

I.

THE ESKIMO TRIBES, THEIR COMMON ORIGIN, THEIR  
DISPERSION AND THEIR DIVERSITIES IN GENERAL.





of their usage and costume. In order to do so, consider the theory in comparison with the first named it will be necessary for each of our last historical sources to examine the Eskimo tribes with regard to every peculiarity of their present state of culture which may throw light upon their previous origin and advantages.

Recent investigations have revealed differences between the Eskimo tribes which indicate that after having taken their first step to being an exclusively maritime people they have been

As Bering Strait has so frequently been made use of in order to explain how America could receive its original inhabitants from Asia, and as the American side of this sound does not show any trace of having been inhabited by other people than the Eskimo, this race seems to deserve particular attention with regard to all questions touching the prehistoric population of America. If their kinship to other nations has to be judged from their customs and manner of life, they seem to form a natural continuation of their Indian neighbours on the western coast of America. It has been assumed, that the latter aborigines have come from the interior of the continent following the river courses unto the sea. The same may as well be suggested with regard to the Eskimo, only with the addition, that having reached the ocean they spread along the coasts to the north and the east as far as the same natural conditions and the lack of opposition by earlier inhabitants admitted, occupying in this way regions of enormous extent. In proposing this hypothesis we may leave wholly out of consideration the question, whether in a still earlier period the ancestors of both the Indians and the Eskimo migrated from Asia or not. But certainly we will have still to examine another hypothesis which, if even less probable, can not be rejected on the plea that it infers an impossibility, namely that the Eskimo came across Bering Strait, proceeded to the east and the south where then they met with the Indians and in settling finally adopted some

of their usages and customs. In order to duly consider this theory in comparison with the first named it will be necessary for want of any real historical sources to examine the Eskimo tribes with regard to every peculiarity of their present state of culture which may throw light upon their obscure origin and wanderings. —

Recent investigations have revealed differences between the Eskimo tribes which indicate, that after having taken their first step to being an exclusively maritime people they have still during their migrations been subjected to further development in the same direction, aiming at adapting them especially for the Arctic coasts as their proper home. The farther we go back towards their supposed original country, the more of what may be considered their original habits we find still preserved. In the general history of culture these variations must certainly appear trifling, but still I believe that a closer examination of them will throw light on the question, how the most desolate and deterring regions of the globe could become peopled. The solution of this problem is facilitated by the fact that the whole Eskimo nation has been less exposed to that contact with other peoples which elsewhere renders such investigations more complicated. These variations are among the Eskimo more exclusively due to natural influences, to which the wanderers were exposed during their struggle for existence and which partly gave rise to new inventions, partly led only to the abolishment of former habits. In some instances also these external influences evidently occasioned decay where the severity of the climate in connection with the isolation and the fewness of inhabitants almost exceeded the bounds of human endurance.

In the pages which follow I will try to show, how from this point of view the peculiarities of the tribes in the different domains of culture agree with the supposition that the original Eskimo inhabited the Interior of Alaska, that apart from the true Eskimo a sidebranch of them in the farthest remote period

peopled the Aleutian islands, whereas people of the principal race later on settled at the river-mouths, spreading northward along Bering Strait and hiving off some colonies to the opposite shore proceeded around Point Barrow to the east, the Mackenzie river, over the Central Regions or Arctic Archipelago, and finally to Labrador and Greenland. This dispersion may have taken thousands of years; they can only have proceeded in small bands, very much as still they are used to move about during certain seasons. Their only way of procuring subsistence in the vast deserts they passed over, excluded the possibility of national migrations on a larger scale. While in this way they continued to discover new countries, some families were induced to go farther, others remained and finally gave rise to the present scattered settlements. But in proposing this hypothesis I consider it a matter of course that Alaska as the original home of the Eskimo is not to be taken in the strictest sense, absolutely excluding adjacent parts of the continent towards the east. Tribes of the same race may have come down the Mackenzie or even more easterly rivers, but amalgamated with the principal stock, learning their inventions and adopting their mode of life. But as to the other theory, that the Eskimo should have migrated from Asia via Bering Strait and found the Indian territory already occupied by the same nations as now, this objection must be separately taken into consideration in connection with the facts bearing in favour of the former.

## INVENTIONS FOR PROCURING THE NECESSARY MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE.

Of the contrivances here in question THE KAYAK WITH ITS APPERTENANT IMPLEMENTS AND WEAPONS no doubt occupies the first rank. The Inland Eskimo of Alaska like his Indian neighbours carries on his fishery in the rivers by means of his BIRCHBARK CANOE. In settling at the river-mouth he has exchanged the birchbark for sealskin to cover the wooden framework of his skiff and at the same time furnish it with a deck to protect it against the waves of the sea. This is simply the origin of the kayak, but only in its first stage of development. The deck alone thus procured was not sufficient; the sea washing over it would soon fill the kayak through the hole, in which its occupant is sitting, if his clothing did not at the same time close the opening around him. This ADAPTATION OF THE CLOTHING is tried by degrees in various ways throughout the Eskimo countries, but it does not attain its perfection except in Greenland where it forms in connection with the kayak itself a watertight cover for the whole body excepting the face. Only in that country it enables the kayaker to be capsized or so to speak being rolled unhurt by the waves, while in Alaska it serves as much to protect him against rain as against the sea.

The second necessary implement, THE DOUBLE-BLADED PADDLE of which the middle part makes the handle, in the same way makes its appearance very gradually. In Southern Alaska it is unknown among the Eskimo proper who have continued to use the onebladed Indian canoe paddle; it is not until we are north of the Yukon river that we find the first specimens of it, but still accompanied by the other, even on the same kayak. At Point Barrow the onebladed paddle still serves for ordinary

use while the other is also occasionally employed. Indeed it is not before we reach somewhat beyond the Mackenzie R. that the well known Greenland kayak-oar acquires that right of exclusive use to which it is really entitled.

Passing to the weapons used for sealhunting from kayak, we see the principal and most original of them, the LARGE HARPOON WITH BLADDER AND LINE also gradually invented, being completed and duly appreciated in almost the same proportion as the former implements. First, as a curiosity, it may be mentioned, that in Southern Alaska we meet with harpoons still furnished with bird's feathers like the arrows of the landchase. However it must have been observed early, that a seal, even when hit by a harpoon must be able to escape more easily than a terrestrial animal — namely by diving. To prevent this, a small inflated bladder was attached to the end of the harpoon. A small harpoon fashioned in this way has also been preserved almost unaltered from Kadjak in Alaska to Greenland. It is used for smaller seals under the name of BLADDER-ARROW. But already in Alaska it was by and by found necessary to enlarge the bladder for the capture of larger animals, and at the same time of course, the missile, by offering too much resistance to the air, grew more and more unfit for being thrown to a suitable distance. In fact, specimens are seen in Alaska of so monstrous a shape that they would amaze a Greenlander. This inconvenience then gave rise to the invention of the large harpoon and the bladder to be separately thrown out, only connected with the harpoon by means of the hunting line. This contrivance, as a kayak tool, is unknown in Southern Alaska, although large bladders are used in the same way for whalefishing by the Indians. Even at Point Barrow the large bladder like the double-bladed paddle is applied only in peculiar cases, whereas the «bladder-arrow» serves for ordinary use.

One more invention indispensable in completing the large harpoon is developed and gradually makes its appearance in

going from south to north almost side by side with the bladder. Experience must soon have shown the usefulness of forming and fastening to the shaft the point of the missile in such a manner, that after having hit the game it would be detached from the end of it and only remain hanging at it by a strap. The use of the large harpoon especially required THAT THE POINT SHOULD GET WHOLLY RID OF THE SHAFT which in this way was allowed to remain floating while the seal ran off with the line and the bladder. For this purpose the FOREMOST PART OF THE SHAFT HAS A JOINT THAT ENABLES IT TO BE BENT by the struggles of the animal, whereupon the point and the line directly will fall off. The same flexibility has also been given to the lance by which the seal receives its mortal wounds after being hit with the harpoon. Missiles with points able to get loose from the end of the shaft are everywhere met with among kayak implements, but the appropriate mode of fashioning the point for this aim is only found gradually developed as we proceed northward.

Finally we have to consider that side by side with the amelioration of the implements the kayak itself is rendered more suitable for overcoming the emergencies to which its occupant is exposed, and that in this way the marvellous art of HUNTING SEALS FROM A KAYAK DOES NOT ATTAIN ITS HIGHEST PERFECTION EXCEPT IN GREENLAND. This superiority is manifested in TWO ACCOMPLISHMENTS which in Greenland only are considered indispensable to a man who would lay claim to the rank of a sealhunter. The first of them is the ART OF RISING TO THE SURFACE AGAIN by means of the paddle in case of being overturned. This art is but scarcely — if at all — known in Alaska and Labrador, although it may be easily imagined how necessary this capacity for helping himself must be to a hunter who desires to be independent of the assistance of companions. The other advantage is the art just mentioned of CAPTURING BY MEANS OF THE LARGE HARPOON AND BLADDER which can not be properly learned without being educated as a kayaker from early boyhood. It



might be added as a curiosity that the Eastcoast of Greenland can boast of one or two improvements unknown on the Westcoast. Small as certainly they are when compared with the whole equipment one of them nevertheless deserves to be mentioned. It consists in having the large bladder replaced by two smaller ones closely bound together. Besides the security it otherwise affords, the usefulness of this contrivance may be perceived when we consider the critical circumstances under which the capture of a seal is performed; and especially the fact taken into account that the several operations of throwing the harpoon and at the same time getting rid of the bladder and line, killing the animal with the lance, fastening it for being towed and finally restoring and duly fixing the instruments used — have all to be done with one hand, while the other must keep hold of the paddle, ready to avert the dangers which at the same time may arise from the sea. Experience has probably shown that the double bladder is easier to handle and especially to catch hold of than the large one. It must, as a matter of course, be understood that here, as well as in the following pages we speak of natives and especially Greenlanders as they were before their primitive habits were influenced by contact with Europeans.

This might be sufficient so far as sealhunting from kayak is concerned. It is well known that the same animal is hunted also by other means, some of which in certain regions more or less supplant the kayak. This is the case, where the winter ice hinders its use for too long a period of the year. Moreover whalefishery is carried on by the Eskimo in different places with great expertness, and for this kind of chase as well as in pursuing other large cetaceous animals and seals the open skinboat is made use of as much as, or even more so than the kayak. But when SEALHUNTING MUST BE PERFORMED ON THE FROZEN SEA, the methods practised do not seem to have been subjected to the same kind of changes which we have seen in the operations

when the art of hunting from the kayak is studied in the line of Eskimo wanderings from West to East. At least their development is not so simply and clearly manifested as in the latter case.

As to HUNTING FROM OPEN BOATS, this likewise is performed more uniformly by the Eskimo, but also almost in the same way by the Northwest Indians who procure their sustenance as much from the sea as from the land and also in other respects may be considered a link between Eskimo and Indians. Some Indians also catch white whales from the shore and know how to use the large bladder for this purpose. On the opposite shore of Bering Strait the neighbours of the Eskimo down to Kam-schatka have open skinboats for the same purpose. As to catching fish, especially salmon, also a remarkable uniformity prevails all over the Eskimo countries. Only one curious exception is to be noted here: the Eastgreenlanders are totally unacquainted with the use of fishhooks or angling, whereas on the other hand they have threeforked salmon-spears of a remarkable form, exactly the same as is met with in Vancouver Island.

### DWELLINGS.

The way in which the inhabitants are distributed, partly as inmates of the same house, partly in different houses more or less distant from each other, is a question of importance, when their social organisation comes to be considered. It will be known that the Eskimo during the summer lead a wandering life, forming bands of as many as can find room in an *umiak* or who constitute the inhabitants of a tent. But during winter — by far the longest part of the year — they retire to certain stations usually occupied by the same stock through several generations. In comparing THE WINTERHOUSES OF ALASKA WITH THOSE OF GREENLAND we instantly observe one broad difference. The interior room of the former is a square surrounded by the

resting places and on one side the entrance, whereas in Greenland the resting places or family benches are all arranged on one side, for which reason the houses have a more or less elongated form, the length corresponding to the number of the inhabitants. Owing to the square form the size of the Alaska houses varies within narrower limits, the number of their inhabitants is also more limited than in Greenland. Only some tribes in the Interior, described by Glasunow as a mixed race, seem to have larger houses, and so had the Aleutians in former times. But in Alaska on the other hand, in order to make up for the lack of sufficient room for assemblies in the houses there are larger public buildings, one or two in each place. They are called: *kagse*, plur. *kagsit*, also *kagge*, *kashim*, *kassigit*, and as it seems their use continues from Alaska towards the East at a rate corresponding to the narrowness of the dwelling houses.

In Southern Alaska the houses resemble those of the Indians by having a hearth in the middle of the floor with a smokehole in the roof over it. The inner room; as already mentioned, is furnished on three sides with alcoves, affording separate open lodges or sleeping rooms, while the fourth affords the entrance. This construction gives the houses a somewhat cruciform appearance. Moreover they are comparatively spacious and built mostly of wood covered with earth only on the outside. Northward on the coast of Bering Strait, WHERE WOOD BECOMES SCARCER the added alcoves disappear; the size of the inner room consequently diminishes. The resting places more especially are reduced to the utmost narrowness; the hearth for want of fuel is displaced in favour of the blubber lamps; and the middle of the room instead occupied by the women, serving them as their working place.

Near the Mackenzie R. we again meet with the cruciform construction, but beyond this border it wholly disappears. By degrees as wood becomes scarcer we also see SNOW TRIED AS A

BUILDING MATERIAL, but before we have passed the Mackenzie R. snowhuts are only found as serving for temporary use, especially on journeys for hunting. In the Central Regions they are made regular habitations for a certain part of the year. On account of their circular form they must of course be narrow, and for this reason they are furnished with siderooms for different uses. In spring and autumn temporary huts of an elongated form are built as a transition to THE GREENLAND HOUSES. It is said that the *kagsit* are — or according to tradition have been — built likewise of snow. In Greenland, at least south of Melville Bay, dwellings of snow are not known to have existed, the houses are REARED MERELY OF STONES AND SOD or turf. The Greenlanders quite well know the *kagsit* from their traditional tales, but no doubt mainly, if not entirely as a reminiscence from the earlier homesteads of their ancestors. In Disko Island certainly a ruin which was recently still in existence was said to have been such a public building. But as far as I know there does not exist any authentic statement of such buildings ever having been observed or known to have been made use of in Greenland. Finally one very remarkable custom which the Alaska Eskimo have in common with the Indians must be mentioned here in connection with the dwellings. It is the use of sweating baths. The *kageses* generally serve for this purpose, but how far the custom passes beyond the shores of Bering Strait is not known; certainly, however, it is abandoned before the regular use of snowhouses begins.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

The ESKIMO CLOTHING, as well known, is almost the same for women as for men, consisting of trousers or breeches and a tunic or coat closed round the body and covering the head also by means of THE PROLONGATION THAT FORMS THE HOOD. It varies of course throughout the different tribes, but the hood especially

is common to all of them. Southern Alaska only may perhaps show some exceptions to the general fashion, as far as can be inferred from portraits and specimens of coats. Some of the latter resemble those of the Indians, partly by their length, partly by their want of a hood, while at the same time a peculiar sort of hat is in vogue.

Another peculiarity is the WIDENING OF THE HEAD COVER for women who have to carry children so as to make it a CRADLE admirably adapted to the climate and the wandering life of these Northern nomads. The mode of carrying the babies in the widened legs of the women's boots seems to be only an exception proper to Labrador and some places in the Central Regions.

Some customs connected with dress have a particular ethnological interest. In the first place the LIP ORNAMENTS OR LABRETS and the nose ornaments common to the Indians and the Eskimo of Alaska are obviously of American origin. That they were invented in more southerly regions and that their wandering to the far North only is due to the power of inherited custom is indicated also by their way of occurrence among the Eskimo tribes. The Thlinkit Indians, as we know, pierce the lower lip and insert an ornament of bone or stone in the opening, the ceremony being practised after certain rules concerning age and sex. This custom is observed by the Eskimo with the difference, that they use two smaller labrets under the corners of the mouth, whereas the Thlinkits preferred to adorn the middle of the lip with one of more excessive magnitude. Undoubtedly this difference is occasioned by climatic influence. The original Eskimo in being removed to the Arctic Regions have felt the necessity of at all events modifying this strange habit. In mentioning a labret of extraordinary size found in the shell-heaps of the Aleutian Islands, Dall asserts that no hunter exposed to the icy blasts and the cold waters of winter could have worn such articles which could have subjected the extended strip of flesh to freezing and been an insufferable annoyance

otherwise — John Murdoch expressly affirms the same; in speaking of the Point Barrow Eskimo and their traditional tales he says: «The expression: when all men wore one labret —, means: a very long time ago —, as the single labret has long been out of fashion and a few only are preserved as heirlooms or amulets».

Nevertheless we cannot but wonder at the perseverance with which the natives have still clung to the same ancient custom which has braved the arctic winters of Point Barrow and is still fashionable at the Mackenzie also. IN THE CENTRAL REGIONS, HOWEVER, IT MUST AT LAST HAVE SUCCUMBED. In Greenland, strange to say, it is not known, as far as I remember, even from the folklore.

As concerns HAIR-DRESSING a sort of tonsure is generally used by men in the West and at the Mackenzie R. beyond which it is sporadic, f. i. on the coasts of Hudson's Strait and of Smith's Sound. As for women hair dressing begins in the West with DEPENDENT BRAIDS and ends in Greenland with having the whole rolled up in a single STRAITLY TIED TUFT the thickness perpendicular position of which is of the highest importance among the objects of the toilet. This tuft makes its first appearance east of Point Barrow, but here combined with the plaits, and hereupon it continues alternately in this way and again varying with the use of braids alone, until at length in Greenland the tuft becomes the absolute custom.

Finally the use of MASKS for dancing festivals and especially connected with religious ceremonies is developed in a high degree among the Alaska Eskimo and like the labrets links them to the Indians. But also like the latter it disappears towards the East.

## DOMESTIC INDUSTRY AND ARTS.

We know that in general, as far as the raw materials are to be obtained, each family fabricates its own utensils and other necessities itself. It is stated that in Alaska not only Indians but also some Eskimo tribes know how to fabricate cooking vessels out of baked clay. If this assertion is correct, it might seem to be of interest in one respect, in as much as the art of making pottery has by some ethnologists been fixed as one of the chief points designating an advance in culture. But in the entire remainder of the Eskimo territory this art is quite unknown, and even if tried, the want of fuel as well as the nature of the soil generally would interfere with its practice. The ordinary material used by the Eskimo for culinary vessels and lamps is the well known potstone whose occurrence is confined to certain localities scattered throughout the Arctic Regions. In connection with a few other commodities it has been the chief object of ancient intertribal trade.

The art exhibited by the Alaska Eskimo in ORNAMENTING THEIR WEAPONS AND UTENSILS is often mentioned in travellers' reports from the time when they were first visited by Europeans. To their skill in carving and engraving we must join the taste displayed in the same way in making their clothing. Again when we pass from Alaska to the East, we see this relish for the fine arts declining, and in Western Greenland proofs of it have been rather scarce. But the latest expedition to the East-coast of this country has discovered, that a small isolated tribe here in the vast deserts of the extreme East almost rivals the Alaska artists with respect to carving in bone and ornamenting their weapons and utensils. The chief difference is, that in Alaska engravings illustrating human life and the animals of the country are the most popular objects of the artist, whereas the East Greenlanders excell in small reliefs representing for

the most part animals and mythological beings grouped together and fastened with admirable taste and care to the surface of wooden implements.

## RELIGION AND FOLKLORE.

In a stage of culture like that of the Eskimo, religion and folklore are closely connected. The traditional tales are interwoven with religious ideas and religion is chiefly imbibed through the folklore which may be said to represent the elements of science and knowledge as a whole. Some light has recently been thrown on the religious ideas of the Alaska Eskimo, especially by Dall in his excellent work on masks and labrets and by A. Jacobsen in the description he gives of festivals and mortuary customs in the account of his journey. We learn that even one of the poorest tribes is possessed of monumental burial places exhibiting wooden statues, models of kayaks and such like, as well as coloured paintings on wood and thereby sacrificial gifts to the souls of the deceased.

The RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS WITH THE USE OF MASKS annually celebrated in Alaska have chiefly the aim of propitiating and in some cases scaring demons, especially those which are thought to control the coming to the shores or up the rivers of sea animals. The masks are fitted with symbolic signs for this aim, and regular sacrifices as well as general distributions of gifts are instituted.

East of Alaska the mortuary customs just mentioned disappear and also the festivals are seen gradually to be set aside. In Baffin's Land, according to Boas, the latter are still held in autumn and have a similar religious character. But in Greenland very little of this kind is known ever to have existed. On the other hand, especially as concerns the invisible powers who rule over the riches of the sea, the *angakoks* OR SHAMANS HAVE WHOLLY TAKEN THE CARE OF PROPITIATING them. In Greenland



they perform this at once by their often described descent to the goddess *Arnakuagsak* who resides on the bottom of the ocean and is able at her will to keep the animals imprisoned or set them free to the benefit of the sealhunters.

Now tradition tells that Arnakuagsak was the daughter of a mighty angakok who travelling with her in an umiak (skinboat) was overtaken by a gale and in order to save himself threw her overboard. As she would cling to the sides of the boat he by and by cut off her fingers and hands. But these parts of her body were then converted into seals and whales, and she herself entrusted with the sway over them in connection with her submarine residence to which she was taken on going to the bottom. On the opposite side of Davis Strait we recognise the same myth among the traditions collected by Dr. Boas. He gives an interesting version of it in which Sedna (Sana?) is treated by her father as just described and in dying also becomes a demon or spirit but somewhat differing from Arnakuagsak. According to Petitot the latter is unknown at the Mackenzie R.; should it be affirmed, that the Greenland myth is also unknown in Alaska, we must suppose that it has been invented under the migration to Greenland, most likely by the angakoks and founded on elder traditions.

The main material of which the traditional tales are composed consists of what we may call ELEMENTS OF THE FOLK-LORE, namely events, animate beings or persons, properties of the same etc., more or less reiterated in different tales. They are combined in various ways, and such compilations can be taken out of one story and inserted in another. Finally these elements or parts are filled out and cemented by what tends to form a new story. As these tales can serve only through indirect inferences to indicate the former homesteads and migrations of the tribes, their historical value will be essentially increased by having collections of them from different localities for comparison. Contributions of this kind have lately com-

menced to appear, and very likely they will soon be continued. I am informed by Dr. Boas, that eleven of THE TALES HE HAS BROUGHT FROM BAFFIN'S LAND are also known in Greenland while other ten contain Greenlandic elements. That concerning Sedna has been published in a German newspaper.

A few additional tales have been received from the West-coast of Greenland since my «Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo» (1875) were published. They are all welcome additions to the main collection, but we have especially to express our high opinion of THE SERIES ACQUIRED by Capt. Holm and Mr. Knutsen during their wintering ON THE EASTCOAST. Their manuscript contains 57 stories of which 6 are versions of the same by other narrators; 13 are identical with tales from other Eskimo tribes; in other 13 more or less elements of the latter are recognised, but 16 must presently still be considered peculiar to the east-coast. The remainder are partly songs, and partly of a more descriptive character.

In the narrative of Jacobsen's journeys in Alaska a few scattered remarks are given touching the folklore. The most interesting of these informs us about the existence of Eskimo RUINS ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER YUKON, not far from its outlet. He states that traditions exist about a comparatively large Eskimo population having lived here, and he adds that in former-times Alaska must have had several times more inhabitants than now. He suggests that the site of the ruins must be in some way connected with the boundary line between the Eskimo and the Indians, though the two nations are not so strictly divided here as eastward on the American Continent. If, as before suggested, the original Eskimo have come from the Interior, their transition to the state of a sealhunting coast-people must of course have taken time. This would give rise to a temporary accumulation of inhabitants towards the river mouths and in this way agree with the existence of these ruins.

As to the rest of what we know about THE TRADITIONS OF THE WESTERN TRIBES an article by John Murdoch in the «American Naturalist» (July 1886) under the title of «a few legendary fragments from Point Barrow», must be greeted as the first attempt to procure the materials hardly to be dispensed with by the student of American archæology. The fragments treat of: (1) How people have their origin from a dog as one of their remote progenitors. The Eastern Eskimo refer this descent not to their own race but to that of the Indians and Europeans as children of the same couple. As for the question about the first intercourse with these races it will be interesting to know how far from Point Barrow this divergence of evidently the same ideas begins. — (2) Another account of the origin of human beings; this seems not to be known before. — (3) The origin of reindeer and fish; the first part of this is new, the other is also known in Greenland. — (4) Thunder and lightening. The Greenland version of this, mentioned by Crantz and Egede, is already almost sunk in oblivion, but I believe that a similar one is still popular in Baffin's Land. — (5) The story of Kokpausina. The authors suggestions with regard to a relationship between this story and some Greenland tales are quite correct, we recognise 3 or 4 of its principal elements in the latter. — (6) A murder at Cape Smith, and (7) the people who talked like dogs, are said to be of more recent origin. — (8) The «house-country». The author's hints at its resemblance to the mysterious *Akilinek* of the Greenlanders and his added remarks on fabulous men and animals all perfectly agree with what I have been able to infer from the Greenland folklore.

According to A. Pinart, the Eskimo of Kadjak were at one time for a certain period subdued by the Koliushes and adopted some of their religious ideas. This gave rise to a sort of MIXED MYTHOLOGY, speaking of 5 heavens which the human soul had to pass after death before the real death took place, and they invoked the Eskimo «*hlam choua*» (Greenland: *silap*

*inua*, spirit of the air) besides the Indian *Kanlakpak* or «great raven». But the Eskimo myth here about the sun and the moon is the same as in Greenland, whereas Veniaminow tells us that the Aleutians have a somewhat similar story, in which however, the brother and sister were converted into sea otters.

I have never ventured on the task of instituting a comparison of the Eskimo folklore with the whole material of TRADITIONS FROM THE ADJACENT NORTHERN COUNTRIES which we are possessed of. However, I can not abstain from calling attention to a few examples of what I have found in them similar to Eskimo elements, though apparently almost as much contradicting as supporting the proposed theory of Alaska as the cradle of the Eskimo race and at all events tending to show how puzzling the traditions can be on account of a too defective knowledge about them.

In mentioning the SAMOJED TRADITIONS Castrén tells as a story about 7 bathing women who had laid off the clothing which could transform them into birds, and a man who stole one of them by laying hold on her clothes. This event, well known also from other countries, exactly agrees with the chief episode of a story which P. Egede asserts to have heard in Greenland, while on the other hand Powers in his work on the CALIFORNIA INDIANS states that he never discovered among these any trace of beings like the «swanmaidens of mediæval legends». But again in Sproat's TALES FROM VANCOUVER ISLAND we recognise several Eskimo elements, as for instance: men lost in venturing to brave the mysterious dangers in the unknown interior of a fiord, cliffs able to clasp them, female murderers who took the shape of birds, the sun and the moon as a married couple.

While the latter examples indicate a kinship with the Western Indians we are again puzzled by discovering similar hints in the east, in the IROQUOIS TRADITIONS communicated by E. A. Smith. We hear about a monstrous snake, the dismembered

body of which was converted into various animals; the hurtfulness of lavishing the game; seven boys who were transformed into birds and left their parents; a youth who went fishing and found some boys who had laid off their wings and were swimming, they gave him wings too that enabled him to follow them, but afterwards they took his wings and left him helpless. But the most curious coincidence is this: in a lonely place, where some hunters had disappeared, a monster was said to sit on a rock watching people who passed by, while then he would call out: «*Kung-ku, kung-kuin*», i. e.: «I see thee, I see thee». — Now the Greenlanders tell that a girl fled to the (fabulous) inlanders, got one of them for her companion and when on her wandering with him they got sight of a settlement, he shouted: «*Kung, kung, kujō*» (words unintelligible to the present Greenlanders), wherupon people living there directly would know who was approaching.

### SOCIOLOGY.

In his «Introduction to the study of Indian languages» Powell remarks that «among the very small tribes the gentile organisation seems to be of minor importance. In fact the social organisation and government of these tribes is but poorly understood». The latter assertion is undoubtedly applicable to the Eskimo, and that prejudice and pride of race may have induced civilised travellers and explorers to overlook the laws and social order existing even in the lower stages of culture, is especially evident with regard to them. In fact it is not the exception but the rule that white men who have stayed for 10 or 20 years among the Eskimo, return without any real addition to their knowledge of the traditional ideas upon which their social state is based. The white man, whether a missionary or a trader is firm in his dogmatic opinion, that the most vulgar European is better than the most distinguished native, that the

natives are without laws, communists and all on an equality. It follows as a matter of course, that he himself alone represents the legislator as well as the magistrate to the natives who live within his precinct. The SOCIAL ORGANISATION WHICH HAS IN THIS WAY ESCAPED OBSERVATION IS CERTAINLY ALWAYS SIMPLE, BUT WELL ADAPTED to its aim and even indispensable in consideration of the conditions to which the subsistence of a sealhunting nation is submitted. The extraordinary energy they have displayed in their struggle for life, in braving the most deterring physical difficulties necessitates cooperation and for this reason laws and discipline. What is termed communism in living, as characterising all the earlier steps of culture does not rest upon absolute equality, but is regulated with regard to the number and the rights of its members and counterbalanced by strict obligations as to the education, the functions and acts of the individuals.

So far as our knowledge extends, examples of an organisation strictly corresponding to the INDIAN «GENTES» is not as yet discovered among the Eskimo. As at present informed the Indian «gens» consists of a group of relatives tracing a common lineage to a remote, even more or less mythical ancestor. This may be either accordingly to father or to mother-right, as in some tribes the children belong to the «gens» of the father, in others to that of the mother and no man can marry in his own gens. If even an organisation of this kind may exist in the Western regions, its maintenance elsewhere seems to be incompatible with the extraordinary dispersion, the scanty intercourse between the small communities into which the nation always tends to divide. But if the original ideas of the «gentes» organisation is that of preventing degeneration by marriages between too nearly related persons, the same is observed as a ruling principle in the Eskimo society. It is well known that RELATIONSHIP IS HIGHLY THOUGHT OF BY THE ESKIMO. This fact is evident merely from the rather complicated system

of kinship terms, and their ability in remembering their relatives several generations back. If therefore instead of a remote ancestor, we suppose one who lived four generations or even longer back and if we lay no stress upon the question about father or mother-right, the original elements of the gentile organisation may be said to exist in Eskimo society. A strict rule for a married couple and their children as to living with either the relatives of the husband or the wife could not be preserved by people whose sustenance was dependant of choosing the most favourable hunting stations. But on the other hand THE ESKIMO DISAPPROVES OF MARRIAGES BETWEEN COUSINS, while where mother right prevails among Indians, the gentes organisation does not seem to forbid a man marrying his father's brother's daughter.

The next question to be taken into consideration is that concerning THE IDEAS OF PROPERTY. The «COMMUNISM OF LARGE HOUSEHOLDS EXTENDED BY THE LAW OF HOSPITALITY» is a principle common to Eskimo and Indians. We have already touched on this question in mentioning the dwellings. THE COMMUNISM IS RESTRICTED in the first place by what may be called PERSONAL PROPERTY in the strictest sense, which consists of the necessary tools and the equipment for hunting; secondly by what belongs to A FAMILY likewise in the strictest sense; thereafter in the common stock of provisions or part of capture shared with the inhabitants of the same house, with the other HOUSES OF THE STATION or perhaps with some of them. A body of relatives corresponding to a «gens» generally will consist of people occupying the same wintering place or some of its houses, if there are more of them than usual. The rights and obligations connected with the kinship are contained in rules concerning marriage, mutual assistance including the bloodvengeance and the duty of every man to learn and carry on sealhunting to the best of his ability. The inhabitants of a

wintering place have the exclusive right of permitting others to settle there.

When the ESKIMO «TRIBES» are spoken of in works on the Arctic Regions, their native names will generally be found ending in — *miut* or *-mut* which signifies «inhabitants of». — The ending is joined to a name which refers either simply to a territory or to a particular wintering station, but comprising the surrounding territory with the other stations that may be found there. The application of the term «TRIBE» is undoubtedly the most correct in this case. As to the Eskimo it will imply the possession of a territory and generally of a dialect in the strictest sense. Moreover, it will indicate the ordinary limits of the «law of hospitality» and defense not only against other tribes, but also against individuals dangerous to their own, in other words the same to «tribe» as bloodvengeance is to «gens».

Concerning government it must be remembered that the regular ASSEMBLIES OF THE PROVIDERS in each wintering place and occasionally LARGER MEETINGS of people from different stations have served for councils as well as courts. Recent investigations in the extreme East have confirmed what has formerly been but vaguely alluded to, namely that EACH LARGER HOUSEHOLD COMPRISING SEVERAL FAMILIES HAS A CHIEF, as conscientiously venerated and obeyed as heads of communities or magistrates are elsewhere.

As to the courts and the possibility of maintaining the authority of law, it must be remembered that the members in these isolated communities are, more immediately dependent on their fellow men than the members of a civilised society, and that, what is considered at the most a trifling inconvenience in the latter, may be a severe punishment in the former. We know that anciently in Greenland, public opinion formed the real judgement seat, the general punishment consisting in the offenders being shamed in the eyes of people. The regular courts were the public meetings or parties which at the same



time supplied the national sports and entertainments. The so called nith-songs were used for settling all sorts of crimes or breaches of public order or custom, with the exception of those which could only be expiated by death.

While, as before stated, a MARKED PROGRESS is evidently observed in passing from the Western to the Eastern tribes, as regards the kayak with its implements and the dexterity in using them, THE CONTRARY MAY BE SAID SO FAR AS CONCERNS SOCIAL ORGANISATION, a natural consequence of the dispersal which renders the preservation of social customs and usages more and more difficult, in some cases even impossible. Our imperfect knowledge only permits us to illustrate the social order of the different tribes by examples of which a few shall be given here.

We begin with THE EXTREME EAST, the district of Angmagalik on the Greenland coast opposite Iceland. The Danish expedition who wintered here in 1884—1885 had the opportunity of most minutely studying the usages and customs, the language and traditions of the natives who had lived here debarred from a contact with Europeans which might influence their way of life. Their society exhibited most decidedly the character of a «tribe» on a small scale and the researches mentioned have made it one of the best known, if not the very best known of all the Eskimo tribes that have existed unaltered by contact with civilisation. They numbered 413 souls, divided into eleven smaller communities inhabiting so many wintering stations; the widest distance between them being 80 miles. A remarkable feature of this distribution (as a rule probably observed nowhere else) was that each place had but one house. Consequently no difference between housefellows and placefellows could exist. The number of inmates of a house in one instance was as high as 58. The house of the station where the Danish explorers had erected their own hut was inhabited by 38 persons constituting 8 families. The ledge running along the backwall of the room

measured 28 feet in length and 5 feet in breadth, being divided by low curtains into 8 stalls, the size being proportioned to the number of persons in each family. The whole room including the stalls was 28 feet long and 15 feet broad, the greatest height being  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The reader may imagine what had to be performed in this room offering the only refuge to 38 persons during the darkness of the Arctic winter, sleeping, cooking and eating, working as well as merry making, dancing and singing! And yet no quarrel disturbs the peace, there is no dispute about the use of the narrow space. Scolding or even unkind words are considered a misdemeanour, if not produced under the legal form of process, — namely the nith-song.

It is obvious that this order and domestic peace supposes two conditions: in the first place TRADITIONAL RULES OR LAWS, and secondly LEADERS WHO KNOW TO ENFORCE THESE REGULATIONS. In contrast to what has been most generally assumed, we learn by the statement of our explorers that every house or station has its chief or patriarch whom the others obey with every mark of veneration. Very likely his orders on account of their gentle form may have been generally hardly observable to strangers, but on certain occasions, f. i. when the moving from tents into the house took place he acted as a commander very much after the habits of civilised society. Furthermore a case of severe punishment was witnessed when a young man was turned out of the house in the middle of winter. It is evident that between being suddenly abandoned in this way without shelter in the depth of an Arctic winter and the disagreeableness of being shamed by a song in an assembly, several degrees of punishment may be imagined sufficient to deter malicious individuals from ordinary offences or disturbances of order and peace. It must be added, that the position as chief of the house has no relation to that of «angakok» though both dignities may occasionally be united.

Throughout DANISH WESTGREENLAND the ancient organisation

of Eskimo-society began to be disturbed by European influence more than a century ago. However, the communism in living still flourishes, but without being sufficiently restricted by the original customary obligations and at the same time without being counterbalanced by a satisfactory development of the idea of individual or family-property. The natural consequence has been impoverishment.

The explorations of Dr. Boas in BAFFIN'S LAND embody another of the few essays calculated to throw light on the social organisation of the Eskimo. On account of the scantiness of the whole population, the numerous divisions of it here grow so small, that in some cases it seems doubtful whether they ought to be compared with tribes or with gentes, but that tribes exist, is confirmed also by these investigations. In the usages observed in their intercourse we recognise very strikingly what on similar occasions is related in the traditional tales of Greenland. The remarks on intertribal marriages and the predominating custom that the husband removes to the home of his wife, the use of adoption and the cases of families or individuals having disappeared, contain indications of, at least a tendency to gentes institutions and on the other hand the hindrance they meet with in the isolation caused by the manner of life. At the same time we learn that each tribe has its leader, especially during their wanderings, a so called «*Pimmain*» which term resembles what in Greenland signifies: an expert man perfect in his business.

The majority of the LABRADOR ESKIMO have been submitted to foreign influences just as the Greenlanders have. It might be noted that the tribes who are not as yet Christianised have their chiefs, here called «*Angajorkak*», which in Greenland is used for: parents. A Norwegian, Mr. Olsen who has lived 17 years in the Hudson's bay territory has given me information about several questions concerning the Labradorians. He says that the authority of the *Angajorkaks* seems to be confined to

localities, each bay or fiord generally having its own. He must always be a distinguished person so far as concerns the accomplishments necessary for a first rate hunter. When he dies his son has the first claim to be his successor, if he possesses the qualities required. If not, another is appointed who probably has already been elected during the father's life.

Several facts seem to prove that THE WESTERN ESKIMO OCCUPY A HIGHER STAGE OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION than the Eastern tribes. This is manifested in the more favourable conditions for the accumulation of individual property. The same, however, is on the other hand limited by a remarkable tendency to prodigality in distributing gifts in order to acquire reputation. This kind of ambition again creates a division with regard to social position evidently allied to the rank system of their southern Indian neighbours. In connection with warfare among the tribes it has even led to the custom of keeping slaves, of all habits the one apparently most at variance with Eskimo social life.

The Inland Eskimo who inhabit the shores of the river Kuskokwim were stated by Wrangell to number 7000 souls. They had their fixed dwellings along the river, while they roamed about on hunting excursions during the summer season. Each village had its Kashim or council house, the interior of which was furnished with amphitheatre seats surrounding the stage for performances, and in the middle was found the hearth for heating the room. This building as to ordinary use was reserved exclusively for the adult of male population, partly for working, partly for holding council. All public affairs were here discussed and decided. Another employment of it was for public festivals. The season for these assemblies was opened with an exhibition showing what each hunter had earned during the course of the past year. Even what children might have caught of birds and fishes was not omitted on these occasions, stuffed specimens being arranged on extended lines sufficiently lightened

by means of lamps. When people were assembled and everybody seated according to his customary rank, one of the principal hunters commenced the ceremony with a song, at the same time dancing and beating the tambourine surrounded by all the people belonging to his household or his partisans. Having ended, he distributed gifts of his game among the assembly. The value of his presents in connection with the number of his attendants would then decide the rank which public opinion transferred to him. After he had finished, the same act was repeated by a new performer and so on, these ceremonies being alternated with meals, feasting and merrymaking lasting for several days.

Apart from these festivals councils were held on serious occasions to which no woman was admitted unless after being solemnly introduced. Bloodvengeance was among the affairs decided in this way. Sometimes it gave rise to wars with other tribes from which female prisoners and children were brought home as slaves.

A very interesting account is given by the Norwegian traveller Jacobsen of his having witnessed a great festival at Igniktok close to Bering Strait. Here the Kashim had an underground entrance leading to an opening in the middle of the floor. The festival was held especially in honour of five deceased persons belonging to as many families and here represented by one relative each. It began with a song whereupon a man stepped forward and before the audience shifted his clothes, taking on his dancing dress and then assisted by some women, dancing and beating the drum he sung in honour of the dead, praising their excellent qualities and achievements. After three dances had been performed in this way, the whole party was copiously regaled and finally a very remarkable ceremony took place, consisting of a distribution of gifts on behalf of the dead, as a sign of power and magnanimity.

The amount of what was given away on this occasion in-

deed, is astonishing when compared with what may be called wealth among Eskimo people. It consisted of articles belonging to clothing, tools, weapons, and utensils arranged in 34 bundles containing 20, and 2 bundles with 5 pieces each, the whole making 690 presents. The bundles were tied to a line and lowered through a hole in the middle of the roof and then distributed. On the next day the festivities were begun early in the morning and when all the ceremonies concerning the memory of the deceased were finished, the festival passed to ordinary merrymaking, singing, dancing and feasting, the male performers having the upper part of their body naked, in dancing and beating the drum. It seems probable that this part of the ceremonies has comprised performances like the nith-songs of the Greenlanders.

Mr. Gilbert Sproat, the well known writer on the Indians of western Vancouver Island, says in a note: «Was Darwin long enough among the Fuegians to be enabled authoritatively to affirm that perfect equality exists among the individuals composing the Fuegian tribes?» The objection involved in these words, as we see, is strikingly applicable to several authors on the Arctic Regions also. Some of Sproat's statements concerning the AHT-INDIANS OF VANCOUVER ISLAND, so near to Alaska are too interesting to be wholly omitted here. In speaking of their mutual intercourse in daily life he says: if struck in anger, it must be paid the next day with a present. The respect entertained for the head of the family is generally sufficient to preserve order within the family circle. Quarelling is also rare among children. He has never witnessed a fight between two sober natives. The great feasts take place in winter, but feasting occasionally with distributions goes on at all times. Animated speeches are delivered by various orators, praising their forefathers' achievements and skill in hunting, and boasting of the number and the admirable qualities of their powerful friends. No institution is more specifically defined

among the Ahts than slavery. The slave is at the absolute disposal of his master in all things. The high consideration in which rank or actual authority is held, is extraordinary. The principal use made of the accumulation of personal chattels is to distribute them periodically among invited guests. The destruction of certain kinds of property serves the same purpose. The person who gives away the most property receives the greatest praise and in time acquires, almost as a matter of course, but by the voice of the tribe the highest rank obtainable by such means. This rank, however, is not of the loftiest class; it is only for life and different from the ancient hereditary or tribal rank. The head chief's position is patriarchal, his authority is rather nominal than positive.

#### DISTRIBUTION AND DIVISION.

If we comprise the Northern Indians under the chief groups: the Northwestern, the Tinne and the Algonkin, the Eskimo must be said to wholly encompass the Tinne from the seaside, while in the west and the east they abut upon the other two nations. On the west side they issue almost as a continuation from the Northwest Indians having so to say like these half of their subsistence from the land and half from the sea. Where the territory of the Inland Eskimo borders on that of the Tinne tribes, the transition between their respective villages is likewise almost insensible to the foreign traveller. But by degrees as towards the north and east the Eskimo pass to grow an exclusively maritime and Arctic people, their relation to the Indians takes a decidedly hostile character. Murderous fights between them have been customary on the borders of the Mackenzie R., and further towards the northeast corner of the continent a sort of neutral ground divides them which for fear they generally avoid to pass over.

When nevertheless we have suggested that the pressure by

which the priscan Inland tribes successively were led to the seacoast, took place on the Westside, where more peaceable relations between the races seem to have prevailed, this is easily explained by the nature of the said pressure as being only the same action as that by which the primitive inhabitants everywhere have spread over the lands so far as no absolute hindrance was met with, while in this instance, moreover, a natural instinct drew the farthest advanced tribes of the original Inlanders to the sea, as they became aware of its riches. The principal roads in this way would be afforded by the rivers Athna, Kuskokwim, Yukon, Selawik, Kuwak, Colville. That the more easterly disemboguing rivers may have contributed to promote the same migrations is, as before said, not excluded. The same tendency of expanding then caused the marvellous exploration of the Arctic Archipelago, which is testified by the ruins and other remains of human existence which are scattered over its tortuous shores, but also the peopling of Labrador, the almost mysterious discovery of the bridge to Greenland which Smith's Sound affords and finally the wanderings down to Cape Farewell. No more land being now left to gratify their adventurous disposition for discovery, they divided into groups of tribes whose roaming generally was restricted to alternately removing from one wintering station to another within the same precinct, besides the usual summer excursions. For this reason we now are enabled to geographically divide them by assigning the territories belonging to the different groups as follows:

#### 1. THE WESTERN ESKIMO comprising

(a) the SOUTHERN TRIBES: Ugalachmut, Kaniagmut (Kadjak), Ogulmut, Nushagagmut, Kuskwogmut, Magemut and Ekogmut, numbering about 8300 souls.

(b) the NORTHERN TRIBES: Unalignmut, Malemut, Kaviagmut, Okeegmut, Selawigmut, Kowagmut, Nunatogmut, Nuwukmut, rated at 2900.



(c) the ASIATIC ESKIMO whose number is very doubtful, but by Krause believed not to exceed 2000.

There is still some difference prevailing in the statements concerning the classification of these Western tribes. I have here followed the distinguished Alaska explorer Dall, the first who has laid down their distribution on a map. Some important additions may still be expected from later expeditions, especially concerning the Inland tribes (at the Kuwak river by Healy, Cantwell and Stoney etc.).

## 2. THE MACKENZIE ESKIMO OR TCHIGLIT.

They are separated from the Western by an uninhabited coastline of 300 miles on which, however, they meet from both sides each summer for the purpose of bartering. They are divided by Petitot into TAREORMICT and KRAMALIT numbering together 2000 souls.

## 3. THE TRIBES OF THE CENTRAL REGIONS.

They begin at Cape Bathurst and are said to be sharply divided from the former, but as to the whole extent of the vast district occupied by them, our knowledge is more or less defectuous. Besides the older renowned explorers, as Parry, Ross, Rae, Mc. Clintock, Allen Young and others, we are especially indebted to Schwatka and Boas for linguistic contributions. The first named states that the SOUTHWESTERN PART is divided between the following tribes: (a) Natsilik, (b) Pelly-Bay, (c) Uv-kusigalik, (d) Ukiolik, (e) Kidelik (Coppermine river). Boas gives a specified list of the inhabitants of BAFFIN'S LAND, and describes the roads by which they have had intercourse with the more distant tribes. Some acquaintance with the extreme north about SMITH'S SOUND and with the south as far as REPULSE-BAY seems to have been entertained in the middle part by occasional native travellers; but between the east and west only a very scanty intercourse ever seems to have existed. The western

part has also but rarely and imperfectly been investigated by exploring expeditions. For these reasons we can only have a vague idea of the number to which the whole population amounts. If we guess it to be 4000, this is very likely too much.

#### 4. THE LABRADORIANS.

They are separated from the former by a sound which requires the greatest caution in being crossed by open boats. Upon the EASTCOAST of Labrador the number of natives is rated at 1500 of whom 1163 were Christianised. With addition of those on the NORTH and WESTSIDE the whole Eskimo population may amount to between 2000 and 2200.

#### 5. THE GREENLANDERS.

Of the inhabitants of Greenland only the small Smith's Sound tribe or Arctic Highlanders seem to be more closely allied to those of the Central Regions. Between these northernmost people of the world and the other West Greenlanders no intercourse has existed as far back as we have known the latter. Only obscure traditions are told at Smith's Sound about excursions having been undertaken to the «Southlanders». WE DIVIDE THE GREENLANDERS IN WEST AND EAST GR. In 1880 the West Gr. amounted to 9752 all of whom were Christianised. In 1884 the East Gr. south of  $68^{\circ}$  N. L. numbered 548. North of  $68^{\circ}$ , as well known, people have only been seen by Clavering, who in 1823 met with two families north of  $74\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The people who may live in the northern region between  $68^{\circ}$  and Smith's-Sound can hardly be supposed to be numerous, not even on an arctic scale.

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