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# AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY ALONG KNIK ARM<sup>1</sup>

by

D. E. Dumond and Robert L. A. Mace

This paper presents the results of an archaeological survey and of limited test excavations conducted in 1966 on a portion of the northwestern side of Knik Arm — the northernmost extension of Cook Inlet — in the vicinity of Anchorage, Alaska. Under the sponsorship of the University of Oregon, the project was intended to explore a specific aspect of the recent pre-history of the Tanaina. The field program was directed by Albert C. Spaulding, who was accompanied by two assistants, one of them the junior author of this paper.

## BACKGROUND

Since 1960, research has been conducted by the University of Oregon in Katmai National Monument and nearby areas on the northern portion of the Alaska Peninsula. Initial efforts (in 1960, 1961, and 1963) were directed toward the northwestern side of the Peninsula, specifically to that area which drains by way of the Naknek system of lakes and rivers into Bristol Bay (figure 1). A notable result was the indication that for the past four thousand years the portion of the Peninsula north and west of the Aleutian Range participated in the cultural manifestations archaeologically represented much farther north — a sequence in which a basic Arctic Small Tool horizon gives way in unbroken suc-

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<sup>1</sup>The field research reported here was supported by National Science Foundation Grant GS-1037 to the University of Oregon, with Albert C. Spaulding as principal investigator. Permission to excavate was generously given by Mr. Victor Fischer, Mr. Joseph Hong and the Department of Natural Resources of the State of Alaska; their cooperation is appreciated. Carol S. Dumond drew the illustrations for this paper. Description of the field results is the work of the junior author. A. C. Spaulding read the paper in draft and contributed welcome suggestions. Responsibility for the actual writing of this paper, including comparisons, conclusions, and shortcomings rests with the senior author.

cession to a Norton-like horizon, which yields ultimately to Western Thule-like and recent Eskimo assemblages (*Cressman and Dumond 1962; Dumond 1962; 1963*). This sequence has been taken to represent the cultural remains of speakers of properly Eskimoan languages (*Dumond 1964; 1965*).

Later (in 1964 and 1965), attention was turned to the Pacific coast of the Peninsula (Figure 1), with excavations at two major sites in the Monument. The radiocarbon-dated sequence now undergoing analysis spans about six thousand years, and exhibits considerable similarity to that reported by Clark (*1966a*) for Kodiak Island. It is in no more than the past two millennia, however, that this Pacific coastal sequence becomes closely similar to that of the Naknek drainage some seventy-five miles to the northwest. That is, in the second or third century of the Christian era — somewhat after the inception of the Norton-like period of the Naknek drainage — there begins a time of gradually increasing similarity. By the end of the first millennium A.D., collections from the two sides of the Peninsula are virtually identical.

In this, the archaeology seems to accord well with the evidence presented by linguists, who have considered that the inhabitants of Kodiak Island and adjacent portions of the Alaskan mainland at the time of European contact spoke a dialect of the western Eskimo language which was relatively closely related to the speech found on the shores of Bristol Bay (*Dumond 1965, with references*). The increasing closeness in the archaeological sequences on the two sides of the Alaska Peninsula is thought to coincide with an increasing closeness of language, presumably as the speech of people to the north of the Peninsula was taken up in the south. Although it seems unlikely that a massive population replacement was involved, it has been suggested that there was within the Christian era some degree of migration in the same direction. It has also been argued that there is presently no finally compelling reason to think that before the beginning of the Christian era the inhabitants of Kodiak Island and the adjacent Pacific coastal region were necessarily Eskimoan or even Eskaleutian in speech (*Dumond 1964; 1965*).

But if the early inhabitants of the Pacific Eskimo area were not Eskimos, who were they? The nearest non-Eskimo group at the time of contact, of course, was the Tanaina, inhabiting virtually the entire shoreline of Cook Inlet (Figure 1), but generally

supposed to be very late arrivals from the interior. It was this situation – an area in which Indians had apparently supplanted Eskimos – which attracted De Laguna to Cook Inlet in 1930 (*De Laguna 1934: 7*), but her efforts were especially concentrated farther south and her results were more specifically applicable to the vicinity of Kachemak Bay (*De Laguna 1934: 148*). Although it did not seem likely that the Athapaskan-speaking Tanaina, with primary and obvious connections in the interior, had ever played a significant part in early cultural development on the coast, it now seemed again desirable to try to fix the time of their earliest arrival there. Accordingly, an attempt was made to locate sites for excavation in the portion of the coast extending farthest into Tanaina territory, on the northern extension of Cook Inlet.

#### ARCHAEOLOGY ON KNIK ARM

An initial survey of the area in late summer of 1965 by A. C. Spaulding and the senior author of this paper indicated the presence of a number of apparently aboriginal archaeological features in the area in question, although no evidence of deposits of any depth was found. In 1966, the more extended program was launched by Spaulding, with the results which follow. Locations of sites mentioned are indicated in figure 2.

#### Fischer-Hong Site

About a mile south of the village of Knik, the site is centered approximately one-third mile northwest of Knik Arm (SW  $\frac{1}{4}$  of NE  $\frac{1}{4}$  of S25, T16N, R3W of Seward Meridian), on the edge of an unnamed creek draining White Lake. The site consists of twelve major depressions. Three of these were relatively large and rectangular, equipped with an attached smaller, rectangular, lateral depression; one was excavated (designated FH-1). Two other depressions were deep and circular with relatively long, narrow depressions attached to them in a manner suggesting semi-subterranean entryways; one was tested (designated FH-2). Seven other depressions were circular pits more than one meter in diameter. There were in addition numerous circular depressions of less than one meter in diameter, occurring either separately or in pairs.

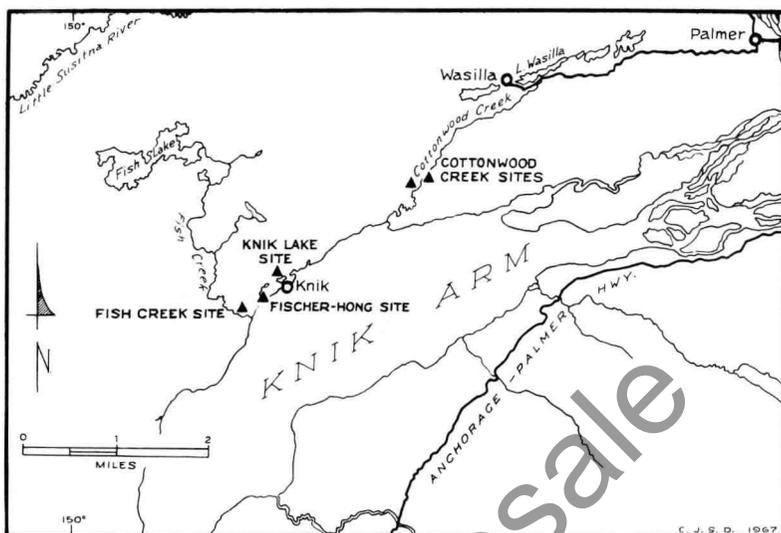


Figure 2. Knik Arm and Vicinity.

## FH-1

Although excavation of this presumed habitation unit was not carried to completion, work was extensive enough to indicate that the structure had been a two-roomed construction similar to that illustrated by De Laguna (1934: Fig. 5). A square main room, about 6 m. by 6 m. in size, opened on the side opposite the door into a smaller room, 2.5 m. square. Several well-deteriorated sections of wood suggested that wooden walls of the unit had collapsed inward after its abandonment. The center of the floor of the main room was some 20 cm. below the outside ground level, but somewhat higher than the floor area against the walls; this center area yielded cracked rock and charcoal. A large pile of cracked rock in the smaller attached room suggested that it may have been at least partly used as a steam bath.

Contents included scraps of moose bone (some cut with a metal saw), a boulder chip or tci-tho, four flakes, one piece of sheet copper, fragments of window glass, several small pieces of mica (possibly from a metal stove), and a piece of unidentified shell, perhaps slightly worked. Whether all of these items are valid house associations is uncertain; at least the moose bone is

suspected of having been thrown into the depression by later inhabitants of the area who lived in a nearby log cabin, now abandoned.

**FH-2**

This circular-to-rectangular depression was attractive because of the long trench extending from one side of it, suggesting a semi-subterranean entrance. The bottom of the pit seemed to lie about one and one-half meters below general ground level, with its edges piled up as much as nearly one-half meter above general ground level; the "entry" extended about six meters from the pit. The unit was tested by two trenches, sufficient to provide probable dimensions of the original pit. In the main body, the "floor" was of compacted sand, relatively level, not charcoal-stained. The bottom of the "entry" was rounded and relatively unstained.

On the bottom of the main depression, under only a small amount of humus, were found the incomplete skeletal remnants of two persons, including cranial fragments, maxilla, mandible, arm and leg long-bones. Tooth wear was extreme. These remains occurred with a layer of charcoal more than 10 cm. above the compacted layer considered to be the floor, and were not taken to constitute a burial. It was concluded that they represented material thrown into the pit sometime after its original construction, perhaps even after its abandonment. There were no artifacts or other contents. It is not certain that this depression was ever a habitation.

**OTHER TESTS**

Numerous other test pits in the site vicinity, both in depressions and elsewhere, yielded no implements or other indications of significant concentration of cultural remains, nor was anything revealed by a careful surface search of a new highway right-of-way which was bulldozed directly through the site during the season.

**Cottonwood Creek Vicinity**

This area extends about one mile along the bluff overlooking Knik Arm to the southeast, and about one-fourth to one-half mile inland, and is roughly bisected by Cottonwood Creek in its lower course (in the SW  $\frac{1}{4}$  of S31 and SE  $\frac{1}{4}$  of S36, T17N, R2W of Seward Meridian). It was found to contain approximately fifty

pits of more than one meter in diameter. Five or six of these appeared to be of the relatively large rectangular variety with attached room. The rest were circular, and up to as much as six or seven meters in diameter, although most were smaller. Many were apparently located in pairs, while at times several — four or five — appeared grouped in a roughly straight line. Pits with diameters smaller than one meter were numerous. No deep circular pits with apparent subterranean entryways were observed.

Several tests were sunk in and around two large, rectangular, two-roomed depressions immediately adjacent to each other on the west side of Cottonwood Creek. Only one test pit, between the two depressions and in what turned out to be a very shallow midden deposit, yielded cultural material: charcoal, moose and bird bones, four boulder chips, a broken iron knife blade, and four flakes.

Two of a cluster of about six roughly circular pits spread in linear fashion along the east side of Cottonwood Creek were trenched. One of these, indeterminate in precise shape, yielded a little charcoal and a lens of cracked rock about one-half meter below the surface and not associated with any visible floor level. If the depression represented a one-time house, its form had been effectively obliterated. No implements were recovered. The other depression tested was somewhat more than two meters in diameter, and relatively shallow; it yielded multiple layers of birch bark, upon the lower one of which rested an anvil stone. There were no other specimens.

Other test pits in the Cottonwood Creek area yielded nothing.

Presumably this site is that reported to De Laguna (1934: 140) by indigenous informants as located about one mile above the mouth of Cottonwood Creek; she did not visit the site.

#### **Knik Lake**

A garden on the north shore of the lake (SE  $\frac{1}{4}$  of NW  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S24, T16N, R3W of Seward Meridian) was reported by modern residents to have at one time yielded a ground stone splitting adze. This garden area was explored but yielded nothing. On a hill slightly north of the garden appeared six circular pits about two meters in diameter, and about one-half to one meter deep. Two of these were trenched. Both, with floors in hard glacial gravel at about one meter below ground level, were sterile.

About 100 m. south of this pit cluster, a large rectangular house with an attached room was located. Excavation of two corners and a center section yielded charcoal, bone fragments, a single split piece of wood without visible tool marks, three boulder chips, and a piece of sheet copper. An additional small pit about 1.5 m. in diameter in the immediate vicinity of the house yielded a piece of worked wood, birch bark, and two glass beads.

This may well be the Knik Lake site mentioned and visited by De Laguna (1934: 141).

#### Specimens Recovered

The total artifact yield from the presumed occupation sites so far described is recapitulated here:

Boulder chips (tci-thos), chiefly of basalt	8
Anvil stones, basalt, water-rolled	1
Iron knife, fragmentary	1
Unidentified shell, perhaps worked	1
Glass beads (1 blue, 1 white)	2
Flakes (slate, basalt, quartzite, chalcedony)	8
Fragments of sheet copper	2
Mica	
Glass (window)	

#### Fish Creek

This site is located approximately one mile directly southwest of the village of Knik (NE  $\frac{1}{4}$  of NE  $\frac{1}{4}$ , S34, T16N, R2W of Seward Meridian), and is undoubtedly that visited by De Laguna (1934: 141) in 1930, following the written discussion of the area by Mason (1928).

Mason (1928) described a carved stone lamp located in the Alaska Historical Museum in Juneau, which was reportedly discovered on June 15, 1913, by Charles Ulanky in the course of plowing his farm at Fish Creek. The specimen was said to have lain at a depth of about a foot, and to have been found with skeletal remains and an amulet of Chinese manufacture (Keithahn 1946: 54; Mason 1928: 180-1) — items which will be ignored here for want of more specific provenience information (see also De Laguna 1934: 141). The discovery of the lamp, at least, was apparently confirmed by De Laguna (1934: 141)

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Apparently identical to other pits common in the region, none of these was excavated at this site.

About ten meters west of the Fish and Game cabin appears a large depression (designated FC-1) which will be discussed below. A trench was dug on the stream embankment immediately south of the depression in hope of finding a midden deposit, but it yielded nothing. Two additional trenches were excavated ten and twenty meters east of the cabin into very slight depressions on a low grassy terrace; these yielded only some charcoal, burned birch bark, and cracked rock.

#### FC-1

This roughly rectangular depression is at present about 30-40 cm. deep, 17 m. long and 9 m. wide, and is located on a small bench about 3 m. above and 6 m. to 10 m. north of the creek. It may well be the pit described by De Laguna in the quotation above, although it appears larger than that she mentioned.

Two trenches were dug along the longitudinal axis of the depression. Both revealed a thin (less than 1 cm.) charcoal layer of varying distinctness at a depth of from 20 to 35 cm. below ground level, which was interpreted as a living floor or floors, and which seemed to be penetrated by a single row of posts, apparently running the length of the house in its center. Because of the pressure of time, neither of the trenches was extended to what were interpreted as outside walls of the house. The trenches cut through a number of pits apparently not associated with the charcoal floor, some of them intrusive into the floor and clearly recent. Other small pits appeared to predate the house floor, which itself manifested a number of irregularities as it followed the contours of some small depressions. Birchbark was very plentiful, especially in a number of the small pits (of various times) which may have been lined with it. Often several successive layers of bark appeared. Two of the apparently intrusive pits yielded fish bones. During excavation opinions varied as to whether the specimens recovered were contemporary with the charcoal floor and with each other. In the final analysis, indications of association can only be termed ambiguous.

All specimens known to have come from the site are listed below. De Laguna's finds are from the midden, except for a single whetstone from the house she tested. The 1966 finds are from the house alone.

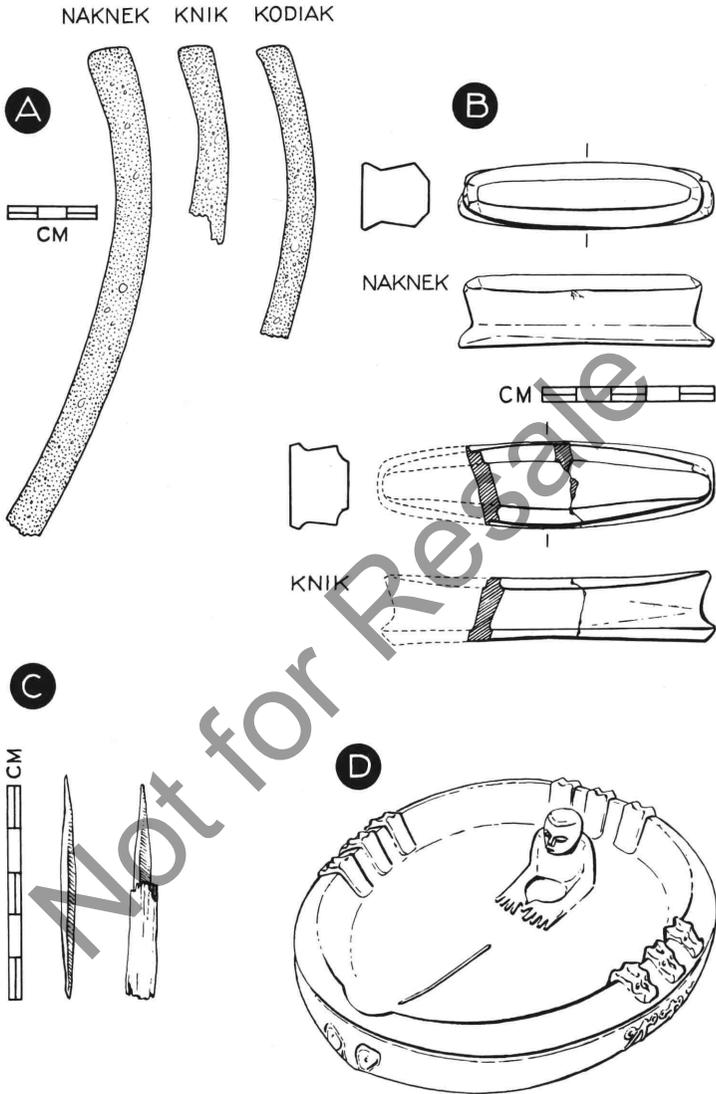


Figure 3. Artifacts from Fish Creek on Knik Arm, with some Comparable Examples Referred to in the Text. A, profiles of rim sherds from Fish Creek and elsewhere; B, labrets from Fish Creek and the Nakenek Drainage; C, copper pins from Fish Creek; D, stone lamp from Fish Creek (drawn from photographs in *Kashevaroff 1927*, *Keithahn 1946*, with reference to photographs and description in *De Laguna 1934*, *Mason 1928*; maximum length 32 cm.).

1913 Finds (*Keithahn 1946; Mason 1928*)

Stone vessel (figure 3, D)	1
Carved diorite or similar igneous stone, oval, 32 x 28 x 4 cm. in size; grooved and decorated exterior; rim decorated with animal heads presumed to be those of seals, with rudimentary bodies inside the bowl; a carved human figure rises from the bowl.	

1930 Finds (*De Laguna 1934: 141-2, pl. 20, 7-11*)

Rubbed slate:	
Fragment of double-edged blade	1
Single-edged knife	1
Possible adze blade	1
Flaked slate, blade with chipped edge	1
Whetstones	3

1966 Finds

Potsherds (figure 3, A)	6
Temper of stream-rolled pebbles to 7 mm. in size, thickness 12-14 mm.	
Labret (figure 3, B)	1
Coal, fragmentary. To fit in a single slot below the mouth. Specimen was probably 10 cm. in unbroken length.	
Copper awl or pin (figure 3, C)	2
Ca. 50 mm. long, 3-4 mm. thick in square cross section. One is hafted in the end of a burned stick.	
Rubbed slate, nondescript fragmentary points or knives	3
Ground and cut bone:	
Birdbone awl, 102 mm. long	1
Cut and polished fragments	3
Whetstone, grainy metamorphic rock	3
Flakes (basalt, quartzite, cobble fragments)	7
Small sheets of mica (believed intrusive, from later pit)	

**DISCUSSION AND COMPARISON**

**Fischer-Hong, Cottonwood Creek, and Knik Lake Sites**

The identification of the Tanaina with a square and frequently semi-subterranean wooden house, often equipped with an ante-chamber serving as bath or sleeping room, seems well attested in

the literature (*Osgood 1937: 55-62*; see also *De Laguna 1934: 144*; *Townsend 1965: 100ff., with references*). That the house designated FH-1 at the Fischer-Hong site was of the sort referable to late Tanaina occupation was confirmed by Bailey Theodore, a Tanaina resident at Knik who first described the location of the site to Spaulding and the senior author in 1965.

That structures of this kind are generally productive of only few artifacts seems also evident (*Kent and others 1964: esp. 123*; *Irving 1957: 40-42*; *De Laguna 1934: 136 and passim*; see also *Rainey 1939: 360*). Indeed, the only such structures which upon excavation have yielded even a minimally respectable quantity of implements are houses on Lake Iliamna (*Townsend and Townsend 1961*); and these have since been discovered to have been constructed on the site of an earlier occupation, which may have contributed the bulk of the finds (*John B. Townsend, personal communication*).

Although structures of this sort appear to have been of late precontact date in the northern portion of Tanaina territory – specifically, at the headwaters of the Susitna (*Irving 1957: 41-42*) – the same structures in the southern portion of the Tanaina territory, as on Cook Inlet and Lake Iliamna, usually yield items such as iron, brass, and glass beads dating from the Russian period or later (*Kent and others 1964*; *De Laguna 1934: pl. 56*; *Townsend and Townsend 1961*). Only three sites in the Cook Inlet area tested by De Laguna were attributed by her to pre-Russian Indian occupation; two of these, without reported houses, yielded fewer than a dozen specimens, while the other with a two-roomed depression yielded no specimens (*De Laguna 1934: 15, 17-18, 21, 22*).

It seems certain that the Tanaina were spread over much of Cook Inlet by the 1770's and 1780's, when they were encountered by a number of Europeans, including Cook, Portlock and Dixon, Meares, and Douglas. In 1786 the Russians established a post among them on the Kenai Peninsula (*Osgood 1937: 19*). That the first occurrence of iron and glass beads in the area was even earlier, however, seems indicated by Cook's reports in 1778 of the presence of both among natives of Cook Inlet and of Prince William Sound (*De Laguna 1956: 60-61, with references*); these are presumed to have had their source in trade with the Russians. The first Russian visit to the Aleutian Islands was in the 1740's.

In summation, there seems no reason to consider that these apparently unmixed sites characterized by two-roomed houses and objects of European manufacture, represent other than a post-contact Tanaina occupation. At the earliest, the sites should not predate the middle of the eighteenth century.

#### Fish Creek Site

In the course of his discussion of the decorated stone lamp recovered here in 1913, Mason (*1928: 189*) concluded that at one time the entire length of Cook Inlet was under Eskimo occupation. In view of the appearance of pottery and the labret in this same site in 1966, this view is tempting.

At first glance the house — if such it was — excavated in 1966 appears obviously different from those described for the other sites on Knik Arm. The most similar ethnographically-known structure, however, is that which Osgood (*1937: 62*) describes as the summer house used both for dwelling and for smoking fish by the Tanaina of the upper portion of Cook Inlet. Such houses had,

a length of about fifty feet. Sides and roof the Indians construct by placing strips of birch bark over a framework of poles . . . The smoke house has only one ridge pole and no smoke hole, the smoke escaping at the eaves.

Considering its single line of central posts, its length, and the birchbark found in it, it seems reasonable to identify the house tested in 1966, at least tentatively, as a recent Tanaina summer smoke house. This accords well with the fact that De Laguna was given a name for the site by a Tanaina informant who stated it was reputed to have been a summer camp.

What, then, is to be made of the implements which were recovered from the apparently mixed layer in the floor of the structure? The more distinctive items — pottery, labret, copper, and lamp — will be considered in turn.

#### POTTERY

The paste of the sherds from Fish Creek is identical to that of ceramics of the Naknek drainage of the Alaska Peninsula of the period following A.D. 1000, and it is also closely similar to all ceramics known from Kodiak Island. The form of the rim of the

Fish Creek specimen is that of the most common (58 of 104) rim sherds of the Naknek drainage of the Brooks River Camp phase, where it is one form among three present (see illustration, Figure 3, A). Pottery of this form and paste does not appear on the Alaska Peninsula earlier than A.D. 1000, and it has not yet been found in deposits dating after A.D. 1500, although the sample of rims from the period A.D. 1500 to 1800 is extremely small. Certainly the form does not appear in the nineteenth century Russian period, when the sample is considerably larger.

Pottery of exactly similar paste and in forms common in the Naknek drainage appears in the site of Kukak Bay on the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula, in deposits radiocarbon dated to the vicinity of A.D. 1200. The exact rim form of the Fish Creek material does not appear, although again the sample of rim sherds from the Pacific coast is very small (these citations are based on unpublished data; see *Cressman and Dumond 1962*).

A nearly identical form (Figure 3, A) is illustrated by Heizer (1949: Figure 1, 1) from Olga Bay on southern Kodiak Island, where it appeared apparently in a "later prehistoric" context (Heizer 1949: 55). It is shown as one among nineteen rim and lip forms. As elsewhere on Kodiak, temper is large, rounded gravel. Whether this form is among those referred to in the brief description of Kodiak pottery by Clark (1966b) is not clear. Nevertheless, Clark's data indicate fairly convincingly that complex lip forms — with ridges, grooves, etc. — tended to increase through time at the expense of simpler forms such as that of the Fish Creek find. The earliest C-14 date which could apply to pottery users on Kodiak Island is in the vicinity of A.D. 1000 (Clark 1966b: 173).

In both the Naknek drainage and on the Pacific, the prehistoric pottery users have been generally considered to have been speakers of Eskimo languages (e.g., Clark 1966a; 1966b; Dumond 1964; 1965). And De Laguna (1947:245) has thought that two gravel-tempered sherds excavated by her at Kachemak Bay represented the last of the Pacific Eskimos to be in residence there before the arrival of the Tanaina. Osgood (1937:77) indicates that the Tanaina had no memory of ever having made pottery.

But both Osgood and De Laguna cite Jacobsen (*Woldt 1884: 370-373*) and his early excavation at a town called Soonroodna — the exact whereabouts of which is not now known — as evidence

that the Tanaina once made pottery. In the summer of 1883, Jacobsen spent three days digging in the ruins of the deserted village which had been said by his Indian guide to be the town in which his own forebears had lived. Pottery described by Jacobsen as resembling that then in use on the lower Yukon (a very reasonable description of virtually all the pottery of the Pacific coastal area) was found in various places in the town, at times apparently associated or mixed with items of European manufacture. His first pit, however, is the only one in which the stratigraphy is unambiguously described. In it, the pottery was confined to an underlying stratum separated from overlying historic materials by a layer of clean sand and gravel, "as though a great flood had covered the place for a long time" (*Woldt 1884: 372*); mammal bone from the lower stratum appeared older and more decomposed than that in iron-bearing levels.

Under these circumstances, it seems unwise to conclude that the use of pottery by the Tanaina is evidenced. Rather, it seems at least equally likely that the pottery fragments found by Jacobsen were derived from an underlying layer not necessarily related to the historically known Indian occupation of the site.

At present it seems reasonable to say that pottery of the sort found at Fish Creek was not known on the Pacific coast of Alaska before A.D. 1000; while rims of the Fish Creek form may have persisted there until as late as the time of the arrival of the Russians, they are more characteristic of earlier times. There is no substantial evidence that pottery was ever used by the Tanaina.

#### LABRET

A coal labret very similar to the Fish Creek specimen (Figure 3, B) was found in the Naknek drainage in a deposit dating from A.D. 1500 or slightly thereafter, assigned to the Brooks River Bluffs phase. In the Naknek area, an association of the labret with pottery like that at Fish Creek would be reasonable.

The use of similar labrets is described for the Koniag at the time of early Russian contact (*Hrdlicka 1944: 45, with references*) in an unmistakable manner — specifically, the men were said to cut their lower lips through from side to side, "so that it looks as if they had two mouths," or so that "by feeding or drinking parts of the nourishment would have to be introduced

twice into the mouth.” De Laguna (1956: 205) cites Cook in descriptions of the Chugach to the same effect, that the incision “assumes the shape of lips and becomes so large as to admit the tongue through.”

Rather similar broad labrets of both bone and stone, from the Uyak lower and upper levels, are illustrated by Heizer (1956: pl. 79, pl. 50). Clark (1966a: Fig. 6, E) presents one similar example from a pre-ceramic context on Kodiak, believed to date from the first millennium A.D., and another (1966b: Fig. 10, G) from a later, ceramic assemblage of after A.D. 1500.

All of these are from historic Eskimo or from prehistoric components believed to relate to Eskimo speakers. On the other hand, Osgood cites Cook to the effect that the Tanaina used fewer lip ornaments and more nose ornaments than did the Eskimo people of Prince William Sound (Osgood 1937: 54). De Laguna and her collaborators (1964: 163-4) have stressed that the labret is predominantly a northwest coast and southern Eskimo trait, which appears almost not at all among peoples of the interior.

Under these circumstances, it seems reasonable to conclude that a labret such as the Fish Creek find would be more at home in an Eskimo than in a Tanaina context. In terms of the occurrence of similar items in southwestern Alaska one would expect such an item to appear any time from somewhat before the end of the first millennium A.D. to the arrival of the Russians.

#### COPPER PINS

The similarity of the unhafted pin to that set in wood (Figure 3, C) suggests that both pins may have functioned in the same way. Similar pins, most of them a trifle longer, and sharpened at both ends like the Fish Creek specimens, are reported by De Laguna and others (1964: 149, Fig. 18) from Yakutat Bay; although identified as native copper they were recovered from deposits which also included some iron. A somewhat longer copper pin was recovered from a prehistoric context on Prince William Sound (De Laguna 1956: 206, pl. 42). Others, apparently prehistoric, are from the site of Dixthada in Athapaskan territory on the Tanaina (Rainey 1939: Fig. 3, 11). The Fish Creek pin imbedded in a wooden shaft fragment resembles

pieces tipped with iron illustrated by Osgood (1937: pl. 11) and attributed to recent Tanaina.

That native copper was used by native peoples of south-central Alaska at least in late prehistoric times, seems generally accepted. Cook, in his visit to Prince William Sound in 1778, reports both a refusal of local people to take copper in trade (cited in *De Laguna* 1956: 5) and the presence of numerous copper weapon points. Iron and blue glass beads, however, were also present (*De Laguna* 1956: 60, 61, with references), presumably from Russian sources. But copper appeared to precede iron and glass beads in archaeological deposits both in Prince William Sound and Yakutat Bay (*De Laguna* 1956: 64-5; *De Laguna and others* 1964: 86). Some copper objects are reported late in the prehistoric sequence at Kachemak Bay (*De Laguna* 1934: 118), for that matter from the same layer as the two small pieces of gravel-tempered pottery recovered there (*De Laguna* 1934: 68). Osgood (1937: 77) concludes that it is probable that the Tanaina pounded copper aboriginally.

Nevertheless, copper appears to have preceded indubitable European objects on the Alaskan coast by only a relatively short period. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that even if they are precontact products, the copper pins in the Fish Creek site would not be expected to appear much before about A.D. 1700. Whether they would be more apt to be discovered in Indian or in Eskimo deposits of that time is by no means certain.

#### DECORATED LAMP

Lamps with decorated bowls appear in some variety in south-central and southwestern Alaska. Although none duplicates the Fish Creek lamp (Figure 3, D) specifically in its incorporation of a human figure, decorated lamps were found in considerable quantity in the Uyak Site (*Heizer* 1956: esp. 137, 140; *Hrdlicka* 1944: 151, 276, 447), where they were heavily concentrated in the lower levels (*Heizer* 1956: 31ff.). Especially noteworthy is an example with a bear's head placed in the bowl in the position occupied by the human figure in the Fish Creek specimen (*Heizer* 1956: 41, pl. 26, a). Clark (1966a) is inclined to equate the Uyak lower levels with his Three Saints phase on Kodiak Island, which is partly characterized by the presence of decorated lamps. Radiocarbon evidence suggests the Three Saints phase to cover most of the first millennium A.D., ending about

A.D. 1000. The succeeding Koniag phase Clark reports to yield undecorated stone lamps. Such dating accords with the small amount of information from the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula where the single decorated lamp recovered (1965) was from a deposit of the first millennium A.D.

De Laguna (1934: 177ff.) discusses four lamps with human figures emerging from the bowl, in addition to the two reportedly from Fish Creek. One of them is of unknown provenience; a second is from Kenai Lake on the Kenai Peninsula; a third is reportedly from Kaltag on the Yukon, in Athapaskan territory. The fourth was excavated by De Laguna in a Kachemak III period deposit on Yukon Island. A Kachemak III date is in accord with Clark's dating of the decorated lamps from Kodiak.

Lamps are not a common feature of Athapaskan culture. Of the Tanaina, Osgood reports that whereas lamps were said to have been made at Kachemak Bay, Kenai, and Iliamna, they were specifically said to have not been used by people of Susitna and the upper Inlet region — exactly that area which includes Fish Creek — where light was provided by the tails of candlefish (Osgood 1937: 108).

In sum, it seems most reasonable to expect decorated lamps to be found in non-Tanaina surroundings, and in a period ending by about A.D. 1000.

#### DISCUSSION

Although the exposure of the house at Fish Creek was limited, it is probable that the structure was Tanaina.

The copper implements seem no more reasonably attributable to one ethnic group than to the other. Their date must be relatively late, probably no earlier than A.D. 1700 or thereabouts, and perhaps later. Indeed there seems no reason to think that they should not have been directly associated with the late Tanaina house.

The lamp, labret, and pottery seem more typically properties of the Pacific Eskimo. These three items may represent a complex — that is, products of a single time — of about A.D. 1000. On the other hand, it seems more likely that they do not. Specifically, it appears probable that the lamp predates the pottery. Of the three, the lamp certainly and the pottery probably were products of a prehistoric period; the labret may have been either prehistoric or historic. Therefore, likelihood of at

least intermittent use of this fishing spot over a substantial number of years is suggested.

Because the Tanaina are generally considered to be the most atypical of the Alaskan Athapaskans, the possibility remains that these three items were properties of a prehistoric group of Tanaina under Eskimo influence. But in view of the weakness of the ethnographic evidence of association of any of these products — lamp, labret, and pottery — with the Inlet Tanaina of later times, and of the lack of similar items reported from historic Tanaina sites, one would be forced to conclude that the Tanaina were more Eskimo-like during the prehistoric period than during later times. In view of the apparent tendency for Indians near the coast to become more like their neighbors, the Eskimos, as time goes on, such a situation seems unlikely.

The most reasonable explanation seems to be that occupations of two different peoples are represented, in which a later Tanaina summer house was placed upon an earlier Eskimo site.

### CONCLUSIONS

It must be stressed that the problem which has been approached here is that of the position of the Tanaina in relation to other peoples of the nearby coast. This paper has not concerned the position of the Tanaina in relation to other Athapaskans; hence some lines of evidence of potential value to Tanaina prehistory — such as the evidence presented by Athapaskan linguistics — have not been appropriate to this discussion.

Although the evidence is minimal, it is possible on the basis of material presented here to reach the following conclusions, phrased as hypotheses:

1. That the vicinity of Knik Arm, and probably all of Cook Inlet, was at least seasonally occupied by the Pacific Eskimos or their direct ancestors beginning some time before A.D. 1000 (on the evidence of the lamp), and lasting until after A.D. 1000 (on the evidence of the pottery) and perhaps as late as A.D. 1700 (if the copper pertains to their occupation).

2. That the Tanaina moved to occupy Knik Arm no earlier than A.D. 1650 (on largely negative archaeological evidence) and no later than A.D. 1780 (on historical evidence), and therefore had no significant influence on the early development of the culture of the Pacific coast.

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# AN ADDITION TO ESKIMO MATERIAL CULTURE?<sup>1</sup>

by

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The material culture of the Eskimo is undoubtedly one of the most exhaustively studied of any aboriginal people. Therefore, I was somewhat surprised when a Noatak Eskimo informant described a *kavhwuk*, an apparently unreported item of hunting equipment. The conversation in which the *kavhwuk* was first mentioned took place in April 1965 in Noatak Village, northern Alaska. The reference to hunting equipment was unsolicited in the sense that I had not specifically asked about hunting practices during previous discussions.

The informant was Paul Monroe, one of the oldest men still living at Noatak. Paul traveled over much of northwest Alaska during his youth and he was describing some of these journeys. My field notes run as follows (in the words of Martha Burns, of Noatak, who translated):

Before he knew anything [when Paul was a baby] his parents stayed up the Noatak River. When caribou were hard to get the people started starving. His eldest brother took them to Kobuk way to hunt rabbits. When they went there he can remember little things. He remembers some people, a man named Kotalarok and his family. Paul was born on the Konyainik River, close to the Utukok River. He was born in April and is now 73 or 74. His father died when Paul was small. When they went over Kobuk way, his eldest brother and his elder sister and Kotalarok's son and daughter always hunted rabbits. When they saw the rabbits, the rabbits were snowblind because of the spring sun. They [the hunters] had a thin, circular board of wood with charcoal all over it. The

<sup>1</sup>Funds for the field work reported on in this paper were provided by the Yale Department of Anthropology, the Explorers Club and the Arctic Institute of North America through a contract with the Office of Naval Research. In-the-field support was given by the Arctic Research Laboratory.



Figure 4. A *Kavhwuk* made for the author by his informant.

board was about 8 inches across and was called a *kavhwuk*. They threw it over a rabbit. The rabbit thought it was a goshawk and would go into his hole. Then they would run over, dig the rabbit out, kill it and put it on their backs. Those four always came home with full packs. That's how they were saved.

At my request Paul returned a few days later with a *kavhwuk* (Figure 4). The example illustrated measures approximately 17.8 cm. across and is 1.7 cm. through at its thickest point. It was made by sawing twice through a spruce log to form a thin disk. After the edges were smoothed over, the disk was blackened by holding it above a fire. Paul remarked that "oldtime" *kavhwuks* were slightly larger and completely blackened over all surfaces.

I have no proof that the *kavhwuk* was efficient in rabbit hunting. However, in the spring of 1965 I hunted rabbits with some of the Noatak men. During bright sunny days rabbits were frequently found crouched in the shadow of willows. Often, their reactions to the oncoming hunters seemed to indicate some snowblindness or dimming of sight. Also, during the winter of 1965, I several times saw goshawks diving toward the ground from the top of a spruce tree and twice afterward found ptarmigan feathers at the spot the goshawk reached the ground. Goshawks also take rabbits (*Gabrielson and Lincoln 1959: 253*). This suggests that the *kavhwuk* is a *feasible* weapon.

A brief perusal of the classical literature on the Eskimo, from the Chugach to the Ammasalik, discloses no reference to anything resembling the *kavhwuk*. Cantwell (1889) and Giddings (1952, 1961), the two main investigators of the Kobuk peoples, do not mention capturing rabbits in this fashion, nor does Larsen's (*Larsen and Rainey 1948*) account of the Utukok peoples. Finally, an even briefer look at the literature on interior Athapaskan groups also proved negative.

There are at least three possible reasons why the *kavhwuk* could have been overlooked by past ethnographers: (1) it may have been a "tool of the moment" created by Paul's brother when he noticed the reaction of a rabbit to the presence of a goshawk. However, Edna Hunnicutt, the oldest living woman in Noatak, said she saw the *kavhwuk* being used when she was young. (2) Rabbits were always a minor item in the Eskimo diet and observers of hunting techniques and weapons have tended to concentrate on methods of capturing caribou and other

large mammals. Still, Nelson (1899), Murdoch (1892) and others describe in detail the capture of smaller game. (3) The *kavhwuk* may not be Eskimo in origin. Paul was five or six when the incident described above occurred; it probably happened in 1892 or 1893. This was 40 or more years after the culture of the north Alaskan Eskimo had been effectively altered, in many ways, by White contact (*cf. Foote 1961*). Thus, the *kavhwuk* may have been introduced to the Kobuk or Utukok peoples, but I am unaware of a similar rabbit-hunting device from another culture.

Though the *kavhwuk* was, according to Paul, quite effective, it could not have been an important hunting implement in terms of the totality of the Eskimo food quest. Rabbits were never a really important food item except, as Paul indicated, when larger game animals were scarce. Even then, snaring or drives were the most common hunting stratagems. However, the *kavhwuk* is a still further example of the ingenious technology created by the Eskimo in his struggle against a relatively intractable environment.

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# THREE SONGS FOR THE BLADDER FESTIVAL, HOOPER BAY<sup>1</sup>

by

Lorraine D. Koranda

An important celebration was the Bladder Festival held each year to honor and appease the spirits (*inua*) of all the animals taken in the hunt during the past season. The Eskimos believed that the bladders would enter the animals of their kind, be reborn again, and return, bringing continued success to the hunter. (*Hawkes, p. 26*). The festival was held over a period of several weeks, starting usually in late November and concluding about a month later. During the course of this festival the bladders of the first animals taken by the young boys were honored. While there appear to have been several minor differences in the rites performed by various villages in their local Bladder Festival, the Eskimos of the Hooper Bay area from whom this information was obtained, carried out their ceremonies in this manner.

The animal bladders were saved, dried, and then blown up. These were fastened to harpoons and hung in the *karigi*, the ceremonial house. When the time for the Bladder Festival arrived, the members of two rival *karigis* began practicing, in complete darkness, three new songs. Lantis also (*1960, p. 6, p. 45*) reports the composing and practicing of songs for the Nash Harbor Bladder Festival in complete darkness. These new songs were used subsequently at festivals and celebrations throughout the year until new ones would again be composed. The first team to master three new songs signalled the rival team and the village by beating loudly three times on the floor. At this signal, lights in the *karigi* and the village were lit.

The women then brought the men's plates to the *karigi*. Then the men gathered, formed a long line, and circled the village

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<sup>1</sup> This material was recorded, transcribed and edited by the author under the terms of a grant given to the Alaska Festival of Music by the Loussac Foundation. The music has been copyrighted by the Alaska Festival of Music, 1965.

about five times with their plates, asking food at various homes. This they took to the karigi and ate, first pretending to toss bits of food to the bladders to appease them.

Essential to the celebration were stalks of wild parsnip, gathered by several young men, which would be burned later to purify both the bladders and the people. Hawkes states that four men, a number significant in Eskimo superstitious belief, gathered the parsnip. Hooper Bay informants specified five participants. (*Hawkes, p. 27*). A very significant song was sung on the evening before the young men went out for the plants. Accompanying this song, for which there were the words, “Go toward the land where there is parsnip,” was an extremely tiring dance that was done by the five young men holding their arms high over their heads. This is the wild parsnip song from Hooper Bay.

### WILD PARSNIP SONG

i yungung ah yi yee yah ung ah ung i yungung ah yi  
 yee yah ung uh ah ay yah ung ah ay yah ee yah ah  
 PASTORAL  
 hung ah i yah ung ah hung yah hungah ee yah yah  
 hung ah ah eh yah eh yah yah ah hung ah ah —  
 eh yah ung eh yah ee yah ah hung ah ah ah ung ah  
 ung ah hah ah ah ee  
 >

With the stalks of wild parsnip in place, the traditional dances were performed. Among the first was the Dance to the Bladders. A young boy in gut rain parka danced this while the bladders, tied to the harpoons, were held low before him.

SONG TO THE BLADDERS

Musical score for "SONG TO THE BLADDERS" in bass clef. The score consists of three staves of music with lyrics written below. The first staff has a 4/4 time signature, the second a 3/4 time signature, and the third a 5/4 time signature. The lyrics are: Hung i ee yah ee yah yay ee yah eh H' ah ahng ahng ah haeyah H'yahng i ee yah ee yah yeh yah ah H' ahng ah ahng ahng heeyah H' ung ah yah H' ee yi ay H' ah ah ah ah ah

Another tradition of this festival was the Jump Dance. A young man performed this lively dance, jumping repeatedly with both feet held together, while acting in pantomime the hunting scene described by the song. "He is hunting the caribou. He is hunting a fawn. So swift is his arrow that he cannot see it."

JUMP DANCE SONG

Musical score for "JUMP DANCE SONG" in bass clef. The score consists of four staves of music with lyrics written below. The first staff is marked "Strongly accented" and has a 6/8 time signature. The lyrics are: Tu tu su l'vay m' Kway yah KohwahKee yay Tahgahnuk'fahk wah m' shinahmohKah muh s'ahm mohKah H'gay yah H'gay yah ung i eh yah ah eng ee yah Kee ah Kwah ah ung Kwahy eh yah ah ah iee!

After several days of festivities it was time to return the bladders to the sea. "They must not be kept too long," warned one old hunter, "or the spirits will become angry and bring sickness and death to the people." To prepare for this rite, the dried parsnip stalks were burned in the karigi to purify the bladders.

Then the bladders were removed from the karigi, the burning parsnips were taken to the river bank and the bladders were passed through the smoke. The people, also, walked through it. The bladders were pierced to release the air, and both bladders and burning parsnip were placed in the water. Thus, the animals were honored. And their spirits, having been appeased, would insure success in the hunting seasons to come.

These three Bladder Festival songs were repeated at Hooper Bay for the Festival to the Dead. The informants were reluctant to discuss the latter festival, except to say that the same songs performed at the Bladder Festival were used at other festivals during the year, and until new ones were composed for the next Bladder Festival.

The characteristics of these songs may be compared to those previously discussed by the author (*Koranda*, p. 17-32). Note these particularly salient features:

1. Wild Parsnip Song

Meter Alternates  $\begin{array}{cccccc} 3 & 4 & 3 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 3 \\ 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 \end{array}$

Tempo changes, and meter becomes regular at measure 8 in a "refrain." This type of construction is comparatively rare.

The "Eskimo Theme" is heard in measures 2 and 7. Note the long repeated-note final cadence. (*Koranda*, p. 17-32).

2. Song to the Bladders

Meter Alternates  $\begin{array}{cccccc} 4 & 3 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 5 & 4 & 5 \\ 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 \end{array}$

Ornate grace note may have some special significance, since these songs are of ritual importance.

3. Jump Dance Song

Strongly marked rhythm indicates the nature of the dance.

The range is wider than normal,— encompassing one full octave. It must be pointed out, however, that the lowest tone (G) is heard but once. Essentially this is a

song of only 6-note range. The final cadence is a repeated note.

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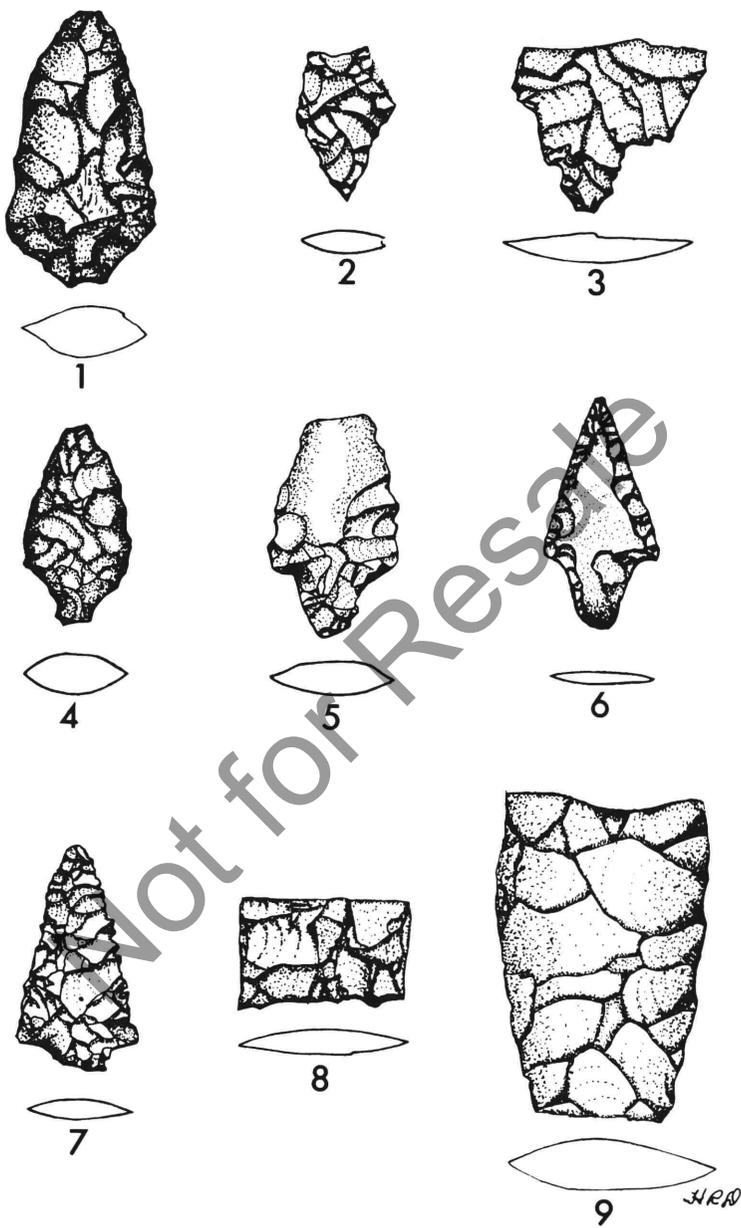


Plate I. Kavik stone points and other bifaces. 1 - 7, points; 8, 9 bases of large, well made lanceolate bifaces. To scale, length of 1,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

# THE KAVIK SITE OF ANAKTUVUK PASS CENTRAL BROOKS RANGE, ALASKA<sup>1</sup>

by

John M. Campbell

This paper treats a prehistoric arctic dwelling site, the contents of which may testify to an Athapascan occupation of the tundra zone of north Alaska within the past few centuries.

In the summer of 1958, following an adventuresome, if rather unproductive archaeological survey of the lower 70 river miles of the John River, I returned to Anaktuvuk Pass, at the head of that stream, for one week at the end of the season. During those few days two Nunamiut Eskimo members of my field party discovered the Kavik site in a reconnaissance we made northward, in the direction of Tuluak Lake and the northern mouth of the Pass.

Upon discovery, Kavik was most promising. It yielded an interesting carved antler piece and several thin, lozenge-shaped stone points. However, further excavations in 1959, the following season, produced relatively very little in addition to what we had found in a day or two in 1958, and with the discovery of other, highly productive sites in the general area, we abandoned Kavik.

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<sup>1</sup>As the reader will note, this paper except for the postscript, was written in the Brooks Range. In late August 1967 I mailed the handwritten copy, together with a roll of un-certainly exposed 35mm. color film, to the Editor in Fairbanks. There, she typed my field copy and insured that the film was developed. Subsequently, at the 1967 Alaska Science Conference, Professor Douglas D. Anderson delivered the paper and heroically interpreted the accompanying color slides. In expressing my gratitude to Professors Gunther and Anderson I want the record to show that they accomplished this extraordinary yeoman service in and around the great Fairbanks flood of '67; during all of which time, as Ben Gunn would have said, I was safely mastheaded in them mountains.

The excavations of Kavik were supported mainly by the Arctic Institute of North America; and the Office of Naval Research, United States Navy. The United States Government is permitted to reproduce this paper in whole or in part.

In 1962 I briefly described and interpreted the Kavik artifacts in a paper entitled "Cultural Succession at Anaktuvuk Pass, Arctic, Alaska," published by the Arctic Institute of North America. I do not recall word for word what I said about Kavik then, and I do not have a copy of the paper with me now, as I write this at Anaktuvuk. But, to summarize my interpretation at that time, after describing the very small artifact series, I remarked something to the effect that while the Kavik tool assemblage did not very closely resemble any other that had been described, the stone points at least, reminded me of those from certain time horizons in J.L. Giddings' *ARCTIC WOODLAND CULTURE* and that given this, and given the very nicely, if simply carved antler specimen, I would place Kavik in the Eskimo continuum. (Needless to say, I considered then, as I do now, the Arctic Woodland Culture to be Eskimo). Further, I considered that Kavik was not many centuries old; both because of the types of its artifacts, and because of the perishable nature of some of the organic remains we encountered in the site.

That, in brief, was what I knew and thought about Kavik until about two years ago. During the past two years several scholars have informally raised the possibility, on the basis of artifacts similarities, of Kavik being representative of Indian rather than of Eskimo culture; and most recently, in a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology at the University of Michigan, in May 1967, William N. Irving tentatively related Kavik to an Athapascan site at a caribou crossing on the Porcupine River, near Old Crow, Yukon Territory.

Because of these sorts of questions and comments relative to the cultural affiliations of Kavik, I have recently returned to Anaktuvuk - this season I am assisted by my colleague, Dr. Loren D. Potter, Chairman, Department of Biology, University of New Mexico, and by my son, Donald M. Campbell - for a further examination of the site. At this writing, our 1967 excavations are incomplete, and as I expected, our finds have been few in number. However, we have now, I think, acquired enough knowledge of Kavik to warrant a further brief report.

## The Site

Kavik is situated on the south bank of the Anaktiktoak (Anaktuvuk) River, 5 air miles north of the summit of Anaktuvuk Pass, at a place where, in most years, several tens of thousands of caribou ford the shallow river on their spring and fall migrations. The site lies on a kame terrace 20 feet above the flood plain of the river. This slight elevation permits an unobstructed view for several miles to the north, east and west. Southward, visibility is limited to 200 yards or less because of slightly higher ground.

Two, and perhaps several areas of debris belonging to the Kavik complex occur in the site locality. The first, Site Area I roughly measures 30 feet to the side, and it nearly covers a relatively dry, natural, very slightly elevated mound or hummock, which has apparently resulted from the action of permafrost. It is grown with *Dryas* and dwarf willows (*Salix*), the latter of which are less than 20 inches tall. The northernmost limit of Kavik Site Area I lies 8 feet from the edge of the kame terrace, and at present is 375 feet W.S.W. from the river, although it is quite possible that when the site was occupied Area I was much closer to the stream.

Kavik Site Area II occupies a very slightly smaller, but nearly identical natural mound, 225 feet S.E. of Area I. The mound rises a few inches - less than 1 foot - above the surrounding, wetter tundra. It lies within 5 feet of the edge of the kame terrace and is 130 feet from the river, at its nearest point.

A third area of debris concentration occurs on another similar mound, away from the edge of the terrace, and about 300 feet south of Area I. I believe that it also represents Kavik; the numerous bone and antler fragments it contains are of the same degree of preservation as those from the other two areas, and it is similar in some other respects. However, to date we have recovered no implements from it. Other low natural mounds in the locality - not excavated but observed to contain bone and antler fragments - may also be Kavik dwelling sites.

In each of the three areas, all archaeological remains were encountered in or just under the sod. No cultural traces of any kind occurred at depths of more than 6 inches below the present ground surface, and two antler artifacts and

several bone and antler fragments were found protruding above the surface, through the two-inch sod layer. The thin level containing the debris was heavily stained with ash, charcoal, and various other organic materials. Below, lay undisturbed glacial gravels. Except for the implements and the bone and antler fragments that are found protruding through the sod, these characteristics are typical of the numerous other sites and site areas that we have discovered in Anaktuvuk Pass, including those of the very large Tuktuk-Naiyuk locality which lies a few hundred yards south of Kavik.

### Features, Artifacts and Other Remains

Features consisted only of a blackened fire place, and a large long bone fragments – almost certainly reflective of a common, old technique of rendering grease - Site Area II. The fire place which measured roughly 24 inches in diameter and 2 inches in depth, had been built directly on the ground surface, and had not been ringed or otherwise worked with stone. The large lens of light gray ash, elliptical in outline, and measuring about 36 inches in length and 3 to 4 inches in depth, lay 3 feet from the fire place. Its presence is somewhat puzzling. Although smaller, it is reminiscent of the ash lens in one of the Anaktuvuk Ipiutak, or Anaktuvuk Norton, if you prefer – areas of the Kayuk Site, five miles south of Kavik. I cannot explain the occurrence of either of these lenses. They would appear to indicate prolonged hot fires.

A few boulders, the largest having maximum dimensions of 18 inches, were found scattered on all three site areas. Because glacial boulders abound in the locality, some of them may have occurred there naturally. Others were probably carried to the site areas by man. Perhaps they had once been used to hold down the covers of Kavik houses, although no other traces of any such structures were found.

Kavik site floral and faunal remains, while hardly abundant, are informative. The floral collection is represented by a single piece - a sliver - of spruce (*Picea*). The bone and antler collection has not yet been determined, nor have the pieces been counted - there are several hundred specimens in the series. I would guess that more than 97% of all Kavik faunal remains are of caribou (*Rangifer*). A very large proportion of the

caribou bone and antler consists of long bone fragments. It is noteworthy that we also recovered pieces of caribou crania - broken mandibles and fragments of skull caps. This season we also found a few bones that I have tentatively identified as those of the ground squirrel (*Citellus*), and one or two that represent the marmot (*Marmota*). In a previous season we found, at Kavik, one bone of a goose of the genus *Branta*. This year we found a few bones of other birds. I would guess that at least one duck is represented, and perhaps one or both of the resident ptarmigan.

The Kavik artifact series is very small. To date, we have recovered a total of 18 - 7 of stone and 11 of antler - during the 1967 season, and while I cannot remember the number found in past years, I doubt that we have a total of more than 70. The hallmark of Kavik stone implements is a high-shouldered, lozenge or nearly lozenge-shaped projectile point for which we have found complete or nearly complete examples of about eight, and fragments of a few more, (Pl. 1). Kavik points are not all exactly alike, but they share certain notable characteristics. Beside having high shoulders, they have pointed bases and sharp unground edges, and while they are usefully and fairly fashioned they are not expertly fashioned, not at least, if they are compared with the beautiful flint work of numerous other prehistoric northern North American cultures and complexes. Examples of most other Kavik flint knapping are so poor and nondescript as to be crude. Not illustrated are several complete specimens and fragments of what might be knives or scrapers, or for that matter, both. They are typical of Kavik stone artifacts, other than projectile points. In addition to artifacts of specific types we have also recovered, this season, about 100 unworked, untouched spalls. With the exception of one obsidian scraper, found in 1958, all Kavik stone specimens are of chert, and chalcedony - no ground stone has yet been discovered at Kavik.

Among the antler artifacts we have found this season, are two leister prongs (Pl. II, 7), one fish spear center prong (Pl. II, 8); two well worked pieces, one of which appears to be a rough blank, and the other a hand or something similar, two rectangular objects, probably discarded ends, possibly gaming pieces; one long, worked piece, showing a cutting tool scar; and

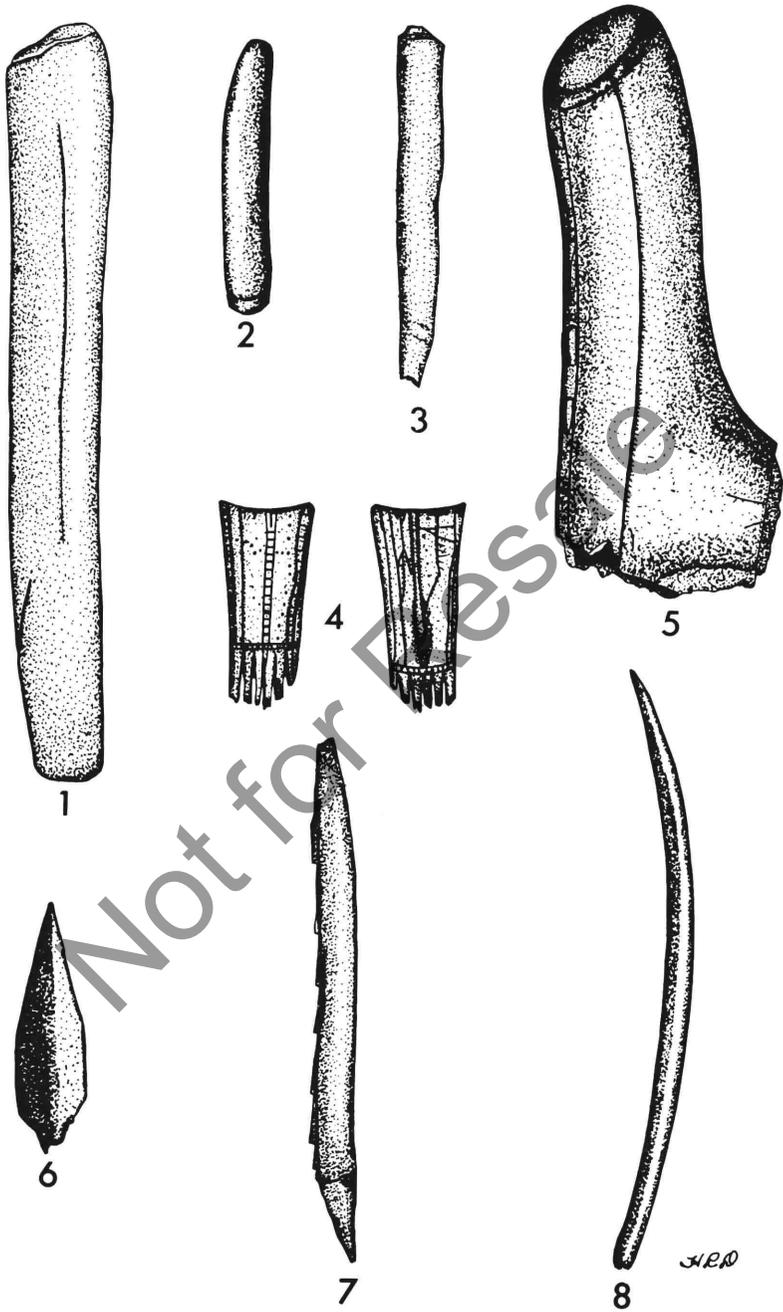


Plate II. Kavik antler artifacts. 1, sharp wedge, dorsal view; 2, sinew twister; 3, fid, probably; 4, comb; 5, decorated beam section; 6, arrowhead point fragment; 7, leister prong; 8, fish spear center prong. To scale, length of 1, 6 3/8 inches.

one, broken, hollowed out, carved piece that may have been a portion of a flint flaker, specifically that part that held the flaking tip.

Much of Kavik antler work is more than ordinarily good, as can be seen in a comb, and in another ornamented piece of unknown use (Pl. II, 4, 5).

It is possible that among the antler specimens, the two leister prongs (Pl. II, 7) hold the greatest promise of telling something about Kavik cultural identity. These prongs are flat-lenticular in cross section. The peculiar outline of the tang and the flattened barbs along one edge are distinctive. The barbs, on each example are bordered on either side by a single, incised, decorative line that runs the length of the barbed portion. Both of the prongs appear exactly of the same type, although the tang is missing from one.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Kavik site and its contents represent a camp or camps of a people who lived in small groups, moved frequently, and depended heavily upon caribou, but who also took other mammals and were fowlers and fishermen as well. They traveled both the forest and the tundra. (As a matter of interest, the present, northernmost limit of spruce trees in the John River valley, an extension of Anaktuvuk Pass, lies about 25 air miles S.W. of the Kavik site and its splinter of spruce wood.)

That Kavik was an autumn encampment is witnessed by our recovery of caribou cranial fragments bearing antlers when the caribou move north in the spring, they are antlerless - and also by the location of the site, from which one can readily determine the movements of caribou moving southward, but cannot see the animals when they are traveling northward until they are past or nearly past the place.

The way of life reflected by the Kavik site is one that has been followed by a variety of human inhabitants of Anaktuvuk Pass for several thousand years, and in itself it tells us very little about the cultural affiliation of the Kavik people. However, in addition, to the previously noted possible Kavik - Indian affiliation based on supposed artifact similarities, I believe that Kavik is perhaps an Athapascan site for the following different reasons. First, Kavik cannot be more than a very few centuries old -

note the spruce wood, the antler artifacts exposed on the surface, and the very fragile bird bones lying just under. With the exception of one reported incursion — of several years' duration — of Athapascans into the Anaktuvuk region, within the past century and one-half, Anaktuvuk has been exclusively occupied by Nunamiut Eskimo for approximately the past three centuries. Second, however, the Kavik collection does not reflect Nunamiut Eskimo culture, as we know it from an archaeological collection of several hundred artifacts.

In some respects, the Kavik stone points continue to remind me of certain projectile points of the Eskimo Arctic Woodland culture of the Kobuk River, but the Kavik collection, as a whole, is to me much less Eskimo now than it was before this season's excavations. Since it is recent, if it is not Eskimo, what is it? The most reasonable alternative is that it is Athapaskan. It will be interesting to compare the Kavik series now with the Old Crow, Athapaskan remains exhumed by Dr. W.N. Irving this summer.

#### POSTSCRIPT

In May, 1967, a seminar on the Kavik complex and its affiliates was held in the Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico. Among the several northern prehistorians who participated, Hervert L. Alexander, Jr., John P. Cook, William N. Irving, and Richard E. Morlan contributed particularly pertinent comparative opinions, based on their own field researches and on examinations of the total Kavik collection (specimens in the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico; and specimens on loan from the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University; and the United States National Museum.) Thus, the following comments reflect, in part, their views as well as my own.

No other site locality has yet yielded an artifact series which, as a complex, very closely corresponds to the Kavik collection (see Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 11 for Kavik implement types not noted here.) Further, those complexes to which Kavik appears most closely related have not yet been described in print. Therefore, this discussion is limited primarily to comparisons of three rather distinctive Kavik artifact types: stone projectile points (Pl. I, 1-7), antler leister prongs (Pl. II, 7), and cut antler rectangles (not illustrated).

The Kavik stone point type, or types, resembles very few reported from elsewhere in the American far north. It is most similar to specimens, examples of which I have examined, from the previously noted Athapascan locality near Old Crow, slightly more than 300 air miles east of Anaktuvuk Pass. (That Vunta Kutchin site is called Klo-kut by Irving and Morlan). Other correspondences between Kavik and the Old Crow site include similar leister prongs, similar antler wedges (Pl. II, 1), and nearly identical ladder-like decorative elements. (Left, Pl. II, 4). These corresponding Klo-kut traits, including the stone points, appear to be no older than about 500 years.

In addition to similarities between Kavik and Klo-kut leister prong types, a specimen nearly identical to the illustrated Kavik example (Pl. II, 7) is reported by Cook from the Athapascan, Chimi site on Aishihik Lake, Yukon territory, more than 600 air miles southeast of Anaktuvuk Pass. Other implements from Chimi include stone scrapers of several types, one of which is rather similar to a Kavik scraper, not illustrated here. Chimi has an age of about 700 years.

Closer to Anaktuvuk, Alexander reports a leister prong almost identical to the Kavik type from a riverine, Atigun valley locality, about 100 air miles east of the Pass. The Atigun leister prong was associated with rude bifaces similar to Kavik examples (not illustrated here), and with antler rectangles of apparently exactly the same type as Kavik specimens (not illustrated here). A Kavik antler rectangle, of several found, is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches long,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide, and slightly more than  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick; cut out and shaped with a stone tool. The use of these objects is unknown but a number have been recovered from both Kavik and the Atigun locality. Alexander thinks that the Atigun component in question has an age of about 400 years.

On the evidence from Klo-kut and Chimi it would seem that Kavik is related, at least to a degree, to northern Athapascan culture. However, other artifacts associated with the Atigun leister prong, rude bifaces, and antler rectangles appear to quite directly relate that component to the Kobuk River, and particularly to Ekseavik, of 568 years ago. Alexander sees a number of resemblances between Atigun and Ekseavik; an outstanding example is that of an Ekseavik stone point type, and an Atigun point type, which are identical.

The problem of Kavik relationships is further complicated by the fact that the Kavik leister prong type is resembled, not exactly, but in certain stylistic respects, by leister prongs or by other projectile heads occurring in old, Alaska coastal sites from at least Norton Sound in the north, to at least Angoon in the south.

The plot, therefore, thickens.

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Not for Resale

# ST. MICHAEL ESKIMO MYTHS AND TALES\*

Collected by J. Henry Turner  
and H. M. W. Edmonds

Edited by Dorothy Jean Ray

## INTRODUCTION

The gathering of myths and folktales in Alaska was often a leisure-time activity of early teachers and government personnel whose inquiring minds went beyond the boundaries of official duties. Almost every Alaskan Eskimo group has been represented in this way, but gaps in area and subject matter remain. A common weakness of such early collections was the lack of information about narrators, circumstances of recording, ethnographic background, and even provenience, for they were often recorded merely to form a book of "legends." Nevertheless, when provided with provenience, the tales have furnished important information for interpretations of historical, cultural, or cross-cultural themes.<sup>1</sup>

This hitherto unpublished collection of St. Michael myths and tales in the Bureau of American Ethnology Archives contributes both to geographical coverage and subject matter. Not only does the collection have specific provenience and dates, Tachek village in 1890-91, but half the tales carry the narrator's name. Myths, as well as artifacts, too often have been labeled, "Norton Sound," a provenience that implies homogeneity of peoples around the Sound's 450-mile shoreline. "Norton Sound,"

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\*Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. Bureau of American Ethnology. Manuscript Collection. Number 308.

1. See for example: Arron 1957; Chowning 1962; Cumming 1954; Essene 1947; and Lantis 1953.

however, comprised two separate languages, several dialects, and five subcultures. St. Michael, on the southern shore of the Sound, represented the Yupik peoples, and Nome, on the northern, the Inupiaq.

The tales in this collection were recorded in pencil in a leather-covered notebook, five inches wide and seven and a quarter inches high. The text is in English, supplied by informants who spoke the Tachek variant of the Unaluk dialect of the Yupik language. The notebook was catalogued as “anonymous” when I read it in October 1966, but I was able to attribute it generally to a United States Coast and Geodetic Survey party on the basis of information acquired during the editing of H. M. W. Edmonds’ monograph of the St. Michael and Yukon Eskimos.<sup>2</sup> Edmonds was a member of that party, which had spent a winter in St. Michael. Later, by comparing handwriting in the notebook with letters deposited in the U. S. National Archives, I identified it as belonging to Sub-assistant J. Henry Turner, the party’s leader.<sup>3</sup>

In 1889 and 1890 the party had investigated the Alaskan-Canadian boundary in the vicinity of the Porcupine River, intending to sail to San Francisco on the revenue cutter, *Bear*, in the fall of 1890. However, when the *Bear* left St. Michael nine days before their arrival, they were stranded for the winter.<sup>4</sup> In St. Michael, Turner and “Assistant astronomer” H. M. W. Edmonds set up their scientific equipment and performed daily professional tasks, but they also made ethnological and biological observations and collections in their ample spare time. Tachek, the Eskimo village, was but a few minutes’ walk from St. Michael, the old Russian-American Company’s trading post founded in 1833. Under the American flag in 1890 St. Michael was still a vigorous post and a growing port for Yukon River transportation.

Edmonds’ observations of 1890-91, together with additional information obtained while he was a member of another Coast and Geodetic Survey party under Assistant J. F. Pratt, resulted in the monograph mentioned above. Turner’s material apparently was never put into publishable form, although the Survey’s report for 1889-90 said that he had made a study of the Tachek

2. See Ray 1966.

3. Letter, J. Henry Turner to T. C. Mendenhall, dated St. Michael, September 9, 1890, Volume 586, Coast and Geodetic Survey: Assistants R–T–1890. Record Group 23, U. S. National Archives.

4. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report for 1889-90, page 89.

language, which he hoped to present as a treatise, and that he had given a valuable collection of bird and animal skins to the University of California at Berkeley.<sup>5</sup>

The first page of the notebook has the following title:

“Esquimo . . . Fables

Rough notes

St. Michael

1890-91

Tat-chek village”

Above the title is an oval stamp: “Bureau of American Ethnology Manuscript vault, March 1926.” On the second page another stamp indicates that the notebook originally was deposited in the Coast and Geodetic Survey Archives on January 30, 1895.

The notebook consists of 89 unnumbered pages of notes. The eighteen tales in the first 82 pages were written in Turner’s practiced, though sprawling and often illegible, handwriting. From page 83 through page 86, notes entitled “Futurity” are written in a smaller and more precise hand, which corresponds to Edmonds’ handwriting. On page 87 three brief untranslated Eskimo sentences are recorded in still a third, and unidentified, handwriting.<sup>6</sup> Page 88 is blank, and on the eighty-ninth and last page are two sentences in Eskimo written by Turner.

The original tales have numerous fragmentary sentences and many omissions of parts of speech. Present and past tenses occur indiscriminately. To render the tales readable, I have added only punctuation and a minimum of articles and auxiliary verbs, and have changed tenses uniformly to the past. Substitutions of words have been limited to “kazgi” for “caserne,” and to

5. *Ibid.*

6. Letter, H. M. W. Edmonds to O. H. Tittmann, dated Sitka, Alaska, August 19, 1901, Volume 743, Assistants A-F-1901, Record Group 23, U. S. National Archives. The third handwriting could have belonged to one of the following members of the “Turner party”: “H. H. Kieraulff, physician; Gustav Bergman, foreman; John Meade, assistant foreman; William Rudquist, cook, and W. E. Lingard, C. P. Karkort, Otto Polte, and E. Englestad, laborers.” (Coast and Geodetic Survey Report for 1889-90, page 89.)

defecate, urinate, and copulate for their four-letter equivalents in tales numbered 16, 17, and in “Futurity.” The notes, “Futurity,” are presented verbatim herein with those exceptions.

Turner used the words crow, deer, and bidarka, which are not usually employed in Alaskan Eskimo anthropological writing today. English-speaking Eskimos invariably called raven, “crow,” a practice that still persists. However, writers often change crow to raven to conform with folklore usage. Deer was commonly used for caribou, a wild reindeer, before domesticated reindeer were brought from Siberia to the mainland of Alaska in 1892. The two are carefully differentiated now. Bidarka, a Russian word, was a usual name for kayak south of Norton Sound. Kayak is the preferred form today. Barabara is Russian for hut.

The tales appear to have been told in English and transcribed hastily, which no doubt accounts for the abundance of illegible and hard-to-read words. Misspelled words are rare. The narrators seem to have had a fairly good command of English. It is difficult to differentiate between their own words and Turner’s paraphrasings, but the frequent use of such terms as “by and by” and “plenty” was doubtless the informants’. These phrases, acquired by Norton Sound and Bering Strait Eskimos during the mid-nineteenth century, are still in use today. The word, “shaman,” is probably Turner’s own substitution for the Eskimo “angutkuk” or “tungalik,” which an informant would surely have used in the 1890’s.

I have provided titles for convenience of identification. Only one tale was given a title in the notes, “The [illegible] of Lightning,” which I have called “Lightning.”

Turner supplied the names of narrators for about half the tales. Seven of the eighteen were told by Ogitken; two, by Pehgukhneeak; two, by “Old Woman”; and two, possibly, by Naugok and Anien. Apparently only two stories were told by a woman. Edmonds’ monograph has established the present spelling, “Ogitken,” but it is recorded in Turner’s notebook variously as Ohgitkun, Ohgitkin, Ogitkun, and Okitkun. Edmonds said that Ogitken, “a very clever trader and ivory carver,” was one of the leaders for a Feast of the Dead at Stebbins (Atowak), nine miles from St. Michael in the winter of 1890-91. (The villages of Atowak and Tachek were closely related politically, socially, and linguistically, and the inhabitants constantly visited back and forth.) Edmonds does not make it clear whether or not

Stebbins was Ogitken's permanent home, noting only that "Ogitken had established himself in Stebbins and, even before the actual dances took place, considered himself bound to look after the welcome of any chance person visiting the village."<sup>7</sup> St. Michael, however, may have been his home. Ogitken, a very short man, was married to a woman from Rocky Point. He was a good hunter as well as a clever trader and ivory carver, and was at ease with both native and non-native visitors to St. Michael.<sup>8</sup>

Pehgukhneek was a well-liked "minor" chief of Stebbins. He was a fine hunter and fisherman, and was married but had no children.

The tales, which are presented in the order in the notebook, represent a sampling of Eskimo folklore themes: Raven creating the world, Raven's insatiable appetite, Raven's deception, Raven bringing light to the world, the brutal husband, the runaway wife, human-animal transformations, the strong man, the ugly man, bringing the dead back to life, the inexhaustible seal poke, and the triumphant poor orphan. Seven of the eighteen are raven tales and three are about a lost or a runaway wife. Almost all of the remainder have a woman as a central figure.

The large percentage of raven tales in this collection is impressive, although the two creation myths appear to be but fragments of what were doubtless more complex stories. Raven tales have been collected from almost every Alaskan Eskimo tribe, and omissions are probably due to having the wrong informants. Not everyone knew raven stories well nor were willing to relate them if they did. In 1955 one of my informants told me that he knew "some crow stories," but refused to part with them, explaining, "I always thought they were foolishness."

In western Alaska, Raven was rarely a genuine trickster as among the Northwest Coast Indians, or a venerated mythological being like Eagle in Eskimo mythology. Rather, he was a deceiver, a being who could not be trusted, and a scapegoat. He often got the worst of it in conflict situations, the victory usually falling to a human being, an animal hero, or an animal that was an important food source. He was, however, the mythological being who had brought daylight to the Eskimos and who, in many

7. Ray 1966: 91.

8. Information about narrators not attributed to Edmonds was supplied by Simon Sagoonik, age about 90 in 1967, of Nome, Alaska. Mr. Sagoonik once lived in St. Michael.

cases, had created certain elements of the earth. Tales of his bringing daylight are found in variant forms from Prince William Sound to Point Barrow.<sup>9</sup>

The bringing of daylight and the creation of land were often told separately, although the elaborate “Creation,” recorded by E. W. Nelson at Kigiktauik (Kigiktaruk, twenty miles east of St. Michael) included both a detailed creation sequence and an involved explanation of how light was obtained.<sup>10</sup>

In “Origin of the World,” the theme of a little bird as the world’s first occupant occurs also in other Alaskan areas. According to a King Island story, the snowbird came first; on the Noatak River, the sparrow was the first being.<sup>11</sup>

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9. In 1894 Franz Boas talked to Port Clarence Eskimos who were in Chicago en route to Washington, D. C. to be exhibited by Miner W. Bruce. Boas obtained a myth similar to Number Two except that a “man,” not “Raven” got light. In the Port Clarence tale the sun was taken away from some people who went in search of it. After a long journey they came to a house, and one of the young men looked through the door. “He saw a young woman, Itudlu’qpiak, sitting in the middle of the rear of the house. Her father was sitting in the middle of the right-hand side of the house, her mother in the middle of the left-hand side. In each of the rear corners a ball was hanging from the roof. At the right-hand side was a large ball, and at the left-hand side a smaller one. Then he whispered: ‘Itudlu’qpiak, we came to ask you for some light.’ Then her mother said: ‘Give them the small ball.’ The man, however, refused and asked for the large ball. Then Itudlu’qpiak took it down and gave it a kick. It fell right into the entrance hole. The people took it and ran outside. Then they tore the ball to pieces and the daylight came out of it. It was not warm at once, but it grew warmer day after day. If they had taken the small ball it would have been light, but it would have remained cold.” (1894, pages 205-8.)

A partial list of Raven-brings-the-daylight tales is as follows:

Point Barrow: “The Origin of Light” (Spencer 1959, page 385); Nunamiut Eskimos: “Mr. Raven Brings Light to the People” (Gubser 1965, pages 35-39); Noatak River: “Raven Brings Light” (Lucier 1958, page 92), “The Beginning of all Life” (Rasmussen 1952, pages 179-85); Kobuk River: “Raven Brings Light” (Giddings 1961, pages 69-71); Wales: “How the Raven Brought Daylight to the Innuits” (Garber 1940:29); Kigiktauik (Kigiktaruk, 10 miles east of St. Michael): “The Creation” (Nelson 1899, pages 452-62); Paimiut on the Yukon: “The Bringing of the Light by Raven” (*ibid.*, pages 483-85); Kodiak Island: “Light” (Golder 1903, pages 85-87); Chugach: “How Raven Brought the Daylight” (Birket-Smith 1953, page 163-64).

Edmonds did not recount folktales in his monograph. He did, however, summarize a few common themes. For example, “Some individual animals have accomplished wonderful things for the people, as for instance, the crow that stole the sun from the giant and hung it up in the sky, so that people could see” (Ray 1966, page 71).

10. Nelson 1899, pages 452-62.  
 11. Ray 1961, page 114; Rasmussen 1952, page 181.

E. W. Curtis in 1928 recorded a slightly different version of the creation of King Island as found in the second myth of this collection, "Raven Makes the Earth and Brings Light." Raven does not appear in Curtis' version; instead, a "man," while fishing near the Sawtooth (Kigluaik) Mountains speared a large bullhead from his kayak and was towed downstream. On the way, the fish's huge tail made both Grantley Harbor and Port Clarence. The man finally killed the fish, which turned into King Island.<sup>12</sup> This is also essentially Knud Rasmussen's version obtained in 1924.<sup>13</sup> However, according to a Colville River Eskimo, it was "Father Raven [who] harpooned a sea animal floating on the surface" to become the mainland of Alaska.<sup>14</sup> Many natural landmarks such as Tigara (Point Hope), rocks in Walker Lake (near the headwaters of the Kobuk River), Sledge Island off Nome, and Chamisso and Egg islands in Kotzebue Sound were beings or things that had turned into rocks.<sup>15</sup>

The three tales of a lost or a runaway wife contain so many provocative comparative elements and themes that it seems best not to discuss them here since the principal purpose of this paper is to make the tales available for study and general use. "The Lost Wife and the Messenger Feast" appears to be a combination of several tales, and includes numerous elements of the Messenger Feast and allied ceremonials as found in western Alaska, particularly around Bering Strait and Norton Sound: the putting on of eagle skins by human beings, inviting villages to festivities, wolves, competitive games, gifts exchanged by special partners or relatives, dancing, and the finding of the eagle's home. Related tales are found in Curtis' and Rasmussen's collections.<sup>16</sup>

Characters of the other tales – triumphant strong men, orphans, and poor persons (usually boys) – are widespread in mythology both of Eskimos and American Indians and can be

12. Curtis 1930, page 105.

13. Rasmussen 1927, pages 343-44.

14. Rasmussen 1952, page 151.

15. Rasmussen 1952, pages 225-26; Giddings 1961, pages 66-67; Garber 1940, page 255; Lucier 1954, page 230. Edmonds' monograph has a different version of the earth's beginning: "Giants are supposed to exist, who do great deeds, carry about land under their arms and drop it out in the sea to make islands." (Ray 1966, page 71).

16. For King Island and Kauwerak, Rasmussen 1952, pages 255-59; for the Colville River, *ibid.*, pages 38-42; and for the Noatak River, Curtis 1930, pages 197-98.

found in almost every collection of Eskimo folktales including the references in this paper.

In studying tales from this collection (or any collection from the St. Michael area) it should be remembered that by 1890 the Unaluk-speaking persons of this area had had considerable intercourse with people, both to the south and the north, particularly Eskimos from Seward Peninsula and its islands and the Kobuk River Malemiut. Northern traders and their families had been in and out of the southern Norton Sound area since the 1860's and possibly for several decades before that. These people, as well as the Magemiut (south of the Yukon) had come to St. Michael during Lieutenant L. Zagoskin's visit in the early 1840's and during the Western Union Telegraph Expedition's sojourn of 1865-67. By 1867 a few northern Eskimos were living permanently in the vicinity of St. Michael. Therefore, between the 1840's and 1890 there had been ample opportunity for an exchange of ideas, themes, and probably folktales themselves.

## THE MYTHS AND TALES

### 1. Origin of the World

Unnamed Narrator

Crow, circling over an island, saw below him a little white bird, but no people. The bird, who was chief of the island, had found it first. Crow thought him a big man on that account.

The crow did not like it because somebody killed the little bird. The little bird ate grass berries, which grew on the beach. There was no vegetation elsewhere.

The heaven man or god, (Cher-lokh'ah-zokhk) made a man and a woman and gave them grass berries growing on the beach to eat. First the man got up, and then the woman. They did not know from whence they had come nor who had furnished the berries. The first man had no name.

(The little bird had come first in the world; the crow, next; and then the man and the woman.) Crow knew not whence he had come, but circling down from heaven, he saw the white bird on the island.

The heaven man went elsewhere and made every kind of beast, bird, and fowl, male and female of each kind, and one man to watch every animal. The man and the woman on the island did not know as yet the existence of other men.

On completion, the man and the woman on the island saw them all.

The man and the woman on the island had a boy first, and then a girl; in all they had four children, two girls and two boys. The first boy and the first girl had children very soon. These four made plenty.

By and by when the world was well populated, heaven made trouble for bad men, drowning some and causing others to die.

Good people came to a good old age and lived to be very old.

Some men said they did not want to live long; the god heard it, and killed them. If some men said the weather was bad, God heard it and killed them. Every year the term of natural life grew shorter.

God remained in one place and heard everything everywhere. Some men cried, "Help me or I die," or "I drown." God heard their prayers and saved them.

Some who made noise made fools of themselves. God saw it and helped them not. If they capsized, they drowned. If there was too much noise there was no help.

If people were sick there was no help as sickness was a visitation of God himself.

God saw bad deeds by night as well as by day.

God said, "By and by if people no longer listen to me I will punish them."

People married and multiplied.

## 2. Crow Makes the Earth and Brings Light

Unnamed Narrator

Crow had an aunt. They lived in a [illegible] heaven. Crow knew he lived there. Crow took straw from a boot and let it drop in the water where it flourished.

“Look,” said Crow, “it flourished.” And Crow took a double handful of earth and let it drop by the grass. It looked like a crow on the surface of the water: the body in the east, the head southwest, one wing north and one wing south.

In this crow’s land, Crow made a mountain afterwards, and inside the mountain he put water, which he had obtained from his aunt, for thirsty travelers. There was no fresh water before; all salt water. In the springtime creeks ran perpetually and made the lake at Port Clarence; inside this, another lake [Grantley Harbor], and inside this, habitation for the aunt [apparently Imuruk Basin].

Crow obtained plenty of herring, and other fish, seal, white whale, etc. in the habitation for aunt, which he put therein.

One day Crow saw a very big animal coming from the head. Crow took his bidarka and arrows (which were then made for the first time). The animal went fast, but was overtaken at the third lake. He shot one spear, but did not kill him. By and by he had gone plenty far, and at nightfall Crow returned home proposing to go after the meat the following day. The next day, Crow found the meat changed to King’s [King] Island with plenty of [hills?] and bluffs. Crow returned home empty handed. Crow and his aunt lived together and the world grew full of men and women. At one time there was no daylight; it was always night. The light was on one side only, from the east – a very little.

Crow grew plenty poor. The aunt did not die. There was no daylight. People cried for light. People grew clamorous for light. Crow said, “I go for light; if I go, I will get it.” People said, “You can’t get it,” and jeered.

Crow was white at that time. Crow went for light. He came to the first village. People inquired, “Where are you going?” He replied, “Nowhere.” By and by he met a fox. He came to another village. There were the same answers.

"People say you are going for light." Crow denied it. He went to plenty villages, and gave the same answers to questions. As he went farther, the light increased. Crow traveled by night.

Crow finally arrived at light. There were plenty houses. The light was inside. Crow and the fox crawled on the house and took out the window. They saw light inside. One man was asleep inside, and two daughters, and two lights hanging inside, one on each side. One was small, and one, large, not oil lamp; very light [bright].

Crow went to the door. The younger daughter awoke. The elder daughter said to the younger, "You are making plenty noise." They did not hear Crow.

"Mother says to stop that noise. I want to sleep." The young daughter wanted the light. Crow wanted the big girl's light. Crow decided to take the small one; the big one perhaps too heavy. The houses were large and clean. There was plenty game outside close to light. Crow thought, "They should give me the small light."

If Crow had brought the big light there would have been no night.

### 3. The Aunt's Anus

By Ogitken

One old woman lived with her nephew. The woman lived on one side of a house; the boy, on the other. The boy went hunting plenty and caught fish. The woman never went outside.

The aunt said to the boy, "Close to the beach is a big bluff. Never go on that bluff." It was not far in summer.

When the boy went for wood and came to the bluff he thought, "Why does my aunt object to my going near that bluff?"

One morning the boy going after wood came to the bluff. He saw something fall from the top, which smelled awful. He saw a hole on the top which waxed and waned. The boy threw stones at the hole missing often, but succeeding at last in filling it up, preventing it from closing. The edges were frazzled. When the boy got home he found his aunt dead. He discovered that the hole in the bluff was his aunt's arse hole and that he had killed her.

#### 4. Crow and the Bear

By Ogitken

Crow went up a river. If he found anything he always stopped. One day he found rotten fish and ate all of it. When he filled his belly he roosted on a tree until his belly emptied a little so that he might fill up again.

One day he saw a bear at the mouth catching a lot of white-fish, which he lay on the beach. The fish were very fat. Crow liked such fish.

Crow looked at the performance and deliberated as to how he could get the fish. Crow said, "Brother-in-law, plenty of people are coming. Secrete yourself. The people will come soon and kill you." The bear ran away into the brush on hearing this story. Crow flew away into the brush also.

The bear ran behind the mountain some distance away. Crow saw it. Crow returned and ate up fish fat rapidly. His belly was so big that he could not fly; he lay on his side and ate and ate. "This is good," said Crow. "Lying pays."

The bear had run away far, and sweating plenty ran to the second range of mountains. He was plenty tired. The bear said, "I wonder if the crow story is true," and coming to the place where the cat tails were in bloom said, "I will be human and see if the Crow story is true. The Devil said Crow lies."

The bear\* going on the mountain overheard Crow to say, "Lying pays." Crow ate himself sick, plenty grunting. The bear heard all.

The bear went down, slowly creeping up on Crow. Crow was saying, "Bear is a big fool," etc. The bear jumped on Crow and fastened him down by the wings, and said, "What do you say now?"

Crow tried to get up, but could not, and replied, "I said that people would soon come." The bear smashed Crow like killing a full tick. Grease flew in all directions. He plucked feathers from Crow and scattered them. The bear commenced again to hunt fish.

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\*Superimposed on a word that appears to be "Man."

## 5. Worries of a Rich Woman

By Ogitken

An old woman [illegible] at the mouth of a creek. There were no people then. The old woman made a fish trap and caught plenty fish in summer. In winter she did nothing but eat. She had so much fish that she could not eat all of it.

One summer the old woman caught more fish than usual. Ice began to form. The old woman thought, "That is bad. People may come some night and kill me on account of my wealth." She could not sleep at night. She took a [illegible] and made bow and arrows. The old woman returned to the house and made a large bundle of arrows, a quiver; also a belt. She jumped around the house to see what she would do in an emergency. She built a stockade around the house, and at night went outside and watched. She heard some noise outside. She could not sleep because she thought others were coming. Wherever she heard a noise, she shot an arrow to that place and then jumped aside. She did this many times throughout the night.

The old woman's girdle became unfastened and she fell down through the smoke hole into the house. She thought she had been killed. She fell down against a rock used for a flint, which struck her in the side. She said to herself, "This is where the arrow struck me."

## 6. The Poor Girl Brings the Dead Chief Back to Life

By Ogitken

Big village. Little girl [lived] with aunt. The chief of the village had a boy who liked the girl who was poor. He gave her plenty to eat. The boy supplied the village with meat.

The chief became sick. The shaman tried to cure him, but could not. They sent to another village for shamans, but all failed and the chief died.\*\* The chief's father said to put the

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\*\*The notes are confusing as to who was the chief – father or son. The exact wording has been retained here. Presumably the son was the chief.

boy inside the kazgi (when one is dead in the kazgi no one enters for a half day because they are afraid). For half [illegible] no one entered the kazgi. The poor girl could not get much from people. She bathed in the evening. The girl stood outside the kazgi and made a song for the dead man: “Tay-ihtee-ah-kay-nahk.”

The girl cried out near the door, “Tay-ihtee-ah-kay-nahk.” She heard “ooooooooo” from inside. She repeated her cry, bathed again, and repeated her cry, and went under the floor. It was dark inside the kazgi and she heard, “ooooooooo” again from inside. The girl went into the kazgi where the dead man was and repeated the song and cry. The answer, “ooooooooo” was a little louder. The girl pulled the dead man into the middle of the floor. He was stiff as a poker. The girl walked around the dead man singing the song, and poured a little water on the dead man, and called out, “Tay-ihtee-ah-yah-nahk.”

The dead man rose up and said, “What.”

Then the girl poured all the water on him. He then rose up and asked, “Why do you pour water on me?” and the girl replied, “You were dead and belonged no longer to this world. Come outside of the kazgi.”

The girl said to him, “Do not sleep in your father’s house tonight. Sleep in mine.” The girl asked her aunt\*\*\* for man’s clothes. The aunt asked, “Why?” The girl said, “It matters not, give me the clothes.”

So the aunt gave her the clothes, which she gave to the dead man. The dead man put on the clothes and went to his mother and said, “The girl gave me the clothes and rescued me from the dead.”

Then the father and mother gave the girl to the dead man for a wife.

His father and mother liked her much. The dead man became chief again. The people were glad to see him again, and fed him well.

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\*\*\*In the notes, “aunt” is superimposed on “mother.” “Aunt” is written the second time as “aunt,” but the third, as “mother.” Despite the confusion, aunt is obviously meant here because the boy later went, newly-clothed, to his own mother.

## 7. Crow and the Clam

By Pehgukhneeak

Crow flying near the beach was trying to find dead seals. He flew a long way. He came to a fine beach with some mud on it. He found a clam on the mud. Crow pecked at the clam, but the clam caught him by the legs. Crow said, "Let me go and I will pay you."

The clam said, "I will not let you. I will hang on to you."

Crow said, "Let me go and I will give you a kayak. I have two; one new, one old. Which do you want?"

The clam said, "No, I will not let you go."

Crow began to be afraid, as the water was rising.

Crow said, "I will give you the two kayaks." (Crow lied; he had no kayak.)

The clam said, "No, I will not let you go," and took a stronger grip.

Crow said, "Let me go. I have two wives. They are both pretty. Which do you want?"

The water was rising fast. The clam would not let him go. The water rose to his middle. He struggled but could not free himself. The water drowned him. The clam would not let go.

## 8. Two Drowned Women

By Pehgukhneeak

Two old women lived in a big village on a lake. The people sent the two women to make a hole in the ice. One old woman took a big spoon of wood. The other took a half-burnt stick of wood. The lake was in the middle of the village. The old women made a hole rapidly, and threw out big chunks.

One woman with the big spoon made a big hole, and the water boiled out. The old woman did not stop, but kept digging. The water ran out and drowned the two old women, submerged the village, and drowned all the inhabitants.

Finis

## 9. Crow, a Man and his Starfish Wife

By Ogitken

Crow went up a river. He found old boot soles and stopped; soles with big holes therein. He used a boot sole for shade for his eyes.

“I am glad I found this; I can see better.”

Crow stopped at a village to try to find out to whom the soles belonged, but could not find out.

Crow grew faint because he could find nothing to eat. He came to an old camp and tried to find something to eat. He found only one little chunk. He ate that, and going up the river in the brush found a house and a fire. No one was inside. Squirrel meat was cooking. He ate all, and filled up the pot again. He threw the bones outside. He ate plenty and went to bed. No one had yet come. While lying in the bunk, he heard people outside.

People came in. Crow said, “Hello, partner, whence come you? Been waiting for you long time. Been waiting to see you.”

The man threw boots on the floor. “If anyone is here, hang up my boots,” he said. Crow saw no one, but the boots hung themselves up.

The man took out plenty of squirrel meat and piled it up near camp. He painted every squirrel with deer fat. Crow thought, “Had I known that that bag of grease was there, I would have eaten it long ago.”

The man said, “Come and eat.”

Crow said, “I am tired and do not care to eat.”

The man said, “Come and eat, partner. I am hungry.”

Crow said, “When I came I was so tired I could not eat, but I will eat a little now,” and thereupon took a small piece.

Both went to bed. The man laughed all night. Crow heard a noise, but could not make out what it was. The man laughed so much that Crow could not sleep.

The man said, “Let us breakfast.” Crow ate up all the squirrel meat. The man filled up the pot again. Crow ate all, and the man got but little. After breakfast, the man went hunting.

When the man went hunting, Crow thought, “What made the man laugh?” and, looking under the bed clothes, saw a six-pointed starfish. He broke them up and threw them out.

He found caribou fat, and filled up the bag with [illegible] and ate up everything. In the evening he heard the man returning. The man went inside and said, "Hello, partner."

The man said, "Why have you not eaten?"

Crow said, "I ate two breakfasts, and have a belly ache."

The man took out his boots and threw them on the floor, and said, "Hang up my boots."

"Have you taken my wife?"

"I saw the starfish in your bed and was frightened and tore it up and threw it outside."

The man said, "That was my wife."

Crow said, "Had I known it was your wife, I would not have done so," and hung up the boots himself. "I cannot bring your wife back."

The man took out the squirrel meat and spread it out on the floor, and then took the bag of lard, but found it empty. "Why!" said the man, "You have eaten it all."

Crow replied, "My lips cracked and I moistened them with the lard. That is why it is gone."

The man took a stick to thrash Crow. The man could not strike Crow because he was too nimble. Crow flew out. The man cried inside for his lost oil.

"Hello," said Crow outside, "don't cry. I will get grease for you. Go down to the beach tomorrow morning."

Crow flew to salt water and saw plenty seal on the rocks. He pecked out their eyes and ate them. The seal could not see to find water, and some ran inland. Crow saw the man coming.

"Hello, partner. Here is seal for you, but I cannot get you a wife." Crow saw a big seal, pecked out one eye, but got his bill stuck in the other. The seal plunged into the water dragging Crow along and killed him.

The man took the seal and went home rejoicing.

Finis

## 10. Crow Hunts Grouse

By Ogitken

Crow went to make a snare for grouse. Then Crow saw a man. “Hello,” said the man, “Why are you flying so fast, and which way are you going?”

“I go to make a snare,” said Crow.

“If you catch grouse, who eats the legs?”

Crow said, “My babies (girls) will eat them.”

The man asked, “Who eats the bishop’s nose?”

“My wife,” answered Crow.

“Who eats the head?”

“My children.”

“Who eats the breast?”

Crow said, “I,” and flew off to fix the snare.

## 11. Crow Searches for Dentalium

By Unnamed Narrator

Crow passed many villages flying fast. He flew over a village. A man asked, “Why is Crow in such a hurry?”

Crow said, “I am in search of a dentalium.” Crow reached another village. A man asked the same question, and got the same reply.

Crow reached a big village, and stopped in the center. People asked, “What are you seeking?”

Crow replied as usual, “I have tried to find it everywhere.” Finally, he found it and returned home.

## 12. The Lost Wife and the Messenger Feast

By Ogitken

Two [illegible] lived near the mouth of a river. Every summer they caught salmon trout in a fish trap. They filled a dry barabara with [illegible] oil, fish, etc. One fall when it began to snow, and ice began to form, the man said to the woman to put fish outside to freeze.

Evenings grew dark. The woman was afraid to go outside. The man sent the woman outside. She did not return for some time. Finally, he went outside to look for his wife. He saw his wife's track leading to the cache, but no track leading from the cache. It was covered up by snowdrifts. The man returned to the barabara, bathed, changed clothes, and armed himself with bow and spear and went out. It was a clear day; he saw a mountain far away to the North. He went to the mountain, which was very far away. He traveled rapidly all day toward the mountain. Near nightfall he got near the mountain. The cloud caps on the mountain were constantly shifting.

It grew dark as he reached a smooth mountain near a large mountain, and he slid down the gulches. Next day he reached a large mountain, but stopped not for breakfast. He was anxious on account of his wife's absence. As he reached the top of the mountain he noticed holes in the ground, and big rocks lying around. While he was looking around, a big bird came flying. He crawled into a hole and the big bird lit on a neighboring large boulder.

The man, afraid, drew an arrow on the bird. The bird saw him and said, "Come, I am after you."

The man thought, "Some person must be talking. Birds talk not."

The bird knew his thoughts and said, "No, I spoke."

The man heard crunching of snow as if someone approached, and prepared for action. The bird came to the hole and said, "Do not shoot me. I will harm you not, but want you to follow."

The bird said, "Come on, and I will show you where your wife is. She lives in a big village at the end of this range near the seashore."

The man said, "I will wait here. You bring my wife."

The man saw the bird with large eyes blinking. The man and the bird came to a big rock. The bird jumped; the man, also. The man said, “You are a good jumper.” The man went up the other bird’s stern and said, “If I fly, shoot me in the neck.”

The man rigged himself out as a bird. The man got on the bird’s neck and thought, “If the bird plays me any tricks, I will kill him by sticking arrows in his neck.”

The bird flew fast along the mountain. The man saw a big river. There was a range beyond, and close to the river was a big village. There were many barabaras and two caches some distance from the village near the mountain. The bird flew downward and lit near the village. The man went to the village and left the bird standing.

The man and the bird went to the big caches and saw five bird skins hanging on the caches – six with the one he came in. The man hung the bird skin on the caches. He saw many people. The bird man said, “If people hail you, heed not, but follow fast after me.”

There were plenty people; their faces reddened the background.

The man heard the people talk.

“That bird man is bad. He wants to kill that man. He brings good men to kill them.” When the man heard that, his heart sank from fear.

The bird said, “Follow me, and lose not sight of my heels. If you do you will not find my house.” As the bird ran in amongst the people, the man heard, “This good young man will be eaten by that bad bird.”

When they went in the midst of the people, a man stopped him and said, “Go to my house and follow the bird not, else he will kill you.” The man believed him.

The stranger went back, and the man said, “Follow me closely and jump head first when I do.” The bird followed. The man jumped into the hole of a house, and the stranger followed.

The man said to the stranger, “Now the bird cannot kill you.” As he said this, someone tore out the smoke hole, and the bird, looking in, said, “Not for you have I brought this stranger here. Send him out.”

The man said, “I will keep this man.”

“Why do you want him? I thank you for him, and will not send him outside.” The small man had plenty scars on his face.

The stranger saw plenty of faces at the window like unto the bird's and they said, "Why have you followed that small man? He will kill you."

The small man said, "Go not outside. If you go into other houses, they have pitfalls, and if you fall into them, and are killed [sic] the bird man will kill you."

"I will not kill you," replied the bird.

The small man got mad on account of palaver, and got a stick with blood stains on it and thrust it through the smoke hole, injuring one in the face. Whereupon they all ran away. The small man said, "Be not afraid. I never kill people."

Many people gathered in the barabara. The small man lived in one end. The stranger noticed that all of the men had long legs and long arms. One went outside and returned with two grouse to eat. The small man talked a great deal and told many stories, but did not go outside. The stranger said, "Do you always stay inside?"

The small man said, "Follow me, and when I jump, you jump, too." The small man jumped, and the stranger followed. He jumped spry. The small man said, "You jump so the bird cannot catch you." He saw the bird flying. He dodged in a hole so that the bird could not catch him. The bird never caught him.

One evening the small man said, "Soon we will make a dance in the house. You follow close behind me and the bird cannot get you."

The small man was not afraid of the kazgi people. As he entered, people made room. The stranger said, "It is long since I was in a kazgi. I would like to see a good dance." The stranger was not afraid afterwards. He went to the kazgi often.

One morning the man went on top of the barabara and asked those inside to come to the kazgi. The man and four sons, and the stranger went into the kazgi, and saw the bird walking up and down. The man wanted to fight the bird.

The small man was sorry. He put his head in his [hands] and thought, "If the bird throws you on the floor he will kill you for sure."

The small man ranged his forces in a line across. The bird walked up and threw them all away. The small man tried to tire the bird by adding fresh men to his forces, but failed. Then the small man jumped in. The bird finally tired him out and

threw him. The small man said, “I am tired out,” and went to the side of the vanquished.

The small man said to the stranger, “Try him yourself.”

The bird tried to throw him but could not. The stranger took the bird and threw him violently down. The bird bled at the nose and could not rise. He crawled around the floor. The small man said, “Come inside. You can vanquish all,” and laughed for joy. All returned to the barabara.

One morning the man came on the barabara and said, “Stranger, you are wanted in the kazgi.”

He went into the kazgi. The floor was removed, and a rope was tied fast. There were no people in the kazgi. The floor was stacked up on one side. The bird was squatting in one corner.

The rope was stretched across the middle of the kazgi. The bird was on one side, and since the man was a stranger, was on the other. The bird laughed and said, “Jump!” The man jumped on the rope and to the other side. The bird came from his side. The first man got tired and fell. (Sea bird came and changed to man.) All men belonging to the barabara got tired. Black sea birds came in and changed to men. Then the small man asked the stranger to try it. “This time I fear the bird will get you.”

The stranger and the bird man jumped backward and forward rapidly. By and by the bird began to tire and breathed heavily. The stranger did not. The stranger jumped on the ropes, and the birds jumped for it a moment. While the rope was still oscillating, he missed it and fell. The small man laughed. All returned to the barabara.

The bird’s father said, “The fall will soon be gone; we must do something.”

The small man asked, “Should we go to another village and make dance [probably meaning Messenger Feast]?”

One man went outside and brought in two parkas, and boots, new pants, etc., and made two round sticks with eagle’s feathers; he made a mark and asked, “I want to see my partner.” The small man said the same. “I make a mark to take the man from bird man.”

The men took the two sticks and went to another village for people. The small man then went along into the kazgi. He was no longer afraid. He saw his wife in the kazgi. When the *stranger* saw his wife he cried a little, but could not get her.

The bird man's younger brother had a good girl for his wife. The man wanted her. One morning the small man got up before daylight and went into the kazgi. He saw the girl go outside close to his barabara. [illegible] girl ran under the bank. He caught her and jumped back on the bank. He saw men coming so he ran quickly into the kazgi. The girl's husband said, "Did I not see someone on the bank?"

When he went into the kazgi, he said to the small man, "You can't do what I did this morning. I caught that small girl." The small man got up every morning and secured the girl, and had his pleasure. One evening the small man was making stories. He heard people outside and said, "Those two men that were sent to the other village have returned," and he went into the kazgi and saw them sitting with their heads bowed over the sticks.

The bird's father went on the floor and took one man's head in his hands and stood. The small man did the same with the other.

The small man asked, "What does my partner want to eat?"

"He wants grouse meat that you feed the stranger. Grouse and trout."

So that made three heads [apparently hosts] for another village: the small man, the bird, and the bird's father. The stranger cared little because he was far from home.

Then they went out to see people coming and returned to the kazgi. The stranger remained in the kazgi. The stranger thought, "I have no presents."

The small man entered the kazgi and said, "I will give you presents for people."

The stranger went outside and saw plenty oil, etc. what the small man had brought from the stranger's barabara. The stranger knew not how the small man had got it – plenty of [lavtaks?] too. He put it all in the kazgi on one side. The small man and the bird put theirs on the other side. The small man had plenty; the bird man, but little.

The bird's father took a small bag of oil and went to a corner. "Where is my partner?"

A big black strong man said, "Give it to me," and squeezed the whole bag full into his mouth. The bird's father gave the black man plenty oil for a present. The small man jumped, took the grouse, went into a corner, and gave it to the black man; also oil and two mukluks [bearded seal]. The man jumped and the

small man gave him a lot of oil for present. When the oil was finished, he gave him a white bear skin and many lavtaks and one spotted seal skin. The man jumped on the floor and said, "This is the first skin of this kind I ever saw."

The black man near him gave the bird's father a present of a birch bucket full of blueberries, and plenty of caribou and wolf and wolverine skins. The small man got plenty presents, too.

The bird gave two big blue beads to the man. "This is the first time I ever saw blue beads," said the man.

After the presents were all distributed, contests of strength followed. The black man said he would not fight.

The small man said to the stranger, "Try to outjump the black man."

The stranger could not throw the black man. The black man fell on all fours. They fought all day. The stranger finally threw the black man and broke his back. The black man said, "I guess we cannot beat this village."

The small man said, "Our people are strong. The bird man, the black man, and all the others cannot stand up against our stranger."

They then tried races with people of the other village. The small man said, "They will do us up this time because the bird man will fly."

They adjourned to the tundra so far from the village that only the smoke was visible. The forces arranged themselves. All ran as fast as possible. The stranger outran the bird man. The small man outran another man. The small man saw the bird man overhauling him.

The small man saw three wolves running behind. They got close to the village and heard three wolves close behind. The small man's heart began to thump. The black man ran very fast. The small man went inside the kazgi. The bird's brother followed.

People said, "No one can overcome the stranger." The other village people returned home when the dance was finished. The stranger got his wife. The small man told the stranger, "Everyone is going home. Take your wife and return home. Next year come again."

The stranger returned home, got lots of seal, and everything was as before. The stranger filled his barabara with fish, oil, etc. He would go on the beach and get plenty seals. He killed

two white bears. Then he went again to the mouth of the river and killed saddle seals when the frost came.

One evening he heard people outside. The small man and many other men from the other village had come. He gave them a good feed, and gave the small man plenty of presents. He went into the barabara and saw that men from the other village had taken everything. The men from the village came again and took everything from the barabara except two white bear skins and a black spotted seal.

The bird man never tried to catch the stranger again. He was afraid of him.

One evening two men came from another village. The small man made a sled for the stranger. When the sled was finished, he loaded it, but it broke because it was too heavily loaded. People came out to welcome them. They came out with poles and criss-crossed along the trail. They put the sleds outside and went inside the kazgi. All sorts of skins hung inside: otter, beaver, wolverine, etc.

One man gave a present, a big price of all sorts of skins and two beads as before. The man said, "I found these beads on the high mountain." Then he put on his head the four beads.

The stranger received so many presents that he could not get them on his sled. The small man and the black man exchanged presents: two white bear skins, oil, and another kind of seal, mukluks.

All the presents were given. A drum was heard. A very small man came and gave him a birch bucket full of blueberries. Another drum was heard, and the side of the kazgi opened and a multitude of small deer ran in followed by many wolves, followed by wolverines. All ran in and then went out again.

When the dance was finished he went home to his wife on the salt water.

In summer he lived at home; in winter he visited the small man. One winter he found the village gone. He saw wolf holes only, and where the small man's house was, he found an eagle's nest. He returned home. The people had changed to wolves.

Sannook

### 13. The Lost Children

By Unnamed Narrator; possibly “Old Woman,” written at top of page.

In a village near Pikmiktalik, a young man was making arrows inside his house. He heard a noise outside at the mouth of the slough. When he heard the noise he went inside the kazgi to get his arrows and went to the mouth of the slough. In the fall [autumn] he saw plenty of people with sticks throwing up something with a great hullabaloo.

He said, “Stop and let me see what you are throwing away.” Whereupon one placed a diminutive baby in his hand. He took the baby in his hand and said, “Play no more at such a game. This baby is already dead and its parents are mourning. It is cruel sport, and I will put an end to it.”

He took the baby home to his father and said, “Look at this. I saw people at the mouth of the slough playing with this.”

His mother said, “I will make a grave for it and make parkas, etc. for the baby; also a coffin.” She put clothes on the baby and buried it in the family graveyard with all the honors of a full grown man.

All fall the people lived at the mouth of the slough. When the ice came, they caught tomcod for a living. By and by the snow came and the young man went out with his net to hunt rabbits. He went into the hills and found a rabbit. He followed it up and placed the net to catch a rabbit, propping it up with sticks.

The rabbit got frightened and tried to run away, and got caught in the net. The man took the rabbit, killed it, and went home.

The next day he went out and set the net again. He frightened the rabbit. He killed the rabbit, put his net in the sack, and went home. The sack grew heavy. His mother skinned it out and had him for dinner. The next day he started out. The mountains were shrouded in fog. He went to the same place as on the previous day and found a rabbit track, but the wind sprang up and obliterated the track. He lost his direction home and hunted at random. He tried to follow the river, and by and

by came to houses. He noticed a stick running out through the door. He thought, "I am lucky to find houses. I will go inside and when the weather clears I will start for home."

He went inside and found the house clean. While knocking snow off his boots he heard talking inside. He went inside and noticed two sleeping rooms, a fire, and one man and one woman. Both were crying. The kettle was boiling, and inside the kettle were blackfish.

"Hello," said the woman. "You come in bad weather. We lost children in the fall. They went to hunt and never returned. That's why we cry. Sit down on the other side and eat of the blackfish."

The woman took the kettle and gave him a kit of blackfish. The man asked, "Did you hear of my children in your home?"

He replied, "Yes, but wait until I eat." After eating he told them the story of the slough and the people; also about his mother making clothes, etc. and burying it with honors.

He continued, "Yesterday and the day before, I went rabbit hunting. Today while engaged in the same pursuit, I landed here."

The man replied, "Take a good sleep and fear not."

He said, "Yes, I shall sleep here and tomorrow I will try to find my home." He slept all night and breakfasted next morning on blackfish. After breakfast he put on mittens and belt and prepared to go.

"Hold on," said the woman, "I want to give you a present for burying my children," and took a clean bucket [seal poke] full of seal oil. "I give you this for present. When you empty it, always place the bucket near you."

He left, taking oil, arrows, etc. with him, and put them in a sack. He went, and looking behind saw a large lake and found that he had come out of it. He heard frogs croaking in the lake.

He went, and when he got there [home] he took the seal gut full of oil inside of the house. "Why," said his mother, "we thought you were dead."

"No," he said. "See my present. I camped all night with the parents of the babies I buried last fall. Keep this oil near my bunk."

When he took oil out of the skin it filled itself before the next morning. It supplied the whole village. Plenty of luck came to him, too, in hunting, and the sack of oil always remained full.

By and by the month came (March) when the grouse's neck begins to darken. The geese began to arrive and the oil ran out and – finis. If there is any point to this I fail to see it.

#### 14. The Crying Woman

By Unnamed Narrator

One old woman was not very good. She went outside. During bad weather she commenced to cry and get the snuffles. She looked up and said, "By God, it's summer now." She had unknowingly cried the whole winter.

Anien [or Aniru or Arriru]

#### 15. Four Old Women

By Unnamed Narrator

Four old women commenced to [jump?]. One poor girl belonged to nobody. She went into the kazgi and said to an old woman, "Four old women are outside [jumping?]. You had better go out and join in."

The old woman said, "I can't get up." An old man tried to jump outside [illegible].

The old woman tried to jump from a small hole. Another old woman jumped to a [lamp?]. Another old woman said, "You only watch me," and jumped on a bench with a long stick.

The girl brought the old woman outside, and said, "You try." The old woman said, "I cannot."

The girl said, "Try."

She tried to jump on the log. She went feet foremost. Her feet got stuck in the crack and she hung head down. The girl went and made fires in the kazgi. The old woman burned and

fell down in chunks. Only her feet were left sticking there. The girl distributed her remains and said, "These will make good tomcod bait." She caught plenty fish therewith.

As usual pointless.

## 16. The Runaway Wife

No Narrator given at the beginning, but at the end is a name, Naugok or Nangok

One man in a village with a wife, and hated her plenty. He never went out with her at night. A strong man in the village took his wife away from him, as he beat her too much. The strong man watched her and never went outside. The original husband was not strong enough to get her back so he did a power of thinking. The strong man was afraid to go outside, fearing a trap.

The woman was good looking. The three lived in one house—the strong man, the husband, and wife, watching each other. One day strangers came in and slept in the barabara. One man, strong, fancied the woman, and took her from the strong man. When all ate at one time, two men who got left were plenty mad. There were no knives at that time.

Outside, people of the village said the strong man came from another village and took the woman. A villager entered the barabara and took the woman from the stranger. Four men were now in possession. When evening came, the three men left sat mournfully on the opposite side and viewed the villager in possession. The stranger did not go home. A sled came, and another strong man took the woman.

The people murmured and said, "That woman belongs here, and a stranger takes her." They tried to get her. One man went in and got thrashed. Another went in. The five were backing off, and wanted to sleep with her, but were afraid. Number one went out to eat; the others went likewise. Hell to pay. Number six was afraid to leave the woman.

By and by a small man entered. He had a bad visage. He said to the woman, "A strong man will come tomorrow and take

you.” He then went out. All six men were plenty mad. The woman thought, “That’s bad if another man takes me; people murmur too much; I had best get out some way. I can’t stand this.”

The woman gave all the men a good supper, and while all were busy she ran out. The snow was falling and it was dark. She went around the village twice. She was at a loss, and finally struck off land way. The woman ran all night, and whenever she thought of the strong man she ran all the faster. When she got to a river close to the water there was a door, but no track outside. The woman knocked, and a small boy came outside. He had a bad visage, damned bad. The boy saw her, and ran back. The woman stood close to the door and heard the boy say, “A woman is outside,” and a man reply, “People seldom come in here. Tell her to enter.”

The boy delivered the message. She stepped into water, but it did not make her wet. She entered. It was dark inside the low roof. When her eyes grew accustomed to darkness she saw two old women on one side. Then an old man said, “Go to that side with the young men.”

The woman saw nothing inside except shavings scattered around—no buckets, no bed, not anything. The old man said, “When daylight comes, your husband will come. I know you ran away. Your husband is a bad man. You think we are people, but we are game.”

They heard a voice outside, “Send the woman out. I want her.”

The man outside was plenty mad. He stamped on the roof and prowled around, but could not get in. He abused the whole crowd.

He said, “Send her out or I will break down your d—d [sic] old house.” He pecked at it outside. “You think your house is good, but I will peck a hole in it.”

The old man said, “We’ll wait awhile and see. Maybe he can’t do anything.”

The man pecked too much outside, and dirt began to fall. The man said to the woman, “We’ll have to go outside. You dodge behind me.”

All went outside. The woman covered her face with her hands. She panted too much in the ice hole; man ditto—in ice hole. They looked up through the ice. The man said, “We will

leave this house. I have another house, but far off. That man will doubtless break this house anyway."

They stopped at ice holes to blow, traveling under water all the time. The young man married the woman. The old man gave her a small whitefish. It was the first time she had eaten with them. She found that they were beavers. The old man said to the woman, "You eat this, and live with us. It will be the first time mortals ever lived with game."

The old man said, "That man knows where we are going. He is a devil. Let us live here. Over the hill there is a large lake with creeks running into it."

They went out of the water and ran over the hill, and all went into the lake, the woman, too. The woman found traveling bad with no time to breathe. Going into water they came to the surface to breathe. The young man said to the woman, "You are unused to this. By and by you will do better. We have some houses not far from here, and will soon be there."

They reached houses. A house at the mouth of the river was far enough in the lake to avoid ice in the spring. There was no window in the house. All winter, the woman lived in the house. She had no bed, and only sticks for a pillow. She ate small fish. The woman only ate fish; the men, never. They brought green wood. She thought it was fish at first. They ate the bark. The people ate wood; the woman, fish.

She understood why they ate wood instead of fish, and saw nothing strange in it.

Springtime came. One evening the old man said, "That devil is coming. Let us go to another river. All winter we have lived here and have never left the lake, but somehow he has smelled us out."

They all left the house. The woman could not see because there was too much light. Springtime had come and the lake was full of water from melting snow. There was no ice on the hills. The old man said, "If the devil finds us in our next house we are lost. It is our last place. We had better scatter."

The man and the woman went to the head of the river on which they had lived all winter. It was dry at the head. They camped every evening with beaver in houses. They left one of their number at every house. The man and wife kept on. At the head of the river were plenty beaver houses. The man left his wife in one. The ice was all gone, and the rivers, open.

One evening the water leaked through the roof. This occurred several times. Someone outside was pouring water on the roof. The man said, “Your people are crying for you. We will go to your home.”

She walked down the beach, and he swam in the river. He said, “That man will not find you again. He must be gone, else your people would not mourn for you.” By and by they met the old man and the rest of the family. The old man said, “That devil found us again, but he could not discover which way the woman went. He has taken a wife below here in a village.”

All went to the village where the man was a few bends below. A small man with a black face and a big belly was plenty mad. He shook his fist in everybody’s face. He saw the woman and said, “I am married and cannot catch you where you go. I have ended the chase.”

All of them lived together. The woman did not go home because the houses were too wet. It was caused by the woman’s people shedding tears. The beavers said, “You had better go home. We are not people anyway,” and pointed out the way home. The old man said, “Look behind when you have gone a little distance.” She did so, and saw only many beavers. She was then satisfied and started on the home track.

The beavers saw someone coming in summer. All went outside and one said, “It looks like the woman.” The man went outside and said, “Yes, it is my wife,” and commenced to run for her.

“Hello,” he said, “Why do you come? I thought you were dead long ago.” He hugged and kissed her and had a hell of a time. He took her and lay with her and never beat her more. The man was her first husband. If the man is not dead he is living yet.

Nangok [or Naugok]

17. Lightning

By Old Woman, February 9, [1891]

Two old women lived in a hut with two small birds. When they were sent out and brought back fish, the rain came. When the small bird went inside, one old woman said to the other, "Say, Other Side, how come you have not sent the small bird outside?"

"Yes, I sent it."

"Better send it again."

Then the old woman threw the bird outside. When the bird came inside the old women threw them outside where they urinated, and thus caused rain. Whenever drought came, they threw the birds outside and caused rain. The birds' defecating caused many clouds to form, and when the old women defecated, it caused big black clouds full of lightning. This state of affairs exists to the present day, and may continue forever for all that man knoweth to the contrary.

18. The Runaway Wife – II

By Unnamed Narrator

In a big village one time a woman and her husband commenced to fight. The man was a chief. He went into the kazgi, and after she finished crying, she took a wooden cup of water and gave him water. She knelt before him. He drank and spurned her with his foot. Then she went outside with a bucket. She found the best there was to eat; and thought, "He is very mad with me."

She went into the kazgi and saw the man kneeling as before. The woman had four brothers. The husband took the bucket and then kicked her. As she went out she thought, "If it is true he is very mad with me, I had better go."

She took a whalebone bucket and deer fat and cut it into small pieces and put it into the bucket, and put on a new parka. She took a kamleika [intestine rain parka] and a three-pronged spear, broke it, and put into the sack; also a small stone for grinding. She saw her mother's snowshoes. She lashed them together and waited for daylight. She took also her woman's knife, and a small bag of sinew and needles. When daylight came, she went. People were all asleep. She thought that bad weather was coming.

It commenced to snow. When day broke, she reached a river behind a hill. She went down to the river brush. She went down to the nearest point. She put the snowshoes underneath her with the bag in front, and slid down. She sat in the snow and as it deepened, pushed it away from her so as to form a house. The snow covered her. When she wanted to drink, she melted a little snow.

She lived a long time in the hole, and by and by, she had eaten everything except broken points of spear. She filed these into powder and ate it. The stone grew thin from constant use. She used up the arrow points in this way. When all was finished, she thought, "Summer will soon come and this snow will all turn to water and drown me out." —one morning near daylight when only a small piece [of flint] was left.

The snow grew thin on top and a little light came through. She took sticks and widened the hole. She started on the snow that fell, and when the hole grew a little larger she took a sack, a stick, and a bucket and threw them out. She went outside. Her kamleika was rotten, and when she stood up, it dropped off. She tried to look around, but her eyes were overpowered by the light. As her eyes grew better she noticed that her hands were all wasted from hunger. Her cheeks, too. She saw the snow was gone except in the canyons. She went to a high place on the mountain near where she lived on the south side. She made a small straw house with a straw door and took out the parka from the sack and dried it. She lived on berries. There were plenty deer browsing around. The stiffness in her limbs from long confinement gradually disappeared.

One evening she went on top of the mountain. When the hair on the deer turned dark she looked down and saw in the lowland something that looked like a crane. It was a man like a crane, and he carried an arrow. The man stopped close to the

woman and thought, "Every year I have come here and this is the first time I ever noticed anything like that on the mountain." He went closer to the woman and said, "Hello, you are human. Where did you come from?"

She replied not, and he repeated the question. He wanted to take her with him. She went with him. He left his deer snare and packed the woman's outfit upon his back. The man went downriver with the woman. She saw many deer snared. The man said, "I will not tell my partner I have you, nor will I let him see you."

He reached his barabara. The woman saw plenty to eat around. Both entered. He hung the mat on one side to conceal her. The man gave her two small pieces of deer meat to eat. As she ate it she felt heavy.

The man had good boots, a wolf-nose fillet, and a good squirrel skin parka.

His partner had a deer parka with a wolverine nose fillet. One man had a wolf outfit; the other, wolverine.

The woman grew stronger. The other man came in very angry and said, "Bears always steal the deer out of my snares."

The partner went hunting and on his return found the woman and got mad, and said, "Ah, that's why bears always catch my deer on account of your keeping a woman. If bears steal my deer tomorrow I will give you a good beating."

When he first saw her she had not washed and looked very dirty. When the partner went out, she washed in urine and then put on her new parka. The man came back with a big stick very mad because another deer was lost. He looked in and saw a good looking woman, and fell in love with her and threw away the stick. He went over to her and talked sweet to her.

The first man married her. While the men hunted, she attended to the housekeeping. They lived this way a long time. One morning she saw her husband crying and asked why and saw him looking at his hand. The same thing occurred again, and he said, "If my partner's sister comes, she will kill you, and that is why I cry."

The man said to his wife, "Eat all you want of what you find outside. Take no thought of the future."

In the fall the man said to the woman one day, "Look across the river up to the lake. You see the end of the mountain

on the other side. You will soon see something coming from there.”

One morning she went out and saw mist commencing to rise at the head of the lake. Plenty of people were coming as if for a dance. A small woman with short white boots was running ahead. She had on a white parka with hair inside. The woman came and said, “Thank you. You are the one who has helped the men here all summer.”

Then another woman came, who looked like her. It was her husband’s younger sister. They took her inside. Some went inside; the rest stayed outside because there was no more room inside. The first ice began to form about that time. Those outside loaded a big sled with the meat hanging outside. They stayed only a day and then departed.

The woman with the short white boots remained and said to the other woman, “Take that bad deerskin and make a parka. Don’t sit around doing nothing,” and then her husband pinched her. She went outside and picked up two deer skins—young summer deer. She cut off the legs and left them. She made a parka without cutting—legs for sleeves and the other legs for legs, and used two skins. The other woman said, “Use that parka and give me your good one.” The woman did as commanded. She left the deer ears sticking up. Then the woman said, “For four days eat what you want; on the fifth, leave.” Then the woman added, “If, when you go, you do not follow the track you first see, you will lose the way home.”

On the fifth day she went outside and saw where a fox had been lying, and a track leading away. She followed the fox track, and traveled all day, and at nightfall saw a light ahead.

She found very small houses with lights inside. She went inside and saw a small kettle simmering over the fire. There was a small bed in the corner. She remembered her husband telling her not to eat anything in these small houses. She stripped and went to bed. She got up in the morning. The lamp was still burning.

She went outside and saw where a fox had slept outside. She followed the track again. She found at night a small barabara again. Food was simmering in the pot. She ate nothing and went to bed. She found where the fox had slept outside and went on the trail again. She remembered the woman telling her that if she ate from the bucket she would never get home. At night she

found similar houses; everything as before. Next morning came. About noon she found a big hole. A strong wind was coming out. She fell into the hole. She forgot everything. She fell far and finally reached the bottom, stunned. The wind revived her. She looked around. It was very cold, and frozen a little on one side. She heard geese.

She got up, crossed a river, and went up the other side. She saw where women had been gathering berries. She recognized it, and knew the way home. She went down a long distance on the run, and finally saw her home. As she ran she forgot to take off her parka as she approached her home. She was too glad, and forgot. People said, "Look, there is a young deer on the other side about to swim across."

She jumped on the bank, and seeing her danger, tried to pull off the parka, but it grew to her. She got mad and thought, "That woman bewitched me." She ran like a deer, in jumps, to the south until she reached the water and then back to the land side. She ran southeast until she got to the water and then east; then from the east end of land to the north, and from the north to the south. When she reached the water she ran along the beach in and out along the bends. She ran along the river and found the short white boots woman picking berries. She had on her good parka, and was using her whalebone bucket.

In trying to pull off the parka, she caught it at the throat and ripped it open. She took it off and threw it on the other woman. Her parka fell off and the torn parka stuck to her. She turned into a young deer and ran away. The woman went to the river and saw a man in a kayak making something. She saw that he was making arrows. The woman saw the man and the man saw the woman. They recognized each other. The man was overjoyed and hastened to her and dropped everything. He took the woman. He did not want to live where he was working, and made a flag to inform his partner of his departure.

By and by they met the same people they saw last year. All went down to the river where there were plenty houses.

The people treated her as one of themselves. They had never seen a woman changed to a deer. By and by a boy was born; and in nine months, another boy.

They loaded their bidarra [oomiak] and went to her home with her family. The woman and the man grew thin, and before reaching home had five more children. The two families then

traveled backwards and forwards. Sometimes they lived with the wife's people; sometimes with his people, and they live to this day.

200,000 children by this time.

### Futurity

[verbatim]

Stout [probably means strong] go to river in heaven. Killed go other side river. Big villages. Suicides live under fallen trees of river lips crack hang [illegible] head down trying to drink, get only dog [urine]. Eyes begin to swell when hanging. When he almost gets down to river surface to drink rope pulls him back. [Edmonds, in his manuscript, wrote: "There are many other punishments in the next world, among which may be mentioned a Tantalus-like punishment meted out to those who commit suicide. The victim is hung by the heels with the head just out of reach of water." Ray 1966: 70.]

When people die, live four days above ground, then all people of village wash & throw away water & then he goes down below to his doom.

Relatives go to same future abode.

Bad men down below get licked by ghosts of those wronged, both human & animals.

Good stout [probably means strong] men get something to eat, bad & suicides nothing. Vivid illustration of pangs of hunger bad as ear pinching!

When dance for dead, ghosts of food clothes &c. used down below as the originals, given away above by relatives.

People capsized don't go to heaven but live on salt water & turn to seal.

Shaman goes to relatives, sees them & travels, picks up best places & pursues a life such as led above ground.

In heaven holes above these a grand game land. Very few shaman go up there.

Bad men go below & flesh gets black as kettles.

One ghost per in dividuum. Bad man falls by degrees like the falls in dreams.

Small shaman goes not to the best of the hunting grounds but elsewhere pretty generally.

Thinks it must be hot below because bad people get black.

In answer to questions.

One wife above.

Knows nothing of rejuvenation in future life. [illegible] Stewart [Stuart] Island tragedy [This apparently is a reminder to ask about an altercation between some traveling Eskimos and employees of the Russian-American Company in 1836. See Michael 1967, page 97.]

Tradition of dog talking like man. Once people coming back to barabara hung boots up outside & a man called out saying he guess dogs would eat the boots, but dog said no. & once dog announced arrival of something as ice scraping heard & people found out it was all kinds of game. Once people sewed up his [mug?] except one place, but it came open again & the people knocked the gizzard out of dog & deaded it.

Chubukkok

Edmonds

legut

siripsit [or sinpsit]

Folgendes, Pastolik:

Suicides go to bad places, thirsty hang by feet & swing with the wind get close to water & pulled back again.

[illegible] at night heaven is seen to open with jagged edges—stout [strong] good men look down on us poor mortals below.

Those died from sickness goes down S. E. and strike first a dog village and then man village. Those who licked dogs here on this [illegible] are dehydrated and [illegible] by dogs. At people village a little lake. Water [illegible] not live there.

Those not very good live at the first village when water not good. Good men stay here a few days, when somewhat purified goes to a third Dorf. When very good, eat & drink.

Capsized people live inside water, no turn to seal. has cup but no fresh water & face cracks & gets dry.

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## BOOK REVIEW

**ANCIENT MEN OF THE ARCTIC, by J. Louis Giddings**

With introduction by Henry B. Collins.

Alfred A. Knopf. (\$10.00). 1967.

The advances made in the past thirty years in the archaeology of the Arctic, particularly with respect to Eskimo origins and prehistory, have been rapid and sweeping. In *Ancient Men of the Arctic* we have a fitting tribute to the man who more than anyone else has contributed to these advances. The theme of the book is the extensive series of fossil beach ridges at Cape Krusenstern, Alaska, discovered by Giddings in 1958. Here, 114 beaches reveal, in horizontal stratigraphy, 5,000 years of culture extending from Denbigh times to the present. With the Cape Krusenstern ridges as a backdrop to which he repeatedly returns, Giddings summarizes in masterful fashion the major advances and significant figures in Eskimo archaeology. Beginning with Knud Rasmussen and the delineation of Thule culture, the author works back in time as if excavating a gigantic archaeological site. Giddings reviews the work of Larsen and Rainey at the Ipiutak site, and the advances in Eskimo prehistory which came from the work on St. Lawrence Island, in both of which he had a hand. Followed by Giddings' own contributions of Norton, Choris, Old Whaling, and Denbigh cultures, the reader is made aware of the extent to which recent advances in Arctic archaeology are due to the writer's own work. His extension of Eskimo archaeology to the region of the Kobuk resulted in the discovery and excavation of what is undoubtedly the single most important site in all of northern North America—Onion Portage. This deeply stratified array of cultures, both Eskimo and Indian, extends for at least 8,000 years into the past. The parallels drawn between the horizontal stratigraphy at Cape Krusenstern and the vertical stratigraphy at Onion Portage is perhaps Giddings' greatest contribution to the now rapidly expanding understanding of the cultural sequences of the North American Arctic.

Throughout, Giddings illuminates the narrative with personal glimpses of colleagues and co-workers—and of the author himself. While the picture presented of field work in the Arctic is at times painted with a somewhat romantic hand, this is tempered by occasional mention of the vicissitudes, and dangers, of archaeological work in the Arctic. One grasps the loss to American anthropology in Giddings' untimely death through the all too brief statements of theoretical significance Giddings includes in his work. The role of Denbigh culture with respect to Eskimo origins, and the clear dichotomy between Asian and Alaskan developments are succinctly presented, as is the interesting theory that the bearers of Choris culture may have been reindeer herders. Of greater import is Giddings' questioning of the theory of migrations as an explanation of the cultural changes in the North American Arctic, suggesting rather that cultures diffused through relatively stable populations.

While this book does much to show how far we have come in unravelling the culture history of the Arctic, it also serves to point out where further work is needed. This is best seen in the Onion Portage horizons, where virtually all the cultures which point to interior Indian derivation are completely new. Much additional work needs to be done in the forested regions of Alaska and Canada before our picture of early man in northern North America becomes clear.

While primarily a personal narrative, Giddings' *Ancient Men of the Arctic* is replete with insights, and rare will be the North American specialist who fails to come away from this book without a better understanding of his own work. Profusely illustrated, and provided with a brief but thorough bibliography and glossary, this excellent work will provide a much-needed impetus to Arctic and Subarctic archaeology for many years to come.

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