

THE WHALE HUNTERS OF TIGARA

FROELICH G. RAINEY

VOLUME 41 : PART 2
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1947

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PREFACE

MY INTEREST in the Alaskan Eskimo is basically emotional, not scientific. I like these people as individuals. Living among them, at first, as an archaeologist, I knew them only as the people with whom I worked, ate, danced, hunted, and, sometimes, fought. They are not subjects of investigation. Friendships, however, invariably lead to responsibilities. I soon became aware that these Alaskan Eskimo faced a very dismal future and felt something ought to be done about it. Out of this grew, in the vernacular of the anthropologist, "a study of acculturation." I believe that a thorough knowledge of their ancient customs and beliefs, their behavior, and their work-a-day world, coupled with an analysis of the changes resulting from the destructive contacts with white men and the compromises which the Eskimo have effected during the past 50 years, will lead to an understanding which will in turn help to "do something about it."

At least that was the theory. It was impractical to undertake this type of study during the few summer months each year while I worked as an archaeologist. Therefore, in 1940, my wife Penelope and I decided to live with the Tigara people at Point Hope for the better part of that year. We rented a house from a poor widow, equipped it with luxuries, from the Eskimo point of view, and settled down as the most curious inhabitants of the village. The Eskimo women all made their formal, polite calls upon Penelope, presenting bowls of neatly braided seal intestines as substitutes for calling cards, while I hunted with the men. "Living like an Eskimo" is, of course, merely figurative. A white man never does, but at least I followed the men through all the forms of hunting seals, polar bears, and walrus, and of trapping, herding reindeer, fishing, drumming, dancing, and other activities. I even achieved the least important position in one of the whaling crews and received some tons of whale meat in payment. We certainly failed to become an integral part of the village life. We were, however, received as an exotic addition to the community, and, after some time as such, we managed our inquiries in an atmosphere of friendly acceptance, usually during the long cold evenings.

In many ways this period spent with the Tigara people was the easiest part of fulfilling my intention to do something about their future. Whatever understanding we achieved, whatever information we gathered, and our conclusions, must be transmitted to white men in Alaska, to government agencies, and to the public in general, if the Eskimo are to be assisted in their subconscious search for a successful adjustment to modern conditions. There is not much time to spare. Population, general health, economic stability, and the ethnic will to survive continue to decline. Since the Eskimo are practical, realistic extroverts, I feel that actual economic stability should be their important objective. If this can be achieved, other no less important facets of their culture will undoubtedly adjust. But conclusions such as these must be presented with all the facts available and in an interesting readable manner to reach those who can affect the future of the Eskimo.

Two false starts on a comprehensive publication have been discarded, and the third has never been completed. The war and the more immediate interest in war service have interfered. However, in the future I hope to complete this account of a very stimulating study among the Eskimo who should be the backbone of the population in the 150,000 square miles of arctic Alaska. My admiration for the Eskimo increased in proportion to my knowledge of their way of life. I feel strongly that we can ill afford to lose the only people who have, as yet, established permanent homes on the arctic shores of North America.

The following monograph includes only a sketch of the native heritage of the present Tigara Eskimo as reconstructed from my conversations with the old men of the village. It contains the factual data on the aboriginal culture which were originally intended to support the more detailed acculturation study. It is being published now, principally because it describes the ceremonies and hunting practices of one of the whale hunting groups of Arctic Eskimo, a phase of their aboriginal culture which has not previously been reported in detail and which may be useful to anthropologists in general.

The investigation was financed by the American Museum of Natural History in New York (Frederick G. Voss Anthropological and Archaeological Fund) and by the University of Alaska in Fairbanks. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Clark Wissler and Dr. Charles

E. Bunnell for their interest in this work, for the funds, and for their willingness to release me from other duties to make it possible for me to spend so long a period at Point Hope.

FROELICH G. RAINEY

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THE TIGARA VILLAGE

TIGARA WAS DISCOVERED by Capt. F. W. Beechey, Commander of H.M.S. "Blossom" in 1826, when he passed through Bering Strait to cruise northward along the northwest coast of Alaska in search of Franklin's expedition to Arctic America. Captain Cook must have passed very close to the village in 1778 but, situated as it is on a low sand bar extending from the highlands of northwest Alaska, it is almost imperceptible from any distance at sea. Beechey's men first became aware of the peculiar bar, technically known as a cusped foreland, when they ascended Cape Thompson and saw it curving out from the base of the cliffs like an enormous triangular breakwater enclosing a broad lagoon. Later, they sailed along the narrow sand bar forming the southern leg of the triangle to its western extremity and there found "a forest of stakes . . . and beneath them several round hillocks."¹ The stakes were the bones of bowhead whales erected as storage racks, and the hillocks were the sod-covered dwellings of Tigara. Beechey named the foreland Point Hope, in memory of Sir William Johnstone Hope.

The Eskimo name for the point and the village at its tip is Tikeraq (index finger). It is approximately 20 miles from the mainland. However, on the charts the foreland is labeled Point Hope and the village, Tigara.

The Kukpuk (Big River) flowing out of the rolling highlands behind Cape Thompson and Cape Lisburne, which may be considered the western extremity of the main Rocky Mountain axis, empties into Marryat Inlet, the lagoon enclosed by the two converging bars of Point Hope, and communicates with the sea through a shallow inlet near the base of the northern bar. It seems probable that the entire point was formed by the outwash from the river and by the action of an eddy in the strong northward ocean current at this point where it is deflected toward the west by the steep rocky shore at Cape Thompson. The land rises only a few feet above the sea and is almost entirely composed of coarse gravel and sand. Only moss, lichens,

grass, and low flowering plants grow on the spit. These are confined to limited areas, usually where Eskimo have lived long enough to deposit organic, fertilizing refuse.

Except for a few frame houses built by the mission, the school, a trader, and recently by the Eskimo, the village now occupies the same location and presents much the same appearance as it did in 1826. The site of the settlement, the small triangular point of land west of Marryat Inlet, is so low that waves have been known to wash over it during exceptionally violent storms in the late fall. In winter when both sea and land are covered by ice and hard-packed snow, sea and land are almost indistinguishable. So barren, low, isolated, and windswept a point seems a strange location for the largest and most ancient Eskimo settlement known in Alaska. Yet many hundreds of graves extending over an area at least 5 miles long, and numerous ruins of old Eskimo houses, surrounded by great heaps of midden refuse, prove that the point has been the permanent home of Tigara people for many centuries.

Its strange location, its unusual size, and the permanent nature of the Tigara village can be explained by the fact that these Eskimo are essentially a sea people whose economy depends upon sea mammals, particularly bowhead whales. Seals and walrus can be taken at many places along the Arctic Coast, but bowhead whales can be hunted effectively only off the peninsulas or islands directly in the path of their yearly migration. As a matter of fact, all the bowhead whale hunters of Alaska live in similar large permanent settlements on projecting points of land or islands where whales pass in their annual migration from the Pacific to Beaufort Sea in the Arctic Ocean. Permanent Eskimo villages like Tigara are found at Gambell on St. Lawrence Island, Indian Point and East Cape, Siberia, the Diomed Islands, and Cape Prince of Wales in Bering Strait, and at Point Barrow on the Arctic Coast. All these whale-hunting villages are known to be very ancient.

Pack ice moving south from the Arctic Ocean in the fall usually closes in around Point Hope in October, and the spit remains ice-bound from that time until July. But the strong sea current

¹ Beechey, F. W., 1831, "Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait, to co-operate with the polar expeditions: performed in His Majesty's Ship Blossom . . . in the years, 1825, 26, 27, 28." 2 vols. London, vol. 1, 363.

sweeping north through Bering Strait and along the American shore toward the northeast and the violent gales prevalent during the winter months combine to break up and move the ice pack first in one direction, then another. A northeast wind drives the ice pack out from the south shore of Point Hope, leaving a wide channel, or lead, between the fixed ground ice along the beach and the main pack. A south wind drives the ice back and closes the lead. If the wind is strong enough, floes are crushed into huge blocks which pile up on the ground ice, grinding, crashing, and booming as the terrific force of wind and current drives one block up over another. In midwinter a broad lead like a river often encircles Point Hope and extends many miles to the north and south. Seals are numerous in the vicinity of this open water because it offers them an opportunity to breathe without maintaining breathing holes, as is necessary in unbroken ice, and nowadays the hunters of Tigara shoot them in the open water. In early spring, during April and May, bowhead whales follow this lead through the pack ice northward and consequently normally pass close inshore around Point Hope where the hunters can harpoon them, at most, within a few miles of the village.

The able-bodied men of Tigara spend the greater part of their lives in this shifting, broken wilderness of ice, hunting seals, walrus, polar bears, and beluga and bowhead whales. Except for three or four months each year, this is their daily occupation. The ice is their most familiar environment and the source of all except a small portion of their food and fuel, and of much of the raw material of their technical apparatus. Hence, to these Eskimo it is natural that their village should be more a part of the sea than of the distant mainland to which it is joined by only a narrow ribbon of sand.

At present 250 Eskimo live at Tigara, a population which has altered little since the first estimate in 1880. For reasons to be discussed later, it is probable that at least 1000 persons lived there during the early part of the nineteenth century, before diseases were communicated to the natives by American whalers after 1850. They call themselves Tikerarmiut (people of Tikeraq) and consider the village of Tigara not only their single permanent home but the place of origin for normal human beings. However, they hunt and trap many miles along

the coast to the north and south, and inland as far as the headwaters of the Kukpuk River. The Tigara people may be considered as a distinct tribe with a local dialect, a definite territory, and a sense of social solidarity, particularly in relation to other groups of Eskimo in northwest Alaska.

NEIGHBORING TRIBES

Their nearest neighbors to the north are at Point Lay. This coastal village, 150 miles northeast of Point Hope, was established as recently as 1930, chiefly by Tikerarmiut, as a kind of colony. Nearly 100 miles farther is another coastal village now known as Wainwright, and 100 miles beyond are the two settlements in the vicinity of Point Barrow. Point Lay people are thought of as Tikerarmiut, but those of Wainwright are called Kukmiut, and those at the two settlements near Barrow, Utqiavigmiut and Nuvukmiut. These are distinctive tribes, each with a definite territorial range.

The nearest neighbors south of Tigara are the Kivalinermiut (people of the Kivalik or Kivalina River) who now live at a coastal village, established less than 40 years ago by Eskimo from the interior. Still farther south, and some distance inland, are the Noatarmiut (people of the Noatak River) who are now concentrated at one village on the Noatak River. At Hotham Inlet in Kotzebue Sound are the Qeqertarmiut. At their village, now known as Kotzebue, the Tikerarmiut meet the inland Eskimo from the Kobuk River (Kovagmiut) and the Selawik River (Selawikmiut) during the summer trading season. Two very different types of Eskimo live in northwest Alaska above the Arctic Circle. Those now living at Tigara, Point Lay, Wainwright, and Point Barrow are descendants of coast-dwelling, whale-hunting, sedentary Eskimo who, for many centuries, have inhabited large fixed villages on the sea; while those now living on the Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawik rivers are descended from seminomadic, inland, caribou-hunting, and river-fishing Eskimo who ranged over the vast rolling highlands of the interior, visiting the coast each year for a few weeks to trade with Coast Eskimo or to hunt sea mammals. Before the arrival of Europeans during the past century other tribes of inland Eskimo also lived along the Utorqaq and Colville rivers on the Arctic slope. The inland Eskimo differed physically,

linguistically, and culturally from the coast dwellers and according to the legends of the Tigara people they were often at war with each other. After nearly 100 years of peace and continued social intercourse resulting from the presence of white men and more active trade relations, physical differences are less apparent. Although it is now almost impossible to determine the aboriginal population of northwest Alaska, I have the impression from Eskimo narratives that the combined tribes of inland peoples on the Colville, Utorqaq, Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawik rivers were much more numerous than the coast dwellers.

The decline of the inland Eskimo population on the Utorqaq and Colville rivers is probably due to the enormous reduction of caribou herds, the inevitable consequence of the introduction of repeating rifles. Only a few survivors now live with the coast people at Barrow and Wainwright. The survival of the Eskimo living on the Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawik rivers, on the other hand, may be explained by the more abundant supply of river fish and by their successful adoption of the domesticated reindeer economy, temporarily at least, after 1900.

The survival of the now more numerous coast dwellers is natural. Despite the fact that 50 years of American whaling in the Arctic once threatened to exterminate baleen whales, the number of sea mammals has not been affected by the introduction of modern firearms to the same degree as has the number of caribou. Now whales seem to be increasing.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY

The Brooks Range, which can be considered the northernmost extremity of the main continental mountain chain, extends northwestward above the Arctic Circle and falls away into the rolling highlands just east of Capes Thompson and Lisburne. It is flanked on the north by the De Long Mountains, and on the south by the Baird Mountains. Much of the interior of northwestern Alaska is rugged mountain country in which rise all the large rivers referred to above. Except for narrow belts of spruce and birch forests along the lower reaches of the Selawik, Kobuk, and Noatak rivers, it is a treeless country covered, wherever there is soil, by moss, lichens, grass, and small flowering plants. Low willows and other varieties of low bushes

grow in sheltered places along the northern rivers and small tributary streams, but, as a whole, it is a barren land which, in winter, is a trackless, dead-white expanse of hard-packed snow broken only by dark rocky cliffs. Chains of mountain peaks, like the De Longs, rise, like glistening white teeth, against the sky.

Despite their great reduction during the past century, herds of caribou still roam over the highlands and the vast tundra-covered Arctic slope north of the Brooks Range and, in summer, sometimes move out along the sand bars on the shore to escape the plague of mosquitoes. But since 1900 herds of domesticated reindeer imported from Siberia have replaced the caribou in certain areas near the Eskimo settlements. Enormous arctic wolves, as well as brown and grizzly bears, and, recently, coyotes stalk the herds of caribou and reindeer or fall back upon lemmings, ground squirrels, and marmots for food when the herds are protected or hard to find. The white arctic variety, as well as red, silver, blue, and cross foxes, range principally over the interior, hunting ground squirrels and lemmings, but also occasionally wander out onto the pack ice off shore in search of sea mammal carcasses. Mountain sheep were once common in the mountainous sections of the region, but seem to have retreated to less accessible mountain ranges.

Several varieties of fish, the most common of which are salmon, salmon trout, and whitefish, run in all the large rivers and most of the small streams, but they are much more plentiful in the three rivers flowing into Kotzebue Sound than in the rivers to the northward. One of the less common species, the shee fish, found only in these rivers, is exceptionally palatable and is taken in large numbers during the summer months. Nowadays, and undoubtedly always for all the inland Eskimo, fish have constituted a more stable and dependable food supply than caribou, since they can be taken in winter as well as in summer along most of the rivers.

Water fowl swarm into the Arctic each summer in uncounted millions, not only to nest in rookeries on the sea cliffs, but to nest and feed at the lakes, ponds, and rivers of the interior. Murres and gulls nest on the sea cliffs, geese and ducks on the tundra. Such migratory birds supply a large part of the food for both inland and coast Eskimo in the summer. In winter only arctic owls, hawks, ravens, and a single

species of sea bird remain in the north; of these only owls are eaten.

The rugged mountain ranges, the rolling foothills, the tundra slopes, and the rivers of the interior, although the home of inland Eskimo tribes, play an important part in the physical environment of the Tigara people, who roam many miles inland trapping, hunting, and now herding reindeer, and who have always traded with the inland Eskimo for the products of that region. Native legend claims a vast tract of the interior, from the head of Kotzebue Sound to Icy Cape, as the original territory of the Tikerarmiut. But in 1940, when the village elders asked for a reservation and decided upon its limits, they set them to include only the somewhat restricted territory behind Point Hope between Capes Lisburne and Thompson, and as far inland as the source of the Kukpuk River. These modest claims probably reflect their inherent feeling that they are a sea people whose interests center in the sea and its products rather than in the land.

Much has been written about the severe climate in which Arctic Coast Eskimo are able to live; their survival in this intense cold is perhaps the achievement which has made them one of the best known and most discussed primitive people in the world. Yet a comparison of annual temperatures on the Arctic Coast with the wooded region of interior Alaska and Canada demonstrates that Athapascan Indians actually experience lower temperatures in mid-winter than do the Coast Eskimo, a misleading fact. The not uncommon temperatures of 50° and even 70° below zero in the forest region are more endurable than 30° or 40° below zero on the coast. It is generally windless and dry, with low temperatures, in the interior, but on the treeless Arctic slope and coast, high winds are very frequent even in the coldest weather. Actually, the Eskimo experience a much more severe climate than the Indians, and at Point Hope, where winter temperatures are seldom lower than 30° below zero, one requires much heavier clothing and warmer houses than at Fort Yukon in central Alaska, where the temperature may remain at 50° or 60° below zero for many weeks.

On the barren highlands, east of Point Hope, a temperature of 40° to 50° below zero, accompanied by a 50-mile gale, held for several days in February, 1940. My Eskimo companion

agreed to travel by dog team in such weather. Clothing infinitely superior to that of the northern Indians made this possible, even though one's face, when exposed to the full blast of the wind, would freeze in less than a minute. Tikerarmiut hunters will spend hours on the ice pack at 20° to 30° below zero in a high wind, often standing perfectly still at a pond or seal-breathing hole. In January, 1940, when the temperature remained at 20° to 25° below zero for weeks, there was a great shortage of seal oil for fuel. Many of the houses were unheated for days, so that some Tigara families lived constantly in temperatures slightly above zero even indoors.

Climatic records kept at Point Hope for a 16-year period, from 1888 to 1904,¹ convey a poor impression of the cold endured by Tigara people. The lowest temperature recorded was -48° F. in February, 1892, normally the coldest month; the highest, 97°, in July, 1891. Such high temperatures are probably extremely rare. During the summers of 1939 and 1940, the thermometer normally registered between 35° and 50°, and because of the cold northeast winds we were rarely comfortable without fur parkas. The lowest temperature recorded in 1940 was -37° F., as is usual in February.

To survive in the extreme cold of the Arctic Coast, the Tigara people must have clothing made from caribou or reindeer skins. Sealskins are much too light, and polar bear are too rare. Dogskins can be used, but these are much less satisfactory than those of the deer. To the coast dwellers, domesticated reindeer introduced by the Federal Government shortly before 1900, after the caribou herds had been almost destroyed by firearms, are important chiefly as a source of skins, rather than as a food supply. Today, as in the past, the Tigara Eskimo depend on the land mammals for the clothing which makes it possible for them to live near the sea. But as a substitute for the summer caribou hunts inland and trading expeditions to a rendezvous with inland Eskimo, which were the old methods of obtaining the all-important skins, four or five Tigara families now spend the entire year inland watching over a herd of 2000 reindeer owned in varying shares by the people of the village.

¹ Collier, A. J., 1906, "Geology and coal resources of the Cape Lisburne region, Alaska," Bull. 278, U. S. Geol. Surv.

The source of supply of skins for clothing has thus been greatly changed in modern times, but the supply of fuel and food, which depends upon the hunting of sea mammals, has been only slightly altered. Most of the houses are still heated with seal oil; food, other than the meat and blubber of sea mammals, is rare.

The stable factors in the total environment of the Tikerarmiut, which have not been profoundly altered by 100 years of contact between natives and Europeans, are the barren land, the severe climate, and the supply of sea mammals. Trade materials, including cloth, metal tools, and utensils from "outside," have been largely substituted for native materials; land animals have been destroyed and replaced; neighboring tribes have become extinct or have changed their place of residence; above all, a knowledge of the outside world brought about by education and modern means of communication has broadened the intellectual horizon until the native's relation to his environment is on an entirely different plane. Even the stable elements in his environment are not the same to a Tikerarmiut of 1940 as they were to his own ancestors of 1800. The physical environment once had an entirely different significance to these people; the adoption of European philosophy with European trade materials has altered the physical world in the mind of the Tikerarmiut as much as, if not more than, the culture in which he lives.

To comprehend the culture of the modern Tigara people, a knowledge of their environment, the tools and implements with which they live in that environment, their beliefs, customs, and general behavior is not enough. Every adult over 50 years old grew up in a culture which is quite strange to the Tikerarmiut youth of today, and yet is a part of his heritage, shaping and coloring his new world of airplanes, gasoline boats, radio, Christianity, and the philosophy of civilization. In this new world a young Eskimo knows the mechanical principles of the plane which brings his mail or those of a repeating rifle from the United States. Yet he does not doubt for an instant that his grandfather, a great *angaitkok*, flew over

hundreds of miles into Siberia to meet a rival there during the few minutes while the lamp was dimmed in the dance house. In this world he knows, vaguely at least, the physical structure of the earth, and yet he feels that familiar mountains and streams have a soul or personality. He relies upon a bomb-shooting harpoon gun to capture bowhead whales, but believes also that when some doddering old man or woman in the village wishes him ill, his bomb will be ineffectual.

It is now nearly 300 years since the Tikerarmiut became aware of the white man. European trade goods from a trading post established by the Russian cossacks at Anadyr, in 1648, probably reached Tigara before the beginning of the eighteenth century, or at least 125 years before white men discovered the village. But it was not until 1850, when the first whaling ships passed through Bering Strait to hunt baleen whales in the Arctic, that there was any direct contact with the "outside." Even then, Eskimo intellectual culture was not profoundly affected. The men of Tigara at first thought the whalers a stupid lot because they did not comprehend Eskimo speech; later, after some hard feelings, they merely exploited the whalers for as much desirable trade goods as possible. Not until a whaling station was established near Tigara in 1887 did the Eskimo begin to adopt white customs and theories to any great degree. The sudden change occurred during the early part of the twentieth century, when a school and a mission became a permanent part of the village. By 1925, virtually everyone was converted to Christianity and most of the young people could read and speak English.

Today, the Tikerarmiut culture is neither Eskimo nor yet western, but a peculiar blend of both, presenting a new type of local Arctic culture which is limited to a few isolated villages in northwest Alaska. It is no longer a self-sufficient culture since it depends upon some products from the outside world, but it is well integrated, self assured, and will probably endure in a region where white men have not made and probably, for some time to come, will not make a permanent settlement.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF TIGARA VILLAGE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE VILLAGE AS A TRIBAL GROUP

THE TIKERARMIUT are a distinct tribal group of the Tareormiut or coastal Eskimo. The basis of this grouping was proximity of residence and blood relation, rather than a well-defined political organization. Neither chief nor governing body controlled tribal action. The tribal group was composed of many virtually independent family groups who remained together in a single village because of common interest and a need for protection. At present the village numbers about 250 persons, grouped in some 40 families, but, prior to 1880, the population undoubtedly was much larger and each family group included many more individuals.

Virtually all Tikerarmiut owned or had some connection with a permanent dwelling on the point at Tigara. However, during the summer months, some families moved along the coast from Kotzebue to Icy Cape. Many families had summer houses or camps at various places along this coast. Under certain conditions they might remain at one of these camps for a year or more. Occasionally, groups of families established semi-permanent colonies on the coast some distance from Point Hope. But despite these movements, they considered themselves one people affiliated with a single village.

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING ESKIMO GROUPS

Tribal solidarity transcended bitter family feuds which often led to open warfare, probably because of the ever-present danger from attack by strangers, particularly groups of Nunatar-miut or inland people. A familiar story describes the last attack on Tigara by an alliance of inland peoples who, at dawn, armed with lances rather than bows, stealthily approached the village along the spit from the mainland. A woman, holding her child up to the sun on the eastern boundary of the village, as was customary at dawn, observed the attacking party and gave the alarm. Tigara men rushing out to defend the village found the barefooted invaders with their feet impaled on sharpened caribou and walrus bones which were set up in the ground as a barrier across the spit for just such

an emergency. Thus handicapped, the inland people were easily defeated. Only one minor attack by other coast people, probably from Cape Prince of Wales, is recollected. Tales of the inland Eskimo claiming defeat of the Tikerarmiut are conveniently forgotten.

Regular trade with these inland people, however, was a fundamental necessity for the Tikerarmiut. They required many more caribou skins for clothing than they could take during their brief summer hunts either along the coast or a short distance inland, or by killing caribou in the lagoons on the spit. The native village, now called Kotzebue, was a famous trading center. White explorers of the Arctic Coast describe hundreds of native tents at this settlement during the summer months. Tikerarmiut tales often refer to incidents which occurred at this trading rendezvous. Here they met not only the inland Eskimo from the Kobuk, Noatak, and Selawik rivers, but other coastal Eskimo from Cape Prince of Wales, the Diomed Islands, and East Cape, Siberia. Probably two centuries before the beginning of direct trade with the American whalers, Russian trade goods reached the Tikerarmiut. Another famous trading center was situated at the mouth of the Utorqaq River, between Point Lay and Wainwright. In aboriginal times some Tikerarmiut probably reached the site of Point Barrow while on their trading expeditions. Here they first obtained Hudson's Bay Company trade goods which found their way down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Coast.

EXTENDED FAMILY GROUPS

The extended family groups, which combined to form the Tikerarmiut tribe, have long since disintegrated into conjugal units, usually composed of a man, his wife, their children, and one or two dependent relatives. Now that open feuds have disappeared and the necessity for powerful combined families is no longer urgent, only traces of the original groupings are extant. Men related by blood or marriage tend to hunt and work together and to protect one another when hunting conditions are bad. Now, however, the small conjugal family, living alone in

its own dwelling, is the important social unit.

Moreover the present system has prevailed for so many years that it is difficult to obtain detailed information about the actual functioning of the old groups. It is clear that men who were usually related by blood or marriage arranged to live together in a house or in a few igloos built in close proximity, and that they formed tightly knit though independent social units. The Inyuelingmiut, for example, was a group composed of the immediate families of five brothers, who lived together in a house which had been built by their father. The house was called *inyuelingmiut*, meaning "many people living together," and all its inhabitants were known to outsiders by the same name. The descendants of these five brothers now occupy many individual houses, but all of the older people still recognize themselves as members of that extended family group and tend to cooperate in minor affairs.

The *Upsiksoak*, another example, was originally composed of four men with their wives and children. Two were brothers; a third was the husband of their sister; the fourth was their mother's brother. Later, a fifth man, only distantly if at all related, was adopted by the group. They lived in four closely grouped houses and, as with the unit described above, both the people and the group of houses were known as *Upsiksoak*.

UMELIKS

The descendants of these two groups happen to be important people in the present village, and a rather bitter rivalry between them is still observable. Control of each extended family group rested with the fathers or the oldest men; among these the position of *umelik*, or boat captain, was paramount. He was normally the wealthiest man in the family, the captain of its whaling crew, and often an *angaikok* as well. His position was achieved through skill, intelligence, energy, and shrewdness rather than through inheritance of property or prestige. The *umelik* was, quite clearly, the central figure in the grouping of conjugal families. Invariably he attained his position by accumulating property which consisted of boats, hunting gear, household furnishings, clothing, etc. This kind of "wealth" among the Eskimo is simply a measure of a man's ability. It is a corollary of a

clever *angaikok*, an energetic and intelligent hunter, a man of strong will, and one who is wise in council. It can never be inherited from a relative.

Actually there were no rigid rules of inheritance. The property of a rich man might be inherited by any one of his sons, his wife, or any other relative, as a unit, or it might be distributed among many. An ineffectual individual who might happen to inherit all the whaling gear from his father could not continue to be an *umelik* because the other men would not work as his crew; hence his wealth and property would be meaningless. Although wealth, in the sense that an *umelik* accumulated it, was much sought in the community, individual property was utilized by anyone in the extended family. Property was certainly individual, not communal, but to maintain his position any *umelik* is under obligation to feed, clothe, and equip all the individuals in his group. He must also provide for widows, orphans, and any other unfortunate people, particularly if related, and be generous with food and gifts at all feasts and ceremonies. It was often said that generosity was the true measure of an *umelik*.

Outside of his family and his whaling crew, which was generally drawn from the men of his family, an *umelik* had no real authority. However, during the fall ceremonies in the *qalegi* (dance house), the *umeliks* had special seats at the center of activities and were the unquestionable leaders in the organization. Each *qalegi* had at least four or five such men, and many of the ceremonies centered about preparing them and the crew members for the all-important whale hunt.

As leaders in the *qalegi*, they undoubtedly exercised some social control and disciplinary function. For example, a tale is current of a woman who persisted in sexual relations with many men in the village, until the men of her *qalegi* were provoked into disciplining her. In the *qalegi* one night all the men raped her and then married her to the last man. Another narrative describes a woman who boasted incessantly about the virtue of her sons. Becoming exasperated, the men in the *qalegi* applied rough justice by amputating her lips. Far more important than such summary disciplinary measures were, of course, the social pressures of approval and disapproval which were exercised principally in the *qalegi*.

QALEGI ORGANIZATIONS

Each individual in the village was a member of one of the six or seven *qalegi* organizations flourishing in the village. Children automatically were connected with the *qalegi* of their father (there was no initiation ceremony), but a girl transferred to the husband's *qalegi* when she married. Although the *qalegis* were essentially ceremonial organizations, their social significance was important. A number of extended families, grouped in *qalegis*, formed still larger social units which had great influence on the stability of the village. It is clear that the most important unit was the extended family loyalty which far outweighed loyalty to the *qalegi*. There are, however, a few examples of conflict between the extended family and the *qalegi*. Praise or censorship of individual actions, as expressed by one's associates in the *qalegi*, undoubtedly served as a powerful controlling force. Children, for example, were taught respect for their elders and proper social behavior by the old men during *qalegi* ceremonies. Men and boys, particularly during the fall months, worked together in the *qalegis* on all kinds of hunting gear; at this time old men narrated the tales which transmitted the folklore of the group from generation to generation. In this sense *qalegis* were educational centers, where young men learned the tribal behavior patterns.

FEUDS

Rivalry between the *qalegis* was expressed in various competitive games as well as in the ceremonies and, as in the competition between extended families, often became very bitter. I know of no occasion, however, where such rivalry between *qalegis* led to open warfare. This was limited to family feuds.

Tales of the past are replete with accounts of these family feuds. Some of these continued for generations and still persist, even though killing is now outlawed. The causes given by informants for the origin of feuds are often trivial: two men disagree over the ownership of a duck shot while hunting and one kills the other; a man beats his wife and she, seeking revenge, prevails upon one of her relatives to kill him; whaling captains disagree over the division of a whale, and so forth. Of course a killing always precipitated the feud which might develop from

that point into a series of isolated, retaliatory murders, or into a pitched battle. At times, it is said, all the able-bodied men from one extended family met those from another group in front of their houses and fought until all the men in one group were killed. In such battles men wore armor made of bone plates and fought with lances or with bows. The outcome of such struggles might remain undecided for long periods, during which each house or house group posted sentries to avert a surprise attack and all the men went hunting as a well-armed party. Killings on the pack ice were not uncommon when a man became separated from his group.

WIFE EXCHANGE

In such a society, individual survival depended upon the support of a powerful family. A man of ability and wealth who became an *umelik* needed as many able-bodied men as possible to support and defend the family, but the high death rate, particularly among young children, and the preponderance of female over male births continually weakened the groups. Out of this, I believe, grew the practice of wife exchange, which at Point Hope was generally a practical, not an emotional, arrangement. The immediate families of men who exchanged wives were considered to be blood relatives, and thus their children could expect mutual support. Moreover, when one man exchanged wives with another, he might expect to borrow his boat or hunting gear when a critical need arose. The practice drew unrelated families together for mutual support and protection and was a recognized method of extending the family membership. The old women say that they did not like wife exchange. A tiny room off the entry way was the customary place to sleep with the other man's wife. Many women describe their experiences in these wife-exchange rooms as unpleasant and undesired. The custom was undoubtedly misinterpreted by the first white men at Point Hope who did not make their property available to their Eskimo host, as was expected.

MARRIAGE

Polygamy, polyandry, and the type of group marriage described were all practised by the Tikerarmiut. A wealthy man might have two or three wives and, at the same time, exchange one or more with other men of the village. Two

poor men, brothers as a rule, might have only one wife between them. Marriage ceremonies were virtually non-existent. It is said that in the old days a man who fancied a girl might catch her alone, rape her, and then forcibly take her to his house as his wife. More commonly, a union was arranged by the mothers of the couple and was consummated simply by sleeping together. As with most Eskimo, divorce, or actually, separation was common before children were born to a couple; afterward, it was much more rare.

Incestuous relations (principally father-daughter) were, apparently, not uncommon. Abnormal sexual relations, as, for example, between a man and a bitch dog, sometimes occurred also. But both types of abnormality were ridiculous in the eyes of the Eskimo and were derided rather than punished by fixed penalties. One married man from a neighboring village was arrested by the marshal while I was at Point Hope for using a female dog. The Eskimo considered it very amusing, particularly that he was jailed by white men for such a ridiculous act. I was somewhat surprised to learn that very small children often play at being man and wife and that their elders also find this rather amusing. The children were mildly and half jokingly rebuked.

CHILD TRAINING

Discipline and training of the young was, and still is, a very mild and very natural, unregulated affair. One seldom hears a harsh admonitory word. Small boys, particularly, seem to be pampered, but at three or four years of age they are tractable, mannerly, and well-adjusted members of the household. Apparently, with no particular direction, children learn the ideas, arts, and crafts of their elders, beginning

when they are no more than infants. More esoteric matters, however, such as those concerned with the supernatural and with hunting under difficult conditions on the pack ice, require instruction as the child grows to adulthood. This instruction may come from the parent or *komnaluk* (namesake). A certain mildly Spartan practice requires small boys to run outdoors, naked, on cold mornings to toughen them, but this is not severe. Toughening under hardships comes naturally on the Arctic Coast.

A TIKERARMIUT "CHIEF"

No sketch of Tikerarmiut social structure is complete without some reference to Attungoruk, the strong man, who made himself a kind of chief of the Tikerarmiut about the close of the nineteenth century. He was a huge man (pictures are extant in reports of the Coast Guard cruises) and certainly an able individual. But the important contributory factor which assured him his position in the group was a supply of trade goods given him by the captain of a whaling ship. He became a spokesman for the Eskimo in their dealings with white men; his consequent wealth enhanced his self esteem and he assumed dictatorial powers in the village. His eventual loss of prestige was undoubtedly owing to the fact that he began taking other men's wives by force. Finally, exceeding the patience of the men in the village, he was shot to death as he lay sleeping among his five wives. Today, an enormous whale jawbone marks the grave of Attungoruk. Attached to it is a sign, in English, prepared by the missionaries, which reads, "Attungoruk, chief of Tigara." White men will insist that all natives have "chiefs."

NATIVE ECONOMY AND THE YEARLY CYCLE BEFORE 1900

FALL

THE RETURN TO TIGARA

IN THE FALL, when ice had begun to form on the lagoons, family groups returned from their summer camps to their permanent winter houses in Tigara. Some had been hunting caribou in the rolling highlands of the interior along the Kukpuk River and its tributary, the Ipewik, or along the coast to the north and south, where caribou come to the beaches and lagoons to escape the plague of mosquitoes. Some families had camped along the shores to the north and south where they could net belugas, the small white whales, while others had been on trading expeditions northward to the mouth of the Utorqaq River and southward to Hotham Inlet in Kotzebue Sound. They returned along the shore in large skin boats, bringing tobacco, beads, and iron implements from the trading center in Kotzebue Sound, caribou fawnskins obtained from the Utorqarmiut to the north, and caribou skins and meat from their own hunting camps.

Unlike their neighbors, the Noatarmiut, the Tikerarmiut hunters performed no ritual which included a change of clothing and gear upon approaching the shore. Their permanent homes were on the coast and the summer hunt was merely an excursion inland.

OPENING THE *Qalegis*

The Tikerarmiut who had been absent on trading expeditions were usually the first to return. They began the winter season by cleaning out the *qalegis*, the dance or club houses, more commonly termed *kashim* or *kasgi* in Eskimo literature. During the past century, seven of these *qalegis* were operating simultaneously in Tigara, but by the close of the century only two were functioning, the Qagmaktoq and Ungasiksikaq. Every person in the village was a member of either one or the other of the two *qalegis*. "When big enough to shoot an arrow," boys joined their fathers' group, apparently with no accompanying ceremony; girls also "went with their fathers" until they married, when they "went with" their husbands, which might or might not indicate a transfer from one *qalegi* to the other. A stranger might join either

group; however, if he had relatives or ancestors in the village, he was expected to join the *qalegi* with which his relatives were associated.

The *qalegis* were the largest structures in the village, measuring over 20 feet on a side. Like the dwellings, they were square and semi-subterranean, with floor, roof, and walls constructed of driftwood planks or logs flattened on the inner surface. The long sunken entrance passage had a framework of whale jaws, an inner entrance through a round hole in the *qalegi* floor, and an outer shed with an exit through the flat roof. The entire structure was covered with sod blocks and lighted through a square gut window in the roof of the main structure and through a similar window in the outer "storm shed."

PREPARATIONS FOR WINTER AND SPRING HUNTING

In the fall, ice or water had gathered in the sunken entrance passages. This was chopped out with picks or bailed out with buckets before the lamps were lighted, and the *qalegis* were made ready for the men and boys who gathered there to prepare their winter hunting gear. The *umeliks*, the five or six men in each *qalegi* who owned skin boats and the necessary gear for hunting bowhead whales, spent their time preparing the regalia to be used in the fall ceremonies, while other men worked on seal hunting harpoons, ice picks, crab nets, bird spears, bows, and any other implements to be used during the winter and spring.

Each afternoon one of the men stood watch at the entrance of each *qalegi*. When the sun passed a prescribed point at the end of the spit he called, *ui.vegasi* (it is going around the point). At that moment, each of the men put his work and all the bits of shavings under his seat on the platform around the walls. Each member had a special seat where his father and grandfather before him had been accustomed to sit. The old men then began to tell stories. First they recounted true stories (*oqalüktoq*), events which had transpired during the past two or three generations. These narratives included advice about the movements of the pack ice, about the procedure when one is lost on the ice, and directions as to the method of reaching

land. These were the instructive tales which set precedents for behavior both in hunting and in social relations. Later in the evening the old men turned to very old stories (*unip'qaq*), which they *thought* were true. These explained the nature of the world, the origin of men, and the ancient history of their people.

Food was brought to each *qalegi* by the wives, sisters, mothers, or daughters of the members. The wooden bowls containing the food were passed up through the entrance hole in the floor. Young girls were terrified by the solemnity and mystery of the *qalegi* when they first took meat there for their male relatives. The women or girls always followed their male relatives to the *qalegi* with meat when they made their first visit in the fall, but it is not clear whether the men ate there regularly during early winter or only at certain periods. While the Tikerarmiut men worked on their winter hunting gear in the *qalegis*, the women remained in their own houses sewing the new caribou skin into winter clothing necessary for the men who were to spend many hours a day in the bitter midwinter wind on the pack ice.

In addition to the normal preparations for winter, *umeliks* (boat captains) and their wives were also concerned with preparations for the spring whale hunt which would not begin for several months. Soon after his arrival at the village, each *umelik* called the six or eight members of his crew to his house and, in order to bind them to him for the coming hunt, presented them with skins, a knife, a pair of boot soles, or some other useful object. Furthermore, throughout the fall and winter when meat was often very scarce, the *umelik* was obliged to give each member of his crew at least a small piece of meat every time he visited his meat cache.

Then, when the first mush ice appeared off the point, each *umelik* hired a skilled craftsman to make the wooden pot his wife used in giving a drink to the whales killed by his crew. The first year a man obtained a boat and crew, this was a tiny vessel, but each succeeding year a slightly larger pot was made. When ready for its final shaping the *umelik* took the pot, with all the shavings attached, to the shore and dipped it in the sea while singing his special whale-hunting songs. It was left in his house for a time. Later the pot was taken back to the *qalegi* for more work, then returned to the woodworker's house

where he stitched the overlapping edges as he sang his special songs. Finally, it was returned to the *qalegi*, where the craftsman fitted in the bottom. At the first blow of his hammer (an ivory implement shaped like a bowhead whale) everyone in the *qalegi* fell silent and remained so until the pot was completed.

In the meantime the wife of each *umelik* hired an old woman to sew the peculiar mittens she always wore when she carried the special pot. Around the open ends of the fingers was a ruff of wolf fur. As long as her husband was successful in the whale hunt, she hired the same woman each year to make the mittens. The wife of the *umelik* made her husband's special whale-hunting boots which had a band of white skin around the top. The width of this white band on the boots worn by the captain of the whale hunt was increased each year, so that the entire legs of some old *umelik's* boots were white.

CEREMONIES IN THE *Qalegis*

The first of a series of ceremonies, games, dances, and feasts, called *yowak*, was held in the *qalegis* during the fall. The series was begun soon after the *qalegi* was opened, while the men worked on the winter gear. Some evening, after the story telling, when the men had retired to their homes, the boys from one *qalegi* visited the other and began a series of competitive games of endurance and skill usually participated in by only two individuals, one from each *qalegi*. These competitions were continued until one of the visiting boys won. Then the hosts went to the *qalegi* of the visitors to compete again until one of *their* members won, when they returned to the first *qalegi*, and so on. These contests and visits continued throughout the night. In the morning, when the men returned to the *qalegi* where the boys were playing, they joined with them until the visitors won a competition, after which the whole group went to the *qalegi* of the visitors. For the subsequent five days and nights, the men continued the competitions without food or sleep, moving from one *qalegi* to the other with the fortunes of the games.

Usually each man was skilled in a particular feat of strength or endurance. One excelled in climbing a slender rawhide line fastened to a board across the skylight, using only his hands as he lifted himself in a sitting position; a second could endure the pain of being lifted from a prone position by a sharp-edged walrus tusk

placed across the bridge of his nose; another would challenge his opponents to a whipping contest, using hard rawhide lines; still another would place a sharp, double-pointed stick against his upper lip and challenge a member of another *qalegi* to place the opposite end against his lip and push against him. Such games are innumerable. Members of a visiting *qalegi* initiated new contests either until one of their challenges was not accepted or until they won, then returned to their own *qalegi* with their former hosts. Just before the *qalegis* were abandoned, about 1910, Qagmaktoq usually defeated Ungasiksikaq because one member of that *qalegi* was unusually skilled in all games.

After five days, when the games were finished, all the men returned to their homes for a bath in urine. Then they rubbed themselves with their charms (*angoaks*), with objects associated with them, such as a polar bear's nose, and with anything once the property of dead people or belonging to menstruating women (see p. 272). This served to prevent sickness or hidden injuries resulting from the games. As an additional preventative against sickness or injury, their wives had remained quietly at home during the games, neither working nor sewing. Immediately following this purification, the men returned to their respective *qalegis* followed by their wives or other female relations carrying bowls of meat. Special delicacies, such as seal meat in a sour-sweet state following several days' storage in a warm place, were eaten at this feast. The poor and unfortunate members were fed in the *qalegis* at this as at every other feasting time.

The following afternoon the members who had lost in the competitions went to the winning group bearing large pieces of meat spitted upon sticks; if they had no meat, bundles of sinew or pairs of sealskin boot soles were carried in the same manner. Each visitor entered the *qalegi* holding his gift above his head. When all had placed their portions in a pile at the "meat cutting-up place" beside the stone lamp, they went out, shouting, "We will return!" The hosts replied with a great shout, then began to feast on the gifts. Bundles of sinew, boot soles, and gifts other than food were divided among the old men of the *qalegi*.

That evening, the members of the losing *qalegi* returned to the winners with their wives and children. Each man was dressed in a man-

ner determined by his *angoaks* or by the animals associated with them (p. 272). For example, if his *angoak* animal was a polar bear he wore the skin of a polar bear's nose on his head, a painted line on his left cheek because polar bears are left-handed, or perhaps a loon's head on his brow because loon and polar bear *angoaks* are closely associated. Another man might wear clothing made with half the fur outside and half inside, or a parka hood ruff half wolf, half wolverine fur, and his face painted in a special manner, all determined by the nature of his *angoaks*. Each family came up through the entrance hole as a group and danced together before joining the crowd packed against the rear wall of the *qalegi*. If a man's ancestor had composed a song, he would leap up through the entrance hole in advance of his family, an act called *kimiroaq* (asking for something, as a child asks for more food), and symbolizing a request for the singers and drummers to play his song. When a visitor's namesake or guardian (*komnaluk*) was among the hosts, he received a small gift, then joined the visitor in a second dance. The greater the crowd inside the *qalegi* the more pleased were the hosts. But there was never space enough for all who wanted to enter; many, particularly the young people, clustered about the skylight on the roof to watch the dancers. When the last participants had arrived the families began to leave; every person was required to dance once as he left the *qalegi*. The following evening the performance was repeated, the guests and hosts of the previous evening reversing their roles.

A period of trading, apparently lasting a few days, followed the *yowak* ceremony. Two men from one *qalegi*, acting as agents for a third member, sat in front of the entrance of the other *qalegi* with little wooden models of objects their principal wished to trade tied to a string. If a man in the *qalegi* visited desired any of the articles exhibited, he tied a model of anything he had to offer on the same string. The agents returned to their *qalegi* with the models; if the principal was interested, he himself returned to complete the transaction.

Another practice at this time was called *suliruk*: a man who had a partner in another *qalegi* sent him a gift, a fine wolverine skin or a skin full of oil, requesting a specified exchange. The partner's obligation to fulfil such a request is emphasized by the story of a man who asked

for the "smell of his flesh being sawed, like the smell of wood when you saw it." The partner cut off his leg and sent it back.

During the fall when new ice has formed on the shore and on the lagoons, but before the pack ice has moved in from the north, after the games and the *yowak* dances, the *umeliks* and their wives prepared for "the sitting" ceremony. This was a religious affair when *umeliks* were taboo (*qiruk*) and when all members of the *qalegi* behaved "as if they were in church." It was *irigi*, dangerous or frightening.

In the early morning of the day preceding "the sitting," the *umeliks* went to their respective *qalegis*, awakened the boys who had slept there, and fed them with meat brought from the caches. Then each *umelik* in turn ground a soft white stone in a mortar to produce the paint to be used in sacred paintings. While the pigment was being prepared, an old man sang a special song. When it was finished, the *umeliks* dressed in their best clothing decorated with white caribou throats and with raven and hawkskins on the shoulders. Following these preparations, the *umeliks* from each *qalegi* walked out to a place called Ipiutak, about 1½ miles from Tigara, with the boys from their *qalegi* drawing a sled. At the small fresh-water pond between two salt-water lagoons at Ipiutak, the men from each *qalegi* cut a large disc-shaped piece of ice which was to serve as a skylight in the storm shed of their *qalegi*. Small bite-sized pieces of meat (whale, caribou, or any other meat available) supplied by the *umeliks* were then given to the boys who pulled the sled, while some remaining bits were placed in the hole from which they had cut the ice block and in the lagoon to the east. These bits of meat fed the spirits of the dead who had been buried in the ground many generations before. (During the nineteenth century, at least, Tigara dead were placed on scaffolds.)

Returning to the village, the *umeliks* followed the sleds drawn by the boys, and sang. After the ice discs had served their purpose as skylights for a time they were divided among the *umeliks* whose wives melted small pieces for fresh water to be used in the sacred pots from which they would offer dead whales water during the coming spring.

The next day the actual "sitting" began. Followed by their wives, the *umeliks* went to the *qalegis* early in the morning. While their

wives waited, for a time, in the storm shed of the *qalegis*, the *umeliks* entered, to take their special seats against the wall opposite the entrance hole. The seat opposite the seal oil lamp, which stood on the floor near the entrance, was left unoccupied until an *angaikok* (medicinemán) was chosen to fill it. The oldest and most experienced *umeliks* sat on either side of the *angaikok*, while the youngest sat farther out to the left and right. The "sitters" were called *aqopeyut*, as were the four days of the following sitting ceremony.

One by one, the *umeliks* removed their parkas (*atigi*, fur outer coat), picked up a feather (one from a bird which "went well" with their *angoaks*), and, using the pigment prepared the previous day, painted a picture on the beam running along each side of the *qalegi*. These beams were whale jaws. The drawings usually represented whales struck by a harpoon, boats pursuing a whale, or a man holding out his hands standing in front of a whale. This was Atcuraq who prevented the whales from escaping.

Although the sequence of events during the four days of the "sitting" is not quite clear from the accounts of several informants (the ceremony has not been practised since about 1910), it is fairly certain that the sacred figures (*qologogoloqs* and *pogoks*) were hung in the *qalegis* during the first day, following the painting of the beams.

Qologogoloqs is the term applied to each of a group of sacred objects, masks, small boat models, and figures of animals or men kept permanently in the *qalegis*, probably for generations. Each one represented a famous ancestor, a well-known incident of the past, or some peculiar circumstance described in the *unipqaq* tales, and each *qologogoloq* had to be justified by a special tale. These sacred objects were utilized only during "the sitting." The morning on which they were taken out of storage, children were told to go to their father's *qalegi* carrying a bit of whaleskin on a stick. Hearing the word *qoloq* (the day for taking out the *qologogoloq*) the children thought they were going to feast on tomcod, because the word *qoloq* also means pieces of meat or fish frozen together. They were disappointed to find the sacred figures piled on the floor near the lamp in the meat-cutting place in the *qalegi*.

The first of these figures to be hung was

known as *aqologok*, or *ubluk* (daylight). It was a plank, about a foot wide, painted in alternate bands of black and white, with white spots in the black bands and black spots in the white. The plank was placed above the seats of the *umeliks* against the wall opposite the entrance and extended across the entire wall. It represented "the daylight begins," and the spots symbolized the stars.

The *qologogoloqs* were suspended from the ceiling of the *qalegi* on thongs. During the morning on which they were hung, all the men who desired good luck in hunting took their turn in washing the figures in urine.

In *Qagmaktoq qalegi* the most important *qologogoloq* was a wooden whale, two small model umiaks with crews and hunting gear, and a bird. All of these sacred figures were suspended in a group over the lamp. In one of the special ceremonies of the four day "sitting," the figures were put through a puppet-like performance by the manipulation of strings. The boats attacked the whale and the bird dived down to peck away some blubber. The figures and the performance represent some incident of the past.

In *Ungasiksikaq qalegi*, on the other hand, the chief *qologogoloq* was a wooden mask known as *tatqevluq*. It was equipped with ivory eyes, lip plugs (labrets), and ear pendants and was also suspended over the lamp in the *qalegi* during "the sitting." It was placed face down on a board with a large hole cut in the center so that the face of the mask was exposed to the light of the lamp. The board was known as "the ruff," i.e., the fur ruff of the hooded parka worn by all Eskimo. This mask remained above the lamp for four or five days after the other *qologogoloqs* had been removed following the fall ceremonies; during this period all the *umeliks* in *Ungasiksikaq qalegi* were privileged to steal it if they could manage to do so unobserved. If successful, the *umelik* secreted it in his meat cache (to bring him luck in the spring whale hunt) until the following fall, when he returned it to the *qalegi* with a large piece of whaleskin which was to be eaten when the mask was again placed above the lamp.

The tale of the mask, *tatqevluq*, follows: In Tigara, one summer after the ice had gone, a man named Tatqevluq went out to sea, south-east of the village, to hunt with his brother-in-law in two kayaks. They saw two big whales

and a small one. Tatqevluq speared the small one with a small seal harpoon; when the whale sounded, he sang his *avituksiu* (the song to hold a harpoon fast in a whale). The whale rose, dead. Its jawbones were erected at the place where the whaling boats were kept where they can still be seen. An exceptionally good carver made a mask to represent Tatqevluq, who, before he died, asked that it be kept in a warm place. For some time after Tatqevluq's death the mask was stored near the ceiling of a meat cache. When it fell to the floor occasionally, the ice under the nostrils melted "as though a real person breathed there." Of course Tatqevluq's remarkable feat was to kill a whale from a kayak with a seal harpoon rather than from an umiak with a large whale harpoon, assisted by his own crew and other boat crews.

Pogok is the name applied to the numerous carved figures which were made each year at the time of "the sitting," then burned at a special place at the conclusion of the ceremony. These were usually made of wood and represented seals, polar bears, caribou, whales, walrus, birds, or mythical animals; others were human figures, for example, figures of *angatkoks* performing some remarkable feat. Men and boys carved these images to become proficient hunters. Sometimes a father carved and hung one for his son, usually to represent some particular feat performed by an ancestor. Qoqoq's grandfather, for example, once killed six wolverines in one day; hence, his son, Qoqoq's father, carved and hung six small wooden images of wolverines each fall during this ceremony. Agaveksina's uncle (for whom he was named) was an *angatok* who could fly (*ilyomuk*). Once during a flight over Siberia he met a Siberian *angatok* also in flight over a village. This man assumed a curious position in flight, with one leg drawn up under him. Agaveksina's uncle, Asetcuk, who lived about the turn of the century, then carved two wooden figures of flying *angatkoks*, himself and his Siberian friend, as *pogoks* to be hung in his *qalegi*. Agaveksina carved copies of these for me in the spring of 1940.

At present it is sometimes difficult to know which of the figures described by men like Agaveksina were *pogoks* and which were *qologogoloqs*. One was a large fish-like monster made from wood shavings which was hung in *Ungasiksikaq qalegi*. The mouth was open, four

teeth were set in each side of the jaw. Two paddles, set in each side of the animal, had small black marks painted on their tips. Facing the animal was the model of a man in a kayak.

The tale justifying these figures follows:

A man who lived at Tigara a long time ago had four sons who were lost, one after the other, while hunting in kayaks south of Point Hope. When a fifth son was born he put a hot stone in the boy's mouth saying he didn't care if the boy died, "It would be better than to lose him later." However, the boy lived. It was a long time before the father brought himself to make a kayak for his son, but, after much pleading, he did. At the same time he warned the boy to stay close to his companions while hunting. One day the boy wandered off alone; curiosity as to the fate of his brothers led him to paddle far out to the south. He was caught in a strong current and carried toward a whirlpool where his paddling had no effect. But the boy placed his *angoak* (the stone his father had used when he was an infant) in his mouth and spat into the water. A great fish-like monster appeared on the surface and the boy found that he could paddle at will. A battle with the beast ended in its death from the boy's spear. The paddles used by his four older brothers protruded from the sides of the monster, so the boy learned why his brothers had never returned.

The number of *pogoks* like the number of *qologogoloqs* is uncertain, but a general impression of their quantity is given in a diagram of *Ungasiksikaq qalegi* drawn for me by the grandson of Agaveksina under his grandfather's direction in the spring of 1940. Eighteen *pogoks* are sketched in the diagram. Young boys who desired good luck in hunting came to the *qalegi* early each morning to touch their *pogoks*.

During the first day of "the sitting," after the *qologogoloqs* and *pogoks* were suspended from the ceilings of the *qalegis*, the *umeliks* in each *qalegi* chose an *angatkok* to officiate during the entire performance. Those expecting to be chosen remained at home until called to either of the two *qalegis*. When the *umelik* chosen arrived at the *qalegi*, he proceeded to "get his power spirit" in the usual manner by drumming and singing, then he chose the wife of one *umelik* to accompany him to the beach. There, at the shore crack in the new ice, he continued his drumming and singing, so that his power spirit would "go down to get its full power,"

while his helper carved an image of a whale from a piece of ice. Soon the assistant would see whale flukes growing out of his mouth. (The *angatkok's* wife had drawn an image of whale flukes on his chest while he waited at home to be called.)

When the *angatkok* and his helper approached the *qalegi* as they returned from the shore with their ice whale, the *umeliks'* wives, who had waited in the storm shed of the *qalegi* since morning, went inside, each carrying her little wooden pot (*imyun*), from which she gave dead whales a drink. When the *angatkok* thrust his head up through the entrance hole in the floor, each wife, in turn, gave him a drink from her pot. With the last drink, the whale flukes protruding from his mouth disappeared. It is said that sometimes this officiating *angatkok* had walrus tusks or polar bear teeth instead of whale flukes; sometimes, blood also dripped from his mouth.

The ice whale was then set, with its head toward the entrance hole, directly in front of the *angatkok* who was seated at the center of the row of *umeliks*. The *umeliks'* wives then took their places at the feet of their husbands. After placing their little pots in a row in front of them and at each side of the ice whale the true "sitting" began. During the day, the *umeliks* might exchange places with their wives, if tired of their position. When they were hungry the wives went out to fetch meat. Before it was eaten each wife held up her portion before her husband's drawing on the whale jaw house beam and to each *qologogoloq* and *pogok*, to feed them. Most of the *umeliks* went home to sleep at night, returning early each morning during the four days' "sitting," but some slept in the *qalegi*.

The next group of performances carried out during "the sitting" is called *suglut*, a term derived from the skin masks made by men in the two *qalegis*. Actually the *suglut* are half-masks, made from tanned white caribou skin. They are tied over the forehead so that a fringe of caribou hair attached to the lower edge hangs down over the face. Any man was privileged to make such a mask and join in the performance, but *umeliks* invariably painted a representation of a whale attacked by a boat crew on their masks. Others painted men spearing seals or shooting caribou with a bow and arrow. Some men also marked their faces with paint: a nar-

row line at either side of the nose and a heavy line at either side of the mouth. *Umeliks* usually drew a heavy line across their eyes. Their wives were decorated with two vertical lines on the right side of the face and a horizontal line on the left side of the nose.

Each *qalegi* tried to complete their *suglut* masks first. As soon as one group had finished, a boy was dispatched at once to invite the other group as guests. The guests started for the host's *qalegi* at once if necessary, leaving masks half finished. In *Ungasiksikaq qalegi* all the people sat motionless and very quiet. *Umeliks* and their officiating *angatkok* were in their usual places along the wall opposite the entrance hole. For this performance their wives sat behind them on the bench; other men wearing masks also sat along the sides of the room; the men sitting around the walls of the *qalegi* joined hands. When all the guests were seated around the entrance hole and in the center of the room, very slowly and without a sound, the masked performers leaned in the direction of the end of Point Hope spit, then back toward the mainland. The alternate movement towards the sea and the land was repeated and gradually increased in speed. As it accelerated, the performers began to sing, softly at first, then with increasing force. When a certain point in the song was reached all raised their joined hands, pointing several times towards the land, then several times towards the sea.

This group song then became the accompaniment for solo dances performed in front of the row of *umeliks*. The rhythm was set by the *angatkok* with a large drum and the *umeliks* with small drums, while all the people sang. One *umelik* after another performed his special dance (*sayuk*). The *angatkok* performed a special dance on one knee, tapping his drum first on one side of the rim, then on the other. Then each *umelik's* wife danced, to the accompaniment of her own song, attempting to act the words of the songs in pantomime. The *suglut* performance ended with this, but the visiting *Qagmaktoq* people usually lingered. This indicated that they wanted to see the *qopqagaiq*. This was a puppet whale boat crew: small wooden figures clothed in miniature skin parkas and seated in an umiak about 3 feet long, with paddles, harpoon, and all the other necessary gear for the whale hunt. As the *angatkok* drummed and sang a song, slowly at first, then

more rapidly, the puppet crew men began to paddle in time with the rhythm, faster and faster. As if he were the tiny *umelik* puppet seated in the stern of the boat, the *angatkok* sang, "I want to see the people, but they want to see me" (the puppet *umelik* patted his own chest) and "they want to see me breathe" (the puppet's chest rose and fell with his breathing). As the song continued, the little *umelik* figure motioned with his tiny arm, directing his crew, as the speed of their paddling increased. As the song and mechanical activity reached a climax, the visitors were expected to withdraw from the *qalegi*, even though they always wanted to stay and see more. As they filed out, some *umelik's* wife gave each of the children a piece of whale-skin to eat. As the last one disappeared, she poured water from her pot down the exit after him.

The *qopqagaiq* was a beautifully constructed mechanical toy, judging from a copy made by one of the old men of *Ungasiksikaq* for the writer. Five sinew thongs operate the paddling figures and *umelik* seated in the stern, while a small tube of seal gut opening in the back of the *umelik's* parka is used by one of the three manipulators to make him breathe, simply by blowing through the tube. The model is a *qologogoloq* of the *Ungasiksikaq* group. Its equivalent, which performed in the same manner at *Qagmaktoq*, was the boat crew in pursuit of a whale described above (p. 248).

The *suglut* performance was repeated in the other *qalegi* during the same night, the guests then becoming the hosts. Although there is less information about the *Qagmaktoq* practices, they appear to differ somewhat from those in *Ungasiksikaq*. There one of the *umelik* performers wore a large ornamented eyeshade with pendent ivory chains on each side. As their guests entered, the performers sat with heads bowed low, singing the song of evil spirits, "yuuuuuu, inyu." Here also the motions were towards the land and towards the sea and each *umelik's* wife danced to her own song.

The day following the *suglut* ceremony another inviting-in performance is held by both *qalegis*. Again, this takes its name from costume paraphernalia, this time from feather head-dresses called *suluk*. The male performers wear feathers fixed in a band about their foreheads and also paint their faces in the same manner as for the preceding performance. When

Ungasiksikaq people were the hosts the *Qagmaktoq* people, upon arrival at the *qalegi*, seated themselves above the walls, with heads bowed forward, each imitating the sound of his *angoak* animal, that is, a bird, a seal, a polar bear, etc. Slowly they began to move their heads from side to side, then up and down, to the accompaniment of a song in which they had all joined quietly at first, then they sang louder and louder, until they faced their guests in full chorus. The wife of each *umelik* then danced her special dance as during the previous ceremony.

A man named Siliyuna then rose before the seated performers with *qepsuk*, a wooden top around the rim of which was a fringe of eagle down fixed in a series of holes. While holding the top, Siliyuna danced four dances to four different songs, all with one knee on the floor. The songs and the dances were meant to "liven up" *qepsuk* or to "activate it." At the right moment, he hurled it to the floor, retaining in his hand one end of a sinew thong coiled around the top, so that it was propelled to whirl rapidly. If the top spun smoothly and the down flew off into the air, it was a forecast of good fortune for all; if the line broke, the top failed to spin, or the feathers did not rise properly, it was an ill omen. Someone would become ill or die.

A performance suggesting the bladder festival of the southern Eskimo followed immediately upon the top spinning. Whale bladders were permanently hung in each *qalegi* as records of achievement. At this time one of these bladders, inflated, was hung at the center of two parallel lines of sinew, which passed from one corner of the *qalegi* to the other, above the heads of the seated *umeliks*. At the ends of each line, fixed in two corners of the *qalegi*, were painted wooden discs with center holes 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The head of a stuffed marmot peeped from one of these holes. When all the dramatic properties were ready, the performers, all holding hands, began a song. As joined hands were raised first to one side and then to the other, the singers rapidly turned their heads from side to side until many were dizzy.

The guests from *Qagmaktoq* were expected to leave at this point, but they never did. To stay signified that they were asking for "the show." A particular *umelik*, with his wife and another woman, then changed into new parkas and began a series of four dances which, with the

accompanying songs and drum rhythms, were meant to bring the stuffed marmot to life. The marmot crept out of his hole, moved along the sinew lines, then scuttled back. A moment later he appeared again and moved out "to play" with the suspended bladder, finally dragging it off into the opposite hole. The bladder was then drawn back to the center of the *qalegi* by one of the manipulators, and the marmot repeated his sly performance. At the height of this dramatic affair the guests filed out of the *qalegi*, going to their own *qalegi* to prepare their return show. The puppet marmot performance we witnessed in the spring of 1940, with its drummers, singers, and masked dancers, a highly exciting affair, was a fine demonstration of the skill of the string manipulators.

Qagmaktoq returned the ceremony either the same night or the next. It is not clear whether the top spinning was repeated, but the rest of the performance was carried out in the same manner, except that different puppets were activated on the suspended lines. One group of puppets described for *Qagmaktoq* included a whale, a boat crew, and some birds. The puppet crew came out to meet the whale, birds fluttered down towards it, then returned just as the crew speared it. Again the guests were expected to leave at the height of the excitement. The boys were fed bits of whaleskin as they withdrew.

A *Qagmaktoq* man described a ceremony performed by the *umeliks'* wives which probably took place in his *qalegi*, at least, during one of the "inviting-in" affairs. A small seal oil lamp was placed in front of the row of *umeliks*; one by one each of their wives danced before the lamp. Across their faces the women tied strings which passed under the nose and over the ears. Then they kneeled near the lamp, and, as they looked up toward "the daylight" (the painted board across the end of the *qalegi*) so that all could see their faces, they licked the edge of the lamp. At a certain point in the second song they leaned forward to smother the flame with their tongues. The husbands of those women who were not burned would get a whale during the ensuing spring hunt. It was a very serious performance and although young wives were often embarrassed no one was permitted to laugh.

The significance of all these activities cannot be determined. Only two old people living in the village in 1940 were said to know the words

of the numerous songs and even they did not remember their real meaning. The figures, such as the marmot and the bladder, are said "to represent something," but their specific symbolism has long since been forgotten.

The last day of "the sitting" was *aula titcigut* (calling day and killing day). Again each *qalegi* held an inviting-in. One special song was repeated again and again in each *qalegi*, with their guests present. As it proceeded, the singers successively called out the name of each *umelik* in that *qalegi*. When his name was called the *umelik* answered, "I want to kill a whale right away!" Following the *umeliks*, other names were called; each man answered by stating his wish, "I want to be a good caribou hunter!" "I want to have a long life!" etc.

The killing of the *pogoks* and the *qologogoloqs* followed the calling of the names. As the old men recited the tales explaining each hanging figure, one man after another "speared" each carving with minute replicas of weapons. The narration of the tales was accompanied by drumming. When an *umelik* speared a whale figure, for example, he sang his song for spearing whale, the same one he sang when a whale was struck in the actual hunt.

The burning of the *pogoks* occurred on the day following the four days of "the sitting." All the new wooden figures of whales, seals, walruses, caribou, men, and monsters were burned, one by one, at a special burning place near each *qalegi*. Each time they burned a man or a sea animal the *umeliks'* wives sprinkled a little water on it from their special pots, using the fur ruff at the tip of one of their peculiar mitts for carrying the pot. If the *pogok* represented a land animal, like a caribou, they put a little blubber on it. When all the figures had been burned, each wife poured a little of the water from her pot onto the charred remains. The *pogoks* were, in this manner, released or "allowed to go to the sea." The *qologogoloqs*, the permanent sacred figures, were dismantled of all moving parts, then hung up inside the *qalegis* for a time.

After the burning of the *pogoks* each *umelik*, or a small group of *umeliks*, went to their homes with an *angatkok* who was expected to predict their success in the whale hunt. The house was darkened before the *angatkok* proceeded to drum and sing in order to be possessed by his *tunnguk* (power spirit), then "he sang the

future." Sometimes he was right, sometimes not.

Soon after the burning of the *pogoks* a masquerade dance was held by both *qalegis* simultaneously one evening. The dance was called *wingeruk*, the same term applied to a man by his mistress, that is, by any woman with whom he has had an affair. Both men and women went from their own *qalegi* to the other *qalegi* dressed in odd or old garments, or as members of the opposite sex, usually masked. Each visitor crawled slowly through the entrance hole of the *qalegi*, then danced alone before his or her *uma*, a person who bears the same name as one's wife or husband. Sometimes the dancer rubbed noses (kiss) with the *uma* or laid his or her head upon the *uma's* shoulder. If the wife of an *umelik* had her nose rubbed she pretended to pull it off and throw it away; then as the dancer left the *qalegi* she poured a little water from her pot down the entrance hole after him. If an *umelik* was kissed (has his nose rubbed) his wife grasped his nose and pretended to throw it away.

The *qalegis* were closed for four days following this masquerade. On the fourth evening they were opened again, the lamps were lighted, and a second masquerade dance was held "to let the spirits of the *qologogoloqs* go." Dancers again called at this *qalegi* to perform solo dances, and when the last dancer had departed the *qologogoloqs* were taken down to be stored away until the next year.

Then the *qalegis* were finally closed for the winter, to be used only occasionally as workshops or in times of famine when game was scarce. Then lamps were lighted and the people gathered for an *angatkok* seance intended to induce the animals to return. The *qalegi* ceremonies were normally concluded in late fall, about the time the pack ice returned, when the winter seal hunting began. The ice block set in the skylight of the *qalegi* entry way or storm shed, which had been brought from the pond at Ipiutak, was at this time divided among the *umeliks* for the water to be used in their wives' ceremonial pots.

The day after the *qalegis* were closed, the *umeliks* and their wives went down to Nuwuk, the end of the Point Hope spit, wearing their best clothing and with their faces painted. They stood about and talked there most of the day, why, our informants did not know. But, before

returning, each couple found a small sea creature (*putuguksiu*), about as big as one's thumb, with legs and a shell, which they placed with its head towards the land in a little tent made of ice.

When the first new moon appeared after the closing of the *qalegis*, the wives of the *umeliks* put on their best clothing, took their ceremonial pots filled with clean, clear water, stood in the entry way of their houses, and called out "Alignuk, drop a whale into this pot so I can kill one next season!" They lifted the pots up towards the moon four times and called to him in this manner. Other people also prayed to Alignuk (the moon man), at this time, asking for "a new life," if they were ill or for good fortune in the hunt. These others, however, drew a crescent moon on the frost of the skylight, held a dipper of water up to it, and prayed inside the house.

WINTER

During the fall the Tikerarmiut hunted little. During this period they lived on whale, seal, and walrus meat stored in underground caches since the preceding spring or upon caribou meat (usually not much) brought back to the village after the inland summer hunt. Several generations ago some men hunted seals in kayaks, before the pack ice returned, but the use of kayaks has been discontinued for a long time. To repeated queries as to why their use was abandoned, the usual answer was that they were too dangerous. A swift but erratic sea current moves past Point Hope and, at times, when it decreased, kayak hunters found that new ice had formed between them and the shore, ice too thin to support their weight, yet too heavy to be broken through in a kayak. Many hunters were lost in this way.

SEAL HUNTING ON THE PACK ICE

The winter seal hunting normally began about the time the *qalegis* were closed, in late October or early November, when the hunters could travel over heavy sea ice in search of breathing holes of seal. Breathing hole hunting, which is characteristic of all Arctic Eskimo, has often been reported¹ so that no detailed description of the equipment need be repeated

here. At Tigara it was a very hazardous occupation during the early winter because of the unusually erratic movements of the ice. Under certain phenomena of wind and current, ice often moved far out to sea, carrying hunters from the village with it. Year after year, men disappeared in this way, drowning, freezing to death, or being killed by polar bears which roam the pack ice in considerable numbers along the coast. The Tikerarmiut always hoped that stranded hunters would reach the Siberian shore; hence, they were not assumed to be lost until the following year at least.

When a man was lost on the ice his wife hung a pair of boots with grass or shaved baleen in-soles in her house, then stretched two lines across the room, one running in the direction from land to sea, the other at right angles to it, and a little lower. If the in-soles were flattened or appeared to move from day to day the wife knew her husband was alive. If the upper line sagged slightly towards the lower, she knew her husband had camped for the night. If the in-soles moved back and the upper line touched the lower one only slightly, she knew he had landed safely on shore. But if the in-soles moved to one side and the lines joined solidly, she knew he had died. Wives also wore their parkas in the house (this kept the husband warm). Sometimes they burned little pieces of driftwood wrapped in willow bark under their parkas. One man lost on the ice many years ago said, after he returned safely, that he could smell the burning willow bark under his wife's parka when he sat down to rest. The *inyusuq* (soul or life) of a man lost on the ice always returned to his home. Sometimes a woman saw or heard her husband enter the house and pass right through it. Then she knew he was dead.

All men who hunted on the ice wore their *tupitqaaq* (charms or fetishes, such as an animal tail, or nose skin, beads, etc., p. 272) attached to their clothing. *Angoaks* (additional charms carried or stored in a special place) were carried in their hunting bags or fastened to tow lines. All these were necessary adjuncts to their hunting equipment if seals were to be found and killed. For example, a woman ancestor of the *Inyuelingmiut* family (female hunters are extremely rare) sewed to her parka all the nose skins of the seals speared by her during the winter. She was a good hunter. Often, by spring, the nose skins covered her parka from neck to

¹ Murdoch, John, 1892, "Ethnological results of the Point Barrow expedition," Ninth Ann. Rept., Bur. of Ethnol., Washington, pp. 253-259, 268-269.

hem. Most men wore a *pamiuqtuq* (a tail from the animal associated with their *tupitqag*), as well as *angoaks* attached to their belts at the back. If food was scarce, the blood from any seal killed by them was soaked up with this tail so that it could be carried home for cooking in a frozen state.

Seals killed at breathing holes during the winter were invariably "given a drink" by the wife, daughter, or younger brother of the hunter when he dragged the carcass home. According to native theory, all sea mammals are thirsty for fresh water, and the drink is part of considerate treatment of the seal's *inyusuq* (soul or life). The woman who skinned and butchered the seal must also use a sharp knife (this was less painful for the seal) and remain cheerful, otherwise, when the *inyusuq* returned to the sea, it would consider itself ill treated and would not "return for a drink." Individual behavior before and after killing a seal varied according to a hunter's charm, his family traditions, and the instruction of his namesake (*komnaluk*). However, it was a common practice for hunters to return the seal's *inyusuq* after the carcass was brought home, by revisiting the crack which always follows the shore along the edge of the ice, and there kneeling down to "shake the *inyusuq* off," at the same time saying that he was "returning the seal." The seal was asked to come back another time.

A man of the *Inyuelingmiut* family, following the traditions of his group, prepared himself for the seal hunt in the following manner: Early in the morning he took a bath from the urine tub, then dressed, and prepared his hunting gear. (He ate no breakfast.) After this, he lay down on his side at the entrance hole of his house and rapped on the floor to call the *kugnit-carniu*, the beings (people) who lived in the solid ice off Point Hope. He told them that he was going to hunt and asked them to help him to kill a seal so that he would be supplied with meat for food and blubber to heat his house. If the man's "animal helper" were a polar bear, a loon, or some other diving animal, he crawled head first down the entrance hole. One man in this family habitually placed a small spot of blood on his forehead each time he returned from killing a seal because there was a tale of a tame polar bear who returned to the people who kept him with a spot of blood on his head each time he killed a seal.

Every man owned hunting songs which were usually inherited from his namesake. Such songs were jealously guarded; some men hummed them very quietly to themselves before they left home each morning to hunt on the ice.

During the last century no dogs were used when hunting on the ice. It is said that the Tikerarmiut feared losing the dogs when the ice broke up or moved out with the shift of wind or current. Moreover, dogs were then much more precious than they are now. Sleds (*ikum-nguq*), which were no more than 2 or 3 feet long and 3 or 4 inches high, were occasionally used on smooth ice. They were convenient when returning towards shore several miles over the ice with more than one seal. Old men, whose legs were weak, sometimes propelled themselves across the ice, with two short sharp staffs, seated on a tiny *ikum-nguq*.

During all the winter months, from November to April, the daily task of every able-bodied man was to hunt seals from daylight until dark. For two months during this period the sun does not appear above the horizon, but there are always several hours of twilight in which visibility is sufficient for hunting. In the old days men related by blood often hunted together in small groups, for fear of enemies in the village who might be bent on revenging the murder of one of their own family. Many tales recount bitter struggles on the ice and feuds which added even greater dangers to those already set by nature, the bitter cold wind, the treacherous currents, and the unpredictable movements of the ice. Working under such circumstances for generations, the men of Tigara developed a crude sort of science based upon accumulated experience, which was imparted to the young men of each generation. By observing footprints, they knew which men were out on the ice, the time elapsed since they had passed, and the direction of their journey. With an almost uncanny knowledge of natural phenomena, they knew when the ice would move out, the direction it would take, and where they might reach the shore if caught on drifting ice. Boys were not allowed to hunt in winter until they reached manhood. Even then they hunted with older men whose movements they followed with care.

Speed and direction of currents were gauged by floating bits of ice in open leads or cracks;

movements of large ice pans were determined by weighted lines sunk to the bottom (it is often impossible otherwise to determine whether a pan is grounded or moving); abrupt shifts in the wind were anticipated by observing cloud formations and the flight of birds; and gradual shifts in the direction of the wind were checked by a wind gauge called a *palatuq*. This consisted of a staff with bundled shavings hanging on a string tied to one end. At night, or when adrift on ice pans beyond sight of land, such staffs were set upright in the ice with the bundle of shavings held against the staff by the pressure of the wind. When the wind shifted and the shavings stood out, away from the pole, the Tikerarmiut men noted the direction of the change and took their bearings accordingly.

Harpooning seals at their breathing holes was not the only method of hunting them in mid-winter during the nineteenth century. Several generations ago seal nets were introduced from Cape Prince of Wales, to the south, and were used extensively before the introduction of the rifle. They were used at night, in the dark of the moon, which, with darkness added to the normal hazards of hunting on the ice, caused seal netting to be considered a particularly dangerous pursuit. Today only the most courageous hunters use nets and then only when seals are scarce. They were made from rawhide or sinew lines and were hung like curtains below three holes in the ice, with floats on the upper edge and bone sinkers on the lower. A line from one upper corner was fastened to a block of ice at one of the outer holes, while a line from the other upper corner passed over an upright ice block and was attached to a rattle in the form of a seal or bird head. The nets were set as far away from an open lead or a crack as a man could run while holding his breath. When a seal struck one of these hanging nets on his way to breathe at an opening he was entangled in the mesh. This tautened the net line, disturbed the rattle lying on the ice, and thus attracted the attention of the hunter who was waiting patiently in the lee of an ice block. He then drew the net quickly, with the entangled seal who was, of course, alive and fighting, out through one of the holes. The hunter clubbed or kicked the seal unconscious and broke his neck. Seals can bite viciously and must be handled with care.

CRAB AND TOMCOD FISHING

Tomcod, very small arctic fish traveling in large schools, arrive at Point Hope in January. They can be taken through holes in the ice on the shoal water off the north shore of the Point. Old people and children did, and still do, spend many hours every day for over a month in some of the most severe weather of the year jigging for these tiny bits of fat and bone. Wearing all the clothes they can find, each sits on a piece of skin or a low stool at his own fishing hole, dangling some 10 to 20 feet of baleen line at the end of a short slender stick held in his right hand, and holding a line guide in his left hand. Just above the sea bottom at the end of the line are an ivory or bone sinker and a cluster of barbless hooks. The fisherman jigs his line steadily up and down with the short stick for perhaps a minute, then jerks up suddenly and reels the line in rapidly by winding it around the two sticks, one the fish pole and the other the line guide. One, two, or sometimes three of the tiny fish are impaled on the hooks. They freeze rapidly in only a few moments and are eaten frozen and raw, often while the fisherman continues his jigging. With good luck one person may take as much as a bushel of tomcod in a day.

In February or March the old people and children moved across to the south side of the Point daily to fish for crabs in much deeper water. Again holes were cut in the ice. Long baleen lines to which was attached a flat circular grid, also made of strips of baleen and about 18 inches in diameter, were let down to the sea bottom. The bait, a seal's nose fastened to the center of the grid, was allowed to remain in the water only a few inches above the bottom for 10 or 15 minutes. When drawn to the surface sometimes as many as six or eight small crabs, as well as several starfish, were tearing at the bait. The starfish were discarded to freeze on the ice (only one man known to the writer ate them). The crabs were piled neatly around the hole, always facing it, after the fisherman had pressed out their life and a certain amount of water. Like the tomcod the crabs were frozen quickly and eaten raw. Windbreaks of ice blocks were set up around the crab fishing holes and the fisherman sat in the lee of this shelter on a block of ice covered with a piece of skin. One person might take as many as 50 to 100 crabs a day, but they were so small that a

hungry individual would not be satisfied with less than a dozen. Crab fishing usually continued until the whale hunt began in April and supplied at least some variety in the monotonous diet of seal meat during the winter months.

POLAR BEAR HUNTING

Polar bears appear in considerable numbers on the pack ice off Point Hope during the winter whenever a steady south wind closes the open leads along the south shore. In the nineteenth century the Tikerarmiut men hunted them with bows and arrows and with stone- or iron-headed hand lances. The bears hunted seals along the cracks in the ice; hence, these cracks were sought by the Eskimo hunter who often traveled many miles out to sea, particularly when he found fresh bear tracks and the bloody signs of a kill. After feeding, bears will sleep on the ice; they are then most easily apprehended. According to native theory, polar bears are "left-handed"; consequently they are more safely approached from the right side. They are believed to be cunning and very dangerous. Even today, bear hunting with rifles is regarded as an exciting and dangerous pursuit, in part probably because the Tikerarmiut, unlike the Greenland Eskimo, do not use dogs to surround and hold the bears at bay.

Every man at the scene of a kill shared equally in the bear meat, but the hunter who actually shot or stabbed the bear took the skin. The skinning took place on the ice. The four quarters were first cut from the carcass; the head was cut off, the intestines were removed, and then the trunk was split down from the spine. Though bear liver is believed to be poisonous, it was fed to the dogs with all the viscera except the gall bladder.

Men who killed a bear always presented small gifts of meat to the old people in the village. In return, they sang little good luck songs for their benefactors. When a young man killed his first bear the old women of the village were permitted to ask him for any small gift, such as boot soles, skin for clothing, etc., in addition to the meat. He always complied with their requests because the good will of the aged crones was essential, if his good fortune in the hunt was to continue. In the winter of 1940, when I assisted in killing a bear near Point Hope, several old women asked for tea, coffee, and sugar, as well as meat. In return some gave

Christian prayers for me, while others sang their secret songs destined to bring me good fortune.

GAMES

In midwinter, after the *qalegis* were closed and while seal hunting on the ice was the daily occupation of the men, two important games, in which the whole village could join, were played during the evenings after the day's work. One game, *argauguk* (football), was played with a ball, about the size of an indoor baseball, made of a bundle of baleen shavings sewed into a sealskin cover. Most of the Tikerarmiut, or all those who had a namesake (*komnaluk*), belonged to one of two classes called *qap-qoamiu* (land people) and *up-qoamiu* (point or sea people). Each person belonged to the class of his *komnaluk*. In this game, the *qap-qoamiu* kicked the football towards the mainland, while the *up-qoamiu* kicked it towards the point of the Point Hope bar, that is, towards the sea. The children usually began to play in the afternoon and were joined by the adults in the evening. The game might continue for many hours, one side attempting to kick the ball towards the point, the other towards the mainland along the north or south shore of the Point Hope bar. Old women were privileged to pick up the ball, run a short distance with it, and then throw it wherever they wished. If the group kicking towards the mainland was losing, they rushed to their houses and dumped out all the fresh water, a performance probably connected with the idea that all sea creatures are always thirsty. If strangers from the northeast visited the village, they were expected to kick towards the land; if from the south, they must kick towards the Point.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century when large numbers of the inland Eskimo (Noatarmiut and Kovagmiut), together with the Tigara men, were recruited by American whalers to hunt whales each spring, there was a large temporary camp of natives at a place called Jabbertown on the Point Hope bar, 6 miles east of Tigara. Each spring during that period a great football game was played by the Tikerarmiut men and the men from the interior. The inland people kicked towards the mainland and the Tikerarmiut towards the Point. The playing field extended 10 or 12 miles along the bar. The game continued for several days.

Sometimes it resulted in bitter fights and broken heads.

The second game played during midwinter was called *milyugeruk*. The name is based on the term applied to a slender, flat stick which was thrown so that it slid along the surface of the hard-packed snow. The game was apparently played only by men. As in football, the *qap-qoamiu* and the *up-qoamiu* formed opposing teams. If the game was begun by the *qap-qoamiu*, one man from their team skipped the stick in the direction of the Point; then both sides raced towards it and the man who reached it first was jumped upon and downed. If he were an *up-qoamiu*, he was then allowed to skip the stick towards the land; if he were a *qap-qoamiu*, he skipped it farther towards the Point. The January moon (month) was sometimes called *Agrawagvik* after the football, while the February moon was referred to, at times, as *Milyugoragvik* after the stick-skipping game.

EARLY SPRING

THE WHALE HUNT

Late in March or early in April the snow birds arrive at Tigara. Then all the people know that the whales will soon follow. Though seal hunting was the chief occupation during the dark months, preparation for the whale hunt continued in a minor way after the closing of the *qalegis*. *Umeliks* sent their wives periodically to the homes of their crew members with gifts of meat. In January (often called *Nutak-sivik*, moon of whittling), the *umeliks* summoned their crews to scrape all the wooden paddles and spear handles. In the hunt these must look new and unblemished because they were then less liable to be seen by the whale, but, if seen, they were pleasing to him in this condition.

February was often called *Avatuk'pug-reuvik* or the moon for making the sealskin floats (*avatukpuk*) to be used in the whale hunt. Three floats were attached to each harpoon line. Each float consisted of a complete sealskin with flippers attached. One large float (*kingu*) was fastened at the end of the line and two smaller floats (*kayasikkaq*) were attached, side by side, a short distance ahead of it. The neck opening in each skin was tied over a small wooden shaft or toggle to render it air-tight. In addition, the *kingu* sometimes had a big wooden disc tied in the neck opening like a plug. Known as the

inyogluk, this wooden plug had the face of a man or animal carved on it. When a whale escaped, dragging the floats after him, the *inyogluk* was supposed to call out and thus lead its owner to the wounded whale. Some *umeliks* tied twigs to the *inyogluk*; when a stricken whale pulled the floats beneath the surface of the water they said "the trees will grow large under the water and keep the whale from running away."

Sometimes in March (called *Uteguvik* in reference to a step in the preparation of seal-skin floats when they were turned hair side out), the wives of *umeliks* performed a ceremony preparing their husbands' boats. Each wife took the *kingu* float which had been drying in the house, partly deflated it, tied a reindeer skin belt around it, then placed the float on a small sled. Then harnessed, as if she were dragging a seal, she drew the sled down to the place where her husband's boat lay on its storage rack. Singing her special songs she passed under the bow of the boat and then swept it out with her special tassled mitten (with the left hand). According to one account, she then "gave the boat a drink" at the gunwale, near the center, using the special "pot of the *umelik's* wife." In another version of the procedure, she "poured a drink to the something which is between earth and snow right under the bow—she doesn't know what." The woman then returned home with the float, bringing some driftwood chips from the shore for use in a subsequent ritual.

When the first whale was seen spouting in loose ice or in an offshore lead, sometime in late March or early April, the observer hastened back to the village with the glad tidings. Usually this was a beluga, or small white whale, and not the large bowhead whales to be hunted, but it heralded the coming of the bowheads. With this news, all the children began to shout, *puyuk-palgok*, "they are spouting" (for the first time).

Each *umelik* had a private *angatkok* (medicine man). After the first whale of the spring was sighted he invited him to visit the *itiviiai*, promising to pay him for the trouble. The *itiviiai* were "underground people," believed to live about 5 miles east of Tigara at the edge of the lagoon along the north shore of the Point Hope bar, where there is a mound resembling a ruined igloo. Each *angatkok*, carrying his drum and accompanied by the wife of his patron *umelik* bearing her special pot, went

to this mound of the *itiviyai*. There, near a vertebral plate of a whale protruding from the mound, he "got his power spirit" while beating his drum, and "sent it down." Later, the men and women proceeded to the shore and he repeated this performance at the shore crack in the ice. Before returning to the home of the *umelik*, the *angatkok* and the *umelik's* wife also "visited" the *nuwunmiu*, "underground people" like the *itiviyai*, living at "Nuwuk," the very tip of the Point Hope bar.

At the house of the patron *umelik* people were gathered to hear the *angatkok's* story of his visit to the *itiviyai* and the *nuwunmiu*. According to his tale his spirit found in the underground house of the *itiviyai* a creature like a man, but with very long ears who heard everything said in Tigara ("a kind of radio operator," according to the interpreter). The *angatkok* sought the spirit of someone then living in Tigara, but because of the crowds of spirits moving about in the *itiviyai* igloo, that particular spirit could not be found. When he went down through the shore crack near the igloo of the *itiviyai*, the *angatkok* found the undersea whaling camp of these same people and saw that they had already killed a whale. At this camp below the ice there was a man, with a tail like a dog, and the man's wife. The man told the *angatkok* that he was going up into the air, the source of the weather, so that he could change the wind to the north. His wife, he said, was going down into the sea to the house of the *ni-gevik* (a woman who feeds people), and she would make the sea calm.

When the *angatkok* went to the underground house of the Nuwuk people he found them so lazy that they sat in shavings and scraps of seals up to their chests. The *angatkok* cleaned up this place before returning to tell his tale.

The Tikerarmiut believed that the *itiviyai* and Nuwuk really lived below the surface at these two places. The story is told how Nuirak, a great whale hunter who lived during the last century, actually saw the navel of a whale killed by the *itiviyai* at their undersea whaling camp.

The day after the *angatkoks* visited the "underground people," the whaling harpoons were taken to the *qalegis* for cleaning and repair. At any of these special preparations the village children were fed by the *umeliks* and their wives. The details of boat and gear preparation varied

from one family to another. An *umelik* of the *Inyuelingmiu* family group, for example, at this time set his boat right side up on the storage rack, stuck the paddles, blades up, upright along the gunwale, and then fed all the children a black gum made from seal oil cooked or burned to a sticky paste. During this same preparatory period all *umeliks* who had a sufficient number of bearded sealskins made new coverings for their boats. Bright new skins, as were clean, new-looking paddles, were pleasing to the whale. The boat was refitted only when the north (male) wind blew and then in a specially constructed snowhouse.

Shortly before the crews went out on the ice for the whale hunt, the sealskin floats were inflated in the houses of the *umeliks*. Then each *umelik* chose some woman to draw the inflated float out through the house skylight. *Umeliks*, like most Tikerarmiut men, had *angoaks* (charms or fetishes) which placed them in one of two classes known as *irniroaktuktuk* and *gongoaktuktuk* (see p. 272). Those who were *irniroaktuktuk* chose a woman who had just given birth to a child, because their *angoaks* "worked well" or were enlivened by "things of a woman in that state"; those who were *gongoaktuktuk* chose a woman who was related to someone recently deceased in her home, because their *angoaks* "worked well" with "things associated with the dead."

While the boats were being loaded in final preparation for the hunt, they were placed upright on the ground, held by paddles wedged against the gunwales. At this time the *umeliks* chose some old woman to sing songs near a little fire built at the bow of the boat. This brought them good fortune.

The old men, the *angatkoks*, and the *umeliks* decided among themselves just which morning boat crews were to go out on the ice. Everyone must wait until the specified day, which depended largely upon the weather and the condition of the ice. The wind must be in the north, but not too strong; certainly the wind must not be in the northeast; there must be an open lead in the pack ice off the south shore through which whales can pass northward; the shore ice must be firm and not liable to break away with a sudden shift of wind.

The actual launching of the whale boats was a solemn moment charged with supernatural significance and performed with stereotyped

rituals, apparently varying among the different crews. In all ceremonial accompanying the launching, however, the wife of the *umelik* played a leading role. The boats were placed upon large flat boat sleds (usually with runners shod with ivory), and a tubful of meat and all the gear were loaded inside it. The five to seven men in the crew harnessed themselves to each side of the boat to drag it out across the ice. In some cases the wife of the *umelik* stationed herself so that when the boat moved from its resting place, one side brushed against her; then she ran ahead and placed herself so that the other side of the boat rubbed against her. She did this when the boat first moved and again when it was dragged from the land out onto the ice. For most of the trip out to the open water, the wives usually followed directly behind the boat, preceding their husbands who brought up the rear of the little procession. Some of the *umeliks*, who had placed shellfish (*putugorksiu*) in an ice tent on the beach after the *qalegi* ceremonies of the preceding fall, passed by the spot on the way out to the ice. With his wife kneeling beside him, the *umelik* dug around the tiny ice shelter with a harpoon head, then they both peeked inside. If the shellfish were undisturbed, the *umelik* and his wife were happy, because this indicated they would kill a whale. The wife then took the shellfish to open water where, weighted with a stone, they were sunk in the sea.

Following his boat crew across the ice, an *umelik* usually sang his own special songs, until they all reached the open lead. Then he and his crew launched his boat, containing all the crew and their gear, leaving his wife at the edge of the ice. She removed her belt (or had her husband remove it) and then crouched or lay down on the ice, facing inland, at the precise point where the boat had been launched. The crew paddled out a short distance, then turned and paddled back towards the woman, with the harpooner standing ready in the bow, as if to harpoon her. But when they came close, he dipped the point of the harpoon in the water, the boat was turned seaward again, and she got up to walk homeward, never looking back at the boat.

The Tikerarmiut believed that the spirit of the whales could see the *umeliks* and their wives "a long time ahead" and that the woman must perform all these ritual acts so that "she

would look good" to the whale and he would give himself up. Whales did not die, they simply "took off the outside parka" and the *inyusuq* (spirit-soul) returned to find a new body.

Even at home, after her husband's crew had gone out on the ice, the behavior of an *umelik's* wife, in theory, continued to affect the success of the hunt. Immediately upon her return from launching of the boat, she placed her special pot and her husband's drum in a particular place in the entrance way. She refrained from any work during the period of their absence. She could neither wash nor comb her hair, change her clothes, nor scrub the floor (if she scrubbed the floor, the skin of a slain whale would be thin). She must remain tranquil and act like a sick person so that the harpooned whale would also be quiet and easy to kill. She must never use a knife (her food must be cut for her), because she might sever the harpoon line holding the whale. In the boat the *umelik* wore his wife's belt. With his own charms in the bow of the boat was the left-hand mitten from the special pair used by her whenever she carried "her pot to give the whale a drink."

The whale hunters remained on the ice as long as there was an open lead or open ponds where whales could breathe. It might be a fortnight before a southerly shift in the wind drove the ice in from that direction to close all the leads. The crews were allowed no sleeping bags, no shelter other than a windbreak made of ice blocks, no hot cooked meat, and no change of clothing until they returned to the shore with a south wind. Each man had a small water vessel made from a seal flipper, and each crew had a bucket or tub of meat which was replenished from the *umelik's* house on shore. Usually each crew included a boy whose job it was to keep the water bags and the meat bucket replenished whenever meat was available. Some members of each crew watched for whales while the others slept, seated on the boat sled. The 10 to 15 crews from the Tigara village were scattered for 2 or 3 miles along the edge of the water, on the south shore, as far as 1 or 2 miles out from land.

Each whaleboat was drawn up on the ice with the bow projecting over the water and was blocked upright so that it could be launched at a moment's notice. The harpoon, with line and floats attached, lay on a forked rest in the bow.

The harpooner often sat in the bow near the harpoon, awaiting the appearance of a whale near the edge of the ice. If a whale rose to spout close to the boat, the crew sprang up and shoved the boat off the ice and up onto the back of the whale with only the harpooner aboard. The harpooner rose, bracing himself against the thwarts, and drove the harpoon downward into the whale, simultaneously twisting the harpoon shaft so that the head would disengage the fore-shaft and remain fixed in the flesh. Then he hastily tossed overboard the three sealskin floats which were attached to the harpoon head line, being careful that the line, which was coiled in the bow, did not foul on the boat. When the whale sounded, dragging the floats down with him, the harpooner began to sing his *avatuksiun*, a song to hold the harpoon fast in the whale. Both the harpooner and the *umelik* loosened their boot lashings as soon as possible after the whale was struck. The *umelik* also began to sing his special songs, first spitting into the water "to make his song go down to the whale."

After the harpooner paddled the boat back to the ice, the full crew jumped aboard and paddled rapidly off "in the direction usually taken by whales struck by their *umelik*." In the meantime, other boat crews had heard the songs and had launched their boats in pursuit. Each *umelik* gave orders to stand by at the place where he expected the whale to rise. Then all watched eagerly for the appearance of the float which would rise to the surface a few seconds before the whale. The moment the floats were sighted, all the boats raced towards them, the crews eager to fix a second harpoon in the wounded mammal.

If more than one boat reached the whale before it sounded a second time, both harpoons and long flint-headed lances were driven into vital parts. The spears worked their way in as the whale swam and usually, when he rose a second time, he spouted blood. Then the boat crews swarmed about him reaching for the heart with long lances.

When dead, the whale rolled over, and floated belly up. The *umelik* whose boat had first struck him then drove a small walrus harpoon into the apex of the lower lip, fixing a long rawhide tow line to it. The first eight boats (eight is the number usually given in the tales) to arrive at the scene of a kill shared in the

whale; each boat crew was entitled to a particular portion, depending upon the time of its arrival. Consequently, at this time, each of the eight *umeliks* fixed his marked harpoon head in that portion of the whale to which he was entitled.

All eight boat crews sharing in the whale made fast to the tow line; the *umelik* who first struck was in the lead; the others followed in the order in which they had attacked the wounded whale. As the carcass was towed towards the ice, all the men joined in the "joy shout," a peculiar barking sound something like the cry of a sea lion. Then the leading *umelik* began the songs sung by the combined crews until they drew up to the ice.

At the nearest point on the shore ice the crews disembarked to cut off the whale flukes. Then two men from each crew combined to tow the carcass along the edge of the ice to some point near land where the ice was firm; if possible to a point where it was actually grounded. This was the cutting-up place. The flukes were brought by boat to the same spot where the *umelik* who had made the first strike chose a member of his crew to carry a piece of the flukes spitted on his bow paddle to the *umelik's* wife in the village. This messenger, who followed the trail made by his boat on the way out, also carried her mitten which had been in the boat as a charm. All of the people in the village ran out of their houses, shouting, as they saw the messenger approach.

The piece of the flukes was lowered into the *umelik's* house through the corner of the skylight nearest the Point. In her home the *umelik's* wife roasted the meat over an open fire. While she did this all the small boys in the village whose *komnaluks* had advised them to eat of the first whale killed each year gathered to eat a small piece. Some boys whose namesakes were still living took their bit to them. After the *komnaluks* had chewed it a little, they rubbed their bodies with it. (Other boys, by advice of their namesakes, could eat only of the last whale killed.)

With the remaining portion of the cooked meat the *umelik's* wife set out across the ice to the cutting-up place, carrying that ubiquitous little pot and the special mittens. She gave her husband a drink from the pot which contained water melted from the piece of ice ceremonially cut in the pond at Ipiutak during the

fall ceremonies of the *galegis*. The pot, the piece of cooked meat, and all the hunting charms (*angoaks*), the small carved ivory faces, the hammer used to make the pot, and shavings from the boat paddles, kept in the boat during the hunt, were placed together under a tripod made of three paddles. Over this the wife threw her parka.

The rules governing the partition of the whale carcass among the eight participating crews were meticulously followed, but, even so, there were bloody arguments, sometimes resulting in murder. Several tons of the most desirable food these people knew were concerned, and often the family groups participating were in deadly feud. The first *umelik* to strike the whale received all of the carcass behind the navel, except for a strip as wide as a man's foot encircling the body just behind the navel. This strip went to the last or eighth boat on the scene. The fore part of the body ahead of the navel was divided equally between the second and third boats; the lower side of the head was divided between the fourth and fifth boats, and one lip each went to the sixth and seventh boats. The top of the head was eaten on the spot by all the people engaged in the butchering, which meant almost the entire village. All divisions were marked on the skin of the whale before the actual butchering began.

Even the smallest bowhead whales, the *ingutuk* (young ones), preferred by the Eskimo, are too heavy to be drawn up onto the ice. Consequently, the head was pulled partly out of the water with a primitive block and tackle made by passing lines around stakes set in the ice, so that the butchering proceeded while the carcass was partly afloat. Flint blades set in shafts 10 to 12 feet long were used in the butchering. When the fore part was slashed into sections small enough to be handled, the carcass was turned around with the tail section drawn part way up on the ice, and the cutting continued. With 30 or 40 men engaged in the task, it required from one to two days to complete it. Each *umelik* piled his meat separately on the ice and apportioned it among the members of his crew according to his personal agreement with them.

The task of hauling all this meat ashore, sometimes a distance of 2 or 3 miles, was left primarily to the women and children. Until this century, sled dogs were rare; hence, they

drew the sled loads of meat with little help from their few dogs. The meat was stored in subterranean caches owned by each household in the village. Usually most of the people in the village were engaged in butchering or hauling both night and day, stopping only to eat fresh whaleskin or meat every few hours, or to fall asleep anywhere when too tired to continue.

Whale meat and skin were used to fulfil all the obligations of the *umeliks*. The officiating *angatkoks*, the old women who sewed new boat skins, the men who lent lines, blubber hooks, or any other gear, and anyone who did special work for an *umelik* received a prescribed amount of meat in remuneration. As a rule, an *umelik* who did not make a first strike, because of all these obligations actually profited less from a season's hunt than the members of his crew. Furthermore, when a man first became an *umelik*, with his own boat crew, he was obligated by custom to give away almost all of his share of his first whale. Thus it required considerable capital in goods to become an *umelik* and continued good fortune to remain one.

The skull of the whale was returned to the sea, some said "to give the crabs their share"; others, because the skull contained the whale's *inyua* (life or soul). Baleen, which went to the crew of the *umelik* who first struck the whale, was preserved to make many kinds of implements; the ribs served to make netsinkers and other implements; the jawbones were set up as monuments at the graves and as framework for storage racks or house entrances; the skin of the liver and lungs was used for drum heads; and the vertebrae were utilized as house ventilator shafts, building materials, or as dog food. All the viscera were eaten either by the people or by their dogs. The heart was considered one of the greatest of all delicacies as was the thick black skin.

Bowhead whales were much more numerous in the nineteenth century, before American whalers concentrated in the Arctic to take baleen whales during the years from 1850 to 1910. Old Tikerarmiut men say that during the spring season from sometime in April to about the first of June the combined crews sometimes killed as many as 15 to 18 whales. These were so numerous that hunters pursued only the young ones (*ingutuk*) and merely threw ice at the older and larger whales to drive them away. Today, three or four whales taken in the

same period represent a very successful season.

The crews remained on the ice throughout this period, except when a south wind closed all the open ponds or leads. Then they went ashore for much-needed rest, a change of clothing, and cooked food. At this time the boats were drawn up close to the shore on solid ice and set high up on ice blocks to protect them from the dogs. But those *umeliks* who had already killed a whale were privileged to fix their paddles, blade up, along the gunwale as a symbol of their success.

Seals and belugas, which were often numerous during the whale hunting season, were not molested while the whales were actually running; when no whales were sighted for several days, the boat crews harpooned seals and belugas as a joint enterprise, each man claiming those killed by him. Sea gulls, eider ducks, and crow bills also appeared in great numbers sometime in May; many of these were taken with bird slings or bolas. Sea birds, hair seals, bearded seals, walrus, belugas, and bowhead whales arrived in large numbers during the latter part of the whale hunting season so that this was a time of plenty and much feasting. During this period also a large portion of the yearly supply of meat was stored in the underground caches.

Nulukatuk, THE SPRING FEAST

Early in June, when pools of water began to appear on the ice, most of the bowhead whales had passed Point Hope. A few gray whales were seen, but these were considered inferior as food and also too dangerous to be hunted. Then the *umeliks* decided that it was time to return to shore, and they set the day when all the boat crews should return together. On that day, when the sun reached a certain point, all the crews raced for shore, each one eager to be the first to arrive. All the *umeliks* of the *qagmaktoq qalegi* drew their boats up on the north beach, while those of *Ungasiksikaq* placed theirs on the south beach. Boat owners who had not made first strikes left their boats on ice piles at the shore, but the others dragged theirs across the Point to traditional places where the *umeliks* from each *qalegi* set their boats up at this time. The *Ungasiksikaq* boat place was on the spot where their ancestors had killed an *angatkok*.

Umeliks whose *angoaks* "worked with things of the dead" placed their boats so that they

touched each other, while those whose *angoaks* "worked with things of women after childbirth" placed theirs so that they did not touch. This rule was strictly obeyed. At the bow of each boat a pole was set up with the owner's *angoak* tied to it (now American flags replace the *angoaks*), and then the wives brought *nirqri* to feast the crews. *Nirqri* is whale meat which has been allowed to stand in a wooden bowl in the house where it is warm, until the meat has a pickled, sour taste.

In front of each *qalegi* was an open-air feasting place marked by four tripods made from whale jawbones. The day following the return to shore all the people gathered in front of their *qalegis* at these traditional sites for the "flake feast." All the *umeliks*, who had bathed, painted their faces, and dressed according to their *angoaks* as in the *qalegi* ceremonies, then proceeded to give away slices cut from the flukes of the whales killed by their owners. Each one in turn stood before the assembled crowd near a great pile of whale meat, blubber, and skin and called the names of friends, relatives, or any persons who had assisted them in the hunt, sometimes referring to them by their house-group name. The person whose name was called walked forward to receive his gift amid much laughter and joking. If a man had attempted to kiss (rub noses with) a woman during the hunt she would, at this time, announce the fact to the amusement of the crowd. Great quantities of meat were eaten on the spot and more was set aside by the women to be consumed later. It was all eaten raw; feasting on cooked meat was reserved for the following day. On this day, all the meat from the flukes of whales killed during the spring was given away by the *umeliks*; everyone in the village received some either as a gift or as payment from the *umeliks*. The old and the impoverished fared particularly well.

The morning of the second feast day was reserved as a time to mourn for the dead. People who died during the winter had simply been placed in snow graves roofed by large slabs of snow set up in the form of a gable. (These gabled roofs were removed when the whale hunt began "so that they would have good weather.") Early in the morning the *umeliks* visited each grave, carrying many small pieces of *muktuk* (whale skin) strung on a baleen line, and presented each one of the recently deceased with a bit of the meat from whales killed during the

spring. At this time, too, the relatives of the dead built fires near the graves, wept and shouted their grief, then placed the bodies on scaffolds built of driftwood poles and whale jaw-bones.

Sometime during the morning the mourners returned to the village for the cooked meat feast. Laments were forgotten; all the villagers joined in a hilarious celebration of the successful hunt. Those who had composed new songs taught them to the others, and everyone joined in singing and dancing in the open air behind a windbreak made from overturned whale boats. The boys and men played many competitive games to renew their appetites, while the women prepared meat of all kinds at home or at fires in the open.

The four tripods at each *qalegi* feasting place were used to support the *nulukatuk* skin, a large walrus hide with thong hand grips on its margins. Four rawhide lines which were fastened to stakes in the ground passed over these four tripods and were attached to a square framework of taut lines at the center, some 3 or 4 feet above the ground. The walrus hide was then drawn tightly over the framework of lines, and perhaps 40 or 50 people grasped the hand grips along its margin in preparation for a kind of glorified blanket-tossing. Usually, the first man tossed in the skin was an *umelik* who had killed his first whale during that season. He jumped up into the skin carrying bundles of baleen, boot soles, skins, or any other prized objects, and as he was tossed high in the air by the combined efforts of the people holding the skin, he hurled his gifts out into the crowd. Sometimes he called the names of those who were to receive his gifts, sometimes he threw them to the crowd, urging the old people, in particular, to scuffle over them. The jumping was accompanied by drumming and singing and the skin tossers moved it to the rhythm of the music. Any *umelik* who so desired was privileged to follow this man in the same performance, but usually only those who had killed fewer than three or four whales since becoming *umeliks* did so.

Following the *umeliks*, anyone who wished could jump into the skin and be tossed; gift giving was not necessary for these individuals. A mother whose son was just learning to shoot with the bow or who had just killed his first seal might distribute gifts given to her by an old female relative of the child, while she was

being tossed, in celebration of this stage in his development. However, *nulukatuk*, sometimes translated as "dancing in the air," was chiefly a sport in which all joined with great joy. Men, women, and children vied with each other in their attempts to stand and to land upright after being hurled as high as 15 feet in the air. The most experienced remained erect and often danced while in the air. Sometimes two people were tossed at the same time. Usually each *qalegi* prepared its own jumping skin, but all the people might join in jumping, first at one *qalegi* and then at another. Several generations ago, when there were six different *qalegis* at Tigara, the feasting and the *nulukatuk* continued for several days.

After *nulukatuk*, the spring feast, whale hunting was finished until the next year. Many generations ago, it is said, bowhead whales also passed by the Point in the fall, when they migrated southward. At that time there were two whale hunting seasons each year, as at Point Barrow during the present time.

LATE SPRING

BEARDED SEAL, WALRUS, AND BELUGA HUNTING

In May or early June the flow ice packed against the Point Hope bar begins to melt in the bright rays of the arctic sun, which at this time of year never sets. The breathing holes of seals are enlarged, and through them both the small seals and the large bearded seals (*ugruk*) crawl out upon the ice to lie in the sun. This was usually the situation during the time when Tigara men hunted whales, but it was not until after the fluke feast that the men turned their full attention to stalking seals as they lay on the ice, a method of hunting which has been described for most of the Arctic Eskimo.¹

At Tigara bearded seals were numerous during this time. They were the chief object of the hunt, not only because each animal provided several times as much meat as the smaller hair seals (*nutcuk*), hunted during the winter, but because bearded sealskins were necessary for boat skins, boot soles, and rawhide lines. Hunters often worked in pairs, because it was

¹ Murdoch, John, 1892, "Ethnological results of the Point Barrow expedition," Ninth Ann. Rept., Bur. of Ethnol., Washington.

almost impossible for one man to hold a harpooned *ugruk* once he reached the water. When the hunters saw the dark figure of a seal asleep on the ice they worked their way towards it, keeping behind the great piles of ice as much as possible; then, when close to it and on smooth ice, they slid their bodies forward on a piece of polar bearskin. Some hunters had a piece of polar bearskin sewed to the sleeve at one elbow; this was held in front of the hunter as a white blind. Forked wooden implements with seal claws fixed on the tines were used to scratch the ice in imitation of seals. As the hunters crept closer to the seal, they alternately rose and lowered themselves, in the manner of a watchful seal. Within striking distance, they half rose and hurled the harpoon (a special type for this kind of hunting), then clung to the end of the line attached to the harpoon head, usually shouting to their hunting partner for assistance. Most hunters had songs, usually inherited from an ancestor, which, when sung during their approach to seals, were supposed to lull the seal to sleep.

In June and early July broad ponds were opened by the thawing ice which demanded another method of seal hunting. Then the hunters built walls of ice blocks (*tallu*) at the edge of the smaller ponds, behind which they waited for either large or small seals to approach as they swam on the surface of the ponds. A series of peep-holes was cut in each *tallu* so that the watcher could command a view of the pond. When a seal rose in the pond and approached within striking distance the hunter hurled his harpoon (a slightly modified form of that used in stalking seals), retaining a hold on the harpoon head line. Cries again brought his partner or any other man near at hand if the animal struck was an *ugruk*.

In both the stalking (*auq'tuk*) and the blind hunting methods, men carried a club, usually a round perforated piece of bone or stone fastened to a short thong, with which to kill the seals once they were brought to the surface and within reach by drawing in the harpoon line. A hunting bag containing extra harpoon heads and some food, and a bow with a quiver of arrows should the hunter encounter a polar bear, were also carried when hunting at this time of year. Furthermore, each Tigara man wore his *tupit'kaq* and *angoaks* either sewed to his garments or suspended around his neck. Qoqoq,

a man still living at Tigara, wore a dried ermine (skin and flesh) sewed to his parka under the left arm, a rabbit tail sewed to his left shoulder, a wolverine tail at the back of his belt, a sea gull head at the side of his belt, an ermine skin on the back of his parka, wing feathers from a special sea bird on both sides of his skin trousers, a blue bead (*samataq*) tied to his forelock, and a fragment from the stem of a coarse grass in a bag suspended from his neck. Qoqoq was *gongoaktuktuk*, one whose *angoaks* "work with things of the dead."

When a man killed an *ugruk* he cried out, imitating the call of his *angoak* animal, to attract the attention of his wife on shore. Any man who came to his assistance also called for his wife in the same manner. The two women went out on the ice to get the carcass, also to give the dead animal a drink of water. Usually the hunter who struck the *ugruk* got the hide, but divided the meat equally with his assistant. However, other arrangements for dividing the game could be made if men hunted together regularly as partners. When members of the *Inyuelingmiut* family killed an *ugruk*, they also gave the "joy shout," just as when they danced, "because they were so proud of the woman who founded their family."

Walrus were sometimes killed during this late spring by either method described above, but most of those killed by Tigara people were taken during the summer when they "hauled up" in great herds on the shore to rest.

A method of seal hunting known as *igalag* (skylight) was also practised during the spring, when breathing holes were large enough for seals to emerge on the ice. A square net, made of sinew or rawhide thongs, was set horizontally some distance below one of the seal holes, with the four corners attached to lines that passed up through four small holes excavated about the opening. Each hunter set several nets of this kind for the night. Seals swim close to the ice in search of their holes and consequently would emerge from the hole without becoming entangled in the net, but when entering the hole they dive to some depth, and thus strike the net and become entangled in the mesh. By morning, or when the hunter returned, the seal was drowned. Nets of this kind are still occasionally used. One hunter told me that in the spring of 1939 he found three drowned seals in one net which had been set for the night.

RETURN OF THE SEA BIRDS

Sea birds continue to migrate past the village of Point Hope during May, June, and July in enormous numbers. Flying northward in great flocks, they follow the south shore of the bar to the Point, then cut across the very tip, sometimes only a few feet above the ground. Men, women, and children hid themselves behind low blinds made from sand piles on the bar, and when the birds passed directly over them, rose to hurl bolas into the flocks. Tigara bolas, which are still used, have six small weights, usually of bone or ivory, attached to a wad of feathers by six sinew lines some 2 feet long. When the weapon is grasped by the feather wad and flung into the air, the weights remain together for a time, but as the speed is reduced, they spread out like buckshot; a bird touched in flight by one of these weights becomes entangled in the thongs and falls to earth alive. The hunters bite the head just behind the beak to kill the bird.

The familiar Eskimo bird spear with bone or ivory head and three barbs set at an angle near the center of the shaft was used at Tigara in the spring, but only during hunting in boats on the water.

SUMMER

Sometimes, in July, the sea ice moves off from Point Hope to disappear northward. Even today the Tikerarmiut are restless at this time of year and eager to be off in their large sea-going umiaks for a summer holiday away from the village and the daily routine of hunting on the ice. During the past century most of the able-bodied people departed, abandoning the village except for a few aged, sick, or crippled individuals who were unable or unwilling to travel. Their semi-subterranean houses in Tigara had become damp and evil-smelling structures, often partly filled with water. Light clean skin tents would replace them for the brief summer period.

Large traveling umiaks were loaded with tents, hunting gear, food, extra clothing, and, if for a trading expedition, with sealskin bags containing whale and seal oil, sealskins, baleen, and walrus tusks. Dogs harnessed to a long tow line fastened to the gunwale just behind the bow towed the umiak along the shore; if a family possessed no dogs they sometimes towed the boat themselves. Others paddled or sailed

their craft along the shore, usually only a short distance off the beach. As each boat drew away from Tigara towards the north or south, a man in the bow picked up a pebble from the beach, touched his forehead, each cheek, and his stomach with it, then passed it back to someone behind him. Each person in the boat or walking with it along the beach repeated this performance; the last person to receive it threw it back towards the village. This was *ayalingnik*, "throwing behind them" all sickness and evil.

BELUGA NETTING

Some family groups made their summer camps only a few miles from Tigara on a strip of beach where belugas would be taken in nets as they moved along the shore in small herds. Usually several families combined their nets, making a single large one which they stretched from the beach some distance out into the sea. They were set to hang like a curtain between a heavy stone on the beach and an anchored seal-skin float.

The upper edge of the net was suspended from a series of seal flipper floats attached by lines about 2 feet long. Its lower edge was weighted with bone sinkers which were also attached by lines. When a herd of belugas was seen approaching the net the watchers on shore threw stones behind and out beyond them to drive them into the net. Sometimes three or four were entangled at the same time. When one was caught, the hunters, armed with harpoons and lances, put out in a boat to spear the animal as it lashed about, entangled both in the net and the lines of the floats and sinkers. Occasionally an animal would disentangle itself after being harpooned, and tow a boat far out to sea. Walrus were sometimes caught in the beluga nets, and these were killed in the same manner.

Meat from the belugas was dried on racks, but the skin which, like that of the bowhead whales, was prized as food, was only slightly dried, then spread on the ground for preservation. No labor, as, for example, cutting driftwood for a boat or house, was carried on while hunting belugas. If a caribou were killed on the shore at that time its meat was cooked at a special place, a short distance from the camp.

During the summer, to escape the mosquitoes, caribou sometimes moved out onto the Point Hope bar, where strong winds blew almost constantly. If possible, they were driven

into one of the lagoons on the bar so that they could be speared from kayaks or umiaks with flint-headed lances. Thus, beluga hunters camped along the beaches sometimes obtained caribou meat and skins without the long trek inland.

BIRD HUNTING

Sea birds nest on the sheer rock cliffs at Cape Thompson and Cape Lisburne south and north of Point Hope. The Eskimo camped along the shore made repeated raids on these rookeries to kill the birds and to collect the eggs. Adult birds were snared in nets attached to long poles as they flew about their nests on the face of the cliff. Young birds and eggs were taken from the nests by men who climbed up the steep rocky face of the cliffs or were lowered from the top, dangling at the end of a long rawhide line. Many men were killed when they slipped and fell from precarious footholds on the steep cliffs, either when netting the adult birds or when clambering about in search of young birds and eggs. The number of these nesting sea birds is unbelievable to one who has not seen them. At times the whole face of the cliff is black with birds perched row upon row and so closely packed that a stone thrown at random against the rocks can hardly fail to strike one.

Skins of the glossy black crow bills were used to make warm, light, feather parkas. Eggs of all kinds and in any stage of development were eaten on the spot or were boiled, peeled, and stored in bags of seal oil, to be eaten later in the fall or winter. Young birds from the nests, after being skinned and boiled, were also stored in the bags of seal oil. With the eggs, they furnished a delicacy to break the monotony of sea mammal meat.

FISHING

In addition to beluga, birds, and occasional herds of caribou, the people encamped along the shore could, at times, intercept small runs of salmon, salmon trout, and whitefish as they passed close inshore. Nets like those used for beluga but, of course, with a smaller mesh were set out from the beach so that they could be drawn in rapidly to encircle a school of fish. Watchers could detect such a school by a slight slick or ripple and, as with the beluga, they frightened the fish into the nets by throwing stones. Anyone who threw stones or assisted in drawing up the net received a share of the catch.

WALRUS HUNTING

During the summer months, when the sea was free of ice, walrus occasionally "hauled up" on the beach to sleep, particularly in sheltered coves at Capes Thompson and Lisburne. Hundreds might be found thus huddled together on the sand. The Eskimo crept silently among them and, at a given signal, began to slaughter them with clubs and lances. Walrus can move surprisingly fast on land, with a motion not unlike that of a bear; when attacked by a crowd of people they rush towards the sea with loud bellows. These great creatures supplied not only an abundance of meat, but the thick tough hides needed for lines and boat-skins, as well as tusks and teeth, the raw material for much of the hunting gear.

HUNTING IN THE INTERIOR

But the most important summer occupation of the Tikerarmiut was to hunt caribou, not so much to obtain meat as to obtain the light and warm skins which made the best possible clothing for the winter. Most desirable were the skins of fawns killed during July, because garments made from them would not shed hair as rapidly as those made from adult hides. Also the skins were exceptionally light and warm. Fawnskins were normally used for clothing, adult skins for bedding.

Those family groups bound inland in search of caribou either passed through Marryat Inlet and thence up the Kukpuk River to the interior or sailed along the coast for some distance and then proceeded overland. Once the skin boats were cached on the beach or on the upper reaches of the Kukpuk River, all the equipment was back-packed either by the men and women or by their dogs which were equipped with special sealskin pack bags. Parties of this kind ranged over the rolling tundra-covered highlands probably as much as 100 miles inland between the Kukpuk and the western tributaries of the Noatak River.

Unlike the inland Eskimo living on the Noatak and Kobuk rivers, Tigara hunters did not use the "surround" method of corralling caribou, but hunted in small parties provided with bows and arrows. Small bands of caribou were stalked or driven past concealed archers who shot the animals at close range. Occasionally the hunters took kayaks far up the rivers

and attempted to drive the caribou into the water where they could be speared from the kayaks as they swam. At least a few rifles were obtained by the Tigara men nearly 100 years ago. The possession of these weapons completely altered the methods of caribou hunting; purely aboriginal hunting techniques are now only vaguely known. By the end of the nineteenth century bows were rarely used, unusually large numbers of caribou were killed, and hunters were forced to go much farther inland than was customary during the centuries preceding the introduction of firearms. Hence, accounts of caribou hunting given by the present natives, even when intended to describe native conditions, are distorted by several decades of experience with rifles. It may be possible that most of the caribou skins used by the Tikearmiut were obtained from inland Eskimo (Noatak, Utorqaq, Colville) by trade, before the introduction of firearms made it more practical for small parties to hunt over a wide area.

When caribou were killed the men sent messages to camp for their wives who were expected to skin the carcasses while the husbands continued the hunt. Hides were scraped and dried on the spot to make them lighter and more easily transportable. The flesh was stripped from the bones and cached in holes in the ground, under a pile of rocks, where it remained quite fresh until fall. Back fat and tongues, considered special delicacies, were placed in the skin of the heart and buried in the center of the meat. Marrow bones were also placed with the meat so that when time allowed they could be broken up and boiled to extract the fat.

Seal or whale blubber was rubbed on the nose of each animal killed "so that others would come" in the belief that all land animals are hungry for fat as all sea animals thirst for fresh water.

In the fall before ice formed on the rivers, each party of hunters with their families usually packed their stores of caribou skins and meat, if there was a surplus, back to their umiaks on the rivers or on the beach, loaded them aboard, and began the return journey to Tigara. Some groups remained in the interior until snowfall so that they could transport boats, meat, skins, and equipment overland on sleds.

Caribou were not the only source of food in the interior. Ptarmigan appear in northwest

Alaska some time in April and remain there until fall, first in pairs or very small groups during the breeding season, later in large coveys. Early in the summer, caribou hunters shot them with bows and arrows or snared them, but in the fall they set up nets about 2 feet high in a wide semicircle and herded ground-running flocks into them. Moulting geese, which cannot fly during summer, were clubbed on the sand bars of the Kukpuk River. Brown and grizzly bears, which follow the herds of caribou in the interior, were occasionally killed both for their meat and skins.

Wolves, wolverines, foxes, and marmots were caught in snares or deadfalls during the summer months, not for food but for their skins which were used for clothing. Wolf and wolverine hides invariably were made into face ruffs for the parkas, while fox skins and a peculiar species of marmot called *sigerikpuk* (big squirrel) were made into exceptionally fine garments. It is said that before these fur-bearing animals became the chief commodity for trade with whites, a hunter was prohibited from taking more than four of any one kind in a day. Anyone who did, it was thought, would be transformed into one of the animals. In proof, a story is told of a Tigara man who lived not many generations ago who grew claws, fur, and a snout when he broke this taboo.

TRADING JOURNEYS

Family groups who did not net belugas on the shore or hunt caribou inland traveled by boat along the coast, southeast to a trading center at Hotham Inlet in Kotzebue Sound, or northeast to the mouth of the Utorqaq River. At Hotham Inlet many boatloads of inland Eskimo from the Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawik rivers gathered each summer with caribou fawnskins, fox, wolf, wolverine, and other furs, dried fish, jade from Jade Mountains on the Kobuk, mammoth ivory, pyrites, clothing and utensils made by the Koyukuk Athapaskan, and numerous garments or implements of their own make. Eskimo from the head of Norton Sound crossed over the base of Seward Peninsula to this trading rendezvous, and other boatloads arrived from Shishmaref, Cape Prince of Wales, the Diomed Islands, King Island, and from East Cape, Siberia. In 1649 Russian cosacks established a trading post at Anadyrsk in northeastern Siberia, and within a few years

European trade goods were carried to the American continent via the Chukchee, Siberian Eskimo, Diomed Island, and Cape Prince of Wales natives. Thus, the Bering Strait Eskimo soon became the middlemen of inter-continental trade, and Hotham Inlet became the distribution center for a large part of north-west Alaska. The American products were chiefly furs and ivory. These were exchanged for glass beads, iron, tobacco, and tea, but products of native manufacture such as tanned Siberian reindeer skins, clothing, and utensils were bartered at the same time.

In the north, at the mouth of the Utorqag River, the Tikerarmiut met the Utorqagmiut, inland Eskimo who during the winter hunted along that river, and also Eskimo from the Colville River. The inland people needed seal oil and sealskin lines, while the Tikerarmiut sought chiefly caribou skins for clothing. Thus these products became the basis for trade. But during the nineteenth century, when Hudson's Bay Company trading posts were established on the Mackenzie River, English trade goods reached north Alaska, and thus the Tigara Eskimo received English trade goods from the north and Russian trade objects from the south for several decades before direct trade with Europeans was established through the American whaling ships.

Those families from Tigara who journeyed to the trading centers returned to the village early in the fall before the ice formed and were then forced to live upon sea mammal meat, stored there since the preceding spring, at least during the nineteenth century, when fall whale hunting was no longer possible. Those who had been netting beluga along the shore or hunting caribou inland might return with some fresh meat to carry them over the slack period in the fall before seal hunting on the sea ice began. But a few families who had no reserve cached in the village or who had not been successful in the summer hunt, at this time repaired to fishing camps on the Kukpuk and the Kivalik rivers, where they could take salmon, salmon trout, and whitefish in gill nets set through holes in the new ice of early fall.

CONCLUSION

Such was the yearly cycle of activities upon

which the native economy of the Tigara people depended in so far as it can be reconstructed after nearly 100 years of direct contact with Europeans, a contact from which a new system of economy emerged and which influenced changes in this annual cycle at least as early as the beginning of the twentieth century.

Described in this manner, the yearly movements between the coast and the interior, the seasonal changes in hunting methods, and the repeated performances in the *qalegis* present an idealized pattern of activity which must to some extent be a distorted version of actual circumstances. In 1940, for instance, the spring season was unusually advanced, whales arrived nearly a month early, and sea ice was driven off shore by a strong northeast wind on the first of June rather than in July, a circumstance which, under native conditions, would have changed the yearly cycle described here for a period of many months. Furthermore, from tales describing the past, it is clear that there were many exceptions to the rule. *Umeliks* often found it difficult to keep all the members of their whale hunting crews at Tigara through the spring season, since some families were often eager to be off caribou hunting many weeks before the ice moved off shore. Some families even preferred to remain in isolated camps for the entire winter, either on the coast or in the interior, hunting caribou and trapping fur-bearing animals; others traveled to neighboring villages in winter by dog team, and some left Tigara in midwinter to hunt spotted seals and polar bears at Cape Lisburne or Cape Thompson. Nevertheless, the significant fact is that Tigara was the permanent home, where all the families maintained winter houses and where the majority lived during the large part of each year, where the whole tribe assembled each year to perform those rites and ceremonies related to sea mammal hunting, and where the great bulk of the food supply was obtained.

The sedentary character of the Tikerarmiut and the significance of the permanent settlement which has been their home for so many centuries are poignantly emphasized by the terrible nostalgia of Tigara men and women who are forced to remain away from the village even for a few weeks in settlements no more distant than Kotzebue and Point Lay.

NATIVE THEORY

ORIGIN TALES

TWO KINDS OF TALES, one called *Oqaluktoq*, the other *Unipqok*, communicated all the native theories about the world and its people from one generation of Tikerarmiut to the next. *Oqaluktoq* comprised authentic incidents, perhaps two or three generations old, which related native experiences with the pack ice, the currents, the winds, the animals hunted, and the methods by which unusual situations were resolved. Related as they were by the old men in the *qalegis*, these narratives were tantamount to instruction of the young men and boys in the mores of the tribe, in social behavior, in the meeting of practical day-to-day situations, and in the methods of contending with the natural world about them. These instructions from members of the family and, particularly, from the namesakes who acted as mentors constituted the practical education of Tikerarmiut youths. More esoteric matters concerned with special and intimate personal relations with the supernatural world were usually the preoccupation of the *kommaluk* (namesake), but the formal pattern of these relations was also referred to in the *Oqaluktoq* tales. The *Unipqok*, on the other hand, were the very ancient tales which the Tikerarmiut *thought* were true, tales which had been passed on from one generation to the next for perhaps centuries. Related as the experiences of very remote ancestors and mythical beings, they explained the nature of animals and men, and the world they lived in. They served as the intellectual bridge between the mundane and the supernatural worlds. They justified, explained, and set a precedent for beliefs and customary patterns of behavior. An unusual circumstance, a conflict of opinions, or a special difficulty demanded the recitation of either of the two types of tales to determine the course of action to be followed. Together they constituted a kind of moral and legal code for the tribe.

So far as I know, no *Unipqok* tale explains the original creation of the world and men. In the beginning there were people, a strange kind of people who walked on their hands and lived in a world with no daylight. Their houses were at Pingu, a low rise on the Point Hope bar, 6 miles east of what is now Tigara. To these

people, snow was blubber; the fat of the seals they killed with sharp pointed sticks was like the back fat of the caribou. They had no name. One time an old woman modeled a little image of a man with a bird's bill on his forehead from the gummy drippings of a seal oil lamp. After she had placed the image near the wall of her house and slept for a time she found a man seated there. To her numerous queries as to his identity, he finally answered that he was her *puya* (dirt, gum from the lamp). This man, who stayed at her house for many days, walked on his feet; when he spoke, his voice was like that of a raven.

One day this Raven-man (Tulugak) asked the old woman whether she knew any tales about daylight. She did. She described a place on a high mountain to the east where a man, his wife, and a little daughter lived with two day-lights, resembling big round balls, hanging in their igloo. Then the Raven-man traveled for many days to the eastward, until he arrived in a land of daylight and found the igloo he sought. When night came he moved up to the igloo to peer in through the entrance passage. There he saw a man, his wife, and a little girl. Hanging over them were two bright globes of light. The little girl begged her father to let her play with the duller of the two globes. He gave her permission to do this after the mother had covered the entrance hole with a whale scapula. But she begged to have the entrance hole half open. When this was arranged the ball of light bounced out of the hole and into the entrance. Raven-man dashed off with it, while the father shouted "Raven! Scoundrel! Thief!" When he reached the land of darkness Raven-man broke the ball so that the daylight flowed out and he shouted "Day! Night!" Had he shouted, "Night!" only, daylight would have prevailed continuously. But he was smart. Men need the night for rest.

Returning to the village of the people who walked on their hands, Raven-man transformed them so that they walked on their feet; he changed the snow from blubber to drinking water, and the seal fat from deer fat to blubber. He worried about an object resembling an animal which was visible in the sea off the end of Point Hope not far from the village. It rose and

then fell back into the sea. Finally he built a kayak and made some seal spears (the first spears ever made) for himself and his friend. They paddled out to this animal-like object. First Raven-man and then his friend speared it. When they put floats on the harpoon lines it rose up from the sea and floated. This was the land on which Tigara now stands. A long time later, when the people moved down from Pingu to live there, they built two houses directly on the two sites where the land was speared. The ruin of one house remains, but the other has been washed into the sea.

Tulugak finally went off towards the south, intending to travel all over the earth and the sky "fixing people up." Eventually, he will return with the *Uivaqsag* (people who go around—unidentified people). He will be preceded by a huge flame which will burn all the bad people. People who died fighting each other, will fight forever while they burn. All the good people will be taken along to live with the Raven-man.

In this origin legend, Tulugak is recognizable as the culture hero common to the Chukchee and Koryak of northeastern Siberia, the western Eskimo, the northern Athapaskan, and the Northwest Coast tribes, but his return with the *Uivaqsag* is a new version which, I believe, is an adaptation of the Christian doctrine of the return of Jesus. Today the return of Jesus is often discussed among the Eskimo of the northwest, particularly among those affiliated with the Friends Mission, so that it would be natural to associate Jesus and the Raven. However, this tale antedates the Tikerarmiut knowledge of Jesus. It is probably a reworked version learned from natives to the south who had direct or indirect contact with Christian teaching long before the missions were established in the Arctic.

In native theory the earth is flat and the sky covers it like a vast inverted bowl. The earth is stationary, but the sky-bowl turns on it producing a loud grinding noise at the rim. This is known from an *Unipqok* tale in which a man, lost at sea in a kayak, eventually went ashore at the edge of the world where it is always dark. He found the beach sands composed of blue beads (Russian trade beads often used as charms) and the different places where the land and the sea animals "cross-over." There are people who live both above and below the

earth. *Oqaluktoq* tales tell of Tigara people who have captured sky-people in their meat caches, and houses where they came to steal food, but they escaped easily because they were very light and flew off into the air. Underground people lived in villages not far from Tigara where they were visited each spring by *angatkoks*.

THE SUPERNATURAL

Among the infinite number of supernatural beings recognized in the tales, probably the most important was Alignuk, the Moon-man. Above all others he controlled the lives of men and animals and, to a certain extent, the earth itself. A long time ago, Alignuk and his sister, Suqunuq, once lived in Tigara. Each lived alone in a house near the center of the village. One autumn, when the *qalegis* were lighted, a man came to Suqunuq's house and slept with her. It was dark and she could not recognize him. The next night he came again. She was curious about him; the third night she marked his face under the left eye with soot. If he were a man and not a spirit she would recognize him the next day. The following evening when she peeked in through the skylight of one of the *qalegis* she discovered the tell-tale mark on her brother Alignuk. Upset by this affair, she returned home and cleaned out a wooden tub into which she defecated and urinated. She cut off her left breast so that it bled into the tub and then stirred the blood into the earlier contents. She carried this mess to the *qalegi*. Placing it before her brother Alignuk, she said, "If you really love me, eat this, it is from me." He did not answer, but she insisted; finally he picked up his tool box and walked out. Together they walked round and round the entrance of the *qalegi*. The people watching them saw that they gradually rose higher and higher into the air until they disappeared from sight. Alignuk said, "You go to the sun where it is always warm and I will go to the moon where it is always cold."

The Tikerarmiut say that you can still see Alignuk in the moon carrying his tool bag and when the sun sets you can see blood from Suqunuq's breast in the sky.

In his house in the moon Alignuk has a pool in which are all the sea mammals (or their souls). Along the beam on one side of the house are all the land mammals; on the op-

posite beam are the souls of men. If the water in the woman's pot is clear and clean, "it will reach up to him" and he will drop a whale into it; then her husband will kill one next spring. If the woman has been cruel and has not obeyed all the rules, the water will be dirty; hence, "will not reach him," and no whale will be caught that year. Alignuk could send any of the animals to his supplicants, and even "a new life" to those who are ill.

The present tendency among the Tikerarmiut to associate Alignuk and God, or, at least, to compare the two as Supreme Beings, may have elevated the position of Alignuk beyond his normal status in aboriginal theory. There is no doubt among the Tikerarmiut that he controlled the sea mammals, a belief that has its parallel among the Canadian and Greenland Eskimo in Sedna, the woman in the sea. The theory that Alignuk, and to a lesser extent Suqunuq, his sister, the Sun-woman, control the earth is emphasized by the practice of sending *angatoks* to intercede with them in times of earthquake. They believe that an eclipse of the sun or moon is always followed by an earthquake, usually when one or the other is angry. An eclipse of the sun is the more terrifying of the two phenomena because there is no sleeping time; the earthquake follows immediately. When the moon is eclipsed, "they have sleeping time"; a quake follows four days later. In any case, the blubber hanging on a string above the seal oil lamps in each house (so that oil dripped into the lamp) was lowered to touch the lamp that it might keep the earth steady, and a powerful *angatkok* was paid to fly up to the sun or moon (*iliyamak*). The *angatkok* was supposed to talk to the eclipsed one "very nice" and ask it to "straighten itself out—come back."

It is said that Alignuk is the *inyuk* of the moon, or that the moon has an *inyua*, owner. Winds, hills, rivers, ponds, lakes, rocks, stars, and many other natural phenomena also have *inyuas*. The word is used in everyday speech as, literally, "owner." I am this rifle's *inyua*. It also has a more special meaning, as, for example, in reference to a supernatural being (not personified) which lurks in the shallow lagoon that runs through the center of the Tigara village, or the walrus-man being which "owns" the large lagoon east of the village and lives in it. The term also appears in the word *inyusaq*, which may be translated soul or life of a person.

SPIRIT AND SOUL

All humans and animals have two qualities called *inyusaq* and *ilitkosaq*. It is difficult to translate either of these terms accurately, a circumstance which nowadays is the source of much difficulty in explaining Christian doctrine. *Inyusaq* is now translated soul or life, and *ilitkosaq*, spirit or character, but it is probable that at least 40 years of Christian teaching and much discussion concerning it have confused even the old peoples' ideas as to its original meaning. I believe the native idea is that *inyusaq* was the life quality which disappeared at death (or actually four days after death for a man, five days for a woman); that *ilitkosaq* was the character, personality, individuality, or spirit of a person or animal which could be transferred from one individual to another and which could remain at the grave, the village, or the place of death. There are tales of *angatoks* who were able to recapture the *inyusaq* of a dead person during the four- or five-day period following his or her death and return it to the body, thereby restoring life, but there are no clear theories as to an abode of the *inyusaq* after death, other than a vague idea (indirectly derived from Christianity) that the *inyusaq* became the mysterious *uivaqsaq* or the wanderers who will return. Unlike many other Eskimo, there is no real fear of the *inyusaq* or the *ilitkosaq*, except perhaps when a woman dies in childbirth. Then either the *ilitkosaq* or the *inyusaq* (which of the two is not clear) remains about, and any person may have a very terrifying vision of the deceased person. One group of hills near Point Hope has an *inyua* that is a woman who died in childbirth there. "She stays about."

Some essence of a person who has been drowned or has been carried away on the ice at sea always returns home. Whether this is his *inyusaq* or *ilitkosaq* is now a frequently debated subject. It is probable that the Tikerarmiut never had a clear understanding of this, because one tale seems to imply the spirit, another the life. Not many years ago, Suyuk, the brother of a woman now living, was abandoned as dead on the ice. He awoke and started to walk towards the shore. When he fell through the ice on the way it was very easy to climb out; his footprints were not like those of a real person. When he reached home "the way under the house was very easy for him," but his

parents came out with their hands covered by lamp soot and brought him in. Had they not done so, it would have been difficult for him to come up through the entrance passage. The spirit or the life always returns, but if it is not aided by relatives, it passes right on through the house.

Each spring, after the whale hunt and during the feast celebrating it, blubber was deposited on the graves of persons recently deceased to feed the *inyusaq* or the *ilitskosaq*, no one is quite sure which. At this time also, implements belonging to the dead were burned, but the relation of this procedure to the spirit or life is again not clear. People who had been murdered and whose relatives did not wish to revenge them were sometimes left with a knife in one hand so that their *ilitskosaq* (?) might revenge itself. At other times, a murdered person might become his *angoak* or *tupitkaq* animal and in that form avenge the murder. It is said that one woman, killed at Point Hope, became a weasel and followed her murderer to Kivalina where all the men soon died from boils.

CHARMS AND TABOO CLASSES

The supernatural relation between men and animals expressed through the medium of charms introduces at once the most complex, untranslatable, and probably the most important part of native theory regarding man's relation to the supernatural world as a whole.

All real Tikerarmiut (not those recently emigrated from the interior), so far as I can tell, belonged to one of two classes which was determined by the kind of *angoaks* or *tupitkaq* (charms) they possessed and wore. Technically, a *tupitkaq* is a simple charm worn on the body or clothing, while an *angoak* is a charm kept in a special place, as, for example, the bow of a whaling boat. Since the terms are now used interchangeably and *angoak* is the more common in the following account, *angoak* will be used to refer to both kinds of charms. In some supernatural manner, a person's *angoak* associated him with certain animals, not one but many. A man may have worn, sewed to his garments, the nose skin of a polar bear, the head of a loon, the skin of a weasel, and the tail of a wolverine. All these were his *angoak* animals; they could assist him in hunting, protect him in

war or fighting, and rescue him from danger. One man, for example, was drawn up the face of Cape Thompson by a brown bear (his *angoak* animal). He had been left dangling there at the end of a line, by his wife's second husband, during an egg hunting expedition. A person may have many *angoaks* such as beads, certain bones, stones, relics of the past, etc., but among them are always some which verify or justify his personal, spiritual relation with certain animals. In a specific sense, they are guardians, but no vision experience is necessary to obtain them.

The two *angoak* classes are known as *gongoaktuktuk* and *irniroaktuktuk*. One who is *gongoaktuktuk* has charms which "work with things of dead people," while one who is *irniroaktuktuk* has charms that "work with things of a woman at childbirth" or during menstruation. The charms are activated, stimulated, or enlivened in some way by contact with those substances which are in a peculiar state known as *kiruq*. For example, a person who is *irniroaktuktuk* may cure his own wound, broken arm, or any sickness by rubbing his body with a woman's menstrual pad or with something used by a woman during childbirth. The object itself has no curative power—it simply stimulates or vitalizes the charms. Similarly, a person who is *gongoaktuktuk* may use something taken from a grave or anything that had been made or used by a dead person.

The property of the dead is *kiruq* (allergic, taboo, dangerous) to the person who is *irniroaktuktuk*, while those things related to women are *kiruq* to the person who is *gongoaktuktuk*. One whose charms are beneficially affected by women's belongings might die if a bit of blubber taken from a grave were placed in his food. One whose charms are derived from the property of the dead would become ill if he entered a house where a woman had recently had a child, or would be unsuccessful in a whale hunt if a menstruating woman had sewed his whale boat skins. Thus all the appurtenances of the dead and of women in childbirth or women menstruating were *kiruq*, very dangerous, in respect to some people in the village and must be handled with care.

Since all people were either *gongoaktuktuk* or *irniroaktuktuk*, certain things were *kiruq*, or taboo, and dangerous to them under normal circumstances; hence, they were said to be

kiruqtoq, *aglariksoq*,¹ and *agliktoroq*,² three terms which, so far as I can learn, are equivalent in meaning. Any one of these may be translated, "a person who is afraid of something he is not supposed to do." The terms are also used to refer to persons who are forbidden to eat of the first whale or seal killed each year or who must not eat land and sea mammal meat simultaneously.

For a woman with *angoaks* of the *qongoaktuktuk* class to be *aglariksoq* in relation to things of women, even though excretions from her own body were not considered *kiruq*, would naturally be very awkward. Also it was extremely dangerous for a man to be *aglariksoq* if someone sought vengeance on his family, because enemies could at any time slip something *kiruq* into his food. Hence there was a method of immunizing individuals against the *kiruq* objects. Before a child received his charms and after it had been decided to which class he should belong, his mother ate something which was *kiruq* to people of that class, and this, acting in the manner of a vaccine serum, made him immune to the *kiruq* objects of his *angoak's* class. Most girl children who were to become *qongoaktuktuk* were thus immunized. Another method of immunizing a child was to give him as an *angoak* a piece of dog, an animal that can eat anything.

Adults who had been thus immunized in childhood were said to be *kiritsoq* (not *kiruqtoq*), *aglaritsoq* (not *aglariksoq*), *agliktoq* (not *agliktoroq*). These three negative terms also apply to a person who can eat any combination of foods without restriction, for example, seal and caribou, and to whom no foods are forbidden. But in this sense the meaning differs somewhat, since it does not always imply an immunization, but rather a lack of instruction and proper possession or inheritance of *angoaks*. An inland Eskimo, not traditionally of Tigara, for example, would be *aglaritsoq*, etc.

This peculiar theory of *kiruq* things as being dangerous to one group but positively helpful to another apparently pervaded the whole philosophy of the Tikerarmiut. With the associated concept of special charms, which determined an intimate personal relation between an individual and specific animals, it created a physical environment at once fraught

with danger and charged with supernatural power. The entire taboo system hinged upon this concept, but, literally, one man's meat was another man's poison, and rarely did a single taboo apply to all people. Until recently the bodies of the dead were deposited on scaffolds along the slough which extends through the village. As the bodies disintegrated, decomposed remains washed into the water of the slough and thus, naturally, it became violently *kiruq* to persons of the *irniroaktuktuk* charms class (to drink it was deadly). To the *qongoaktuktuk* people, however, it was like a healing spring; drinking the water vitalized their charms and rendered them impervious to danger and disease. They even went so far as to drink this *kiruq* water from human skulls.

TRANSFER FROM NAMESAKES

When a Tikerarmiut child was born he was neither *irniroaktuktuk* nor *qongoaktuktuk*. His parents decided not only to which class he would belong but the *angoaks* he should have. Once the decision was made, they might then immunize him against the *kiruq* objects dangerous to all persons of the chosen class so that he would possess the advantage without the disadvantage inherent in his charms. I do not know why all persons were not immunized nor the number so treated, but it is said that once almost everyone was *agliktoroq* (susceptible, not immunized), suggesting that immunization was a fairly recent development. Many children received their charms together with a complex set of instructions from some person (man or woman) who wished to transfer his own to them. Under these circumstances the instructor spit in the child's mouth, thereby, some say, transferring his *iliskosaq* (spirit or personality) to the child. The adult then became the child's "*komnaluk*." When the child reached the age of discretion his *komnaluk* instructed him in the meaning and use of his charms and in the use of personal secret hunting songs. The child then belonged to his *komnaluk's* *angoak* class, *irniroaktuktuk* or *qongoaktuktuk*, and was obliged to observe not only all the special taboos of that class but the individual and private taboos placed upon him by his *komnaluk*. After the *komnaluk* spat in a baby's mouth and before the child had grown to the age of understanding the *komnaluk* instructed the mother as to its permissible and restricted food, the places dangerous for him, and the practices that would aid him.

¹ Literally, a *goodaglak* (brown bear), significance unknown.

² From the word *aglik*, meaning literally a woman's menstrual pad.

Some children may not eat the meat of the first animal killed or must eat only of the fore part of an animal; some must never enter a house where a woman had recently given birth; some must be fed bits of the blubber placed on graves. Obviously many of these taboos were determined by the general *angoak* class, but others seem to have been individual. In any illness the child was treated by his *komnaluk* who might rub his spittle (the *komnaluk's*) on the child's body or rub him with a menstrual pad if he belonged to that *angoak* class. Furthermore, at every step in the child's development the *komnaluk* officiated in esoteric performances connected with the transfer of charms. Apparently there was not necessarily any biological relationship between a child and his *komnaluk*. He might be either his maternal or paternal uncle, or any other relation, but not father, mother, brother, or sister, or some unrelated person. Male or female children could have either male or female *komnaluks*. Usually the adult offered to become a child's *komnaluk*; acceptance of the offer was usually the prerogative of the parents. If he were accepted, one of his names became one of the names of the child. For this reason, *komnaluk* is often translated namesake, although, strictly speaking, he is frequently only one of many namesakes and may not be a namesake (*ataluk*) at all. One individual may be the *ataluk* (one who has the same name) of another, but not necessarily the *komnaluk*. *Komnaluk* is a special relationship often referred to as namesake, because one carries his name among many other names.

However, not all children had *komnaluks*. As far as I could learn, the parents frequently simply chose the class to which a child should belong and then saw to it that he adopted a group of charms. If these were the charms and the individual taboos of either a deceased relative or an unrelated person known to the parents, that person was still considered the *komnaluk*; the parents carried out the instructions themselves. Otherwise a child was said to have no *komnaluk*. Some informants claim that there were more people without a *komnaluk* than with one.

An additional term associated with this charm and taboo system is of somewhat uncertain significance: an "*ameyutuktuk*" is a man who can work with the body of a stillborn child, that is, a man whose charms are positively

affected by the child's body. If he is sick, eating something from the pot of a woman who has just had a stillbirth or wearing her clothes or rubbing himself with them will cure him. Also these things will help his *angoak* to keep him from being wounded in a fight. I am not quite sure whether this was a separate class comparable to *qongoaktuktuk* and *irniroaktuktuk*, but it seems to be only a minor or special charm type within the general class of *irniroaktuktuk*. A person who was *irniroaktuktuk* (one whose charms worked with women's appurtenances) could also be *ameyutuktuk* (one whose charms worked particularly well with the body of a stillbirth).

General taboos which applied to the whole group of Tikerarmiut, irrespective of their *angoak* class, seem to have been quite rare. One such taboo was the prohibition against throwing reindeer hair in the sea during the winter because it was said to block the breathing holes of seals and to be unpleasant to whales. Another was the restriction against exposing white, bleached sealskins on the outside of houses during the whaling season. If this were done, an *umelik* was expected to soil the skin. The familiar Eskimo taboo with respect to associating land and sea products was very weakly developed at Tigara and seems to have been a prohibition applicable to some individuals and not to others, depending usually upon the instructions of a person's *komnaluk*. Doubtless other general taboos existed, but these were quite definitely unimportant compared with those associated with individual charms and charm classes.

SHAMANS

The native theories regarding man's relation to animals, nature, and supernatural forces apply to the ordinary individual in the society. Everyone was permitted to appeal to Alignuk, the Moon-man, for health or success in hunting; everyone could rely upon the supernatural power vested in his charms; no one lacked the ability to see an *inyua* of a lagoon, river, or hill, or to sense the presence of a dead person's *inyusug* or *ilitkosaq*. All these extrasensory qualities were common to all individuals and were not dependent upon any special vision experience. This world of spirits, man-animals, and charm power was as much part of their normal physical environment as the ice, the

tundra moss, and the whales. Two classes of individuals possessed specific powers or special abilities which segregated them as persons possessing an unusual control over nature and natural forces. These were the *angatkoks* and the *ibrukoks*, men or women who had vision experiences, and who could operate through spirit-beings called *tungai* (singular, *tungak*) and *gilya*, interchangeable terms for the same beings.

Opinions regarding the nature of *tungai* are probably more conflicting at present than they were 50 years ago, because the first missionary chose to translate devil as *tungak*, and the newer philosophy of supernatural being has begun to affect even old people who were adults before their conversion to Christianity. Nevertheless it is quite clear that the *tungai* were spirit-beings who might be the spirits or souls of dead men or animals or simply beings of the air or the ground who had no connection with actual men and animals. In any case, a gifted person was "invited by the spirits" to visit them, and then his *iliikosaq* (spirit—not *inyusuq*) left his body to wander in the spirit world. Every real *angatkok* was "called" in this way. When his spirit had departed from his body, that mundane body remained in a trance until its spirit returned. Frequently a man who had experienced such a vision would carve or cause others to carve wooden masks representing the *tungai* he had seen in the spirit world. The general conception of these spirits is reflected in the masks, which are usually normal or slightly distorted human faces. There is a generally accepted theory that all animals may at times appear with a human face. These anthropomorphic masks are often said to represent the "caribou people or the whale people," etc. The reverse of this concept is that *angatkoks*, and to a certain extent lay persons, can assume the face of an animal: the *angatkok*, that of his "power-spirit," often a spirit man-animal; the ordinary person, that of his *angoak* animal who is his guardian and helper.

An *ibrukok* was a kind of lesser *angatkok*. Both communed with the spirit-world in visions. The *ibrukok* sang to experience his vision and then spoke with the spirits (*tungak* or *gilya*) that appeared to him in the vision. The *angatkok* used his drum to call his power-spirit, then, in a trance, felt his own *iliikosaq* "go down" and travel away under the ground.

When the *angatkok*'s spirit returned it "grasped the man by his collar bones and pulled itself back in." The *ibrukok* possessed many minor powers such as the ability to change the weather, but chief among these was prognosticating the outcome of any situation. To do this, he used an *ibrukaon*, a head-lifting stick with a looped thong at one end. The practitioner fastened the loop around the head of a person. After he had experienced his vision by singing, the weight of the head determined whether the answers to questions asked by the *ibrukok* were affirmative or negative. Head-lifting of this kind was often practised with a sick person to determine whether he would recover, but simultaneously the practice was believed to aid in his recovery in some way.

Perhaps the best way to describe the theory of spirit-beings and the *angatkoks* who employed them is to relate how Umigluk, father of a man now living at Tigara, experienced his first vision which resulted in his becoming an *angatkok*.

One time, when Umigluk was a young man, he was sent on an errand from a summer camp on the shore to Tigara, because he was considered a very fast runner. On the way he heard a sound like paddles dipping slowly into the water. Above him he saw a boat circling round and round, as if it were descending from the moon. Men were paddling the boat, but when it stopped in front of him he could see no one. Soon a man at the steerer's seat stood up in the boat. Umigluk recognized him as Alungok who had died some time before. He was known to have been a speedy runner, particularly when he took off his outer boots to run in his small inner boots. Once he crossed a pond without even wetting his boots.

As he stood in the boat, Alungok asked Umigluk how his (Alungok's) wife and daughter were. Umigluk replied that they were fine. Then Alungok sat down and disappeared. Another man rose in the boat. He wore fine clothes, with mittens decorated with pieces of brass or copper. He seemed to have one big eye instead of two. When he danced, the copper ornaments on his mittens rattled. Then a white ermine came up onto the edge of the boat and went down into it again. A brown ermine came up. Later the brown ermine followed the white ermine around the gunwale of the boat and Umigluk was very pleased.

Alungok reappeared and told Umigluk that the people in the boat had come to take him away, but they could not do this because his clothes were soiled with the blood of belugas. (Alungok, an *angatkok*, had died because people in his house had continued with their ordinary work while he was having a vision. If buckets were dumped or loud noises were made, the wandering spirit of an *angatkok* found it difficult to return. At that time the boat had come to remove Alungok body and spirit.) The boat disappeared. Umigluk continued, but before he reached home he forgot all about his vision. Late that night he awoke and, naked, started to leave his tent. His wife called him back and dressed him, but for four days "he was crazy." During that period he would improve at times, but whenever he ate anything he would have a relapse. After four days, he recovered gradually.

After this vision experience Umigluk "had the spirit" of the man in the boat who wore the decorated mittens. He learned later that his spirit was Anguluk, a person he had not known before. When Umigluk's spirit left him (during a seance with drums), he was possessed by Anguluk's spirit. While possessed by this other spirit, he learned eight songs. After the return to Tigara, that fall, the people urged Umigluk to "demonstrate" his vision in the *qalegi*. So, at home, he trained eight men to sing his eight songs and to dance as Anguluk had danced in the boat (all this occurred while Umigluk was in a trance). Then he instructed them to make wooden masks in the image of Anguluk, with a protruding forehead and a single slit-like eye across the face. Later, at the fall ceremonies in Umigluk's *qalegi*, they "gave a show." The eight men were seated as if in a boat, in front of a curtain, behind which was a chorus, all dressed like Anguluk. During the ensuing songs and dances, Umigluk displayed his supernatural powers. For example, he came up through the entrance hole of the *qalegi* with an arrow thrust through him. Such is the way in which an authentic *angatkok* was made.

A man or woman who wished to become an *angatkok*, but who was never invited by the *tungai*, could become a kind of inferior *angatkok* by buying the power from one who had obtained it in a vision. Such a person gave very expensive presents to a real *angatkok* and arranged to be instructed by him, in the *qalegi*, during the fall ceremonies, or at home, during

any other period of the year. The *angatkok* then advised the neophyte to fast for four days preceding the instruction. On the appointed day he was seated on the floor at the place where meat was cut and his instructing *angatkok* "got his power" (went into a trance) by drumming and singing. Then the *angatkok* took a club for killing seals (usually a stone or bone ball with a thong through it), "did something to the club," and struck the novice over the head. At first he swooned for a moment, but at the second and third blow he fell over, unconscious. The "spirit or knowledge" then left him and proceeded on somewhere, and the spirit (*ilikosaq*) of the *angatkok* left his body to follow the tracks of the neophyte's spirit until he overtook it. On the return of the neophyte's spirit, the spirit of the *angatkok* trained it in the method of returning to the body. The body was like an igloo and, to return, the spirit must reach the "handles" (the clavicles) and pull itself in. After this training, the new and inferior *angatkok* used the spirit (*tunyak*, *gilya*) of the real *angatkok*, and, as he used it, it became stronger.

There is a generally accepted idea that the "power-spirit" of a true *angatkok* may come either from the ground, and thus definitely from the dead, or "from above," as did Umigluk's, which was associated with the dead, but was of something else—a disembodied spirit, not that of any known dead man nor yet any clearly defined supernatural being. Many tales recount the experiences of different people in becoming *angatkoks*, but the vision, the four-day "crazy period," and the verification, in proof of supernatural power performed before the people, appear in all. The songs, always very important, were considered potent in hunting. Many people tried to buy an *angatkok's* songs, if they had proved to make him a successful hunter. These songs were so powerful that merely singing them would break the bowstring of an enemy attempting to shoot the singer, or would force an animal to return if the possessor sang his song over its tracks.

The absolute faith of the Tikerarmiut in *angatkoks* who had proved their power paralleled that so often described for other groups of Arctic Eskimo. In spite of the teachings of Christianity, there was and is now no doubt among them that men can fly to the moon, that they can restore themselves and others to life within a four- or five-day period, heal the sick,

eliminate a mortal wound in an instant, pluck out their own eyes and replace them, kill men and animals at any distance, control the weather, halt the movements of ice, bring or send away the animals (famine was always due to an angry *angatkok*), and perform endless miracles at any time. Their procedure in drumming, singing, darkening the house or *qalegi*, and producing a kind of self-hypnosis has also been described in detail in many accounts. But one practice of these particular *angatkoks* has not been described for other western Eskimo practitioners.¹ This was the use of an animal effigy, called a *kikituk*, which can kill a person at close range as surely as a double-barreled shotgun.

Such a *kikituk*, found in one of the old houses at Tigara in 1939, was a carved wooden figure of a strange looking beast about 2 feet long. It was equipped with very sharp teeth; the lower jaw was loose so that it could be manipulated up and down. All the old people recognized the creature; some thought they knew the *angatkoks* who had used it. No one doubted that an *angatkok* who understood its use would be able to kill anyone at will, and it was obvious that there was still an ill-concealed horror of the effigy. The nature of a *kikituk* probably can be defined most readily by recounting the tale of how Asetcak, an *angatkok* who died not more than 40 or 50 years ago, killed a rival *angatkok* from Siberia.

About 1880, in Kotzebue, where Asetcak had gone with other Tikerarmiut to trade with inland Eskimo, he met a very strong one-eyed man from one of the Diomed Islands. He took Asetcak and his wife back to the Diomedes with him where they remained for the winter. Sometime during that winter the one-eyed man's son, Ungoariuk, went off to St. Lawrence Island to trade some reindeer skins. When he did not return for some time his father became worried and asked a Diomed *angatkok* to find out what had become of his son. This *angatkok* sent a blue bead off to St. Lawrence in search of the boy, watching its progress through a sort of telescope made of his parka. The bead said that the boy was dead because it had seen blood spots on the snow near the tents on St. Lawrence Island.

To assist his host, Asetcak decided to fly to

St. Lawrence in search of the son. To do this, he chose a certain evening, instructed all the people of the camp to remain indoors and to keep their dogs tied. Then he had his host tie him up in his usual manner when flying. He always removed his trousers and parka and arranged one of his reindeer socks in the position of a gee-string. Then he put a boy's trousers over his shoulders, and had his hands tied behind him, with one end of the binding thongs attached to some heavy object like an adze head. The lights were dimmed and he "got his power" by walking around his drum. But this first night he did not actually fly to St. Lawrence. It would be dangerous to expose too much of one's power in the presence of other *angatkoks*. However, bound in readiness for flight and in possession of his power, he was able to see what was happening on St. Lawrence. He reported that the boy was all right.

The next day a dog believed to belong to the son, Ungoariuk, was observed on the ice. The father thought this indicated that the boy was certainly dead. Asetcak determined to make a real flight that night and repeated the performance of the preceding evening. On this occasion he was so anxious to start that he wasted no time. When one of the supposedly extinguished lamps in the house flared up the people saw him already in the air. Of course he then dropped back again. After another false start, when his dangling adze head caught on a pan near the skylight, he finally was off through the ventilator shaft. He always flew with one knee drawn up and arms outstretched; in the air wings sprouted from his shoulder blades and his mouth grew to extend outward and up to his tattoo markings. Somewhere over Siberia, Asetcak saw another *angatkok* circling about over a village, but when Asetcak asked him for news of the son, flames sprang from his mouth at each word and the Siberian *angatkok* was so frightened he flew off, disappearing within his tent. Later Asetcak reached St. Lawrence Island. After circling the houses to peer in through the skylights he saw Ungoariuk lying on the floor of one of them. Asetcak placed his face close to the skylight so that Ungoariuk could recognize him.

When Asetcak returned to the Diomedes, his power was so strong he could not descend. He had to fly around inside the house so that the breath of all the people inside "who had no

¹ It has been described among the Greenland Eskimo by Thalbitzer.

spirits" could help him "get down." After that he was unconscious for a while, but the people put his drum into his hands and gradually he restored himself to his normal condition by beating it. Asetcak told the one-eyed man that his son was all right and would return. Very soon he did arrive at the Diomedes. When he saw Asetcak he said he had seen his face in a vision at the skylight of the house on St. Lawrence. So everyone knew he was a great *angatkok*. News of him spread all over the region.

Asetcak returned to Tigara for a time, but later again visited the Diomedes. This time he was very famous. A powerful but evil *angatkok* from Siberia named Algrak sought him out to test his skill. One evening Algrak got his spirit in the house where Asetcak was staying and demonstrated his powers to the people. He cured a man's lame back by blowing on it, then licked the blood which spouted up at the spot where he had blown. He cut out his own tongue, ate most of it, tossed the tip out into the entry way for the dogs, then summoned it back into his mouth. He did the same with an eyeball, showing the people how the blood ran down his face. Finally he called his spirit into the house so that people could feel its presence and even the pressure of its cold clammy hand. During this time, Asetcak also got his spirit, but did nothing with it (just to be safe?). Soon Asetcak's wife called to him, saying that she was faint and felt that she was going to die. She became unconscious and was not revived until Asetcak took her outside the house and bit her little finger. When they returned to the house, Algrak announced that some person from Tigara would die before they returned home.

A Diomedes man who interpreted Algrak's speech for Asetcak warned him that the former was powerful and would kill him unless Asetcak protected himself by killing Algrak. With this warning, Asetcak immediately and without even asking to have the lamps put out, stroked his own left arm, pulled it inside himself, and thrust it out through his own mouth. If he pointed this hand at anyone that person would be killed at once. But Asetcak's wife, aware of the consequences, urged him to delay, because they were among strangers and might themselves be killed. (If an *angatkok* rubbed his right arm in this manner, no one in the village could

kill animals.) Then Asetcak chose a less obvious way of killing Algrak. Rubbing his stomach until it swelled, he kneeled down as women do in childbirth, and gave birth to his *kikituk*, which supposedly passed out through his groins. He showed the people the blood on his hands. After he had placed his *kikituk* in the sleeve of his parka with the head protruding, he went up to some people who were ill and allowed the *kikituk* to gnash its teeth some distance from them. They were cured. Then, pretending that he was going outside to insure good weather for the next day, he passed in between the two walls of the house behind Algrak, allowed the *kikituk* to gnash its teeth, and threw it towards Algrak. Inside the house again, he announced that the weather would be good the next day.

Algrak began to pull on his clothes, as if he were going to step out for a minute. As he did so, he looked a little unwell. After he had gone out the people waited for him to return. He did not come back; so they all went to bed. Algrak died during the afternoon of the following day, but no one was concerned, because he had often remained dead a few days. They removed his clothes, wrapped him in a boat skin, and laid him out on the snow. But four days later (the time a spirit remains near the body) he had not returned, so the people in the house where he had died performed the normal burial rite. One person carrying the shoulder blade of a whale knocked on an outside corner of the house where he had died, while another with a stone hammer tapped the inside of the same corner. This was repeated at each corner and four times on the rim of the skylight. The rite was performed so that the spirit (*inyusuq* or *ilikosaq*) would go to its proper destination. (This was the normal procedure in Tigara after every death. It was performed on the fifth day after the death of a woman.)

Asetcak left his *kikituk* in the body of Algrak for half a moon, then fearing that he would not be able to recover it, he went out to the body late one night. He walked around it "in the way the daylight goes," faster and faster, making a little noise to call his *kikituk*. At first the creature peeped out of the mouth of the corpse, then out through the flesh at the base of the neck, then out from under the armpits and under the ribs. Finally it emerged and began to follow Asetcak around, but it ran back

into the body; not until this time could Asetcak catch it up under his parka and swallow it.

This tale is well known in Tigara. Asetcak is a famous *angatkok*, and one of his adopted children, who witnessed the death of Algrak, is still living at Point Lay. Not even the well-educated Eskimo who have been away at school or those men who interpret at the mission and run the cooperative store doubt the story of his power. One of his descendants laments the fact that he is unable to carry on the tradition of his family's most noted practitioner.

CONCLUSION

It will be apparent from the foregoing account of native theory that the Tikerarmiut relations with nature and the supernatural were highly individualistic. The whole charm-taboo-guardian or helping-spirit system is based upon a faith in the individual's particular charms and supernatural powers. Everyone had at least some spiritual relation with powers capable of controlling the course of events. *Angatkoks* were individuals who had the most potent relations with powerful spirits. They did not form a separate "priest class," nor was there a sharp line of cleavage between ordinary individuals and the *angatkoks*. Although certain ceremonies performed in the *qalegis* might be considered communal religious performances, most approaches to the supernatural were in the form of individual religious experiences.

It has been said that among many Eskimo groups a calamity, like starvation, was thought to be due to the infraction of a taboo by some person in the group and that this violation must be confessed before the difficulty is solved. At Tigara, lack of game, starvation, bad weather, and any other disaster was blamed on one of the *angatkoks* who, the people believed, used his powers to bring ill fortune upon them. A season of starvation during the past century, for example, was said to have been caused by an *angatkok* who had lost his favorite son and be-

cause he was very sad and bitter against the whole world, he brought about the lack of game. *Angatkoks* were sometimes killed by infuriated people who placed the blame for their difficulties upon them. In this event they took unusual precautions against his spirit (some say *ilitkosaq*, some *inyusuq*). Murderers usually cut off the head of a victim as well as the hands "so that the *inyusuq* (*ilitkosaq*?) could not so easily find its murderer," but in the case of an *angatkok* they cut out his bladder and pulled it over his severed head to make it even more difficult for the spirit.

Another Tikerarmiut belief which reflects the individualistic character of their religious ideas was that any very old person had the power of influencing the future of an individual by simply willing it. If an aged person became angry and willed that a man should procure no game, he most certainly would not; on the other hand, if pleased and he willed him good fortune, he would kill game. This power to control another person's future, attributed to all aged individuals, was considered a great danger to children, who might become cripples or weaklings simply through the will of the aged. Often a child was said to have become crippled at the wish of some old person who was jealous because the child had been healthier than his own children or grandchildren. The belief was so strong that the common Eskimo practice of exposing the aged to die when they had become useless was never followed by the Tikerarmiut. They knew this practice existed among the neighboring peoples, but had never heard of it in their own group. Aged persons were, and are today, treated with great consideration. Every hunter makes sure that a little of the meat he obtains goes to their homes from time to time. When asked what they feared most in the old days, the Tikerarmiut almost invariably do not answer, starvation, the neighboring tribes, the spirits, ghosts, or evil *angatkoks*, but say that their greatest fear was the old people in the village.

TIGARA TODAY

OLD PETER KUNIAQ, head of the village council, rather ruefully remarked one day that all of the white men who had lived at Tigara for a time were at first friendly and very much interested in Eskimo customs, then they became indifferent and began to spend all their time with other white people, and finally seemed to dislike the Eskimo. This was a keen observation of an almost invariable sequence with the teachers and missionaries who are isolated in the Arctic. Most of them deny the charge; all write glowing accounts of their life with the Eskimo; but actually the broad gulf of misunderstanding which separates peoples of widely different cultures leads to isolation. White men live for years among the people of a small village, yet they remain strangers, emotionally and intellectually. For this reason, the Eskimo have by no means adopted a well-integrated philosophy of modern western civilization from their secular and religious teachers. Like so many native peoples who are in daily contact with only a few white men, the Tikerarmiut select from the dominant culture in a most unpredictable manner and adjust their selections to an ever-changing core of basic native theory. After nearly a century of association with a few white men, the Tikerarmiut have accepted many ideas from our own culture, yet they remain distinctly Eskimo, pursuing a way of life which, for want of a better term, we may call "modern Eskimo." If Asetcak, an ancestor of one of the present families, could materialize and return to the village, he would be a stranger among a foreign people.

Naturally the technical aspects of western civilization were the first to be accepted. Some Russian trade goods must have reached Tigara even before the close of the seventeenth century, after the Cossacks reached Anadyr in Siberia, but it was not until the last half of the nineteenth century that the Tikerarmiut came into direct and constant association with whites. At that time American whaling ships moved through Bering Strait in considerable numbers to hunt the baleen whales along the arctic coast and thus became powerful competitors of the Tigara whalers. Eskimo whaling customs were deeply rooted in tradition and the supernatural, but the effectiveness of darting

irons and exploding bombs could not be overlooked. Gradually, and with many qualms according to the old men, the white man's whaling gear was accepted; theories about the whales were not. The Tikerarmiut still use charm songs and return the skull to the sea. Rifles and metal tools were eagerly accepted. These Eskimo are, and probably always have been, mechanically minded. They love nothing more than an efficient machine. I have watched them repair a complicated mechanical gadget which white men have discarded as hopelessly broken, and perform the task with intense pleasure. Airplanes are a positive joy. Unquestionably white men are admired chiefly for their ability to produce machines.

The foodstuffs of the white men are still somewhat comical. A can of beets, sauerkraut, or corn on the cob is always good for a joke. The whaler's hardtack was first perforated and used as an amulet, which is quite understandable, but coffee, tea, sugar, and tobacco were readily adopted. Flour was a puzzle at first. It is still mixed with seal oil in a kind of ghastly soup; more generally, now, it is made into doughnuts which are fried in seal oil. Tea, coffee, tobacco, and sugar are the most common imported items, although rice and beans are used quite generally, when obtainable. Vegetables are almost never eaten. There is a missionary at Unalakleet on Norton Sound who labored with the Eskimo at that village for nearly 15 years before he convinced them that the potatoes and cabbages, which grow very well there, were fit to eat. In 1939 I was surprised to see the Unalakleet people trading potatoes for dried fish and seal-skins from St. Lawrence Island. The Tikerarmiut are still basically meat-eating hunters who have substituted tea with sugar for the old meat broth, and who occasionally use a little imported food as garnishing or dessert.

At some villages when hunting is poor, and at Tigara when hunting conditions are bad, the Eskimo may live for weeks on tea and hardtack or biscuits. In some instances a continued use of poorly balanced foods from the "outside" has certainly undermined the health of many people. Increasing use of such food is unquestionably detrimental to the general health and may be disastrous in some villages. Liquor,

locally distilled from molasses, was once the curse of many villages, but at Tigara the village council has banned its use and now most young people never have had occasion to taste it.

Skin clothing is still the rule. On this score, the Eskimo are far ahead of the whites and adoption operates in reverse. No one can be comfortable on the arctic coast without skin clothing fashioned in the Eskimo style, if he hunts or travels exposed to the weather. Nevertheless, some cotton, woolen, and rubber garments are used particularly in summer when it is wet. There exists a kind of fad for white man's clothes, and many Eskimo will suffer to wear them, if the weather is not severe. Rubber boots and coats are admittedly superior to gut garments in the rain. There is a curious desire at Tigara to bury a corpse in long woolen underwear, and this is now the practice if relatives can afford to purchase the garments.

Houses are a compromise between the old and the new types. Only a few of the old semi-subterranean sod-covered igloos are still used. More commonly a family builds a small frame house in the style of the white men, and then is forced to cover most of it with sod blocks to maintain a bearable temperature inside. Snow blocks are sometimes used instead of sod during the winter months; then the family has a "respectable" house in the summer. This modification of the house, I believe, also works a hardship on the modern Eskimo. Seal oil lamps, and the seal oil burning stoves which are now common, cannot heat a frame house. Coal is obtained from Cape Lisburne, 70 miles from Tigara, but it is a poor grade and expensive to transport. In actual practice the present Tikerarmiut suffer more from cold in their new houses than they did in the old ones. But the new houses are drier and cleaner in summer, and many people seem to dislike living in tents for the summer, as was the old custom.

Dog teams, skin boats, and klinker-built whaling boats are still the only means of transport. A truck imported by the school continually mired down in the tundra or in the gravel of the spit and therefore became principally a toy for the young Eskimo who delighted in taking it apart. Two airplanes standing on the natural landing field at Tigara one day were abandoned when some of the young men succeeded in starting the truck after a long idleness. Everyone, delighted, piled into the

truck for a ride around the school and it was clear that the truck was more of a novelty than the airplanes. Airplanes bring in mail and a few provisions or mail-order items every few weeks, and most white men who visit the village arrive by plane. The skin boats are precisely the same as those built for generations and are built of only native materials. No outboard engines were in operation at Tigara while I was there, although the people had used them at times. The klinker-built boats, seldom used for whaling, are the same as those used by the American whalers during the last century. Dog teams and sleds are now "fancy rigs" compared to the old style. Men have many more dogs and often use the light, built-up basket sled, instead of the old flat sled with heavy, solid runners. A man's dog team and sled are often a matter of prestige. It is a good hunter who can maintain eight or 10 dogs. Light, fast sleds and large dog teams are particularly useful in maintaining a trap line in the interior or east of Point Hope.

The two most important changes in the economy of the Tikerarmiut are due first to the existence of an "outside" market for furs, and second to the introduction of domesticated reindeer. Foxskins are the only important saleable product; at times these have brought a substantial amount of money into the village. During the last few years trapping has been poor; thus there has been little money to buy the white man's goods. In "the good old days" of American whalers, many Eskimo made a small fortune out of the sale of baleen from bowhead whales which was then used for corsets. It is said that a very large whale might produce up to \$10,000 worth of this "whale bone." Although the Eskimo were undoubtedly cheated out of most of the value, they often did obtain large quantities of trade goods in exchange for baleen. This market ceased early in the twentieth century. Relics, excavated from the "old Tigara" village, are valuable and bring in a small amount each year, but foxskins remain the only real source of money.

Domesticated reindeer, introduced from Siberia shortly before 1900, were at one time an important economic factor for the Tikerarmiut. Individuals in the village developed an aggregate herd of some 9000 reindeer, but this herd has declined so rapidly since 1930 that reindeer no longer play a very important economic role. At one time the Eskimo sold both carcasses and

skins to obtain a significant cash income. Now they use all the skins available for their own clothing and reindeer meat has become a delicacy. The decline of the reindeer is serious, particularly as it affects the supply of skins for clothing, and, I believe, is one problem of Eskimo economy which could be solved by intelligent management.¹ The introduction of domesticated reindeer, originated by Coast Guard officials, missionaries, teachers, and Government officials about 1900, was an intelligent move to aid in the re-occupation of the vast inland areas of arctic Alaska which were largely abandoned by the Nunatarmiut during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Had this plan succeeded, those large areas of tundra would not now be waste land. It is still possible to revive the surviving reindeer herds, and I trust that this will be done before it is too late.

Eskimo like the Tikerarmiut, who have moved partially into the new world of western civilization, must obtain some imported materials in order to survive, and to acquire these necessities they must have a significant marketable product. To discover such a product or products is the most urgent problem. They have hung on the threshold of real participation in our world for some 50 years. To pass successfully beyond, they need intelligent assistance, I believe, from outside their own group.

In 1920 the Episcopal missionary at Tigara organized a village council to control the local affairs of the settlement. Eight men and three women, with one man acting as chief of the council, were first elected, but traditional ideas were too strong, despite the missionary, and the practice of electing women was soon abandoned. Today a yearly election of council members and a chief of the council takes place in the school building. Theoretically every adult has an equal voice in the election, but actually a few leading men in the village determine who shall be elected. Their families vote as they are directed. For some years Peter Kuniaq has been the chief of the council. It is said that he is elected repeatedly because he owns most of the stock in the native cooperative store (the only store in the village). At one time Peter ran the store for a white trader. Therefore, when the cooperative was organized it was natural that he should

manage to obtain a significant amount of the stock. Other men bought interests in the store with proceeds from their trapping.

The council regulates and advises on minor affairs such as arguments over the division of whales, cleaning the village in the spring, disputes over property, family quarrels which become public, the care of the destitute and of orphans when there is no family involved. It has no arbitrary power and no means of direct punishment. Conclusions are reached through endless discussions, particularly in summer when there is little to do but talk. There is no need for a formal vote within the council. Force in the society is employed only from the outside by the United States Marshal at Nome, according to the white man's rules. He may be called in by the council or by the missionary or teacher if serious trouble arises. It is rather significant, I think, that the only serious trouble since 1900 arose when one of two white missionaries at Tigara shot and killed the other. Following that murder, in which one of the missionaries was involved in a love affair with an Eskimo girl, a half-negro marshal was stationed at the village. He remained until he was convicted of rape. Since then there has been no police official in Tigara.

The Government school teacher and the Episcopal missionary, the only two white men resident in the village, naturally play important roles. All children go to school until they become full-fledged hunters or housewives, and they are pathetically eager to learn. I was continually impressed by their ability and their enthusiasm. All the young people speak intelligible English and many write clear, if somewhat quaint, letters. Some are sent out to advanced schools, particularly for advanced technical training, but as a rule these few appear to be no better educated than those whose training is limited to the local school. The most literate person, who is the manager of the cooperative store, has never been away to school. The Government teacher also is the principal means of contact between the Eskimo and the United States Office of Indian Affairs and, as such, is a distributor of largesse. This tends to enhance his position of influence, particularly in his own eyes.

Most Tikerarmiut are intensely religious. The Sunday service in the neat and charming Episcopal church, situated about a mile from

¹ Rainey, Froelich, 1941, "Native economy and survival in Arctic Alaska," *Applied Anthropol.*, vol. 1, 9-14.

the village, is the chief social event each week, and few people capable of walking the 2 miles to church and return will miss it. One is considered "Christian" if he goes to church regularly and "leaves the girls alone." Being "Christian" is very important. No one can achieve prestige in the group without that, but there are many delinquents, particularly in regard to the qualifications about girls. It is curious that the intensity of their religious feeling is not diminished by continual and rather bitter conflicts with the missionary.

The significance of Christianity in the present group is a very interesting study which engaged us in many lengthy discussions. Although the scope of this ethnological sketch does not permit a real consideration of the question, I should at least observe that the acceptance of Christianity has had a profound effect on native theory and, like the adoption of much of the modern technical culture, has brought in the twentieth century. Naturally there are many comparisons with native religious doctrine, but there have been no revivals of the "old true religion" and there is no "going back."

One interesting aspect of this question is the tendency at Tigara to experiment with the individual experience in religious feeling, which is contained in the teachings of the Friends meeting at Kotzebue. This expresses itself in Wednesday evening prayer meetings in the village. These are not held at the church and are probably a half-conscious protest against

the more formal group services of the Episcopal church. The interest in the individual experiences probably harks back to the aboriginal pattern of religious theory.

Arctic Eskimo have unquestionably gone a long way towards working out a successful adjustment to the ever-increasing impact of the white man's technically dominant culture. Certainly, compared with that of the Alaskan Indians, their future is hopeful. But the population of arctic Alaska, which probably declined by two thirds during the catastrophic years from 1850 to 1900, remains virtually static; by far the greater part of the Arctic is abandoned waste land; and now the people live with a highly unstable economy. Shipments of relief food, charity, feeble efforts at developing native crafts and curio production, more education, and a paternalistic policy on the part of the United States Office of Indian Affairs offer no real solution. A practical, intelligent plan for domesticated reindeer herding, the development of a sound fur industry, or the creation of a market for sea mammal products might make it possible for them to recover and build a sturdy arctic population.

If the Arctic is to become the air crossroads of the post-war world, then an acclimated, native population will be a tremendous advantage, and the surviving handful of arctic Eskimo, even though no more than the equivalent of a small town in the United States, is worth saving.

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