchers in succession, halting before each to chant a mourning song; the visitors not belonging to the family in the meantime crowding upon the sodded roofs of the houses watching the proceedings. In the evening all that remains of food in the village is set before the people, and when the last kantang is scraped of the last remnant of its contents the feast is ended, and the visitors at once depart for their homes.

Occasionally the giver of such a feast, desiring to do special honor to the object of it, passes three days sitting naked upon a mat in a corner of the kashga, without food or drink, chanting a song in praise of his dead relative. At the end of such a fast the visitors present gifts to him; the story of his achievement is carried abroad, and he is made famous for life among his fellows.

The history of a day as it passes in an Eskimo village on the Bering sea-coast will furnish the best description of the manners and customs of these people. As has already been mentioned, it is customary with the men to sleep in the kashga, a few having reindeer-skins as bedding, and those who are without them sleep on the bare planks, covering themselves with their parkas and using their nether garments as pillows; feather pillows seeming to be the prerogative of the wealthy only. In the winter time the day begins at about 8 o'clock. Whoever happens to be first awake lights the oil-lamp, if any of the fluid remains from the previous night; if not, he emerges from the kashga and brings a supply from his home. The kashga is common property, though a few old men, who probably assisted in building it, assume the duties of hosts on certain occasions. Axes, wedges, and other tools are brought to the kashga from time to time, and are also considered common property as soon as they have been deposited.

The huge stone lamps for lighting do not require any repairs, and are handed down from generation to generation; but if any material is wanted, such as planks, dried grass, etc., for repairing the building, it is at once furnished by those who happen to have it on hand.

A few of the men prepare breakfast in the kashga, but to most of them the meal is brought in by their wives or some other female relatives. After breakfast it is deserted for a time, the men going out to look after their traps and fish-nets, or to hunt in the neighborhood. The women assist their husbands in harnessing the dogs and then, in their turn, go out to gather dry wood, or employ themselves in domestic labor, sewing or patching, making threads from deer-tendons, or plaiting mats or socks. Nearly all the coast tribes here discussed wear, always in the summer and frequently during the winter, socks made very skillfully of dried grass by the women. Occasionally a woman may be seen hammering with all her might one of the posts of a storehouse without any apparent purpose; she is in the last days of pregnancy, and that kind of exercise is considered conducive to an easy delivery. The boys and girls scatter about the vicinity to look after their snares and traps set for hares and grouse. About an hour after noon the thickening, whitish smoke arising from the dwellings indicates the dinner of the children; after that the adults assemble for the same purpose. The wife divests her returning husband of his wet garments, unharnesses the dogs, deposits the sled on the roof of the dwelling, and stores away in the storehouse the fish or game brought home by the husband, always laying aside a portion for days when the inclement weather will keep the provider at home. During the winter from four to five days frequently pass when the hunters have no opportunity to leave the house to look after their nets and traps. The dinner over, the kashga begins to fill up. Men bring their work and pass away an hour repairing arms, tools, nets, and other implements, until somebody suggests a bath; this meets with general approbation, and preparation begins. Wood is carried in by the armful, the fire lighted, and the men bring from their houses their toilet articles—a wisp of dry grass, a basin, and a few branches of alder for whipping themselves into perspiration. At last the bath is ready; the kashga is heated to suffocation and full of smoke; the men throw off their garments, and with shouting, dancing, and whipping bring themselves into perspiration; then a liberal application of their disgusting substitute for soap produces a lather, which is rinsed off with cold water and finally removed by the bathers rushing out of the building and rolling in snow, or jumping into the river should it be free from ice. The first part of the process creates a terrible stench in the kashga, which is still increased and perpetuated by throwing the remains of the fluid contained in a bowl into the four corners of the building. While the men are indulging in the bath we will watch the sports of the young people outside. Some boys and youths have organized a jumping match; a number of willow branches are placed upon the ground at a distance of 6 or 7 feet from each other, and the contestants endeavor to jump from branch to branch without removing them from their places. Gradually the distance between the marks is increased until but a few active individuals succeed in accomplishing the feat. In the meantime the women are chasing each other over the snow, screeching and laughing, and if one happens to fall she is jeered most heartily and nearly smothered with snow thrown upon her by the spectators. The bath being over, the opening in the roof of the kashga is uncovered, and the men sit around the platforms, stupefied with heat and smoke and weak from profuse perspiration. Some of the more ambitious youths propose another contest, while the fresh air gradually enters the kashga and makes it habitable once more. An arduous task is set—to go to the river and in the shortest possible time to pierce the ice, at least 4 feet in thickness. One of the old men is chosen as umpire and the whole party proceeds to the river bank. The tools employed are crude ice-picks and bone crowbars, and it is astonishing with what rapidity this solid ice is pierced, while a shower of sparkling fragments flies up and over the ambitious workmen. In five or six minutes the feat is accomplished, water welling up through the opening made by the victor, who is escorted back to the kashga amid general acclamation.

Evening is approaching, the people are scattering about the village, when away in the distance on the ice of the river two sleds appear in sight, and children playing on the river bank are first to discover them; but no particular attention is paid to the incident. The travelers approach and put up at one of the dwellings; it is a family consisting of a man, a woman, a grown-up daughter, and a small boy. Nobody meets them, but the new arrivals, seeming perfectly at home, tie their dogs to the posts of the storehouse, discharge their lot of provisions or utensils, and place the sleds on top of the roof. The women and the boy then enter the house while the man proceeds to the kashga, which he enters without any solicitation—in fact, words of salute are missing in the vocabulary of this people. Making his way to one of the platforms he shakes the snow from his boots, then takes them off and hangs up his outer garments to dry; he then divests himself of his gloves or mittens and draws his arms out of the sleeves of the inner parka. Seating himself he may remark to the man next to him, "I sit beside thee," to which the other will answer "Tavai, tavai"; an expression of assent, with no very definite meaning. The new-comer then lights his pipe or takes a pinch of snuff, and after thus refreshing himself begins to talk. He does not address himself to anybody in particular, but communicates what has happened along the line of his journey, what he has seen and what he has heard in the various villages through which he has passed; but everything is related in a disguised, indefinite manner. For instance, he says: "Russians or traders have been in such a village and made presents of tobacco." This means that he has seen the strangers and himself received presents, without specifying where the meeting took place and what other villages were visited by the Russians. Or he will say that such a man lies in the kashga dressed in a new parka, with his head against a wall; which means that somebody has died.

THE
1892



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KUSKOKVEGMUTE—MALE SUMMER DRESS

Again he says in such a house the shaman or tungak is busy, a sign of sickness; of another family he says that oil and blubber are plenty with them, without going to the trouble to explain that the head of the house has returned from a long hunting or trading journey crowned with success; but who died, or who was sick, or who was fortunate in hunting, is only ascertained upon further questioning, which may be postponed for days. At the time of the first narrative just described nobody makes any remarks except, perhaps, "*Ah kika*," an affirmative exclamation.

The stranger has not come to see anybody in particular, but wishes to dispose of some goods in exchange for other articles he needs. After having told his tale, in the fragmentary manner described above, he brings into the kashga all he wishes to barter, declaring at the same time that for such an article he wishes to exchange such other commodity. Every one present inspects the articles deposited on the floor, and if one finds anything of use to him he leaves the kashga without saying a word and brings the article asked in exchange, which is at once submitted to the inspection of all present. If the stranger is not satisfied he remains silent, the purchaser withdraws, and others try their fortune until a trade is made. Here comes a man who purchased something of the stranger a year or two previously, but, ruing his bargain, returns the article, saying simply "This does not suit me". The other picks it up and returns without any remonstrance anything he has in his possession of equal value with the original price.

When night comes the kashga appears dark and empty, and the greater part of the men have gone to partake of supper in their own dwellings; but gradually they assemble again. Those who are well to do bring their quota of oil for the lamps, others bring their handiwork, while others again sit on their haunches, rocking backward and forward, listening to the narrative of the new arrival or to domestic gossip, from time to time refreshing themselves with smoke or snuff. Suddenly the sound of the drum is heard from one of the dwellings, accompanied by the chanting of the tungak; signifying that some sick man is being doctored. In one of the dwellings sits the patient suffering from fever and rheumatic pains; before him are placed two lighted oil-lamps, and a parka is drawn over his head, while two shamans or tungaks, one standing on each side, alternately sing and beat the drum. Behind them, faintly visible in the semi-darkness, is the head of an old woman, who, while imitating the croaking of a raven, rubs and pounds the back of the patient. If the pain does not cease the old woman changes her tactics and also her voice, imitating successively the chattering of magpies, the barking of dogs, and the howling of wolves; and if all this be in vain she throws herself upon the sufferer, cuffing and beating him until she makes him forget one pain in another, while the tungaks sing louder and louder and the drums give forth a deafening noise. At last she snatches the parka from the patient's head, yells repeatedly, and points to the roof; the cover of the smoke-hole is removed and the evil spirit which has caused the sickness escapes amid the beating of drums and the triumphant cry, "He is gone! He is gone! Ugh! Ugh!" and the old woman, her task accomplished, collapses into a mass of rags upon the floor. It is the third spirit driven out of this patient—how many more dwell with him nobody can tell; if it was the last he will soon mend, but on the other hand, if not the last, there will be more chanting, more drumming, more cuffing, and more payments to the cunning tungaks, until the sick man either dies or can pay no more. The tungaks claim that their science and skill consist in discovering what spirit infests the sick man, and to drive it out they do not consider difficult at all.

At midnight the young men stretch themselves upon the platform of the kashga, which has been deserted by the married men, who have returned to their homes.

THE KUSKOKVAGMUTE.—This tribe (the Kuskokvogmute of Dall, or the Kuskuchevak of Richardson), numbering between 3,000 and 4,000, occupies both banks of the Kuskokvim river from its mouth to the vicinity of Kalmakovsky, and are among the most interesting of the Eskimo tribes bordering upon Bering sea. They were brought into contact with the Russians at an early date (1835), when Kolmakof explored the overland route from Bristol bay to Norton sound, along which route, now no longer traveled, the effects of Russian influence are quite perceptible; but the inhabitants of the lowlands about the river mouth have scarcely come in contact with Caucasians up to the present day. The labors of the Russian missionaries of the Yukon never extended to this region, though their registers and reports show quite a number of Christians on the Kuskokvim river. The only trace of Christianity among this tribe, outside of the immediate vicinity of the trading-station with its chapel, consists of a few scattered crosses in the burial-places adjoining the settlement. At the village of Kalkhagamute, within three days' travel of the Russian mission on the Yukon, the graveyard contains a remarkable collection of grotesquely carved monuments and memorial posts, indicating very clearly the predominance of old pagan traditions over such faint ideas of Christianity as may have been introduced among the people. Among the monuments in this place the most remarkable is a female figure with four arms and hands, resembling closely a Hindoo goddess, even to the almond eyes and the general cast of features. Natural hair is attached to the head, falling over the shoulders. The legs of this figure are crossed in true oriental style, and two of the hands, the lower pair, hold rusty tin plates, upon which offerings of tobacco and scraps of cotton prints have been deposited. The whole is protected by a small roof set upon posts. Other monuments are scarcely less remarkable in variety of feature and coloring, and the whole collection would afford a rich harvest of specimens to any museum. During my brief stay at this spot it was found impossible to ascertain anything of the meaning of these monuments or to gather any of the traditions of the people with reference to them, though several of the structures were quite new, one of them, in memory of a young man who had been killed accidentally while hunting, having been erected but a month previously. The

presence of my Christian paddlers from the Yukon mission acted as a very efficient restraint upon the people of Kaitkhagamute, who nominally belong to the missionary fold. Nearly all these figures were human, though grotesque and misshapen, and drawn out of proportion. No images of animals or birds, which would have indicated the existence of totems and clans in the tribe, were to be seen; but here and there, over apparently neglected graves, a stick, surmounted by a very rude carving of a fish of the salmon species, could be discovered.

The burial-places of the populous villages of the lower Kuskokvim river abound in these carved monuments, but nowhere could I discover the totem among the emblems, though Mr. E. W. Nelson, of the United States signal service, claims that among the Kaiialigamute of the great lake region of the delta he saw totem-posts set up among the dwellings. As the people of the great lakes have always led an isolated existence, having been totally unknown to white men until Mr. Nelson went among them (the whole region having been covered by former map-makers with a mountain chain), it is probable that they have preserved customs which their neighbors have long since discarded; and it is very desirable that some scientific explorer should locate himself for a year or two on the lower Kuskokvim, in order to investigate thoroughly the ethnological features of this highly interesting region.

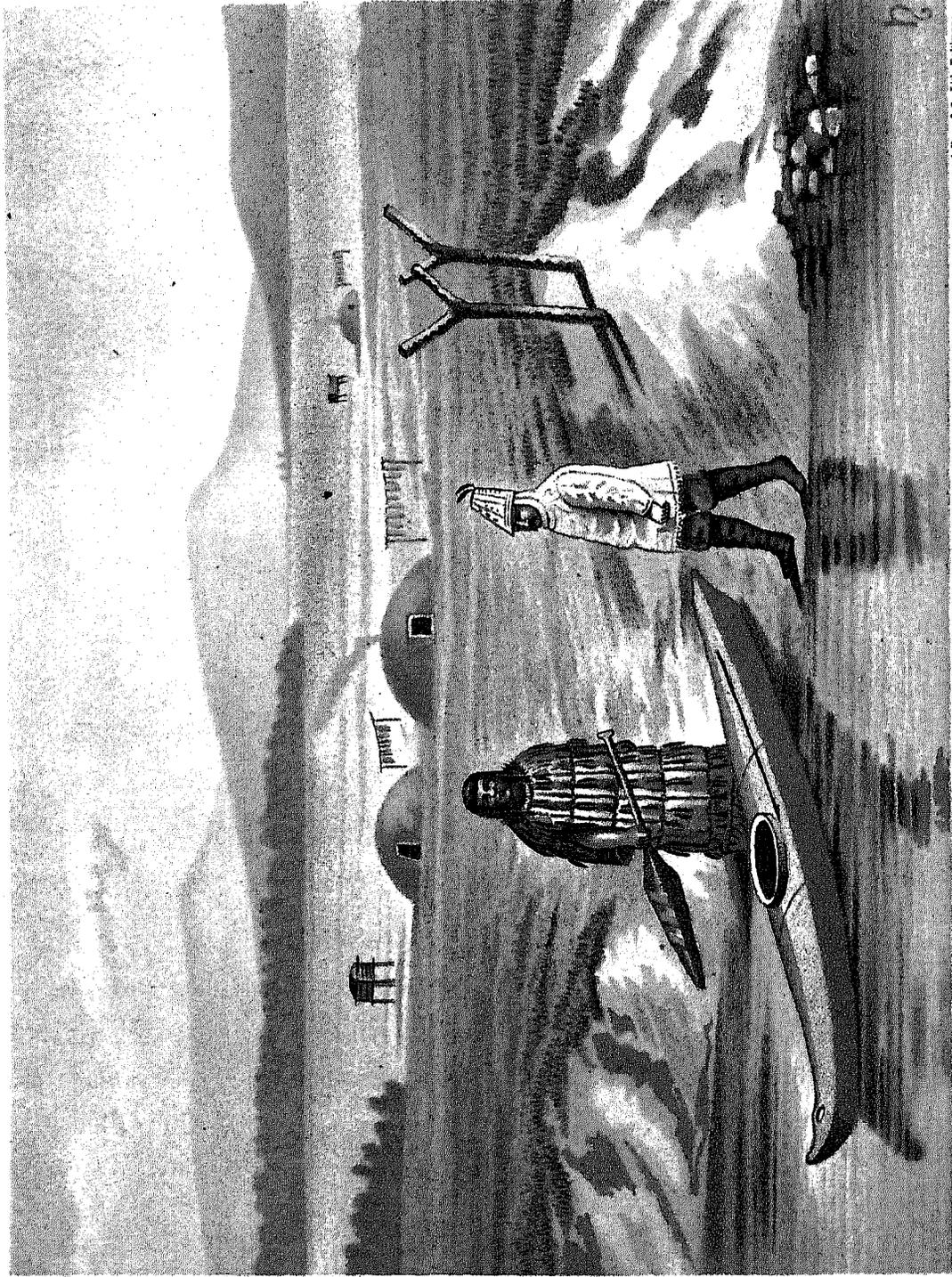
The Kuskokvigmute resemble in outward appearance their Eskimo neighbors in the north and west, but their complexion is perhaps a little darker. The men are distinguished from those of other tribes by having more hair on their faces; mustaches being quite common, even with youths of from twenty to twenty-five, while in other tribes this hirsute appendage does not make its appearance until the age of thirty-five or forty. Their hands and feet are small, but both sexes are muscular and well developed, inclined rather to embonpoint. In their garments the Kuskokvigmute differ but little from their neighbors described above, with the exception of the male upper garment, or parka, which reaches down to the feet, even dragging a little upon the ground, making it necessary to gird it up for the purpose of walking. The female parkas are a little shorter. Both garments are made of the skins of the ground-squirrel, ornamented with pieces of red cloth and bits of tails of the squirrel, as depicted in the accompanying plate. The females wear no head-covering except in the depth of winter, when they pull the hood of their reindeer parka over the head. The men wear caps, made of the skin of the ground-squirrel, resembling in shape the famous Glengarry cap. The young men frequently wear a small band of fur around the head, into which they insert eagle and hawk feathers on festive occasions. The former custom of this tribe, of inserting thin strips of bone or the quills of porcupines through an aperture cut in the septum, seems to have become obsolete, though the slit can still be seen on all grown male individuals. The ears are also universally pierced for the insertion of pendants, but these seem at present to be worn by children only, who discard them as they grow up. In fact, all ornamentation in the shape of beads, shells, etc., seems to be lavished upon their little ones, who toddle about with pendants rattling from ears, nose, and lower lip, and attired in frocks stiff with embroidery of beads or porcupine-quills, while the older girls and boys run almost naked, and the parents are imperfectly protected against cold and weather by a single fur garment.

The use of the true Eskimo kaiak is universal among the Kuskokvigmute, but in the timbered regions on the upper river, in the vicinity of Kalmakovsky, the birch-bark canoe also is quite common. The latter, however, is not used for extended voyages or for hunting, but is reserved chiefly for attending to fish-traps, for the use of women in their berrying and fishing expeditions, and for crossing rivers and streams.

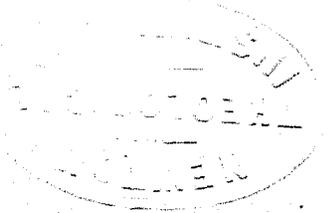
Each of the villages of the tribe has a kashga or council-house, many of them of large dimensions, and in structure closely resembling those already described in the Yukon region and delta. The dwellings also are very similar to those already described; but as we descend the river and pass from forests into the desolate marshes or tundra, the dwellings, owing to scarcity of wood, become more wretched, until they finally appear little more than holes in the ground covered with low mounds of turf. The custom of performing all kinds of labor in the kashga prevails here as among the other tribes, and the same building is used for the celebration of festivals, which are of frequent occurrence among these sociable people; whole villages leaving their homes for two or three weeks to visit their neighbors and assist in dances and masked performances in memory of some deceased person of prominence. During such visits only the sick or the very aged are left behind. The steam baths, so common in all these regions, are also prepared in the kashga, but are indulged in only by the grown-up males.

The accompanying plate represents a beluga-hunter of the lower Kuskokvim and his humble home.

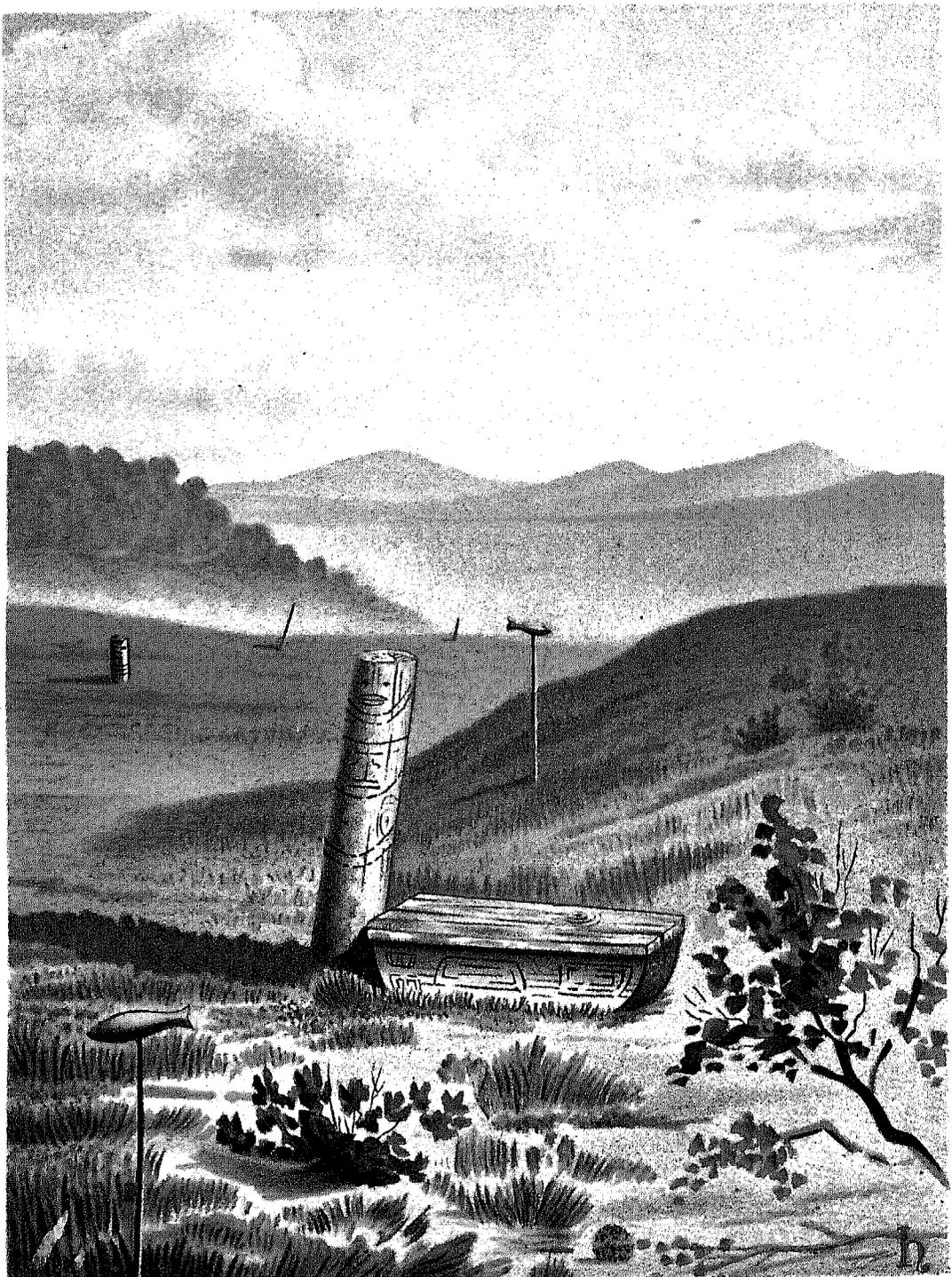
THE TOGIAGAMUTE.—This tribe has not heretofore been distinguished as a subdivision of the Eskimo, having never been visited by white men in their own country until the year 1880. They have remained thus isolated and unknown because their country affords no attraction to the trader in the shape of furs. They possess the general features of their Eskimo neighbors, but the males rarely have any beard until they are quite old. Their dwellings are of the most rude description, the villages resembling those of the prairie-dog on a somewhat enlarged scale. This similarity is increased in the morning, when it is the custom of the men to crouch upon the apex of the low mound of sods, staring about aimlessly into vacancy, wrapped completely in their ground-squirrel parkas. The Togiagamute—who may be divided into people of the coast and those of the interior or lakes—have held no communication with traders, except through the medium of a few individuals of the coast people who were bold enough to visit a small trading-post some distance to the eastward of the mouth of Togiak river. The interior people, or Kassianmute, had never beheld the Caucasian until my visit. Of their domestic life but little could be ascertained, as women and children would fly screaming to hide in the tall grass of the tundra at first sight of the



BELUGA HUNTER AND DWELLINGS - LOWER KUSKOVIM, ALASKA.



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A. Hoen & Co. Lith. Baltimore.

BURIAL PLACE OF TOGIAGAMUTE.

visitor, who was at once surrounded by a crowd of astonished and inquisitive males, nearly everything on and about the traveler and his canoe possessing the greatest interest for them, and loose articles, such as a compass and field-glass, writing materials, etc., were passed around from hand to hand and closely inspected, but safely returned at last. An absence of the elaborate carvings found among the Kuskokvagnute is very noticeable here; the crudest images of fish and the human head and face being all they possess in this line. They lead a thoroughly nomadic life, wandering from place to place in search of game or fish, having no shelter beyond that afforded by a kaiak turned upon its side, supported by a paddle or two. This simple screen is shifted about as the wind changes, and whole families rest in the lee of this unsatisfactory shelter in pelting rain-storms, with only their heads enjoying the least protection. Among the Eskimo tribes heretofore described the traveler generally finds some one in each village who acts as spokesman, though not possessing any real authority, but the Togiagamutes seem to live in the most perfect state of independence of each other. Even the communities do not seem bound together in any way; families and groups of families constantly changing their abode, leaving one community and joining another, or perhaps forming one of their own. The youth, as soon as he is able to build a kaiak and to support himself, no longer observes any family ties, but goes where his fancy takes him, frequently roaming about with his kaiak for thousands of miles before another fancy calls him to take a wife, to excavate a miserable dwelling, and to settle down for a time.

A branch of this tribe occupies a few villages in a peninsula formed by cape Newenham. These differ much in their habits and customs from their immediate neighbors, owing to the fact that large droves of reindeer still roam over the mountains of the peninsula, the hunting of which seems to be a monopoly of these natives, whom we may distinguish as the Chingigumute or Cape people, and whose principal settlement is Azivigiak. The Chingigumute have been in contact with both Russians and neighboring tribes, as a portage route from the Kuskokvim to Togiak bay leads through their country; consequently they do not differ much in their customs from the Kuskokvagnute, though their dialect is that of the Togiagamute. There is one peculiarity of the people just described which they have in common with the inhabitants of the lower Kuskokvim. I refer to the surprising indifference in regard to the quality of their drinking-water, as they drink the water of brackish lagoons, full of offal of fish, seal, etc., even in localities where running water of better quality is quite convenient. The hunters who proceed to sea in their kaiaks in pursuit of the seal or of the beluga take with them only a dipper, and quench their thirst with salt water. I had occasion to observe this peculiar custom even when I had with me a supply of fresh water, of which these natives might have partaken.

The accompanying plate represents a burial-place near the mouth of the Togiak river.

THE NUSHEGAGMUTE.—The Nushegagmute, also known as Kiatagmute, are confined strictly to the valleys drained by the Nushegak river and its tributaries. In outward appearance they resemble their neighbors already described, but their manners and customs have been somewhat changed by long contact with the Russians and the location of the missionary station at Alexandrovsk, on the mouth of the river. The men are hunters of considerable skill on both land and water. The natives inhabiting the headwaters of the river and the lake region of the interior are in constant communication with the Athabaskan tribes. All the natives of this tribe are carried on the register of the Russian missionary, and consequently are nominally Christians, although still addicted to their old pagan customs and festivals. During a favorable season the outlying settlements receive an annual visit from the missionary, whose influence does not extend much beyond the baptizing of infants and the marriage of such couples as visit the mission station. The interior of this region being generally wooded, the dwellings of natives are somewhat larger and more comfortable than those of the coast people. The inhabitants of the immediate vicinity of Alexandrovsk and the sea-coast have been strangely mixed by immigration from the westward and northward, and we find here families from the Kuskokvim, from the Yukon delta, and even from Norton sound, the latter of the Mahlemute tribe. Many of these strangers are engaged in walrus-hunting along the shallow coast and about the outlying islands. Here, as on the Kuskokvim, the natives within the reach of tide-water use the Eskimo kaiak exclusively, while those of the interior have birch-bark canoes. The men are all skillful carvers in ivory, and both males and females take part in the scenic performances connected with their many festivals. The kashga, or kashima (the latter a Russian term), is found in every village, and is used as workshop, bath, and assembly-room alternately.

Great care and pains are bestowed upon their masks and scenic representations by these natives, as well as by the neighboring tribes. The actors in the scenes represented always array themselves in their costumes and masks out of sight of the spectators, generally in that part of the kashga partially covered by the flooring, ascending through the fire-hole like actors from a trap in the stage. A change in the action is generally accomplished behind skins held up as a screen, and every participant in the performance does his utmost to act his part as true to nature as possible. During representations of combats between men, and between men and animals, bladders filled with seal's blood are concealed about the person in order to give a realistic representation of the flowing blood. Stuffed animals introduced on such occasions are generally moved about quite naturally by hidden strings and cords, and carved birds flap their wings through the same agency. The majority of the masks have movable eyes and jaws. In fact, these performances afford a striking contrast to the dramatic scenes enacted by the Chinese, who boast of the oldest civilization of the globe. A learned Chinaman, with the red button on his cap, the prof

of having passed the most difficult examinations, will stand in the auditorium of a Chinese theater crowded to suffocation, through a five or six hours' performance on the board stage, where everything in the way of scenery consists of a few dry-goods boxes and a stool or two; where changes of scenery are denoted by placing a small flower-pot on one of the dry-goods boxes to represent a garden, and placing an inkstand to indicate an office or a court-room; where a criminal about to be executed is touched with a paper sword on the side of his neck, and walks demurely off the stage in full sight of the audience; where a man about to be murdered walks out and brings in a miserable dummy and holds it up to be slain in his place; while among these savage tribes every detail pertaining to their representations is attended to with patience and care, exceeding even those bestowed upon such matters on our provincial stages.

THE AGLEMUTE.—This tribe, numbering but a few hundreds, inhabits the north coast of Alaska peninsula, down to the Oogashik river, where the Aleutian settlements begin. The Aglemute also are Christians, but, like their neighbors, retain all their former customs and superstitions. Their villages are all located on the sea-coast, with the exception of one at the head of lake Walker. The natives of the coast villages are walrus-hunters, and occasionally put out to sea in pursuit of whales. They are equally skilled in ivory carving with their northern neighbors, the difference between them being almost purely dialectic. The latter circumstance is probably owing to the fact that the Aglemute have lived from time immemorial upon the portage routes between Bering sea and the north Pacific, across the Alaska peninsula. The people of the easternmost villages on lake Walker even now maintain a more constant communication with the Kaniagmute of Katmai across the mountains than they do with their kinsmen on the coast of Bering sea. Among the Aglemute also traces of immigration from distant tribes exist. I found on the Naknek river, the outlet of lake Walker, a family hailing from Ikogmute, some 200 or 300 miles up the Yukon. Their immigration had taken place quite recently, and they still remembered many of the people in their old home by name. In former times there existed another element among the Aglemute—Aleutian invaders, who for some time inhabited two settlements on the mouth of the Naknek river. As far as can be ascertained, the Aleutians retreated down the peninsula as far as Oogashik at the beginning of the present century. In their garments the Aglemute do not essentially differ from their western and northern neighbors, though they make use of reindeer-skins for their winter garments, these animals being quite plentiful in their country.

THE KANIAGMUTE.—Crossing the mountains from the country of the Aglemute, we enter the territory inhabited by the most important among the Eskimo tribes of Alaska, the Kaniagmute (Koniagimute or Kadiaktzi of the Russians, Kikhtagmute of the Aglemute, or the Ultz-chna of the Athabaskans of Cook's inlet). The Kaniagmute were the first Eskimo tribe with whom the Russians came in contact, and their first meeting was not of a friendly nature. Before the Muscovite traders had become more intimately acquainted with this tribe they classed them as Aleuts, on the strength of their outward resemblance to the latter, and such they were called as long as the country remained under Russian rule, though scientific men knew long ago that the Aleut belonged to a different tribe from this. Our earliest knowledge of the Kaniagmute is based upon the reports of Golovief, the Russian, who landed on Kadiak in the year 1762, and of Shelikhof, who established the first permanent settlement on the island. The latter, whose personal investigations among the people extended over two years of residence, in narrating the events of his voyage, wrote as follows:

The Kaniags (Kadiak people) are tall, healthy, and strong, generally round-faced, with light brown color; the hair is black, seldom dark brown, and is cut off around by men and women. The wives of some of the more prominent natives comb a bunch of their hair forward over the forehead and cut it off at the eyebrows. A few of the men have beards, and both sexes frequently tattoo the breast and shoulders in imitation of neckerchiefs. Men, women, and young girls pierce the partition of the nose as well as the ears and under lip; the latter disfigurement often assumes the size and shape of a second mouth. Through the hole in the nose a small stick or bone is worn, and bead ornaments are placed in the ears, mouth, and nose. The men do not cut their beard. They have no shoes, going always barefooted, and at home entirely naked, with the exception of a small apron of skin. They wore parkas of the skins of beaver, otter, fox, bear, birds, ground-squirrels, marmot, marten, rabbit, reindeer, wolverine, and lynx. Their rain garments are made of the entrails of sea-lions, seals, and whales. On their heads they wore hats made of spruce-roots and grass, also wooden caps, bent or curved, of one piece.

In the chase of marine animals they used spears that were thrown from little boards, but in war times they used bows and arrows and lances, with points of iron, copper, bone, or stone. They have iron hatchets of peculiar shape, also pipes, knives of iron and bone, iron needles (until our arrival the women made their own needles of bone); thread made of sinews, dishes made of wood, of the horn of mountain sheep, of clay, and stone. Their boats were bidars covered with skins. They catch fish at sea with bone hooks, the lines being very long and made of dried sea-weed, the seam of one kind of sea-weed being sometimes 40 fathoms long. In the rivers they catch their fish by means of weirs and dams, killing them with spears. They make fire by friction, and use stone lamps for lighting filled with the fat of seals, bears, or sea-lions, and provided with wicks of grass.

Of their marriages I know nothing, nor can I say anything of their new-born children, except where the name is given from the first object in view, be it animal, bird, or anything else.

The burial customs differ in the various tribes of the Kaniag. I have not witnessed these ceremonies, but I have been assured that some deposit the corpse, together with the most valuable possessions of the deceased, in a small canoe, and cover it with earth; others inter at the same time with the deceased a live slave. The Kenaige (Kenaitze), however, burn the corpse, together with a number of skins presented by relatives for the purpose.

During the mourning for their dead relatives they cut the hair of the head and smear the face with black pigment; this they do only for relatives such as father, mother, brother, sister, and others especially beloved; sometimes also if a stranger for whom they have felt great friendship. If the deceased has been in bad repute or quarreled with his relatives, the latter do not go into mourning.

Epidemic diseases I did not notice among them; they did not know anything of small-pox; they are of healthful habit, and live to a hundred years.

These natives go to meet arriving visitors dressed in their best and painted red, beating drums and dancing to the time with arms in their hands; the visitors approach in order of battle. As soon as the canoes are near enough the host and hostess wade into the sea up to their breasts and drag the canoes ashore as rapidly as possible; then they hurriedly assist the guests out of the bidarkas and carry them singly on their backs to the place appointed for their reception; here they all seat themselves, but perfect silence reigns until everybody has eaten and drunk his fill.

The first and most important ceremony consists in partaking of cold water, and then the children and youths bring on the various dishes, consisting of blubber, a hash made of fish, seal, whale, and sea-lion meat and blubber; the next, berries of various kinds served with oil; then roots mixed with berries and dried fish, and finally meat of animals and birds. Salt is unknown to them. Of every article of food the host must taste first. This made me believe that they had a knowledge of poison. When the host has tasted from a dish he hands it to the guest at his right; he helps himself and then passes the dish in the order of rank. If anything remains on a dish it is passed back to the first, who gathers the remnants and puts them by to take with him on his departure. The meal finished, conversation begins, and when all the news has been exchanged dancing and singing are indulged in to the music of drums and rattles. Some don masks of grotesque patterns made of wood and painted. When the guests are dressed they are carried by the host to a large hut; this building resembles somewhat a temple of irregular and barbarous architecture. Here the real entertainment begins; as long as the guests remain singing and dancing and pantomime are continued; when tired they go to sleep, but when they awake the entertainment goes on, ending only with the termination of the visit. On taking leave both parties make presents to each other, and perhaps do a little trading. In these large buildings all of the councils, consultations, and assemblies are held; and whenever anything of importance is going on the female sex is excluded.

[The Kaniags and Chugach have one language, but the Kenaigé are entirely different in both language and customs.] The people live in subterranean dwellings, the walls of which are lined with planks; the window-openings are on top, covered with bladders of various animals; the entrance is from beneath. They have no fire-places, and make no fire because it is warm enough without. Their bath-houses are similarly constructed, and heat is produced with stone heated in a fire outside; here the natives rub themselves with bundles of grass and twigs. These baths are very hot, but no steam is used. Each settlement has a common kitchen with doors or openings all around. Whoever steals most frequently and successfully is most respected. They do not have many wives—seldom a man has two, but the good-looking and active women sometimes keep two and three men without any appearance of jealousy among them.

They have no vehicle on land and no draught-animal, and though dogs are numerous they are not employed for this purpose.

They have not the slightest conception of a God, and though they say that two beings or spirits exist in the world—one good and one bad—they have no image or likeness of the same, and do not worship them. They are not idolators. Of the beings or spirits mentioned above they know nothing beyond the fact that the good spirit taught them to use bidars, taught them to make bidars; and the bad spirit how to spoil and destroy them. From this fact we can judge of the narrow limits of their understanding. They have, however, a great deal of sorcery and soothsaying among them; they have no law of justice, and everything tends to show that they lead a life differing but little from that of beasts. They are of an ardent nature, especially the females. They are enterprising and cunning by nature, and when insulted they are revengeful and malicious, though meek and humble in outward appearance. Of their faithfulness and honesty I can say but little, owing to my brief residence among them. I have seen examples of good faith and firmness, but also of the contrary. If they are told that they may derive profit from a certain undertaking they spare no pains and dare anything. Altogether they are a happy and harmless people, as is proved by their daily games and frolics; but as they live in constant enjoyment, and neglect their domestic affairs, it frequently happens that they suffer from want of food and clothing.

In ancient times the Kaniagmute settlements extended much farther both north and south than they do now. They carried on constant wars with the Aleutians of the Shumagin and Aleutian chains of islands, and in the north were found by Captain Cook half-way up Cook's inlet as late as 1778. In warlike disposition, strength of body, and treachery they appeared to the Russians very different indeed from the meek and humble Aleuts, but, once conquered, they became fully as manageable and as easily accepted the teachings of the Russian missionaries, who began their labors among them in 1795. The intermixture of Caucasian and other elements in this district has been so great as to leave but few of the original tribal peculiarities either in outward appearance or in manners and customs. The Kaniagmute and their eastern neighbors, the Chugachimute, are the only sea-otter hunters among the Eskimo of Alaska, and as such naturally become of greater importance to the Russians than their western neighbors, receiving a greater share of attention in every way. The manners and customs of the Kaniagmute have been repeatedly described since the days of Shelikhof. First after him came Davidof, a young officer of the Russian navy, who resided two winters on Kadiak island, in 1802-'03. They were next described by J. H. Holmberg, an ethnologist of some repute from Finland, who embodied much of Davidof's work in his own, which was published about the year 1850. Other Russian and German writers have touched upon the subject. The substance of these previous investigations, together with my own personal observations, are embodied in the following pages.

The Kaniags (Koniag, or Kikhtagmute) are the inhabitants of the island of Kadiak and surrounding islands. They were called Kadiak-Aleuts by the Russians, or briefly Kadiaks. Neither of these two appellations is strictly correct, as originally neither island nor people bore such a name. The name of Kadiak is evidently a corruption of Kikkhtak, a word signifying in the language of the Kaniagmute a great island, and which was naturally applied to the largest island of the group. What may have induced the Russians to call the Kaniags Aleuts, a name first applied to the inhabitants of the Fox islands, different entirely in language as well as in outward appearance from the former, is not easily explained, unless it was based upon the general similarity of outline existing among the natives of the northwest coast of America. In the course of time the name of Kadiak has been universally adopted even by the natives of the island, while the younger generation call themselves Aleut, which they pronounce Aleutik; only the aged still maintain that in the days of their liberty and independence their name was Koniag. We find in the Kaniags a people divided originally into commoners and hereditary chiefs. Among the Thlinket the commander or head man, who was much respected, was chosen among the families of chiefs. Under Russian rule this social organization had almost disappeared, but the chiefs or elders (*starshina*) were selected by the

Russian-American Company on account of their influence or wealth, and the company also took care to make these selections from families in which chieftainship had been hereditary. They received a salary from the company, and if they held their office for a prolonged period they were presented with a long tunic made of scarlet cloth. A starshina (or elder) dressed in this manner enjoyed among his people a greater respect than is accorded to European nobles with hundreds of ancestors.

The system of slavery was less developed among the Kaniags than among the Thlinket. They held slaves, but their number was small, and the wealth of individuals did not depend upon slaves entirely, as among the Thlinket. The sacrifice of slaves was unknown; they were looked upon only as laborers or servants, and their lot was a happier one than that of their Thlinket neighbors. Of prisoners of war only the women and children were carried into slavery; the men (according to the doubtful authority of Davidof) were killed at once, or perhaps preserved for some great festival, to be tortured in view of the whole settlement. The few who survived such torture were permitted to live. The principal mode of obtaining slaves was by barter with the other tribes; but no slaves have existed on the Kadiak group of islands for at least a generation. As soon as Shelikhof established himself at Kadiak the slaves began to flock into the Russian camp, where they found protection, and in return served as body-guard and scouts for the Russian traders. Later, when the Russians had become firmly established, they confiscated all the slaves and employed them as laborers of the company; at the same time the very name of slave seems to have disappeared, and they were designated by a word imported from Kamchatka, the "kayoor", which signifies day-laborer or servant. In course of time, when the original kayoors had decreased much in numbers, the company made a practice of replacing them with free natives who had committed crimes. It seems that the number of crimes committed always increased with the demand for labor, and finally the system of universal liability to labor for the company was adopted, from which even children and women were not excepted. In outward appearance a few characteristics distinguish the Kaniag from other tribes of the northwest coast of America. The posterior portion of his skull is decidedly flat, and his stature is considerably above the medium, making him the tallest among his neighbors. Occasionally individuals of gigantic stature are met with; for instance, Davidof claimed to have met with a chief in the bay of Igak who measured 6 feet and 9 inches in height. The dark or nearly copper color of the face or skin is considered by Davidof as not natural, but the consequence of a life of constant exposure; and at the same time he remarks that he saw many white females. The same observation was made fifty years later by Holmberg, but the white faces always appeared to him to be the result of mixture with foreign blood. The coarse black hair, the small black eyes, protruding cheek-bones, and brilliant white teeth are common to all the tribes of the Russian colonies. In former times both sexes wore their hair long, the men's in plaits and the women's in a rough knot or roll on the top of the head and cut straight on the forehead just above the eyes. On festive occasions it was smeared with whale-oil and a red powder made of burnt ocher, and finally strewn with white down, generally taken from the eagle. Of all these modes of ornamenting the hair, oiling alone has been retained, and nearly all the men, women, and children dress it in European fashion. The partition of the nose, the lower lip, and the external rim of the ear were pierced for the reception of ornaments, of which the one destined for the nose always consisted of a cylindrical pin of bone, five inches in length, sometimes replaced with the sea-lion whiskers. In lips and ears the ornaments or pendants consisted of small pieces of polished bone generally pierced and strung upon threads, but after the arrival of the Russians glass beads took the place of these. At the beginning of this century the lip and ear ornaments of the wealthy Kaniag women or a young dandy frequently weighed several pounds.

The dentalium was an ornament much prized by men and women. This shell did not exist in the Russian possessions, but was imported from the British colonies north of the Columbia river, and thence passed from hand to hand along the whole coast as far as the Aleutian islands. At the time of Davidof's visit to Kadiak, in the year 1802, the price of one pair of these little shells was a whole parka of squirrel-skins.

Davidof also relates a tradition of the Kaniagmutes to the effect that in the country of the Thlinket, far to the southward, there was a lake from which the dentalium or hyqua shell was obtained, the mollusks being fed with bodies of slaves thrown into the water—a story evidently invented by the Thlinket to enhance the price of this commodity, of which they had a monopoly.

The most precious ornaments consisted of small pieces of amber that were washed up occasionally by the sea on the south coast of Kadiak, but chiefly on the island of Ookamak; these were pierced and strung and served the women as earrings or pendants. At certain times, after an earthquake, as a rule, the ocean seemed to be more lavish in bestowing this treasure, and then the amber formed quite an article of trade between the Kaniags and the people of Bristol bay and Nushegak; but as these larger harvests of amber only occurred at long intervals the value of the article always remained at a high standard.

The lower lip of the women was always pierced twice, but frequently five or six times; the men having only one such orifice. Some dandy in ancient times originated the fashion of making a long, horizontal slit in the under lip parallel with the mouth, but this mode had few followers, owing to the inconvenience of having their food come out at the artificial aperture.

At present only the oldest women of Kadiak island show traces of tattooing on the chin, though formerly this custom was universal. The mode of procedure was to smear a thin thread of whale sinew with a mixture of

soot and oil, and then to draw the thread into the skin by means of a needle, thus forming certain primitive patterns. In ancient times the breasts were also tattooed, and frequently two parallel lines were drawn from the ear to the chin; and if a newly-married woman wished to give her husband a proof of great love she tattooed herself on various parts of the body and in the hands.

It was the custom of the Kaniags to paint their faces in various colors before festivities or games and before any important undertaking, such as the crossing of a wide strait or arm of the sea, the sea-otter chase, etc. The colors most commonly used were red and black, the pigments consisting of oxide of iron and graphite, which are found on various parts of the coast, mixed with whale- or seal-oil and applied with pointed sticks. After the face had been covered with one color the sticks served to scratch in the still moist foundation figures and stripes, which were either filled with other colors or allowed to retain the natural color.

In former times the clothing of both male and female Kaniags was alike, and consisted of the kamleika and the parka. Both of these names were introduced from Kamchatka; the native word for "kamleika" being *kanakhlivaku*, and for the parka *atkuvu*. The parka was a long shirt or garment with a small opening at the neck just large enough to allow the head to pass through, and with two short sleeves, which were intended more for ornament than for use, as under each sleeve there was a vertical slit through which the arms were thrust when needed, but commonly these members were kept concealed under the garment. The parka was made of the skins of birds or animals; of the former the cormorant, the duck, and the sea-parrot furnished the material, and of the latter those of the ground-squirrel, the sea-otter, the marmot, the bear, and the reindeer were used. After the birds had been skinned the women removed the fatty particles by sucking, and then smeared them thickly with putrefied fish-roe and let them remain in this shape for some time. After a few days they were cleansed and kneaded with hands and feet until dry. The skins thus prepared were sewed together with needles manufactured from the bones of small birds, and thread prepared by a very tedious process from the dried sinews of the whale. The most valuable of all the bird-skin parkas were those prepared altogether of the necks of the cormorant, worn only by the young women, and a single garment required the necks of from 150 to 200 birds. The feathers of these garments were worn on the outside, and were ornamented with the long hair of the reindeer, strips of ermine, sea-otter, and sometimes with eagle-feathers. Other bird-skin parkas were worn during fine weather with the feathers inside, and in wet weather these were turned out and served to shed the water. The skin was ornamented with figures and lines in various patterns traced in red pigments.

The ground-squirrel, or *spermophilus*, furnished the material most generally used for parkas. The animal does not exist on the island of Kadiak, but abounds on some of the smaller islands. The skins were first cut into squares and then sewed together so that the head and belly formed one side and the back and pendant tail the other; these double squares being then sewed together to make the parka, which consequently had fur both inside and out. The parkas made of bear-, moose-, sea-otter-, or reindeer-skin were always worn with the fur outside. The marmot-skins were obtained by barter from the Kenaitze and Chugach; the reindeer-skins from the inhabitants of the Aliaska peninsula, and exchanged for sea-otter skins or amber, etc. Reindeer parkas were always ornamented with feathers, beads, etc.

The kamleika is the most important article of clothing worn by the Kaniags, as it protects them against rain and moisture, and without it it would be impossible to undertake any extended voyages in bidarkas. It is made from the entrails of bears, sea-lions, or seals, occasionally also of those of the sea-otter. These are dried, cut into long strips, and sewed together into shirts with wide sleeves, and a hood which is drawn over the head until only a portion of the face remains bare. The entrails are prepared in the following manner: They are first turned inside out and all the fatty particles removed with a sharp fragment of a shell; then they are repeatedly washed in salt water or urine, and rinsed and allowed to dry slowly; when dry they are rubbed between the hands until perfectly soft, and then are cut into strips and sewed together. When one of these garments is completed the sleeves and neck are tightly bound and water is poured into the body in order to test its imperviousness. The kamleikas made of the entrails of the bear are considered the strongest, but the material is less plentiful than that obtained from sea-lions or seals. Lieutenant Davidof states that in ancient times the skins of the tongue and the liver of the whale were also used for the same purpose.

The garments of the Kaniags as they have been described may still be found among them. The squirrel and bird parkas and kamleikas are still universally worn, but they are now ornamented with red worsted and strips of cloth. When the Russians had obtained a firm foothold in these regions they prohibited the natives from wearing garments made of sea-otter, bear, or other valuable furs. At present the parka is worn only out of doors, while indoor shirts of cotton, dresses of calico and drill, and trousers of coarse cloth or linen are in common use; hats, and caps of American manufacture have almost superseded the hat plaited of roots and highly ornamented with beads, dentalium, sea-lion whiskers, and figures in black, red, and blue colors. A blue color, consisting of small fragments of ore which are ground to powder, is obtained by barter with the inhabitants of the Aliaska peninsula. In applying these pigments it was the custom to open a blood-vessel of the nose with a sharp piece of shell and to mix the color with the blood to the proper consistency, the Kaniags claiming that such a mixture was more durable than colors prepared with oil. In painting paddles or oars this method was generally adopted; if the bleeding did not cease speedily the cut was sprinkled with ashes. In ancient times the hat was ornamented with

an elaborate piece of embroidery, the work of the women—sometimes representing a bush with birds; but this has entirely disappeared. Before the arrival of the Russians the inhabitants of Kadiak were barefooted, but they soon adopted the torbassá (boots of seal- or deer-skin), imported by the Russians from Kamchatka.

In his choice of food the Kaniag is still less particular than the Thlinket, and in addition to the articles composing the diet of the latter he consumes a number of disgusting and unclean things that no other tribe would look upon as food. As a sample of this I instance the fact that after killing a bear they empty the stomach and entrails of their contents and boil them with berries; this is done chiefly at a season when the bear also lives upon berries. This disgusting habit cannot be traced to necessity, as food of all kinds abounds at that time of the year. It may be stated briefly, but truly, that the Kaniagmutes eat anything and everything from the toughest root to the most disgusting worm of land or sea.

The principal means of subsistence, however, is fish. During the summer season it is generally cooked before being eaten, but during the winter the air-dried fish is eaten raw more frequently than cooked. The drying of the fish is done in the open air, and nothing hinders flies and other insects from depositing their eggs therein, which speedily develop into maggots.

The dried fish is generally stored in the dwellings, being piled up along the walls; but if the supply is great it frequently happens that the floor is covered with them several feet high, and the family live on the top of their food until they gradually eat their way to the floor. Among the greatest delicacies of the Kaniag are the meat and blubber of the whale; no other article of food, be it fish or flesh, seems palatable to him without being dipped into oil, and if the supply is ample he drinks the latter pure. The capture of the whale always marks an epoch in the season, people hastening from distant settlements to assist in cutting up the animal. It is the custom to present such assistants with one-quarter of the whole animal, and consequently there are but few idlers, and the operation is concluded with astonishing rapidity. On the island of Afognak Holmberg witnessed the cutting up of a whale, and testified to the fact that in two hours nothing but the bare bones remained on the beach. The blubber as well as the meat is cut into long, narrow strips; the meat is boiled, but is seldom consumed fresh, being deposited in excavations in the ground, where it undergoes a process of putrefaction, and where, according to a Russian expression, it "becomes sour", before it is considered fit to eat. The blubber was formerly reduced to oil in the following manner: It was first cut up into very small pieces, then the old men and women and children who could not assist in the cutting masticated the fragments and spit out the juice into a large dish or kettle; subsequently this liquid was boiled and preserved for future use. Frequently the blubber is mixed with berries or with the boiled roots of the wild garlic, and put up in bladders for the winter.

It frequently happens that a long time elapses between the killing of a whale and the capture of the carcass, and under such circumstances the consumption of the meat causes disease and sometimes death. The Kaniags, however, claim to be able to decide whether the meat is still fit to eat by observing the gulls and other aquatic birds that swarm about the carcass; and if a certain species of bird is absent the Kaniag will not touch the meat.

A variety of wild celery (*elicuta*) also forms a favorite article of diet with the Kaniags; the outside of the stalk being removed with the teeth and the soft pulp inside eaten. Lieutenant Davidof also stated that the roots of certain ferns were preserved in oil and eaten.

In cases of necessity the Kaniags are able to go without food for a long time, and they never load their stomachs before exertion of any kind. After labor has been performed they give full sway to their gluttony, and their voracity borders upon the marvelous. The following incident, related by Holmberg, may serve as an example:

While circumnavigating the island of Kadiak in a bidarka I was compelled by bad weather to remain in Killuda bay for three days with my six oarsmen, and occupied the house of a native who was engaged in fishing; the only occupation of my men at that time was to eat and to sleep. Before sunrise in the morning a kettle of "yukala" was on the fire, and each man devoured two fish; early in the forenoon our host gave another fish to each of the men; this was eaten raw with whale-oil; at noon a supply of fresh salmon was brought in, and sixteen of these were boiled and eaten by my crew; in the evening the morning meal was repeated, so that during daylight each man had devoured at least seven fish, and what they consumed during the night I could only surmise.

After returning to Pavlovsk harbor Holmberg related the incident to Mr. Murgin, the agent at that place, somewhat apprehensive of being disbelieved, but his story was received only with hearty laughter, and in return he was favored with a similar anecdote which threw his experience altogether in the shade. Mr. Murgin, during a bidarka journey encamped upon an island late in the evening, and immediately after landing an immense bear was killed by his men. Murgin went to sleep, and, after resting six hours, he was asked to embark again. Seeing no sign of the bear about the camp he asked what had become of it; the reply was, "We have eaten him up." Six men had devoured the huge bear within a single night. I myself, also, witnessed the devouring of two 50-pound halibut by six men between 10 a. m. and 6 p. m., while delayed by bad weather on Kadiak island.

As already mentioned, mussels are a favorite article of food with the Kaniags, but it seems that these also are poisonous in certain localities or at certain seasons. One instance is on record where a large number of sea-otter hunters perished from eating mussels in what is now called Peril strait, in the vicinity of Sitka. An old man named Arsentí, who was present at the time, gave Holmberg the following account of the disaster:

Soon after the new fort had been built at Sitka I was one of a sea-otter party which had been ordered to winter in Sitka, but when they arrived there Medvednikof, the commander, informed us that he had provisions only for half the party, and that the other half must

return to Kadiak; I was among those who returned. When we passed through the straits we had no fish and were compelled to eat mussels, and a few hours later more than one-half of our men were dead. Death took hold of me also, but I remembered the advice of my father to eat raw sticklebacks; I did so, vomited, and was cured.

Previous to their acquaintance with the Russians the Kaniags undertook to make an intoxicating beverage by distilling alcohol from the fermented juice of raspberries and whortleberries, but this was prohibited by the Russian company. Now they all know how to distill alcohol from flour, sugar, and molasses. The use of tobacco has become universal, especially in the shape of snuff; and among other articles of luxury tea and sugar are the most important.

Holmberg expressed his astonishment when he arrived at a Kadiak settlement and learned that the inhabitants numbered from 200 to 300 and lived in only 10 or 15 dwellings; but when he entered one of these houses and beheld the crowded mass of old and young, the matter was easily explained. Each hut was inhabited by three or four or more families; the interior consisting of one common apartment, or cooking- or living-room, and three or four small partitions to form sleeping-rooms. The walls consisted of planks planted perpendicularly in the ground, slightly inclined inward. The rafters generally consisted of whale-ribs, which were covered with sticks of drift-wood, and a thick layer of sods placed over all. The floor was strewn with dried grasses, and in the middle of it was the fire-place, corresponding to an opening in the roof. Along the walls all the provisions and utensils were piled promiscuously; and all kinds of offal with a penetrating odor of whale-oil made the interior exceedingly disagreeable.

The sleeping compartments are generally so low that one cannot stand upright within; they are lighted up sometimes by a small bladder window in the roof. Small as these compartments are they serve as sleeping-rooms for several families to stretch out promiscuously upon the plank floor without covering of any kind. One of these little compartments is used as a steam-bath room, for which steam and heat are obtained by means of red-hot stones, over which water is poured; and after the Kaniag has been thoroughly steamed he runs into the sea or river to wash himself, in winter as well as in summer.

The Kaniag canoes are remarkable for fine workmanship and graceful form. They consist of a slight frame of light wood tied together with whale-sinews and covered with seal-skin, with the exception of an opening for the oarsmen, and are made with one, two, or three openings. Each kind has a different name, but are all known as kaiaks. The three-hatch kaiak is called the *bidarka* (*paitalik*); the two-hatch canoe is called *kaiakhpak* (big canoe), and the one-hatch canoe, *kaiangval*. The two-hatch canoes are most generally used at Kadiak. Over each hatch a water-proof apron is fastened (called by the Russians *obtiashka* and by the natives *akvilivale*), which the inmate draws up to his arm-pits in bad weather, securing it tightly about his chest. The Kadiak bidarkas differ in form from those of other coast tribes, being shorter and broader than those of the Aleuts, and the paddles have but one blade. In addition to these canoes they have so-called "bidars" (*angiale*), much larger and of different grade. The frame-work for these is constructed similarly to that of the canoe, but is not covered on top, and resembles our boats in shape. They were formerly used principally in times of war and for long journeys, as they hold easily from 30 to 40 persons. Oars are used to propel them, and sometimes masts and sails. At present nearly all of these crafts are in the hands of the traders.

The Kaniags are possessed of great skill in carving figures and other objects from walrus-tusks, the material being obtained from the Aliaska peninsula. They also make very nicely carved snuff-boxes of whalebone. Formerly all these objects were worked with stone implements, but the use of iron has long been known to the Kaniags, who used it at the arrival of the Russians. The savages said that iron was occasionally cast upon the beach by the waves [*sic!*]. The stone implements consisted of hammering-wedges and axes made of hard graywacke, knives made of a hard kind of stone, similar in shape, and provided with wooden handles; and tools made of shells served to smooth or polish surfaces. We still find on Kadiak many stone lamps manufactured in ancient times, and roughly fashioned by partially scooping out a piece of large stone. Oil was poured into this excavation, and twisted moss and grass served as wick.

The women are equally skilled in handiwork, especially in all kinds of needlework, making and adorning garments, covering the canoes, etc. They also make bags of the entrails of seals and whales, and ornament them with feathers and beads of worsted. These bags are water-proof, and protect their contents against moisture. The Kaniag women also make baskets and hats, but do not equal the Thlinket women in this respect; they excel, however, in all kinds of embroidery.

The general mode of life of the Kaniags in former times much resembled that of all the coast tribes of northwest America. In the summer they occupied themselves with the chase and the fishery, and the winter was spent in idleness until hunger compelled them to renew their efforts. In former times all the great festivals consisted of gambling, dancing, and feasting in the winter, but the custom has become nearly obsolete. At the beginning of this century Lieutenant Davidof witnessed such festivals.

The sea about Kadiak island is exceedingly rich in fish, the most prominent among them being the salmon, of which six species are distinguished: the red-fish, the kishutch, the gorbusha, the chavicha, the khaiks, and the goletz, or salmon-trout. Each of these species throng the bays and streams at certain seasons of the year, and are easily secured with spears. The natives know so well the time at which each stream or river is visited by

certain species of salmon that they rarely make a mistake of a day in their calculations, generally shifting their quarters to such localities just in time for the proposed catch. Of late they have begun to use seines made of whale-sinews. Halibut and codfish are caught with hooks similar to those of the Thlinket.

Their arms and implements consist of arrows and spears, the former propelled with bows and the latter from a board. All these articles are made of the wood of the spruce and the Douglas pine, the latter being quite common among the drift-wood. The bow is about 4 feet long and has a string of whale-sinew. The spear-board is about 18 inches long and serves to give an impetus to the spear in throwing it. I noticed among the Kaniags six different kinds of arrows and spears used for the chase of different animals.

Formerly the most important pursuit of the Kaniags was the chase of the whale. Only one species of this animal is known to visit this region, but according to their age the natives designate them by different names. The classification of whales adopted by the natives is as follows: First, the old or full-grown whale they call *annikvak*; the half grown, *kavoiikhnak*; the third, the yearling, *agashitnak*; and fourth, the calf, *akhvak*. Of these the yearlings and calves are hunted almost exclusively.

In the month of July the whales begin to make their appearance in the bays, following up the small fish and mollusks upon which they feed. Some bays are visited several times during the summer, and the hunt continues sometimes as late as August. For a successful chase calm, clear weather is necessary. On such occasions the two-hatch bidarkas leave the beach at early dawn for the bay where whales have been observed. Of the two men in each bidarka only the one in front is a whaler, the other acting as his assistant or oarsman, having nothing to do but to propel the canoe in accordance with the other's orders. Having approached to within spear-throw of a whale the man carefully notes the direction in which the animal dives and calculates to a nicety the spot where he will probably emerge. If he is fortunate enough to come within 20 or 30 feet of the rising monster the whaler throws his spear, aiming at the middle fin at the back; and as soon as the spear has been thrown the canoe is propelled away as rapidly as possible, in order to escape the violent movements of the wounded whale. It is principally on account of the danger of capsizing that two canoes always go together.

The spear is about 6 feet in length with a slate point. As soon as this point strikes the whale it breaks from the shaft and remains in the wound. The contortions of the animal only assist in forcing the missile deeper and deeper into the yielding blubber. Upon the point of his spear each hunter carves his mark to enable him to claim his quarry. As soon as the whale is wounded he makes for the open sea, where, as the natives say, he "goes to sleep" for three days; on the fourth or fifth day the carcass is cast upon the beach, but if the waves and currents are unfavorable this may occur in a locality remote from the killing place; and it is stated that on several occasions whales that had been killed at Kadiak were secured by the people of Oonalashka. In ancient times the pursuit of the whale was accompanied by numerous superstitious observances kept a secret by the hunters. Lieutenant Davidof states that the whalers preserved the bodies of brave or distinguished men in secluded caves, and before proceeding upon a whale-hunt would carry these dead bodies into a stream and then drink of the water thus tainted. One famous whaler of Kadiak who desired to flatter Baranof, the first chief manager of the Russian colonies, said to him: "When you die I shall try to steal your body," intending thus to express his great respect for Baranof. On the occasion of the death of a whaler his fellows would cut the body into pieces, each man taking one of them for the purpose of rubbing his spear-heads therewith. These pieces were dried or otherwise preserved, and were frequently taken into the canoes as talismans.

These observances are no longer in use, but there is still much superstition connected with the pursuit, and the greatest secrecy is observed in regard to it. Only once had I occasion to notice anything of the kind. This was in the settlement of Killuda, where I entered a hut in the corner of which a young woman lay covered with bear-skins; I asked if the woman was sick, and learned that her husband had gone to hunt whales, and that the wife was obliged to remain prostrate without food until his return in order to give him good luck. These people are at least nominally Christians.

The sea-otter chase is now conducted altogether by large parties of from 80 to 100 two-hatch canoes, which assemble at the beginning of May and proceed to distant hunting-grounds. It is necessary to await a perfectly calm day, when all the canoes leave the beach together, forming a long line. As soon as an otter is sighted by one of the men he elevates his paddle as a signal, when a circle is immediately formed by 10 or 15 canoes around the spot where the sea-otter is expected to rise. When the animal has received the first arrow it dives immediately, but a new circle is formed and the otter is prevented from escaping until, weakened with loss of blood and exhaustion, it finally falls an easy victim.

The sea-otter arrow of the Kaniags is of fine workmanship, and consists of a shaft about 2 feet in length, with a head-piece of bone 6 or 7 inches in length, which by its weight keeps the arrow upright in the water. The point of the arrow is also of bone and is very sharp; it is secured to the shaft with long strings, but is not attached to the head-piece, being set only into a mere socket. When the sea-otter is struck the point remains in the body and the shaft impedes the motion of the animal in diving. These bone points are also marked by hunters, and as the otter is rarely killed by a single arrow, usually requiring as many as four or five, the rule is that he whose arrow enters nearest the head becomes the possessor of the skin.

The sea throws up on the shore of Kadiak a so-called sea-bean which was greatly prized by the sea-otter hunters and secured by them as a talisman. Holmberg once offered a man 40 paper rubles (\$8) for one of these beans and was refused.

The spears used for hunting seals are larger than those just described, and are provided with inflated bladders to serve as buoys; and the bird spears and arrows have three or four thin prongs of bone.

The habits and customs of the Kaniags, their shamanism and religious views, have undergone great modifications. The introduction of the Christian religion and the rudiments of civilization, as well as the compulsory labor exacted by the Russian company, has done much toward eradicating the traces of former belief and amusements. Only a few old men and women preserve some confused recollections of the heroic age of the people, and these are not easily induced to communicate their knowledge to strangers.

Polygamy was formerly common among the Kaniags, a wealthy man frequently having five wives. Their marriages were accompanied with but little ceremony. The young man proceeded to the father of his chosen, and, after obtaining his consent, was obliged to carry wood and heat up the bath; then both he and his intended father-in-law bathed, while the relatives of the bride assembled for a feast. On emerging from the bath the young man adopted the name of his father-in-law and delivered his presents, taking away the bride to his own home. The first wife always had a preference above all others; and property descended first to the brother, and from him to the son of the deceased who had been previously selected by him as heir.

The position of the women at Kadiak was not as inferior as with most tribes of North America; they frequently enjoyed great respect, and had the power of maintaining "assistants" with the consent of their husbands. The "assistant" had no rights as such excepting in the absence of the original husband, and altogether his position was more that of a servant who carried the wood and water, gathered mussels, fished and hunted, etc. This custom was more common among the Kaniags than among the Thlinket.

We find among the ancient Kaniags the same cruel treatment of the young women at the age of puberty which prevails among the Thlinket. At this period the young girl was led into a hut, in which she was compelled to remain for six months in a stooping position upon her knees. After that the hut was enlarged sufficiently to enable the captive to straighten her back, but in this position she had to remain another half year, and was considered unclean and an outcast with whom nobody was allowed to communicate during all this period. At the expiration of the term of seclusion the parents prepared a feast and introduced their child as a marriageable young woman.

The dead were wrapped in seal-skins, and if they had been wealthy were buried with spears, arrows, canoes, and skins, and, with singing and weeping over the grave, were praised in accordance with their deserts. On such occasions the relatives cut short their hair and dyed their faces black. After the death of a rich man the widow gave a feast, frequently consuming all the property he had left, the people believing that every man became a spirit after death; and if such a spirit revealed himself to his relatives it was considered a sign of good fortune. The house in which a man had died could no longer be inhabited, and was torn down and a new one erected in its place. Dead shamans or sorcerers were laid with all their implements and insignia in bidarkas, these being generally deposited upon a steep cliff or occasionally in a cave. The memory of the dead was honored in a feast, during which distributions of presents were made and the praises of the deceased were sung.

The Kaniags were inveterate gamblers. They frequently lost all their possessions in a game they called "kaganagah", which was played as follows: Two seal-skins were spread out at a distance of 8 or 10 feet from each other, and a flat, round piece of bone about the size of a silver eagle was deposited upon each, the edge of the disk being marked with four black dots. The players, whose number was never more than four, but generally two, divided into two parties, and each put up some article of value. Each gambler had five wooden disks, and these he threw from the edge of one skin to the other, trying to cover the bone disk. When all the disks had been thrown the players examined their relative positions. If the bone disk had been covered the lucky thrower received from his opponent three bone sticks or marks; but if he had covered only one of the black dots of the disk he received two marks, and the wooden disk which had fallen nearest to the bone procured for the thrower one mark, and the marks were subsequently redeemed with valuables.

Among the Kaniags there were always a few individuals who possessed some knowledge of medicine, and knew certain herbs, which they applied in decoctions internally or externally. They were quite successful in blood-letting, which they accomplished with lancets made of shells; and they also performed more important operations, such as the cutting out of spear-heads, etc.

The festivals of the Kaniags began with certain secret ceremonies to which women and children were not admitted. Bundles of dry grass were ignited, and prayers imploring the spirits to give success to the hunters were chanted. Then the men emerged from the kashga (kashima, or council- or dance-house), and the whole population of the settlement ran about with lighted torches. This was the signal for the real beginning of the festival, which was open to all, and lasted as long as the provisions for entertaining the invited guests held out. Boys and girls could not attend until they had been introduced by their father, who on this occasion cut his best garment to pieces, giving away the fragments to the multitude in memory of the event. In the absence of the father the mother or other relative could take his place.

The council-house or kashga in which the festivities took place was the property of the whole settlement. At the end of the festival the building was sometimes destroyed, and erected anew the following year. Sometimes a Kaniag cut his best garment into pieces at the end of the feast, giving the fragments to the guests in recognition of the honor of their visit.

These festivals consisted chiefly of gorging, dancing, and singing. In the diary of Lieutenant Davidof we find the subjoined description of two of such festivals among the Kaniags:

To-day, the 8th of December, 1802, we were invited to a festival, and at 8 o'clock in the evening we proceeded to the kashima, where several spectators were already seated in one of the side compartments. On entering we were struck by almost insupportable heat, there being 60 persons of both sexes seated upon the benches and floor of the small room. The men had all doffed their parkas on account of the heat, and some were entirely naked. The actors in the performances represented hunters about to set out on an expedition. About a large stone lamp that was burning in the middle of the room several men with drums were seated. These drums were of different sizes, the largest being in the hands of the one who acted as leader. On each side of the lamp sat two girls dressed in kamleikas and decked with ornaments. They had a long piece of bone through the partition of the nose, pendants of glass beads through the lower lips and ears, and the hair powdered with eagle-down. Beside these sat two men with rattles in one hand and a paddle in the other. The rattles consisted of double hoops to which the beaks of birds are fastened, producing a loud noise at every movement. Upon the blades of the paddles fish and marine animals were represented. The faces of these two actors were painted red, and the head as well as the back was powdered with eagle-down. They wore a head-dress of bent twigs; one of these twigs passing through the mouth like the bit of a horse. The faces were almost concealed with feathers and fern leaves. The men with the drums wore hats with feathers, arrows, and spears; a minute bidarka constructed of skins, and implements of the chase, were hanging from the ceiling above from the actors, and all these objects were set in motion occasionally by means of a spring in the hands of a man seated at a distance. This man was dressed only in a kamleika. The ceiling as well as the floor was covered with dry grass. The two men seated near the lamp began to beat their drums with sticks; the hunters with paddles in their hands and swinging their rattles in time, and all singing in good voice with but little change of tune. The leader managed the song; whenever the drums beat faster the singers began to shout, and all the spectators joined in. The two girls grasped their kamleikas in their hands and swayed from one side to the other. The leader occasionally shouted a few words, such as "Look there! The shore! Let us embark there! He who has not killed anything will see the animals now", etc. Whenever the word "animal" was pronounced all the spectators joined in the great noise, imitating the voices of the different animals. Boys were blowing whistles, and the noise was deafening. At every interruption of the song the hunters swayed back and forth and plied their rattles. In the meantime trays with food were carried into the kashima and placed around the lamps; the dishes consisted chiefly of berries and oil; a stone marked with red dots had also been deposited near the lamp; this was said to represent the coffin of the distinguished men in whose memory the festival was given. I could not wait the end of the performance, as I suffered with a splitting headache caused by the heat.

On the 18th of December I attended another festival in the kashima. At first five men, all in different costumes and masks, some of them adorned with ferns, appeared one after the other, the blue thistles attached with a thread to the partition of the nose, and went through the most wonderful contortions. One was painted red, another black; two were attired in parkas, and the fifth in a kamleika; all had rattles in their hands. The first two and the one in the kamleika also had a garment of feathers hanging down to the knees near the lamp; two men in their ordinary costume were seated. I could not ascertain the meaning of this performance. The interpreter said they were men who had devils who betrayed the men, but he did not appear very certain about it himself. All the knowledge of traditions connected with festivals and of the spirits is confined to certain men who are called by the islanders *kassiati*—that is, wise men, who invented such representations and occasionally relate instances of the ancient history of Kadiak and adjoining islands, and the actions of spirits. If a Kaniag cannot or will not answer a question he says, "the *kassiati* knows." After the devils had finished their contortions and disappeared the men began to drive out the women and children. This is generally done after a feast to which guests from distant settlements have been invited in order to talk over matters of importance, but on this occasion this could not be the motive, and the expulsion of women and children could only be attributed to some superstition. When the house had been cleared a man dressed in a kamleika appeared with a peculiar mask before his face and rattles in his hands. He represented the evil spirit, and shouted and ran about in time to a song and beating of the drums.

The wars of the Kaniags in ancient times consisted altogether of ambuscades and surprises, and prisoners were sometimes tortured and sometimes kept as slaves. The wars were chiefly confined to their own tribe, and it is stated that at the time the Russians appeared these internecine quarrels had become so general that during the summer the inhabitants of small settlements entrenched themselves upon steep rocks surrounded by the water. I have seen several such fortified places, and this precautionary measure is easily explained when we consider that during the summer nearly all the able-bodied men are scattered over the hunting- and fishing-grounds, and those who remain in the settlements are not able to defend themselves against sudden attacks.

An old man named Arseni Aminak related to Holmberg the story of the discoverer of the island of Ookamak as follows:

The island of Ookamak belonged to my father. He was a very rich chief, as there were ground-squirrels on this island, in the skins of which he drove a profitable trade. But how he came into possession of the island I will tell you. Formerly our people celebrated festivals with songs and dances, during which the guests were feasted and presented with gifts. For these festivals we proceeded occasionally to the bay of Igats, and sometimes the people of Igats visited us at Ayakhtalik. Once we were preparing for a feast, many years before the arrival of the first Russians, and before I was born, and among others a relative of my father, with an only companion, set out from the bay of Igats in a two-hatch bidarka. When they had left the strait between Sitkhalidak and Kadiak islands behind a dense fog came up, and as the wind changed imperceptibly they became confused and paddled on day and night. When the weather cleared they saw before them an island that they had never seen before. They landed and named it Ookamak. The island was full of sea-otters and ground-squirrels, and quantities of amber were found on the beach. They remained there a month, and when they left the island the bidarka was filled with treasures. But where to go? They proceeded northward, paddled and paddled until they sighted the mountains of the Alaskan peninsula, which was strange to them. They arrived at Katmai, the people of which, being Ogalamutes, were hostile to the Kaniags, though they spoke our language. They threw themselves upon the strangers, robbed them of their treasures, and intended to kill them, but a chief saved them on condition that they should conduct them to the island containing such riches. They proceeded to Ookamak in two large bidars, and killed a great number of sea-otters with clubs in a very short time. They also killed

ground-squirrels with spears, and gathered much amber; then they returned to Katmai. As a reward for their services the chief gave our lost men an escort to the crossing place of Yakolik, from whence they proceeded to my father's house at Ayakhtalik, after having been absent six months and having been mourned as dead. My father received his relative well, and in his joy to have escaped from such dangers he made a present of the newly-discovered island, with all its treasures, to my father.

Voluble as the old man was in relating the deeds of his people in ancient times he became mute when questioned concerning the old belief of his father. At first he would not speak at all, but finally he said, "I could tell you much, but I fear that it would cause you injury." This threat, however, did not frighten Holmberg, who pressed his demand, obtaining only brief answers to his questions. The little information he gathered is contained in the following:

Shliam Shoa, that is, the master of the world, was worshipped by the Kaniags as the Supreme God; he created the earth and the heavens, but light was not there. He sent two human beings, a brother and a sister, upon the earth, and prohibited them to eat grass. The sister was curious to know what might be the result of breaking the command, and said to the brother: "Probably it will be light when we eat grass." The brother advised her to desist, saying that it might cause them injury, and that they would be ashamed to look upon each other's naked body. The sister, however, could not resist the temptation, and began to eat grass, and behold there was light. They became very much ashamed, and wanted to separate. The sister went in one direction and the brother in another, but they could not hide themselves, and finally returned to heaven. Upon the steps leading to heaven they met and began to love each other. Five children that were born to them all died, to their great sorrow. Just before the birth of the sixth Shliam Shoa came and asked, "Why do you grieve?" They replied, "All children born to us die." "Do not grieve any more," said Shliam Shoa, "I will sing you a song and you shall have children thereafter;" and thus it happened. He sent them again to the earth, and from them the human race sprang. At one time a flood (*aliak*) is said to have destroyed the whole human race, but how the earth again became populated the old man did not know. After a fortunate hunt an offering was made to Shliam Shoa, consisting of some animals, sea-otters or seals, but never of human beings. The offerings were also brought in advance to secure good fortune. Iyak was the god of evil. He lived in the earth and also listened to the prayers of men, but he chiefly favored the shamans. When Shliam Shoa is angry at the doings of men he sends out two dwarfs who make thunder and lightning. In the volcanic mountains of Aliaska there lived men stronger than the Kaniags, who, when they heat their bath or cook their food, cause smoke and fire to issue from the summits of the mountains.

An old man of the village of Kaguiak told me that when the first Russians landed upon their island his ancestors took them to be cuttle-fish, "on account of the buttons on their clothes."

A list of Kadiak local names from Shelikhof's volume will be of interest when compared with those of the present. He mentions:

Kyktag—now Kadiak.

Iiuda—now Killuda.

Oogashik—not changed.

Ooga-alak—now Oogak.

Chinnigak (big cape)—now Chiniatzk.

Agaiakhtalik—now Aiakhtalik.

Kerluta—now Karluk.

Yukutmak—now Katmai.

Katman—probably also Katmai.

The year began with the Kaniagmute in August, which was called *Kabiakhgun* (the constellation Pleiades was *Kabiakhtakh*).

September was *Tugakhgun* (from *Tugat*, the constellation of Orion).

October was *Kancha-oon* (when grass withers).

November was *Kangushanchak* (snow in the mountains).

December was *Kagliagvik* (rivers freeze).

January was *Agvinikh* (sixth month).

February was *Kypniakhchik* (dried fish in small pieces).

March was *Koigit annit* (river [ice] breaks up).

April was *Manikhchikhoak* (ravens lay eggs).

May was *Manikhchichak* (little birds lay eggs).

June was *Kaiog ya-at* (seals breed).

July was *Manag-khet* (porpoises have young).

THE CHUGACHIMUTE.—The Chugachimute (Chugach of the Russians), or Chughchil-shvit (their tribal name), inhabit the shores of Prince William sound (or the gulf of Chugach). They are at present the easternmost tribe of purely Eskimo extraction, numbering less than 500 in all. Their language is almost identical with that of the Kaniagmute, and in their habits, manners, and traditions there is an equal resemblance. Here, as well as among the Kaniagmute, we no longer find the kashga, or kashima; the dwellings are nearly always constructed of logs and planks, affording good shelter during the long, cold winter. Living as they do upon a narrow belt of timbered land surmounted by the inaccessible snow-capped alps of the Chugach range, the Chugachimute have become not only skillful sea-otter hunters and fishermen, but also expert mountaineers, hunting the mountain goat (or sheep) with skill, daring, and perseverance equaling those of any Swiss or Tyrolean chamois-hunter. These people are all Christians, in name at least, although they have been neglected for many years by the Russian missionaries stationed at Kadiak and Cook's inlet.

By their Athabaskan neighbors of Cook's inlet the Chugachimute are called Tatliakhtana, but, as one of their villages in the northern part of the sound is to-day Tatikhlek, this may have only a local significance. This tribe has always been in contact, both friendly and hostile, with its Athabaskan neighbors in the west and north, and with the Thlinket in the east, and this circumstance may have aided in making their character more warlike and repellent than that of other Eskimo tribes. Their first English visitors under Captain Meares and under Portlock and Dixon, had much cause to complain of the treatment received at the hands of these natives. The Russians also had many a battle with them before they could bring them into final subjection. These early visitors report, however, one custom, of which no trace has been found among any other tribes of Alaska, and which has been considered as belonging to the South Sea islands only. I refer to the exchange of names. Both Meares and Portlock report that they exchanged names with certain chiefs of the Chugachimute, and when Baranof visited Nuchek island an old man insisted upon exchanging names with the Russian chieftain's dog (Sargach). This was the last instance related of this curious custom, which seems to have been forgotten by the Chugachimute of to-day. In their intercourse with their Athabaskan neighbors, before mentioned, the Tinnats of Cook's inlet and the Atnahs of Copper river, this tribe does not seem to have indulged in intermarriage; but with the Thlinket, their eastern neighbors, such intermixture has been and is going on actively, forced, probably, by the latter strong and warlike tribe. Toward the end of the last century, when these natives first became known to us, another Eskimo tribe occupied the coast as far eastward as Mount Saint Elias. These were the Oughalakhmute (Ougalentze of the Russians), Wallamute and Lakhamute of earliest visitors. This tribe, owing to its position, exposed to the constant attacks and encroachments of the Thlinket, has become mixed to such an extent that at the present day the Thlinket element predominates. Thlinket customs and habits prevail; their houses are built of planks, and in the Thlinket style of architecture, with circular openings in front. The fur garments or parkas of the Eskimo have been supplanted by the blanket worn by the Thlinket, and even the manufacture of the kaiak has been abandoned and is now forgotten by this hybrid tribe, occupying the lowlands at the mouth of the Copper river and the coast eastward to Comptroller bay, cutting off the Atnahs or Copper River Indians from the coast. So complete has been the amalgamation that young men of the Oughalakhmute now employ an interpreter in dealing with their Chugachimute neighbors living at a distance of a few miles from them. The present custom among the Oughalakhmute, and the Thlinket further to the eastward, of obtaining wives from their western Eskimo neighbors, shows clearly how this encroachment has been accomplished.

The burial-places of the Oughalakhmute to-day exhibit the house-like sepulchers of the Thlinket, but as yet without the totem.

II.—THE ALEUTS.

The Aleuts (or *Unúngun* of Dall, the *Takha-yuna* of the Kinnatz, or *Oonángan*, according to Veniaminof and my own observation) inhabit the northern coast of Alaska peninsula, from cape Stroganof westward, and its southern coast from Pavlof bay westward, the Shumagin islands, and the whole group known as the Aleutian chain, extending from the Shumagins in the east to the island of Attou in the west.

The term Aleut applied to these tribes and also to some others by the Russians is of an origin somewhat obscure. Various explanations of its derivation have been given by different writers, but it would seem that it can be traced to the river Olutora on the coast of Kamchatka. The people inhabiting the coast near the mouth of this river were called by the Russians Olutorsky. They were known as the only Kamchatkan tribe who hunted whales, and they were called "strangers" by their Koriak neighbors. It would seem quite natural in view of these circumstances that the Russian promyshleniks on first beholding the Aleutian natives in pursuit of whales would apply to them the name of Olútorsky. On one of the earliest maps of the Aleutian archipelago, published by Staehlin, we find two groups of islands, one named Aleutsky, the other Olutorsky, the latter being located near the mouth of the Olutora river. As no islands really exist in that vicinity, an equal right could be claimed for both terms as applicable to the Aleutian chain. The initial *O* of the Russian is invariably broadened into a sound almost equivalent to *a* in farther, and the transition from the Olutorsky to the Aleutsky of the later Russians would seem easy indeed. The term of *Oonángan* of Veniaminof I have ascertained to be as universally known to the Aleut people as Mr. William H. Dall has claimed for his version of the same, *Unúngun*. This apparent discrepancy may, however, be ascribed solely to an inability on the part of one or the other writer to distinguish between the finer inflections of pronunciation.

Various other appellations of the people have been collected and published by M. Alphonse Pinart, but they are evidently of local significance, and applicable only to the eastern, western, and central groups of the tribe, respectively.

Of the origin of the Aleut we have no very distinct tradition. The distance between the westernmost island of Attou and the coast of Kamchatka and the Commander island is too great to permit of the theory of a general migration over this route from Asia. The two islands of Bering and Copper when discovered by the Russians were uninhabited, another point in opposition to the Asiatic theory. All such points of similarity between the Aleuts and Japanese as have been reported, as well as the general Asiatic cast of features observed in many of the Aleut settlements, can easily be explained by the constant intermixture of Aleutians with natives of Kamchatka

and other parts of Asia in the employ of the Russian invaders. Certain articles discovered in ancient Aleutian burial-caves would indicate that formerly there must have existed a constant and more intimate intercourse between the Aleutian and the Eskimo of the continental coast, as kantags or wooden bowls have been found in such places exactly resembling those manufactured on the coast of Bristol bay and the Aliaska peninsula at the present time. Remains of huts built with whale-ribs, such as the coast Eskimo erect, have been discovered high upon the mountain sides of Oonimak and Atkha islands. These buildings were probably erected in the immediate vicinity of the sea-shore as it then was, the islands having since risen through volcanic action; and this also would militate against the theory of the original settlement of these islands from Asia. Another argument in favor of the American origin of the Aleut lies in the fact that the settlement of these islands would seem impossible without the aid of the kaiaks peculiar to the Eskimo tribes. The wide passages between the islands, which must have been still broader in the earliest times, preceding the gradual rising of this chain of craters, could not have been traversed by any craft less seaworthy than the kaiak, as the violence of storms prevailing throughout Bering sea and the fearful current of tides rushing in great bores through these passages would prevent any other craft from crossing from one island to another.

The theory advanced by Mr. William H. Dall, in the first volume of *Contributions to American Ethnology*, that the Aleutians built their present homes by passing from island to island on rafts, many thousands of years before the kaiak was invented, would seem altogether untenable in view of the fact that no material for making rafts exists or could ever have existed on the Aleutian islands and the adjoining portion of the continent.

Among the traditions of the Aleutian people concerning their origin we cannot find a single one pointing to immigration from Asia. The traditions on this subject, however, that have survived the transition from paganism to Christianity are very few.

We have many traditions speaking of warlike expeditions undertaken by Aleutian chiefs to the coast of the American continent, where they founded new communities; but in no instance do we hear of any communications with the west or the coast of Asia.

One of the traditions of the Aleutian people relating to the origin of sea-otters is of interest chiefly because it furnishes the only key to the curious superstitions of sea-otter hunters, who, when about to put to sea in search of their quarry, avoid most carefully all contact with women, or the use of any garments or implements that have been used or handled by women. The love of a chief's son for his sister resulted tragically in the drowning of both in the sea. They rose to the surface again, having been transformed into sea-otters; but, in remembrance of their progenitors' fate, these animals are said to hold in abhorrence anything that reminds them of the relations between man and woman.

The most careful observer of the Aleutian people was the Russian priest Veniaminof, who resided on the Aleutian islands and at Sitka between the years 1824 and 1838, and who wrote copiously and understandingly of their manners, customs, and traditions. I cannot do better than insert here a few extracts from his writings, in translation:

THE ALEUTIAN PEOPLE.

Under the head of "Traditions" the Russian missionary writes:

1. The Aleuts say that in olden times the weather was clearer and warmer, the winds more moderate. This last assertion is confirmed by the first Russian explorers.

2. They say that their forefathers came from their original dwelling-places in the west, in the same great land, which was called also "Aliakhska", that is, continent. In that country there were no storms, no winters, but constant pleasant atmosphere, and the people lived peaceably and quietly; but in the course of time quarrels and intertribal wars compelled them to move farther and farther to the eastward, until they finally reached the sea-coast. Later they were even compelled to take to the water. But even on the coast they could not remain in peace, being pressed by other people, and therefore were compelled to seek refuge on the islands; and finally, traveling from island to island, they settled in their present villages.

3. Before the war and dissension broke out among them here they were accustomed to travel (*agoulaghan*) peaceably to the westward and eastward, to make the acquaintance of other people and their customs; and one of these travelers (*agoulanam*) succeeded in reaching the northernmost cape of America, which he named Kigaditigan Kamga, that is, Northern Head, and of which he told his people on his return that it was covered with ice, and told of the products of the country and the habitations of the people, who were as much afraid of heat as we are of polar cold, and at the time of the summer solstice they left their villages, fearing to die if they remained. Subsequently the object and direction of these voyages were gradually changed; in place of inquiries into the customs of other people, they began to travel for the sake of trade and traffic, and finally for purposes of plunder and slaughter, and to go to war.

4. The Aleuts consider as their relatives the Kenaitze, Chugach, Yakutats, and Kolosh (but the Kolosh do not acknowledge this). In substantiation of their claim the Aleuts say that one prominent individual, the father of a numerous family, was from necessity compelled to leave his village on Onalashka; in one summer he collected all his family and relatives, and departed in large bidarkas to the northern side of the Aliakhska, with the intention to travel (*agoulaghan*) and to search for a better and richer country. He landed in the first at one of the Aglemute villages and remained, but the Aglemutes did not receive them as friends, but as enemies, and in a general attack put them to flight. The Aleuts, finding it inconvenient or impossible to settle near the sea-coast, proceeded to the headwaters of some large river, and having selected a convenient spot settled down for good. Their descendants made peace with the natives of the country and increased, but with their increase came a greater change in their former customs, appearing principally in the greater inclination to war and to hunt. After the lapse of much time a quarrel ensued between the descendants of the original Onalashkans and the creoles or half-breeds, finally resulting in a war. Their village was situated on both sides of the stream, one half opposite the other. They had adopted the habit, for the sake of accustoming themselves to war, of making sham attacks one upon the

other, shooting spears and arrows without points; but during one of these sham attacks some one placed a head upon his arrow and hit an enemy in the eye. The attack was at once changed from sham to reality, but as the number of creoles was much larger the Oonalashkans were obliged to leave the place and move farther eastward, finally passing from river to river and emerging upon the shores of the gulf of Kenai, where they settled down once more. The present Kenaitze are their descendants. The creoles left behind increased more and more, and divisions of them were compelled to move to the northeastward, and finally became the founders of the Chugachs, Yakutat, and Kolosh.

5. The Aleuts say that in former times their ancestors constructed deep caves as a protection against sudden attacks of the enemy, and in doing so occasionally found the bones of a larger race of people, whom they called Shougaman or Itangikh-Taiyagoun—that is, the first men, or those who, in their opinion, lived before the flood. These bones and skeletons were mostly found in the third layer of earth, and were rarely found to be fossilized; and whenever such a bone was unearthed a very strong, disagreeable odor spread around, driving away all bystanders. They believe that some time ago there was a large flood, and that up to that time men were of larger size, but their philosophers asserted that half-dead people live everywhere under the surface of the earth.

6. They say that in their old country (they do not know of any other) there was also a very great flood in punishment of disregard of sacred customs and traditions. They express it in their language for "our evil doings the water came upon us".

7. In former times the sea-shore along the whole group of islands was more deeply indented (in some localities this is even yet perceptible); they also say that the grandfathers of the present Aleuts in their youth heard from their grandfathers that they found on elevated spots, and often far distant from the sea, signs of former dwellings, such as whale-ribs and large logs of drift-wood. Between these places and the shore-line they also found sometimes small pebbles tied with whalebone fiber, such as are now used for sinkers, fish-lines, and nets. From these indications the Aleuts came to the conclusion that at some time these elevated positions, showing the remains of dwelling-places, were on the sea-shore, and over the places where the sinkers are now found the sea once extended. But all this was subsequent to the flood.

8. With regard to the volcanoes, the Aleuts maintain in their traditions that in times gone by all the "fire mountains" on Oonalashka and Oumnak islands quarreled among themselves as to which had the largest body of fire inside of them, and after a prolonged dispute, in which not one of them would yield to the others, they concluded that a decision could only be made by a trial of strength. Immediately a most fearful conflict ensued, lasting for many days, the mountains throwing fire and rocks at each other in place of spears; the smaller peaks could not withstand the larger ones, and, recognizing their weakness, they bowed down and went out forever. Finally only two of their craters remained, one on Oonalashka—Makushin (Ayak)—and the other on Oumnak, the Recheshnaia (Ismak). These, having vanquished all the others, engaged in a single-handed conflict with the most disastrous consequences to their surroundings; fire, rock, and ashes were thrown in such quantities that all animals inhabiting the neighborhood perished and the air became heavy. The Oumnak crater finally could not keep up with its rival, and, seeing destruction impending, gathered all its strength, jumped up with a bound and collapsed. The Makushin volcano, being victor and but little injured, and seeing no more enemies around him, gradually calmed down, and now only smokes occasionally.

With regard to early estimates of the Aleut population upon the islands I cannot do better than again quote Veniaminof, who wrote as follows in 1840:

The number of native inhabitants of the islands of the Alaska district, exclusive of Russians and creoles, has been of late very small. In 1834 all the Aleuts belonging to the district, that is, those living in the villages on Oonalashka and on the Pribylof islands, numbered 632 males and 812 females—a total of 1,494 souls. In 1806 the number had been 1,953—965 males and 988 females. Mr. Sarychef, in his voyage, writes that with the arrival of the Russians on these islands the number of native inhabitants decreased greatly, and during his presence in 1792 barely one-third of the inhabitants remained. A consultation of his tables, however, shows that then the males alone numbered 1,235; if we add to this the larger number of females, the inhabitants of Alaska district in 1792, exclusive of those living on the Pribylof islands, were more than 2,500 souls. If, again, we take this number for one-third, as Sarychef says, the number of inhabitants in 1750, or about the time of the arrival of the Russians, must have been not less than 8,000.

The traditions of the Aleuts are to the effect that up to the arrival of the Russians their number was ten times greater than Sarychef found it. Old men relate that a long time ago, before the arrival of the Russians, the inhabitants of Oonalashka district were so numerous that every island and every convenient location was settled, and that in every village were from 40 to 70 bidarkas, with as many adult males able to propel a bidarka; and if we add to these as many females, and twice as many children and old men, it follows that every village contained from 150 to 230 souls, or an average of 215. From personal observations and from tales of the Aleuts I must suppose that in this district 120 villages were located, and thus supposing that each village contained a nearly equal population, it seems that the inhabitants of the Aleutian islands in their best times numbered 25,000. Doubtless this number is somewhat large, but as far as we can trust to the accounts of Aleuts, as well as of Russians who lived here at the end of the last century, and who saw with their own eyes the destruction of many villages, it seems very probable that the number of the Aleuts once reached twelve or fifteen thousand. Of the reasons of decrease we shall speak below, and only remark here that the decrease of the Aleuts in numbers began long before the arrival of the Russians, and continued steadily down to the year 1822. From that period to 1829 the decrease ceased; and from 1829 to 1838, until the appearance of the small-pox, the number of Aleuts began to increase. The smallest number of Aleuts we find in 1820 and 1821. In 1822 the registers showed 695 males, 779 females—a total of 1,474. From this it is evident that in 1834 the number of Aleuts had increased by 20 males, without counting the females then married to Russians and creoles, who represented at least an equal number. Glancing at the appended tables of births and deaths from 1822 to 1837 we see that during the first five years the number of Aleuts born average 34 per annum, and, exclusive of illegitimate births, 29. During the last nine years, however, the average was 40; exclusive of the illegitimate, 38. Consequently, of late the number of births has increased nearly fourfold. And here it is also necessary to take into consideration that the number of females who bore children, or were able to bear them, was, up to 1828, very much larger than after that period. This is evident from the fact that of 172 souls born from 1822 to 1828, 25 were illegitimate, that is, one-seventh of all the births; but in the last nine years only 17 out of 362 births were illegitimate—less than 1 in 21. The reasons why births were formerly less frequent than of late may be briefly stated as follows:

First. The absence of midwives and ignorance of managing women in child-birth. It is true that though a few who are more intimately acquainted with the Russians have adopted their customs before and after the birth of children, being convinced by example and persuasion, but at the present time there are still very many who proceed in their old way.

Second. The married women are still very dissolute, and their excesses interfere with their fruitfulness, but of late there has been great improvement observed in this respect.

Third. In former times the Aleuts were entirely at the mercy of vicious and ignorant hunters. It was quite common to force young girls into marriage with the strangers at too early an age. Of late, however, the teaching of Christian doctrines has counteracted this evil.

Fourth. The diseases of various kinds introduced by the Russians have also interfered with the fruitfulness of women, but this cause has now been nearly overcome.

Fifth. Another obstacle to more rapid increase of population will probably be found in the fact that the Aleuts suffer from temporary starvation every spring, the fathers and mothers on such occasions thinking only of their children, and forgetting themselves to such an extent that in some families the parents can scarcely be recognized as their former selves, while the children are fat and healthy.

These are the reasons why births were of comparatively rare occurrence among the women in former times (in no greater proportion than one to nine), and why they are now more frequent. It is necessary to remark that in their present mode of life the Aleut women cannot at all compare in fruitfulness with Russian women, because, having no milk beside their own, they must nurse their children not less than a year. It has been mentioned above that in the course of ten years the number of Aleuts increased only by 10 from a total of 1,474, that is one-fourteenth of 1 per cent.; but the increase of creoles in ten years was very much greater, showing 31 births among 120 married couples, or about 26 per cent. The reasons why the wives of creoles, who were nearly all Aleuts, are much more fruitful than the wives of Aleuts may be the following: The wives of creoles at the time of birth proceed not according to the Aleut but according to the Russian custom. All creoles are generally possessed of means to procure flour and tea, and keep on hand a sufficiency of provisions at all times. All creoles are also much better lodged than the Aleuts, at least in so far as they have warmer huts and more clothing and linen than the Aleuts, who are not in a condition to procure them. The causes of decrease in population are, in the opinion of Aleuts themselves, internal wars, the Russians, and diseases; the first, occurring previous to the arrival of the Russians, were conducted with such cruelty that in retaliation for the murder of one, whole settlements were destroyed; but the greatest decimation of the Aleut population they ascribe to the Russians, and especially to Sollovey, or Solovief, who was the direct or indirect cause of it, as, exclusive of those whom he and his companions killed during the course of two years, not one-third of those who fled before him returned to their habitations. It is supposed that a majority of those who did not return died from cold and hunger, while the younger and healthier Aleuts found means of subsistence and would not return, and these are the first fugitives mentioned here. In addition, it is said that even when the slaughter ceased, and the Aleuts, becoming accustomed to the later arrivals of Russians, began to live peaceably once more, the population not only failed to increase but decreased very perceptibly for some reason unknown to them. The causes of decrease among the Aleuts of this district may be divided into three periods: First, from the beginning of their internal wars to the first appearance of Russians among them—that is, up to 1760. Second, from the first arrival of the Russians on these islands to the arrival of the expedition of Billings—that is, up to 1790; and, third, from the time of the departure of this expedition until the present time. Each period, in addition to those causes common to all times, has its own proper causes entirely distinct from each other; that is, prior to the arrival of the Russians the Aleuts decreased from internal wars; after the arrival of the Russians, from violence and oppression, but subsequently from being compelled to fit out hunting parties and recruit their columns.

Each period presents a multitude of more or less important incidents, but I shall speak only of such as are best known and entitled to credence.

THE FIRST PERIOD.—A long time before the arrival of the Russians the Aleuts began to have wars with neighboring tribes—with the Aglemute, and principally with the Kadiaks. Thus it is told that the inhabitants of this district destroyed an Aglemute village on the Nushegak river, at the site of the present *redoute* of Alexandrovsk. This victory was so overwhelming that not one of the Aglemute escaped, and a lake situated near the village was filled with blood and corpses. Several times they attacked the Kadiaks and destroyed their villages. However, though these enterprises were bold and frequently successful, it was but natural that sometimes the Aleuts should meet with disaster. It occurred several times that out of the whole contingent of islanders departing upon such expeditions not one returned, or only a few. Mr. Davidof relates that many Oonalashka Aleuts perished in Ooiak bay on Kadiak island, whither they had proceeded for the purpose of attacking the Kadiaks. Retaliation was the order of the day, and both sides suffered severely. Gradually these wars or warlike raids became of such frequent occurrence that the inhabitants of the Shumagin islands were compelled either to join the hostiles or to retreat to their fastnesses on inaccessible cliffs or outlying rocks. Locked up in their fortifications, not daring to leave them, they could not secure their winters' supplies and died of starvation. In addition to such wars and mutual attacks of different tribes there was also much internal conflict. It is known that the people of Oonimak attacked those of the Shumagin islands, Alaska peninsula, Oonalashka, and even Oumnak and the Krenitzin islands. The Oumnak people made raids upon the Oonalashkans and others. In the course of time the raiders were raided in their turn, and general destruction, amounting almost to extermination, ensued. It is known that of an attacking party of Oonimak people on the island of Amaknak, in Captain's harbor, all remained on the field of action. Finally the internal dissensions increased to such an extent that not only the inhabitants of one island fell upon those of another, but the people of one and the same island made war upon each other, and inflicted upon each other every imaginable injury. Thus the Aleuts of Oonaka killed several men from a neighboring village on Oonalashka simply because they had threatened to kill one of them. There is no doubt that all these wars caused the destruction of a large number of Aleuts in addition to those slain in conflict. For instance, of the wives and children of the Aleuts who perished at Ooiak bay, on Kadiak, many who lost husbands and fathers suffered want, and the tradition that the Aleut population previous to the internal wars was twice what the Russians found it becomes probable. A few old Aleuts maintain that if the Russians had not made their appearance upon these islands the population would have entirely disappeared by this time. From this standpoint the arrival of the Russians, which had put an end to the internal war and strife, may be considered as a blessing to the hunters.

THE SECOND PERIOD.—When the Russians arrived the internal strife was discontinued, and one particular cause of decrease in numbers was removed, but the rate of decrease remained the same. The peace and good understanding established between the Russians who first visited Oumnak and Oonalashka islands under the leadership of Glottof lasted but a short time. It is not definitely known who gave the first provocation to quarrel—the Russians by oppression and violence of every kind, or the Aleuts by refusing to submit to the foreign yoke. The first is much more probable, but the last must not be entirely overlooked. Whatever the cause was, the first hostile measures were taken by the islanders, who during one winter destroyed three Russian ships and thereby gave the Russians a pretext for avenging the blood of their countrymen and for adopting stringent measures for their own protection. It devolved upon Glottof and Solovief to wreak unlimited vengeance. Glottof having returned from Kadiak to the island of Oumnak, previously discovered by him, found the friendship and good feeling formerly existing between him and the Oumnak people changed to hostility. In retaliation murder and fire took the place of peace and good understanding. Under the pretext of avenging the death of his countrymen, and partially from fear, he destroyed all the villages on the southern side of Oumnak and the inhabitants of the islands Samalgi and Four Mountains. Solovief, who had arrived on Oonalashka from Kamchatka, and anchored his ship in Koshigin bay, treated the poor Aleuts with excessive cruelty, also under the pretext of avenging the death of Drushinin, another trader. Mr. Berg, in his history of the discovery of the Aleutian islands, endeavors to underestimate the number of islanders slain by Solovief, but for all that he says that Solovief killed 100 men who had attacked the Russian station, and from one fortified village destroyed by fire 200 bodies were thrown into the water. Consequently, it appears from the testimony of this prejudiced witness that Solovief destroyed not less than 300 able-bodied males and youths. Nearly a century has elapsed since these dreadful times, and there is no longer any reason for concealing the deeds of the first Russian promyshleniks, nor to exaggerate their cruel treatment of the Aleuts. The facts cannot be changed or mended, and, though there is no necessity for parading the dreadful cruelties of ignorant and vicious people, especially as these men were Russians

and my countrymen, I am compelled to speak of what I heard from very many who had been eye-witnesses, or heard the same from Solovief's own companions (I have personally interviewed many Aleuts who had known Solovief); this must be done in order to bring forward new evidence of what men will do when left to themselves with unlimited power and no fear of retribution. Without this my account of these people would be incomplete.

The Aleuts say that the Russians shot many of their number with their muskets only for sport, using them as targets, but others deny this; but it certainly occurred more than once, at least in this district, and particularly in the village of Koshigin. It was Solovief who conceived the idea of ascertaining how many human bodies a bullet would pierce, and to this end he ordered twelve Aleuts to be tied together (who were probably not altogether guiltless), and shot at them with his rifle. It is said that the bullet lodged in the ninth man. It is also known that he destroyed two bidarkas of Oumnak Aleuts who had come to visit their kin, and after many single wanton murders he finally found the inhabitants of several Oonalashka villages assembled on Egg island, Sprikin, and fortified. The second attack of Solovief was successful, and he destroyed all the besieged Aleuts, with their wives and children. This slaughter was so general that the sea in the neighborhood was covered with blood from the dead and wounded thrown into it.

Natrúbin, partner and worthy companion of Solovief, destroyed the Aleuts on Avatanok, unarmed and frequently innocent, and it is said that Solovief himself did not kill as many Aleuts as his companions on the neighboring islands. During this time, so terrible to the Aleuts, there were two Russian ships in the vicinity, one at Issanakh strait and the other at Makushin, the crews of which also destroyed many Aleuts. The Russians on the first vessel, from suspicion or in revenge of the Russians killed at Issanakh, destroyed the four villages on Oonimak island, sparing only the young females and a few youths. The Russians, under the leadership of their "peredovchik", who had with him a girl from Atkha, left a few men on the ship and proceeded to Oonimak, with the intention of exterminating the rebellious people. Secretly making their way to the first village they secured all the spears from the bidarkas, where they are always kept by the Aleuts, and broke them; then, suddenly falling upon the defenseless inhabitants in their dwellings, they slaughtered without mercy all who succeeded in emerging from the houses, while the remainder perished in the flames. In the same manner three villages were destroyed. On approaching the fourth, however, situated at the foot of Shishaldin mountain, they were overtaken by a severe rain-storm, and thoroughly drenched and disheartened. The inhabitants sighted them from afar and recognized them as Russians. The chief proposed to meet them outside of the village and kill them, saying that they did not come to them for nothing, but the other prominent inhabitants refused to agree, saying: "Why should we kill them when they have as yet done us no harm?" Consequently the islanders received the Russians kindly, warning them and providing them with food. The Russians were exhausted to such a degree that they could not descend into the subterranean huts without assistance. The poor Aleuts did not know what they were doing. The Russians, having recovered their strength, at once went to work. Having assembled all the natives under some pretext, they began to shoot them down without mercy. They then proceeded on their way to continue the work of death, but the inhabitants of the next village disputed their entrance into the village, and, making a sudden sortie, killed the peredovchik and his girl, wounded a few, and put the remainder to flight. The place was subsequently called "a dangerous village" by the Russians. It is not quite clear to which ship these Russians belonged—to that of Protosof or to that of Bechevin. It is also related that some Russians destroyed three villages on Ikatak island, and that they fired upon and killed a number of Aleuts who were coming to make them presents of fish.

The second ship at anchor in the bay of Makushin appears to have been the same mentioned by Berg as being under command of Brigin. The Aleuts of one of the villages in the neighborhood, being informed of the destruction of Drushinin's ship in Captain's harbor, made up their minds to imitate the example of another village; the Russians, however, being warned of their danger, turned the tables and annihilated the plotters.

Horrible as the deeds of these first Russian visitors were, some excuse may be found for them, and in some instances retaliation was absolutely necessary. The doings of later arrivals, however, cannot be excused upon any ground. The promyshleniks coming to the islands between 1770 and 1790 followed the example of their predecessors, and indulged in the most revolting cruelties. The names of Ocheredin and Polntovsky became especially obnoxious at this period. Of their followers, many are still held in dreadful remembrance by the Aleuts; among them are Lazáref, Molatier, Peter Katyshev, Shabaief, Kukanof, Sitnikof, Brukhanof, and Malkof. The first two of these were on Akoon island, and the others farther to the eastward. These men placed not the slightest value upon the life of an Aleut. It is well known and authenticated that the first threw over precipices, cut with knives—which he always carried with him—and felled with axes a number of Aleuts for no other reason than that they dared to look at his concubine (who died only in 1838). One of those men named let out the entrails of an Aleut girl because she had eaten a favorite piece of whale-meat which he had set aside for himself. When we consider all these murders—I do not speak of such cases as are not fully substantiated—and take into consideration the consequences, it would seem that the number of Aleuts slain by Solovief, according to Davidof, is not exaggerated; he places it at 3,000, and even the number of 5,000, mentioned by Sarychef as that of Aleuts murdered by the Russians, is not without probability. Sarychef calls it a moderate estimate.

At last, in 1790, the arrival of the Billings expedition put an end to murder and cruelties, and a more peaceable life began.

THIRD PERIOD.—Though cruelties and murder ceased after the departure of Billings' expedition, the decrease in the Aleut population did not cease. Misfortunes of another kind, brought about by dangerous pursuits and voyages, formed a new reason for the decrease of the islanders. Thus at one time Merkulief, an agent at Oonalashka, sent eighty families to the Pribylof islands, of whom less than one-half returned; thirty-two of these were lost at one time in 1812, in a bidar commanded by Zakharof, and never heard from. A number of others were killed at various times by sea-lions.

The occupation of Sitka by Baranof made it necessary to push forward re-enforcements of men, and a hundred men with their families were dispatched to Sitka in their bidarkas, but only one-third of them ever returned. The rapid decrease in the number of sea-otters made a more active pursuit of the animal necessary, involving long voyages from one hunting-ground to the other. During such journeys many perished; in 1809 a bidarka with 40 people, in crossing from Oumnak island to the coast of the peninsula; in 1811 a bidarka with 30 men; in 1824 20 bidarkas which left the Four Mountain islands were lost; and, finally, in 1828, a bidar with 15 men in the Akutan straits. In addition to these disasters there were, of course, numbers of less importance. It is impossible to ascertain the whole number of lives lost in this way; it is certain that the number greatly exceeded that of deaths from natural causes. In addition to the causes of decrease already mentioned, there were others that may be called unavoidable and unforeseen causes, such as famine and infectious diseases, both of which were very prominent factors in decreasing the population. Famine made its appearance at the time of the internal wars, according to the traditions of the Aleuts, and it seems that its victims were more numerous than those of battle. Ever since that time famine has been a constant visitor among the Aleuts, before and after the arrival of the Russians, and even after the establishment of the present privileged company. The Aleuts never lay up great stores of provisions, and nearly every year they suffer at least a partial famine during the first months of the year. Their name for the month of March is Khissagounak—that is, "when straps are chewed." This expresses that about that time they had no proper food. It is evident, therefore, that at such a time the least misfortune in hunting

may bring about the most dreadful consequences. But what must be the condition in those villages where only women and children remain—the men having perished, or gone away by order of the company? This was often the case in former times; indeed, numerous instances of wholesale starvation are known. Under the administration of Burénin all the inhabitants of one of the villages on the eastern coast of Akutan died of hunger, only one old woman remaining to tell the tale. Also, under Petroff's administration, in 1822, seven people died in Koshigin village of hunger, but, thanks to the efforts of the officers and chiefs, such disasters are likely in the future to be prevented, though scarcity of food may still be apprehended.

Of epidemic diseases we have but little information. They have occurred in this district, but the deaths have been less here than in other regions of the colonies. The nature of epidemics in early times is of course unknown, but in 1807 and 1808 there occurred on Oonalashka an epidemic called the "bloody fever", which began in the principal village and rapidly spread over the whole district, a very large number of men and young women dying of the same; old people seeming to have been entirely exempt. The greatest mortality was in the principal village. After the wreck of an American ship, under command of O'Kane, the virulent disease made its appearance, the origin of which was ascribed to the eating of wetrice. This disease began to spread, and attacked large numbers, in every case those who partook of the rice. In 1830, in the autumn, an epidemic began and continued until the spring of the following year; thirty people, mostly youths and strong men, died of this disease, but children, old men, and the whole female sex seemed to have been exempt. The greatest mortality from this cause was at Ounga, where the disease had appeared some time before, and extended to the Aliaska peninsula. On the other islands it was unknown. The last epidemic was the small-pox, which appeared here in 1838. The syphilitic disease was perhaps the most disastrous of all, but the extent of its ravages has not been ascertained. This disease appeared with the Russians, and committed its greatest ravages about 1798. At that time there were whole families and even villages, from the oldest to the youngest, marked by this dreadful disease. Such a family came under my own observation in Makushin village, but I believe that this family was the last victim of this plague, as since that time I have observed but rare instances, principally in the harbor village during the presence of ships.

THE AGE AND ORIGIN OF THE ALEUTIAN PEOPLE.

To express a definite or authoritative opinion on the subject would be impossible, because there is no definite information concerning it; opinions must be necessarily based upon guess-work up to traditions of the Aleuts themselves and local indications.

Were these islands always inhabited, and who were the first inhabitants—Aleuts or another people? At the first glance upon the islands of the Oonalashka district, devoid of timber and poor in products of the land, it becomes evident that the present Aleuts must be the first inhabitants; and it would also appear that they did not settle here very long ago. The traditions of the formation of these islands are not very clear, but we encounter at every step the traces of volcanic revolutions of comparatively recent date. Traces of villages have scarcely been touched by time, and whenever the old men point to a spot where a village existed in former times we can still perceive the ground-work of the huts, and even the holes for seasoning the fish, and a luxuriant growth of grasses plainly indicating the extent of the former settlements; therefore we may conclude that the islands have not been inhabited very long, and that the present Aleuts are the first race that settled upon them.

From whence came the Aleuts to these islands—from America or from Asia? The traditions of the Aleuts, chiefly transmitted in songs, say that the Aleuts came from the west, near the great land, then Aliakskbakh, or Tnam Angouna, which was their original habitation, and that they wandered from there to these islands, and then gradually extended to the eastward and finally penetrated to the present Aliaska peninsula.

Tnam Angouna is now one of the Four Mountain islands, and in its present condition certainly does not deserve the name of "great land" when compared with any of the other islands. Perhaps it received its name from being the largest of the Four Mountain islands; but in spite of this some of the Aleuts believe that they originated there. This theory would only be admissible if we were to assume that the Four Mountain islands at one time formed one body of land together with the Andreianof islands, and perhaps was united with Kamchatka. But it is much more probable that the Aleuts really came from the west, from a great land—that is, Asia—and their descendants penetrating farther to the eastward, though preserving the tradition about coming from the great land situated in the west, lost any definite idea of the same, forgetting, perhaps, the very existence of Asia, and began to believe that the small island Tnam Angouna was the place of their origin.

The migration of the Aleuts from the westward may be accepted as a fact; and even if the mainland of Asia and the Aleutian islands were always at the same distance from each other that they are now, the island of Bering is visible in clear weather from Kamchatka, and from Bering the nearest Aleutian island can sometimes be sighted [?]. This would indicate the route of the migration; as to the mode of conveyance by which the Aleuts made their way from the continent, it is most probable that they traveled in canoes and bidarkas, since in former times the weather was very much finer during the summer and clearer than it is now. Such journeys from the Kamchatkan shore to the Aleutian islands were accomplished even after ships had commenced to make the voyage. We might add that if the Aleuts came from Asia they must have come from Kamchatka, or from Japan over the Kurile islands, and in that case there should be some similarity, in language and customs and mode of life, between the Aleuts and the coast people of Asia. At any rate, the Aleuts bear greater resemblances to the Asiatic than to the Americans; while, on the other hand, the Fox Island Aleuts, in their appearance, mode of life, and customs, resemble more closely the North American native, especially the Kadiaks. Their language, though differing from that of surrounding tribes, is constructed in the same manner as that of the Kadiaks, which is known to all the tribes inhabiting the coast of North America; and even the language of the Chugachs (Chukches?) is a branch of it. There seems to be no similarity between it and the Japanese, as far as I can judge from questioning the Japanese who visited Sitka.

But even this theory could be overturned by the following question: Supposing that the Aleuts and other Americans speaking the Kadiak language had, some time before the settlement of America, lived in close vicinity, the latter to the southward and nearer to Kamchatka, and the former to the northward and nearer to cape Chukhotsk; but, in time, being pressed by other tribes, they were compelled to migrate to their present residence, the first from Kamchatka to Bering island and farther on; the latter probably much earlier crossed Bering strait to America, and perhaps continuing on their way southward and founding other nations, such as the Kolosh, the Indians, Mexicans, and others. In this case they should not forget the wars carried on, especially between the Aleuts and the Kadiaks. Was not this strife, which existed before the arrival of the Russians, the remnant of wars between them before migration?

We know now that Veniaminof misunderstood the meaning of some of the Aleutian traditions. The Tnam Angounam, or Four Mountain group, was formerly a center of population among the islands, as can easily be surmised from the large number of ancient village-sites and burial-caves found here; and from Tnam Angouna other islands were doubtless settled. The name Aliakshakh or Alakshak was always applied to the Aliaska peninsula.

GOVERNMENT.

Veniaminof wrote as follows on this subject:

Before saying anything of the government of the Aleuts I must refer to their present condition and rights. At the present time all the Aleuts may be said to form a class of laborers, because even their tribal chiefs are only overseers, frequently laboring with their command, and not in any way distinguished from the others. Only of late years the head chiefs appointed by the commander of the colonies, and selected by the Aleuts from their own chiefs, have enjoyed a certain distinction, especially in their intercourse with the office managers.

In former times the Aleuts were divided into three classes—the chiefs, the common people, and kalgi or slaves; the chiefs and their children and relatives and their descendants composed the highest class, prominent in warlike exploits, and skilled in the chase. The class of common people consisted of ordinary Aleuts, not differing from servants or laborers, but the slaves were prisoners of war and their descendants.

The right of disposing of slaves was only vested in the upper class; the common people rarely had slaves, and no slave had any authority whatever over another. The power of the master over his slave was almost unlimited; he could punish him with death for crime without incurring any responsibility; he could sell him or trade him for goods; he could give him away, or set him at liberty. The price of slaves was nearly always at the rate of a bidarka and a good parka for a couple of slaves, that is, a man and a woman; and of a stone knife, bunch of beads, or a sea-otter garment for a single slave. The slave could hold no property; everything he acquired belonged to his master. He was always obliged to accompany his master and protect him in cases of attack, and, in consideration of this, the master was obliged to support not only the slave, but his family. A slave suffering want would bring dishonor upon his master. Good and kind masters maintained their slaves, and especially the industrious and faithful among them, like their own children, and the name of slave was the only distinction between them and the children of their master.

The form of government of the Aleuts may be called patriarchal. Every village consisted always of relatives and formed only one family, where the oldest of the tribe was named *Toyone* (*Toukhoukh*), and had power over all, but his power was very much that of a father over a large family; that is, he was obliged to look after the common welfare, and to protect his territory (every village had its grounds set apart); strangers were not allowed to hunt in grounds thus set aside; infraction of this rule often gave rise to wars. That chief was the leader in war, but he had no right to take from his command anything except the share due to his family of all food, furs, or drift-wood, whether he was present at the distribution or not; but his share was not greater than that of any other man. With regard to the affairs of the community his power extended far enough to enable him to send out anybody with sons or relatives to execute any errand that might benefit the community, but on his own business he could not dispatch anybody. No special honor or outward respect was shown to the chief. The Aleuts had punishments, and even capital punishment, but the latter could not be inflicted by the chief without the consent of all the nobles. The chief could not begin wars with neighbors without the consent of other chiefs living on the same island, and without the consent of the oldest among them.

A few villages, the inhabitants of which had sprung from one family, formed a state or community where the oldest chief descended in a straight line from their forefathers, who first settled the islands, was the ruler. If no direct descendant was available, the head chief was selected among the other chiefs for his bravery, wisdom, and skill in hunting. He had such powers over the other chiefs as were vested in the chief of the village over his own people. It was his duty to protect all and avenge insults; in case of war he commanded, all the force with the consent of other chiefs, and made peace in the same way. Without his consent no subchief could make war upon his neighbors, or undertake a raid against the Kadiaks, or set out upon any important hunting expedition. Of all that was cast up by the sea he had an equal share with the people of each settlement, and therefore such head chiefs became richer, and consequently stronger, than the others. The respect in which the head chief was held by the neighboring tribes depended entirely upon the influence which he wielded over his own subordinates. The principal chief, with such powers and rights, may be called the ruler of his island or district, but the Aleuts never had any chief or ruler who had the right to dispose arbitrarily of the whole community.

I have already remarked that the Aleuts have capital punishment. The murderer and the betrayer of community secrets were punished with death. When it had been reported that an Aleut had committed a crime worthy of death, the chief assembled the council, composed of all the nobles and old men and himself; he laid the matter before them and asked their opinion, and when all were unanimous in judging the accused as worthy of death, all the males seated themselves in an open space, armed with their spears. The culprit was also brought out, surrounded by a few young men at the command of the chief, and suddenly, at a preconcerted signal, they thrust their spears into him. If after this he was still alive one of the warriors was ordered to stab or cut him to death. It must be remarked that it was not necessary to keep the culprit guarded or to bind him during the punishment, because every criminal endeavored to make the greatest display of indifference in the face of death. He never wasted words in exoneration or in appeals for mercy; he walked upright and fearlessly to the place of execution, in order to make his name famous among his people. Many of such executed criminals are still praised in the songs transmitted to their descendants.

Other less important crimes were punished at first by reprimand by the chief before the community, and upon repetition the offender was bound and kept in such a condition for some time. This was a great disgrace; in rare instances the men thus tied were beaten. The law with regard to slaves was more strict and better defined. For disobedience the ears were cut off; for insolence to the master, lips were severed; and if any evil resulted from indiscretion on the part of slaves, such as war or quarrels, the offender was put to death. For the first attempt to escape they received corporal punishment; for the second, their hands were tied at their back, and in such condition they were kept a long time; for the third attempt they were hamstrung; and for the fourth attempt the punishment was always death. The mode of putting slaves to death was entirely different from ordinary executions. They were not speared, as other people, but killed with clubs. For the first theft (which was considered a very disgraceful crime, especially when the slaves stole from strangers), corporal punishment was inflicted; for the second offense of the kind some fingers of the right hand were cut off; for the third, the left hand and sometimes the lips were amputated; and for the fourth offense the punishment was death.

The power of the chiefs and all the rights of the Aleuts were in full force at the time when the population was greatest. Interior was decreased the number of Aleuts, and at the same time the power of the chiefs and their own privileges, but with the arrival of the Russians the latter were entirely extinguished, and even the power of the chiefs remained only a shadow. Solovief and his companions, who undertook the work of pacifying, or rather exterminating, the Aleuts, first lessened the influence of the chiefs over their people. The Russians who followed in their wake also adopted this policy, until the chiefs were distinguished in no way from other Aleuts, being exempt neither from labor nor from punishment. In course of time the Aleuts began to look upon the chiefs as their equals in every other respect. Our government empowered the commanders of naval expeditions that visited this region between 1792 and 1823 to confer bronze, silver, and gold medals upon the chiefs, and the new regulations of the Russian-American Company provided for the distinction of chiefs from common people, restoring to them a portion of their former power. It is difficult, however, to restore or establish what has no stability in itself. Of late years (1832) the colonial government found it necessary to set up in this region two or three head chiefs selected

by the Aleuts themselves from the number of tribal chiefs and confirmed by the chief manager of the colonies. And thus the present government and management of the Aleuts depend altogether upon the Russian-American Company, acting through the manager of the Onalashka district, who, on the strength of his office, gives directions and orders to the "bidarshiks" for transmitting the same to the Aleuts through their chiefs; or the manager consults with the head chief and a few others, and explains to them his orders concerning hunting, and similar subjects, asking them how many bidarkas they can furnish for the sea-otter parties, and how many men for shooting birds, etc. The present rights and duties of the Aleuts are as follows: They enjoy the protection of the law equally with the serfs, but they are exempt from all duties and taxes. As an offset to this, they are obliged to serve the company from the fifteenth to the fiftieth year of their age, receiving pay from the company for their services. All furs which they may obtain must be sold exclusively to the company at certain prices established by the government.

It may be asked, is the present government of the Aleuts and their present condition good? I answer, it is good; because the Aleuts aside from their service with the company, enjoy complete liberty, and their service is only temporary and always for pay. The company takes good care that the man appointed as the manager of the Onalashkan district be a man of good intentions and executes strictly the directions of the colonial government. The Aleuts have not recovered their former liberty, but there is no necessity for changing their present condition for any other. Any change could only be injurious and even disastrous. It would be perhaps desirable that the Aleuts should receive for their furs prices somewhat commensurate with those charged for goods, and also that their head chiefs should have the right to look at the accounts of the Aleuts kept at the various offices, and that all the chiefs be furnished with written rules and instructions for their guidance. Such changes as these might prove beneficial to the various communities.

RELIGION AND BELIEFS.

The religious belief of the early Aleuts was an outgrowth of shamanism as found in the Asiatic possessions of Russia. The Aleuts believed and acknowledged that there is and must be a creator of everything visible and invisible, and who was called by them Agoughoukh, that is, creator; but having only a limited understanding, they did not connect him with the management of the world, and showed him no particular respect. Worshipping no one being, they soon came to worship everything that seemed of importance to them. As rulers of everything in their surroundings they have acknowledged two spirits, or two kinds of spirits, who regulated the fate of man in every respect. The first they called Khougakh, and the second Aglikhaikh. Some of these worked blessings to man and others only evil, but how far their influence extended and the limits of their power, even their best theologians could not define.

Among the earliest Aleuts there may have been worship of the light and of celestial bodies. The first may be surmised from their custom of saluting the light. (a) The second supposition is based upon the fact that they were always afraid, and still show reluctance to say anything bad of the celestial bodies. The old men told the youths that anybody speaking ill of the sun—for instance, complaining of its heat or glare—would be struck blind and never see its light again. The moon was supposed to kill its slanderers with stones; and whoever censured the stars would be compelled to count them or else lose his life. If, in the summer time, upon a clear and calm day, some youth would complain to his companion of the heat, and regret the winter with all its storms and famine, such carelessness was always punished by the sudden appearance of violent gales and storms, and if the offense was repeated the winter would always make its appearance earlier and with greater severity than common. In this way the young Aleuts learned to display the greatest indifference to all changes of weather and temperature.

The Aleuts believed that there were three worlds, each with its separate beings and doings. The first world—which was called Akaeon Kughoudakh, that is, the highest world, where there was no night or evening, and where a multitude of people live forever. The second world was our globe. The third was subterraneous, and called Sitkoughikh Kouyudakh, where there was also a multitude of people, whether mortal or immortal was and is not known. They had no temples, but there were sacred or hallowed localities called Aoudeagadakh, and also sacrifices to invisible spirits. The first could be found in every village, being generally some rock or cliff or other prominent place. The females and young men were strictly prohibited from visiting such places, and especially from gathering the grasses and weeds growing upon them. Any infraction of this prohibition on the part of bold or curious youngsters was sure to be followed by disease and speedy death. In a few instances insanity was the consequence. The adult males could visit these spots at certain times, and only for the purpose of sacrificing.

The offerings (*akhaikhilik*, that is, "All his to him he gave") were of two kinds, one optional and the other defined. The first sacrifice consisted of almost any object, principally the skins of animals, which were brought to the sacred spots with trifling ceremony and prayers for assistance in war or the chase. The second sacrifice consisted of the tail-feathers of cormorants and a few other birds only worn by men. These sacred places were protected only by prohibition. The *modus operandi* consisted of the votary's taking a certain number of feathers, smearing each of them with some paint, generally green or red, and throwing them to the four winds and uttering his request to the invisible spirits every time that the feathers escaped from his fingers. When the sacrifice was completed the man simply said: "Now give me what I ask."

The early Aleuts had shamans and shamanism, but what their sorcery consisted of is now difficult to ascertain, beyond the fact that it was accompanied with the usual accessories of songs, dances, beating of drums, and contortions. The shamans here as elsewhere called themselves mediators between the visible and invisible world—between men and spirits; and the mass of the people believed that they were acquainted with demons who could foretell the future and aid these sufferers, and therefore turned to them for aid in dangerous sickness or misfortune, asked them for good luck in hunting, long life, rescue from danger at sea, the calming of gales; and also those who were not accoucheurs called them into their houses in cases of difficult birth.

Concerning their knowledge of the future the old Aleuts assert that some of the more prominent shamans had foretold, long prior to the arrival of the Russians, that white men with strange customs would come to them from the sea, and that subsequently all the Aleuts would be transformed to resemble the new arrivals and live according to their customs. They also asserted that at the time of the first appearance of the Russians they saw to the eastward of their islands a bright light, or large star, containing many people resembling the new-comers, but in the lower world few people remained, and impenetrable darkness set in.

a This early custom is described as follows:

The grown men were in the habit of emerging from their huts as soon as day was breaking, naked, and standing with their face to the east, or wherever the dawn appeared, and having rinsed their mouths with water saluted the light and the wind; after this ceremony they would proceed to the rivulet supplying them with drinking water, strike the water several times with the palm of their hands, saying: "I am not asleep; I am alive; I greet with you the life-giving light, and I will always live with thee." While saying this they also had their faces turned to the east, lifting the right arm so as to throw the water, dripping from it, over their bodies. Then throwing water over the head and washing face and hands, they waded into the stream up to their knees and awaited the first appearance of the sun. Then they would carry water to their homes for use during the day. In localities where there was no stream the ceremony was performed on the sea-beach in the same manner, with the exception that they carried no water away with them.

In spite of all their knowledge and power, and their efforts to impose upon the ignorant, the shamans were not held in much respect, being scarcely distinguished from other people; though helping other people, they frequently were themselves in want of assistance, and were forced to apply to others. They perished from hunger and accident like their fellows. It was a very rare occurrence that the son of a shaman adopted the trade of his father; probably the shaman on his death-bed forbade his son to do so, explaining to him the worst side of his position, and turning his desires into another direction. Many of the shamans called their occupation "service of the devil", and told the young men that nobody who had any fear or apprehension must lay claim to the title of shaman; and that they themselves had not adopted the profession voluntarily, but because they were powerless to resist the devil. The Aleutian shamans said they could not summon spirits (as the Kolosh do), but that the spirits made them their servants. They claimed that from the age of fifteen years the devil begins to trouble them with constant apparitions and delusions; while hunting at sea they would constantly see an island rise before them, or immense cliffs bar their way to the shore; traveling on foot they would be tempted from their path by other kinds of apparitions in the shape of animals or marvelous beings, until they were bewildered and willing to submit to their inevitable masters. It is known that the Aleutian shamans have nothing whatever to do with marriages, births, or the bringing of sacrifices.

The Aleuts had an indefinite belief in the immortality of souls and in a future life. This becomes evident from the fact that prominent individuals on their death directed the killing of slaves to serve them in the other world as they had done here. They could not say what the condition of souls was in the future world, but the slaves considered it a favor and an honor to be sent with their master, and therefore we may conclude that they expected to live pleasantly in the coming life.

They all believed that the souls of the dead, or, as they called them, "shadow," remained invisible among their people, accompanying them on land and sea, especially those whom they had loved, and that they were in a condition to do good as well as evil. Therefore the living called upon the dead in times of danger, especially in wars undertaken for avenging insults to the tribe.

With regard to the origin of the first man the Aleutian theologians are not unanimous. Of all their various theories, either very absurd or grotesque, or very similar to our sacred history, I present here only two. One says that at the beginning the earth was vacant, inhabited by nobody; but at one time there fell from heaven to the earth two beings somewhat resembling man, but they had long fur all over their bodies. From them sprang a couple of similar beings, but without the fur; and from this couple again came all the people, and began to spread out to the east and north (they did not mention the south, they did not suppose the people could live there;) the place where these people originated was warm—there was no winter, no gales, but a perpetually pleasant climate. The first human beings were long-lived, strong, and hardy. At the beginning the people lived peaceably and in friendship, knowing no dependence or independence, no quarrel, and no wants; but with the increase of people want and necessities appeared, and in their train the art of making arms, or hunting animals; then came dissensions and wars, and the arms were turned against men. Want and the oppression of the weaker by the stronger compelled the former to migrate from their original habitations, and thus the world was peopled.

Others say that before any people appeared on Oonalashka or other parts of America there was on the island of Unaska one man (his name is not known), who, having lived for a long time in utter solitude, began to think that perhaps somewhere in the world there might be other people like him, and therefore, with the intention of searching for his fellows, he concluded to travel. He constructed a boat—a kind of bidarka—called oulliak. At first he circumnavigated Unaska, and, finding nobody there, he went on to the island of Four Mountains; there also he found nobody. Finally he proceeded to Oumnak, and, landing upon its western extremity, went ashore and at once saw a human track. A short time elapsed and a woman walked up from the beach in grass boots. He was not long in making her acquaintance, and as she suited his taste he made her his wife. From this couple sprang all the people inhabiting the northwestern part of America. The first fruit of this union was a dog; the second, a very strange being of the male sex with wings, who, when he grew up, began to say to his parents, "I am not like men; you have no share in me." The mother, having heard this remark several times, and seeing that he actually was not like them, nor apt to propagate the human family, and consequently would only work evil, proposed to her husband to kill him, and the father consented. When they had killed him with their own hands a son was born to them, and then a daughter, perfect human beings, and from these last couples people began to multiply. But their children moved away from them, and some spoke different languages. The difference of speech induced them to scatter all the more in all directions; those speaking one language settling together, and those migrating to the eastward founded the various nations of the mainland of America.

The superstitions of the Aleuts were innumerable. Every action or undertaking or every step required its own observances and talismans. Of the latter the most common was a girdle plaited of sinews and grasses under invocations; and certain pebbles, called by them "chimkikh", cast out by the sea occasionally. (This pebble resembles in shape a turnip, but is hollow inside, smooth on the outside, and of two colors, one entirely white with yellow rings, and another red with white rings. The first were called male and the other female pebbles.) The first talisman was worn on the naked body as an unfailing protection from death during hostile attacks or encounters with animals. Possessed of this charm a man would conquer everybody and everything without injury to himself. In spite of the fact that the material of these girdles was of no value whatever, they were by no means plentiful, and passed as heirlooms in families from father to son, or from uncle to nephew, with certain ceremonies. The second talisman was exceedingly rare, and, therefore, very highly valued. The fortunate individual that found such a one preserved it in some secret and clean place, and never looked upon it until the house was quiet, and after having washed his hands, and never unless some dreadful danger threatened. This pebble was only taken from its resting-place on sea-otter expeditions, when it served as a charm to attract the coveted game. The lucky possessor was always fortunate in the chase; he did not hunt the sea-otter, the sea-otter gathered around him and gazed at him with loving eyes.

To secure success in fishing they attach charms to the line and hook, consisting of small fragments of roots, weeds, or anything green or colored.

The pursuit of whales was encumbered with many observances and superstitions. The spear-heads used in hunting the whale were greased with human fat, or portions of human bodies were tied to them, obtained from corpses found in burial caves, or portions of a widow's garments, or some poisoned roots or weed. (a) All such objects had their own special properties and influence, and the whalers always kept them in their bidarkas. The hunter who launched a spear provided with such a charm upon a whale at once blew upon his hands, and having sent one spear and struck the whale, he would not throw again, but would proceed at once to his home, separate himself from his people in a specially-constructed hovel, where he remained three days without food or drink, and without touching or looking upon a female. During this time of seclusion he snorted occasionally in imitation of the wounded and dying whale, in order to prevent the whale struck by him from leaving the coast. On the fourth day he emerged from his seclusion and bathed in the sea, shrieking in a hoarse voice and beating the water with his hands. Then, taking with him a companion, he proceeded to the shore where

a Aleuts assert that some of the corpses found at the present day in caves on one of the Four Mountain islands were in the same condition in their earliest times as they are now. They are lying together, one beside the other, clothed in dog-skin parkas; their beard and hair are reddish, the skin of the body black; and from these corpses the hunters endeavored to detach some pieces of the body, or perhaps a fragment of clothing. The hunters who obtain such charms are always fortunate in their pursuit, but meet with an untimely and painful death. They begin to putrefy while yet in their prime.

he presumed the whale had lodged, and if the animal was dead he commenced at once to cut out the place where the death-wound had been inflicted. If the whale was not dead the hunter once more returned to his home and continued washing himself until the whale died.

For hunting the sea-otter such poisoned spears were not used, but as the Aleuts believed that the sea-otter was a transformed human being, they endeavored to ornament their bidarkas, their garments, and their spears as much as possible, in the belief that the sea-otter would be attracted by the beauty of the outfit.

Of the many superstitions concerning health, long life, etc., I know only of their fathers and uncles endeavoring to obtain the viscid expectorative matter from the throat of some old man famous for his achievements, and of irreproachable character, who had been healthy, and compelling their children or relatives to swallow it as a preventive against all violent and epidemic diseases, and as a general strengthener of the body. Such old men, in dying, frequently blessed their relatives, and gave them some of their gray hairs, or fragments of their clothing, or arms which they had carried in wars, and ordered them to preserve them as charms against misfortune and disease.

The females had their own observances and customs at times of birth, etc., of which I do not know the particulars, and perhaps they are not worth knowing.

It is remarkable that with their talismans, and invocations, and other superstitious ceremonies it is a rule to admit no female and to impart no knowledge of these ceremonies to the other sex, the greatest disaster being threatened in case of infraction of this rule. For instance, a whale-hunter who had violated this law would be seized, before the stricken whale had yet expired, with violent nose-bleeding and swelling of the whole body, often ending in insanity or death. The sea-otter hunter was not subject to such terrible punishments, but he met with misfortune in the chase, and, though surrounded by sea-otters, could not kill a single one—the animals laughing at him, gathering around his bidarka, and throwing water into his face in sport. The same happens to sea-otter hunters whose wives prove unfaithful during their absence, or whose sister is unchaste. The same strange conduct of the sea-otters was sometimes observed toward the lazy, evil-disposed, or disrespectful toward the aged. It is impossible for any belief to exist without some moral lesson contained in it, and we may consider that even the superstitions of the Aleuts led toward cleanliness of body and a careful execution of their duties, no matter how absurd and respectful the demeanor.

I will endeavor to give here briefly the moral code, which I believe is evidently contained or hidden in the mass of superstition among the early Aleuts:

First. The old men said it was necessary to respect parents because they gave us life and nursed us in sickness and brought us up with great trouble, full of kindness, and deprived themselves for our sake without knowing what we would do for them, and, therefore, we should sincerely love them, do all we could toward their support, remain with them, and care for them until their death; if they should become blind or feeble we should take them by the hand and lead them. To disregard one's parents was considered the greatest and most dishonorable of crimes.

Second. If one had no father he should respect his oldest brother and serve him as he would a father, and a brother himself must always aid his brother in war as well as in the chase, and each protect the other; but if anybody, disregarding this natural law, should go to live apart, caring only for himself, such a one should be discarded by his relatives in case of attack by enemies or animals, or in time of storms; and such dishonorable conduct would lead to general contempt.

Third. Feeble old men must be respected and attended when they need aid, and the young and strong should give them a share of their booty and help them through all their troubles, endeavoring to obtain in exchange their good advice only; and whoever acts thus will be long-lived, be fortunate in the chase and in war, and will not be neglected when he becomes old himself.

Fourth. The poor must not be neglected, but assisted; not only not abused, but protected against abuse, because man does not always remain in the same condition, and even in the richest and most powerful tribes, as well as in the lowly and poor, sometimes quite unexpectedly their condition changes, and the rich will become poor and the poor rich, and therefore:

Fifth. During poverty they should be humble and respectful, and not offend the rich who divide with the poor.

Sixth. We should be hospitable; every visitor should be received as liberally as possible, and feasted, in order that he, on his return to his people, may speak of us with praise.

Seventh. All who move to another village are called strangers during the first year, and such must not be abused, but aided and assisted in every way, and considered as of the people. Under such they will sooner forget their own home and become accustomed to the new; and in case of need will be defenders of the village.

Eighth. We must not be forward; it is better to listen than to speak in every condition of life. That is what made people in olden times long-lived and strong, because they talked but little. Every evil and misfortune springs from the tongue; therefore in olden times those who caused common misfortune by imprudent talk were frequently punished with death.

Ninth. The children were instructed to be kind in their intercourse with others; to refrain from selfishness; to be bold in case of hostile attacks, and disdain death, and to strive to accomplish some famous deed, such as avenging the death of their relatives, and so forth.

Tenth. The following offenses were considered as worthy of death or punishment: for instance, to abuse a companion without cause by word or deed, or to kill him (but to kill an enemy was quite another thing); to take another's property; to steal or rob (theft was not only a crime but a disgrace); to betray secrets of the councils of war; to grumble at severe weather, cold, wind, or heat of the sun; to talk unnecessarily and unfavorably of stars and clouds; to defile in any manner a sacred spot, or a stream of running water, so as to prevent fish from coming up, or to disturb the sea in the vicinity of the village, and thereby drive away the fish or game. Girls or unmarried females who gave birth to illegitimate children were to be killed for shame, and hidden; their children were called "anikshoun agoucha", that is, "hidden children." (a)

Incest was considered the gravest crime, and was punished with great severity; it was believed always to be followed by the birth of monsters with walrus-tusks, beard, and other disfiguration.

a The Aleuts said and still maintain that illegitimate infants killed from shame would begin some time after being buried to cry and weep like new-born babes, and finally they would begin to walk around at night in the villages, appearing like little clouds, weeping also, and when many such children were observed the fathers of families assembled and tried to find out the guilty persons, and if the culprit would not confess they sometimes proceeded to torture. The kindest father would not screen his favorite daughter in such a case; but when the guilty person was discovered she was smeared with paint and placed in a dark and bleak hovel. Here she was seated in a corner and covered with a grass mat with two slits so as to expose the breast, and then she was obliged to sit in that position night after night in order that the hidden child might come and nurse and not disturb the virtuous women. Whenever there was evidence that a woman had nursed an infant during the night, her sin was forgiven. Sometimes a woman thus locked up would cry out in the night, and the men, with arms in their hands, would hurriedly enter the hut, when in her arms was found not a babe, but a small black bird. This bird was killed with certain ceremonies, and torn into small fragments, and the nightly disturbance ceased forever.

The Aleuts still maintain that a failure to observe the customs of their forefathers, and especially a willful neglect of the same, is attended with all kinds of disasters and punishments. They always return good for good and evil for evil. It was considered praiseworthy to go to sea in times of gales and to make difficult landings. As a proof of such achievements they would mark their bodies in some way to indicate that they had been on some inaccessible cliff, or that they landed unassisted with their bidarka at some spot where nobody had yet landed before. But still more praiseworthy it was to be brave in war. The first duty was to be kind to strangers, because their forefathers had been travelers, and they had all sprung from one father and one mother.

The light the life-giving principle; running water gave strength to the body, but the sea-water was still stronger, making men fearless and invincible. Therefore, whoever was in his youth afraid of the sea would be forced to bathe, and thereby be made strong and brave.

One of their sayings was, "The wind is no river;" that is, the river runs always and never stops, but the wind sometimes stops. Another saying was, "A bear is not a man;" by which they meant that a bear is not so revengeful and bloodthirsty as a man. Another saying was, "Not out of every sweet root grows a sweet plant;" that is, good children do not always come from good parents.

The teachings of their faith and all customs were transmitted in two ways, either from father to son, or, more frequently, from uncle to nephew. This teaching may be called domestic. Another manner of propagating their doctrines was communal or public, when the teachers were not shamans but old men who had lived to a great age and become famous for their achievements and disinterested life. Such old men considered it their duty to teach the young on every occasion, and this was done nearly every day, in the morning and in the evening; that is, when all were at home. The old man would go to the middle of the barabara for this purpose and seat himself, and all the young people would surround him and listen attentively to all he said; even if he repeated the same advice for the hundredth time they would listen to him with respect, because they considered it their duty to do so.

Now let us speak of their present faith. The Aleuts, as well as the Kadiaks, are baptized Americans (*i. e.*, natives), and are of the Greek-Russian faith, which they adopted from Russia. The Aleuts may justly be called exemplary Christians, because they abandoned shamanism as soon as they received Christianity; not only the outward signs of it, such as masks and charms, which they used in their dances and invocations, but even the very songs in which they transmitted the deeds of their ancestors, and their former belief and customs, were all forgotten without any compulsion. The first to convert and baptize them was the Iërodiakon (or holy monk) Makar (a member of the Kadiak mission), who had been sent to the Aleuts from Kadiak in 1795. He did not have recourse to any violent measures in inducing them to be baptized, and if he had been inclined to forcible means he had not the power. The Aleuts received the new belief very willingly. The best proof of this lies in the fact that Father Makar traveled from place to place, to the most distant villages, without having any protector with the exception of one Russian servant. The Aleuts themselves transported him from place to place, fed him, and protected him on his errand of baptism. And from that time to the present the Aleuts have been God-fearing and religiously inclined. They willingly assemble for prayer wherever there is an opportunity for service, and especially when they are visited by a priest. During service of prayer they stand in rapt attention and admiration, without turning to one side or the other, and without shifting from one foot to the other, no matter how long the service. At the end one may look at the prints of their feet and count how many there were; and though they understand but very little of the teachings of the church they never slacken their attention during the service. All religious observances required of them they fulfill to the letter. I need not mention that they strictly observe the fasts, because hunger goes for nothing with them for two or three days at a time. But nothing pleased me so much as the willingness, or rather the ardor, with which they listened to the word of God, their ardor being so great as to fatigue the most earnest teacher. This I can assert from personal experience. During my journeys among them, whenever I arrived at a village, all at once left their avocations, no matter how important to their immediate or future comfort; they collected around me at the first signal, all listening to me in rapt attention, forgetful of everything else; even tender mothers sometimes disregarded their crying children, whom they had left behind in their huts. The strong and healthy would carry the old and feeble to the place of meeting.

When we compare the Aleuts with the Kadiaks, their neighbors, in a religious sense, there seems to be a great disparity. The Kadiaks practice shamanism to the present day, and all their former superstitions are still in full force, while among the Aleuts the former does not exist at all and the latter have almost disappeared. Only about one hundredth part of the Kadiaks fulfill these observances to any extent, and very few show any ardor or interest, while the Aleuts are, in that respect, not behind the best Christians of our time. Such a difference is all the more astonishing because the Kadiaks have enjoyed the benefits of missionaries among them since 1794, but the Aleuts have had a resident priest among them only since 1824, having up to that time seen only Father Makar, their baptizer, once, and for a very short time; and also two chaplains of naval vessels, in 1792 and 1821, also for a very short period, and then only at the principal village. This is not a place to decide why the Kadiaks, with every facility for christianization, have remained only half Christians, but it would be very curious to find a reason why the Aleuts so commonly and almost suddenly changed their belief—their simple and easy belief—for the very strictest, and why they show so much more interest than their neighbors. The principal reason for this I believe to lie in their character. The Oonalashkans have more good qualities than bad, and consequently the seeds of the word of God find better and deeper soil and grow with greater speed. It must be acknowledged, however, that the contempt in which the shamans were held facilitated the work of the mission. Any other stronger reason inducing the Aleuts to accept their faith I cannot find. It is true we may say the Aleuts accepted Christianity because they had only a very vague and unsatisfactory belief that did not satisfy the demands of their souls, and that they had reason to fear the Russians and were eager to please them; and, third and last, because the acceptance of Christianity exempted them from the payment of tribute. All these reasons may have induced them to change their faith, but certainly could not make them the earnest observers of its rules that they are; but when we come to scrutinize these reasons they appear but weak. It is true that their former religion was unsatisfactory, but could the Christian faith be any more so to them at first? In the absence of good interpreters they could have but incomplete understanding of God and his attributes; and could even that Christian faith be satisfying to their hearts when the first preacher of the same could not express himself sufficiently well in their language to explain its most beneficial mysteries, and forbade their own custom of polygamy? The Aleuts are very subservient, but we must acknowledge that the Russians never attempted to compel them to baptism in any way. As the most powerful reason may be considered the exemption of new converts from the payment of tribute, especially since they thereby escaped the dreaded oppression of tribute-gatherers; but if we consider the trifling value of such tribute, which they pay only at their option, and also that the exemption only continued for three years, even this reason appears insufficient to account for their earnestness in accepting the new faith.

The Christian faith was carried to America (I mean only Russian America) by the Russians. The commander of the first vessel which discovered the Aleutian islands, Glottof, and his companions, were the first propagandists of Christianity in America. Glottof, during the first time of his stay at Oumnak, in 1759, established such friendly relations with the native inhabitants that the chief allowed him to baptize his son and to carry him away to Kamchatka. He lived here several years, and learned the Russian language and grammar, and then returned to his country in the capacity of supreme chief over all the islands. This convert, who may be considered the first among all our Americans, was named Ivan, with the surname of Glottof. He assisted greatly in spreading Christianity among the Aleuts. It is

unknown that Glottof and his companions baptized anybody except the son of the chief, but we know that they erected at that place a large cross, on the site of which a chapel was subsequently erected in honor of Saint Nicholas, and in 1826 was replaced by a new one. (a)

For some time after Glottof's visit to the island the Russians in the Oonalashka district forgot to baptize any more Aleuts, being occupied solely with their "pacification", as they called it, or rather extermination, and not before 1780, when the so-called pacification ceased, did the Russians once more begin to think of this subject. It was not so much Christian ardor as business considerations that induced the Russians to persuade the Aleuts to the acceptance of baptism, since the converted natives became more manageable, and attached, to a certain extent, to their god-fathers, giving their trade exclusively to them. Whatever the reasons were, the fact remains the same, that the first Russian hunters were the first baptizers of the Aleuts, and subsequently of the Kadiaks, thus paving the way and facilitating the work of the missionaries coming after them.

Shelikhof, the founder of the present company, included in his plans for the development of the Russian colonies the spread of Christianity and the erection of churches, and therefore on his return from Kadiak, in 1787, he petitioned the government for the appointment of a mission, which he promised to transport to the field of action and maintain at the sole expense of himself and his partners. His petition was answered, and a mission was detailed by the holy synod, under the command of the archimandrite Ioassaf, for preaching the word of God to the tribes annexed to the Russian dominion. A mission was fitted out with everything, and even with more than was necessary, by Shelikhof and his partners, and departed from St. Petersburg in 1793, arriving at Kadiak in the following autumn, where they began their labors at once. (b)

Juvenal first visited Kadiak and baptized all the inhabitants; in the following year, 1795, he went to Nuchek, where he baptized 700 Chugachs, and then proceeded to Kenai and baptized all the people there; in 1796 he crossed over to the Aliaska peninsula and penetrated to the lake Ilyamna, where he ended his apostolic services with his life, having done more service to the church than all his companions. The cause of his death was his strong opposition to polygamy. It is said that when he was attacked by the savages Juvenal did neither fly nor defend himself, which he might have done successfully, but delivered himself unresistingly into the hands of his murderers, asking only for the safety of his companions, which was granted. The savages relate that after the missionary had been killed he rose up once more, walked toward his murderers, and spoke to them; they fell upon him again, but he repeated his miracle several times. At last the savages became exasperated and cut him into pieces, and then only did the preacher of the word of God become silent. Father Makar proceeded to Oonalashka in 1795, and traveled over the whole district from Ounga to the Four Mountains, and baptized all Aleuts without exception. The other members of the mission confined their activity to holding services in the churches at their respective locations and teaching children in the schools, but Herman began from the very first a secluded life on a small island (Spruce island), devoting himself to prayer and agriculture. Subsequently he taught a few girls, orphans, in the Russian language and manual labor, and this small establishment was in a very good condition when visited by Baron Wrangell. Among the work of the Kadiak mission must be mentioned that in 1806 the monk Gideon, who visited the island in the ship *Neva*, translated the Lord's prayer into the Kadiak language, and it was sung in the churches after that time. Subsequently, however, it was neglected and finally lost. Mr. Shelikhof, who considered such a man not equal to the work of spreading the word of God in such a vast region, represented to the government the necessity for additional action, but the drowning of the bishop appointed and the death of Shelikhof himself put an end for the time being to the enterprise.

Baranof, having established Sitka, asked for a priest, and in 1816 the priest Alexei Sokolof arrived there. Subsequently, when the charter of the Russian-American Company was renewed, in 1821, they were ordered to maintain a sufficient number of priests in the colonies. The company petitioned to have them sent out, and the prayer was granted. Veniaminof arrived in Alaska in 1823; Frumenty Mordovskoi entered Kadiak in 1824, and a creole, born at Atkha, Yakof Netzvetof, was assigned to his native island in 1825. This last-named worthy pastor did much toward the spread of the Christian faith; he subsequently transcribed my translations of the Evangel and catechism from the Oonalashkan into the Atkhan dialect.

At the present time we have in our American colonies four churches, one at Sitka, in honor of the archangel Michael, established in 1817; the second at Kadiak, in the name of the elevation of the cross, established in 1795; the third at Oonalashka, in honor of the resurrection of Christ, established in 1824; the fourth at Atkha, in the name of Saint Nicholas, established in 1825. Nushegak and the Rêdoute Saint Michael in the north have remained thus far without priests, since the priest of Kadiak, to whom the former properly belongs, finds it impossible to visit it, and the Oonalashka priest can do so but rarely. Many converts have been made in that region, and a church or mission will doubtless be established there before long. The following translations have been made in the Aleut tongue to assist in the spread of Christianity: A brief catechism that was printed by permission of the holy synod in 1831, at the instance of the American-Russian Company. The Evangel of Matthew, which the holy synod allowed to be used in manuscript, and a pamphlet entitled "Guide to the Short Road to the Heavenly Kingdom" was also used in manuscript. To the honor of the Aleuts it must be stated that they eagerly read these books as soon as presented to them in their own tongue.

DESCRIPTION OF FORMER CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE ATKHA ALEUTS. (c)

The Atkha Aleuts, or the inhabitants of the Andreianof, Rat, and Bering islands, situated between the Oonalashka district and Kamchatka, are of the same tribe or nationality as the Oonalashka Aleuts. This is proved by their language, customs, character, and outward appearance.

a This cross was in course of time used by some Russians in the construction of a house for the posts of a sleeping platform, very unnecessarily; but old men and eye-witnesses assert that as soon as the men began to sleep on the platform an unknown disease broke out among them, and one-half of those living in the house died, while the Aleuts living around them remained in good health.

b The personnel of this first mission was as follows:

1st. The archimandrite Ioassaf. He returned to Irkutsk in 1797 for promotion to the grade of archierey, and in returning from there to Kadiak he was drowned with all the occupants of the ship *Phoenix*.

2d. The archimandrite Iëromonakh Juvenal (who had once been a mining engineer) was killed by the natives in 1796 near lake Ilyamna.

3d. Archimandrite Makar, the christianizer of the Aleuts, returned to Irkutsk in 1796, and on his return, in the suite of the bishop, was drowned with him.

4th. Archimandrite Afanassy filled the office of priest at Kadiak until 1825, and then returned to Irkutsk.

5th. Iërodiakon Stefan (also a former officer) was drowned in the suite of the bishop.

6th. The archimandrite Iërodiakon Nakar returned to Irkutsk in 1806, and died there eight years later.

7th. The monk Ioassaf died at Kadiak in 1823.

8th. The monk Herman died at Kadiak in 1837—the last member of the Kadiak mission.

c Communicated to Veniaminof by Father Yakof.

The Atkhans believed that all the inhabitants of the islands known to them originated from one couple that came from heaven to the island named Tauaga, one of their group. The Atkhans, like their brethren of Oonalashka, believed in shamanism; that is, though they acknowledged a creator, they also believed in powerful spirits. The Supreme Being they called Kouyudam Agougou and also Achidan Agougou; the first signifies creator of heaven, and the second creator of the lower regions; to intervene between mortals and spirits, and to decide which of them was to be most respected, was the business of the shamans. The demonology of the Atkhans was very complicated. They also believed in certain birds, fishes, and other creatures, together with the sun, the heavens, and other inanimate objects, thinking that spirits lived in them. As communication with spirits was carried on only through the medium of shamans, they imagined that these spirits looked as the shamans appeared during their ceremonies and dances, with masks or disfigured countenances. Such masks and faces were still seen by the priest above mentioned. He says that they are generally well executed, representing the heads of animals in an exaggerated form. Some of the Atkhans ascertained that in certain inaccessible localities there were colossal beings of human shape, called Taiagouligouk, to whom sacrifices or offerings were brought, consisting of paints, skins, pebbles, and fine sinew thread, but there was no open idol-worship, and even this approach to it was considered dangerous among the people. They believed that idols might occasionally be of assistance to those who had made them, but though they complied at a certain time with the wishes and demands of their worshippers they finally proved their destruction, and sometimes a whole family or tribe was annihilated for daring to visit the locality where the idol was kept, and therefore it was strictly forbidden to make such figures. But the shamans continued to foster the worship, and instances of the same have been discovered often since Christianity was introduced in the Atkhan district. Especially was this the case among the inhabitants of the island of Attoo, where the last secret orgies were held. Idol-worship was finally broken up by the priest during his visit in 1827. The Atkhans relate that on one of their islands, named Sagougamak, on a bay named Ousankoukh, about half way up the mountain, there had been erected an idol by some shamans which destroyed at sight all who passed by. They all had seen it and knew that it destroyed their brethren, but they did not know where and how they were destroyed until finally one of them sacrificed himself for the purpose of ascertaining the place where the Aleuts disappeared. Having resolved upon his undertaking he went to the dreaded vicinity, taking with him his wife, whom he hid in the interior of his bidarka. Arriving on the spot he sat down his wife in a place of concealment and told her to watch him while he himself went on farther and camped; his wife saw that something emerged from the idol, proceeded toward her husband, killed him, and carried him off to a cave. She returned home and related the occurrence. The Aleuts at once collected in large numbers, proceeded to the idol and killed the spirit operating the same, and after that the bay was safe. They also said that about the year 1814 an idol was found on the island of Kanaga which gave signs of life; and in 1827 a similar discovery was made on Adakh island by two Aleuts, who saw the spirit come out of the cave. The first idol was destroyed by being broken up, but the second was killed with a gun and then shattered and burned.

The Atkhans also believed that the souls of dead people did not die, but separated from the body and lived, scattering everywhere, without any permanent place of abode. The Atkha shamans, as a rule, were men, but a few women have been known in the profession. According to the belief of the people the shamans had intercourse with spirits, and the power to summon them in cases of necessity; they foretold the future; they threatened those who showed them disrespect with various punishments; cured the sick, and assisted the hunters in their pursuits, etc., consequently the more prominent or skillful among them were held in considerable respect. For curing diseases or bringing good luck to hunters the shamans generally employed the roots of plants, and sometimes of dwarf willow and birch, pieces of which were considered as valuable gifts. If the prophecies or assistance of shamans proved successful they demanded from their clients offerings to the spirit most respected by them, while they themselves were satisfied with what their clients were willing to give. One of the common occupations of the shamans was the manufacture of masks and faces, and sometimes of charms and nostrums. They also superintended games and dances, composed songs, etc. For all such doings they had certain localities where no unclean person or woman was allowed to enter. In order to keep themselves and their belongings beyond the influence of any unclean being the shamans frequently washed themselves, their clothing, and their implements in the water of running streams.

The Atkhans, like their brethren of Oonalashka district, strictly prohibited the betrayal of secrets to other tribes as leading to quarrels, murder, and war. They also prohibited laziness, theft, willful abuse; to avenge a wrong even by the most violent means was not only considered praiseworthy, but an unavoidable duty; respect for parents and for the aged and gratitude to benefactors were considered virtues. To kill a man for cause was considered just and allowable. Such causes were a violation of the marriage-bed, a refusal to fight for the community, treason, or secret intercourse with other tribes. The punishment for these crimes was sometimes carried so far as to include the wife of the offender; but children, especially small children, were always spared. They had no general punishment for crimes; each one was supposed to deal with his own enemies. Theft was not suffered among them at all; a house in which theft or robbery had been committed was at once leveled to the ground and rebuilt in another place with certain ceremonies; then a shaman with a few other men entered the new building, burning certain herbs and going through various ceremonies, in order to find out the guilty one. It was believed that the ashes of the burned herbs would fly into the face of the thief. Once discovered, the guilty man was stripped and beaten. A very remarkable custom among the Atkhans is the "purification", which they call *aiag*. Sodomy, and too early cohabitation with a betrothed or intended wife, are called among them grave sins. The manner of purification was this: The offender desirous of unburdening himself selected a time when the sun was clear and unobscured; he picked up certain weeds and carried them about his person; then deposited them and threw his sin upon them, calling the sun as a witness, and, when he had eased his heart of all that had weighed upon it, he threw the grass or weeds into the fire, and after that considered himself cleansed of his sin.

The Atkhans, like other savages, did not know the value of their lives, and, therefore, in disasters they were easily overcome by their feelings and deprived themselves of their lives. Grief over the death of relatives—a son, cousin, husband, or wife, etc.—often led to suicide; but there were no examples of children depriving themselves of their lives from grief over the death of their parents, no matter how dearly they had loved them. This was probably considered as a law. It occurred also that men committed suicide from disappointment at the failure of an undertaking, fearing that they would become the laughing-stock of the village. Sometimes they preferred death to capture among their enemies, for all prisoners of war were slaves for the remainder of their lives.

The Atkhans allowed intermarriage between all relatives, with the exception of a brother to a sister, father with his daughter, and a son with his mother; and in case of the death of one brother the other was obliged to marry the widow. Marriage was contracted at ten years of age, the time when a boy was considered able to manage a bidarka and throw a spear, and consequently was counted among the hunters, while the girl was able to sew. Sometimes the parents betrothed their children to each other. As soon as such an engagement had been resolved upon the parents presented the children with household utensils, clothing, hunting-gear, etc., but the marriage was only considered as binding when the young couple had brought forth children. At that time it was the custom to present them with slaves; and the refusal of an offer was considered a great insult, for which the most severe measure of vengeance might be instituted, even to death. Men were allowed to have two or more wives, but only very few had more than two. They were very jealous of their wives, and adulterers were subjects of cruel vengeance, and this crime often led to intertribal wars. The love of parents for their children and of children for their parents was as exemplary as among the Oonalashkans. The parents managed their children strictly, teaching them everything necessary for their comfort without permitting them to follow their own inclination, even setting apart certain

hours when they might leave them temporarily. Brothers and sisters were not allowed to play with each other. For disobedience and trifling offenses the punishment was only a reprimand, but for a graver infraction of rules the children were made to fast a day or more. The parents were always willing to intrust the education of their children to relatives, or even strange people. It was also the custom to give away children for adoption, sometimes without consideration, but generally expecting some return. These adopted children were accorded all the rights of real children of their new parents.

The mode of burial differed in accordance with the social condition of the deceased. The nobles, the wealthy, or prominent, distinguished hunters were buried with special ceremonies. A corpse of this class was clothed in its best garments and deposited in a small structure of earth, ornamented as much as possible with mats and flowers; the deceased was seated with his knees drawn up to the chin; then the structure was covered over and closed. If the deceased had been a hunter all his hunting utensils were buried with him. The poor and common people were simply thrown into holes, but also in a sitting posture. Men who died at sea were generally eviscerated for the purpose of postponing decomposition. The entrails were burned separately. Relatives of the deceased individual killed slaves in his honor, or as proof of their love for him or their violent grief—customs observed by other American tribes. Near relatives of the dead continued a general lamentation for several days; during this time they fasted; they did not partake of meat or oily food such as fish-heads, and they kept themselves clean; and even husband and wife did not cohabit during the time of mourning. Those who were very much attached to the deceased, if they did not commit suicide during the first paroxysm of grief, often fasted almost to starvation, and frequently visited the place of burial to mourn and lament, giving away to the people large quantities of valuables in memory of the dead. When children died the parents did not weep, with the exception of cases where children died before having any teeth; in that case the father fasted ten days and the mother twenty. The wife at the death of her husband, and the husband at the death of his wife, kept a fast and lament for sixty days, beginning from the eleventh day after the death; but if the husband died or perished at sea the days of mourning and fasting were reduced by half. At the conclusion of the mourning period the widows or widowers might contract a new marriage.

The government of the Atkhans was patriarchal and liberal. They had no laws or rules; customs and traditions were their only guide. They had hereditary tribal commanders, like other American nations, but their power was limited and conditional; they were only obeyed by those who chose to listen. Their power consisted principally in the office of selecting men to perform certain labor for the common welfare; to divide whales cast up by the sea, to collect the forces in cases of emergency, and act as leaders during battles with the enemy. But on such occasions it was necessary that they should conduct themselves bravely and be ahead of everybody; if one acted otherwise some "brave" was at once selected to replace him, and such individual was at once invested with all the prerogatives of a chief. Chiefs who displayed extraordinary cowardice were deprived not only of rank, but of their property.

Special days or periods of repose they did not know, but whenever there was any occasion for feasting, such as the arrival of strangers, the return of parties from long voyages, victories over an enemy, or uncommon success in hunting, a season of rejoicing was at once instituted. Their celebrations consisted generally of scenic representations, with songs to the accompaniment of drums; masks were also used at such times, and other ornaments according to the subject represented by the actors. Frequently shamanism entered into such solemnities; shamans were always present on such occasions, and were consulted in the shaping of masks or disguises. These festivities began and frequently ended with feasting. The fare consisted only of local products, all marine animals except the "killer" whale, all birds with the exception of the hawk, eagle, and gull. All fishes and all known berries and roots were consumed as food, but the most luscious morsel was a mixture of *sarava* roots and berries with blubber.

The Atkhans had also special games for evenings, during which personal encounters or trials of endurance took place. The contests sometimes were of songs, sometimes of dances, and, rarely, a rude kind of wrestling; formal challenges were sent and accepted on such occasions, and a failure to be ready at the appointed time was considered a disgrace. The whole proceedings were of a friendly nature, and were generally accompanied with feasting, always with songs and dances. In course of time abuses entered into this custom, and contestants and enemies made use of such opportunities to inflict injury upon each other. Open breaches of the peace and murder were of exceedingly rare occurrence on such occasions.

The Atkhans, as well as the Oonalashkans, maintain that there was a time when they all lived at peace with each other and with their neighbors, but subsequently quarrels broke out, and finally it became customary for inhabitants of different villages to attack each other and destroy houses and property. Only the permanent residence of Russians among them put an end to internal strife and murder, and the adoption of the Christian religion only changed their character, and united as brethren those who had formerly been engaged in strife. The bloodiest wars previous to the arrival of the Russians were carried on by the Atkhans with their neighbors of Oonalashka; the latter, being the more numerous, were generally victors.

They say that the first cause of war between them was the following occurrence: One of the Oonalashkans had married a native of Atkha, and had a son by her, who, unfortunately, had only one hand at birth. At one time the relatives and brothers of the wife came to the village and stopped. The husband at this time was away at some distance; the uncles and relatives noticed their one-hand nephew, and began to make fun of him. They tied to his body an inflated bladder, or drum, and told him to dance. To the mother such sport, though perhaps innocent in itself, appeared an insult, but she did not exhibit her anger. The guests departed in peace, without suspicion of coming evil. When the husband returned she told him everything—that her relatives had made sport of their unfortunate son. The husband became very angry, and, collecting a few of his relatives, he set out at once to seek revenge. He carried out his intention very easily, as his former guests had no inkling of being pursued. This first errand of vengeance gave rise to continued hostilities between the Atkhans and Oonalashkans, and to a repetition of the first attack. The Oonalashkans, of course, considered themselves as insulted and injured, and in their turn attacked the Atkhans. In course of time it became impossible for members of the two tribes to meet without a bloody conflict, but the Atkhans suffered much more, because they were weaker; and, not daring to attack the villages of their enemies, they were obliged to watch their opportunities when the Oonalashkans were on journeys at distant hunting-grounds. These conflicts generally took place on Signam, Amlia, and Amukhta islands. The Oonalashkans, on the other hand, raided upon the Atkhans every year in numbers of from fifty to one hundred bidarkas. This was carried on to such an extent that the Atkhans were obliged to shut themselves up during the summer in secluded and inaccessible fortified places, but even then they were often besieged and compelled to surrender. The islands of Signam and Amlia were generally the theater of war.

Though unable to return the attacks of the Oonalashkans, the Atkhans occasionally made war upon the Rat and Near islands as far as Attoo, and only with partial success. They used the same weapons as the Oonalashkans—lances and knives. The prisoners, especially the males, were treated by the Atkhans with great cruelty, and those who were made slaves were fortunate indeed; the others were burned alive in fire, roasted on heated rocks, and beaten with straps.

The Atkhans, as well as the Oonalashkans and other tribes, believed, until the arrival of Europeans, that they were the only people in the world, and therefore the first appearance of the Russians created great consternation. All such acts of the Russians as were incomprehensible to them were ascribed to supernatural qualities, and in the early times the Russians were classed with spirits or with devils. This character was maintained by the Russians subsequently by their cruelties and violent treatment of the Aleuts. Any article

of Russian manufacture found upon the beach was considered as unclean, and was at once thrown into the sea or burned. At first the use of iron or copper was strictly prohibited by the shamans; but where there is a rule there is always violation of the rule. The Aleuts became more bold, and convinced themselves of the superiority of metals for spears and arrow-heads, knives, etc., and subsequently they became better acquainted with the Russians and their customs, and iron and copper became the most valuable objects in their eyes, though the belief continued that they were manufactured with the assistance of the devil.

DIVISION OF TIME.

The Aleuts had twelve months in their year, the eleventh of which was longer than the others, to complete the full year. Their seasons were:

Kanakh, winter; *kanikinga* (after winter), spring.

Sakobdakh, summer; *sakoodikinga* (after summer), autumn.

The milky way was called *inim sikhida*, from *sikhidak*, *linia alba*, (from the navel downward).

Their months were as follows:

1. March—*Kadoogikh* (first month), or *Khisagoonakh* (when straps are eaten—starvation).
2. April—*Agliooigikh khisagoonakh* (end of eating straps), or *Sadagan kagikh* (time for leaving houses).
3. May—*Ichikh khookh*, or *Chigim tugida* (month of flowers).
4. June—*Chagalim tugida*, or *Chagaligim tugida* (month of breeding and hatching).
5. July—*Sadignam tugida* (when animals grow fat).
6. August—*Oognam* (or *Ukhnam*) *tugida* (warm month).
7. September—*Chugulim tugida* (when furs are good).
8. October—*Kimadgim tugida* (hunting-month, when seals come from the north).
9. November—*Kimadgim kangin* (after hunting-month).
10. December—*Agalgugakh*, or *Agalgulukh* (when seals are hunted in disguise).
11. January—*Tugidigimakh* (long month).
12. February—*Anulgimakh* (cormorant month).

III.—THE ATHABASKANS.

The Athabaskans, or Tinneh, include a large number of tribes generally classed as "North American Indians", extending from the mouth of the Mackenzie river in the north to the borders of Mexico in the south. The northernmost tribes of this stock extend in a westerly direction nearly to the coast of Bering sea and the Yukon delta, touching the sea-coast at one point only in the northern part of Cook's inlet. At every other point they are separated from the ocean by a belt of Eskimo population. The reasons for adopting the term Athabaskan in preference to that of Tinneh have already been given.

Closely allied as these tribes are to our own well-known Indians of the interior, they will probably share in the fate of the latter, disappearing rapidly before the first advances of civilization, until scarcely enough may be left to accommodate themselves to the new state of affairs. While the Eskimo tribes of Alaska, especially those living to the southward of Bering strait, have the faculty of assimilating with races of a higher type, the Athabaskans of the far north have thus far displayed no traits which would warrant us to hope for their speedy civilization. The territory which furnishes the Athabaskan tribes, numbering a few hundreds, or perhaps thousands, with a scanty living equals in superficial area many of our states or territories. With the exception of the Tinnats or Kenai people, on Cook's inlet, these tribes have not been in direct contact with Caucasians until quite lately, and with the one exception before mentioned they have not taken kindly to the invaders of their vast domain. Nearly all the Athabaskan tribes of Alaska add to their tribal name proper the word *khotana*, *kokhtana*, or *tana*. A few tribes on the upper Yukon have the term *kutchin*, with the same meaning. It is very probable, however, that this *kutchin* may be traced to the same root as the above-mentioned *kokhtana*, and perhaps to the *khvitchan* (*kolchan* or *golchan* of the Russians). The latter expression means "far-away people" with the natives of Copper river, and also with the Tinnats or Kenai people.

In enumerating the Athabaskan tribes of Alaska we begin with

THE NATSIT-KUTCHIN.

The Natsit-kutchin (Natsikkutchin of Dall, and Natchekutchin of Ross) are known to the traders as *gens de large*. The word *natsit* signifies strong. They are nomadic, not numerous, and occupy the banks of the Porcupine river, above its junction with the Yukon, and the country between the latter river and the Arctic divide. They are but little known, and carry on a traffic with the Kangmaligmute of the Arctic coasts. Their dwellings are rudely-constructed log shelters, and during the summer they live in tents.

THE HAN-KUTCHIN.

The Han-kutchin, living on the upper Yukon river, between the British boundary and Fort Yukon, embrace several of the subdivisions made by Mr. Dall, such as the Tutchonekutchin (Kolchane) and Nehannees. To traders they are known as *gens des faux*. They also lead a nomadic life, and trade with the natives of Copper river and those of the upper Tennanah river.

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TENNANAH TRIBE—MAN AND WOMAN.

THE YUKONIKHOTANA.

This tribe, comprising the Yunakhotana and the Kutchakutchin of Dall, inhabits the banks of the Yukon river from fort Yukon westward to Nulato. The people are less nomadic in their habits than their eastern neighbors, but are by no means numerous. Their dwellings are built of logs and roofed with bark, and their summer garments are of tanned moose- and reindeer-skins, while those for winter use are made of reindeer-, wolf-, and fox-skins. They trade at various points along the Yukon, but prefer to assemble at Noyakakat and Nuklukalet. Their tribal name signifies "men of the Yukon". The existence of totems among them has not been definitely ascertained, though we have many indications of their division into clans. In distinction from their neighbors of the west and north they do not use their dogs as draught-animals, but only for hunting. In winter and summer alike they carry such loads as they wish to transport upon their shoulders. They are, as a rule, tall and of spare habit. Their women are worn out and faded at an early age, having in true Indian style to bear most of the household burdens. They are polygamists, in spite of the fact that the males outnumber the females considerably in the majority of the settlements. They have no marriage ceremony, but the custom of purchasing wives, found among so many of the Athabaskans, does not exist among them. They are not copper-colored, being rather of an ashy hue, and they are less hairy than their Eskimo neighbors.

THE TENNANKUTCHIN.

The Tennankutchin (Mountain men), or Tennen-tnu-kokhtana (Mountain River men) as they are called by the Tinnats, occupy the mountainous basin of the Tennenah river. But few white men have penetrated into their domain, as they have always borne the character of a treacherous and warlike tribe. They number, perhaps, seven or eight hundred, living chiefly in villages near the headwaters of the river, which they descend during the summer in birch-bark canoes to trade on the neutral ground of Nuklukalet, at the junction of the Tennenah with the Yukon river. Their common dress consists of moose-skin shirts and pantaloons for both sexes, the difference consisting only in the shape of the skirt of the upper garment, which is rounded with the females and pointed with the males. Both sexes are fond of bead and porcupine-quill embroidery. They paint their faces, and on festive occasions powder their unkempt locks with eagle-down, after the fashion of the Kaniagmute, in the far southeast. In summer the men wear no head-covering but a narrow band of skin for the insertion of feathers. The accompanying plate represents two individuals of this tribe, who were the first to visit the sea-coast, in the year 1880. They have been known to trade with the Kenai people in ancient times, and are reported to possess a system of totems.

THE YUNNAKAKHOTANA.

The Yunnakakhotana, first named by Zagoskin, inhabit the Koyukuk river, the northern tributary of the Yukon. Their name signifies "far-away people", and was probably given to them by their southern neighbors, but Mr. Dall calls them Koyukokhotana. Zagoskin is the only white man who has ever visited them in their homes. He made a winter journey along the river and across the divide to the headwaters of Selawik river, which empties into Kotzebue sound. He describes them as living in small communities of one or two log houses widely scattered. The Yunnakakhotana trade alternately at Nulato on the Yukon, and with the Eskimo of Kotzebue sound. Mr. E. W. Nelson reports that he saw natives belonging to this tribe on the coast of Kotzebue sound, who had mixed with their Eskimo neighbors to such an extent as to have adopted their language while still retaining their distinctly Athabaskan physical features.

Misled, probably, by his imperfect knowledge of the Russian language, Mr. Dall has mentioned Zagoskin (and upon his authority Wrangell and Baer) as classing these people with the Inuit or Eskimo. In this he is mistaken, as Zagoskin drew a very distinct line between his Tinnai and the Kngyulit or Eskimo everywhere, locating the boundaries between the tribes with remarkable correctness.

THE KAINHKHOTANA.

The Kainhkhotana, comprising the people of both banks of the Yukon from Nulato down to Paimute (the eastern boundary of the Eskimo tribes on the Yukon), as well as the tribes living upon the banks of the Chageluk, Innoko, and Thlegon rivers, formerly classed as Ingalit or Inkalik, are the westernmost of the Alaskan Athabaskans, almost impinging upon the sea-coast at the headwaters of the Anvik river. The tribal name means "lowlanders". Like their eastern neighbors, the Kainhkhotana live chiefly by hunting, and engage in fishing only to get out scanty supplies. They live in permanent villages and make use of dogs as draught-animals, having adopted in addition many customs of their Eskimo neighbors on the west. In traveling on the river and on the lakes they make use of both the birch-bark canoe and the kaiak. The latter, however, is not manufactured by themselves but purchased from the Eskimo, who in their turn, as before mentioned, have adopted the birch-bark canoe for certain purposes. The Kainhkhotana have also adopted from the Eskimo the frequent celebration of festivals and the rites of shamanism. Their dwellings are large and partly underground, with a superstructure of logs and sods. The kashga or council-house of the Eskimo is absent here, and festivals are held in the larger dwellings. No traces of the totemic system have been found. During one of their festivals, connected in some way with hunting reindeer,

which the writer witnessed on the Chageluk river, the following representation took place: Two men, who had been donning their costumes behind a screen of deer-skins, suddenly appeared in the center of the house, the sides of which were lined with spectators. One man was attired in a fantastic hunting costume, richly ornamented with beads, fringes, and tassels, and wearing a band around the head studded with eagles' feathers, and with bow and arrows in his hands. The stuffed skins of several animals and birds were drawn forth from some corner in rapid succession by means of strings, and as each animal appeared the hunter made an attempt to kill it. Every attempt, however, was foiled by the other man, who was dressed up in imitation of a raven, with the appropriate mask and with wings fastened to his arms. With these wings he would spoil the hunter's aim, and then hop about, imitating admirably the awkward jumping of the crow, while he kept chattering away in derision of the awkward hunter. This was kept up for some time, until a shaman or sorcerer appeared upon the scene, dressed up in a long hunting-shirt nearly covered with strings of bears' claws, eagles' beaks, beads, etc., and with rattles in both hands. The shaman pressed upon the hunter the acceptance of a charm or amulet, for which he received in payment nearly everything the hunter had about him. Then the animals began to appear again, the hunter slaying them one after another without any further interference from the raven. It was evidently unnecessary to look for any deep meaning in this performance, as it was only the shaman's advertisement of his charms and services pure and simple. In such festivals as are celebrated in memory of the dead the performances are more varied and of greater interest.

The Kainhkhótana, like most of their Athabaskan neighbors, deposit the bodies of their dead in boxes raised on posts somewhat above the ground. Flags and streamers of white cotton are frequently attached to these structures. The burial-places are generally located upon some prominent bluff overhanging the river, where the graves can be seen from a distance.

THE KHUILCHAN.

The Khuilchan, or Kolchane of the Russians, occupy the vast interior mountainous region bordering upon the upper Kuskokvim, the divide between the latter river and the Tennanah in the north, the main Alaskan range in the east and south, and the country of the Nushegagmute in the west. They are nomads, roaming about at will from river to river, and from one mountain chain to another, selling their skins at the trading-posts nearest their hunting-grounds. This last custom has given rise to an overestimation of their number, as the same tribes have been accounted for as trading at three or four different stations. Their whole number at present probably does not reach 200. The many traditions of their treacherous and warlike character handed down to us by the Russians may safely be looked upon as fabulous. Living as they do, they could never have been a numerous people or the cause of danger to their neighbors. It is said that they have some permanent villages on the headwaters of the Kuskokvim, but no white man has ever beheld them. Such of the women as have been seen at the various trading-stations were of repulsive appearance, and gave evidence of a life of hardship and abuse. The Khuilchan use birch-bark canoes, and do not make use of the dogs as draught-animals.

THE TINNATS- (OR KINNATS) KHOTANA.

The Tinnats-khotana (Kenaitze of the Russians), named Telaninkutchin by Dall, are the only tribe of Athabaskans occupying any portion of the sea-coast in Alaska. They came into contact with the Russians at an early date, but were subjugated only after much fighting. As early as 1789 permanent trading-stations were established among them on the coast of Cook's inlet by the Russians, and from that time they have been nominally Christians. Their regular missionary station is now located on the mouth of the Kaknu river. The settlements of the Tinnats-khotana extend from Kuchekmak gulf on the Kenai peninsula around the inlet northward and westward, including the valleys of the Kinik and Sushetno rivers, and reaching to the great lake of Ilyamna, and down to the vicinity of cape Douglas, where the Kaniagmute territory begins. The Tinnats-khotana are taller than their Eskimo neighbors; their skin is a shade or two darker, with the exception of those living in the neighborhood of former Russian settlements, where they have intermingled with the invaders. Their women are generally much more prepossessing in personal appearance than those of the other Athabaskan tribes of Alaska. In the coast settlements their mode of life has been much changed. They have adopted to a great extent the customs of the semi-civilized Kaniagmute and creoles, but in the interior, especially in the Sushetno and Kinik valleys, we find them still dressed in deer-skin shirt and trousers, men and women alike; a practice clearly indicating their kinship to the northern Athabaskans. Many of their garments are tastefully embellished with porcupine-quills, beads, and grass plaiting. The ears and noses of the men are pierced for the insertion of pendants of dentalium or hyqua shell, this being almost the only section of the territory where the trader still finds a steady demand for these shells. In the interior these people use the birch-bark canoe exclusively for coast voyages and for the purpose of hunting the beluga; purchasing the bidarkas they use from their Eskimo neighbors. They build their permanent dwellings of logs. These logs are so fashioned that the under side, hollowed out, fits down tight, almost airtight, upon the rounded surface of the timber next below. Some of their houses are from 15 to 20 feet square, and have regular rafters, giving a pitch to the roof sufficient to shed rain and melting snow. The covering of the roof is the bark of spruce trees. The fire-place is in the center, with a smoke-hole directly above it. The entrance to the house consists of a low, square aperture scarcely large enough to admit an adult person. The floor-

consists of the natural earth trodden hard, and along the sides of the inclosure are rude platforms, erected a foot or two from the ground, covered with grass mats and skins, and serving as sleeping- and lounging-places in the evening. In the houses of the well-to-do hunters we find wings or box-like additions to the main building, tightly framed and put together, opening into the main room. These little additions are furnished with the luxury of a rough plank floor, and in many instances with a small window covered with fish-gut. They are used in winter as sleeping apartments, and as reception-rooms during visits of ceremony, and also as bath-rooms, being heated during the winter with hot stones carried in from the fire outside, thus enabling the natives to dispense with clothing during the night, which they consider a great luxury. Wherever the Tinnats-khotana are under the influence of the Russian mission they bury their dead under ground, but in more remote settlements we find the bodies deposited in boxes set upon posts, as before noticed in speaking of other Athabaskan tribes. The bodies of chiefs and prominent persons are frequently placed in a structure resembling a small house with door and window, and gifts are deposited at graves and burial-places. At the death of a chief it is the custom to carry all his belongings into the hut that shelters his remains. In the vicinity of Toyonok I saw such a burial-house nearly filled with articles most valuable in the eyes of the natives, among them several Russian *samovars*, worth from \$50 to \$60 apiece, breech-loading arms, rifles, large numbers of blankets and deer-skins, richly-ornamented garments, etc. The deceased who had been thus honored was a Christian, and not long after my visit the Russian missionary proceeded to the burial-house and carried off all articles of value and sold them at auction for the benefit of the church. No opposition was made at the time to this summary proceeding, but it is very probable that the resentment naturally caused thereby in the hearts of the natives will rankle there for years, until some opportunity presents itself for vengeance. The men of this tribe are of a taciturn disposition, but they are indefatigable hunters, and spend most of their time in the chase of fur-bearing animals and game, making long journeys into the interior through the mountain defiles and over passes, nearly always on foot, using their birch-bark canoes chiefly for crossing rivers and lakes. They build along their routes of travel here and there temporary shelters or sheds open in front, with sloping roof, thatched with grass. Each traveling individual or party, on leaving such a place, deposits in a certain nook a small bundle of dry moss, birch bark, resin, or twigs, to enable the next comer to kindle his fire without difficulty. This hospitable and thoughtful custom is never omitted.

The Tinnats-khotana also have their festivals and dances on certain occasions, during which presents are given away to those who attend. The giver of the feast alone appears masked and dressed up in fanciful costume. The *modus operandi* of one of these festivals, celebrated on the occasion of a beluga-hunt at the village of Chkituk, was as follows:

The invited guests who were to participate in the feast arrived in canoes late in the afternoon, and were received on the beach by the chief of Chkituk, accompanied by nearly all his people chanting a song in slow measure. The guests took up the song, and both parties walked up to the village, the hosts carrying all the baggage and belongings of their visitors. The party proceeded at once to the house of the chief, where they were entertained hospitably during the remainder of the afternoon. Etiquette did not permit a single question to be addressed to the new-comers until they had satisfied their appetites. The greatest delicacies, berries preserved in rancid oil, beluga-blubber, dried moose-nose, and fish-spawn were pressed upon them without a word and partaken of in silence. At last their hunger was appeased and conversation began, which was kept up until darkness had set in. Then the chief retired into a corner of the apartment, and with the aid of his two wives attired himself in his best costume, consisting of an immense hat trimmed with bears' claws and beads, and a loose robe of white cotton richly embroidered with beads. In his hands he had rattles, inflated bladders filled with pebbles. He advanced to the center of the room and began to dance, two of his sons chanting and beating time with sticks. The measure increased in rapidity as the dance proceeded, involving a corresponding change in the movements of the chief, who wound up his performance with the most violent contortions. When he was thoroughly exhausted he ceased dancing, and threw upon the floor a number of articles he wished to give away. The spectators, excited by the song, also produced gifts and threw them upon the others. The whole was then distributed among those present in accordance with the directions of the oldest woman present, the chief lifting up each article and the woman calling the name of the person who should have it. After this the chief changed his costume four times, performing as many dances, and after each there was a distribution of presents. This ceremonial was kept up for three successive afternoons, until the hunters departed on their journey, chanting a canoe song and keeping time with their paddles.

The Tinnats-khotana, though nominally Christians, still observe many of their old customs, one of which is the driving away of evil spirits from the couch of a dying person. I witnessed a scene of this kind in a village situated within a few miles of the missionary establishment. A woman was lying upon a wretched couch in her last moments, while her husband stood in the entrance or doorway of the house, loading and firing his gun, and shouting between the discharges at the top of his voice, accompanied by a chorus of yells and groans from the other members of the household, his neighbors joining. The action appeared to be cruel and savage, but the intention was good, being to frighten away the evil spirits from the dying woman.

The Tinnats-khotana have many traditions of gigantic races, living to the north ward, who in ancient times invaded their territory, killing many people. One old man assured me that during the life-time of his grandfather

one of these giants came down from the mountains, and as he strode through the villages he would pick up an unfortunate individual in each hand, swing them by their feet, and knock their heads together, after which summary proceedings he would deposit them in the breast of his parka. It is of course out of the question that these savages should ever have heard how Polyphemus treated the companions of Ulysses. The same old man, in speaking of the tribes adjoining the Tinnats-khotana in the north, said that after crossing the mountains the traveler would first come to the Khuilchan, who were cannibals, easily distinguished by a blue ring around the mouth caused by their horrible practice. Beyond this tribe lived the giants heretofore mentioned, and still beyond them a very small race of people, almost black, but exceedingly skillful in the use of bow and arrow. Beyond this dwarf tribe again there was only water and big fish, as big as mountains. One might almost imagine from this fantastic description that the Tinnats-khotana knew of the under-sized Eskimo of the Arctic coast and the whales in the Arctic ocean. Their superstitions with regard to the various smoking and rumbling volcanoes in their country are numerous. They do not like to approach such localities, and until the Russians settled among them the immediate vicinity of volcanoes served as a refuge for the reindeer, moose, and other game, which were never molested there. They tell of an eruption of the Ilyamna volcano, during which lava and rock in huge masses were thrown across the inlet, covering up whole villages with débris. It is of course impossible to locate with accuracy the time of this fearful eruption, but all along the eastern coast of Cook's inlet are yet found blocks of lava and conglomerate that invest the tradition with some probability. The natives also say that a pestilence followed this eruption, nearly destroying the people. This also we may believe when we glance at the large number of village-sites almost hidden from view under a dense covering of sphagnous growth.

The following are the names given by the Tinnats to other tribes:

Their own name: Tinnatz or Kinnatzkokhtana.

Kaniagmute: Ultz-chna (slaves).

Chugachimute: Tatliakhtana.

Copper river: Otnokhotana.

Thlinket: Totkoliushok. [?]

Aleut: Takhayuna.

Aliaska peninsula: Nieskakh-itina.

Prairie or tundra people: Ghuil-chan.

Ilyamna people: Ktzialtana.

People of the sea-coast with long spears: Tutna.

Dog-drivers (in the north): Tyndysiukhtana.

Russian: Kaziakhtana (Cossack).

THE AH-TENA OR AHTNA-KHOTANA.

The Ah-tena (of Dall), a name signifying "big men", or Otno-khotana, as they are named by the Tinnats, occupy the whole basin of the Copper or Atnah river and its tributaries. Their permanent villages are located on the headwaters of the river, a hundred miles or more from the sea. They do not number over 300 all told. Their position is that of middlemen between the Eskimo tribes of the sea-coast and the Athabaskans of the far interior, their trading operations extending as far as the headwaters of the Yukon and Tennanah rivers. The men are tall, straight, and very active, with features resembling closely those of the typical North American Indian; aquiline noses are the rule among the Atnah people. The men do not possess any beard, or perhaps remove all hair from the face after the custom of other well-known tribes. The females of this tribe have not yet come under the observation of any white men who lived to describe them; two or three Russians who ventured to penetrate into the Copper River country were killed by the savages, and the only white man (a miner) who has made an attempt since the acquisition of Alaska by the United States, though suffered to reside in the lower Copper River region for nearly two years, was not permitted to visit the permanent villages or to ascertain the mineral resources of that region. The name of the river from which this tribe has taken its name is properly Ahtnu, or "Big river," *tnu* being the word for river in their language as well as in that of the Tinnats. The party of Copper River natives who made their annual visit to the Nuchek trading-post in the year 1881 gave to me, as their tribal name, Ahtnu-khotana, or "Big River people". For the purpose of visiting the sea-coast these people purchase large skin-covered boats of the Chugachimute or of the traders. The return journey up the river is exceedingly difficult, as at two different points glaciers have crossed the river, making long portages over the ice necessary. The men claim that they must spend from three to four weeks on their return voyage. This assertion is probably true, as they abstain from purchasing any article of weight or bulk for the purpose of their trade, confining themselves entirely to beads, a few light packages of cotton prints, and tobacco. The beads are purchased by them only for the purpose of selling them again, as they do not themselves make use of any kind of bead ornaments. Their deer-skin garments are trimmed with porcupine-quill embroidery and fringes alone. They wear their hair long, either hanging loose or tied in a single scalp-lock at the top of the head. The accompanying plate represents one of these Atnah warriors, together with an individual from their nearest neighbors in the east, the Chilkhat Thlinket. For the reasons above

PLATE VI

PLATE VI



A. Hoop & Co. Lith. Baltimore

THLINKIT AND MAN FROM COPPER RIVER.

mentioned, nothing is known of their domestic life or their beliefs and superstitions. By the Eskimo of Prince William sound the Copper River people are called Yullit, according to the same authorities, but it is probable that this term signifies "one people".

IV.—THE THLINKET.

The Thlinket, numbering perhaps somewhat over 7,000 people, and inhabiting the coast and islands from the intersection of the one hundred and forty-first meridian to the southern boundary of Alaska, are perhaps the most interesting among the native tribes of the country from an ethnological point of view. The curious totemic system is more fully developed here than it has been found with any other tribe. The ties of the totem or clanship are considered far stronger than those of blood relationship. The principal clans are those of the Raven, the Bear, the Wolf, and the Whale. Men may not marry in their own clan, and children belong to the clan of their mother. The Thlinket are strictly confined to the sea-coast by the natural barrier of stupendous mountains that rise everywhere within a short distance from the shore along the whole length of their territory; hence they are emphatically a maritime people, skillful in the construction and management of their huge wooden canoes fashioned out of a single log. Nearly all their subsistence is drawn from the sea and from the rivers, with the addition of deer and mountain goat from the mountains. Their country is thickly wooded, and as a consequence their dwellings are large, being constructed of huge planks and logs, some of the latter of such dimensions as to make us wonder how these savages could handle them without mechanical appliances. In all the villages where the Thlinket live in their primitive manner totem-posts, from fifty to one hundred feet in height, rise up in front of nearly every dwelling, elaborately carved with the totem in all imaginable variations, and indicating in some obscure way the pedigree of the owner. The Thlinket excel in all manner of carving in wood, bone, or stone; they shape pipes, rattles, and masks with all fantastical forms, from the hardest material. The women are equally skillful in plaiting baskets from spruce roots split and soaked in water. The fibers are dyed in different colors and worked into tasteful patterns. In former times they also made a practice of weaving the long hair of the mountain goat into cloaks and blankets, in the most gorgeous colors and patterns, but since the introduction of woolen blankets and manufactured clothing this art has been neglected until now it is almost lost, but a few of these garments now existing as heirlooms in the more prominent families.

The Thlinket, like their near relatives, the natives of British Columbia, have always owned slaves, and the custom has not been abolished among them since their transfer to the United States. The slaves were always in the first place prisoners taken in war, and sold from one clan or tribe to another, but the descendants of these slaves also remained in the condition of their parents, liable to be given away, traded off, or even killed at the pleasure of their masters. The former custom of killing slaves on the death of a chief in order to furnish him with servants in the other world has become obsolete or exists only nominally, as for long years previous to the sale of the territory the Thlinket of Alaska were in the habit of accepting presents from the Russian authorities in consideration of releasing the intended victims of this practice. They resorted to the same extortion during the first year of American occupation, when the military commander at Sitka, with 200 or 300 soldiers at his back, was weak enough to comply with it, and to bribe the insolent chiefs into abstaining from murder. They think any insult or injury can be repaired by payment of money or goods. The murder of a relative can be atoned for by a certain number of blankets (their common currency since their first acquaintance with Caucasians); wounds and injuries are assessed in proportion; a refusal to marry a widow of an uncle or elder brother can also be settled by the payment of blankets; wars are frequently avoided by an indemnity arrangement, and they go so far in this system of compensation that they demand payment for losses from parties who have been in no way instrumental in causing them. For instance, an Indian of Sitka broke into the room of two miners in their absence, emptied a demijohn of liquor, and died in consequence, and the relatives of the robber demanded and received payment from the unfortunate Caucasians. If a man be attacked by a savage dog, and kills him in self-defense, he must pay for the dog to the Thlinket owner. A small trading-schooner, while running before a furious gale, rescued two Thlinket from a sinking canoe, which had been carried to sea. The canoe was nearly as long as the schooner and could not be carried or towed, seeing which the natives themselves cut the worthless craft adrift. When the humane captain landed the rescued men at their village he was astonished by a peremptory demand for payment for the canoe, backed by threats of retaliation or vengeance.

The observations of the priest Veniaminof, who labored patiently among the people in the cause of Christianity, and those of several subsequent explorers, are embodied in the following summary:

The tribe or race who call themselves Thlinket (that is, *man* in their own language), but who received from the Russians the names of Kaliushi, Koliushi or Kolosh, inhabit the coast of North America from Mount Saint Elias to the Columbia river, or from latitude 60° to 45° north. The subject of my investigation, however, has been that portion of the race living north of the Nass river or of the British boundary. Veniaminof estimated the number of the whole race at from 20,000 to 25,000 living within the Russian lines, but the estimate was made in 1840, and if it was once correct a remarkable decrease in numbers must have taken place since.

The term Kolosh, applied to the Thlinket by the Russians, is not recognized by themselves. It is a term perhaps derived from the Aleut word *kaluga*, signifying a trough or wooden dish. When the first Russians encountered the Thlinket in the vicinity of Sitka the Aleutian hunters were struck with the remarkable lip ornament of the Thlinket women, consisting of a trough-shaped disk inserted in an incision of the under lip. In speaking of these

natives they probably described them as people with "kalugas", of which latter word *kalushka* would be the diminutive, and thus it is supposed the Russian name of the tribe originated. It is difficult to determine the authenticity of this derivation, as we meet in all sections of the former Russian colonies with provincialisms of Yakutish, Kamchatkan, and Aleutian origin. It is a significant fact, however, that the oldest authors on the subject used the term Kaliushi or Koliushi, while only the later writers adopted the word Kolosh. In Sitka at the time of the transfer of the country the ancient form had become altogether obsolete.

Holmberg noticed that in Sitka it was the practice to address a native with the word *shniaga*, and claims that this also had become a term signifying the whole race. The Russians claimed that this expression is of Thlinket origin, but this seems to me not supported by evidence. When a Thlinket addresses a Russian he also uses the word *shniaga*, which seems to signify "friend, or good friend, listen," or something equivalent. But as there is no similar word in the Thlinket language expressing the same meaning, we may surmise that the Thlinket adopted the word from the Russian, modifying it probably to suit their own idiom. The Thlinket themselves state that the term was adopted from the Russians; it is only too probable, therefore, that the word *shniaga* sprang from the Aleutian or some other native tongue of Alaska or Kamchatka. The Thlinket themselves adopt names from their principal places of residence, such as Sitkakhoan, Chilkhatkhoan, and Stakhinkhvan—that is, people of Sitka, Chilkhat, and Stakhin. Russians and other European nations with whom they have come in contact were named by them Kusskhakhoan, but to the Americans, with whom they always carried on a clandestine traffic in fire-arms and powder, they applied the name of "Whashtankhoan". As the roots of these two names we easily recognize the words Cossack and Boston. The first word probably sounded at first Kussakekhoan. Among the Eskimo of the west the same word is in use as Kossage and Koshage.

The Thlinket tribe is divided into two branches or clans, the Raven and the Wolf family respectively. Their myths or traditions speak of two heroes or gods who at the beginning of time, through deeds of valor and supernatural power, procured for mankind the advantages and comforts they now enjoy, and to these heroes the Thlinket think they trace their origin. The names of these beings or demi-gods were Yeshl or Yehl, the ancestor of the Raven clan, and Khenookh, the ancestor of the Wolf family. In spite of this theory of their origin, the raven and the wolf, considered as animals, do not take an important place in the Thlinket mythology. In discussing the mythology or beliefs of the Thlinket we shall find that Yeshl (or Yehl) during his frequent transformations occasionally adopted the form of the raven, and in this way the name of the god may have come to be applied to the bird. It may have been the same with Khenookh, though the traditions make no mention of his appearance in the form of a wolf.

Both the Raven and the Wolf clans have many subordinate divisions. Thus in the Raven clan we hear of the Raven, the Frog, the Goose, the Sea-lion, the Owl, the Thlukhu (a species of salmon), and in the Wolf clan the family of the Wolf, the Bear, the Bagle, the Porpoise, the Shark, etc.; and each of these subfamilies is again divided into branches in accordance with the locality occupied by it.

The Raven clan, which claims to have sprung from Yeshl, the benefactor of mankind, enjoy perhaps the greatest respect, but the Wolf clan has acquired renown through its greater courage, large numbers, and successful warlike expeditions and heroic deeds.

The most renowned of the subdivisions of the Wolf clan is the Khawakhashtan or Kokhanthan, living on the Chilkhat river, which formerly held but little intercourse with other clans and maintained a reputation for courage and ferocity. Each clan or family displays in every possible way the totem or coat-of-arms in the shape of some easily-recognized part of the animal or bird that has given the name to their division. We find such representations carved or painted upon canoes, utensils, blankets, shields, wooden helmets, and even on their horses; and on solemn occasions, during dances and feasts in memory of the dead, cremations, or other funeral ceremonies, we frequently find individuals dressed up altogether in the form of the totem of the clan.

Without reference to clan or subdivision all the Thlinket are divided into two classes, one containing the chiefs or the nobility, the other the common people. The chieftainship is hereditary in the families, but the authority connected therewith is entirely dependent upon wealth, which until of late consisted chiefly in the possession of slaves. The latter, if they belonged to the Thlinket tribe, formed a third class, as the children of a slave always remained slaves, but the majority of this class were originally prisoners, acquired by purchase or by war from other tribes to the southward, in the British possessions.

Veniaminof's opinion of the division of the Thlinket clans was that at the beginning only two families existed, the oldest and most prominent members of which were Yeshl and Khenookh. Their children adopted the names of various animals, and still live together, though in separate houses. Each house was described by name in accordance with its position (on a hill, or on the shore of a river or lake); but when in course of time the descendants increased in number they were obliged to seek other dwelling-places, carrying with them, however, the name of the abandoned locality and the proud title of a "son of Yeshl" or a "son of Khenookh". These names have descended to modern times, while the progenitors, whose memory is carefully preserved, were finally worshiped as god-like beings to whom the Thlinket owe all they possess of earthly happiness.

The traditions of the Thlinket unite in the theory of their common origin in the interior of the American continent, whence they migrated northward and westward until they emerged upon the coast of the Pacific in the vicinity of Queen Charlotte island. An apparent similarity between the languages of the Apache and Aztec tribes and that

of the Thlinket, and perhaps also of the Athabaskan tribes of the north, has been hinted at by many ethnologists and explorers since the days of Wrangell, who first called attention to the circumstance.

The outward characteristics of the Thlinket tribe may be enumerated as follows: The coarse, stiff, coal-black hair, dark eyebrows, but faintly delineated over the large black eyes full of expression, protruding cheek bones, thick, full lips (the under lips of the women disfigured by the custom of inserting round or oval pieces of wood or bone), and the septum of the men pierced for the purpose of inserting ornaments; beautiful white teeth, ears pierced not only in the lobes but all around the rim. To these may be added the dark color of the skin, a medium stature, and a proud, erect bearing (this only applies to the men). The hands of the women are very small, and large feet are rarely met with.

Before their acquaintance with the Russians the only clothing of the Thlinket consisted of skins sewed together, which they threw around their naked bodies without regard to custom or fashion. In addition to this they wore on festive occasions blankets woven out of the fleeces of mountain goats. From time immemorial they have possessed the art of dyeing this material black and yellow by means of charcoal and a kind of moss called *sekhone*. The patterns of these blankets wrought in colors exhibit an astonishing degree of skill and industry; the hat, plaited of roots, is also ornamented with figures and representations of animals.

By nature the Thlinket are indolent, those inhabiting the coast frequently living upon the refuse of the tide upon the beach that can be obtained without exertion. As long as they lived in their primitive state, and before the creation of artificial wants, the men of the Thlinket tribes were urged to exertion only by the rigorous climate, which compelled them to hunt fur-bearing animals and to use their skins as clothing. As their wants increased, however, they overcame their natural indolence, and now they labor faithfully and cheerfully for the sake of increasing their means of purchasing whatever takes their fancy.

The male costume is but little distinguished from that of the females; each wearing now (unless they have adopted the garments of civilization) one cotton shirt or garment reaching to the knees, a woolen blanket of various colors, white, red, green, and blue, and ornamented in front with rows of brass or pearl buttons. These blankets they wear much in the manner prevailing among the Indians of the United States and Mexico, throwing one end over the shoulder; occasionally the garment is tightened around the waist with a gorgeous belt. As a rule, the Thlinket of both sexes go barefooted.

Both men and women paint their faces black and red with charcoal or soot and vermilion (cinnabar), which are their favorite colors. They are mixed with seal-oil and rubbed well into the cuticle; subsequently figures and patterns are scratched upon this surface with sticks of wood. The wealthy Thlinket paint their faces every day, while the plebeians indulge in this luxury only occasionally.

The men pierce the partition of the nose, the operation being performed in early childhood, frequently within a few weeks after birth. In the aperture thus made a silver ring is sometimes inserted large enough to cover the mouth, but the poorer individuals insert other articles, such as feathers, etc. They also pierce the lobes of the ear for the purpose of inserting sharks' teeth, shells, and other ornaments, while through the holes around the rim of the ear they draw bits of red worsted or small feathers. Veniaminof states that each hole in the ear was pierced in memory of some event or deed.

The ornamentation of the under lip of a female (now almost obsolete) marked an epoch in her life. When she came to the age of puberty the lip was pierced and a small cylindrical piece of bone or silver was inserted. As long as she remained single she wore this, but as soon as she was married a larger piece of wood or bone was pressed into the opening and annually replaced by a still larger one, the inner side being hollowed out. Old women could frequently be seen with such labrets two inches in diameter. It was of course impossible for these individuals to close their mouths, the under lip protruding, distended by the disk of wood or bone, in the most disgusting manner—the failure to close the mouth causing an incessant flow of saliva, and often offensive pus.

The Thlinket, like most of the tribes of the northwest coast of North America, may be called marine nomads, as they occupy fixed dwelling-places only during the winter, roving about during the summer in search of food for the winter. They derive their principal nourishment from the sea; a few roots, weeds, and berries forming luxuries only of the summer season. The sea that washes the shore is extraordinarily rich, not only in fish, but in all kinds of mollusks and algæ. The ebb-tide bares the shore twice each day and leaves behind an abundance of such food in pools and on the rocks, enabling a Thlinket to pick up his dinner without much exertion. He refuses no kind of mollusk and consumes nearly every species of marine plant. His favorite articles of food are clams and mussels (*cardium* and *mytilus*), *echinus*, cuttle-fish, the roe of herrings, and all kinds of fish; the herring's spawn is collected together with algæ, upon which it has been deposited, and preserved in boxes for the winter. This delicacy is not considered fit for the table until it has gone through a process of fermentation. Oil is pressed out of this preserved spawn of a higher and "finer" flavor than that of seal-oil. Of the cuttle-fish only the arms are eaten, and these are boiled until the slimy particles coagulate. In contradistinction from the Eskimo the Thlinket do not eat their fish raw; the cooking is now done in iron kettles, but in former times they used for this purpose water-tight baskets into which heated stones were thrown. The fish intended to be kept for the winter is not dried in the sun, as is done by the Eskimo, but suspended in the smoke of the house.

The larger marine animals, such as the seal, otter, and porpoise, are much hunted and furnish abundant food to the Thlinket, but the meat of the whale is held to be unclean, being despised by all the Thlinket as pork is by

the Jews, with the exception of the Yakutats living in the vicinity of Mount Saint Elias. This change in habits may have been caused by the vicinity of the Yakutats to Eskimo tribes, a supposition which is strengthened by the fact that the Yakutat females do not wear the horrible ornament in the under lip.

The Thlinket dwelling within the boundaries of Alaska live in fixed settlements, but in the summer they leave their villages and roam about at will, erecting temporary shelters with poles and bark wherever they remain for a time. The winter house is erected with great care and is frequently built strong enough to serve as a fortification against the attacks of other tribes. The height of the Kolosh or Thlinket house is from 6 to 8 feet, and consists of a parallelogram of heavy logs; rafters joined at an angle of 45 degrees and covered with bark form a roof. The entrance consists of a small aperture, generally circular, but occasionally square in shape, at some distance from the ground. Each of these apertures can be closed from within by a ponderous door. In the center of the roof there is a large square opening which affords an entrance to daylight and an exit for the smoke. A screen of planks is always placed on the weather side of this opening and shifted about in accordance with the wind. Immediately under the opening in the roof is a large fire-place sunk a little into the ground. The floors in the houses of the wealthy consist of plank, but commonly of the bare soil. On two sides of the interior of this edifice are partitions for storage of provisions and utensils, while in the background opposite the entrance there is a number of small box-like partitions serving as sleeping- and reception-rooms for individual members of the family. These latter apartments are not high enough to permit the inmate to stand erect, and rarely large enough to allow him to stretch out.

The Thlinket display the greatest skill in the manufacture of their canoes, each being carved out of a single log. The war canoes differ from those in common use only in size, the former being intended to carry from 40 to 50 people, while the latter do not hold more than 10 or 12. The shape is substantially the same, and all are ornamented in bow and stern with gaily-colored figures and carvings, the war canoes frequently bearing the totem of the owner. The handles of paddles or oars are also similarly ornamented.

Long before the first meeting of the Thlinket with the Europeans, and consequently before they became acquainted with the use of iron, they possessed the art of forging copper, which they obtained from the inhabitants of the Copper River region. A tradition exists to the effect that an old woman of Chilkhat invented the art of forging, and that she was worshiped in consequence as a benefactress of her kind. For long years this art was a hereditary secret with certain families. Daggers and spears are now manufactured chiefly of iron. The dagger is very broad and has two blades, one on each side of the handle, the upper one generally much shorter than the lower, and the handle is wound with leather thongs and provided with a long strap which is tied around the neck during combats to prevent the dropping of the weapon. Both blades have leather sheaths, also fastened to the person. This dagger is the inseparable companion of the Thlinket; wherever they go they carry it concealed under the blanket; in the market of Sitka, where they dispose of game and fish, they are seldom seen without it. The iron-pointed spear was used only in war and has been almost entirely superseded by fire-arms.

The greatest ingenuity is displayed by the Thlinket in their carvings in wood, bone, and slate, but chiefly in the manufacture of tobacco-pipes, cups, etc. This work is now done altogether with implements of steel.

In the modes of hunting a great change has naturally taken place since the introduction of fire-arms, and the sea-otter, formerly in the greatest abundance, is now almost extinct. Superstition interferes with an active pursuit of marine birds, as it is generally believed that the killing of the albatross and several other species causes bad weather. The bear was formerly rarely hunted by the superstitious Thlinket, who had been told by the shamans that it is a man who has assumed the shape of an animal. They have a tradition to the effect that this secret of nature first became known through the daughter of a chief who came in contact with a man transformed into a bear. The woman in question went into the woods to gather berries and incautiously spoke in terms of ridicule of the bear, whose traces she observed in the path. In punishment for her levity she was decoyed into the bear's lair and there compelled to marry him and assume the form of a bear. After her husband and her ursine child had been killed by her Thlinket brethren she returned to her home in her former shape and narrated her adventures. Ever since that time women, on observing tracks of a bear, at once begin to speak of him in terms of greatest praise, and continue in this strain until they are "out of the woods".

Of greater importance than the chase, perhaps, is the fishery of the Thlinket. The herring catch is conducted in the following manner: A pole about 10 feet in length is armed with iron points or nails at one end, at intervals of an inch from each other; the Thlinket fisherman propels his canoe into the midst of a school of herrings and beats the water with his pole, bringing forth a herring transfixed by each iron point at nearly every stroke. The canoe is speedily filled in this manner. The halibut is caught in very deep water with wooden hooks pointed with iron or bone, the line consisting of kelp. A small fish named ssakh (the eulachan or candle-fish), the oil of which is very highly prized by the Thlinket, is caught in baskets. A Thlinket chief, when asked whether these baskets were their own invention or introduced from abroad, related the following story:

A long time ago there lived on Thlamshashakhian (Cross sound) a Thlinket named Khakhekhuthe, who with three companions undertook a long voyage in his canoe. They could not make a landing at night, and laid themselves down in the bottom of the canoe to rest. Khakhekhuthe lay with a paddle under his head, and dreamed that various birds were flying about him, screaming. He seized a paddle and struck about, and at every stroke a bird fell. When he awoke he found his companions dead in the boat, so that he was compelled to return homeward alone. Here again a sorrowful spectacle met his eye. All his people and all the inhabitants of the place

had died during his absence. Then he concluded to go in search of people at some other place. On his journey he arrived at a river, the mouth of which was full of small fish. While deliberating on the best way of securing some of these fish without hook or line he invented a basket of pliable willow twigs, and this art was transmitted to all the Thlinket he met.

This is the trivial ending of a promising tale transmitted to us by Holmberg.

The marriages of the Thlinket are without any religious ceremonies or observances, but a very strict rule exists preventing the contraction of marriage within one and the same clan; or, in other words, a Thlinket of the Raven clan must marry a wife of the Wolf clan, and *vice versa*. Polygamy is universal, especially among the wealthy, but the first wife always preserves a supremacy over the others. Veniaminof stated that he knew a chief on the Nass river who had 40 wives.

When a Thlinket youth has selected a maiden to his taste he sends a middleman to the parents or to the nearest relative of the woman; if the answer is favorable he sends to the future father-in-law as many presents as he can buy, borrow, or steal, and then proceeds to the spot in person. The father of the betrothed invites for a certain day all the relatives of the bridegroom, as well as his own, and when all the guests have assembled the young man advances to the center of the floor and seats himself with his back to the door; the guests then begin a song, accompanied with dances, in order to coax the bride from her hiding-place in some corner of the room. After the song, which is composed only for this occasion, is finished the floor is covered with cloth, furs, and other articles of value from the hiding-place of the bride to the seat of the groom, and the maiden in festive array is led over this costly pathway and seated beside her intended.

During this and all the subsequent ceremonies it is of the greatest importance that the bride shall not raise her head, but keep it in a bent position. Dances and songs follow, which are participated in by all present except the young couple, and when the dancers are tired, refreshments are served to all except the bride and groom; as in order to secure good fortune the latter are obliged to fast two days. When this period has elapsed they are furnished a small quantity of food, but this meal is followed by another fast of two days, and only after four days of fasting are they allowed to remain together, but the marriage is not considered accomplished until four weeks have elapsed. If the bridegroom is rich he gives a similar feast at his own residence, and when the festivities come to a close he is at liberty to live with his wife's parents or at his own home. In the latter case the bride receives a dower equal in value to the presents made by the bridegroom. This marriage can be dissolved at any time by mutual consent, but in that case the presents and dower must be returned. If the man is dissatisfied with the woman he can send her home, returning the dower without any claim for a return of his presents, but if the woman proves unfaithful the man has the right to reclaim his presents and to send her away without her dower. In all such cases the children remain with the mother.

Veniaminof states that among the Thlinket, as well as some of the people of Kadiak, the married women are permitted to have what are called "legitimate lovers" or "assistant husbands", who are maintained by the wives and enjoy marital rights only in the absence of the original husband. At all other times they act as servants, carrying wood and water and providing food. Among the Thlinket the office of vice-husband can only be filled by a brother or near relative of the husband.

After the death of the husband his brother or a son of his sister must marry the widow, and a neglect of this rule has frequently caused bloody wars. If no such relative of the husband is in existence the widow has the right to select another from a strange clan.

If the seducer of a wife escapes the dagger of the husband he must buy the forgiveness of the insulted man; but if the seducer is a relative of the husband he must at once assume the office of "assistant", as described above, and contribute his share to the support of the woman. The lot of the women among these savages is not to be envied; they are treated with the greatest cruelty before as well as after marriage. The special suffering imposed upon all womankind by nature is increased here a hundredfold by ancient custom and superstition. At the time of child-birth, when women more than at any other time are in need of assistance, the Thlinket females are driven out of the house and left to their fate, shunned by everybody as unclean. The child is born in the open air, no matter at what season, and only some time after the birth is the mother allowed to enter a rude shed, erected for the purpose, where she is confined for ten days.

Holmberg relates the following:

When I was on the point of departure from Sitka for California, at the end of December, 1850, I was detained for several days by bad weather and contrary winds, the ship being anchored directly opposite the Thlinket village. On several occasions I noticed a heart-rending cry of distress from the hills back of the village, and upon inquiry I learned that these were the cries of several women about to give birth to children, and who had been driven forth from their homes. There they lay during a violent storm of rain and snow, deprived of all assistance.

A new-born child is not allowed to taste its natural food until it has vomited, and if this does not occur naturally its little stomach is pressed and squeezed until the desired effect is secured. At the age of a few weeks the babe is wrapped in furs and strapped upon a board, and is always carried about by the mother. The infants are given the breast from ten to thirty months, but they are accustomed to other food after they are a year old. The first strong nourishment given them is generally the raw blubber of marine animals, except that of the whale. As soon as the child begins to walk it is bathed daily in the sea, without regard to the season, which accounts to some

extent for the robustness of the body of the Thlinket after he has once passed the tender age. On the other hand, this custom explains the decrease in numbers, as only a comparatively small percentage of the children survive the ordeal. All the men of the Thlinket tribes preserve the custom of bathing frequently in the sea both in summer and winter.

Each Thlinket has one name from his mother and another from his father. The first is applied immediately after the birth by the mother or her relatives, and is generally the name of some distinguished ancestor of the mother. The other name is taken from a deceased relative on the father's side, but this is applied only on some festive occasion or during some great memorial feast. Such Thlinket as are unable to provide a feast of this kind remain without the second name. A wealthy chief has the right to apply such a name at the time of birth of a son, but in that case the son is bound in course of time to celebrate a feast in memory of the paternal ancestor after whom he has been named. If a father possesses a son who has distinguished himself the father is named after this son, as "the father of such and such a one". Holmberg relates that among the principal chiefs of Sitka there was one whose name from the mother's side was Shighakhu, but during a great festival he received the name of an uncle, Kukhan; he was subsequently baptized and received the Christian name of Michael. As the most powerful and distinguished among the chiefs he ought to have had a distinguished son, and thereby derived the fourth name, but as he had no son the other Thlinket, in derision, called him after one of his dogs, and spoke of him as "the father of such and such a dog".

As soon as a young girl arrives at the age of puberty she is confined in a dark shed with not room enough to move about. For a whole year she has to remain secluded here, being regarded as unworthy to enjoy the light of heaven, and during the whole time she must wear a broad-brimmed hat, so that she cannot even look heavenward. Only the mother and a female slave have the right to bring food to her. It is easy to imagine the inexpressible misery this long imprisonment must cause. In the immediate vicinity of Sitka and other settlements, however, the Thlinket have reduced the period of seclusion to six, and in some instances to even three months. During the first weeks of this imprisonment the operation of piercing the under lip takes place. Female slaves are excepted from all such ceremonies and observances.

All observers and visitors at Sitka have noticed that the Thlinket women have a waddling, crooked, and sometimes even a limping gait, which seems all the more remarkable in view of the proud and erect bearing of the men. It would be a natural conclusion to ascribe this defect to this long period of imprisonment at a time when the female body is developing most rapidly; but we find the same custom to exist among Eskimo tribes, with even stricter rules, without causing a similar change in the gait and bearing of the women.

After the period of seclusion of a wealthy female Thlinket has expired the relatives provide a feast, during which the girl, richly clothed, is presented to the assembled guests, who have been feasted and treated to all the delicacies of the Thlinket cuisine. The female slave who assists in dressing the girl for this festivity generally receives her freedom, and the garments worn during imprisonment are destroyed.

The Thlinket consider corporal punishment as the greatest disgrace that can be inflicted upon a free man, and consequently they do not, as a rule, make use of it. On one occasion, however, it may be employed: when a boy refuses to bathe in cold water he is compelled by beating with a stick to do so; but this is looked upon not as a punishment, but as a means of hardening the body. Theft is in their opinion not much of a crime; and if a thief is caught he is only required to return the stolen article or pay its value. For murder the law is, "blood demands blood."

The wars of the Thlinket, now of rare occurrence, were either general or private in character. The general wars were conducted with great cruelty by means of ambush or surprise, and the captives were made slaves. Early English and American visitors to the Thlinket coast reported the existence of the practice of scalping, and that scalps were used on festive occasions to ornament the legs of the dancers. It is impossible to ascertain whether the Thlinket ever were cannibals, and nothing has been stated on this point by early explorers. Only the English Captain Meares, who sojourned for some time at Nootka sound, states that the natives there, who are closely related to the Thlinket family, acknowledged to cannibal practices.

When a Thlinket warrior prepared himself for a war he painted his face red and powdered his hair with the white down of the eagle. The last-mentioned decoration is always an indication of great solemnity in the undertaking.

The private wars consisted only of quarrels between subordinate clans or families, and occasionally such disputes were settled by single combat. In this case each party to the contest chose one fighting man from their midst; the two families or clans were drawn up in order of battle, while the two combatants, provided with thick armor made of moose- or bear-skin, and with wooden helmets, carved in the shape of the family totem, protecting the head. The only weapon used on such occasions was the dagger, and the contest was accompanied with dancing and singing on both sides. When peace was made an exchange of hostages took place, and it was the custom for the latter to eat for several days only with the left hand, the right having borne arms too recently. To each hostage two companions from the opposite side were assigned to watch him, and these companions had to be of equal rank with the hostage.

The Thlinket burn their dead upon funeral pyres, with the exception of the bodies of shamans or sorcerers, which are deposited in boxes elevated on posts. The dead slave is not considered worthy of any ceremony whatever; his corpse is thrown into the sea like the carcass of a dog. When a Thlinket dies his relatives prepare a great feast, inviting a multitude of guests, especially if the deceased has been a chief or a wealthy and prominent member of a clan. The guests are chosen only from a strange clan; for instance, if the deceased belonged to the Raven clan the guests must be from the Wolf clan, and *vice versa*. No certain time is set for the cremation or for the festivities; this depends altogether upon the magnitude of the preparations, and it frequently occurs that the corpse is in an advanced stage of putrefaction when the time arrives. Poor people, who are unable to defray the cost of such ceremonies, take their dead to some distant cove or bay and burn them without any display. When the guests have assembled and the pyre has been erected, the corpse is carried out of the village by invited guests and placed upon the fagots. The pyre is then ignited in presence of the relatives, but these latter take no active part, confining themselves to crying, weeping, and howling. On such occasions many burn their hair, placing the head in the flames; others cut the hair short and smear the face with the ashes of the deceased. The Thlinket of Prince of Wales island boast of torturing themselves in the most reckless manner at the time of cremation, slashing and tearing their arms with knives and beating and bruising the face with sharp rocks. When the cremation of the body has been accomplished the guests return to the dwelling of the deceased and seat themselves with the widow, who belongs to their clan, around the walls of the hut; the relatives of the deceased then appear with hair burned and cropped, faces blackened and disfigured, and place themselves within the circle of guests, sadly leaning upon sticks with bowed heads, and then begin their funeral dirges with weeping and howling. The guests take up the song when the relatives are exhausted, and thus the howling is kept up for four nights in succession, with only a brief interruption for refreshment. During this period of mourning, if the deceased had been a chief, or wealthy, the relatives formerly killed one or two slaves, according to the rank of the dead, in order to give him service in the other world. This is the only indication of the existence of a belief in a future life by the Thlinket. At the end of the period of mourning, or on the fourth day following the cremation, the relatives wash their blackened faces and paint them with gay colors, at the same time making presents to all the guests, chiefly to those who assisted in burning the corpse. Then the guests are feasted again, and the ceremony is at an end. The heir of the deceased is his sister's son, or, if he has no such relative, a younger brother. I have already mentioned that the heir was compelled to marry the widow.

The festivities of the Thlinket consist almost exclusively of singing, dancing, gorging, and a distribution of presents. The dance consists of very rapid motion and passionate action, according to the wording of a song or the significance of the feast. All the festivities I have thus far mentioned belong, with the exception of cremation, to the occasions of minor importance; of the same class are the festivities on the occasion of moving from one dwelling-place to another, which form a parallel to the house-warming of civilization; so also are the sorceries or incantations. This subject, however, will be more properly discussed with the religious views of the Thlinket. It sometimes occurs that dancing and singing are carried on without any apparent motive, and on such occasions imitations of the actions during the greater festivities are given, apparently with the object of keeping them fresh in the memory of the people by repetition.

The festivity in memory of a deceased relative is by far the most important celebrated among the Thlinket. They call it "to glorify the dead", and frequently monuments are erected during such occasions, not so much in honor of the deceased as in memory of the feast and its giver. However, as only the wealthy are able to celebrate such feasts, and the expense is exceedingly great, they are of rare occurrence. Guests are invited from many distant settlements, and all these must not only be fed, but also loaded with presents. It frequently happens that the giver of a feast thus squanders not only his whole possessions, but also the dowry of his wife, the result being a life of the greatest penury for himself; but he is satisfied with the honor of having celebrated the memory of his deceased ancestor in a dignified manner.

Sometimes these festivities are confined to one family, sometimes a whole settlement is invited. Long before the period agreed upon arrives messengers are sent out near and far to call the guest from distant clans or tribes, not by name, but simply saying that all may come who wish to do so. Frequently women and children accompany the guests. The house designated for the celebration is cleansed as much as possible, or perhaps a new house is erected for the purpose, ornamented within and without with the totems of the possessor. When the guests arrive the feast begins with dancing and singing, lasting until the following morning; then comes the grand repast, of which only the guests, who always begin the festivities, have a right to partake. For many days and nights singing and dancing are only interrupted by eating, and the whole celebration continues as long as the giver of the feast is able to feed the visitors. On the evening of the conclusion of the ceremonies the host retires to a corner of the house accompanied by a slave, and there is adorned with garments used only on such occasions and kept as heirlooms in the family. These garments vary in the different clans, and consist chiefly of parts of the animal represented by the totem of the clan. This dress formerly was ornamented with sea-otter teeth, ribbons, strips of ermine-skin, etc. The slave who assists his master in dressing for this feast always receives his liberty.

As soon as the host emerges from his concealment in gorgeous array, surrounded by slaves, the whole assembly breaks out into the cry of the animal representing the family totem. (Holmberg states that in accordance with the

peculiar tone or inflection of his cry one or more slaves were killed.) Upon completion of this sacrifice the relatives of the host begin the traditional songs of their clan, singing of the origin of the family and the deeds of their ancestors. Then the host seats himself on the floor, and the presents intended for distribution are deposited before him. The distribution is by no means equal, the wealthy and the most prominent individuals receiving the greater number of presents of the greatest value, often consisting of slaves, while the poor have to be satisfied with worn-out blankets or even fractions of the same. This virtually ends the festivity, but frequently a repetition of the whole affair occurs in the next house, and so on until the whole settlement has contributed to the splendor of the occasion. As has already been mentioned, the giver of such a feast has the right to adopt the name of an ancestor on his father's side.

Another festive occasion must be mentioned, which also belonged to the more important feasts, and was intended to give social standing to children. Great expense in the shape of presents was connected with this feast, but at present it is rarely observed. It is very similar to those already described, differing only in a few minor ceremonies. No slaves were killed on these occasions, but on the contrary a number of them, equal to the number of children in whose honor the feast was given, were liberated. For this occasion a new house was erected with the assistance of the invited guests as well as of the people of the clan. All who participated in the labor, without regard to family, received presents, while at all other feasts only the guests were thus remembered. After singing and dancing and the distribution of presents the children were introduced one by one and subjected to the operation of piercing the ears. As soon as the awl was introduced and the puncture made all persons present gave forth a hissing sound, probably with the intention of smothering the cries of the children. After the operation presents were again distributed and a final repast indulged in.

Before turning my attention to the religious views and myths of the Thlinket I must say a few words of the unfortunate beings who were considered by their masters as merchandise, and given away or killed at their pleasure. The slaves of the Thlinket all sprang from prisoners of war (but frequently the prisoners of one clan were purchased by members of another), or they were born of female slaves. Though under the Russian rule wars among the Thlinket tribes became of rare occurrence, the number of slaves did not diminish. The supply was kept up by barter with the more southern tribes, and at that time a majority of the slaves belonged to the Flathead Indians of the British possessions.

The slave enjoyed no civil rights whatever among the Thlinket; he could not possess property, and if he acquired anything by labor or by gift it was still the property of his master. He could not marry without his master's consent, and very rarely was he allowed to do so at all. As already mentioned, slaves were killed on festive occasions or liberated. The liberated slave was invested with the rights of the lowest grade of the Thlinket, and was counted with the clan to which his mother belonged. This rule held good with the slaves from the British possessions, as there also the natives are divided into the Raven and the Wolf clans. Rarely an able-bodied slave was slaughtered on festive occasions, as he was looked upon as merchandise of the greatest value, difficult to replace. If an intended victim managed to escape or to conceal himself he was allowed to live, and might return after the conclusion of the festivities at the house of his master without incurring punishment. It frequently occurred that powerful chiefs assisted favorite slaves on such occasions to make their escape. The universal rule was, however, to select for the sacrifice only the old or diseased slaves who were more of a burden than profit to their masters. Of the honor of cremation after death the slave was deprived.

In the Thlinket mythology Yeshl or Yehl occupies the place of creator of all beings and things, and his power is unlimited; he created everything in the world, the earth, man, plants, etc., and assigned the sun, the moon, and the stars to their places. He loves mankind, but in times of anger he sends disease and misfortune. He existed before his birth; he does not grow old and does not die, and with the east wind the Thlinket receive tidings of his existence. His dwelling-place is at the place nearest where the east wind blows (called by the Thlinket *Ssannakhe*). The Thlinket locate this place about the source of the river Nass, which enters the sea near the British boundary. This locality is still called Nass-Shakiyeshl. Yeshl has a son, but his mother and the circumstances of his birth have remained unknown. The son loves mankind still more than his father, and it frequently occurs that he intercedes with the latter in his wrath, and supplies mankind with food. That Yeshl is the origin, the ancestor of the Raven clan, has been already mentioned. The life and deeds of Yeshl form the only thing in the shape of dogma in the belief of the Thlinket, and their whole moral code is comprised in the doctrine, "As Yeshl lived and acted, so must we live and act." There was a time when the world was not and man lived in the dark; at the same time there was a Thlinket who had a wife and a sister; the former he loved so much that he would not allow her to do anything; she sat the whole long day in her cabin, or outside upon a little hill, just as the Thlinket love to do now. She had always eight little birds about her with a bright red color, such as come up to this part of the coast from California, and are called *kun* by the Thlinket; and whenever she indulged in the most innocent conversation with any other Thlinket the birds flew away and thus informed the jealous husband. His jealousy, however, went still further; every time that he went to the woods to build canoes, in which art he was a great master, he placed his wife in a box, locking the same. His sister had several sons—it is not known by whom—but the suspicious uncle killed them all one after the other. As soon as he noticed that the nephew was approaching manhood, and perhaps cast his eyes upon his wife, he invited him to go fishing in his canoe, and as soon as they were at a distance from the shore he upset the canoe of the nephew, and thus got rid of a possible rival. At length the mother,

inconsolable over the loss of her child, walked along the shore weeping; she observed a number of large dolphins or whales passing by the shore, and one of them hastened to enter into conversation with the mourning mother. When he learned the cause of her sorrow he advised her to go into the water, pick up a small pebble from the bottom, swallow it, and then drink copiously of sea-water. As soon as the whale had left she followed his counsel, and the consequence was that in eight months later she gave birth to a son whom she considered a common mortal, but it was Yeshl. Previous to his birth the mother concealed herself from her brother. When Yeshl grew up to boyhood his mother made him a bow and arrow and taught him their uses. Yeshl soon became an expert and a successful marksman, so that no bird could escape his arrow, and as proof of his great skill it is narrated that the mother had a long garment made entirely out of the skins of humming-birds shot by the son. One morning when Yeshl arose he saw seated before the door of the hut a large bird with a tail as long as that of a magpie, and provided with a long strong bill with a metallic luster. This bird the Thlinket named *kutzghatushl*—that is, a crane who can reach heaven. This bird Yeshl killed and carefully removed its skin, which he put on himself, and immediately expressed not only the desire but the power to fly. He rose at once into the air and flew so far that he struck against the clouds with this bill with such force that he remained hanging, and only with difficulty succeeded in extricating himself from his disagreeable position. As soon as he had freed himself he returned to his hut, doffed the bird's skin, and concealed it. At another time he killed in a similar manner a gigantic duck and thereby procured for his mother the power to both swim and fly.

When Yeshl had grown up to manhood he heard from his mother of the crimes of his uncle and the sad fate of his brethren. He set out at once to revenge himself and soon reached the dwelling of his uncle, who was absent in the forest working. He opened at once the box in which his uncle's wife was confined, and the birds flew away. The uncle returned homeward in a great rage, but Yeshl sat calmly without stirring from his place. The uncle then called him out of the hut, led him into a canoe, and paddled out to sea to a spot where a number of marine monsters were sporting about. Here he threw him into the water, believing that he was rid of another enemy, but Yeshl walked along the bottom of the sea to the beach and rejoined his uncle. Seeing that he could not destroy his nephew by any common means, he ordained in his wrath that a flood should arise, and the ocean began to rise higher and higher, but Yeshl again crawled into his bird-skin and flew away to the clouds, hanging there with his bill until the flood had covered all the mountains, just touched his wings, and then subsided. Then he let go his hold, fell into the sea upon a bunch of kelp, and a sea-otter carried him thence to the shore.

The Stakhin Thlinket tell this story somewhat differently. They say that Yeshl after his aerial flight fell down upon Queen Charlotte island, and, picking up pieces of the wood of the Douglas pine (called by the Thlinket *shlakh*, by the Russians *chaga*, of which the best canoes are made) in his bill, he flew all over the other islands, and wherever he let fall a piece of this wood, there this tree, which is highly prized by the Thlinket, grows now. It seems that he did not reach the island of Sitka, as this species of pine does not exist on the island.

From this period began all his journeys through the world, which are so rich in adventure that the Thlinket say one man cannot know them all. Once he recalled to life some dead boys by tickling their noses with hair; at another time he obtained the fish *ssakh*, by inciting a fight between a gull and a heron; but the most remarkable of his deeds was the creation of daylight on the earth. Up to this time the sun, moon, and stars were not yet placed in the heavens, but were concealed in three separate boxes by a rich and powerful chief, who guarded his treasures so well that nobody could touch them. When Yeshl heard of this he expressed a desire to obtain them, and how he succeeded is described in the following narrative:

The chief just mentioned had an only daughter whom he loved and pampered so much that she was not allowed to eat or drink anything until the father had examined the food or drink. Yeshl, aware of these circumstances, understood that it would be possible only to the grandson of the chief to obtain the light, and therefore he resolved to be born again by his daughter. This apparently difficult task was an easy one to Yeshl, who could assume any form he liked. Consequently he transformed himself into a blade of grass and leaned against the vessel out of which the chief's daughter was in the habit of drinking, and when, after due examination by the father, she lifted up the bowl to quench her thirst, Yeshl, disguised in the blade of grass, wriggled into her throat and was swallowed. The result was that in due time the chief's daughter was about to give birth to a child and her father spread a number of sea-otter skins on the floor to afford a soft couch, but all the efforts and assistance of servants did not seem to help in her labor. At last a very old woman led her out in the forest, and as soon as she had stretched herself on a couch of moss the birth took place. The grandfather was very much rejoiced over the birth of his grandson and loved him almost more than his own body. At one time Yeshl began to cry and would allow nobody to quiet him. No matter what they gave him—whatever was given to him he threw away and cried all the more, always pointing with his hand to where the boxes containing the heavenly lights were suspended. To give him these it was necessary to have the consent of the grandfather; however, as there seemed to be no end to his crying the old man gave him one of the boxes. Yeshl at once ceased his clamor and commenced to play with the box in great glee; gradually he dragged the box out of the house, and noticing that he was not very closely observed, opened the lid, and at once the stars were in the heavens and the box was empty. The sorrow of the old man over the loss of his treasures was inexpressible, but he never denied his beloved grandson. Yeshl soon after employed a similar ruse to obtain the second box, which contained the moon. At last he invaded the last box, the most valuable of all, in which the sun was hidden, but the old ruse would no longer serve his purpose. The grandfather remained inexorable. Then Yeshl began to cry and weep so hard that he could not eat or drink, and became seriously ill. At that the grandfather's pity was aroused and he gave him the box with the strictest injunction that the lid must not be raised, but as soon as Yeshl had the box outside he transformed himself into a raven and flew away with the box. On his way he heard human voices, but could not see the people because no light as yet illuminated the earth. He questioned the people whether they desired to have light; they answered: "You will only cheat us—you are not Yeshl, who alone can give us light." In order to convince the doubters Yeshl raised the lid of the box and at once the sun shone from the heavens in all its splendor. The men ran away, frightened, in all directions; some of them into the mountains, some into the woods, and some into the water, and all of these were transformed into animals according to their hiding-places.

The Thlinket were still without fire; those who had it were located upon an island far out at sea. Yeshl proceeded to this spot with the help of his bird-skin, picked up a burning brand in his bill and hurried back, but the journey was so long that nearly all the wood burned up, and even the point of his bill was scorched. As soon as he arrived on the shore he let fall upon the earth the glowing coal that still remained, and the sparks were scattered over both wood and pebbles. From this time the Thlinket say both wood and stone contain fire, which can be obtained from the one by concussion and by friction from the other.

Fresh water was also not to be found on the islands and continent inhabited by the Thlinket, but on a small island a little to the eastward of Sitka there was a well guarded forever by a watchman named Khenookh, the original ancestor of the Wolf clan. Yeshl again employed artifice in obtaining the boon of fresh water. He took as much as he could into his bill and then flew away to the islands and remained, letting fall here and there drops of the precious fluid. Wherever the little drops fell there are now rivulets and streams, and where the large drops fell, lakes and good large rivers were formed. The ruse employed by Yeshl in stealing the water from Khenookh forms the subject of a separate tradition.

Khenookh is, in the mythology of the Thlinket, a mysterious person without beginning or end, wealthy, and more powerful than Yeshl; he plays a prominent part in this water myth. He was a man as well as Yeshl, and inhabited the island above mentioned. Even now the Thlinket say that a square stone-capped well with a stone cover exists on the spot. In the interior of the well they point out a narrow colored or striped line, which they say was not there from the beginning, but only since Yeshl stole the water. The water of the well is said still to possess some curious qualities; if an unclean being washes his hands therein the water disappears from the well and rises on the sea-shore. The whole neighborhood is still called Khenookh-keen—that is, Khenookh's water—because at the time when Yeshl, for the benefit of mankind, undertook his enterprise Khenookh guarded the well so strictly that he built his house over it and slept on the cover of the well. At one time Khenookh was paddling over the sea with his canoe, and meeting Yeshl also in a canoe he asked him, "How long have you lived in the world?" Yeshl replied that he was born before the earth was in its place. "But how long have you lived in the world?" asked Yeshl in his turn. "Since the time," replied Khenookh, "when the liver emerged from the beach." Replied Yeshl, "Then you are older than I am." Thus boasting against each other they gradually left the shore point, and Khenookh, desiring to display his strength and power before Yeshl, took off his hat and at once there came up a dense fog. Profiting by this Khenookh turned away from his companion, out of his sight. Yeshl became alarmed and began to call Khenookh by name, but he kept silent and concealed by the fog. When Yeshl saw that he could do nothing in this terrible fog he began at last to cry and to shout. Then Khenookh came to him and said: "What are you crying about?" and with these words he replaced his hat upon his head and the fog at once disappeared. By this action he caused Yeshl to exclaim, "You are more powerful than I am." Then Khenookh invited Yeshl to his dwelling, and upon arriving there Yeshl was treated to fresh water. This pleased him so much that he could not get enough. After the repast, Yeshl began to relate his deeds and adventures, and though his tales were exceedingly interesting, and though Khenookh listened at first with the greatest attention, he finally sank into a profound sleep, unfortunately still stretched upon the cover of the well. Then Yeshl had to invent another ruse. He stole out of the hut, killed a dog, and smeared the sleeping Khenookh with the blood. Then he shouted to the sleeper and said, "Arise, Khenookh, and look upon yourself, you have been bleeding from the nose." Khenookh awoke suddenly, half dazed, and rushed out of the house into the sea to cleanse himself. Then Yeshl hastened to the well, lifted the cover, and drank his fill. After filling his stomach he took as much as he could into his mouth, transformed himself into a raven, and tried to escape from the cabin through the smoke-hole, but his wings caught on something and the returning Khenookh at once recognized his guest in the struggling raven. He made a fire and began to smoke Yeshl. (The Thlinket think that the raven only turned black on this occasion, having been white before.) At last Khenookh grew tired, and Yeshl escaped along the water to drop upon the earth as heretofore described.

As soon as Yeshl had done everything for the welfare of the Thlinket he proceeded eastward to his home, the Nass-Shakiyeshl, which was inaccessible not only to human beings but also to spirits. It is said that in modern times a spirit attempted to reach the locality and was punished for his presumption by having his left side turned to stone. The mask of this same spirit, which was in the possession of the famous Chilkhat shanan, was miraculously affected at the same time, one side of the mask, which was originally of wood, being petrified. Yeshl in his capacity of God also bears the name of Hashakhoon, a name which has been applied to the God of the Christians (the common expression for the latter term is *Mokh*, a corruption of the Russian *Bogue*). The Thlinket have a very great number of subordinate gods or spirits, called by them *yekh* (in plural *yakh'h*), whom the shamans or sorcerers (*ikhth*) invoke during their performances. Every sorcerer, and they are very numerous, has his special spirits who are at his command, in addition to a large number of others upon whose assistance he can count only on special occasions. These spirits are divided into *khiyekh* or *khinayekh*, that is, the superior spirits, and into *takhiyekh* (land spirits who live in the north), and *tekiyekh* (water spirits). The *khiyekh* are the spirits of the braves who had fallen in battle. They live in disguise and reveal themselves in the aurora; consequently a strong northern light is considered by many Thlinket a prophecy of war. The *takhiyekh* are the spirits of those who had died a natural death, and their home is called *Takhankhoo*. The road to this place is not the same for all. Those over whose death the relatives cry or howl but little is smooth and even, but those who receive their whole measure

of noisy mourning must walk over a swampy, wet road. The takhiyekh appear to the sorcerers in the shape of land animals, the tekiyekh in the shape of marine animals or fishes. In regard to the origin of the latter the Thlinket do not all agree. Some maintain that they are the spirits of the animals themselves. In addition to these each Thlinket has his own yekh, who attends him as his guardian spirit. When a man becomes wickedly inclined his yekh leaves him and sometimes kills him. The spirits seem to like cleanliness, as a rule, and they allow themselves to be conjured only with the sound of a drum, or another instrument which we have not yet described. This consists of a hollow wooden bird filled with small pebbles, so that every movement of the bird creates a rattling noise. This is used in all dances and songs.

The Thlinket believe in the immortality and migration of souls. The soul does not migrate into bodies of animals, but into other human beings, chiefly into relatives of the female line. For instance, if a woman before giving birth to a child sees in a dream a deceased relative, it is said that the latter's soul has gone into her; or if the new-born child resembles in any way the deceased, it is taken for granted that he has returned to earth and the child at once receives his name. A Thlinket who envies a rich or noble family may be heard to say: "When I die I should like to be born again in this family;" others exclaim, "O that I might be slain speedily, so that I might be born again in this world under better circumstances." The souls of those who are cremated are wholesome and comfortable in the other world, others suffer with cold, but the souls of those in whose honor slaves have been sacrificed will never need to wait upon themselves.

The traditions of the Thlinket also speak of a general flood, during which the people saved themselves in a huge flat edifice; when the water receded this craft stranded upon a submerged log and broke in two, when the water receded still more. From this it is said comes the difference in languages, as the people in one half of the broken vessel remained Thlinket, while those of the other half were changed into all the nations of the earth.

At the beginning of this flood a brother and sister were separated; the brother's name was Khethl, that is, "thunder and lightning;" the sister's name was Aghishanookhu, that is, "wife under the ground." In taking leave Khethl said to his sister, "You will never more see me as long as I live;" then he donned the skin of a gigantic bird and flew away to the part of the world which we call southwest. The sister, after the separation, ascended Mount Edgecombe, in the vicinity of Sitka; the mountain opened its summit and swallowed her. From this time dates the great hole at the summit of the mountain (the extinguished crater). Khethl kept his promise to his sister and comes annually to Sitka; the thunder is the noise of his wings and the lightning is the flash of his eyes. His favorite food consists of whales. The continuance of the sister's life in the interior of the mountain points to the origin of its volcanic nature. In the opinion of the Thlinket the earth, forming a disk, rests upon the point of a pillar nicely poised. This pillar is held in the hand of the humane Aghishanookhu, who guards and watches it in order that the earth may not fall and be submerged in the water; but at times, when the gods hating mankind battled with her for the purpose of obtaining possession of the pillar in order to destroy the inhabitants of the earth, the earth trembles, but Aghishanookhu is strong enough to defend her children.

From another source Holmberg obtained a variation of this myth concerning Mount Edgecombe. "No," he said, "I have never heard that animals came out of Edgecombe, but in a great hole at its summit there lives the bird *khunnakhateth* [probably the name of the bird into which Khethl was changed], who, after seizing with each talon the whale rises into the skies, producing thunder with the beating of his wings and lightning with the blinking of his eyes."

Having thus discussed the myths of the Thlinket, representing as they do the different dogmas and historic traditions, as in a poetic dream interwoven with the darkness of fable, I now turn to the not less important subject of "shamanism", closely related to the former.

Sorcery or shamanism played an important rôle in the ancient history of all northern nations. Shamanism has existed among all of them, though in various forms and degrees, but their nature and character are always the same. We find in every nation of the world more or less superstition, that is, an inclination to explain by supernatural agency all that the mind is unable to grasp; but the particular kind of sorcery or shamanism referred to here belongs exclusively to the north. To explain the cause of this perhaps requires a very profound and searching insight into the physical and psychological condition of mankind in various climates, or perhaps it lies concealed in the magic darkness that envelops the sharply-defined characteristics peculiar to polar regions. It appears that both shamanism and magnetism have their center near the pole, and both are in their inmost nature unknown and mysterious. We can observe only their effects manifested as phenomena.

The words and actions of the shamans and sorcerers are considered as infallible by the Thlinket, who believe in them sincerely. Some shamans, it is not known why, prohibited the consumption of whale-meat, which is considered a great delicacy by all other coast tribes of northwest America. In order to be a shaman it is necessary not only to possess the power to have various spirits at one's disposal, but also to call them whenever the emergency arose. On these occasions the shaman twists, throws, and paints his body in the most unnatural manner. The object of such sorcery is not only to reveal the future, but to ascertain all that is hidden, and with the help of spirits to prevent or avoid misfortune and disaster. Shamanism is generally hereditary in families—that is, it is transmitted with all its mysteries and collections of apparatus, such as masks, drums, straps, etc., to the son or grandson of the shaman. However, the descendants of a shaman are not always able to follow in his footsteps, not possessing, perhaps, the power to call the spirits and to enter into communication with them.

A man who intends to prepare himself to become a shaman proceeds for a time into the woods, or to the top of a mountain, where he may remain undisturbed by visitors. Here he passes from two to four weeks, feeding only upon the roots of *Panax horridum* (called by the Russians *nezamainik*). The length of time depends upon the willingness of the spirits to appear. As soon as they come the most prominent among them sends a land-otter, in whose tongue the secret and power of shamanism are believed to be hidden, to meet the aspirant. On sighting each other they both stop, and the man kills the animal, exclaiming four times, "Oh!" in various keys. The otter then falls upon its back, the tongue protruding. This the shaman cuts off and preserves in a diminutive basket brought for the purpose. This talisman he conceals carefully from everybody. If it should happen that an unwashed being obtained this secret charm he would lose his reason at once. The skin of the otter is taken off and kept by the shaman as a sign of his profession, and the meat is buried in the ground. Owing to this tradition no Thlinket dared to kill a land-otter previous to the arrival of the Russians at Sitka, but of late years experience and avarice have overcome the superstition in this respect.

If the shaman, after a long seclusion, does not find himself able to summon spirits, he proceeds, still fasting, to the grave of a deceased shaman, passing the night with the corpse and taking one or two of its teeth into his mouth. If this last effort prove successful the shaman returns to his people half starved and much reduced in body, and as soon as he arrives his power and skill in sorcery are tested. The honor and power of a shaman depend upon the number of his spirits, and whose influence he caused to contribute to his wealth. Each shaman has his own spirits, and a certain name and certain song for each of them. On many occasions he meets with the spirits of his ancestors, which increases his power to such an extent that he is enabled to throw his spirits into other beings who refuse to believe in his powers. The unfortunates to whom this happens faint away and suffer terrible cramps or faint ever after; if a shaman becomes ill his relatives fast for many days in order to help him. His apparatus is kept in separate boxes, and for each spirit he has a peculiar wooden mask. The hair of the shaman is never cut.

As has already been remarked, the shaman is not cremated after death, but set by in an elevated box. During the first night the body is allowed to remain in the corner where the death occurred, but on the following day it is removed to another corner, and this is continued for four days, until the corpse has rested in every corner of the house. During this time all the inmates of the house must fast until on the fifth day, dressed in the full traditional costume, he is lashed upon a board, in the sides of which holes are pierced. Two bone sticks that were used by the shaman during his incantations are placed one through the hair and the other through the orifice in the partition of the nose; then the head is covered with a basket made of twigs, and the corpse is carried to the place of burial, which is always located on the shore. Whenever a Thlinket passes the grave of a shaman he throws down some tobacco into the water (formerly, of course, it was some other article of value), in order to earn with this sacrifice the favor and good will of the deceased.

The shaman's incantation is generally conducted as follows: On the day set for the purpose the relatives of the shaman who assist him, especially the singers, are not allowed to partake of food, and are obliged in addition to empty their stomachs, which they do by drinking tepid water and tickling the palate with a feather. The celebration begins with sunset and continues until the following dawn. All the Thlinket who wish to participate in the ceremony, men as well as women, assemble in the house of the shaman, which has been cleaned as much as possible, and begin their singing to the time of a drum. After the shaman has donned his professional apparel and covered his face with a mask he begins to run around the fire burning in the center of the house, twisting and moving his face with violent contortions to the beating of the drum, and until his eyes, which during all this run are always directed to the ceiling, are almost turned in his head; suddenly he stands still, looks upon the upper side of the drum, and utters a loud cry; the song ceases, and all eyes are bent upon him. In these ceremonies consist the whole art of the sorcerer. During the performances the spirits pass in review before him, appearing in various forms. Upon the appearance of each successive spirit the shaman changes his mask, that is, he dons the mask of the spirit with whom he communicates for the moment. Any words he utters during this ceremony are considered as inspirations of the spirit. At the conclusion of the ceremony the assembly is first treated to tobacco and then provided with food. These incantations only take place in the winter, at the time of the new and full moon; and are undertaken chiefly for the purpose of preserving the good will of the spirits toward the inhabitants of the settlement—to obtain their assistance perhaps in allaying an epidemic disease and transporting it into some hostile settlement. In addition to these grand occasions incantations are indulged in from time to time for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of sickness or misfortune, etc. The cure of diseases, however, does not depend so much upon the shaman as upon certain other individuals, who are called by the Thlinket *nakuzati* (derived from the word *naku*, which signifies medicine; the term might be translated physician or medicine-man), and in whose power it lies to injure or destroy other people.

The Thlinket name for—

Russian people, is Kuskekhan (Cossack).

Kadiak people, Kaiakwan.

Chugach people, Kushek.

Kenai people, Tisnakwan.

Aleut people, Tiakhakwan.

Yakutat people, Tliakhaikh-kwan.

Sir James Douglas, governor of the Hudson Bay Company's domain in British Columbia, wrote as follows:

The most enlightened of the Thlinket tribes entertain rational ideas concerning their deities, while others invest them with irreconcilable qualities, such as boundless power, with an extreme simplicity that the most stupid can puzzle and deceive. Probably they have no clear and well-defined ideas on these abstruse points, which are not of a nature to attract their attention, and they merely repeat the tradition as it was received from their fathers, without scrutiny or comment of their own. The Thlinket believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, whose name is Yealth, and that he has a son named Yealth Yay, *i. e.*, the Son of God. They also think that there is a malevolent being called Kosstahooshtekakah. Yealth wears the human form; he made the earth; then man was formed. A faint light afterward appeared, gradually growing in brightness until the stars were seen. Then the moon was made, and lastly the sun shone forth in all his glory. They think that all men are not descended from the same parent stock, but that Yealth traveled from country to country and made a new man in each, to whom he gave a new language, not through the exertion of miraculous power, but by the mere physical process of changing the position of the internal organs by giving them a good sound twist with his hand. When all things were finished he commanded man to do good and to commit no wickedness, while at the same time he urged them to retaliate for hostile attacks of other people, and return injury for injury. He added: "I am now going away, but my eye will be always upon you. If you live wicked lives you cannot come to me, as the good and brave only can live in my place." With these words he left the earth and has not since that time returned to it, and they do not know where he is at present. The Thlinket think that there is a future state of retributive rewards and punishments. After death the souls of men ascend through successive stages, rising one over another like the stories of a house, to the highest heaven, where they find a strong gate guarded by a giant who knows the name of every spirit that makes its appearance there. After proclaiming the name aloud he proceeds to question the spirit regarding its past life, and closes the examination either by receiving it into heaven or driving it back to the inferior stages, where it wanders about comfortless amid yawning gulfs opening before it at every step. The knowledge of these things has no perceptible effect on their conduct. They steal and cheat and lie whenever they feel an interest in doing so, without any visible apprehension of incurring Yealth's displeasure. They all admit that theft, falsehood, and roguery are criminal, but nevertheless have recourse to them without hesitation whenever it suits their purpose.

Polygamy is a general practice among them, and they keenly resent any unsanctioned misconduct of their wives, although they do not scruple to sell their favors for a small consideration. If unmarried women prove frail the partner of their guilt, if discovered, is bound to make reparation to the parents, soothing their wounded honor with handsome presents. A failure to do this would cause the friends of the offending fair one to use force to back their demands and to revenge the insult. It must not, however, be supposed that they would be induced to act this part from any sense of reflected shame, or from a desire of discouraging vice by making a severe example of the vicious; or that the girl herself has any visitings of remorse; or that the parents think her a bit the worse for the accident, or her character in any way blemished. Such are not their feelings, for the offender is simply regarded as a robber, who has committed depredation on their merchandise, their only anxiety being to make the damages exacted as heavy as possible.

Mr. A. Krause, an explorer connected with the Geographical Society of Bremen, relates an instance of unregenerated superstition that came beneath his observation under the very eyes of the Presbyterian missionary established among the Chilkhat tribe:

During the months of February and March uninterrupted bad weather interfered so seriously with hunting and fishing as to cause great scarcity of food. The people were alarmed; the two shamans made the most strenuous efforts to propitiate the evil spirits, fasting, dancing, and singing night and day. But all this was in vain—the weather did not change—and it was necessary to find a reason for this unusual misfortune. At last the wise men came to the conclusion that the bad weather was the consequence of the burial of a child's body by the missionary during the preceding autumn. Huge fires were at once lighted and little images burned to atone for the burial of the child. When this measure, also, met with no success in producing a change of weather, the missionary was urged and implored to reveal the burial-place of the child that had risen to such unexpected posthumous importance, and when he very unnecessarily refused to comply men and women searched the vicinity for many days.

The Thlinket tribes are now divided as follows:

1. The Chilkhaat tribe, of Comptroller bay, numbering 326.
2. The Yakutat tribe, on the coast from cape Yaktag to cape Spencer, numbering 500.
3. The Chilkhat tribe, living on Lynn canal, numbering 988.
4. The Hoonyah tribe, on Chichagof island, numbering 908.
5. The Khootznahoo tribe, on Admiralty island, numbering 666.
6. The Kehk tribe, on the Kehk archipelago, numbering 568.
7. The Auk tribe, on the northern part of Admiralty island and Douglas island, numbering 640.
8. The Takoo tribe, on Takoo river and inlet, numbering 269.
9. The Stakhin tribe, on Stakhin river and Etholin island, numbering 317.
10. The Prince of Wales Island tribe, numbering 587.
11. The Tongas tribe, near British boundary, numbering 273.
12. The Sitka tribe, numbering 721.

To these must be added 788 Hyda, closely related to the Thlinket, living on Prince of Wales island.