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FROM THE COLLECTION OF  
THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

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*The Eskimo of Smith Sound.*

By A. L. KROEBER.

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AUTHOR'S EDITION, extracted from BULLETIN

OF THE

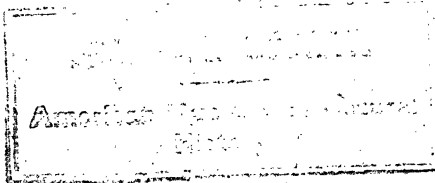
**American Museum of Natural History,**

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KROEBER, ALFRED LOUIS, 1876-1960

Eskimo

Canadian  
Pamphlets

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

## Article XXI. — THE ESKIMO OF SMITH SOUND.

By A. L. KROEBER.

The following pages consist in the main of the results of investigations carried on in the winter of 1897-98, under the direction of Dr. F. Boas, among six Eskimo from Smith Sound, brought to New York by Lieut. R. E. Peary. Lieut. Peary also secured for the Museum an ethnological collection. This is described in the present article, and from it the illustrations are taken. To this description have been added references made to the tribe by various Arctic explorers, especially Lieut. Peary. The material thus obtained has been illustrated whenever possible by comparisons with that from other Eskimo tribes.

The following works are referred to :

- JOHN ROSS. A Voyage of Discovery . . . for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay, and Inquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage. London, 1819. [Cited, ROSS.]
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- G. HOLM. Ethnologisk Skizze af Angmagsalikerne. [Cited, HOLM, *Ethnologisk Skizze*.]
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- DAVID CRANZ. Historie von Groenland. 1765. [Cited, CRANZ.]
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- R. E. PEARY. Northward over the Great Ice. 1898. [Cited, PEARY. References are to the *first* volume.]
- MRS. J. PEARY. My Arctic Journal. 1893. [Cited, Mrs. PEARY.]

- E. PETITOT. *Vocabulaire français-esquimau*. 1876. [Cited, PETITOT.]  
Résumé des communications sur le Grønland (Meddelelser om Grønland, X).  
[Cited *Résumé*.]
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Sundes (Ethnol. Notizblatt, II, 1, p. 38).

When Greenland or the Greenland Eskimo are mentioned in the following pages, the Eskimo of the West Coast, who are now under Danish government, are meant. Angmagsalik, or East Greenland, is that portion of the East Coast inhabited by the independent tribe called Angmagsalingmiut, our knowledge of whom is recent, and due altogether to Holm. The term 'Central Eskimo' is employed as by Boas, Rink, and others, and includes the tribes of Baffin Land, Melville Peninsula, Boothia, and the adjacent coasts and islands.

The Smith Sound tribe of Eskimo (Ross's Arctic Highlanders) inhabit the shores of northwestern Greenland, south of and along Smith Sound. Their southernmost habitation is in the group of islands off Cape York (about lat.  $76^{\circ}$ ); the most northerly is Ita (lat.  $78^{\circ} 18'$ ). When hunting, they occasionally pass beyond these limits; and finds of implements and house-ruins indicate that in the past they inhabited the coast at least as far north as lat.  $81^{\circ} 36'$  (BESSELS, pp. 136, 251). Discovered by Sir John Ross in 1818, the Smith Sound Eskimo have since been visited by Franklin, Kane, Hayes, Hall, and Peary, as well as by whalers. So isolated are they, that, excepting these intermittent visits from whites, they have practically no communication with, or knowledge of, any part of the rest of the world. Melville Bay, whose shores seem uninhabitable, cuts them off from the Greenlanders, so that there is absolutely no intercourse between the two districts, nor any record of any intercourse. In fact, Ross states (p. 84) that they refused to believe that he came from the south, saying that there was nothing but ice there. Hayes (p. 385), it is true, was told by a Smith Sound native that his people had once inhabited the coast 'continuously,' but had been cut off on both sides by accumulating ice; but this statement, even if accurate, was made after the Smith Sound Eskimo had, through the Arctic explorers, met several Greenland Eskimo. Only with the tribe of the Central Eskimo inhabiting the east coast of

Ellesmere Land has there been any intercourse in recent years. Bessels (p. 342) states that Itokirssuk, born near Cape Searle in Baffin Land, travelled north with his father to Ellesmere Land, where he married. About 1868 he crossed Smith Sound, accompanied by an umiak and four kayaks. Landing at Littleton Island, they proceeded to Ita. The rest of the party returned the same summer, but Itokirssuk and his family remained. Peary (p. 406) says that Koodlak, father of Eetookashoo (Itukassuk), killed a native at Peterahwik years ago; also (p. 488) that twice within the memory of living individuals there have been accessions from the western tribes. Each of these migrations consisted of one or two families. One of the men came from Dexterity Harbor, *via* Ellesmere Land. In his census of the tribe, Peary mentions three men and three women who had come from the west coast of Smith Sound. One of the men is named Komonahpik. I learned that about 1868 Qumunapik, a shaman, came from Ellesmere Land with his wife, mother, and uncle. He is said to have come without knowing of the existence of the Smith Sound tribe. He crossed the sound in winter on a sledge, carrying a tent, and then followed the coast south to Ita.

It is evident that these various accounts refer to only one or two incidents. Itokirssuk and Qumunapik seem to be the same man with a changed name; and this surmise is confirmed by the names of his relatives, as given by Bessels and Mrs. Peary, and as obtained by myself. It is clear that the intercourse across Smith Sound was very slight; and that it must have ceased for a long period previous to these recent cases, is shown by the fact that the Smith Sound Eskimo had time to forget the construction or use of the kayak and of the bow, though they remembered these implements traditionally, and, since the accessions from the west, again use them generally. Any intercourse of the tribe with more remote tribes is of course out of the question.

The Smith Sound Eskimo call these western people 'Adlet.' (Among the Central Eskimo the Adlet are a fabulous race, half man and half dog, descendants of a woman, who mated with a dog. In Labrador 'alla' signifies an Indian.) The Adlet are feared at Smith Sound, on account of their supposed bloodthirsty disposition. They evidently do not differ much from the Eskimo of Baffin Land, as the points in which they differ ethnologically

from the Smith Sound Eskimo are all cases of agreement with the Baffin Land tribes. These respects are: the exchanging of wives; the fact that the women tattoo their faces; the employment of the same personal names for both sexes, while Smith Sound men's names differ from women's; the use of reindeer-skin for the drum, while at Smith Sound seal-intestine is employed; and the use of a tent (qanissā'ling) resting upon several poles in place of the three that support it at Smith Sound. In language, too, the Adlet are said to differ from the Smith Sound tribe. When Qumunapik first arrived at Smith Sound, he needed signs to make himself understood. Instead of 'nā'ga,' he said 'hā'ka' or 'hāqa' for 'no' (Baffin Land, 'aqai').

The number of the Smith Sound tribe — estimated by Kane at 150, Hayes at 100, Bessels at 110 — was first determined by a complete census, taken by a member of Peary's expedition in 1895. There were then 253 persons in the tribe. In 1896, owing to an epidemic, these had been reduced to 229, but in 1897 had risen to 234. Kane (II., p. 109) and Hayes (p. 386) were under the impression that the tribe was fast dying out, and stated this to be the opinion of the natives themselves. Even Peary, who was better able to judge, and who considers the population stationary though subject to fluctuations, says (p. 490) that they have a tradition that the tribe was formerly more numerous. According to the census, the number of males was 140, of females 113; that is, only about 81 females to 100 males. In all other regions of Greenland the women constantly outnumber the men. In Angmagalik, in southern East Greenland, and in the four districts of West Greenland, the proportions were respectively 114, 160, 119, 113, 108, 112 women to 100 men. In Baffin Land the proportional number of women is 104.

The Smith Sound Eskimo make their settlements at certain places, but never form permanent villages. The same house is rarely occupied by the same family in two consecutive years (PEARY, p. 272). Certain spots are visited and inhabited only at certain times of the year. In summer the tribe seems to be more or less scattered, and there is little intercommunication. In winter, scarcity of food often causes changes of habitation. In spring there is a great gathering at Pituavik for the walrus-hunt, which sometimes lasts three months. In 1894 more than

two-thirds of the tribe were gathered here in more than forty snow-houses (PEARY, p. 430). Among the most frequently and densely inhabited places are Ita or Igita (the northernmost habitation in the world), Pituarvik, Natilivik, Imnangana (Cape York), Akpan (Saunders Island), and Kiätang (on Northumberland Island). The whole country is called merely 'nuna' ('land').

Owing to the absence of any boats but kayaks, and the superior facility of travelling with sledges, winter is the time chosen for visiting. The sledge routes generally follow the coast, but sometimes go inland, especially over peninsulas, or between the heads of fjords or bays, in order to avoid détours. Kane states that the entire distance from Cape York to Igita can be traversed in four days; the stages being Cape York to Akpan, to Natilivik, to Karsioot (?), to Igita. Ordinarily, however, each of these stages is made in two days.

The food of the Smith Sound Eskimo is altogether animal. Only the women, in summer, at times collect a species of small flower, which they cook; but the men do not eat this; the women, however, are forbidden to eat eggs (Mrs. PEARY). The principal staple is seal, though walrus is almost as important as a food-supply (PEARY). Narwhal is also successfully hunted. Fish do not seem to be caught or eaten much, and of shell-fish only those that are found inside the walrus. Bear and fox are eaten, but not the hare. Seals are stacked in piles, and cached for winter use; but famine nevertheless occurs.

In summer, seals are hunted from the kayak with harpoon, line, and floating bladder. In winter and spring they are speared

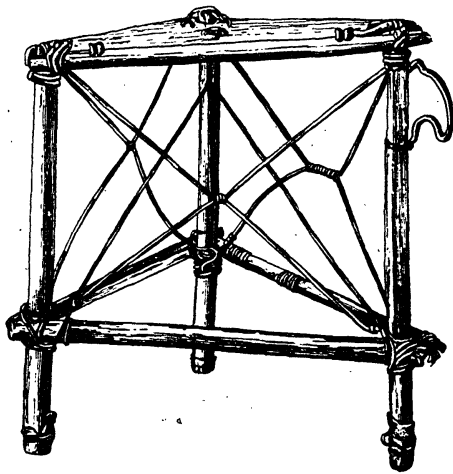


Fig. 1 (1887). Seal-hunter's Stool.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size



through their breathing-holes. The hunter sits on a three-legged stool (Fig. 1) covered with bear-skin below to prevent its sliding or making a noise, which would frighten away the animal. Seals are also hunted on the ice, the hunter crawling up on his stomach, and imitating the cry or breath of the seal: 'Bāx! bāx!' Then he springs up and stabs it. The large ugssuk ('ground-seal,' *Phoca barbata*) and the walrus are hunted from the edge of the ice. For the walrus-hunt the harpoon-line has a loop at the end, through which the turuk, or end of the spear, is stuck into the ice to hold the animal. When a party secures a seal, all the members obtain a share; but the actual killer gets the head (and of course the skin).

The polar bear is considerably hunted. He is pursued on sledges; and the dogs are successively let loose until he is brought to bay by them. The reindeer is now generally hunted with guns. Wolves have also occasionally been shot; but the musk-ox seems to inhabit only the region to the north. Of birds, great numbers of small auks are caught with nets at the end of a handle. Gulls are eaten, as is the breast of the raven, which is caught with snares. Fish are speared, through holes cut in the ice, with the kakivang. The narwhal, in summer, is hunted from the kayak; in winter, in the cracks in the ice. In former times, when there were still many kayaks, the tradition goes that whales were hunted. No floating bladder was necessary for this, as the whale, when killed, did not sink. Now, however, the whales are not pursued, as there are not enough kayaks.

The dwellings of the Smith Sound Eskimo are of three sorts,—the house built of stone and sod (iglu, qarmang, or qangma), the snow-house (igluija), and the tent of skins (tupeq). Peary also calls a house with stone walls and a skin roof 'kangmak.' The stone house is more or less irregular in shape. It is about twice as long as wide; the bed taking up the rear two-thirds of the length, and the entire breadth. Flanking the open space at its foot are two alcoves (iglaxsung) raised above the floor to the level of the bed. When the family is large, one or two persons sleep in these alcoves. At other times, meat, when it is not lying in the middle of the floor, is kept in them. These small side-extensions give the house a more or less pear-shaped outline. A house measured by Peary (p. 270) was ten feet long, by eight

feet wide through the alcoves, but less than five feet wide at the end opposite the door. He illustrates a more extreme form on p. 108. The bed is made of grass covered with skins. The door (katang) is only about a foot and a half high. The entrance-passage or tunnel (torxssu) is straight and single. Frequently two houses have but one entrance, and are then known as 'qarearing.' New houses do not seem to be built, or, if so, the materials of existing ones are used. There is no ownership of houses: they belong to the community. In summer, when they are deserted, they are unroofed, says Peary (p. 272). This entails the heavy task of re-roofing in autumn. The roof consists of flat slabs, which have sometimes to be carried considerable distances.

The average diameter of snow-houses, which are generally constructed for temporary shelter only in time of travel, is about twelve feet; the height, half of that. At Pituarvik, however, at the spring walrus-hunt, the snow-houses are sometimes occupied for several months, and are carefully constructed. One of these is described by Peary (p. 427). In shape it was semi-elliptical, measuring twelve feet by twelve feet, and seven feet in height. The bed was six feet and a half long, and a foot and a half above the level of the floor. The floor-space was five feet deep, but only six feet wide, as on each side of it was a ledge holding a lamp and meat, corresponding to the alcove of the stone house. The entrance consisted of two vaults connected by a short passage. The window of seal-intestine, about two feet square, was immediately above the door. Inside, the walls were lined with tent-



Fig. 2 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Model of Snow-knife.

skins. Above was a ventilation-hole. The second of the two entrance-vaults was flanked by two alcoves, or storerooms. Fig. 2 shows a model of the snow-knife which is used to cut the blocks of snow.

The tupeq, or skin tent, is inhabited in summer. It rests on a frame of three poles. Two of these, which are nearly upright, are parallel, or almost so, and connected above by a shorter cross-bar. On this rests a longer pole, which projects considerably

beyond the cross-bar. The entrance seems to be between the two parallel sticks. The tents of the Adlet (inhabitants of Ellesmere Land) have, instead of these two poles, a number so arranged as to form half the surface of a cone. Formerly whale-jaws and narwhal-tusks were used for tent-poles; now the Europeans have brought wood. The edges of the tent are held down by large rocks.

None of the Arctic explorers at Smith Sound saw any kayaks or skin boats, excepting the most recent, Peary. The art of building them had apparently been forgotten, though the word 'kayak' remained in the language. Under normal conditions, Smith Sound seems to be free from driftwood, while the temperature prevents the growth of even stunted timber: consequently the natives, when first discovered, were altogether without wood. This lack of wood would account for the absence of kayaks. But from the time of Ross (1818) every visit has supplied the Eskimo with this material, not to mention the wreck of more than one vessel; and yet as late as 1873 no kayaks had been built. It is clear that the art had been forgotten, and the supply of wood alone could not restore it. The accession of the Adlet (Ellesmere Land Eskimo) was necessary before kayaks could again be made.

The frame of the Smith Sound kayak (Figs. 3, 4) has five longitudinal pieces. The upper two are the gunwales, the lower three the bottom. The cross-pieces on the top, bottom, and sides (corresponding to ribs), number about twenty. The kayak is markedly flat-bottomed, and rather low, especially at the stern. Towards the bow, however, the gunwale gradually rises higher above the bottom; and the three lower lengths of the frame meet in a point several feet from the extreme bow. The middle length or keel alone extends farther, and then rises at an angle to the gunwales as they meet forward. This gives a very sharp bow, in spite of the flat bottom. The opening in which the rower sits is back of the middle; and the greatest width is back of this seat. This kayak is a copy of the typical kayak of the Central Eskimo, of whom the Ellesmere Land tribe, who re-introduced the kayak at Smith Sound, are part. The kayak of Baffin Land, for instance, is more slender and less clumsy than that built at Smith Sound; thus the bow is cut away more below,



Fig. 3 (486). Framework of Kayak. Length, 18 ft. 6 in.



Fig. 4 (488). Kayak. Length, 18 ft.



Fig. 5 (489). Paddle. Length, 8 ft. 8 in.

giving a more gradual and greater overhang; but it is clearly made after the same pattern, since it possesses even the same details of design, such as the small, blunt, sudden curve upward at the stern. The Greenland kayak, however, is very different in appearance. The keel is generally lower than the other longitudinal pieces, so that the bottom is not flat. Both ends curl upward considerably, first flattening and then curving to a sharp point. The bow is protected by a strip of bone.—The paddle (Fig. 5) is made entirely of wood. The blades are often made of pieces of wood lashed together. Each handle consists of a long notch for the fingers on the upper side of the paddle and a small notch for the thumb on the lower side.

The larger open boat (umiak, woman's boat) of other regions, the Smith Sound Eskimo do not possess at all. Only one of the Ellesmere Land immigrants is said to have, or have had, a small umiak.

Sledges were formerly made altogether of bone and ivory, pieces of which were ingeniously lashed together to form the long runners. A good illustration of this bone sledge is given by Ross. Now wood is used, only the lower edge of the runner

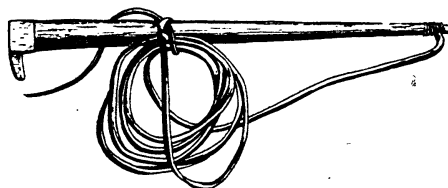


Fig. 6 ( $\frac{5}{16}$ ). Model of Whip.

being covered with flattened pieces of bone or ivory. Ross also illustrates the form of whip originally in use. Fig. 6 is a model of the present form of whip. Fig. 7 represents the imple-

ment used to attach the dog-traces to the sledge. The trace of the dog's harness is passed through the smaller hole, while through the larger hole passes the heavy transverse line on which all the traces are strung. The ends of this-stronger line are fastened to



Fig. 7 ( $\frac{5}{16}$ ). 'Eye' for fastening Traces to Sledge.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

the sledge-runners, but in the middle it is broken, to permit the insertion of the eyes holding the traces. When the eyes are inserted, the line is joined again by means of a loop passing over the button shown in the illustration (Fig. 8). A tool-pouch (Fig. 9) is generally carried fastened to the back of the sledge.

The Smith Sound Eskimo, although possessing guns, continue to use the bow. In fact, it is but a comparatively short time since they have employed it at all. Mention of it is made in their tales, so that, like the kayak, it was clearly not altogether forgotten; but the earlier visitors found them without it. In 1873 the

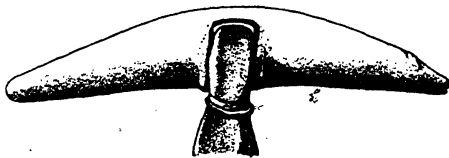


Fig. 8 ( $\frac{60}{76\frac{1}{2}}$ ). Button for fastening Traces to Sledge.  $\frac{1}{4}$  nat. size.

Adlak Itokirssuk was the only member of the tribe possessing a bow, says Bessels (p. 360). This was made of four pieces of caribou-antler, backed by four strands of sinew, and was 33

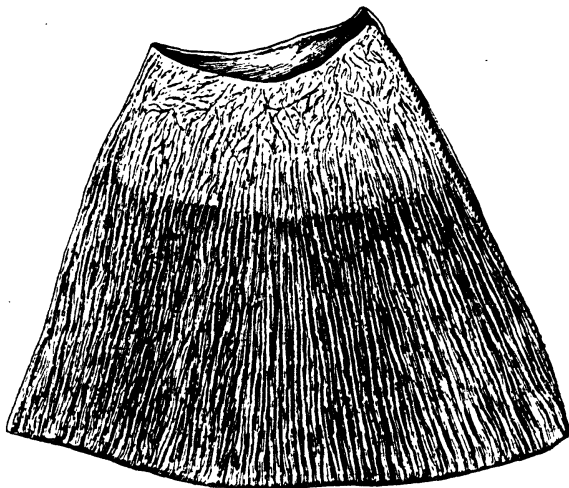


Fig. 9 ( $\frac{38\frac{1}{2}}{48\frac{1}{2}}$ ). Tool-pouch.  $\frac{1}{4}$  nat. size.

inches long. Through this man, bows were probably re-introduced. Those now in use (Fig. 10, *a*) consist of three pieces of bone or antler, forming a double curve. The three pieces are cut off square, and joined end to end. Each joint is made by two smaller pieces of bone or ivory, which are wound with sinew. Of these, the piece on the inside of the bow is short and rather thick; the one on the outer, convex side is flat, long, and

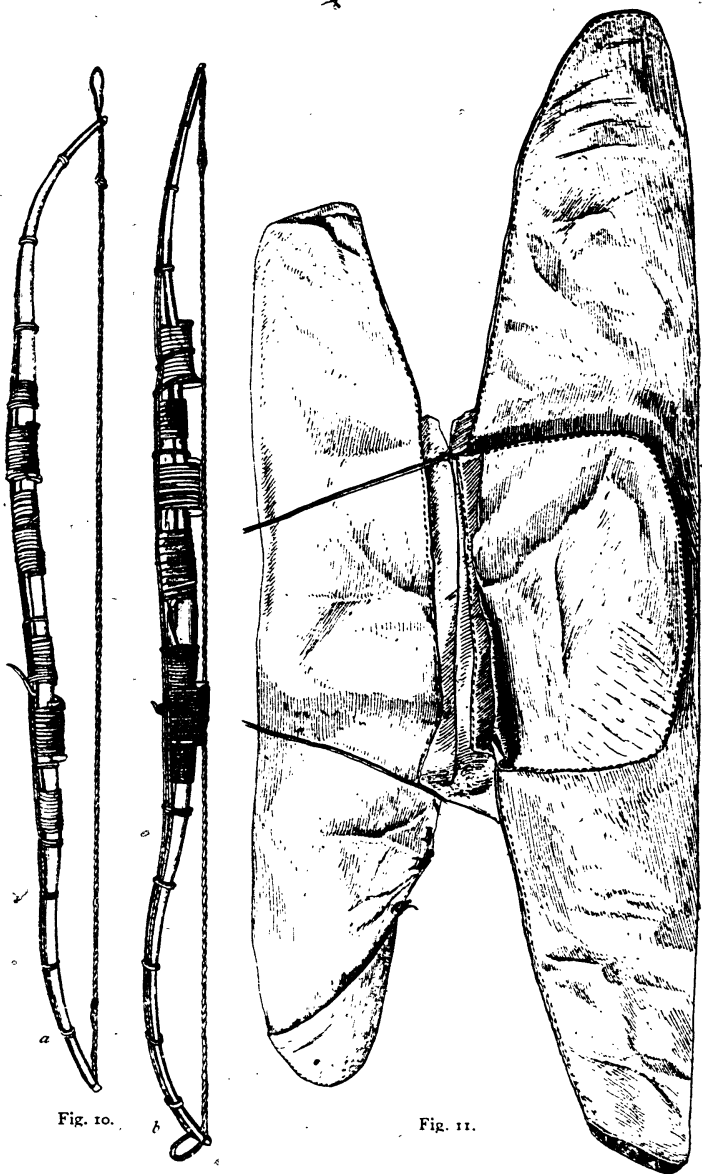


Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 10, *a* ( $\frac{290}{278}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{260}{287}$ ). Bows. Length, 34 and 38 inches.  
Fig. 11 ( $\frac{290}{278}$ ). Quiver. Length, 31 inches.

thins to an edge at both its ends. One specimen in the American Museum of Natural History (Fig. 10, *b*) consists of four main pieces, and thus has three joints. The bows are strengthened by from eight to ten strands of sinew along the back. The length is about three feet, and the curvature slight. The arrows (Fig. 12, *a*) consist of a rather blunt lance-shaped iron head from four to six inches in length, inserted in an unfeathered wooden shaft. Some arrows have foreshafts made of bone, which are bevelled off at the lower part, and tied to the end of the wooden shaft (Fig. 12, *b*). This method of attachment of foreshaft is characteristic of the Central tribes (BOAS, p. 505). The sealskin quiver (Fig. 11) consists of two compartments, the larger for the bow. The two compartments are joined along the edge, and can be folded together lengthwise, one upon the other. The ends of both bow and arrows project from their respective compartments, although in some cases there is a cap fitting over the end of the smaller compartment to cover the arrows. Sometimes there is a small square pouch on the side of the quiver, which is covered between the two parts of the quiver when it is folded together, the opening of the pouch being along the 'hinge.'

In Greenland, bows were very early displaced by guns; they seem to have been made of wood, and to have measured a fathom in length (CRANZ, p. 194). The bow in use at Cumberland Sound in Baffin Land is described by Boas (p. 503) as consisting of three pieces of antler, the middle one, obtusely triangular in shape, serving merely to connect the other two. This arrangement differs very much from that made use of at Smith Sound. On the other hand, bows from Pelly Bay and Victoria Land are described as consisting of three pieces of antler, the joints being made as at Smith Sound, with the difference that the longer and flat splint piece is inside, the shorter one outside. The quiver in use at Cumberland Sound is similar to that of Smith Sound. At Iglulik (Fury and Hecla Strait), however, a quiver is made that does not fold together, but has the form of a long, irregularly-shaped sack.



Fig. 12, *a* ( $\frac{3}{8}$ ),  
*b* ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ). Arrows.  $\frac{1}{2}$   
nat. size.

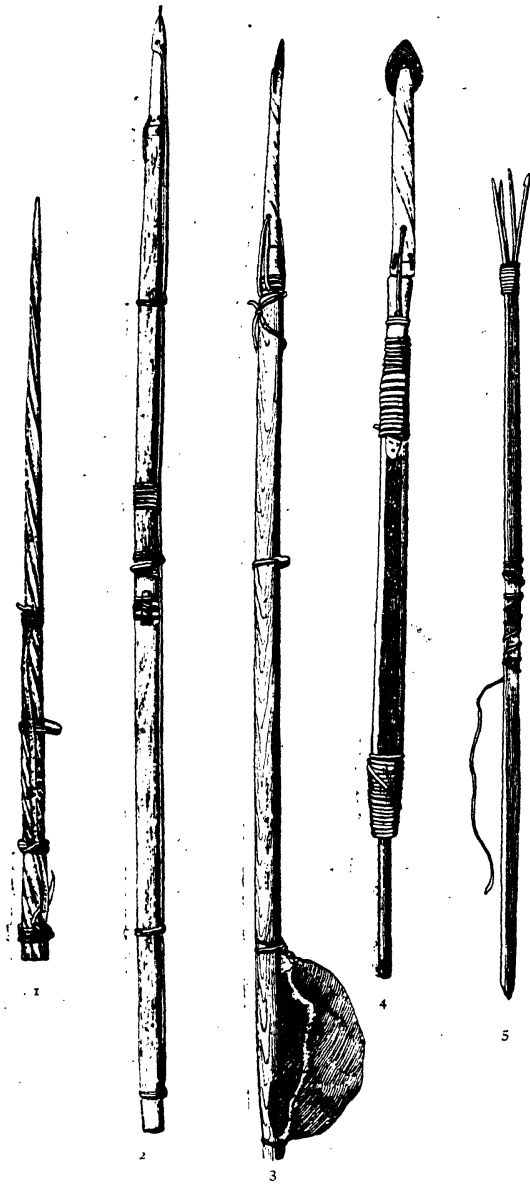


The remaining hunting implements of the Smith Sound Eskimo, which are used chiefly in the chase of sea-animals, are the harpoon and the lance. These often resemble each other, but can always be distinguished by the fact that the harpoon has a head which remains fixed in the body of the animal, while it separates from the shaft but is attached to a long line. The lance, on the other hand, has an unbarbed point, that may be movable, but not detachable; and it is used without a line. The harpoon serves to secure the animal, the lance to despatch it.

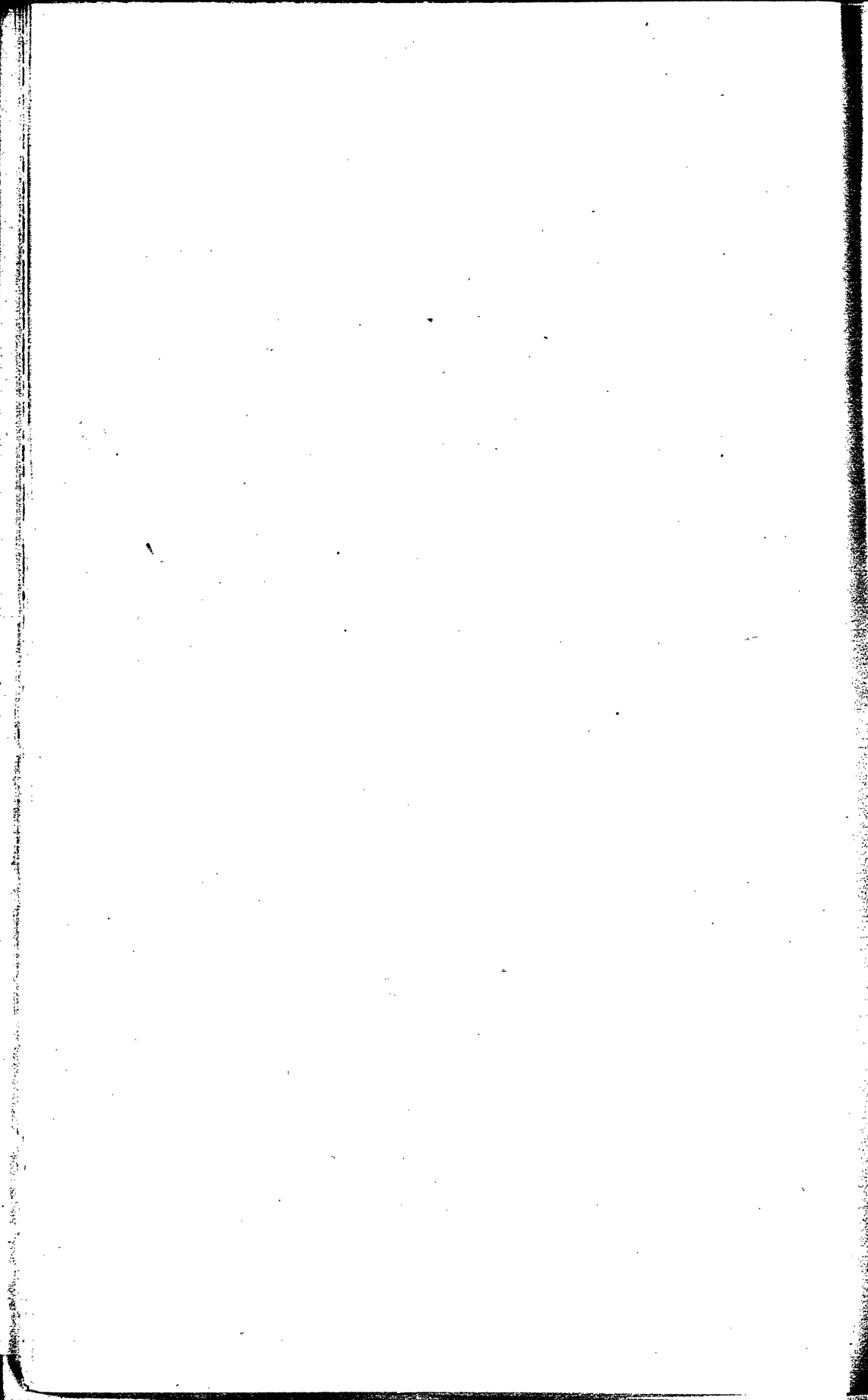
The ordinary harpoon is the unang (Plate XI, Fig. 1). The shaft of this may now be of wood. Formerly it consisted of a narwhal-tusk. The heavier butt-end of this tusk is thinned down by being flattened on two sides or cut away all around. The hollow in this end is filled with wood or moss. From the butt a thong extends forward about a foot, forming a loop along the shaft. Between this thong and the shaft passes the hunting-line (agluna) attached to the head; so that the ivory shaft, though not directly fastened to either the head or the line, is prevented by the latter from sinking. When the main body of the shaft is of wood, the point of a narwhal-tusk forms the tip of the shaft; the tusk and the wood being mortised, and wound with thong. The head of the unang will be described below.

The igimang (Plate XI, Fig. 2) differs from the unang in that its shaft consists of two movable pieces, connected by a ball-and-socket joint, the object of the arrangement being to secure greater flexibility. The fore-joint (igimang, in the narrower sense) is a straight piece of tusk that fits into an ivory socket at the end of the main shaft of wood. Two thongs pass through it and the shaft, and hold it in place. As the socket is shallow and rounded oblong rather than circular in shape, the ivory foreshaft is easily dislocated by lateral pressure such as is exerted by the struggles of a wounded animal; but it does not become detached, as does the harpoon-head.

Of these two forms of the harpoon, only the latter is known in Greenland. The main shaft is there called 'unâq;' the fore-haft, 'igimaq;' the whole harpoon, by either of these terms, or formerly (CRANZ) 'erneinek.' In East Greenland, too, this is the form of harpoon in use; and in both places it is thrown by means of the throwing-stick, which is never employed at Smith Sound. Among the Central tribes both the smaller single-jointed and the



Figs. 1 ( $\frac{13}{16}$ ), 2 ( $\frac{12}{16}$ ). Harpoons. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
 Figs. 3 ( $\frac{12}{16}$ ), 4 ( $\frac{12}{16}$ ). Lances. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
 Fig. 5 ( $\frac{10}{16}$ ). Fish-spear. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.



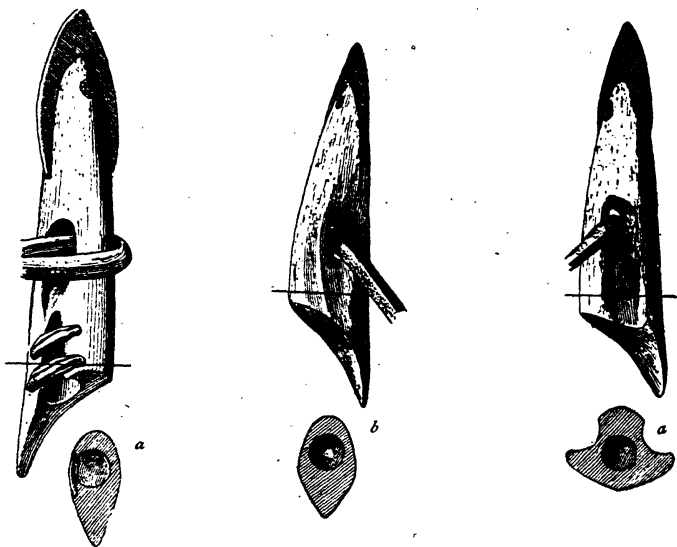


Fig. 13.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 13 ( $\frac{132}{132}$ ,  $\frac{137}{137}$ ). Single-barbed Harpoon-heads for hunting Seal and Walrus (ssako).  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size. a, b, Cross-sections.

Fig. 15 ( $\frac{152}{152}$ ). Single-barbed Flat Harpoon-head.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size. a, Cross-section.

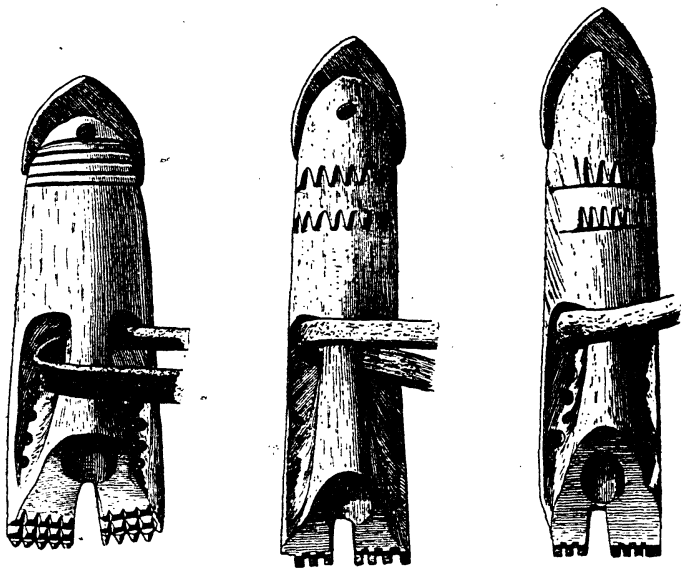


Fig. 14 ( $\frac{140}{140}$ ,  $\frac{140}{140}$ ,  $\frac{142}{142}$ ). Double-barbed Harpoon-heads for hunting White Whales.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

larger double-jointed harpoon are used; they are called 'unang' and 'igimang' (or 'qatilik'). In northern Baffin Land the unang is often made of a narwhal-tusk, as at Smith Sound.

The harpoon-head (Figs. 13-15), whatever its variations in form, works according to the same principle. It contains a socket which is somewhat larger than the pointed tusk at the end of the shaft, be it unang or igimang. When the head is in position, the tusk rests in this socket, so that the iron-tipped point of the ivory head is in line with the shaft and several inches in advance of it, while the rear end, or barb, lies along the tusk. Through the head passes the end of the main line or a loop fastened to the end of this line, which lies along the shaft to a point about midway its length. Here the shaft has a small ivory peg, while to the line is fastened the teliqbing (Fig. 16), a piece of ivory about two inches in length by half an inch in breadth, which contains two or three holes into which the peg just fits. The teliqbing is attached to the line in such a place that, when it covers the peg, the line forward from it is rather taut, so that the harpoon-head is held in place on the point of the foreshaft. The several holes in the teliqbing allow the line to be held taut even when its length becomes changed through wetting, etc. While the harpoon is penetrating the animal, the pressure is all longitudinal, and the head remains

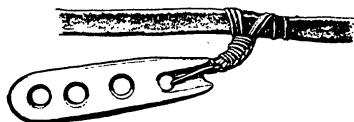


Fig. 16 ( $\frac{3}{8}$ ). Teliqbing.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

in position; but the weight of the shaft and the movements of the game begin at once to exert a lateral strain, and the head and shaft become disengaged, the head being held in the animal by becoming transverse in position to the direction in which it entered. The animal is then held by the line until it is killed with the lance.

The harpoon-head has two forms at Smith Sound. The head used for hunting seals and walrus has one rather sharp barb. The socket generally consists of a notch cut into the base of the harpoon-head from the side. The outer side of this notch is closed by means of thongs which are passed through two pairs of drill-holes (Fig. 13). For cetaceans, whose skin is soft, a sharp, pointed barb cannot be used: consequently a broader, flat head, which has two barbs terminating in blunt edges (Fig. 14), is em-

ployed. The socket of this harpoon-head consists of a hole drilled in the base of a harpoon. The face of this harpoon-head is often decorated with a number of rows of notches. The pointed form is called 'ssako;' the flat, 'tokaq.' Fig. 15 shows an unusual intermediate form.

Among the Central Eskimo the harpoon-head most in use resembles the Smith Sound tokaq; it is called 'tokang' or 'naulang,' according as it is large or small. The siatko, which is not so generally used, is like the Smith Sound ssako, with the exception that its iron point and the single barb are in the same plane instead of in two perpendicular planes. In Greenland and East Greenland the flattened, double-barbed form seems also to be in more general use; but the socket which receives the point of the igimang is between the two barbs, while at Smith Sound it is above them. Heads with two pairs of barbs, one behind the other, are also used there.

The lance (Plate XI, Fig. 3) can best be described as an igimang without the harpoon-head, but with an unbarbed iron blade at the point of the flexible foreshaft. It is called 'anguvigaaq.' The end of the wooden shaft is covered with a bone or ivory cap (called 'qateq' in Greenland), containing a flat socket. The tusk, which constitutes the foreshaft, also has a cap covering its soft centre. It is rounded to fit into the socket. The connection of the two shafts is by thongs, exactly as in the igimang. The point is generally a leaf-shaped iron sheet, inserted in a slit in the ivory tusk, and riveted. Sometimes, however, a straight iron rod is used as a point. The butt-end, whenever possible, is fitted with a heavy iron spike (turuk), which is stuck through a loop in the line into the ice, to hold a wounded animal that is too strong for the hunter. The shaft of both the lance and the harpoon has an attachment which is intended to support the hand. It consists either of a small ivory peg or of a long piece of wood or ivory lashed to the shaft by its flat part (Fig. 17), while the point in front serves as a support for the hand.



Fig. 17 ( $\frac{20}{100}$ ). Hand-support of Harpoon-shaft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

The bone or ivory cap on the end of the shaft (qateq) is either fitted to the shaft by thongs which pass through both the pieces to be joined, or it covers the thinned end of the shaft cap-wise, being held in place by pegs or rivets. The same is true of the

cap on the ivory foreshaft. It is rather curious that the qateq at Smith Sound, whether on lance or harpoon, tapers down; while among other tribes from East Greenland to Hudson Bay, it expands, being greater in diameter at the socket than where it joins the shaft. The lance shown in Plate XI, Fig. 4, is an exception; but in this case the qateq consists of the leg-bone of an animal, chosen, no doubt, on account of its ready-made socket.

Sometimes the lance has a bladder attached to the shaft. In this it resembles the agdligaq of Greenland and Baffin Land. But the Baffin Land agdligaq is a small harpoon with a harpoon-head (naulang); and in Greenland the same weapon, though lacking the detachable head, is practically a harpoon rather than a lance, because its iron point is barbed (see the plate in CRANZ, p. 192). At Smith Sound, however, this weapon is only a lance with attached floating bladder.

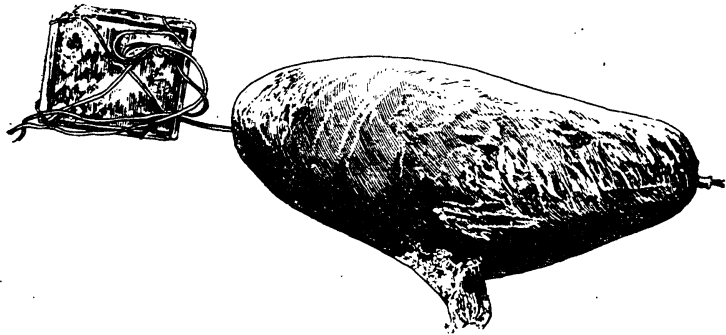


Fig. 18 ( $\frac{1}{16}$  in). Float and Drag.

When seals are hunted from the kayak, the line is not retained by the hunter after he has harpooned the animal. In this case a float (avataq) consisting of an inflated whole sealskin, and a drag (Fig. 18), are attached to the end of the line, and prevent the animal from escaping. The float has an ivory mouth-piece (Fig. 19, *a*, *b*) to allow of convenient inflation; this is closed with a wooden peg. The tail is tied firmly around a piece of wood (Fig. 19, *c*). Holes in the float are closed by inserting a small ivory button (Fig. 19, *d*), and tying the skin around its shank. The wounds and holes in the skin are closed with ivory plugs (tuputa),

Fig. 20. The drag consists of a square or round wooden frame, over which hide is stretched. When the animal has been killed, it must be towed home. For this purpose a line containing a swivel (Fig. 21) is used.

The bird-spear (nueq, nuirn), the Smith Sound Eskimo seem not to possess, though Bessels (p. 360) states the contrary. The fish-spear (Fig. 22) that they use, called 'kakivang,' resembles the usual Eskimo fish-spear. The shaft, which broadens to a width of several inches at the lower end, is fitted with a long thin point of iron, bone, or ivory projecting from the middle of this end. On each side of this point a somewhat longer bone prong extends, curving outward a little. From the ends of these two prongs two bent nails extend inward and back nearly to the middle prong. The

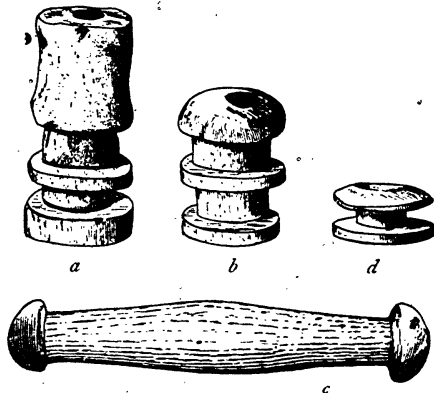


Fig. 19, *a* ( $\frac{60}{220}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{50}{157}$ ), Mouthpieces; *c* ( $\frac{60}{264}$ ), Tail-piece; *d* ( $\frac{30}{230}$ ), Button.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.



Fig. 20 ( $\frac{50}{324}$ ). Ivory Plug.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

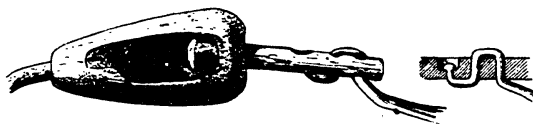


Fig. 21 ( $\frac{40}{247}$ ). Swivel.  $\frac{2}{3}$  nat. size.

fish accordingly, once the points have penetrated it, is securely held from three sides. A small four-pronged fish-spear, quite different from the kakivang, is shown in Plate XI, Fig. 5. Fig. 23 represents the point of a double-pronged fish-spear; and Fig. 24, a needle for stringing fish. Fish are attracted by means of an ivory carving representing a small fish (Fig. 25), which is suspended from a string made of plaited sinew. The fish is speared when it approaches the decoy.

Knives are now generally obtained from the whites. When the



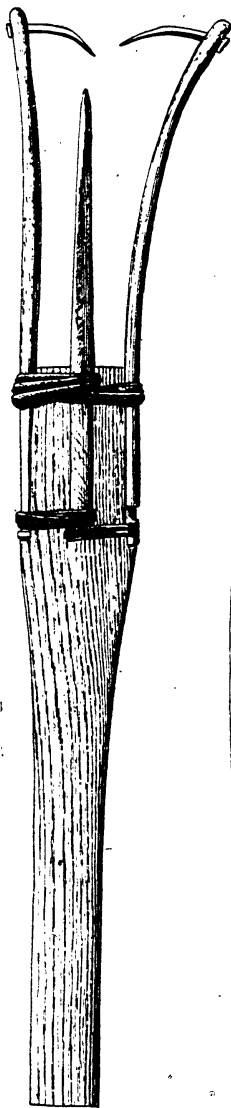


Fig. 22.

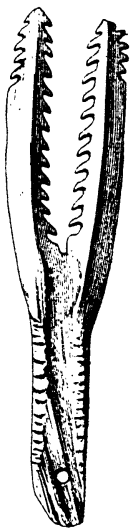


Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.

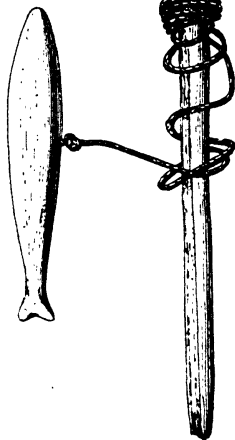


Fig. 25.

- Fig. 22 ( $\frac{60}{100}$ ). Fish-spear.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
 Fig. 23 ( $\frac{60}{100}$ ). Point of Fish-spear.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
 Fig. 24 ( $\frac{60}{100}$ ). Needle for stringing Fish.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
 Fig. 25 ( $\frac{60}{100}$ ). Decoy for Fish.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

handle breaks, the blade is riveted to a new handle of bone or ivory. Small saws are fitted in the same way. Before the advent of the Europeans, knives were of course much more crude; but both in this respect and in regard to harpoon-heads the Smith Sound Eskimo were more favorably situated than other tribes, who were dependent on flint; for in the three large meteorites from the vicinity of Cape York (which Lieut. Peary conveyed to the American Museum of Natural History in 1897) they possessed a source of native iron. It was of course impossible, by means of stone, and without the aid of fire, to secure more than small fragments of the metal, and the average size of the pieces, when beaten out flat, was perhaps no greater than a fingernail; but several of these pieces, joined in a row in the haft of an ivory handle, made a blade that was no doubt superior to an edge of flint. The Museum possesses no knives of this ancient pattern; but there is one in the possession of Lieut. Peary; and Ross gives a good illustration of one, which is reproduced in Bessels, p. 362. A large modern knife is shown in Fig. 26.



Fig. 26 ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ). Knife.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

The iron of the present hatchets is of course also obtained from the whites, though the manner of attachment of the head to the handle, and the latter itself, are Eskimo. Where the amount of iron is insufficient, the head of the hatchet is made of bone, the iron forming the edge (Fig. 27). The hatchets are used principally for chopping frozen meat.

The bow-drill is a most valuable tool of the Eskimo. Even now, with better facilities for carving and cutting ivory than in former times, some harpoon-heads bear marks of having been fashioned into shape, not with a cutting-edge, but with the drill. Holes were drilled closely together in a row, and then the bone or ivory broken along the row of holes. The bow, the string of which is wound around the drill and serves to rotate it, is a curved piece of rib. The wooden or ivory shaft of the drill is provided

with an iron point; while above it fits into the socket of the kingmiaq, an oblong piece of ivory shaped so as to allow of a firm hold in the mouth of the workman.

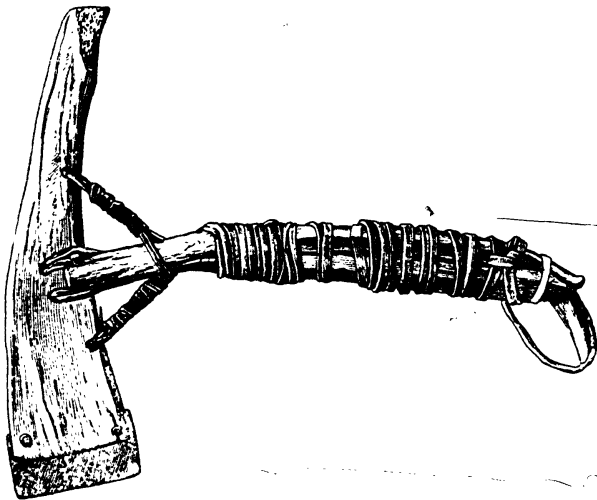


Fig. 27 ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ). Hatchet.  $\frac{1}{4}$  nat. size.

The woman's knife (*ulu*) is similar to that in use among other tribes; but it assumes a great variety of forms, according to the amount or shape of the materials of which it is made, and the manner in which the different parts are joined. Fig. 28, *a* and *b*, shows the two usual types, while the form shown in Fig. 28 *c* is less common. Riveting of iron to iron, or iron to ivory, is now not uncommon; but the older method seems to have been to use glue or cement. When the handle consists of two pieces of ivory, these are not joined together by thongs (as, for instance, are the shaft and *qateq* of the harpoon), but cemented, or at most tied and cemented. The scrapers with which the women clean skins consist of a wooden handle and a tin or sheet-iron blade, the edges of which turn up in shovel fashion (Fig. 29). In this case also we find several methods of joining the parts of the implement. The wooden handle may be split, the tin inserted, and held fast by wedges; or the handle, held on three of its four sides by the metal, may be wound about with sinew; or the pieces may be riveted together. Needle-cases consist of ivory tubes of the

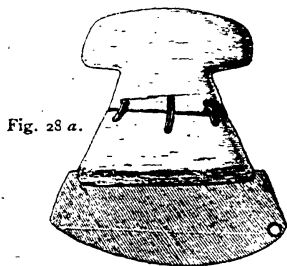


Fig. 28 a.

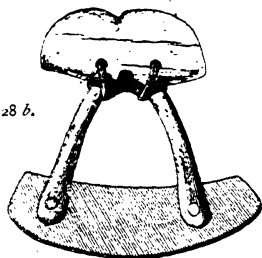


Fig. 28 b.

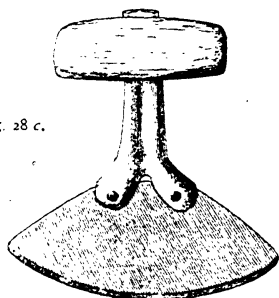


Fig. 28 c.

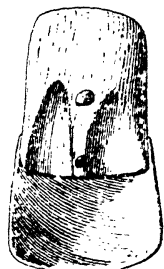


Fig. 29.

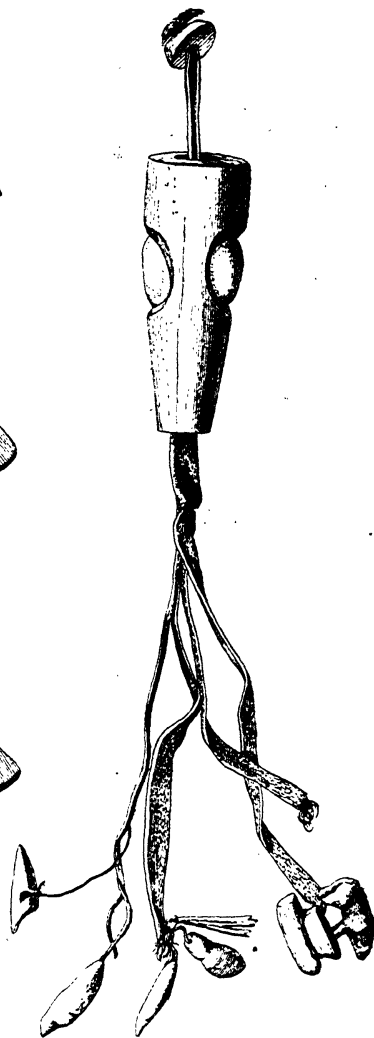


Fig. 30.

Fig. 28, *a* ( $\frac{2}{15}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{2}{11}$ ), *c* ( $\frac{4}{10}$ ). Woman's Knives.  $\frac{2}{3}$  nat. size.  
 Fig. 29 ( $\frac{4}{15}$ ). Scraper.  $\frac{2}{3}$  nat. size.  
 Fig. 30 ( $\frac{4}{8}$ ). Needle-case.  $\frac{2}{3}$  nat. size.

form shown in Fig. 30. The needles are put into a strip of leather ornamented with ivory carvings and bits of stone. The leather strip is drawn into the tube.

Buckets for holding or carrying water are made of sealskin (Fig. 31), and vary greatly in size. Drinking-cups are round, or more rarely oval. They have a wooden bottom, to which is cemented a perpendicular rim. When the cup is large, one piece of wood is used, being bent all around the bottom. When the cup is smaller, the rim consists of two very thin pieces of ivory or bone, each forming half the circumference of the vessel (Fig. 32).

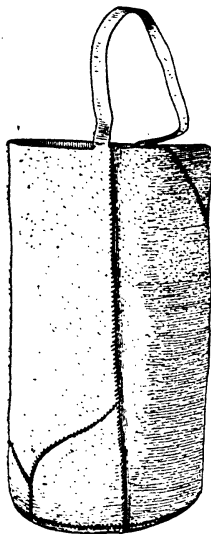


Fig. 31 ( $\frac{3}{8}$ ). Bucket. Height, 7 inches.

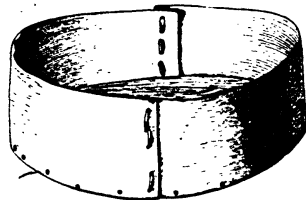


Fig. 32 ( $\frac{2}{8}$ ). Cup.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

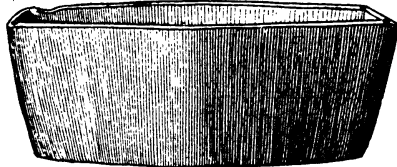


Fig. 33 ( $\frac{2}{8}$ ). Pot.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

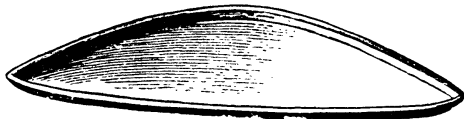


Fig. 34 ( $\frac{2}{8}$ ). Lamp.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

Pots (Fig. 33) are made of the soft steatite always used by the Eskimo for this purpose when it can be obtained. The usual shape is oblong, with slightly convex sides and rounded corners. The stone is said to occur in fragments of various sizes; but only the smaller pieces can be used, as the natives have no means of breaking or working those of a larger size. Iron, or a white stone (flint?), is used to carve the stone, which is easily worked.

Lamps (Fig. 34) are made of the same material. They are more or less triangular in shape. The wick consists of dried moss; and for striking fire, pieces of pyrites or stone containing pyrites are used.

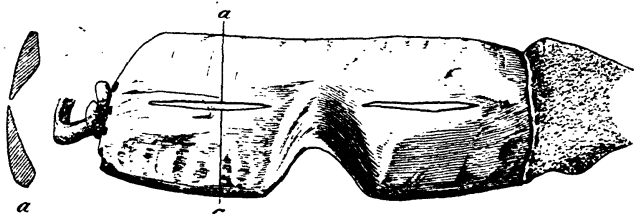


Fig. 35 ( $\frac{1}{16}$ ). Snow-Goggles, and Cross-section at *a a*.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.



Fig. 36 ( $\frac{1}{16}$ ). Scratcher.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

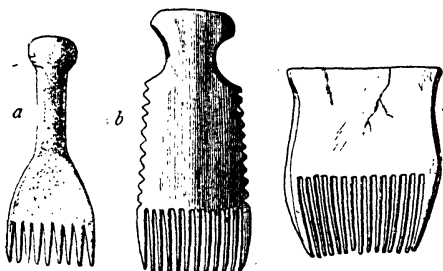


Fig. 37, *a* ( $\frac{1}{16}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{1}{16}$ ), *c* ( $\frac{1}{16}$ ). Combs.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.



Fig. 38 ( $\frac{1}{16}$ ). Necklace.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

Of objects for personal comfort, wooden goggles, to protect the eye from the glare of the snow, may be mentioned (Fig. 35); and the kumakssiun (Fig. 36) (literally, 'instrument used against lice'), a long, slightly curved piece of bone with a piece of



Fig. 39 (69). Man's Jacket, Front and Back.

bear-fur on the end. Combs are made from ivory (Fig. 37). The women wear necklaces of skin, to which several drops or pendants of ivory are attached (Fig. 38).

The clothing of the Smith Sound Eskimo consists of a coat with sleeves and a hood, breeches, inner boots or stockings, and outer boots. The dress of men and women, allowing for minor differences of cut and pattern, is very similar. The chief difference is that the men's breeches reach to the knee; while the women's are exceedingly short, and the boots in consequence extend the whole length of the leg. Besides this, women with an infant have their hood so enlarged as to form a bag in which to carry the child. All the clothing seems very scant, as there is practically no overlapping between different pieces. The most frequent material used is the skin of the nateq (*Phoca fatida*), but various furs are also much used.

The ordinary jacket of the men will be seen in Fig. 39. It reaches little farther than to the hips, but is somewhat longer front and back than on the sides. It is made of the skin of *Phoca*

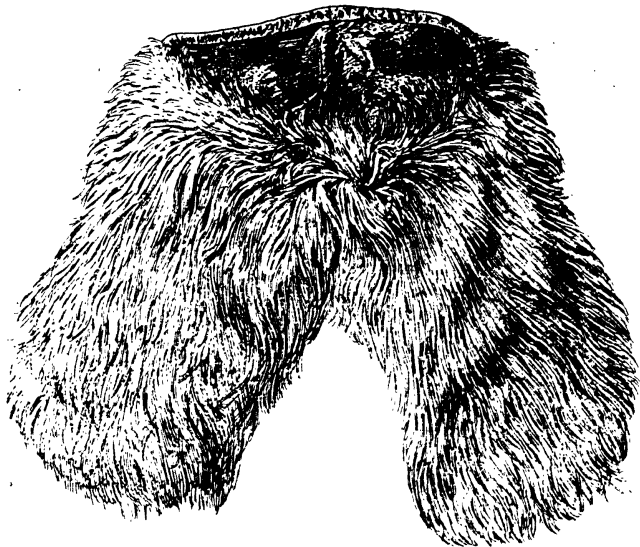


Fig. 40 ( $\frac{1}{8}$ ). Man's Breeches.

*fatida*. A pattern is regularly obtained by the combination of lighter and darker pieces of skin. The middle of the front and



back is dark, the two sides lighter. The upper part is light, but bisected vertically by a narrow black strip running up to the throat. Over the shoulder-blades are two clear-cut white areas, from which two white stripes extend some distance down the back. Sometimes, in the dark area between the stripes, there is a small white circle with a dark centre. The sleeves vary around a medium gray; they are generally darker in front and on the outer side, lighter behind and on the side next the body. The hood is edged with dark trimming; the lower end of the coat and sleeves, with a corresponding light-colored border. Sometimes a narrow stripe of contrasting color runs over the top of the hood; sometimes this is absent. At throat and wrists there is a little bear-fur.

The outdoor winter coat of the men is illustrated in Plate XII. It consists of rabbit and partly fox fur, and is entirely white but for the black edging of the hood surrounding the face, and a dark gray area at the back of the hood. Sometimes the coat is made of dark fur, and in this case there is a white band passing over the top of the hood and the shoulders. Mittens are made of sealskin or deerskin.

The breeches are made of polar-bear fur (Fig. 40). They are very low, especially in front; but even the back is exposed when the wearer bends forward. They extend a little below the knee.

Men's boots reach to the knee. The chief difference between the inner and outer boot is that the former is made of deer, fox, or rabbit skin, the fur being turned inside; while the outer boot is made of bear-fur, having the hair outside, or of dressed sealskin (Fig. 41). The sole of the boot is turned up all around the foot, and is joined to the triangular piece covering the instep. The leg of the inner boot consists of two pieces, and consequently has two seams, one on each side; the leg of the outer boot consists of one piece,

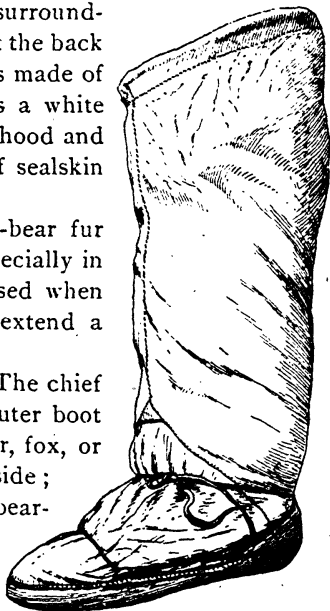
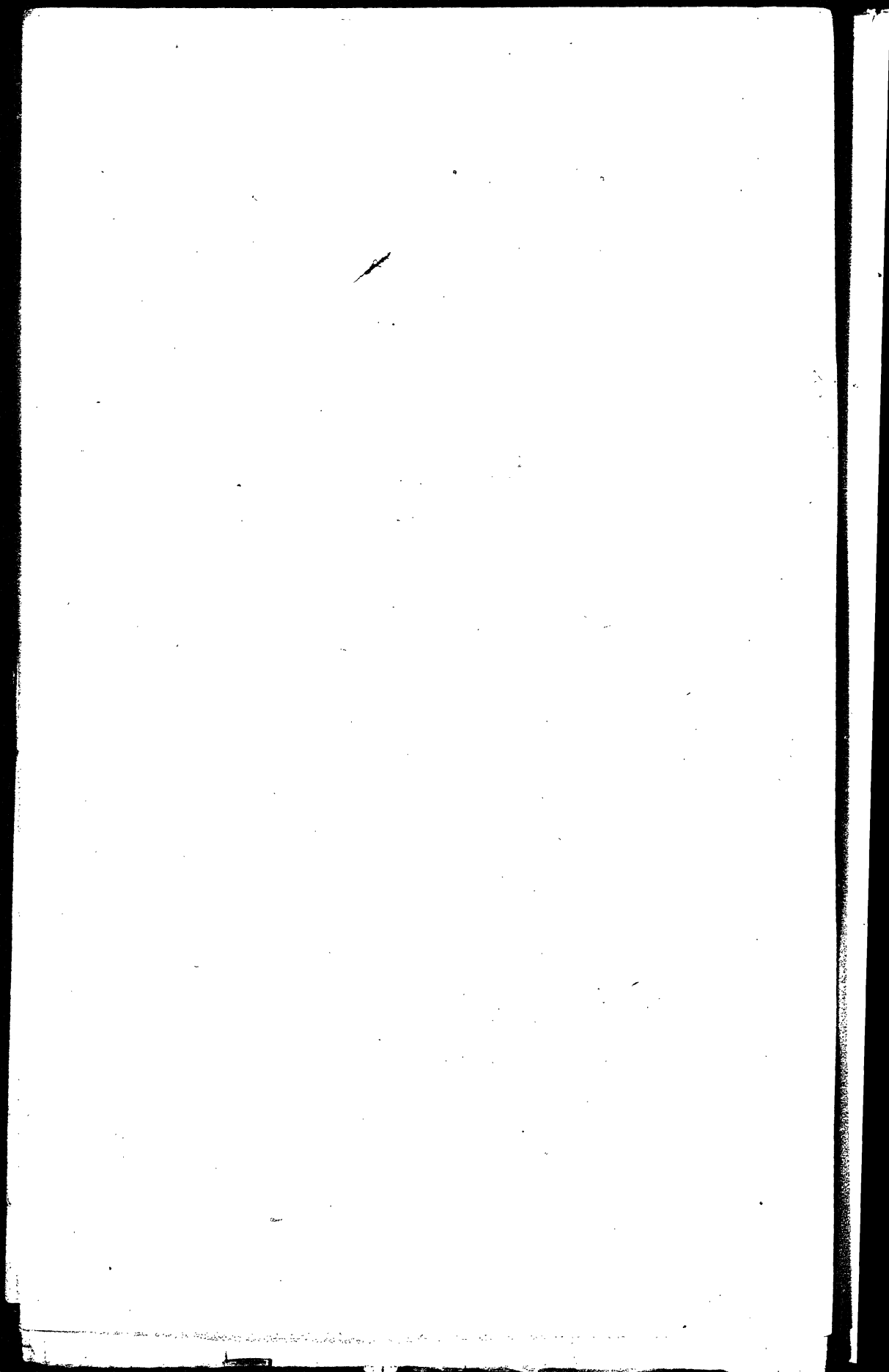


Fig. 41 (89). Man's Boot.



MAN IN WINTER COSTUME.



joined in one seam along the front of the leg. The same difference is found in women's boots. Various irregular triangular pieces are needed at the instep and the top of the boot.

The women also wear shirts or inner jackets of bird-skins, which are worn with the feathers next to the skin. The back of these shirts is sometimes covered with a piece of seal-skin.

The woman's jacket (arnap netia) differs little from the man's, except for the greater size of the hood (Fig. 42). Below, in front, it tapers more or less suddenly to a point (kininga); behind (Fig. 43), the lower edge is nearly level, with a leaf or lance shaped point (akunga) in the middle. As in the man's coat, there is a seam running across the chest from armpit to armpit, the fur above and below this line



Fig. 42 ( $\frac{60}{819}$ ). Woman's Jacket, Front.

contrasting somewhat in color; and the upper piece is divided in two by a patch or tongue of contrasting color (manuq) over the sternum. The usual arrangement of the colors or shades which occur when the fur of *Phoca fetida* is used, is as follows. From each of the two bottom points, upward to the edge of the hood,

there is a dark stripe, gradually shading off to light on both its sides. The stripe behind passes over the top of the hood ;



Fig. 43 (2872). Girl's Jacket, Back.

the stripe in front, after passing the above-mentioned armpit to armpit line, becomes divided by the lighter-colored tongue (manuq). Just below the armpit line, over the breasts, are two pretty sharply defined dark areas. The sleeves, except behind, are also dark. All the rest of the garment is light-colored. The effect is heightened by means of narrow edgings about a third of an inch wide, which contrast with the color of the adjacent area. Along the bottom of the jacket there are in places two or even three of these strips, being alternately light and dark. These strips are found around the lower edge of the garment, along the edge of the hood, down the length and around the ends of the sleeves, over the shoulder, down the middle of the manuq, and sometimes down the sides of the body of the jacket. If the pieces of which the jacket is made are not very large, great ingenuity is necessary to piece them together so that the above color-





GIRL IN SUMMER COSTUME.

contrast pattern may be obtained, and the cut of the pieces will be very irregular. Generally, however, the piecing follows a regular type more or less closely, and, though not very simple, is systematic. For the two main pieces of the coat, the front and the back, two sealskins are used, the dark back forming the middle of the piece; so that the two central stripes described are formed naturally. The front piece reaches only up to the armpit line, and is, roughly, pentagonal. The back piece is much longer, inasmuch as it includes the back of the hood; besides this, it has two side projections or wings just above the shoulder, which reach around the neck almost to the throat. A third piece, which is very small, forms the middle of the top of the hood. The remaining pieces are all double, occurring on both sides of the coat. One is needed for each sleeve; five cover each side of the chest and armpit; and four more on each side complete the hood. There are thus, in a jacket that may be considered typical, about twenty-three distinct pieces, not counting the strips of edging, which are nearly as numerous. Where the hood is small, as in a young girl's jacket, the number of pieces becomes somewhat less; but generally it is more likely to be more than the number stated, owing to irregular patching together of small pieces to make the large ones. Girls' jackets (Plate XIII) differ from those of women in having a small hood similar in shape to that worn by men.

A heavier jacket for women is made of thick deer-fur, but in general cut resembles the ordinary sealskin jacket.

The women's breeches (Fig. 44) are legless trunks, and are generally made

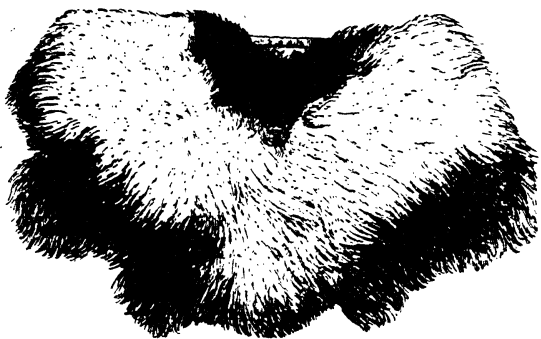


Fig. 44 (7%). Woman's Breeches.

of thick fox or rabbit fur, lined with soft bird-skin. The front is white, except a small dark tongue above in the middle; the back is dark, except a short light tongue below in the middle. The leg-holes are edged so that there is a contrast with the adjacent fur.



The inner and outer boots of the women (Fig. 45), to make up for the shortness of the breeches, are much longer than the men's. The inner boot is made of caribou-skin with the hair inward and the seams outside; the outer boot consists of tanned sealskin, with the seams inside. The leg of the inner boot consists of two pieces joined along the sides of the boot; the leg of the outer boot consists of one piece seamed down the front. This arrangement resembles that of the men's boots; but the latter generally contain a considerable number of small irregular pieces that are dispensed with in the women's boots.

Children's clothing consists of a pair of leggings, a shirt, a jacket, and a hood. The leggings (Fig. 48) are connected by a strip of deerskin along the back. They are fastened in front by tying the free ends of the strip around the waist. The jacket (Fig. 46) is made of fawn-skin. It resembles in shape that of the adult males and females, but it has no hood. In front there is a slit extending down a considerable distance. It is tied around the neck by means of strings. The shirt (Fig. 49) is made of skins of

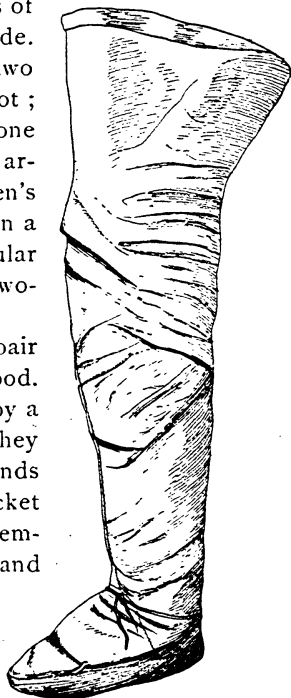


Fig. 45 (2821). Woman's Boot.

as the jacket. The hood (Fig. 47) is made of the skin of the head of a fawn, and seamed over the neck in front. It has a long tip reaching down behind. The edge around the face is trimmed with deerskin; the edge around the neck, with bear-skin. A string is attached to each side for tying it down around the neck.

Of games, the collection in the Museum contains: the ajagaq (Fig. 50),—a leg-bone with a hole bored through each socket and a thin stick (ajau'tang) tied by a short string to the bone, the latter being thrown up to be caught in either hole with the stick; the hieqtā'q (Fig. 51), or bull-roarer,—a flat bone in the shape of an hourglass or figure eight, with a looped string

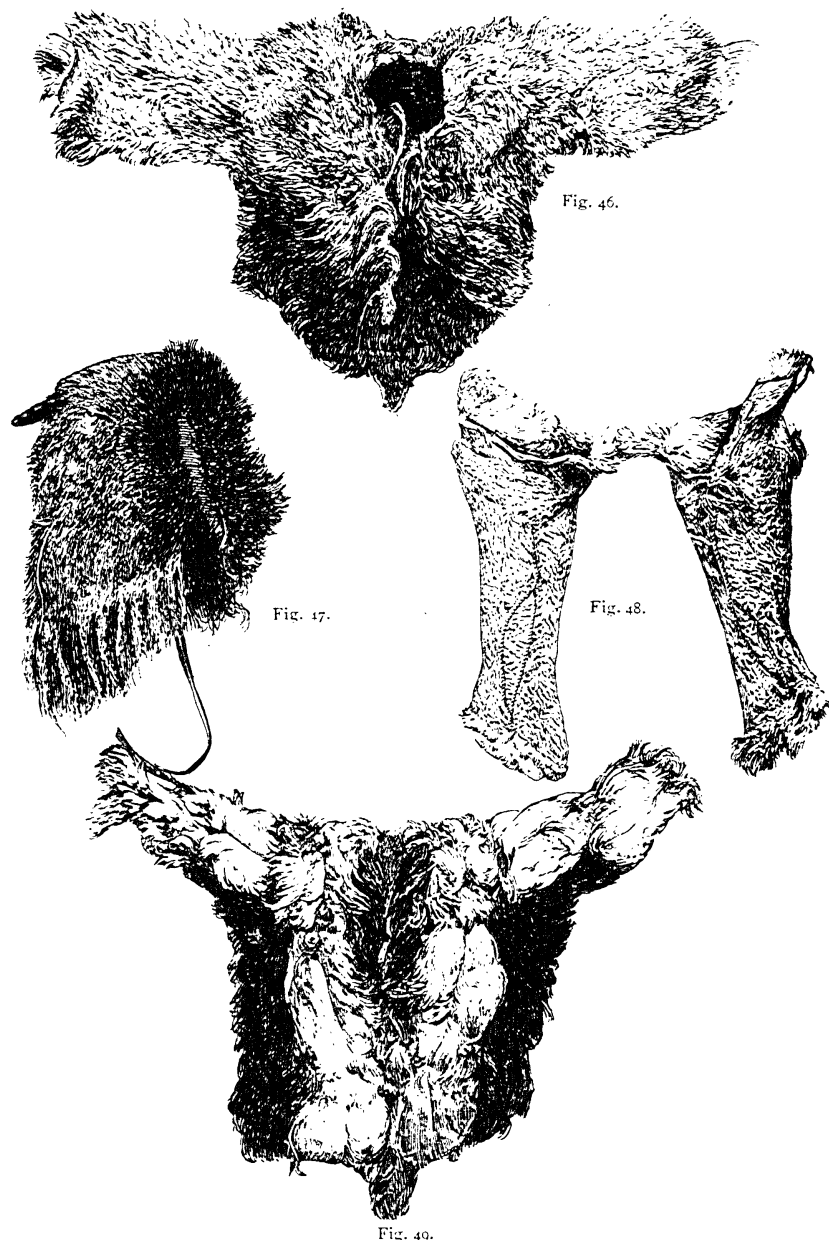


Fig. 46.

Fig. 47.

Fig. 48.

Fig. 49.

Figs. 46-49 (2572, 2573, 2574). Infants' Clothing.

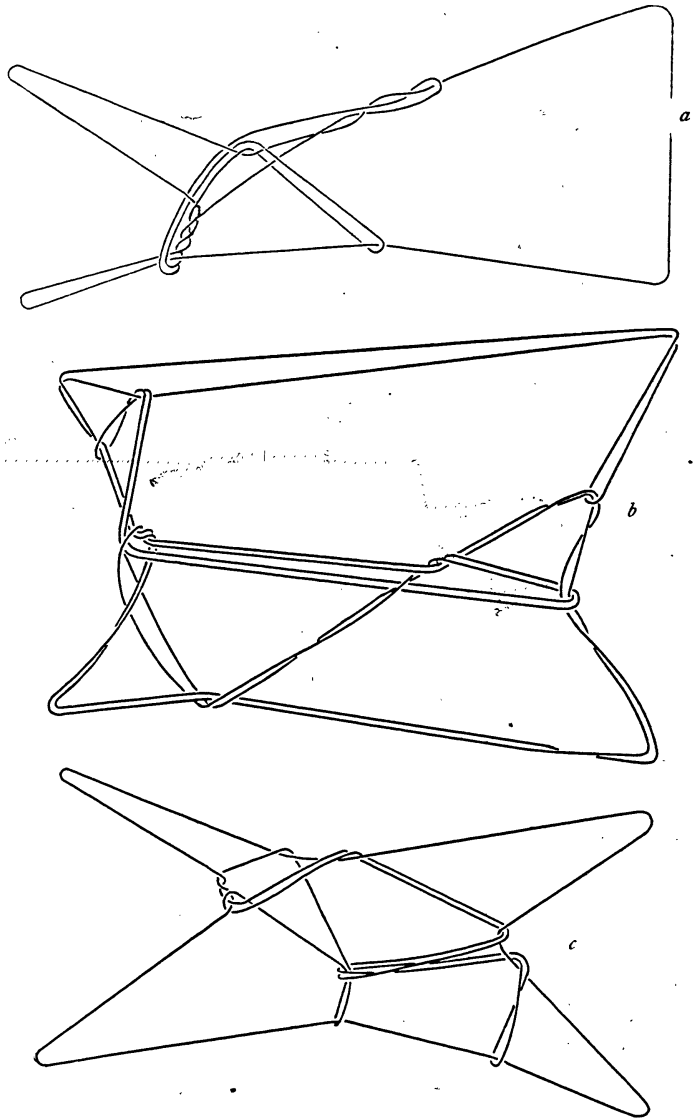


Fig. 52. Cat's-cradle.  
*a* ( $\frac{40}{12}$ ), Fox; *b* ( $\frac{60}{10}$ ), Raven; *c* ( $\frac{80}{10}$ ), Polar Bear.

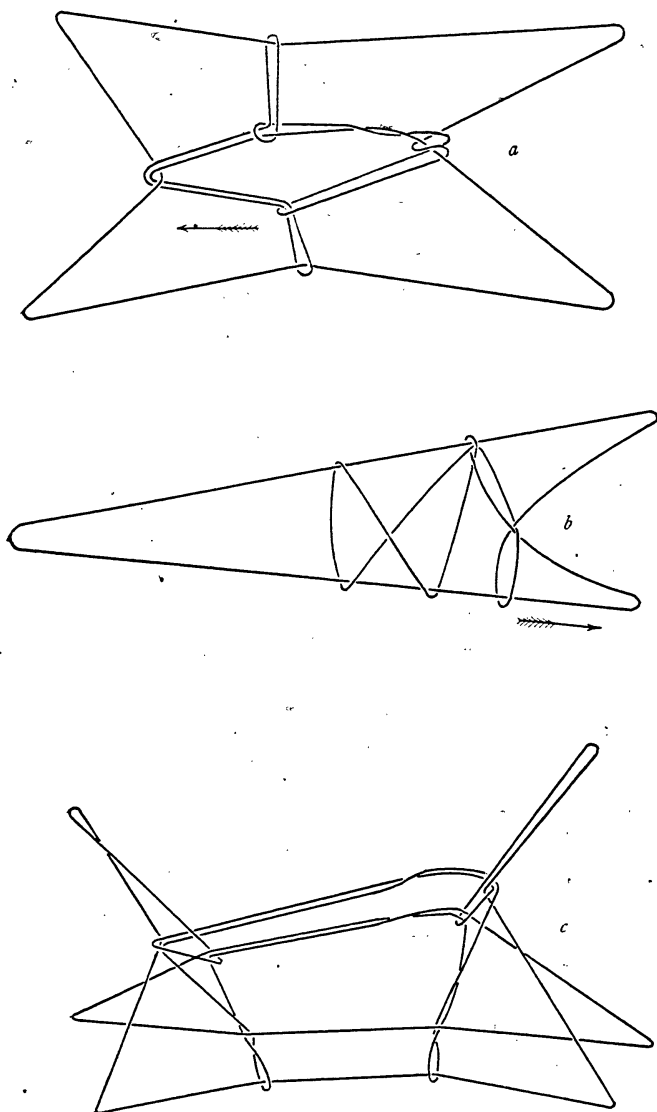


Fig. 53. Cat's-cradle.

*a* ( $\frac{8^0}{9^0}$ ), Narwhal; *b* ( $\frac{8^0}{9^0}$ ), Hare; *c* ( $\frac{8^0}{9^0}$ ), Walrus-head.

passing through its middle; and the 'cat's-cradle' (Figs. 52, 53), — a string to be drawn by the fingers into the shapes of various objects or animals.

Among amusements is ball-playing. The ball is of sealskin, and is stuffed with scraps of skin so as to be hard. The Adlet

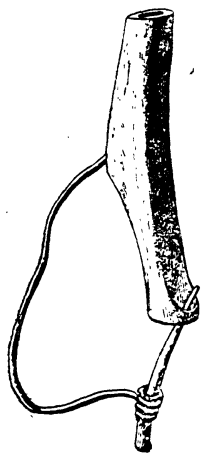


Fig. 50 ( $\frac{20}{32}$ ). Bilboquet.  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

among them also juggle, some with as many as five pebbles at once. Wrestling, and finger and arm pulling, are also indulged in. Sometimes men go out in their kayaks to show their skill, coming as near as possible to upsetting. In general the Smith Sound Eskimo are less skilful in handling their kayaks than the Greenlanders. When upset, they cannot right themselves, and hence never go out alone. The boys have toy harpoons.

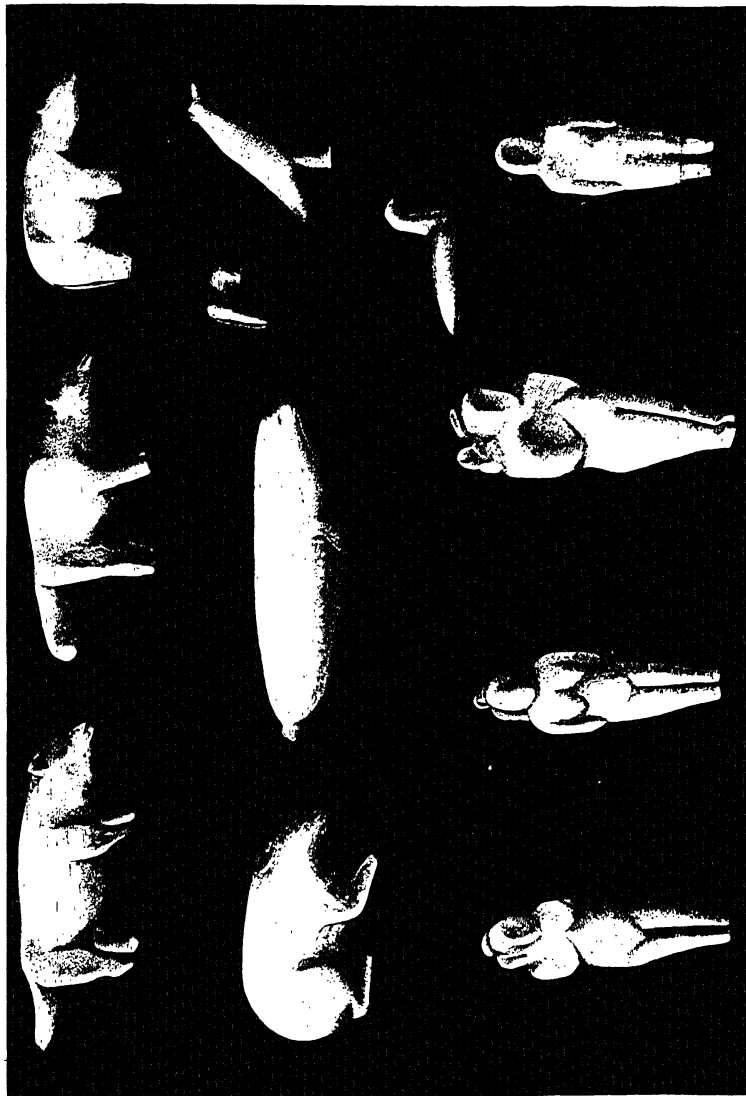
The art of the Smith Sound Eskimo is by no means as well developed as that of other



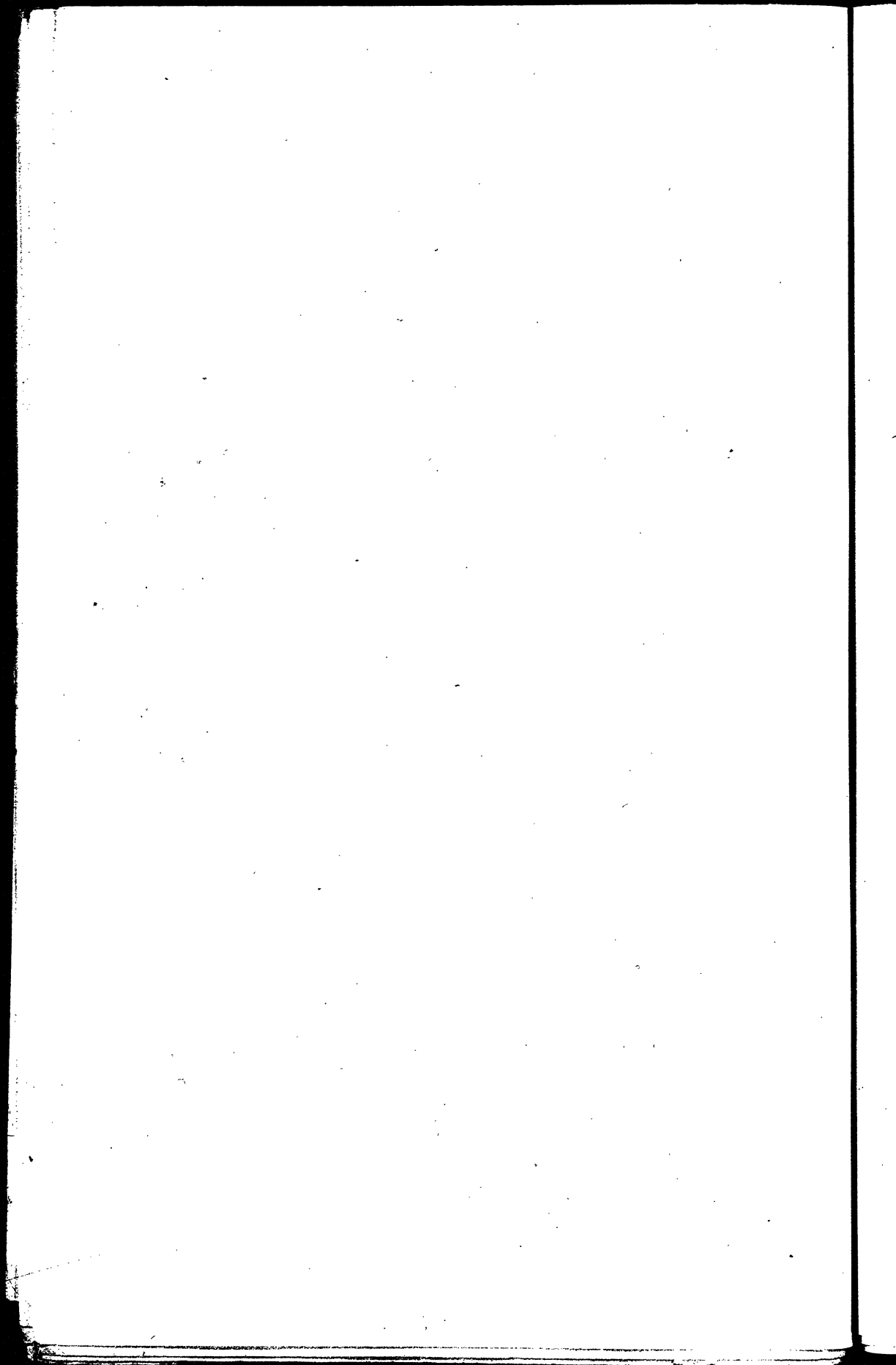
Fig. 51 ( $\frac{22}{32}$ ). Bull-roarer.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

Eskimo tribes, such as those in Alaska and East Greenland; but some of their work is by no means despicable. This is true especially of their carvings of animals in ivory or bone. Their execution of the human figure is perhaps equally good, but its faults of proportion, etc., are more noticeable to European eyes. On Plate XIV are shown a number of these small figures. A needle-case (iviqterau'tin) with carved attachments is shown in Fig. 30.

The social organization of the Smith Sound Eskimo is very loose. Peary says (p. 492) that they are absolutely free, and possess no government.— They apply the term 'naligaq' to leaders of Arctic expeditions, such as Kane and Peary; but if used in reference to any of themselves, it means merely a good hunter. Nalegak is the most skilful hunter, but he has no authority, says Hayes (p. 256). Destitute as they are, they exist, both in love and community of resources, as a single family (KANE, p. 211); and while it is inevitable that there should be men with more influence than others, they lack any [official] authority whatever.



2 Dogs (38, 39), Polar Bear (40), Rabbit (41), Seal (42), Walrus-head (43), Sitting Bird (44), Swimming Bird (45);  
3 Women (56, 57, 58), Man (59).



There is a community of food as of dwellings, only clothing and implements and utensils being personal property. Hospitality is a matter of course. According to Hayes, it is never refused and never offered. There is considerable visiting and constant travelling about.

They profess to have no murder among them, but always mention the Adlet in this connection, who have the reputation of being savage and fierce. As a matter of fact, murders seem to occur relatively as frequently as among other Eskimo tribes. Kane speaks of three in two years, and Hayes and Peary also give instances. Infanticide is not uncommon. When a woman dies who has a child that she is still carrying in her hood, it is buried with her. A woman losing her husband always exposes or strangles her infant. "The child is killed because it has no father," the Eskimo say; and the woman's act is not regarded as wrong. Kane (p. 71) mentions a case of infanticide where both parents were living.

Sometimes a man has two wives. When the wife had no children, it has happened that the husband left her. The parents of a girl are said not to influence her choice, nor do they receive any presents. The young couple live with the parents of either, or alone, according to circumstances and convenience. — Hayes says that the bride is often carried off by force, making a show of resistance, but, when once in the house of her husband, is contented. Children are betrothed, the girl at times being far older than the boy. — Peary (p. 496) says that there is no marriage ceremony. Morals are not high. A wife can be sold, exchanged, loaned, or borrowed. Betrothals are frequently made by the parents of the children. The girls marry early, but never have children before three years after puberty. The functions of motherhood cause hardly any inconvenience. Abortions are caused by the heavy labor of house-roofing. Young couples frequently change partners until suited, but thereafter the marriage is ordinarily permanent. In a case of two rivals for a widow, the suits were decided by a wrestling duel, which was peaceable and conclusive. The winner, however, lost the woman in a similar match with a man already married. (An incident like this is mentioned in a Greenland tale; see RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 265.) Mrs. Peary (p. 85) mentions two men, one of them from the



West Coast, who exchange wives every other year. They, however, are the only ones in the tribe. The men approve, the women disapprove, of the custom. — The widespread custom of pretending to carry off the bride by force, even after her consent is secured, prevails (BESSELS, p. 367). Bessels also describes the ceremony of what he regarded as a divorce. The husband, in a well warranted fit of jealousy, had stabbed and wounded his wife: A separation was therefore decided upon. The woman lay on her back, on the bed of a neighboring house, her legs drawn up. One of the eldest women in the tribe held her head by means of a thong fastened around it. For two hours she raised and lowered her head by this thong, singing monotonously and unintelligibly in a low voice. The woman then went off to her lover, her new husband. It seems more likely, however, that the ceremony here described was a medical treatment for the wound than a divorce.

There are said to be no fixed festivals of any kind, nor the qaggi ('singing-house') of the Western tribes; but Peary (p. 274) says, "In the evening we went to a large, unoccupied

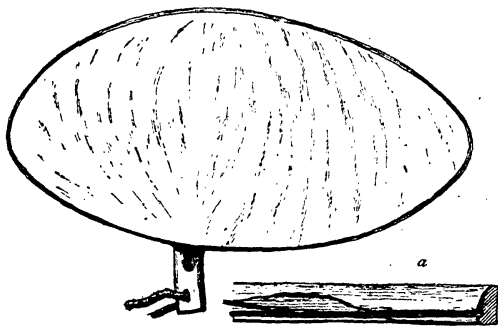


Fig. 54 ( $\frac{2}{3}$  nat. size). Drum,  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size; a, Detail sketch of rim of drum, showing method of fastening drum-skin,  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

igloo, which was utilized by the young people as a sort of play-room. All the children of the village were here engaged in games." When any one has a larger supply of meat than the rest, there is likely to be a gathering and a feast at his house, accompanied sometimes by singing. Several of their melodies are given by Boas (p. 658). At dances the women sit naked in bed

with the infants. The men sit on the edge of the bed, the children on the floor. The dancers are two, and alternately use the drum (Fig. 54), which consists of seal intestine stretched over an elliptical bone frame. It is beaten with a walrus-rib. Only the shamans (*angakut*) use words when singing; others sing merely 'Aja.' ("In winter come the songs and improvisations of the *angakut*. In the choruses of these the entire assembled company join." — PEARY.) However, the Smith Sound Eskimo are not altogether without the satiric songs of the other Eskimo tribes.

The year is divided into months (*aningan*, 'moon'). Of these, about three are given to winter, two to spring, four to summer, and three to autumn; but ordinarily time is reckoned, except in winter, not by moons, but by the arrival and departure of birds and animals, etc., as in Greenland (CRANZ, p. 293).

The practical religion and ceremonial, as distinct from the cosmology, of the inhabitants of Smith Sound, cluster about shamanism. As with other Eskimo tribes, the shamans are called '*angakoq*.' A considerable number of the inhabitants are *angakut* (six out of fourteen individuals once enumerated to me) and according to Ross (p. 128) they generally had one in every family. Women as well as men are *angakut*. Any one may become an *angakoq*; that is, there is nothing to prevent him from trying. The procedure is as follows: The person desirous of becoming *angakoq* asks an older *angakoq* where to make his trial, saying nothing about his attempts to others until he has succeeded. He goes alone at night to a place where the rock is hollow, and resounds when trod upon: that is, to a cavernous cliff. He walks straight toward this. If he is to be an *angakoq*, he will walk into a hole or cave in the hill; if not, he will strike the face of the cliff. When he has entered, the cavern closes upon him. When it re-opens, he must go out, else he will be shut up forever. He is now an *angakoq*, but has not yet learned his powers. For this purpose he must go to another place, at the edge of the permanent ice-cap (*serngmeng*). Here in a cave in the sand (?) lives *Torngaxssung*, the oldest of the *tornguang* ('spirit'; Greenland, *tôrnaq*). Were *Torngaxssung*, however, to go near the cliff which the *angakoq* has previously entered, the former would die. (In Greenland any one who should vent

wind when attending an angakoq's ceremony would be killed. — CRANZ, p. 268.) Torngaxssung instructs the angakoq, asking him what sort of tornguang he wants, giving it to him and telling him how to use it. For one night he keeps the angakoq, who must then go. He is now a complete angakoq.

In Greenland the essaying angakoq retires from men, and fasts, the result being a disordered imagination, and convulsions. Some are destined for angakuneq from their youth. Others sit down before a large stone and call Tornarsuk. When he appears, the man dies of fright and remains dead three days. After that he receives his Torngaq. — CRANZ, p. 268.

"Some of the old people speak of angakussarfiks, or caves, containing a stone with an even surface and a smaller one; the angakok apprentice having to grind the first with the second until Tornarsuk announced himself in a voice arising from the depths of the earth. Others became angakok by allowing vermin to suck their blood in a dried-up lake until they became unconscious. These maintained themselves to be of a higher grade." — RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 59.

Among the Central tribes, Tornarsuk is unknown. The most powerful tornaq, a nearly hairless bear, is obtained by going alone to the edge of the land-floe and summoning the bears. A herd approaches: the man is frightened almost to death, but receives one bear as his spirit. — BOAS, p. 592.

The tornguang, or guardian spirit, of the angakoq, may be a person, a bear, a walrus, a loon, a stone, or in fact 'any thing.'

In East Greenland (Angmagsalik) the tornaq is called 'tartaq' (tarne, 'soul').

At the Mackenzie, the Anerneit (literally 'breaths'), the lower spirits able to assume any shape, and the Innulit (literally 'possessing men'), the souls of the dead, 'belong to the totemism or shamanism of the Eskimo.' — PETITOT, p. xxxii.

In Greenland most of the inue ('owners,' 'spirits') of land and sea could be made tornat, and also the souls of qivigtut, of the dead, and of animals. — RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 59.

The breath or soul after death becomes a tornguang. The tornat, accordingly, live in the air, between heaven and earth. The relation of the tornguang to the Torngaxssung is not very definite. The same person once spoke of several Torngaxssut, once called him the oldest tornguang, at another time called him an old angakoq. He has power over the tornat, but does not seem to be radically distinct from them. (The word 'tornarsuk' means, according to Kleinschmidt, 'peculiar, separate tornaq'). Nor is there necessarily only one Torngaxssuk. He is also

described as a dead person, who is often heard whistling (thus : — —, or — —) when persons are alone, who are then much frightened, though at later times the recollection of fright causes amusement. An angakoq, on such occasions, can see as well as hear Tornaxssung.

In Greenland, Tornarsuk was apparently regarded more as an individual. But conceptions of him were vague. "Some say he has no shape; others describe him as a great bear, or a large man with one arm, or as being of the size of a finger." — CRANZ, p. 264.

In East Greenland every angakoq has his own Tornarsuk, who lives in the sea, and with whom he communicates by his Aperketek. He is as long as a large seal, but stouter; but his anterior flippers are as long as a man's arm. He swims rapidly at the bottom of the sea, and is visible to others besides angakut. He answers questions put to him by the angakoq, and devours stolen souls. — *Résumé*, p. 374.

The Central and Mackenzie tribes know the tornaq, but not Tornarsuk. Among the latter, Anerné-aluk (Esprit-Grand) is "vague and imperfectly conceived, but nevertheless real;" as he is not harmful, he is regarded with indifference, as in Greenland Tornarsuk. [Anerné-aluk seems to mean 'large or bad spirit.'] . . . At the Mackenzie the souls of the dead (innulit) whistle and cause fright. — PÉRIOT, pp. xxx., xxxiii.

The boy Minik, ten years old, used 'torngang' and 'torn, gaxssung' synonymously. He also called the ghost of a dead person 'torngaxssung.' According to him, if a person sees a torngang, he dies immediately. Thus it is said that two men were once hunting seals through the ice, waiting for them to come to the blow-hole. They were sitting at a little distance from each other, when suddenly a torngaxssuk came up through one of the holes, and the man fell down dead at once. It is told that a woman who had died could not be lifted from the ground and that this was caused by torngaxssuin. When the name of a dead person is mentioned, torngaxssuin come about the house at night, making various noises about the entrance. If, however, dogs see them, they bark at them, and thus drive them away.

The angakoq uses his tornguang as an instrument for almost every purpose, and it is in possessing a tornguang that all his angakoq power seems, directly or indirectly, to lie. By means of his tornguang he discovers whether a sick person will recover; by it or on it he can fly to the moon and back; to it he prays and sings. He can summon it at any time, and it is only to him that

it is visible. Whether other angakut can see his tornguang is not clear.

The powers of the angakut are manifold and of various degrees. Ross (p. 128) says that it is in their power to raise a storm or make a calm, and to drive off seals or bring them in. Some are much more powerful and wise than others. There do not seem to be any contests for superiority among them, as in Greenland (see the tale in RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 459), since the weaker recognize the others as stronger. The best are those that can go up to the sky, or qelearqtarqton (*cf.* Boas, p. 598; RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 440). Besides, they can walk on clouds (ilumakpakton; Greenland, ilimarneq, 'spirit-flight'; *cf.* RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 271), and over (not on) the water, going up and down with the waves, near the surface. They can cure people who are sick, or, if their case is hopeless, predict that they will die. A good angakoq can also see disposition and character. Thus Qumunapik knew that several individuals at Smith Sound were inclined to commit murder, as well as the Adlet from whom he had come. The angakoq, if there is a scarcity of seals, can bring them by going to the dead angakut (siudleratuin), who cause the seals to return. Or he goes down to Nerivik, the woman under the sea, and, by combing and braiding her tangled hair, secures from her the release of the seals.

In Greenland the visiting angakoq frees Arnarquagssaq from the parasites (agdlrutit, 'abortions') fastened around her head, and thus induces her to release the seals (RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 40), the parasites being the charm that restrains the seals (CRANZ, p. 265). In Angmagsalik he combs the seals and narwhals out of the hair of the huge woman (*Résumé*, p. 373). In Baffin Land they are released by the angakoq's depriving their mistress of a charm (BOAS, p. 587; *cf.* also RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 324).

In the United States, the Smith Sound Eskimo say, the angakoq has no power, because there are no tornat. However, they relate a story of what the angakut formerly did. The siudleratuin (people now dead) went into a house that was dark, and had their feet tied together, and their hands behind their back. They then untied their bound hands themselves, cut off their tongue, held it in their hand, and showed it to the spectators. The tongue did not bleed. This, however, is not done now.

This, excepting the mutilation, was actually practised in Greenland (RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 61; CRANZ, p. 270) and in Baffin Land (BOAS, p. 594).

The angakoq also uses his tornguang in curing sickness. A sick person who has no faith in the angakoq is made worse by him until he is terrified into belief; then the angakoq cures him. The patient must not cut meat, and must follow the other instructions of the angakoq, if he wishes to recover. When performing a cure, the angakoq stands by the sick person, and summons his tornguang. The latter enters the house, but in a dark corner where he cannot be seen. He is, however, heard (*cf.* CRANZ, p. 270; BOAS, p. 593). Only the angakoq may speak or sing to him, since, if any one else addressed him, he would at once disappear. The angakoq speaks to his tornguang, who performs the cure by recovering the departed soul of the patient.

In Greenland the soul could be recovered, exchanged, or repaired (CRANZ, p. 257). In Angmagsalik, sickness is caused by the removal, by an angakoq, of the soul, or one of the souls; the cure consists in its restoration by another angakoq (*Résumé*, p. 373; *cf.* the tales in RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 268).

In ceremonies the angakut use the 'angakoq language.' This consists of fifty or a hundred metaphorical, descriptive, obsolete, or mutilated terms, used instead of the ordinary words. Though generally known completely only to the older people of the tribe, it is in no way regarded as a secret, as under certain observances (*aglirtun*) every one must use the angakoq words (see p. 313). A list of angakoq words is given in the appendix.

Though man or woman, old or young, may become angakoq, only persons born with the necessary gift, endowed with the 'supernatural' faculty, can become angakoq. This is essential. No amount of skill, knowledge, judgment, or wisdom, will make up for it. The Eskimo themselves distinguish clearly between these faculties and the angakoq's power. They say that persons are born angakut.

As to *ilisineq*, or *kusuineq* ('witchcraft' or 'sorcery,' as opposed to the legitimate *angakuneq*), it was impossible to obtain any information. This may be due merely to reticence of the natives; but it seems possible that, as among the Baffin Land tribes (BOAS, p. 595), it does not exist. At any rate, the references to it

found in Greenland tales (*cf.* RINK, *T. and T.*, Nos. 2, 22, 24, 32, 43, 48, 57, 69) are wanting in Smith Sound tales. The word 'tupilak' (in Greenland and East Greenland an artificial animal manufactured to cause the death of an enemy) is, however, known, though all that was ascertainable regarding it was, that it had associations of evil. The wide difference between *ilisineq* and *angakuneq* is clearly brought out by Rink (*T. and T.*, pp. 41, 42) and in Holm's account of Angmagsalik, where the *ilisineq* seems to have become even more important than the *angakuneq*.

Amulets (*arnngwan*) are worn only by men, either on the back or on the tip of the hood. Pieces of charred wood are used. Charred moss from the lamps is put on the lash of the whip to keep it from flying off when the whip is cracked.

In Baffin Land and Greenland the amulet (*armgoaq*, *arnuaq*) seems to have been made most frequently from an animal, though in the former country a piece of the first gown worn by a child is particularly efficacious.

Every person has, in addition to his body, *aningnin* (breath),<sup>1</sup> *angiyang*, and *aq* (his name). Of these, the *aningnin* (Greenland, *anerneq*) corresponds most nearly to our 'life' or 'soul.' When a person dies, the breath leaves him and stays near the body. It seems to be this *aningnin* which becomes a *tornguang* after death. It is visible to an *angakoq*. It has the power of leaving the body; for in curing sickness the *angakoq* sends his *tornguang* to bring back the *aningnin* of the patient. An *angakoq* can foretell a death by seeing the breath leave the body. When an *angakoq* dies, his *tornguang* is heard afterwards, but it is not clear whether this refers to his *aningnin* now become a *tornguang*, or to the *tornguang* he owned.

In Greenland a dead *angakoq* was apt to re-appear in the shape of a ghost (RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 62). There were two souls,—the breath and the shadow (CRANZ, p. 257).

In Angmagsalik a man consists of body, 'souls,' and name (*atekata*). The souls are many. The largest live in the throat and in the left side, and are small men, of the size of a sparrow. The others live in all other parts of the body, and are of the size of a finger-joint. When the *angakut* takes away one, the part of the body thus deprived becomes sick, and it must be restored, or the man dies.—*Résumé*, p. 373.

<sup>1</sup> This disproves Rink's belief (*Eskimo Tribes*, I, p. 88) that the application of this word to spiritual actions and the soul was imported by white men.

The angiyang is described as a bird, visible only to the angakoq. It causes sickness. Wherever a person has pain, the angiyang is pricking him with its bill. When a person is about to die, the angakoq kills the angiyang, and the sick person recovers. When a person dies, the angiyang dies too, after a while. It also informs the angakoq when one has disobeyed his orders, or refuses to tell him the truth. Its evil nature is clear. While the aningnin is bound up with life, the angiyang is opposed to it; its activity causes sickness, its death brings life.

Unknown among the Central tribes, the angiaq in Greenland is an abortion or murdered child changed into an evil spirit.—RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 45. [The affinity to soul is evident.]

A person's name is regarded as 'bad' after his death. It goes out doors into the surrounding air (sila). The name of the dead is never spoken, according to Peary (p. 507), and any other members of the tribe of the same name must assume another until the arrival of an infant to which the name can be applied removes the ban. There are, among the 253 individuals of the tribe, 185 different names. The greatest number of the same name is four.

In Angmagsalik the atekata ('name') is as large as a man, and enters the infant when, after birth, it is rubbed about the mouth with water, while the names of the dead after whom it is named are pronounced. After death the name remains near the body until it is given to an infant, in whom it then continues its existence. — *Résumé*, p. 373.

If the name of a dead person is also the name of some object, this object is not spoken of for some time following. The dead person is not even alluded to, if it can be avoided. Children are named, however, after the person last dying in the neighborhood, or especially the grandparents. The same name is not used for both sexes.

On Davis Strait the infant is always named after the persons who have died since the last birth took place. If a relative dies while the child is younger than four years or so, his name is added to the old ones, and becomes the proper name by which it is called. — BOAS, p. 612.

In Greenland the child was named after a deceased relative, especially a grandparent. — RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 54.

In East Greenland the prohibition against using the name of the dead is



more permanent than at Smith Sound. The word drops out of the language, and is replaced by a circumlocution, a derivative, or a synonyme, so that the language is considerably modified by this process. It is supposed, however, that the old names revive when the dead person is forgotten. — *Résumé*, p. 372.

Ideas as to life after death are vague and conflicting. There are three places to which the dead go,—aningan ('moon'), adliqqat ('the lowest place,' the habitation of Nerivik, under the sea), and sila ('outside,' the atmosphere). What classes of people go to each of these places is not said (except that women who die in childbirth go down to Nerivik). Questions bring only contradictory statements. There seems to be no conception of the dead having any definite occupation, or of any more or less pleasant state in the various places, or of any reward or punishment. What it is that goes to these places is also not clear. The angiyang dies, while the aningnin ('breath') is expressly stated to remain near the body for some time at least, and becomes a *tornguang*, which inhabits the air (sila). Mrs. Peary states (p. 187) that on her husband's return from the inland ice-cap (serngmeng) he was regarded as a spirit, and later asked about the spirits of the dead.

In East Greenland the dead go either to the sea or the sky. They fare well in both places; but the lower is preferable. — *Résumé*, p. 373.

In Greenland, opinions are contradictory; but on the whole the lower world is preferred, being warmer, and richer in food. The inhabitants of the upper world cause the aurora borealis by playing ball with a walrus-head. The journey to the lower world is dangerous and difficult, the soul having to slide from a rough rock for five days. During this journey it may perish through stormy weather, or through violation of mourning customs by the relatives; and this is called 'the other death,' which is feared extremely. The journey to the upper world is quick and easy. — CRANZ, p. 258.

Among the Central Eskimo, heaven is the pleasant land; the lower world is dark, cold, and stormy. The Adlivun are below the sea, the Adliparmiut the lowest; similarly Qudlivun ('those above') and Qudliparmiut ('the highest'). Some tribes know of four lower worlds, only the lowest being pleasant. Both here and in Greenland the meritorious (drowned hunters, women dying in childbirth, etc.) go to the happy land. — BOAS, p. 589.

At the Mackenzie the dead inhabit the bottom of the sea. They dance, and play ball, and 'hold communication with immortal beings clothed in scales.' — PETITOT, p. xxxii.

The dead and all belonging to them are regarded with fear, and the survivors are for some time in a state of panic. Peary

speaks of a woman (p. 408) who dreamed of seeing a deceased woman, and all were in terror the next day. He also states (p. 227) that on the death of a woman at Narksami (Naqsaq), the natives all removed to Netiulummi (Natilivik). Formerly people sometimes starved to death, but now they put food on the graves, and are exempt from famine. Even among the christianized Eskimo of southern Labrador, putting food on graves that have been dreamed of causes a good hunt. The same custom is described by Boas (p. 614) among the Central tribes.

When a person is dying, he is removed from the house, when possible. If, however, he should die in the house, the body is removed, — if a man's, through the door; if a woman's, through the window. Sometimes also, if the person was disliked, the corpse is left. In that case, the house in which he died is demolished, the best stones being used for a new house. Generally, however, the corpse is buried. The mode of burial is as follows: A hood is put on the corpse. It is then carried on the back to the burial-place of the settlement, which is not far away, the corpses being laid down next to each other with their heads away from the sea. The body is then surrounded by stones, and covered with flat slabs.

Arctic explorers give the following descriptions of burials at Smith Sound: —

“The woman died at five; at six she was sewed up in a seal-skin winding-sheet, and carried on a sledge to a neighboring gorge, and there buried among the rocks, and covered with heavy stones. The only evidences of sorrow were shown by her daughter Merkut. Merkut remained by the grave after the others had departed; and for about an hour she walked around and around it, muttering in a low voice some praises of the deceased. At the head of the grave she then placed the knife, needles, and sinew which her mother had recently been using, and the last rites were performed.” — HAYES, p. 294.

“The body was enveloped in skins, carried away on a sledge, and buried in the snow with his face turned to the west. After the body was covered, the sledge was turned over it, and the hunting implements of the dead man laid next to it. The men hereupon put a small bunch of hay into their right nostril, the women into the left. These were worn several days, and laid aside

only when a house was entered."—BESSELS, p. 369. [Bessels adds that it is customary, snow and weather permitting, to cover the body with stones.]

"On the death of a man or woman, the body, fully dressed, is laid straight upon its back, on a skin or two, and some extra articles of clothing placed upon it. It is then covered with another skin, and the whole covered in with a low stone structure. A lamp with some blubber is placed close to the grave; and, if the deceased is a man, his sledge and kayak, with his weapons and implements, are placed close by, and his favorite dogs, harnessed and attached to the sledge, are strangled to accompany him. If a woman, her cooking-utensils and drying-frame are placed beside the grave. If she has a dog, it is strangled to accompany her; and, if she has a baby in her hood, it too must die with her. If the death takes place in a tent, the poles are removed, allowing it to settle down over the site, and it is never used again; if in a house, it is vacated, and not used for a long time."—PEARY, p. 506.

"Her body was sewed up in skins, not in a sitting posture, like the remains which we found in the graves at the south, but with the limbs extended at full length; and her husband bore her unattended to the resting-place, and covered her, stone by stone, with a rude monumental cairn. The blubber-lamp was kept burning outside the hut while the solitary funeral was in progress; and when it was over, the mourners came together to weep and howl, while the widower recited his sorrows and her praises."—KANE, p. 118.

In Greenland the body is removed through the window, and carried or dragged to the burial-place. Among the Central tribes, the dying person is removed from the house or tent, as his death in it would render it uninhabitable. In East Greenland the body is dragged through the door or window, and thrown into the sea, if any of the ancestors of the dead have perished while kayaking, which is now always the case; formerly it was buried.

After a death, the survivors are *aglirtun* (Greenland, *agdlertut*), under certain restrictions or taboos.<sup>1</sup> Only relatives who lived with the deceased are affected by this observance. There are two periods. The first lasts for five days after the burial. (In

<sup>1</sup> For detailed accounts of these regulations and ceremonies elsewhere, which are numerous and generally similar to those here mentioned, see Rink, T. and T., pp. 54, 55, and Boas, pp. 614, 615.

Greenland, during the five days that the soul is sliding down a rough rock to the lower world, the relatives of the dead, to prevent injury to the soul, must do no work, and refrain from certain food, etc.) The relatives do not leave the house in this time, and do no work of any kind, nor may children play. After this comes another period of less severe mourning, said once to last until the sun goes away or comes back again, at another time three months. There are again certain restrictions as to work, carrying water being especially forbidden. Nothing may be carved or manufactured. The aglirtun may not go outdoors, unless completely dressed, *i. e.*, wearing a hood. Certain kinds of meat—bear, fox, and especially ground-seal—may not be eaten. It is noteworthy that the ground-seal is the only sea-mammal which did not originate from the fingers of Nerivik, and is not eaten by the dead staying with her. “Nanon aglerin, uxssung aglerin, nanon pidlessevatit,” is a mnemonic formula for this provision: “Refrain from bear, refrain from ground-seal, the bear will do you an injury.” (Among the Central tribes the walrus takes the place of the ground-seal in this respect.) According to Kane, the bereaved may be required (by the angakoq) “even to abstain from the seal or walrus hunt for the whole year, from Okiakut to Okiakut (winter to winter). More generally he is denied the luxury of some article of food, as the rabbit, or the favorite part of the walrus; or he may be forbidden to throw back his nessak, and forced to go with uncovered head.” During the first period of mourning, grass or moss is put into the nostrils when the aglirtun go outdoors. The aglirtun must also use ‘angakoq words;’ *i. e.*, the jargon, or ‘official language,’ of the angakut (see p. 307). Instead of siglalik, the angakoq word for aveq, ‘walrus,’ they use, however, iloung. Aglirtun is also said of a menstruating woman. She is under the same restrictions as after a death,—she must wear a hood outdoors, may not carry water, may not eat the prescribed kinds of food. She also eats from her own plate, apart from the others.

The following observations as to the practices of the Smith Sound aglirtun, secured by Dr. Boas from an attendant (speaking Eskimo) of the party in this city, are exceptionally full, though perhaps the customs are somewhat modified by the unusual surroundings.

"When informed that his wife was dying, Nuktan picked her up and carried her out of the house into the barn. Once before, when her death was expected, he ordered her to be carried out of the house, and, putting on his hat and coat, prepared to accompany her. When informed she was dead, he asked whether she was still breathing, or quite dead. When sure of the latter, he prepared to see her. He put on fresh underclothes, dressed fully, putting on coat, hat, and gloves, and asked for a cord, which he tied below his hips, outside his trousers. He also stuffed his left nostril with paper, and, taking hold of his coat on both sides, walked out to the corpse. He was followed by his adopted daughter: and Ujaragapssuq, his son-in-law, brought up the rear.

"When they entered the room in which the corpse was, Nuktan began to talk to the body, speaking fast and in a very low voice, and using many unusual expressions. After a while he approached her (he had talked to her from a little distance at first). With one hand he lifted up the blanket covering her, and passed his other over her body from her forehead to her heart. Then he took her by the shoulder, and shook her hard, telling her to remain where she was. He also spat on her forehead three times, telling her to wash herself. Among other things that he said to her were the following: He ordered her to stay where she was until he took her away. He reproached her with being an *angakok* and not being able to cure herself, and added, 'I am sure I shall die myself.' He said to her that, if there were anything she desired, she should appear to him at night in his dreams, and he would satisfy her, but that she should not come near him at other times. He ordered her to stay where she was buried, and to trouble no one, nor to follow him when he was kayaking. This injunction, to remain where she was, he repeated a number of times. He also ordered her to prevent bad, and make pleasant, weather. Finally they left the room. The others went out first, and then he followed, going backward until he was outside the door.

"For the next five days, Nuktan did not leave the house. For the first two days of this period he kept the paper in his nostril continually, except when eating. He wore his hat and coat all the time, and did not move about. For two nights he sat up in

bed after the others were asleep, talking. After these two days, when informed that his wife had been buried, he no longer wore his hat, except when he was moving about. He also did not wear the paper in his nostril as continually as before, but still wore it until five days had elapsed from the day of the death. During these five days he would not leave his room. He had all his food brought in to him. He demanded his meat rare or raw, only warmed, and would not cut it himself. He also asked that his eggs be broken for him. He drank no tea or coffee, but only water. This he did not get himself, but had it given to him, and then let it stand until it was lukewarm. He wanted his cup kept apart from the rest, and used neither knife nor spoon, but only a fork.

"After these five days, the mourning observances were less strict. Early on the next morning, before sunrise, he left the house with his daughter, after having been satisfied on the previous day that the body had been taken away. He wore the cord he had worn on the day of the death, and as he went out made a scratch on the porch with a short stick, at the place from which he started. Then they walked about the house twice without stopping, keeping it to their left; *i. e.*, going in a course opposite to that of the sun. On returning, he crossed the mark that he had made before.

"On this day also he again broke his eggs himself, particularly asking that it be not done for him. He also desired to take a bath, and washed his body over with a wet rag, not drying himself. From this day he no longer wore the stuffing in his nose.

"The following day he again took a walk exactly like the preceding, except that he did not scratch the marks. A few days later he walked a little farther, — as far as the barn, — and on returning made three scratches on the ground, — two parallel, and another crossing them. He left the stick at this place.

"On the tenth day after the death he was very anxious to see the grave. He said that on the tenth day after the burial the grave was always visited, and again ten days later. He said that this was necessary, and was much troubled at not being able to go. He also asked for a piece of paper with pictures on it, and three needles, for what purpose is not clear.

"Throughout this period the observances were similar to those of the first five days, though less rigorous. Both the men moved

about little, and put on their hats whenever they did. Nuktan went outdoors but rarely, and when he did, wore his gloves. From the time of her death he wore no suspenders. He also refused to have his hair cut. None of the party went outdoors after dark, nor would they move about indoors. When asked to, Nuktan refused to go out at night, saying he could not do so. They all had their own cups, knives, and plates, and were careful to keep them separate. Every third morning, Nuktan would not leave his bedroom, and had his food brought in to him. He had his eggs broken for him, and his meat cut for him (except about once a week?). He would do no work, nor make anything, such as kayak or sleigh models. He said that he would not do this until several months had passed. The young man, on the other hand, was ready to work.

"Before her death, Atangana had requested that, when she was buried, the stones should not be put too close together, for fear that she might not breathe. She did not want to be buried under the sand, and wanted no coffin." She asked, moreover, that no clothes be put on her, except a shirt (?), but no petticoat, and that her face remain uncovered. Nuktan asked whether this had been done, and requested that she be buried as she would have been at home.

"The dead woman was not mentioned: even an allusion to her, without mention of her, excited his disapproval. All her property was either removed or destroyed, at Nuktan's command. He ordered everything to be thrown away or burnt, and her cup and plate to be broken. By accident a part of her dress remained in the room in which she had been, and her husband never entered that room. Ujaragapssuq, however, did not hesitate to enter it.

"When Kissuk died, leaving a son, Minik, about ten years old, and without a mother, Nuktan offered to kill him. Then he gave orders that for five days the boy was not to play. Some time later he insisted that the boy visit the (supposed) grave of his father, and instructed him how to act. He told him what to say at the grave, and gave him some of the deceased's property to lay on the pile of stones. When he saw a photograph of the dead man, he ordered it put away and to be laid down, 'as (because) the dead man is lying.' None of the party were observed to use any angakoq words."

The cosmology and mythology of the Smith Sound Eskimo differ from those of other Eskimo tribes only in detail. Torn-gaxssung, the head of the spirits, has been mentioned and discussed on p. 303. The submarine female deity known in Greenland as Arnarqagssaq and in the Central Regions as Sedna, Uinigumisuitung, etc., is called 'Nerivik' ('place of food') at Smith Sound. Nerivik is an old woman who lives underground, below the sea, in Adlirqpat ('lowest down'). Some of the dead go to her; so do dogs when they die. The dead residing with her eat sea-mammals, but no land-animals and no ground-seals (which are also not eaten by the mourners). When the seals fail to appear, an angakoq visits Nerivik and combs her tangled hair; whereupon she releases the seals, and they come up. The usual myth about this deity (BOAS, pp. 583-587; RINK, *Eskimo Tribes*, p. 17) is told in a fragmentary form at Smith Sound (see *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XII, p. 179). It is related that she was unwilling to marry; that she began to devour her sleeping parents; that her father took her with him into a boat; and that from her fingers which he chopped off over the gunwale sprang all the sea-mammals (except again the ground-seal). No name is given by the Eskimo to the woman in this tale, but undoubtedly she is or formerly was called Nerivik.

The myths concerning this deity are most ample among the Central Eskimo, and she gradually loses in prominence among more eastern tribes. In Greenland the myth connecting her with the origin of sea-mammals was not mentioned by earlier writers; and even as given by Rink it lacks some of the features still remembered at Smith Sound. In East Greenland, finally, this myth does not seem to occur at all, and the deity herself is altogether nameless. For her attributes in Greenland, see CRANZ, p. 264.

Kane and the Pearys mention two mythical figures about which I obtained no information. Kane says (p. 214) that "the walrus, and perhaps the seal also, is under the protective guardianship of a special representative or prototype. They all believe that in the recesses of Force Bay, near a conical peak, a great walrus lives in the hills, and crawls out, when there is no moon, to the edge of a ravine, where he bellows with a voice far more powerful than his fellows out to sea, which brings a good hunt." Both the Pearys speak of Kokoyah, 'the evil spirit,' or 'devil.' He is described as destructive, provoking the barking of dogs, and



in communication with, or under the control of, the angakoq. Kokoyah is probably Torngaxssung, but the giant walrus is not so easily identified with Nerivik.

The Sun (Seqineq) was a girl with a torch pursued by her brother the Moon (Aningān), the myth of all Eskimo tribes (this, with two tales referring to Aningān, has been printed in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XII, p. 179). The Sun and the Moon now live in the sky, in a double house having but one entrance (qarearing). In one house lives Aningān, with his wife Akoq or Aqong; in the other, Seqineq. In front of the house stands Aningān's sledge piled full of sealskins. He has a number of large spotted dogs, with which he often drives down to the earth.

In Baffin Land the sun lives in the moon's house, in a small additional building (BOAS, p. 598); in Greenland she is still pursued by him (CRANZ, p. 295) as in Labrador (TURNER) and at the Mackenzie. In Baffin Land the moon's mythical name is Aninga ('her brother'); in Greenland, the moon is Anningat or Aningaut, and the sun Malina. In Angmagsalik they are called respectively Ijakak and Sungula. (At Smith Sound, aningān is also the ordinary word for 'moon.') Fabricius gives Agut, Ayut, Aguna, as the name of the sun in Greenland. In Alaska, akychta, akehta, is the sun; igaluk, ialo, iralo, the moon. At the Mackenzie we have the Greenland names, Maligna, Anuya. In Baffin Land the moon has one dog only, Tirietiang, dappled white and red (BOAS, p. 598); in Greenland, one (RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 442) or four (CRANZ, p. 295); in East Greenland, a narwhal draws his sledge, or a single old dog whose skull is not covered with skin (HOLM, *Sagn*, p. 80).

Besides Aningān's wife and sister, he has a cousin, also a woman, Irdlirvirisissong. She lives in the sky, but in a separate house; and sometimes visits Aningān. Her nose is turned up on the sides. She carries a plate called 'qengmerping,' for her dogs, of whom she has a number. She waits for people who die, so that when they come she can feed her dogs on their intestines. She dances about, saying, Qimitiaka nexessaqtaqpaka ('I am looking for food for my dear dogs'). Those of the people that laugh, she cuts open, and gives their entrails to the dogs. Others are spared. Aningān consequently warns the people not to laugh. When an angakoq comes up to visit Aningān, he turns his head aside, so that his laughter may not be seen. If he begins to laugh, Aqoq says, Qongujukpoutq ('he laughs'). Irdlirvirisissong goes driving with her dogs.

In Greenland she is called 'Erdlaveersissok' ('the entrail-seizer'). Residing on the way to the moon, she tempts people to laugh by her dancing and grimaces, and if successful takes out their intestines. Aningat assists his visitors not to laugh (RINK, *T. and T.*, pp. 48, 440). At Angmagsalik the sun's mother (Jupiter) cut to pieces a visiting angakoq, and ate his liver. With difficulty he snatched his soul away from her, and escaped (HOLM, *Sagn*, p. 80). In Baffin Land the story is told as in Greenland, except that the woman, who is here the wife of the moon, is named U'uliernang. Her back is hollow, and she has no entrails, a circumstance which in Greenland is told of Malina, the sun. Ululernang gives the entrails she can get to the moon's ermine. Her plate and knife are especially mentioned, as in Greenland (BOAS, p. 598). In Greenland the moon's wife, and his sister the sun, would seem to be identical; in Baffin Land, his wife and the entrail-seizer; at Smith Sound the three are distinct.

An eclipse of the moon is called 'pudlasson' ('glide in,' 'visit'; Alaska, pudlaru, 'eclipse'); and the moon is said to have gone to defecate. An eclipse is considered bad, and feared, though for no definite reason (*cf.* CRANZ, p. 295).

Thunder (kagdleq, kadlu) is unknown, and there is no myth concerning it. Neither is there any myth about the aurora borealis (CRANZ, pp. 195, 260; BOAS, p. 600; MURDOCH, *American Naturalist*, 1886, p. 595; RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 37). The story of a flood—found in Greenland, Baffin Land, and at the Mackenzie River—is also unknown (BOAS, p. 637; PETITOT; RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 38; CRANZ, p. 262).

The Pleiades were once a number of dogs pursuing a bear on the ice. The bear gradually rose up in the air, as did the dogs, until they reached the sky. Then they were turned into stars. The constellation is called 'Nanuq' ('Bear'). The Bear is still pointed out as a larger star in the centre of the cluster. The star Naulaxsaqton was once a seal-hunter. Peary says that the Great Dipper (Tooktoksue) is the head of a caribou; Cassiopeia (Pitoohen), the three stones supporting a lamp; the Pleiades, dogs and a bear; the three stars of Orion's belt, steps cut in a steep snowbank; Gemini, two stones at a house entrance; Arcturus and Aldebaran, personifications.

Ursa major is a caribou in Alaska, Central Regions, Smith Sound, and Greenland; only in Angmagsalik is it lamp stones. The dogs and bears, which in Angmagsalik, Greenland, and Smith Sound form the Pleiades, in Labrador and the Central Regions are transferred to Orion.

The following are among the fabulous beings or races.

Qalúting is a woman who lives at the bottom of the sea. She says, 'Psh, psh, psh!' (the *sh* is pronounced through one corner of the mouth, and is prolonged). She can be heard, but not seen, by men. She is also known as 'Amautiling' ('having a hood'), and can carry men in her hood.

Among the Central Eskimo, Kalopaling or Mitiling puts drowned hunters in his hood. He lives in the sea, and can only cry, 'Be, be! be, be!' (BOAS, p. 620).

Uissa is a dwarf, who lives or is seen on the ice.

According to Boas (p. 620), the Uissuit are a deep-sea dwarf people, among the Central tribes.

The Igluwayut live in large stones.

In Baffin Land Igdlungayut are a bandy-legged inland people (BOAS, p. 640).

Tutuatuína has tangled hair, and lives underground.

The Tornit, plural of 'tunirng' (in Greenland, a fabulous inland tribe; in Labrador and Baffin Land, semi-fabulous, semi-historical: RINK, *T. and T.*, pp. 47, 469, and BOAS, pp. 634, 640), are large, live in the ground, where they have houses (igluling), and are afraid of dogs. They sometimes have intercourse with men. Peary says (p. 397) that in the north men are supposed to live who are so large that they wear coats of ground-seal.

The Adlet live in Akiliniq, a distant fabulous country across the sea. The Eskimo living west of Smith Sound are known by this name, and there seems to be more or less confounding of the fabulous and the actual tribe.

In Labrador Allak, Aullak, is an Indian; Baffin Land, Adla, Adlet, dog-man; Greenland, Atdlit, a noseless subterranean tribe. In northern Baffin Land, Greenland, and Angmagsalik, the dog-men are called 'Erqigdlit' (RINK, *T. and T.*, pp. 46, 47; BOAS, p. 640).

Nakassungnaitut are descended from the woman who mated with a dog.

The Inugaudli'gat are very small in size.

In Greenland the Inuarudligat are dwarfs with magic shooting weapons (RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 47); in the Central Regions the Inuarudligat are dwarfs living in the cliffs near the shore (BOAS, p. 640).

Qogluviya is a large worm or serpent.

In Greenland *qugdlugiaq* is an enormous worm with many feet and great speed (RINK, *T. and T.*, p. 48).

The Smith Sound Eskimo have generally been regarded not only as distinct and differing from those of Greenland, but as probably forming part, ethnologically, of the group of tribes known as the Central Eskimo. It will be clear from the foregoing pages, and without further discussion of the comparative references there made, that there is little ground for the latter assumption. What we can conclude from the material presented is that the Smith Sound Eskimo ethnologically resemble both their neighbors, the Greenland and the Central Eskimo, in such a way that they stand between them and form a transition between them (just as they are geographically intermediate); but that if they are more closely related to one than the other, that one is the Greenland tribe. The tales of the Smith Sound Eskimo (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XII, p. 166), of which about the same number recur in Baffin Land and Greenland, show this intermediate position. The language too, which it is impossible to discuss further here, confirms this conclusion, while at the same time it seems to demonstrate a closer similarity of Smith Sound to Greenland than to Baffin Land.

The theory (HOLM, *Ethnol. Skizze*, p. 111) that the Angmagalingmiut (East Greenlanders) reached their present abode from their presumed western original seat not by way of West and South Greenland but by following the ice-bound and now uninhabited shores of northern and eastern Greenland, seems no longer tenable. If this theory were true, the East Greenlanders would show close similarity to the Smith Sound natives, for they would have entered Greenland at Smith Sound, and the inhabitants there would have been the last tribe they were in contact with. Some similarity there is, of course, between the Smith Sound and Angmagsalik tribes, — as there is between all Eskimo tribes, even the most distant; but this similarity is much less than the resemblance of either of the two tribes to the intermediate Greenlanders of the West Coast. Thus the chain of ethnic relationship (and apparently the line of migration also) of the eastern Eskimo is: Central Regions, Smith Sound, West Greenland, East Greenland.

[*December, 1899.*]

## APPENDIX.

The following list of Angakoq words, or words used by the shaman in religious ceremony, is believed to be complete for the Eskimo race, as far as present material allows. The Greenland words are taken from H. Rink, *The Eskimo Tribes*, II, p. 96, and come originally from Egede and Fabricius. The Central and Alaskan words were obtained by Dr. F. Boas from the Eskimo of Baffin Land and of Port Clarence, Alaska, respectively. The Angakoq words, which are printed throughout in italics, are arranged under headings according to their significance. The English word is followed by the corresponding Eskimo word in ordinary speech. Under this are put the Angakoq words in the several dialects, so far as known. These again may be followed by one or more cognate or similar words of the ordinary language, which are given because they seem to throw light upon the Angakoq words. The Eskimo dialects are designated as follows: Greenland, G.; East Greenland, Ge.; Smith Sound, S.; Labrador, L.; Central Regions, C.; Mackenzie Delta, M.; Alaska, A.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF ANGAKOQ  
LANGUAGE.

## A. ANIMALS.

- POLAR BEAR, *nanuq*. — S. *ájapaktoq*; C. *uxsoarédlik* [having fat]; A. *kigutílik* [having teeth].
- WOLF, *amaroq*. — C. *singáqte* [with red mouth]; A. *kajúpteliq*.
- CARIBOU, *tukto*. — G. *komaruak*, *tatlanginik* [see WHALE]; S. *kumaróá*; C. *qílikáilíqájuaq*, *qangíling* [having a top?]; A. *qumaxóák*, *tukidlik*. [cf. G. *kumak*, louse.]
- HARE, *ukaleq*. — S. *kumagoaitiaq* [cf. CARIBOU].
- DOG, *qingmeq*. — G. *punguaq*; S. *pungváq*; C. *pungnu*; A. *qíngmik*.
- FOX, S. *teriangniaq*, M. *pichukte*, A. *pisuka'rsuq*. — S. *pissukaitiaq*; C. *pisuqáng* [cf. M. and A.]; A. *pamiedlik* [having a tail].

- WALRUS, auveq. — S. *ssiglálík*, *iloung*; C. *tiktídrlik*; A. *tugadlik* [having tusks]. [*cf.* G. *sigdlaq*, stick for pushing or lifting; -lik, having.]
- HARP SEAL (*Phoca grœnlandica*), ataq, C. *qairolík*. — C. *ataq*.
- RINGED SEAL (*Phoca œtída*), natseq. — S. *qajuvaq* [see HARP SEAL]; C. *angmœtiq*.
- GROUND SEAL (*Phoca barbata*), ugssuk. — S. *mágdlaq*; C. *máktlaq*. [*cf.* A. *magdlaq*, large seal.]
- WHALE, arfeq, aqbiq. — C. *taitlaníqduaq*, *tatlánirn* [see CARIBOU]; A. *sarpilik* [having a whale's tail].
- NARWHAL, WHITE WHALE, qilaluvaq. — S. *agligva*; C. *puíjádjuaq* [large sea mammal]. [*cf.* G. *agliqâ*, to spot.]
- SALMON, eqaluk. — S. C. *mingeriaq* [*cf.* L. *mingeriaq*, small fish; G. *mingoq*, water-beetle].
- SEA MAMMAL, SEAL, puisse. — G. *mingneriaq* [see SALMON]; A. *unídlík* [having a beard].
- BIRD, tingmiaq. — C. *kangirtauk* [*cf.* G. *kangaterpoq*, to rise].
- EAGLE, nagtoralík. — G. *itilevigssuaq*.
- FALCON, kigssaviarssuk. — G. *qungunârssuk*.

#### B. PERSONS, TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP, AND ANGAKUNEQ.

- CHILD, qiturnaq. — G. *kocitsiak*, *quaitsakâka*; S. *qoaiítiaq*; A. *mikiqtléa* [*cf.* G. *mikivoq*, is small].
- ORPHAN BOY, iliarssuk. — A. *qoaják* [see CHILD].
- BROTHER, ane. — G. *mígdliq* [navel-string]; A. *aniqáta*.
- FATHER, angutâ, atâta. — G. *negovia* [his origin]; A. *pók* [bag, see MOTHER].
- MOTHER, arnâ, anâna. — G., S., A. *póuga* [my bag].
- HUSBAND, MY, uiga. — A. *angutáinra* [*cf.* angut, man].
- WIFE, MY, nuliaga. — A. *senídlíc* [worker].
- ELDER BROTHER, said by a woman, arqaluaq. — S. *nugapia* [bachelor].
- MAN, angut. — G. *niviarsiaraq* [girl]; S. *niviaxssia* [virgin]; A. *qilamâ* [*cf.* G. *qilavoq*, practise sorcery].
- WOMAN, arnak. — G. *kópalík* [see GIRL]; A. *nuliésiaq* [*cf.* G. *nuliaq*, wife].
- GIRL, niviarsiaraq. — G. *nukakpiak* [young man; see ELDER BROTHER]; A. *qopasiak* [see WOMAN].

- CRYING CHILD, S. *qiasson*. — S. *angasson* [*cf.* G. *angavoq*, sit disheartened and bent].
- HUMAN BEING, inuk. — G. *taursak* [see SOUL]; A. *tórnaq* [spirit].
- EUROPEANS, A. *neloarmiut*. — A. *tanguit* [*cf.* A., other dialects, *tanguit*, Europeans].
- SHAMAN, angakoq. — G. *kannimavoq*, he is an angakoq; A. *qilédlík* [possessing a spirit].
- SPIRIT CONTROLLED BY SHAMAN, tornaq, tornguang. — A. *qiléltga* [my spirit; see MAN]. [*cf.* G. *qilavoq*, he practises sorcery.]
- SUMMON HIS SPIRIT, G. *sarkomersárpoq*.
- THE SPIRIT EXPLAINS THE WORDS OF TORNARSUK, G. *surdlortálerpoq*.
- REPAIR A SOUL, G. *tarnilerpoq* [G. *tarne*, soul].
- INFECTED BY THE DEAD, G. *pyorpok*, *pyoarpok*.
- SOUL, *tarne*. — G. *tár'ak* [see HUMAN BEING].

C. PARTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY.

- SALIVA, nuak. — G. *ajarak*.
- BLOOD, auk. — S. *kanung*; A. *uiviniqloq* [*cf.* A. *kannik*, heart].
- VEIN, BLOOD IN THE BODY, A. *tóumasungúyuq*.
- HEART, umat. — S. *tigdliqtá* [pulse]; C. *kauktíkak* [made to beat]; A. *iqsarog* [pit of stomach]. [*cf.* G. *tigdleq*, pulse.]
- EAR, siut. — G. *sudlortáq*; S. *ssudluqtá*; C. *sudlutáq*; A. *nádlautik* [means of listening]. [*cf.* G. *suvdloq*, tube; *nálagpoq*, listen.]
- EYE, isse. — G. *tékkunaet* [pupil of the eye]; S. *takudnatik* [pupils]; C. *takudnitá* [its pupil]; A. *qingnautik* [*cf.* G. *qingnuaq*, sunbeam through an opening].
- LUNGS, puaq. — S. *publarssiutit*; C. *anirtirbik* [place of breathing]. [*cf.* G. *stem po* denotes lifting, air; L. *publak*, air in a body.]
- HAND, agssait. — S. *ixsaatin*, *issaitin*; C. *isaratinik* [*cf.* G. *isagpoq*, stretch out the arms].
- KNEE, síqoq. — C. *audliteik* [travelling].
- HEAD, niaqoq. — G. *kaujak*; S. *kangeq* [top of a plant]; C. *kangirtsák* [large top].
- TOOTH, kigut. — C. *tamukuatá* [*cf.* G. *tamorpá*, chew].
- BONE, sauneq. — S. *áorvin*; C. *auriváq* [*cf.* G. *aursivik*, side of head].

- MOUTH, qaneq.—C. *aipalukbiá* [see FOOD, EAT].  
 INTESTINES, erdlavit, iqáwik.—C. *kingiliqávik*.  
 LIVER, tingo.—S. *qariuk* [side extension to a house]; C. *kairak*.  
 FOOT, isigkat.—G. *tungmatit* [cf. G. *tungmarpá*, tread on].  
 KIDNEY, tarto.—C. *tarninga* [its soul].  
 STOMACH, aqajaroq.—S. *idliviaq* [cf. G. *igdliaq*, uterus].  
 ABDOMEN, nâq, S. *nasseng*.—S. *qangatatin* [cf. S. *qanga*, its top].  
 NAVEL, kalaseq.—S. *miklianga* [his navel-string; see BROTHER].  
 TUSK, tûgâq.—S. *nujá* [its hair].  
 DIE, toquvoq.—G. *kardlomeitsok* [having lost the power of  
 speech]; S. *tunudqtoq*; A. *izukártoq* [fall through hole].  
 [cf. G. *tunu*, back.]  
 SICK, A. *kéqsirtoq*.—A. *nangitog*.  
 HEADACHE, G. *kagardlugpok* [cf. G. *kakagpá*, carry on the head;  
 -lugpoq, bad].  
 SLEEP, sinigpoq.—S. *gussaussoq*.  
 EAT, FOOD, nerivoq, neqe.—G. *aipakpoq*, *aipat*, *aipatiksak*; S.  
*aipatog*; C. *aipat*; A. *kuiúlasoq*.  
 PREGNANT, nârtuvoq.—S. *qinirnimixson* [swelling].  
 A CHILD IS BORN, ilatârpoq.—S. *qisserqton*.  
 HE IS BORN (?), S. *anerxesson*.—S. *piglirton*.

#### D. IMPLEMENTS AND ARTICLES MANUFACTURED BY MAN.

- HOUSE, igdlo.—G. *innerdlak*, *innerak*; S. *nublik*; C. *núbik*; A.  
*nujvik* [cf. G. *ine*, habitation; *nupoq*, change habitation].  
 POT, POT-STONE, uvkusik, uvkusigssaq.—G. *outsersát*; S. *oxai-*  
*mang*; C. *utirtsát* [cf. G. *útsivoq*, boil; L. *ogitorpoq*, the  
 pot is full].  
 POT, C. *qimírbik*.—C. *ilijrbik*.  
 POT, qulivsiut.—S. *utirssiut* [see POT above].  
 BLANKET, qipik.—C. *udlijuviaq* [covering]; A. *aumitit* [cf. L.  
*aumit*, bedding].  
 BRUSH UNDER THE BED, C. *adlitjen*.—C. *siangoat* [cf. G. *siângaroq*,  
 branches spread out].  
 FIRE, PYRITES FOR FIRE, ingneq.—S. *ikuma* [cf. L. *ikkoma*, fire].  
 OPEN BOAT, umiaq.—G. *ingerluk*; S. *puktauroa*; A. *igdlervikjut*  
 [cf. G. *igdlérpoq*, enter the kayak; G. *pugtavoq*, float on  
 the water; see KAYAK].



KAYAK, qajaq.—G. *aksak*; S. *puktauroa*; A. *igdlirun* [see OPEN BOAT].

PADDLE OF BOAT, angun.—A. *saxilaun* [*cf.* L. *saqikpā*, push].

PADDLE OF KAYAK, pangautik.—A. *saxilautik* [dual of PADDLE OF BOAT].

HARPOON, unaq.—S. *tikirán*; A. *angunéun* [*cf.* G. *anguvá*, hunt].

KNIFE, saviq.—S. *qeblá*; A. *kipun* [instrument for cutting cross-wise]. [*cf.* G. *qivdlerpoq*, shine.]

WOMAN'S KNIFE, ulu.—S. *kigleqtun*; A. *kimadlik* [having handle of woman's knife]. [*cf.* G. *kiligpá*, scrape.]

HARNESS, ano.—S. *anoxsua* [large harness].

LINE, ROPE, aglunaq.—G. *ningorak*; S. *ningoag* [*cf.* G. *ningipá*, he lowers a line].

FLOAT, avataq.—S. *publaling* [having air to float; see LUNGS, KAYAK].

SLEDGE, qamutik.—S. *sissoa* [*cf.* G. *sisuvoq*, slide, glide].

THONG OF DOG-TRACES, C. pitung.—C. *kelalútik* [*cf.* G. *qilerpá*, tie with a knot].

AMULET, arnuaq.—S. *nurngnaun*.

DRUM, qilaut, A. saújaq.—G. *iajáq*, verb *iajárpoq*; A. *imúgaq* [what resounds; *cf.* G. *imigpoq*].

DRUMSTICK, kato, A. kasautaq.—A. *qilautsaq* [G. *qilaut*, drum].

CLOTHING in general, anoraq.—S. *anugssen*.

MAN'S TROUSERS, S. nanung [lit., bear].—S. *aorvé*.

WOMAN'S BREECHES, qardlik.—C. *akorudjiaq*.

COAT, G. natseq, C. netiq.—C. *adnuksenga*.

KAYAK JACKET, kapitaq.—A. *mingadluk* [see SALMON].

MITTENS, G. árqatit, A. áqetik.—A. *artilfaq*.

SEALSKIN, qisik.—C. *ixéták* [*cf.* L. *eriták*, skin whose hair is being removed, plucked bird].

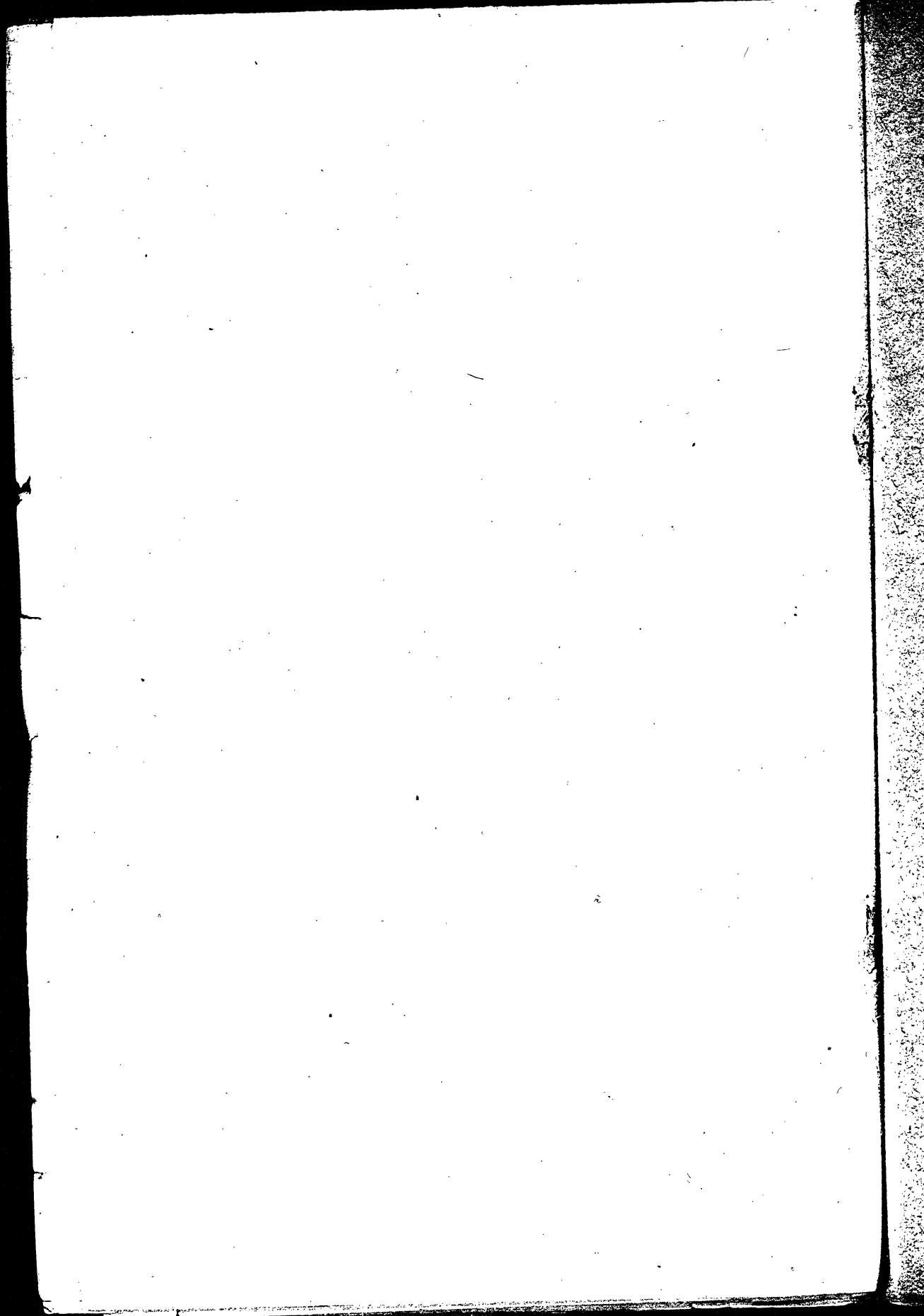
DEERSKIN, ameq.—C. *oxometá* [taken in the mouth].

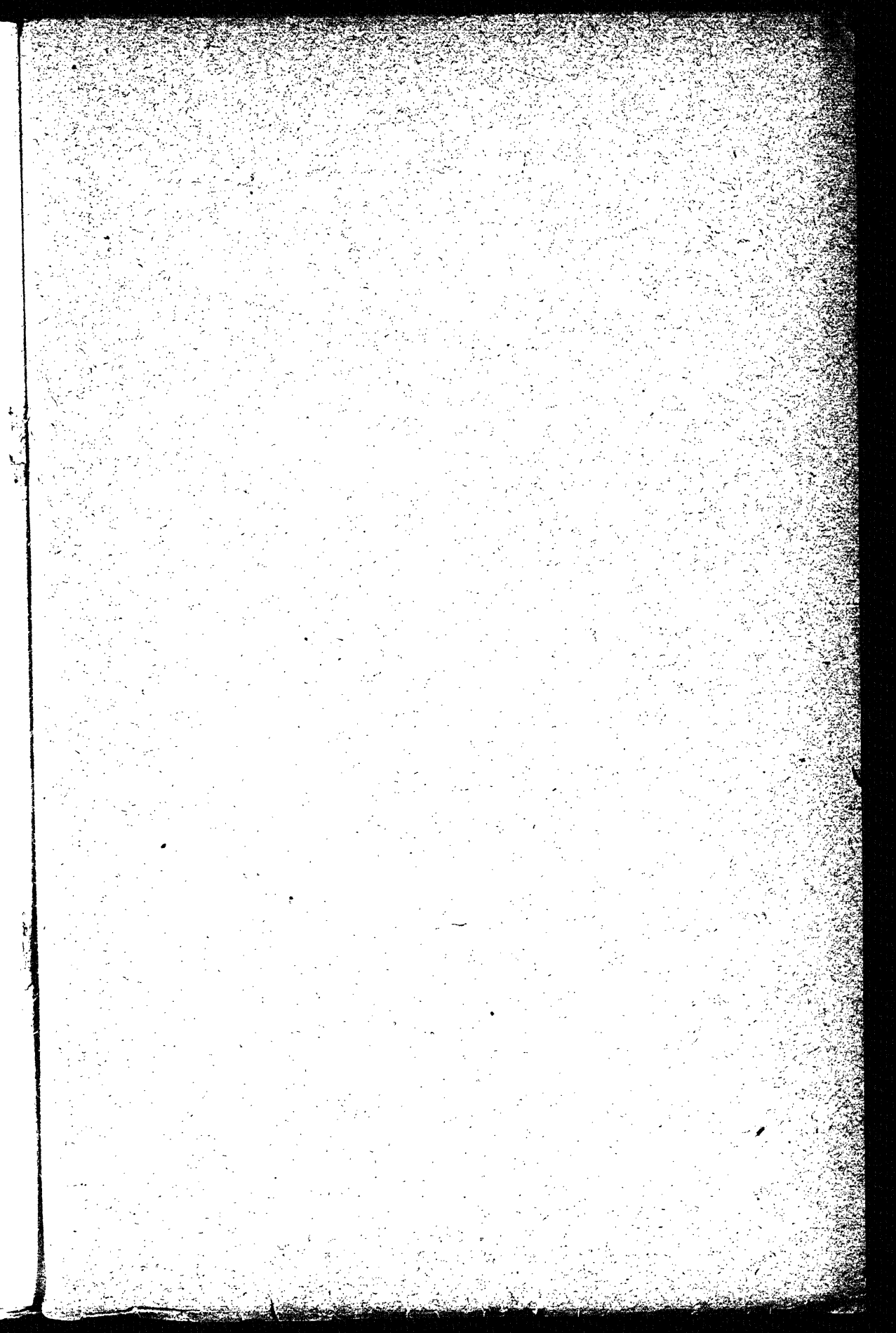
DRIED INTESTINES, inaluaq.—C. *siarvaq* [*cf.* C. *sígarpoq*, crackle].

#### E. NATURE.

SUN, seqineq.—S. *arngna* [woman], *qámágun*; C. *qaumatē*, *qaumativun* [our *qaumatē*]; A. *masaq* [known in other Alaskan dialects and Greenland]. [*cf.* Ge. *qaúmavaq*, sun; G. *qaumat*, moon; see MOON.]

- MOON, G. qaumat, S. aningān, C., A. taqiq.—S. *ajd, qāmdgun* [same word as "Sun"]; C. *qaumat, qaumavun* [our qaumat; see SUN]. [cf. G. aja, mother's sister.]
- SUMMER, aussaq.—S. *angnaümēn* [see SUN, WINTER].
- WINTER, ukiuq.—S. *angutaūman* [angut, man; see SUMMER], *kāpirdlāq* [spring].
- AURORA, A. kōriet.—A. *tarvit* [place of souls?] [cf. G. tarne, soul.]
- WIND, anore.—G. *suvdluarneq* [puffing away]; S. *ssubluaqtoq*; A. *sayūqartoq* [G. sujorssuk, noise of the wind].
- CLOUD, nuia, A. qilaidlaq.—A. *sillēluktoq* [cf. G. sialuk, rain].
- SALT WATER, SEA, tarajoq.—A. *imaq* [G. imaq, ocean].
- WATER, imeq.—G. *akitsoq*; S. *agctōq* [aqipoq, soft]; A. *sinaq* [cf. G. sina, edge].
- LAND, nuna.—G. *tarsoak* [great darkness]; S. *nunaga* [my land]; A. *tāpqaq*.
- SNOW, aput.—G. *anigovirkssuaq*; S. *aniong* [cf. A. aniok, anigo, snow].
- ICE, siko.—G. *nillakorsoak* [great morsel of ice]; S. *uluxssa* [ule, covering layer]; A. *tōuaq, kitliq*.
- ICEBERG, iluliaq.—S. *piqalūjaq* [cf. L., C. pikadlujang, iceberg].
- STONE, ujaraq.—G. *mangersoak* [great hardness]; S. *māngiq, mangjaq* [hard]; A. *sīmaq* [known in other A. dialects], *qadluk*.
- MOUNTAIN, qaqaq.—G. *ingirksoit* [cf. G. ingik, point, top].
- FJORD, kangerdluk.—G. *abloriak* [cf. G. avdlorpoq, stride].
- NORTH, ava.—G. *tāk, tarrup tungā* [dark, direction of dark]. [cf. S. taxaq, north.]
- SOUTH, qava.—G. *kaumatib tungā* [direction of light].
- AIR, sila.—G. *nyovik*.
- PLANT, ROOT, G. *tarsoarmio* [inhabitant of the great darkness].





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