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Akuzilleput Igaqullghet

Our Words Put to Paper



Sourcebook in
St. Lawrence Island Yupik
Heritage and History



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Group of women and children in Gambell, in front of the traditional underground house (*nenglu*).
Summer 1886. (NAA 85-814)

Sourcebook in St. Lawrence Island Heritage and History

Akuzilleput Igaqullghet

Our Words Put to Paper

Compiled by
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edited by Igor Krupnik,
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Vera Metcalf (Qaakaghleq)

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An unidentified Yupik man from St. Lawrence Island, 1912.



Edna Sivuguq, wife of Yughqutaq (Robert Tungyan) and mother of Avalak (Beda Siwooko), 1912.

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Qaakaghlleq

FOREWORD

On my first visit to the Smithsonian Institution in 1994, I was immediately overwhelmed. There was so much kept from us. The collections from St. Lawrence Island filled long rows of storage cabinets containing artifacts recovered from archaeological excavations, old photographs, early carvings, pages of stories, and the remains of our ancestors. Although one of the largest and most prominent examples, there are many other museums and private collections around the world with our cultural inheritance.

Since Edward W. Nelson disturbed the tragic solitude of the villages in 1881, many have come to St. Lawrence Island to excavate, inspect, interview, and record our history, culture, our grandparents and families—us. We know many of their names, like Collins, Geist, Rainey, and Bandi, and each had their own interests and reasons for coming. Some were learned, honest scientists seeking to gain knowledge of the past and our place in mankind's existence, while others revealed themselves as disrespectful seekers of fortune and fame. The result of this period is bittersweet. A large amount of information has been gathered and safely stored away, but we have come to believe others are the caretakers of our inheritance, of our past.

These museum collections and research papers are interesting to others, but they are of vital importance to us. This book represents not only the return of these stories, pictures, and details to us; it also returned our responsibility as guardians of our past and its lessons back to us. Dr. Igor Krupnik and Willis Walunga worked with many of us to review, translate, and make decisions on this collection—this is ours, above anyone else's. What we now do with it is the next question.

The interviews recorded in English may seem simple, sometimes child-like, and some portraits show confused and scared faces; but the conversations reveal a firmness of thought. The stories remind us of our responsibility to do what's best for each other, and most photographs show calm dignity or even defiant confidence. The inherent strength of steadfast belief and reliance on common cultural values is evident throughout this book. That is why this collection is a cultural treasure.

Vera K. Metcalf

IGAMSIQAYULLGHET

Sivuqaghhmiinunllu Sivungaghmiinunllu liisimalleghmegteggun kayusighitkaneng, enkaam una qepghaqaq piyaqlegughtestaat ilapgasimalleghmegteggun. Tamaaken apalluqluki igamsiqayugvikeghllagamsi. Yupiggaat siivanleghet liisimallghita sagiqestiinkut, qevuulluta pisqelluta. Anaggutenkut, Akulkinkut, Iyaakankut, Paapinkut, Aghnaghaghniinkut, Avalagenkut, Aghwalngiinkut, Qagaqunkut, Saamkumiinkut, Tuullupagenkut, Kukulegmiinkut, Ayuqinkut, Elqilaankut, Awliingankut, Miinglunkut, ilangillu tamaakut, igamsiqayugvikamsi.

Qelpeghtiikut neghigluku iganglaqitneng, Sivuqaghhmiitlu, Chukotka-ghmiitlu allgeghusamta manikaghqameng taakuneng Social Science-et Program-ngitneng, Office-nganeng Polar Program-et, National Science Foundation-et ivaghillghitgun grant-meng (NSF Award OPP-9812881). Una ipa apeghiihumaag igamsiqanaghalek Sivupaankuk Sivungaankuk yupiget agghistengita endorse-emaat taana itagnaqumaat. Qepghalguteputlu igamsiqayugvikaput kayusighikat yuvghiihmenng, agghilgutkimeng, itagnaqimeng.

Whavek pillegghmun kayutelghuteput igamsiqayugvikeghllaagaput Kaawhtaatenkut, Mangtaqulinkut, Tagneghlinkut, Sivungameng; Pulaaghutenkut, Sivuguunkut, Aqiilwaghaankut, Sivuaqameng; John Homiak, Robert Leopold, Vyrtyis Thomas, Jeannie Sklar, National Anthropological Archives-eneng; Sylvie Savage, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks-emeng; Elizabeth Clancy, Kristy Alexander, Denver Museum of Nature and Science-meng; Kathleen Hertel, Mina Jacobs, Anchorage Museum of History and Art-emeng; Dr. William W. Fitzhugh, Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution-meng; Uri Rodny, Project Database designer-nga; Dr. Carol Zane Jolles, University of Washington-meng. Amaghaleklu yupigni mumighqughtevut ama Petuwaam yuvghiiqii igaqullghet Yupiget akuzillghitni ama yuget aatghitn ukuni iganii. Igamsiqayugvikepigtaqaput taanallu Prof. Michael Krauss, Alaskam Yupigita Ulungistun Center-ngitnilnguq, igamsiqayugvikaghput.

Taaqniitkun, taakutlu igamsiqayugviksugaput nenglluguteput—Aghnaghaghniinkut, Ukuqankuk, Bob Metcalf, Uwhaawen, Qigen'gu, Aila Krupnik-lu Anya Vinokour-llu liitleghmenng kelgutivikegkanginkut iilqangitutmeggneng una qepghaqaqghput apeghiihghitstekangat.

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Our attempt at opening (“returning”) historical documents to the Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island and Chukotka became possible because of financial support from the Arctic Social Science Program of the Office of Polar Programs at the National Science Foundation (NSF) through its research grant (NSF Award OPP-9812881). This objective was achieved thanks to the endorsement of the project by the two village councils of the Native Villages of Gambell and Savoonga, and due to the help of many of our colleagues who served as project reviewers, consultants, and advisers.

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- Library, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Sivuqaq (Gambell), May 1999



- National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- U.S. National Archives, Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK
- Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Juneau, AK
- (former) BIA Regional Office, Nome, AK
- Denver Museum of Nature and Science, Denver, Co
- Anchorage Museum of History and Art, Anchorage, AK

We are grateful to these institutions and their staff officers for assistance and for granting permission to make these documents open on behalf of the people of St. Lawrence Island.

Sivungaq (Savoonga), May 1999



INTRODUCTION

This book is an outcome (one of many outcomes) of a tested partnership. In spring of 1998, four of us joined together to undertake a new heritage initiative in what we later called “knowledge repatriation.” The original core group included Willis Walunga (*Kepelgu*) from Gambell; Vera Metcalf (*Qaakaghllaq*) from Nome, formerly from Savoonga; Igor Krupnik from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.; and Lyudmila Ainana (*Aynganga*) from Provideniya, Russia. Several people joined us at later stages of our work. This was how a three-year effort named “The Beringian Yupik Heritage Project” (1998–2000) got started.

Our project was motivated by a shared understanding that residents of the North should have free access to all documentary resources related to their culture and history and that special means and venues should be developed to open these resources for community needs. This includes, first of all, historical memories shared by community members, enshrined by elders as “oral knowledge.” The Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, deserve special praise for their strong commitment to their heritage and for many successful attempts at documenting their legacy in writing and tapes, like the three-volume series, *Sivuaqam Nangaghnegha. Sivanllemta Ungipagaqellghat. Lore of St. Lawrence Island. Echoes of Our Eskimo Elders* (1985–89); *St. Lawrence Island Curriculum Resource Manual* (1986), and others. The second part of cultural legacy is the stock of historical documentary records (“written knowledge”) relating to Native communities. The latter is preserved in the form of old archival documents, census materials, unpublished written notes, and various early publications. Unlike oral tradition preserved by elders, such a written record produced for over 120 years by scientists, teachers, missionaries, and a few educated Native writers remains poorly known to the very people it portrayed.

The value of the old documentary records for today’s northern communities cannot be overestimated. Early censuses and village surveys list hundreds of names of relatives and clansmen who are long gone, and they recount the makeup of families and villages of grandfathers’ generation. Diaries and records of visiting scientists and first schoolteachers offer invaluable personal information. They document people’s use of old camps, list former clans and boat crews, report the names of successful whaling captains and community leaders. For their descendants of today, particularly for the young people, it brings special pride to see their forefathers listed as youngsters and even children some one hundred years ago. Beyond names and stories, the old documents preserve faces and visual images of the old days through photographs, drawings of traditional clothing, and scenes of village life.

Many anthropologists, Native leaders, and cultural workers are anxious to see these historical documentary resources open to local communities and being used in the various educational, language, and heritage programs. However, unlike elders' memories, the old documentary records are usually kept in places far removed from the northern villages. They are stored in files at the big university libraries, governmental and local archives, offices of various agencies, and personal collections of individual researchers. Though now user-friendly and more public-oriented, these institutions and places are sometimes hard to reach and often require a special purpose (and funding) to work at. Hence, a gap remains between people and the documentary records that relate to and talk about their history.

This gap, we believe, has to be bridged through a process that we call “knowledge repatriation.” Written knowledge once collected for scientific, administrative, or other purposes has to be returned back as people’s resource and shared with Native communities for their modern use. Of course, ideally this should be a network of many local “bridges,” connecting individual communities to their written legacy in the form of old documentary records stored in big libraries and archives. This *Sourcebook* represents our effort toward such “knowledge repatriation” on behalf of the Yupik communities of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, and the Russian Chukotka Peninsula, to which members of our team belong by blood, cultural relations, or professional ties.

In trying to open old documentary records to the Yupik communities of St. Lawrence Island and Chukotka, we expand the term “cultural repatriation” well beyond today’s meaning. Whereas repatriation is commonly seen as a one-way return of skeletal remains and burial objects from museums to Native communities, “knowledge repatriation” is about *sharing* rather than *giving back*. For Native knowledge experts, and particularly for the elders, it is hard to view the knowledge about their tradition, either oral or written, as a collectable commodity, as something that can be “taken,” “stored,” or “given back.” The very essence of historical knowledge is to be shared to the advantage of the community by all knowledge experts—elders, archival workers, and researchers alike. Knowledge is about teaching, it is about *retelling* to other people; and its main venues are sharing, listening, and dialogue.

When we started our project in 1998, no blueprint or manual was available to show us how to do “knowledge repatriation”; so, many sections of this *Sourcebook* were created by experimentation. Our first task was to persuade the main keepers of historical records related to the Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island to offer their files for copying and for sharing these copies of historical documents with the communities of Gambell and Savoonga. To our surprise, this first stage, collection, happened to be a fairly uncomplicated venture. All major documentary

keepers—Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives, the U.S. National Archives, the National Archives-Pacific Alaska Region in Anchorage, the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Alaska Department of Health and Social Services in Juneau, and others—are now very user-friendly in terms of their access and copying policies. People everywhere were very supportive; they were thrilled when told that these documents were being copied for future use in Native educational and heritage programs in distant communities in rural Alaska.

In fact, getting copies of old records turned out to be the easier part of the job. Native people and general public alike tend to believe that there was hardly anything substantial published or written about small and distant northern villages. The situation proved to be just the opposite. The stock of available publications and unpublished written materials relating to many northern communities of today is often sufficient for a good-size library or a whole publication series focused on one village. With regard to the Yupik communities of St. Lawrence Island and Chukotka, the amount of available written historical records is sufficient to fill at least three or four more volumes of stories and other materials (and maybe more). Thus, as collection efforts for the *St. Lawrence Island Sourcebook* progressed, we were faced with a new task, selection. The readers of this volume have to be aware that this 464-page sourcebook is a *selection* of the many existing documents and that many more sources are available to portray the island cultural traditions and history.

As the old records were being assembled, another new task emerged. With the exception of historical photographs, most of the original archival documents, like the old census sheets, BIA village records, diaries, and written notes are rather difficult to deal with. Often they are hard to read. Old spelling of Native names and place names was usually awkward and barely comprehensible, and many practices and statements from the old days look insensitive to today's readers. Early censuses were conducted without proper knowledge of local family and community ties, and with Native names often replaced by English first names or nicknames. In order to be used in today's school and heritage programs, the old records have to undergo a procedure that we called *cultural translation*.

This latter process includes careful reading and checking of the old records by local knowledge experts, primarily by elders. Real people's names and place names need to be identified, so that correct Yupik spellings can be introduced into the old records. Stories of early visitors have to be checked for their accordance with the local tradition. Last but not least, every old document usually stimulates human memory and triggers more stories by elders. Names and events are

recalled and recollected. When faces on old photographs are identified, more personal stories follow. These invaluable comments need to be recorded and put together with the old records to which they belong. As the process goes on, elders become readers, commentators, and co-writers. This is the most productive form of exchange, when knowledge collected many decades ago produces more knowledge today.

Thus, the process started by our “knowledge repatriation” project turned out to be a long but exciting road. It brought us through several stages, such as collection, selection, and cultural translation of the old documentary materials, and matching old written records with memories of elders during several sessions in Gambell, Savoonga, and Nome. The five major sections of this volume illustrate these processes, with each section offering a unique combination of common efforts at every stage. Part One: Our Faces and Names Captured in Records, and Part Two: Yupik People Speak for Themselves, represent the very core of “knowledge repatriation,” since they literally open up official records and personal stories that were locked away for decades in archival files. The next two sections, Part Three: Our ‘Old Day’ Stories Documented, and Part Four: How Other People Saw Us From the Outside, are more about “cultural translation,” since they advance various writings left by early outsiders to today’s readers. The last section, Part Five: Old Papers, Today’s Elders, illuminates the process of matching written and oral knowledge through elders’ stories and comments regarding the old documents.

To all of us, the journey of the *St. Lawrence Heritage Sourcebook* project was highly rewarding. At every stage, it championed efforts in sharing, collective authorship, and community (rather than individual) focus. It has already made a significant impact on local views about the role of research and researchers and on relationships between Native communities and scientific institutions like the Smithsonian and the National Science Foundation. Discussions are currently underway on whether other Alaska Native groups might follow up with similar local projects in knowledge repatriation. This would be an invaluable contribution to the pride and dignity of Native communities that were thought to be without any written history just a few decades ago. We believe that the people of St. Lawrence Island and other readers in Alaska and elsewhere will appreciate this message of sharing and respect that lies at the very heart of opening historical records to northern people that was pioneered by and for the Yupik communities of the Bering Strait area.

Igor Krupnik



Gambell elders *Angqatenganwan*, *lqmaluwa*, *Ungalaq*, and *Ayakitaan*, 1929.

part one

Our Faces and Names Captured in Records

Introduction

Jane Burn. The People of St. Lawrence Island (1921)

Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920). List of St. Lawrence Island Residents

Name List of Eskimo People Living at Puguviulik, Southwest Cape (1929)

Residents of the Yupik Community of Gambell (1912)

Riley D. Moore's Photographs from St. Lawrence Island (1912)

Twelfth Census of the United States (1900). List of Gambell Residents

St. Lawrence Island Hunting Report (1907)

INTRODUCTION

In the “good old days,” Yupik people never conducted population censuses. Nor did they count their numbers by villages or clans. Normally, everyone knew everyone’s relatives, villagers, and clansmen by names and through an intricate network of kin ties, support, and obligations. When people wanted to say that this village or that group was strong in numbers, they normally used certain established formulas. For example, they would say: “You meet a kid in the street and you don’t know where he is from” or “Children went out playing in the morning and visited some houses, and nobody knew where they were gone for several days.” This indicated that there were indeed very many people around.

Whereas the knowledge of one’s relatives and villagers seemed as natural as seeing and breathing, it was also fluid like air, as people were born, grew up, got married, moved in and out, raised their own kids, and passed away. Since no documentation and counting existed, the composition of old communities and the names of those who were gone decades ago were preserved only in the elders’ memories. Everyone was supposed to know who and what was around and who used to be around some years before, but just few elderly experts could recall names and count families of generations ago. As more time passed, memories faded naturally, apart from those of truly outstanding people and events.

This is where written knowledge, in the form of historical documentary records, can offer invaluable help. Yupik people of the old days hardly paid any attention to or kept any memory of certain strange visitors, who—like so many others—came and stayed for few days or weeks and never returned. Unlike others, however, they walked to every house on the island, and they recorded names and relationships of every person, from elders to small children, on paper. As it happened, these visitors were the census-makers for the U.S. Population Censuses—first for the Twelfth Census of 1900 and then, again, for the Thirteenth Census of 1910, Fourteenth Census of 1920, and so on. The records of these censuses (as well as of several others) have been duly preserved in federal and state archives. Today, the old census records emerge as unique snap-shots of the island community that cannot be replicated in any other way. This is a resource of immense value, since the census sheets uncover hundreds of historical names and show the true makeup of families, clans, and communities of some eighty and even one hundred years ago.

This section of the Sourcebook opens to the Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island two of the earliest known census records for their communities—those of 1900 and 1920. (A copy of the Thirteenth

Census of 1910 was also collected during this project, whereas the Fifteenth Census of 1930 has not been opened to the public until recently). In addition, we enclose the registration of the island people made by a resident schoolteacher, Jane Burn, in 1921; the list of adult hunters compiled by another resident teacher, Edgar O. Campbell, in 1909; and the list of the Gambell community of 1912, reconstructed from the measurement forms filled out by a visiting anthropologist, Riley D. Moore. One later record, the Gambell census by Paul Silook (*Siluk*) of 1930, is presented in Part Five. All these records remain unpublished archival materials, as are dozens of Moore's historical photographs of 1912, presently at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. This is a resource long overdue since none of the listed documents was available or even known to the people of St. Lawrence Island before our project.

But neither old census sheets nor even historical photographs can fully speak for themselves, unless and until a huge amount of additional work and of elders' memory is invested. As enclosed copies of the original census pages illustrate, the old shabby forms have to be carefully read—not an easy task!—often deciphered, and retyped. Correct spelling of all Yupik names has to be introduced, so that people can be identified. Individual clan affiliation has to be added, since it has never been recorded by census-makers. Faces shown on old photographs are to be recognized and cross-checked by several elders. This is a special job that requires a good memory and full dedication, but the outcome is very rewarding. To the present-day generations and to the Yupik people of tomorrow it opens an opportunity to look for names of their ancestors and often even to see their faces from the first available records of the early 1900s. It gives special pride and pleasure to see your great-grandparents' names listed in records, and we hope that this effort of the *Sourcebook* team will eventually pay off.

The People of St. Lawrence Island (305 People)
By Jane Burn, Gambell Schoolteacher (1921)

Excerpted from the Dorotea C. Leighton Collection,
Archives of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks

[...] *Everybody told us before we came that it would take one year for us [to] really understand the Eskimos and to know the 'Who's Who' of the Island. We have found that to be the truth, but it does not seem to me that it must be so for every teacher if the information each gathers were passed on from year to year. At first, for instance, the ordinary provincial American such as we are, is apt to think this a hard life, full of trials and sufferings with small rewards. The Eskimo know this and you bet they trade on it. There is not one man, woman, or child on this little island who has one to care for him or who is so poor that he needs to beg from the teachers. With the exception of four families in Gambell all of whom have wealthy relatives, there is no person who is not far more prosperous than any mere schoolteacher I ever saw. They have their living with little expense to them in labor, sacrifice, or money. They all have houses, skins, more guns than the most enthusiastic white hunter ever thinks of accumulating, ammunition, stores of white man's food, boats which cost them a thousand dollars each, white man's clothes, phonographs, fine pipes—everything they want—and more actual cash than they know what to do with. No white man knows or ever will know how much money they have.*

—Jane Burn, 1921

Gambell (village): five families in lumber houses, fifteen families in skin houses.

Massiu [*Masaayu*].¹ Called an old man. Hunts little. Carves a little. Skin house. Only one 15 year son living with him. No wife. One girl living with his brother. Son poor in school, much absent. Iyakitan [*Ayakitaan*] is his only brother. Poor in cash but rich in Eskimo things. Remains away from teachers save to borrow picture books occasionally. Of the group of most superstitious men.²

Apata [*Apaata*]. One skin house. Three occupants. Two little girls in school. Not good attendance. Little girl bright. Has one older daughter, married. No wife. Oldest and there-

fore boss of three other brothers, two living at Gambell, one at a far camp. Hunts little. Called old. Good carver. No English. Fairly prosperous. Did not like us.

Yaghak [*Yaghaq*]. Skin house. Four occupants. Wife. Daughter in school. Much absent. Grown brother, Blassi [*Pelaasi*], living with him. Apata [*Apaata*] his brother. Fair hunter. Fairly prosperous and progressive. Blassi [*Pelaasi*] the bachelor brother speaks English well and attends men's night class. Not of superstitious element. Never come around teachers except to attend called meetings. No English.

Iyakitan [*Ayakitaan*]. Skin house. Seven occupants. One old wife and one young one. Sorcerer. Most superstitious man here. One daughter and one son in school. Two small children. Massiu's [*Masaayu*] daughter living with him and going to school. Fair hunter, fairly industrious, fairly prosperous. Aloof from teachers. Cheerful as everybody is. No English. No relatives save his brother Massiu [*Masaayu*]. Young wife is a good worker.

Owhowin [*Uwhaawen*]. Woman. Husband invalid with TB. Skin house. Three occupants. This is the old woman who wrote us the unpleasant note soon after our arrival. She is now a good friend and she is adorable. Good worker. Cheerful. Fine mimic. Good story teller. Two married daughters who are the wives of Athelingok [*Aatghilnguq*], brother to Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*]. One grandson [*Aantaghmi*] living with her going to school. Good attendance. No English. Her daughters are among the good sewers on the Island.

Amagoo [*Amagu*]. Lumber house just built. One wife. (Had another but he turned her out in Siberia! She was a Siberian woman). One son who affects the company of older

¹ I spell all the names as they sound with the English sounds of the letters. "a" of course varies from the long and short to the "ä" as in "what." "I" and "e", "o" and "u" have only the long and short sounds. I will not burden you with the vowel marking. You will learn the[se] names soon enough. They like their Eskimo names better than the English ones which some of them have, though they often speak to a white person using the English name of the person spoken of. [Jane Burn's note]

² When I say superstitious, I mean that they are of the old time group who do things or refrain from doing things for religious reasons. The younger generation of men are growing out of it, but none of them are wholly fearless of offending their old gods, whatever they are. Some, like Sepillu [*Sipela*] and Aningayu [*Anengayuu*] say they are not superstitious at all, but they too have steaks of losing their hold on the island, though the number and forms of worships do not seem to diminish or change as far as we can observe. By superstition I do not mean their religion, either; just as many Christians are superstitious about Friday and a thousand little things; these people are afraid about moving old rocks, making fires in whaling time and such things. But I cannot hope to make you really understand the people with words. [Jane Burn's note]

fellows and refuses to come to school without coercion. One half-blind adopted son regular in school and excellent in scholarship. One daughter. Five in house. Good hunter. Fairly prosperous. They say he would have plenty but that he gives too much away. He and Iyakitan have lived together till the Spring. No English. Industrious. Less superstitious than Iyak [*Ayakitaan*] with whom he lived. One married sister.

Yawakseuk [*Yaavgaghsiq*]. Skin house. Five in house. Two children in school. This man has a grown son who speaks English–Pasquatak [*Piiskwaghtaq*]—and who is working for Iyakitan's [*Ayakitaan*] daughter. Another son [*Akiya*] who is a reindeer apprentice in Peniu's [*Pinaaya*] camp. Wealthy. Good hunter. Industrious. No English.

This ends the little group living in the “North End” who are superstitious, aloof, and who speak no English.

Montowkoli [*Mangtaquli*]. Skin house. Five in house. Intelligent wife who came to sewing class. One frying sized son, Anangti [*Anangti*], who is this year out of school for the first time. Anangti [*Anangti*] came to men's night class. One little son regular at school. Two small children, one of them born this year. Wealthy. Good hunter. Industrious. Little English. Progressive. Friendly to teachers although he never comes around.

Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*]. Clean skin house. Six occupants. Two wives. No children. His niece, her husband and baby live with him. Another sorcerer, but much higher class than Iyakitan [*Ayakitaan*]. Dignified old man. Does no work. No English. Wives good sewers. Relatives of Owhowin [*Uwhaawen*]. Athelingok [*Aatghilnguk*] his brother. Wealthy. Progressive in spite of his superstition. His brother speaks English.

Aningayu [*Anengayuu*]. Lumber house. Seven occupants. This is the storekeeper. Three children in school. Wife and two children. This man is extremely wealthy, shrewd, intelligent. ambitious, progressive, adopts *Laluramka's* ways and foods as fast as he learns them. Has been many times converted. No superstition. Men's night class. As honest as any. Has been the interpreter a long time. Not such good English as Sepillu [*Sipela*] of the reindeer camp, however. Friendly, of course, to the teachers. A likeable person.

Booshu [*Pusaa*]. Lumber house, fairly clean. Four occupants. No wife, though the rumor has spread this year that he married the widow Aganachlokuk [*Aghnaghlluggaq*], but she told me that he was a no good husband and she has left him. Two sons in school. Good attendance. One grown son, Iuwikson [*Ayuwighsaan*], who speaks English and attended the men's night class. Superstitious but not progressive. Head of a house of five progressive men all of whom live in other camps. Best whale hunter. They say he has the strongest prayers and that the whales follow his boat. Industrious. Little English. His brothers are Otiyohok [*Ataayaghbaq*], Tatoowi [*Tatuwi*], Kinoko [*Kunuka*], and Aginaloo [*Aghnilu*]. They all speak better English than he. His son is working for Shulook's [*Suluk*] youngest daughter, Agaangarak [*Aghnangiighaq*].

Ozeevooseuk [*Uzivusiq*]. Clean lumber house. Nine in house. Wife who speaks some English, three children in school, one of whom will not attend next year, probably, having gone as far as any of them go. Good attendance. Two smaller children, mother, grown brother and uncle, who is the oldest man on the island, all living in house. Mother named Weyu [*Wiyu*]. She came with Owhowin [*Uwahaawen*] every Saturday to scrub the school-house. She is a good worker and the dearest old soul on the island. Grown brother, Kapunga [*Qipenga*], working for one of Shulook's [*Suluk*] daughters and therefore not much help in supporting Oz's family. Both men are constant attendants at men's night class. This man Oz is the former storekeeper. Has one married brother Rakok [*Raaquq*], herder in Peniu's [*Pinaaya*] reindeer camp, but he is not much assistance to him save in sharing the meat with him when the hunting is bad. He conducted the last year's teacher about over the island. Next to Tangyun [*Taangyan*] this man is the best carver. Unlike Tan, will attempt anything you ask him to make.

Oitillan [*Uwetelen*]. Skin house, seven occupants. Wife in sewing class. Two children in school. One of them getting too big to attend perhaps. Little one the brightest child in school. Perfect attendance. Son, Silook [*Siluk*], the school teacher. Son's beautiful wife and baby living with him, or rather he and his family live with Silook's family, for Silook makes the living. Industrious. Little English. Progressive. One brother at Sep's [*Sipela*] reindeer camp who will be herder next year. The man who married Oitillan's daughter [is named] Mugayok [*Meghyug*]. Silook is friendly, willing, fairly capable, and lovable after a great while of getting accustomed to him. Tungitoo [*Tangatu*] is the name of Oit's brother.

Kaningok [*Qanenguq*]. Skin house. Seven occupants. Three exceedingly bright children in school. Good attendance. Oldest boy, Ifgachlak [*Ifkalleq*], will not be in school next year. He has gone to Sep's camp to be apprentice. Wife chattering, laughing, Yaghe [*Yaaghu*], member of the sewing class. One small boy. Maskin [*Maasqen*], his son-in-law and his daughter live with him. Industrious, always trying. Maskin [*Maasqen*] is one of the boys the Campbells reared. He is intelligent. He is very fond of his wife. Maskin [*Maasqen*] and Tokoya [*Tukuuya*] had twins this year but they both died.

Aganachlokuk [*Aghmaghlluggaq*]. "The widow". Skin house. Five occupants. Three children in school. Good attendance and good scholarship. This woman is sister-in-law to wealthy Shulook [*Suluk*].

Shulook [*Suluk*]. Skin house. Eleven occupants. Two grown sons moving away with their wives soon. One wife. Four married sons—Wamkon [*Waamquun*], who with his wife, two daughters and son live with him; Noongwook [*Nunguk*], herder at Sep's [*Sipela*] camp; Apitiki [*Apeteki*], recently married to one of Athelingok's [*Aatghilnguq*] daughters; and Ovi [*Uvi*], also recently married. These two last live with him now; but will gradually move away. Two grown daughters. Amamunga [*Amamenga*], pretty, clean, tidy, and Iknakinuk [*Iknageneq*] living with Konahak [*Qunaghbaq*]. Boolawan [*Pulaaghun*] is working for Amamunga [*Amamenga*]. He is the sixth man to try to get her. He is wealthy and will probably succeed. Kapunga [*Qipenga*], brother to Ozee [*Uzivusiq*] has been working for several years for Iknakinuk [*Iknageneq*]. He has one daughter in school who will not be there next year, perhaps. Booshu's [*Pusaa*] son is working for her. This family is wealthy, progressive, ambitious, only moderately superstitious, educated. The children are good in school and never miss a day. Wamkon [*Waamquun*], Apitiki [*Apeteki*] and Ovi [*Uvi*] came to men's night class and Ama and Ikna came to sewing class. They all speak English. Tangyan [*Taangyan*], the best ivory carver is his brother. Shulook [*Suluk*] good whale hunter. Friendly to teachers and nearest neighbors. Wamkon [*Waamquun*], the oldest son who lives with him, has one daughter in school and two small children at home. His wife also in sewing class.

Konahak [*Qunaghbaq*]. Skin house. Eight occupants. Two wives, one of them young. Three children in school, one of them to be reindeer apprentice in Sep's [*Sipela*] camp next year. Good attendance. Mother always comes with baby astride her neck to see that

her little boy learns fast. Old man is Konahak [*Qunaghbaq*] and unable to care for himself. Kapunga [*Qipenga*], the boy who is working for Ikna [*Iknaqeneq*] lives with him, is his only dependence for food except Sep [*Sipela*], his nephew, forty miles away. Superstitious. No English. Relation to Shulook [*Suluk*]. Sep [*Sipela*] takes care of them really and sends them food every day or so.

Ongwaluk [*Ungalaq*]. Skin house. Three occupants part of the time, though some of the year two of his nephews and all their families live with him. Wife and one adopted son in school. Bright and good attendance. Wealthy. Always trying to learn. He is uncle to the SW Cape outfit. He is a good carver.

Tangyun [*Taangyan*]. Old man. Best carver. Brother to Shulook [*Suluk*], brother-in-law to Sep. [*Sipela*] One bright little girl always in school. Two grown sons, Oovookitak [*Uveketaaq*] at home and Yochkotak [*Yughqutaq*] married and living with Timkaroo's [*Temkeruu*] family. Oovoo [*Uveketaaq*] came to men's night class. One married daughter wife of Napowatuk [*Napaghutaq*]. This old man, although he is the best carver, cannot be persuaded to undertake anything besides paperknives, napkin rings, and walrus teeth chains. He does these exquisitely compared to the rest of the work on the island. Industrious, cheerful. A sweet old man much like Shulook [*Suluk*] though he has no English at all. He should have had the prize for the best carving at the Fair according to everybody's opinion. Lives in Sep's [*Sipela*] lumber house.

Khkagak [*Eghqaaghaq*]. Skin house and lumber house also. However nearly everybody has a lumber house besides his skin one which he uses in summer to live in and in winter for a tool and storehouse. They are very proud of their lumber houses. This picturesque man has a wife and one child given to him by his nephew Napowatuk [*Napaghutaq*]. Nap with his wife and baby live with him and also Boolowan [*Pulaaghun*] in the winter months, though Bool [*Pulaaghun*] has a very preten[t]ious camp all his own over by the coal beds and he is working for Amamunga [*Amamenga*] now. I hope he gets her. Extremely wealthy. Makes believe to be poor. Industrious, shrewd, no English. This is the man who has fooled us so completely about his prosperity. We thought they were poor until just lately.

This completes the list of the Gambell inhabitants. It is the largest settlement on the island.

Camp Kivechluk [Qayilleq]

This is the next camp over the mountain from Gambell. Only two families live here.

Ungottinanowin [*Angqatenganwan*]. Lumber house. One handsome wife and one son in school when they move to Gambell for the whaling. This son, Ochkagami [*Uughqaghmi*], is the handsomest child here. The family is superstitious. Completely of the old regime of things. One young man cousin of the rest of them lives here also, Oseuk [*Uusiq*]. He speaks English and attends the men's night class when he came here.

Konooku [*Kunuka*]. Lumber house. Two children in school when he moves to Gambell. One daughter living with Otiyokok [*Ataayaghbaq*] his brother. When one brother has no children another divided with another. One small child. No wife. Brother to Boosha [*Pusaa*]. Good hunter. Industrious. Little English. Progressive. Wealthy. Pays his bills at the store but does not make many. With exceptions[s], most of these people trade mostly with Pederson. He brings good quality stuff, exactly what they want, they can see what they are getting, and they love more than anything the trading on shipboard. One cannot blame them. They care absolutely nothing about what things cost. They want what they want and they will get it.

I think the store would be smarter to copy his methods—charge a hundred percent profit and pay twice as much for their produce. The store this year paid for fox skins exactly what Pederson paid. But he bought them for seventeen-fifty and sold them for twice what the store sold the same thing for. The store sold cheaper and paid only ten for skins. They cannot see that it is the same thing besides their advantage of getting something back if the outside is still higher. It would be better to sell very high and very fine things and buy very high likewise. It is the only way to put the store on its feet with the richer ones.

Kozata's [Kuzaata] Camp [Nengiighbaq]

Kozata [*Kuzaata*]. Wife and baby. This is Apat's [*Apaata*] oldest daughter. Skin house. Industrious. English. Montowkoli [*Mangtaquli*] and Soonogrok [*Sunaagbruk*] are his half brothers. Wealthy. His lone house stands on the mountain on the way to everywhere. But fortunately for him, it is so near to Gambell that few people stop for "tea" on the way to and from places.

Taphok [Tapghuq]

Athalingok [*Aatghilngug*]. Log house but exactly like a skin house. Two wives, three grown daughters married, though his youngest, Kingonga [*Kingungha*] and her husband Apitiki [*Apeteki*] live with him most of the time. One small son. Industrious, wealthy, brother to Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*]. Little English, Independent. Friendly. Trades almost entirely with Pederson. Wears and eats and uses the very best of everything. His wives select the quietest patterns in goods and they know what is good when they see it. Best sewers on the island, perhaps. If you insist, they will make your skins as soft as fawnskin.

Soonogarook [*Sunaagbruk*]. Log house. Clean. One wife. No children. Wealthy. Industrious. English. Fair carver. Progressive. Bought about five hundred dollars worth of things from Pederson this year and bought the very best of things nor once asked the price. I was present.

Camp Collier [Kangee]

Nemiyak [*Nemaayaq*]. Two room log house. Seven in one room. Nemiyak [*Nemaayaq*] has two wives, one adopted daughter school age. Tatoowi [*Tatuwi*], youngest brother to Booshu [*Pusaa*], his wife and baby live with him. He is Nem's son-in-law. Very superstitious. Old fashioned. Nonprogressive. No English. Fair carver. Wealthy. Tatoowi [*Tatuwi*] is wealthy and speaks English and is not so superstitious as his father-in-law. In the other room live Assoonaghuk [*Asunaghaq*], brother to Nem, his wife, one grown son, Nunraelu [*Nanghila*] and his wife. He also has one grown son, Noongonuk [*Nungunag*], apprentice in Peniu's [*Pinaaya*] camp. Whole outfit wealthy. They do not invite every passing [dog] team to stop and have tea. This is the custom here and since nobody ever carries lunch, one who does not follow the custom in [disliked]. Nunraelu [*Nanghila*] speaks English.

Sevonga [Sivunagq] or Sepillu's [Sipela] Camp

Sepillu [*Sipela*]. Two room log house. Only house where one family uses two rooms. Though of course it is several families in one. 12 occupants. Clean house. One wife, three sons, two schoolage and exceedingly bright. One baby and one daughter living with her grandmother in Noongwook's [*Nunguk*] house. Wealthy, industrious. Most intelligent and independent man on the island. We like him very much because he is not cringing

nor timid about expressing his own views. He has disagreed with Mr. Burn several times about reindeer matters for which we regard him highly since he has been right each time. He is looked up to, a little feared, and a little disliked by most of the people because he has cast off all superstition nor will not respect the do's and don'ts out of fear of offending others. He is just the sort of man who would and could do big things. His half mother—one of his father's three wives—lives with him, also his foster brother, Tumbloo [*Tamlu*] and wife and his youngest foster brother Atata [*Ataata*=*Tengasqen*]. There are sons to the man whom his mother married. He was a real father to Sep and he is trying to be such a father to his young brothers as he calls them. They all seem to share equally. I expect Sep [*Sipela*] is worth in deer and other many things many thousands.

Noongwook [*Nunguk*]. Skin house. Eight occupants. Wife, mother-in-law, two bright sons school age, baby, apprentice Ifgachlak [*Ifkalleq*]. Brother-in-law to Sep. Son of Shulook [*Suluk*] in Gambell. Wealthy. Industrious. Good hunter. English. Good herder, according to Sep. By the way, all these people at Sep's camp are so wealthy and progressive because Sep has organized them into a body of cooperation that exceeds anything we ever saw. They hunt together, all under Sep's leadership. Sep appoints the watchers for the deer and looks after the welfare of the whole camp as if he were grandfather of everybody. This Noongwook [*Nunguk*] is next to Sep [*Sipela*] in intelligence and willingness to cooperate. They work together like brothers.

Oonmoohook [*Unmeggaq*]. Skin house. 15 occupants. Wife, one bright little girl school age. 3 small children. Brother Mugayok [*Meghyuq*], wife and baby; apprentice. Tungitoo [*Tangatu*], his wife, and two small children school age; and one bachelor Stegurook [*Estegraaq*], working for Tungitoo's [*Tangatu*] little daughter. Oonmoohook [*Unmeggaq*] and Steg are herders. Tungitoo [*Tangatu*] will be a herder next year and will move into his own house. Mugayok [*Meghyuq*] is not even an apprentice. He merely lives with his brother because he has nowhere else to live. He married Silook's [*Siluk*] sister. Oonmoohook [*Unmeggaq*] is one of the wealthiest of the herders and nobody ever sees how he gets it.

Annogiyak [*Anaghayaaq*]. Skin house, eleven occupants. Wife, daughter school age; Immingan [*Imingan*] his former apprentice lately made herder with his wife and four children; and Annogiyak's [*Anaghayaaq*] grandmother, oldest woman on the island, living with him. Wealthy. Industrious, English as all other reindeer boys. Good herder and

good hunter. A sweet sort of a man. His father is Tutmatolik [*Tutmatelele*] living over at Cape Citnak [*Sikneq*]. Immingan [*Imingan*] is one of the most interesting characters. He made a splendid apprentice because he is so industrious. He lives with the man to whom he was apprentice. He can do anything. He is a genius. He is the best singer and dancer and storyteller. He is a funny mimic and a lovable person.

Sep's [*Sipela*] whole camp is alive, cheerful, pleasant to be around. There is always laughter and singing and drums going in some house. They hunt every minute of all good weather. They have killed more meat at this camp than in Gambell. It is a group that might be excited to do almost anything that seemed practical to Sep. Sep is the ruling spirit.

Peniu's [*Pinaaya*] Camp

Peniu [*Pinaaya*]. Log house. 10 occupants. Wife, baby; apprentice Gologorongen [*Galaagerngen*], his wife and baby. Apprentice Akeyu [*Akiya*], herder Kundlook [*Qenluk*] and two old women. Wealthy, charming, good English, good hunter, fair herder. Chief of his camp. Peniu's [*Pinaaya*] father was a Siberian Eskimo though he was born here with St. Lawrence Island mother. He seeks to please and in truth he is one of the most pleasing persons on the island. He has an attractive bearing and voice.

Pungowivi [*Pangawyi*]. Log house. 13 occupants. Wife, three small children; brother Wongottollon [*Wanggetelen*] with his wife and five children; His apprentice Kiyuchluk [*Ggayeglluk*]. Both brothers Siberian. Born there. Very wealthy. Industrious. A good hunter and herder.

Metuchluk [*Meteghlluk*]. Log house. 11 occupants. Wife, baby, mother-in-law. Apprentice Noongonuk [*Nungunag*] with his wife and two small children. His wife's three younger brothers and sisters large enough for school. Fairly industrious.

Waghyi [*Waaghyi*]. A tiny log addition to Metuchluk's [*Meteghlluk*] house. 4 occupants. Wife, two small children.

Rakok [*Raaquq*]. Log house. 10 occupants. Wife, small child, one grown son, Awetuk

[*Awitag*], his apprentice, Alowa [*Aluwa*], and his wife and three small children one of which is of school age. His mother. He is brother to Ozeevooseuk [*Uzivusiq*]. Fair hunter. Fair herder, fairly superstitious, fair English. This fall when Farrar was visiting the camp, the men were attempting to lasso and mark the apprentices' deer. Nobody in the camp save Punggowiyi [*Pangawiyi*] could use the rope. Farrar was indignant. He told the men who had no ropes and who stood around with their hands drawn in out of their sleeves and warming them against their bellies that they must all have ropes next day and must learn how to use them between that night and next morning. That if they had no other rope they must bring a fishing line—anything. This Rakok [*Raaquq*], who is a solemn fellow, took him at his word and appeared with a little fishing line, and what was more remarkable actually caught one deer with it! Farrar told me this incident, but for my part, I don't see why they might not catch deer with fish line as well as any other sort.

Tumnik [*Tamniq*]

Kitluchkon [*Qillegbquun*]. Log house. 7 occupants. Wife, step father, Ekmalowa [*Iqmaluwa*], his two wives and one grown son, Toosuk [*Tuusaq*], and one grown daughter. Wealthy, industrious, good hunter, English. By the way, this Toosuk [*Tuusaq*] son to Ekmalowa [*Iqmaluwa*] has a Portuguese father who married his mother, one of the wives to Ekmalowa [*Iqmaluwa*], one time when he was wrecked here. When he left, he gave her many presents and continues to send her “whole trunks of fine dresses” according to the natives. Toosuk [*Tuusaq*], is named Booker by Dr. Campbell. He is intelligent and charming. He is working for Aningayu's [*Anengayuu*] daughter.

Otiyohok's [*Ataayaghbaq*] Camp

Otiyohok [*Ataayaghbaq*]. Log house. 8 occupants. Wife very bright, son in school when they move to Gambell. His brother Aginaloo [*Aghnilu*], and his two children and Malecutkuk [*Maligutkaq*], a frown bachelor working for Aginaloo's [*Aghnilu*] daughter. And Kokasowin [*Qukasaghun*], a dear man from Siberia lives with him also as sort of servant. Wealthy. Brother to Booshu [*Pusaa*]. Industrious. Very funny. Always laughing. Good English. Independent.

Echuk's [Iggak] Camp

Echuk [Iggak]. Log house. 5 occupants. Wife, two small children, mother. He is cousin to Aningayu [Anengayuu]. Fairly wealthy. Fair hunter. English. Moves to Gambell for the whaling in common with the rest of the world. He is a nice sort of fellow with a pleasant voice.

Ataka's [Ataqa] Camp

Ataka [Ataqa]. 16 by 24 tent. 12 occupants. This is larger than most of the houses. Ataka [Ataqa] has an old wife and no children; He has adopted two, one of school age; Kingeekuk [Kingiikag] and his wife, cousins, and Kolowiya [Kalaawiyi] and his wife live with him; Kanuchtugayuk [Kaneghteghyaq], his wife and two children all live together in this tent on the extreme east side of the island. Ataka [Ataqa], and I suppose those who live with him, are wealthy. Ataka [Ataqa] speaks good English in the most musical voice I remember to have heard anywhere. He is industrious and usually catches more foxes than any other man. He caught thirty-eight this year, while the largest number caught by any other man was thirteen. He is friendly, progressive, not objectionably superstitious. A heavy trader with Pederson but he pays his store bills.

Cape Chitnak [Sikneg]

Tutmatolik [Tutmateleik]. Half underground log house with split whalebone roof. Sep [Sipela] built it for himself when the deer were over there. It still belongs to Sep. 5 occupants. Wife, three children school age. One of his daughters, Mahkanak [Maghqaneq], is the prettiest girl on the island. She has no tattooed marks. Sep's younger brother, Atata [Ataata], wants to marry her, but Sep says they are too young yet and he wants to be sure they love each other. Tutmatolik [Tutmateleik] is wealthy, a good hunter though he is getting old. Always has plenty of white man's food. Herder Annogiyak [Anaghayaaq] is his son and boss. No English. His children are bright.

SW Cape [Puguhileq]

Oktokiyok [Aghtuqaayak], Iwurrigan [Aywergen] and Irrogoo [Iirgu] live together, sometimes all three families in the skin house, sometimes one family in the lumber house, sometimes one of the families in Gambell where they also have two houses. Oktokiyok is

the boss of the outfit by reason of his shrewdness and extreme cleverness. The skin house in which he lives belongs to old man Anowgatuk [*Anagutag*], who is dependent on him now for support. 15 occupants when they are all there. Oktokiyok [*Aghtuqaayak*] has a wife and two adopted sons. Old man Anow [*Anagutag*] belongs to his family. Iwurrikan [*Aywerigen*] has a wife, one crippled son, one adopted daughter and one real baby whom they will give to Oktok when it is weaned. Irrogo [*Iirgu*] has a wife and two children. This outfit is wealthy, good hunters, industrious, progressive in the taking of new customs, superstitious.

Ugulowuk [*Aglughag*]. Skin house with lumber house adjoining, which the store rented this year. 11 occupants. Father Agak [*Agag*], old mother and their two grown unmarried children; his (Ungu's) wife, three children; brother Umworri [*Amwaari*] with his young wife. Umworri has heart disease. Ungu [*Aglughag*] is his brother-in-law. He is wealthy, not much English, industrious, good hunter, superstitious, fairly progressive. He and the Oktokiyok [*Aghtuqaayak*] family trade largely with Pederson but considerably with the store also. The SW Cape bunch live to themselves

By the way, Irrogo [*Iirgu*], Richard's [*Aghtuqaayak*] youngest brother was a member of the men's night class when he was in Gambell.

Solkwako's [*Elqwaaghqu*] Camp [*Ngusiik*, Boxer Bay]

Solkwako [*Elqwaaghqu*]. Skin house. 5 occupants. Wife, three small children, and mother. He is moving his lumber house from Gambell to SW Cape now where he will live most of the year. He whales with that crew. Wealthy, industrious, English, good hunter. Killed the only polar bear this winter which has been killed.

[...] This is the last camp on the island. We are back around to Gambell again. It is about three hundred miles around the island this way and I am tired and I know you must be worn out. I hope it has been worth this work to you. I do not want our likes and dislikes to color the picture to you. One is sure to think his period of activity a momentous one. The natives truly do not remember even the names of the teachers save the Campbells and the most recent ones, and most of them have forgotten back of Dooley. I cannot think that, in view of that, that any [of that] matters, still they have grown to their present

state of superiority over their next of kin, the Siberian Eskimos, just by the efforts of the teachers. Not much progress is made in any particular year, but certainly some progress has been made in the quarter of a century during which the gov[ernment] has been working. I wish you every success and a pleasant year. I wouldn't take a million for my year up here but I wouldn't give a dime for another one. That is why I am trying so hard to give you the complete story of our year—to ease my conscience for leaving so soon. Mr. Burn may remain. He actually likes the country and the climate and feels the worthwhileness in the work he has not found elsewhere. Take good care of him if he is with you next year.

Best wishes,

Jane Burn

Fourteenth Census of the United States:
List of St. Lawrence Island Residents
January 1920

The St. Lawrence Island residents (total recorded population of 303) were registered in 1920 by seven individual "places" or "villages": Gambell, Chivokok (*Sivuqaq*), Powoaluk (*Pugughileq*), Kanee (*Kangee*), Chivona (*Sivungaq*), Ivishtok (*Ayyigteq*), and Tunanik (*Tamniq*), for which separate tables have been composed.

For all island residents listed in the Fourteenth Census, their place of birth as well as that of their parents was recorded as "St. Lawrence Island" (see p. 39). This was certainly incorrect in many cases, particularly for the elderly generation that included many people born in or originated from Siberia. These data are therefore not reproduced in this table. People's native language ("mother tongue") in all census records was also erroneously listed as "Kutchin."

Yupik Name spelling and clan identifications for people listed in the 1920 Census were contributed by Willis Walunga (*Kepelgu*) in winter of 1999. His additions to the original census data are put in italics. For the final publication, the census table was cross-checked again by Christopher Koonooka (*Petuwaq*) in June 2002.

Symbols: ##—Personal number in the Census sheet; F #—Family number in the Census sheet; H #—House number in the Census sheet; Sex—Male (M) or Female (F); Marital Status (MS)—Married (Mr), Single (Sg), or Widowed (Wd).

Clan names and abbreviations: *Ingl*—*Ingleghnaghmiit*; *Kang*—*Kangighmiit*;
Kiwa—*Kiwatangaghmiit*; *Kiya*—*Kiyaligaghmiit*; *Mara*—*Maramakut*;
Mere—*Meregte miit*; *Nang*—*Nangupagaghmiit*; *Nasq*—*Nasqaghmiit*;
Neng—*Nengiighhaghmiit*; *Paga*—*Pagalighmiit* (section of *Sanighmelnguut*);
Pugu—*Pugughileghmiit*; *Qjwa*—*Qjwaghmiit*; *Sani*—*Sanighmelnguut/Aymaramka*;
Siq—*Siqllugmiit*; *Tapg*—*Tapghughmiit*; *Uwa*—*Uwaaliit*; *main*—Alaskan mainlander(s)

Total recorded island population of 303 included "native" ("native-born") families only. Families of *Amagu* and *Siivaghaq* of the *Laakaghmiit* clan in Savoonga (*Sivungaq*), and of *Alngiwhataq* of the

Inleghnaghmiit clan in Gambell, all of Siberian origin, were not registered in the census sheets. Those families were permanently living on the island by 1920. In addition, a few Siberian families of the *Laakaghmiit* clan from the village of *Ungaziq* were wintering in Gambell in 1920–21. This brought total island Yupik population in 1920 up to 315 to 320.

Two school-teachers: Jessie Tashner (44) from Ohio and Reginald V. Dooley (30), naturalized British-born were listed as individual “families” in *Chivokok* (*Sivuqaq*) under nos. 58 and 59.

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL CENSUS SHEET OF THE 1920 CENSUS FOR
ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND, ALASKA

FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920
POPULATION—ALASKA

CENSUS DISTRICT Second
 CENSUS TRACT St. Lawrence Island
 NAME OF INSTITUTION _____

| PLACE OF ABODE | | | NAME of each person whose place of abode on January 1, 1920, was in this family. Enter surname first, then the given name and middle initial, if any. Exclude every person living on January 1, 1920. Omit children born since January 1, 1920. | RELATION. | SEX | | RACE | | AGE | | MARRIAGE | YEARS IN ALASKA |
|----------------|----|----|---|-----------|-----|---|------|---|-----|----|----------|-----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | | | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | | |
| ✓ | 14 | 14 | Hokhokohok. | Head | | O | F | M | In | 45 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Timmewin. | Wife | | | | F | In | 54 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Boolowon. | Brother | | | | M | In | 30 | S | |
| ✓ | | | Eghunuk. | Brother | | | | M | In | 37 | S | |
| ✓ | | | Tevuk. | Mother | | | | F | In | 65 | Wd | |
| ✓ | | | Supowhotuk, Elster | Nephew | | | | M | In | 26 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Aleghoolook, Betty. | Niece | | | | F | In | 25 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Omaru. | Daughter | | | | F | Ir | 3 | S | |
| ✓ | | | Angosan. | Son | | | | M | Ir | | S | |
| ✓ | | | Anatoongu, Victoria. | Niece | | | | F | Ir | 18 | | |
| ✓ | 15 | 15 | Tangyan. | Head | | O | F | M | In | 55 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Neliktuk. | Wife | | | | F | In | 55 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Ooviktuk, Chester. | Son | | | | M | In | 16 | S | |
| ✓ | | | Oogho, Esther. | Daughter | | | | F | In | 6 | S | |
| ✓ | 16 | 16 | Akonohloohak. | Head | | O | F | M | In | 47 | Wd | |
| ✓ | | | Yagamakon, George. | Son | | | | M | In | 13 | S | |
| ✓ | | | Pinekotuk, Ada. | Daughter | | | | F | In | 12 | S | |
| ✓ | | | Pinenahlak, Lida. | Daughter | | | | F | In | 5 | S | |
| ✓ | 17 | 17 | Aktokiyak, Richard. | Head | | O | F | M | In | 43 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Athanga, Edna. | Wife | | | | F | In | 39 | Wd | |
| ✓ | | | Akohineshak, Carl. | Son | | | | M | In | 3 | S | |
| ✓ | | | Anahutuk. | Boarder | | | | M | In | 54 | Ec. | |
| ✓ | 18 | 18 | Silook, Paul. | Head | | W | | M | In | 27 | M | |
| ✓ | | | Wooohok, Margaret. | Wife | | | | F | In | 25 | Wd | |
| ✓ | | | Sinohak, Nolan. | Son | | | | M | In | 4 | S | |

1920 CENSUS OF ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND, ALASKA

NAME OF PLACE Chisikok St. Lawrence Is.

ENUMERATED BY ME ON THE 8th DAY OF Jan

| CITIZENSHIP. | | | EDUCATION. | | | NATIVITY AND MOTHER TONGUE | | | |
|--------------|----|----|------------|-----|-----|--|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 12 | 14 | 16 | 10 | 17 | 18 | Place of birth of each person and parents of each person enumerated. If born in the United States, give the state or territory. If not and, in addition, the mother tongue, as per instructions. | | | |
| | | | | | | PERSON. | | FATHER. | |
| | | | | | | Place of birth. | Mother tongue. | Place of birth. | Mother tongue. |
| 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | | | | | | |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | Yes | Yes | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | Yes | Yes | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | | | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | | | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | Yes | Yes | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | Yes | Yes | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | Yes | | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | Yes | Yes | Yes | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | Yes | Yes | Yes | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | | | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | No | No | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | Yes | Yes | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | Yes | Yes | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |
| | | | | | | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin | St. Lawrence, Id. | Kutchin |

1. Village of Gambell (Enumerated on January 2, 1920)

| ## | H# | F# | Registered Name | Registered First Name | Yupik Name | Relation to Head | Sex | Age | MS | Clan |
|----|----|----|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----|-----|----|-------------|
| 1 | 1 | 1 | Oozeversook | Andrew | <i>Uzivusiq</i> | Head | M | 39 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 2 | | | Singlungu | Una | <i>Singlenga</i> | Wife | F | 39 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 3 | | | Azook | Stanley | <i>Aazuk</i> | Son | M | 15 | Sg | |
| 4 | | | Wiyungi | Josephine | <i>Wayengi</i> | Daughter | F | 12 | Sg | |
| 5 | | | Noosookuk | Bryan | <i>Nusukaq</i> | Son | M | 6 | Sg | |
| 6 | | | Egahotuk (?) | Glen | <i>Ngiiggutaq</i> | Son | M | 2 | Sg | |
| 7 | | | Wayu | Sarah | <i>Wiya</i> | Mother | F | 79 | Wd | |
| 8 | | | Kaspoongu | Addison | <i>Qipenga</i> | Brother | M | 28 | Sg | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 9 | 2 | 2 | Booshu | | <i>Pusaa</i> | Head | M | 44 | Wd | <i>Sani</i> |
| 10 | | | Iuwikson (?) | Ernest | <i>Ayuwighsaan</i> | Son | M | 17 | Sg | |
| 11 | | | Nanganun (?) | Ben | <i>Nuugnau</i> | Son | M | 11 | Sg | |
| 12 | | | Nuguyuk (?) | Solomon | <i>Neghyuk</i> | Son | M | 5 | Sg | |
| 13 | 3 | 3 | Koonooka | Tom | <i>Kunuka</i> | Head | M | 44 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 14 | | | Avehlkeak | Elfie | <i>Avelqiiq</i> | Wife | F | 37 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 15 | | | Ananganuk | | <i>Anangiinaq</i> | Daughter | F | 14 | Sg | |
| 16 | | | Ghemungowin | Lilly | <i>Gimangaawen</i> | Daughter | F | 9 | Sg | |
| 17 | | | Toowari | Harold | <i>Tiiwri</i> | Son | M | 7 | Sg | |
| 18 | 4 | 4 | Aningiyou | James | <i>Anengayuu</i> | Head | M | 42 | Mr | <i>Mere</i> |
| 19 | | | Akumahoni | Susie | <i>Ukaagbhani</i> | Wife | F | 36 | Mr | <i>Mere</i> |
| 20 | | | | Ethel | <i>Riighnak</i> | Daughter | F | 14 | Sg | |
| 21 | | | Kistevik | Stephen | <i>Kiistivik</i> | Son | M | 11 | Sg | |
| 22 | | | | Norman | <i>Genuk</i> | Son | M | 8 | Sg | |
| 23 | | | | | <i>Atangu</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------|----|----|-------------|-------------|
| 24 | | | | <i>Puguuq</i> | Mother | F | 64 | Wd | | |
| 25 | | Kogassgun | Martin | <i>Qukasaghun</i> | Servant | M | 39 | Sg | <i>Ingl</i> | |
| 26 | 5 | 5 | Shoolook | <i>Suluk</i> | Head | M | 59 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> | |
| 27 | | | Kiskanga | <i>Qisgenga</i> | Wife | F | 57 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> | |
| 28 | | | Vomkon | Patrick | <i>Waamguun</i> | Son | M | 38 | Mr | |
| 29 | | | Novoyellingok | Nellie | <i>Nuugigalngug</i> | D.-in-law | F | 38 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 30 | | | Amamingu | Mary | <i>Amamenga</i> | Daughter | F | 27 | Sg | |
| 31 | | | Oovi | Loyd | <i>Uvi</i> | Son | M | 23 | Sg | |
| 32 | | | Opitiki | Homer | <i>Apeteki</i> | Son | M | 20 | Sg | |
| 33 | | | Akanangaghak | Fanzy | <i>Aghnangiighaq</i> | Daughter | F | 13 | Sg | |
| 34 | | | Angeko | Nina | <i>Angiku</i> | Gr.daught. | F | 11 | Sg | |
| 35 | | | Kavenkuk | Tracy (?) | <i>Aymergen</i> | Grandson | M | 3 | Sg | |
| 36 | | | Aknaly | Leah | <i>Aghnali</i> | Gr.daught | F | 1 | Sg | |
| 37 | 6 | 6 | Iknilowa | | <i>Iqmaluwa</i> | Head | M | 51 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 38 | | | Makaghak | | <i>Mikaghaq</i> | Wife | F | 50 | Mr | <i>Paga</i> |
| 39 | | | Aknaghakpuk | | <i>Aghnaghaghpak</i> | 2nd wife | F | 48 | Un? | <i>Mara</i> |
| 40 | | | Toozak | Booker | <i>Tuusaq</i> | Son | M | 16 | Sg | |
| 41 | | | Kinelo | Rachel | <i>Agigsuk</i> | Daughter | F | 10 | Sg | |
| 42 | 7 | 7 | Soonagarok | Moses | <i>Sunaagbruk</i> | Head | M | 34 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 43 | | | Iyapa | | <i>Ayapaa</i> | Wife | F | 39 | Mr | <i>Nang</i> |
| 44 | 8 | 8 | Athalingok | | <i>Aatghilnguk</i> | Head | M | 44 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 45 | | | Otooku | | <i>Utuaq</i> | Wife | F | 41 | Mr | |
| 46 | | | Koohngu | | <i>Quunnga</i> | Sis.-2nd wi | F | 35 | Un? | |
| 47 | | | Anaghaluk | Thelma | <i>Kingungha</i> | Daughter | F | 17 | Sg | |
| 48 | | | Kangaluk | | <i>Tugutkayuk</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |

Here ends the enumeration of Gambell village

2. Village of Chivokak (*Sivuqaq*) (Enumerated on January 8–9, 1920)

| ## | H# | F# | Registered Name | Registered First Name | Yupik Name | Relation to Head | Sex | Age | MS | Clan |
|----|----|----|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----|-----|----|-------------|
| 49 | 9 | 9 | Attiahok | Jimmie | <i>Ataayaghbaq</i> | Head | M | 46? | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 50 | | | Okwanangan | Isabel | <i>Ukaamangan</i> | Wife | F | 24 | Mr | <i>Kiwa</i> |
| 51 | | | Avaluk | Roland | <i>Ayaleq</i> | Son | M | 9 | Sg | |
| 52 | | | Anguluk | | | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |
| 53 | 10 | 10 | Aguheluk | Peter | <i>Aghnilu</i> | Head | M | 41 | Wd | <i>Sani</i> |
| 54 | | | Napak | Florence | <i>Napaaq</i> | Daughter | F | 14 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |
| 55 | | | Anowaluk | | <i>Anaghaluk</i> | Daughter | F | 5 | Sg | |
| 56 | | | Oyatowen | Sadie | <i>Uyatuwan</i> | Daughter | F | 9 | Sg | |
| 57 | | | Enok | | <i>Inuuq</i> | Lodger | M | 42 | Sg | |
| 58 | | | Malakhotuk | Chauncy | <i>Maligutkaq</i> | Lodger | M | 20 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |
| 59 | 11 | 11 | Napaghaya | | <i>Napaghya</i> | Head | M | 51 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 60 | | | Aknapehak | | <i>Aghnapiggaq</i> | Wife | F | 50 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 61 | | | Calowiyi | Albert | <i>Kalawyi</i> | Son | M | 24 | Sg | |
| 62 | | | Ahayu | May | <i>Aghhaaya</i> | Daughter | F | 14 | Sg | |
| 63 | | | Aminiki | | <i>Ameneki</i> | Daughter | F | 7 | Sg | |
| 64 | 12 | 12 | Ehok | Calvin | <i>Iggak</i> | Head | M | 39 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 65 | | | Anakatongu | Dinah | <i>Anaghaatanga</i> | Wife | F | 39 | Mr | <i>Paga</i> |
| 66 | | | Akooto | Moses | <i>Aqutu</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |
| 67 | | | Pamayook | Lucy | <i>Pamayuk</i> | Mother | F | 68 | Wd | |
| 68 | 13 | 13 | Iwarigan | Ira | <i>Aywerger</i> | Head | M | 51 | Mr | <i>Nang</i> |
| 69 | | | Yakoomni (?) | Nellie | <i>Yaghunga</i> | Wife | F | 49 | Mr | ? |
| 70 | | | Toikatuk | William | <i>Uniihtaqaq</i> | Son | M | 13 | Sg | |
| 71 | | | Kanlook (?) | Ray | <i>Uyaatiqaq</i> | Son | M | 7 | Sg | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------|----|-----|----------------|
| 72 | | | Beatrice | <i>Mategtaq</i> | Daughter | F | 11 | Sg | |
| 73 | | Taka | Tom | <i>Taayqa</i> | Son | M | 15 | Sg | |
| 74 | 14 | 14 | Hokhkoghok | Loon | <i>Eghqaaghaq</i> | Head | M | 45 | Mr <i>Nasq</i> |
| 75 | | | Tinmewin | | <i>Tenmiiwen</i> | Wife | F | 54 | Mr <i>Pugu</i> |
| 76 | | | Boolowon | | <i>Pulaaghun</i> | Brother | M | 39 | Sg |
| 77 | | | Eghunuk | Edgar | <i>Ighennaq</i> | Brother | M | 37 | Sg |
| 78 | | | Ievuk | | <i>Ayevaq</i> | Mother | F | 65 | Wd <i>Uwa</i> |
| 79 | | | Nupowhotuk | Lister | <i>Napaghutaq</i> | Nephew | M | 26 | Mr <i>Nasq</i> |
| 80 | | | Ahlegholook | Betty | <i>Allighaluk</i> | Niece | F | 25 | Mr <i>Pugu</i> |
| 81 | | | Omaru | Dora | <i>Umara</i> | Daughter | F | 3 | Sg |
| 82 | | | Angosan | Mark | <i>Angusaan</i> | Son | M | ... | Sg |
| 83 | | | Anatoongu | Victoria | <i>Anataanga</i> | Niece | F | 18 | ...? |
| 84 | 15 | 15 | Tangyan | | <i>Taangyan</i> | Head | M | 55 | Mr <i>Pugu</i> |
| 85 | | | Ngliktuk | | <i>Enlegtaq</i> | Wife | F | 55 | Mr <i>Nasq</i> |
| 86 | | | Ooviktuk | Chester | <i>Uveketaaq</i> | Son | M | 16 | Sg |
| 87 | | | Oogho | Esther | <i>Aaga</i> | Daughter | F | 6 | Sg |
| 88 | 16 | 16 | Akonohloohak | | <i>Aghnaghlluggaq</i> | Head | F | 47 | Wd <i>Pugu</i> |
| 89 | | | Yagamekon | George | <i>Yaagmiqun</i> | Son | M | 13 | Sg |
| 90 | | | Pinekotuk | Ada | <i>Panikutaaq</i> | Daughter | F | 12 | Sg |
| 91 | | | Pinepahlak | Lida | <i>Panipaalla</i> | Daughter | F | 5 | Sg |
| 92 | 17 | 17 | Aktokiyak | Richard | <i>Aghtuqaayak</i> | Head | M | 43 | Mr <i>Nang</i> |
| 93 | | | Athanga | Edna | <i>Atghaanga</i> | Wife | F | 39 | Mr <i>Pugu</i> |
| 94 | | | Akohlpeghak | Frank | <i>Akulpeghaq</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg |
| 95 | | | Anahotuk | | <i>Anagutaq</i> | Lodger | M | 54 | Wd <i>Pugu</i> |
| 96 | 18 | 18 | Silook | Paul | <i>Siluk</i> | Head | M | 27 | Mr <i>Sani</i> |
| 97 | | | Moowhok | Margaret | <i>Muuggaq</i> | Wife | F | 25 | Mr <i>Sani</i> |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------------|------------|---|-----|----|-------------|
| 98 | | Kunohak | Nolan | <i>Kanuggaq</i> | Son | M | 4 | Sg | | |
| 99 | 19 | 19 | Ogoolki | | <i>Akulki</i> | Head | M | 75 | Wd | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 100 | | Oseuk | Walter | | <i>Uusiiq</i> | Grandson | M | 20 | Sg | |
| 101 | 20 | 20 | Yavakseuk | | <i>Yaavagahsiq</i> | Head | M | 50 | Mr | <i>Neng</i> |
| 102 | | Kerooku | | | <i>Kiruka</i> | Wife | F | 47 | Mr | <i>Uwa</i> |
| 103 | | Peskwaktuk | Arther | | <i>Piiskwaghtaq</i> | Son | M | 25 | Sg | |
| 104 | | Anangseuk | Alice | | <i>Aghwalngiiq</i> | Daughter | F | 13 | Sg | |
| 105 | | Kiyahak | Anna | | <i>Qayaghbaq</i> | Daughter | F | 9 | Sg | |
| 106 | | Koozatu | Warren | | <i>Kuzaata</i> | Nephew | M | 27 | Mr | <i>Neng</i> |
| 107 | | Tuparwak | Lucile | | <i>Teparghuq</i> | Niece | F | 18 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 108 | | Kowyeluk | John | | <i>Qawyalek</i> | Son | M | Un? | Sg | |
| 109 | 21 | 21 | Mantukoly | Monti | <i>Mangtiaquli</i> | Head | M | 42 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 110 | | Aknahlkwapuk | | | <i>Aghnalqwaapak</i> | Wife | F | 37 | Mr | <i>Kang</i> |
| 111 | | Anungti | Alex | | <i>Anangti</i> | Son | M | 16 | Sg | |
| 112 | | Tonralingok | John | | <i>Tunghilnguuq</i> | Son | M | 7 | Sg | |
| 113 | | Agoolakhok | Bessie | | <i>Aghbulaghquq</i> | Daughter | F | 3 | Sg | |
| 114 | 22 | 22 | Timkeroo | | <i>Temkeruu</i> | Head | M | 43 | Mr | <i>Tapq</i> |
| 115 | | Tootu | | | <i>Tuuta</i> | Wife | F | 48 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 116 | | Atagak | | | <i>Atagaq</i> | Cousin | F | 47 | Un | |
| 117 | | Yokhkoiutuk | Robert | | <i>Yughqutaq</i> | S.in-law | M | 20 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 118 | | Oovakayu | Edna | | <i>Sivuguuq</i> | Daughter | F | 18 | Mr | |
| 119 | | Avaluk | Beda | | <i>Avalak</i> | Gr.daught. | F | 2 | Sg | |
| 120 | 23 | 23 | Koningok | | <i>Qanenguuq</i> | Head | M | 49 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 121 | | Yagho | | | <i>Yaaghu</i> | Wife | F | 49 | Mr | <i>Uwa</i> |
| 122 | | Tokoya | Nita | | <i>Tukuuya</i> | Daughter | F | 22 | Mr | |
| 123 | | Ifkahluk | Irving | | <i>Ifkalleq</i> | Son | M | 16 | Sg | |
| 124 | | Yshgonak (?) | Lena | | <i>Qellaamruk</i> | Daughter | F | 11 | Sg | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------|----------------|-----------------|----------|---|-----|----|-------------|
| 125 | | Tapesuk | Abraham | <i>Tapiisak</i> | Son | M | 8 | Sg | |
| 126 | | Atlahok | Willard | <i>Atlegbuq</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |
| 127 | | Maskin | Philip | <i>Maasgen</i> | S-in-law | M | 22 | Mr | <i>Sigl</i> |
| 128 | 24 | 24 | Konahak | | Head | M | 69 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 129 | | | Akayiku | Dorcas | Wife | F | 59 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 130 | | | Iknakenuk | Ruth | Daughter | F | 17 | Sg | |
| 131 | | | Kirngoktekuk | Snowflake | 2nd wife | F | 32 | Wd | <i>Sigl</i> |
| 132 | | | Iyu | Nat | Son | M | 14 | Sg | |
| 133 | | | Anagahlkoyak | Flora | Daughter | F | 9 | Sg | |
| 134 | | | Atahlok | Howard | Son | M | 6 | Sg | |
| 135 | | | Wahlu | Ina | Daughter | F | 1 | Sg | |
| 136 | 25 | 25 | Ongiluk | | Head | M | 59 | Mr | <i>Nang</i> |
| 137 | | | Wahlkotu | | Wife | F | 69 | Mr | |
| 138 | | | Kavalakhak | Wallace | Son | M | 6 | Sg | |
| 139 | | | Irigo | Samuel | Cousin | M | 31 | Mr | <i>Nang</i> |
| 140 | | | Sonkongu | Esther | Wife | F | 30 | Mr | |
| 141 | | | Minglo | Clarence | Son | M | 5 | Sg | |
| 142 | | | Iuki | Ora | Daughter | F | 3 | Sg | |
| 143 | 26 | 26 | Opootu | | Head | M | 43 | Wd | <i>Sani</i> |
| 144 | | | Okoolaukuk | Susie | Daughter | F | 12 | Sg | |
| 145 | | | Okonomogomi ? | Sarah | Daughter | F | 8 | Sg | |
| 146 | 27 | 27 | Yoghok | Adam | Head | M | 33 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 147 | | | Tongotok | | Wife | F | 55? | Mr | <i>Kiya</i> |
| 148 | | | Tigulungalagha | Emilie | Daughter | F | 8 | Sg | |
| 149 | | | Blassi | Lincoln | Brother | M | 25 | Sg | |
| 150 | 28 | 28 | Masaiu | | Head | M | 57 | Wd | <i>Uwa</i> |
| 151 | | | Niingaragak | Henry | Son | M | 13 | Sg | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|----------------|---------|-----------------------|----------|---|-----|----|-------------|
| 152 | 29 | 29 | Ungottinganwan | Dick | <i>Angqatenganwan</i> | Head | M | 44 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 153 | | | Anasook | | <i>Anasuk</i> | Wife | F | 37 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 154 | | | Okhkokumi | Edie | <i>Uuqhqaqhmii</i> | Son | M | 14? | Sg | |
| 155 | 30 | 30 | Iyakitan | Healy | <i>Ayakitaan</i> | Head | M | 50 | Mr | <i>Uwa</i> |
| 156 | | | Noknaghon | Mary | <i>Nuqneghun</i> | Wife | F | 30 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 156 | | | Upkok | Daisy | <i>Epeqaaq</i> | Daughter | F | 13 | Sg | |
| 158 | | | Kinooko | Carl | <i>Uwaliq</i> | Son | M | 7 | Sg | |
| 159 | | | Ozuk | Daniel | <i>Uuzak</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |
| 160 | | | Ahlingu | Adelina | <i>Aallenga</i> | Daughter | F | 1 | Sg | |
| 161 | | | Papogak | | <i>Papeqaaq</i> | Cousin | F | 59 | Wd | |
| 162 | | | Segohak | Ida | <i>Sikaaghhaq</i> | Niece | F | 11 | Sg | |
| 163 | 31 | 31 | Menuk | | <i>Minaq</i> | Head | M | 66 | Mr | ? |
| 164 | | | Owawin | | <i>Uwhaawen</i> | Wife | F | 67 | Mr | ? |
| 165 | | | Savla | Jack | <i>Aantaghmii</i> | Grandson | M | 10 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |

Here ends the enumeration of Gambell village

3. Powoaluk (*Puguhileq*) (Enumerated on January 12, 1920)

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|-------------|---------|--------------------|----------|---|----|----|-------------|
| 166 | 32 | 32 | Aglowak | Harry | <i>Aglughaq</i> | Head | M | 36 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 167 | | | Natakume | Lillian | <i>Nateghmii</i> | Wife | F | 24 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 168 | | | Nangeghak | Bernice | <i>Naangighaq</i> | Daughter | F | 6 | Sg | |
| 169 | | | Karwi | Helen | <i>Kargi</i> | Daughter | F | 3 | Sg | |
| 170 | 33 | 33 | Agok | | <i>Agaaq</i> | Head | M | 70 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 171 | | | Etukoyaghak | | <i>Ireghyaghaq</i> | Wife | F | 67 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |

* According to the late *Aghwalngiiq* (Alice Yavakseuk, 1907–2002), *Minaq* came from a separate small clan, *Sitmiit*; he was somehow related to *Kaawhtaan* and other people of the *Kiwatangghmii* clan, formerly from the eastern section of the island (Christopher Koonooka's note, 2002).

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|----------|----|----|--------------|
| 172 | Napokahok | Bill | <i>Napaqagbhaq</i> | Son | M | 18 | Sg | |
| 173 | Okoomu | Hilda | <i>Ukuma</i> | Daughter | F | 14 | Sg | |
| 174 | 34 34 | Unwari | <i>Amwaari</i> | Head | M | 24 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 175 | | Asa | <i>Aasa</i> | Wife | F | 23 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 176 | 35 35 | Tootmiteluk | <i>Tumatelek</i> | Head | M | 45 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 177 | | Boohon | <i>Puughhun</i> | Wife | F | 44 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 178 | | Kakhkanik | <i>Akivik</i> | Daughter | F | 8 | Sg | |
| 179 | | Kava | Bobby | <i>Kaava</i> | Son | M | 6 | Sg |
| 180 | | Ikanook | Nora | <i>Ikanuq</i> | Daughter | F | 4 | Sg |
| 181 | 36 36 | Kanikhtukayak | <i>Kaneghteghyaq</i> | Head | M | 37 | Mr | <i>Qiuwa</i> |
| 182 | | Taliknuk | <i>Taliqnaq</i> | Wife | F | 43 | Mr | <i>Qiuwa</i> |
| 183 | | Aknanahok | <i>Aghnaanaghbaq</i> | Daughter | F | 5 | Sg | |
| 184 | | Oosuhok | Daisy | <i>Umiighbaq</i> | Daughter | F | 2? | Sg |

4. Kanee (*Kangee*) (Enumerated on January 14, 1920)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|----|----|--------------|-------------|
| 185 | 36 37 | Asoona | <i>Asunaghaq</i> | Head | M | 63 | Mr | <i>Kang</i> | |
| 186 | | Tupanga | <i>Tupanga</i> | Wife | F | 61 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> | |
| 187 | | Nunraluh | Norman | <i>Nanghila</i> | Son | M | 29 | Mr | <i>Kang</i> |
| 188 | | Okwokayagan | <i>Ukeghyaghaan</i> | D.-in-law | F | 29 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> | |
| 189 | 37 38 | Nimayak | <i>Nemaayaq</i> | Head | M | 56 | Mr | <i>Kang</i> | |
| 190 | | Panagah | <i>Paniigha</i> | Wife | F | 59 | Mr | | |
| 191 | | Asapenuk | <i>Asapinaq</i> | 2nd wife | F | 40 | Sg | | |
| 192 | | Aninganga | <i>Anengaanga</i> | Son | M | 15 | Sg | <i>Kangi</i> | |
| 193 | | Lkaluk | Flora | <i>Elqilaq</i> | Gr.daught. | F | 6 | Sg | |
| 194 | | Tatoowi | Morris | <i>Tatuwi</i> | S-in-law | M | 29 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 195 | | Okwalu | Ukaala | <i>Ukaala</i> | Daughter | F | 24 | Mr | |
| 196 | | Kamoli | <i>Qamughli</i> | Gr.daught | F | 2 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|-------------|----------|---------------------|------------|---|----|----|--------------|
| 197 | 38 | 39 | Ataka | | <i>Ataqa</i> | Head | M | 60 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 198 | | | Okah | | <i>Aqaa</i> | Wife | F | 57 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 200 | | | Kingeekuk | Theodore | <i>Kingiikaq</i> | Son | M | 19 | Sg | |
| 201 | | | Avrowhok | Mariam | <i>Avrugaq</i> | Gr.daught. | F | 16 | Sg | |
| 202 | | | Kokeyanga | Eya | <i>Kukiyanga</i> | Gr.daught. | F | 12 | Sg | |
| 203 | | | Ngongiyu | Edward | <i>Nguungaya</i> | Grandson | M | 6 | Sg | |
| 204 | | | Tokoserayuk | | <i>Tuqusighayuk</i> | Lodger | M | 39 | Sg | <i>Mainl</i> |
| 205 | | | Aveeuhok | Elsie | <i>Aviyuwahaq</i> | Gr.daught | F | 2 | Sg | |

5. Village of Chivona (*Sivungaq*) (Enumerated on January 15, 1920)

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|---------------|---------|---------------------|----------|---|-----|----|-------------|
| 206 | | 40 | Tungitoo | Jacob | <i>Tangatu</i> | Head | M | 38 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 207 | | | Yari | | <i>Yaari</i> | Wife | F | 41 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 208 | | | Ango | Anna | <i>Angu</i> | Daughter | F | 10 | Sg | |
| 209 | | | Kunok | Lucille | <i>Qaanaq</i> | Daughter | F | 4 | Sg | |
| 210 | | | Atiku | | <i>Ateka</i> | Mother | F | 61 | Wd | |
| 211 | | 41 | Owittilin | Daniel | <i>Uwetelen</i> | Head | M | 54 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 212 | | | Kayusek | | <i>Qiyasiq</i> | Wife | F | 54 | Mr | <i>Uwa</i> |
| 213 | | | Emarmee | Oscar | <i>Imaghmii</i> | Son | M | 14 | Sg | |
| 214 | | | Apangalook | John | <i>Apangaluaq</i> | Son | M | 9 | Sg | |
| 215 | 39 | 42 | Noongwook | Olin | <i>Nunguk</i> | Head | M | 32 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 216 | | | Ohnomi | Annie | <i>Aannami</i> | Wife | F | 26 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 217 | | | Kawokme | Nathan | <i>Qagughmii</i> | Son | M | 9 | Sg | |
| 218 | | | Kowak | Francis | <i>Kiiwaaq</i> | Son | M | 5 | Sg | |
| 219 | | | Komkihkkongen | Dwight | <i>Kumkelqangen</i> | Son | M | 1 | Sg | |
| 220 | 40 | 43 | Anagayak | Logan | <i>Anaghayaaq</i> | Head | M | 35 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 221 | | | Apeyeku | Polly | <i>Apiyeka</i> | Wife | F | 55? | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 222 | | | Nalowi | Jeanet | <i>Naluwi</i> | Daughter | F | 12 | Sg | |
| 223 | | | Toli | Jimmie | <i>Tulii</i> | Lodger | M | 15 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------|-------------|------------------|--------------------|------------|----|-----|-------------|-------------|
| 224 | | Kakwok | | <i>Qaaqwaaq</i> | Gr.mother | F | 87 | Wd | | |
| 225 | | Emingan | Smith | <i>Imingan</i> | Lodger | M | 29 | Mr | <i>Sigl</i> | |
| 226 | | Akeyik | | <i>Akivik</i> | Sister | F | 29 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> | |
| 227 | | Taknukli | | <i>Tagnegbli</i> | Niece | F | 13 | Sg | | |
| 228 | | Pangawin | Bernice | <i>Pangaawen</i> | Niece | F | 9 | Sg | | |
| 229 | | Stoogurook | Lewis | <i>Estugruuk</i> | Nephew | M | 5 | Sg | | |
| 230 | 41 | 44 | Sepillu | David | <i>Sipela</i> | Head | M | 40 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 231 | | | Pararna (?) | | <i>Paayghi</i> | Wife | F | 35 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 232 | | | Tagnon | Frank | <i>Tagiyugun</i> | Son | M | 8 | Sg | |
| 233 | | | Okok | Elsie | <i>Ukaa</i> | Daughter | F | 6 | Sg | |
| 234 | | | Nukatok | Jacob | <i>Nuuqitaq</i> | Son | M | 5 | Sg | |
| 235 | | | Ugolary | | <i>Amllaari</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |
| 236 | | | Asahoon | | <i>Asaaghqaan</i> | Daughter | F | 1 | Sg | |
| 237 | | | Pakok | | <i>Paakaq</i> | Mother | F | 62 | Wd | |
| 238 | | | Okaka | | <i>Ukaaka</i> | Aunt | F | 51 | Wd | |
| 239 | | | Tumblu | | <i>Tamlu</i> | Brother | M | 24 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 240 | | | Numilahok | Ramola | <i>Nemelaghhaq</i> | Ss(in-law) | F | 19 | Mr | <i>Nang</i> |
| 241 | | | Ootoo | Earl | <i>Tengasqen</i> | Brother | M | 29 | Sg | |
| 242 | | | Stigarok | Luther | <i>Estegraq</i> | Lodger | M | 26 | Sg | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 243 | 42 | 45 | Oonmohok | Jackson | <i>Unmeggaq</i> | Head | M | 29 | Mr | <i>Kiwa</i> |
| 244 | | | Paanga | Helen | <i>Paanga</i> | Wife | F | 25 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 245 | | | Emukayon | Elsie | <i>Imegyuum</i> | Daughter | F | 6 | Sg | |
| 246 | | | Patakanhuk | | <i>Petgenghhaq</i> | Son | M | 4 | Sg | |
| 247 | | | Anakayi | | <i>Anaghayi</i> | Daughter | F | 1 | Sg | |
| 248 | | 46 | Mukayook | George | <i>Meghyuq</i> | Head | M | 24 | Mr | <i>Kiwa</i> |
| 249 | | | Maku | Lenora | <i>Maaqa</i> | Wife | F | 19 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 250 | | 47 | Varie | Peter | <i>Waaghyi</i> | Head | M | ... | Mr | <i>Kiya</i> |
| 251 | | | Iyouklik | | <i>Ayuqliq</i> | Wife | F | ... | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 252 | | | Oonglon | | <i>Unghun</i> | Son | M | ... | Sg | |
| 253 | | | Bevonuk | | <i>Sivukrak</i> | Son | M | ... | Sg | |

6. Ivishtok (*Ayvigteq*) (Enumerated on January 17, 1920)

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|--------------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|---|----|----|-------------|
| 254 | 43 | 48 | Piniah | Amos | <i>Pinaaya</i> | Head | M | 42 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 255 | | | Anagiyou | Kattie | <i>Ineghayu</i> | Wife | F | 31 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 256 | | | Natalu | Myra | <i>Natilu</i> | Daughter | F | 2 | Sg | |
| 257 | | | Wayga | | <i>Wiigha</i> | Mother | F | 69 | Wd | |
| 258 | | | Ligaruk | Mabel | <i>Legraaghaq</i> | Daughter | F | 8 | Sg | |
| 259 | | | Aslahakok | Daisy | <i>Aghmaanagbhaq</i> | Aunt | F | 76 | Wd | |
| 260 | | | Kundlook | Oliver | <i>Qenluk</i> | Lodger | M | 20 | Sg | |
| 261 | 44 | 49 | Galargaron | Theo | <i>Galaagerngen</i> | Head | M | 24 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 262 | | | Yapylin (?) | | <i>Yaapelu</i> | Wife | F | 23 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 263 | | | Owlinga | Timothy | <i>Awliinga</i> | Son | M | 1 | Sg | |
| 264 | | | Akeah | Horace | <i>Akiya</i> | Lodger | M | 18 | Sg | <i>Neng</i> |
| 265 | 45 | 50 | Rakook | | <i>Raaquq</i> | Head | M | 41 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 266 | | | Payana | | <i>Payana</i> | Wife | F | 37 | Mr | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 267 | | | Avetuk | Harold | <i>Awitaaq</i> | Son | M | 14 | Sg | |
| 268 | | | | Paul | <i>Sulugbquun</i> | Son | M | 1 | Sg | |
| 269 | | | | | <i>Pataatiya</i> | Mother | F | 68 | Wd | |
| 270 | 46 | 51 |nlook | Wade | <i>Meteghlluk</i> | Head | M | 38 | Mr | <i>Mere</i> |
| 271 | | | Nukuvon (?) | Bertha | <i>Nekevun</i> | Wife | F | 20 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 272 | | | Kiyakak (?) | | <i>Tupaanga</i> | Mother | F | 41 | Wd | |
| 273 | | | Akomelingok | Fred | <i>Aqumigalngug</i> | Br-in-law | M | 13 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |
| 274 | | | | Ruby | <i>Nuughnaq</i> | Ss-in-law | F | 8 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |
| 275 | | | Meklahak | Christopher | <i>Miklagbhaq</i> | Br-in-law | M | 4 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |
| 276 | | 52 | Nongoonok | Vernon | <i>Nungunaq</i> | Head | M | 24 | Mr | <i>Kang</i> |
| 277 | | | Kayallak (?) | Cora | <i>Quyalaag</i> | Wife | F | 23 | Mr | <i>Mere</i> |
| 278 | | | | Flora | <i>Elqilaq</i> | Daughter | F | 4 | Sg | <i>Kang</i> |

7. Tunanik (*Tamniq*) (Enumerated on January 24, 1920)

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|---------------|----------|----------------------|----------|---|----|----|-------------|
| 279 | 47 | 53 | Pungowiyi | Hugh | <i>Pangawyi</i> | Head | M | 35 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 280 | | | Nughuluk | Maggie | <i>Neghelleq</i> | Wife | F | 20 | Mr | <i>Laak</i> |
| 281 | | | Atata | Clarence | <i>Ataata</i> | Son | M | 3 | Sg | |
| 282 | | | Elagasemu | Donald | <i>Ilagaasiima</i> | Son | M | 1 | Sg | |
| 283 | 48 | 54 | Wongotolin | Jerry | <i>Wanggetelen</i> | Head | M | 38 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 284 | | | Kislik | | <i>Kesliq</i> | Wife | F | 34 | Mr | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 285 | | | Okwangaleghak | Nick | <i>Uqengeliighaq</i> | Son | M | 15 | Sg | |
| 286 | | | Sookuk | Robert | <i>Suqaq</i> | Son | M | 13 | Sg | |
| 287 | | | Karrka | Hazel | <i>Qaghiiq</i> | Daughter | F | 9 | Sg | |
| 288 | | | Omungi | Walter | <i>Umengi</i> | Son | M | 7 | Sg | |
| 289 | | | Panarak | | <i>Panaaghaq</i> | Daughter | F | 4 | Sg | |
| 290 | | | Retwhongu | Martha | <i>Ratwbenga</i> | Daughter | F | 1 | Sg | |
| 291 | | | Kyyouklok | Herbert | <i>Ggayeglluk</i> | Lodger | M | 23 | Sg | <i>Sani</i> |
| 292 | | | Panikise | | <i>Uugtekaq</i> | Daughter | F | 4 | Sg | |
| 293 | 49 | 55 | Kulukhkon | Lawrence | <i>Qilleghquun</i> | Head | M | 26 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 294 | | | Asoongu | Rosie | <i>Aasunga</i> | Wife | F | 18 | Mr | <i>Sani</i> |
| 295 | | 56 | Alowa | | <i>Aluwa</i> | Head | M | 33 | Mr | <i>Mara</i> |
| 296 | | | Angekon | | <i>Angiquun</i> | Wife | F | 23 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 297 | | | Kasook | Nelson | <i>Qagaku</i> | Son | M | 7 | Sg | |
| 298 | | | Wakerku | Isaac | <i>Agigsegbaq</i> | Son | M | 4 | Sg | |
| 299 | 50 | 57 | Slkwooko | Charles | <i>Elqwaaghqu</i> | Head | M | 33 | Mr | <i>Ngus</i> |
| 300 | | | Angemaluk | Amy | <i>Angemelluk</i> | Wife | F | 24 | Mr | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 301 | | | | | <i>Nengki</i> | Son | M | 7 | Sg | |
| 302 | | | Kakesngak | Vernon | <i>Qagsungiq</i> | Son | M | 4 | Sg | |
| 303 | | | Tokangu | | <i>Taqaanga</i> | Mother | F | 73 | Wd | <i>Pugu</i> |

**Name List of Eskimo People Living at Puguiliak (*Puguhileq*),
Southwest Cape, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska**

This list was collected by Otto W. Geist during his stay at this camp
on April 5, 6, and 7, 1929. From Otto W. Geist's Collection,
University of Alaska Fairbanks Archives, Box 4, Folder 94

First family: Oghokloogak (Harry—*Aglughwaq**), Parttuxme (Lilia—*Nateghmii*), mother of Nonegukak (Bernice—*Naangighaq*), Kargew (Helen or Ellen—*Kargi*), Naggoyu (*Naghuya*), Tapelook (*Tapghaluk*), Ogngenak (*Aghnaghaghniq*).

Second family: Old people—Oghok (Old Man—*Agag*), Etuguyughok (Old Woman—*Iteghyaghaq*); Napekoguk (Bill—*Napaqaghbaq*), Okoma (Hilda or Elda—*Ukuma*), older daughter. (Note: Kargew, or Helen (*Kargi*), the older daughter from Harry's, is living with the old people and was brought up by them.)

Third family: Oomgorri (Harold—*Amwaari* or *Qaygeghaq*), Asha or Assa (Hazel—*Aasa*), his wife; Lozama (Mercy—*Liisima*), Iyowgluk (Jessie—*Ayuqliq*), and two children.

Fourth family: Ohktokayuk (Richard—*Aghtuqaayak*), an Eskimo medicine man, or sorcerer; Athranga or Athronga (*Atghaanga*), his wife, Ookolpakuk (*Akulpeghaq*), their adopted son.

All these names, with the exception of the ones where there are two or more spellings indicated, were written down for Geist by Assa (Hazel, *Aasa*). It is quite possible that many of these names need to be corrected. This, however, was not possible during the time of my visit, because my work of locating possible campsites kept me away from homes during most of my stay there.

* Yupik name spellings introduced by Willis Walunga.

These people have their own rules regarding worship and ceremonies, all of this even affecting their isolated life at this particular point. The dialect of the Southwest Cape people is supposed to be quite pronounced, and the people are very much for themselves, (and) are not in favor of bringing into their homes Eskimos who do not belong to their particular tribe. Thus it happened that the three oldest girls, during my visit in 1929, had not yet been married, although two of them certainly were old enough to be given in marriage: Okoma (Hilda, *Ukuma*) being probably close to twenty years old; Nonegukak (Bernice—*Naangighaq*) was undoubtedly between seventeen and eighteen, while Kargew (*Kargi*) was perhaps fifteen or sixteen years of age.

Shortly before I left St. Lawrence Island I revisited the camp, and during this visit I was told that Nonegukak (Bernice) had, since my last visit, become engaged to a young man—a reindeer herder from Sevongga (*Sivungaq*) on the same island. Such marriages are only reluctantly approved of by the old people, but having so many children on hand the people had to come to the conclusion that something must be done with these girls, they being a great burden on their families. It happens that many people living in the other camps and villages on St. Lawrence Island are rather reluctant in making appropriate matches between their sons and daughters and people living at Southwest Cape. This may better be explained by the religious rites, such as worships and ceremonies, which are much different from the religious rites of the Eskimos who live in other places on St. Lawrence Island. It may thus clearly be seen what influence superstition has over the people, and what a mighty weapon the old time Eskimo religion still is.

[...] I found the people of Southwest Cape immensely interesting, and research by ethnologists and anthropologists would prove immensely interesting if carried for a period of several months at a time.

Residents of the Yupik Community of Gambell As recorded by anthropologist Riley Moore in 1912

The first anthropologist who did extensive research on St. Lawrence Island in the early 1900s was Riley Moore, from the Smithsonian Institution. He was a medical doctor hired as a field assistant to the Smithsonian physical anthropologist, Dr. Aleš Hrdlička. Moore spent the summer of 1912 in Gambell conducting physical measurements of the people and studying local ethnography and customs. As anthropologist Carol Jolles notes, Paul Silook (*Siluk*) of Gambell, then 20 years old, was Moore's primary assistant and interpreter in communications with the people of St. Lawrence Island.

Moore published two papers based on the materials he collected during his stay on the Island (see Part 4). He also left some notes of his visit that are now deposited at the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Some of Moore's papers are also stored there with the files of his team leader, Dr. Hrdlička.

Among Moore's various papers, a sample of some 180 individual data sheets for head and body anthropological measurements of the Yupik residents of Gambell is of special interest.¹ Although each individual sheet has hardly any historical information beyond personal name and age (see a sample measurement sheet No.1 for Immirigan, Smith *Imingun*, reproduced on the opposite page). Altogether these sheets offer an interesting profile of the Gambell community of 1912. Both Moore's spelling of Yupik names and his estimates of individual age look fairly accurate, due primarily to *Siluk's* (or someone else's) local assistance.

Documents below present: (a) list of names recorded in Moore's original data sheets and (b) the reconstructed profile of the Gambell community by families, as based on Moore's records. Moore's original measurements sheets at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution are arranged on file with adult and senior men going first followed by adult women, then by young adults of both sexes, and by boys and girls. The list of names, with specific notes, was compiled from the

¹ According to Moore's notes, "measurements and other physical observations were taken on 180 individuals of the total population of 292; and of many there were also secured photographs and casts. Those not reached included some of the old and some of the women, who were apprehensive; children, for whom the mothers were afraid; and a group of people at the Southwest Cape, only a few of whom could be seen."

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
United States National Museum

Tribe. *St. Lawrence*

Sex. *M.*

Measurements.

No. *1* Age *24*

Deformation of head

BODY:

Stature *1.59.7*

Max. finger reach *160.3*

Height sitting *89.7*

HEAD:

Length *18.5*

Breadth *14.6*

Height *13.15* *71.4*

FACE:

Length to nasion *12.3*

Length to orinion *19.4*

Breadth, bizygom. *14.2*

Diam. front min. *10.4* *76.2*

Diam. bigonial. *11.5* *81-*

Nose:

Length to nasion *5.3*

Breadth *3.9*

Mouth:

Breadth *5.1*

Left Ear:

Length *7.1*

Breadth *3.9* *44.9*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Chest:

Breadth at nipple height *28.4*

Depth at nipple height *22.7*

Left Hand:

Length *16.2*

Breadth *6.1*

Left Foot:

Length *24.5*

Breadth *7.5*

Left Leg:

Girth, max. *—*

Weight of Body: *—*
(with shoes, but without outer garments.)

OBSERVATIONS.

Color of skin *med. Br.*

Color of eyes *D. Br.*

Color of hair *Bl. st.*

Nature of hair *med. coarse*

Moustache *Black, fine*

Beard *6 locks, fuzzy*

Forehead *med. ht. Br. road.*

Supraorb. ridges *Small*

Eye-slits *Exp. coat on bds. br.*

Malars. *large*

Nasion depress. *shallow*

Nose *mod. cov. exp.*

Nasal septum *sl. in up.*

Lips *sl. ab. med.*

Alveol. progn. *sl.*

Chin *large, sq.*

Angle of l. jaw *prominent*

Body and limbs *Med.*

Toes *normal.*

Breasts. *—*

PHYSIOLOGICAL.

Pulse *75*

Respiration *24*

Temperature *98.4*

Time of day *1.15 p.m.*

State of health *good.*

Strength:

Pressure { r. hand *34.5*

l. hand *29.5*

TRETH

1st { upper { r. *X*
l. *X*
lower { r. *X*
l. *X*

2nd { upper { r. *all present*
l. *all present*
lower { r. *3d. in med. erupt.*
l. *3d. in med. erupt.*

original sheets by Lars Krutak and Igor Krupnik. People listed as “sorcerers” were evidently practicing shamans. The remark “photos” refers to face and side pictures of certain people he measured; most of these historical photographs are stored at the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives (see below and Appendix 3).

However, it was obvious from the list that many members of the St. Lawrence Island Yupik community were not measured by Moore in 1912. Some people were certainly at their summer fishing camps away from the village. Neither the village of *Puguhileq* nor any of the reindeer camps was visited by Moore. In addition, the number of children in Moore’s record is too small—which suggests that many small children and teens were omitted or avoided being measured.

List of names and notes from Moore’s “Measurements Sheets” (*with Sheet Nos.*)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Immirigan (m), 24 | 24. Ughoolki (m), 68 |
| 2. Slkwooko (m), 23—means “fishnet,” <i>photos</i> | 25. Irrogo (m), 24— <i>photos</i> |
| 3. Annogiyuk (m), 23 | 32. Atlohok (m), 37 |
| 4. Metukhlook (m), 28—means ‘Raven’ | 33. Ungurluk (m), 50—name means ‘armor’— <i>photos</i> |
| 5. Peniu (m)—32 | 34. Yughuntuk (m), 30— <i>photos</i> |
| 6. Ootillin (m), 48—father of Seelook, <i>photos</i> | 35. Konowok (m), 55— <i>photos</i> |
| 7. Wonggottillin (m), 35—sorcerer, strong-man— <i>photos</i> | 37. Messiu (m), 50 |
| 11. Ozevoosuk (m), 31— <i>photos</i> | 38. Opu (m), 32—name means ‘grandfather’— <i>photos</i> |
| 12. Atooku (m), 32— <i>photos</i> | 39. Onining (m), 35— <i>photos</i> |
| 13. Yovivukseuk (m), 43—father of Akeya, boat captain | 40. Opootu (m), 46— <i>photos</i> |
| 14. Asshoonu (m), 55—sorcerer | 42. Minuk (m), 54— <i>photos</i> |
| 15. Kingawouhok (m), 45—sorcerer, <i>photos</i> | 50. Neghokhpuk (m), 33— <i>photos</i> |
| 18. Okinnello (m), 31, <i>photos</i> | 51. Mokuyok (m), 56 |
| 19. Koonooku (m), 33— <i>photos</i> | 52. Waghyl (m), 30 |
| 20. Uoghruk (m), 32— <i>photos</i> | 54. Nupokhayu (m), 55 |
| 21. Booshu (m), 37—“one of the strongest men on the island; exults all others in ‘chinning’ himself”— <i>photos</i> | 55. Muntokoli (m), 35— <i>photos</i> |
| 22. Ozuk (m), 62— <i>photos</i> | 56. Ungilo (m), 24— <i>photos</i> |
| 23. Koworrin (m), 68— <i>photos</i> | 57. Yoghok (m), 26, <i>photos</i> |
| | 58. Unggottinganawin (m), 37 |
| | 59. Tungitoo (m), 32— <i>photos</i> |
| | 60. Gologoroongen (m), 24— <i>photos</i> |
| | 63. Iwoorigan (m), 38— <i>photos</i> |
| | 64. Soonogorook (m), 26— <i>photos</i> |

65. Okhtokiyuk (m), 33
 106. Ongosan (m), 34
 109. Enok (m), 30—*photos*
 115. Womkon (m), 31—*photos*
 117. Poozuk (m), 38—*photos*
 122. Othalingok (m), 35—means “un-named”
 125. Ikhmiloou (m), 43—*photos*
 128. Boolowon (m), 32
 130. Koningok (m), 37—“a marked example of a type of which there are several men here”—*photos*
 131. Olowu (m), 28—*photos*
 134. Savlu (m), 68—“has a (human figure) tattooed on each shoulder; father born at Indian Point, Siberia—*photos*
 149. Brro (m), 27
 152. Otiyook (m), 27—sorcerer—*photos*
 156. Kom(n)ooghak (m), 50
 160. Tongyun (m), 48
 163. Uonmookhok (m), 25—*photos*
 164. Seppilla (m), 31—*photos*
 166. Shoollook (m), 52—*photos*
 167. Otiyohok (m), 35—*photos*
 169. Imoorigan (m), 42
 170. Ifkowan (m), 60
 171. Kaeluk (m), 60
 17. Okyuku (f), 49
 27. Yaga (f), 35—*photos*
 28. Nglukhtuk (f), 48—*photos*
 47. Kiskungu (f), 50
 48. Patateu (Pitateu) (f), 53
 49. Weu (Wiyu) (f), 68—*photos*
 67. Weogho (f), 55
 69. Konegurok (f), 30—“light snowfall,” second name Konnikgktikuk—“gathered”—*photos*
 70. Poopi (f), 26
 71. Okwohoni (f), 29
 72. Annooghotungu (f), 27
 73. Singowin (f), 29
 75. Singlungu (f), 33
 78. Ukonelskwok (f), 54
 80. Annonoongo (f), 59
 81. Owhowin (f), 60—*photos*
 82. Annoguseook (f), 52
 84. Sevuk (f), 66
 86. Osokhkun (f), 29
 89. Kisluk (f), 31—*photos*
 90. Yoghongwu (f), 31—*photos*
 91. Keyussuk (f), 56
 92. Ottiku (f), 56
 97. Okemok (f), 31
 98. Okonahokpuk (f), 39
 99. Povoowok (f), 57
 100. Tooney(ook) (f), 27—“best basketmaker on island”
 101. Kiyookok (f), 35
 102. Okonohloowhok (f), 32
 110. Yorri (f), 32
 118. Okonelskwogok (f), 31—*photos*
 120. Otooku (f), 33—“old”
 123. Wohkentu (f), 53—*photos*
 127. Annasook (f), 30
 136. Ohlingu (f), 33—*photos*
 138. Muzikkuk (f), 72
 139. Sowhorri (f), 49
 144. Kerooko (f), 40
 146. Tokoongo (f), 62
 150. Opiu (f), 54
 153. Oko (f), 49
 151. Owgoolangu (f), 26—Otiyook’s wife—*photos*
 154. Iyopu (f), 31
 155. Papoughok (f), 51—Ozuk’s wife, name means ‘hill’s end’
 157. Ohyleitukok (f), 58—*photos*
 162. Matuk (f), 62
 165. Poongu (f), 26—*photos*
 168. Tongotuk (f), 42
 8. Ehink (m), 20—*photos*

9. Maskin (m), 16—*photos*
 10. Seelook (m), 20—*photos*
 16. Kulukhkon (m), 16—*photos*
 26. Blassi (m), 18—*photos*
 29. Oseuk (m), 13
 30. Tatoowi (m), 21—*photos*
 31. Okiyu (m), 14
 36. Oovi (m), 16
 41. Oomauhuk (m), 23, dwarf—*photos*
 43. Peskwotuk (m), 18—*photos*
 44. Okwomingen, Isabel (f), 12
 45. Omomingu (f), 20—*photos*
 46. Ohmomi (f), 17
 61. Killoimi (m), 18—*photos*
 62. Kaspoongu (m), 21—*photos*
 66. Gapellou (f), 18—*photos*
 68. Yokhkoitok (m), 19
 74. Ohliogholook (f), 19
 76. Koozaathu (m), 20
 77. Ohnomi (f), 20
 79. Soonokoongu (f), 23—*photos*
 85. Mowhok (f), 18—*photos*
 87. Kundlook (m), 18
 88. Kulowiyi (m), 16
 93. Khiyithlook, Herbert (m), 14
 94. Insiikson, Ernest (m), 10—“make it strong”
 95. Opotiki (m), 13—*photos*
 96. Ooviokitok (m), 9—*photos*
 102. Nukkvon (f), 16—“a support to help one arise”
 104. Oso (f), 11
 105. Iknokmiuk, Ruth (f), 10—strongest—*photos*
 107. Okwokayogon (f), 21
 108. Numillohok (f), 10—*photos*
 111. Raagunuk, Ethel (f), 7—“the name of a sea plant”
 112. Tooli, Jim (m), 9
 113. Osoongwu, Rosie (f), 8
 114. Mileghotkuk (m), 12—“go with someone”
 116. Okomeyellingok (m), 5—“never sit down”
 117. Mooko, Lenore (f), 12
 118. Kingukuk (m), 12—“the worms have eaten him”—*photos*
 119. Annogohluk, Thelma (f), 9
 121. Onungti, Alexander (m), 9—*photos*
 124. Nokhnughon (f), 23—“a brace to keep something from falling”
 126. Kunuk (m), 5—“mould like grows moist mont”
 129. Retwhoongu (f), 22
 132. Ningiokan (f), 17—“untwisted noun”
 133. Iyu (m), 8
 135. Ipkohluk (m), 9
 137. Okwongilaughuk, (m), 8—“light”
 140. Tupuroowok (f), 11
 141. Okunongauhok (f), 6
 142. Ovuroowuk (f), 8
 143. Tokoyu (f), 16
 145. Ononmanuk (f), 7
 147. Ozook (m), 8
 148. Tilungu (m), 9—second name: Immugimi
 158. Entugimoon (m), 14
 159. Amoningwok (f), 4
 161. Nippuok (f), 7

Reconstructed List of the Residents of Gambell, by Clan (1912)

The following list organizes people recorded by Moore in families and clans; it also includes those Gambell residents who were obviously living on the island at this time but were missed by visiting anthropologist. This reconstruction based upon genealogies and early censuses was done by Igor Krupnik. Willis Walunga (*Kepelgu*) and Christopher Koonooka (*Petuwaq*) checked all Yupik name spellings and clan identifications. Clans are listed, according to their traditional residences in Gambell (*Sivuqaq*), from the southern to the northern end of the village. Names of family heads are given in bold.

The *Qiwaghmiit* Clan

| F# | Moore's # | Moore's Name Spelling | Yupik Name Spelling | Sex | Age [1912] | 1920 Census Numbers |
|-----|------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----|------------|---------------------|
| 1 | 12 | Atooku | <i>Ataqa</i> | M | 32(?) | 197 |
| | 153 | Oko | <i>Aqaa</i> | F | 49 | 198 |
| | 60 | Gologoroongen | <i>Galaagergen</i> | M | 24 | 261 |
| | 118 | Kingukuk | <i>Kingiikaq</i> | M | 12 | 200 |
| | 41 | Oomauhuk | <i>Umiighhaq</i> | M | 23 | |
| 2 | 7 | Wongottillin | <i>Wanggetelen</i> | M | 35 | 283 |
| | 89 | Kisluk | <i>Kesliq</i> | F | 31 | 284 |
| | 137 | Okwongilaughik | <i>Uqengeliighaq</i> | M | 8 | 285 |
| | | | <i>Suqaq</i> | M | 6 | 286 |
| | | | <i>Qaghiiq</i> | F | 1 | 287 |
| 129 | Retwhoongu | <i>Ratwhenga</i> | F | 23 | | |
| 3 | 5 | Peniu | <i>Pinaaya</i> | M | 32 | 254 |
| | | | <i>Ineghayu</i> | F | 23 | 255 |
| | | | <i>Legraaghaq</i> | F | 1 | 258 |
| | 67 | Weogho | <i>Wiigha</i> | F | 55 | 257 |
| | 157 | Ohileitukok | <i>Aghmaanaghhaq</i> | F | 58 | |
| | 87 | Kundlook | <i>Qenluk</i> | M | 18 | 260 |
| 4 | | | <i>Kaneghreghyaq</i> | M | 30 | 181 |
| | | | <i>Taliqnaq</i> | F | 35 | 182 |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|-------------------|---|----|-----|
| | | | <i>Pangawyi</i> | M | 22 | 279 |
| | | | <i>Yangi</i> | F | | |
| | | | <i>Legraaghaq</i> | F | | 258 |

The *Nasqaghmiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|------------------|--------------------------------|----|----|-----|
| 5 | 128 | Bolowen | <i>Pulaaghun</i> | M | 32 | 76 |
| | 8 | Ehink | <i>Ighemmaq</i> | M | 20 | 77 |
| | 106 | Ongoson | <i>Angusaan</i> | M | 34 | 82 |
| | | | <i>Pulaaghun</i> | M | 31 | 76 |
| 6 | 156 | Konoohak | <i>Qunaghhaq</i> | M | 50 | 128 |
| | 17 | Okyuku | <i>Akayeka</i> | F | 49 | 129 |
| | 69 | Konningitikuk | <i>Qerngughtekaq</i> | F | 30 | 131 |
| | 133 | Iyu | <i>Aya</i> | M | 8 | 132 |
| | 105 | Ikuokmiuk Ruth | <i>Iknaqeneq</i> | F | 10 | 130 |
| | | | <i>Anaghalqyaaq</i> | F | 1 | 133 |
| | | | <i>Napaghbutaq</i> | M | 18 | 79 |
| | | | <i>Allighaluk</i> | F | 17 | 80 |
| | | <i>Anataanga</i> | F | 10 | 83 | |
| 7 | 170 | Ifkowan | <i>Ifkaghun</i> | M | 60 | |
| | | | <i>Paakaq</i> | F | 54 | 237 |
| | | | <i>Ukaaka</i> | F | 42 | 238 |
| | | | <i>Ataata</i> | M | 20 | 241 |
| | | | <i>Tamlu</i> | M | 16 | 239 |
| | | | <i>Yaapelu</i> | F | 18 | 262 |
| | 66 | Gapellou | <i>Apeyeka</i> [in Pugughileq] | F | | 221 |
| 8 | 164 | Sepillu | <i>Sipela</i> | M | 31 | 230 |
| | | | <i>Paayghi</i> | F | 25 | 231 |
| | | | <i>Tengasqen</i> | M | 4 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|-------|--------------------|---|----|-----|
| | | | <i>Tagiyugun</i> | M | 1 | 232 |
| 9 | 84 | Sevuk | <i>Ayevaq</i> | F | 66 | 78 |
| | | | <i>Eghqaagbhaq</i> | M | 38 | 74 |
| | | | <i>Tenmiiwen</i> | F | 46 | 75 |

The *Nangupagaghmiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-------------|---|---|----|-----|
| 10 | 25 | Irrogoo | <i>Iirgu</i> | M | 24 | 139 |
| | 79 | Soonokoongu | <i>Sunqaanga</i> | F | 23 | 140 |
| 11 | 33 | Ungurluk | <i>Ungalaq</i> | M | 50 | 136 |
| | 123 | Wohkentu | <i>Walkuta</i> | F | 53 | 137 |
| | 108 | Numillohok | <i>Nemelagbhaq</i> | F | 10 | 240 |
| | 34 | Yughuntuk | <i>Yuguntuk</i> | M | 30 | |
| 12 | 169 | Iwoorigan | <i>Aywergeren</i> (or <i>Nekregun</i>) | M | 38 | 68 |
| | | | <i>Yaghunga</i> | F | 40 | 61 |
| | | | <i>Taayqa</i> | M | 7 | 73 |
| | | | <i>Yupestaaq</i> | M | 5 | 70 |
| 13 | 65 | Okhtokiyuk | <i>Aghtuqaayak</i> | M | 33 | 92 |
| | | | <i>Atghaanga</i> | F | 30 | 93 |

The *Siqllugmiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------|----------------------|---|----|-----|
| 14 | 1 | Immirigan | <i>Imingan Smith</i> | M | 24 | 255 |
| | | | <i>Akivik</i> | F | 20 | 226 |
| | | | <i>Tagneghli</i> | F | 5 | 227 |
| | | | <i>Pangaawen</i> | F | 1 | 228 |
| | 9 | Maskin | <i>Maasgen</i> | M | 16 | |

The *Nengiighaghmiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-------------|---------------------|---|----|-----|
| 16 | 13 | Yovivokseuk | <i>Yaavgaghsiq</i> | M | 43 | 101 |
| | 144 | Kerooko | <i>Kiruka</i> | F | 40 | 102 |
| | 43 | Peskwoktuk | <i>Piiskwaghtaq</i> | M | 18 | 103 |
| | 76 | Koozaathu | <i>Kuzaata</i> | M | 20 | 106 |
| | 31 | Okiyu | <i>Akiya</i> | M | 14 | |
| | | | <i>Aghwalngiiq</i> | F | 5 | 104 |
| | | | <i>Qayaghbaq</i> | F | 1 | 105 |

The *Puguhileghmiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------------|-----------------------|---|----|-----|
| 17 | 2 | Skwooko | <i>Elqwaaghqu</i> | M | 23 | 299 |
| | 74 | Ohlioghok | <i>Angemelluk</i> | F | 19 | 300 |
| | 146 | Tokoongo | <i>Taqaanga</i> | F | 62 | 303 |
| 18 | 11 | Ozevooseuk | <i>Uzivusiq</i> | M | 31 | 1 |
| | 75 | Singlungu | <i>Singlenga</i> | F | 33 | 2 |
| | 90 | Yoghongwa | <i>Yaghunga</i> | F | 31 | |
| | 147 | Ozook | <i>Aaazuk/Lluuyuk</i> | M | 8 | 3 |
| | | | <i>Wayengi</i> | F | | 4 |
| | 49 | Wiyu | <i>Wiya</i> | F | 68 | 7 |
| | 62 | Kaepoongu | <i>Qipenga</i> | M | 21 | 8 |
| | 48 | Patateu | <i>Pataatiya</i> | F | 53 | 269 |
| 19 | 24 | Ughoolki | <i>Akulki</i> | M | 68 | 99 |
| | | | <i>Aghbaaya</i> | F | 58 | |
| | 32 | Atlohok | <i>Atleghuq</i> | M | 37 | |
| | | | <i>Ageza</i> | F | | |
| | 29 | Oseuk | <i>Uusiiq</i> | M | 13 | 100 |
| | 56 | Ungilu | <i>Angalu</i> | M | 24 | |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--------------------|----------------------|---|----|-----|
| 20 | 55 | Muntokoli | <i>Mangtaquli</i> | M | 35 | 105 |
| | 118 | Okonelskwoopok | <i>Aghmalqwaapak</i> | F | 31 | 106 |
| | 121 | Onungti Alexander | <i>Anangti</i> | M | 9 | 107 |
| | | | <i>Qawangeli</i> | M | 5 | |
| 21 | | | <i>Nunguk</i> | M | 24 | 215 |
| | 77 | Ohnomi | <i>Aannami</i> | F | 20 | 216 |
| | | | <i>Qagughmii</i> | M | | 217 |
| 22 | 64 | Soonogorook | <i>Sunaaghruk</i> | M | 26 | 42 |
| | 154 | Iyopu | <i>Ayapaa</i> | F | 31 | 43 |
| 23 | 122 | Othalingok | <i>Aatghilnguq</i> | M | 35 | 44 |
| | 120 | Otooku | <i>Uruqa</i> | F | 33 | 45 |
| | | | <i>Quun-nga</i> | F | | 46 |
| | 119 | Annogohluk Thelma | <i>Kingungba</i> | F | 9 | 47 |
| 24 | 130 | Koningok | <i>Qanenguq</i> | M | 37 | 120 |
| | 27 | Yaga | <i>Yaaghu</i> | F | 35 | 121 |
| | 133 | Ipkohluk | <i>Ifkalleq</i> | M | 9 | 123 |
| | 143 | Tokoya | <i>Tukuuya</i> | F | 16 | 122 |
| | | | <i>Qellaamruk</i> | F | | 124 |
| 25 | 160 | Tungyun | <i>Taangyan</i> | M | 48 | 84 |
| | 28 | Nglikhtuk | <i>Enlegtaq</i> | F | 48 | 85 |
| | 68 | Yokhkoituk | <i>Yughqutaq</i> | M | 19 | 117 |
| | 96 | Oovookitok | <i>Uveketaaq</i> | M | 9 | 86 |
| 6 | 166 | Shoollook | <i>Suluk</i> | M | 52 | 26 |
| | 47 | Kiskungu | <i>Qisgenga</i> | F | 50 | 27 |
| | 115 | Womkon | <i>Waanquun</i> | M | 31 | 28 |
| | | | <i>Nuugigalnguq</i> | F | 30 | 29 |
| | | | <i>Angiku</i> | F | 3 | 34 |

| | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----|----|-----|
| 45 | Omomingu | <i>Amamenga</i> | F | 20 | 30 | |
| 36 | Oovi | <i>Uvi</i> | M | 16 | 31 | |
| 95 | Opotiki | <i>Apeteki</i> | M | 13 | 32 | |
| 141 | Okunonganhok | <i>Aghnangiigbaq</i> | F | 6 | 33 | |
| 27 | 63 | Imoorigun | <i>Aymergen</i> | M | 42 | - |
| | 118 | Okonohloowhok | <i>Aghnaqhluggaq</i> | F | 32 | 88 |
| | | | <i>Yaagmiqun</i> | M | | 89 |
| | | | <i>Panikutaag</i> | F | | 90 |
| 28 | | Temkeruu | <i>Temkeruu</i> | M | | 114 |
| | | | <i>Tuuta</i> | F | | 115 |
| | | | <i>Atagaq</i> | F | | 116 |
| | | | <i>Sivugug</i> | F | | 118 |
| 29 | | Rakok | <i>Raaquq</i> | M | | 265 |
| | | | <i>Payana</i> | F | | 266 |
| | | | <i>Awitaaq</i> | M | | 267 |
| 30 | | [from Pugughileq] | | | | |
| | 3 | Annogiyuk | <i>Anaghayaaq</i> | M | 23 | 220 |
| | 104 | Osa | <i>Aasa—Hazel Umwari</i> | F | 11 | 175 |

The *Kangiighmiit* (or *Qelughileghmiit*) Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----------------|---------------------|---|----|-----|
| 31 | 14 | Asshoonu | <i>Asunaghaq</i> | M | 55 | 185 |
| | 82 | Annogoseook | <i>Anaghasuuk</i> | F | 52 | |
| | | | <i>Nanghila</i> | M | 21 | 187 |
| | 107 | Okwokayongon | <i>Ukeghyaghaan</i> | F | 21 | |
| | | | <i>Nungunaq</i> | M | 20 | 276 |
| 32 | | | <i>Nemaayaq</i> | M | 50 | 189 |
| | | | <i>Paniigha</i> | F | 52 | 190 |

| | | | |
|-------------------|---|----|-----|
| <i>Asapinaq</i> | F | 32 | 191 |
| <i>Anengaanga</i> | M | 7 | 192 |
| <i>Ukaala</i> | F | 18 | 195 |

The Aymaramka/Sanighmelugut Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--------------------|------------------------------|---|----|-----|
| 33 | 6 | Ootillin | <i>Uwetelen</i> | M | 48 | 211 |
| | 91 | Keyussuk | <i>Qiyasiq (or Wamiiyaq)</i> | F | 56 | 212 |
| | 10 | Siilook | <i>Siluk</i> | M | 20 | 96 |
| | 85 | Moowhok | <i>Muuggaq</i> | F | 16 | 97 |
| | 148 | Tilungu/Immugimi | <i>Telengal/Imaghmii</i> | M | 9 | 213 |
| | | | <i>Apangaluq John</i> | M | | 214 |
| | 117 | Mooku Lenore | <i>Maaqa</i> | F | 12 | 249 |
| | 126 | Konuk | <i>Kanuggaq</i> | M | 5 | |
| 34 | 15 | Kingawauhok | <i>Kinguwaagbhaq</i> | M | 45 | |
| | | Tongotuk | <i>Taangutuk</i> | F | 42 | |
| | | Muzikku | <i>Mezeka</i> | F | 72 | |
| | | Kulukhkon | <i>Qilleghqun</i> | M | 16 | |
| 35 | 18 | Okinello | <i>Aghnilu</i> | M | 31 | 53 |
| | 97 | Okemok | <i>Akimuq</i> | F | 31 | |
| | 161 | Nippuok | <i>Napaaq</i> | F | 7 | 54 |
| 36 | 19 | Koonooku | <i>Kunuka</i> | M | 33 | 13 |
| | 70 | Poopi | <i>Paapi</i> | F | 26 | |
| | 145 | Ononganuk | <i>Anangiinaq</i> | F | 7 | 15 |
| | | | <i>Gimaangaawen</i> | F | | 16 |
| 37 | 23 | Koworrin | <i>Quwaaren</i> | M | 68 | |
| | | | <i>Avalak</i> | F | 56 | |
| | 30 | Tatoowi | <i>Tatuwi</i> | M | 21 | 194 |
| | | | <i>Uyatuwan</i> | F | | 56 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------------------------|-----------------------|---|----|-----|
| | 21 | Booshu | <i>Pusaa</i> | M | 37 | 9 |
| | 86 | Osokhkon | <i>Asaaghqaan</i> | F | 29 | |
| | 94 | Iwiikson Ernest | <i>Ayuwighsaan</i> | M | 10 | 10 |
| | | | <i>Nuugnan</i> | M | | 11 |
| 38 | 134 | Saulu | <i>Saavla</i> | M | 68 | |
| | 139 | Sowhorri | <i>Sewhaari</i> | F | 49 | |
| | 57 | Yoghok | <i>Yaghaq</i> | M | 26 | 146 |
| | 26 | Blassi | <i>Pelaasi</i> | M | 18 | 149 |
| | 114 | Mileghotkuk | <i>Maligutkaq</i> | M | 12 | 58 |
| | 113 | Osoongwu Rosic | <i>Aasunga</i> | F | 8 | 294 |
| 39 | 58 | Ungottinganawin | <i>Angqatenganwan</i> | M | 37 | 152 |
| | 127 | Annasok | <i>Anasuk</i> | F | 30 | 153 |
| | | | <i>Uughqaghmii</i> | M | | 154 |
| 40 | 59 | Tungitoo | <i>Tangatu</i> | M | 32 | 206 |
| | 110 | Yorri | <i>Yaari</i> | F | 32 | 207 |
| | 112 | Toolie Jim | <i>Tulii</i> | M | 9 | 223 |
| | | | <i>Angu</i> | F | | 208 |
| | 92 | Otikka | <i>Ateka</i> | F | 56 | 210 |
| 41 | 38 | Opu | <i>Apa</i> | M | 32 | |
| | 72 | Annooghotungu | <i>Anaghaatanga</i> | F | 27 | 65 |
| 42 | 117 | Poozuk | <i>Paazak</i> | M | 38 | |
| | 101 | Kiyookok | <i>Kayakaq</i> | F | 35 | 272 |
| | 102 | Nukkuvon | <i>Nekevun</i> | F | 16 | 271 |
| | 116 | Okomyellingok | <i>Aqumigalnguq</i> | M | 5 | 273 |
| | | | <i>Nuughmaq</i> | F | | 274 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|---------------------|-----------------------|---|----|-----|
| 43 | 40 | Opootu | <i>Apaata</i> | M | 46 | 143 |
| | 136 | Ohlingu | <i>Aallenga</i> | F | 30 | |
| | 140 | Tupuroowok | <i>Teparghuq</i> | F | 11 | |
| | | | <i>Akuliqaq</i> | F | | 144 |
| 44 | 149 | Broo | <i>Peru</i> | M | 27 | |
| | 150 | Opiu | <i>Apayaa</i> | F | 54 | |
| | 85 | Moowhok | <i>Muuggaq</i> | F | 18 | |
| | | | <i>Iintagnen</i> | M | 12 | |
| 45 | 167 | Otiyohok | <i>Ataayaghhaq</i> | M | 35 | 49 |
| | | | <i>Ayuqliq</i> | F | | |
| | | | <i>Ayaleq</i> | M | | 51 |
| 46 | 171 | Kaeluk | <i>Qilak/Aghilluk</i> | M | 60 | |
| | | | <i>Walkuta</i> | F | 56 | |
| 47 | 109 | Enok | <i>Inuuq</i> | M | 30 | 57 |
| 48 | | | <i>Iggak</i> | M | | 64 |
| | 99 | Pomoowok | <i>Pamayuk</i> | F | 57 | 67 |
| 49 | 54 | Nupokhayu | <i>Napaghya</i> | M | 53 | 59 |
| | | | <i>Aghnapiggaq</i> | F | | 60 |
| | 88 | Kulowiyi | <i>Kalaauiyi</i> | M | 16 | 61 |
| | 93 | Khiyithlook Herbert | <i>Ggayeglluk</i> | M | 14 | 291 |
| | | | <i>Aghaaya</i> | F | 6 | 62 |
| | 159 | Amaningwok | <i>Emengaawen</i> | F | 4 | |
| 50 | | | <i>Iqmaluwa</i> | M | 42 | 37 |
| | | | <i>Mikaghaq</i> | F | 40 | 38 |
| | | | <i>Tiusaq</i> | M | 8 | 8 |

The *Maramakut* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----------|-----------------|---|----|-----|
| 51 | 131 | Olowu | <i>Aluwa</i> | M | 28 | 295 |
| | 132 | Ningiokan | <i>Angiquun</i> | F | 17 | |

The *Meregtemiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------------|--------------------------|---|----|-----|
| 52 | 4 | Metukhlook | <i>Meteghlluk</i> | M | 28 | 270 |
| | | | <i>Quyalaag</i> | F | 15 | 277 |
| 53 | 20 | Uoghpuuk | <i>Yuwaaghpak</i> | M | 32 | |
| | 73 | Singowin | <i>Singaawen</i> | F | 24 | |
| | 61 | Killoimi | <i>Kelumii</i> | M | 18 | |
| | | | <i>Waala</i> | F | 4 | |
| | 78 | Ukonelskwok | <i>Aghmalqwaaq</i> | F | 54 | |
| | 152 | Otiyuook | <i>Uutaayuk</i> | M | 28 | |
| | 151 | Owgoolaengu | <i>Awliinga</i> | F | 26 | |
| | 142 | Ovuroowuk | <i>Avruwaaq</i> | F | 8 | 201 |
| | | | <i>Kukiyanga</i> | F | 4 | 202 |
| 54 | 39 | Oningou | <i>Anengayuu</i> | M | 35 | 18 |
| | 71 | Okwohoni | <i>Ukuagbhani</i> | F | 29 | 19 |
| | 111 | Raagunuk Ethel | <i>Riighnak</i> | F | 7 | 20 |
| | | | <i>Kiistivik Stephen</i> | M | 3 | 21 |
| | | | <i>Puguuq</i> | F | 58 | 24 |

The *Kiyalighaghiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|----|--------|----------------|---|----|-----|
| 55 | 52 | Waghyi | <i>Waaghyi</i> | M | 30 | 250 |
| | | | <i>Ayuqliq</i> | F | 25 | 251 |

The *Kiwatangahmiit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--|------------------------------|---|----|-----|
| 56 | | | <i>Imegyuun</i> | M | 56 | |
| 80 | Annanoongo | | <i>Ananaanga</i> | F | 59 | |
| 163 | Oonmookhok | | <i>Ummeggaq</i> | M | 25 | 243 |
| 165 | Poongu | | <i>Paangal/Helen Jackson</i> | F | 26 | 244 |
| | | | <i>Meghyuq</i> | M | 14 | 248 |
| 44 | Okwomingen Isabel | | <i>Ukaamangan</i> | F | 12 | |

The *Uwaaliit* Clan

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------------|--------------------|---|----|-----|
| 57 | 22 | Ozuk | <i>Uuzak</i> | M | 62 | |
| | 155 | Papoooghok | <i>Papegaaq</i> | F | 51 | 161 |
| | 162 | Matuk | <i>Miitaq</i> | F | 62 | |
| | 50 | Neghokhpuk | <i>Negaghpak</i> | M | 32 | |
| | | Iyopa | <i>Ayapaa</i> | F | 30 | |
| 58 | 37 | Messiu | <i>Masaayu</i> | M | 50 | 150 |
| | | | <i>Ukugha</i> | F | | |
| | | | <i>Nayegreghaq</i> | M | 5 | 151 |
| 59 | | | <i>Ayakitaan</i> | M | 40 | 155 |
| | 124 | Nokhnughon | <i>Nuqneghun</i> | F | 23 | 156 |
| | | | <i>Epeqaaq</i> | F | 5 | 157 |
| 60 | 35 | Konowok | <i>Qenaagghaq</i> | M | 55 | |

Other

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------------|-----------------|---|----|-----|
| 61 | 42 | Minuk * | <i>Minaq</i> | M | 59 | 163 |
| | 81 | Owhowin | <i>Uwhaawen</i> | F | 60 | 164 |
| | 100 | Toomeyuook | <i>Tuuniyuq</i> | F | 27 | |
| | 46 | Ohmomi | | F | 17 | |

* See note on p. 48

Riley Moore's Photographs From St. Lawrence Island, 1912

Since Edward W. Nelson's expedition to western Alaska and Bering Strait in 1878–1881, there had been a keen interest in the inhabitants of St. Lawrence Island. It was believed that the *Masinka*, the island Yupik people, were distinct in various aspects from the Eskimo of the Alaskan mainland. Thus, it was felt by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička of the Smithsonian Institution that quantifying the physical nature of the Islanders would reveal new insights into their past as well as provide for suitable medical treatments of diseases in the future. With these justifications in mind, Hrdlička arranged for Riley D. Moore, a young medical doctor, to visit St. Lawrence Island in summer of 1912, with the task to collect physical observations of the islanders. Altogether, Moore obtained measurements, photographs, and plaster casts of about 180 individuals. Obviously, the medium of photography was essential in this process of documentation based upon the scientific level of the day.

Most of Moore's photographs were quite simple, with the subject poised in a wooden chair or standing upright in front of the camera. Of course, this was the standard photographic procedure of the time, since anthropologists of the early 1900s solely employed the photographic image to obtain reliable comparative and anthropomorphic data. Moore also shot more personal and spontaneous scenes taken from everyday life that immediately engage the viewer of today. He used these latter pictures as illustrations for his only extended article on St. Lawrence Island ethnography (see Part Four), while the more "stiff" individual photographs were deposited at the Smithsonian Archives. They stayed there—rarely touched and never published—for the next ninety years.

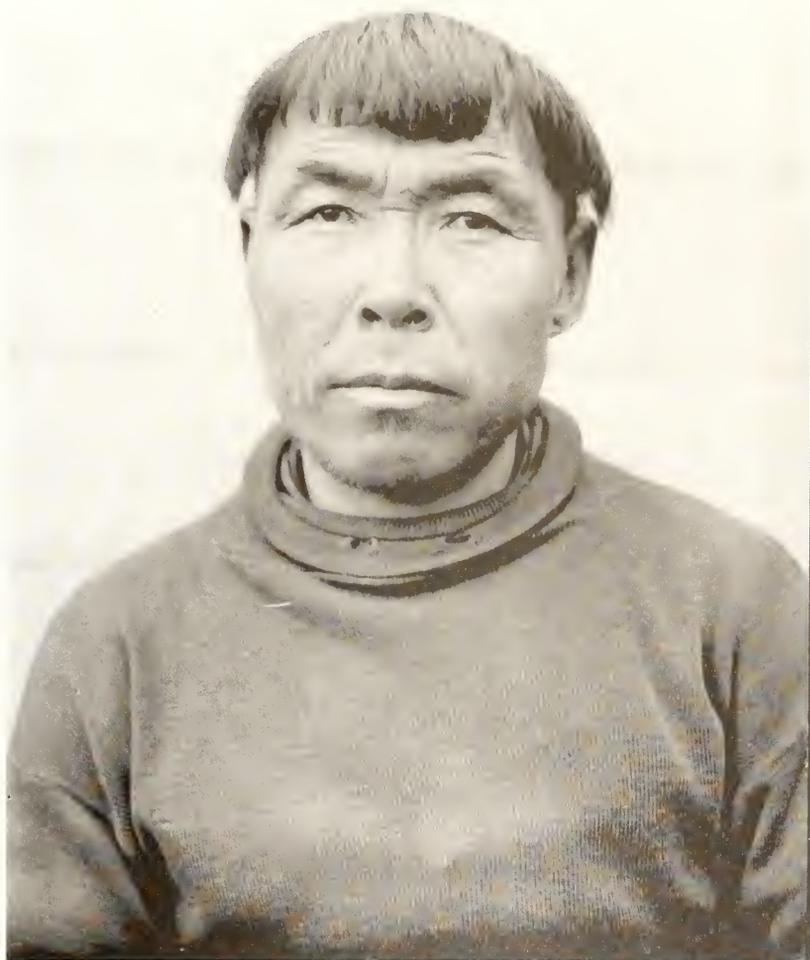
Lars Krutak, from the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, recovered Moore's original photographs and made them available for identification and reprinting. Willis Walunga in Gambell, Vera Metcalf in Nome, and Angela Larson in Savoonga made copies of Moore's photographs available to the elders and engaged them (and their memory) in a highly emotional process of individual identification. The photographs of twenty-eight identified people placed below show the outcome of this truly collective effort. We tried to preserve some of Moore's original photo captions (those are enclosed in quote marks), with more personal information added by Willis Walunga and Igor Krupnik. More of the original Moore's photographs on file at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, are presented in Appendix 3.



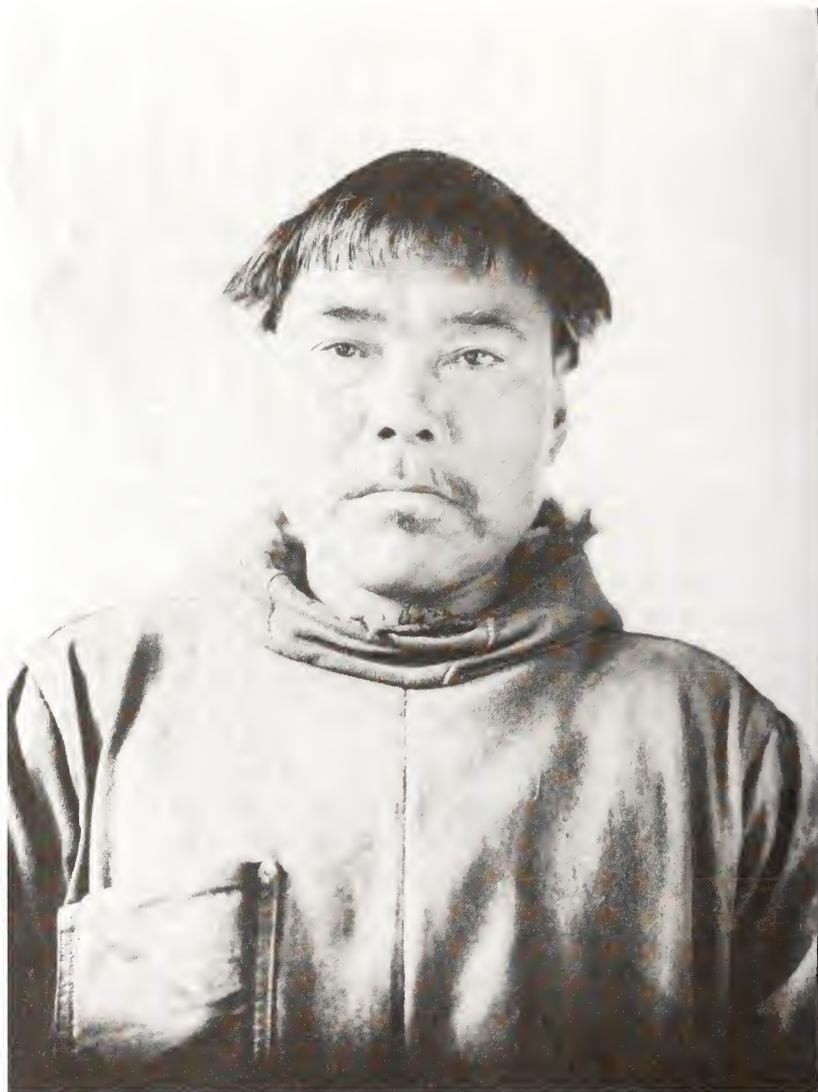
Asunaghaq ("Chief Assoona" of the early missionaries' reports, ca. 1855–1930), one of the top leaders of the island community in the late 1800s; father of *Nanghila* (Norman Nunraela) and *Nungunaq* (Vernon Nongoonok).



Suluk ("Shoollook, age 52, father of Omomingu"), 1861–1930, given English name "George Washington"; appointed commissioner by Sheldon Jackson; befriended and welcomed the first teacher, Vene C. Gambell; father or *Waamquun*, *Nunguk*, *Uvi*, *Amamenga*, *Apeteki*, *Aghnangiighaq* and *Iknaqeneq*; most respected person.



Ungalaq ("Ungwiluk, age 50, boat captain," Whiskers Ungiluk, 1866–1939, father of *Qavalghaq* (Wallace Ungwiluk).



Uwetelen, Daniel Oittillin (“Ootiillin, age 48, father of Seeluk”), 1865–1939), father of *Siluk* (Paul Silook), *Imaghmii* (Oscar Oitilin), and *Apangaluq* (John Apangalook).



Wiya ("Weu, age 68"), mother of *Uzivusiq* (Andrew Ozevooseuk), *Raaquq* (Barton Rookok), and *Qipenga* (Addison Kaspoongu).



Uwhaawen ("Owhowin, age 60"), Owawin, 1852–1939, wife of *Minaq*, grandmother of *Aantaghmii* (Jack Antoghame).



Enlegtaq ("Nnglikhtuk, age 48"), wife of *Taangyan*, mother of *Yughqutaq* (Robert Tangyan),
Uveketaaq (Chester Ooviktuk).



Pusaa (Booshu, 1875–1957), the eldest son of *Quwaaren*, father of *Ayughighsaan* (Ernest Booshu), *Nuugnan* (Ben Booshu), and *Neghyuk* (Solomon Booshu).



Ataayaghhaq ("Otiyohok, age 35"), Jimmie Otiyohok, 1878–1965, second son of *Quwaaren*.



*Kunuka (Tommy Koonooka, 1879–1970), third son of Quwaaren,
father of Tiiwri (Harold Koonooka).*



*Aghnilu (Peter Okinello, 1892–1971), fourth son of Quwaaren,
father of Florence Napaq.*



Tangatu ("Tungitoo, age 32, an uncle of Seeluk"), Jacob Tungitoo, 1881–1950, father of Jimmie *Tulii* (Toolii).



Yaghaq, Adam, Yoghuk, 1886–1946, older brother of Lincoln Blassi (Pelaasi).



Sunaaghruk, Moses Soonagarook, 1884–1959, brother of *Mangtaquli*, top strong wrestler of the island.



lirgu ("Irogoo, age 24, a "strong man"), Samuel Irrigoo, 1891–1985, son of *Waamseghaan*, father or *Miinglu* (Clarence Irrigoo) and *Ayuqi* (Ora Gologergen); one of the top wrestlers in early days.



Ataqa ("Atooka, age 32"), Harry Ataaka, 1874–1957, second name *Veghtekaq*, raised *Galaagerngen* (Theodore Gologergen) and *Kingiikaq* (Theodore Kingeekuk).



Ighennaq, Edgar Igunnuk 1883–1944, brother of Pulaaghun (Boolown), Angusaan (Mark Angusan), and Eghqaaghaq (Loon Hohkokohek).



Siluk ("Seeluk, age 20"), Paul Silook, 1893–1949, father of *Penapak*, *Saavla*, *Anaghayi*, *Kemliinga*, *Paazak*, and *Tutenga*; first local chronicler on St. Lawrence Island.



Inuuq ("Enok, age 30"), Ed Eruk, 1881–1934, born in Siberia,
brother of *Kutema* from *Ungaziq*.



Kesliq ("Kisluk, age 31, Wongottillin's wife"), Keesleek, 1884–1942, mother of Uqengeliighaq (Nick Wongkitillin), and Umengi (Walter Wongkitillin).



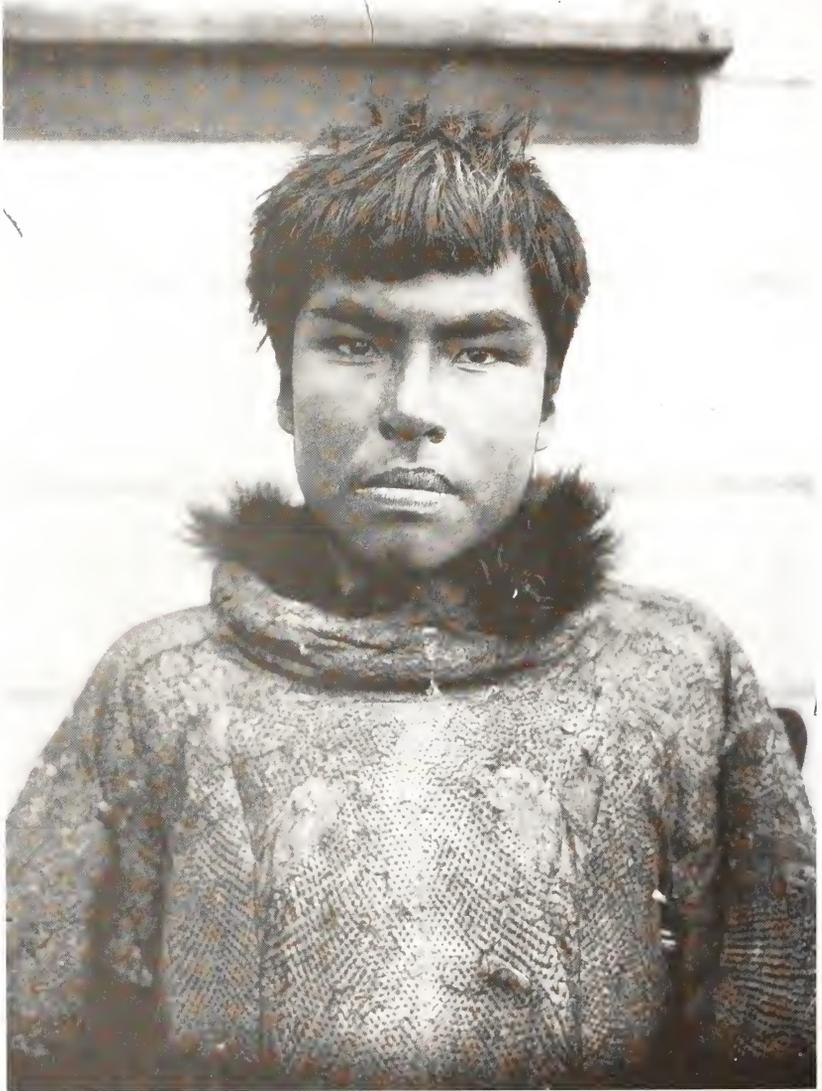
Paanga, Helen Jackson, 1891–1966, sister of Uziva (Andrew Ozeevoseuk), wife of Unmeggaq (Jackson), mother of Imegyuun (Elsie Kava), Petgengghaq (Howard Jackson), Alakaghhaq (Paul Jackson), and Piilaka (Timothy Jackson).



Qerngughtekaq ("Snowflake"), 1888–1959, born in Siberia; wife of *Qunaghhaq*, mother of *Aya* (Nathaniel Iya) and *Atalluk* (Howard Konahok).



Aghnalqwaapak, Aknahlkwapuk, 1881–1939, wife of Mangataquli, mother of Anangti (Alec Anungti), Tunghilinguq, and Talughun.



Qipenga, Addison Kaepunga, 1890–1969, son of Akulki.



Muuggaq, Margareth Silook, 1895–1971, wife of Paul Silook, daughter of Neghyuk.



Amamenga ("Omomingu, age 20"), Mary Bolowon, 1893–?, daughter of *Suluk*, wife of *Pulaaghun*, before she got married.



*Nemelaghq, Ramola Tumbloo, 1900–1991, daughter of Nekregun,
wife of Alfred Tamlu (Tumbloo).*



Uveketaaq, Chester Ooviktuk, 1904–ca.1935, son of Taangyan, father of Clifford Katuk and Alangayaaq (Hilda Tungyan).

**Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900:
List Of Gambell (St. Lawrence Island) Residents**

Enumeration of the residents of Gambell (*Sivuqaaq*) in summer of 1900 under the Twelfth U.S. Census was done by R.N. Hawley, who visited the island with the summer governmental patrol boat, U.S.S. *Bear*. Hawley's photos of some people from St. Lawrence Island (i.e. of *Suluk*, p. 250 and *Aghhaya*, p. 424) were reproduced in the *Eleventh Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska* (Washington, 1901). It took Hawley three days to make the census of the village, from July 27 to July 30. There was no record of any local people who assisted him in this task.

Hawley's enumeration listed people by houses and also by individual families; however the order of houses in the census did not follow local village geography in any way. No individual age was recorded though Hawley listed personal relations to the family heads—which could not be done by an outsider without a local assistant. Identification of people recorded in Hawley's census sheets and their affiliation by clans was done by Igor Krupnik, Willis Walunga, and Chris Koonooka. Modern Yupik name spelling was checked by Willis Walunga and Chris Koonooka. Symbols and clan abbreviations are the same as in the 1920 census table (pp. 42–51). Because of the poor name spelling, several residents recorded in 1900 remained unidentified.

| ## | H # | F# | Recorded Name | Yupik Name | Sex | MS | Relation | Clan |
|----|-----|----|------------------------------|--------------------|-----|----|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | 1 | 1 | Imughayoon | <i>Imegyuun</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Kiwa</i> |
| 2 | | | Ananomga | <i>Ananaanga</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 3 | | | Belwinkhuh | <i>Petgenghhaq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 4 | | | Unmuktuh | <i>Unmeggaq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 5 | | | Mughuyuk | <i>Meghyuq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 6 | 2 | 2 | Savlu | <i>Saavla</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Sani</i> |
| 7 | | | Moonhangun | <i>Mekakangan</i> | F | Mr | Wife n.1 | |
| 8 | | | Soowaree | <i>Sewhaari</i> | F | Mr | Wife n.2 | |
| 9 | | | Appalu | <i>Apaata</i> | M | Mr | Son | |
| 10 | | | Yaghoh | <i>Yaghaq</i> | M | Sg | Son, wife n.2 | |
| 11 | | | Pelasse | <i>Pelaasi</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 12 | | | Ungkowiee | <i>Maligutkaq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 13 | | | Akhlunga (wife of Appalu) | <i>Aallenga</i> | F | Mr | D.-in-law | |

Twelfth Census of United States, 1900 St. Lawrence Island
(Copy of the original sheet for St. Lawrence Island)

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 29 | 1 | Mughayoon 5-5 | X | X | Head | M | M | M | X | X | M |
| | | Ananonga 8-5 | X | X | Wife | M | F | M | X | X | M |
| | | Belwinkhuk | X | X | Son | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Ummuktuk | X | X | Son | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Mughayuti / Mokiyaq | X | X | Son | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| 29 | 2 | Sartu 8-1 | X | X | Head R | M | M | M | X | X | M |
| | | Moonhangun 8-8 | X | X | Wife No 1 | M | F | M | X | X | M |
| | | Soowaree | X | X | Wife No 2 | M | F | M | X | X | M |
| | | Appatu | X | X | Son | M | M | M | X | X | M |
| | | Yagho | X | X | Son (Wife No 2) | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Relasse | X | X | Son | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Mokowee | X | X | Son | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Akhlunga (wife of Appatu) | X | X | daughter-in-law | M | F | M | X | X | M |
| 30 | 3 | Napagayu 12-10 | X | X | Head 4 R | M | M | M | X | X | M |
| | | Aghinapektuk 8-10 | X | X | Wife | M | F | M | X | X | M |
| | | Anagalunga | X | X | daughter | M | F | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Yunge | X | X | daughter | M | F | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Anungawoon | X | X | daughter | M | F | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Kallowee Kallowy | X | X | Son | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Toogowoon | X | X | Wife in law | M | F | M | X | X | M |
| | | Keloo / Kumbu | X | X | Br-in-law | M | M | M | X | X | M |
| | | Poo-wik | X | X | Wife of Keloo | M | F | M | X | X | M |
| | | Mingayoo | X | X | adoptive son of Keloo | M | M | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Naghin | X | X | daughter | M | F | M | X | X | Sg |
| | | Alisoo's | X | X | daughter | M | F | M | X | X | Sg |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|--------------|--------------|---|----|----------|------|
| 14 | 3 | 3 | Napagayu | Napaghya | M | Mr | Head | Sani |
| 15 | | | Aghinapektuk | Aghnapiggaq | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 16 | | | Anagalungu | Anaghaatanga | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 17 | | | Yunge | Yangi | F | Sg | Daughter | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--------------|----------------------|---|----|---------------|-------------|
| 18 | | Emungawoon | <i>Imengaawen</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 19 | | Kallowee | <i>Kalaawyi</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 20 | | Toogoowoon | <i>Tuusugun</i> | F | Wd | M.-in-law | |
| 21 | | Koloo | <i>Kuulu</i> | M | Mr | Br.-in-law | <i>Mere</i> |
| 22 | | Poo-wak | <i>Puguuq</i> | F | Mr | W. of Koloo | |
| 23 | | Aningayoo | <i>Anengayuu</i> | M | Sg | Ad. Son | |
| 24 | | Raghinu ? | <i>Riighnak</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 25 | | Akisook | <i>Akesuq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 26 | 3 ? | 3 Nukhiyook | <i>Neghyuk</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Sani</i> |
| 27 | | Apaycu ? | <i>Apayaa</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 28 | | Bettowook | <i>Pilugugpalluq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 29 | | Noweya | <i>Nuugigalnguq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 30 | | Burro ? | <i>Peru</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 31 | | Yemeekikuk | <i>Yimiggaq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 32 | | Mokwik | <i>Muuggaq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 33 | | Inglugoun | <i>Tintagnen</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 34 | | Mokwuk | | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 35 | | Iyvowiksan | <i>Ayugighsaan</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Sani</i> |
| 36 | | Palaleeyu | <i>Pataatiya</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 37 | | Nukmeegun | <i>Nuqneghun</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 38 | | Aghotukuh | | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 39 | 4 | 4 Rakok | <i>Raaquq</i> | M | Wd | Head | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 40 | | Weeyu | <i>Wiya</i> | F | Wd | Mother | |
| 41 | | Ovzeevustook | <i>Uzivusiq</i> | M | Sg | Brother | |
| 42 | | Banga | <i>Paanga</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 43 | | Kabung | <i>Qipenga</i> | M | Sg | Brother | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 44 | | Shoolook | | F | Mr | 2nd wife | |
| 45 | | Ungolla | <i>Angalu</i> | M | Sg | Son 2nd wife | |
| 46 | | Angealou | <i>Angiquun</i> | F | Sg | Dau. 2nd wife | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|------------------|-----------------------|---|----|---------------|-------------|
| 47 | 5 | 5 | Tellungu | <i>Telenga</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Sani</i> |
| 48 | | | Attookka | <i>Ateka</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 49 | | | Oowootillum | <i>Uwetelen</i> | M | Mr | Son | <i>Sani</i> |
| 50 | | | Keysik | <i>Qiyasiq</i> | F | Mr | D.-in-law | |
| 51 | | | Sughiluk | | M | Sg | Son | |
| 52 | | | Seatook ? | <i>Siluk</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 53 | | | Escackwa | <i>Isikwha</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 54 | | | Tungatoo | <i>Tangatu</i> | M | Mr | Son | <i>Sani</i> |
| 55 | | | Yaree | <i>Yaari</i> | F | Mr | D.-in-law | |
| 56 | 6 | 6 | Toosuk | <i>Tuusaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Sani</i> |
| 57 | | | Mezzikka | <i>Mezeka</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 58 | | | Keeluktokogyuk | <i>?/Tuquuyaq</i> | F | Wd | Mother | |
| 59 | | | Topangu | <i>Tupanga</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 60 | | | Ikmaltoowa | <i>Iqmaluwa</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 61 | | | Akka | <i>Aqaa</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 62 | | | Pazzuk | <i>Paazak</i> | M | Mr | Son | |
| 63 | | | Aghvosa ? | <i>Ageza</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 64 | | | Keeluk | <i>Qilak/Aghilluk</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Sani</i> |
| 65 | | | Sakomeek | <i>Saqumik</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 66 | | | Angkatungonoween | <i>Angqatenganwan</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 67 | | | Kaloo | <i>Qaalu</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 68 | | | Singling | <i>Singlenga</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 69 | | | Inguru | [died in 1900] | M | Mr | Boarder | |
| 70 | | | Evagahma | <i>Ivaghima</i> | F | Mr | W. of Inguru | |
| 71 | | | Pittumuktuk | | F | Sg | D. of Inguru | |
| 72 | 7 | 7 | Akulky | <i>Akulki</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 73 | | | Attyuu | <i>Aghbaaya</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 74 | | | Atteleak | <i>Atleghuq</i> | M | Mr | Son | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 75 | | | Annasook | <i>Anasuk</i> | F | Sg | Ad. Daughter | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| 76 | | Aghooza | <i>Ageza</i> | F | Mr | D.-in-law | | |
| 77 | | Eyuuqkeak | <i>Iyengqiq</i> | M | Sg | Grandson | | |
| 78 | 8 | 8 | Meklehak | <i>Miklagbbaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Paga</i> |
| 79 | | | Iknakenuk (w. of Pazzuk) | <i>Iknageneq</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 80 | | | Aginattitowook ? | | F | Mr | Daughter | |
| 81 | | | Kawarron | | M | Sg | Son | |
| 82 | | | Toony | <i>Tuuni/Tuuniyuq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 83 | | | Ananningwa | <i>Ananingwaaq</i> | F | ? | Boarder | <i>Mara</i> |
| 84 | | | Wakecutaka | | M | Sg | Son | |
| 85 | | | Akinapup | | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 86 | | | Aviskitep ? | <i>Avelqiq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 87 | | | Aloowa | <i>Aluwa</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 88 | | | Kowwowee | <i>Kawawyi</i> | M | ? | Boarder | |
| 89 | 9 | 9 | Kito (Sam Sli..ok) | <i>Qaalu</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>from Sib.</i> |
| 90 | | | Beeton | <i>Piitun</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 91 | | | Enuk | <i>Inuuq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 92 | | | Gootina | <i>Kutema</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 93 | | | Atargun (Alargun) | <i>Atargen</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 94 | 10 | 10 | Ghoongiukak | <i>Nguungaya</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 95 | | | Akka | <i>Aqaa</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 96 | | | Owlangu | <i>Awliinga</i> | M | Sg | Daughter | |
| 97 | | | Gelowyirigun | <i>Galaagerngen</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 98 | | | Nughaghuk | <i>Kingiikaq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 99 | | | Aveysohuk | <i>Aviyuwhaq</i> | F | Wd | Mother | |
| 100 | | | Ataka | <i>Ataqa</i> | M | Sg | Brother | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 101 | | | Alanga | <i>Alanga</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 102 | | | Tangootook | <i>Taangutuq</i> | F | Mr | D.-in-law | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------|------------------|----------------------|----|----------|---------------|-------------|
| 103 | | Oomahuk | <i>Umiigbhaq</i> | M | Sg | Grandson | | |
| 104 | | Nayaha | <i>Naaygga</i> | F | Mr | Wife n.2 | | |
| 105 | | Naghayee | | M | Sg | Son | | |
| 106 | 11 | 11 | Okungalatuk | <i>Uqengeliigbaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 107 | | | Athlutuguk | <i>Allitekaq</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 108 | | | Kisluk | <i>Kesliq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 109 | | | Kaghok | <i>Qaghiiq</i> | F | Sg | Ad. Daughter | |
| 110 | | | Elgasseemu | <i>Ilgaasima</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Qiwa</i> |
| 111 | | | Seempu | <i>Siingpa</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 112 | | | Kainuktuguk | <i>Kaneghteghyaq</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 113 | | | Wegha | <i>Wiigha</i> | F | Mr | Wife n.2 | |
| 114 | | | Peenyyn | <i>Pinaaya</i> | M | Sg | Son w. n.2 | |
| 115 | 12 | 12 | Nukpoon | <i>Neghqun</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Uwa*</i> |
| 116 | | | Apagina | <i>Apaghna</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 117 | | | Upa | <i>Apaal/Kenuuqu</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 118 | | | Iyoklik | <i>Ayuqliq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 119 | | | Toghisigluk | <i>Tagaluk</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 120 | 13 | 13 | Kowarrum | <i>Quwaaren</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Sani</i> |
| 121 | | | Avaltuk | <i>Avalak</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 122 | | | Poosee | <i>Pusaa</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 123 | | | Ityhatuk | <i>Ataayagbhaq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 124 | | | Konota ? | <i>Kunuka</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 124 | | | Akineto | <i>Aghmilu</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 126 | | | Iyatuk | <i>Ayaleq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 127 | | | Tatowee | <i>Tatuwi</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 128 | | | Ookukheluk | | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 129 | | | Nooneen | <i>Nuugnan</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Sani</i> |

* According to the late *Aghwalngiiq*, Alice Yavakseuk (Christopher Koonooka's note, 2002)

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|----------------------|---|----|---------------|-------------|
| 130 | | Nakooluk | <i>Naagbuluq</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 131 | | Napak | <i>Napaaq</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 132 | | Ozzuk | <i>Uusneq</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 133 | | Kasooka | <i>Kusukaq</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 134 | | Angtokwapuk | <i>Angtughpak</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 135 | | Anagapuk | <i>Aghnaghaghpak</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 136 | 14 | 14 | Megootuk | M | Mr | Head | ? |
| 137 | | | Tailikuk | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 138 | | | Muklumnuk | M | Mr | Father | |
| 139 | | | Papak | F | Mr | Mother | |
| 140 | 15 | 15 | Menuk | M | Mr | Head | * |
| 141 | | | Hwawin | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 142 | | | Ooyinguk | M | Sg | Son | |
| 143 | | | Koninga | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 144 | | | Yagto | M | Wd | Father | |
| 145 | 16 | 16 | Gittughutu | M | Mr | Head | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 146 | | | Nannakyuk | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 147 | | | Aninga | M | Mr | Son | |
| 148 | | | Mazika | F | Mr | Dau.-in-law | |
| 149 | | | Angaka | M | Sg | Grandson | |
| 150 | | | Papoogayook | M | Sg | Grandson | |
| 151 | | | Mukkatanga ? | F | Sg | Gr.daughter | |
| 152 | | | Oyaghapak | M | Mr | Brother | |
| 153 | | | Akeyuh | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 154 | | | Poppey | F | Sg | Ad.daughter | |

* See note on p. 48

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|-------------|---------------------|---|----|---------------|-------------|
| 155 | 17 | 17 | Oozuk | <i>Uuzak</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Uwaa</i> |
| 156 | | | Matuk | <i>Miitaq</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 157 | | | Papoogah | <i>Papegaaq</i> | F | Mr | Wife no.2 | |
| 158 | | | Anayook | <i>Anagyuk</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 159 | | | Ungawatuk | <i>Negaghpak ?</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 160 | | | Bovlon ? | | M | Sg | Son | |
| 161 | | | Soonkhanga | <i>Sunqaanga</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 162 | 18 | 18 | Avayook | <i>Qenaaghaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Uwaa</i> |
| 163 | | | Analook | <i>Anaghasuuk</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 164 | | | Ungawtuk | <i>Negaghpak</i> | M | Mr | Boarder | <i>Uwaa</i> |
| 165 | | | Iyapa | <i>Ayapaa</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 166 | 19 | 19 | Massyyoo | <i>Masaayu</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Uwaa</i> |
| 167 | | | Okowa | <i>Ukugbwa</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 168 | | | Agha | <i>Agha</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 169 | | | Luktu | <i>Lugtu</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 170 | | | Typoghama | <i>Tupeghmii</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 171 | | | Iyaketan | <i>Ayakitaan</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Uwaa</i> |
| 172 | | | Meetu ? | <i>Nuqneguhun</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 173 | 20 | 20 | Raktok ? | <i>Raagbhaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Peng</i> |
| 174 | | | ...ora ? | | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 175 | | | ..etunga ? | <i>Latunga</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 176 | 21 | 21 | Angiyuk | <i>Angaayaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Mere</i> |
| 177 | | | Topanga | <i>Tupaanga</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 178 | | | Metuksuk | <i>Meteghlluk</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 179 | | | Okuphayagan | <i>Ukeghyaghaan</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 180 | | | Koyalaaq | <i>Quyalaaq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 181 | | | Mungina | <i>Mangena</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Mere</i> |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------|---------------------|---|----|---------------|-------------|
| 182 | | Akinastuk | <i>Aghmalqwaaq</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 183 | | Toonapa | <i>Yuwaaghpak</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 184 | | Ootygook | <i>Uutaayuk</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 185 | | Gtoomy ? | <i>Kelumi</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 186 | 22 | 22 Kogalook | <i>Qawyalek</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Neng</i> |
| 187 | | Aghiuka | <i>Aghnaqa</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 188 | | Koozata | <i>Kuzaata</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 189 | | Koyyasuk | <i>Yaavgaghsiq</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Neng</i> |
| 190 | | Aghinankamu | <i>Aghmaamkami</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 191 | | Peskwolup | <i>Piiskwaghtaq</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 192 | | Akayu | <i>Akiya</i> | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 193 | | Kowktau | <i>Kaawhtaan</i> | M | Mr | Boarder | |
| 194 | | Goopatuku | | F | Mr | K.'s wife | |
| 195 | | Anabeeuuk | <i>Aghnapiwaaq</i> | F | Sg | K's daughter | |
| 196 | 23 | 23 Tapeezuk | <i>Tapiisak</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 197 | | Upukkok | <i>Epeqaaq</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 198 | | Attughu | <i>Ategha</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 199 | | Akumuk | <i>Akumuq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 200 | | Kundlook | <i>Qenluk</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 201 | | Kiningook | <i>Qanengug</i> | M | Mr | Boarder | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 202 | | Yagto | <i>Yaaghu</i> | F | Mr | Bd's wife | |
| 203 | | Tokoga | <i>Tukuuya</i> | M | Sg | Bd's son | |
| 204 | 24 | 24 Wausukhuu | <i>Waamseghaan</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Nang</i> |
| 205 | | Minanga | <i>Emenaanga</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 206 | | Owiuarrga | <i>Aywerpen</i> | M | Mr | Son | <i>Nang</i> |
| 207 | | Yagtonga | <i>Yaghunga</i> | F | Mr | D.-in-law | |
| 208 | | Akokygu ? | | M | Sg | Grandson | |
| 209 | | Atega | | M | Sg | Grandson | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|----|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 210 | | Ogmattuk | <i>Tiguyngen?</i> | M | Mr | Boarder | <i>Nasq</i> | |
| 211 | | Iyivuk | <i>Ayevaq</i> | F | Mr | Bd's wife | | |
| 212 | | Egunt nuk | <i>Ighennaq</i> | M | Sg | Bd's son | | |
| 213 | 25 | 25 | Ifkawun | <i>Ifkaghun</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Nasq</i> |
| 214 | | Pakok | <i>Paakaq</i> | F | Mr | Wife | | |
| 215 | | Sipilla | <i>Sipela</i> | M | Sg | Son | | |
| 216 | | Aunaminu ? | <i>Aannamii</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 217 | | Yapillok | <i>Yaapelu</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 218 | | Okaka | <i>Ukaaka</i> | F | Mr | Wife no.2 | | |
| 219 | | Pyana | <i>Payana</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 220 | | Inaklon | <i>Asaaghqaan</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 221 | | Apugaku | <i>Apiyeka</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 222 | | Enaghyoo | | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 223 | | Anagotak | <i>Enlegtaq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 224 | | Tunlo | <i>Tamlu</i> | M | Sg | Son | | |
| 225 | | Naneeto | <i>Nanitaq</i> | M | Mr | Boarder | | |
| 226 | | Annaghatuk | <i>Anaghataq</i> | F | Mr | Wife of N. | | |
| 227 | | Kiyetook | | M | Sg | Son of N. | | |
| 228 | | Ongoosa | <i>Angusaan</i> | M | Sg | Ad.son of N. | | |
| 229 | 26 | 26 | Amekuma | <i>Amikuma</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Sigl</i> |
| 230 | | Bongawi | <i>Pangaawen</i> | F | Mr | Wife | | |
| 231 | | Oowalu | <i>Uwaala</i> | F | Wd | Mo.-in-law | | |
| 232 | | Storok | <i>Estugruuk</i> | M | Sg | Son | | |
| 233 | | Kurringohtiguk | <i>Qerngughtekaq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 234 | | Eininguu | <i>Imingan</i> | M | Sg | Son | | |
| 235 | | Iyoyu | <i>Ayuya</i> | M | Sg | Son | | |
| 236 | 27 | 27 | Naukaruk | <i>Nanqaraq</i> | M | Wd | Head | |
| 237 | | Beencemu | <i>Pinima</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |
| 238 | | Annagaya | <i>Anaghaaya</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|--------------------|----------------------|---|----|---------------|-------------|
| 239 | 28 | 28 | Kaloka (also Jack) | <i>Kaluka</i> | M | Mr | Head | |
| 240 | | | Kookeeyunga | <i>Kukiiyanga</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 241 | | | Sabilu | | F | Mr | Wife no.2 | |
| 242 | | | Tughitugtoon | | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 243 | 29 | 29 | Assuni | <i>Asunaghaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Kang</i> |
| 244 | | | Asu | <i>Aasa</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 245 | | | Anatskapuk | <i>Aghmalqwaapak</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 246 | | | Ottisone | | M | Sg | Son | |
| 247 | | | Iyaclon ? | | M | Sg | Son | |
| 248 | | | Nunglaloo | <i>Nanghila</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 249 | | | Montokoly | <i>Mangtaquli</i> | M | Sg | Son (in-law) | |
| 250 | | | Nanyyook | <i>Nemaayaq</i> | M | Mr | Brother | <i>Kang</i> |
| 251 | | | Panneghu | <i>Paniigha</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 252 | | | Ookala | <i>Ukaala</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 253 | 30 | 30 | Kunnaak | <i>Qenaaghaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Uwa</i> |
| 254 | | | Annasook | <i>Anaghasuk</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 255 | | | Attuguk | <i>Ateghaq</i> | F | Mr | Wife no.2 | |
| 256 | | | Akamuk | <i>Akimuq</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 257 | | | Soonkonga | <i>Sunqaanga</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 258 | | | Koontuk | <i>Qenluk</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 259 | | | Kingwatuk | <i>Kinguwaagbhaq</i> | M | Mr | Brother ? | <i>Sani</i> |
| 260 | | | Aglinatapuk | <i>Aghmagbhaq</i> | F | Mr | Sister-in-law | |
| 261 | | | Elunga | | M | Sg | Nephew | |
| 262 | | | Singawin | <i>Singaawen</i> | F | Sg | Niece | |
| 264 | 31 | 31 | Seevatuk | <i>Siivagbhaq</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Sigl</i> |
| 265 | | | Nanginu | <i>Enaangena</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 266 | | | Aratpruk ? | <i>Aratgaq</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 267 | | | Gatapa | <i>Katapa</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |
| 268 | | | Washuka | <i>Maasqen</i> | M | Sg | Son | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|------------|--------------|-------------|
| 269 | | Eyatap | <i>Iyiitaaq</i> | M | Mr | Boarder | | |
| 270 | | Wayee | <i>Waayi</i> | F | Mr | Wife of E. | | |
| 271 | | Yatkwirrigoo | | M | Sg | Son of E. | | |
| 272 | | Katmowayee | <i>Kemugyi</i> | M | Sg | Son of E. | | |
| 273 | 32 | 32 | Anningtte ? | <i>Anangti</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 274 | | | Aghinagta | <i>Agnaga</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 275 | | | Bunga | <i>Paanga</i> | F | Sg | Ad. daughter | |
| 276 | | | Teengathaquan | | M | Mr | Boarder | |
| 277 | | | Annathotoyuk | | F | Mr | Boarder ? | |
| 278 | | | Nowgootuk | | S | Sg | Son of Tng. | |
| 279 | | | Tingatwelat | | F | Sg | Dau. of Tng. | |
| 280 | | | Getingawin | | F | Sg | Dau. of Tng. | |
| 281 | 33 | 33 | Shoolook | <i>Suluk</i> | M | Mr | Head | <i>Pugu</i> |
| 282 | | | Kashunga | <i>Qisgenga</i> | F | Mr | Wife | |
| 283 | | | Wunkone | <i>Waamquun</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 284 | | | Noongwook | <i>Nunguk</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 285 | | | Ooy | <i>Uvi</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 286 | | | Appetoky | <i>Apeteki</i> | M | Sg | Son | |
| 287 | | | Amamunga | <i>Amamenga</i> | F | Sg | Daughter | |

St. Lawrence Island Hunting Report, 1907

From Edgar Campbell's Notes—
Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks

These hunting data were extracted from Edgar O. Campbell's notes deposited at the Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Dr. Campbell, who lived for several years on the island as a teacher and missionary, evidently tried to document various aspects of local life in his diaries (see Part 4) and notes. He performed birth and death registration, and he also tried to collect annual statistics of marine mammal catch by individual hunters.

The record below represents a list of local hunters (about fifty names out of the total number of sixty to sixty-five adult males and teens in the community at that time), with the numbers of individual catch of walruses, "mukluk" (bearded seals), "seal," and foxes from June to December of 1907—"from leaving of ice to Christmas." This is a fairly detailed record that covered the catch of 57 walruses, 55 bearded seals, 1,350 seals, and 24 foxes. However, neither the most productive spring walrus catch nor the results of spring communal hunt for bowhead whales were documented. Nor should the accounts of individual hunters be taken for granted as reliable catch returns. A similar though more extended list by Campbell of sixty-six hunters for the year 1909 (presumably organized by boat crews) is presented in Part 5. Campbell's original spelling of hunters' names—or maybe of someone else who retyped Campbell's notes several years later—is preserved. Modern Yupik spelling is added as a separate column. Campbell's "Report" is the earliest record documenting individual annual catch of marine mammals on St. Lawrence Island.

St. Lawrence Island Hunting Report: From leaving of ice, June 1907, to Christmas 1907

| Name | Yupik name | Walrus | Mukluk | Seal | Fox |
|------------|--------------------|--------|--------|------|-----|
| Blassi | <i>Pelaasi</i> | 3 | 9 | 85 | - |
| Skivooko | <i>Elqwaaghqu</i> | - | 2 | 43 | 10 |
| Ehink | <i>Ighennaq</i> | 1 | 4 | 117 | 2 |
| Sellok | <i>Suluk</i> | 2 | 1 | 60 | 2 |
| Kaepoongu | <i>Qipenga</i> | 6 | 5 | 83 | 5 |
| Tatoowi | <i>Tatuwi</i> | 11 | 4 | 103 | 10 |
| Ungiloo | ??? | 1 | 2 | 115 | - |
| Nunrallu | <i>Nanghila</i> | 6 | 4 | 61 | 1 |
| Nupowhotuk | <i>Napaghbutaq</i> | - | 1 | 109 | 23 |
| Ungwilluk | <i>Ungalaaq</i> | 1 | - | - | - |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---|---|----|----|
| Konooghok | <i>Qenaghbaq</i> | - | - | 22 | - |
| Ozuk | <i>Uuzak</i> | - | - | - | 1 |
| Neghokhpuk | <i>Negaghpak</i> | - | 1 | 7 | - |
| Messiu | <i>Masaayu</i> | - | - | 4 | - |
| Nupohuyu | <i>Napaghya</i> | 2 | - | 12 | - |
| Opu | <i>Apaa</i> | - | - | 2 | 1 |
| Iyagitan | <i>Ayakitaan</i> | - | - | 13 | - |
| Kaeluk | <i>Qilak/Aghilluk</i> | - | 1 | - | - |
| Ungott | <i>Angqatenganwan</i> | - | 1 | 20 | - |
| Kooloo | <i>Kuulu</i> | 1 | 1 | 21 | - |
| Kolo | <i>Qaalu</i> | - | - | 27 | - |
| Knnuktuguguk | <i>Kaneghreghyaq</i> | - | - | 14 | - |
| Wonggott. | <i>Wangqetelen</i> | - | - | 7 | 7 |
| Otooko | <i>Ataqa</i> | - | - | 30 | - |
| Hoknkooghok | <i>Eghqaaghaq</i> | - | 1 | 30 | 16 |
| Ungoson | <i>Angusaan</i> | - | - | 1 | - |
| Asshoonnu | <i>Asunaghaq</i> | 2 | 1 | 16 | - |
| Umogo | <i>Amagu</i> | 2 | 1 | 26 | - |
| Ogoolki | <i>Akulki</i> | - | - | - | 1 |
| Atlohok | <i>Atleghuaq</i> | - | 1 | 8 | - |
| Opootu | <i>Apaata</i> | 2 | 1 | 10 | - |
| Ungiloo | ?? | - | - | 3 | - |
| Yovwokseuk | <i>Yaavgaghsiq</i> | 1 | - | 33 | - |
| Stoogurook | <i>Estugruuk</i> | - | 2 | 41 | - |
| Ozevoshook | <i>Uzivusiq</i> | - | - | 7 | - |
| Rookok | <i>Raaquq</i> | - | - | 20 | - |
| Kowarin | <i>Quwaaren</i> | - | - | 4 | 1 |
| Booshu | <i>Pusaa</i> | 4 | - | 7 | 1 |
| Otiyohok | <i>Ataayagbhaq</i> | 2 | 3 | 15 | - |
| Koonoku | <i>Kunuka</i> | 1 | 1 | 17 | - |
| Okinello | <i>Aghmilu</i> | - | 2 | 16 | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----|---|----|---|
| Ooitilin | <i>Uwetelen</i> | - | - | 16 | - |
| Tungitoo | <i>Tangatu</i> | 2 | - | 17 | - |
| Kingowohok | <i>Kinguwaagbhaq</i> | 2 | - | 11 | 8 |
| Ifkowan | <i>Ifkaghun</i> | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| Konohok | <i>Qunaaghaq</i> | - | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| Iworrigan | <i>Aywegen</i> | 22 | - | 10 | - |
| Okhtokiyuk | <i>Aghtuqaayak</i> | 1 | - | 16 | - |
| Boolowon | <i>Pulaaghun</i> | 1 | 2 | 28 | 2 |
| Schoolboys | | | | | |
| Caught Nothing | | | | | |

Hunters from the 1909 list:

| | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| Temkoro | <i>Temkeruu</i> |
| Muntokoli | <i>Mangtaquli</i> |
| Oningou | <i>Anengayuu</i> |
| Yokhunuk | <i>Yughuntnuuk</i> |
| Womkon | <i>Waamquun</i> |
| Tungyon | <i>Taangyan</i> |
| Koningok | <i>Qanenguq</i> |
| Soongorook | <i>Sunaaghruk</i> |
| Brro | <i>Peru</i> |
| Gologooroongu | <i>Galaagerngen</i> |
| Svlu | <i>Saavla</i> |
| Yoghok | <i>Yaghaq</i> |
| Menuk | <i>Minaq</i> |
| Irrogo | <i>Iirgu</i> |
| Enok | <i>Inuuq</i> |
| Nunginan | <i>Nungunaaq</i> |
| Nughpuk | <i>Neghqun</i> |
| Poozuk | <i>Paazak</i> |
| Metlohok | <i>Meteghlluk</i> |
| Killoimi | <i>Kelumii</i> |



Qerngughtekaq (Snowflake) with little *Anaghalquyaak* (Flora Annagahlkoyak), 1912.

part two

Yupik People Speak for Themselves: Stories and Writings of Our Fathers

Introduction

George Imergan (*Yaagmiqun*). Life Story (1940)

Paul Silook (*Siluk*). My Early Memories (1940)

Mary Boulown (*Amamenga*). Life Story (1940)

James Aningayou (*Anengayuu*). Life Story (1940)

Dorcas Echok (*Tuusugun*). Story about My Life (1940)

Nelson Aluwa (*Qagaqu*). Excerpts from Daily Journal (1937)

Sippella's (David *Sipela*) Diary. 1903

Jimmy Ottiahok (*Ataayaghhaq*). The Way We Hunt in Gambell (1940)

Paul Silook (*Siluk*). The 'Big Wave' of 1913 (1940)

James Aningayou (*Anengayuu*). The Stories I Heard of Old Villages (1940)

Sweeney (*Uuyghaq*). Stories from my 'Old Place' in Siberia (1940)

Warren Koozaata (*Kuzaata*). The Story of the Gambell Village Council (1940)

Gambell Village Council Rules, 1940

Historical Photographs

INTRODUCTION

Most of the texts in this section are taken from the original typewritten transcripts stored in the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection at the Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. **Dorothea C. Leighton** (1908–1989) was a medical anthropologist who traveled to St. Lawrence Island with her husband, **Alexander H. Leighton**, in the summer of 1940. Over a period of ten weeks, the Leightons conducted personal interviews and collected biographical stories. Those were transcribed, typed, and then remained in Dorothea Leighton's personal possession for over forty years.

Back in 1940, the Leightons were doing medical and psychological research, trying to learn how the struggles of everyday life influenced individual personalities, interpersonal relations, and emotional health in Native American communities. In the past, Western medical doctors were largely ignorant of Native culture and this had a negative impact on Native patients and treatments for various illnesses. The Leightons sought to correct this outlook by giving Native people voices of their own to express the courage, strength, and ingenuity they used in solving their day-to-day problems. Thus, the Leightons felt it was very important to preserve the exact wording of each individual who worked with them. The bulk of their recorded data was collected among the Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island (in summer of 1940) and the Navajo people of New Mexico (in winter–spring 1940).

Overall, some eighty personal stories and interviews were collected in Gambell by the Leighton team in 1940 over a period of ten weeks. The Leightons never returned to St. Lawrence Island and for over forty years made hardly any attempt to publish their materials. Their data, however, were actively used by Alexander Leighton's student, the late **Charles C. Hughes** (1928–1997) during his field work in Gambell in 1954–55 and in his many publications, including his book, *Sivoukak: The Eskimo Village in the Modern World* (1961). It was not until her retirement in 1979 that Dorothea Leighton was able to come back to her Gambell field notes of 1940 and to process the old transcripts. In 1982, she donated her entire collection to the Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF).

The Leightons collected personal stories and interviews from a broad cross-section of the Yupik community of Gambell, including elders, young men and women, and even children. Some of the life stories are very short, while others are substantial and very long. Several interviews were recorded

and processed under imaginary names (pseudonyms) to keep people's anonymity; others keep the real names of the storytellers. The Leightons' file at UAF remained the largest collection of personal narratives of the Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island from the late 1800s until the stories of Yupik elders started to be documented through annual elders' conferences and under the Title VII heritage projects of the 1980s.

The section below presents a sample of Yupik stories recorded by Alexander and Dorothea Leighton. Yupik names and correct spellings have been introduced by Igor Krupnik and Willis Walunga. This sample is just a small portion of the entire Leighton collection, and the value of the stories keeps growing as time passes. For an interested reader, we also enclose the full list of materials available in this file at the UAF Archives (see below). The present Dorothea C. Leighton Collection at the UAF Archives is divided into three parts: (1) life stories, diaries, folktales collected in Gambell in 1940; (2) diaries of Edgar O. Campbell, the early teacher, medical doctor, and missionary who worked on St. Lawrence Island in 1901–1910 (see Part Four); and (3) photographs of the people of St. Lawrence Island made in Gambell in 1940. However, a modern reader may experience substantial problems identifying the true names of storytellers and of the cited characters in several recorded stories, since Dorothea Leighton had deliberately changed (disguised) many personal names. She then repeated that pattern in her only publication of the narratives she collected on St. Lawrence Island which appeared in a special issue of the journal *Northwestern Anthropological Research Notes* in 1983 (vol. 17, nos. 1–2, "Eskimo Recollections of Their Life Experiences"). In that publication all personal and geographic names have been made up, so that readers could not identify any particular person mentioned in the story. This was the practice if not the requirement of the day.

Two more pieces in this section present original writings by the Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island. The first is a sample from David Seppila's (*Sipela*) daily journal of 1903, the first-ever published text written in English by a St. Lawrence Island Yupik person. It was published as an example of the impressive progress in Native education in the *Fourteenth Annual Report on the Introduction of Domesticated Reindeer into Alaska*, produced under the editorship of Sheldon Jackson in 1904. The second piece is an excerpt from the late Nelson Alowa's (*Qagaqu*) daily journal (diary) of 1937–38. It was sent in several handwritten letters to an archaeologist, Dr. Froelich Rainey, who conducted excavations at the ancient site of *Kukulek* near Savoonga during the 1930s. Shortly before his death in 2000, Mr. Alowa kindly granted permission to publish pieces from this unique document as an illustration of writing done by St. Lawrence Island people some sixty-five years ago. To a reader of today, these early samples of personal journals open a rare window to daily life on the island through the eyes of the Yupik people themselves.

Done
(1.)

Sweeney's Story (Paul Interpreter)

collected by Wm W. Field

4 August 10, 1940

It seems to me that when I first awoke I knew there were lots of people at Indian Point. I remember people told me that there were no people living right at ^{the} Point, but farther back in interior there is ^{the} lake, and by lake there lies old village. In spring the people came down to ^{the} coast and hunted there at ^{the} Point, and after whaling was over the people stored away their catches out of reach of animals, and they scattered about to ^{the} north side of Point.

I heard there was a chief at Indian Point named Tathleemuk, meaning five. He was somewhat ^a dwarf, ^{and} was the first one to discover Indian Point. Tathleemuk was so small when he shove ^d head ^{and} side duck through ^{his} belt he drag ^{would} body ^{the} on ground. His wife's breast was as long as ^a hair seal, ^{in young} young, maybe that long (measuring 3 feet). And ^{he} had ^d two children, very athletic, both sons, no ^{daughters} sisters. Dwarf-child-father, ^{my daughter's child} when have ^{very} pleasant time, he sling whale ribs and skull into three pieces--^{very} strong.

Also Tathleemuk ^{went} go with old people to hunt. He set nets for salmon and seal, ^{and caught} catch lots, ^{and} what he supposed to take Indian Point. He stored away some kind of plant ^{for} whale ceremony. He filled large seal pokes and took good care ^{so} dogs or any human ^{could} not touch them. Besides that he dried salmon with ^{his} head, ^{on} only removing ^{the} internal organs, and filled another poke, which he was to take to Indian Point to have some kind of celebration. Then people gathered some kind ^{of} roots, 1 to 6 ^{1 1/2} inches ⁱⁿ diameter. People have ^d to examine the inside of roots, ^{by} splitting ^{the} roots. Some have heart--^{but it was} very seldom found. ^{very good} When find one, ^{very much} very much pleased, ^{for} for good medicine for consumption.

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* Several personal names (such as this one and others) have been deliberately changed by Dorothea Leighton to preserve the anonymity of her storytellers.

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George Imergan (*Yaagniqun*): Life Story

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Folder: “George Imergan—Life Story,” No. 27, Box 1

First thing what I knows about my life is beginning from year 1918. And since I was learned my life, we were at Camp, between Savoonga and Gambell, calls, Taphook [*Tapghuq*]. Our house is in under the ground, that is, called ‘igloo’ [*nenglu*]. It is warm house, no windows, no need any kinds of stoves, just seal oil lamp. We live in that camp only for six or eight months. We left this village in August for Camp until first month of Spring season, and we come again to Gambell. We live four months here.

In the camp my father [*Aymergen*] has busy time in hunting and trapping and work, and mother [*Aghmaghlluggaq*] has lot of business, too. She sewed, our clothes, mine and three sisters’, and my father’s. Sometimes she went for gathering some kind of leafs that we can eat and for keeping for winter times. Because in this camp there were not much open water, in winter times. But my father went to Gambell by dog team and bring some fresh meat. Gambell has many a fresh meat in winter time, because there was open water whole winter, and has time for hunting every day, for seals and walrus, and big seals too. So when he brings some meat we ate the leaf mixed with fresh meat and oil. But some of them were not eaten until, if we go back to Gambell, my mother wants to take with it to the people, to be divided among houses. (I) am sure people likes to taste this kind since that time. Now few people can (do) gathering now. When we just came home to Gambell, the people bring us some meat and some nice things to eat, and then my mother gave them leaf. Now more kinds of food we don’t taste, only former people can eat it.

I don’t think much about anything in those days. But I have a playmate, he is nice boy same in age as I am, same height. I have stuttering when I speak, and he is just the same when he trying to speak he stutters. Stuttering is kind of hard to speaking, am sure it is hard. When I trying to speak to him I couldn’t say any word, and he is just the same I do. His name of Eskimo is Kowangali [*Qawangeli*]. Our fathers and mothers laugh at us when they listen for us. He and I both growing fine, no fighting in playing.

In those days our fathers were hunters, by canoe fishing and seal hunting to lagoons, and to cliffs for young cormorants, they brought plenty in summer time. When my father stays home he carved some ivory, some times he make some wooden dish, or some toys for me, and for my sisters. He keeps those carvings, for Gambells teacher or store, if winter comes. He go there and sold them with seal skin and some times ivory tusks too and few of fox skins. He don't use to have trapping much, because, in those days people don't know everything about the thing what we use to have now in this present days. I know now we are great change than former peoples. They do not know how to get more money.

When my father come home to camp, he brought what he had buy from store. This is what they need mostly in those days. Firearms, ammuniton, calico, kerosene, pilot bread, molasses, only those I taste in those days. Now I can taste hundred of things than formers things. Much poor English speaking.

I don't remember how many years we did back and forth to camping and back to Gambell. We have skin house here, we live in when we come from camp. Now we are deserted this camp to Gambell, and dwell here until now. Now far as I know at Gambell beginning with year 1915. I have many playmates at here, my cousins and other boys and girls. And this my playmate at camp, Kowangali [*Qawangeli*], died that spring in here.

In the month of April, my uncle, boat captain in whaling or walrusing times, together with us his relatives having celebrate the whaling Seasons Sacrifices of what they gather in summer leafs, and had keep in pokes, and beside these some dry walrus and big seal meat. So in this month they open it end offered. This seems to me, in those days, people thinks, only by Sacrifice, when they offered meat and leafs, God should prepare Gift for them for the spring season. So we can know now by our Bible, those kinds of Sacrifices were Offering to Devils. The word of God says, "Sacrifices and Offerings thou wouldst not," so I believed not by Sacrifices. Man can catch what the need for man, that had prepared from beginning of the Creation, had mentioned in the Holy Bible. I believe whole Bible. The world is framed by the word of God. Something new, what we seen now and heard are mention in Bible. Now after this one-day Celebration of Sacrificial meat Offerings, many days after, my father begin his Idol Celebration. They celebrated for three or four days. They sang and dance in every house. When they finish from in one others house,

then to another, from morning till night. In those days there were many different kinds of worshiper, Idolize Celebrating, Offering of Sacrifice, call moon worship, like my uncle did. But in different months each captain of the boat they offer Sacrifice. Now there were few people who can do this kind of Celebrations, in the present days. And when the Spring's hunting season ends, the hunters of a boat with Captain celebrate one day, they offer sacrifice again. I think that is thanks offering, they have kept meat from which they get from this spring. In those days there were different kinds of worshipping. In each house they celebrate, and sometimes each man can keep their own week Celebration. And there has Sorcerers too, Far as what I remembered about these Sorcerers, there has two kinds, some kinds are magicians, and other kinds can heal which had wounded, or sick ones. I do not know about the magicians, I just hear from others, and I don't have watch either.

In these present days, there were none like now. In these days, every Spring people come from Siberian side, for trade. They have parkas, fancy balls, and fancy boats and some deer-skins, and deer legs for sell. So this peoples buy them, Siberian women like some pans, wooden marrow plate which we use in launchen time only, and any kinds of American things, sewing needles and calico, dress, any kind kettles, and toys for their children. And their men like canoe, paddles, walrus hides, Big seal skins, any kinds of American tools, Firearms, Ammunitions, shirts. Sometime they stay here many days. The people of St. Lawrence Island take a race with them by running. Sometimes they beat us, sometimes we beat them. And sometime after running race, then they wrestling. Some men were strong in Siberia. So they beat us. Sometimes we beat them.

In those days they have strongest man, in either place, and fastest man too. So this is authority of men in here, and in Siberian, they have no Councilmen and Officers, no rule or anything what we use to have now. Only the older peoples can making rules, and authority was in strong mans and fast mans. But this authority is belongs to one's tribe. In this Island there has four or five tribes in those days. If each tribe has a strong man, and has fast man, these two are their warrants. So other's tribes should honor this kind of man. Mostly each tribes having a power for others, and trying to make a good men, they call strong men and fast runners with good. And each tribe could keep the Celebrations of their Idols worshipper together. And each tribes has religous, should not be mixed with other tribes religous, nor, serve with it. Their Sorcerers were something like a doctors not long, they have wages when they work for the sick. Some were very wonderful healers. I

don't seen myself, how they did. But some I know, by talking about the pains they can stops the pain. Like the prayers they talk softly, these prayers could memory. So different people can use these prays for sick. Some were good talkers, no matter they were not Sorcerers. These prayers were many different kinds, for diverse kind of sickness, and each has different words, and can be used only for pains for pain, and made for wounds for wound. And the sleepless could deep sleep by the prayer, without medicine. Every each prayers were unlike. And they have medicine men too but we don't have been seen, we are new peoples in this present day. We don't think much for medicine men and for Sorcerers that can heal the body. Only we know the physicians now, and it is our hope, shall be able to do as much as those people. In those days they has no radios, do not knows what day ship will be here. But Sorcerers can tell the time for anything, same as Radio. Sorcerers can knows the ships will be here tomorrow, the day, which they appoint is right. Some did miss. Sometimes they can tell man shall have something catch, or the weather will be good or bad. Some has right, and others did miss. In this present have none now, because there has a radio, that all people can hear the message from stations.

Now in this days there has no anything that we had been seen and known, we are changing every year. Now we are not trying to know the olden times thing, but of new thing. We like Government laws, Doctors, and everything that Americans have.

I knows one time in fall, must be in September, five peoples been fishing by skin boat, and they been lost, they don't have been come back. All St. Lawrence Island people don't see them nor know about it, neither found anything something from it in around this Island. And in that fall, it was flood, great storm from Southeast Wind, and great swells from west shore, and our house and others three houses, been washed off. So we run away at night to on top this Hill, and stays there until tomorrow. That morning swells were going down, and the wind getting calm. Some go back to village again, we found no home, we feel sorry. Everything what we have in our house, is gone, so we become poor. My father has some dogs. He sold to somebody, and bought some clothes for us. And we live in my uncle's House. And in that fall, my father begins sick. But he can (do) carving, he is not worse yet that year, he buy something for us from the store. We have teacher that time, and the teacher gave the 1 x 3 ceilings to the ones whom have no home, from Government lumber. So we have ourselves too. So my father keeps it until Spring, and then next Spring comes, my father was worse and could not work nor carving, and my

uncle [*Taangyan*] with his sons having buy some new lumbers from store, and build a little house for us with that lumbers from teacher has given, and when they finish it we live in it. My father still getting worse, and could not go out doors, So my mother begins his hard business, keeping for his husband, and for our foods and clothing. And in that fall, September first 1917 I attend to school. In November my father died. So we are become fatherless. When I was in school, boys and girls fight me. I won't behave toward them, that's all I [do] cry and go home. My mother had hard time to get food for us, and clothing for us. She get something to do from peoples, and peoples gave her sometimes food, and some-times old clothes for us. But we live healthy seem as those who has nice clothes.

When school times I was trying to learn. Everything what the teacher give I worked all I can. Sometime when I go home, my uncle [*Taangyan*] teach me how to make the Eskimos thing, because at last when I become man I might hard time to make something, what the Eskimos used to have. Both my mother and our uncle having report us we fine children. So I keep on trying to learn both in school and at house. Our uncle teaches me how to build a skin house also. It is lots of work to do, it has many ropes every one or two years can be changed the roofing walrus hide and the skin ropes that were put on same time. In one or two or more years pass, skin roofing can be old. If the year has much rain weather, the roofings using should be short, and if the year has much sunshine weather, the skin roofing should be last longer. And at last when I become twelve years of age, I can think more something else, and learn and remember something what my uncle had teach me.

And in school, mostly I have been trying to learn some Eskimo, not much English. In those day people don't like much English speaking and works too. But this present days is not so. Now children like English more than Eskimo. Now clothing were change and language and religious too. Their minds were change specially. They disobey the Ancestral rules, even I. It seems to me Government laws are perfect. Houses are change, food were change too, and boats can be driven by motor now; before they use paddle, and sails. We can hear new things, we forget the Ancestor words. Songs have changed, everything is changed. Only but Race can not be changed.

At last when I become fifteen years of age I study how to shoot the guns. My cousins, my father's brothers' sons, when they go hunt they take me with, by walk in winter time, when ice comes. In summer times I can go with them for duck hunting. At last I learn how to shoot, and could catch duck and seal myself. My cousins buy a new gun for me, and they don't worry about me. When I learn, I can go hunt alone. So our mother can rest for food for us because I can get food myself. And my sister gets a job from teacher and earns money. So we fill our stomach and clothed. And I school for twelve years and quit in the year of 1928. And from this year I begin fox trapping. And my uncle says I must not go so far from village first because I am not know much about something else yet. When storms come I might lost my way, so I don't disobey him always because he is training me. So I did what he says, every day I went to see my trap with a set in end of this lake. Some day I miss, and went for seal hunting, sometimes for ducks. This is first time I did fox hunting, and I caught just one in that season. And after trapping I begin for carving.

And at last I can think for something else to make. I watch my cousins when they make some sleds and some other things. So I try and try to make something what they can make. At last I can make some for me, some those things which my cousins have made for me before. And, I have puppies that summer, so if winter comes they grow, and I can go hunt by dog team. And I can go for trapping too. So it's easier to me if I go farther, than before, and can caught seals and big seal more than before. I caught foxes more than before, sometimes blue foxes too.

In 1932 I bought some lumbers from store to repair our old little house, and make a more room too, because we are growing and having little supplies too. Before this my older sister did married and been leave to her husband home. In 1933 I was thinking for new house, so in that winter, I had good luck. I caught eighteen foxes and 1 blue. Foxes were worth about forty dollars and blue foxes about sixty dollars. So I was very glad and I talk to the Store's directors and with President too. So they order some lumber for me that year, and received July 1934, and begin to build in last part of July. This lumbers and other things, they cost about \$300.00. And we worked the building, three men help me every day. We finished everything in September. So I start for duck and seal hunting. In same year I did trouble from my back. But I was

good enough for work and hunting. In other year I am more worse, but I can work, and hunt, every year worse comes. And in 1939 I never trapping and hunting. This is the worst one I been in November, never go out doors until last part of December. Now am little better again.

Paul Silook (*Siluk*): My Early Memories

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Folder: "Paul Silook—Autobiography," No. 66, Box 3

I was born at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, somewhat in September, 1892.

In my first remembrance, it was either Christmas or Thanksgiving Day. I do not know how I and my older brother get in the school house with a coffee pot to be filled with coffee for the teacher. The same time I received a doll with beside the pot of coffee.

From since I do not remember until 1900, and could remember always from since. I do not do much thinking myself, only I follow the instructions of my parents. But as my idea is that I do not even think to be selfish and jealous, because it makes me think that I am poor myself, so I thought as putting people's mind to myself who feels about the same living as I have. Also my idea is to be [at] peace with every other boy.

Every while my mother has another child, but died, so I am dear to my father and mother.

[...]

As I remember my mother sew some things and traded to the traders for white man's grub for me to eat, so is my father, make something and traded some of his personal things for grub. Since I remember I use tobacco. It is said that my aunt, whose interest is in exchanging things, has taught me to use it, so that she should buy tobacco with other things with it for me.

Once when the teacher came and I first saw magazines and lead pencils, I was so interested about them, made me restless and caused me to cry. So my mother bought a pencil about four inches long with a pair of boots. This made me feel to pay back my parents what they have done to me. This idea is when I grow up to be a man.

I begin to hunt in boat after I became a man. I was in another men's boat, hunting with them, made me feel to have a boat of my own and start a living of myself. Even if I

become a man I barely have clothes, but getting enough to wear from the Siberian natives, exchanging walrus skin for it, which keep me having some clothes, but I do not worry about it.

One spring my father [*Uwetelen*] bought several sacks of flour from the traders. At the same time I am interested in netting auklets. As I have no net of myself, while my father and mother do not know about it, I bought an old worn out auklet net, exchange it from a boy with a sack of flour. Afterward I was worry about it for not telling my parents about it, but I told them what I have done. They do not even scold me, but was glad that I get a net for myself. From since my experience in netting auklets begin. I began to make auklets myself of sinew which my grandmother twist to one long piece from sinew, winded in a winder.

I was not trained to make some things, especially fancy work, but I was brought up to have my own experience.

As I have said before about my father's old custom, he used to be very superstitious about some things that the other people had to do. When I got sick one time he let me lie over a small filed glasses which he bought for me from one of the trader[s]. He tied a small piece of baby seal dyed in the red bark to the glasses and took it out and shove it between the skin lashing which holds the walrus skin covering of the house.

I got better, but I do not go out for a while, until I am able to walk around in the sleeping room. So one morning he and Mother [*Qiyasiq*] took me out. I carried a walking stick in my hand, while Mother bringing out a flame of fire built on a piece of board and set it on the ground, right side of the entrance way but some distance away. Father brought the glasses and took the dyed hair from it and burned it. He let me put my feet on the glasses as though I am stepping on it, one foot at a time, first my right foot, then the other foot.

He pretend grabbing from the metal and throw it up into the air, and break the glasses and put them on the fire and pretend to shake me over the fire and then quench it and threw it away, board and all. His belief was that he pays for my life from the spirit that is trying to take it from me.

Another time he gets a man who knows some kinds of prayers to the spirit to have me a treatment. The man prayed over me in a very low whisper, which I cannot even hear what

he says. When his treatment has done my father paid him something that he has, and with the thing he put skin of some sort of animal, a short piece or raw hide and some chew. These things Mother took to the man's house in a platter, the same platter we eat from.

As being a boat captain he has a boat Captain's hunting pouch, made of walrus hide. It is about as big as a largest hand-bag. With the pouch there are two visors made of big seal's hide. Those were worn when they killed a bowhead whale. Also he held a moon worship like other boat captains.

He keep some things to eat for this purpose. This he held in the middle of winter. This was the way he does.

During the day in the latter part, he asks his boat crew to come over to my house and prepare these things for the following morning. At night he would sing some whaling songs which are absolutely different from dancing songs in its tune.

Before singing he and mother and brother would go out in the night and go to the boat and pray there for a short time and come back to the house and sing.

The following morning he and his boat crew goes to the boat and put it down as though they are to go out hunting. The hunting equipment are in the boat, which are whaling equipment.

Afterward, Mother and with other two men take the prepared things to eat in dishes to the boat and put them in the boat. The boat is dragged to the beach and the people stay there waiting for the sun's arisen. After the sun rises my father sacrifices these prepared things and the crews eat and I was among them eating with them. After eaten up all the things we come home and his ceremony is ended.

As I have said before, my brothers had died, so it make my father think to change his custom, so that his children might live after. His idea is as though the persecutor the devil may think that he is a different person.

But in some way I do not know, he goes back to his old way again, until in 1929 or 1930, my youngest brother got nervous and decide to change his old custom which I had thought about long before. So I agreed with him, so is my father.

[...]

In my first days of hunting I use to take a sling and gather some pebbles to shot-sling at the birds. One day as I was in one of my father's crews, we killed a big seal. The crews were cutting it up and I was shooting with my sling at the birds. As I have only one pebble left, I waited for a large flock. Then it happen a large flock came near by. I took my pebble and put it in my sling and swung it at the flock. All of a sudden the pebble hit a bird, then another, and another, and then another, which were four in all. I was very proud of the four birds I had slung with one pebble, and had never heard about any one lately who shot four at a time.

From since I was very fond in slinging birds, but now I am not. My boyhood is a hard one. I could hardly have enough ammunition to shoot at the birds, but I do not care. When my father buys few bars of lead I make shot out of it and loaded my shells with it and shoot birds with it.

[...]

Since I first remember my father or uncle's wives when having a child, they are not allowed to eat rotten meat, neither baby walrus nor young seal meat. The reason is when delivering they fear that they will have a hard time. The other reason, people used to think that they think to have boys instead of girls.

When a young woman with a child is to go out, of course person have their parkas out in the outer room. Before she goes outside of the house, she do not put her parka on but step right out before the door and come right in and put her parka on and can go out. Every morning when she rises up from the bed, she puts on her clothes and goes out and come in and can do her errand.

The reason is so that when she is going to have a child should not have a hard time. So also the husband do the same thing for her. When a child appear, she is in bed for five days and can go out after five days. She is not allowed to eat raw meat until the naval of the baby is cured.

While a child is still weak the mother does not eat any kinds of roots until the child can walk. The reason is if she does eat roots while the baby is not walking it will cause much snow blindness. Also while the mother is still in bed, she does not drink any water until after the fifth day.

If the child grew, especially a boy, the mother is very cautious, as if the boy wounded, or cut himself badly, she should not drink any water until the wound is cured. Even the boy become a young man, the mother still taking care of some wounds that takes time to be healed.

If a woman had a boy child, whenever she is to dance, the father-in-law puts his belt around the woman's neck who is his daughter-in-law. This is a sign of honor, because the people used to praise a woman who bear boys, but now-a-days people do not care about only boys, but people like both boys and girls alike.

The woman is taken care only by the woman when having a child, so also it is not known by men. It is a secret problem.

[...]

When I was a boy I was more interested in seal shooting and duck shooting, but my interest was less in trapping. The reason is that my father does most seal hunting.

After I can remember he held a ceremony, whose beginning is same as the other ceremony. Dried seal skins were hung around the house over the lamp, and has dried big seal meat for to offer a sacrifice.

Dancing and singing were included, which Father says, that was not in the ceremony, but when his guests decide to have the singing he let them do their will.

He used to be a good seal hunter and says, we his sons are men of the ceremony, so John, my youngest brother [*Apangaluq*] is a good seal hunter.

After I grown up to be a man I use to have a poor dog-team, which I raise them myself and bought a few of them from neighbors. Nearly every fall, I use to kill big seals, young ones, and some time I shot walrus. Later I stop using dog teams and hunted on foot, especially before the snow falls. I walked about four to five miles, carried my gun and seal hook and skin ropes on my back. When I shot a seal, I have to carry it on my back to the way home.

My mother use to gather some grains for the winter, so farther and I have to go with her.

After my sister born in summer, father, mother and I used to go hunted for auklet chickens, out on the cliff which is a mile off from the village. One time my aunt and one of my playmate went with us. We climbed up over the mountain and climbed down on the other side of the mountain and walked back along the side of it, capturing some auklet chickens. Of course, I and my playmates had grown to be a manhood.

On the way we three of us, my aunt and the other boy, came to a beautiful running creek. Father and mother was in front of us about several hundred feet ahead. We were very thirsty, so we drank from it. As soon as we overtook father and mother we told them about our drinking from the creek. Both scolded us and told us that creek is forbidden to drink and told us if we drink from it, will cause a person a bad heart, or heart trouble in the future. This scared us a little, but forget about it later.

[...]

When I am still young I do not think much about thunder storm. One time since I remember, there was a thunder storm. When it roars my grandmother was so scared, which seems very funny to me.

[...]

Some years afterward another thunder storm happen which I was scared. But once I was walking with Lawrence [*Qilleghquun*] to the south side about two miles off the village. I have new trousers and Lawrence [*Qilleghquun*] wore a new parki. While we were walking it begins to rain. I took off my trousers, so also Lawrence took off his parki and sheltered by a large whale skull. While we were there we heard something roaring, which scared Lawrence, who is younger than I am. I try to have him kept from his scare and told him the roaring is the roar of waves. I know myself what it was. After the rain stops we both run home. By the time of our arrival the village, the lightning begin to flash and we were scared, but it did not last long and it stopped.

[...] One spring while we are hunting in a whale boat, Iyakatan [*Ayakitaan*] kill a whale. While we were cutting up the whale, wind arose from the east. We were about twenty of thirty miles off shore on the western side. The wind was not fair to sail straight home. We have to sail one way and turn to another way home.

It was beginning to get dark when we start for home. My father was our captain, and I was beginning to have chicken-pox. It was tough time for me. I have to lay down near the

stern of the boat and have a pain. A poke was spread under me and another (poke) on me for blanket. We did not wait for the other boat but sail right along until we arrive to the solid shore ice. There we saw a flash of light going up the air away from the shore ice.

We waited there for a while until a boat came and told us that one of the boat struck a cake of ice and broke their boat, but another boat was near, so they came and mend it for them.

We arrive home after the break of the day. As soon as the boat struck ashore I stepped off and went home, not helping the crews, for I am suffering. I stayed in bed for couple weeks and recovered of my chicken-pox.

A year after, I became the shooter [*sivuyaghta*] of the boat, taking the place of my uncle Tungatoo [*Tangatu*]. At the same time we have no dogs, so when we kill some walrus I have to load sled and drag it to the house.

One spring the shore ice was about two miles off to the open water. We have to drag our boat to the edge at the hunting hours.

As soon as we come home and arrive to the place where we had launched with a load of meat, I and my uncle have to load each sled with meat and drag it home while my father was waiting. He waited there for us for several hours. The other boats who had arrived with us have teams of dogs and they haul their loads at once.

So when we come home the other had woke up from their sleep while I and my uncle still hauling meat home. The trail was very smooth on the way to the village.

One day the shore ice begins to move while we were home and our boats were at the edge of the shore ice. The other people hitched up their dogs to their sleds and drove them to their boats, while I and father and uncle and two of our crews ran to our boat. Our boat was light and in hauling them home we were among them. Of course we have to drag it about two or three miles. Later the shore ice broke and goes off, so save us from dragging it for a far distance.

[...]

Some time I and my uncle [*Tangatu*] shot 10 to 16 walrus in a day, also good many big seals in a day. Our boat leaks pretty bad, but we do not care much about it for the wind had blown it twice and damaged it very badly.

At that time no one has any motor, so we have to row out and in when the weather is calm.

Years passed when I became an apprentice to one of the herders. I went with my boss seal hunting to the eastern side of the Island and stayed several days near southeast cape of the Island. On the way coming home when we were on the northern side of the Island, our motor was not in good condition. Some way the oil does not work right. We tried many ways to have it work, but could not. So my boss asked other elderly men to pray at the motor and see that who can run it. So two of the men tried but did not work. Of course it was an Evinrude, the old style one.

At last he prayed over it in his own way and cranked it, but did not run. I took turn and cranked it once and it runs. The motor runs for a long distance without any oil, which we wondered about it. By the way, my boss is one of the sorcerers. After running it several hours my boss was to praise it, holding his hand over it, which stops it and never more work again. So we have to sail part of the way to our house.

I took all my family, my wife and Nolan [*Kanuggaq*] only. One time I killed a female seal with young as big as my thumb. Nolan [*Kanuggaq*] played with it for a while, then afterward when he got tired of it, he ate it raw.

Afterward when I received my appointment, I came home and hunted in Adam's [*Yaghaq*] boat for one spring, and another spring I hunted in Dick's [*Angqatenganwan*] boat for two springs. Another year I hunted with Andrew [*Uzivusiq*] and was with him for several springs until I get my own boat. The first we have 3 ° horsepower Johnson motor and later four-horse power.

A year afterward, having the same 4 horse-power motor, Booshu [*Pusaa*] kills a big whale while few of us were out hunting. We were on the northern side of the village and the wind arose from the north. It is a good thing that we were among the ice, so we run our motor among the ice back home, after cutting up the whale. As soon as we landed on the

eastern shore, shear pin of our motor's propeller broke. It was narrow escape for us. If this happen while we were off shore, the wind will drift us away.

[...]

At that time in my early manhood I was interested in hearing stories, old custom, and love to write them. Later I have more interest in them. One thing is in my mind that whenever natives have interested in some things that has been adopted from white people, it seems to me that when whites enter to it spoils the natives interest. As I myself think the natives tried their best. I am not praising them but saying the truth. As for myself I am not equal to anyone, as perhaps I am the least.

My idea is when a person complains (to) other, perhaps they realize their own righteousness by themselves. So my idea is to treat every one alike, because at the end of the age every one will stand before the Judgement Seat of Christ and will be judged. This idea is I adopt from the Bible. So I do not care in the flesh whether a person do not like me or not, but I would be a friend to every one.

My father was use to be quick tempered, but I do not want to follow it, but only thing I would follow the way he instruct me to do. Only one instruction I did not keep. I was forbidden not stay up at night when the night gets short.

Mary Boulown (*Amamenga*): Life Story

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Folder: "Mary Boulown—Life Story," No. 8, Box 1

July 11, 1940

When I was little girl my playmate is Anna [*Aannami*, Annie Noongwook], Alfred's [*Tamlu*] sister. Her father, Ifkawn [*Ifkaghun*]. We are very good friends. Her sister is my uncle's wife, that old woman they took to July on sled (*Robert's* [*Yughqutaq*] mother, *Enlegtaq*). Sometime all day we go to that woman's house, we play all day, and that woman's daughter, too. We play some games, jumping, and we play inside the house. That time inside the house not much light, we use lamps from clay. But we never care about dark. And then inside we play make little 13 house. We use little man made of ivory, that big (*one inch*). We made them stand. Now we have that kind, that little man. Sometime we play wooden doll. Sometime we play with doll we make ourselves; we have clothes like these. In winter time we play that way.

In summer time we play swing, play tag, hiding. Sometimes we play with sides. First we have big sing, we try to see which side have lots of songs. After singing we do that way (*tag in teams*). (*What kind of songs?*) Me sing about what kind of faces that side had, what their hair, about their clothes. We sing, that girl tried to get married, but that men don't like her. Funny songs, we sing. Sometime we sing about that girl not much good sewer. That's one game that way.

Sometime on that beach we make with our feet like this (*spiral*). One girl in the middle. We singing. We start at the outside and come in. When we in, that one in middle try to touch, come after us. We run out in these circles. If she touches us then we go in middle.

What else we play? Every day that girl, that my best friend, we go to school same time. If we go out we go always together. We go together get some greens. And we go to school together. In school every Friday that girl and me sweep the floor. She is older than me. She married my brother [Olin *Nunguk*], the one at Savoonga. Last year she died. I think (she was) eighteen when she married my brother.

(*Other friends?*) That one, Tatoowi's [*Tatuwi*] wife [*Ukaala*]. We do like that together in school. She is younger than me. Jimmy's brother's wife [*Ukaala*], my father's relation's daughter. And Silook's [*Siluk*], Paul's wife [*Muuggag*], good friend. May be that's all.

(*How old when you learned to sew?*) I think same as this, seven years. (*How teach?*) Some hard to teach, some quick learn. My, embroidering sewing hard to learn. My mother taught, and Ruth's mother [*Akayeka* Dorcas, mother of Ruth *Iknaqeneq*]. That woman like my father sister. He give her Ruth to raise. See, long time, our relation, when they have no children, they give them children. Sometime my mother ripped my sewing, I cry. Then I do it again. Then I learned little bit. Then after that I do it myself, I learn. Sew many clothes for my brothers. Then my mother not much sewing, she get weak, eyes not much good. My sister, Pansy [*Aghnangiighaq*], she help me; I teach her. She learn fast, she is good sewer, faster than me. This girl's mother. Then she married Ernest, [*Ayuwighsaan*] but she died. When Mr. Smith was here, she died. This girl was about two years old.

(*What start on, learning to sew?*) First, raincoat. Easy to sew. First, women's, because the stitches are on the inside. When I learn to sew straight, then men's, where stitches are on outside. Use running stitch, only not this way (*white way*); this way (*straight in and out, as they sew skins now*). Then boots, short water boots, for my brothers. Man's boots, they stretch hard, so I do no go-hunting boots. And pants. First thing she teach me making thread, very hard, hard to learn. Then the top seams of boots, not the soles. They are more hard. When she think I can sew seams good, then she let me do these (*side seams on soles*). Oh, hard! Then after that I do this one (*end of soles*), I do all. In one day I do one side, then in one day I do whole thing. I get faster and stronger, too. Then she teach me biting this (*sole*). first, she soaked little bit in water. then she cut for me, then she teach me biting. Some women, they don't know now; its hard. (*What do they do?*) They let other woman.

Now my eyes are not much good. Maybe too much headache. My eyes hurt, too, when I sewing. I make them hurt. I can sew outside alright. Sometime I sew outside, I look up I do not know the one who is coming. (*Can't accommodate fast.*)

[...]

At first our teeth hurt, too hard! We try to take off the whole blubber because some of them left there, sometime make big hole in skin. Then they dry them. First we wash out the oily skins with water, and soap. After skin dry, we scrape (*motions away from self*) meat

side. For making water boots we never make soft, only scrape. For make pants and stockings we make soft (*indicates rubbing between hands*). We wet little bit, we rub like this, make soft. Then when they dry we scrape again, we stretch them. And we cut for pants and stockings, and mittens too. (*What kind seal?*) Hair seal. (*How about spotted seal?*) Too much shrink. We make winter boots, not much wet. (*Mukluk?*) We do like seal-skin. Take all the blubber off, we wash the hair little bit, then we tie with rope on the seashore and let the waves wash it. (*How long leave it?*) Not long, maybe ten minutes. Sometimes men take off the hair. Woman too can take off hair. Then we dry it, mostly outside. When they dry we use for soles. (*How long soles last?*) Not one year. These (*pointing to hers*) will be old before winter. (*When were they made?*) June. (*When make winter ones?*) September. (*How many times resole?*) Two times, then make new boots. But when I was a girl I never put two times, I make always new ones! (*Laughs.*) This is not sealskin (*pointing to ties*), this is reindeer skin. I made this winter. (*How make them?*) First put in warm place, put in sack, sad I hang up. That time when I hang it up it was warm weather, and my room, too, get very hot. If I let stay two days, it will not much smell. I let stay three days, it is little bit strong smell when I take off the hair. I soak in water, change the water every day. Then Elton [Napowhotuk, *Angqaki*] dry it on rack (*indicates hanging over in a fold*). We let dried outside.

[...]

Many girls use that skin. You, too, that girl she tell me. (*What use otherwise?*) Sealskin, always sealskin. (*How make seal white?*) We put in hot place two or three days. Then we let down. Hot place make hair come off. Then we twist with two sticks wood, we twist hard, this way and that way. We soak in water, until the smell, it get a little off. The water get new every day, then we twist every day. When they get clear we never soak any more. We see the holes, every holes. Then one arm we never sew, we blow. Then we go outside, we blow (*to inflate the skin*). Before get finished, we rub with snow, rub the dirt off with snow. Then men hang out, on a pole through the neck and one. Stay there many days.

[...]

That big wind [of 1913], that's very terrible. Water come up very fast. When night came our father tell us, I think we can't sleep. Waves grow very fast. When we go out we saw they took canoe near to our house. (*Waves?*) Yes. I think that time flat, little bit flat. Then we go to mountain. We took our grandmother, too. First time she didn't like go, but we take her. She says, "You better leave me here." (*Why say that?*) She like die in her son

house. I think because—somebody buy first house, lumber house, then that one next. We stay there at mountain three days, maybe three days. Water going down very slow. And my two uncles, Hazel's father [*Aymergen*] and Robert's father [*Taangyan*], live with us in one house. Then my young uncle move to Walter's [*Uusiiq*, house of *Akulki?*] house, because we are too many I think. (*How many?*) (*Counts on fingers.*) I think sixteen. (*Just one room?*) We made two, one here, one here. That time our Eskimo house is big. We have picture of that house.

Then what time, sometime, Hazel father [*Aymergen*] sick, all winter he sick. (*What wrong?*) His arm swelled this way (*upper part*). (*Old?*) Not old, our youngest uncle. When he get more sick he come to my house. From that to my brother's house. Only himself, he come, leave his wife and children Walter's [*Uusiiq*] house. (*Why come?*) I think he want to come to his brother's house. We take care of him. All his children is small. Uncle's is bigger than others. Then my father and brother make house for them, maybe big as Thomas' [*Apasengaq*] house. Near to us, they made house. And before winter, he died. (*All the same sickness, arm?*) I think something more sick, only I notice this arm. (*How big Hazel [Aasa]?*) Maybe this big—(*Looks about ten or twelve.*) My father and brother [*Suluk and Waamquun?*], we help them always. And my father's relation, too, help them, the children. (*What way help?*) By food and clothes, changing the cover of the house, skin.

That my uncle is good singer, and good carver too. Songs about his carvings sometimes, about bell ringing and combing hair. Hazel [*Aasa*] can comb hair and other side too. Only call Hazel [*Aasa*] "Daughter." Little pots with covers, paper knives, chains, some other things, too, he could carve.

(*Ever hear him sing to cure sick?*) I was little. Only I heard, I didn't see. (*Not allowed in?*) We scared. We heard they let some kind devil in to help; all dark, blow out lamps. Only our fathers go inside. "Our grandmothers explained it this way. She say, "These man exercise in dark, get strong very quick, fast, then they learn how to make these songs, do these thing."

(*What do then want to have a good time?*) Singing, that it. What look like, house? Round outside; inside living room long, room at back, made of deerskin, all deerskin, around. Covered with lots of grass all over. Only they have no window. They are warmer than we use now. When warm day come we take off the snow, we shake the grasses. after we take

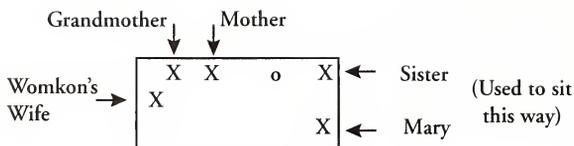
off the snow we fix them again. Take it off the outside roof. The frost and snow both. Every day we take off of this hole (*ventilator*), its cover; take off all the snow and the sides of the room. The hole let out the hot air, like ventilator. We had a little hole in the inside room, too. Our father take down, then we girls sweep off and take outside (*the snow outside*). Sometime he sweep for us. He's busy all the time. Our father, he never tired of work. Woman things, too, he can work. Lamps, and empty the buckets, sometime he saw a little bit, from his hole (*that is, made*). He is good father.

Only in warm weather we do that way to house. Cold weather, front curtain only we hit with stick and take snow outside. Going inside and outside make that way. When our room gets smoky, we wash with water, then we scrape with mincing knife. When our feel gets sticky of floor, we wash, not scrape, just wash. (*How often?*) Not every day. We take care our floor, 'cause we sit always with our skin right on it. We never wear anything inside, everybody. (*Same way now?*) No more, we try to cover always. (*Who told you to do that?*) From teachers, our first teacher, he try to make us cover. (*Keep room cooler?*) When get very hot, we put little stick under curtain. (*I explain.*) No, not so hot. When we get very hot at night we do this way. (*With blotter and walrus rib, indicates how they hold the curtain down tight if cold, and put it down to their shoulders if hot.*)

Now, myself, in my house we use another pillow, not on wood. And I change my curtain, too, now cloth. (*Not so warm?*) Just right. Just for summer. (*How many lamps in room when you were child?*) Four, some three, small room. Our room big. Sometime I put a little lamp in that corner to my sister. Sister has died, Ernest's [*Ayuwighsaan*] wife.

All sewing, never missed one day. (*How old when began?*) Maybe big as my girl, I know easy things. (*About nine.*) Sister smaller, she's next to Ruth [*Iknaqeneq*], last one. Mostly I raised that younger sister, only my mother, she nursed her. I take care of her, make take a bath, changing clothes. I take her outside sometime. 'Cause my mother had lots of work—sew and cooking, making skins, scraping skins, make oils for lamps.

In winter we pound oil from blubber. Then when we finish pounding, we cook. Walrus oil is the best, not as much smoke as seal. (*That is, seal doesn't smoke if walrus is put with it.*) When cooked we pour in some big can, coffee can, five pounds, that much. Sometimes we pounded many and put in big kerosene can; we put same place. Before warm weather come we pound plenty. When warm weather come we cut very thin and cook. Take



longer to make oil that way than pounding. (*Ever use blubber in lamps without extracting oil?*) Yes, walrus blubber sometime. Seal blubber make much smoke, but if mix little walrus oil not much smoke. Our pots get very smoky with seal oil.

(*How long take to boil kettle of water on lamp?*) Not one hour maybe. (*People like the lamps best for cooking?*) Yes, in winter time. In summer, too, some people live in that room always. One who has no lumber house. Says hasn't moved into own summer house this year because of husband's coughing. I ask how long married. She says long time. (*19 to 20, or 14 to 15?*) I think after twenty, because my father didn't let us marry. (*Why not?*) Because he always pet me. I think that's why I nearly lost when I had my first baby, not come out quick.

(*Why sickness makes her give away baby?*) Lot a people were sick that time. (*How?*) I don't know what kind sickness. My mother too sick to take care of baby. (*How other woman feed Ruth [Iknaqeneq]?*) From cream, condensed milk, and flour.

James Aningayou (*Anengayuu*): Life Story

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Folder: “James Aningayou—Life Story,” No. 3, Box 1

June 18, 1940

(*Tell what you remember when you were little.*) All right. Begin from just the beginning of knowing something? (*Yes.*)

I was begin to know something, used to we were camping other side of mountain. Summer time we live in just the frame covered with the walrus skin. Then when the cold weather come, move in to what you call, in the ground house, ngloo [*nenglu*]. Three sides place for sleep and one above, just something like a shelf. Then what you call, entrance, way to go in, kind of a narrow hole, toward the sea, and build an extra frame of wood. You understand, that kind of square room and entrance, very narrow and leave little hole end, then over that build another frame, and cover on top too, cover with sod. Leave a little hole on the corner, for come out, and go in. Then we stay there until the month of, sometime January or February. Come to here after that.

Then built another frame, then covered with walrus skin. Then built extra room for sleeping inside. Just like you seen, Charlie’s [*Elqwaaghqu?*] place. Something like that, extra room. We use an oil lamp to burn. Then when the spring comes, first part of June or last part of June, tear down that frame house, everything, then ready for summer. This is enough about camping and moving to winter house.

Then at that time, no steamer. All got sailing ships. We saw lots of them going by, whaling. Then later on we saw steamer, after that getting less sailing boats. Then nothing but skin canoe, no whale boat. And I saw skin canoe sail, made from walrus stomach, but I do not know how many stomachs make enough for one sail. Kind of a square sail, each sewed with seal skin. Just top has a yard, nothing on the bottom. Then later on I saw made from a print bottom for whaler, made exactly shape of the square. Same thing, just one long stick on top. Then after steamers being here, I saw one whale boat, bought from Indian Point [*Ungaziq* in Siberia] It was Andrew’s father [*Iyengqiq*, father of Andrew

Uzivusiq]. Then the next, Sepillu's [*Sipela*] father [*Ifkaghun*]. He died; he was the chief here. Before that I think some ship was wrecked somewhere near here and brought over here for whale boat. When hauling up to another beach, just rolling over sideways, stern and stern, until get right to another beach. We laughing about that; now other way we have to be very careful of our boats. I never seen myself, but I heard.

At that time I saw four ngloos [*nenglu*] here at the village; one over here (*northeast*) right close to the work shop. Another one close to Wamkon's [*Waamquun*] lumber house. You know that house, two stories high. I saw that when they making it, it is a new one. All the young men came together help. Use that kind of shovel that you got yesterday; at that time no steel shovel. I think they use driftwood for burning. Another one is my own, my family. That was old. Just a use for in the winter, not all year around. When move out from that ngloo [*nenglu*], open up over the entrance pretty good sized hole, for air them out. Not only that one, but all ngloos [*nenglu*], open that way for air them out when move out. Then the fourth, almost to end of our village. That was the wife, has family. (*Who?*) My wife.

And I saw what they call a ceremony? (*Ceremony?*) Yeah, some kind of worship. I saw two men, funny men. They were two cousins. They have make the song for asking each other by the song, words sing into the song, asking something they wanted. Each way, one person I don't think any used lately. Oh, wait, I wonder still does Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*] has, but I am afraid won't show it to you. (*What house?*) I forget what number, but I doubt not allowed to show you. He is strict what he believe, and used to have worship the moon. But not the same month, in three months, that worshipping part. Different tribes, certain months that they worship. Begin from February to March, or April. Now only two boats worship moon in February. (*Now?*) Yes, now at Gambell. (*Who?*) Adam [*Yaghaq*] and Dick [*Angqatenganwan*]. But long ago when I was a little boy whole village did that. They handling very carefully, and put aside moon-worship things. They call very Holy. And in March, Warren [*Kuzaata*], the mayor, you know him? I think only him now that month and in April, Lister [*Napaghutaaq*]. (*Who was taking down the walrus skin the day I took the picture.*)

Then just a short time ago, two families have been worship, sacrifice to grandfathers. Where we saw yesterday, some polar bear rocks and old graves and fire burning. Little piece of meat and drop in the fire. That mean give those dead grandfathers. Then piece of tobacco put underneath the rock, I think one or more. Giving that to the person who use

the tobacco. I have been with them before, so I know very well. I don't know what they do, other boats. Well, I think that all the things I remember. So what else is interesting? (*Anything you can remember, all the things.*)

While I am staying in camp, ngloo [*nenglu*], I am little boy, one man found a dead whale drifting in with the ice. Just came in the fall. That was right whale, or bowhead. And people are cutting it on the ice. I think it was two different times they went after some meat or skin and brought home. And third day southeast wind began with the rain, heavy rain, melting the snow all over the land, Island, and one kind of filling up on top the lake, on top the ice. The wind drove the water this way toward the village. At that time not very thick ice on the lake, and water press down the ice, close to the edge of this side. They say coming home at night, very dark, with a dog team loaded with mungtuck [*mangtak*] (*whale skin*), they couldn't tell was pressing down the ice. I heard that some men just put arms out for sail, so coming quickly. Then five men get into it, and two, three men saved, narrow escape. My stepfather [*Kuulu*] says he heard those men hollering, having good time back of the wind (*sailing*). They didn't know times they coming to. Save by the whip pushing against the water, they couldn't hold it, ice slip. They had to land way over to sand pit. Sepillu's father [*Ifkaghun*] almost died, too. I forget the third man; oh, Jimmie's father [*Quwaaren*, father of Jimmie *Ataayaghhaq*]. I think he used a long knife, strike down on the ice and haul out against the wind. (*How old are you?*) I don't know, maybe two or three years old, about that. I guess I know something that time at that age? Sometimes, that time just like I went to sleep, even I am awake. (*Mean?*) I suppose you had been same thing. You are watching something and see something and then you go to sleep and don't know nothing till you wake up some place else. That is the way I remember. I was that way a long while until my father died. I never be sleep again when I see things, except at night when I sleeping; no more forgetting anything. When my father died I was pretty small.

That time my father had ceremony, too, so after him his relative take his place. One certain bluff, he own that place to worship, to sacrifice each year. He died in the spring. Then his relative, he took us, my mother and myself, to his place to have a little sacrifice. Then we stayed between the bluffs, in a big valley over there (south), all full of auklets. So thick, going around [were] the auklets, on a sunshiny day they come just like a shadow, covering the sun.

Somebody saw a whale out in the sea, dead whale that time. Four canoes went out to go after it and tow it in, and cut it up there. I don't know what is the really name for that whale, kind of small. So thin skin, about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick, maybe less, $\frac{1}{16}$. Then they divide that meat. Mantaukali's [*Mangtaquli*] grandfather was related to my father, too. They left some meat for me. They went on to the river to catch some salmon. When they coming back my father died on the way, I think about 18 miles from here. He take sick and died. (*What happened to your father?*) I think he had heart trouble; he died suddenly.

I had one older brother, too, but different mother. My father, he married that older brother's mother, and after she died he married my mother. My older brother, he was a good shooter and fisher, too. He died before I know everything. Somebody says, when aiming, he just raise the rifle and fired, every time hit it, pretty near.

We had another kind of rifle, was brass, I don't know what you call it, between barrel and stock, this part was brass. Shells was something like a 22, very much like it, but large. Then we had two rifles—one "carpine" (*carbine*) and one long. And a 44, but shell like a 22. When firing hits the edge of that cartridge. My father's relation, he take care of one of the long rifle until I am big enough to use it myself. I don't know what become of it now, gone. And fur traps he take care of. Then when I big enough, big boy, he give me half, my father's relation. (*What relation was he?*) I don't know, some way cousin, maybe not close cousin. (*Father's mother or father?*) My father's father and their father's father may be close cousins. Still I have one trap left. Well sometime I "stocked" (*stopped*). I couldn't think of something else. I think they thought of my father more because one of Mantaukali's [*Mangtaquli*] grandfather's family drift away and they ask for help to row against heavy wind, and my father came to them and says, "I will go, I am going to die with." Finally, get that man brought to shore. That is the way my father made better friend to them. That is the reason I think they thought of me more myself, too.

Dorcus Echok (*Tuusugun*): Story About My Life

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Folder, “Dorcus Echok—Story About My Life,” No. 15, Box 1

One time I remember my brother and I were playing with a pup. We put her in a box and fed her. Our uncle [*Kalaawyi* or *Ggayeglluk*] at Savoonga had brought her. It was at winter time.

Gracie [*Anaka*, daughter of *Kuzaata* or *Akulmii*, daughter of *Qilleghquun*] and I always played together. Sometimes we played house, sometimes with our dolls, and sometimes with balls. One time while she and I were playing house, we saw Mr. Thompson coming. We ran away from him, but he called us and gave us candy. That was just [a] few days after the celebrating the Fourth of July. Sometimes we played with her brother (*who has died*) and my brother. Sometimes I played with Doris [*Mekenga?*]. When they all went to school, Anna [*Anagbasuuk*, daughter of *Qilleghquun*] and I played.

One summer day, it was raining, Ethel [*Riighmak*] came and told us a boy was born at her home. I went with her but I was afraid to kiss him when Clara [*Akesuq*, daughter of *Anengayuu?*] asked me to, because she was very skinny. I was about five years old.

In that following winter my grandmother died, but I wasn't so much sorry for her, but my younger sister Mathilda [*Imengaawen*] was crying for her.

In the spring I was six. One morning the sun was shining, James' mother [*Puguuq?*], Daniel [*Utumek*], Winfred [*Kuulu*] and I went to the mountain. That was the first time I went to the mountain. During that summer I went to the mountain several times. When we didn't go [to] some places, Gracie and I played and sometimes we carried some water. That fall they asked me to go to school, but I refused, but now I'm sorry.

In the winter I had a little sister. I was anxious to hold her in my arm, but they didn't let me until she was fat.

In spring and summer Anna, Clara and I played together, but sometimes Anna and Clara hate me, sometimes Anna and I hate Clara and sometimes Clara and I hate Anna.

In fall I didn't go to school again. I took care of my little sister. I was eight years. That year Bessie Koozaata [*Analluk*], Joseph Lester [*Qunagbhaq*, son of *Napagbutaq*], Lewis Iyakitan [*Tagitkaq*], Clara James [*Akesug*], Herbert Appassingah [*Asaggaq*] and I came to school together. Few weeks later Vivian Silook [*Anaghayz*] came too. Bessie [*Analluk*] and Vivian [*Anaghayz*] always didn't like me. When Gracie [*Akulmi*] and her parents came from their camp, she and Anna [*Anaghasuuk*] came to school. These two girls didn't like Anna, again. Then Anna and I get together and hate them, too. We hate each other since that time until we were at age of twelve or thirteen. Then we were friends until now.

At the age of nine I first went to Savoonga. My father [*Iggak*] and I went. At age ten I didn't go. At eleven I went with my father and brother. I stayed at Savoonga and my father and brother went to the corral. I was homesick. While we coming back to Gambell we slept at Camp Collier and the next day they killed a mukluk on our way.

Next year early in June we all visit there except my father and Daniel [*Utumek*], but we didn't stay there long. Then that summer I went with my father and two brothers to the corral. Sometimes I went picking berries and playing tag or play hide and seek with other girls. One time while we were playing tag I fell down on a rock and cut my lip. Now I had a scar. Sometimes I took care of my two little cousins and my other cousin's little daughter. That fall on Saturdays I would go picking berries with some ladies.

Then in winter when they washed clothes and baked bread in the community kitchen I washed some clothes, sometimes baked bread. Only on Saturdays.

In the spring I first have this sickness I'm having now. I was thirteen. In summer we all went to Savoonga except Calvin (my father) [*Iggak*], but he went too, a few weeks later. While we were there, Gracie and her parents [*Qilleghquun*] went to their camp. Some people from here and there went to the corral.

That fall Moses [*Aqutu*, Dorcas' elder brother] went to Unalaska Hospital. Mary Ann [*Pamayuk*, Dorcas' little sister] was not well the whole winter, because she was crying for him always.

After trapping, Albert [*Kalaawyi*] and his family visited us. In summer I didn't go to Savoonga. I went with Gracie [*Akulmii*], Anna [*Anagbasuuk*] and their grandmother [*Aghnaghaghpak*] to the mountain for getting some of our greens.

In winter at school I was Rexographing some paper for our language, but I quit going to school at first part of March, because I was sick again. I stayed in bed for two months. I was fifteen. I spent the summer not doing much and rested every day. Then on middle part of August I coughed a little again.

In fall Elizabeth [*Sivungaghmi*] and I did some things such as hectographing for our Sunday school every Wednesday. For two weeks I did some hectographing for Mrs. Daugherty for her school children to work. Just before Christmas Elizabeth [*Sivungaghmi*] and I opened the Red Cross boxes and divided some things among the school children for their Christmas presents.

At January I went to school when they started. I was in charge of sewing supplies for group two and Jessie O [?], for group one. She and I arranged then after our sewing class. Since Christmas I was downhearted until one evening my burdens rolled away. That was when I came to Christ, and several other girls and boys come too. Then we started going some places and house, praying and praising.

Several times I baked bread with other girls. One time mine was not good. Then one day after school I was sick again and I'm staying in bed since that time.

Nelson K. Alowa (*Qagaqu*): Diary and Letter from Savoonga, 1937–38

This letter, to the archaeologist Dr. Froelich Rainey, and portions of the diary were excerpted from the Froelich Rainey Papers, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Folder: “St. Lawrence Island Diaries and Letters,”
No. 69, Box 4

10/9/37

Sevoonga, Alaska

Dear friend, Dr. F. G. Rainey:

I hope you are alright. I sent some of my Dairy [diary] this fall by North Star. I am feeling sad always and thinking, my father left me this summer and my little sister too. I was cut that Dairy this spring. I me busy for whaling in Gamble. I wish I see you some year.

Christopher [*Miklagbhaq*] and William [*Piluguk*] are alright. William always talked while you are work in Kukulik. This fall couple of persons work for ivory for carving, because they need for year.

The house in Kukulik, they fox den under the floor. Maybe Geist [Otto Geist] hear them they will surprised for his house.

This spring two whales get in Gambell and we saw the navy air plane this summer. It is lovely to see and New Cutters passed this summer.

I got two girl now and oldest is play himself.

Tell Jean Bunnell Hell-o for me. Maybe she like fishing again by Alberts [*Kalaawiyi*] boat. Good bye

Yours truly,
Nelson

Diary starts on Sept. 6, 1937

Sept. 6 Mon, we did'nt go to Kukuluk (*Kukulek*), because too raining, & high wind, from north W & top of our mountain, got Lot of snow so every person's carving and stay home.

Sept. 7 Tues. Again we did'nt go to Kukuluk in morning, because rain, calm wind from North, 9. A M clear, But the rivers are high to across, In morning the persons are hunting for young Cormerants. Some of them's try to catch sea weeds on the shore. After noon, I work for work shop to carpenter, when I quit in work, I go home and carving.

Sept. 8 Wed. we come to work at Kukuluk, William [*Piluguk*] & Harold [*Raaquq*] & Nelson [*Qagaqu*]. we work both Trench KY.KZ, and we finished KY to the clay to 14ft. level and Harold [*Raaquq*] work KZ to 13 ft not quiet, finished But we did'nt used Harolds [*Raaquq*] boat,—because got big hole and It, is Lovely day & calm wind from South east. when we start KY got water and 1¹/₂ foot and we have by empty can's, William [*Piluguk*] & I, both Trench got water, Thawed by 4 1 foot 3 inch and KZ Thawed only foot again, very few specimens, we found in both Trench's.

Sept. 9 Thurs. North wind, good weather, we work K.Z to 13–14 But 14 ft level, not quite thawed, because dam so cold that night we find, very few specimens. After noon, I wrapping the specimens & clean them & put labled to them. I put oil some of tools. One reason!, maybe I mistake. I divided the old Ivory to my crew good one. All other things, I send to village to divided them.

Sept. 10 Fri. we did'nt go to Kukuluk, to work finished that Trench, because I want thawed down, little bit, all most finished K.Z. 14 to the clay, only middle. I stay and work in store, packed some carvings.

[...]

Sept. 24 Fri. following by North east wind, in morning clear and after noon Sunny: just only few boys went hunting for birds, That time I was hunting etc. also, other person stay home and carving and some in work in store and packed some carving & Ivory, to sent by North Star, if she come any time. Still Ollin [*Nunguk*] & Rookok [*Raaquq*] work for their boat.

few person used—saw mill for cutting drift wood. This morning dam so cold and no body stay longer out doors. 9.A.M. in evening three herder, come with herd. But those boys got all wet their clothes.

Sept 25 Sat. N.W. wind blow hard & cold in morning, few boys went—hunting for birds and Chief Herder call me to get herd William [*Piluguk*] & Edward [*Nguungaya*], we go and we take about 3 hrs driving few miles when we get villages chief herder after us and he killed 18 dears. After when he finished I butchered [sic] one & carried home. Also Rookok [*Raaquq*] worked his boat & Ollin [*Nunguk*] too.

Sept 26 Sun. Clear & cold from S.E. wind, very calm also in morning the ground little bit frost & the little water in ground got ice. So I stay home & keep Sunday. all the people Keep Sunday too. 11 o'clock the bell rang to church and we take two Service in a day. Afternoon couples of young mens went to play in the cliff with their pistol of 22 specie in there way the put Tasket to shoot who is best shot and some went to eat blue berries to other side of cliff. George [*Meghyuq?*] & Luther [*Estegraq*] went to dig to N cape to fine some old Ivory and he came before dark he got banchod of Ivory, in villages the womens the pick some sea weed on the shore. one old man he going to piled some drift wood and he carried some also Rookok [*Raaquq*] & Ollin [*Nunguk*] still work his boats, still not finished yet.

Sept. 27 Monday. In morning, very calm wind from S.E. wind 3 boats went fishing for cod fish, But they did'nt get much. In that morning very raining after noon clear. Roy [*Uyatiqaq*] Gambell boy came from Camp Colleier with 3 cows. he got 500 salmons in river of other side of our mountian we call that river Ollin's [*Nunguk*] camp. Lot of salmon's. 2 A.M. Albert [*Kalaawiyi*] call me to work in store again, to put all the supplies to fix, right to place, W.M. & Edward [*Nguungaya*] help them. and he paid me \$1.35.

Sept. 28 Tues. In morning Misty & Calm wind from west wind. Roy [*Uyatiqaq*] went back to Gambell very early in morning with five crews. Willard [*Atleghuq*] & John [*Qawwyalek*] Warren [*Kuzaata*] boy they go too. Ollin [*Nunguk*] went get some drift wood by whale boat I crew for them[.] Albert [*Kalaawiyi*] went to his campers, he came back on same day, But getting dark. Tiddy's found dead walrus very fresh in his camp and Frank's [*Tagiyugun*] camp found old dead walrus. In that day he met Frank's [*Tagiyugun*] fishing in ca[r]ol he got boat load of fish. Alberts [*Kalaawiyi*] & Edwards [*Nguungaya*]

boat went fishing in here. Albert [*Kalaawyi*] boat got 8 cod fishes & Edward's [*Ngungaya*] boat 12 cod fish and 2 Halibut fish, one large about 4 ft. long wide 2½ ft. and News from Gambell person Kill walrus this morning. Ataaka [*Ataqa*] hurt his leg by drift wood he try to carry to saw mill.

[...]

Nov. 24 Wednesday. Clear & calm from NE. I went to put some fox baits. I shoot one fox but I missed it. some person putting there baits too. some went hunting for birds & seal. Ollin [*Nunguk*] came from his camp. Logans [*Anaghayaaq*] camp caught lot of seals & mukluk, Lot of woods some went piling some wood. some work in Government house & filling the oil tank. also ready for Thanksgiving. Afternoon feed dogs.

Nov. 25 Thursday. Windy from NE wind Tatoowee [*Tatuwi*] son & Frank W [*Taglaan*] came from his camp and he need some things. he sold one fox. Frank W got six fox by shoot. In evening we have Thanksgiving. every body eat Government School house. New from Tabhook [*Tapghug*] those two mens found dead fin back whale and lot of seals and 4 walrus dead. in I put my baits by dog team I saw two fox. Other person putting there baits two. some piling wood near the villages. Couples of boy hunting.

[...]

Dec. 24 Friday very clear from NE wind 4 boats went hunting But nothing some went Look their trap only Tungitoo [*Tangatu*] 2 fox and Luther [*Estegraq*] one, also campers came for Xmas. 3 oclock Xmas ready having good time & some persent. Afternoon feed dogs & carrying ice & chop wood also. Isaac [Alowa, *Agigsegghaq*] Howard [Jackson, *Petgenghhaq?*], Christopher [*Miklagghaq*] and Smith [*Imingan*] went Gambell for Xmas.

Sepilla's (David *Sipela*) Diary, 1903

"A Sample Month from the Log Book of Sepilla,
an Eskimo Reindeer Herder at St. Lawrence Island"

Excerpted from the *Fourteenth Annual Report on the Introduction of
Domesticated Reindeer into Alaska* (Sheldon Jackson, editor)
1904, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, pp. 73–76¹

This is the first known sample of the original handwriting produced by a Yupik person from St. Lawrence Island and published in a governmental report that was presented to the members of the U.S. Congress.

Saturday, 1.—March month. Peniuk [*Pinaaya*] cooked. Snowing day. Sipilla [*Sipela*] and Petenkuk [*Petenghbaq*] went to move work deer. Peniuk shoveling snow. Sholook [*Suluk*] come from S. E. Cape and two women and one boy. Peniuk split wood. Petenkuk make hole lake. Sipilla got water, one barrel.

Sunday, 2.—Petenkuk cooked; clear day. Sipilla and Peniuk went go to (reindeer) station, got proveen (provisions).

Monday, 3.—Petenkuk cooked; clear day. Anti [Laplander] and Sipilla and Peniuk came from village. Brought food and two sack coal. Kerappl and Blexen [Reindeer] drug. Anti stay station one week; he sick. Petenkuk take two deer for head wood; make fast. Anti and Sipilla, split wood.

Tuesday, 4.—Sipilla cooked; clear day. Anti and Petenkuk got wood, two driving deer. Peniuk went to see deer; all right. Anti and Petenkuk split wood. Sipilla and Peniuk take two driving for head wood.

Wednesday, 5.—Peniuk cooked; clear day. Four boys went to move work deer. Boys take lasso. Sipilla and Peniuk got deer behind work deer place; break one deer. Turn out Donder and Blexen. Anti split wood. Mr. Egan (reindeer station supervisor) came from village (Gambell). Mr. Egan take station deer meat. Sipilla and Petenkuk make hole lake.

¹ Sepilla has had, perhaps, the advantage of a mission school for two or three winters—(Sheldon Jackson's original note).

Thursday, 6.—Petenkuk cooked; clear day. Anti and Sipilla went got after wood. Mr. Egan came from village. Peniuk and Mr. Egan went to see deer; all right. Mr. Egan count deer. Sipilla and Peniuk take two driving head wood. Sipilla and Peniuk went to fox trape; no got. Petenkuk split wood.

Friday, 7.—Sipilla cooked; clear day. Anti and Peniuk and Petenkuk got wood, two driving deer. Sipilla split wood. Peniuk and Petenkuk take two driving head wood. Sipilla and Peniuk went to fox trape; no got. Petenkuk make hole lake.

Saturday, 8.—Peniuk cooked; clear day. Sipilla and Petenkuk got wood, two driving deer. Anti went to see deer all right. Peniuk split wood and make hole lake. Sipilla and Petenkuk came house, brought wood. Sipilla and Petenkuk take two deer driving head wood; make fast. Anti sick eye house in evening.

Sunday, 9.—Petenkuk cooked; clear day. Anti and Sipilla and Peniuk went to move; work deer and other deer too. Some look moss; come house in evening.

Monday, 10.—Peniuk cooked; clear day. Sipilla and Petenkuk went to go station; got coal and 2 deer for food. Anti went to see for moss. Peniuk split wood.

Jimmy Ottiahok (*Ataayagbhaq*): The Way We Hunt in Gambell

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection,
Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.
Folder, "Jimmy—Life Story," No. 30, Box 1

Maybe I'll first tell you about the old-time way my father [*Quwaaren*] hunted. He used harpoons for hunting walrus and seal and bolas for birds in the winter time. In summer he used snares for all kinds of birds. He had a different way of hunting seagulls. He used tomcod for bait—just threw it on the beach. The seagulls would think the waves tossed the fish up. He would set loops of whalebone toward the wind and the gulls would walk into them and get caught when they went for the fish. In winter he would also make a little net of whalebone, 6' x 8', and used it to catch saw-bills in any little corner of open water. The saw-bills dive down into the open water and when they come up they are caught in the net. He caught ducks all the time that way.

The best hunting is when the ice first gets here. When it started coming, everybody would go to the top of the mountain, they were so very glad to see the ice coming in. They had been eating old meat for a while, some families were out of meat, they had been along the beach all the time looking for dead seals. Everybody was picking up seaweed so they would have something fresh to eat. Everybody wanted the ice. It meant they would have a regular supply of meat.

As soon as the ice got to shore, next day people would go out on it. Some would find codfish floating and some would find murrets that couldn't fly very far. Some people caught walrus, but not many seals because they didn't have rifles. I don't remember how many got drowned, but very few.

The only gun they had had one barrel and a round bullet. They poured powder into the barrel then a pad. Then they put in the round bullet. Finally they added the primer, just like a little cap. Then they would watch and wait for a seal. If they didn't see a seal and wanted to come home, they would have to shoot into the snow because it was very dangerous to keep the bullet in the barrel. Next time he went hunting and found open water, he would load it again. He missed a lot of shots because he didn't understand shooting very well.

Most people hunted walrus with a harpoon. They never stopped hunting while the weather was good. Almost everybody would hunt except the crippled people. Sometimes when there was very good light and a north wind they would go out hunting in a skin boat. They put two little sleds under the skin canoe. Then everybody would want to go along so they could get a share if they caught a walrus. When they got a walrus they would drag the whole thing ashore on a whalebone sled. They don't leave behind the liver, heart or intestines, but the meat is the most important part. When they get home they would loosen it up from the whalebone sled and there would be lots of boys standing around watching. The captains would give each of us boys a little piece. What was left they would divide very carefully among the crew members, trying to make the pieces the same size and the walrus skin, too. The crews' relations would come to where the walrus was, too, and ask for a little piece. They had to give them a little.

Talking about other things, in February every boat captain would start getting ready to sacrifice to the moon for good hunting. Sometimes two boat captains would do it the same day. At last in April, I think, they would sacrifice. The sacrifice was with sour greens, baby walrus meat, some dry meat and some willow leaves. In my generation they also used Russian tobacco and reindeer fat and meat. They would wait for the shore ice to break, then sacrifice in the open water. They would throw some of it into the water, some into the air to give them luck. Then all the men on the Island would divide up into boat crews. People were hunting all the time.

I've left out hunting foxes. Maybe I will explain that now. Not many people were hunting foxes and there were very few traps. At that time they all used old-time traps. They would take a whale rib and drill a hole through it. In the center of the hole they would put a piece of wood attached to strong sinew, and there would be a wooden plate in the middle. The sinew was then twisted very, very tight so that it would make the wood hit the plate very hard. They put a little piece of meat on the plate. The fox would eat the meat and bite the sinew and get hit right in the mouth.

[...]

When I got back I got nice brother, good father. Then I build on my house, that Paul [*Siluk*] got it now, Paul [*Siluk*] house. I go own my boat, second year, then I got seventy-five fox. Getting higher all the time, fox skin. I feed my brothers, my father, I take care of them. Third year, I got lot of walrus over there, lot of seal, ninety-eight fox. I best year I have. Then I bought nice house. Then all the people looking for camp, because I am not

die, it was very good. Everybody didn't care. Now no room for camps. Now begins inland, too, make camps.

Then after that I decide worship nothing. I do like white people—catch 'em whale, no worship. Everybody watch me, dead, 'cause of that no worship, whale. I don't die, everybody begin no worship anything.

I been trying now keep clean house, show the people. I have happen my wife die. I feel very sorry about it. In my mind, what way I live, no hope for good times, never change my thinking, about very, very good wife. Good work, keep house clean, good cooking. I don't know what to do, maybe some way I am happy.

[...]

Now I think my generation belong to Siberia, Indian Point. He first came, man with five sons. Very poor hunting over there, Indian Point. He heard about it, good hunting place Gambell is, lot of food. He decide coming over, for winter. He was on hunting here, it was good. Then he going to stay another year. Still good year all the time. Raise his children very good. Then became man, all the sons. They let marry all Gambell, all Gambell woman. Then can't go back to Indian Point, too many family. Than make children, up to now. Name of that man, Nanivawyarok [*Nanivagaruk?*], name of that Paul's father. My relation now Booshu [*Pusaa*], Kunooku [*Kunuka*], Tatui [*Tatuwi*], Lincoln [*Pelaasi*], and Paul [*Siluk*], and Lawrence [*Qilleghquun*]. I don't know down the Indian names at Savoonga, but we have some relations there, but they came from Nanivawyarok [*?*], good many generations (ago). For that reason I go all the time see my friends at Siberia. I got lot of friends over there at Indian Point.

Paul Silook (*Siluk*): The Big Wave of 1913

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection,
Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.
Folder: "Paul Silook—Life Story," No. 67, Box 3

When I was young my house had moved several times. One time I moved it to the bank of the shoreline. At one time in fall, the swells were high on the west shore. In the evening I was preparing to eat my supper. One of my relatives was with me who was to stay up during the night to watch.

In a few minutes as we sat around the platter to eat, one of us looked out the door and saw water in front of us, where there was a shallow valley. The waves had reached (us) almost and it was caused by tidal waves. I did not eat but told my mother and brothers, who were in the sleeping quarter. They put on their clothes and went out to go to the house of my uncle [*Tangatu*] which is farther back from the beach line. Only father stayed in the house keeping watch.

In a few minutes while I was in my uncle's house I heard the people are fleeing to the mountain. My mother sends for my father who is in my house to tell him about the people who are fleeing. So I did. I and Father picked up one deer skin from my house also a woolen blanket and we all fled to the mountain which is a mile off from the village.

We put the deer skin among the rocks, spread it one a level place and father covered us with the woolen blanket to keep the rain and wind off. It was raining hard and the wind was high from southeast. We stayed there all night and after the dawn of the day we came to our house when the waves got little low and the tide goes back.

During the day I understood about five houses had been washed away by the tidal waves. The following night we did not flee but stay in the house and stay up all night. During the night I and my uncle went to the beach to see the waves. The waves were very low, and found that all kinds of seaweeds had drifted in by the waves. I and my uncle gather only the clams, and filled two ten-quart pails with it.

At the same summer I was scared by another tidal wave, the wind was from north. We all put up tents by the mountain, but did not stay in them. At that time Mr. and Mrs. Coffin, the teachers, fled also.

From since I often stay up some nights when the waves begin to get high. But later I do not stay up, when I have an idea about is, what I think is, if the world is going to be ended then we cannot protect ourselves. Also I trusted what I believe, "God the Creator."



James Aningayou (*Anegayuu*): The Stories I Heard of Old Villages

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Folder: “James Aningayou—Life Story,” No. 3, Box 1

June 26, 1940

I heard a little about the two villages that are gone, from starving and sickness. Maybe older people will tell you better. I will tell you just a few things. We can begin with Kialegak [*Kiyalighaq*], Southeast Cape. They do hunting something like here—whaling, walrus hunting—but the people are quite different. What will you call the person if a person say something to him and he get mad quickly? What you call that? (*Hot-tempered.*) Yeah, something like that. If somebody says something, then everybody rush to putting it on armor. But they do not fight, just get ready and not fight. They have a little bit different n'gloos [*nenglu*]; entrance has a kind of narrow part, and has a little hollow place. They have a chimney made from a hollow wood. I seen those myself, when I took Mr. Collins over. That place was rocky, at the point. There was another village, move up a little toward the north, an old village hardly show up now. At that point they have lots of spotted seal, resting in the summer on the rocks. That place now we hunting for seal, in the summer time. I do not know much about it.

We come back to Kukulik [*Kukulek*] now. They not whaling, but they have lots of walrus, mostly male walrus. Not whaling right whale like we have, except, maybe if they do whaling in the summer time, whaling for Devil Fish [gray whale]. You know that whale has lots of something grow on top of the skin. We learn from the whalers the name of that. They had one time, I guess, a shortage of meat or something. Somebody strike a young male walrus, pull it right on top the ice. Cut it up before it died. Kind of a cruelty, having a good time cutting that live walrus. That is the way they had their fun with it. (*Said in a disapproving tone.*) When summer came, the same year—they have a rocky place, too—they heard sounding rocks, just like an earthquake. But doesn't earthquake, but sounding like the rocks hitting each other, in front of the village. They were scared. And a short time afterward, same year maybe, something happened to them. Nobody will

know exactly what happened to them, sickness or starving. One man is better off than all the rest in that village. I forget his name. Move out every summer from n'gloo [*nenglu*] to the frame house. That year was somebody went over, they had water there and some meat in front of them. They had little room made from deer skin, something like a tent, but when the night come two strings tied up, made from a skin, hair on it, hair inside. Somebody came in from here; they saw everything ready there and thought the people were alive, just sleeping. When curtain was pulled up, all were lying down along wood pillow; you know our way lay down? Just all dead people. That is the way we found out. I guess nobody will tell exactly what happened to them. It's maybe either starve or sickness. You better ask for Paul's father; maybe he tell you better than I can. (*Did cutting up the live walrus have anything to do with it?*) Some people says it was because of the walrus something happened to them, account of the cruelty to the walrus.

Well, I try start right here, go to Kialegak [*Kiyalighaq*] now. Must be it was after I was born myself, but before I know anything. They were short of meat, on account of the poor year, must be storm of something. Everybody hard time. Some people starve. And I heard of one man that time, he not eating any meat himself, let the wife to eat the meat. Himself suck it from her breast. That is the way both is saved from starving, until they get meat. Isn't that good? That is wonderful. (*Said in a feeling tone.*) But some other people are very selfish. They want to eat everything they can; let the wife and the children starve. They is very poor. I heard my wife's grandfather was the richest in this village. He has most everything and he is strong so he can hunt, when others are getting loss of strength on account of no eat. Went out with the canoe, way out looking for walrus; finally they got one, a pretty young walrus, and brought home, all skin and meat, no bones. It was so far out, he got home till dark. He pull the meat on the toboggan whalebone. They were going to divide among the canoe. Everybody come, all the village. He give them a little walrus skin about the size of the hand. He told them to take it home, "with your family or wife, boil it before you eat, and add more to it." They not listen to him, they eat it up right away in the raw. He try to chase them away but still around him, standing like to keep off the dogs to eat their meat. He tried to chase them away with a whip. Since then I heard many times many people talking about it, man worse than dogs when they hungry so bad.

My father also, he got some walrus the same year. So we better off too. My mother told me, she says, "Some proud young men here, they came to me when short of meat, buy

something a little meat from me.” They says, “Don’t tell anybody we trade something with you.” Account of the shame from other people, “because proud themselves.” (*What mean?*) Some people look down, big young man, something like that. Other people would say, “He is like any of us, no good, trading to the woman.” (*What should they do?*) Usually when they work it on the ice, that is the man’s business. When brought into the house, then the woman’s, the woman handle it then. That’s the woman’s turn, in the house, handling the meat. That’s why those young men not allowed her to tell somebody else about them.

Some people starve that year. Some kill all the dogs they have and boil them to eat, and boil their dry walrus skin. And some people start to go somewhere and starve to death on the way. We had hard year that one. But I didn’t know myself, just like a sleeping that year; heard from the mother. (*Anybody eat any one else?*) No, only dogs. I never heard. I been eating myself a dog one time. (*The Indians like dogs to eat.*) Some people like it here too, especially pup. When dead, open up and clean inside out and hang, then boil in oil; they says very good. (*Tell me about your dog eating.*) We had short of meat, and poor year, poor spring. We had a little meat from the spring hunting, so we had used up during the summer. Then in the fall we have nothing to eat, while we waiting for ice to appear. My stepfather had two dogs, I think. He kill one, is very fat. Then he boil the muscle of the hind legs and front legs. That was good. Finally, a short time the ice get here, then we get seal and walrus, and I was glad. (*Eat any of the rest of dog besides the muscle?*) No, I think he boiled the neck too, not the head, just throw it away. Probably, I have forgot, back bone too, and the rib. (*When was this?*) I don’t know, long before Mission building put up. Long before that ship wrecked near to us. (*Can you remember any very hard years when meat was scarce?*) Yes, different times. (*Next time tell about that?*) Yeah.

Sweeney (*Uuyghaq*): Stories from my 'Old Place' in Siberia¹

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection,
Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Folder: "The Siberian #1," No. 69, Box 3

August 10, 1940

It seems to me that when I first awoke I knew there were lots of people at Indian Point [Ungaziq in Siberia]. I remember people told me that there were no people living right at the Point, but farther back in the interior there is a lake, and by the lake there lies the old village. In spring the people came down to the coast and hunted there at the Point, and after whaling was over the people stored away their catches out of the reach of animals, and they scattered about to the north side of Indian Point.

I heard there was chief at Indian Point named Tathleemuk [*Tallimak*], meaning 'five'. He was somewhat of a dwarf, and was the first one to discover Indian Point. Tathleemuk [*Tallimak*] was so small when he shoved the head of an eider duck through his belt, he would drag the body on the ground. His wife's breast was as long as a young hair seal, maybe that long (*measuring 3 feet*). And he had two children, very athletic, both sons, no daughters. When the dwarf's children wanted to pass the time, Tathleemuk [*Tallimak*] would sling whale ribs and skulls into three pieces—he was very strong.

Also Tathleemuk [*Tallimak*] went with the old people to hunt. He set nets for salmon and seal, and caught lots, which he was supposed to take to Indian Point. He stored away some kind of plant for the whale ceremony. He filled large seal pokes and took good care that no dogs or any human could touch them. Besides that, he dried salmon with the heads on, only removing the internal organs, and filled another poke, which he was to take to Indian Point to have some kind of celebration. Then people gathered some kind of roots, 1 to 1 ½ inches in diameter. People had to examine the inside of the roots by splitting them apart. Some had a heart—but it was very seldom found. When they found one, they were much pleased because it is good medicine for consumption.

¹ Paul Siluk served as the interpreter for this edited story.

If a person had consumption and if someone had a heart of the root and sympathized with the invalid, they broke a little piece from the heart and take it to the patient. First they have a little prayer over it, then they tie it over the person's heart. After that, some old people took the patient out, away from the village, where people had not been walking, and let him run before them and the people followed. They did not fear making him worse. While the patient runs and when he breathes hard, he begins to spit out. But they let him run even if he throws out a lot of blood. The older person has a stick that long (*measuring length of the arm*). When the patient throws blood, the old person stops and stirs it with a stick, and if he does not find anything in the spit, then he runs after the patient. Sometimes a person who runs after being treated correctly may fall flat after throwing a lot out. If he throws out a lot, they examine it and when they find little things like bladders but with no opening, then they rejoice over the patient because they think that he is going to recover and heal. When they find these things, the old people would rest the patient for a long time. After he has rested they turn back and walk home, not running any more, just easy walking. After that the patient never has sickness like that again. The old people told us these little sacs [sic] cause them to tremble when they break and the blood begins to run out, which gives the patient a hemorrhage of the lungs. [...]

I'm going to tell you what I heard, until you get tired of me. When Tathleemuk [*Tallimak*] goes from his camp to Indian Point—it takes one day's journey if the weather permits—after arrival they take a poke filled with plants and store it in a cache. If they kill a whale, they put the flukes in the cache and no other meat is ever put in. After they have stored the poke in the cellar and after they enter the house, they take dried meat, cut a piece of it, and also open a poke of salmon with heads, and lighted lamps. And laid in the center of the main room lay dried meat on either side, one opposite another. The old women come around when preparing for this celebration. They cut a little piece of salmon head and tail, dried meat from both ends, and sacrifice it to [?]
—I do not know to where they sacrifice. After the sacrifice they put the flame of the lamp into a flat bone and take it out and throw it toward the dawn. After having thrown this out, they come in the house, put the lamp aside, cut the salmon into strips, and dry it out to distribute to guests, neighbors, and try to make sufficient amounts for the guests.

People used to come before that chief, and after sacrifice, neighbors bring them fresh meat, because these people had not tasted fresh meat while away at camps. When each brings meat, they exchange.

Then also during this month people plan to go further north to get some deer, to the Chukchees. The people who go up there will know where the deer men will be because they have already received their report a year before. And so, when they come to the appointed place, the people send younger men up into the interior where the Chukchees had made it known where they will be. The Chukchees never come down to the coast. The younger boys, those who started to travel there, journeyed two whole days without making a stop, and finally arrive at the place. The rest of the people stay on the coast waiting for their messenger. After several days the messenger come with some of the younger Chukchee men. News always brought by the messenger, letting them know that the following morning they are going to drive the herd down near the coast. If deer men going fast, it takes them three days to come to the coast, sometimes five days. They take good care of their deer and make many stops. If the Chukchees think they will arrive on the following morning, they send another messenger. Next morning the deer men are in sight, and they move their tents to follow, and stop along the coast. They put up tents in a row, with Chief in "rear." Next to the chief is the one who is like "first mate"—man who has less deer than the first one. The Chief comes to the people and tell them he needs to go to rest his deer because he will slaughter them the next day.

The next morning the Chief instructs his first mate to command those with lower ranks to work very hard. Commonest Chukchee has sometimes ten deer, which he never touches, never for food or clothing—something like a laborer. Boss supplies them with food and clothing. When butchering, they catch deer by the leg; they make their way among the deer, pushing them into opposite directions with their hands; they are very tame. While laborers are butchering, the boss lays the carcasses with pierced side up, and puts a piece of willow under their head for a head rest. The boss takes a cup of water and pours a little at the mouth and at the point where the knife had struck, and at the hind quarter. That's their "responsibility." The Chukchees' butchering is very fast. Traders have to skin them as fast as they can. If the boss thinks there is enough butchered, he tells the people to stop. Boss of Chukchee distributes all the deer that have been butchered according to what traders have. Sometimes ten or twenty deer. Afterwards, the traders give what they bring—big seal skin, intestine rain parkas, skin rope, boots, anything that the Chukchees need.

After butchering, the Chukchees turn back to the interior and the boats launch back to Indian Point [*Ungaziq*]. After they arrive at their homes, these people keep a steer carcass stored away, a fat one, with plants they stored previously.

Also at that time there were many good boat captain, and each stored away a whole steer carcass, poke of plants, and a bundle of Russian leaf tobacco. After they store these three things, then they never touch them, but they leave them just as they stored them. The rest of the deer are kept in the house for drying.

Later, when it begins to freeze outside, the people prepare some more things for winter ceremonies. After freezing, they prepare some fine apparel for the ceremony, long before it begins. Then, after the ground freezes, they put up the winter houses. After they put up a house, one of the head men sends his wife to a sorcerer to come and sing. Then the wife comes to the sorcerer's house, and stop at the door, and not come in to the sleeping quarters. She then calls out to the wife of the sorcerer. The sorcerer's wife realizes that they have come after her and that something is happening in the house. The wife of the sorcerer says to the messenger that she will ask her husband if he is willing to go. The wife lets him know that he is coming.

Afterwards, they invite relatives, and others who are not sorcerers. So after twilight, the sorcerer comes to the house he is going to sing in. When sorcerer enters the house, the boss talks with him. He is asking for him to come and sing, to tell him about the future. Perhaps some harm would come in the future.

When all the people who have invitations come in, they put out all the lights. As soon as the lights are out, the sorcerer begins to sing and seems scared about something. While the sorcerer is singing, they have helpers—some kind of spirit, devil. These devils or helpers bring up some of those who are going to stir trouble and these devils bring them in. Afterwards, the sorcerer instructs the owner to put some images around the inside of the house: a small bow and arrows—just imitation—or a little piece of stone, on both sides of the house. He then uses a piece of sinew. (Drive sickness away?) Yes. Over the door, a very small whip and a small net, fish net. High enough so that nobody's head touches them.

After the instructions are given, the boss of the house gives a piece of sinew that had not need stripped and ties a bead at one end. The sorcerers are very strict about themselves, if

not treated correctly, because some harm might come to them. When the sorcerer sings and receives his pay, he tells the boss that he has saved them from the trouble that was coming to them.

Everybody does that, every one who moves to the winter house. That is their custom. When the sorcerer comes to his own house, he ties that piece of sinew at one corner of the sleeping room. He just makes one knot.

August 26, 1940

(Going to tell me about childhood.)

When I first remember, it seems like an old woman was scolding me, made me wake up. Reminding us that our neighbors are dying.

Then again, I do not know anything, but second remembrance I can remember very well. We were in or with other families. Man named Kawowi [*Kawawyi*], we stay in this man's house. That man bought a bottle of whiskey and gave some to me. I was about seven or eight years old.

When I got drunk, I don't know about it myself, but my father take me from house to house, so scared I might be unconscious always. While father carry me, I come to my mind again.

Then, I forgot about that part of my remembrance. But once my father and uncle on my mother's side, pull me up to exercise, even at midnight, to become athlete. This was long after I have whiskey. I used a tea kettle that held one gallon, for exercising, you know when tea kettle filled with water to its boiling point, over seal oil lamp. The exercise is just bending the legs. And a man sat by it with a drum in his hand, beating this drum, and has song with it. Wording of the song is thus: "A while ago I say so." They repeat over and over.

Then when these two men send me out with iron—carry in my bosom, like crowbar. Then I carry that bar around away from the house; as I go around my arms get tired so they drop down. Then when I come back my family were just getting up—I start early in the night.

It happen that when my father see me in my face and if he notice my face was sweating, then he urge his wife, my mother, to give me just boiled meat, hot meat. At that time when my mother boiling meat for me, my father sat opposite of me and tell me not to worry. Remind me about our custom, that when foreigner comes it is shameful for a person whose people not to join in the contest.

Then after telling me these things, he told me the reason for letting me do the exercise, is that I may not be persecuted by other boys. We have no rules or any high ranking people, but the strongest person and swiftest may be the rulers.

In Siberia when person becomes strong, swift—hard to explain uses of lance—he become like a governor. Most of the other people are subjected. So my father have me—other families same way with their boys. So when a person becomes like that sort, he has some kind of sign on his clothes. So when a person comes from other places with these signs on clothes, these, the people of that place, have much fear about their being beaten, and not winning in the contests.

The signs on the athlete man has something sewed behind their legs—dyed baby-seal hair—with the hair sewed on from one leg to other leg, upwards.

The reasons of their parents scolding was for two things—for contest and for the ice moving around, so that they can run as fast before current changes.

So when athletic people gather together its very interesting. It made me a little afraid to—it makes me want to pass out the water.

In winter, when having wrestling on frozen ground, our elbows begin to blister. I wrestle many times, I am stronger than those of my age. A person may be strong but have short breath.

After my exercise, my father made me a very short harpoon. This was the very first time that my father make a harpoon, after he grow to manhood.

Father seems to teach me by making that harpoon for me, and that is the very first time I am going to be hunting on the ice. My first hunting, I was going out farther without any hunting gear, only harpoon, and he took me on the moving ice. Then when we come to

crushing ice we just stop, me behind my father, because of fear the ice might crush me. When we come to open water, my father make a shelter and we sat behind it watching for seal and big seal. Afterwards, a seal comes up through open water and my father shot at it, sometime kill it. I have little sled which I haul the seal for my father. Sometimes when we kill six or seven seals and pile them on the little sled and he let me haul them all the way. The reason my father take me along is to learn the movements of the currents. We are taught this because if we are ignorant, we may be lost. Since I remember, several people drifted out on the ice. One time I was drifted away in a storm.

When I learn to hunt alone I make a little skin canoe that a man can carry on his back. When I hunt with skin canoe I put one or two seals in canoe and paddle home. When I reach solid ice, I put the seals on the sled and drag it home. When I came home, the neighbors' wives come to get meat from me. When I kill big seal, I put up a signal for the others to come and share with us. When I come home from hunting, I first have frozen meat for meal—either liver, fish, and tomcod. In the morning I eat boiled meat before I start out hunting.

First time I went whaling was when my parents didn't know about it, seems like I run away from them. I was forbidden not to go. I just wear skin trousers, no deerskin. At that time they were in the boat somewhere north of here, they could see our houses. They killed several walrus. I was cold and nobody in the crew know me that I have thin clothing. After loading their boat with skins, baby walrus—they kill twelve altogether—and turn to Indian Point. And it was first time the boat captain recognize that I have thin clothes. The boat captain took off his sealskin pants and one of the other men took off his too, and let me put them on. That was great help, and when we arrived we missed my father, mother, uncle and uncle's wife—they were scattered looking for me, to investigate whether I was lost.

While they were unloading, I recognized a person who—was my uncle. When my uncle come near, the boat captain went to meet him. My uncle ask the boat captain, "Is he really Sweeney?" Because they had given up their hope for me. And the boat captain take me to my uncle telling him that they don't know until they are pretty far off from the land that I had run away, because I was so interested. So he ask him not to scold me, and promise to let him have one skin and one baby walrus. Then my uncle told me to go and hitch up his dogs—While he was waiting on the beach. So I went and hitched up his dogs and

drove them to the beach, loaded the sled with the meat, and went back home with my uncle.

At home, when my family gathered together, I should have been scolded, but my uncle saved me from scolding. So from that point forward, I have to put on my warm clothing always when I am ready to go out hunting.

Only time a whale was killed when I was in a boat was at another place further south, Plover Bay. (*Why go down there?*) I was asked by a person who was related in some way to go and hunt, to be one of their crew. These people whaled in the fall. Whales go south in November, they follow the coast. So the boats launched away from the village, not really put them in water, but on the beach, waiting for the whales. So when a whale comes along they push their boats out. Some come to the whale before it submerges. Then, the boat that I was in killed a whale and towed it onto the beach, and they have their ceremonies. They didn't go hunting for some time. Only the boat stays, a part of the ceremony. The one that kills the whale cuts off parts of the flippers, just the ends, the nostrils, the eyes, chin, part of lower abdomen. Place them on their house. And stay there for maybe a couple of days, without making any kind of noise. Then put their three pokes on top of the house and tied the darting gun at the center post of the main room, and the whaling lance.

When kill one whale the ceremony lasts five days. If more than one, then ceremony last three days.

(*Why have tattoo marks on chin?*) I was the oldest child in my family. In trying to save my brothers and sisters my father ask some woman to have me tattooed. The woman had all kinds of prayer when she tattooed me. While the woman is tattooing a person, every stitch as she goes has something to say with. My father trying to save me as best he can, he put leather bands around my wrist and forehead, with beads hanging down all over my eyes, and beads on each sole of stocking, stitched through—to save his child from death. Also on every joint beads are stitched, and sometimes little bells on elbows. On clothes. My father sewed little pieces of squirrels kettle on the band around my shoulders and under arm. Part of parents' idea to save children.

(*Why come to Gambell?*) Reason I come here, for three years we are very scarce of food. First year we are very short of food all winter. Then during summer we stored some food

away, and during the winter our food did not last us for all year around. Then third year was our hardest year. I got lean myself. We were so hungry and was so lean I killed our puppy and cut the legs and boiled them, to eat them for scarcity of food. I was so lean that when I go out and I try to walk, it made me very dizzy. Because I eat only a bite of dried walrus skin. Then it happened I hadn't eaten anything for several days. In whaling time I went to a house, man named Pungowiyi [*Pangawiyi*], and I saw that he was feeding his boat crews. By the same time I enter the house the man's crews comes out from the sleeping quarters, with sweaty faces because they are having a good meal.

I found that this man was preparing to go out hunting. He told his crews to prepare the boat. When all the crews go out, Pungowiyi [*Pangawiyi*] inquires what I want. I told him that I come to exchanged a box of cartridges for a little piece of meat so that my child may have little broth. Then that man took the box of cartridges and looked at it and begins to have sympathy on me. Then he told his wife to fill a dish with deer blood and put a piece of walrus hide and take it herself to my wife—secretly, so neighbors may not see.

Then I went out with the hunters. I came to the boat—I was the only one to put my hand on the beam of the boat because I was so weak. When all of the crew steps in the boat, I began to step too, but one man in the crew spoke out that I shouldn't go. Then the boat captain told me to step in and told the man he shouldn't say that. When they put up the sail I saw a walrus way out on the horizon. I try to show it to the crew, but they couldn't see it. Four times it submerged, and the fifth time the crew begin to see it. The walrus was feeding. When we came to the place where it was, we put a sail on and waited there. Then, when it came up, they shoot at it, and wounded it, but they shot off 40 shells of 405 calibre. Four shells of 30 calibre doesn't kill the walrus. When the walrus comes up and submerges, blood was coming out all over, but it was never yet seriously wounded. Then finally they kill it, harpoon it, and cut it up in the water. And the boat captain didn't have me work because he thinks that I had have them kill this walrus because I need food very badly. The captain thanked me.

When we arrived to the shore, they unloaded the boat, and the boat captain gave every man that comes a walrus hide as big as man's palm, but most of it was leftover. The boat captain have me take the biggest piece. He even told me that I didn't help him by working, but that I help him in great way, miraculous way.

That was the reason why I moved here from there, because I think it might happen there every year, at Indian Point. My idea was that if I ever have children, so I can keep them in meat, not in wealth.

Now, I will never go back to Indian Point, even to visit. Maybe they ask me about Gambell and I must tell the truth about the living here, and they not like it. I worry sometimes that maybe I have to go back, something like drag me back, the Russians.

(Have any persons been dragged back?) No, not in my remembrance nor in that of my father.

Warren Koozaata (*Kuzaata*): The Story of the Gambell Village Council

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Folder: "Warren—Life Story," No. 79, Box 3

July 16, 1940

(*How did the village council start?*) The council start from Mr. Troutman [school-teacher], for the village council. We got only, I think, five councils. Samuel [*Iirgu*] was the mayor that time when start. Might be they take four years, then change to one council. That time I was a councilman, and then we meeting in this room.

In winter time, I forget the month, might be March, I don't know. It was a very stormy, from the north wind. Somebody knock at our doors. They tell us one boat came from Siberia. We going out and see them. We find them in Samuel's house. All the crew there except three of them lost. Some of these very freeze, their feet and face. We will help them and work with them. Me will help Mr. Troutman helping that men. They told us one of them they left over down there, two of them they pointed to the south way. That same night we will going to look for that man by the south way, and Mr. Troutman, by walk. But we will come back not far. It was very stormy, windy and cold. After that, I don't know, might be two or three days, the weather came warmer, and misty. Jimmy [*Ataayaghbaq*] and James [*Anegayuu*] and Mr. Troutman going look again. Then find one man, where they left in their boat, skin boat. He landed near to that point. Thenafter that, when they got the care, we tried to find that two of them. Several teams going looking. We never find them. But now we never find the bones. Just we guess they fall to the sea. But now they got still for council. From that time I was start for the council to right to here. (*What did Siberian boat have do with council start?*) Just before that we start, I think, not long ago.

(*Tell me more about the council.*) In four years they will try to elect a new man. From that times Samuel [*Iirgu*] was change, I will be mayor of the village. I will try to help the village people, and make a rule for cleaning, and help each other, when they get a hard time or sick, and the sickness[?] were killed. And four years, we will ask for election for another mayor. Elected same mayor, but two other councilmen. First, that is not

followed, the rules. But still try to make the rule. Some of them follow the rule, but the younger one hard to make.

We make a rule for the hunting in the boats spring time, because before, the most boat sometime they kill twenty walrus in one day, just got the head. They lose all the flesh. And we talk about that, too, and the cutter ask about that too, and we make a rule. We decide four walrus enough for one time kill. Try to save all the skin, except the bones. And some boats break the law again, four boats the same spring. And we meet about them and try to make strong rule for every one. We take one head arrested from all the boats—one head of ivory of walrus. We sell to the stores, and we keep the money for the communities. Try to make a use for poor people. And we talk about the communities more, with the store president. And they decide, first we ask them for carving or some other kind of trading for that community fund, and got trading for some kind we want for the communities. But hard to get a small sale to the store. Then buy the fox skin. Then we sell our furs to the store. We take every dollar every communities fund. (*One dollar per fox skin sold goes to the community.*) Mr. Smith was help us, too, on that. When village mens find out what, they were glad about it.

Then we will try to build a house. Mr. Smith was help us. From the Government, lumber and the big machinery. Then sometimes we have not enough to trade in spring time for whaling, we need the community money. Then one years before that, we have the short oil and short meat too, we use the communities money. But now we are very well glad for them. [...] When the council start now we have not many troubles, before that little troubles. (*What?*) Any kind troubles—trapping, hunting, sometimes trouble in the village, too.

(*How do you elect members?*) We will nominate first. Some of the council or some of the village will pick the names they thought the best man. They nominate four men for the mayor, then everybody will vote. The same the councilmen. Then we decide for four years. (*How long were you mayor?*) Might be this is my fourth term. (*You mayor now?*) Yes. They call me mayor and vice-president. They want me for teaching the young one. For young council. (*Whose idea was that?*) Village people. (*Who are the young ones?*) Ben [*Nuugnan*] was the president now. When we meeting I will try to make him head. When they ask me to help him, I will, and when we get hard time, we call our teacher to help us.

(*Who can vote?*) First when we start, they vote four mens, that is, four mens before we started what we have now. Only we says yes or no by the vote. Everybody says yes, except two or three mens, people no. Then we will vote for the president, then councilmen. Whole village vote about those. (*Can children vote?*) No. Might be down to twenty-one years, vote from twenty-one years. (*Do women vote?*) Yes, womens. (*Could they be on the council?*) Yes Sir, they vote for council, secretary and treasurer.

(*What was it like here before you had any council?*) No head men in this village before we have no council. Only the teachers will be report, when we get bad kind of trouble. In spring time the cutter captain will be, same as judge, in the spring time. And we have so many little trouble every year, mostly every year. Might be that why Mr. Troutman start for the council. (*What did the village people think of the council?*) They think about it, it was good for the village. But we had a hard time. Making rule, our teachers try to make us make our rules ourselves. We will try to make, up to here, 1940.

(*Can you tell me any more about the trouble you had?*) That, when we got breaking rules we bring to the meeting, we try to find out and we find out what kind of trouble, then try to make square. When they get square, then we forgot. Then two persons will got trouble. When they call us, first we will try to find out very truly, and we will help them hard as we can, and settle them.—Only too bad I don't talk too good English. Might be I say some backward.

(*How did they settle stealing when you were little?*) I don't know, I didn't know that myself. Might be they stolen, I don't know, I don't remember them. When I was a little boy my father always teach me try to make me keep off stealing. He taught me that time many times. I will try to follow what he said to me. (*They got along all right without laws?*) You mean what my fathers told me? No rules that time.

(*Fight?*) Oh, yes (*Smiles.*) When I was a little boy, I knew some part of that. I didn't know what did liquor come from. Just I heard came from Mr. Pransie. His wife make a whiskey, and this village people learn from her, and they make themselves. When they drunk, oh, lots of trouble. I been heard from myself, seen singing and crying. And they sell some fox skin for the whiskey, and fighting. (*Any one ever get killed?*) I don't see for myself, but I heard before that somebody was killed. But every year the revenue cutter will try to make stop. Every year a little less, but still making whiskey. But now no more. Now we try to hold it, never drunk. Because we heard before they got lots of trouble, and they sell for

whiskey what they had. I don't care how much the price, they sell for drink. (*How did they get it stopped?*) The revenue cutter *Bear* will make stop. I don't know how. (*Stop making it here?*) Stop everything. (*Do you have any rules about whiskey?*) No, only the village people ask about it; we try to hold it never drunk.

(*Any native try to stop whiskey?*) I don't know. I think mostly didn't want whiskey now. Just I heard one man—I see that man—might be that cutter called him Captain Jack, we will call him same name. He is only talk English in this village. He gave them notes, might be for the whiskey. In the spring time when the trading ship was come around here—I never go myself, I was little that time—just he gave his note to the captain. That captain take out the whiskey from the ship, open up, and run out to the sea. That man, Captain Jack, he has much drunk. When the boat was come back from the ship, our people laugh about that. Our boat has some very big drunk. But the revenue cutter will try to make them stop. Some of them the native people, too. Might be they thought themselves for stop. That is all I know about the whiskey. (*Ever try any?*) No, I never touch, because my father was watching me always. He been drunk, too, but not so much. He never go out but just in house.

Gambell Village Council Rules

This document was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Box 4,
Folder 85, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

RULES ENACTED

Native Village of Gambell, July 17, 1940

Act I. Hunting.

1. In hunting whole year round every boat must watch each other.
2. If one boat has trouble with their motor they should put a flag at the bow of the boat as a sign if they think that cannot run their motor. In calm weather they can decide by themselves.
3. Every boat must keep a fire filled extinguisher always in the boat.
4. Every engineer of motor must not smoke while operating the motor.
5. In chasing some walrus by boat, shooter must be careful in shooting first see if others are not on the way.
6. Every boat must try to keep away from others in going after some walrus.
7. a) Every boat must kill no more than four large walrus and one small walrus at a time, unless a boat may be attack by herd of walrus. One can shoot at them in trying to escape.
b) Every boat should kill four female with young and one extra baby walrus if its mother had sink. They should not try to rob the baby only.
8. If any boat kill more than the law allows, one extra pair of tusks should go to the treasury as a fine. This penalty is for killing by an attack also if one or two extra is killed.
9. Every boat should not go after walrus that is among the ice, if they are sure that they are not certain about it, or if the food is not scarce. It is fair for the boat to leave the load if danger is happen.

Act II. Treating foreign people.

1. Every member of the village should treat any person of foreign natives fairly, if a group of people had been drifted in, in the boat either on the ice, and take good care of them until a time for them to leave.

2. Every members should try to save any foreign natives from dangers on the ice if he is their sight.
3. Every boy should not play with the foreign property, or not try to damage, or any of their own peoples property.
4. If any person had damaged some property of others accidently should replace it as the owner request.
5. Any person who do damaged others property in a mean way should pay a fine equal value of the small thing damaged and equal value for a big thing. One half the value will be forwarded to the treasury and the other half to the owner.

Act III. Safety of dog-team.

1. In traveling with dog-team every team must keep watch of others in a storm, in case one might get lost and do not know the way. It should be fair to tie a rope to each other. Even in good weather one should not leave other who travels first time until they are in safe place, especially after crossing lagoons or any other danger places.
2. Every traveller must not start to travel in a storm if necessary unless something is needed so bad.
3. Safety of dogs: All dogs should be chained in spring, summer and fall and should be taken good care, water and feed.
 - b) In winter they should be chained also and can be turn loose when they gets poor and let them stay loose until th[e]y get fat again.
 - c) All young dogs must be chained before they are grown dogs.
 - d) Every one should kill all the sick dogs. Every owner of dogs must chain old and young dogs if he decide to let it live. If the old dog had been good worker must be chained always.
 - e) If a young dog is killed by another man's dog the two parties can decide between themselves what they should to do.

Act IV. Marriage.

1. In order to have greatest happiness it is believed that a man should not force to marry a woman against his own wishes or a woman to man.
2. As soon as a boy and a girl or a man or woman desire to be married the matter should be reported to any of the council members and the officers should interview the parties of both. If there is no objection on both parties then the parents of both should decide the engagement.

3. The old custom of working for a girl should be continued as it is honorable custom followed by our fathers and forefathers and mothers. The minimum time required for working for a girl should be one year for a single man, and three months for a widower. If a boy or a boy's parents desire to increase the time they should decide between themselves but no more than a year. The maximum time required for working for a girl will be not more than two years.
4. For breaking of engagement: If a boy or a girl should break the engagement it is fair for both parties to discuss over the matter and decide between themselves what to do. But if both parties are not satisfied about the matter then this matter should be brought up to the council to discuss.

Act V. Cleanliness.

1. Every house keeper of every house should have scrubbing once a week.
2. Every family should have their clothes washed once a week.
3. Every person should have a bath at least once a week.
4. Ground should be raked every year. If the ground has not raked, the council will have the person to rake it where it has not been raked.
5. The community workshop should be cleaned, whenever the boss of the shop should appoint some men to do the job. Every person who work in the shop should sweep it after their work is over. If a person who do not sweep after using it will reported to the boss of the shop and the boss will let the worker clean it. The boss of the shop will put up a notice about borrowing tools. The boss will decide about damages.

Act VI. Liquor.

1. Every person must not buy liquors whenever any foreigner try to sell and a person should reported it to the village council.

Act VII. Smoking.

1. All young men should not be allowed to give cigarette or any other smoke to the school children under 16 yrs. old.
2. Any one who give cigarette to any school children is to pay a fine.
3. Penalty is as follows: The council will send him to the teacher to do a job about 8 hrs at .25¢ an hour and the total amount wage will be forwarded to the council.
4. The other work will be done too, which is to a family needed some one to work for them.
5. If the rule is not followed the labor will be doubled.

Act VIII. Helping poor and sick people.

1. As our father have done, helping each other in many ways for sick and needy. This should be continued as long as the people have enough.
2. The community will provide it in a dire need.

Act IX. Curfew.

1. There will be curfew for the children to be in before 10 PM. This curfew will be for the young people to stop playing ball also.
2. Young people must stop play with swing at 10 PM until 7 PM.
3. Between 10 PM in the evening and 7 AM the young people must not make any noise around the school and mission bldg.

Act X. Steady school attendance.

1. All the parents should have their children in school when they are in good health, on the other hand, if they are not too sick.
2. All the parents should have the teacher know about their boy child as soon as the whaling begins. If they are not hunting they should send them to school.

Act XI. Drifter object.

1. If a dead sea-animal is drifted and if seen by a person who has no boat should let it known to the man who has a boat and if he is one of the crew. The two parties can decide about it between themselves after getting it in.
2. But if it is seen by any person away from the village should be owned by the person who sees it first.
3. If two people sees it and if both parties to own it, should be reported to the coun[c]il and the council will decide what they think is right.
4. Drift logs should be owned by a person who sees first. If two person has trouble about it should be reported to the council.

Act XII. To keep child from danger.

1. Every adults must not urge any child to danger, but they should keep them away from any kind of danger. This is not only for a person to do to his own family, but to any child. Every parents must put some explosive substance out of reach in case of a child, or a pointed object, or these should be under lock and key.

Act XIII.

1. Every person should try to help a person as best as he could when in danger.

Act XIV. Transferring teachers, nurses, and missionaries.

1. When the teacher, nurse or missionary is deciding to go to somewhere, this should be reported to the Mayor who will call any one to take either of the above to the place where they wished to go.

Act XV. Swearing or angry words.

1. Every adult must not say any evil words against the other, on [the] other hand do not tease each other in the way which makes the other mad.
Every one must be in peace in the general meeting or any where at any time.
2. Do not criticize any person whether a person is not good.

Act XVI. Hunting ground.

1. Every man must not reserve any hunting ground or not to be selfish. Every hunting ground is free to every hunter.

Act XVII. Trapping.

1. Trapping ground should be free to every trapper, but every one must not jam each other. On [the] other hand every trapper must not shoot a fox near another mans trap.
2. In clear days every dog-team or man should travel away from other's trap, in case of dogs might tear up a fox caught in a trap.
3. It is in liberty to travel the way home any where if the trail is lost or if in storm.
4. If a fox caught in a trap should be torn by dogs in a storm the two parties can decide on it. If the parties cannot settle the matter, it should be reported to the council who will discuss and settle the matter.
5. If a fox caught in a trap is torn by another man's dog, the offender should replace it.

Act XVIII.

Any person should not try to overcome those whom he had elected to a higher rank. If any person try to overcome those elected ones will lose his membership.

Penalty for breaking the village laws:

Penalty for Act I: If a boat do not tow the other boat whose motor is in—bad condition in a bad day, should pay a fine of 5 gallons of gasoline. This 5 gallons will be forwarded to the one whose motor is broken.

Penalty for dog team of Act III: If one dog-team does not tow the other should loan him, one of his best dog for two weeks.

Penalty for Act IV:—If a dog is seen loose, the owner will pay a fine of \$2.00.

Council Members: (Signatories)

Homer Apatiki [*Apeteki*]

Walunga [*Walanga*]

Eddie Ungott [*Ughqaghmi*]

Ben N. Booshu [*Nuugnan*]—President

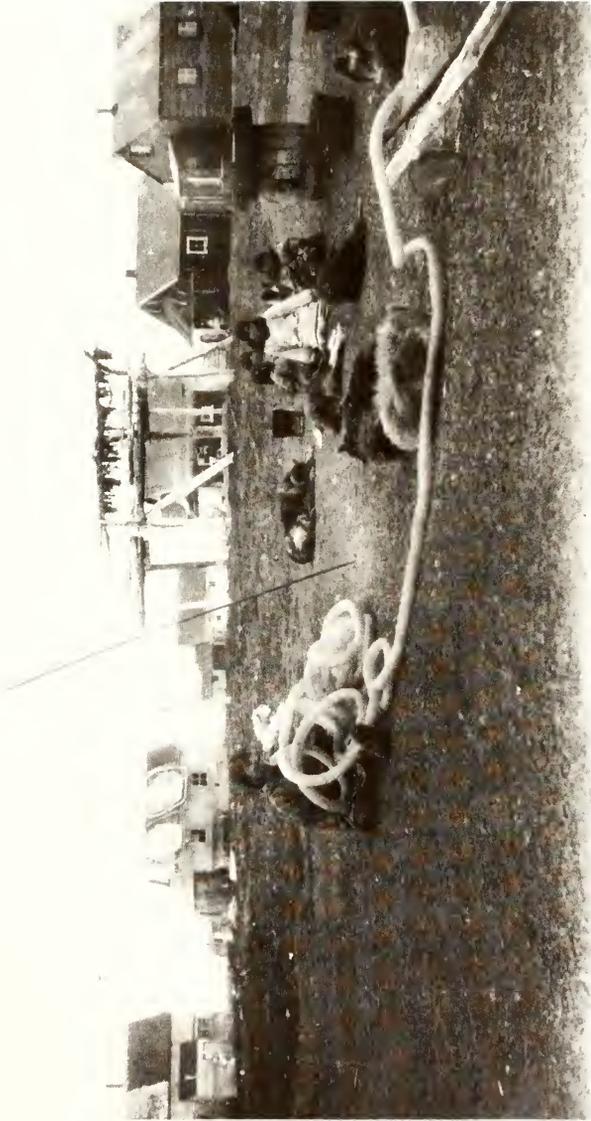
Warren Koozaata [*Kuzaata*]—Vice President

Paul Silook [*Siluk*]—Secretary

Robert Tungyan [*Yughqutaq*]—Treasurer



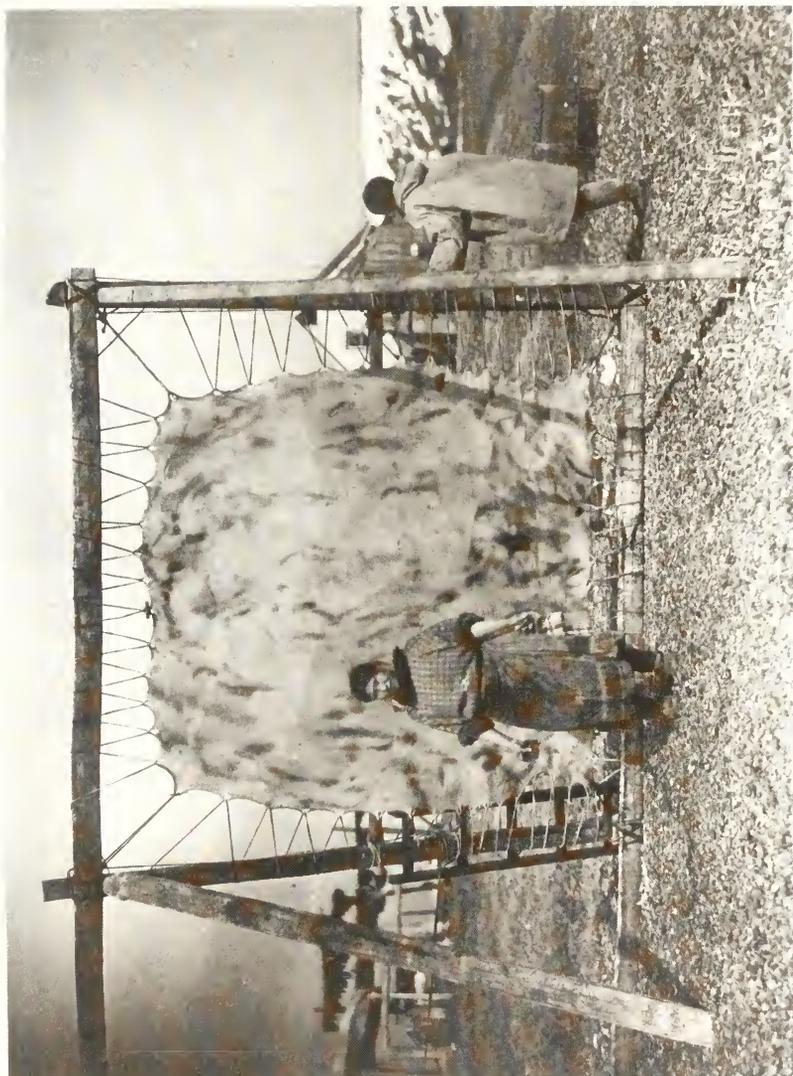
Gambell residents in front of the traditional winter house. Left to right: Yatelen (Jane Antoghame), Uyuutuwan (Sadie Montokoli), Naayghaq, wife of Ujyghaq (Sweeney Ozagak), unidentified woman carrying a baby, Riighnak (Ethel Booshu), Giirmangaawen (Lily Koonooka), Atasunga (Rosie Kulukhon, wife of Lawrence Qlileghquun), carrying a child (lighmighun?), Anaghrauuuk (Anna Kulukhon?), Wápelu (Helen Koorzaata), Atayayghghaq (Jimmie Otyohok), unidentified boy. This is Yaavgagtsiq-Kuzzaata's winter house, being aired out for the summer. (Note by Avalak, Beda Siwooka)—recorded by Chris Koonooka, July 4, 1931.



Kiruka, wife of Yaavgaghsiq, inflates dried walrus intestines. Summer 1930.



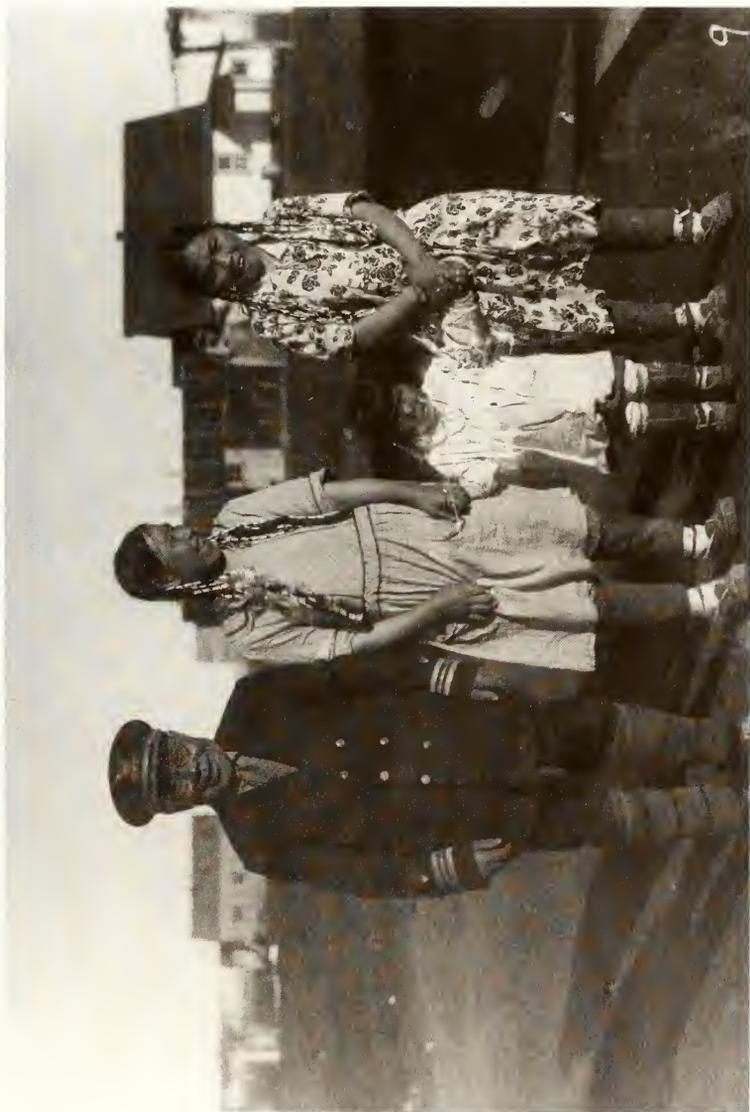
Suluk watches as his daughter-in-law, Victoria Anataaranga, wife of Lloyd Uvi, splits the walrus hide for boat cover. 1930.



Suluk and Victoria Anataanga near dried walrus hide. 1930.



Two young girls from Savoonga: Tagnghli (Elsie Pelowook), daughter of Smith Imingan, and Qaghiq (Hazel Wongitillin), daughter of Wanggetelen and Kesliq, 1930.



Ataayaghhaq (Jimmie Otiyohok) and his family—wife *Ukaamangan* (Isabel Okowamangen), daughters *Ukaaghtaadaq* (Jean) and *Uyatuwan* (Sadie). Jimmie's uniform is a cast-off from the U.S. Coast Guard (see p. 403).



Fred Angi, son of *Alngiiwhtaq* from Siberia, and Carl Iakitan (*Uwaliaq*). 1929.



Florence Maligutqaq (*Napaq*) and Clarence Irgu (*Miinglu*). 1929.



Three "strong men" of Gambell. The one on the right was born in Siberia (1912).

part three

Our 'Old Day' Stories Documented

Introduction

Waldemar Bogoras. Stories and Songs from St. Lawrence Island (1901)

William F. Doty. Stories of the Eskimo on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska (1900)

Paul Silook (*Siluk*). The Old Stories of the *Meregtemiit* People (1931–32)

Otto Geist. St. Lawrence Island Eskimos Lost on the Pack Ice (1927–30)

Paul Silook (*Siluk*). The Native Tribes of Gambell (1940)

Henry B. Collins. St. Lawrence Island "Old Stories" (1928–30)

Otto Geist. Notes Regarding the Famine and Epidemics (1928–29)

Otto Geist. "Tribes" (Clans) of Eskimos on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska (1929)

Paul Silook (*Siluk*). The "Real People" of Gambell and Other Stories (1928)

Three "Strong Men" of Gambell (from left to right): Samuel *Iirgu*, son of *Waamseghaan*; Moses *Sunaaghruk*, son of *Iquk*, and *Amagu*, son of *Piinteghla*, from Siberia. *Amagu* used to be the top wrestler in Gambell in early years. As the time passed, two younger ones became stronger. Moses was the strongest in these days. The three are pictured with the weight-lifting rocks carried over from the mountains (Willis Walunga's note).

INTRODUCTION

The written narratives of the Yupik people, presented either in their original writing or in transcripts by outside researchers, were relatively late in the making. They emerged as products of advanced literacy or, at the least, of advanced fluency in English (or Russian) by the local people as a result of schooling and active contacts with the outside world. Numerous earlier accounts were once written down by outsiders as rough translations or retellings of the original Yupik stories. Many were later published as samples of local folklore and historical tradition. Often the published version would be barely recognizable to its original narrator, since foreign language, alien grammar, and the bookish style of early folklore publications made it rather a product of scientific English literacy than of Yupik oral history. Still, every Yupik story put to paper by an outside visitor was an evidence of mutual interest, willingness in communication, and of what might be called today intellectual exchange.

Several factors were essential to make an early recording of a Yupik story in the other languages a successful enterprise. First to be listed was appreciation of the value of local folklore and historical accounts by the outside visitors, since only dedicated newcomers were eager to listen to the stories of local people, let alone to put them into writing. Second was the willingness of the Native people themselves to retell their stories to outsiders through the prolonged and often painful process of documentation. Third, the two sides had to establish a certain level of mutual understanding and fluency in communication, using one of their respective languages, interpreters, or even an intermediary language as a means of interaction. Whatever the procedure used in each individual situation, every Native story put into a written text some one hundred years ago was a sign of cooperation and trust.

This did not come easily nor simultaneously across the vast Inuit/Eskimo area from the Bering Strait to Greenland. The earliest published or written versions of Eskimo folklore and historical texts come from Greenland from the early to mid 1800s. In other Eskimo areas they did not appear until much later: in Western Alaska in 1878–1880 (as recorded by Edward Nelson), in the Barrow area during the late 1880s, on Baffin Island in the early 1880s, and in the most distant sections of the Canadian Arctic not until the 1920s. The first known writings of Yupik stories from St. Lawrence Island were made in 1899 (see below).

The selection of Yupik stories reproduced below was sampled from various published and archival records, roughly between 1900 and 1930. This is of course the tip of the iceberg, since many more texts are available in writing from this and later period. To a Yupik reader of today such a collection

may be of special interest. It offers numerous folk tales, personal and folk names, and ethnographic details that refer to the "old days," often beyond the stories commonly recalled by today's elders. In addition, it opens a whole stock of local narratives of the famine (or epidemics) of 1878–80 that left behind the devastating record of human losses as well as of memories of pain, trauma, and sufferings for generations of the island residents. The tragic story of 1878–80, known from and retold in several governmental and scientific reports of the time, was the focus of special inquiry for many contemporary visitors, from the U.S. Coast Guard officers to missionaries to teachers to later anthropologists. They kept asking questions and made numerous recordings of the stories and memories of survivors. This tradition is now fading quickly, since most present-day Yupik elders are unwilling to recall these stories because their own parents rarely if ever talked to them about the events of 1878–80 when they were young. As such, it is still one of the most sensitive chapters of the island's history and one that calls for the utmost reservation and respect. We believe that such a warning is necessary to everyone who is eager to look through the pages of outsiders' notes and published accounts in search of memories long gone and narratives long suppressed.

Waldemar Bogoras: Stories and Songs from St. Lawrence Island (1901)

The stories and a few Yupik songs below were recorded by a Russian anthropologist, Waldemar (Vladimir) Bogoras, during his short visit to St. Lawrence Island in summer of 1901. Bogoras was then a member of the American-funded Jesup North Pacific Expedition, and he had already spent about three months in the village of *Ungaziq* (Chaplino) on the Siberian side. From over there, he came to Gambell with a group of Siberian Yupik people, traveling in three skin boats as reported in the diary of the U.S. agent and school teacher, Doctor P. H. J. Lerrigo (see excerpts from his diary in Part 4). Bogoras spent just a few days in Gambell (from June 5 to June 10) and he returned to Siberia together with other Siberian visitors in their boats. Very little is known about his visit, although Mr. Lerrigo reported that on June 6 he “assisted Mr. Bogoras in investigating the language, manners, and customs of the (St. Lawrence Island) natives.”

From Bogoras' diaries, field notes, and his later publications, we do know that he was collecting data on the Yupik language and that he was also recording old Yupik folk-tales and stories. He knew some Yupik and he wrote down stories and words in Yupik using a writing system of his own. But most probably he communicated in the Chukchi language (of reindeer herders, *Quyillqet*), which he spoke fluently, or he used his Siberian friends as his interpreters. Sixteen Yupik stories from Siberia and St. Lawrence Island and several songs recorded by Bogoras and translated into English were published in his small collection, *The Eskimo of Siberia* in 1913 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. 8, pt. 3—see page 199). Four of Bogoras's stories and seven songs collected on St. Lawrence Island are presented here. The songs were accompanied by Bogoras' original Yupik transcription, which has been rewritten for this book by Willis Walunga (*Kepelgu*) and Christopher Koonooka (*Petuwaq*). We also preserve Bogoras' original footnotes and the names of his storytellers; although in all cases but one (*Acunarak* = *Asunaghq*) it is now hard to say whether his narrators were local people from Gambell or his travel companions from Siberia.

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The Jesup North Pacific Expedition

Edited by FRANZ BOAS

Memoir of the American Museum
of
Natural History

NEW YORK

Volume VIII

III. — THE ESKIMO OF SIBERIA,

By WALDEMAR BOGORAS



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL, LTD
Printers & Publishers
1913

NEW YORK
G. E. STECHERT
American Agents
1913

From: W. Bogoras, "The Eskimo of Siberia"

1. Raven Swallows Blubber.

Raven, who live in Ceri'nak (*Sighbinek, Sireniki*), married among the Reindeer-men. His father-in-law said, "They say that the islanders [on St. Lawrence Island] are this year quite rich in walrus-meat. I want to eat sea-food."—"Aha!" Raven flew away, and came to the island. The people of the island had just killed a whale. They used only the hides of the largest walrus that they had caught. All the blubber was left on the shore. Raven swallowed plenty of blubber, and could fly away with difficulty only. When he came home and alighted near his house, he vomited all the blubber. It was as much as a load for seven sledges. Then he wakened his wife and father-in-law. They ate of the blubber. There they lived, eating blubber.

Told by Milu'tarak [*Milutaghaq*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, 1901.

2. The Woman and the Doer of Violence.

In the village of Kuku'lik¹ [*Kukulek*] there was a man stronger than all his neighbors. Therefore he took the food from everybody by force. If a man had killed a walrus and hauled home a sled filled with meat, the strong man would take possession of the hauling-strap, and take home sled and all. The people were afraid to show resistance. He would kill those who were disobedient. One day a man killed a thong-seal, and was taking the meat home. The strong man met him on the way. "Oh, you have killed a thong-seal?"—"Yes, I have." The Doer of Violence put his foot upon the runner of the sled. "What are you doing?"—"Be quiet, or I shall kill you!"

He left the sled and came to his wife. "And where is the meat?"—"In truth, I was bringing it, but the Doer of Violence took it away from me."—"But why didn't you defend it? Our little children have no food."—"He threatened to kill me."—"Ah, but I will go and get back the meat!" She went, and soon overtook the strong man, who was hauling the meat. "You there! Why have you taken the food from my little children?"—"Go away!"—"Give me my meat."—"Let me alone, or I shall kill you!"—"Will you?" She caught him by the

¹ Now wholly starved out, as well as several other villages [all footnotes by Bogoras].

arms a little below the shoulders, and broke the humerus of either arm. "Ah, ah, ah! Please do not tell our neighbors! They will kill me. Do not bring such shame upon me! I have plenty of meat and peltries. I will give you everything. Let me escape with just my bare life!" And, indeed, she did not tell what had happened. He gave her everything he had, and they lived in wealth and joy. From that stock came the family of Kuvá'r [*Quwaaren*].¹

Told by Milu'tarak [*Milutaghaq*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, 1901.

3. Creation of St. Lawrence Island.

When Creator was creating earth, he made at first the shore of Uñi'sak [*Ungaziq*]; then he made the Russian land, after that the American land. Then he felt tired, and lay down to have a rest. The sun, however, had not set, and he said, "It is still light. Let me create something small. So he stretched out his hand, and took from the bottom of the sea a handful of sand. He pressed the water out of it,—and therefore our island is called Čibu'kak, [*Sivuqaq*] ("pressed out," "wrung out"),—and put it upon the ground before himself. Then he picked up a few small pebbles and put them in various places on this mound of sand. These were men. They were weak and without enterprise.

He said to them, "You must take your food out of the water. I shall not give you reindeer. They are too good for you." They sought food, and found a walrus, a thong-seal, and a ringed-seal. Still it was not enough, and they were starving. All the people died of starvation; only an orphan was left alive. He was covered with scabs; his skin had large ulcers, and in some places hung down in tatters. He had no food for nearly a month. So he lay in the cold sleeping-room, unable to rise. His body was covered with an old coat of bird-skins without feathers. He lay shaking with cold, and asking for a speedy death.

He wanted to sleep, but could not. So he prayed to the Sea-God,¹ if not for food, at least for a little sleep. But the sleep did not come.

Then he prayed to the Upper God for a little sleep. The sleep did not come. But the Sea-God had compassion on him, and sent a walrus. The walrus came roaring, and emerged out of the ground near the house. Then it plunged back, but left behind a few jelly-fish.

¹ A rich Eskimo of the Village of Cibu'kak [*Sivuqaq*], on St. Lawrence Island. There was another Kuvá'r [*Quwaaren*] much richer, in the village of Uñi'sak [*Ungaziq*], on the mainland of Asia.

Some of them were right in the sleeping room. The boy felt around with his hands. He found one jelly-fish, and swallowed it; but his stomach was so little used to food, that he died of cramps. The Upper God had compassion on him, and brought him back to life. He ate five more jelly-fishes, and died again. The Upper God brought him back to life another time. Now his stomach was stronger. He ate plenty of jelly-fish, and felt better. Still he had no sleep. He prayed again to the Upper God, who had compassion on him and sent him sleep.

He slept three days and two night. Then he dreamed. Six women—one old one and five young ones—entered the sleeping-room. They put everything in good order, cleaned away the rubbish, spread the skins, and lighted the lamp. Then the room was warm and tidy. He wished to move nearer the lamp, and then he awoke. The sleeping-room was dark and cold, as before. He prayed again for sleep, but without success. Three days and two nights he was there, trembling with cold, then he dozed off and had the same dream. The women came and put the sleeping-room in order. The old woman said, “We are assistants of the Upper God. We must not waken him till everything is ready. Now prepare the food!” The younger women brought a large dish filled with fish, walrus-meat, and seal-blubber. There was everything except whale-skin.

He was awake, but felt afraid to stir, lest the happy dream should vanish, as before. Then the old woman nudged him, “Get up! The meal is ready.” He ate. The old woman urinated into a chamber-vessel, and rubbed his body all over with urine. Instantly he was healed of his sores. She blew upon him, and he became strong, like a walrus. Then he copulated with all five of the younger women, one after another; so that his name after that was The-One-Copulating-with-Five-Divine-Women. After that he went out and set off, journeying towards the sky. He came to the Sun-Man, and said, “Give us reindeer!” Sun-Man answered, “I cannot do so. In the world above me there lives another God greater than I: he would be angry. Instead of that, I will give you something large and oily, — a great mass of food. Keep it as your property.” He took two handfuls of small pebbles. “Take these, and when you come home, throw them into the water. The young man descended, and threw the stones into the water. They turned into whales of various kinds. After that he lived on the surface of the sea. He walked about with the walrus. In the end

¹ Ima'm Kiyar'arak [*Kiyagbnaghaq*]. Kiyar'arak fully corresponds to the Chukchee *Va'irgin*, and signifies “(Good) Being.”

the people of Kuku'lik [*Kukulek*] killed him by mistake. When dying, he said, "Such are you, and such shall be your fate. When you go out to sea, you shall be drowned. When you stay ashore, you shall die of starvation. When you have food enough, you shall be visited by to'rnaraks [*tughneghaqs*] of the disease." After that he died. That is all.

Told by Ale'qat [*Aleqat* or *Aliiqat*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, 1901.

4. The Shaman A'bla [*Aavla*].

In the village of Čibu'kak [*Sivuqaq*] there lived a rich man and a strong man. The name of the latter was A'bla [*Aavla*]. They had a running-match, the course being a circle. Then the rich man said, "Now let us wrestle!" A'bla [*Aavla*] said, "All right!" They wrestled near a tumble-down house, and then left off and shot with bows. A'bla could not hit the rich man. He was too nimble, and would jump aside. Then A'bla said, "Though you do jump aside, now take heed! With this arrow of mine I shall hit you." He took an arrow from his quiver, made of whalebone and quite small, and shot at the rich man, who turned on the spot where he was standing, and fell down dead.

A'bla [*Aavla*] was very angry. He went to a solitary place and live there. After a while there came to the island a man from the village of A'vak [*Avan*],¹ in two large boats, and with his whole family. They brought reindeer-skins for sale. They went to the village Kuku'lik [*Kukulek*] to gather wood, and one of the boys was lost. His father, who was a shaman, could not find him. The people said, "Go to A'bla [*Aavla*]. Perhaps he will do something for you." The father went to A'bla. A'bla said, "Who knows! Probably I too shall not succeed. Still I will try, at least." He took a small hatchet made of shell, and pretended to work on a piece of wood. All at once the lost boy shouted. He swept by, crying, carried along by a to'rnarak [spirit, *tughneghaq*] of the mountains. A'bla was still chopping with his hatchet, and did not even look up. The boy passed by again, and he saw him, but the to'rnarak [*tughneghaq*] who carried him was invisible. Still A'bla aimed at him, and threw his hatchet. The to'rnarak [*tughneghaq*] cried aloud, and the boy fell down; but after a moment he was swept along, being carried away again by the to'rnarak. A'bla gave chase, but could not overtake them. Whatever the shape he would assume, whatever song he would sing, the to'rnarak [*tughneghaq*] was ahead of him, though quite near. At last he sang the song of the ceremonial of boats. Then the boy fell down.

¹ On the Asiatic shore.

A'bla [*Aavla*] came to him, and asked him, "What is your name?" The boy answered, "My name is A'bla [*Aavla*]."—"Oh, oh! And what is my own name?"—"Your name is A'pilo [*Apilu*]." Thus they exchanged names. Then the new A'pilo [*Apilu*] sent his own son to the boy's parents. They had shaved their hair, and were sitting in the sleeping-room, mourning. The shaman's son came, and said, "My father sends for you."—"Why? Did he kill a walrus on the shore?"—"I do not know. He sends for you."—"Perhaps he has found a stranded whale."—"I do not know. He bids you come." They went, and saw their lost boy. Then the father, full of joy, filled a large boat with skins and new clothes, with beads, and with everything they had brought for sale, and gave it to the shaman. He took one skin, one fur shirt, and one long bead necklace.¹ Everything else he gave back. Thus they lived.

Told by Acu'narak [*Asunaghaq*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, 1901.

1. Yupik Personal Songs¹

Original transcription, translations, and footnotes by Bogoras. Modern Yupik transcription inserted by Willis Walunga.

My stomach is yearning for my cousin. I would leave Cimcaï'va [*Simsaywa*] here; but I wish he would give me in his storehouse a drink of molasses mixed with hard bread-crumbs, a liquor not stupefying.

Ilu'ka ka'mna aliya'takuk ilura'mni. Milus-iwa'mkin C'imcaï'va u'na.
Interior this one is desiring to my cousin. I would leave him C'imcaï'va this.

W'oiw'o'wminun² ka ca'min tur-I'ma ka kobutnaia'xpīna korla'mi akomla'lirmi
In his storehouse with what indeed he would be pour for me with with mixed one
molasses

nakikra'rmi unirani'lñurmi.³
with hard bread with one not robbing force.

Sung by Qal'u'wak [*Qallevak?*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, May 1901.

(Modern Yupik Transcription): Iluka qaamna aligataquq ilughamnun. Milusuwamken Simsaywa una. Guyguminun qaa sameng tughimaa qaa kuuvunnayaghaghpenga qughlaameng aqimlelgmeng neqekragmeng uniighniilngughmeng.

2.

From whom shall I have tea to drink? I shall have it from the Northwesterner, from the Russia, my cousin. He will give me this brick-tea of good quality. My stomach will feel well. Drinking tea, I shall laugh.

¹ Each of these shamanistic songs is a song by itself. They are supposed to be sung by the to'narak [aide spirit, *tughneghaq*] of the female shaman who sang them, and to be addressed to her. So in several cases I had to translate *yuk* [*yuk*], *yu'k* [*yuuk*], *ta'ru* [*taru*], "human being," instead of "man."

² From the Chukchee *wui'wun* ("log-house").

³ This word, in the Asiatic villages, is contracted to *uni'lñurmi* [*unilngughmi*]. A few more words appear on the mainland of Asia in the contracted form, and on St. Lawrence Island in a fuller form.

Na'kin-mi kaiurnaia'xs-iña? Aiva'xtami, Rusi'xtami, ilu'arma kirpiciñani⁴

Wherefrom shall I drink (tea)? From that to the from the Russian, my cousin's with brick-tea his northwest,

pini'rimi. Ilu'ka pinio'ryuxtuk, kaiurnil'u'ña niñlaryu'xtuña.

with the good Interior felt-well, on my drinking I laughed.
one. my

Sung by Nipe'wgi [*Nepawyl*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, a native of Uñi'sak [Ungaziq], on St. Lawrence Island, May 1901.

(Modern Yupik Transcription): Nakenmi qayughnayaghasinga, aywaaghtameng Ruuseghmiitameng ilughaghma kirpis-enganeng pinilghiiheng. Iluka pinighyuuqtug qayughnilunga nenglaghyugtunga.

3.

I found here for myself a woman. She walks much in an overcoat of calico. She is a ruddy one, she is a pretty one.

Xwa'ni na'l'kutuña arnami, il'xlaxi kiypara'lik, kabi'lñurni pinilri'mi.

Here I found (for myself) with a woman, walking (much) having an overcoat of calico, with a ruddy one with a pretty one.

Sung by Nipe'wgi [*Nepawyl*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, May 1901.

(Modern Yupik Transcription): Whani naalkutunga aghnameng piyugllalghii qiipaghalek kaviinguugneng pinilghiiheng.

⁴ This song was not composed for my own benefit. It originated a year before my arrival, when the missionary of St. Lawrence, an American, bought a few pieces of brick-tea of Japanese make from the Russian steamer *Progress*. The Japanese brick-tea is inferior in quality to that made in China and brought by the Russian traders by land from the west.

4.

I will go and look for game. I shall also throw at the birds my throwing-balls.

Ná'ni xwa'ña is-xapirl'a'ña, kawa'rmiñ i'ma milurmil'a'ña, xwa'ña

Where I shall look at it for at the birds also I shall throw, I
myself.

milurmil'a'ña añaia!

shall throw, ah!

Sung by Ka'ti [*Qali?*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, May 1901.

(Modern Yupik Transcription): Nani whanga esghapaglanga qawaagmeng ama milughmiglanga, whanga milughmiglanga anga iya.

5.

I wounded a seal which is always escaping. I could not find it. With what shall I stab it?
With my small whip.

Naxcalirlu'ña kimaryuwuma'miñ, ib'aril'uña axturyu'wumaka. Ca'mi unri'rlaña,

On my procuring with one always running on my seeing I have not been able With what shall I stab,
a seal for myself off, (to find) it.

kakcawuxa'rmi unri'rlana.

with a whip small I shall stab.

Sung by Ci'mpak [*Simpaq*], an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, May 1901.

(Modern Yupik Transcription): Neghsalighlunga qimagyugumameng ivaghilunga aghugh yugumaaqa. Sameng uunghihlanga kagsawughhaghmeng uunghihlanga.

6a.

I am singing here at the trading-dance. O young man! This one makes me perform the trading-dance in the outer tent. Let him himself also dance.

Xwa'ña aturnaya'xtuña ma'ni marla'rni. Nuka'lpiyai, marlariyarli'ña ca'mani.
 I sang one time here at the trading- O young man! he makes me perform there (in the
 dance. the trading-dance outer tent).

I'ma aro'la'I u'na.
 Also let him this
 move around one.

Whanga atughnayaghtunga maani maghlagni. Nukalpigayu maghlagiyaghlanga samani
 ama aghulali una.

6b.

What shall I ask for? I will ask for a walrus-hide, for a new one, for a large one without
 patches.

Ca'mi tuñxc'i'rlaña? Ti'npixarni i'ma, nutara'rni i'ma, l'kukarnilñu'wni añilri'rni.
 About shall I ask? About walrus- there, about a fresh there, about one without about a
 what hide one patches large one.

6 (a, b) Sung by Ku'puña [*Kuupunga*], an Asiatic Eskimo woman, on St. Lawrence Island,
 May 1901.

(Modern Yupik Transcription): Sameng tungsighlanga tanpegghagmeng ima
 nutaghameng ima ukimallghilnguugneng aangelghiiugneng

7. Shaman's Song.

When shall I sing this song? It is good to be listened to. Oh, let all those sitting in the outer
 house around give something to that to'rnarak [*tughmeghaq*]! Let them throw their presents,
 and let them stay at his own place! Oh, you there, women! shout with me! shall I sing it?
 You will be given joy by that one in the sea. You shall laugh. Now it is finished.

Qa'kun naras-u'wnak apal'ixtukuna'ks-iu? Cibukamyu'ña.⁵ I'mna tu'nli'thu
 When one well to be shall I tell it? I am a man of That let them give
 listened St. Lawrence yonder to him

⁵ Cibu'kak [*Sivuqaq*] is the name of a village on St. Lawrence Island, the larger one of the two. The island
 takes its name from it.

tama'xarmi ti's-ka'rum, milu'rlit-hu, akomra'l'i ni'mini. Ima'ni, arna'ni,
 by all those being let them throw let him sit in his place O you, O women!
 outside, it to him, those there!

ara'xtiña! Apal'ixtukuna'ks-iu. Kuwaiukaxlaku's-i kana'kin-ka, niñlaryu-
 shout with me! Shall I tell it? You will rejoice from that one you
 below [in the
 sea],

kaxlaku's-i ima'ni. Na'ñiuk.
 will laugh there Finished.

Sung by Acu'narak [*Asunaghaq*],⁶ an Asiatic Eskimo man, on St. Lawrence Island, May 1901.

(Modern Yupik Transcription): Qakun nagasugnaq apallightuqunaqsiqu.
 Sivuqaghmiinguunga. Iimna tuunlitgu tamaghghagmi tesqagum milughlitgu aqumgali
 nemini. Imani aghnani araghtengnga apallightuqunaqsigu quyayukaghllequsi kanaken-
 qaa nenglaghyukaghllequsi imani. Naanguq.

⁶ Acu'narak [*Asunaghaq*] was a shaman, and also a descendent of a family of shamans. His great-grandfather, also Acu'narak [*Asunaghaq*] by name, had much fame. Even now tales exist about the deeds he achieved. His grandson also showed me a few tricks, some of which I have described elsewhere (Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, volume VII of this series, p. 448).

Stories of the Eskimo on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska (1900)

By William Furman Doty

William F. Doty was the second American teacher and missionary placed by Sheldon Jackson in charge of the newly established governmental school on St. Lawrence Island in 1898. Overall, Doty had spent about fourteen months on the island. His main recorded legacy was his annual diary ("log book") that was published in Sheldon Jackson's *Ninth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska* in 1900 (see Part Four). Beyond his annual diary, Doty also produced a forty-page-long general description of the people of St. Lawrence Island that was printed in the same volume of the *Ninth Annual Report* (pages 186–223). Doty's ethnographic sketch remained by far the most detailed scientific description of the Yupik people of St. Lawrence Island for years to come. It also included texts of a few folklore and historical stories overheard and written down by Doty on the island. These were the first narratives of St. Lawrence Island people published in English as samples of the local Yupik tradition.

Chief Assoone's [*Asunaghaq*] Historical Sketch

The first captain who brought a ship to this place [that is, Gambell] was Captain Salmon, who came about forty years ago or earlier. He traded for whalebone which he saw rotting on the ground. The people had no use for the bone except the small slabs which they used in making fishing line and thread, and they threw the big slabs away. After observing that Captain Salmon was willing to trade for this bone, the people saved it. The second captain was named Moore, and came when Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] was too young to notice the event. Guns have been used here about fifteen years. Strong bows and arrows were effective against enemies and their game. An arrow could be sent clear through the body of a bear if no bone was struck. Whales and walruses abounded. There were more people at this place formerly than now. Even long ago, houses were built above ground in the summer, but in winter the underground houses were used. However, Assoone's [*Asunaghaq*] father built a very large overground house for the use of his friends and family during the entire year. This house was as large as the school building.

The famine which destroyed nearly all of the inhabitants of the island occurred about nineteen or twenty years ago. The villages have never since then been repopulated. The dead were not buried, but left to decompose where they fell, as the other people were too

feeble to give them burial. Sometimes a canoe party would be blown by a gale to Indian Point [*Ungaziq*], Siberia, and be put to death.

Shoolook's [*Suluk*] Legend

The Massinga [*Masingka*] men, according to Shoolook [*Suluk*], have believed in one supreme god. Myerapuk [*Mayeraaghpak*], the Massinga Moses, was a very big giant who used to walk in the Bering Sea, sinking only waist deep, so tall was he. He was the friend of god and interpreter or prophet to the Massinga people. He visited all places and all people. The Indian Point and other Eskimos, Nakoorooks* [?], hold the same tradition. The soil of St. Lawrence Island and elsewhere was soft, but this man with his knife cut off large blocks from the soft mountain and made them stepping stones, rendering them firm. There are many of these stones near the sea along the lower sides of the mountain. He made seats also in the side of the mountain where he could rest, making them firm. The snow now remains in them, but in summer time they can be seen. He was a friend and teacher of the "First people" and thus aided many of the Eskimos here and elsewhere. Myerapuk [*Mayeraaghpak*] in the spring used to walk in the sea near the shore and catch a whale in one hand and put it in his "atkok" [*atkuk*]—his fur blouse—making it fast, as in an apron, by means of ropes. Sometimes he would catch walruses and big seals and other fish in the same way. In the fall he would eat one whale and then lie down to sleep for the whole winter and would not awake until spring. Often he caught bears (white and brown), foxes, and other animals and ate them. He was very generous to his friends, the Massinga men, and other Eskimos, and often would throw whales, walruses, and other creatures on the shore for them to eat. He had a stentorian voice and the people would feel afraid when he talked. When he awoke from his sleep he would talk a little, and all people could hear him and know that he was awake. When Myerapuk [*Mayeraaghpak*] would see a man paddling a kayak [*qayaq*] he would often give him food.

* *Nakuruq*, meaning "good" in Inupiaq (Christopher Koonooka's note).

Friends of Myerapuk [*Mayeraaghpak*]

Yupagh'aghat [*Yugpagaghaat*], who were dwarfs "half arm" high, who had also very big voices, were very strong, could lift a walrus, one little man taking the tail end and one other dwarf taking the head. They could lift a big walrus like the present species between two of them; but a very small whale about 4 feet long was so very heavy that they could not lift it and had to fasten ropes about it and very slowly pull it to shore. The present Massinga men occasionally find one of these small whales (probably a porpoise) and can lift it between two of them, but cannot, of course, lift a big whale.

Once when the little men were trying to lift one of the small heavy whales, God, said. "Do not try to lift it; it is too heavy; fasten a rope to it and so pull it to the shore." The little men had small houses. The dwarfs lived south. They may have been Japanese, Aleuts, or Indians.

Two dwarfs from the south were blown by a gale to the Massinga [*Masingka, Yupik*] village. The Massinga men said quietly to one another that they would kill them, thinking that it would be easy and that they were not overheard. The Massinga people crowded into the house which sheltered the dwarfs, and attacked them, but the latter were strong like gods and broke in the chest bones of their assailants and crushed their skulls. Then the dwarfs escaped, going south on pieces of ice.

First People

The chief was bad. If he caught a whale he would allow the meat or flukes to rot in the blubber room and give rotten food to the people, keeping the good food for himself and a few friends. He helped only a few people. God did not like this.

His son tried in the winter to strike with a harpoon a big seal which was on the ice near the shore, but missed his aim. The seal would go down and reappear further off. He tried desperately to strike big seals, but always failed. Then the floe ice went off, young ice formed, and big seals disappeared. The young man got on a cake of young ice and the waves tossed him to and fro and made him very sick, so that he took out his knife and was about to kill himself when he heard a voice saying: "Where are you going?" "I am going

down,” he said. God bade him go to his house, saying that his place was a good place. The young man could not see any person and marveled whence the voice proceeded. After some more tossing, he again took out his knife. God spoke to him again: “Your father, the chief, is a very bad man. I give him whales and he allows the meat to become rotten. I do not like him, but I will take you to heaven.” The young man then killed himself.

By and by god put the young man in a box so small that he had to double up, and said to him: “Your father makes the food rotten that I give to him and the people suffer. I do not like this and shall make you suffer.” So he gave him a small piece of food—about the size of a lump of sugar—and a little water and locked the lid of the box. He made the young man suffer hunger and thirst on account of his father’s ill doing, but did not allow him to die a second death.

The father could not sleep, worrying over the disappearance of his son, when all efforts of the people and himself proved unavailing to find him. A little girl whose father, mother, and grandparents were dead was a “woman doctor.” She sang to the chief that the young man had been taken by god and was now in a box. Then god allowed the chief to walk up a path (like a ladder) to heaven and told him to look at his son in the box. Then the son said: “Father, I am nearly dead from hunger.” God told the chief: “I am angry with you for making the food which I give you rotten, and I shall make your son rotten.” The chief asked god what he would receive from him to make good the wrong. But God said that he would not take anything that belonged to the chief, but that he would not lessen his anger, and would make his son rotten. Then the chief went down from heaven to his house. Again after a time the chief went to heaven and asked if god would accept a fine young dog. God said he would, and he let the son out of the box and washed him. Then the two went home. The chief was good after that, being warned to make food rotten no more.

Depopulation of Several Villages

Formerly there were large villages at South East Cape and North East Cape, numbering together possibly 300 people, while there were smaller ones, numbering in all 150 inhabitants, at Cape Kuhuliak [*Kukulek*], Cape Sieperno, and a promontory east of this latter one. Simultaneously, or nearly so, these several villages were depopulated. From a reputable native at Gambell [*Suluk??*] I learned that about the same time when these villages were depopulated the village at Gambell lost half of its numbers, while the death rate at

South West Cape was yet larger and that there was great loss of life at Indian Point and generally along the Siberian coast. Starvation resulted by reason of a succession of fierce blizzards, which prevented hunting, and, furthermore, from an unusual scarcity of seals and walruses.

An old woman who now resides at Gambell, having left one of those villages on the north shore during the fall preceding the fatality, or the previous one, asserts that the people of her village flayed a walrus alive and threw the suffering creature back again into the sea, in the hope that they would secure it in due time after it had gained a new skin.

The Old Stories of the *Meregetemiiit* People

Notes from Paul Silook (*Siluk*), St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, 1931–32

These stories were excerpted from the Otto W. Geist Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Folder: "Paul Silook Notes, 1931–32," No. 44, Box 9." It is unclear whether this was original Paul Siluk's text or one written up by Geist.

"[...] Following is a story told by Ungilik [*Ungalaq*], an old person who is a grandchild of the Mirruktu [*Meregetemiiit*] people and the oldest living descendent of these people."

Notangi [*Nutangi*]

Once there was a man whose wife's name was Notangi [*Nutangi*]. It came to pass that she became sick. She was ill for several days and steadily got worse until at last she died. The husband did not bury the body but kept it in his house for days. The body began to have odor and swelled for it filled with air.

One morning the man told his people in the house that the woman was no longer of the family and asked them to help in the funeral. They held a ceremony and had a funeral procession. They buried the body at a certain place above the village.

The man visited the body every day for he was greatly grieved at the death of his wife. And every day the birds began to break more holes in the body.

One day when he went to the grave the body was not there. He searched for it everywhere; he went to every rock and small cliff about the place but no body was to be found. There was nothing to be seen but the tracks of fox at the place where the body had lain. At last he decided to follow the trail the foxes had traveled. He walked all night until he came to the foot of a mountain that lay between Sevookuk [*Sivuqaq*] village and Poowoonveluk [*Pugughileq*] village, the mountain called Poovokhpuk [*Puvughpak*], where he climbed to the top.

As he came clear to the top he saw a ningloo [*nenglu*] whose ventilator was open. He peeked in and saw a lamp sitting in the center as though someone was having a ceremony. He saw a large dish, which was filled with foam.

Some moments later he saw a man appear with a drum in his hand who beat it and began to sing. The words of the song were as follows: *Notangee nge—san nitmoong—aghoolarowak—kan aengenge notoon hloo ngok—kana—nakit took—kana* [*Nutangii-ngi sanitmeng agbulagugaaq kaana ngii ngi natenlluunguq kaana maketuq kaana*]. Finally a head appeared from the dish of foam and began to rise but it fell back again.

Then the man said that some of the parts were missing. He asked someone to go after it. Finally two white foxes came out and went down the trail the man had just come from. In a moment they came back and entered the ningloo [*nenglu*]. One of them dropped a bone of the little finger from her mouth and the other bone of a big toe. The man again sang the same song and at last the same head appeared from the dish and arose.

The watching man recognized his wife as she reappeared in the sleeping room. Then he let the wind in through the hole and the lamp got in disorder. The man who had sung told the boys to go out and put the shade of the hole to one side for he thought the wind had changed its direction.

The man went down from the roof of the house and waited. The two boys met him near the entrance. He told them to tell the man to let him have his wife. He told them he would give them a sword, a dog and some other things to pay them. The two boys went in and told the man what the husband of the woman had promised. And so the man of the house let the woman go out to her husband. Then the man took his wife home.

When he arrived home, he made a tiny wooden sword, a toy dog and took them with some small pieces of meat to the place where no people had been. He said that he brought the things he had promised and left them there. The next day he went to the same spot and found the things were not there for the spirit of the people he had seen had taken them. In this way he brought his wife back to life again.

Old Stories and Beliefs

Belief of being unkind to the old person. It is not right to treat the old person unkind for they would cause harm. The first old person treated unkindly.

Beyond Mirruktu [*Meregta*] lived an old man with his wife who had no children. Among the people there was a young man who was a good whaler. Every spring he killed a whale and divided the meat equally with his people. The old man was also treated kindly.

It happened that he had killed a whale again. When the hunters came ashore, the old man came as usual and began to cut pieces from the meat as he had always done before. But the young man told him to stop cutting for he wished to share his meat with his crew. The old man did not pay any attention to him. The young man continued trying to stop him. At last he got angry and so the old man went home without any meat.

When he arrived home he made a small image of a whale and a small toy boat. He went to a small pond where the boys usually played. He put up as many toy houses as there were at the village and played there. He put the wooden whale into the pond and let the small canoe strike it. The canoe he called the young man's.

Then he went back home without going to his house, he went to the beach and threw the toy whale and the toy boat, telling them to do as they wished to do. Then he went home to his small topek [*tupeq*]. When he arrived he told his wife to have the house open that they might watch toward the sea.

In a few moments they saw a whale coming from the east, following the shore and when it came in front of the village it stayed at the same place and blew. The men of the village went after it and finally the good whaler struck it. Then the whale pulled the lines toward the northeast, leaving the land, but the canoes pursued it. When they were on the horizon they killed it and began to tow it.

While they were towing it, the wind arose from the west. Some of the boats unloosed themselves from the whale and went home. But the good whaler held on. At last the wind blew harder and the last canoe, which was the good whaler's, let loose and paddled for

shore. But it was too late. It was very rough and they could not go against the wind. The waves upset the boat and they were drowned. When they had all died the wind calmed down.

For this reason the Eskimos never treat an old person unkindly. They believe some can do more stronger [things] than the other.

The two stories preceding belong to the Mirruktu [*Meregtemiit*] people, one of the tribes [clans] at Gambell.

St. Lawrence Island Eskimos Lost on the Pack Ice

Excerpts from the Notebook of Otto W. Geist, Bunnell-Geist Bering Sea Expedition, 1927–29 (Otto W. Geist Collection, Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Folder entitled, “St. Lawrence Island Eskimos on the Pack Ice,” No. 142, Box 5).

“[...] Some years ago Timkaroo’s [*Temkeruu*] father became lost on the pack ice, on which he drifted to Siberia. It was fortunate that he landed at Cape Navarin, Siberia, distant approximately 290 miles from St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*], who is living at the present time (1929) on St. Lawrence Island, was at the time of his father’s experience a very small boy aged about two years. In all there were six men who drifted out on the ice together. During the long drift two of the men unfortunately fell ill with diarrhea. None had rifles, but the hunters were still in the possession of their harpoons (walrus) and spears. With these hunting weapons the men were able to kill on the floating ice two walruses. The men were drifting on the ice for approximately three months. Drinking water could be obtained only from the snow on the ice. The snow was put into the neck part of a walrus stomach, which then was tied up. The snow was melted by being carried in the walrus stomach on the bodies of the men. It was usually held against a man’s stomach, as this method is said to melt the snow or ice very quickly. The two men who were afflicted with diarrhea could bear it no longer, and killed themselves by sticking their knives into their hearts. This, however, was done when they found that they could no longer get around. The survivors buried the bodies on the ice.

All this happened when the first ice arrived at St. Lawrence Island sometime in November, and while the men were drifting on the ice floes with the strong south current south of the village of Gambell. While hunting off the island, the hunters had already killed several walruses when the south current broke up the ice around the island, leaving the men helpless on a large floe to drift with the south current without a chance to reach shore. After drifting for several weeks they finally sighted the mountains and hills of Cape Navarin. The pack ice lodged against the shore enabled the men to go towards the land. While doing so they reached more solid ice cakes on which were found traces and tracks of men (Siberian Eskimo hunters?). These tracks were followed up, and eventually the men came within close range of two men who had rifles in their possession. One of the Islanders, who had sometime previous been with the Siberian Chukchi, addressed the two men with the rifles from a respectable distance by crying “Ivokiamet!” [*Ayveghyagmiit*], which is

the name by which the St. Lawrence Island people are known to the Chukchi folk of Siberia.

The two Siberians, who had been on a hunt, proved to be quite friendly, and offered the St. Lawrence Island hunters seal oil which was carried in the sheath of the penis of a male walrus. The Chukchi eat snow, which they have saturated with the oil. The St. Lawrence Islanders, not being used to such food, did not relish the snow and oil. They preferred to wait until the Siberians led them to their village, where more appetizing food could be obtained. Dried fish, however, was all that the Chukchi had to offer them. After arriving at the village, the St. Lawrence Islanders had a worship of thanks. This ceremony was performed by rolling around in the village dump pile, on which all sorts of trash, including urine, was dumped. The Chukchi were very kind to them, and presented them with heavy skins for clothing, and ready-made clothing, as well.

During the first year after their rescue, the lost men, not knowing exactly where they were, began to travel northward by boat and over land, in the hope that they might reach a point from which they might return to their island. Some of the Siberian people during the next spring went to St. Lawrence Island for a visit, and informed the Islanders that they had heard that some people had drifted away on the ice and had landed somewhere away south of Indian Point. The Siberians mentioned, also, that these men who came on the ice had been seen somewhere near Anadyr, Siberia. During the next year, the lost Islanders traveled as far as Indian Point [*Ungaziq*], but unfortunately did not arrive at the place before the Indian Point Eskimos had departed for another visit to St. Lawrence Island.

The St. Lawrence Island Eskimos who had drifted away felt quite fortunate, indeed, at not being killed at first sight by the Siberian hunters; for, in the olden days, according to the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos, every man and party who had drifted away from points to the northwest of St. Lawrence Island, may they have been people from the Alaskan mainland, Sledge Island, the Diomed Islands, or even the Siberian mainland, without exception were annihilated on short notice, usually even before the poor people who had drifted away were able to set foot on St. Lawrence Island. Thus, we have the story of the St. Lawrence Islanders living at S.E. Cape (Kialegak, *Kiyalighaq*) who had killed at one time forty people who had unfortunately drifted away from their homes in Wailing [*Uuleq*, Uelen], Siberia. It is said, however, that the forty Siberian hunters had attacked and tried

to kill the people of Kialegak [*Kiyalighaq*], but the final outcome resulted in the killing of all the Siberians.

The lost men eventually returned to St. Lawrence Island by way of boat from Indian Point or thereabouts and joined their families.

NOTE (by Otto Geist):

The foregoing information was obtained by me directly from the St. Lawrence Island Eskimo, Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*], the person mentioned in the article as being the son of one of the men who drifted away. The translation was accomplished with the aid of Jimmie Otiyohak [*Ataayaghhaq*] as interpreter.

Eskimo "Tribes" in Gambell

From: Paul Silook (*Siluk*) "Life Story," July 13, 1940

These entries are obviously excerpts from a transcript of an interview attached to Paul Silook's "Life Story" deposited in the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection at the Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, Box 3, Folders 67 and 68 (see also Part Two). Interviewer's questions are given in parentheses; modern spellings of Yupik personal names and clan names are in brackets.

"... The native people [of Gambell] are divided into tribes [clans]. One tribe is Carl's family [of Carl Iyakitan, *Uwaliq*]. Chauncey [*Maligutkaq*], Eddie [*Ughbqaghmiit*], Jimmy [*Ataayaghaq*], Ernest [*Ayuwighsaan*], Lawrence [*Qilleghquun*], and I are another tribe. (All one tribe together?) Yes, all one tribe. Then Warren [*Kuzaata*] and Norman [*Nanghila*] are one tribe. Andrew [*Uzivusiq*], Moses [*Sunaaghruk*], and Wamkon [*Waamquun*] are another tribe. Samuel [*Jirgu*] and James [*Anengayuu*] are another, and Lester's [*Napagbutaq*] family another. And I learned that only Carl's people [of Carl Iyakitan, that is, *Uwaaliit*] are the people of Sevuokuk [*Sivuqaq*], Gambell; all the rest of them are descended from other places. But in some way my own family, really my father and his father, are related to the Kukulik [*Kukulek*] people. My grandmother was from Kukulik [*Kukulek*]; my father's grandmother was from Kukulik people, and his grandfather was from Siberia, I think from Indian Point [*Ungaziq*]. But my family is really called Kukulik [*Kukulek*] people.

(Give me the Eskimo name for each tribe and the names of all the people in it):

1. Oowa-leit [*Uwaaliit*]. Carl's tribe [of Carl Iyakitan, *Uwaliq*]; Aiyakitan [*Ayakitaan*], Carl's father; Henry Massaiu [*Nayegregbaq*]; Daniel Oezuk [*Uuzak*], Carl's brother; Kayrooga [*Kiruka*], Warren's uncle's wife; Yagoe [*Yaagbu*], her sister; these women are Aiyakitan's sisters. Most of them (Not these mentioned) have died. My father's mother [*Ateka* ?] came from that tribe; she died.
2. Aima-ramkit [*Aymaramket*]. Paul Silook's father [*Uwetelen*] and brother [*Apangalug*] and children; my whole family [*Siluk*], my wife is one of my tribe. (Because she married you?) No, she was anyway, her father. Jimmy [*Ataayagbhaq*], all his brothers [*Pusaa*, *Kunuka*, *Aghnilu*, and *Tatuwi*] and their children; Chauncey [*Maligutkaq*] and his brothers [*Apaata*, *Pelaasi*, and *Yagbaq*]; Lawrence [*Qilleghquun*] and his fam-

ily; Dick Ungott [*Angqatenganwan*] and his son and children; Jack Kolo [*Aantaghmiit*], Andrew's wife [*Singlenga*, wife of *Uzivusiq*], and Wamkon's [*Nuugigalnguq*] wife.

3. Amixdoyut [*Amigtuughet*]. Warren [*Kuzaata*] and his uncle (Old men with shaven poll who lives with him), Yavaset [*Yaavgaghsiq*]. Nanreayla [*Nanghila*] belongs to that tribe; but this tribe has two names, but according to Nanreayla's [*Nanghila*] people their really name is 'Klo-re-lyut' [*Qelughileq; Qelughileghmiit*—another name is **Kangii** or **Kangighmiit**; note by Willis Walunga].
4. Po-wo.yelaymit [*Pugughileghmiit*]. Andrew [*Uzivusiq*], his children and nephews (Walter?—*Uusiiq*); Moses [*Sunaagbruk*], his brother [*Mangtaquli*] and son; Timkaroo [*Temekerruu*] and his brother; Wamkon [*Waamqun*], his brothers [*Uvi* and *Apetekii*] and children. (His sisters?) His sisters, too. George [*Aymergen*] and his sisters; Abraham [*Tapiisak*], his brother and sisters. That is all of that tribe.

(What tribe is Charles [*Elqwaaghqu*—Slwooko]?) I don't know Charles's tribe, perhaps he is the same as Wamkon [*Waamquun*]; he is from Southwest Cape. I don't know about Walunga [*Walanga*], too; he is from Siberia.

5. Meruxgamit [*Meregtemiit*]. Samuel [*Iirgu*], his brother [*Aywergen*] and children, and sister; James [*Anengayuu*] and his children. That is all of that tribe.
6. Naskayamit [*Nasqaghmiit*]. Lester [*Napaghbutaq*], his uncle [*Eghqaaghaq* ?] and uncle's brother [*Pulaagahun*]. (Where does Walter [*Uusiiq*] belong?) I mentioned Andrew's [*Uzivusiq*] nephew.

Fred [*Angi*], Sweeney [*Uuyghaq*], and Thomas [*Apasengaq*] are from Indian Point [*Ungaziq*]. I don't know their tribe. They came here not long ago.

(What do the names mean?)

1. (*Uwaaliit*) Means The-People-Living-at-the-Extreme-North-End. Since I can remember they have their house at the north end of the village.
2. (*Aymaramket*) I do not know the meaning of our tribe.

3. (*Amigtuughet*) Means Behind-Door-Shut-Always. Their ancestors were called by that name because they are very stingy. Whenever they kill walrus or any animal they shut their door always, so that their neighbors won't come to ask for the meat.
4. (*Pughileghmiit*) Means People-from-Southwest-Cape.
5. (*Meregtemiit*) People-from-Meruxta [*Meregta*], the other side of this mountain here [Gambell].
6. (*Nasqaghmiit*) They are from Nashuk [*Nasqaq*], just this side of the big lagoon on the other side of the mountain.

(How important are these tribal names?) They don't care much about it. But, on the other hand, each boat has a name, the same that has been inherited from their ancestors. Carl's boat is named Koyuyat [*Qureghaat*], or Oowaleit [*Uwaaliit*], sometimes one name and sometimes the other. Then Chauncey [*Maligutkaq*] and my boat is Kukulayamit [*Kukulegmiit*]. Dick's is Erununyelngoot [*Ighneghiilngut*], meaning 'No Internal Organs.' Then Ernest [*Ayuwighsaan*] and Jimmy's [*Ataayaghbaq*] is Aima-ramkit [*Aymaramket*]. Warren's [*Kuzaata*] is Amixdoyut [*Amigtuughet*]. Andrew, Moses and Wamkon have their tribal names, so have James and Samuel. (They all have boats with the same names?) Yes, Andrew [*Uzivusiq*], Moses [*Sunaagbruk*] and Wamkon [*Waamquun*] have the same name, and James [*Anengayuu*] and Samuel [*Jirgu*] have the same name. Charles has Vov ut [*Vuuvghet*], that means this walrus skin in our sleeping quarter floor. Then Lester's [*Napaghbutaq*] is named Axpo-wit [*Aghpuuget*], 'Puffed Up.' That is all the boats. (Doesn't Sweeney [*Uuyghaq*] have a boat?) He has a little boat, but no name. These names, we are still using them.

(Any division of crews along tribal lines?) No. (One from your tribe could work in Andrew's [*Uzivusiq*, that is *Pughileghmiit*] boat?) Yes. Several times I help in Andrew's boat. First, when Walter's [*Uusiiq*] father was living, I was one of the crew. While they are having their moon worship they never have people from another tribe come to feast with them. If one comes around, they let him step into the boat and eat there. Their idea is if a person from another tribe should come and eat with them,

they will have harm. So only people from their own tribes come to eat with them. So, Wamkon [*Waamquun*] and Moses [*Sunaagbruk*] and also Lester's [*Napaghutaq*] tribe and Carl's [*Ayakitaan*, that is *Uwaaliit*]. But in our tribe everybody is at liberty to come and eat with us.

Henry B. Collins. St. Lawrence Island 'Old Stories'

Excerpts from H. B. Collins' field notes of 1928–30
stored at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D.C.

The excerpts below have been selected from H. B. Collins' handwritten notes in several of his field notebooks of 1928–30. Some notes were written down by Paul Silook [*Siluk*], who was then working as Collins' field assistant, or were Collins' transcripts of stories narrated by *Siluk* during their stay in archaeological camp. Others were more like short summaries of ethnographic data that Collins was collecting on the island parallel to his excavations of old sites at Gambell and on the Punutuk [*Punguuk*] Islands. This selection of Collins' notes was prepared by Igor Krupnik and Lars Krutak; all Yupik spellings were checked by Willis Walunga and Christopher Koonooka.

Stories about the Famine of 1878

"1878 (or 77) was a year of bad winds from S and SE instead on the N wind which brings down the solid ice. The ice was broken up and was not possible to get out to hunt walrus either on foot or by boat. So none were killed and since the preceding summer and fall the game had been scarce (and) there was no food stored away. Consequently famine followed. This seems to have been followed by an epidemic of some sort for Gambell people going to Kukuliak [*Kukulek*]. [...] SW Cape [*Pugughileq*] found some meat caches altho(ugh) most of the people were dead."

(Collins Notebook A, 1930, Box 55, p. 100)

Stories about Old Villages

General Remarks

All the (old) villages have people always. It was told that Punutuk [*Punguuk*], Kukuliak [*Kukulek*], Kayaleghaq [*Kiyalighaq*], South West Cape [*Pugughileq*], Evgaq [*Ivgaq*] are almost as old as Gambell [*Sivuuqaq*]. The underground houses were last used in about after the famine. They stop(ped) using them because they think that it makes them look different to the spirit who causes the death (the plague).

[...] The surface houses used all the time because for several reasons: one reason is because the people are too lazy to dig(;) because they do not know how to build it. Because they can live in the surface house as well as the underground house.

[...] The last houses and village are abandoned because of the influenza. The people feared to live in them because they would happen the same way.

(Miscellaneous, Box 52, Silook Diaries/Notebook 1928—29, Pujuk Islands)

Sivuqaq—Gambell

(77) Two whale jaws standing close together near the outer narrow strip between the lake and sea a few hundred yards south from the village are said to be the remnants of a barricade needed by the Gambell people many years ago when attacked by the Siberians. The Siberians would usually land on the north shore and the Gambell people would seek protection behind the line of whale jaws and then await the attack. For an attack summer houses would be built on the south side of the stockade.

(Collins Notebook B, 1930, Box 55)

(27) See vug' e nuk [*Sivugnaq*], an old campsite about 1/2 mile beyond the end of the Gambell Cape (Pe lug'e nuk) [*Pelegnaq?*] formerly used as summer camp previously for bird hunting cormorants, sea gulls, auklets, guillemots, puffins. One or two houses; (saw only one, but Paul [*Siluk*] thinks there may have been one or two more). Still used as summer camp.

(Collins Field Notes, 1930, Box 55)

Pugughileq—SW Cape

The place S.W. Cape [*Pugughileq*] was settled by only two men, one of the man named Kaka [*Qaaqa—see story in Sivugam Nangaghnegha, vol. 3, pp. 14–18*]. When these two men discovered first, there were only but Polar bear and it(s) water(s) was full of bowhead whale. When these first to make a settlement, they killed bears and burn(ed) their blubber and so these make the bear leave the place until now.

(Miscellaneous, Box 52, Silook Diaries/Notebook 1928—29, Pujuk Islands)

Punuk Islands [*Punguuk*]

One or more of the recent houses at Punuk [*Punguuk*] are said to have been built by some men who came from Kialegak [*Kiyalighaq*] to there, having made enemies of some of the Kialegak (*Kiyalighaq*) people. Jimmies (*Ataayaghbaq*) wife's (Isabel *Ukaamangan* of the *Kiwatangaghmiit* clan) grandfather was one of these.

(61) (Collins Notebook B, Box 55, 1930)

[...] The people of Punuk (*Punguuk*) do not live all the time on the island but they lived often at *Kangeksuk* (*Qangeghsaq*) and *Kayaleghak* (*Kiyalighaq*). They lived on the island only for walrus hunting. Sometime the last people would go to Indian Point (*Ungaziq* in Siberia) and live a year the(re). [A similar note elsewhere] Sometimes these people went to Indian Point and spent a year or two. So these last people's ancestors were descended from Siberia.

[...] The Gambell people always traded and visited with them, but *Kukuliak* (*Kukulek*) people did not trade with them (the Punuk people).

[...] The last people in the old village at Punuk (*Punguuk*) 50 years ago are known by the oldest man *Massiu* (*Masaayu* ?). He said that they are living when he was a boy, but can't remember very well. They (Punuk people—*Pungughmiit*) stays most of the time at *Apavwook* (*Apavgu*?). They go often to Punuk Island (*Punguuk*) only in very calm weather.

(Miscellaneous, Box 52, Silook Diaries/Notebook 1928—29, Punuk Islands)

[...] The ancestors of the last people of Punuk lived there always.

[...] It is not for certain. Not sure from some place a canoe load came up here and after their landing the wind arose for a long time, so they could not go back to their own land and stayed there always and multiply until right now.

(Collins' Diary, 1928—29, Punuk Island)

List of Old Villages and Recent Sites

1. 4 miles W of Sevunga (*Sivungaaq*) is an old village called Evuguk (*Ivgaq*).
2. About 11 miles W of Sevunga is Kongee (*Kangii*), small old village. 3 families live there now.
3. About 8 miles W of Kongee (*Kangii*) is a slightly larger old village Taphoq (*Tapghaaq*).
4. Between them and Gambell are three single *ningloos* (underground houses): Ningerhuk (*Nengiighbaq*), Neskuk (*Nasquq*), Pungokosek (*Penguqusiq*).
5. Kukuliak (*Kukulek*) about 3 miles from Sevunga.
6. About 3 or 4 miles E of Kukuliak (*Kukulek*) is a small old village Taphapaguk (*Tapghapagaq*). 4 or 5 houses between Taphapoguk (*Tapghapagaq*), Kongorsuk (*Qangeghsaq*) are from single ningloos, Iviqtuk (*Ayvigteq*), Unguviuk (*Unguwigaq*), Akolaka (*Akulakaq*), Tamnek (*Tamniq*).
7. Kongorsuk (*Qangeghsaq*) is about 5 miles W of N.E. Cape. 3 or 4 houses.
8. About one mile W of N.E. Cape is Sevuoka (*Sivu* or *Sivuqaa*), about 3 or 4 houses.
9. About half-way between N.E. Cape and E. Cape is one house, Apavuguk (*Apavgu*).
10. At East Cape is Kuluginu (*Kelugnaa*). This name, Kaluginu (*Kelugnaa*), is applied to the entire coast section from East Cape to Apavuguk (*Apavgu*) and means 'Mainland.' Must have been named by Punuk people for they lived there in summer to fish for salmon—Punuk (*Punguuk*) people living at Sevunga (*Sivungaaq*) are called Apavugukameet (*Apavughmiit*) and Kaluginukameet (*Kelugnaghmiit*), besides Pungomeet (*Pungughmiit*).
11. Large old village, Keeyaliguk (*Kiyalighaq*) at Cape Kialegak.
12. One house 2 ° miles S of Gambell, called Oenuk (*Uuyneq*).
13. About 7 miles S of this house there is a small village of 3 or 4 houses, Kavaluguk (*Qavalghak*).
14. 3 or 4 miles S of Kavaluguk is small village, Kitgneepaluk (*Ketngipalak*).
15. Another small settlement at Boxer Bay, just south east of West Cape, Ukngeek (*Ngusiik*), one house occupied. There are other perhaps between here and S.W. Cape but Paul (*Siluk*) does not know exactly of them.
16. S.W. Cape has the second largest settlement on the Island (next to Gambell). Puwoweluk (*Pugughileq*). 2 houses now occupied. Paul does not know of the S side of St. Lawrence.

(Probably copied 1/14/30) this follows from next page).

St. Lawrence Island Clans and Their Origin

1. Owahlat [*Uwaaliit*] or Koraquak [*Qureghaat*], the people who dwell at the north end of the village. Only 2 houses left [*Iyakitan* and *Masaayu*] and nine people, with the addition of five Indian Point, Siberia people [*Apasengaq's* family?] living with them. One of the Owahlat [*Uwaliit*] men has a whale boat, which bears the name of the group. One more house formerly. Owahlat [*Uwaaliit*] Paul [*Siluk*] thinks have always lived at Gambell.

2. Imaremkit [*Aymaramket=Sanighmelnguut*]. Nine houses. Six whaleboats. Over 100 people. Imaremkit, Paul [*Siluk*] thinks is a Chukchee word, because they have none like it. They come from Indian Point [*Ungaziq*], Siberia, and there they were the most numerous people.

[...] Jimmie Otiolak [*Ataayaghbaq*], a member of the Imaremkit [*Aymaramka*] tribe made a trip to Indian Point (*Ungaziq*), Siberia a week before the Northland arrived to get a certain kind of plant needed for his brother Buscha (*Pusaa*), for a ceremony in "whale worship" in commemoration of the whale he (*Pusaa*) had killed some weeks before. The Imaremkits claim to have come from Indian Point and whenever one of them kills a whale he must have for the ceremony that follows this particular plant used by his forefathers. The Imaremkit people say they are descended from a woman who lived at Kukuliak (*Kukulek*) but who was sold to a man at Indian Point. Her grandchildren then returned to St. Lawrence, living at Gambell (*Sevuokuk = Sivugaq*). These descendents are known by the above name and also as Kukuligamut (*Kukulegmiiit*) from the original ancestor.

3. Puwowlluqmeet (*Pugughileghmiit*). People from S.W. Cape (*Pugughileq*). Seven houses at Gambell, about 50 people. Only one house at S.W. Cape of this tribe, another house of Gambell people. (...) Name for S.W. Cape is Puwowelluk (*Pugughileq*), usual Eskimo arrangement.

[...] S.W. Cape people are supposed to come from Imtook (*Imtuk*), a short distance south of Indian Point (actually, near Sireniki = *Sighinek*). Language is the same as at Imtook (*Imtuk*), where some words are pronounced differently than at Indian Point.

4. Merooktameet (*Meregtemiit*). One house. They are from an old village 3 miles east of Gambell called Merookta (*Meregta*). James or Stephen's (*Anengayuu*) tribe. James (*Anengayuu*) boat called this. These (people are) also from Plover Bay (in Siberia).

5. Nangopagakameet (*Nangupagaghmiit*). 2 houses. Come from Nangopagak (*Nangupagaq*), $\frac{1}{4}$ mile S.E. of Merookta (*Meregta*). The people camp at Nan, in summer. No year round residents. [...] Tradition that these people came from Plover Bay (in Siberia).

6. Kinleghkutmeet (*Kenliqaghmiit*) or Amiqtowgut (*Amigtuughet*). One house (*Kuzaata* and his father *Yaavghisiq*—Christopher Konooka's note). Come from Kinleghkut (*Kenliqaq*), 20 miles E of Gambell. Kinleghkut is now washed away. The lagoon encroaching on it about 12 years ago.

7. Naskagomeet (*Nasqaghmiit*). 2 houses. From Naskoq (*Nasqaq*), about 14 miles E of Gambell. These people have their summer camp at the latter village. No people live there today.

8. Apovwokmeet (*Apavughmiit*) or Poongwokmeet (*Pungughmiit*). There are two brothers with their families called this, living at Sevunga (*Sivungaq*—evidently, those listed were George *Meghyuq* and Jackson *Unmeggaq*). They are descendents (grandchildren Paul says) of the last inhabitants of Punuk (*Punguuk*). They (the last inhabitants) lived part time at East Cape (Apoowok?, Apovwok?—*Apavgu?*) hence the dual designation.

9. Kiwahgomeet (*Qivaaghmiit*), some from west of Indian Point (*Qivaaq*). 3 homes (of) these at Sevunga (*Sivungaq*), 2 Tomlu (*Tamniq* ?).

(No Box Number?, 1930)

Selected Notes about Siberia

[...] Plover Bay people (*Egeghaghmiit*) talk a mixed Eskimo and Chukchee dialect, using words of both in an ordinary conversation. Among themselves they talk more Chukchee than Eskimo.

[...] East Head (Bald Head?) people (*Avatmiit*) talk Eskimo, but more like S.W. Cape

(*Pugughileq*) than Gambell. They do not use Chukchee except when talking to them.

[...] Plover Bay (*Egeghaq*) speech is closer to Gambell than (to) S.W. Cape (*Pugughileq*).

[...] Indian Point (*Ungazighmiit*) do(es) not use Chukchee. Their language is like (that in) Gambell.

[...] East Cape, Siberia, (language) understood by Paul (*Siluk*). Some words are a little shorter (cut off) than St. Lawrence Island

(Miscellaneous, copied 1/15/1930)

Stories about Ancient Wars in Siberia

(60) Paul (*Siluk*) says there are stories from Siberia Eskimo that speak of Tuningit (*Tannget*—strangers, enemies), a race of people who fought with the Eskimo. Says they come from the South of Indian Point (*Ungaziq*). There is a race of people who live in the far north who are practically invisible.

(Collins Notebook A, 1930, box 55)

(119) *Tuningit*, a race of people known of by the Eskimo. They are said to be a race of people who live in the far interior, related to the Chukchee. Speak Chukchee but different dialect. Live on fish, (on a river...?) and have reindeer. Have fine skins. Many are whiskered and are also called Le lu'ramkit (*Laluramket*). This word is from Chukchee. Lulut, "whiskers" and rumkit "tribe."

The *Tuningit* live far up the Anadyr. Are said to have fought the Chukchee in earlier times "persecuting" them, i.e. raiding and plundering them.

Tuningit is used by Coast Chukchee for "white people" more than *Lalurumkit* (*Laluramket*). Before coming of whites the Siberian Eskimo got from the *Tuningit* through the Chukchee large iron knives, lance blades, iron metal needle cases, needles, beads, deer-skins and parka (these were better than Chukchee) and other clothing, brass pails. (Collins Notebook B, 1930, Box 55)

Change *Tuningit* data as follows: means in Chukchee "those who come to fight."

Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes

[...] The wrist plate which (was) worn by a warrior. Ungiluk (*Ungalaq*) knows when they are using them. It is made by the owner and curved. Sometimes they used part of the polar bear's paw (the palm).

[...] The slat armor are made by the Gambell people and do not learn from any other place. The hoop armor are the same. Later on the slat armor of metal are bought from the Siberian people. Also can made themselves too.

[...] Pamiyook [*Pamayuk*, mother of Calvin *Iggak*] says, The oldest man ever lived in her childhood named Blassi [*Pelaasi*—evidently after whom Lincoln Blassi was named]. He told the decoration was done by the first people. It is not for any reason but for having pretty things. Each village had tried to have (the) best weapons and things.

(Box 52, Silook Diaries/Notebook 1928–29, Punuk Islands)

Poongok (*Punguuk*) people when naming a child go outside and call out its name. Spirit of dead person is said not to look after its namesake. If names are few, a child may be given the name of a locality, such as a certain rock, cape, etc.

Most name(s) mean something. Silook (*Siluk*) = wing feather; Soonogowk (*Sunaaghruk*) = mud; Teerwoeree (*Tiiwri*) = middle post of a house; Nukiyuk (*Neghyuk*) = wants to eat; Kunuhuk (*Kanuggaq*) = little blood; Emoghornce (*Imaghmii*) = people of the sea; Iyak'tan (*Ayakitaan*) = impenetrable; Nokna' whan (*Nuqneghun*) = to hold on; Kunu'ku (*Kunuka*) = to stick (with something sharp).

[...] The proper spelling of Ievoghiyoq (*Ayveghyak*) is Ivoghyaget (*Ayveghyaget*) and the meaning is a group of walrus or herd of walrus. They were called by this name because they are like a herd of walrus on the ice as we can see them from distance.

[...] Houses at Gambell have no sleeping platforms, but Paul (*Siluk*) has heard of these as having been in use in olden times. Gambell floors are of earth or whale bone. Wood too scarce.

[...] Women do not take part in whaling, but if the crew might be hard to recruit, a few are known to have gone and rowed.

(Collins Collection, Box 108, Folder St. Lawrence Island, n.d., misc. ethnological notes)

Vocabulary of Tribal Names

Eskimo name for their tribe = Upick (*Yupik*), singular, Upeegut (*Yupiget*), plural

Real men/man = Uuke [*Yuuk*]

Chukchee = Kweeglichkut [*Quyillget*]

Indians = Indiagameet [*Intiyaghmiiit*]

King Island = Ookeelagameet [*Ukivagmiiit*]

Diomedes Islanders = Engalikameet [*Ingalighmiiit*]

East Cape = Nuvogkahameet [*Nevuqagghmiiit*]

Indian Point = Ungazechmeet [*Ungazighmiiit*]

Plover Bay = Tasegameet [*Tasighmiiit*]

East Head, near Plover Bay = Avatmeet [*Avatmiiit*]

Koryak? = Karakut [*Karaaket*]

Asiatic? = Karumkeet [*Qaaramket*]

Alaska = Pagenuch [*Paagna?*]

Alaska Eskimos = Pahgomeet [*Paagkumiiit*]

Cape Prince of Wales = Kuguchmeet [*Kegegghmiiit*]

White man = Lalurumkit [*Laluramket*]

Notes Regarding the Famine and Epidemics on St. Lawrence Island During the Winter of 1879–80

This information was obtained by Otto W. Geist on St. Lawrence Island from the following people: Ikmallowa (*Iqmaluwa*), Ootillin (*Uwetelen*), Ungalla (*Ungalaq*), Booshu (*Pusaa*), Koonooku (*Kunuka*), Otiyohok (*Ataayaghhaq*) and Owowin (*Uwhaawen*), and several other women on March 29, 1929. Otto W. Geist Collection, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Box 3, Folder 68

“... There were two famines that the people know of, the first one was about four years before the second one, which was in 1879–80. The second was the worst. Kukulik (*Kukulek*) and Kialigak (Southeast Cape—*Kiyalighaq*) people came to Gambell for meat during the winter of the second famine. Some died on the way to Gambell for they were too weak to travel. Both of the above named places were very short of meat. Finally no more men came to Gambell for food; they were too ill or dead from hunger and disease. The disease was something like diarrhea. None of the people had been sick before, but then after the famine most of them died even after they have plenty of meat again. They were eating blubber, which is believed to have caused the diarrhea. As soon as they were revived they also died from diarrhea.

A group of white men from a boat [U.S.S. *Corwin*?] examined the graves during some of the research work for skulls [in 1881] with bullet holes in them. Dr. Nelson from the U.S. Cutter *Corwin* found the bodies. Some of the natives in trying to get meat drifted away on the ice and were lost.

In the spring before [that is, of the year 1879] food was also short. Many sea gulls were caught with gravel. The famine came in the fall. Gambell people went to the Southwest Cape (*Pugughileq*) for meat and got it. The Southwest Cape people during the fall got many seals in nets. Gambell people did not use nets, the reason for that being great breakers. However, the people on the other side of them to the east did use nets. This particular fall Gambell people tried to use seal nets but could get no seal, the reason was the strong current. Perhaps Kukulik (*Kukulek*) people came to Gambell in the fall for food. This made the people in Gambell short of meat. Now both Gambell and Kukulik people were

without meat, but the Southwest people [still] had plenty of meat. The families that were short of meat in Gambell went to the Southwest Cape to bring home food. No boats came in the fall but many boats came in the spring [of 1879]. *Corwin* with captain Healy, then the trading boat *Kamny* (or *Gamney*?) stopped on the island to trade with the natives and was all the summer before the famine. He traded food, ammunition and whiskey [underlined by O. Geist] for ivory and whalebone and all other boats also had whiskey. One captain whose name was Lyre Balen, but his real name was perhaps Roy Bailley and Captain Keeley also traded and sold whiskey.

When it began to snow in the fall there were real earthquakes on the Island. Kukulik (*Kukulek*) people could see the fire from the friction between the rocks and boulders on the beach. During this earthquake late at night, between eleven and twelve o'clock the clay hangings of the lamps swung to and fro. In Gambell there were no frame houses at that time; there were only igloos [*nenglus*—underground houses], Siberian or ground type on Saint Lawrence island. The walrus skins used for roofing were taken down and cut and used as food with water. Many winds and storms had set in and made it almost impossible for hunting; the winds were mostly from east, southeast and south. That winter of 1879–80 the ice arrived on the Island not before February 15th or at the same time of the worship of Ottiyohok' (*Ataayaghhaq*) tribe [the *Sanighmelnguut* = *Aymaramka* clan]. People were weak when the ice came, only the strongest could go to hunt. This was one time when the captain of the seal boat (skin *omiok* = *angyaq*) worshipped before the new moon or at their regular time for this offering, so that they could use the leftover food from the worship for their families.

Ikmalouua's (*Iqmaluwa*) and Iakatan's (*Ayakitaan*) families had the strongest boat crews, so these two boats hunted most of the time. After the boats could not be manned any longer, for there were no more strong men, the boats could get no more food, and the *oomiaks* did not go far for they were too weak.

The second starvation was after the ice came then there were no more Kukuliks [people from *Kukulek*] seen. They may have already perished before. However, it is known that while hunting on the ice five people were carried away to their doom. Three people dipped into the water for one had gotten a walrus and all wanted to help to get the walrus on the ice, which was too young. Three men froze to death, some others were saved. They were very weak to come with the meat. The bravest men are now gone; they had frozen to death off the shore near Gambell. The people could see the five men drift away on the ice but

could not help.

Most people died before the ice came and as the ice came they caught one walrus, cut it up, then tried to get the other one. Gradually food came until there was an abundance of it. By March and April [of 1880] the people had too much and died faster than before. In April there was plenty to eat and the survivors got well again. Crews were divided with [among?] *oomiaks*, but some boats lost all their crews. Ungalak's (*Ungalaq*) family after the famine used women and boys for crews. *Ungalaq* caught a whale and landed it on the west shore in the vicinity of the second point from Gambell. It was a large whale and in two days all the meat and skin was saved and gradually the survivors got well again.

Geist's Note: Large boats [trading vessels?] had already steam engines.

Some Southwest Cape (*Pugughileghmiit*) people spent the winter in Gambell. There was also a famine in the Southwest because so many people were getting meat at Gambell and some Southwest people died in Gambell.

That winter as soon as the snow fell, Okamangan (*Ukaamangan*), Otiyohok's (*Ataayaghaq*) grandfather came from Punuk (*Punguuk*) Island with a dog team [*Walanga's Note:* *Ukaamangan* is *Ataayaghaq's* wife name; so, this must be a different person. I believe *Ukaamangan* is from *Punguuk* and her grandfather came with the dog team]. He wanted to buy dogs? There was no famine at Punuk Island. He knew about the earthquake, but having gotten into the famine he was storm(?) bound. He could not go back because somebody had already killed and eaten his dogs (sleigh dogs). Siberian people stopped in Gambell, one at Ungalak's (*Ungalaq*) home named Soworak and one named Kofkok (*Qiifqun* ?); they had killed these two dogs and had eaten them. (Nine) Siberian families stopped for the winter in Gambell; they were of Ungalak's family [*Nangupagaghmiit*?]. Three of the Siberian families perished, also one Siberian died from drinking whiskey. However, not all dogs were killed, some were used for hunting. When some Siberian stole the dogs, one of them howled so loudly that he hung the dog up by neck and choked him to death.

Aningayo's (*Anengayuu*) wife grandfather had bought most of the whiskey. He drank some, but sold most of the whiskey to Kukulik (*Kukulek*) and Kialiagh (*Kiyalighaq*) people. Whiskey was sold in ten-gallon barrels, ten- and five-gallon containers; also in black glass bottles. Some of the bottles, however, had clear glass. Most if not all barrels

found in these surroundings had been used for meat and were picked up on the beach after they were discarded. Glass bottles of all colors painted with powder, cans and such things were purchased by Kukuliks (*Kukulegmiit*) and other village peoples for ornaments. They were thought very beautiful and ivory was paid for them. A rich man [in?] Kukulik had a wife for whom he bought lots of beads. This man also possessed a real brass armour. His name was Sechoahak (*Sigughwaaq?*) (This armor is [now] in the Museum in the Alaska College [UAF]). Appata's (*Apaata*) father at Kukulik went into the rich man's house. The family has already dismantled the *aagra*, their winter room. A tent frame was up ready for the cover, therefore it may be surmised that these people lived through the winter and died in the late spring. Boat sails of walrus stomachs were used as a curtain, behind it were the bodies of children. Also there were the bodies of the rich man's family. A small movable *aagra* was stretched in the other place, and the bodies of those who had endured throughout the famine were found there. They all looked as if they were asleep. The natives think it peculiar as it looked as if they had all died at the same time.

During 1929, Otto W. Geist went to the Southwest Cape to talk this matter over with the people of that particular place. Especially did he have a long talk with Ohktokoyuk (*Agbtruqaayak*), whose statement differed somewhat from statements obtained from all the men of Gambell. It all resembled the information of E.W. Nelson, as given in his report in the volume, "[The] Eskimos of [about] Bering Strait" (1898, page 269).

Ohktokoyuk's statements were that the people were always drunk and when the ice came they did not wish to hunt; they thought that there would be plenty of time to get their food later on. At Gambell after everything was said, I asked the following questions: "Did they have big times during their worship in the fall?" The answer was, "Yes." "Had Dr. Nelson or whoever the white man was who visited the island, and Eskimo interpreter and if so who was he?" Ikallowa (*Iqmaluwa*), Ungalla (*Ungalaq*) and Silook's father (*Uwetelen*) said "No". [...]

“Tribes” (Clans) of Eskimos on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska

Notes Collected for the Alaska College Museum by Otto W. Geist, 1928–29.

Otto Geist Collection, University of Alaska Fairbanks Archives,

Box 3; Folder 67

[Modern Yupik name spellings are introduced by Willis Walanga]

The Eskimo [*Yupik*] families on St. Lawrence Island who claim to be the descendants of [those] Eskimos who had lived on St. Lawrence Island proper as far as it is possible to figure back, including all the Eskimo traditions, are the following:

- Massiu (*Masaayu*)
- Iyakatan (*Ayakitaan*).

Both of above claim to come from Seevookok (*Sivuqaq*).

The family of Soolook (*Suluk*), Ozevoseuk (Andrew—*Uzivusiq*), Montokolu (Monte—*Mangtaquli*), Moses (*Sunaaghruk*), Alec (*Anangti*), John (*Tunghilnguq*) Timkaroo (*Temkeruu*), Adnanook (*Aatghilnguq*) claim to have come from Southwest Cape, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. Also Womkon (*Waamquun*), Lloyd (*Uvi*), Homer (*Apeteki*), Nungook (*Nunguk*), George (Aymergen—*Yaagmiqun*), Kapoonga (*Qipenga*), Walter (*Uusiq*), Stanley (*Aazuk* or *lluuyuk*), Bryan (*Nusukaq*).

Andrew's (*Uzivusiq*) sister is Angattinganwan's (*Anggatenganwan*) wife (*Anasuk*)—same father but different mother. Andrew's father had two wives, both had children. Kepoonga (*Qipenga*) and Rakok (*Raaquq*) are brothers of Angattinganwan's wife (*Anasuk*). Andrew had same father—Jackson's wife (*Paanga*) is his real sister. Eddie (*Ughqaghmi*) now marries Andrew's daughter (*Wayengi*).

The family of Iwoorigan (*Aywerge*) and Irrigoo (Samuel *Iirgu*), Oktokiyok (presently at Southwest Cape, *Aghtuqaayak*), Aningayou (*Anengayuu*) and Ungalok (*Ungalaq*) claim to have come from *Missagameet* (*Mesagmiit*) near Seevookok, northwest St. Lawrence Island. Also Tom (*Taayqa*), Clarence (*Miinglu*), Roy (*Uyaatiqaq*), Kestivik (*Kiistivik*—Stephen Aningayou). Ungalak (*Ungalaq*) is Tom's (*Taayqa*) brother.

Note: *Missagameet* (*Mesagmiit*) is the old village site just on the other side of the mountain and a little NW from Marruchtameet (*Meregta*). Aningayou's (*Anengayuu* James) mother and Echak's (Calvin *Iggak*) were sisters. The father of Echak is related to Booshu (*Pusaa*, second cousin), who descended from Indian Point (*Ungaziq*).

Eskimos who claim to come from Boolwoon's (*Pulaaghun*) camp [are]: Hokhkojhok (*Eghqaaghaq*), Boolwoon (*Pulaaghun*), and Nopowotok (Lester—*Napaghbutaq*).

Families who claim to descend from SW Cape [are]: Tangyan (*Taangyan*) and Kaningok (*Qanengug*). Logan (*Anaghayaag*) is from SW Cape; both his father and mother are from SW Cape. Albert (*Kalaawyi*) and Herbert (*Ggayeglluk*) belong to Indian Point Clan.

George (*Meghyuq*) and Isabelle Jackson (*Ukaamangan*) from St. Lawrence Island: their father was from Poongok (*Punguuk*) Island, mother from Gambell.

Families who claim to be old Siberian stock from Indian Point (*Ungaziq*):

Booshu—*Pusaa*

Otiyohok (Jimmy)—*Ataayagbhaq*

Koonooku—*Kunuka*

Aghnelo—*Aghnilu*

Tatoowiy—*Tatuwi*

Apaata—*Apaata*

Yoghok (Adam)—*Yaghaq*

Blassi (Lincoln)—*Pelaasi*

Chancy—*Maligutkaq*

Ungottinangowon (Dick)—*Anggatenganwan*

Wootillin (David)—*Uwetelen*

Silook—*Siluk*

Oscar—*Imaghmii*

John—*Apangaluq*

Ikmolowa—*Iqmaluwa*

Kelukhkton (Lawrence)—*Qilleghquun*

Booker—*Tuusaq*

(Toozok (Booker T. Washington—*Tuusaq*), the son of the present wife of Ikmalowa was a half-breed of a negroid character. Booker contracted tuberculosis during Geist's stay on St. Lawrence Island and passed away in the early spring either in January or February of the year 1930).

Some of the new arrivals from Siberia are the following families:

- Walanga (*Walanga*) and family with two wives from **Plover Bay**, Siberia
- Alghngekhtuk (*Alngiiwhtaq*) and Oyghok (Sweeney, *Uuyghaq*) from Indian Point

(*Ungaziq*). **Note:** Both of above families live together. Alghneghtook (*Alngiwhtaq*) is related to Booshu (*Pusaa*).

- Apasingok (Thomas—*Apasengaq*) from Indian Point, Siberia.

In **Sevoonga** (*Sivungaq*) one partly deaf man (*Qukasaghun*) now living at Savoonga, St. Lawrence Island, is also a late arrival from Siberia. *Imingan* (Smith) of Savoonga comes from Indian Point. His father was an Indian Point Eskimo although his mother's father who was from St. Lawrence Island was not known. (Perhaps one of the stolen ones from St. Lawrence Island).

Sepilla (*Sipela*)—from Neskok (*Nasqaq*), (also) Askarak's (*Eghqaaghaq???*) family. Seppila's wife (*Paayghi*) is Mantakuli's (*Mangtaquli*) real sister. Also his step-brother Toomblo (Alfred—*Tamlu*), and sons of Sepilla. Sepila's father had one wife—she is his real mother. Sepilla's father drowned. Tumbloo's father married Sepilla's mother; he had then two wives, each of them having children. [Before] Tumbloo's father had one wife, she is Tumbloo's (*Tamlu*) real mother.

Drummond (*Hugh Pangawyi*) of Sevoonga came from **Cape Ehring** [**Bering?**], Siberia at which place his father and mother resided.

The “Real People” of Gambell and Other Stories

Excerpts from Otto W. Geist’s field notes. Otto W. Geist Collection,
Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks.
Folder, “Paul Silook Diary, 1928,” No. 35, Box 8

(The text is obviously a transcript of *Siluk*’s story if not a record made by *Siluk* himself)

It is said that all the people of St. Lawrence Island were descended from different countries [areas], only two brothers and a woman which were the real people of Sevookuk [*Sivuqaq*]. It is told that they do not know their far back grandfathers were come from different place, but they are called Sevookaghmeet [*Sivuqaghmiit*]. Iyakatan [*Ayakitaan*], Massian [*Masaayu*] and their aunts are the real people of Sevookuk [*Sivuqaq*], also Ayooklik [*Ayuqliq*, wife of Peter *Waaghyi*] at Seevoonga [*Sivungaq*].

Poongook (Punuk Island)—October 13, 1928

The people of Poongook (*Punguuk*) are not known by any of the oldest person[s] at Gambell now. One says that when the people of Gambell were multiplied they scatter abroad and established at different places, perhaps at the places, which they think was best. It is said that one time the people of Poongook [*Punguuk*] and the people of Keyaleghak [*Kiyalighaq*] were enemies. Each never visit to each other. After some years later they became friends and can visit each other. Sometimes the people of Keyaleghak [*Kiyalighaq*] spent some of their time at Poongook [*Punguuk*] for walrus hunting.

The last people of Poongook [*Punguuk*] lived most of their time there for walrusing and trapping, but moved often to different camps, as to Kangehsuk [*Qangehsaq*], Keyaleghak [*Kiyalighaq*], and also to Apavgook [*Apavgu*], which is right at the main island west of Poongook [*Punguuk*].

The grand children of these last people are living now. The names are George Mokuyok [*Meghyuq*] and his children, Ananangu [*Ananaanga*], Notakhnakhak [*Nutaghregaq*, Margaret Mokiyuk], and Kawok [*Qawaaq*], his nephews, Pothanbak [*Petgenhhaq*, Howard Jackson], Soolugo [*Suuhgu*], Peluku [*Piilaka*, Timothy Jackson] and Alakahok

[*Alaakaghbaq*, Paul Jackson] and Immgun [*Imegyuun*, Elsie Kava]. They live at Sevoonga [*Sivungaq*]. Isabel Okwomangan [*Ukaamangan*, wife of Jimmy *Ataayaghbaq*] at Gambell.

Their Hunting Harpoon Heads

“The scratched harpoon heads were done by the first people of one village, not known which of them. But by one of the village, then when the other sees them they carved theirs little different, so as to show the beauty of theirs.

Neither of these harpoon heads can hold a walrus, because they are not strong enough to hold a walrus. Also the open socket harpoon heads are not strong.

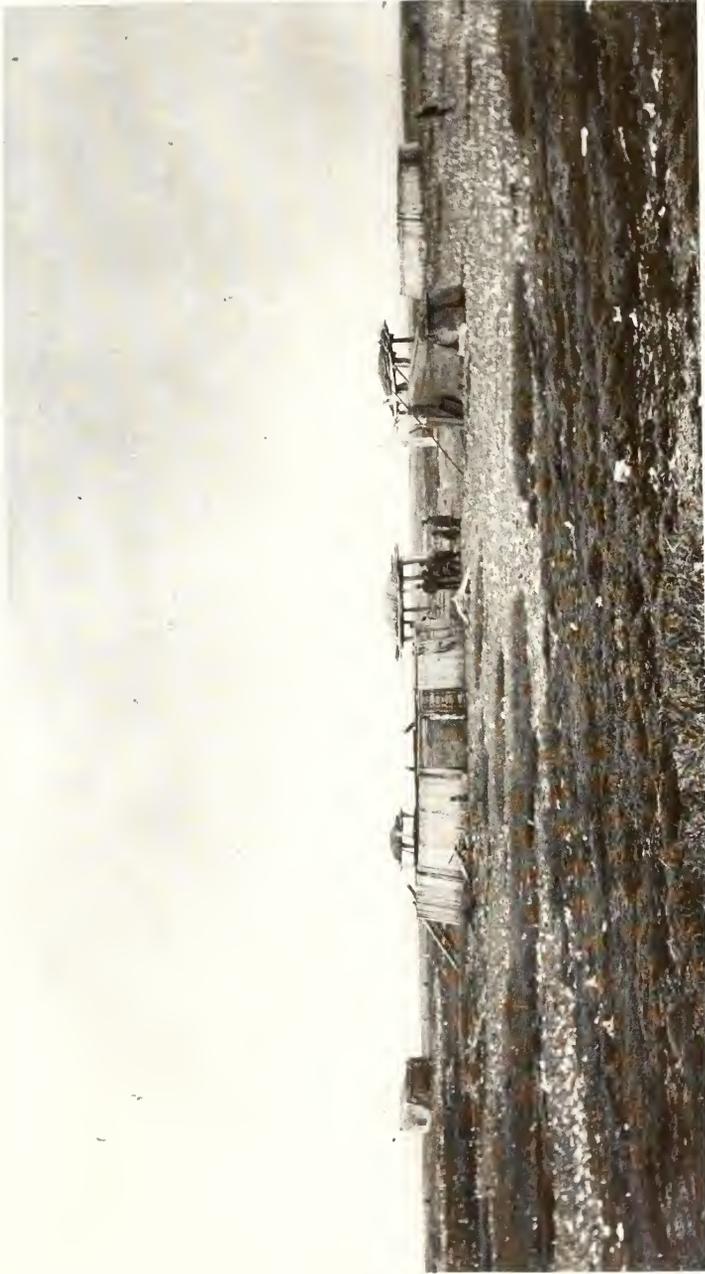
A story which accompany this is: Once there was an old woman and her niece who lived in a small ningloo (*nenglu*). At that time they do not know anything about walrus. So this old woman wish to have some kind of sea animal beside seals.

So one night she sing a regular worshipping song. She [sing] the song over and over again which finally at last her niece [heard] the grunt of walruses which can be heard on the north side of Gambell.

She sing until the walruses came on land and cross the Gambell point from north to west at the back of the village. Then she bade her niece to go around and tell all their [neighbors] to make the right size of harpoon head for walrus, so the neighbors made harpoon heads as large as we are using now. So after that they do not make small harpoon heads ever since.”



Yupik women from St. Lawrence Island, 1884.



The beach in Gambell, with summer tents, storage racks, and wooden house structures, 1889.



Summer home of Soonogarook (*Sunaaghruk*) in Gambell, 1912. Left to right: Oungtis (*Anangti*), Soonogarook (*Sunaaghruk*), Muntokoli (*Mangtaquli*), and Kooning (*Qanenguaq*).



Paul Silook and Henry B. Collins at Punuk (Punguuk) site, 1928.



St. Lawrence Island woman in front of her winter home of whale bones and split wood, 1889.



Gambell woman (*Paanga*, Helen Jackson?) with small boy on her shoulders, 1912.



"Shoo-lik, St. Lawrence Island"—*Suluk* on Board of the U.S.S. *Bear*, 1901

part four

How Other People Saw Us From The Outside

Introduction

Mikhail Teben'kov. St. Lawrence Island in 1830

Henry Elliott. People of Kialigak (1874)

Vene C. Gambell. The Schoolhouse Farthest West (1901)

Vene C. Gambell. Notes With Regard to St. Lawrence Island Eskimo (1898)

William F. Doty. Log Book, St. Lawrence Island (1898–99)

William F. Doty. Eskimo Festivals on St. Lawrence Island (Winter of 1899)

P. H. J. Lerrigo. Abstract of Daily Journal on St. Lawrence Island (1900–1901)

Edgar O. Campbell. Excerpts from St. Lawrence Island Diaries (1903–1905)

St. Lawrence Island Birth and Death Records, 1901–1911 (by E. O. Campbell)

Riley D. Moore. Social Life of the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island (1923)

Riley D. Moore. Eskimo Festivals on St. Lawrence Island (1912)

Riley D. Moore. Eskimo Measurements of Implements (1928)

Historical Photographs and Illustrations

INTRODUCTION

To the people of St. Lawrence Island, their life and tradition goes back to time immemorial, back to stories and events that are hardly seen through ages and generations. To the outside world, the first words of the island to be named “St. Lawrence” came in the late 1600s and early 1700s. These were originally vague rumors and second-hand references collected by the Russians in the follow-up of Russia’s gradual expansion toward Alaska and the Bering Sea.

The aim of this section of the *SLI Sourcebook* is to present a sample of and a perspective on the kind of information that is preserved in a 250-year body of such early records. Whereas the stock itself has been reviewed, cited, and recounted many a time in various publications, it was hardly ever examined from the point of view of its value to the island residents and to their own view of their history. The sample of texts and stories presented below is, thus, the first attempt at both opening the old narratives to the people of St. Lawrence Island and at cultural translation of the records left by the outside visitors of many decades and generations ago.

While reading these early records, two things come immediately to mind. First, how early the outside world got to know some key facts about St. Lawrence Island, and second, how little had been actually known about Yupik lifestyle, worldview, and community structure during the first two hundred years of documented contacts. The island itself was first named “Saint Lawrence” on August 18, 1728, after the Russian Orthodox calendar (because it was that saint’s day), by the Russian navy expedition on board the *St. Gabriel* under the command of Vitus Bering. By the mid-1700s, the Russians were also aware that local people spoke the same language as the residents of the nearby Chukchi Peninsula of the Siberian mainland, and that they lived, like the Chukchi, primarily by walrus and whale hunting. It was known that the islanders wore parkas made of bird-skins and that they were connected through trade and visits with the nearby Siberians. Since the mid-1700s, the location and names of six major Native villages on the island have been recorded, that is, of (clockwise) Chipukhan [*Sivuaqaq*], Nunen [?], Kukuli [*Kukulek*], Pugun [*Punguuk*], Kijunan [*Kiyaliqhaq*], and Pujelan [*Puguhileq*]. All these village names were, in fact, given in Chukchi transliteration, since the Russians obviously recorded them from the Chukchi or via Chukchi interpreters.

Other than that, the world at large knew relatively little about the inner life of the local Yupik community. Its rules, customs, and institutions were not reported until the first American teachers and missionaries became established at Gambell in 1894. This opened an era of far more extensive observation by a new type of outsiders, who now stayed for months and years and forged personal

relationships with the local people. Inevitably, these new relations also triggered a growing impact of outsiders on many aspects of local life through schooling, missionary work, introduction of reindeer herding, and governmental policies.

This section offers a sample of the various written accounts on St. Lawrence Island produced roughly between 1830 and 1930. Like other *Sourcebook* chapters, it is only a selection of the many available documents and most are presented here in excerpts only. However, it is a valuable illustration of how the outside knowledge about the island and its people has progressed through time. It advanced from the sketchy reports of early explorers and naturalists to naïve stories of idealistic teachers and missionaries to the more routine reporting in daily log books by residential teachers and missionaries to the first research papers of professional anthropologists.

This, in fact, is a useful perspective. As the outsiders' knowledge about the island and its people advanced, more and more aspects of local life were documented and analyzed. At the same time, many of the island's old customs and life habits became abandoned. Thus, a lot has been preserved only in these old records. To someone's modern view, these old writings often look funny (if not clumsy). Still, early narratives offer a key to understanding how people from the outside observed and often judged traditional Yupik lifestyle and how they attempted to "modernize" it. For these and other reasons, the value of early accounts can be greatly expanded as we approach them not as mere outsiders' observances but as a heritage and educational resource. As these early records overlap with memories of the old life shared by present-day Yupik elders (see Part Five), they too become a venue of knowledge and cultural pride.

Mikhail D. Teben'kov: "Description of St. Lawrence Island" (1830)

From: "Atlas of the Northwest Coasts of America, from Bering Strait to Cape Corrientes and the Aleutian Islands." Compiled by Captain 1st Rank Mikhail D. Teben'kov and Published in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1852. English translation by Richard Pierce. 1981, Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press

Teben'kov's description of St. Lawrence Island is a good illustration of the types of records left by early navy explorers of the 1700s and 1800s, such as Cook, Billings, Kotzebue, and Shishmaref. Teben'kov's account and map of 1830 is the earliest historical document where five major traditional villages on the island—*Sivuqaq*, *Pugughileq*, *Kukulek*, *Kiyalighaq*, and "Shidnik" on the southern side (*Sikneq*)—have been listed and properly mapped at their exact locations. This excerpted version is reproduced from a copy of the Tebenkov's "Atlas" at the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

St. Lawrence Island (with attached Chart XIX, pp. 36–38)

Bering discovered St. Lawrence Island (Eivug'en) during his first voyage. According to the recent observations, the NW tip of the island (Chibukak) [*Sivuqaq*] is 44 miles SE 58° from Cape Chukotsk [in Siberia], at latitude 63°51'2" (reckoned by Beechey) and longitude 171°29'0". The maximum length of the island is 86 miles by bearing E1/2S by W1/2N. In three years of seafaring to Bering Strait (1830–1833) I went all around this island (except for the south side) approaching within 1/2 mile of various places. Thus having had occasion to verify its location, I find Shishmarev's description [of St. Lawrence Island coastline], made in the years 1821 and 1822, completely trustworthy.

I give here several pages from the journal of our voyage of 1830:

On the morning of the 23rd of July, we saw the west side of St. Lawrence Island, 20 miles to the NW. The mountains were covered with snow, the depth was 29 sazhen,¹ the bottom was gravel. Soon the wind dropped completely, the sea became like a mirror, it cleared up, and to the right, toward ESE, more mountains appeared, standing in a cluster.

¹ A sazhen is an old Russian measurement of length, equivalent to 2.13 meters.

The calm gave us the opportunity to test the current—we stood at stream-anchor. The current came from the NW at about 1½ knots. Soon, the wind began to blow from the NNE; not lingering, we raised anchor and got under way toward the coast, to the NW.

About mid-day, we saw a village on the shore, on the SW tip of the island [*Pugughileq*]; we approached and anchored. At ½ mile from the shore, the depth is 10 fathoms, the bottom is gravel. The most southerly extremity is 2 miles SW 47°. From the anchorage the observed latitude was 61°21'2" and the longitude 171°29'.

Neither the bushes nor shrubs are visible on the shore; the whole shore is uniformly tundra, covered with moss, in which green grass is visible in some places. Snow lay in the hollows and on the heights. The SW shoreline of the cape is high, rocky, and steep, the cliff falling into the sea; toward the east the shore is low-lying, and gravel. From the trees a lake was visible toward the NE, but there were no birds to be seen near the shore nor on the lake.

Having a steady wind from the N and very good weather, we sailed near the shore, rounding the SW cape, which like the village where we stayed, is called Puguviliak [*Pugughileq*]. The shore, with small bays in three places, takes a direction of NW 52° at the beginning; for six miles from the cape it is rather steep, with low cliffs, and three miles farther on, a gravel low-land. The shore is clean and deep; the depth everywhere was not less than 12 sazhens. At ½ mile from the shore, the ground is sand and gravel.

At mid-day on the 24th of July, the latitude was 63°36', the longitude 171° 52', the shore was three miles to the E. The direction of the shore, by the compass, was S1/2E by N1/2W. The shore is low-lying, composed of gravel, and the tip towards the N is high (approximately 800 feet). The NW cape of the island forms a mountain, at the foot of which, on the coast, WSW from its precipice, is found a settlement, which, like the extremity is called Chibukak [*Sivugaq*]. This cape is no more than 1½ miles wide. East of it, the shore turns steeply to the S, then to the E and the NE; and at a distance of 31 miles, at SE 80° from the NW cape it forms a high, mountainous cape, called, like the settlement in front of it, Kukuliak [*Kukulek*]. From the cape southward for 10 miles, the shore falls away into a bay. In many places along the shore, one sees huts made of whale ribs or bone of whales, driven into the ground. The shore is generally low-lying, and of gravel; lakes are visible in the tundra in the interior.

Eleven miles to SE 78° from Cape Kukuliak [*Kukulek*] and three to four miles from the shore (toward the south) lie, not more than 1/2 mile apart, two kekurs or columns of considerable height. Not finding them on the map (old edition) I took them for ships under sail. Soon gathering clouds concealed the details of the areas from us, but it seemed that to the SE of the western rock, not more than 1/2 mile distant is another low rock and one to the NW, not far from it, under water.

Farther east from these columns the shore of St. Lawrence Island drops again into a gravelly low-land, then after 15 miles at SE 57° from Cape Kukuliak [*Kukulek*], it rises again. Here again is a solitary clump of mountains, and the shore bears somewhat toward the NE. From it, to the SE, there are high places, but in general to the NE tip of the island, the shore is the most low-lying. The extremity is high and like the NW cape, is separated and chopped off toward the sea. It is at latitude 63° 17' and longitude 168° 35'.

Southward from the NE extremity of the island, for 12 miles the shore takes a SW 35° direction, where Cape Pujuk then turns steeply toward the W, descending gradually to the south, at latitude 62° 57' and longitude 169° 24', ending again in a height and chopped off cape, called Kiallegak [*Kiyalighaq*], like the village on its east side. Here is the south-east limit of the island. The settlement is three miles north of it. It is situated on the lowland, by a small bay, turning to the SW. The shore north of the settlement is all gravel and low-lying.

Farther, to the NW and W, steep mountains are visible in the interior, whose foot is soon lost from sight.

At NE 67°, 19 miles from the SE cape of the island, and at SE 36°, four miles from Cape Pujuk, are the three small islets of Pujuk [*Punguuk*], within about 1/2 mile of each other. Their position of direction is SW and NE 30°. The northern one has a small pyramidal volcanic cone; the southern one is also somewhat high; the middle is totally flat, at the water level. At a mile SE of them the depth is six sazhen, the bottom is gravel. The most northern of the Pujuk Islands is at latitude 63° 05' and longitude 168° 42' 8".

There are 1,500 inhabitants on St. Lawrence Island. The language, like that of the inhabitants of the adjacent coast of Asia and America, is Kad'iak (Kodiak). In summer, spring and fall, they hunt whales and walruses and in the winter take part in amusements (games). One may read more about St. Lawrence Island in the voyages of Cook and Kotzebue, in the explanations to Kruzenshtern's charts of the South sea, and elsewhere.

The People of Kagallegak (*Kiyalighaq*) in 1874

By Henry Wood Elliott

Of the few early reports on St. Lawrence Island before the 1879–1880 famine, the one left by Henry Wood Elliott (1846–1930) from the U.S. Fisheries was of special importance. Elliott, who later on became the leading American specialist on fur seals and other marine mammals, visited the island in summer of 1874, during his survey of the Bering Sea area. Though his focus was primarily on the status of the fur seal fisheries on St. George and St. Paul Islands of the Pribilof group, he was also interested in the Pacific walrus and in the Alaska Native people who made their living off walrus.

Elliott likely spent just a few days on St. Lawrence Island, but he was an acute observer and he made several sketches and pencil drawings of the people he encountered. He was the only known visitor who had extensive interactions with the residents of the village of *Kiyalighaq* at the Southeast Cape and of the nearby *Punguuk* Islands. His sketches of their houses and villages, clothing types, and hunting methods quickly became a unique source of heritage information, as most of the residents of *Kiyalighaq* and Pujuk Island perished during the famine or epidemic of 1879–80.

Elliott's original description of St. Lawrence Island and of the people of *Kiyalighaq* was published in his "*Report upon the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska*" in 1875 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, pp. 220–224). This piece was also used with some modifications in two later Elliott publications: "*A Monograph of the Pribilof Group or the Seal-Islands of Alaska*" (U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Special Bulletin, No. 176, 1882) and "*Our Arctic Province. Alaska and the Seal Islands*" (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886). Excerpts from those publications are presented below. The two latter volumes also have about a dozen illustrations made from Elliott's original sketches, of which eight are reproduced here.

From: *Report Upon the Condition of Affairs, 1875*

Saint Lawrence Island

This is the largest island in Bering Sea, and lies directly south from Bering's Strait about 180 miles. [...] We made our first landing on this island early in the morning of August 18th (of 1874), near Kagallegak [*Kiyalighaq*], or opposite Poonook Islets [*Punguuk*], and a baidar with a number of the natives, Mahlemute Eskimo [the term used in the 1800s for the Western Alaska Yupik and Iñupiat people] came off to us as soon as we dropped our anchor.

[...] They met us in an unaffected, free manner, showing no fear or hesitation; [...] three or four women usually came in each baidar [skin-boat] with them, paddling like the men; the boats, about 14 feet long with 4 feet of beam, consisted of frame, very neatly lashed together, of pine, with whalebone fastenings, over which walrus-hide was stretched; they propelled it with paddles and oars, which were also well made.

They live in summer-houses made of walrus-hides, weighted down by logs and stones so as not to be blown away; and close by are the winter-houses, which are under ground, with a tunnel entrance.

The food of these people is whales' blubber, cut in large chunks; [...] mullets from the fresh-water lakes, and caught in nets of walrus-thongs; murre, small waders, walrus and hair-seal meat, varied by geese and ducks. They had no iron cooking-utensils; all wood, and made by themselves, using hot stones for boiling water. Seal and whale oil they had *cached* [stored] both above and under ground; they preserve all fish and bird offal and devour it raw, saving the skins of the latter, which they make up into "parkies" or sacks for clothing; this is, however, a poor garment when made of bird-skins; it is always giving way at the seams, feathers flying, etc.; the skin is usually turned outside and the feathers worn next to the body. Furs are nearly all worn in this way; and the garments worn were principally made of reindeer-skins, procured from the Asiatics [Siberians] in exchange for food and ivory and tanned hair-seal.

They were poor and had nothing for trade but clothing made of intestines of the walrus, walrus-teeth [ivory?], and some whale-bone; but they had an ample supply of food, such

as it was, and their desire that we should taste of it was almost equal to our determination not to do so.

They were exceedingly anxious to trade, and I noticed the women seemed to have equal rank with the men, doing more than half of the talking, and barter solicitation; they seemed to be warmly attached to one another. The females all had their faces curiously tattooed in pale-blue lines on the cheeks and chin, and the arms.

They had a few dogs, very large, with long, shaggy hair, pointed ears, and short, bear-like tails; they were of a mild and inoffensive disposition, and were highly valued by their owners.

They took us to a place where they had six polar-bear skulls placed on the sand, side by side, with the post at the head, which they gave us to understand we could not touch; [...] it was undoubtedly a grave. [...] Bears, however, rarely visit this island, and foxes are the only land-animals.

The natives were supplied with coarse, smooth-bore muskets, which, I thought, they seldom used. All the birds, such as murrens and geese or ducks, are caught in large nets stretched over the brows of cliffs or across the lagoons. These nets are very neatly made of walrus-hides.

[...]

At Northeast Point the natives have quite a wood-cutting camp, hewing and carving, and the chips are scattered all along the beach-levels for miles; there are places where the ice, in some unusual season, has carried large logs and pieces of drift-wood full half-a-mile from the sea...

From: *Our Arctic Province, 1886*

The Innuits, living here as they do [evidently, at St. Lawrence Island], some three or four hundred in number, are great walrus-hunters. They enjoy a location that enables them to secure these animals at all seasons of a year. [...] A famous spot for this landing of the walrus is on the rocky and pebbly shores of Poonook [*Punguuk*], three small rocky islets, just five miles east of the summer tents of Kagallegak [*Kiyalighaq*] (pp. 443–444)

[...]

The winter of 1879–80 was one of exceptional rigor in the Arctic, although in the United States it was unusually mild and open. The ice closed in solid around St. Lawrence Island—so firm and unshaken by the giant leverage of wind and tide that all walrus were driven far to the southward and eastward beyond the reach of those unhappy inhabitants of that island, who, thus unexpectedly deprived of their mainstay and support, seemed to have miserably starved to death then, with an exception of one small village on the north shore: thus, the residents of Poonook [*Punguuk*], Poogovellyak [*Pugughileq*], and Kagallegak [*Kiyalighaq*] settlements perished, to a soul, from hunger; nearly three hundred men, women, and children. I recall that visit which I made to these alert Innuits, August, 1874, with sadness, in this unfortunate connection. [...] They seemed, then, to be living, during nine months of the year, almost wholly upon the flesh and oil of the morse [walrus]. Clean-limbed, bright-eyed, and jovial, they profoundly impressed me with their happy reliance and subsistence upon the walrus-herds of Bering Sea (pp. 456–457).

The School Farthest West. St. Lawrence Island, Alaska

By Vene C. Gambell

Vene C. Gambell was the first school-teacher and a Presbyterian missionary, who was sent to St. Lawrence Island by Sheldon Jackson, the U.S. General Agent of Education in Alaska. Mr. Gambell of Wapello, Iowa, and his wife were placed on the island in July 1894 and they stayed there as school-teachers for three years. They left the island back for Iowa in August 1897, in order to restore Mrs. Gambell's health, but next year they decided to return to continue their duties. Upon leaving Seattle on May 19, 1898 their boat capsized off Cape Flaherty. Thirty-two of the boat's passengers drowned on May 22, 1898, including Mr. and Mrs. Gambell, and their baby daughter. In the summer of 1898, the next school-teacher, Mr. William F. Doty officially renamed the village of *Sivuqaq* where the Gambells had stayed as first teachers to **Gambell**, "in honor of the noble missionaries" (see Doty's Diary, this section).

The excerpts below are taken from a small book (a booklet) that was seemingly written by Gambell in Seattle while on his leave from St. Lawrence Island in 1897. It was published by the *Woman's Board of Home Mission of the Presbyterian Church* in New York in 1901 and was distributed for five cents each. It is a lively account of a year-long teachers' life on the island, of their daily activities, and not-so-smooth interactions with the local people, particularly with some elderly men whom Gambell lambasted as "shamans."

Upon St. Lawrence Island, in the Bering Sea, stands the schoolhouse which, of all those over which the American flag flies, is farthest west. There is a school at Point Barrow, in the Arctic Ocean, which is father north, but the one on St. Lawrence Island is the farthest over toward Siberia, to the northwest. [...]

The lumber for the first schoolhouse was shipped from San Francisco, in 1891; and a strong plain structure, forty feet in length by twenty in width, was built by the carpenters of the ship that brought it, on the outskirts of the native village, at a cost of exactly one thousand dollars.

Mrs. Gambell and I were carried to the island by the United States revenue steamer *Bear*, and landed September 15, 1894. By way of introducing us, Captain Healey announced to the people through an interpreter that we were two white teachers who would live at the schoolhouse and teach the children to "make booktalk." He added a warning that they must treat us well.

Nevertheless, we were not without misgiving when set ashore among these strange-looking people, and reflected that after the *Bear* left we would be alone with them for a year.[...] What might not happen to us in that time? My wife cried a little for loneliness as the *Bear* steamed away.

On the first landing, we knew hardly a word of the native language, a very difficult one. I wish the Eskimos had been equally ignorant! As we stepped ashore, they greeted us with boisterous laughter. They stood with their hands on their hips, literally shaking with what seemed merriment, and ejaculating a chorus of *yeh-yeh-yehs!* [“Yiill, yiill, yiill”—a chant to chase away evil spirits. This was chanted to every boat or ship or any people coming to the village—Christopher Koonooka’s note, 2002]

The people of this island—who are all one large family, much related, which has lived here for many generations—were now leaving their summer tents and moving into their igloos, or winter houses, which are largely underground, and are entered through a short tunnel. These habitations were much warmer than the schoolhouse.

The first of these winter houses to which I took my wife “to call,” was that of Koogak,* the hunter, who lived near the us and had five children. He had come voluntarily to help me in banking my house and putting up the school-bell, and we had become well acquainted. After creeping through the entranceway, which was no more than four feet high, we found ourselves in a circular space, which had low bunks about the greater part of it, and in the center of which a large oil lamp was burning.

Koogak’s wife had just brought in from their outer storehouse a piece of fat, raw walrus flesh, as large as a ham, from which she was cutting small chunks and feeding two little girls—quaint, chunky infants, who, on catching sight of me, hid behind some skins hung up around the walls. A boy whom they called Moosu* (Bubby) rushed forward and shook hands with Mrs. Gambell, somewhat to her astonishment. He had learned that shaking hands in the American mode of greeting, and wished to be polite. The mother laughed much and repeated over and over again her few English words. Soon another boy came in whose name his father told us was ‘Heezy-Cry’. For along time we could not

*Because of the poor spelling few of the Yupik names written down by Vene C. Gambell (and marked here with an *) could be identified by today’s elders.

guess what name was meant, and my wife was much shocked on learning that Heezy-Cry was their pronunciation of the name of Saviour.

Another near neighbor was Neewak*. He lived in a large house with two Shamans, called Tooluk* and Aabwook*, and had no other family. These “medicine-men” claimed that they had, two months before, saved Neewak’s* life. According to the code prevailing there his life was therefore theirs, and he must work to support them. It was as if a family physician, after curing a patient of fever, should come to his house to board for the rest of his life.

[...]

Imagine, if you can, how the fifty-five young Eskimos looked in the schoolroom, on those dark winter days when a lamp had nearly always to be kept burning. On the right-hand side, in the front row, facing the teacher’s desk, sat Angeit*, a boy about thirteen years old, as we supposed. Angeit* signifies the “catcher,” or “snatcher,” and it was an appropriate name for the lad—I shall have to confess privately that Mrs. Gambell called him “Swipes.”

He was inclined at first to pocket everything he could lay hands on. We taught him better; but still it would have been wrong to expose him to much temptation. He had a very round head, small black eyes and a wide mouth, and he wore over his fur jacket a kind of jumper made of a flour-sack that had the name of the brand in big letters on the back of it. He was proud of this jumper, and the others envied him its possession.

Next to him was Sipsu*, supposed to be fifteen. Sipsu* is the handsomest boy in the school, and all too well aware of it. Those who supposed that a Mahlemiut boy would have little to be vain of should see “Sip” admire himself in Mrs. Gambell’s hand-mirror. A few years hence he will be the dandy of the village, no doubt.

At the desk next his [sic] was Kannakut*, whom the other boys call “Henny,” or “girl-boy,” because nearly every day he carried his little sister, Seenatah*, to school on his back. She is too young to come to school, but I think that her mother wishes to get her out of the way, and so compels Kannakut*, who seems fond of the child, to bring her with him.

At Kannaku's* left sat another boy, named Poosay [*Pusaa*], whom Mrs. Gambell, who often sees the humorous side of things, calls "Pussy"—for many long, stiff hairs grow about his mouth and give him a truly catlike appearance. Behind Poosay [*Pusaa*] sat Toodlamuk* [*Tallimak?*], who has two of the longest, whitest eye-teeth I ever saw projecting from the mouth of a human being! Even when his mouth is closed, they visibly project and give him a dangerous look. But we have never heard of his biting any one, and he is a bright pupil.

In the front row was a boy Mrs. Gambell named Mozart, he was so hopelessly addicted to humming a tune in school. He appeared to do it unconsciously. One particular bar or refrain which he was constantly crooning, was to our surprise much like a call which boys whistle in the United States. He also knew a part of "Solomon Levi," which Captain Healy, of the revenue cutter *Bear*, had taught him, and all of "Yankee Doodle." Our "noisy boy" was called Tattarat*.

There was Nossabok*, too, the boy who persisted in bringing his pet cat to school, for fear the dogs would kill it if he left it at home. This cat was brought from the Aleutian Islands, and was, so far as I know, the only one in the village.

The "belle" of the school was Pingassuk*, a girl about fourteen years old, and she is really rather pretty. She came to school at first wearing yellow moccasins and a suit—parka, hood and trousers—of white seal fur. Even her little mittens are white. She has pretty dark eyes and long lashes. Her complexion is so clear that a pink flush often shows on her cheek. In her thick braids of hair are stuck pink shell ornaments, and her smiles are emphasized by two queer little streaks of ochre at each corner of her mouth. "Pin" holds all the boys in immense disdain; and they hardly venture to steal a glance at her.

At the same desk with "Pin" was seated poor little Kolleluk*, who lost a foot from freezing, several winters ago; she hops and hobbles about with the aid of a kind of cane from the rib of a whale.

At the desk behind "Kollie" sat a very odd-looking child, who has a pink face and white hair. From some superstitious notion, her parents dress her in black fur, which contrasts strongly with her white hair. Her name is Okiakuta*, which my wife has abbreviated to "O.K."

Near to "O.K." sat Esanetuk*. Near her sat Tukeliketa* [*Yagellengetaq?*], whose face always shone like a freshly fried doughnut...the name means "butterfly." Another little girl, who put my wife to much trouble, was called Coogidlore*. She seemed to be affected with constitutional drowsiness. Most of these girls, as I have said before, were very bashful; and Annevik*, who sought a seat in the extreme dark corner, was painfully so.

Little enough like Annevik* was Topeta-tu*. Topsy was quick to learn, but forgot everything by the next day. Behind Topsy sat a good, strong girl, named Tummasok*, who was supposed to be thirteen years old. This was the girl who [...] was, I think, our most typical Mahlemiut girl.



MR. AND MRS. V. C. GAMBELL, PRESBYTERIAN TEACHERS, SAINT LAWRENCE ISLAND, BERING SEA.

Old photograph of Vene C. Gambell and his wife, first resident teachers and missionaries on St. Lawrence Island, who were lost at sea on May 22, 1898.



SCHOOLHOUSE, ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND, 1897.
By V. C. Gambell.

Gambell "old schoolhouse" built in 1894. Photo by Vene C. Gambell, 1897.



Gambell first Yupik class of 1895.

U. S. Bureau of Education

55TH CONGRESS, }
3d Session. }

SENATE.

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REPORT

ON

INTRODUCTION OF DOMESTIC REINDEER INTO ALASKA,

WITH

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

SHELDON JACKSON, LL. D.
GENERAL AGENT OF EDUCATION IN ALASKA.

1898.



WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1898.

Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska, 1898.

Notes with Regard to the St. Lawrence Island Eskimo

By Vene C. Gambell

This is the only other known contribution of Gambell based upon his three-year stay on St. Lawrence Island. The original text of four pages under this title was published in the *Eighth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer Into Alaska* (1898). The reports were an almost 20-year series of annual releases to the U.S. Senate, produced by the U.S. Office of Education in Washington, D.C., under Rev. Sheldon Jackson's supervision. It covered annual activities under the federally funded programs in education of the Alaska Native residents as well as in development of reindeer herding and missionary work in Alaska Native communities. Excerpts from V. C. Gambell's short account of the people and customs of St. Lawrence Island are presented below.

[...] VILLAGES.

This village, Se voo kuk [*Sivuqaq*], and one near the southwest extremity, on the south side, Pow'ooluk [*Puguhileq*], are at present the only ones. The former has about 330 inhabitants in 32 houses and the latter 35 in 6. In July they scatter along the eastern shore of the island and return to the villages in September, though there are two families who do not return till much later from a lagoon 15 miles east of here.

HOUSES.

The houses vary from oval to nearly round in shape. They are built of pieces of wreckage and driftwood about 6 feet long, placed on end in a shallow trench in the ground and fastened to a pole at the top. Two posts, 6 to 10 feet apart and 15 to 18 feet high, support a ridge piece, which in turn supports a series of rafters about 1 by 3 inches and long enough to reach from the edge of the wall to 2 to 4 feet past the ridge piece. The rafters are about 2 feet apart at the walls and are supported in the middle by a row of upright pieces. Walrus skins are placed over these and carefully tied with rawhide ropes and weighted with rock, iron wreckage, etc. Sod is put over the edges of the skins to exclude the snow. The peak of the roof is nearer the west than the east end. The door is on the west end, as all the hard winds are from an easterly direction—mostly northeast. The living room is at the east end, 7 feet wide and from 10 to 80 feet long, depending on the number living in it. It is made of heavy deerskins sewed together on the top and sides, with a walrus-skin floor. The front edge is not fastened at the bottom, which allows it to be used as a door. It is heated by means of seal-oil lamps and ventilated by an opening in front, near the top, 4

to 5 inches in diameter. Other rooms partitioned off by means of walrus skins are used to store meat, boxes, etc. Hunting gear is stacked in the main enclosed part. They lived, till thirty years ago, in underground houses, some of which have been built over, to be used as storehouses for their meat. The walrus-skin cover is taken off and during July and August used in constructing a summer tent.

FOOD.

Their food consists principally of seal, walrus, and whale meat. They get but few fish, small catfish, and cod, in August and September, when the sea is not too rough. The village near the southwest extremity gets salmon in a lagoon near there. In the winter they get crabs, which, in case seals are very scarce, form an important addition to their larder. They get few berries, but gather large quantities of a short, fleshy herb, a stone crop, something like the old-fashioned garden live-for-ever. Ducks and other sea birds also form a large part of their food from June till September. They are very fond of flour, hard bread, and molasses, which they procure from the ships.

CUSTOMS—BIRTH.

Good care is taken of a woman at the birth of a child. Labor is easy. The child is born while the mother is on her hands and knees. The mother soon sits up, but keeps the same place for five days, then goes outside and works the same as any other woman. One woman has seven children alive, five and six are not uncommon, and three or four is a fair average.

DEATHS.

Formerly the dead were interred near the houses. Later they were placed in a cave or old house, of which there are three or more now partly filled with bones. Now when a death occurs the body is wrapped in deer skins, a polo a little longer than the body is placed lengthwise on top and all wrapped up with thongs. Thongs about 4 feet long are tied on and serve as handles, and from four to ten men drag it over the ground about a mile to a rocky bluff 600 feet high. Children are placed at the foot and important persons near the top, while those of low degree are stationed midway. Thongs, deerskins, clothing, etc., are cut and scattered around and the body left completely naked. Tobacco and hard bread are placed at the head.

RELIGION.

Some headless men with shark-like mouths made the mainland of Siberia. A big bird became seasick and vomited up the islands. Whales, seals, and bears are endowed with human attributes and are fed, given drink and tobacco when killed. Their fathers and grandfathers and any dead of near kin are fed about the 1st of July. A family goes near the bluff, makes a little fire, calls out the name of some relative and throws him a piece of meat. Some take a crowd along and feed everybody. The devil, or some devil, causes sickness. Some males claim to have some power over evil spirits, and to protect against sickness or the return of it when a person is convalescent. Departed spirits are said to return and sing and dance; numbers claim to have seen them. The spirits are always near where they were laid or where their skeleton is scattered.

[...] A child must keep a close fitting deerskin hood on its head for the first two years of life, or its head will grow too large. A man must not cut his hair while his wife is pregnant or some harm will happen to her. If a stone is moved in winter, a storm will follow. If whaleskin is cooked, all whales will disappear. Neither will they come if any wood belonging to a dead person is burned. If anything hot is put on the snow, so as to make stream, the walrus will keep away from the island.

AMUSEMENTS.

In the winter they dance and sing in nice weather. A man invites another and all his friends one day, who in turn with all his friends dances at the other man's house the next. At these meetings they trade. A man dances with a woman and gives her something, as a piece of calico. She in turn must dance with him, or her husband must dance with his wife and return something of equal value. On pleasant days the men run races, wrestle, jump, etc. In the summer they play ball, jump the rope, toss each other in walrus skins.

Log Book from St. Lawrence Island, 1898–99

By William Furman Doty, Teacher

From: Sheldon Jackson. *Ninth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska*. U.S. Bureau of Education. 1900.
Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office

William Furman Doty was a young teacher and a student from Princeton Theological Seminary, who was placed by Sheldon Jackson as the second school-teacher on St. Lawrence Island. He was picked to replace his predecessor, Mr. Vene Gambell, who perished in May 1898 on his way to St. Lawrence Island. Though initially untrained and hardly prepared, Doty tenured for more than two years on the island and he established good relations with most of the people of Gambell. Unfortunately, his first year was marred by confrontation with one local resident of Siberian origin, known as “Captain Jack,” which ended up in a violent collision (see below).

Doty proved to be an ardent observer, and his diary (“log book”) is the first long-term set of documented records from St. Lawrence Island. The diary lists several Yupik names, provides references to local weather and ice conditions, and to the seasonal rounds of hunting activities and sea-mammal catch (including whales, walruses, and seals). Doty was the first to observe and to record several traditional Yupik festivals and family rituals. He also produced a more general review, *The Eskimo on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska*, with the summary of his ethnographic observations on the island. For the historical compilation that follows, only those entries have been selected that have specific information pertaining to St. Lawrence Island and its people.

August 14, 1898: Arrived on the *Del Norte* after a voyage of fifty days. Dr. Jackson, Mr. Brevig, and I were kept busy during several hours superintending the unloading of supplies, a portion of which belonged to me, while a larger part by far were the Government... Permission was given to me to purchase a part of these goods, in order to trade with the natives. A signboard with the name “**Gambell**” painted on it was placed on the front face of the station building, to the end that the village might thereafter be designated in honor of the noble missionaries, the late Mr. Gambell and wife. There were many expressions on the part of the people, in broken English, of veneration for the character of their two benefactors, whose loss they sincerely mourned.

August 16: Fifteen men were engaged to help Abrahamsen and myself in removing some Government supplies, which had been temporarily placed in the schoolroom, to the storehouse [...].

August 21: Sunday school was held in the afternoon. The attendance was probably about 100 persons of all ages. The children sang some gospel hymns which my predecessor had taught them, and evidently they enjoyed that part of the service greatly [...]

September 1: Hoisted a flag and began school. Twenty-five boys were present, with no representation of the gentler sex. The attendance of a number of the children was not possible, as they were detained by other and evidently more pressing duties. Especially was this the case with the girls, who were obliged to pick blueberries [...].

September 11: Sunday school was held. The women and children attended in large numbers, but the men were away fishing.

September 23: The attendance at school was “slim” to-day, as a large number of boys were obliged to help their fathers construct winter houses. The attendance in one day during the past week reached a maximum—forty-eight.

September 24: The snow-covered mountain at Indian Point [*Ungaziq*], Siberia, 40 miles across the water, shone resplendent in the sunlight.

September 28: Snow fell. A walrus and two seals were killed. I had a ride on a sled drawn by Eskimo dogs, a very novel experience for me.

[...]

October 6: The attendance at school has been very irregular all along. The food problem is a most serious one here, so that even the children have to take up part of the burden of the household support. They trap, and shoot ducks and gulls, and gather kelp and sea urchins washed ashore on the bay east of the mountain.

[...]

October 11: Tried to persuade Shoolook [*Suluk*] to abandon his purpose of becoming a bigamist. Several natives here have two wives. In Siberia the custom not only of bigamy is quite common, but even polygamy, I am told. The excuse offered is that a man likes to

have a number of women constantly ready with their needles to sew for him, so that he can maintain trading enterprises on a grand scale.

October 20: Ice on the lower end of the lake. This sheet of water is nearly 3 miles long and about 1 mile wide. There are no fish in it, I understand. It serves as an excellent fresh-water reservoir for the community, as nothing pollutes the streams from the mountain that feed it.

October 22: Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*] celebrated to-day with a dance called “ola hola.” He and his assistants were in festive garments, wearing chaplets on their heads. A feast preceded the tossing of women in a blanket of walrus skins sewed together. One woman in the latter exercise was thrown “foul,” and after a swoop of 10 feet or more in the air, fell on the hard ground. Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*] forbade me to render any aid to the woman, as he assumed, with no remonstrance from the people, the functions of native doctor. The left clavicle was broken, but pronounced to be healed after a few minutes, during which he placed, pebbles under her as she sat on a walrus skin, and kept muttering rapidly about her ears some unknown jargon. Trading later wound up the performance.

October 28: A baby was born at Oozuk’s [*Uuzak*] house during the night. The little one was very frail, and I was asked to keep an eye on him.

October 31: The Eskimos skating on the ice presented a picturesque spectacle. Their skates were of home manufacture. Iron hoops from barrels sharpened and fitted into blocks of wood served their purpose admirably.

[...]

November 5: Took a walk for a distance of 14 miles, trying to explore the environs. Shoolook [*Suluk*] and a boy, Eruk [*Inuuq*], accompanied me. Observed old men and boys gathering seaweed. Many dog teams and sleds were collected at one place on the shore of the bay, while their masters concealed themselves behind rocks or in “blinds” constructed of driftwood and bone from the skeletons of whales, ready to dispatch any unwary seal that showed its head above the water.

November 8: A company of Southwest Cape natives visited our village, arriving in the afternoon. I happened to be at the lower end of the lake with a sled party, and altogether

it was a fine spectacle to witness the native procession, including 15 or 20 people on sleds, drawn in all by about 80 dogs. They were ceremoniously received at the village, notably by a sham fight, or something that looked like that, on the part of a Massinga [*Masingka*] native and a Southwest Cape representative. They backed each other alternately at the point of their spears. Both men had festive decorations on their garments. Later, Abrahamsen and I attended the dance at Pazzuk's [*Paazak*] house, in connection with the trading between the people of the two communities. Even very little girls participated at times. This dance was held in the living apartments of the house.

November 9: The carcass of a whale killed probably many months ago in the whaling season went ashore on the rocks down the coast at a place about 5 miles distant from the village. Nearly decomposed as it was, the carcass was welcomed by the people as a great find.

[...]

November 19: Shoolook [*Suluk*] and I took a ride on a dog sled for a distance of 25 miles, I should judge. Saw Sepilla's [*Sipela*] house, an underground structure called a "ninglo" [*neglu*]. I examined it quite carefully.

November 21: Abrahamsen and I, with Shoolook [*Suluk*], Montokoly [*Mangtaquli*], and Womkome [*Waamquun*], set out with 3 sleds and about 18 dogs to make a journey to Southwest Cape. A young woman had been accidentally shot in both feet, and a native had asked me to send some medicine to her. The trip occupied about ten hours, and appeared to indicate a distance of 40 miles.

November 26: "Ola hola" [???] at Oozuk's [*Uuzak*] house; did not attend.

November 29: Nukkwon's [*Neghqun*] baby died during the night after a long period of sickness. Abrahamsen and I attended the funeral. The mother remained at the house, according to custom here, while the father and four friends acted as pallbearers, carrying the body in a bundle wrapped around by a deerskin and suspended from a pole. The cortège stopped after going a short distance, and the sister cut off the end of the seal ropes, which bound the blanketed body to the pole. These rope ends were thrown away, as was the remaining medicine, and with a can she officiated in the final farewell ceremony, rubbing it first twice on her breast and then on her back, then repeating the same

strange rite on the persons of her father and brother. After throwing this can away, she went home with her brother.

The body was placed in the shelter of some rocks about one-third of the way from the base to the top of the mountain. [...] After circling around the body, each man treading in the very tracks left by the father. Later some of the party stepped aside at intervals, but soon assumed their former positions.

[...]

December 12: Has a conference with the chief, Asoone [*Asunaghaq*], with reference to the irregular attendance of the children at school, which was a cause of anxiety to me, as my work in connection with the school had been unsatisfactory in its results, at least to myself.

[...]

December 22: No school. 16°; light northeast wind; clear, fine day. Gave a Christmas dinner by way of anticipation, as all the people were constantly inquiring of late as to the date of the great holiday. I had representatives from each house bring a bucket and wooden plates to the schoolhouse. Abrahamsen and I then filled the buckets with coffee, and put pork and beans, cakes, candies, nuts, pilot bread, and for the exterior of the body a cake of soap. Probably more than 300 people later partook of the viands.

[...]

January 2: Monday. Assone [*Asunaghaq*] began a five day's feast called Kazzeeva [*Kaziva*—see below].

January 3: Second day of dance at Assoone's [*Asunaghaq*] house.

January 4: Third day of the dance.

January 5: After a dance and feast in the morning at the Kazzeeva [*Kaziva*], the young and middle-aged men and the boys performed the “kip-up” and one or two other simple feats on the walrus ropes which had been tied to the uprights. “Tag” and jumping over low obstructions were also indulged in.

January 6: Wrestling contests between the young men followed trading as the “wind up” of the Kazzeeva [*Kaziva*].

[...]

January 31: School. 30°. South wind; light snow in afternoon. Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] began another five days’ festival, called “Kazavaghalekyyake” [*Kazivaghaleketaaq?*]. The men wrestled out of doors, bare to the waist.

[...]

February 14: School. -5°; northeast and east winds, light; clear. Abrahamsen shot sixteen ducks. Ducks can be obtained here in small quantities even in the winter, while they are very plentiful at other seasons.

February 15: School. 0°; calm; clear. Sent some medicine to a Southwest Cape boy, who had been struck with a stone. Fourth day of dance given by Imurigan [*Aymergen*]. Nearly every day a dance is in progress at one or another of the houses. Usually they are not elaborate affairs, and only a few friends and relatives are present. They indicate the completion of boot-making or some other kind of native manufacture, for the season.

February 18: Saturday. 0°; north and east winds, light; snow in the forenoon. Of late very few seals have been secured, and the people have suffered for food in consequence. Some households, which had an abundance, however, came to the aid of other families in whom they were interested.

[...]

March 3: School. 0°; north wind, light; clear. Some men in a canoe brought back 11 seals, while another party in a canoe secured 5 seals.

March 7: School. 5°, 0°, fog in afternoon; strong northeast wind; clear in the morning and evening. The hunters went to the east side of the north and west shores unless the wind is favorable. The ice moves from time to time with the shifting of the wind. A hunter usually goes with a dog team and sled, dragging behind a “trailer” for his game. However, some young men who have not a dog team and sled trudge alone many a mile, bringing their game back on a “trailer,” or, as is frequently the case, dragging it by means of ropes on the ice and snow. The old men and small boys frequently fish through holes in the ice.

March 15: School. 30°, 32°; northeast wind, light; snowed until evening. A number of schoolboys were absent in canoes hunting.

March 18: Saturday. 30°; south and southeast winds, strong; snowed all day. Open water near the shore on the west side.

March 21: School. 32°, 34°; southwest wind, quite strong; snowed all day. The conditions of wind, water, and snow have been unfavorable for many days to hunting. The hunters were obliged to keep in their houses.

[...]

At Shoolook's [*Suluk*] request I tried to gain admission to Kenaak's [*Qenaaq* or *Qenaaghaq*] house in order to do what I could to help his sick wife. A large number of persons were in the outer room and they told me not to enter the living room, where Assoone [*Asunaghaq*], the chief, and the most reputable native doctor, was beating his drum loudly and chanting. A woman responded somewhat frantically to his cries, presumably the patient. I felt sorry as I turned away. The excitement, however, sometimes brings about a reaction that is helpful to patients, and so I hoped that the mind would be strengthened and so assist in her recovery.

March 28: No school. 10°, 5°; northeast wind, strong; snowed all day. Five walruses were brought in. One native took his canoe on runners, which was pulled by a dog team, to the east side of the promontory.

[...]

April 3: School. 10° and 16°; northeast wind, light; fair. Assoone [*Asunaghaq*], the chief, visited the school. Many seals were secured.

April 6: School. 10°, 20°; southeast gale; snowed during most of the day. Two whales were pursued in the afternoon by four parties in the whaleboats during the severe storm. One whale was hit by the dart from the gun, but effected its escape by going under the ice, which cut the rope.

April 7: School. 20°, 30°. Southeast wind, strong; A large whale was sighted, but the unfavorable weather prevented a chase.

[...]

April 22: Saturday. 16°, 24°. Northeast gale; snowed all day. Finished taking a census of natives here and at Southwest Cape; find that at this place there are 313 people, and 24 persons at the other village. By aid of Shoolook [*Suluk*] I wrote down the names and indicated on a large map the important geographical features of the island, marking sites of former villages. It seems that all of the communities save this one and that at Southwest Cape succumbed to a food famine a few years ago; while half of the people at the more fortunate villages perished. The calamity seems to have been general among the Eskimos on the Siberian and Alaska coasts. It is denied by the natives that whisky was in any way responsible for it.

[...]

April 23: Sunday School. 22°, 20°; northeast gale; snowed all day. Observed some women aiding the men and boys in drawing a whaleboat up the beach over the snow. The women do not hunt.

April 24: 20°, 18°; northeast wind, strong; snowed morning and evening. A whale was chased, but effected its escape. A baby seal of the large species was secured.

April 28: 27°, 32°; snowed all day; southeast wind, strong in evening. Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*] killed one big seal. The party returned over a large ice field near the shore, dragging a canoe, assisted by some dogs. It was hard work, but worth the effort.

May 1: 30°, 37°; calm an clear, except for a fog one hour in forenoon. Went hunting in a whaleboat with Shoolook [*Suluk*] and his crew. One seal was secured. At a distance a baby whale, a "white" fish, and some big seals were observed.

May 2: 30°, 37°; south and northeast winds, light; very clear. The ice pack is very thick, but the whaleboats are rowed through "leads." Oomylook [*Ungalaq??*] and his party were unable to get back this evening from their hunting trip east of the promontory, being caught in the ice.

May 3: 20°, 26°; northeast wind, very strong; clear in afternoon. A rescue party taking food went with dog teams and sled to aid Oomylook [*Ungalaq*]. The party brought the

whaleboat overland several miles by the help of the dogs and runners placed under the boat

May 6: 22°, 20°; north wind, moderate. Akulky's [*Akulki*] whaleboat was damaged by a large crest and began to fill. The party was rescued by another hunting crew.

May 8: 28°, 32°; southwest wind, light; later moderate; clear in the morning, foggy in afternoon, followed by snow in the evening. Three whales were chased, but not secured. A number of walrus were brought in.

May 9: 32°, 37°: south-southwest wind, light; snowed all day. I observed a woman take the head of a seal, which had been broken into small pieces, and cast it into the sea, according to the custom here. The head of a walrus is merely thrown on the ground.

May 10: 37°, 32°; south-southwest wind, moderate; foggy all day. Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*] found a "bowhead whale" of small size, which Akulky [*Akulki*] had struck on the previous day. Being nearly dead, it was quickly dispatched. The bone was divided among the people generally—following the invariable custom—the discoverer and his crew retaining larger shares than those given to their neighbors. The old women, as well as the men, receive a portion.

May 12: 34°, 32°; east gale strong; snowed hard in afternoon. The hunters experienced a rough sea on their return. Two whales were pursued, but not captured.

May 19: 35°, 33°; northeast and east winds, moderate. Clear in the afternoon. Two parties from Siberia in whaleboats arrived here today and paid their respects to me. They understood English quite well, having been associated for long periods with American whalers. One man had been to 'Frisco.' The people at Indian Point had lost five or six persons by death during the winter. Some reindeer had perished, unable to get moss on account of the hard frozen snow. At Indian Point [*Ungaziq*], East Cape [*Nuvuqaq*], South Head, St. Lawrence Bay, and Plover Bay the natives had procured a whale. The Indian Point men, in answer to my questions, informed me that the language of their people and that of the Plover Bay natives is the same as that of the people on St. Lawrence Island; evidently at one time these three peoples were intimately related. There are few differences in customs, and, doubtless, in the dialects.

May 20: 30°, 36°; east wind, moderate; fog and snow. Was informed by Shoolook [*Suluk*] that the Indian Point natives reported the disappearance of five hunting parties in whaleboats, chiefly men, of the Plover Bay natives. The captains of the “whalers” had looked in vain for them. They may have been caught in young ice which would not hold them should they try to pull their boats over it, or they may have encountered a rough sea which dashed and broke their boats against a large block of ice. These men and, in some instances, large families, having two or even three wives. Probably half of the male population of Plover Bay has thus perished.

May 22: 35°, 33°; east wind, moderate; foggy until evening, then clear. The *Belvedere*, Captain Duvall came to anchor. Went on board. Shoolook [*Suluk*] brought Taninga [*Tanenga*], an Indian Point chief, to see me. They have been from youth sworn friends, as their fathers were, and it was pleasant to see their mutual regard.

May 23: 34°, 35°; northeast and east winds light in forenoon; fog and snow. Went hunting with Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*] and his crew in a whaleboat, and suffered from the cold, as I was too thinly clad. We returned after ten hours, having sailed about 40 miles, I judged. We had no compass, and yet our helmsman Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*], without sight of the sun or shore, kept his bearings on the open sea during eight hours of thick fog. No walrus or seal were brought in, although some of the former were shot at, but missed, owing to the long range and the motion of the whaleboat.

May 27: 34°, 33°; northwest wind, light; foggy in forenoon, later cloudy; clearing in the evening. A party from Indian point in a whaleboat arrived. A tent was pitched; it consisted of the sail.

[...]

June 2: 30°, 36°, 32°; west wind light; snow and fog. There is ice in large quantities on the sea as far as the eye can reach. Gave Sablat [*Savla*] medicine for influenza.

June 4: 37°, 35°; southwest wind strong; rain and fog. did not hold Sunday school on account of my cough. Sablat [*Saavla*] is better. During the night two deaths occurred from influenza—and old man, Tapeezuk [*Tapiisak*], and an infant. I did not know of their illnesses. Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*] and his crew, in a whaleboat, killed 21 walrus, but brought back only the heads with the ivories and the skins.

June 9: 38°, 33°; calm until evening; then light west wind; foggy or overcast. Noóona [???], an old man, died during the night from influenza; was not asked to give him medicine while he was sick. A dog was killed at his house later. Kowktan [*Kawbtaan*], a woman about 40 years old, was hung at her request by her relatives and friends, in spite of my protests. She had been sick with influenza, and during the past seven days had not slept and could not eat or drink. The woman was buried on the mountain. A dog was killed at the place where the body was deposited on the mountain side. Yagho [*Yaaghu*], an old woman, also died to-day.

June 10: 34°, 39°, 36°; southwest wind moderate. Snow forenoon, later overcast. Toosoon [*Tuusugun*], an old woman, dies from influenza. I learned of her condition a day or two previously and gave her medicine. Iyoowixan [*Ayuwighsaan*], who is suffering from influenza, is better. Traded for an old Eskimo suit of armor. There are only two in the village. The armor is made of wood covered with thick seal skin. The headpiece is a combination helmet-shield.

June 13: 34°, 39°, 40°; southwest wind moderate, later strong; fog all day. Treated Papak [*Papak?*], an Indian Point man, who has the influenza. He is old. Urged him to remain in the warm part of his house.

June 16: 35°, 39°, 34°; southwest and west winds moderate; a gale from the west in the evening; fog all day; the sea is very rough. The people are storing walrus meat in underground cellars.

June 18: 35°, 39°, 35°; west wind very strong; fog all day. The steam schooner *Albion*, Captain Ericson, anchored off the north shore in the morning. [...] In making a second attempt later to reach the ship, the skin canoe, which contained a dozen persons, including myself and three dogs, had a narrow escape in the high waves. One wave broke over the gunwale and drenched me. Then the canoe as rapidly as possible was paddled ashore. Teory [*Tiiwri?*], Kalook [*Qaalu* or *Kaluka*], and Myyookuk [*Mayukag*] shipped on the *Albion* for the summer.

June 20: 36°, 44°, 36°; calm in forenoon; later east, southwest, and south winds moderate; fog or overcast all day. Received a present of some oranges. Some of the natives also were privileged to hear the music, and enjoyed it greatly. Learned that the five crews that

set out from Plover Bay five weeks previously, and which were supposed to have perished, came back after a long delay, having lost only one boat, which was crushed in by the ice.

[...]

June 30: 44°, 43°, 39°; west and southwest winds moderate; foggy and cloudy; clear in afternoon. Two parties in whaleboats arrived this morning—St. Lawrence Island natives on their return from Indian Point. They had spent about forty-eight hours on the water and had a rough passage. About 20 persons at Indian Point died from influenza recently, one of them being the father—Oyeeaguk [*Uuyghaq*??—of Papak [*Papak*], who attended school here this last year. The Indian Point natives have about given over their purpose to visit this village this summer on account of the rough sea. I understand that the people here need about 600 deer-skins for clothes next winter.

July 1: 40°, 47°, 40°; southwest winds moderate, and south gale in evening; cloudy, rain in evening. Oozuk [*Uuzak*] and Toosuk [*Tuusaq*], with their crews, started for Indian Point [*Ungaziq*] in whaleboats.

[...]

July 12: Wednesday. Oozuk [*Uuzak*] gave a dance in the cleared space in front of the schoolhouse. The men and boys first ran around in a circle, some having walking sticks with them. After all of the runners had become tired, a walrus skin was laid on the ground and food was placed thereon, having been brought by Oozuk's [*Uuzak*] household and relatives. The old men partook of a feast, reindeer meat and Russian tobacco being the delicacies. The women were then tossed is skins.

Captain Jack [??] brought his little girl to the house later and asked me to trade for a pair of baby boots, which I did, in order to give the child some food. He then said that Oozuk [*Uuzak*] had brought some whiskey over from Siberia, which had been given to him by Taminga [*Tanenga*]. He claimed that Oozuk [*Uuzak*] had treated his friends, among others Shoolook [*Suluk*] and Captain Jack. I noticed the smell of liquor on Captain Jack's breath, and rebuked him for drinking it. Then I closed the door. I went to see Shoolook [*Suluk*] and Oozuk [*Uuzak*], and both denied having received or given any whiskey. Taminga [*Tanenga*] and Oozuk [*Uuzak*] are not friends. Hearing that Captain Jack contemplated making a trip to Indian Point that day, I said to Shoolook [*Suluk*] and Oozuk [*Suluk*] that the people had better say to Captain Jack that he must not return to the

island, but take up his residence elsewhere, as he had been for a long time a drunkard, a liar, and a false witness. He was a polluter of the morals of the community. As he was really a Siberian, he ought to be ostracized. I went to Captain Jack and told him that he had told me a falsehood with reference to Oozuk [*Suluk*] and Shoolook [*Suluk*], and that as long as he was going to Indian Point he had better remain there. His attempt to break down one of the doors of my house rendered him culpable when the *Bear* should arrive. I told him that his evil course had bereft him of friends at St. Lawrence Island, and now he had better seek a new home. He accused me of crowding him and said he had bullets, and got up and brandished his fists at me, coming close, but I did not retreat. Then he went back and drew his knife, and was seized by others as he came toward me, evidently intent on killing me. He struggles to get away from his captors, and called on me to help him, crying out that they were attempting to kill him. Shortly thereafter I walked to my house, wondering if Jack would execute his threats with reference to the bullets.

Later Toosik [*Tuusaq*], Shoolook [*Suluk*], Aminga [???], and Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] came to me and made an apology in behalf of the people. Jack's knife had been secured, and I was told that he would be guarded.

The *Bear*, Lieutenant Jarvis in command, came in the evening, and Dr. Jackson and Lieutenant Berthoff came ashore, and Jack was finally arrested and put in irons on board the *Bear*, to appear before the judge at St. Michael. Abrahamsen and I were invited to take passage on the *Bear*, and gladly did so. Said good-bye to the people, hoping to meet them again some time, and rejoiced that my duty was done on the island and that I could now go home.

William Furman Doty

Festivals of the People of St. Lawrence Island (1899)

As recorded by William Furman Doty, a school-teacher and a missionary

The excerpts below are taken from the original (unpublished) version of William Doty's diary (copy on files at the Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, microfilm reel #148) and also from his published paper, *The Eskimo on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska*, presented in the 'Ninth Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska' (1900, pp. 186–223). Doty was the first and maybe the only outside observer to watch the old ceremonies and to document them at great length. Some of these ceremonies (or their certain details) were already gone when the present-day elders were young children in the 1910s and the 1920s. This makes Doty's observations particularly worthy these days.

From Doty's Published Report (1900)

"Autughuk" [Ateghaq]—Worship of the Moon God.—Early in the morning one day in spring, when the hunting season was drawing near, Akulky [*Akulki*], together with the male members of his household and a few other male relatives and friends, placed his canoe on the shore ice, with the bow protruding over the water. They entered the canoe, Akulky [*Akulki*] occupying the seat in the stern, while his son sat in the bow. Taking their paddles, they fanned the air with them in a mimic ceremony representing a hunt. A darting gun was held partly in the water. When the sun appeared above the mountain all left the canoe and Akulky made a sacrifice to the "Moon God," in the hope that favorable weather would be granted during the coming hunting season¹. [...] The sacrifice consisted of small pieces of tobacco secured in trade the previous year from the first trader that season, and also of some pieces of baby walrus caught during the previous year and dried and preserved especially for this sacrifice. Akulky [*Akulki*] threw the tobacco and the walrus meat into the air and also into the water. Then followed a piece of dry salmon,

¹ This special ceremony in spring is not "moon worship." For the boat captains, this is one of the most important ceremonies, which is the one before (spring) hunting begins. They pray and worship for successful hunting, not to the moon. I believe in praying to the Creator, Most High God, who rules the Universe. They also call Him 'Great *Apaá*' (Willis Walunga's note).

See descriptions of the same ceremony in *Yaagmiqun'* (George Imergan) and *Siluk's* (Paul Silook) stories on pp. 124 and 132.

walrus and seal meat, and pickled red berries, which were served in two very large oblong wooden plates. The black skin of whale, but no other kind of whale meat could have been eaten at this time. No white man's food would have been deemed proper at this ceremonious repast. This sacrifice to the "Moon God" was made during February by the heads of four different households, and by Assoone [*Asunaghaq*], the chief, during March, and six times during April as many heads of families.

A new dance (given by Imurrugun [Aymergen].—A dance which appears to have been a new one and to which no name was given was held by four days by one of the more progressive natives [*Aymergen*]. In front of the house two spears were tied to an upright planted in the snow, and one spear to second upright, while two walking sticks were also placed vertically in the snow opposite the door. The outside posts were four in number, between the tops of which walrus ropes were stretched. Inside of the house a number of rain coats were hung on seal ropes and fish lines. There were also inflated seal skin "pokes." Around a seal-oil lamp, near the center pole, were placed five benches with high, thin legs, upon which Imurrugun [*Aymergen*], his family, and some intimate friends sat and beat drums and chanted. On a high but very narrow bench were placed small wooden effigies of Imurrugun [*Aymergen*] and his wife, while two other similar benches supported effigies of his relatives and friends.

[...] On the first day Imurrugun [*Aymergen*], together with his male relatives and friends, having on rain coats and water boots, went to the shore, where they remained a short time. On the second day the men participated in a dance which somehow resembled jumping. Trading followed. The third day was given wholly to trading. On the fourth and last day the men indulged in a 3-mile run, after which they were treated to a feast by the women of Imurrugun's [*Aymergen*] household.

Mähätak [?], or *Ola Hola* (held by Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*], Shoolook [*Suluk*], Oozuk [*Uuzak*] and others).—This dance lasts during only one day. A walrus skin was placed on the ground near the house between two spears, which stood erect, and upon this skin several wooden plates were set containing food. Near one of the spears were several wooden effigies [figurines], exceedingly small, which I rashly picked up and examined [...] and was requested to restore them to their former positions straightway. After the guests had feasted, a repast of which Abrahamsen and I were invited to partake, the walrus skin was ceremoniously removed and the men and boys took hold of its sides, and at given signal

tossed Timkaroo [*Temkeruu*], the chief functionary of the dance, high into the air. The person who is to be tossed stands upright in the center of the walrus skin and is thrown 10 or 12 feet upward and, if the toss has not been fool, will come down safely on the feet on the walrus skin. The exercise is called “Ovuktuk” [*Uvegtaq*]. After one or two men have been tossed, it is the turn of the women and children.

[...] Trading follows the “Ovuktuk” being conducted within the house, accompanied by singing and dancing. I think that every householder celebrates the “Mähätak” or Ola Hola annually.

Oozuk's [Uuzak] dance.—A few days after his return from a visit to Indian Point [*Ungaziq*, village in Siberia] Oozuk [*Uuzak*] celebrated a dance in front of the mission house. The men and boys ran round with all their speed in a circle, a number of them having with them their walking staves [sticks]. It was possibly a half hour before they were exhausted in this exercise. I was told that a such a circle was formed when the Indian Point and Plover Bay natives were received, and that the exercise was held on this occasion as if a reception of guests is taking place, as people believed that no visit would be made that season by the Indian Point and Plover Bay natives. The second feature of the program was a feast. The women of Oozuk's household brought some venison and Russian tobacco which had been recently secured in Siberia and placed them, with substantial viands of walrus and seal meat, I believe, on a walrus skin which had been laid on the ground. Then the very old men of the community were invited to the repast. Later Oozuk [*Uuzak*] gave small pieces of tobacco to some men who were less aged than the others and who were less intimate with him. Tossing in the blanket concluded the ceremonies.

From Doty's Diary

(UAF Archives, St. Lawrence Island Journal Collection, 1898–1906, vol. 1)

Jan 2, 1899: “Kazzu vu” [*Kaziva*] began today. The friends visited one another in their houses. This is called “Op okh to tuk” [*Upughtaataq?*]. Tonight friends will assist Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] make preparations for the festivities tomorrow. This part of the program is called Poovwalu [*Puvalla*].

[...] Somewhat higher than the top of the pole there was a framework, consisting of two

paddles tied together in the middle at right angles. Upon the ends, there were fastened scrawny bodies of gulls, having the feathers pretty well plucked from all parts save the wings. Tied to seal rope there were some fifteen or more small wooden rings, symmetrically placed. Above the framework was a large seal-skin upon which some snow had been placed. There were seal ropes leading from two parts of the frame down to a pole nearby. The height of the frame from the ground was possibly eight feet. A long steering oar was firmly tied in a horizontal position aloft, supporting the frame work of paddles and ropes, etc., while a paddle which had been successfully used by Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] in steering his canoe in several prosperous whale-hunting trips, was secured to a pole. The blade of this paddle had been painted black, except a strip a couple of inches wide, painted from water taken from the eye of a whale and boiled down for quite a long time. This paddle was highly prized for by its aid, Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] claimed to have taken four whales.

The ceremony of the 2nd day was called *Iyoklara'otuh* [*Ayuqliiraagbuta*]. The guests were only there, including myself, instead of a large concourse which I had understood would attend. The ceremony began by the beating of a drum on the part of Assoone [*Asunaghaq*], followed by his brother [*Nemaayaq*] shortly in a similar performance, and by chanting by both of them. Then the two men and the grandchildren of Assoone [*Asunaghaq*], all of the party wearing chaplets [??] upon which were suspended what I may call for the word of a [....?....] "tassels" made from the fur of fawns, (and yet not quite tassels either, for there was only one part—about ten inches in length). Then began a roped walk about the pole dodging other poles, and using a springing step, the two men beating their drums and chanting the while. For fifteen minutes this giddy dance was [concluded after] one little boy after another had dropped out; ... Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] then beat his drum a woman danced in a peculiar fashion jerking her arms about now one, now the other toward the musician. Then she spoke a little recitation to him, which was translated for my benefit thus. "My grandfather came across of the way from Indian Point, (*Ungaziq* in Siberia) through heavy surf, accompanied by only one other man." Three of four women followed the first one, in a similar performance of dancing either accompanied by Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] or his friend, and then recited a brief tale of one of their ancestors or friends, but the imperfect translation made them only partially intelligible to me. The festivities were over for the day after this event.

Jan. 4: No school. 24° South wind, very light. Finest day for a long time. I attended the festivities at Assoone's [*Asunaghaq*] house this morning finding a large number of specta-

tors present. One woman (who was Assoone's Aunt) [??], beat the drum while other women and girls chanted. The men had women walked [around the pole, one man clasping the woman in front of him very tightly under the arms. The women wore a "pained expression" as if they were undergoing a very unpleasant ordeal, but as one party of women would leave, I observed that there were others always ready to take their places. The men and women had fur tassels fastened on their clothing. The women wore raincoats over other garments, in some instances.

In the afternoon a party of S.W. Cape natives arrived and were received in due form. One Messinga [*Masingka*—that is, local Gambell] man and one S.W. Cape man backed each up and down with long spears, on a sham contest, while two boys representing the two peoples, imitated the men, having short spears. A seal skin had been placed on the snow by the Messinga [*Masingka*] community, and the show battle took place over this as a center, I think.

In the evening Aningan [*Anenga*] and Muntokoli [*Mangtaquli*] came to inform me that the people were ready to sing in Assoone's [*Asunaghaq*] house, and accordingly, Abrahamsen and I accompanied them to the night festivities. I asked Aningan [*Anenga*] to request Assoone [*Asunaghaq*], who is the principal native "doctor" here to perform some of his marvelous feats of skill. I was asked to make a present to the women who were about to begin in singing, as that would make them stronger for the taste, and I promised to give some pilot bread on the morrow, specifying the amount. As the quantity seemed to fall short of expectations, I increased the amount steadily until a satisfactory limit had been reached.

The program had not been arranged for every specific event, and yet as Abrahamsen and I were persuaded to attend, I gladly paid the price of admission. The people are eager to secure all they can from me, and even on such an occasion as this one, did not hesitate to ask for a present. I pay them always for any service, and hence am and on obligations.

A large number of people were assembled, and when the lights had been put out, the chanting and drum-beating began. Aningan [*Anenga*] tried to explain to me the meaning of various chants, but it was difficult to apprehend his meaning, as he speaks English only very brokenly. Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] began to make wild cries of all sorts, and I was given to understand that God would send the Devil soon. There was a knocking on the side of

the house near the place where I was seated. Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] began some reliable groaning, and this was the signal to the people that the Devil was entering Assoone [*Asunaghaq*]. The groans and cries were doubtless very awe-inspiring to the natives, head above the chanting and drum-beating. I was entreated not to leave as if all expected that in the dark I must be in an agony of fright and then when the “Doctor” hit me light blows in the leg and ribs which were within reach of his hand, I was particularly enjoined to stay and remain seated. By and by, I was told that the Devil had been “plenty strong,” but while he was still “very tall,” he was getting less so and of the time, and soon Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] would put him out. I was not quite certain as to the exact method of driving the Devil out, as the chants were numerous. During part of the program after God had made Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] a doctor, as Iwasin [??] informed, Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] purported to go down through the walrus skin covering of the ground, below for some distance. To prove it to me, I was allowed to put my hands on his shoulders, that is to say, the back of my hands, in order to pull his body go down. Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] insisted as well as he could that I take off my boots, and present myself in bare feet like himself for the performance, but I did not yield to this request. It appears that the people believe that the Devil can hide inside of the boots when on the feet of any person present and such will be harder to drive him out. During aginous [sic] cries and drum-beating, Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] sank down and I was asked to sink down with him, until he was in a crouching position, and then, very opportunely, I was conducted to my seat. The walrus skin upon which Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] had been standing was then raised up very near me, and cries seemed to issue from underneath it, and possibly Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] put his head underneath. Ainigan [*Anenga*] kept asking me “Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] foolish?” I did not criticize however, as I desired to see the utmost extent of the skill of a native doctor and also the credulity of the people. Aningan [*Anenga*], who is a very shrewd young man, seemed to be perfectly credulous as to Assoone’s [*Asunaghaq*] ability to perform marvelous [feats] and explained his skill on the ground that God liked Assoone [*Asunaghaq*]. After Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] came up “out of the ground,” he was supposed to be flying in the air, doubtless flapping his wings as it were, in time to the chanting, for his drum was going at a great rate. At length he descended heavily alighting upon one of my feet, and compelling me to a skeptical view of his qualifications as a “high-flyer.” It is needless to say that he had been standing of as high as possible during the flying performance and reached the climax by a spring into the air and a return speedily to the floor[...]

I was next invited to take hold of the lower part of a fur frock which had been trimmed inside out and placed over the naked shoulders and back of Assoone [*Asunaghaq*], and told to hold on tightly as Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] would try to pull away from me, he had quite a tug of war until the frock became loose at the ends, when I felt obliged to let go, while Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] fell forward with a plunge. Again we tried, and I held him quite well, although I had some advantage of him as I was sitting down and thus had all my weight on the pull, and so claim no credit. The skin came off and again he plunged forward. Abrahamsen offered to hold him down, and was given a chance and did better work than I had done, keeping a good hold, until the skin came off. The frock was not held on the shoulders of Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] by any other means than [mere] adhesion than to the perspiration of his body which appeared remarkable, until Abrahamsen explained the fact to all of us, and remarked that the trick was no great feat. This [conclusion] made Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] and others of the company mad, and one man wanted Abrahamsen to contest in a rowing match with Assoone [*Asunaghaq*]. Unless I am mistaken it was during the “tug of war” that Devil was supposed to make his exit. The remainder of the program consisted of chanting and drum-beating and I did not observe any new features. I was told that Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] was a very good “doctor,” and had often made people well by driving out the devil by means of chants and beating of the drum. However the credit was due to God who would spare the life of even a very sick man if he liked the man, but other men [were] destroy[ed] in spite of all the “doctor” could do. Thus the native doctor has a loop hole through which to escape when his efforts at healing are unavailable. On the other hand a Christian physician would appreciate the fact that the ultimate responsibility of the case is regarded by the people as resting upon God [...]

Jan 5: No school. Fourth day of festivities, called Ang a' tut [???]. The men and women walked around the pole as in the previous day, the women grasping the pole with one hand. Assoone's [*Asunaghaq*] Aunt beat the drum and led the chanting which was done by the women. The framework was moved on this occasion and on the previous day by the ropes, at intervals, marking [“]house lines[”???] in the chants. The seal-skin was removed before that part of the program yesterday and has been replaced.

Then Assoone [*Asunaghaq*] gave a feast to “all comers,” consisting of walrus meat frozen hard, uncooked and to my nostrils very unsavory. The meat was placed in four very large wooden trays near the lamp, which had been brought in and placed near the pole. Assoone

[*Asunagbaq*] donned a pair of mittens which had sleigh bells attached to them, and then he began to beat his drum and chant. He then appeared to take small pieces of meat from each of the trays and throw them toward the lamp, and finally placed pieces over the effigies of himself and his wife, which were fashioned to the pole, and then touched the poles which formed the main support of the house, and then his paddle, muttering at times.

He next took his large paddle and with his brother went out followed by myself. Climbing to the top of his house he brandished the paddle in different directions, and I understood that he wanted either the paddle to see God, or God to see the paddle. After this he threw small pieces of meat in different directions. I remarked that the dogs picked them up, but was told that God had first received them. The feast was regarded as one given by God through his “doctor.”

I learned that after Abrahamsen and I had departed on the previous night, some other tricks had been performed by Assoone [*Asunagbaq*] and one woman who was his wife, I think—A rope was placed about the neck of one of them and the other was supposed to have cut her head off. The woman heated a stick and [put] it into her abdomen near the navel, and brought out blood—to all appearances! And I was given to understand that these feats had been performed in a dim light.

In the afternoon the young men and boys performed on two walrus ropes fastened so as to be in a horizontal position between larger uprights made of jawbones of whales. The “kep up” seemed to be the principal feat: in fact there was practically little else save the various ways of accomplishing this task. The small children chased one another about trying to tumble one another. [...] Even the men of middle age played “tag.” In talking with Shoook [*Suluk*] about Messinga [*Masingka*, that is *Yupik*] sports, I learned that the people sometimes play a sort of football game, and young men, boys, and little girls kick a ball up with their feet, keeping it from touching the ground. There has been an exhibition thus far of these exercises. I have observed little boys playing a hunting game, notably catching walrus. One boy would touch another with a stick to which a rope was attached which represented harpooning, whereupon the boy playing the role of the walrus would run off, taking the stick, but [...?....], soon he would place the stick in the

snow and hold back, while the captain would try to pull him toward him. Then, too, I had seen the boys play a game representing bird catching, using pieces of bone fastened about two feet apart by rope. These would be thrown into the air by one boy after whirling them about (holding by the middle of the rope) and another boy would throw his “bones” in such a way as to hit and “tangle up” the others. The boys are fairly expert with slings, practicing almost constantly in the effort to hit birds on the water or flying in the air. The men do not seem to care much for the sling-shot, which is used to great advantage by the Eskimos living on St. Lawrence Bay, whom I observed doing very skilful feats displaying both strength and accuracy of aim.

Jan 6: Last day of festivities at Assoone's [*Asunaghaq*] house. I was called at 1:30 a.m. to attend the “trading,” but declined...

Daily Journal from St. Lawrence Island, 1900–01

By P. H. J. Lerrigo, M.D.

From: Sheldon Jackson. Eleventh Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska. U.S. Office of Education. Washington, D.C. 1902, pp. 79–123

P. H. J. Lerrigo was a medical doctor, who was hired by Sheldon Jackson as an assistant to Mr. William Doty and a superintendent of Gambell Reindeer station for the year 1900–01. When Mr. Doty left the island in the fall of 1900, Lerrigo was placed in temporary charge of all activities—including teaching, missionary work, and supervision of reindeer operations. He stayed for the full year and left the island in summer 1901.

Mr. Lerrigo's tenure in Gambell was marked by two major events: an influenza epidemic of the summer of 1900 and the introduction of first domestic reindeer to St. Lawrence Island in September 1900. Both events were covered in Lerrigo's annual report to Sheldon Jackson and in the accompanying daily journal. Although Lerrigo's journal was not as detailed as the one kept by his predecessor, Mr. William Doty, it carried very important information on hunting and herding activities as well as on ice and weather conditions in Gambell during his stay. Of those, the most critical are data about three big whales killed in spring of 1901 (on May 9, May 23, and May 26, respectively); about the ice breakup in Gambell and the beginning of open-water hunting by ten crews in whaleboats on April 22; about frequent visits by the Siberian Yupik from the village of *Ungaziq* starting from May 10, including one that brought Mr. Waldemar Bogoras, the renowned Russian anthropologist, to Gambell. Only those entries from Lerrigo's journal have been selected that have specific information pertaining to St. Lawrence Island and its people.

**Annual Report Presbyterian Reindeer Station,
Gambell, St. Lawrence Island**

Gambell, St. Lawrence Island. *July 1, 1901.*

Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D.

General Agent, Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of the Government school and reindeer station at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, for the year ending June 30, 1901.

Personnel.—At the opening of the year the personnel of the station was as follows: Rev. William F. Doty, teacher and missionary; P. H. J. Lerrigo, M.D., superintendent of reindeer station; Mr. Ole Krogh, assistant.

July 27th, the following natives were taken as apprentices to the reindeer service: Ahtaky'ak [*Aghtuqaayak*], Betwi'n'khuk [*Petgenghhaq*—elder brother of Jackson *Unmeggaq* and George Mkoiyuk=*Meghyuq*], Ka'hlo [*Qaalu*], Aye'yta [*Iiyiitaq*].

September 9th, Mr. Nils Sara [Saami herder from Norway] and family arrived. Aye'yta [*Iiyiitaq*] was discharged at this time for insubordination and general worthlessness. [...] When Kahlo [*Qaalu*] left, I engaged Sepi'lla [*Sipela*], a young unmarried man, to fill his place, and the three young men, Ahtaky'ak [*Aghtuqaayak*], Betwi'nkhuk [*Petgenghhaq*], and Sepi'lla [*Sipela*] still remain. They are among the best young fellows of the community, strong and healthy, fairly honest, and interested in their work. They have worked faithfully, and I am quite satisfied with their behavior during the year.

[...]

School work.—The printed forms accompanying this report show attendance at school during 105 days with an average of 21. Mr. Doty commenced school on September 11th. [...] School was closed the 1st of April, both because there were many things about the premises [...] and because the ice breaking away very early (about a month earlier than usual) took most of the children away from school.

[...]

The reindeer.—On July 27th, 29 deer were brought from Siberia by the revenue cutter *Bear*. They were placed upon the other side of the mountain, about 15 miles from the mission, in charge of Mr. Krogh, with Kahlo [*Qaalu*], Betwinkhuk [*Petgenghhaq*], Ahtakyak [*Aghtuqaayak*], and Ayeta [*Iiyiitaq*] to assist. [...] September 9th, the *Bear* ar-

rived again, bringing 41 deer from Port Clarence, with a Laplander, Mr. Sara, and his family. These deer were landed near the camp where the others were feeding, but immediately scattered widely.

Mr. Sara was furnished with provisions, also a tent and stove, and made preparations to remain. A location was found for the winter quarters about 20 miles east of the mission, and on September 22nd, I sent the first boat load of lumber for the construction of a house. [...] By October 12th, the herders' house was finished. [...] The winter had now set in; northeast winds were blowing constantly, with snow. The deer were somewhat tamed and were at the vicinity of the house together.

On the 26th of April the first fawns were born. By this time the weather has moderated, the sun had softened the snow and ice, and the moss was more easily accessible, so the fawns did well. The fawning season continued through May and June, 33 being born in all; 4 were born dead and 3 died subsequently. [...] The total number of deer now on hand is as follows: Old deer, 61; fawns, 26; total, 87.

Vital Statistics.—Between July 1st, 1900, and June 30th, 1901, a total of 48 deaths have occurred. [...] The epidemic of influenza, which commenced in June of last year, continued through July and part of August. From the commencement of the epidemic until August 1st, there were 46 deaths. [...] During the same period there have been three births, making a net decrease of 45. The census statistics are influenced somewhat by members of the village who have been at Indian Point [*Ungaziq* or Chaplino in Siberia] and Cape Nome, returning.

The number of persons resident at Sivukuk [*Sivugaq*] at present is 244; at Southwest Cape [*Pugughileg*] there are 20, making a total of population of 264.
[...]

Appended hereto is an abstract of the journal kept by me during the past year. Trusting this report will meet with your approval, I am,

Yours, sincerely,

P.H.J. Lerrigo, M.D.

Abstract of Daily Journal on St. Lawrence Island Kept

By P. H. J. Lerrigo, M.D.

July 1, 1900: Sunday. Quiet day.

July 2: 60°. Southwest; clear. Washing and house cleaning.

July 2 to 9. House cleaning. The death record has gone up to 22. Assoona [*Asunaghaq*] is improving. Shaalook's [??] wife and child died.

July 13: Twenty-six persons have so far died of the epidemic. The direct cause of most of the deaths was pneumonia. [...] Assoona [*Asunaghaq*] is able to be around somewhat, but his wife and boy are still very ill. Many dogs have been sacrificed according to their custom of killing a dog at the death of a man.

July 14: Nu'chones's [*Neghqun*] wife died last night. Aiya'gon [*Ayagun?*] and Assoona's [*Asunaghaq*] wife are a little better, also Ana'gasook [*Anaghasuuk*—wife of *Qenaaghaq*].

July 19: 48°. Northeast; cloudy. Ongo'ra [*Angaraq?*], an old man, died last night. He had previously given a dance to drive out the devil. He was not a native of St. Lawrence Island, although he had lived here many years.

July 23: 45°. Southeast; cloudy. Oksauhuk [*Sikagghaq?*], a woman in Oozuk's [*Uuzak*] house, died last night. Completed investigation of death record, and find that 44 have died in all, including the 6 who were drowned in the canoe attacked by the walrus.

[...]

July 24: 54°. Southeast; bright. Wash day. Sepilla [*Sipela*] and Pennyau [*Pinaaya*] have learned to wash quite well and helped us. In the afternoon we went to the mountain and took some pictures.

July 27: 54°. Northeast; bright. Thick fog toward evening. Big dance this morning (called by Sepilla [*Sipela*] and Ahoalako [??]) on a walrus skin in front of Ifkowan's [*Ifkaghun*] house. It was for trading purposes.

[...]

July 31: During the morning we paid off the natives whom we had working for us during the *Bear's* visit, building the house, carrying loads to the shore, etc., retaining Ahtaiyukhuk [*Ataayaghhaq*], Maiyukhuk [*Mayuqaq*], Aguchky [*Akulki???*], Savila [*Saavla*], and Tungaits [*Tangatu???*] to assist upon the house.

[...]

August 11: 40°. Kahlo [*Qaalu*] is still sick. It seems he considers himself a great medicine man and powerful with God in prayer [...].

September 9 and 10: 36°. Northeast. On Sunday morning about 10 o'clock the *Bear* arrived. We were unable to go aboard for some time, on account of heavy seas. About 2 o'clock we went off in Shuluk's [*Suluk*] boat. The breakers were too heavy for the landing of coal, and Captain Tuttle took the boat around the mountain and landed 41 deer near the camp. The *Bear* left about 1 p.m. the 10th for Indian Point and will return to-morrow to land the coal.

September 11: The *Bear* returned at noon. Four boats went out to her and landed about 115 sacks of coal.

[...]

September 17: 45°. Northeast; cloudy. Spent most of the day trying to induce the natives to go to the ship. Finally persuaded Wungaiye [*Nguungaya*—father of *Galaagerngen*] and went in his boat.

[...]

October 17: 30° to 26°. Northeast; cloudy; snow. A dance was held this morning in Oozuk's [*Uuzug*] house, which most of the people attended.

October 18: 26° North; snow. Lake partly frozen. Big dance at Ahlonga's [*Alanga*—brother of *Nguungaya*] house. The children did not come to school on account of it.

October 22: 20° to 34°. Northeast and southeast; gale; snow. The storm prevented the children from attending, and made it in fact impossible to light a fire in the school room. In the evening we felt two lights shocks of earthquake. The natives are persuaded that this

is of demoniac origin and presages some terrible calamity to the village. Most of them have discharged rifles in their houses to drive away the devil. Ahtaiyukhuk [*Ataayagbbaq*] says that the old men tell of an earthquake, which was followed by a winter of famine, and they fear a like catastrophe. Have been endeavoring to reassure them.

October 24: 30°. West; clear and bright. Dance at Shuluk's [*Suluk*] house. Kahlo [*Qaalu*] came from the camp; reports all well. Have allowed him to remain and repair his house[...].

November 17: 30°. Takmadeluk [*Tutmaatelek=Uma*], a Southwest Cape man, claims that his dog has been shot, and desires pay for it.

[...]

December 23: -2°. Cloudy and calm. Christmas service in morning. Oozivushuk [*Uzivusiq*] and Ogineskivapuk [??] are sick.

[...]

January 3: 10°. Clear and calm. All the people from Southwest Cape have come to visit, and there has been dancing all day.

January 4: 10°. Calm and clear. Ice packed solidly in all directions. Etego's [??] father got a large whitefish. Anagasook [*Anaghasuuk*] is very ill; visited her three times to-day and gave her medicine. Have still great difficulty in getting the children to school.

[...]

February 20: 32°. Southeast by east. Eguntunk [*Ighennaq*] and Shoonogeruk [*Sunaagbruk*] scrubbed the schoolroom floor.

February 25: 10°. Northeast. Oozuk [*Uuzak*] is observing what he calls a Messinga [*Masingka*] Sunday, lasting several days, during which he abstains from ordinary work.

[...]

March 31: 20°. Southwest; snow. A large expanse of open water. Three canoes went out and two walrus were captured.

April 6: 15°. Northeast; cloudy; snow. Worked upon school report and native vocabulary.

There is a scarcity of food in the village. The weather and ice have not been favorable to hunting in some time.

[...]

April 15: 32°. Northwest; cloudy; snow. Allowed Kowarra [*Quwaaren*] to put skins upon the frame of his canoe in the schoolroom.

April 22: 34°. Light south breeze; dark and gloomy. Today the whaleboats were launched, the ice having all given way before the east wind. A number of walrus were captured.

April 23: 30°. South; open water in all directions. Ten whaleboats hunting.

April 25: 40°. Calm and cloudy; snow rapidly thawing. A bear and cub were shot; Tumkaras [*Temkeruu*] divided the skin among the people, cutting it into small pieces.

[...]

May 4: 25°. North; cloudy. Language. Two boats (Shoolook's [*Suluk*] and Umwahluk's [*Ungalaq*]) were caught by the ice and unable to get free. They will have to remain out until to-morrow.

May 5: 28°. North; bright and clear. The boats returned safely.

May 7: 22°. North; bright. Took census of village.

May 9: 40°. North. Scrubbed paint in sitting room. Kowarra [*Quwaaren*] got a whale.

May 10: 30°. Northwest; cloudy. A boat arrived from Indian Point [in Siberia] this morning. In the afternoon Nuchon [*Neghqun???*] was intoxicated and ran around the village naked from the waist up, shouting and raving. I took him home with the aid of Rakok [*Raaquq*] and Uzivushuk [*Uzivusiq*] and gave him an opiate. As it was, he attacked Ifkowan [*Ifkaghun*], who knocked him down and jumped on his head.

[...]

May 14: 26°. West. Worked on language. Another boat came from Indian Point.

May 15: 30°. Calm and cloudy. Assoona [*Asunagbaq*], the chief, tells me that the Indian Point chief had sent him a message requiring him to pay tribute, in default of which he will make an attack upon the village and kill him.

May 22: 25°. Northeast; cloudy. Ice constantly moving in and out.

May 23: 30°. West; bright. Worked on language. Kowarra [*Quwaaren*] killed another whale [...].

May 26: 28°. Foggy, west. Related the chief events in the life of Jesus for the benefit of the Plover Bay men who were at the service this morning. Aguchky [*Akulki?*] got a whale.

[...]

June 5: 35°. Southwest; misty. A large passenger steamer passed going south. Three boats came from Indian Point, bringing Mr. Waldemar Bogoras, a member of the Jessup Expedition [by the American Museum of Natural History in New York].

June 6: 35°. Southwest, misty. Assisted Mr. Bogoras in investigating the language, manners, and customs of the natives. The steam brig *Grampus* came. Captain Porter brought me two letters. She left in the afternoon for the Diomedes.

[...]

June 9: 36°. Southwest. Service in the morning. Mr. Bogoras very kindly assisted me.

June 10: 36°. Southwest. Mr. Bogoras and the Indian Point men left for Indian Point.

[...]

June 23: Returned to Sivukak [*Sivuqaq*—from a short trip to Southwest Cape]. Six deer have born in the past week, one born dead. ...Obtained 1 slab of bacon and 30 pounds of sugar from Captain Tilton to complete July rations for the herders. Left for cape Nome on board *Alexander*. Mr. Krogh remained in charge of the [Gambell] station.

Excerpts from Dr. Egdar O. Campbell Diaries, 1902–1905

Edgar Omar Campbell, a medical doctor, teacher, and a Presbyterian missionary, was the fourth person whom Sheldon Jackson placed in charge of the school activities and of the reindeer-station in Gambell in the summer of 1901. Campbell's tenure was also the longest of all the early teachers and missionaries, as he and his wife stayed on the island until 1910. The Campbells left behind a substantial legacy on the island, in terms of advancing schooling, Christianity, and development of a viable reindeer-herding economy. They were and still are well remembered by the St. Lawrence Island people as reported by later teachers, researchers, and the present-day elders alike.

Copies of Edgar O. Campbell's handwritten diaries for the years 1901–1910 are now available at the Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks (in Dorothea Leighton's personal collection—see Part Two). In addition, several shorter general reports written by Campbell were published in the *Annual Reports on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska* (in 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, etc.). The section below presents a few excerpts from Campbell's unpublished diaries and a selection of his annual birth records for St. Lawrence Island. Altogether, Campbell documented over eighty births (and about sixty deaths) between years 1901 and 1910, including some of the presently living elders and of several respected people of the past decades. Campbell was the first person to start registering birth and death of people by their personal Yupik names, although his system of Yupik name spelling was far from accurate. His records, thus, represent the earliest set of vital statistics documentation available for St. Lawrence Island.

October 1902

Wed. 10: Emuk u u en's [*Imegyuum*] house finished. Traded for 2 more walrus skins. Used up all my old sacks, & my small nails & a lot of box lumber. Paid off men after school. Work for each other for nothing, but will take pay when they can get it. Made a cupboard to put in new house. They asked me what it was for—having no cups, plates, knives forms, nor dishes. Glorious sunset. Had Privy deepened & braced up.

Thurs. 11: Called on Shool look [*Suluk*] before breakfast & told him about my camping & fishing trip. He gave me some fine fresh seal meat and a kind of root used for food. School, even 40 on time. Good session. Children have forgotten very little during 4½ months vacation. Mr. Thomas caught 40 cod—sent up 3 & wanted some salt—sent

down 24#. Tim ko roo [*Temkeruu*], Ozuk [*Uuzak*] & If kow an's [*Ifkaghun*] camping parties returned. Lowered some desks & benches in school room. Bought more logs.

Fri. 12: My birthday—35 years old. School—50 present, only 2 seats not occupied. Had to go after Olo'wu [*Aluwa*] and Okis sook [*Akesug*]—said they thought there was no school because it was raining. Average attendance. for week, 40; on timers, 27. Gave bread to on-timers and those on time 4 times, & dried apples all around. Fine chocolate cake for birthday at dinner. Cut down one more desk & bench. Lou & I took walk to Oo I till lin's [*Uwetelen*] & Ozuk's [*Uuzak*]. Traded Ozuk [*Uuzak*] 4 jts. stove pipe for a deer skin. Found the children had forgotten very little—nearly every class being able to begin where they left off last April.

May 1903

12th, Indian Point Siberian people [from *Ungaziq*]...used to come in 8, 10, or 12 boats, each one carrying 10 or 15 people, mostly men, and would carry on anything of value they could see.

23rd: [...] Woman on the beach is given one or two pieces of whale bone of the smaller size and the remainder divided among the boats' crew, the boat itself being allowed the same as one man. During this process the woman belonging to the house, their friends and relatives keep singing in front of the house. The paddle is stuck into ground [facing] to sea—blade up[...].

As soon as the whale is killed, the captain and his boat steerer put on eye shield made of seal skin. 40 slabs—the largest—are taken from one side, and the remainder divided among the boats which have assisted in cutting up the whale. We did not get to bed until 2 AM.

24th: Slept late and again in the day. Good service, though I had some difficulty in getting my thots [sic] expressed. Was glad to see Shoo look [*Suluk*] out again. Gave medicine to several. Many are suffering from colds. A two-masted schooner—steam-sighted to the north, which has probably caught a whale as 5 boats were seen coming toward her.

25th: Mrs. Campbell's 24th birthday. Made her a foot-stool from a cartridge box, covering it with red denim and edging it with black water proof seal skin...

July 1903

1st: Spent the day arranging the years' inventory of Gov't. supplies in a sheet table, showing receipts and disbursements for the year. Had July rations ready to take to camp (Reindeer) but there was too much wind. Capt. John Thomas sent a goose from the whaling camp.

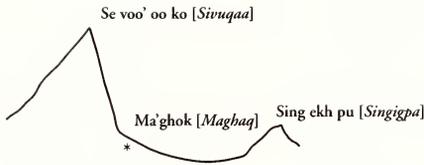
2nd: Went to Reindeer Camp, in Koworrin's [*Quwaaren*] boat—crew Koworrin [*Quwaaren*], Otiyihok [*Ataayaghbaq*], Koonooku [*Kunuka*], Owitillin [*Uwetelen*], Noongwook [*Nunguk*], Enok [*Inuuq*], and Wo hiyi [*Waaghyi*]. Ta too wi [*Tatuwi*] also went. Otiyohok killed 4 eider ducks. Sounded off shore at mouth of river this side Reindeer Bluff—2 fath. other places along shore 2½–3 fath.—50 yds. from shore. Ice out from lagoon was filed along shore north.

August 1905

Tues. 1st: Koo koo' lik [*Kukulek*] used to be a village of some 100 people in 8 or 9 houses, all having died about 1889 or 1890, of a combined famine pestilence, which at the same time destroyed all the people on the E. end of the Island.

Some from Koo koo lik [*Kukulek*] tried to reach Se voo oo kok (Gambell) but died on the way, one man when only 6 or 7 mi. from the latter village. On visiting the village next summer, some food was found in the meat cellars, beside walrus skin rope and canoe covers, but there was no oil. Still, the loss of oil should not have caused death, as great quantities of wood were lying all about. Shool look [*Suluk*] told me this people used to trade a full furnished canoe for a common carpenter's hammer, and 10 big walrus heads (100# or 150# of ivory).

At Evughok [*Ivgag*] we saw one old ning loo [*nenglu*]. This second line or mountains are the one we saw immediately behind the coast line, the general direction of which is indicated. I took my bearing with a small pocket compass, over my log book. Wish I had a good surveyor's plane table.



King a' u ghok [] —
 Se voo' oo ko [Sivuuqaa] = peninsula
 Tu ku ghok [Tekeghaq] = cape or point
 Kut tli o kot [Ketliqat] =

* indicates where Muukok [*Magbaq*] and family were camped. We saw him in his canoe just off shore catching kiut [*kayut*] or skelpers, in great abundance. This place is called Mo' ghok [??]. The two rocks off Sing ekh pu [*Singigpa*] are called Noo no o ghok [*Nunaagak*]. Close to them the water is shallow, but deepens rapidly. It was from this point that Ko no hok [*Qunagghaq*] and another man from Gambell (Se voo oo kok) made their way to land and on home in the year (??), having been carried away on the ice while out hunting, and the current having swung the ice in against the shore ice which was held by these two rocks.

E. O. Campbell's Birth and Death Records St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, 1901–1911

(Modern Yupik name spelling introduced by Willis Walunga)

1901

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (...)—boy, died 1901 | |
| Ne gokh'puk [<i>Negaghpak</i>] | I yo'pu [<i>Ayapaa</i>] |
| (...)—girl, died 1901 | |
| Sov'lu [<i>Saavla</i>] | Soo who'ri [<i>Sewhaari</i>] |
| (...)—boy, Dec. 9 th | |
| Ko umg'ok [<i>Qanenguq</i>] | Yo'go [<i>Yaaghu</i>] |
| (...)—boy, Dec. 13 th | |
| O mo'go [<i>Amagu</i>] | Kolsch'nuk [<i>Qaallnag</i>] |

- (...)—boy, July 14th
 Ozič' boohook [*Uzivusiq*]
 Sing limg'u [*Singlenga*]
- O ming ti [*Anangti, Alec*]—boy, July 19th
 Mun to ko li [*Mangtaquli*]
 Okonelskwo' o puk
 [*Aghnalqwaapak*]
- (...)—boy, Sept. 6th
 Oming' o u [*Anengayuu*]
 Okwo ho ni [*Ukaaghhani*]
- Tool li [*Tulii—Jimmie Toolie*]—boy, Aug. 12th
 Tung i too owm [*Tangatu*]
 Yor ri [*Yaari*]
- Su ko mik [*Saqumik*]—boy, Dec. 1st
 Img gotingan [*Angqatenganwan*]
 An o sook [*Anasuk*]
- If ko' hluk [*Ifkalleq, Irving*]—boy, Dec. 20th
 Ko ming ok [*Qanenguaq*]
 Yo' go [*Yaaghu*]
- Koo ma' roo [??]—boy, Dec. 24th
 Tong yun [*Taangyan*]
 Ng lik tuk [*Enlegtaq*]
- 1904
- (...)—boy, Jan. 11th
 Ozi' bo shook [*Uzivusiq*]
 Sing lung' u [*Singlenga*]
- Tu lung u [*Telenga*]—boy, Jan. 12th
 Oo i til' lin [*Uwetelen*]
 Ke es suk [*Qiyasiq*]
- Too oo zuk [*Tuusaq*]—boy, Feb. 5th
 Ikh mi' loo u [*Iqmaluwa*]
 O ko noghokhpuk
 [*Aghnaghaghpak*]
- O'soong wo [*Aasunga*]—girl, May 6th
 Sov lu [*Saavla*]
 So who ri [*Sewhaari*]
- Ooyuughooon [*Uyghagaan*]—boy, June 22nd
 Oo o tu [*Apaata*]
 [*Aallenga*]
- 1905
- Ungi'yuk [*Utaayuk??*]—boy, Jul. 11th
 Uokh'puk [*Yuwaaghpak*]
 Singo'win [*Singaawen*]

1907

| | |
|--|---|
| Josephine—girl, Sep. 4 th Opootu [<i>Apaata</i>] | Ohlingu [<i>Aallenga</i>] |
| Weyungi [<i>Wayengi</i>]—girl, Sep. 15 th , Ozevoshook [<i>Uzevusiq</i>] | Singlungu [<i>Singlenga</i>] |
| Otiyungu [<i>Uyaatiqaq?</i>]—boy, Sep. 25 th Iwoorigan [<i>Aywergen</i>] | Yoghoungwo [<i>Yaghunga</i>] |
| (...)—boy, Oct. 22 nd Poozuk [<i>Paazak</i>] | Tooniyouk [<i>Tuuni</i>] |
| Okunonkumini [?] Tungitoo [<i>Tangatu</i>] | Yorri [<i>Yaari</i>] |
| Kuonuk, Roland [?] Ooitillin [<i>Uwetelen</i>] | Kaeyessuk [<i>Qiyasiq</i>] |
| Oyelluk [<i>Ayaleq</i>]—girl, Dec. 2 nd Otiyuhok [<i>Ataayaghhaq</i>] | Ieokleuk [<i>Ayuqliq</i>] |
| 1908 | |
| Kokeyungu [<i>Kukiiyanga</i>]—girl, Jan. 18 th Stoogurook [<i>Estugruuk</i>] | Owgoolaengu [<i>Awliinga</i>] |
| Okhitikuk [<i>Uugtekaq</i>]—boy, Jan. 24 th Wonggottillin [<i>Wanggetelen</i>] | Kissluk [<i>Kesliq</i>] |
| Ungeyuko [<i>Angiku Nina</i>]—girl, Feb. 9 th Wamkon [<i>Waamquun</i>] | Nooweyellingok [<i>Nuugigalnguq</i>] |
| Nookwok [<i>Naakwaq?</i>]—girl, Feb. 20 th Messiu [<i>Masaayu</i>] | Okwoowu [<i>Ukughwa</i>] |
| Noolu [?] Uokhpuk [<i>Yuwaaghpak</i>] | Singowin [<i>Singaawen</i>] |
| Tokoyook [<i>Tuquyaq?</i>]—girl, March 9 th Ikhamilou [<i>Iqmaluwa</i>] | Okunoghokhtuk [<i>Aghmaghaghpak</i>] |

| | |
|---|---|
| Okonilskwok [?]-girl, Apr. 22 nd Omogo [<i>Amagu</i>] | Kolhnuk [<i>Qallnaq</i>] |
| Onaningwok [<i>Ananingwaaq</i>]-girl, May 27 th Okinello [<i>Aghnilu</i>] | Okemok [<i>Akimuq</i>] |
| Noogoomun [<i>Nuugnan</i> -Ben Booshu]-boy, July... Booshu [<i>Pusaa</i>] | Osokhkun [<i>Asaghun</i>] |
| Pongohuok [<i>Pengughhaq</i>]-girl, Aug. ... Konungok [<i>Qanenguq</i>] | Yogo [<i>Yaaghu</i>] |
| Tugeun [<i>Tagiyugun</i> -Frank Seppilu]-boy, Sep. ... Seppilu [<i>Sipela</i>] | Piyigha [<i>Paayghî</i>] |
| Pinekotok [<i>Panikutaaq, Ada</i>]-girl, Oct. ... Imoorigan [<i>Aymergen</i>] | Okonokhoowuk [<i>Aghnaghlluggaq</i>] |
| Kastevik [<i>Kiistivik</i> -Stephen Aningayou]-boy, Dec. ... Oningau [<i>Anengayuu</i>] | Okwohoni [<i>Ukaaghhanî</i>] |
| (...)-Nov. ..., died Nov. 1908 Tongyun [<i>Taangyan</i>] | Nglikhyyuk [<i>Enlegtaq</i>] |
| 1909 | |
| Koomklkoongun [<i>Kumkelqaangen</i>]-boy, Feb. 28 th Womkon [<i>Waamquun</i>] | Nooweyellingok [<i>Nuugigalnguq</i>] |
| Annooghok [<i>Anaghataaq</i>]-girl, ...5 th , born in reindeer camp Seppilu [<i>Sipela</i>] | Piyigha [<i>Paayghî</i>] |
| Koghok [<i>Qagughmii</i> -Nathan Noongwook]-boy, Apr. 9 th Noongwook [<i>Nunguk</i>] | Ohnomi [<i>Aannami</i>] |
| Okonomkummi [<i>Aghnaamkami</i> -Sarah Apata]-girl, Apr. 29 th Opootu [<i>Apaata</i>] | Ohlingu [<i>Aallenga</i>] |
| Tukunukuli [<i>Tagneghli</i>]-girl, Feb. 15 th , born in Poowowaluk [<i>Pugughileq</i>] Immingan [<i>Imingan</i>] | Okevik [<i>Akivik</i>] |

1911

- Tigulingallugha [*Teglengalghii?*] girl, Jan. ...
Moghok [?]
Ogho [*Aghaa*]
- Osnuk [*Uusneq*]—girl, Apr. ...
Okinello [*Aghnilu*]
Okemok [*Akimuq*]
- Okuyuok [*Aakayaaq*]—girl, Apr. ...
Uokhpuk [*Yuwaaghpak*]
Singowin [*Singaawen*]
- Oponolook [*John Apangalug*]—boy, May ...
Ooitillin [*Uwetelen*]
Kaussuk [*Qiyasiq*]
- Koghauk [*Qaghiq, Hazel*]—girl, May ...
Wongotillin [*Wanggetelen*]
Kisleuk [*Kesliq*]
- Kotaanu [*Kaawhtaana?*]—girl, May ...
Woghoyi [*Waaghyi*]
Iyuklauk [*Ayuqliq*]
- Ghinnook [*Genuk—Norman Aningayou*]—boy, Jul. ...
Oningou [*Anengayuu*]
Okwohoni [*Ukaaghani*]
- Oolongwellingok [*Ulungilnguq?*]—girl, adopted by Attohok [*Ateghaq?*]
Imoorigan [*Aymergen*]
Okonohlowhok [*Aghnaghluggaq*]

Social Life of the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island (1923)

By Riley D. Moore

From: *American Anthropologist*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 339–375

Riley D. Moore was a young medical doctor who was recruited by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, the Smithsonian Institution's curator at the Division of Physical Anthropology, to conduct body and facial measurements among the residents of Gambell, on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution. He arrived to Gambell on July 1, 1912, and spent the next four months on the island.

Though Moore's primary task was to conduct physical measurements and to make photographs of the local people for anthropometric records (he accomplished both tasks with great success—see Part One), he also collected general ethnographic data focused primarily on the islanders' economy, food, health status, social life, and material culture. Moore never published the results of his anthropometric study; however, his more general ethnographic review, *Social Life of the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island*, was published eleven years later (in 1923) by the leading professional journal *American Anthropologist*. An expanded manuscript version of the same paper that included sections on the Yupik traditional rituals and festivals (not to be found in his paper of 1923) has been kept in the Aleš Hrdlička's personal files at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (see below).

We reproduce here some sections from Moore's paper of 1923 that may be of special interest to the present-day people of St. Lawrence Island. Moore should be specially credited as the first visitor to describe the clan system of the St. Lawrence Island Yupik people and to provide the earliest list of the main clan names that were surprisingly missing in the early missionaries' reports. Moore's perspective has been followed by every student of St. Lawrence Island Yupik culture ever since.

Moore's Original Footnote: The writer visited St. Lawrence Island in 1912 under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, in its interests and those of the Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1915. With one exception the illustrations are from photographs taken by the writer and he wishes to extend thanks to the Smithsonian Institution for the use of them.

It is to be understood that the description of the St. Lawrence Islanders here given applies to the period above indicated.

GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

The island of St. Lawrence is located in Bering Sea, about one hundred and eighty miles south of the Arctic Circle, forty miles from the Siberian and a little over one hundred miles from the nearest point on the Alaskan coast. It is from twenty-five to thirty-five miles in breadth and eighty-five in length... The summer temperature reaches about 40° Fahrenheit of a little above, 56° being that of the warmest day, July 8th, in the summer of 1912. Winter may set in any time after the middle of August. The first snow in the winter of 1912-13 fell on August 30. In October the thermometer stood between 20° and 26° during the day, dropping somewhat lower at night. Strictly speaking there but two seasons, summer and winter [...]

The winters while long are not excessively cold, but those in which 30° below zero, Fahrenheit, is the extreme temperature said to be fairly common, though occasionally there will be a colder season. A mild winter is to the natives a "woman-winter" and a severe one a "man-winter." Sudden changes in climatic conditions, which often prove disastrous to the health of the community, are common at all times of the year.

FORMER SUBDIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT

In 1912 there was but one village of importance on St. Lawrence Island. This was built upon a sandspit which forms the northwestern extremity of the island. It was called Seevuokok [*Sivuqaq*] (Chibukak on the maps) by the natives, and the inhabitants of the village were known as Seevuokokmit [*Sivuqaghbmiiit*]. On Southwest Cape there was a small settlement of nineteen people, Powoeluk [*Pugughileq*], and at the reindeer station, Camp Collier, about forty miles to the eastward of Seevuokok [*Sivuqaq*], another village, the population of which varied with the seasons. In summer there were often as many as forty at this place.

Seevuokok [*Sivuqaq*], with a population of somewhat more than two-hundred, was composed of the remnants of what were once five different clans, the Wallit [*Uwaaliit*] being the original owners of the village site. Of the other inhabitants, part came from Southwest Cape [*Pugughileghbmiiit*]; from an old village a few miles to the eastward of

Seevuookok [*Sivuqaq*] came the Murruktumit [*Meregtemiit*] and from still farther to the eastward came the Nungoopugah'kumit [*Nangupagaghmiit*], while the Avhrumah'rumkit [*Armaramket*] or their ancestors came from Indian Point, forty miles away on the Siberian Coast. Except for the latter clan the natives believe themselves to be autochthonous.

Tribal lines no longer have much significance among them. Their present political organization might be considered as a loose confederation of small autonomous groups or patriarchally governed families. These groups are composed of two or more male relatives with their families, all of whom live in the same house. In all matters of community government, the old men, "strong men," sorcerers, and boat captains have much influence, but little positive authority. The St. Lawrence Islander's habits of life are regulated by the unwritten laws of custom and tradition, which he seldom contravenes, except to obey the stronger laws of necessity and self-preservation. But, should he choose at any time to be a law unto himself, there are none with authority to command that he do otherwise; however, in extreme cases if his actions are considered inimical to the better interests of the community, the influential men of the island decide what action will be taken and, willing or unwilling, he must accede to their demands. But it is seldom necessary to resort to strenuous punishments. From various references to chiefs in the folk tales, it appears that the present form of government, or rather lack of it, is comparatively recent.

CLOTHING

Tattooing with soot is general but far more extensively practiced by the women than the men. Because of the painfulness of the process it is not uncommon to see women with unfinished designs on face and arms.

[...]

Elaborate designs are tattooed on the cheeks and arms of many of the women. Two slightly diverging lines run from high up on the forehead down over the full length of the nose. A series of broken lines running, some horizontally and other vertically, across the chin are seen on many. A longitudinally divided pattern composed of bilaterally asymmetric designs is often tattooed on the back of the hand and the wrist, occasionally reaching above the elbow. Two women had a small crudely made human figure on each side of the fore-

head near the hair. A similar marking was also noted on one man. That much of the tattooing has a certain symbolism about it was learned, although part of it was put on with no other idea than that of ornamentation. Part of the latter was the work of children crudely done upon themselves. A young man is marked with two small dots near together at each shoulder, wrist and elbow, the cervico-dorsal and lumbo-sacral articulations and at the knee and ankle (the hips being represented by the lumbo-sacral tattooing) after first acting as pallbearer, striking a whale or killing a polar bear, all important events in his life. After having been once so marked he *may* never be re-marked even if subsequent events entitle him to this distinction. An old man was marked with the familiar triangular-bodies figure of a man at the cervico-dorsal articulation. Inquiries elicited the information that this put on after he had been saved by a friend from death on a floating cake of ice. A tripartite figure of symmetrical design was tattooed near the "anatomical snuff-bow" in several young men. This was afterward discovered to be a conventionalized "whale tail," a symbol of good luck, which the writer believes to be the origin of some of the designs on the arms of the Eskimo women of which apparently this is the elementary figure.

DWELLINGS

[...] Taking the general conditions about the villages they cannot be called bad, judged by the standards of that part of the world, and the village of Seevuookok [*Sivuqaq*] was in 1912 one of the best kept in Alaska. It was upon a broad sand spit which not only made a very clean floor for the dwellings but furnished excellent drainage as well, neither of which is true of the old cave-like ningloos [*nenglu*], often built in ground which was never thoroughly dry. There are two or three of the frame buildings occupied by native families during the summer, which would compare favorably in neatness with homes of the whites in this part of the world. [...] Ungwiluk's [*Ungalaq*] home had a "Please-you-wipe-your-feet" sign scrawled upon the door and, while but few of those who entered could read, all had been made to understand and heed. In the native houses, [they are] dependent chiefly upon blubber and driftwood for fuel.

FOOD

[Pp. 352–356—description of Native food, including traditional and recently introduced food]

[...] In this connection the story of the great famine of 1879–1880, as told to me by Oghoolki [*Akulki*], one of the old men of the island, is of interest. He knew little of the

famine in other places beside Seevuookok [*Sivuuqaq*] (now Gambell) but probably what he said of this place will hold true in a general way of the other villages although of the others there are now no survivors to tell the tale.

During the summer a large quantity of whiskey was obtained from some ships which came to the island, and there was little hunting done because the men were drunk a great deal of the time. During October they began to suffer for food, and were able to procure very little until the following April. The younger boys did not drink much whiskey and they did what little hunting they could. The people became like hungry dogs and cared for nothing but food. If a man returned to the village with a seal after a hard bay's hunt all would rush at him and take it from him. When food became scarce a few of the strongest men walked to South West Cape and traded whiskey for food.

A man came to visit the village from a place the other side of Kukulik and in the night someone killed his dogs and ate them and he was unable to return home that winter. No one thought of caring for anything but food and they would fight and scuffle over a bit of meat not even caring if they were killed in getting it.

Oghoolki [*Akulki*] drank no whiskey and he and his brother used to trap foxes and were able to ward off starvation by eating this meat. Before getting too weak to walk he went to Southwest Cape and traded his coat for food, which apparently did not become scarce there until later in the winter.

The stronger men went to hunt out on the ice and some of them were so weak they were unable to return but dropped on the ice and died there from cold and exhaustion. Sometimes a seal or walrus would be killed and in their hurry to get some of it to eat men would fall into the water and drown. Boots and dog-harness were eaten, while the walrus hides they removed from the roofs of houses, and the raincoats made from the dried intestines of the seal and walrus were cooked and eaten also.

All became "so thin that they seemed to have no bellies" at all. If a hunter should get any game he was able to bring home only a small part of it because in his weakened condition he could not carry heavy loads as they ordinarily do. There were very few deaths until spring when food was more plentiful and easier to get. A man came in one day and said he had killed two walruses. A little was given to every family, but as all began to get enough

to eat they gorged themselves, for “while their bellies were full their mouths were always hungry.” Being too weak to assimilate such quantities of food, deaths followed rapidly from acute indigestion. In their weakened condition they were unable to take the dead to the cemetery so that many of them were merely dragged outside or even left in the houses.

[...] There is a story current among them that at one time food was so scarce that when a walrus was killed on the ice the hunters would take their mittens and, rolling them in the blood, would soon have a large ball of frozen blood to take home. I heard this story several times but it is apparently a tradition related to times when the island was thickly populated, long before the famine of 1879–1880.

Ceremonies of the Inhabitants of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska

Notes from Riley Moore, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, 1912

These stories were excerpted from the full manuscript of Moore's St. Lawrence Island Report now stored in Aleš Hrdlička's Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Folder: "Riley Moore Materials on St. Lawrence Island, 1912," Box 97.

Komukhtook (Kom okh—'boots') [*Kamegtaaq*]

This ceremony is celebrated by the various boat captains at a time agreed upon after the whaling season. When the first female walrus and her young ones are killed that season, the captain saves the head and the right kidney of the mother and the flippers of the young one. A hand of Russian tobacco is also saved for this ceremony. A small lamp is placed in the center of the room and suspended above it is a wooden image of a whale the spouting of which is represented by an erect tuft of hair taken from the neck of the reindeer.¹ The walrus head is then placed on the ground to the right of the lamp and back of the head a large wooden tray or trencher—such as commonly used to serve food upon—about three feet long and a fourth as wide. On the tray is placed the tobacco, the flippers of the young walrus, and the kidney of the mother, together with some bits of willow wood.

The boat captain now takes his position standing back of the lamp and sings as he beats time upon a stick with his drum, while the women present join in the singing. When the song is finished the captain takes a piece of the willow wood from the trencher and, breaking off a small fragment, places it in the walrus head's mouth. Then the captain sacrifices the food and tobacco on the tray in the following manner:

The names of the captain's grandfathers are called and this is followed by the enumeration of the various diseases which commonly afflict the Eskimo. As each name of an ancestor or a disease is pronounced he pretends to throw a bit of the food into the lamp. They believe that the various diseases are caused by a different spirit or devil and to keep on good terms with these they must be given food.

¹The whale used in this ceremony is often smoked black. One was obtained which is made of ivory and had been broken several times and repaired with whalebone pegs. This was the only ceremonial image obtained which was of material other than wood (Moore's note).

The trencher and its contents are now put away and the captain sends a messenger for the wife of some other man with whom he had traded presents that year at a previous ceremony. The woman soon arrives with a basin containing some meat and a new pair of boots which are placed on the floor at the right of the lamp while the man and woman stand facing each other, respectively. The captain now grasps the whale by the flukes between the thumbs and forefingers of his two hands—thumbs up—and drawing it back, releases his hold allowing it to swing across the lamp to the woman, who catches it, and turning it around, grasps it in the same manner and swings it back. Then each steps to his or her left and the swinging of the whale is repeated.

Then the basin is emptied, the captain keeping the boots and meat but returning the vessel. Then his wife brings out a basin similarly filled and, placing it upon the floor, she repeats the whale swinging with the husband of the first woman worshipper, after which the visiting man takes the boots and meat and returns home with his wife. This ceremony is then repeated, each married male member of the household and his wife following the example of the boat captain and his wife. If the boat captain's father is living, he worships before the captain, who is then followed by his married brothers, sons and nephews in the order named.

The details of this ceremony are not now followed as strictly as formerly, which may also be said of their other ceremonies, most of which will disappear with the present generation. At this time it is the common practice that only members of the boat captain's family participate in the worship and any sort of boots, old or new, are used, one pair serving for the whole ceremony.

The following variations from this ceremony as described are to be noted. If a whale is killed that season the tip of the nose, the tips of the flippers and flukes and the crystalline lenses from the eyes, together with several of the smallest slabs of whalebone from which the matrix or "gum" has not been removed are all placed on the ground in front of the lamp. A canoe paddle, a spear and a visor (such as worn by the boat captain after a whale is killed and until it has been cut up) and the pouch in which the visor is kept are tied to the center pole in the house. After the ceremony a slice of whale meat about the thickness of the two hands and out clear across the flukes or flippers is taken to every home in the village except that the slices out for the relatives are about a foot in thickness.

The small slabs of whalebone which are used, in the ceremony are generally done up in little bundles of five and one or more bundles may be used. At the stage of the ceremony where the worshipper pretends to throw some of the food into the lamp he also pretends to throw some of the whale gum into it after which each boat captain present touches the gum with his finger and tastes it. The gum is considered a great delicacy when eaten with blubber, but that which is attached to the smallest slab of baleen is considered to be sacred and is not eaten. My notes are not quite clear on the sacredness of the gum which I believe is because all of the Eskimos are not agreed upon this matter. However, *it* is an unimportant detail. One old man told me that the whale “gum” was “holy” at whaling time only and to no one but the man who struck the whale. If the man in the boat’s crew whose duty it is to strike the whale should eat some of the gum he would be stronger and strike with more force the next time he struck a whale. An old man has the lens from a whale’s eye, together with the ends of the flippers and flukes and the tip of the penis, all of which have been in the family for many generations and are used by him in worship. He told me that the crystalline lens and the tip of the penis from polar bears were also saved by some for ceremonial purposes.

Ah ram’ wak [Aghinwghaaq]

Visor (sska’nk) [*elqiiq*] in pouch with whetstone (e pook’ sahn) [*Ipegsaan*] harpoon middle piece (ggay muk) [*giimaaq*] and stone (ooeyahk) [*Uyghak*] attached. The stone shaped like the flipper of a whale. Each whale boat has two visors in a pouch, one for the captain and one for the steersman. These are put on immediately after a whale or bear dies. These are worn until the bone and meat are all stored at home. These are worn well down over the eye. Whetstone used when they cut up whale, walrus or bear. Sometimes a harpoon head is kept in the bag, but only because it is a convenient place to put it.

Sacrifice or Ock kuk sah’took [Aghqesaghtuq]

This ceremony takes place only in those years when a whale has been killed and is celebrated during the fore part of July. The captain of the boat crew who killed the whale invites his male friends and among them are one or more captains of other boat crews, each of whom brings the flippers of the second walrus cub killed by him that season, those of the first killed having been saved for Kamukhtook [*Kamegtaaq*]. Then all repair to the place of worship, each captain having his individual worshipping place away from those used by the other captains and to this same spot he goes with his friends every year after a successful whaling season.

The place of worship (Ock kuh sah'to vik) [*Aghqesaghtughvik*] is a shallow depression in the earth, circular in form and about fifteen inches across. Sometimes it is on top of a small mound a few inches in height. More often than not they are located in cemeteries. When the ceremony is completed small stones are laid in the hollow, much like eggs in a nest, to prevent the grass from growing there and these are not disturbed until the next time the boat captain has a successful season at whaling.

All worshippers sit in a circle around the "altar" and the stones are removed from the fireplace. The boat captain who is mast[er] of ceremonies places a little bunch of dry "puckuk" [*peqag*] (a fine moss used in starting fires) in the hollow and prepares to strike a fire. Before lighting it, however, he calls out, "Kin og oh mung toh get oh kut" [*Keneghmeng tagitikut*], the translation of which is, "Our grandfathers who are dead, bring us fire." He then lights the fire and a few minute fragments of meat from the whale's flukes and the walrus cub's flippers are burned in the flame, the flippers being fed to the fire by the captains who brought them. The captains do this one at a time and as each bit of meat is torn off he calls the name of one of his male ancestors and follows this by going over the list of diseases which commonly afflict the Eskimo. Then each worshipper eats a small amount of food which he had brought with him for the occasion, after which all stand up together facing the fire and each brushes down the front of his body with his hands as if he were brushing something away from it. Then turning their backs to the fire, each man brushes down his own back, much as he did the front of his body. This is done to brush away any disease which may at present or at any future day afflict them.

Eskimo Measurements of Implements

By Riley D. Moore

From: **Notes on St. Lawrence Island,**

American Anthropologist, 1928, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 349–350

This is the only other short article that Moore published out of his four-month stay on St. Lawrence Island in summer and fall of 1912. This version is illustrated by pencil drawings made by Nancy Walunga (*Aghnaghaghniq*) in 2000 specially for this edition.

Every article is made to fit the user. Kaeluk [*Qilak* or *Aghilluk*] says that whales were formerly killed with a long lance, by stabbing behind the front flipper. This lance had a short handle of length, from the left elbow to the right middle finger tip (see Fig. 3). To this was added, one, two full arm spans (fathoms) [6 feet or 1.83 meter] and one length from the left elbow to the right middle finger tip.

Arrows were arm length from the shoulder to the thumb end (see Fig. 1).

Bows were of a length so that the two tips could just be caught between the thumbs and index fingers of the extended arms (see Fig. 4).

Kaeluk [*Qilak*] and Oghoolki [*Akulki*] told me that harpoons “a long time ago” were made of such length that the hunter could just reach high enough to place the harpoon head on when the harpoon stood perpendicular. He would not tip it down to put the head on. If he should happen to harpoon too long to be headed in this manner he returned home without killing his walrus. The wise hunter measured his harpoon before departing for the hunt, others had to return home to cut off the shaft.

Kaeluk [*Qilak*] said canoes were one fathom (6') wide in the middle and four fathoms (24') long, one arm's length (armpit to finger tips) in depth (see Fig. 2); the width of the bottom in the middle, elbow to elbow, the arms being horizontal and slightly adducted at the shoulder joints.

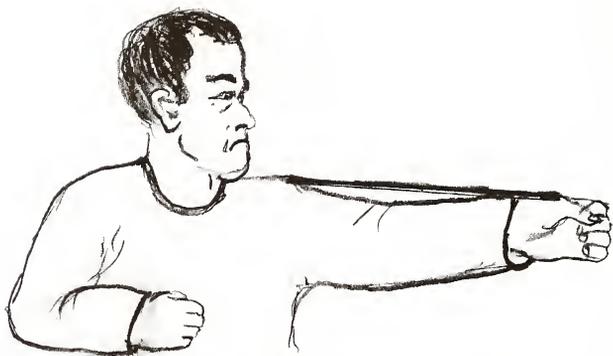


Figure 1. Arrow Length



Figure 2. Depth of Skin Boat

Yupik traditional measurements. Pencil drawing by Nancy Walunga (Gambell), 2000.

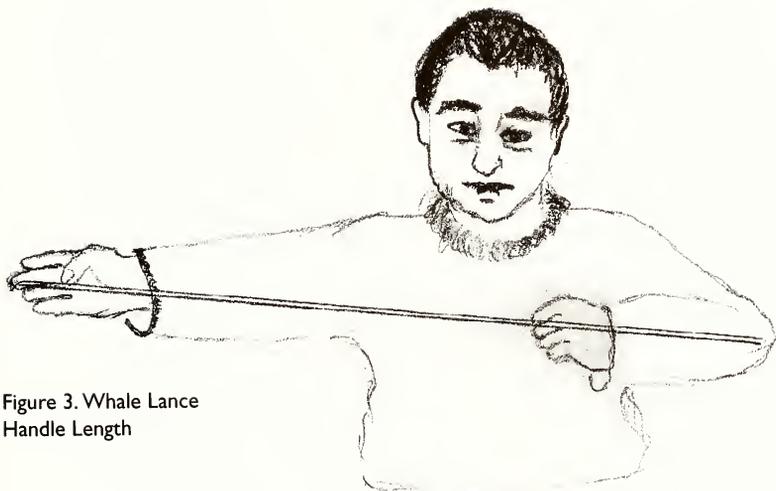


Figure 3. Whale Lance
Handle Length

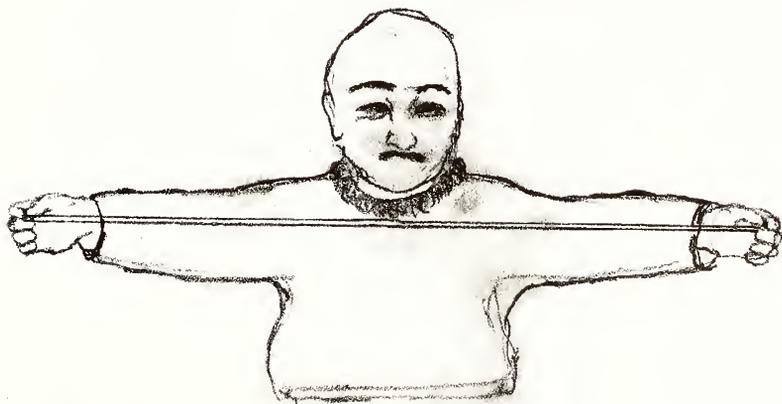


Figure 4. Bow Length

Yupik traditional measurements. Pencil drawing by Nancy Walunga (Gambell), 2000.

The captain's place is of width equal to twice the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger (with thumb at right angles to hand) plus once the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger with thumb bent at right angles (see Fig. 5).

The "legs" (ribs) of a boat had a width equal to that of the hand across the palm, and cross-pieces in the bottom of the width of the hand across the fingers at the first phalanx. Paddles are one fathom in length, with hands clasping each extremity (see Fig. 6).

Harpoon-heads for whale equal the length from the hypothenar edge of the palm to the tip of the abducted thumb with closed fist (see Fig. 7). The hole for the line is sufficiently large to admit the tips of the index and middle fingers. For bowhead whale harpoon head the length is from the knuckle of the little finger at the metacarpo-phalangeal joint (hand clasped) to the thumb tip plus finger nail length; for the devil-fish, it is just flush (i.e., minus the nail length). The sloping or proximal end of a harpoon head has the length of an index finger.

The stone blade for a harpoon is slightly less than three fingers in width at the square or proximal length. The blade is sharpened on whetstone until light will show through the edge of the blade, then the edge is hardened by rubbing with an oiled finger. The heads are kept in a bag made of "sea pigeons" skin.

Riley D. Moore
919 Southern Building
Washington, D.C.



Figure 5. Width of Captain's Place in a Boat

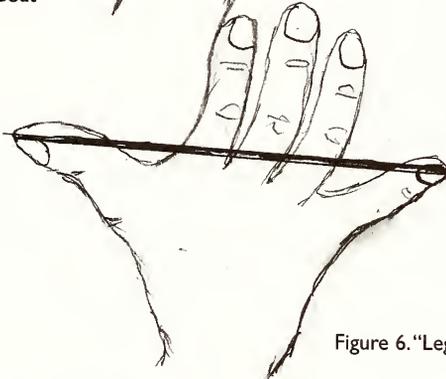


Figure 6. "Legs" (Ribs) of a Boat

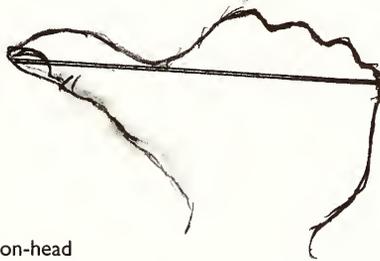
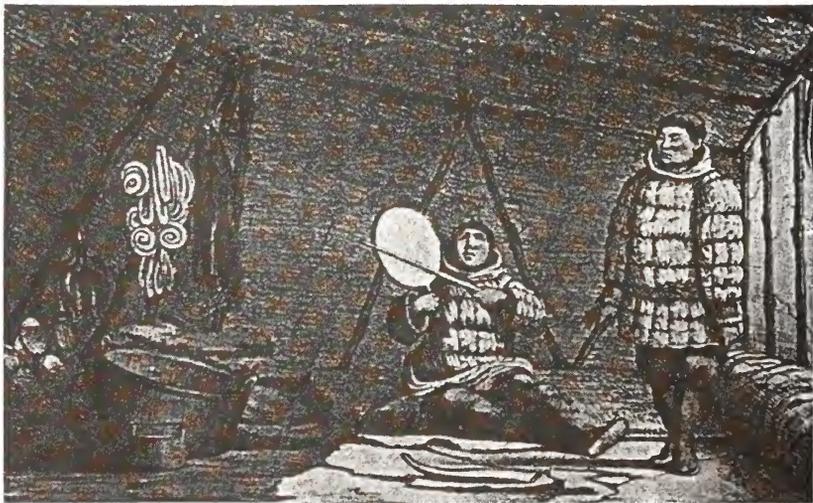


Figure 7. Whale Harpoon-head

Yupik traditional measurements. Pencil drawing by Nancy Walunga (Gambell), 2000.



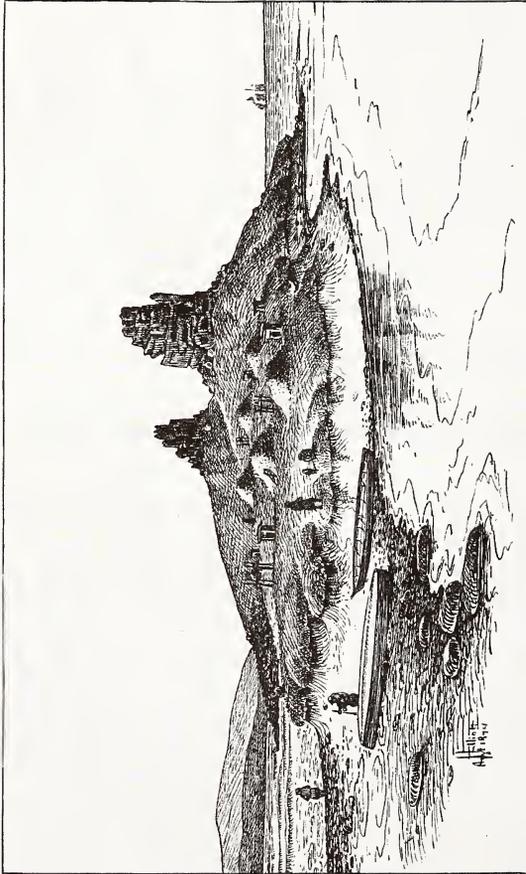
Yupik people from St. Lawrence Island, 1816 (drawing by Louis Choris).



View of a Yupik summer house on St. Lawrence Island, 1816 (drawing by Louis Choris).



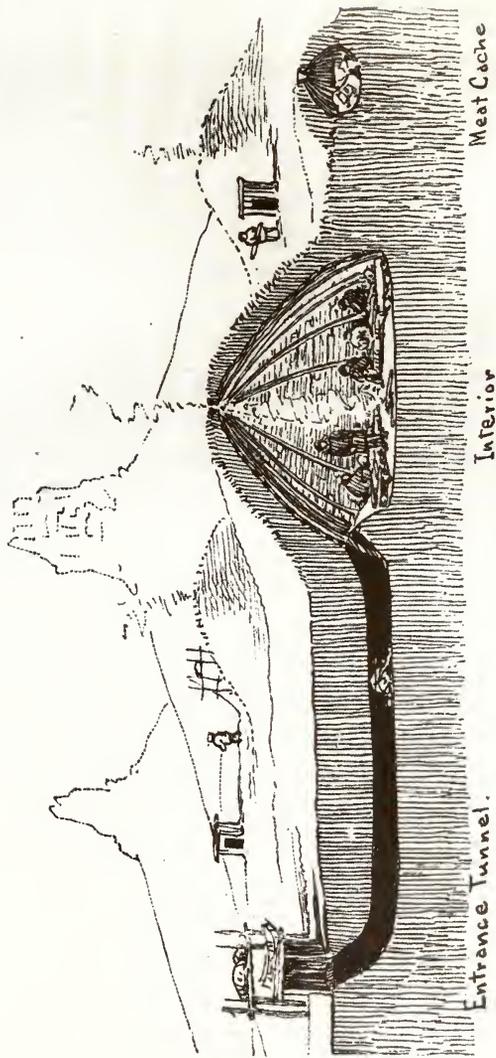
A native woman from Siberia, the first-ever drawing of a Siberian Yupik person (from Billings-Sarychev's expedition, 1791).



VILLAGE AND ISLET OF POONOOK

Mahlemoot Winter Houses on the Poonook Islets, 6 miles East of St. Lawrence

Old village on Punuk [Punguuk] Island (drawing by Henry Elliott, 1874).



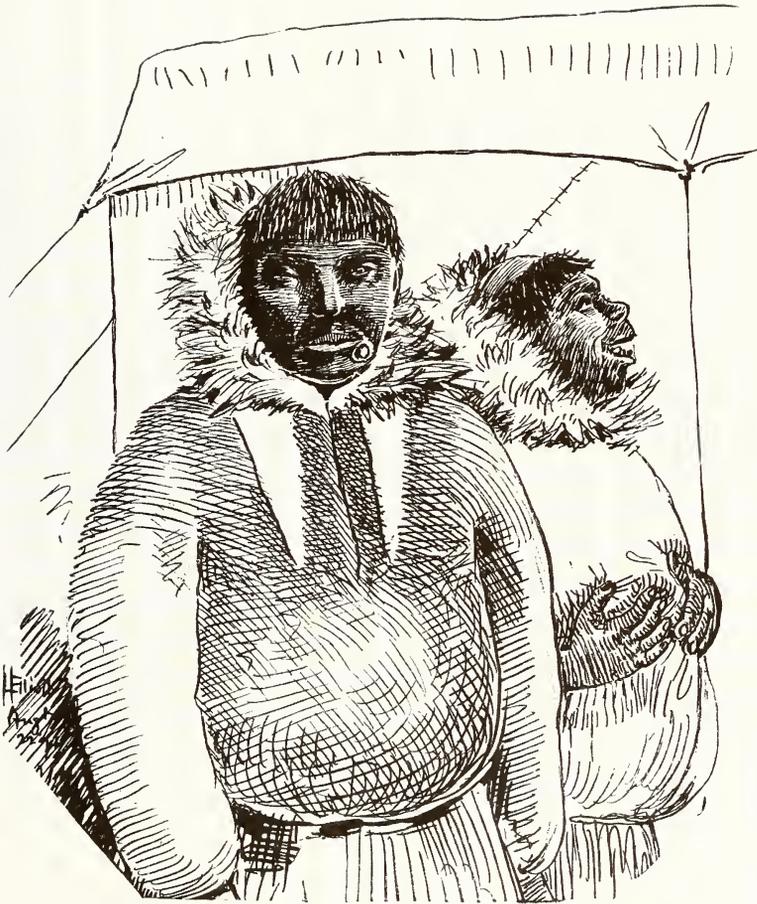
Section showing Construction of Mahlemoot Winter Houses at Poonook.

Reconstruction of a winter underground house [nenglu] on Punuk Island, by Henry Elliott, 1874.



Newack's Brother, with a Sealskin full of Walrus-oil.
[Mahlemoüt boy—fourteen or fifteen years of age.]

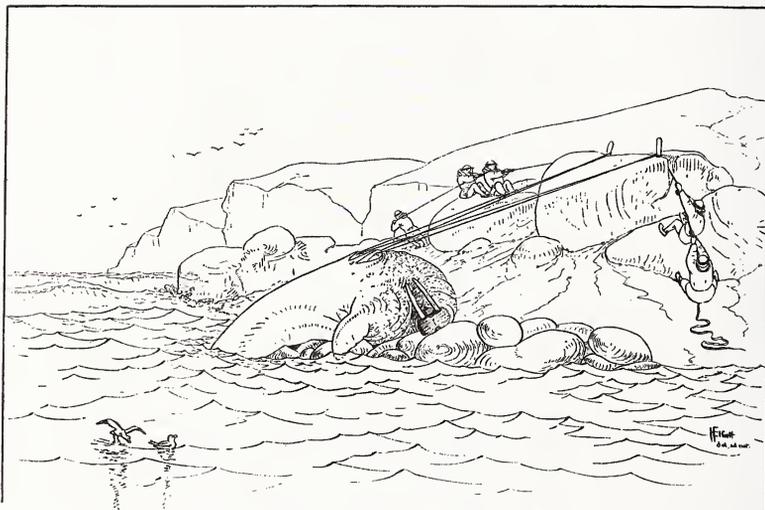
A young boy from Kiyalighaq, in traditional bird-skin parka
(drawing by Henry Elliott, 1874).



"Newack" and "Oogack."

[St. Lawrence Mahlemöots: pen portraits made at P'oogovellyak, August, 1874.]

Two men from Kiyalighaq (drawing by Henry Elliott, 1874).



"DOUBLE PURCHASE" OF THE ESKIMO.

Innuits of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, hoisting a Walrus carcass.

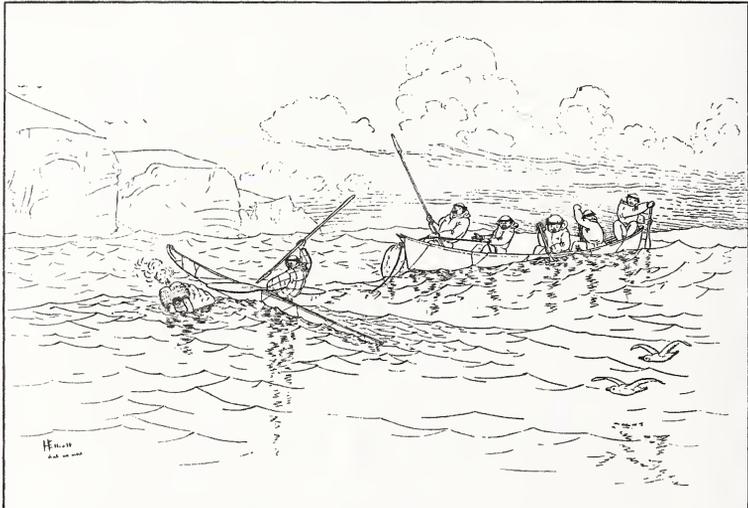
Landing killed walrus at Southeast Cape (drawing by Henry Elliott, 1874).



The Walrus-hunter.

[A *St. Lawrence Mahlemööt*—in winter parka with the hood removed. August 16, 1874.]

Yupik hunter from Southeast Cape (?) (drawing by Henry Elliott, 1874).

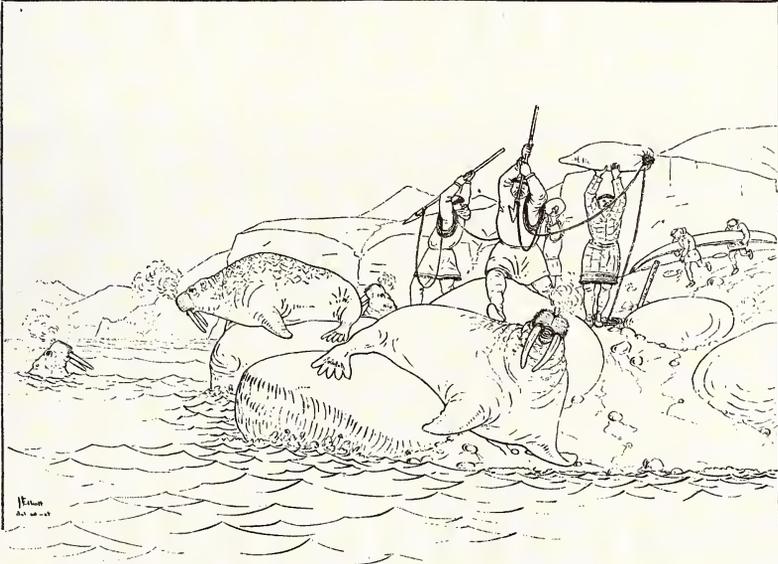


THE DEATH-STROKE OF THE WALRUS.

Eskimo lancing the exhausted Walrus, St. Lawrence Island.

Mahlemoot dress, bidarka, baidar, etc., of Alaska.

Hunting walrus off Southeast Cape (drawing by Henry Elliott, 1874).



PLUNGING THE HARPOON.

Innuits of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, making fast to Walrus surprised by the Eskimo while hauled up on the sea-beaches at Kagallegak.

Killing walrus at the on-shore haul-out at Kiyalighaq (drawing by Henry Elliott, 1874).



Beda Siwooko (*Avalak*), Elizabeth Walunga (*Sivungahmii*), and Delia Agulakhok (*Aghulaghquq*). 1930.

part five

Old Papers, Today's Elders: Matching Memoirs and Written Records

Introduction

History of Gambell Boat Crews. With *Anaggun, Akulki, Kepelgu, Kuulu, and Paapi*

Hunting Crews and Captains in Gambell in 1900, 1909, 1915, 1930, and 1938

Paapi (Merlin Koonooka). History of Modern Whaling Crews in Gambell

The "Old Town of Savoonga" of Our Early Years

Otto Geist's Plan of Savoonga (1930)

James Anengayuu. How They Came to Start the Village of Savoonga (1940)

Awliinga (Tim Gologerngen). The Early Story of Savoonga as I Heard It From Elders

Tuullupak (John Kulowiyi, Sr.). The Town of Savoonga in My Early Time

The "Old Town" of Savoonga in 1940 (Excerpts from the BIA Community Survey)

Wanggetelen (Jerry Wonkitillin). The "Old Town of Savoonga" of My Early Years

Preserving the Memory of the "Old Town of Gambell"

Paul Silook. List of Residents of the Village of Gambell, 1930

Bridging Paul Silook's Census and Memories of the Old Days. With *Anaggun, Akulki,*

Kepelgu, Avalak, and Ayuqi

Photographs

INTRODUCTION

This section introduces the reader to the final and most challenging portion of the entire *Sourcebook* project. Combining historical documents with present-day elders' stories is often called "ethnohistory"; it has been a common practice for northern research for several decades. The advantages are many, but the challenges are also numerous. Bridging old documents with memories and knowledge shared among the community members is usually a laborious and time-consuming process. However, the results are rewarding and well worth the effort.

Better knowledge is the most obvious outcome of putting the old records and personal memories together. There is a profound difference between a written account and a personal story—even when each describes the same event. The written version usually becomes a codified history. By virtue of being written down, this version transforms into the authority; so, that when people read or refer to its contents, they accept it as "truth." Another magic of the printed text is that it turns quickly into a straightforward projection or one-dimensional summary of many touching details, conflicting emotions, and personal approaches. Historians are particularly good at producing such general historical summaries with anonymous yet authoritative voices. This approach presents the image as though the story is "complete" and no additional information is needed.

As with any authority, the printed version can be wrong, outdated, or based upon controversial evidence. The written account might have been based upon one narrative out of many to build its story. For these and many other reasons, printed histories should be challenged and undergo periodic revisions. Writing new histories, new summaries of the events, every other decade or whenever some groundbreaking facts and ideas dispute the old version is one way to do such revisions. Another way to redraft an accepted scenario is to bring the printed text back to its origin and to place it once again within the choir of individual accounts, conflicting memories, and personal interpretations. That is, to refresh it with the "life-water" of human memory.

As the printed text once again becomes one of many "equal" participants in the open discussion, some of its lost strengths can be miraculously restored. When elders talk at public meetings, they rarely if ever confront each others' accounts, and they usually try to include rather than to select facts, to make a common story. Every personal statement is considered sound and equal, as long as it relates to the events familiar to the given speaker by virtue of one's presence at the event or one's access to earlier knowledge or family tradition. The age of the storyteller is probably the closest

equivalent to the scientific idea of “reliability,” since stories and facts reported by an elderly person are usually (though not always) considered more valid than those presented by younger people.

This final section of the *Sourcebook* is to a certain extent a modeling of such an approach when historical documents are placed as equal “speakers” among the memories of elders shared through personal interviews and group sessions. It is built around three key stories researched during this project. These key stories—the history of the hunting crews in Sivuqaq (Gambell) over the last one hundred years; the early years of the community of Sivungaq (Savoonga); and the composition of the historical village of Gambell in the early 1900s—by no means cover all the subjects that have been touched upon. Nor are they the only possible venues where historical records can be successfully connected to the living memory of the members of the St. Lawrence Island Yupik community. Of course, these stories are not “complete”—they are rather invitations and suggested pathways for everyone interested in the island’s legacy.

The time has long passed since social scientists considered written documents as more reliable sources than people’s stories. Since then, for generations of anthropologists, the richness of each individual memory has an unquestioned value and is always welcome. As a result, hundreds of Native voices have spoken out from pages of published scientific texts. We hope that by bringing historical records to the “speaking circle” of shared memories, a similar process of enrichment can be introduced to the tradition of storytelling that thrives among the people of St. Lawrence Island.



Muntukooli [*Mangtaquli*] of Gambell. Photograph by Alfred M. Bailey, 1921.

HISTORY OF GAMBELL BOAT CREWS

With *Anaggun* (Ralph Apatiki), *Akulki* (Conrad Oozeva),
Kepelgu (Willis Walunga), *Kuulu* (Winfred James),
and *Paapi* (Merlin Koonooka)

1. Hunting Crews and Captains in Gambell around 1900

The earliest records on the number of hunting boats and on the names of boat captains in Gambell came from the missionaries' diaries around 1900. Mr. Lerrigo in his diary of 1900/1901 mentioned that "...on April 22nd the whaleboats were launched, the ice having all given way before the east wind. A number of walrus were captured" (Lerrigo 1902, p. 119—see, Part 4). On the next day, April 23, ten boats were hunting. Throughout his diary Mr. Lerrigo named most of the active boat captains in Gambell in 1901:

- **Shuluk** (*Suluk*)—his whaleboat and its captain were mentioned several times in the diaries of 1899/1900 and 1900/1901).
- **Wungaiye** (evidently *Nguungaya*).
- **Umwahluk** (*Ungalaq*): two boats—Shoolok's and Umwahluk's—were caught by the ice and unable to get free on May 4th, 1901.
- **Kowarra** (*Quwaaren*): his boat got a whale on May 9th, 1901, and another whale on May 23rd.
- **Ifkowan** (*Ifkaghun*).
- **Aguchky** (?—most probably, *Akulki*): his boat got the third whale for the year on May 26th, 1901. His whaleboat was damaged by a large crest on May 6th, 1900 and began to fill. The team was rescued by another crew.

Four more boats and captains are listed in an earlier diary of Mr. Doty for the year 1899–1900 (see Part 4):

- **Timkaroo** (*Temkeruu*): he found a small bowhead whale on May 10th, which *Akulky* had struck on the previous day. The same crew also killed 21 walrus on June 4th, 1900, but brought back only the heads with the ivories and the skins.

- **Oomylook** (could be *Ungalaq* [see above]): his crew was unable to get back from the hunting trip east of the cape, being caught in the ice on May 2nd; the boat and the crew was rescued next day by another team using dog-sleds; they had to pull the whaleboat overland several miles by the help of the dogs and runners placed under the boat.

- **Oozuk** (*Uuzak*).

- **Toosak** (*Tuusaq*): the two latter captains started for Indian Point (Chaplino/ *Ungaziq*) in their whaleboats on July 1st, 1900.

2. Gambell Hunting Crews in 1909: Edgar O. Campbell's List

One of Edgar O. Campbell's *Annual Hunting Records for Year 1909* contains information that goes far beyond the documented number of walruses, bearded seals or foxes harvested in the village of Gambell (see Part 1). In this list, sixty-seven hunters are organized in nine groups of five to ten men. Each group is marked by a line break; in a few cases an overall catch is calculated for the group. Those groups of five to eight men look remarkably akin to skin boat/wooden boat hunting crews. Moreover, the name of the first person in several of Campbell's groupings appeared to be that of the boat captain as reported in Lerrigo's and Doty's accounts. If this assumption is correct, Campbell's record (see below) is the earliest available list that shows actual composition of Gambell hunting crews as of 1909. Names of the captains are in bold.

As correct Yupik name spelling, clan identification, and kin relationships were added to Campbell's list, the rules of the boat crew formation some one hundred years ago became quite obvious. First, Gambell (*Sivuaq*) crews of 1909 were clearly clan and kin-based or, at least, each crew had an obvious clan/kin core. Second, several crews already had a mixed composition, that is, they included men of different clans and lineages recruited to the kin core. Third, several small clans that did not have enough adult men in 1909 tried to match their limited human resources based either on their historical connections (like *Meregtemiit* and *Nangupagaghmiit*) or on their residential ties in the old village of Gambell. In the southern section of the village the *Nasqaghmiit* clan made one crew with the neighboring *Qywaaghmiit*. In the central section, the *Kangighmiit* signed up with the more powerful *Pughileghmiit*. At the northern end of the village, men from the tiny clan of *Uwaaliit* joined the crews of their neighbors, the most numerous *Sanigmelngut*. It seemed that the now familiar canon of the boat crew composition—one that includes a

senior man, his younger brothers, his adult sons, and nephews—did not become a universal rule until several decades later, as the number of adult men in the community of Gambell increased due to population growth after the 1930s and particularly after the 1950s.

Timkaroo (*Temkeruu—Pugughileghmii*), Muntokoli (*Mangtaquli—Pugu*), Asshoonu (*Asunaghaq—Kangighmii*), Nunrealu (*Nanghila—Kang*, son of *Asunaghaq*), Stegurok (*Estegraq—Pugu*).

Slkwooko (*Elqwaaghqu—Pugu*), Ungilo (*Aatghilnguq—Pugu*), Ozevosiuk (*Uzivusiq—Pugu*), Atlohok (*Atleghuq—Pugu*, cousin of *Uzivusiq*), **Oghoolki** (*Akulki—Pugu*, father of *Atleghuq*), Oningou (*Anengayuu—Mereghemii*), Olowu (*Aluwa—Mara*), Eehiuk (*Iggak—Sani*), Opu (*Apaá*, son of *Neghqun—Sani*).

Youwokhseuk (*Yaavgaghsiq—Nengighmii*), Koozaathu (*Kuzaata—Neng*, nephew of *Y*), **Ungwiluk** (*Ungalaq—Nangupagaghmii*), Yokhunuk (*Yughunt nuk*, step-son of *Ungalaq?*), Konoghok (*Qenaaghaq?—Uwaa*, relative of *Uuzak*)

Ooitillin (*Uwetelen—Sani*), Sellok (*Siluk—son of U*), Omoghoo (*Amagu—Laakaghmii*), Kingavohok (*Kinguwaaaghaq—Sani*), Tungitoo (*Tangatu—Sani*, brother of *U*), Messiu (*Masaayu—Uwaa*).

Shoollok (*Suluk—Pugui*), Womkon (*Waamquun—son of S*), Tongyou (*Taangyan—Pugu*, half-brother of *S*), Koningok (*Qanenguq—Pugu*), Soongorook (*Sunaaghruk—Pugu*, nephew of *Qanenguq*), Broo (*Peru—Sani*).

Wong (*Wanggetelen—Qiwaaghmii*), Kon. (*Kaneghteghyaq—Qiwa*, nephew of *W*), Efkw. (*Ifkaghun—Nasqaghmii*), Ongooson (*Angusaan—Nasq*), Bool. (*Pulaaghun—Nasq*, brother of *Angusaan*), Hokh. (*Eghqaaghaq—Nasq*, brother of *Angusaan*), Koonu (*Qunaagghaq—Nasq*), Gologooroongu (*Galaagerngen—Qiwa*).

Suvlu (*Saavla—Sani*), Oppoto (*Apaata—son of S*), Yoghok (*Yaghaq—son of S*), Iyaghitan (*Ayakitaan—Uwaa*), Unggottingan (*Anggatenganwan—Sani*), Koolo (*Qaalu—Sani*, brother of *Anggat*), Menuk (*Minaq*), Ifkooko (*Ifkaqu*, son of *Neghqun—Sani*), Kaeluk (*Qilak* or *Aghilluk—Sani*).

Kooworrin (*Quwaaren—Sani*), Booshu (*Pusaa*, son of *Q.*), Otiyohok (*Ataayaghbaq*, son of *Q.*), Koonooku (*Kunuka*, son of *Q.*), Okinello (*Aghnilu*, son of *Q.*), Nupokuyu (*Napaghya—Sani*), Ozuk (*Uuzak—Uwaa*), Neghokhpuk (*Neghaghpak—relative of Uuzak*), Tatoowi (*Tatuwi*, son of *Q.*).

Iwoorigan (*Aywerger—Nang*), Irrogo (*Iirgu—brother of A.*), Enok (*Inuuq—Sani*), Munginan (*Mangena—Mere*), Uwghpuk (*Yuwaaghpak*, son of *Mangena*), Ootiyok (*Utaayuk*, son of *Mangena*), Ikmiloon (*Iqmaluwa—Sani*), Poozuk (*Paazak—Sani*, brother of *Iqmaluwa*), Metlohok (*Meteghlluk—Mere*, nephew of *Mangena*), Killoimii (*Kelumii*, son of *Mangena*).

3. Crews in Gambell around 1915: *Ggayeggluk* (Herbert Kiyuklook's) Story

This evidence comes from the story of Herbert Kiyuklook (*Ggayeggluk*) published in the *Sivuaqam Nangaghneghha*. Lore of St. Lawrence Island, vol. 2, 1987, pp. 180–183. The editors estimated that Kiyuklook's list refers to the years 1915–1920. Kiyuklook was born in 1901; he is not listed in his father's family in the 1900 census but was reported as age 23 in the 1920 census in Savoonga. We quote here directly from the English translation of *Ggayeggluk*'s story.

“In my younger days, there were *twelve* active skin boats. . . . The boat crews under at that time were [under the following captains]: *Saavla*, *Aghilluk*, *Quwaaren*, *Nemayaq*, *Temkeruu*, *Ifkaghun*, *Eghqaaghaq*, *Ungalaq*, *Suluk*, *Nguungaya*, and *Akulki*. These were the crews that used to go out when they started using wooden whaling boats.”

Kiyuklook himself first went hunting in *Saavla's* boat. Later on he asked Ungott (*Angqantenganwan*) if he could go out hunting in his boat (but was turned down). This gives us names of all 12 boat-captains active in Gambell about 1910. Neither *Nguungaya* nor *Aghilluk* was listed in Edgar O. Campbell's record of Gambell hunters of 1909 or in Riley Moore's list of 1912 (see, Part 1); presumably, both passed away by that time.

Comments to *Ggayeggluk's* List of Boat Captains by Today's Elders

Ralph Apatiki (*Anaggun*), Conrad Oozeva (*Akulki*), and Willis Walunga (*Kepelgu*)

Saavla: Probably Telenga (*Telenga*) took over this boat after *Saavla* because he was his younger brother. After Telenga, Yoghok (*Yaghag*) took over this boat; he was *Saavla's* second son. After Yoghok this boat was most probably taken by Lincoln Blassi (*Pelaasi*), Yoghok's younger brother. Or maybe it was another boat, as *Uwetelen* (Owootillin), Telenga's son, also became a captain. Theirs was a big family, and they probably bought themselves another boat.

Aghilluk: Ungott (*Anggatenganwan*), *Aghilluk's* son, took over this boat—that (is) how we heard. They made it within the family, their big family. They give him (Ungott) the boat.

Quuwaren: *Pusaa* (Booshu) got the boat after *Quuwaren*; he was *Quuwaren's* eldest son. But Otiyahok (*Ataayaghbaq*) was also a boat captain later. They bought another boat for their family and the crew split in two boats. They had many men.

Nemaayaq: He bought his boat later, he took it over from *Yaavgaghshiq*. Maybe *Yaavgaghshiq* had another boat because he also was a boat captain later. *Asunaghbaq* was an older brother of this *Nemaayaq*. We do not know whom they were related to, we just remember that *Nanghila*, *Asunaghbaq's* son went hunting with *Mangtaquli's* boat. Once they were coming by commercial boat from their camp *Kangii* (where they lived in the 1920s) they kept over. We do not know whether it was *Nemaayaq's* boat or *Yaavgaghshik's* boat. Their relatives were probably the Koozata's family (*Nengiighhaghmiit*) because they kept their names in their family. They have *Nemayaq* (Lee Koozata) and *Asunaghbaq* (Ned Koozata).

Temkeruu: He was a boat captain when we were boys; so, he just kept hunting with his crew.

Ifqaghun: We do not know what happened to this boat after *Ifqaghun*. His sons, *Tamlu* and *Sipela*, went to Savoonga (*Sivungaq*) and became herders.

Ungalaq (with the assistance of Winfred James, *Kulu*): He gave his boat to *Aywergen* (Iworrigan—*Nekregun*). They were related and this is how *Aywergen* started to be a captain.

He was a very good hunter and he got many-many whales. Even one whale in *Pugughileq* when he went there.

Eghqaaghaq (Loon Hokhokhok): This crew once got a whale on June 30th—that is how we heard. Maybe they went on bird hunting or for egg-collecting and they came across a whale. This was in plain summer, long after the whales are gone (up north). They were lucky they kept all the (whaling) gear in the boat—harpoon and floats, and lance with them. So, they got this whale, and this is specially remembered.

Nguungaya: This was a very old man—he died long before us. When he died, his family went to Sivunqaq, and his sons became herders. They were not in whale hunting after his death. We do not know whether they took their boat with them or not.

Akulki: This boat was taken later by *Uzivusiq*, Akulki's nephew, the only adult man in this family who stayed in Gambell (see below) [His elder brother, *Raaquq*, and another cousin, *Estegraq*, Luther Stagurook, went to Sivunqaq].

Suluk: *Waamquun*, his eldest son took over the boat (see below).

James Aningayu (*Anengayuu*): He might have started to be a captain at this time. He bought a boat for himself. Actually, he bought a new boat and gave his old one to his relatives in Chaplino (*Ungaziq*), in Siberia—that's how we heard. We do not know where he got his first (old) boat.

4. Boat Crews and Captains in Gambell in 1930

The village census of Gambell made by Paul Silook (*Siluk*) in 1930 (see below) provides the list of all adult men and heads of households. Upon checking *Siluk's* census, the elders identified the following men as boat captains, with twelve to fourteen whaling crews in operation in Gambell at this time.

- *Eghqaaghaq* (Loon Hokhkoghok)—He was the captain when we were boys.
- *Aywerigen* (Ira Iworrikan), his other name was *Nekregun*.
- *Ungalaq*—He could be still hunting with *Aywerigen*; we do not know whether he still kept the boat for himself.
- *Suluk*—He was still hunting, although he was already an old man (see below)
- *Yaavgaghsiq*
- *Mangtaquli*
- *Uwetelen* (Owittilin)—He was Paul Silook's father
- *Uzivusiq* (Oozevusook)—He took over his boat from his father (uncle) *Akulki* (see below)
- *Ataayagbhaq* (Jimmie Otayahok)
- *Pusaa* (Booshu)—He took over a boat from his father *Quwaaren*
- *Anengayuu*
- *Qilleghquun* (Kulukhon)—He was a striker at the *Ataayagbhaq's* boat. But he was a good hunter and then give him a boat. Then, *Aymaramka*—they were a big family. We do not know whose boat was it or maybe they bought a new one for him.
- *Anggatenganwan* (Ungott)
- *Yaghaq* (Yoghok)

[*Other boats*] *Masaayu* and *Ayakitaan*—they were brothers but they did not have a boat at this time. *Masaayu* went hunting with *Yaghaq's* boat and *Ayakitaan* hunted with Ungott's boat. They bought their own boat much later when *Masaayu's* son Henry, *Nayegreghaq*, became a grown-up man. They must have a boat of their own earlier but we do not know. We just heard that they once got a whale. They probably started whaling with a skin boat and later they bought a wooden whaleboat from *Amwaari*, the *Pugughilegmii*. *Amwaari* (his other name *Qaygeghtaq*) lived in *Pugughileq* and had a good whaleboat but he did not hunt for whales over there. But *Masaayu* and *Ayakitaan* used their new boat for very little time until *Nayegreghaq* became a good hunter.

5. Gambell Captains and Hunting Crews in 1938

The 1938 BIA Census of Gambell listed 265 residents in the village in forty-three families. Two more families (twelve people) we recorded as 'being absent for another place' (*Pugughileq*)—Harry Uglwook (*Aglughaq*) and Sam Bill Nawpokhok (*Napagaghhaq*). Today's elders identified some sixteen whaling crews with boats that were probably active in the village this year, under the names of the following captains.

- *Anengayuu* (*Meregtemii*).
- *Anggatenganwan* (Dick Ungott), *Sanighmii*.
- *Atalluk* (Howard Atahlook), *Nasqaghmii*.
- *Ataayaghaaq* (Jimmy Otiyohok), *Sanighmii*—he was an old captain.
- *Pusaa* (Booshu), *Sanighmii*—He was the old captain on his father's boat.
- *Uwetelen* (Daniel Ooitillin), *Sanighmii*—he was an old man. His son Paul Silook (*Siluk*) used to be a captain on his boat but then Silook became a BIA school-teacher, and *Uwetelen* had to get hunting again.
- *Iggak* (Calvin Echak), *Sanighmii*.
- *Qilleghquun* (Lawrence Kulukhon), *Sanighmii*—he bought himself a new boat.
- *Yaghaq* (Adam Yoghok), *Sanighmii*.
- *Yaavqaghsiq*, *Nengiighbaghmii*—his boat was later taken by his nephew *Kuzaata* (Warren Koozaata).
- *Mangtaquli* (Monti Mantakuli), *Pugughileghmii*.
- *Amwaari* (Harold Omwari), *Pugughileghmii*—he was still a boat captain in Pugughileq and he later sold his boat to *Masaayu*
- *Uzivusiq* (Andrew Oozevooseuk), *Pugughileghmii*—he took a boat over from his father *Akulki*.
- *Temkeruu* (Timkaroo), *Pugughileghmii*—he was probably the oldest man by then hunting in the village.
- *Waamquun* (Patrick Womkon), *Pugughileghmii*—he took over the boat from his father *Suluk* (see below).
- *Eghqaaghaq* (Loon Hokhkohok), *Nasqaghmii*—he was already an old captain.
- *Aywergeen* (Ira Iworrikan, sometimes also called *Nekregun*), *Nangupagaghmii*—his boat was later taken by his brother *Iirgu* (Samuel Irrigoo).

Three more people bought or built their own boats shortly after this time:

- *Maasqen* (Philip Cambell)—he was building his boat for many years and he later became a captain.
- *Masaayu*—they bought a boat from *Amwaari*, and Henry *Masaayu* (*Nayegbregghaq*) became a captain.
- *Elqwaaghqu* (Charles Slwooko)—he lived almost all his time in his camp in Boxer Bay (*Ngusiik*). He was not a captain in 1938 but became one after that.

6. Hunting Crews' Histories: Personal Stories

Anaggun (Ralph Apatiki):

I can tell the story of *Suluk's* boat (*Sulugenkut*). When I just started in my memory—probably at age 5 or 6 (about 1930), my grandfather *Suluk* was a captain of our family wooden whaleboat. His crew-members were all our relatives. Chester *Uveketaaq* was his striker (son of *Taangyan*/*Tungiyen*); then *Waamquun* (Patrick Womkon), my uncle and *Suluk's* eldest son became his striker. Other people in *Suluk's* crew were his other sons: *Uvi*, *Nunguk* (Ollin Noongwook)—he later moved to Sivungaq and became a herder; and my father Homer *Apeteki*—he was the youngest. Also Robert *Taangyan* (*Yughqutaq*), their cousin, hunted with this crew and George *Aymergen* (*Yaagniqun*), another cousin. And they often took old *Taangyan's* wife, *Englegtaq*, with them as a crew-member. Not all the time but she was experienced as a crew woman. This is how I know.

I learned more when *Suluk's* eldest son and my uncle *Waamquun* took over and became a captain. I started going out hunting with *Waamquun*, maybe at age 8. *Suluk* has already retired at this time as a captain. It was almost the same crew; many people often went with the same crew for over twenty or even thirty years. So, it was almost the same crew, maybe with some younger boys like me and my cousin Elton Oovi (*Asi*, born 1922) added. And also Patrick's *Waamquun's* son, (Tracy) *Kavenkuk* (born ca. 1918). But this son of *Waamquun* passed away. *Uveketaaq*, *Taangyan's* son, was a striker. He was the best striker for whales. This was the crew when Patrick (*Waamquun*) took over. They hunted on a wooden whaleboat—'commercial boat' (one bought from the whalers).

What I learned from my uncle Lloyd Oovi (*Uvi*), *Suluk*, my grandfather, landed 13 whales. 'Landed' means when they hit the beach or shore ice—this is landed. Not counting

the whales they cut way out there in the ice—maybe five or six more. That’s how *Uvi* remembered and he told me.

Waamquun taught me everything in this boat: I watched the sails, the pokes, and harpoons at their places. We watched and learned, me and my cousins, we were boys.

Lloyd Oovi (*Uvi*), the younger son of *Suluk*, took over after Patrick *Waamquun*. I was probably fifteen years old when he took over, around 1939 or 1940. Oovi was a captain but Patrick also was in that boat. Just sits somewhere, like an ‘adviser.’ The people in the crew were: my father *Apetiki*—he was Oovi’s striker; *Yughqutaq* (Robert Tangyan), *Yaagniqun* (George Imergen), *Katuk*, my cousin; me; and Elton Oovi (*Asi*). We did not have any woman with this boat; that old lady (*Enlegtaq*) hunted only with *Suluk*’s crew before me.

My father *Apeteki* (Homer Apatiki) took over this crew after Oovi (*Uvi*). Lloyd was a captain for a little while and then stopped going. So, my father became a captain. *Katuk* (Clifford Katuk, born 1927, son of *Uveketaaq*) was the striker; then me; my younger brother *Akinginaaq* (Holden Apatiki); another man *Kiyuok* Marlott— he was from Nome, from mainland. *Yaagniqun* (George Imergen) was getting older but he also hunted with us. This was my father’s crew. And they kept going with the very same old commercial boat (wooden whaleboat) they took over from *Suluk*.

When *Apeteki* got older I took over his place. He still went hunting with us from time to time as ‘adviser’. My brothers were in the crew: *Akinginaaq* (Holden Apatiki.), *Nateghmaghmii* (Jerome Apatiki.), my youngest brother; *Katuk* (Clifford Atahlook) also hunted with us before he made his own boat. He made his boat much later, and he started his own crew with a skin boat. Also some people from Sivungaq came to hunt with us, like Nathan Noongwook (*Qagughmii*), my cousin. *Katuk* was my striker; and when he started his own boat, my brother *Akinginaaq* became a striker. *Katuk* took Bruce Pulaagahun (*Ekaaya*) with him to his own crew, and also his cousins, *Aaptaq* (Tracy Tungiyen) and *Tuugghi* (Jerry Tungiyen). Their father *Yughqutaq* (Robert Tungiyen) has already died.

I became a captain a few years before the (whaling) quota started—probably about 1975, and I am still a captain of my crew. But I am now retiring. My striker now is the ‘young’ *Katuk*—Clifford Apatiki, my youngest brother’s son (born 1974). He has the same name

as my old striker. He already stroke one whale. Before him my eldest son *Utiilek* (Morgan Apatiki, born 1951) was the striker. He stroke three whales but lost some of them. Somebody will take over the boat after me.

We now have 26 whaling boats in this village. This is how they are registered (with the Eskimo Whaling Commission). But there are many more aluminum boats going for walrus hunting; we do not know how many of them altogether.

Akulki (Conrad Oozeva):

I can start my boat's history with my dad, Andrew *Uzivusiq* (Oozevoseuk). He took over his boat from his father *Akulki*. It was also a commercial boat (a wooden whaleboat). I remember the crew about 1930, when I was 5 or 6. My father was the captain; his half-brother *Qipenga* (Addison Kaspoonga) was the striker; *Uusiiq* (Walter Oseuk) was with them; my elder brothers *Lluuyuk* (Stanley Oooseuk), *Ngiiggutaaq* (Glen Oozevoseuk.), and another brother—Nusukaq, he died early. Also my father's nephew, *Estegraaq* (Staguruk) hunted with us and another man, *Kagsagun*, Philip Cambell eldest son.

I started going hunting with them when I was probably 10 years old (about 1935). My father already retired; so, *Qipenga* was a captain. *Uusiiq* was the striker. My elder brothers, *Lluuyuk* and *Ngiiggutaaq*, were with this crew; and also old man *Walanga* (John Walunga) and his son *Taglaan* (Frank Walunga) hunted with us. This was the crew when I started hunting.

When *Qipenga* retired, *Lluuyuk* took over the boat. I was maybe 25. *Uusiiq* still hunted but he was not a striker—my elder brother *Ngiiggutaaq* took over (as a striker). But he died early. Frank Walunga (*Taglaan*) sometimes hunted with us, also his father, John Walunga. But they soon started their own boat. Then some younger men joined us—*Lluuyuk*'s eldest son *Anangti* (Alex Oozeva) and *Aguya* (Aaron Uusiiq), and my sister's elder son *Tagriigen* (Donald Ungott).

When *Lluuyuk* retired, I took over the boat. It was probably at the same time when *Anaggun* (Ralph Apatiki) became the captain, before the whaling quota years. *Aguya* (Aaron Uusik) was my first striker, and now my son *Ighsakuun* (Wilson Oozeva) is my striker. My other sons are with this boat: *Aghhaaya* (Embert Oozeva), *Paaymii* (Carson

Oozeva), *Nagtuqaq* (Ellis Oozeva), also *Maligutkaq*. Aaron's son *Qipenga* (Aaron Jr.) hunts with us and also his younger son *Angyaghyaghtuq* (Brendon Ousek, born 1974). This is my current crew but I am also retiring now.

***Kepelgu* (Willis Walunga):**

We started our crew about 1950 when my father, John Walunga (*Walanga*) made a skin boat. He hunted with the *Uzivangkut* (*Lluuyuk's* crew) before that and so did my elder brother *Taglaan* (Frank Walunga). I was not with their boat because I was with *Pelaasi* (Linclon Blassi) crew. Later became his striker. But when my father made his boat, I came hunting with them. My father was a captain, *Taglaan* was a striker. My younger brother *Kilgaantaq* (Marvin Walunga) was with us and also Frank's elder son *Emeya* (Kenneth Walunga, born 1938). And we also took our nephew, Eric Booshu (*Kipaaghti*), he is my elder sister's son.

When I took the boat over after my father, my younger brother Marvin became a striker. My nephew Melvin (*Kenlek*) was with us, also Frank's son, *Emeya*, and my eldest son Riley, *Epekaak*. Also Roger Anengayuu (*Mangena*) often hunted with us.

Now I am retired as a whaling captain, and my younger brother Marvin took the boat over after me. My other son David (*Qaanghilnguq*) is his striker; my nephew Melvin (*Kenlek*) is with this crew; my other son Roy (*Anika*), and my nephews *Aghnilu* (Jeremy Koonooka, his mother is my niece) and *Nunangighaq*, son of Billy Boy Sunaaghruk (*Kakiighhalek*).

***Kaulu* (Winnie James):**

My old man (James Aningayu, *Anengayuu*) used to go to Siberia and he traded with the man *Tagrugyi* from Sireniki. He gave them rifles and ammunition, and he brought back reindeer skins, parkas, and reindeer legging pants.

He had many boats—he built his boats himself. He could go to Russia first (to *Ungaziq* or *Sireniki*) then to East Cape (*Nevuqaq*) to Diomed to Nome and he traded everywhere. So, he bought himself a boat, he used to buy many things. He had his own store here in Gambell. He once traded a wooden whaleboat to a reindeer man in Siberia. He

also traveled to *Maasqen Tapghaq* (Mechigmen Bay, *Masiiq* or, maybe, *Maasqem Tapghaa*, *Mechken Spit*—Ed.) in Siberia, there were many walrus over there.

My eldest brother Steven (*Kiistiivik*) was with him and also Samuel *Iirgu*, and Calvin Echak (*Iggak*). *Iggak* was *Aymaramka* but we are related because my father's mother and Calvin's mother were sisters. We are *Meregtemiit*. Also the old man *Mangena* hunted with my father, he was his cousin but he died before me. *Yuwaaghpak*, *Mangena*'s son, was also with my dad's crew. He was a strong shaman, he could harpoon a stone. My old man would pay them (for hunting with his boat), he usually giving them 2-3 reindeer skins.

My old man was a whaling captain. He landed probably four or five whales. Calvin (*Iggak*) was his striker and he took the boat over after my old man retired. Then my elder brother Steven (*Kiistiivik*) took the boat over and later I took it over after Steven. Now my eldest son, Dennis (*Ungalaq*), is the captain; he was my striker. My younger brother Roger (*Mangena*) hunted with us, and other brothers and their sons.

***Paapi* (Merlin Koonooka):**

I know that my grandfather Koonooka (*Kunuka*) used to have his own crew. We probably started out from the (original) *Pusaa*'s crew because *Pusaa* is *Kunuka*'s elder brother. They were all sons of my great-grandfather *Quwaaren*. But I believe, they probably quit whaling later—or they, probably hunted back again with the Booshu's crew, because I remember my father Harold Koonooka (*Tiiwri*, born 1918) building his skin boat and starting his own crew anew.

I came hunting with this crew from the Booshu's to be with my dad and other relatives. When my dad retired, we quit whaling again because I lived elsewhere and worked in other places in Alaska. So, for us it was a time of inactivity; maybe my relatives hunted again with the Booshu. When I returned to Gambell, we built a new skin boat. I built it myself—this is a bigger boat than my father used to have, because we have more people now: my brothers, my sons, and my nephews. So, this is the third *Kunuka*'s boat and our third crew. We always hunt with the relatives but usually have one or two people outside the family, from our mother's or our wives' side.

There was formerly one more crew out of *Quwaaren's* family—that of his other son *Ataayaghbaq* (Jimmy Otiyahok). But they ended (up) when the old man died—there was nobody left of his family to take over his whaling crew.

History of Modern Whaling Crews in Gambell

By *Paapi* (Merlin Koonooka), Gambell Representative,
Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC)

We now have twenty-six whaling crews operating in the village, according to our current list of Gambell whaling captains registered with the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC). They all use traditional skin boats for the spring whaling hunt. No new boat and no new crew has been added to this list during the last several years (three to five), although some of the old captains have retired and they were replaced by their younger relatives.

List of Gambell Whaling Crews and Captains as of Spring 1999:

[Age and Yupik Names added from the Gambell Village Census of 1979]

1. Tom Antoghamé (*Tami*, 1937, age 62)
2. Leonard Apangalook (*Piitkaq*, 1939, age 60)
3. Anders Apassingok (*Iyaaka*, 1932, age 67)
4. Melvin Apassingok (*Aluti*, 1956, age 43)
5. Michael Apatiki (*Agigsaghtughbaq*, 1950, age 49)
6. Ralph Apatiki (*Anaggun*, 1926, age 73)
7. Wilbur Booshu (*Tuusaq*, 1932, age 67)
8. Edgar Campbell (*Aratgaq*, 1950, age 50)
9. Farrel Iakitan (*Ayakitaan*, 1950, age 50)
10. Hansen Irrgoo (*Pulaaghun*, 1953, age 46)
11. Dennis James Sr. (*Ungalaq*, 1947, age 52)
12. Franklin Kaningok (*Allaggaq*, 1931, age 68)
13. Merlin Koonooka (*Paapi*, 1938, age 61)
14. Jones Kulukhon (*Ateghiilnguq*, 1939, age 60)
15. Warren Koozaata (*Kuzaata*, 1950, age 49)
16. Jason Nowpokahok (*Papuuki*, 1967, age 32)
17. Wade Oktokiyk (*Meteghlluk*, 1948, age 51)
18. Alex Oozeva (*Anangti*, 1936, age 63)
19. Conrad Oozeva (*Akulki*, 1926, age 73)

20. Gordon Oozevaseuk (*Taangyan*, 1943, age 56)
21. Roger Silook Jr. (*Aywaaghmii*, 1957, age 43)
22. H. Vernon Slwooko (*Sighnasugabhhaq*, 1949, age 50)
23. Joe Slwooko (*Tapeghaataq*, 1952, age 47)
24. Branson Tungiyani (*Unguqti*, 1950, age 49)
25. Tyre Ungott (*Tuquuyaq*, 1962, age 37)
26. Marvin Walunga (*Kilgaantaq*, 1933, age 66).

Some of the younger captains took over their boats recently from their retired or deceased relatives, usually from their fathers.

Comments on History of Individual Crews

- **Wilbur Booshu, *Tuusaq* (#7)**. This is a very old crew, since Wilbur was being a captain since the 1960s. In fact, I started hunting with his crew when I was a young boy. I believe the old *Pusaa* (Booshu) was still a captain, when I started going out with them, or maybe already his (second) son, Ben Booshu, *Nuugnan*. I kept hunting with the *Nuugnan*'s crew for several years. Then *Nuugnan*'s younger brother—Solomon Booshu, *Neghyuk*—took over this crew. Wilbur Booshu is Ben Booshu's eldest son, and he took over the boat when his uncle retired. As I said, this happened some time in the 1960s.
- **Tom Antogham, *Tami* (#1)**: This is another crew made of our relatives. Their old captain was Dick Ungott, *Angqaatenganwan*; he was our captain from the old days. After he retired, his son Donald Ungott (*Tagriigen*, born 1935) took over. Tom Antogham's crew split from the Ungott's crew when Donald was a captain. Tyre Ungott (*Tuquuyaq*, #25) took over the old Ungott's crew when Donald retired. Tyre is Donald's nephew, the son of his younger brother Clement Ungott (*Awaliq*, born 1937).
- **Leonard Apangalook, *Piitkaq* (#2)** and another crew, that of Roger Silook Jr. (*Aywaaghmii*, #20), are also our relatives. They came from one old crew of *Uwetelen* (Daniel Ooitillin), who was Paul Silook's father, Roger Silook's (Sr.) grandfather. I believe, John Apangalook (*Apangaluq*, born 1911, another son of *Uwetelen*) took over after *Uwetelen* retired, because Roger Silook, Sr. was a striker on another boat of

ours, that of *Pelaasi* (Lincoln Blassi). Roger's father, Paul Silook (*Siluk*), probably did not hunt because he was a janitor at school and later a teacher. I think he was the first person in Gambell to get a (permanent) paid job. So, John Apangalook probably took over the boat after *Uwetelen*. Leonard Apangalook is John's son, and he took over this boat when John retired.

I think Roger Silook (*Saavla*) started his boat when *Pelaasi* (Lincoln Blassi) retired. *Pelaasi* took the boat over after *Yaghaq* (Adam Yoghok); he was *Yaghaq*'s younger brother. This crew ended with *Pelaasi*'s death, then Roger started his own crew. Roger is in the hospital in Anchorage now; his eldest son Roger Jr. (*Aywaghmi*) is a captain.

- The two *Apassingok*'s boats, those of Anders Apassingok (*Iyaaka*, #3) and of Melvin Apassingok (*Aluti*, #4), also came out from one old boat. This was Daniel Iyakitani's (*Uzaki*, born 1916) boat. I think Daniel took over this boat from *Nayegreghaq* (Henry Massaiu, born 1906) because they were cousins. When Daniel retired, his younger brother, Lewis Iyakitani (*Tagitkaq*, born 1926) took over the boat. Anders Apassingok was in his crew because they are relatives to the Iyakitans. Later Anders formed his own crew of his sons and relatives, and then they built another boat for Melvin Apassingok, his nephew. Because they are a very big family and they have enough men for two boats.
- **Ralph Apatiki**, *Anaggun* (#6): You know their story from Ralph (see above). Michael Apatiki (*Agigsaghtughhaq*, #5) is Ralph's nephew; he started his boat out of Ralph's crew recently.
- **Edgar Campbell**, *Aratgaq* (#8): This is the old boat of Philip Campbell (*Maasgen*, born 1897). When Philip retired, his son, Victor Campbell, Sr. (*Llaagilngug*, born 1924), took over this boat. Edgar Campbell is Victor's son; he took the boat over when Victor retired.
- **Hansen Irrgoo**, *Pulaagun* (#9): He is a son of Clarence Irrgoo (*Miinglu*), who now lives in Nome. Clarence was an old whaling captain. When Clarence moved to Nome, they quit whaling for a while; later Hansen started their boat anew. Clarence Irrgoo took the boat over from his father, Samuel Irrgoo (*Iirgu*) who was one of our best whaling captains. Samuel got the boat from Ira Iworriagan (*Aywerger*, other name

Nekregun), they were brothers.

- **Dennis James, *Ungalaq* (#10):** He took his boat over after his father, Winfred James (*Kuulu*)—see above.
- **Franklin Kaningok, *Allaggaq* (#11):** I do not know how their boat was started. Franklin took this boat over from his uncle, Willard Kaningok (*Atlegbuq*, born 1919), and Willard took over from his elder brother, Abraham Kaningok (*Tapiisak*, born 1911). Abraham was Franklin's father. Maybe Abraham started this boat or maybe they got it from someone else. [This can be the boat once operated by *Sunaagbruk* and *Mangtaquli's* family—see above]
- **Warren Koozaata, *Kuzaata* (#13):** He took this boat over from his uncle—Lee Koozaata (*Nemayaq*, born 1934). Lee took the boat over after Harry Koozaata (*Milutqa*, born 1928); he was Warren's father. Harry Koozaata took the boat over after the 'old man'—Warren Koozaata (*Kuzataa*), who was our old whaling captain. I believe this might be the old *Yaavgaghsiq's* boat, because *Kuzaata* and *Yaavgaghsiq* were brothers.
- **Jones Kulukhon, *Ateghilnguaq* (#14):** He took this boat over after his elder brother—Leroy Kulukhon (*Ifkaqaq*, born 1933). Before Leroy, his elder brother—Allen Kulukhon (*Ighwighun*, born 1931), was the captain. These are all sons of the old man Lawrence Kulukhon (*Qilleghquun*, born 1896), who was the first captain. I do not know how Lawrence Kulukhon started his crew, since he was already a captain before I was born.
- **Jason Nowpakahok, *Papuuki* (#15):** This was originally the boat of Leonard Nawpokhok (*Anagutaq*, born 1931), and Jason took it over after his father. Leonard became a captain after his father—Sam Bill Nawpokhok (*Napaqaghbaq*, born 1902) retired. I do not know how they originally started. [**Willis Walunga:** This was a crew that operated out of *Pugughileq* or was made of the last families who stayed in *Pugughileq* until the late 1930s]
- **Wade Oktokiyuk, *Meteghlluk* (#16):** This is the old crew, which was originally started by Richard Oktokiyuk (*Aghtuqaayak*, born around 1880). When Richard retired, his son Frank Oktokiyuk (*Akulpeghbaq*, born 1917) took over. After Frank retired, his

younger son Hiram Oktokiyuk (*Manguka*, born 1954) took over. Then he died, and another brother, Wade Oktokiyuk became a captain. He lived in Oregon for many years; so, he is a recent captain.

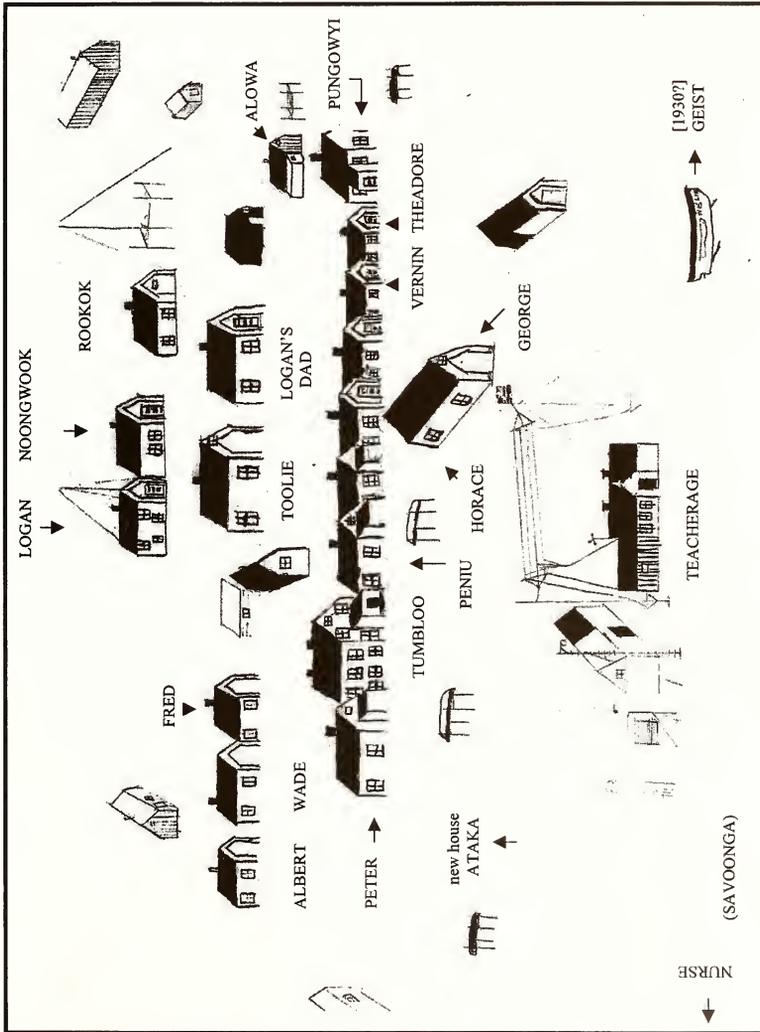
- **Conrad Oozeva, *Akulki* (#18):** There are currently three crews out of one old crew where Conrad's elder brother, Stanley Oozeva (*Lluuyuk*, born 1904), was a captain. Conrad made his own crew out of his sons, and his younger brother Alex Oozeva, (*Anangti*, #17) took the boat over after his father *Lluuyuk*. Then Gordon Oozevaseuk (*Taangyan*, #19), split out of Alex's. Gordon bought his own boat or probably he took it over from somebody else.
- **Branson Tungiyán, *Unguqti* (#23):** This boat has a long story. Branson took it over after his elder brother, Tracy Tungiyán (*Aaptaq*, born 1934) retired. Before Tracy, Clifford Katuk (*Katuk*, born 1927) was the captain. Clifford took his boat over after his elder brother, Howard Atahlook (*Atalluk*, born 1913). They were sons of the old man *Qunaghhaq*; it was his original boat. I do not know why the Tungiyán brothers took it over after Konahok.
- **Marvin Walunga, *Kilgaantaq* (#25):** Old man John Walunga (*Walanga*) started this boat, and Willis (*Kepelgu*, born 1924) took it over after him (see above). When Willis retired, his younger brother Marvin became a captain of this crew.

THE “OLD TOWN OF SAVOONGA” OF OUR EARLY YEARS

There is a strong tradition telling how some families from *Sivuqaq* (Gambell) once moved to reindeer herding and then settled down to build a new village of *Sivungaq* (Savoonga). While almost everyone knows the main line, there are many versions of the same old story. Those may be narratives recalled by different families or just memories of individual elders that differ in certain details. One such story has been recalled by Jimmie Toolie (*Tulii*) and it was published in the second volume of *Sivuqam Nangaghnegha* (“Lore of St. Lawrence Island”) in 1987 (“*Quyngighqwaalqa*,” pp. 54–69). It tells about the first log house built at Savoonga in 1914 by *Inuuq* and *Sipela*, and soon followed by three more houses built by other reindeer herders—*Nunguk*, *Anaghayaq* and *Unmeggaq*.

Another story in the same volume of 1987 (pp. 2–9) belongs to Theodore Kingeekuk (*Kingiikaq*); it was also supported by Nick Wongitillin (*Uqengeliighaq*), who was another respected island historian born in the same year (1903) as *Tulii*. According to Kingeekuk’s and Wongitillin’s story, it was *Mayuqaq*, *Ungazighmii*, father of *Siivaaghaq* and brother of *Amagu*, who built his first split-wood cabin at Savoonga around 1911. He used this area for fox-trapping, and there were no other families and no reindeer herders nearby at that time. The *Ataqa* family made their camp at *Tapghaqaghaq*, to the east of *Mayuqaq*’s residence a year later. The Thirteenth U.S. Census of 1910 listed both families (ten people altogether) as living at Kookoolik (*Kukulek*); evidently, this is the first documented reference to the future village of Savoonga. Then, around 1913 or 1914, the *Wangqetelen*’s family and other herders established their camp at *Ayvighteq* further down south. As both *Tulii*’s and *Kingiikaq*’s stories go, the village of *Sivungaq* (Savoonga) got started when the two groups of herders from *Ivgaq* (original “*Sipela*’s camp”) and *Ayvighteq* (“*Pinaaya*’s camp”) agreed to settle down at one place.

As the tradition about “how the town of Savoonga got started” lives on, more details become available from the new stories recalled by today’s elders as well as from available historical documents and earlier narratives. A small collection of such new “old stories” presented below offers precious new accounts to the residents of *Sivungaq* (Savoonga) and to the next generations of island historians.



The "Old Town of Savoonga"—Otto Geist's Map of 1930.

“How They Came to Start the Village of Savoonga”
Notes from James Anengayuu of Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska

This story was excerpted from the Dorothea C. Leighton Collection, Archives of
the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Folder: “James Aningayou—Life Story,” No. 1(2), Box 4

August 25, 1940

(*Tell me about how they came to start the village of Savoonga.*) From the herding it really started. You have heard of Sepula [*Sipela*]? Richard [*Aghtuqaayak*] should have been herder if he had stayed. It start with one Laplander. He has two boys, and one girl born here. Three boys were working with him. That man's name was Sarra; called him Mr. Sarra. That was the very beginning to learn how to handle the reindeer, shown by him. Richard and Patinxuk [*Petgenghbaq*], and Sepula [*Sipela*], and the fourth one Pinaiyi [*Pinaaya*]. They start to learning how to drive the herd, training the deer, at Naiyrapuk [*Nayghapak*], you know that very small hill just this side of Boolown's [*Pulaaghun*] camp. The little place was called Sarra's camp. The boys were working for girls from there. Richard [*Aghtuqaayak*] work for Dinah [*Anaghaatanga*] and Sepillu [*Sipela*] work for Montokali's [*Mangtaquli*] sister. Her name was Paiyure [*Paayghi*]. Then Mr. Sarra left, and another man came, another Laplander. His name was Antai. He stayed here about two years, and then another young man came. He was a Laplander, too. His name was Oola. Antai and Cola stay together, for two or three years. Then they decide to move their house, and build at the lagoon here, but they didn't stay very long. Those two Laps went out and two Finlanders came. I don't know which one was the boss. One man's name was Laxte, and the other's name was Sootka. Both married, and Sootka had a boy, I think born here. Sootka's wife was named Mary. They move away back, pretty near the river. They was moving to Camp Collier [*Kangii*], but move to the river. I think the Findlanders call — I mixed up a little — call that place Purpurity. They stayed there two years.

Then they added more apprentices. (Could they speak Eskimo?) No, they speak English. At that time Sipula [*Sipela*] was married, and most of the boys married those apprentices. Pinaiyi [*Pinaaya*] married, and Pit inhuk [*Petgenghbaq*], he married Andrew's [*Uzivusiq*] sister, Panga [*Paanga*], English name Helen [Jackson]. Pit inhuk [*Petgenghbaq*] got sick and died, at the river. And those Finlanders leaving again. By that time the boys, they know how to handle reindeer themselves, and I don't know how long they stayed down

the river. Sipula [*Sipela*] became the chief herder. After a few years Sipula [*Sipela*] decided to move on account of the reindeer. He looked around for a place, and decided at Savoonga, but not all the herders together. They thought they couldn't handle the reindeer in one place. So they chose Pinaiye [*Pinaaya*] to be chief herder for another part. At that time Dr. Reed was here. Dr. Reed asked me to look for place for Pinaiye [*Pinaaya*]. He wanted me to take him along the shore, and he asked me how much it will be. I think and think, and I say first I don't know. He says, "You got to say how much will be. I am not going to pay you myself, the Government will." I say I think \$1.50 a day. He say right away, "All right." Looks like worth a little more than that. So I took him, the early part of June. We have no motor. Mostly, when there was a calm wind, we were rowing. When a fair wind came, we just "histe" [sic] up the sail. When we came to Kukulik [*Kukulek*], there was lots of shore ice yet, loose from the shore, but still around the shore. We were tacking against the east wind that day. Not very long till great big shore ice was coming in. Didn't I tell you that? (No.) Just as we pass the little Kukulik [*Kukulek*] village, a great big cake of ice came, brought in by the current, almost square to the shore, like we were in a little harbor. That great big ice was coming closer, so I turn my boat back up that way. I told the crew to row, too, while we were sailing. We have no time, so they rowed as hard as they could, every one. That ice was coming in, drifting just like some kind of power was behind it sending it in. Just in time we got out where there was more room. That big piece of ice came against another piece of shore ice. Just like paper, all went up like that (Crumpling.). Just we had a narrow escape. I don't think any of us would be saved if we were caught in that. After we were through that, we want to do like this, (Heaves a great sigh.)

When we came to Kukulik [*Kukulek*] village we look around there at the old ruins, old houses, frames. We kill some young hair seal. They came around as close as that cupboard (5 feet). Even if they sink, we can hook them out down on the bottom. We caught ten or twelve. I asked Dr. Reed, shall we try to get going on? He says, "I rather go back to Gambell. If we stay around here we can't do anything, too much ice." He was scared himself. I thought I told you about that. (It is all new to me).

Dr. Reed is a great smoker. He says it cost him fifteen dollars a month, his cigars. At that time he was out of cigars or any kind of smoking, and we were short of tobacco, too. Before we start, looking for place for the other herders, the *Polar Bear* came around. Captain Louie Lean; we know him very well. We try to buy tobacco from him, but he says he doesn't have any license to trade with us. He has trading license only for Siberians. I

tried to make sweetest words to him, to get a plug of tobacco. (Laughs.) He says, “I am not able.” So we start for the shore. You know how much that Bull Durham? He knows me very well. I was coming down from boat, ready to come ashore, and he peeped out and hold up something. He says, “James,” and I look up, and he drop it in the boat. So I have one pack of that Bull Durham tobacco, and I feel better. At that time I was smoking Russian tobacco. You ever see that? (No.) I think we got some yet. I ask him how much it will be. He says, “Nothing. No way to pay me back, you couldn’t pay me anything. Just I give it to you.” He was very strict about laws, rules. So I smoke part of it, about one-third, mixed with Russian tobacco.

We start from here, looking for places, about in the evening. We wasn’t sleeping that night. So Dr. Reed, he hadn’t had any sleep. I fixed him in front of me, covered him with a boat cover, and told him to have a sleep. So then I lighted my pipe and smoke. He was sleeping, and the smell of my smoking drifted around him. He raised his head quick as he could, and turn his head and look at me. “Are you smoking?” I say, “Yes. Smell like tobacco?” He says, “Something like it. What is that?” “This is Russian tobacco. You want to try some?” I ask him. He says, “Sure I do.” So instead of the Russian tobacco, I handed to him part of that Bull Durham cigarette tobacco, and he grabbed it quick as he could and smile at the same time. Oh, how he was feeling good! But that tobacco won’t last very long, either, almost like paper. After that I let him try the Russian tobacco. He says it tastes good enough. So he ask me for some once in a little while, until we come back. I help him that much.

Later on we try again, and finally found the place for Pinaiye’s [*Pinaaya*] camp. So they have two places — Pinaiye’s camp [*Ayvigteq*] and Sipula’s [*Sipela*] camp. When we almost got to that camp they were going to have, we caught a heavy wind. But that place has a little lagoon, and when we got there, it’s a good thing it has a lagoon, we sailed right in. When we stop and see that very rough sea, I was surprised at how we traveled rough like that. Just in time, two drivers got there too, the same day we did, While we were waiting for a calm wind to come, we went over the bluffs and got some young cormorants. It is pretty good, isn’t it? We got about fifty, so we eat some and we go for more. Then when a calm sea came, we came back home. We stayed about ten days. See, I get fifteen dollars. (Was this the second trip?) Yes, Dr. Reed, was not with us that time — Oh, I was mixed up; it was the first trip we were away ten days.—So we divide up among the crew.

(Where did they make the camp?) They call that place Aivixtuk [*Ayvigteq*], way beyond Savoonga, beyond Ataka's [*Ataqa*] camp. It is Horace's [*Akiya*] trapping place now. It was not a success, hard time in winter hunting, so they decide again to come together. That was the start of Savoonga for a village. (Who was the teacher?) Dr. Reed. (Who was here when they moved together?) I don't remember, maybe Mr. Dupertius. (It was several years after they started the two separate camps).

The Early Story of Savoonga as I Heard It from Elders

By *Awliinga* (Tim Gologergen)

Recorded in Nome, February 19, 2000

I was born in September 1919, in a (reindeer) camp thirty miles east of Savoonga. It was no village at Savoonga at this time. The herders that came down here from Gambell (were) all Gambell people, they volunteered. My wife's brothers and my grandfather, Amos *Pinaaya*, who took Theodore Kingeckuk (*Kingiikaq*) for his apprentice. Also David *Sipela*, my mother's brother, and Ollin *Nunguk*, and also my wife's father, Logan *Anagayaaq*. Logan took Luther (*Estegraq*) for his apprentice; they all took other people as their apprentices. So, Logan also took Jimmie *Tulii* for his apprentice, which brings down Jimmie's father, *Tangatu* and his family here, his wife *Yaari*.

They all moved here, migrated after they have established the two reindeer herders main camps. One was on the southern side of the island, near the place, which is now called *Qaguuq*, meaning 'forehead.' It is located on the river bank. Several (families) stayed there and then they split in two (groups), because the herd was getting too numerous. So, *Sipela* stayed there and Logan *Anaghayaaq*, and Ollin *Nunguk*, and others—they stayed on the southern side while Amos *Pinaaya* and *Pangawyi*, *Raaquq*, George *Meghyuq*, and others split. Half of them went to *Ayvigteq*; that's where I was born in 1919.

They had all their children there (in the reindeer camp) and later on, probably in 1920, they met together and they said: We are getting too many. Let's pick up a place! So, they picked the northern side because it was good for hunting, lots of game here, and the boats can move in (easier). They got together, they looked around, and this was how they found this place, Savoonga. There was no extinct villages there, just one single house, one igloo. *Kukulek* was one big place, extinct village, and also *Ivghaq*, another extinct village not far from here. That was when the southern group also came north and joined those people at Savoonga, who used to stay some thirty miles east from there at *Ayvigteq*.

(*Whose house was the first here: Amagu?*) No, *Amagu* came later on and he also went to *Ayvigteq*. That was our camp. Since *Akiya* was married to *Amagu's* daughter Olga [*Aghyagaq*], they first came to Savoonga and from there they went to *Ayvigteq*. What

happened: Amos *Pinaaya*, my grandfather's sister was *Yaari*, *Tangatu's* wife [mother of Jimmie *Tulii*]. Then *Amagu's* wife, *Qaallnaq*, was also *Pinaaya's* sister. *Amagu* was originally from Siberia. But he was outspoken, aggressive. So aggressive that the people decided to kill him (there). So, *Pinaaya* did not want his sister's husband to be killed. He brought him out to the island, first to Gambell. He was a big man, *Amagu*, very strong, but he later found out that (some) people of Gambell were stronger than him. So, he started doing same things (in Gambell), picking on people. But he got kicked off there and Amos *Pinaaya* took him away and brought him to his camp when he started the (reindeer) camp near Savoonga. This is how *Amagu* got to *Ayvigteq*.

All our families started out from there (from *Ayvigteq*) and when they all came to Savoonga, they looked: no school-house. There were eight houses back then in Savoonga: *Sipela's* and Peter *Waghiyi* as his apprentice; then *Nunguk*, with an apprentice, Luther *Stegraq*; then Logan *Anaghayaaq*, with his apprentice, Jimmie *Tulii*; then *Pinaaya*; *Galaagerngen*; *Wade Meteghlluk*—I do not know who was his apprentice back then; and the last were George *Unmeggaq* and George *Meghuyq*, those were two brothers. Also (Columbus) *Alowa* who was apprentice to *Raaquq*. Those were first eight houses standing in Savoonga, all scattered (around). Here we grew up and the first thing they thought of was how to get a school-house.

One day they went over to Gambell, and they discussed it with people at Gambell and with the teacher. So, that school-teacher took some (part) of the school-house off and they moved it to Savoonga. This was the first school-house started at the northern side. And somehow they (Savoonga people) pressed for teacher, and this first person who came here was Mr. Thompson. He was the first teacher here. Later on, a lady came as a teacher, Ms. Hawks. They were here at school when I was seven years old (around 1925). We all were in parkas because we did not have any shirts and also in reindeer pants. Going to the school-house, we took our parkas off to study. One pencil, one tablet, no color-in books. Five raisins they gave us at school every day and also a toothbrush—they taught us to brush our teeth.

[...]

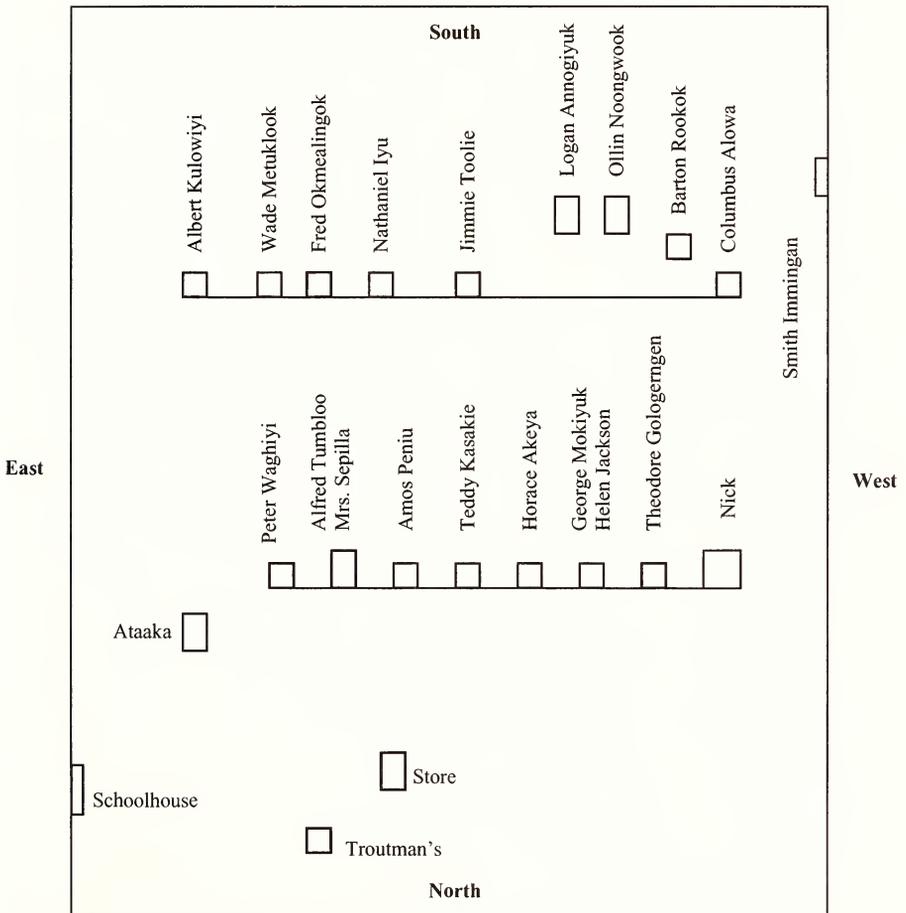
These first teachers, Mr. Thompson and Ms. Hawks, they stayed in Savoonga for one year. And when they returned next year, they were married! They help us more, so that we could begin to understand their culture—and our culture, they understood it real close.

A second year, school live-in, no store. Same thing happened: they went over to Gambell, bought some flour, sugar, and tea there. Brought back a little shack, a 10 by 14' little house. They also chased the herders(?) because all the herders that belonged to the village (of Savoonga) had shares. My father had lots of shares, my grandfather Amos *Pinaaya* had shares; my mother's brothers had reindeer and they had shares. So, they decided: we better do something with the reindeer. They started butchering, they butchered (the reindeer) when the boat comes in. They butchered (reindeer) and they sent them back outside (as carcasses). They made an agreement to sell it (for money) and this money chased back to the village. That's why we grew up so quickly and had cash for building materials. We built a big store and we called it "Reindeer Commercial Company Owned by the Village of Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island." Then Gambell started the same thing we did here (commercial reindeer butchering).

Map of Savoonga, St. Lawrence Island (Summer 1934)

By Samuel Troutman, School-Teacher

Sketched from the original in the Otto W. Geist Collection,
Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Folder "Samuel Troutman,
Eskimo Stories, Map of Savoonga, 1934," No. 50, Box 9



The Town of Savoonga in My Early Time
By *Tuullupak* (John Kulowiyi, Sr.), 1921–2000

This story was recorded from John Kulowiyi, Sr. on May 28, 1999 in Savoonga

Early Houses in Savoonga

[Who was the first to pick this place, Savoonga, for residence?]

There were people like *Unmeggaq*, *Sipela*, *Nunguk*, *Anaghayaaq*, *Raaquq* who picked up this area for good hunting. They were planning (originally) on building up Savoonga over at *Ivgaq* but they said that the wind was too strong there from the south, and sand was blowing away too. So, they changed their mind—that's how I understand it—and then they were hunting at *Ayvigteq* to build (the village of) Savoonga there. But they said it was too windy there in the wintertime. So, they moved here, they checked this area to see how it was here. It is much quieter here because of the mountains, they protect us from the southern winds. And from the north it's all the same everywhere.

I guess it was the BIA that brought the first housing here. They did not have no other organization (agency) at that time. So, the BIA brought in the first 20 houses, just the family housing without insulation. And later on they brought the school, it was after the family housings. No, the (original) school building was already here but it was a very small one. It's burned down. That's where they first went to school—people like Christopher Meklahak (*Miklaghhaq*, born 1913) and others; they are all deceased now. They were the first students at school right here. I saw the part of it (school building) when I was a small kid. We also took some classes in that building; there were two small rooms there. It's gone now, burned down.

There were no other public buildings here (in Savoonga) at that time, except when later on they built a bigger school. Not the recent one but the second one; it's burned down too. That's where I had my classes. It was a big school-house: two classrooms and attached shop, which had all counters stuffed over. The store came in later—I do remember how the first store was built, small room, 15 feet by 20. It was originally reindeer herders building at *Ivgaq* where they kept all their equipment. They had a house there, a simple house without any insulation, but it was a good building. So, they purchased it, they brought it here, and put it down here where the native store is now, maybe a little bit at

the north side of it. It was a small building just at the shore. It was not really a store but they put flour, sugar, tea, ammunition in there, and they put a lock on the door so that nobody is going in there. *Sipela* was the first store-keeper. There was nothing else but later on a bigger native store, *Reindeer Commercial Company's* native store was built.

They did not have no church services at that time. But later on when that big school-building ('second school') was built we had a church upstairs. They (people of Savoonga) were Christians already—not all of them, just some. [...]When they had to have a public meeting or at Christmas, they just go to that first school-house. But it was not enough room for everyone. These old buildings are also gone now.

There were twenty first-built houses here in Savoonga. They were all lined up and they had the board-walks later on, they put these board-walks. It is all disorganized now but this was originally well lined up. I do remember how the original houses were lined up from east to west (draws the map with individual family houses).

Pangawuyi—he has a double-decker, a big house. *Aluwa's* house was nearby—this was the farthest one to the west, disorganized area (not lined-up).

Peter Waaghiyi—his was the last house from the eastern side; no, my dad's (*Albert Kalaawyi*) was the last one from that side.

Sipela's house was the biggest one in town. He (*Sipela*) had everything in there. They had their own generator, they had electricity in their house from the very beginning.

Anaghaayaq—his house was a double-decker, a big house. Later on it used to be *Bobbie Kaava's* 2-store building.

Nungunaq—also a double-decker; there was another family staying in there—I remember Buster, their son but do not remember their name. Glenn was another brother.

There were overall 12 houses in the northern organized (lined-up) area and 8 houses in the southern disorganized area. Twenty of them altogether. We called the northern side 'Front Street.' It did not have any Yupik name or maybe we called it *Sivulighpigaat*, 'first buildings.' And southern side, I don't remember whether it had any name at all.

Some of these first houses are still standing: *Anaghayaaq*'s, a double-decker; remodeled *Sipela*'s house though it is much lower now, just one-decker; *Uma*'s house is still standing but there is nobody living in there.

I also remember how they built old log cabins closer to the river. Not the real log cabins but those of split wood.

The point was called *Tekeghaq*—this was the only name we used. There was also a place called *Savungalliq* where we used to beach stuff that (was) washed ashore.

Boat-racks were built right around where the store building was before the store was built. There were about 10 original boat-racks, they were put in order: all lined-up, in a good shape.

The “Old Town” of Savoonga in 1940

Excerpts from the BIA Community Survey

By 1940, the village of Savoonga was a prosperous and rapidly growing community. Its residents were also quite wealthy financially, in terms of the value of property they owned. In order to see how well off the people of Savoonga used to be some sixty years ago, one may check the records of the 1940 community survey conducted by the Alaskan Office of Indian Affairs of the U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI). Twenty-six “Native Family Record Cards” of the original Savoonga survey, conducted by O. C. Connelly on February 1, 1940, are currently stored on files at the National Archives—Pacific Alaska Region in Anchorage.

The 205-people-strong community of Savoonga then consisted of twenty households (“family consumption groups”). Each household was thoroughly registered, with the names, birth dates, place of birth, and level of education of every person enumerated. The survey also provided an estimate (in dollars) of the property owned by each household, including the number of reindeer, sled dogs, boats, Native store-shares, the value of the house as well as of the total family assets. Of course, one should remember that any property values in Savoonga in 1940 dollars are hardly comparable with what it is (or may be) today. The family list below is a summary of the 1940 survey. Modern spelling of Yupik names was introduced by Willis Walunga.

1. **Akeya, Horace** (*Akiya*)—born 9.25.1898 (‘St. Lawrence Island’): 8 people, frame house (14x16), driftwood camp house, one boat, 292 reindeer, 10 sled dogs.
2. **Alowa, Nelson** (*Qagaqu*)—born 8.16.1912 (Gambell): 9 people, frame house (18x20), one boat, 280 reindeer, 25 sled dogs.
3. **Annogiyuk, Logan** (*Anaghayaaq*)—born 3.20.1896 (Gambell): 10 people, including the family of his stepson, **Bobbie Kava** (*Kaava*), frame house (20x24), frame camp house, 4 boats, 1312 reindeer, 36 sled dogs.
4. **Ataaka, Harry** (*Ataqa*)—born 1872 (‘St. Lawrence Island’): 10 people, including families of **Edward Gologergen** (*Nguungaya*) and **Isaac Alowa** (*Agigsegbaq*), 2-story frame house (18x24), camp house, one boat, 232 reindeer, 24 sled dogs.

5. **Gologergen, Theodore** (*Galaagerngen*)—born 8.28.1886 (Gambell): 14 people, including the family of his brother, **Teddy Kingeekuk** (*Kingiikaq*), frame house (14x20), 404 reindeer, 23 sled dogs.

6. **Ifkoluk, Irving** (*Ifkalleq*)—born 12.20.1903 (Gambell): 7 people, frame house (18x18), warehouse, one small boat, 72 reindeer, 13 sled dogs.

7. **Imingun, Smith** (*Imingan*)—born 8.6.1891 (Gambell): 4 people, frame house (14x16), 456 reindeer, 19 sled dogs.

8. **Iya, Nathaniel** (*Aya*)—born 1.23.1905 (Gambell): 7 people, frame house (14x16), log camp-house, 56 reindeer, 13 sled dogs.

9. **Kaseke, Teddy** (*Qaseki*)—born 12.20.1905 (Siberia): 9 people, including the family of his stepbrother, **William Pelwook** (*Piluguk*), frame house (12x14), log camp-house, 2 boats, 140 reindeer, 9 sled dogs.

10. **Kulowiyi, Albert** (*Kalaawiyi*)—4.6.1896 (Siberia, parents visiting): 13 people, including the family of his brother, **Herbert Kiyuklook** (*Ggayeglluk*), frame house (16x18), log camp-house, 1 boat, 516 reindeer, 19 sled dogs.

11. **Mokiyuk, George** (*Meghyuq*)—born 6.11.1894 ('St. Lawrence Island'): 12 people, including the family of his late brother, **Jackson Unmegak** (*Unmeggaq*), frame house (14x15), 501 reindeer, 20 sled dogs.

12. **Noongook, Ollin** (*Nunguk*)—born 4.6.1887 (Gambell): 14 people, including the families of his sons, **Nathan Noongook** (*Qagughmii*) and **Francis Noongook** (*Kiiwaaq*), 2-story frame house (18x24), 4 boats, 808 reindeer, 33 sled dogs.

13. **Okomealingok, Fred** (*Aqumigalnguk*)—born 2.16.1906 ('St. Lawrence Island'): 8 people, including the family of his brother, **Christopher Miklahook** (*Miklaghbaq*), frame house (12x14), 424 reindeer, 16 sled dogs.

14. **Penayah, Amos** (*Pinaaya*)—born 11.20.1898 (Gambell): 14 people, including the families of his ‘friend’, **Alolph Sevouhok** (*Siivaghhaq*) and of his adopted son, **Donald Pungowiwi** (*Ilagaasima*), frame house (14x16), log-house, 1 boat, 2540 reindeer, 31 sled dogs.

15. **Rookok, Barton** (*Raaquq*)—born 8.25.1872 (Gambell): 10 people, including his single cousin, **Luther Stegrook** (*Estegraq*), frame house (14x18), log house, 1 big and 1 small boat, 1800 reindeer, 16 sled dogs.

16. **Toolie, Jimmie** (*Tulii*)—born 8.12.1903 (Gambell): 10 people, including his parents, frame house (16x28), 1 boat, 1064 reindeer, 20 sled dogs.

17. **Tootmahtulik, Omah** (*Tutmatelek Uma*)—born 9.15.1861 (SW Cape): 3 people, frame house (18x24), no boat, no reindeer, no sled dogs.

18. **Tumbloo, Alfred** (*Tamlu*)—born 12.13.1898 (Gambell): 16 people, including the families of his late brother, **David Seppilu** (*Sipela*), and of his two adult sons, **Frank Seppilu** (*Tagiygun*) and **Melvin Seppilu** (*Anaghataaq*), 2-story frame house (24x36), log-house, four boats, 3432 reindeer, 42 sled dogs.

19. **Waghiyi, Peter** (*Waaghyi*)—born 11.29.1882 (Gambell): 6 people, frame house (16x18), 286 reindeer, 14 sled dogs.

20. **Wongitillin, Nick** (*Uqengeliighaq*)—born 12.10.1904 (Gambell): 21 people, including families of his brother, **Walter Wongitillin** (*Umengi*), his cousin, **Clarence Pungowiwi** (*Ataata*), and of his stepfather, **Martin Kogassagoon** (*Qukasaghun*), from Siberia, 2-story frame house (18x24), 3 boats, 1084 reindeer, 36 sled dogs.

The “Old Town of Savoonga” of My Early Years
By *Wangqetelen* (Jerry Wongkittilin), born 1931

This story was recorded from Jerry Wongkittilin on May 26, 1999, in Savoonga

The houses named here were all built before I was born. These were “old houses” back in my early years, when I was a little boy [about 1935–1940].

The tip of the point where the first houses were staying, we call it *Tekeghaq*. Here they built the first houses long before I was born: the old School House (1), the Teachers’ Quarters (2), the old building of the Savoonga Native Store (3), and the old Storehouse (4). These buildings were the closest to the shore, they were located even closer to the beach than the modern school and the new building of the Savoonga store. Of these four old public buildings, the Teachers Quarters is long gone and the old School House is burned down. Two houses that were the closest to the point are still there. The old Storehouse (4) was used for public meetings and as a winter construction place. They used to build boats in there and to repair coverings for big skin-boats. At this time we did not have a church in the village. So, church services, including the Christmas service took place in this old Storehouse, as well as all other public meetings. This building is still staying there and it is now used by the new store. The old Savoonga native store (3) used to be very close to the modern store, from its northern side (closer to the beach). Only part of this building survived, and it is also used by the new store as a storehouse.

Of the family houses I remember about 20 in the time I was a boy. The first group of houses was just behind the line of the public buildings (the school, the store, the storehouse, etc.). There were *seven* family houses in this northern area, and they were also put in line along the beach, from west to east. I often called this line the ‘Front Street’ but I do not remember any Yupik name for this place.

My father’s house (Nick Wongkittilin, *Uqengelliighaq*, #1) was the first from west and the closest to the beach on the western side of the point. It was a two-story frame house and it was used by our family and Clarence Pungowiyi’ (*Ataata*) family. It is not standing anymore.

Next was Ted Gologergen's house (*Galaagerngen*, #2). It was used by Gologergen's and Kingeekuk's (*Kingiikaq*) families; they were brothers. It is not there anymore.

Next to the east was Walter Wongkittilin's (*Umengi*, #3) house. This house is also gone because of the new school building. He was probably right at the place where the new school building was built later.

Next to Walter's was Amos Penayah's (*Pinaaya*, #4) house. It was also torn down many years ago.

Next to Amos' was Tumbloo' (*Tamlu*, #5) and Seppilu's (*Sipela*) old house. It was a big two-story house. It is still there and it is used by Seppilu's grandchildren now.

Next in line was Peter Waghiyi's (*Waaghyi*, #6) house. It is not there anymore.

Next was Ataka's (*Ataqa*, #7) 2-story house. His nephew Edward Gologergen (*Nguungaya*) was living with Ataka. Ataka's house was next to the old school building. It still exists, and it is now used by Ataka's great-grandchildren. Later on Gologergen moved out and built a house of his own nearby. It is one that is now the closest to the beach [in the northeastern section]. No one lives there anymore.

Another group of houses was located further south. There were *seven* houses in this area; these were not positioned in line, like the northern group, the "Front Street."

The closest to us to the south was Columbus Alowa's (*Aluwa*, #8) house. It was somehow incorporated into the modern red-painted house where Nelson Alowa (*Qagaqu*) lives now. Or, maybe, it's one of the structures nearby.

Next to Alowa was Rookok' (*Raaquq*, #9) house. Actually, Rookok used to have another house, which used to be apart from the main village, far to the west (#19). But this first house was burned down; I remember how it happened. Then Rookok moved to another house close to Alooowa. This house is gone now anyway.

Next to Rookok's second place was *Meteghlluk*'s house (#10). When this man died, his family moved to Gambell. This house still exists—Vicky Kingeekuk is living there.

Next to Vicky's was Albert Kulowiyi's (*Kalaawyi*, #11) house. His brother Herbert Kiyuklook (*Ggayeglluk*) lived with him. This house is gone.

Next to Kulowiyi was Fred Okomealingok (*Aqumigalnguq*, #12) and his brother Miklahook (*Miklagbhaq*). Gary Okomealingok, Fred's son, is still living there.

Next was Jimmie Toolie (*Tulii*, #13) old house. His father, *Tangatu*, lived with him. Jimmie's grandson, Ivar Toolie, is still staying there.

The one farthest south in this group was Tutmatelek's (*Uma*, #14) old house. When Tutmatelek died, they put Kaseki (*Qaseki*) and Pelowook (*Piluguk*) in this house. The community did it because these two families were very poor and could not afford the house for themselves. They used to live in an old log cabin. After Kaseki's and Pelowook's family got their new residences, this old house was abandoned. It still stays there, and nobody uses it now. The windows are broken, but otherwise this house still can be used for some purpose, though nobody wants to make a residence there.

One more house used to belong to this same group—that of Nathaniel Iya (*Aya*, #15). Iya's house was to the north of the main group; actually, it was right behind Walter Wongkittilin's house (#3). Iya's house was burned down many years ago.

A smaller group of *four* houses used to be behind this larger group, further down (south) from the beach. Ollin Noongwook (*Nunguk*, #16) was there in his family house; he had a big family. This old house was burned down long ago.

Close to Noongwook's was Logan Annogiyuk's (*Anaghayaaq*, #17) big frame house. His nephew Bobbie Kava (*Kaava*) stayed with him. This is now a two-story house; Irving Kava and Morgan Annogiyuk live there.

Close to Annogiyuk's was Smith Immingan's (*Imingan*, #18) house. It is no longer staying.

The last house was the old one, originally built by Aningayou (*Anengayuu*, #19) from Gambell. He used to live here for a few years, and then moved back to Gambell. When Aningayou moved out, his nephew Irving Ifkoluk (*Ifkalleg*) took over this house.

I do not remember, whether Horace Akeya (*Akiya*) used to have a house in Savoonga at this time. He mostly stayed permanently at his camp at *Ayvigteq*, year-round. So, I am not sure whether Akiya had originally any house in the 'old village.'

All the houses I mentioned were frame lumber houses; they arrived here ready to be assembled. I have never seen any old winter houses (*mangteghapik*) out here in Savoonga, like those up in Gambell. As I remember, we never used seal-oil lamps here nor the walrus skins for floor coverings and curtains, as they did in Gambell.

This was the village I remember, since I was a little boy. We did not have a church building back then nor the post office. The first Presbyterian church was erected in 1940. I do not remember any visits by people from Siberia here in Savoonga; so, I do not know whether they used to have any special meeting place for the visitors, like they did in Gambell. There was a little common playground right between the Teachers Quarters and the Old Native store, close to the beach. We used to play the Eskimo ball games down there in summer.

The old boat-racks were located on the beach, along the shoreline. There were more racks on the western side of the point, *Tekeghaq*, than on the eastern side. I remember several old boat-racks right near our house; they put large skin-boats and wooden boats out there.

When I was a little boy, we used to have about 8 or 9 boat crews here in Savoonga for the spring walrus hunting. I remember the following boats:

- **Pungowiya** (*Pangawyi*)—I did not see this man myself, but I know that my father Nick (Wongkittilin) took over this boat when the old man Pangawyi died.
- **Ataka**—this boat was later taken over by Edward Gologergen (*Nguungaya*).
- **Tamlu**—his boat was taken over by Frank Sippela (*Tagiyugun*), his nephew.
- **Kulowiya**—Herbert Kayuklook (*Ggayeglluk*) took over this boat later, but he was also working for the school full-time as a janitor.

- **Qaseki**—they used to have a boat of their own; Teddy Kaseki later took over this boat after the old man.

- **Logan Annogiyuk** (*Anaghayaaq*)—his nephew, Bobbie Kava (*Kaava*), took this boat after him.

- **Ollin Noongwook** (*Nunguk*)—his son, Nathan Noongwook (*Qagughmii*), took the boat after him.

- The old man **Columbus Aloowa** (*Aluwa*) also used to have a boat. Nelson Alowa (*Qagaqu*) took this boat over after his father.

I do not remember other boats, but there might be more when I was a young boy.

PRESERVING THE MEMORY OF THE “OLD TOWN OF GAMBELL”

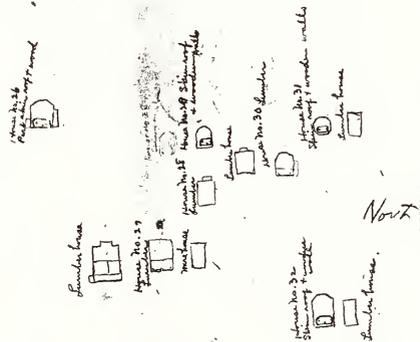
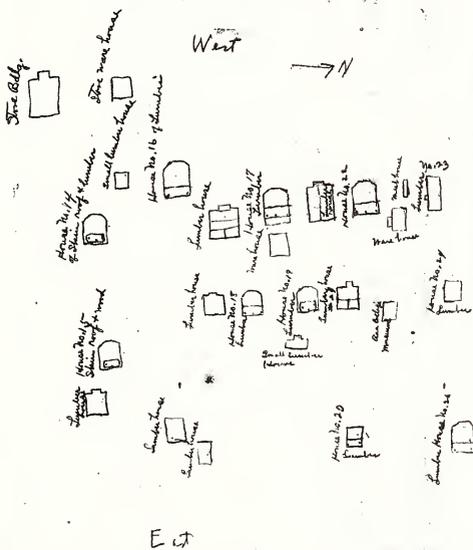
List of Residents of the Village of Gambell (*Sivuuqag*) in Winter 1930

Compiled by Paul Silook

Paul Silook (*Siluk*) compiled the census of Gambell in winter 1930, upon request from anthropologist Henry B. Collins of the Smithsonian Institution. Silook registered all Gambell residents (about 240 people, including a few families from King and Diomed Islands, and mainland Alaska) then living in thirty-two houses. All the houses—both traditional walrus-skin covered dwellings and modern frame buildings—were put on the attached map that showed each family residence within the village. It also illustrated the way Silook’s enumeration proceeded: evidently from the southern edge of Gambell to the northernmost section of the village.

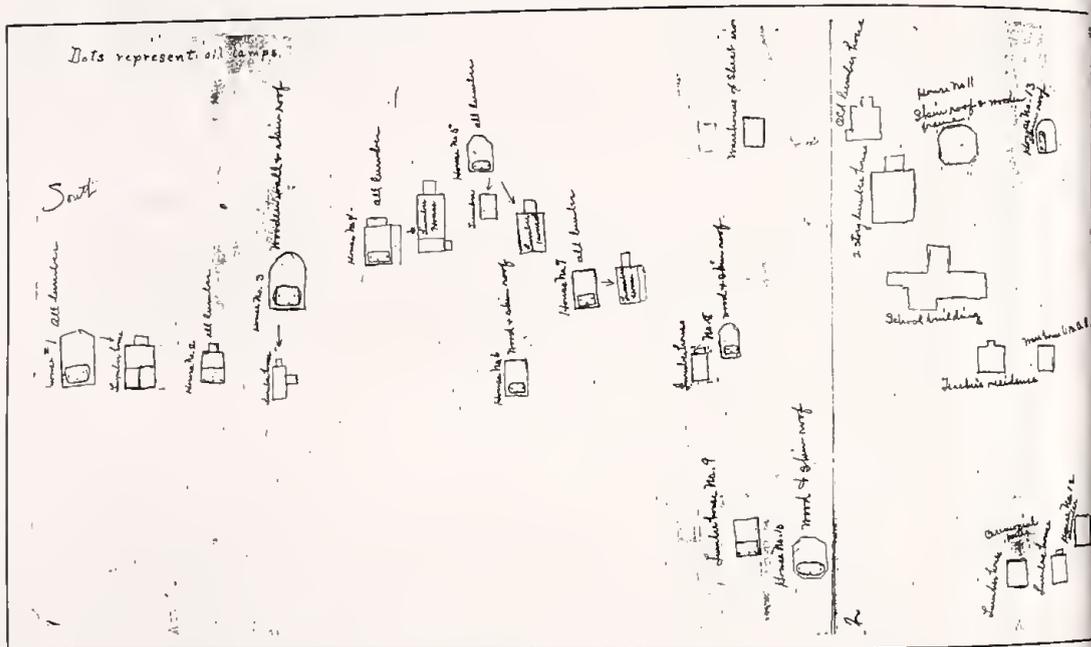
Silook’s census listed every person by his/her Yupik and English name (whenever available). In addition, it supplied information on individual age and relation to the family head (“father”). This is a unique resource for the St. Lawrence Island history; it is also the earliest list of the Yupik community ever produced by a local resident. Unlike the official governmental and BIA-teachers’ censuses, Silook listed all Native people actually living in Gambell (regardless of their origin and citizenship). He also provided accurate spellings of their Yupik names, family relationships, and more realistic estimates of individual age.

The original Silook’s census and his “Plan of the Village of Gambell” (see below) is kept at the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution in Henry Collins’ personal collection (Manuscript Collection, Box 68) under the title *Silook, Paul. Plan of Gambell village showing houses, list of inmates, and their relationship, 1930*. Silook’s census and plan of Gambell has never been published. Neither was it ever used in the studies of island oral history by local Yupik historians and anthropologists alike. For this version, Willis Walunga inserted modern Yupik name spellings and other comments, whereas Igor Krupnik added clan affiliations of all local Gambell families listed by Silook.

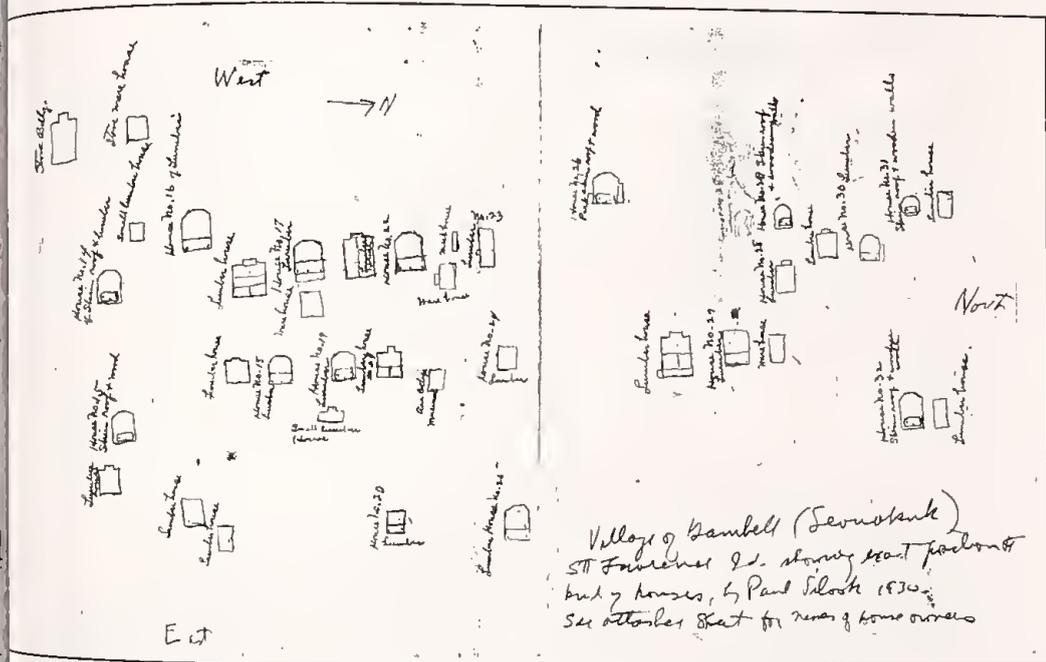


Village of Gambell (Sevost'ank)
 St. F. 1930. I. showing east portion
 built by houses, by Paul Silook 1930.
 See sketches sheet for names of home owners

Paul Silook's (Siluk) Map of Gambell, 1930 (northern section of the village).



Paul Silook's (Siluk) Map of Gambell, 1930 (southern section of the village).



Paul Silook's (Siluk) Map of Gambell, 1930 (northern section of the village).

Village of Gambell (Sevinskank)
 St. Francis Is. showing coast features
 and houses, by Paul Silook 1930
 See attached sheet for names of home owners

- #1 house
1. Nupowhotuk (Lester) Father Nephew of person #10 in house #3. ^{Age} 3. 34
 2. Ubioghlook Mother Age 33
 3. Amari (Kora) daughter sister of pers. # 4, 12, 15. Age 13
 4. Koonahok son Age 5
-
- #2
5. Aveghok - Father Age 54
 6. Adenejuk - Mother " 52
 7. Pameatuk - Adopted " 10
 8. Nakolok - " " 18
 9. "Lid Mury daughter of 8 age 2
-
- #3
10. Hokhkokokok Father age 15.0
 11. Lammaewin Mother " 52
 12. Angason (Mark) Son of person #1 in house #1 age 10
 13. Bolowon (Louis) Brother of pers. #10 Age 4 4
 14. Omoningw (Mary) wife of pers. #13 " 3 6
 15. Ankaki (Elton) Brother of pers #12 " 11
 16. Eghumuk (Single) " " #10+13 age 39
-
- #4
17. Swarigan (Eia) Father Age 52
 18. Yoghloogun Mother " 49
 19. Upistuk (William) Son of 78 " 17
 20. Ayatebuk (Roy) Brother of 19 " 14
 21. Matukhuk (Beatrice) Sister of 19+20 Age 11
 22. Irogo (Samuel) Brother of pers. #17 Age 40
 23. Sono-Boonga wife of 22 " 38 } = 24. Luki (Ann) daughter of 22
 24. Minglod (Clarence) son of 22 " 15 }
 25. Ungujuk (Tom) Adopted son } Grandchildren of the sister of 17 & 22
 26. Naha (Harriet) " daughter } returned to #76 in house #13 | Age 12

The first page of Paul Silook's census of Gambell, 1930. Family numbers 1-4.

**House Numbers and Family Composition,
Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, 1930—by Paul Silook**

House #1

Nasq

Head of Household: Nupowhotuk

- 1) Nupowhotuk (*Lester-Napagbutaq*), Father, Age 34.
Nephew of person #10 in house #3.
- 2) Ohlioghalook (*Allighaluk*), Mother, Age 33.
- 3) Omaru (Dora—*Umaru*), Daughter, sister of person #
4,12,15, Age 13.
- 4) Koonahok (*Qunaghbaq Joseph*), Son, Age 5.

House #2

Mainlanders

Head of Household: Iyek¹

- 5) Eveghok (*Iviguk*), Father, age 54.
 - 6) Akneyuk (*Aakniyaq*), Mother, age 52.
 - 7) Paneatuk (*Panigataaq*), Adopted son, age 10.
 - 8) Nakolook (*Naakuluq*), Adopted daughter, age 18.
 - 9) Girl Mary, Daughter of #8, age 2.
- [Family living on the island at that time, originally from Mainland—Willis Walunga's note]

House #3

Nasq

Head of Household: Hokhkokhok

- 10) Hokhkokhok (*Eghqaaghaq*), Father, age 50.
- 11) Temmewin (*Tenmiuwen*), Mother, age 52.
- 12) Angason (Mark—*Angusaan*), Son of person #1 in house
#1, age 18.
- 13) Bolowon (Louis—*Pulaaghun*), Brother of person #10, age
44.
- 14) Omomingu (Mary—*Amamenga*), Wife of person #13, age
36.
- 15) Ankaki (Elton—*Angqaki*), Brother of person #12, age 7.
- 16) Eghunuk (*Ighennaq*, Edgar), Brother of person #10 & 13,
age 39.

¹ Paul Silook lists Iyek as the head of this household but does not include Iyek in the list of members living here. He does mention the following information regarding Iyek and his family: Iyek (Frank), King Island, age 37; Kekekhtuk, Wife, age 27; Mayak, Daughter, age 7, Pekonganu, Daughter, age 4.

² Paul Silook lists Irrogoo as the head of this household.

³ In Paul Silook's original list, the number 121 is omitted.

House #4
Nang

Head of Household: **Irogoo**²

- 17) Iwoorigan (*Aywerger*, Ira), Father, age 52.
- 18) Yaghoonga (*Yaghunga*, Nellie), Mother, age 49.
- 19) Upistok (William -*Yupestaq*), Son of #18, age 17.
- 20) Oyatekuk (Roy—*Uyaatikaq*), Brother of #19, age 14.
- 21) Matikhtuk (Beatrice—*Mategtaq*), Sister of #19 & #20, age 11.
- 22) Irrogo (Samuel—*Iirgu*), Brother of person #17, age 40.
- 23) Soonakoonga (*Sunqaanga*, Wife of #22, age 38.
- 24) Mingloo (Clarence—*Miinglu*), Son of #22, age 15.
- 24a) Auki (Ora—*Ayuqi*), daughter of #22, age 28.
- 25) Ungiyuk (Tom—*Tayqa*), Adopted son, grandchild of the sister of #17, age 22.
- 26) Wala (Harriet—*Waala*), Adopted daughter, betrothed to #76 in House # 13, age 17.

Other people living in Irrogo's house:

Amaghok (*Amaghwaq*, Joe), Father, Diomed Island, age 39.
Mayak (*Maayaq*), Mother, age 35.
Sauk (*Suuk*, Paul), Son of Joe, mother died, age 20.
Iyalak (*Igalaaq*, Stanslaus), Son of Joe, mother died, age 13.
Aghnatook (*Aghnatuuk*, Son of Joe and Mayak, mother died, age 5.
Engak (*Iingaq*), Son of Joe and Mayak, mother died, age 3.
Ilegakluk (*Iligaghlleq*), Son of Joe and Mayak, mother died, age 2.

Omak (*Umaaq*, Bob), Father, Diomed Island, age 35.
Tannganuk (*Tan'nganaq*, Flora), Mother, age 36.
Pazaganu (*Pazegana*, Joseph), Son, age 13.
Pianu (Idah), Daughter, age 8.
Girl, Adopted, age 5.
Girl, Daughter, age 3.

Anagolek (*Anawuliq*, Paul), Father, King Island, age 50.
Ughootuk (*Ughutaq*), Mother, age 48.
Kaven ngalook (*Kavinangaluk*, Helen), Daughter, age 23.
Nownu (Genevieve), Daughter, age 14.
Aneonu (Madeline), Daughter, age 10.
Senaghok (Johnny), Son, age 6.
Boy, Son, age 3.

House #5

Pugu

Head of Household: Tangyan

- 27) Tangyan (*Taangyan*), Father, age 57.
- 28) Nlikhtuk (*Englegtaq*), Mother, age 56.
- 29) Ovikituk (Chester—*Uveketaaq*), Son, age 21.
- 30) Anaghalkoyuk (Flora—*Anaghalkuyaak*), Wife of #29, daughter of #43 in House #8, age 18.
- 30a) Katook (*Katuk*, Clifford), Son of #39.
- 31) Aga (Esther—*Aaga*), Sister of 29, betrothed to #45, age 17.
- 32) Yoghkoituk (Robert—*Yughqutaq*), Brother of #29 & #31, age 30.

House #6

Laak—from Siberia

Head of Household: Apasingok

- 33) Apasingok (Thomas—*Apasengaq*), Father, age 40.
- 34) Sevokhlaha (*Sivuglegghi*), Mother, age 39.
- 35) Atamama (Agnes—*Atamama*), Daughter, age 11.
- 36) Asahak (*Asaggag*, Herbert), Son, age 4.
- 37) Epuku (*Ipeka*, Della), Daughter, age 1.
- 38) Iflanuk (*Iflanaq*), Mother of #33, age 65.

House #7

Nang

Head of Household: Ungilik

- 39) Ungilik (*Ungalaq*), Father, age 60.
- 40) Singowin (*Singaaawen*), Mother, age 40.
- 41) Kavalhak, (Wallace—*Qavalghaq*), Adopted son of #39 and 1st cousin of #25 & #26, age 17.

House #8

Nasq

Head of Household: Akiyiku [Husband *Qunaghbaq*—deceased]

- 42) Akiyiku (Dorcas—*Akayeka*), Widow, age 58.
- 43) Kerngoktukuk (*Qerngughdekaq*, Snowflake), Widow, age 41.
- 44) Iknukenuk (Ruth—*Ikenaqeneq*), Adopted daughter of #42, age 20.
- 45) Atahlook (Howard—*Atalluk*), Brother of 30, age 16.
- 46) Walha (Ina—*Waalla*), Daughter of #43, sister of #30, betrothed to #132 in House # 19, age 12.

House #9
Siql

Head of Household: Maskin

- 47) Maskin (Philip—*Maasqen*), Father, age 28.
- 48) Tokoyu (Nita—*Tukuuya*), Mother, daughter of #53, age 25.
- 49) Kakhsgon (Edgar—*Kagsaagun*), Son of #47, age 7.
- 50) Wayi (*Waayi*, Victor), Son of #47, age 5.
- 51) Kangho (*Kaanghu*, Elmer), Son of #47, Age 3.
- 52) Nunglu (*Pengwaaq*, Wilmer), Son of #47, Age ° .

House #10
Pugu

Head of Household: Kaningok

- 53) Kaningok (*Qanenguq*), Father of #48 in House # 9, age 52.
- 54) Yogho (*Yaaghu*), Mother, age 50.
- 55) Tapesuk (Abraham—*Tapiisak*), Son, brother of #48, age 17.
- 56) Atlahok (Willard—*Atleghuq*), Son, brother of # 48, age 12.

House #11
Pugu

Head of Household: Shoolook

- 57) Shoolook (*Suluk*, George Washington), Father, age 67.
- 58) Kiskangu (*Qisgenga*), Mother, 1st cousin of #139, age 60.
- 59) Womkon (Patrick—*Waamquun*), Son, cousin of # 60, age 45.
- 60) Nueyellngok (*Nuugigalnguq*), Wife, cousin of # 59, age 40.
- 61) Angeeko (Nina—*Angiku*), Daughter of #59, age 18.
- 62) Kavenkuk (Tracy—*Kavenquq*), Son of #59, age 13.
- 63) Aghnaghaghpek (Adelinda—*Aghmaghaghpek*), Daughter of #59, age 6.
- 64) Okowa (*Ukugha*, Clara), Daughter of #59, age 3.
- 65) Oovi (Lloyd—*Uvi*), Brother of #59, age 30.
- 66) Anatoonga (Victoria—*Anataanga*), Wife, age 27.
- 67) Asi (Elvin—*Asi*), Son of # 65, age 7.
- 68) Emantuk (*Imantaaq*), Daughter of #65, age 3.

House #12

Pugu

Head of Household: Athalingok

- 69) Athalingok (Reube- *Aatgbilnguq*), Father, age 49.
- 70) Ootooko (*Utuqa*), 1st wife, age 42.
- 71) Koonaiigu (*Quun'nga*), 2nd wife, age 40.
- 72) Towotkiyuk (Herald—*Tugutkayuk*), Son of 1st wife of #69, age 14.
- 73) Oovokaya (Edna—*Maketkaq*), Daughter of 2nd wife of #69, age 5.
- 74) Apayu (Mabel—*Apayaa*), Daughter of #32 in House # 5, age 8.

House #13

Pugu

Head of Household: Yagmekon

- 75) Aghnakhlowok (*Aghnaghlluggaq*), Widow, age 47.
 - 76) Yogmekon (George—*Yaagmigun*), Son, age 21.
 - 77) Panekotuk (Ada—*Panikutaag*), Daughter betrothed to #25 in House #4, age 18.
 - 78) Panipahlu (Lida—*Panipaalla*), Daughter betrothed to #41 in House #8, age 14.
- [Widow of *Aymergen*]

House #14

Nengu

Head of Household: Yavakseuk

- 79) Yavakhseuk (*Yaavgaghsiq*), Father, age 50.
- 80) Keroku (*Kiruka*), Mother, age 50.
- 81) Koozaatu (Warren—*Kuzaata*), Nephew of #79, age 37.
- 82) Tuparwok (Lucile—*Teparghuq*), Wife, daughter of #192 in House #29, age 22.
- 83) Kowyelluk (John—*Qawyalek*), Son of #81, age 9.
- 84) Wapelo (*Wapelu*, Helen), Sister of #83, age 8.
- 85) Anahlok (*Analluk*, Bessie), Sister of #83, age 5.
- 86) Melotku (*Milutqa*, Harry), Brother of #83, age 3.
- 87) Agangseuk (Alice—*Aghwalngiiq*), Daughter of #79, betrothed to #200 in House #31, age 19.
- 88) Kayahak (Annie—*Qayaghbaq*), Sister of #87, age 17.
- 89) Anaka (*Anaka*, Grace), Granddaughter of #79, mother in House # 21, age 5.

House #15

Pugu

Head of Household: Montokoli

- 90) Montokoli (Monte—*Mangtaquli*), Father, age 46.
- 91) Aghnahlpwopuk (*Aghnalqwaapak*), Mother, age 44.
- 92) Tonghalingok (John—*Tunghilnguq*), Son of #90, age 18.
- 93) Aghologhkok (Delia—*Aghulaghquq*), Sister of #92, age 14.
- 94) Ooviyu (Franklin—*Uviya*), Brother of #90, age 9.
- 94a) Anungti (Alec—*Anangti*), Brother of #90, age 27.
- 95) Sekahok (Idah—*Sikaaghbaq*), Wife of #94a, daughter of #199, age 20.
- 96) Kowowin (*Kawaawen*), Daughter of #94, age 2 or 3 months.
- 97) Soonogurook (Moses—*Sunaaghruk*), Brother of #90, age 39.
- 98) Iyapu (*Ayapaa*), Wife of #97, age 42.

Other people in Montokoli's house:

- Timkeroo (*Temkeruu*), Father, age 50—*Pugu*.
- Tootu (*Tuuta*), Wife, age 53.
- Ningki (*Nengki*, Arche), Son of a man at Boxer Bay, age 13.
- Avaluk (Beda—*Avalak*), Daughter of Robert Yoghkoituk, age 13.

House #16

Sani

Head of Household: Ovitillin

- 99) Ovitillin (Daniel—*Uwetelen*), Father, age 54.
- 100) Kaeyusseuk (Naomi—*Qiyasiq*), Mother, half-sister of #110, age 52.
- 101) Immugumi (Oscar—*Imaghmii*), Son of #99, age 21.
- 102) Apangalook (John—*Apangaluq*), Son of #99, age 18.
- 103) Silook (Paul—*Siluk*), Son of #99, age 36.
- 104) Mohak (Margeret—*Muuggaq*), Wife of #103, cousin of #202, age 34.
- 105) Kanohok (Nolan—*Kanuggaq*), Adopted son of #103, age 14.
- 106) Pinapak (Estelle—*Penapak*), Daughter of #103, age 10.
- 107) Savlu (Roger—*Saavla*), Son of #103, age 7.
- 108) Anaghayi (Vivian—*Anaghayi*), Daughter of #103, age 5.
- 109) Kimlingu (Atillia—*Kemliinga*), Daughter of #103, age 2.

House #17

Pugu

Head of Household: Oozevooseuk

- 110) Oozevooseuk (Andrew—*Uzivusiq*), Father, age 39.
- 111) Singlungu (*Singlenga*), Mother, age 38.
- 112) Ozook (Stanley—*Aazuk*), Son of #110, age 21.
- 113) Ngehhotuk (Glenn—*Ngiiggutaq*), Son of #110, age 12.
- 114) Akohlki (*Akulki*, Conrad), Son of #110, age 5.
- 115) Kaspoongu (Addison—*Qipenga*), Half-brother of #110, age 35.
- 116) Patateyu (*Pataatiya*), Mother of #115, age 63.
- 117) Oseuk (Walter—*Uusiiq*), Nephew of #110, age 32.
- 118) Amekhekuk (Emily—*Amigiqaq*), Wife of #117, age 19.

House #18

Avat—from Siberia

Head of Household: Walanga

- 119) Walangu (*Walanga*, John), Father, age 37.
- 120) Rothlingu (*Rultenga*, Ruth), 1st wife, age 36.
- 122) Akituk (*Uuketa*, Dorothy), 2nd wife, age 32.³
- 123) Ankanowin (Lucy—*Angqangaawen*), Step-daughter of #120, betrothed to #120 in House #26, age 14.
- 124) Napaka (Mildred—*Napaqaq*), Daughter of #119 thru #120, age 13.
- 125) Taglan (Frank—*Taglaan*), Son of #119 thru 122, age 12.
- 126) Sevoongak (Elizabeth—*Sivungaghmiit*), Daughter of #119 thru #122, age 8.
- 127) Kepelgo (*Kepelgu*, Willis), Son of #119 thru #122, age 5.
- 128) Otungukhkuk (*Utengegkaq*, Ersula), Daughter of #119 through #122, age 2.

House # 19

Sani

Head of Household: Koonooku

- 129) Koonooku (Tommy—*Kuukuka*), Father, age 39.
- 130) Avehlkek (*Avelqiiq*), Wife, age 38.
- 131) Ghemungawin (Lily—*Giimangaawen*), Daughter of #129, betrothed to #102 in House # 16, age 18.
- 132) Tewori (Herald—*Tiiwri*), Son of #129, mother died, age 15.

House #20

Head of Household: Ohwowin

133) Ohwowin (*Uwhaawen*), Widow, age 64.

134) Antukmee (Jack—*Aantaghmi*), Grandson, son of #71 in House #12, age 19.

House #21

Sani

Head of Household: Otiyohok

135) Otiyohok (Jimmie—*Ataayaghbaq*), Father, brother of #129, age 45.

136) Okwomangan (Isabel—*Ukaamangan*), Mother, age 28.

137) Oyatowon (Sadie—*Uyatuwan*), Daughter of #129, age 20.

138) Okwoktaluk (Jean—*Ukaaghtaalaq*), Adopted daughter of #135, daughter of #141, age 4.

Other people in Otiyohok's house:

Okinello (Peter—*Aghnilu*), Father, Otiyohok's brother, age 38.

Upaka (Daisy—*Epeqaaq*), Wife, sister of Carl, age 25.

Katnagak (*Qinegaq*), Son.

House #22

Sani

Head of Household: Booshu

139) Booshu (*Pusaa*), Father, brother of #129 & #135, age 49.

140) Utungu (*Atenga*), Mother, age 24.

141) Inwikson? (Ernest—*Ayuwighsaan*), Son of #139, mother died, age 23.

142) Aghnungghak (Pansy—*Aghnangiighaq*), Wife, daughter of #57 in House #11, age 22.

143) Ayaluk (Roland—*Ayaleq*), Son of #141, brother of #138, age 5.

144) Simu (*Semyu*), Son of #141, age 1 °.

145) Nukuyok (Solomon—*Neghyuk*), Son of #139, age 17.

146) Nooynun (Ben—*Nuugnan*), Son of #139, age 20.

147) Kehlammrook (Lena—*Qellaamruk*), Wife of #146, age 19.

House #23

Head of Household: Sokruk

[Family living on the Island from Mainland, *Ayukliit*—Willis Walunga's note]

- 148) Sokruk (*Sukraq*), Father, age 45.
- 149) Tootooghanu (*Tutughana*), Mother, age 43.
- 150) Kaghok (Julia—*Qaaghwaq*), Daughter of #148, age 23.
- 151) Luke (*Luke*), Son of #148, age 7.
- 152) Neyako (*Neyaku*), Daughter of #148, age 4.
- 153) Toozuk (Booker—*Toozuk*), Son of #148, age a couple of months.

House #24

Head of Household: Echak

Sani

- 154) Echak (Calvin—*Iggak*), Father, cousin to #155, age 37.
- 155) Anaghatungu (*Anaghaatangai*), Mother, cousin to #154, age 39.
- 156) Akooto (Moses—*Aqutu*), Adopted son, brother of #41, age 14.
- 157) Ootoomuk (Daniel—*Utumek*), Son of #154, age 10.
- 158) Tosogon (*Tuusugun*, Dorcas, Daughter of #154, age 6.
- 159) Enungowin (*Imengaawen*, Mathilda), Daughter of #154, age 3.

House #25

Head of Household: Aningayou

Mere

- 160) Aningayou (James—*Anengayuu*), Father, age 43.
- 161) Akwohovi (*Ukaagghani*, Susie), Mother, age 40.
- 162) Raaganuk (Ethel—*Riighnak*), Daughter of #160, age 21.
- 163) Kastivek (Steven—*Kiistivik*), Son of #160, age 18.
- 164) Ghenook (Norman—*Genuk*), Son of #160, age 16.
- 165) Atongo (John—*Atangu*), Son of #160, age 13.
- 166) Koolo (Wilfred—*Kuulu*), Son of #160, age 6.
- 167) Akisook (*Akesug*, Clara), Daughter of #160, age 5.
- 168) Mungenu (*Mangena*, Roger), Son of #160, Age 2.
- 169) Pooovwook (*Puguug*), Mother of #160, age 66.

House #26
Ingl—from Siberia

Head of Household: Alnygekhtuk

- 170) Alnygekhtuk (*Alngiiwhtaqi*), Father, age 54.
- 171) Pekanlingok (*Pikanlenguq*), Mother, age 52.
- 172) Yatelin (Jean—*Yatelen*), Daughter of #171, father died, betrothed to #163, age 17.
- 173) Angi (Fred—*Angi*), Son of #170, age 16.
- 174) Mikungu (Doris—*Mekenga*), Daughter of #170, age 13.
- 175) Ooyghak (Sweeney—*Uuyghaq*), Son of #170, mother died, age 40.
- 176) Nighak (*Naayghaq*), Wife of #175, age 37.
- 177) Nikanuk (*Nekanaq*, Mark), Son of # 175, age 8.
- 178) Metook (*Metaaq*, Marcilla), Daughter of #175, age 3.

House #27
Sani

Head of Household: Kulukhkön

- 179) Ikmiowu (*Iqmaluwa*), Father, age 54.
- 180) Aghnaghaghruk (*Aghmaghaghpak*), Mother, age 50.
- 181) Agekhsook (Rachel—*Agigsuk*), Daughter of #179, cousin of #112, betrothed to #112, age 18.
- 182) Kulukhkön (Lawrence—*Qillegbquun*), Stepson of #179, cousin of #135, age 32.
- 183) Asoongu (Rosie—*Aasunga*), Wife, age 27.
- 184) Akoline (Grace—*Akulmi*), Daughter of #182, age 9.
- 185) Mizuku (*Mezeka*, Allen), Son of #182, age 7.
- 186) Anaghasook (*Anaghasuuk*, Anna), Daughter of #182, age 5.
- 187) Welu (*Wila*), Daughter of #182, age 2.

House #28
Sani

Head of Household: Unggottinganwon

- 188) Unggottinganwon (*Anggatenganwan*), Father, age 47.
- 189) Anasook (*Anasuk*), Mother, age 46.
- 190) Okhkakmi (Eddie—*Uughqaghmi*), Son, age 21.
- 191) Wiyingi (Josephine—*Wayengi*), Wife of #190, cousin of #190, daughter of #110, age 19.

House #29
Sani

Head of Household: Apatu

- 192) Apatu (*Apaata*), Father, 1st cousin of #99, age 50.
- 193) Anaghangu (*Anaghanga*), Mother, age 36.
- 194) Aghnamcomi (Sarah—*Aghnaamkami*), Daughter of #192, mother died, age 19.

House #30
Sani

Head of Household: Yoghok

- 195) Yoghok (Adam—*Yaghaq*), Wife died, half-brother of #192, age 38.
- 196) Blasi (Lincoln—*Pelaasi*), Brother of # 195, age 34.
- 197) Mileghotkuk (Chauncey—*Maligutkaq*), Brother of #195, age 29.
- 198) Nipook (Florence—*Napaaq*), Wife of #197, niece of #135, age 27.

House #31
Uwaa

Head of Household: Massiu

- 199) Massiu (*Masaayu*), Father, widower, brother of #80, age 64.
- 200) Niagarahok (Henry—*Nayegreghaq*), Son, cousin of #87, age 22.

House #32
Uwaa

Head of Household: Iyakatan

- 201) Iyakatan (*Ayakitaan*), Father, brother of #199, age 50.
- 202) Noknaghon (*Nugneghun*), Mother, 1st wife, niece of #135, age 38.
- 203) Kimwooko (Carl—*Kenuuqu*, other name *Uwaaliq*), Son of #201, age 18.
- 204) Ozuk (*Uz zak*, Daniel), Son of #201, age 16.
- 205) Negughpuk (*Negaghpak*, Lewis, other name *Tagitkaq*), Son of #201, age 6.
- 206) Ahlingu (Adeline—*Aallenga*), Daughter of #201, age 13.
- 207) Agha (*Agha*), Daughter of #201, age 4.
- 208) Agragek (*Agragiiq*, Lane), Son of #201, age 2.
- 209) Popogak (*Papegaaq*), 2nd wife of #201, age 55.

Bridging Paul Silook's Census and Memories of the Old Days

1. Our Parents' Houses and Our Neighbors of the "Early Years"

Akulki (Conrad Oozeva):

I remember the old house of *Akulki*, where I was born. It was a lumber house but one of the old-style, the Eskimo-style. It had one window on the side, on its left side. We have three Eskimo lamps, *naniq*, inside for heat and cooking. The eastern side of the house had about four feet of lumber floor and the rest of it was split walrus hide on the bare ground floor. We had a curtain inside made of reindeer skins. From that on, we had a bare ground area up to the entrance. It also had some cut-off windows, also on the eastern side. On the north side, they had *siinu*, the Eskimo storage room—not the all length of the house but just a part of it.

This was the old house of *Akulki*, my grandfather's house. I think, when the old man *Akulki* died, they tore his house apart and maybe they used parts of the old house for other buildings. It was very much a wooden house and it had a wooden roof too. They also had another small house (cabin) in the back of it. They used to do some works there, like the woodwork, carving (ivory), and other things.

My father (*Uzivusiq*) was living in a separate house (of) *mangteghapik* type [See Family No. 17 of Paul Silook's census]. He might have lived in that old house too with the old man before. As far as I remember, we all lived in my father's house: my father and the whole family: my mother, my elder brother (*Lluuyuk*), who got married—he came from *Waamquun* to our house with his wife (*Angiku*), and he was staying with us. In later time they stayed (lived) in the back side of the building but my brother made it into his living place. Then my second brother Glenn (*Ngiiggutaq*) got married. They stayed with us in the same room. My cousin, Walter *Uusiiq*, when he got married, he stayed in the family with his wife too. Later he built a house for himself nearby.

My father never told me who built this house or who lived there first. When I learned, it was always this way. It was not that old a house and it was even partially new (because of the remodeling). Maybe, the lumber was taken from the early part of the mission school.

Anaggun (Ralph Apatiki):

I also remember the old house, *mangteghapik*, where my grandfather *Suluk* lived like our winter home [Family No. 11 of Silook's census]. There was an inner room laid with reindeer skins and grass, and walrus hides. My grandfather *Suluk* was living there with his wife (*Qisgenga*); his oldest son *Waamquun* and other son *Nunguk*, and two other sons—*Uvi* and *Apeteki*, my father. Only Lloyd Oovi (*Uvi*) lived in the frame building [family summer house nearby] but inside there was an *agra* too. And they had lamps there, seal-oil lamps.

Where I lived (the winter house), we had three oil lamps and three families in the living: my grandfather *Suluk*, his eldest son *Waamquun* and his family, and also my father *Apeteki* and his family. I know that my father lived there because I was always told that I was born in that winter house of *Suluk* in 1926. And what I saw as a little boy was a big family like that. The house was covered with walrus hides, they were dried and tight together on both slopes (of the roof). On the front (side), they put a canvas—probably they got it from traders—put it on the front. (*What was the need for the canvas?*) Maybe, it lasted longer than the walrus hide. It was just one layer of canvas but it was not like today's canvas, much heavier one. Real heavy canvas, they used it at the door side. They may use it there to make it lighter inside the *agra*.

Outside the *agra*, it was open (open space)—there they put their clothes, beds, some food, and so on. They also have this little cabin (storage room), we call it *siinu*, where they put certain food for the family. It had a door about 2 feet high from the ground—I believe, to keep it from animals, like dogs, to go in and out. We were such a big family: they have three whaling boats and one skin-boat, and many-many dogs. They sure lived like all other families here (in Gambell), like other *agra* families. We had many relatives here and there but they all lived in their own family houses.

We also had a lumber building nearby, which was called “summer house.” About the end of June, when the need came, they started tearing out the (roof) cover from the winter house, to expose (it) to the air. All summer it stayed exposed, open (from the roof), and they all moved to the summer house, we call it *guygu*. Big family lived in that large one-story building all summer, they stayed together. So, each family used to have two houses in my early years: one in winter and another in summer, when they left the winter house exposed (open) to the sun and air all summer. In the fall, usually in October, they put the

roof back (on the winter house)—either the new walrus hides or the ones they used before. Some families also have canvas cover, not all families have it but we have one.

Our close relatives, like *Aymergen* [Family No. 13 of Silook's census] and *Taangyan* [Family No. 5] lived in separate houses (of their own). *Aymergen* was a cousin of my grandfather and *Taangyan* was another cousin of my grandfather. Also *Mangtaquli* [Family No. 15] and Andrew (*Uzivusiq*—Family No. 17] were close relatives sharing with each other. Actually, *Mangtaquli* and Andrew did not live that close but *Aymergen* was very close. Because my great-grandfather had two wives. And so *Aymergen* and my grandfather (*Suluk*) had one father but different mothers. That made them very close (to each other). They all lived like one big family, helping each other and sharing. They cared about their own dogs, they knew how to make hunting equipment, and they hunted together, my grandfather and his relatives, in one boat.

***Avalak* (Beda Slwooko):**

As far as I remember, we lived together with my grandparents from my mother's side. My grandfather's name was *Temkeruu*. My father was *Yughqutaq*, his other name was Robert Tungyan, after his father *Taangyan* (Tungyan). He moved to his in-laws because, I think, my grandfather *Temkeruu* did not want his daughter to leave his house. So, he asked them (my parents) to stay with him for awhile.

The nearest house to us was (that of) *Aatghilnuq* [Family No. 12], my grandfather's younger brother, and his family close-by. And another nearby house was of other close relative, *Qanenguq* [Family No. 10]. And *Mangtaquli*, another close relative, was close-by too.¹ But *Aatghilnuq*, my grandfather's younger brother and family, was the most close to us. I remember as I was a little girl: we were often staying in *Aatghilnuq*'s house—not sod-house but a lumber house, with a big square room on the other side.

My grandfather's house was an old-style Eskimo house. They used the ceiling out of walrus hide, *tapeq*, with the big ventilation (hole) on the top. So, in the living quarter, there was always a big ventilation hole to the outside, for fresh air. We had three or four clay lamps. Every once in a while they cleaned up these clay lamps. They picked up some

¹ In Paul Silook's list of Gambell families of 1930, *Temkeruu* was listed as staying in *Mangtaquli*'s house, together with his wife *Tuuta*, and *Beda Avalak*, who was then 13 (see her picture of 1930 on p. 338).

moss, *peqaq*, from the mountains in summer time, they took it from top of the rocks, and they cleaned the seal-oil lamps. They cooked their daily food with these lamps in the Eskimo pots for cooking. Even boiling some walrus flippers and some female walrus breast side, *qallataq*.

***Ayuqi* (Ora Gologergen):**

I was born in Gambell in February 1917. I lived there all my younger years, until I was probably eighteen or twenty year-old when I moved to *Sivungaq* and married the *Galaagerngen* boy.

We lived in our own house, all my family lived together: my father *Iirgu*, my mother, my older brother (*Miinglu*, Clarence Irrigoo) [See Family No.4 of Silook's census]. At first, we also lived with *Ungalaq* and his youngest wife *Singaawen*. He was also our relative. His first wife was much older but his second younger wife, *Singaawen*, was from Siberia, *Ungazighmii*. She was a sister of *Amagu*, *Laakaghmii*. And *Ungalaq*'s grandson, Wallace *Qavalghaq*, he was adopted grandson from one of my father's nephews, also lived with us. He was about the same age as my brother *Miinglu* [Clarence Irrigoo]. *Ungalaq* and my father were related but how, I don't know.

Our closest neighbor was *Aywergen* [Ira Iworrikan], my father's older brother, and his family. They lived right in front of our house. Next door (to us) was my father's other brother, Richard *Aghtuqaayak*, and his family. Farther down south was the house of *Eghqaaghaq* [Loon Hokhkokhok—See Family No. 3 of Silook's census], and the last one (in the village) was *Napaghutaq* [Lester Nupowotuk—See Family No.1 of Silook's census]. These were the older ones—when these *Napaghutaq* and *Eghqaaghaq* all passed away, it became Leonard *Napaqagbhaq*'s house.

These families were very close (to each other): my father, his brother *Aywergen*, his other brother *Aghtuqaayak*, and *Ungalaq*. They also have a sister; her name is *Ayapaa*, Moses *Sunaaghruk*'s wife. There was another woman—*Papegaag*, not a sister but related to her. She married my other uncle, *Ayakitaan*, from my mother's side. He had another wife, a much younger one, named *Nuqneghun*. They lived on the other side of the village.

These were all traditional Eskimo houses—*mangteghapiget*. I grew up in such *mangteghapik* house of driftwood, with *aagra* (built of) of reindeer skins, walrus hides on the floor, and the seal-oil lamps. This was the type of house I grew up when I was a little girl.

Kepelgu (Willis Walunga):

My family first lived in *Sivungaq* (Savoonga) when we moved to the island. Logan *Anaghayaaq* brought my father from Siberia. He came there for my dad because of this old woman named *Puughhun*—she sent him for my father. I do not really know why did she do that. So, they moved to *Sivungaq* some time in the early 1920s; I do not remember that because I was born here. When I started to remember, we already living close to *Akulki's* house. We lived then in a very small house, it was probably about 10x12 and it had three lamps: one on one side and two on the other side. It was a lumber house with a floor of walrus hide, with grass underneath. I do not remember who built this house—maybe it was my father, who built it, with the help of other families. He did not have relatives here but we are somehow related to these people, the *Pugughileghmiit*. I think, they knew it. So, they helped my father, he always mentioned *Suluk*. He said that *Suluk* helped him a lot. I think, they knew that he (my dad) was one of them.

He had a tough start (at Gambell) when they just moved in, that is how I heard it. They first lived in that underground small place near the shore; it was a very small place—maybe 10x10 or even 8x8. It was close to the place where our next house used to be later on. Then he (*Walanga*) built a house for us—it was the same as other houses here: the front part and the inner room. We used the reindeer skins instead of the door. We just go out of the sleeping room, we did not have any soft pillows—only a log across there (along the wall) and a curtain. (*Were the skins from Siberia or from the island?*) I do not remember. I think they were mostly from Siberia and my father traded these skins from there.

We had a big family: my father had two wives, *Rultenga* and *Uuketa*, and many kids (See Family No. 18 in Silook's census). First was *Angqangaawen*, the oldest daughter, then *Napaaq* (Milred), the daughter of *Rultenga*, she was the only daughter she had—the rest were all *Uuketa's* daughters; Frank (*Taglaan*), my brother; *Sivungaghmiit*, my sister, she was born in *Sivungaq*, when they first arrived there—so, they called her *Sivungaghmiit*; me, and then another sister, *Utenggekaq*. This was the family I first remember in that little house of ours.

We lived very close to the *Uzivias (Uzivisiq)* family. We grew up very close, Conrad and I. It was about every day we got together.

Akulki:

I stayed in his house one day and he would come to our house the next day.

Kepelgu:

I do remember coming to their place every day. “Where is *Akulki?*” I often called him *Nanevgaq* (the ‘old man’) because his parents called him that way (after the old man *Akulki*). And he always said: Come in! We had to ask before we go in (in the old days).

There were other houses close nearby: *Mangtaquli* [Family No. 15] and *Temkeruu*, and also *Uwetelen* [Family No. 16]. (*Why did he live close-by?*)

Akulki:

Probably, because of their mother [*Qiyasiq*], she was from my father’s clan. And also *Yaavgahsiq* [Family No. 14] lived close to us, because he was related to *Mangtaquli*.

Kepelgu:

And on the other side (to the north of our house) there were all *Sanignelnguut* (families). They lived just next door to us, I do not remember any distance from that side. *Pusaa* [Family No. 22] lived right next door to us and then his brother *Ataayaghbaq* [Family No. 21] was next to him. He always had many guests and visitors, this man *Ataayaghbaq*. He traveled a lot and he was even close to the Coast Guard people. I remember him wearing the uniform, this Navy uniform—they gave it to him.

Akulki:

They called him ‘Doctor Jimmie’, because they (the Coast Guard) trained him to be a dentist (for the community); so, he did these things for the people. They took him on the Coast Guard cutters to do the dentist work for other communities. So, he often traveled with them all the way from here and up to Point Barrow.

2. How the Old Community of Gambell Was Organized

Anaggun:

My grandfather's house was very close to the old school-building. They used this place near the school as their (community) meeting place. They called the school-house *iyaghvik* (*igaghvik*) and they called the native store *estuugaq*. The community came there to buy sugar, flour, and other goods.

Kepelgu:

Because the old school-house was so small, every time they had to bring people together, one half of the village goes in one hour and then another side, the southern side (of the village) goes in another hour. Our family was included into the "northern side."

(Did these "northern" and "southern" side have names?)

Anaggun: The side to the north of the old school-building, of the central place (*see below*) was called *Uwatanga, uwatangaghmii*, and the other side, the southern side was called *Akinga, akingaghmii. Uwatangaghmiit—Akingaghmiit*. Our family was from the *Akingaghmiit*, from the southern side.

Akulki:

I think, we were from the "middle place" but I do not know any special name for this. Probably, we were included in the *Uwatangaghmii* side (section), because we were more on the northern side (of the old school-building).

(Who were people called Uwaaliit?)

Anaggun:

These were people living at the very northern end of the village—*Ayakitaan* (and *Masaayu*—See Families Nos. 31 and 32 of Silook's census). The community called them *Uwaaliit* because they lived the farthest north (of the central place). They had their housing at the northern side.

Akulki:

And this man, *Napaghutaq* [Family No. 1], lived the farthest down on the southern side. That was how we remembered the old village (of Gambell). Everybody else lived in between those families. They probably made this division between the north and the south

side to make it easier to describe (the village), to understand. Otherwise, it would be one whole big village.

Ayuqi:

Our family lived in the south side of Gambell, almost at the very end (of the village). *Napaghbutaq's* house was the last one to the south. I do not know of any other people who lived further south and I do not remember if any houses were ever (staying) down there. Maybe, it was before me—I do not know. In my time, it was Lester's (*Napaghbutaq*) house that was the last one. Just them and us, nothing further south.

People called this side (of the village) *Akingaghmi*, we were *Akingaghmiit* people, always this name. The other side was called *Uwatangaghmi*, and the people there were *Uwatangaghmiit*. I do not know whether there was any name for those families who lived in between (in the 'middle' section).

Avalak:

As far as I remember, *Eghqaaghaq's* house was always the last one on the southern side and another family, *Ungalaq*, lived close-by. These days, nobody was living further down on the southern side. This *Eghqaaghaq's* generations (families) and his other relatives' generations (families), they all lived there. They built their houses and lived there in summer time.

(Did you ever hear the stories about other people who used to live there?)

Yes, I heard some names: *Avrugaq*, *Punguqsiaq*. According to grandfather's stories, there was a man, *Raaghbaq*, and his family—they used to stay there [listed as Family No. 20 in the 1900 census of Gambell—see Part One]. They were originally from *Punguqsiaq*, partly with my family. My grandfather said that this *Raaghbaq* and his children, they passed away during the famine: *Raaghbaq*, the father, and *Laatunga*, his son [listed as No. 175 in the 1900 census]. Not *Raaquq*—this is another man from *Sivungaq*, he is part of the *Uzivas*, they are close to us. They are not related, and I do not know this *Raaghbaq's ramka* (clan). My grandfather just said that they were originally from *Punguqsiaq*. It is a small place between here and *Tapghuq* where we used to live. There is another camp nearby called *Avrugaq*—Nelson Alowa's (*Qagaqu*) father was from this camp or maybe some of his relatives.

(Do you remember the man called *Asunaghaq*?) Yes, I have seen the old man. They lived in their old camp at *Kangee*, Camp Collier. Him and his younger brother *Nemayaq*. They were called *Kangighmiit*. They usually came here in summer time but they used to have their own house at this place, in Gambell, in the old days. As I heard it, they sold their house to the *Uwaaliit* family, when we were young. He sold it to *Ayakitaan*. I do not know whether they were related or not, I am not sure, because this was on the northern side (of the village).

(What was the name of your side?) *Akingaghmiit*—“the southern side.” We were from this side; but we actually lived very close to the center of the village, to the old school building. They used to have a place there, it is “old” new houses now. I remember, when the carpenters came (to build new houses) when we were young. The BIA carpenters came back then and they talked to the village council about whether it is good enough to build up that area. Where the young people used to build their muscles. It had a lot of big-size rocks and also a big circle where they used to run. This place was something like an annex (?) near the old school building, where they used to build their muscles many-many years ago. And many other people in these old days, they wake up early in the morning and run to that central area, every morning. Just to watch younger people running or wrestling or doing something (else).

Kepelgu:

In the middle of the village, somewhere in this area, there was a place called *Qellineq* (“something that gets packed down from pressure”). It was the place where they all got together for wrestling, weight-lifting, running (see pp. 418-419). There were rocks for lifting (p. 194). But this place is gone now, all gone.

Anaggun:

What he talks about this place, *Qellineq*, this was the place where the older folks got together every day. Something where they learned news and took them home to their families. Like the village headlines in the old days. Usually, some men just show up there, start doing this and that, not every day. Then more people come. They have a big circle there, and many young people just start running (around) for some time; then they start wrestling. So, there was always a winner and a loser but no fights, just wrestling.

[*Walrus-tossing?*]

Akulki:

Yes, we often did walrus-tossing near the school-building at this central place (p. 414).

Anaggun:

When I grew up a little more, there was always a big holiday on the 4th of July. By that time, they always had many games—wrestling and races around the lake. That was happening every year at this central place. (*When the Siberians came to visit you, where did you have the meetings?*) At this central place but also by the beach. When they had races (with the Siberian visitors), they some time started at the beach, then go to the mountains and back, along the northern side of the lake. As far as I remember, when these people came here for the visiting, our young men often did not have any meal because they were training hard for the competition.

Kepelgu:

They also used to do dancing, when the Siberians came for visiting. The old-style dancing in the old days, with the drums—that's how I heard it.

Anaggun:

These Siberians always brought reindeer skins, special kinds of skins, particularly for *kamek* (skin-boots) and other things. They traded these skins here for American goods. (*Where this trade took place?*) On the beach but mostly between the families, in the houses.

3. Stories We Heard About the “Old Village” of Gambell²

(*How the community was organized before the school-house was built?*)

Anaggun:

As I heard it, relatives always tried to live close to each other. What we mentioned earlier about these *Uwatanghmiit* and *Akingaghmiit*—these were not divisions, because they all lived together. I do not know whether there once used to be some houses at this central place. In our time, it was always a community place where people got together to hear some stories or they sometimes watched wrestling and other games. Not every day though.

² See also Lloyd Oovi's description, *Sivuqam kiyahjtaallgha ayumiq* (“How Gambell was a long time ago” published in *Sivuqam Nangaghnegha*, 1985, volume 1, pp. 11–25).

Akulki:

I think, most of the families, the clans tried to stick together. But after this big storm, when many houses were destroyed, they started moving their houses to the higher grounds. Since that time, it somehow started to be taken apart (the close kin residencies).

Kepelgu:

The relatives, the clans used to live close together all the time, from the old days. *Puguhileghmiit* tried to stay together and *Sanighmelnguut* on the other side.

Anaggun:

I also heard that the relatives started to spread away after this big storm. Because many houses of our relatives were washed away, destroyed. My father told me, it happened in 1914. He said that *Temkeruu*'s house was washed away and also *Egmiighun*'s (*Aatghilnguq*) house was washed away. They were close to us.

Avalak:

I think, my grandfather *Temkeruu* built his own house, probably together with my father, before I was born. This was after the big flood. The flood was long before we were born, when my grandfather was still a young man. Big flood! It washed away most of the houses. The village used to be where these modern skin-boat racks are (standing) now. There used to be a lot of land on the front in this area before the flood, when the sea washed up most of this land.

My grandfather told me stories about how it happened. It was all during the night. First it was raining for four days in the fall time, day after day. Then the wind went up from the east. Then there was a big wind from the south—*uughqa*, as they call it. During that night it happened. My mother was still a little girl and she was taken away by the big tide, until somebody grabbed her hand. And then they all ran to the mountains during that night, it was raining and raining. They had raincoats made out of walrus intestines that protected their inner parkas. They ran out for their life to the mountains. [See *Siluk*'s (Paul Silook) story of the same flood in Part Two].

(*Was your grandfather's house destroyed by the flood?*) I think, his house was all right, it was not ruined—just standing. And all the way going to the north shore (northern portion of the village). But the houses further west, these were all wiped out. Big houses! Somebody's

houses all destroyed by strong high waves rolling up to this early village—what they call “the old village” now. They used to have big land, lots of houses on that place where the skin-boat racks are now on the beach. Also many underground storages were built-in in that area, close to the permafrost, so that they kept the meat frozen. But that was before that area was flooded, and then they had to build new storages further from the beach.

4. The Old Houses and Places Our Forefathers Once Lived before We Were Born

Avalak:

My grandfather also told me about the old underground houses, *nenglu*. They used to live in these *nenglus* when they were young. I think he was born in a *nenglu* house. They used to make roofing of whale bones and they put walrus hides on top but particularly very big pieces of ground (sod). It was very warm, just like a good roofing. They put many whale bones on top, so that it could keep these big pieces of ground (sod) on the ceiling. (*Who lived in this house?*) I think, his parents used to live there, *Temkeruu*'s parents; maybe, also their brothers and family. *Aghinguaq* was *Temkeruu* father's name; *Aghinguaq*'s father was *Nunguk*. *Suluk* is very close to my father's side—they were brothers: *Suluk*, my grandfather *Taangyan*, and *Aymergen* in the middle, three brothers.

Maybe, they once lived in one *nenglu* but as far as I remember, they always had different (separate) living quarters—two or maybe three (residencies) in one *nenglu*. They called it *saaygu*. They got a door and they somehow separated this *nenglu* into (family) living quarters. They used clay lamps, number of them for light and heating.

(*Have you ever seen such a house?*) Yes, in the camp *Tapghuaq* there was a *nenglu* that used to be of my father's side grandfather's relatives. It was *Aymergen*'s *nenglu*. It was not ruined yet when I first saw it [See *Yaagmiqun*—George Imergan's story in *Part Two*]. They used to stay at the *Tapghuaq* camp along with my grandfather and family. This camp is between here and *Sivungaaq*. It was both a winter house and a summer house; but in summer they usually moved out to the walrus hide huts, just like here—*mangteghasqwaqaq*, as they call it. These were made out of walrus skins. They also got a lumber house at that time, when I was starting to go with my grandfather (to the *Tapghuaq* camp). But *Aymergen*'s old *nenglu* was still staying there, although it was probably many years ago when they used to stay (to live) there.

As I heard it, about the time when my grandfather (*Taangyan*) was a young man, he—or, maybe, it was his father—bought this house from the *Uwaaliit* tribe. From their families—*Ayakitaan* and others. This is how I heard it: he bought this ground-house from *Ayakitaan*'s family. He traded it for one old-old-old-old-time bead. The *Ayakitaan*'s family used to own this place, *Tapghuq*, many years ago. That's the way it was, until my grandfather bought it from them.

(*Have you ever heard about some family that 'owned' this place, Gambell?*) No, never. I just heard that it was a big short(age) of food some many-many years ago, when our relatives *Pugughileghmiit* moved out to this area. I heard that these were some of my relatives and also my in-law relatives (the *Slwookos*). They eat some fox skins and other skins, some walrus hides—it was during the *iyataghpak*, the famine, many years ago. I believe, they were still in *Pugughileq* not in *Tapghuq*, when this happened, because my grandfather was born before this time. They also had the same famine here, in Gambell, too. And *Kiyalighaq*, a big village, they had it too, and also *Kukulek*, and *Apenguk*, and *Sikneq* on the southern side. It was many-many years ago.

Anaggun:

I also heard some stories of the underground houses. Not from my grandfather *Suluk*, because he died when I was about 5 years (old). I knew him but all the stories I heard (were) from my uncle *Waamquun* telling me how they used to live before. After my grandfather passed away, *Waamquun* took over (the family) and his younger brothers just followed him. They all stayed on and hunted together.

Waamquun once told me that he was born in the underground house. I think, it was my grandfather *Suluk*'s family. I do not know many stories about these old houses, like (I know) about the *mangteghapik* house where I was born. I think, they might have plenty of room in there and they also used seal-oil lamps for heating. My grandfather had an elder brother named *Aveghaaq* (?). He was a good hunter and he always came home late. So, we learned the story, why he was late all the time. (It was) about midnight, when he only showed up with a whole walrus on his back. He tried to put it through the entrance hole in the ceiling, this man *Aveghaaq*. Because of this story, I think, my grandfather's brother also lived with them in the same underground house.

Ayuqi:

I have seen the old underground houses in the place called *Nangupagaaq*. It is not far from Gambell, on the other side of the mountain. I used to learn it in my early time because we often go there during the summer months. This is why they call us *Nangupagaghmiit*. But people lived there long before I was born. There were old ground houses there, no lumber or skin houses. People say that our family once came from this place but that was a long time ago. I do not know because this was long before me; even Clarence (*Miinglu*) does not know. It was long before our time, because our father was born in Gambell. I do not know about my grandfather, *Waamseggaan*, where he was born. I have never seen the old man and my grandmother also died way-way back before me.

Anaggun:

I saw my grandfather *Suluk* here but I never heard any stories from him about the old place *Pugughileq*. But I am sure that some of them (the elderly people of the early years) were born back there. But as far as I remember, they cared more about this place (Gambell)—all our big family under *Suluk*, even his father *Meteyi*. They have their summer camp at the *Punguuk* Island, at *Kiyalighaq*, and also at *Pugughileq*. This is why, I think, they were called *Pugughileghmiit*. But they had camps over many places.

I know that my uncle *Waamquun* never missed going there early in summer time. He picked some of his relatives from *Sivungaaq* and continued going further to the *Punguuk* Islands and *Kiyalighaq*. It is a day trip from here to there these days but in the old days they used sail and oars. So, it took them longer, maybe five days. I believe, they went there for certain things every year, like more fresh walrus, some fossil ivory on the coast. They dried some meat at *Punguuk* Islands and continued further down to *Kiyalighaq*. As I understand, they did it every year in *Waamquun*'s time.

5. Preserving the Memory of the “Old Town of Gambell”

Akulki:

Many houses on the northern side (of the ‘old village’) are still standing. Jimmie’s (*Ataayaghbaq*’s) house is still standing. It is a modernized house now but it is still standing, where it used to be in our early days. *Yaghaq*’s summer-house is still standing. (*What about southern side?*)

Kepelgu:

Iingu's old house is still there. *Aywergeu's* house is still standing and *Ungalaq's* house is there as well. Some of these have been moved a little bit further away from the beach. *Amwaari's* house is still there. He built his house later when he moved from *Pugughileq*. (Did other people from *Pugughileq* build their houses on the southern side?) Only *Amwaari* built his house there. *Aglugbaq* never did. He stayed in *Pugughileq* until he got sick and had to come here for treatment. Then he died. Usually they stayed here with *Elqwaaghqu* (Charles Slwooko), when they came to Gambell for springtime whaling; his house is still standing. *Taangyan's* frame house (summer house) is also still there and *Maasgen's* old house is standing there as well.

(When people stopped living in the old-style winter houses?)

Anaggun:

I was born in 1926, and our old (winter) house was still there. Then my uncle *Waamquun* built another house of a similar shape to the old winter home. The whole frame-house, but with this (round-shape) front, like the old winter-home. And he put the same *aagra* inside. But soon after that it was gone, when they put the heater inside. And after that they just moved to their summer house year-round.

I was probably 5 or 6 years old, when my uncle built this new house and put the *aagra* inside. But later on there was no more *aagra*. They made a full room and a little door, so that we could go in and out. And we started to use kerosene heater or other heater to heat the room. And stopped using seal-oil lamps. I was probably 10 years old, when it happened.

Akulki:

We did the same thing at about the same time, in the later part of the (19)30s. But our family was using a wood stove. And also kerosene lamp for the light, until we finally got electricity here. It happened about 1940.

Kepelgu:

Then all people remodeled their homes. They changed their inner rooms, they put lumber instead of fur (wall covers) inside. And also made doors and windows instead of these reindeer skins we used to go under. They made the same (with) winter houses but just put lumber on the outside instead of the walrus hides with ropes.

Anaggun:

I think, they have seen such (modernized) houses first in Siberia and they just copied it, and built here in Gambell. I mean, the way they winterize the lumber summer houses.

I think, that our summer house in 1927 came a 'ready-cut.' And my uncle *Waamquun* had a good memory and thinking, like his father (*Suluk*). He may be called a carpenter. So, he knew what was going on. I watched him trying to get of the building of the *agra* type. This wood came all in footing, in squares, 8-inches—American lumber. I watched them as a boy measuring all this lumber with their fingers: this way and that way, and that way. [Shows various ways of traditional finger measurements—see Part Three]

(Who were the carpenters for village house construction in your early years?)

Akulki:

My dad was. He did all these renovations for the *mangteghapighet*, the old Eskimo houses. They took the curtain off but they still had this bare ground (floor) for some time. Everybody cooperated during these early construction years. Maybe, all people from *Uwatangaghmi* coming one day to help. I remember, when they were building the new summer houses, I did see all kind of people (working together), from many families, many clans.



Walrus-tossing in Gambell. Fourth of July Celebration, 1931.



Members of Akulki family and relatives in front of Akulki's house. Left to right: Avelqiy, Atleghuq, Uusiq (?), Akulki, Angiqun, and Uzvisiq. 1912.



Gambell men (Waarmquun, Atalluk, Uveketaaq, Yughqutaq, and others) repair family winter house, 1912.



Monte Mangtakuli and his son Alec Anangti inside their winter house, 1912.



Wrestlers in Gambell in front of the old Presbyterian church and school-house on July 4, 1912.



Gambell men in competition in front of the same schoolhouse. July 4, 1929.



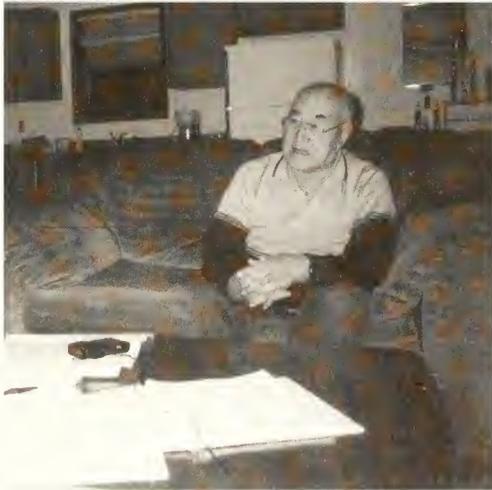
Ora Gologergen (*Ayuqi*) from Savoonga, 1999.



Nelson Alowa (*Qagaqu*) and Willis Walunga (*Kepelgu*) in Savoonga, May 1999.



Beda Slwooko (*Avalak*), Gambell, May 1999.



The late Tim Gologergen (*Awlinga*), 1919–2000.



The old house of *Piluwuk*—the earliest remaining wooden structure of the “old town Savoonga,” 1999. Photographer, Igor Krupnik.



Part of the “old town” of Gambell historical area, with old storage racks and bow head whale skulls, May 1999. Photographer, Igor Krupnik.



Old *Kuzaata*'s house in Gambell, one of the few standing *mangteghpiit* of the 'old town' of Gambell, 1999. Photographer, Igor Krupnik.



Interior of the old *Kuzaata*'s house, 1999. Photographer, Igor Krupnik.



OWHAYA, ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND. ALASKA.

Photograph by R. N. Hawley. M. D. 1901. Page 28.

Aghhaaya, wife of Akulki

appendices

Project Photographs

Appendix 1—List of Illustrations used in *Akuzilleput Igaqullghet* (with Photographers' Names and Institutions' Reference Numbers)—by Lars Krutak

Appendix 2—St. Lawrence Island Historical Photographs at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science—by Lars Krutak and Elizabeth H. Clancy, Photo Archivist, Denver Museum of Nature and Science

Appendix 3—Historical photographs from St. Lawrence Island, 1912 (from Riley Moore's Collection)—by Igor Krupnik



Avalak (Beda Slwooko) tells her childhood story to Lyudmila Aynganga from Ungaziq. Gambell, May 1999.



Project participants, Vera Kingeekuk Metcalf (Qaakaghleq), Lyudmila Ainana (Aynganga), and Igor Krupnik. Nome, May 1999.



Willis and Nancy Walunga interview the late Flora Imergan (*Elqilq*). Savoonga, May 1999.



Project participants, Conrad Oozeva (*Akulki*) and Willis Walunga (*Kepelgu*) study old documentary records. Gambell, May 1999.

List of Illustrations
With Photographers' Names and Institutions' Reference Numbers

by Lars Krutak

Most of the photographs and drawings, unless otherwise noted, are in the collection of the National Anthropological Archives (NAA-SI), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.¹ Other historical documents, photographs, and drawings are reprinted in this book courtesy of the U.S. National Archives (USNA); Library of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (NMNH); Archives of the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF); Denver Museum of Nature and Science (DMNS); Anchorage Museum of History and Art (AMHA); Library of Congress (LOC); Nancy Walunga, Gambell; Igor Krupnik, Arctic Studies Center (ASC), Smithsonian Institution; and Lars Krutak, National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), Smithsonian Institution.

Introductory Section

- Cover: Yupik children in Gambell, 1889. Peter Bonnett, photographer. Collection: SPC Arctic General. Negative number, SI 30951-B (NAA-SI). Some elders assume that the second boy from right is *Sipela* (David Seppilu) and the first boy from right is *Agthuqaayak* (Richard Oktokiyuk).
- p.2 Yupik women and children near traditional underground dwellings (*nenglu*) in Gambell. Summer 1889. Peter Bonnett, photographer. Collection: SPC Arctic General. Negative number, 85-814 (NAA-SI).
- p.4 An unidentified Yupik man from St. Lawrence Island on deck of the U.S.S. *Bear*, ca. 1912. Photographer unknown. Negative number, SI 2000-2371 (NAA-SI).
- p.5 Edna *Sivuuq*, wife of *Yughqutaq* (Robert Tungyan) and mother of *Avalak* (Beda Slwooko). 1912. Photographer unknown. Negative number, SI 2000-2370 (NAA-SI).
- p.14 The Village of *Sivuuqaq* (Gambell), May 1999. Photo by Igor Krupnik (ASC).
- p.15 The Village of *Sivungaq* (Savoonga), May 1999. Photo by Igor Krupnik (ASC).

¹Riley D. Moore's photographs fall under the Division of Physical Anthropology Collection (DPAC) at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (NAA-SI). In the past, the NAA identified this collection as that of Aleš Hrdlička, as many images were indeed acquired by him. The whole collection, however, is a composite of one Hrdlička collection, materials donated to and accessioned by the NAA, and a few materials of other curators from the United States National Museum, now named the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C. All of these DPAC images are also included in the Aleš Hrdlička Papers, located in boxes 229 and 262 of that collection, and some can be found in Manuscript Collection 4696, "Selected Prints of Riley D. Moore." Thus, and for convenience sake, we have referenced Moore's photographs as being located in the Aleš Hrdlička Papers only.

Part One: Our Faces and Names Captured in Records

- p.20 Gambell elders *Angqatenganwan*, *Iqmaluwa*, *Ungalaq*, and *Ayakitaan*, 1930. Photographer, Henry B. Collins, Jr. Collection: Henry B. Collins Papers. Negative number, SI 95-9722 (NAA-SI).
- p.40 Census Sheet of the Fourteenth U.S. Census, 1920 for Gambell, Alaska (USNA).
- p.57 "Individual Measurement" Sheet Used by Riley Moore in Gambell, 1912. Collection: Manuscript 4909; contains similar Measurement Forms for approximately 180 residents of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska (NAA-SI).
- p.73 *Asunaghaq* ("Chief Assoona" of the early missionaries' reports, ca. 1855–1930), one of the top leaders of the island community in the late 1800s; father of *Nanghila* (Norman Nunraela) and *Nungunaq* (Vernon Nongoonok). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-792 (NAA-SI).
- p.74 *Suluk* ("Shoollook, age 52, father of Omomingu"), 1861–1930, given English name "George Washington"; appointed commissioner by Sheldon Jackson; befriended and welcomed the first teacher, Vene C. Gambell; father of *Waamquun*, *Nunguk*, *Uvi*, *Amamenga*, *Apeteki*, and *Iknaqeneq*; most respected person. Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-707 (NAA-SI).
- p.75 *Ungalaq* ("Ungwiluk, age 50, boat captain"), Whiskers Ungiluk, 1866–1939, father of *Qavaihaq* (Wallace Ungiluk). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-694 (NAA-SI).
- p.76 *Uwetelen*, Daniel Oitillin, 1865–1939, father of *Siluk* (Paul Silook), *Imaghmii* (Oscar Oitilin), and *Apangaluq* (John Apangaluk). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-675 (NAA-SI).
- p.77 *Wiya* ("Weu, age 68"), mother of *Uzivisiq* (Andrew Ozevooseuk), *Raaquq* (Barton Rookok), and *Qipenga* (Addison Kaspoongu). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-676 (NAA-SI).
- p.78 *Uwhaawen* ("Owhowin, age 60"), Owawin, 1852–1939, wife of *Minaq*, grandmother of *Aantaghmii* (Jack Antogham). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-703 (NAA-SI).
- p.79 *Enlegtaq* ("Nglikhtuk, age 48"), wife of *Taangyan*, mother of *Yuhqutaq* (Robert Tangyan), *Uveketaaq* (Chester Ooviktuk). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 9260-C (NAA-SI).
- p.80 *Pusaa*, Booshu, 1875–1957, the eldest son of *Quwaaren*, father of *Ayuwighsaan* (Ernest Booshu), *Nuugnan* (Ben Booshu), and *Neghyuk* (Solomon Booshu). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative SI 2000-673 (NAA-SI).
- p.81 *Ataayaghhaq* ("Otiyohok, age 35"), Jimmie Otiyohok, 1878–1963, second son of *Quwaaren*. Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-770 (NAA-SI).

- p.82 *Kunuka*, Tommy Koonooka, 1879–1970, third son of *Quwaaren*, father of *Tiiwri* (Harold Koonooka). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-699 (NAA-SI).
- p.83 *Aghnilu*, Peter Okinello, 1892–1971, fourth son of *Quwaaren*, father of Florence *Napaaq*. Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-702 (NAA-SI).
- p.84 *Tangatu* (“Tungitoo, age 32, an uncle of Seeluk”), Jacob Tungitoo, 1881–1950, father of Jimmie *Tulii* (Toolii). Negative number, SI 2000-709 (NAA-SI).
- p.85 *Yaghaq*, Adam, Yoghuk, 1886–1946, older brother of Lincoln Blassi (*Pelaasi*). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-687 (NAA-SI).
- p.86 *Sunaaghruk*, Moses Soonagarook, 1884–1959, brother of *Mangtaquli*, top strong wrestler of the island. Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-709 (NAA-SI).
- p.87 *lirgu* (“Irogo, age 24, a “strong man”), Samuel Irrigoo, 1891–1985, father of *Miinglu* (Clarence Irrigoo) and *Ayuqi* (Ora Gologerngen); one of the top wrestlers in early days. Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-704 (NAA-SI).
- p.88 *Ataqa* (“Atook, age 32,” Harry Ataaka, 1874–1957, second name *Veghtekaq*, raised *Galaagerngen* (Theodore Gologerngen) and *Kingiikaq* (Theodore Kingeekuk). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-683 (NAA-SI).
- p.89 *Ighennaq*, Edgar Igunnuk, 1883–1944, brother of *Pulaaghun* (Boolown), *Angusaan* (Mark Angusan), and *Eghqaaghaq* (Loon Hokhokohok). Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-793 (NAA-SI).
- p.90 *Siluk* (“Seeluk, age 20”), Paul Silook, 1892–1949, son of *Uwetelen*, father of *Penapak*, *Saavla*, *Anaghayi*, *Kemliinga*, *Paazak*, and *Tutenga*; first local chronicler on St. Lawrence Island. Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Aleš Hrdlička Papers. Negative number, SI 2000-693 (NAA-SI).
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- p.187 *Kiruka*, wife of *Yaavgaghsiq*, inflates dried walrus intestines, 1930. Photographer, Henry B. Collins, Jr. Collection: Henry B. Collins Papers. Negative number, SI 82-8296 (NAA-SI).
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- p.266 Old photograph of Vene C. Gambell and his wife, first resident teachers and missionaries on St. Lawrence Island. While returning to their school from Seattle, they were lost at sea by the sinking of the schooner *Jane Grey* on May 22, 1898. Reproduced from: (Fifth) *Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska*. 1896. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 32 (NMNH).
- p.267 Gambell “old schoolhouse” built in 1894. Photographer, Vene C. Gambell. 1897. Reproduced from: *Seventh Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska*. 1898. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 34 (NMNH).
- p.267 Gambell first Yupik class of 1895. Photographer, Vene C. Gambell. Reproduced from: *The Schoolhouse Farthest West, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska*. New York: Woman’s Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church (LOC).
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- p.324 Yupik traditional measurements. Artist, Nancy Walunga (Gambell), 2000.
- p.325 Yupik traditional measurements. Artist, Nancy Walunga (Gambell), 2000.
- p.327 Yupik traditional measurements. Artist, Nancy Walunga (Gambell), 2000.
- p.328 Yupik people from St. Lawrence Island, 1816. Artist, Louis Choris. Reproduced from: *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, avec des portraits de sauvages d’Amérique, d’Asie, d’Afrique, et des îles du Grand océan ; des paysages, des vues maritimes, et plusieurs objets d’histoire naturelle ; accompagné de descriptions par m. le baron Cuvier, et m.A de Chamisso, et d’observations sur les crânes humains, par m. le docteur Gall. Par m. Louis Choris, peintre*. Rare Book Archive (UAF).

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- p.332 A young boy from *Kiyalighaq*, in traditional bird-skin parka ("Newack's Brother, with a Sealskin full of Walrus-oil; *Mahlemoot boy—fourteen or fifteen years of age*"), 1874. Artist: Henry W. Elliott. Reproduced from: Henry W. Elliott. *Our Arctic Province. Alaska and the Seal Islands*. New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1886, p.455 (NMNH).
- p.333 Two men from *Kiyalighaq*, 1874. Artist: Henry W. Elliott. Reproduced from: Henry W. Elliott. *Our Arctic Province. Alaska and the Seal Islands*. New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1886, p.443 (NMNH).
- p.334 Landing killed walrus at the Southeast Cape, 1874. Artist: Henry W. Elliott. Reproduced from: Henry W. Elliott. *Our Arctic Province. Alaska and the Seal Islands*. New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1886, p. 461 (NMNH).
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- p.336 Hunting walrus off the Southeast Cape, 1874. Artist: Henry W. Elliott. Reproduced from: Henry W. Elliott. *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group, or the Seal-Islands of Alaska. U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Special Bulletin 176*. Washington, D.C. 1882, p. 99 (NMNH).
- p.337 Killing walruses at the on-shore haul-out at *Kiyalighaq*, 1874. Artist: Henry W. Elliott. Reproduced from: Henry W. Elliott. *A Monograph of the Pribylov Group, or the Seal-Islands of Alaska. U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Special Bulletin 176*. Washington, D.C. 1882, p. 97 (NMNH).

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- p.415 Members of *Akulki* family and relatives in front of *Akulki*'s winter house, 1912. Left to right: *Avelqiiq*, *Atleghuq*, *Uusiiq* (?), *Akulki*, *Angiiqun*, and *Uzivusiq*. Photographer, Riley D. Moore. Collection: Manuscript 4696, Selected Prints of Riley D. Moore. Negative number, SI 85-820 (NAA-SI).
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- p.422 The old house of *Piluguk*—the earliest remaining wooden structure of the “old town Savoonga.” 1999. Photographer, Igor Krupnik (ASC).
- p.422 Part of the “old town” of Gambell historical area, with old storage racks and bowhead whale skulls, May 1999. Photographer, Igor Krupnik (ASC).
- p.423 Old *Kuzaata*'s house in Gambell, one of the few standing *mangteghpighet* of the “old town” of Gambell, 2001. Photographer, Igor Krupnik (ASC).
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- p.426 *Avalak* (Beda *Slwooko*) tells her childhood story to Lyudmila *Aynganga* from *Ungaziq*, Gambell, May 1999. Igor Krupnik, photographer (ASC).
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- p.445 *Wangqetelen* (“Wongotillin, age 35, father Chukchi, mother Chu Chow (Koryak) from Siberia”). SI 2000-678.
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- p.452 Andrew *Uzivisiq* (“Ozevoosuk, age 31”). SI 2000-697.
- p.453 *Yaghunga*, second wife of *Uzivisiq* (“Yoghongwu, age 31”). SI 9262-N.
- p.454 Theodore *Galaagerngen* (“Gologoroongen, age 24”). SI 2000-680.
- p.455 *Elqwaaghqu*, Charles Slwooko (“Slkwooko, age 23”). SI 2000-799.
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- p.458 Morris *Tatuwi* (“Tatoowi, age 21”). SI 8850-E.
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- p.460 *Yaapelu*, wife of *Galaagerngen* (“Gapellou, age 18”). SI 2000-2370.
- p.461 Arther *Piiskwaghtaq*, son of *Yaavgaghsiq* (“Peskwoktuk, age 18”). SI 2000-685.
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- p.463 Theodore *Kingiikaq* (“Kingukuk, age 12”). SI 9265-C.

Appendix 2

St. Lawrence Island Historical Photographs at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science by Lars Krutak

A small collection of about two dozen historical photographs and field notes from St. Lawrence Island are deposited in the **Alfred M. Bailey Collection** at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science (former Denver Museum of Natural History) in Denver, Colorado. Alfred M. Bailey (1894–1978), a noted naturalist and curator of birds and mammals with this museum, was sent to Alaska for a period of sixteen months in 1921–1922 to collect seabirds and other objects of natural history. Making a 750-mile dogsled journey from northernmost Alaska to its western borders on the Bering Sea, Bailey arrived on St. Lawrence Island near *Kukulek* on June 28, 1921.

As Bailey reported: “Arrived off St. Lawrence Island, and immediately went ashore to the reindeer camp, Camp Collier near Kookoolook [*Kukulek*], where the great starvation took place, nearly 1,000 having died on the island, the most of them in this one place (about 1878) [...] The natives lay the ‘big starvation’ at Kookoolook [*Kukulek*] to the spirit of a walrus which two natives caught and skinned alive [...] The old huts were evidently of skins, the roofs being supported by whale ribs, walrus and whale bones litter the whole surrounding.”

Bailey subsequently spent one day at the reindeer camp collecting and observing several species of birds. More importantly, he snapped several photographs and met with the herders there:

“The native herders have a neat camp of tents on the gently sloping shore of the ‘harbor.’ They have many dogs tied as a precaution against their injuring the deer. The herders keep the reindeer far back in the hills, and it was not until five o’clock that they were driven up and seven killed. The deer were soon milling about, and in their effort to escape swam the little pond, and clambered out upon the ice with some difficulty. The chief herder’s name was *Sipela* [*Sipela*], a bright native who spoke good English.”

Bailey left Camp Collier [*Kangee*] later that evening and made arrangements to travel to Gambell where he hoped to collect geese the next day. Here he took several photographs of the people, their homes, and of the landscape. Bailey visited Gambell for only one day, June 29, 1921, as he

left the island on the morning of June 30 for Emma Harbor [former name of Provideniia Bay] in Siberia to make additional collections for the Denver Museum of Natural History:

“Arrived off the town of Gambell early in the morning, but owing to the fog we could not see the upright cliffs skirting the coast, with their snow-fringed sides and crests, and the long wide sandspit upon which the little Eskimo settlement is built. We ran ashore after breakfast, trudged across the wide, pebble beach, clear of drift, to the straggling collection of huts which comprise the village. The houses are a mixed lot, many of them being made of lumber, more or less like woodsheds, while others were circular with wooden sides and covered with a rough of walrus hides. Drying racks for walrus skins were appendages of all the houses, and split skins could be seen stretched and drying in the sun. The natives are a kindly lot, full of fun and good nature; they speak English very well, especially the younger generation, and as a whole, are honestly inclined.

These Eskimos are great traders, and were aboard early, doing a lively business with the sailors, selling carved ivory paper-knives, cigarette holders, etc. I purchased a neat little walrus chain of carved ivory with an old ivory pendant.

Whale bones strew the village, the ribs and jaw bones being used in the old days as supports to the walls of their houses. Several drying racks were made from suspended whale's jaws.

Twenty-three walrus were taken here the past season, and two bears. The fox catch was small. Natives of St. Lawrence preferred walrus meat to seal or birds 'because there was more of it.'”

Although his stay was brief, Bailey shot nearly thirty photographs while on St. Lawrence Island and this collection remains open to the public. We have enclosed a brief index of these photographs below for general information. Note that most of these photos are unidentified. Of course, most of them have never been seen by the St. Lawrence Islanders themselves, so we can imagine that most, if not all of them, are identifiable. Thanks to the recent Colorado Digitization Project, about two dozen low-resolution images and the full list of Bailey's photographs is now available on the Web at <http://coloradodigital.coalliance.org>; it can be searched via “Eskimo” and “St. Lawrence Island” keywords. Please feel free to contact the photo archivist at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science if you have any further questions.

Index of St. Lawrence Island Photographs at the Denver Museum
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|------------------------|---|
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| IV.BA 21-304B.P | Cliff on St. Lawrence Island |
| IV.BA 21-418.P | Ancient igloos |
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| IV.BA 21-651.P | Natives of St. Lawrence Island. Girls & babies |

Elizabeth H. Clancy, Photo Archives
Denver Museum of Nature and Science
Denver, Colorado 80205-5798

Appendix 3

Historical Photographs From St. Lawrence Island from Riley Moore's Collection, 1912

Some seventy large-size individual photographs made by anthropologist Riley D. Moore in Gambell in 1912 have been recovered during this project at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (see Part One). These images were carefully examined by elders in Gambell, Nome, and Savoonga; thirty-six people were successfully identified. The names of other individuals, however, could not be established. The reasons, of course, are many. Some people featured in Moore's photos had passed away shortly after his visit of 1912—like *Saavla* (p. 442), *Paazak* (p. 444), *Uutayuk* (p. 448), his wife *Awliinga* (p. 449), and others. Hence, the elders of today could have very little visual memory, if any, of such individuals. There were no personal photographs on the island in family albums or in personal collections until much later; when visiting teachers and researchers of the 1920s, like Otto Geist or Henry Collins, provided local residents with first copies of the prints they took. Thus, no other photography contemporary to Moore's pictures was available to keep the memory alive.

Last but not least, whereas some people are easily recognizable from their child or young-age photos even in their advanced age, others are not. The ways people age and change through time are highly personal and often puzzling. Sometimes, a person of the "old days" can be identified because of his/her likeness to his/her younger siblings or children, of whom we may have a better visual memory from the later years. But often there are neither early photos nor younger siblings nor surviving children to compare. We keep looking at a face that somehow seems familiar; but the person behind the image is still elusive.

Fortunately, faces of many more people captured in Moore's photographs of 1912 were identified and their names established by matching the numbers scratched on the negatives and photos with those listed in Moore's "Individual Measurement" sheets (see p. 55). This is why we present those pictures and a few more recently retrieved images from Moore's collection in this last section of the *Sourcebook*. We also consider them to be our last message to the readers. Many more historical photographs will eventually be recovered and more faces will be "returned" to the descendants. This is the only way to help preserve the memory of the long-gone kin of ours. The book is done and the St. Lawrence Island Heritage project is completed, but our journey in Yupik "knowledge repatriation" continues.



Saavla ("Saulu, age 68. Father born at Indian Point, Siberia").



Patrick Waamquun ("Womkon, age 31"), first son of Suluk.



Paazak ("Poozuk, age 38"), father of Fred Aqumigalnguq and Christopher Miklaghhaq.



Wangqetelen ("Wongotillin, age 35, father Chukchi, mother Chu Chow (Koryak) from Siberia").



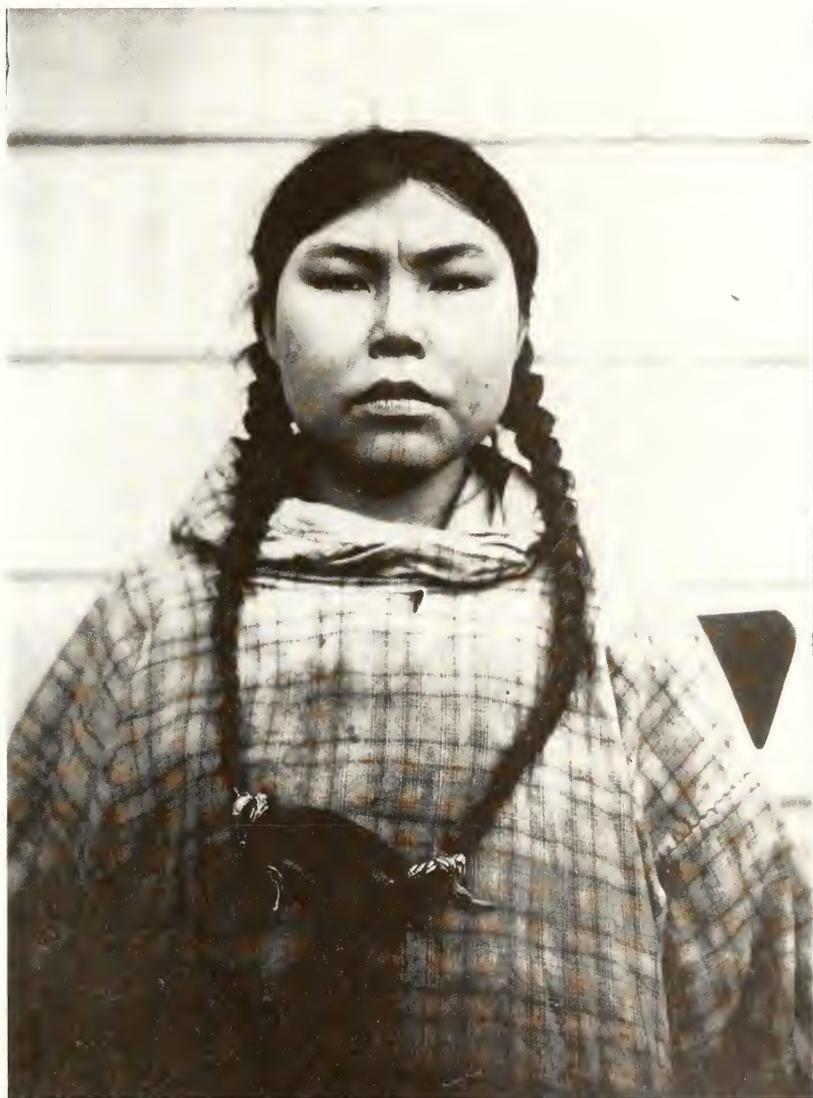
James Anengayuu ("Oningou, age 35").



David Sipela ("Sepilla, age 31").



Utaayuk, son of Mangena ("Otiyook, age 27, sorcerer"). Died before 1915.



Awliinga ("Owgoolaengu, age 26, wife of Otiyook"). Died before 1920.



Apaata ("Opu—'grandfather', age 32").



Aallenga, wife of Apaata ("Ohlingu, age 30"). Died before 1920.



Andrew Uzivusiq ("Ozevoosuk, age 31").



Yaghunga, second wife of *Uzivusiq* (“*Yoghongwu*, age 31”). The folded braided hair shows she is pregnant, as *Avalak*, *Beda Slwooko*, recalled.



Theodore *Galaagerngen* ("Gologoroongen, age 24").



Elqwaaghqu, Charles Slwooko ("Slkwooko, age 23").



Columbus *Aluwa* ("Olowu, age 28).



Umiighaq ("Oomauhuk—dwarf, age 23").



Morris *Tatuwi* ("Tatoowi, age 21").



Philip Maasqen ("Maskin, age 16").



Yaapelu, wife of Galaagerngen ("Gapellou, age 18").



Arther Piiskwaghtaq, son of Yaavgahsiq ("Peskwoktuk, age 18").



Homer Apeteki ("Opotiki, age 9"), the youngest son of Suluk.



Theodore Kingiqaq ("Kingukuk, age 12").

VOLUME CONTRIBUTORS



Igor Krupnik is an ethnologist at the Arctic Studies Center of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Born and educated in Russia, Dr. Krupnik worked for almost twenty years among the Yupik Eskimo people of Chukotka and other Native groups of the Russian Arctic and the Far East. His current research is primary on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, where he is engaged in several collaborative projects with the Yupik communities of Gambell and Savoonga, studying the impact of global climate change, the preservation of cultural heritage and traditional ecological knowledge of native people. He has published and co-authored several books and catalogs, and he writes extensively on arctic Native people, Native heritage resources, modernization and minority issues.

Willis Walunga (Kapelgu) is an experienced senior hunter, trapper, navigator, and boat captain from the Yupik village of Sivuqaq (Gambell) on St. Lawrence Island. He is also an acknowledged local historian and educator in his native Yupik language and in cultural traditions of his people. He produced several booklets, teachers guides, educational materials and he was the leading author for a three-volume collection of oral stories, *Sivuqam Nangaghnegha: Echo of Our Eskimo Elders* (1985–89), series of St. Lawrence Island Yupik genealogies, and extended *Curriculum Resource Manual* for local bilingual school program. Mr. Walunga served as senior expert and advisor for the *Beringia Yupik Heritage Project* (1998–2000).



Vera Kingeekuk Metcalf (Qaakaghleq) was born and raised in Sivuqaq (Savoonga) on St. Lawrence Island. Over the last 20 years she has participated in numerous repatriation consultations with museums around the country and was involved in many efforts in cultural research, education, cultural awareness, and multicultural orientation. She also has held many positions benefiting people in the region, including Program Coordinator for Eskimo Heritage Project at Kawerak, Inc., member of the Carrie McLain Memorial Museum in Nome, and most recently, serving on the national NAGPRA Review Committee. She currently serves as an Executive Vice President of the Bering Straits Foundation in Nome, Alaska to provide administrative oversight to all Foundation programs.

Lars Krutak received his Bachelor of Arts degree in anthropology and art history from the University of Colorado, Boulder (1993), with an emphasis on Native American art and art history. Between 1996 and 1998, he attended graduate school at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks where his research focused on the symbolism of traditional tattoo practices on St. Lawrence Island and across the circumpolar North. He recently completed his first manuscript entitled "Tribal Women Tattoo Artists: A Permanent History." Lars currently works as a Repatriation Research Specialist at the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.





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