
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION—BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

ON

MASKS, LABRETS, AND CERTAIN ABORIGINAL CUSTOMS,

WITH

AN INQUIRY INTO THE BEARING OF THEIR
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

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PREFATORY REMARKS.

Some years since, at the suggestion of the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, I took up the subject of masks, with special relation to those of the Pacific coast of America. Circumstances prevented an immediate prosecution of the work to a close; meanwhile, in 1878, I had the opportunity of examining material bearing on this topic contained in the principal museums of Great Britain and of Northern Europe, except Russia. The study of these collections resulted in a conviction that the subject was one of deeper import, and more widely extended ramifications than I had, up to that time, had any conception of; and that one who had thoroughly mastered it would be possessed of the keys to the greater part of the mystery which locks from us the philosophical religions and social¹ development of uncivilized or savage man.

This conviction led to a disinclination to attempt a superficial treatment of a subject of such importance. Under the circumstances it appeared in the highest degree unlikely that it would be practicable for me to devote to it a study which would be appropriately thorough. Partly through the claims of official duties of a different character, and partly in the hope that some one else would take the subject up with time and opportunity of giving to it the attention it deserves, preparations for publication of the projected article have, until recently, been deferred.

No one coming forward with such a purpose, it has become necessary that the original promise should be, in some part at least, fulfilled; and therefore the present article has been prepared, rather in the hope that it may prove a stimulus to more adequate investigation of the topic, than with any idea that it contains more than suggestions toward directing future researches into suitable channels. It will be avowedly a matter of sketching landmarks and indicating openings to possible harbors, rather than a survey with soundings and sailing directions.

¹ Considered in its public or communal aspect, especially that of public games or amusements.

THE EVOLUTION OF MASKS.

The word mask, according to Webster, is derived from the Arabic, meaning a thing which excites ridicule or laughter; that this, however, is a comparatively modern conception of the mask idea in the course of the development of culture, will, I think, on consideration appear certain.

1. The ultimate idea of a mask is a shield or protection for the face; probably first held in the hand.

2. The adaptation of it to the form of the face and its support upon the head or shoulders were probably subsequent to the introduction of peep-holes, but must have been nearly or quite coincident with the use of a breathing hole.

3. As a protection, its appearance or ornamentation originally must have been quite secondary in its importance to impenetrability, or mechanical protectiveness.

4. If communities agreed among themselves, and differed from outsiders in the form or appearance of their masks, the characteristics of the mask-form adopted by any group of peculiar ferocity or powers, would begin to have a moral value apart from its capability of arresting or diverting missiles. The terror inspired by the wearers would begin to be associated with their panoply.

5. With the adaptation of the mask to the head and shoulders, a reduction in weight, and consequently of resisting power would be necessary. Its moral value due to its capacity for inspiring terror would constantly tend to increase, as compared with its defensive usefulness.

6. With the realization of this fact, devices to add to the frightfulness would multiply until the mechanical value would be comparatively unimportant. It is to be borne in mind that it is the lowest grades of culture which are in question.

7. With this growth individual variation would come into play; each warrior would bear a more or less personal device. If remarkable for destroying enemies of the tribe, or for the benefits resulting to it from his prowess, death, lapse of time, and traditions, snowball-like accreting as they descended, would tend to the association of superhuman qualities (in form of hero-myth) with him and with his distinctive battle emblem or device. If his device were derived or conventionalized from some predatory, shrewd, or mysterious animal, a mental blending of the ideals of each might be expected, and the seeds sown of a totemic or polytheistic system.

8. With the advance of culture, in its feeble beginnings, humorous

perceptions are well known to be of relatively slow development. However, we can perceive that, with the growth of supernaturalism, the emblem of the hero, already merged in the hero-myth, would, from the first, be associated with any formal recognition by the community of its relations to the supernatural. Thus masks would take their place among religious paraphernalia, not only of the community in its general direct relations to the supernatural, but in the probably earlier form of such relation through an intermediary individual, in the form of a shaman or his logical predecessors in culture.

9. On the other hand, it may be supposed that the exhibition of a device popularly associated with ill-success, cowardice, or incapacity in its owner, while liable in time of war to excite aversion, contempt, or even hostility in the other members of the community, might well provoke in time of peace the milder form of ridicule, closely allied to scorn, which seems in savagery to constitute the sole rudiment of humor; and that, in time, a certain set of devices, originally segregated in some such manner from the generality, might come to be typical of buffoonery, and to be considered as appropriate to public amusements and rollicking communal games.

10. From such beginnings the application of masks to the purposes of secret societies, associations or special classes of the community in their formal relations to the rest, or to outsiders, is easy to imagine, and no attempt need here be made to trace it in detail. The transition to that stage of culture where masks are merely protections against recognition on festive occasions, or the vehicle of practical jokes at the hands of children or uneducated adults, is long, but presents no difficulties. As illustrative of the survival of the earlier stages of the process in a comparatively cultured race to very modern times, the war and other masks, till very lately in vogue among the Chinese, may be alluded to. On the other hand, the theatrical masks of the Japanese belong to a stage of much higher culture both in an æsthetic and moral sense, the idea of terror in connection with them seemingly having quite passed away, their object being to excite amusement or express similitude.

A process in the development of masks which should be noticed is not unfrequently recognizable in the paraphernalia of aboriginal peoples.

The original idea of protection for the face, whose evolution in a particular line has been sketched as above, may develop in another way, which would find a termination in the helmet of the middle ages, the idea of mechanical protection either remaining predominant or at some stage of culture coming in again and rendering the moral effect wholly subordinate. Again, after the mask has developed into a social symbol (as in religious ceremonies or games), the idea of rendering the whole panoply more effective (as by indicating a stature greater than that natural to man), or of making it more convenient for singers or orators, has in some cases resulted in raising the mask proper above the face of the wearer to the upper part of the head-dress, with the consequence of

gradually losing the apertures for sight and the breathing hole, then no longer needed. The mask then becomes a more or less conventionalized model of the face, or even of the whole figure or a group of figures. This stage is recognized in the Moqui masks figured, which have become head-dresses, worn as in the doll, also illustrated; or even with a mask, properly so called, worn over the face beneath in addition. This is also shown in many Tlinkit head-dresses and others of Mexico, Peru, and of the western Inuit.

Still another line of evolution is that in which the ideas symbolized by a mask reach such a stage of identification with it that a wearer, to give life-like motion to the total effigy, is no longer required by the imagination. The mask may then be set up as an independent object of attention. It may be in this case associated with the bodies of the dead as in Peruvian graves, or erected in connection with religious rites; a practice widely spread and not to be confounded with statues or idols which approach the same end by a different path; or finally be attached to the altar or building devoted to such rites. In the last case weight is of no consequence and, in general, durability is of importance, from whence are derived the stone models of faces or stone masks of which Mexico and the Caribbean Islands have afforded such remarkable examples.

Other and less clearly kindred customs are those, prevalent in the same geographical lines (though widely spread elsewhere as well), in which the actual face or head, with more or less of its integuments, is preserved and ornamented. The probabilities are against the direct connection of this practice with the evolution of the artificial mask, but these preparations are frequently termed masks, especially when the back part of the cranium is removed, and therefore deserve notice, as well on that account as because of their partly parallel distribution.

LABRETIFERY.

In this connection it is worth while to draw attention to the geographical distribution of another practice which is not, like the use of masks, world-wide, but, as far as I am at present informed, appears to be almost entirely peculiar to two totally distinct ethnological regions, *i. e.*, Central Africa, which as being beyond doubt an independent center need not here be further alluded to; and America, especially the western border. I refer to the use of labrets, which for brevity may be called *labretifery*.

The ravages of civilization, as dispensed by freebooters and fanatics, began at so early a period on the shores of Darien and the western coast of South America that the data are most imperfect for the manners and customs of the people in their primitive state. There are many customs of which the vestiges were swept away probably within two generations after the original incursion of the Spaniards, and to which only the most brief and often inaccurate allusions are made in the works of the earliest writers. The proper elucidation of these requires an amount of search and careful study of these ancient sources which it has been impossible for me to give, and the citations here may be taken merely as hints to the ethnologist in search of a speciality which opens an attractive vista for a thorough and not too exuberant investigator. To such I am confident the subject offers ample rewards.

Bulwer, in his quaint "Anthropometamorphosis,"¹ has compiled from many of the earlier writers an account of various methods of self-mutilation for æsthetic or religious purposes affected by various nations; and among others gives several references to the practice of wearing labrets, which I have, in nearly all cases, taken opportunity of verifying from the original authorities. As Bulwer does not cite page or edition, and the works referred to are rarely indexed, this has been a task involving much labor. The result has been to confirm his general accuracy (barring such misprints as Pegu for Pern); hence I feel less hesitation in quoting him in a few cases which I have not had opportunity of verifying.

The labret, among American aborigines, is well known to be a plug, stud, or variously-shaped button, made from various materials, which is inserted at or about the age of puberty² through a hole or holes

¹ BULWER, JOHN. *Anthropometamorphosis (etc.)* 8^o (or sm. 4to.), pp. 523, 15 l. unsp., London, W. Hunt, 1653. Illustrated.

² In some cases a small perforation is made at an earlier period, but on the appearance of the signs of puberty it is formally enlarged, and among the northwestern tribes the original operation is usually deferred till that period arrives.

pierced in the thinner portions of the face about the mouth. Usually after the first operation has been performed, and the original slender pin inserted, the latter is replaced from time to time by a larger one, and the perforation thus mechanically stretched, and in course of time permanently enlarged.

They are worn in some tribes by women only, in others by men only, in still others by both sexes, in which case the style of the labret is different for each sex. There are sometimes several small ones forming a sort of fringe about the sides of and below the mouth (in America the upper lip is or was very rarely perforated), as in the Mäg'emüt women of the Yukon delta; most generally the perforation is made either just below the corners of the mouth, one on each side (Western Eskimo, males); in the median line below the lower lip, (Tlinkit women; Aleut men of ancient times; Mexicans; Botokudos; Mosquito coast males); both at the sides and in the middle (occasional among the Aleuts when first known and at present by the females among certain tribes of Bering Sea Eskimo); and, lastly, two small ones close to the median line (females among some of the Western Eskimo). It will be noticed that these fashions shade into one another, but that the median single labret, when the practice was in full vogue, was almost always (in adults) much larger than any of those used in lateral positions even when both sorts were employed by the same person.

From this custom several names for tribes have been derived, and passed into ethnological literature, such as Botokudo, from the Portuguese *botoque*, a plug or stopper, and Kaloshian, from the Russian *kalushka*, "a little trough," in allusion to the concave surfaces of the great labrets worn by elderly Tlinkit women in the time when their archipelago was first explored by the Russians.

In most regions which have been brought closely into relations with civilization the practice is extinct or obsolete. The Botokudo and the northwestern Eskimo still use labrets of the original sort; with the Tlinkit only a little silver pin represents in marriageable girls the odious *kalushka* of the past, while among the Aleuts the practice is extinct, as also, as far as known, it is among the people of the western coast of the Americas from Puget Sound southward.

Other changes are to be noticed antedating the historic period, which is, for the Aleuts, only about a century and a half. Thus, in discussing the evolution of culture as exhibited in the stratified shell heaps of the Aleutian Islands¹ (l. e. pp. 88-89, and plate), I have shown that in the shell heaps belonging to a very remote period, a form of labret was in use among the Inuit of Alaska Peninsula and at least as far west as Unalaska Island, precisely similar to the Tlinkit *kalushka*, but which had passed entirely out of use at the time these people were discovered by the expeditions of the Russians and other civilized nations.

¹Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 1. Tribes of the extreme Northwest. 4°. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1877, pp. 41-91.

This is a particularly significant fact, taken into consideration with the geographical distribution of the labret custom, and could it be ascertained that the latter was in the early historic or prehistoric period in vogue among any of the South Sea people, such a discovery would be of the highest interest.

The nearest approximation to it, actually in use among living aborigines of Melanesia, is described in the reports of various voyagers on the practice of piercing the nasal alæ, and inserting the teeth of a pig or some other animal. These will be again referred to. But in Schmeltz's annotated catalogue of the ethnological treasures of the Museum Godeffroy at Hamburg, I find that certain masks from New Ireland show, in one, an S-shaped flat piece of wood inserted, labret-wise, between the mouth and the nose; in two others wooden representations of boar tusks, one on each side, curving upward, with between them a flat perforated wooden carving ending anteriorly in an arrow-shaped point similarly placed between the mouth and the nose like lateral and median labrets; in another there is only the median piece; and in still another there is a tusk only on one side of the upper lip (l. c., p. 23).

Rings are said to be worn in the lower lip as well as in the nasal alæ by girls in some parts of India, but I have not discovered any evidence of this practice in the island peoples of Polynesia.

The geographical distribution of the custom, though interesting, had little significance as long as it was apparently sporadic and, between the regions where it was known to exist, no line of contact could be traced over the vast intervening areas where it was not known. It is but recently, partly from old documents read in the light of presently discovered facts, and partly from the results of recent exploration and collections, that these gaps appear to be very materially diminished, though not wholly bridged. While the reserve imperative upon serious students, in view of the vast flood of inconsequent theorizing in ethnological literature, deters one from claiming more than a chain of suggestive facts for which a tentative hypothetical explanation is submitted for criticism, it would seem as if the chain was of sufficient strength and significance to warrant serious consideration and renewed investigation.

Taken in connection with what may fairly be called the remarkable coincidences of form and fashion between some of the masks hereafter to be described from the Indo-Pacific and from the Northwest American region, manifest is the importance of tracing the labret custom, as begins to seem possible, independent of tribe, language, or race along nearly the whole western line of the Americas, with its easterly overflows, especially in the middle and South American region, and its equally remarkable westerly restriction further north.

Before proceeding to indicate the facts of distribution, it is necessary to consider the nature of the custom and its limitations.

So far as known at present, labretifery is a particularly human and

individual rite. It may have taken its rise in the early custom of submitting the boy at puberty to a trial of his resolution and manly endurance previous to his being admitted to the privileges of a member of the community, including as a chief feature communal rights in intercourse with the unmarried females of the tribe.

Tattooing is primarily a rite of this nature, beside, by its fashion, indelibly indicating the individual's particular commune in which his rights might be exercised.¹ The attainment of these communal rights either by desire of the individual or by the necessity arising from his forced adoption by a member of the commune, whose badge he must therefore be made to wear, is the object and almost the only object of the tattooing to which white waifs in the South Sea Islands have occasionally been subjected or have submitted themselves. Other explanations have been given, chiefly through shame, but that this is the true explanation I am most reliably informed. That it is not always required in these days as a condition precedent to such intercourse is the result of a breaking down of the aboriginal practice by civilization and not necessarily to any primary difference in the form of it.

It is not improbable that circumcision took its rise in a similar way, as up to a very recent date in the Pacific region it was an incident of puberty with many tribes. Infant circumcision would then be a spiritualized version, substituting the adoption into the spiritual communion of the soul, considered as spiritually adult at birth, and therefore an altogether later and idealized rite.

Similar tests for endurance in youth occur among most uncivilized peoples and need not be recapitulated, since every one is familiar with them.²

¹Speaking of the tattooed lines on the chin used by all the Innuvit and many of the West American coast nations from Mexico north, and which he observed at Point Barrow among the Innuvit, Simpson states that some undergo the operation earlier than others. In connection with the fact that sexual intercourse is forbidden to boys of this region until they have killed a deer, wolf, or seal, the idea that the operation for labretifery was originally a test of manhood and a passport to the good graces of the girls of the tribe, gains some corroboration from the following extract, which incidentally shows that the same proofs of prowess as a hunter were required before a youth was entitled to have it performed:

"The same irregularity exists with regard to the age at which the lip is perforated for labrets in boys, who, as soon as they take a seal or kill a wolf, are entitled to have the operation performed. But, in truth, no rule obtains in either case; some, led by the force of example, submit to it early, and others delay it from shyness or timidity. A man is met with occasionally without holes for labrets, but a woman without the chin marks we have never seen." (J. Simpson on the Innuvit of Point Barrow, l. c., p. 241.) See, also, *apropos* of tattooing, the remarks of Dr. Gracffe in Schmeltz, *Ethn. Abth., Mus. Godeffroy*, pp. 478, 479.

²There seems to be something analogous in the ceremony of incising the ears among the females of the region of New Britain, though this is done before puberty. However, most such customs change, in time, what were originally important features of the rite.

This wide slitting and extension of the ears of women, according to Kubary (cf.

Though perhaps not realized in its full force by anthropologists, and obscured by the degradation resulting from contact with civilization, the separation of the immature youth of the two sexes is a feature originally strongly insisted upon in the social practice of all the North-west American tribes I have been in intimate contact with, and without doubt of all our aborigines when their culture was in its pristine vigor. The evil results of other causes would be evident to less intelligent observers, and the loss of force it would entail in the community would mean, in the long run, defeat, captivity, and extinction amid the struggle of adjacent communities for a continued existence or the increase of power.

It must, of course, be clearly understood that the rite of piercing, circumcision, or tattooing, as such, was, in most if not all cases, not the sole ceremony or condition upon which full community in tribal privileges was granted. But each or either of them was originally a part if not the whole prerequisite, and was looked forward to by the youth as a key to that door which opened on the field where his aspirations and desires might find untrammelled exercise.

In the first instance, therefore, it was probably restricted to males; vigor and endurance of pain being attributes more necessary to that sex than to the other, in the preservation of the community. As a symbol of maturity and the privilege or obligation of the individual, in connection with communal rights, it might naturally in time be extended to the other sex.

I believe that the idea of ornament in connection with the object worn as a symbol would always follow, though closely, its adoption on other grounds. The idea that it was a symbol of vigor, fortitude, and mature development would connect with the symbol the admiration naturally excited by the qualities it symbolized, which are in the highest esteem in uncivilized peoples; and therefore it would be considered as an ornament without reference to any inherent elegance of form, material, or color. These would afterward be developed, as a matter of course, with the development of æsthetics in other directions, and if this development in other lines did not take place, the original rudeness of the symbol (as in the wooden plug of the Botokudos) would be likely to remain unchanged.

In most cases the communal sexual freedom it typified would remain the fundamental idea up to a pretty high degree of culture. Among the Tlinkit the labret was forbidden to slaves, and sexual intercourse with slaves was considered disgraceful to a free man of the community.

Schmeltz, l. c., p. 551-'2) is a peculiarly Melanesian trait, finding very full expression at the Anchorites Islands of the New Britain group. Among the Mikronesians simple or nearly simple piercing is known, while among the Polynesians the nose is not pierced and the ears not commonly. In the first-mentioned locality a peculiar significance is attached to the operation, which takes place about the age of six years, and males are rigidly excluded from the ceremony; but boring the nose among males is attended with no ceremony, although the practice is general.

As is well known, this race has reached a more than ordinary stage of culture, and promiscuous rights in the unmarried females had become, at the time of their discovery by the whites, to a great extent eliminated from their social code, though in certain contingencies not extinguished. Among their Inuit neighbors it prevailed up to a recent date, and the theory is still held by them, in spite of their partial civilization by the Russian missionaries, though not openly put in practice.

The labret (formerly a slender bone or wooden pin, now generally of silver) among the Tlinkit now means, and has long meant, maturity only, and chastity in young girls is (away from civilized influences) a matter of high importance, to which there is recent testimony of a reliable kind. The marriage of a girl was followed by the substitution of a larger plug, which was gradually enlarged, and typified the power, privileges, and respect enjoyed by the real head of the family. This practice has now gone out of date entirely,¹ owing, no doubt, to the influence of the adverse opinion of the whites upon the younger people of the tribe.

In none of these people does development of culture seem to have arrived at that stage where a religious significance would attach itself to the rite or to the symbol of it. It is for this reason, it may be supposed, that the labret appears only on those masks which were used in social amusements, jollifications, and, so far as I have observed, on none of those used in incantations by the Shamans or those indisputably connected with the exercise of some religious or mystic rite. For the same reason it would be and is absent from those images or carvings having such a connection among the Northern races, and from most of the Mexican stone carvings.

Were the practice coincident with the distribution of certain race-stocks, it would have less significance. It is its occurrence on certain orographic lines, among people of nearly every American linguistic family when located in such vicinity; its absence among kindred branches geographically otherwise distributed, and the geographical relations of the lines along which it is found, which gives it its importance.

Deferring speculations in regard to the origin or cause of this state

¹In regard to labrets among the Haida women, Dr. George M. Dawson, writing in 1878, states that "Until lately the females among the Haidas all wore labrets in the lower lip. * * Only among the old women can this monstrosity be now found in its original form. Many middle-aged females have a small aperture in the lip, through which a little beaten silver tube of the size of a quill is thrust, projecting from the face about a quarter of an inch. The younger women have not even this remnant of the old custom. The piercing of the lip was the occasion of a ceremony and giving away of property. During the operation the aunt of the child must hold her. The shape of the Haida lip-piece or *stai-eh* was oval. Among the Tsimpsian and Stakhin-kwan (Indians of Port Simpson and Stikine River Tlinkit) it was with the former more elongated and with the latter circular. (Dawson on the Haida Indians, in the Report of Progress for 1878-'79, Dominion Geological Survey, Montreal, 1880, pp. 108, 109 B.)

of things until all the testimony in regard to both labrets and masks has been submitted, it is now in order to indicate the observed traces of labretifery along the eastern border of the Pacific.

Beginning at the southward and eastward, the Botokudos,¹ apparently alone in South America, still retain the practice which less wild and more cultured tribes have discontinued.

The inhabitants of Malhada have the nether lip bored and within the same they carry a piece of thin cane about halfe a finger thick. (Purchas, *Pilgrim.*, iv, lib. vii; Bulwer, l. c., pp. 178-179.)

"The Brasilians have their lips bored wherein they wear stones so big and long that they reach to their breast which makes them show filthy fine" according to Purchas "which another notes is not practiced by the women. They bore holes in their boies under lips wherein they stick sharp bone as white as ivory, which they take out and put in as often as they will, and being older they take away the bones and instead thereof wear great Jasper stones being a kind of bastard emeralds inwardly flat with a thick end because they shall not fall out; when they take out the stones they play with their tongue in the holes which is most ugly to behold for that they seem to have two mouths one over the other." (Linschoten, lib. 2; Bulwer, l. c., p. 180.)

Maginus² saith that the Brasilians as a pleasant phantasie, wherein they take singular delight, have from their tender age long stones of no value inscrted in their lower lip onely, some in their whole face a cruel sight to behold. The selfsame fashion is in request among the Margajates³ of Brasil, yet not practiced by the women. (Bulwer, pp. 180-181.)

Of the Brazilians it is said by Purchas (l. c., III, p. 906):

"In their nether lips weare long stones for a gallantry, which being removed they seem in a deformed manner to have a double mouth * * * Vesputius weighed the long stones, which they used to weare in their faces, about sixteen ounces * * * Lerus saith the men weare in their nether lip a Pyramidall stone, which braverie weigheth down their lip, and subjecteth the face to great deformity. Some others also not content with this, adde two others in their cheekes to like purpose." These stones were "great at one end and little at the other; in their infancie it is a bone and after a greene stone, in some as long as ones finger; they will thrust out their tongues at the hole when the stone is removed" (l. c., p. 908).

Peter Carder, one of Drake's company, was captured by these people on the north bank of the Rio de la Plata and afterward escaped. He reported that for each enemy "they kill, so many holes they make in their visage beginning at the nether lip and so proceeding to the cheek, eye browes and eares." He gives their name as "Tappanbassi." (l. c., p. 909.) Anthony Knivet, of Candishe's company, in 1591 cast on the Bra-

¹See BIGG-WITHERS, *Pioneering in South Brazil, 1878*, quoted by FLOWER, *Fashion in Deformity*, New York, 1882, p. 6.

²Compare MAGINI, *Geogr. Ptolem. Deser. dell. America, Part II, XXXIII*, p. 207 *bis*, Venetia, 1597. This is the only reference to labrets I have come across in this edition of Maginus, and it refers specifically to the Peruvians and not to the Brazilians. There are many editions, and doubtless a reference to the labret-wearing tribes of Brazil may be found in some of them. For our purposes the quotations from Purchas are quite sufficient.

³These are the Botokudos, or at any rate are described as living in the region where the Botokudos now reside.

zilian coast near St. Sebastian, traveled much through the interior. He tells of the "Petivares":

They inhabit from Baya to Rio Grande, their bodies are carved with fine workes; in their lips is a hole made with a roebuck's horne, which at man's estate they cut bigger with a cane, and weare therein a greene stone; otherwise they esteeme a man no Gallant but a Pesant. * * * They travel with great store of Tobacco and have continually a leaf thereof along the mouth between the lip and teeth the rhenme running out at the lip-hole. * * * The Maraquites are between Pernambuco and Baya; other Indians call them Tapoyes (or wild men). They have holes in their lips but carve not their bodies. The Topinaques have their dwelling at Saint Vincent's. and wear great stones in their lips. * * * The Pories dwell an hundred miles inland.)

"Those canihals who are called Pories have three great holes in their face, one in the under lip and one on either side of the month and in every hole stands a fair green stone." (Bulwer, l. c., p. 178.)

"In Peru² they make holes in their checks in which they put turquoises and emeralds."

In Reiss and Stübel's "Necropolis of Ancon in Peru," Plate 96, fig. 1, represents a face painted on an earthen jar with two disks or circles on the cheeks which recall the Innuït labrets. They may, however, be intended to represent ear ornaments, though much misplaced. I have seen no undoubted labrets from Peru, but specimen tablet No. 17509, collected by J. V. Norton in Peru, contains three small carved articles, of which one has some resemblance to a labret, though very possibly not intended for one.

In Darien³ "the women wear rings in their eares and noses, with quaint ornaments in their lips."

In Dominica the women have their lips bored as an especial note of bravery. (Purchas, l. c.) The women of Surucusis have chrystall of a skie color hanging at their lips. (Purchas, l. c.)

The "fair green stones," "emeralds," and "bastard emeralds" were, without doubt, in most cases, the green turquois-like mineral called *chalchihuitl*? by ethnologists, and which was extensively used for jewels and ornaments from Mexico to Peru by the natives at the time of their discovery.

The natives of the islands off the Mosquito coast of Central America "have a fashion to cut holes in the lips of the boys when they are young, close to their chin, which they keep open with little pegs till they are fourteen or fifteen years old; then they wear beards in them made of turtle or tortoise shell, in the form you see in the margin." The figure represents a flat plate with the form of a balloon npside down, with the pointed end suddenly widened to a stud-like projection, which, extending inside the mouth, prevents the labret from falling out. The author goes on to say: "The little notch at the upper end they put in through the lips, where it remains between the teeth and the lip; the under part hangs down over their chin. This they commonly wear all day, and

¹ PURCHAS, America, Book IX, chap. 4, pp. 909-911, edition of 1626.

² MAGINUS, l. c., p. 207 *bis*. LINSCHOTEN, lib. 2. Both quoted by BULWER, l. c., p. 164. I have verified the first reference.

³ PURCHAS, l. c., book IX, chap. 1, p. 872, edition of 1626.

when they sleep they take it out." (Dampier, voy. 1, p. 32, edition of 1717.) The labret is extremely similar to some of the wooden ones used by the Botokndos.

As regards Mexico the evidence is particularly full and decisive, and yet it seems to have been overlooked almost entirely by late writers in treating of the Botokndos and others, and the obsidian labrets which are not uncommon in collections have seldom been recognized as such.

The following quotations from Purchas give a very clear idea of the elegant labrets worn by the upper classes in Mexico. When discovered the commoner sort do not appear to have attracted much attention :

Among the rest or rather aloofe off from the rest [of the Mexicans met by Cortez at San Juan de Ulloa on his first expedition] were certaine Indians of differing habit, higher than the other and had the gristles of their noses slit, banging over their monthes, and rings of jet and amber hanging thereat: their nether lips also bored and in the holes rings of gold and Turkesse-stones which weighed so much that their lips hung over their chinnes leaving their teeth bare. These Indians of this New Cut Cortez caused to come to him and learned that they were of Zempoallan a citie distant thence a dayes journey whom their Lord had sent; * * * being not subject to Mutezuma but onely as they were holden in by foree.¹

There was another idol in Mexico much esteemed which was the God of repentance and of Jubilees and pardons for their sinnes. Hee was called Tezeatlpuca, made of a shining black stone attired after their manner with some Ethnike devices; it had earrings of gold and silver and through the nether lip a small canon of Chrystall halfe a foot long in which they sometimes put an Azure feather, sometimes a greene, so resembling a Turqueis or Emerald. (l. c. p. 870).

Of the six priests who performed the human sacrifices it is said the name of their chiefe dignitie [who cut out the heart of the victim and offered it to the idol] was Papa and Topilzin; * * * under the lip upon the midst of the beard hee had a peece like unto a small canon of an Azure stone. (l. c. p. 871. See also the Ramirez codex).

In that town which was governed by Quitalbitoi under Mutezuma, king of that province of the West Indies [Mexico] the men bore whatsoever spæe remaineth between the uppermost part of the nether lip and the roots of the teeth of the nether chap: and as we set pretious stones in Gold to weare upon our fingers, so in the hole of the lips they weare a broad plate within fastened to another on the outside of the lip and the jewell they hang thereat is as great as a silver Caroline dollar and as thick as a man's finger. Peter Martyr (Dec. 4) saith that he doth not remember that he ever saw so filthy and ugly a sight, yet they think nothing more fine and comely under the circle of the Moone (Bulwer, l. e., p. 177-8.)

In the Anthropological Museum of Berlin I saw about a pint of labrets, beautifully polished and neatly rounded, of obsidian of a smoky color, which had been obtained from excavations made in Mexico. They were precisely of the form of the most common sort of Eskimo labret, namely, subcylindrical, wider at the outer end, which was circular, flat, and polished, diminishing slightly toward the base, which is the part which rests within the lip, and a right-angled parallelogram in shape with the corners in many cases more or less rounded off. The base is

¹ PURCHAS Pilgr. vol. v, book viii, chap. 9, p. 859, 4th ed. London, 1626. The image of a Zapotec chief with a very ornate labret in the lower lip, and also several labrets, were found in a tomb in Tehuantepec in 1875, and are figured by Nadaillac in *l'Amérique Préhistorique*, pp. 369, 370, 1883.

quite thin usually not exceeding 3.0^{mm}. through and 20.0^{mm}. in length. It is usually concavely arched to fit the curve of the outside of the jaw. Similar labrets from Mexico are in the collection of the United States National Museum, and some years since I saw a photograph of some antique Mexican bas-relief human figures, of which several showed a circular knob projecting from the cheek just below the outer angles of the mouth, such as the Eskimo labrets produce on the face of the wearers.

Sahagun, one of the earliest and best authorities, speaking of the Mexican "lords" and their ornaments, says they

wear a chin ornament, (*barbote*) of chalchihuitl set in gold fixed in the beard. Some of these barbotes are large crystals with blue feathers put in them, which give them the appearance of sapphires. There are many other varieties of precious stones which they use for barbotes. They have their lower lips slit and wear these ornaments in the openings, where they appear as if coming out of the flesh; and they wear in the same way semilunes of gold. The noses of the great lords are also pierced, and in the openings they wear fine turquoises or other precious stones, one on each side.¹ (Hist. de Nueva España, lib. viii, cap. ix.)

The obsidian labrets previously referred to were doubtless worn by the lower classes, to whom chalchihuitl was not permitted. Beside those of the usual "stove-pipe-hat" shape there are some slender T-shaped, with the projecting stem long and taper, much like the bone ones of the Inuit women near Cape Rumiantszoff, which, however, are not straight, but more or less curved or J-shaped. Were these worn by women or were they the initiatory labrets of boys?

Among the Mexican antiquities figured from Du Paix' expeditions is a tom-tom, or hollow cylindrical drum, with one end carved into a human head. In the upper lip two disks appear, one under each nostril. No connection with the nasal septum is indicated, and they much resemble the round flat ends of the hat-shaped obsidian labrets. (Ant. Mex. 2nd Exp., pl. lxiii, fig. 121.) Supplementary plate ix shows an earthen vase, the front of which is a very spirited model of a human figure with open mouth. There is what appears to be a hole in each cheek behind the corner of the mouth as if for a pair of labrets. It came from Palenque.

Between the Mexican region and that occupied by the Tlinkit there is a wide gap over which no bridge has yet been found. The extracts given above have, however, bridged more or less perfectly the much greater gap between Mexico and that portion of the west coast of South America opposite to the region occupied by the Botokudos, and which is also the part nearest approached by any of the Polynesian Islands. Behind this part of the coast are the Bolivian Andes, far less formidable a barrier than those nearer the equator, among which rises the Pilcomayo River, discharging into the Paraguay close to the mouth of the

¹The inhabitants of New Ireland, near New Guinea, pierce the nostrils, in which they place the small canine teeth of a pig, one on each side (Turner); and the same practice is reported from the adjacent islands and from the southern coast of New Guinea. (Jukes, Voy. H. M. S. Fly, 1, p. 274.)

Parana, whose headwaters come near to draining the Botokudo territory. If the progenitors of these people were wanderers from the Pacific coast the road was ready made for them. At all events, we know that the practice was once widely spread through Brazil, and if it originated on the western coast, once past the barriers of the Andes, there was no reason why it might not have spread all over South America.

Northward from Mexico, beginning with the people of the Columbian Archipelago, and continuing along the coast and islands peopled by the diverse races of Tlinkit, Aleut, Timneh, and Innuvit, there is no interruption of the chain of labretifera until Bering Sea and Strait are reached on the west and the icy desert between the Colville and the Mackenzie on the east.

Utterly unknown in Northeastern Asia, and carried to its highest development only in Middle America by the most cultured American aborigines known to history; spread on a geographical line along two continents; characteristic of the most absolutely diverse American ethnic stocks along that line; unknown in North America among their kindred away from that line; it seems certain that the fashion spread from the south rather than from the north and west. That it was an accidental coincidence of identical inventions, due to a particular stage of progress reached independently by different peoples, it seems to me is simply inconceivable. If so, why did not kindred tribes of these same stocks develop the custom in Middle and Eastern North America?

A few words will formulate what we know about labretifery northward from Puget Sound:

All the married women (of Port Bucareli) had a large opening in the lower lip, and this opening is filled by a piece of wood cut into an oval, of which the smaller diameter is almost an inch. The older the woman the larger is the ornament, which renders them frightful, above all, the old women, whose lip, deprived of its elasticity and under the weight of this decoration, hangs down in a very disagreeable way. The girls wear only a copper needle which pierces the lip in the spot which the ornament is destined to occupy. (*Voyage of Manrelle in the Princesa in 1779*; translated in the *voyage of La Perouse*, vol. 1, pp. 330, 331.)

Among the Sitka Tlinkit, says Lisianski:

A strange custom prevails respecting the female sex. When the event takes place that implies womanhood, they are obliged to submit to have the lower lip cut and to have a piece of wood, scooped out like a spoon, fixed in the incision. As the young woman grows up the incision is gradually enlarged, by larger pieces of wood being put into it, so that the lip at last projects at least four inches, and extends from side to side to six inches. Though this disfiguring of the face rendered to our eyes the handsomest woman frightful, it is considered here as a mark of the highest dignity, and held in such esteem that the women of consequence strive to bring their lips to as large a size as possible. The piece of wood is so inconveniently placed that the wearer can neither eat nor drink without extreme difficulty, and she is obliged to be constantly on the watch lest it should fall out, which would cover her with confusion. (*Lisianski's Voyage*. 4^o. London, Booth, 1814, pp. 243, 244.)

On p. 255, however, he speaks of a Sitkan child three months old which had the lower lip pierced. The larger plug was inserted at maturity.

At Lituya Bay, in July, 1786, La Perouse observes :

All, without exception, have in the lower lip at the level of the gums a perforation as wide as the mouth, in which they wear a kind of wooden bowl without handles, which rests against the gums, so that the lip stands out like a shelf in front, two or three inches. (Atlas, plates 23 and 24.) The young girls have only a needle in the lower lip; the married women alone have the right to the bowls. We endeavored several times to induce them to remove this ornament, which they did very reluctantly, seeming embarrassed without it. The lower lip falling on the chin presented as disagreeable a spectacle as the first. (Voyage aut. du Monde de La Perouse. vol. ii, pp. 200-202.)

Dixon records the use of the kalushka, or large median labret, at Yakutat, Sitka Sound and Queen Charlotte Islands. He figures a remarkably large one, ornamented on its upper surface with a piece of Haliotis shell, set in a copper rim, and also a woman of the Queen Charlotte Islands, showing how they were worn. They were confined to the fairer sex. (See Dixon's Voyage, pp. 172, 187, and 208. The plates are not numbered.)

The women of the Naas, Haida, and Tlinkit nations when discovered, in general wore labrets; the men did not. The labret, inserted at the first evidences of womanhood, was placed through the lower lip under the nasal septum, and at first was a slender bone or wooden peg, shaped like a small nail or long tack. After marriage the plug was gradually enlarged, and in some very old women was of enormous size. I possess one which measures two and a half inches long by two inches wide, and half an inch thick near the margin. The groove around it is a quarter of an inch deep, and the upper and lower surfaces are made concave to diminish the weight. It is made of black slate, oval and much worn. I have seen one other which was a little larger. They were made generally of wood, of a sort of black shale, or sometimes of white marble or bone. At present a silver pin, manufactured out of coin by the Indians themselves, replaces the bone pin with unmarried girls. The large labret, or kalushka, is entirely out of use, unless with some ancient dame in some very remote settlement. Many of the women from Sitka south have abandoned the practice entirely.

Among the Innuït of Chugach or Prince William Sound the males formerly wore lateral labrets, like those of the Western Eskimo. A dried mummy sent to the National Museum from this bay still showed the apertures in the cheeks distinctly, though they were empty.

Cook gives the following description of the labrets of the Innuït of Prince William Sound and Cook's Inlet, a form which, so far as known, has passed entirely out of use, and of which I am not aware that any specimens are in existence. They were worn by both sexes. He says the under lip was slit parallel with the mouth, the incision being commenced in infancy. In adults it was often two inches long. In it was "inserted a flat, narrow ornament, made chiefly of a solid shell or bone, cut into little narrow pieces like small teeth, almost down to the base or thickest part, which has a small projecting bit at each end, which

supports it when put into" the incision, the dentate edge of the labret then appearing outside. Others have the lower lip "perforated into separate holes, and then the ornament consists of as many distinct shelly studs, whose points are pushed through these holes." The heads of the studs appeared within the lower lip, almost like a supplementary outer row of teeth. He figures the latter kind, in each case four studs. Beads were often hung to the points of these studs. At Cook's Inlet the labrets were exactly like the above described ones from Prince William Sound, but less commonly worn. (See *Voyage*, vol. ii, pp. 369, 370, pl. 46, 47, 1778.)

In speaking of the women seen in Prince William Sound, Manrelle, in 1779, describes them as distinguished by pieces of glass or other material which are placed through the lips on each side of the mouth in a manner similar to the median labret of the women at Bucareli (l. c., p. 340).

In regard to the practice of labretifery at Kodiak, it seems to have rapidly diminished after the Russian occupation, since, in 1805, Langsdorff observed (ii, p. 63) that the slit in the under lip was even then rarely seen, while twenty-five years before it was universal.

It has been mentioned above that the inhabitants of Kodiak and the other Aleutian Islands are in the practice of slitting the under lip parallel with the mouth and introducing into the opening ornaments of glass beads, muscle shells, or enamel. The Kaluschian women [of Sitka Sound] carry this idea of ornament much farther. When a girl has attained her thirteenth or fourteenth year a small opening is made directly in the center of the under lip, into which is run at first a thick wire, then a double wooden button or a small cylinder made somewhat thicker at each end. This opening once made is by degrees enlarged, till at length it will contain an oval or elliptic piece of board or sort of small wooden platter, the outward edge of which has a rim to make it hold faster in the opening. The women thus look as if they had large flat wooden spoons growing in the flesh of their under lips.

This ornament, so horrible in its appearance to us Europeans, this truly singular idea of beauty, extends along the northwest coast of America from about the fiftieth to the sixtieth degree of latitude. All the women, without distinction, have it, but the circumference of the piece of board seems to mark the age or rank of the wearer. The usual size is from two to three inches long, about an inch and a half or two inches broad, and at the utmost half an inch thick; but the wives of the chiefs have it much longer and broader. I have even seen ladies of very high rank with this ornament full five inches long and three broad, and Mr. Dwolf, who is very far from being likely to exaggerate, and who is well acquainted with all this part of the coast, from having so often traded hither for sea-otter skins, assured me that at Chatham Strait he had seen an old woman, the wife of a chief, whose lip ornament was so large that by a peculiar motion of her under lip she could almost conceal her whole face with it. (Langsdorff's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 114, 1805.)

According to Lisianski :

The people of Kodiak are very fond of ornaments. Both sexes pierce the ears all round and embellish them with beads. The women also wear beads on the neck, arms, and feet. Formerly they wore strings of beads suspended from apertures in the lower lip, or else placed in these apertures small bones resembling a row of artificial teeth, and had besides a bone passed through the gristle of the nose; while the men had a stone or bone four inches long in a cut made in the lower lip (Pl. iii, Fig. d), but these embellishments are now (1805) seldom seen. The fair sex were also fond of tattooing the chin, breasts, and back; but this again is much out of fashion. (Lisianski's *Voyage*, London, Booth, 1814, p. 195.)

The incisions in the lips and nose were made twenty days after birth, the end of the period of purification of mother and child. (Lisianski, l. c., p. 201.)

The Aleuts, when first known by the whites, wore labrets, both men and women. These are figured by Cook and others, and for the males at least were cleat-shaped, with hanging beads attached in many cases, and the incision was median. Two masks, used in dances, are here reproduced (Plate XXVIII, Figs. 71-72) from the illustrations to Billings's voyage,¹ which show the form of the labret at that time. Cook describes the median labrets of the Aleuts and figures them. (See official edition of his third voyage, ii, p. 417 plates, 48, 49.) They were worn by both sexes. He states, however (p. 509, l. c.), that it was as rare at Unalashka to see a man wearing one as to see a woman without one. It is evident from this remark that the practice of labretifery among these people lay primarily with the women, as among the Tlinkit and other tribes to the south and east. This was in 1778.

In the voyage of Captain Saricheff (with Billings, 1785-'90), published by Schnoor, in St. Petersburg, in 1802, consisting of two volumes, in the Russian language, and a folio atlas of fifty-one plates, he illustrates both masks and labrets. He gives an excellent plate of a Kadiak woman wearing a labret much like that figured here (Plate XXVIII, fig. 71 A), and with a broad, flat strip of bone through the nasal septum. The Kadiak man is represented with two rounded studs inserted side by side through the lower lip under the nose, and a rounded bone like a quill through the nose (vol. ii, p. 38). An Unalashka woman is represented with beads or studs set in the whole rim of the outer ear, two strings with beads on them hanging to the nasal septum, and lastly, with a hole below the outer corner of the mouth on each side, from which projects a labret of a kind I have seen no other record of. These are apparently of bone and resemble a dart-head, but are curved, and with barbs only on one side. In Saricheff's figure they stand out laterally, with the curve convex upward and the notches on the concave side (vol. ii, pp. 16-18). This explains the nature of the objects found in the Kagamil cave and figured by me in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 318, Plate 10, figs. 17260 *a*, *b*, and *c*, and referred to on page 23 as problematical. The Unalashkan man has no ornaments in nose, ears, or lips, according to Saricheff's figures (vol. ii, p. 16). Another plate showing both sexes full length agrees with the preceding. It is not evident how these labrets were kept in, but they might have been lashed to the ends of a thin strip of whalebone, as the specimens in the Smithsonian collection were arranged to be lashed to something.

Sauer, in his account of Billings' voyage, figures a man and woman of Unalashka wearing the slender, cleat-shaped labret, like that figured by Cook from the same locality (Plate V). He also figures (Plate VI)

¹An account of a geographical and astronomical expedition, etc., made by Commodore Joseph Billings, 1785-'94, by Martin Sauer, London, 1802.

a man of Kadiak with a broad labret like that described by Cook as seen in Prince William Sound and Cook's Inlet. Langsdorff (vol. ii, pl. ii, fig. 6) figures the cleat-shaped labret of the Aleuts in a clearer manner than any other author:

At Unalashka a mode of ornament which appears very strange to us Europeans, and which indeed decreases in use among these islanders, is the boring the under lip a little below the mouth, and sticking various objects through the slits so made. A common sort of ornament is made of glass beads, somewhat after the manner of our buckles. (Langsdorff's Travels, vol. ii, pl. ii, fig. 6, p. 39, 1805.)

But an earlier form of which the early voyagers say nothing, and which was doubtless obsolete before their time, is preserved for us in the burial caves and shell heaps. This differs but little from the Tlinkit kalushka in some specimens, but the older ones are more rude and heavy. That the cleat-shaped form was a very late development is evident from the fact that not a single specimen has yet been found after long-continued researches in the Aleutian shell heaps. A tolerably full description of these appeared in the first volume of the Contributions to North American Ethnology,¹ and the figures are reproduced here for clearness' sake (Plates V, VI, figs. 1-4). The Aleutian women seem to have worn labrets like the males.

From the peninsula of Alaska northward² the use of labrets is still common, but in most cases confined to the males. The Innuït man has usually two lateral labrets, of which the most common form is like a "stove-pipe" hat, and made of bone or stone. The brim or ledge of the hat is inside, the crown projecting. Some few of the Tinneh living in proximity to the Innuït have adopted the custom which is unknown among those who have no intercourse with the Innuït. Some of the Innuït women wear small J-shaped labrets, very light and thin, two close together near the middle line of the lower lip, but this is exceptional. Usually the women do not wear them, and the kalushka is entirely unknown among them. The form of those used by the males is far from uniform, except that it is always more or less stud-shaped. Into the projecting part ornaments may be set in, or it may be expanded like an enormous sleeve-button. A favorite ornament is half of a large blue glass head, cemented on to the outside of the stud. A fan-shaped appendage of mottled green and white serpentine is not rarely used. This practice extends northward to Point Barrow,³ and eastward to

¹ Pp. 87-89, figures 12991, 14933, 16138, and 16139.

² Cook describes the natives of Norton Sound in 1778 as wearing the double lateral labrets as at the present day. His language is a little obscure, but there is little doubt that the practice was confined to the males. See official edition of the voyage, ii, p. 483. The people he saw were Innuït.

³ At Point Barrow the lower lip in early youth is perforated at each side opposite the eye tooth, and a slender piece of ivory, smaller than a crow quill, having one end broad and flat like the head of a nail or tack, to rest against the gum, is inserted from within, to prevent the wound healing up. This is followed by others, successively larger during a period of six months or longer, until the openings are sufficiently dilated to admit the lip ornaments or labrets. As the dilation takes place in the direc-

near the mouth of the Colville River, which falls into the Arctic Ocean. Eastward from that point the practice is entirely unknown to the Inuit, and no labrets have ever been found in the shell heaps of eastern Arctic America. It is equally unknown among the Inuit who have (long since) colonized on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait, and the earliest information we have of these people, from the report of Simeon Deshneff in 1648, describes them as at war with the people who wore labrets. It is true that about 1820 some of the Tsan-chū or Chukchi reported to a Russian navigator the supposed existence of labret-wearing people near Cape Shelagskoi, but this was probably due to a tradition of the travels of some marauding party of American Inuit, who are notorious for their long journeys in their skin canoes.

Practically the labret practice is unknown in Northeastern Asia; it has died out within two generations among the Aleuts and is dying out among the Tlinkit and those Inuit who are brought into intimate contact with the whites. In a comparatively short period it is probable that the practice will be as much forgotten in Northwest America as it is now in Mexico and Peru.

tion of the fibers of the muscle surrounding the mouth, the incisions appear so very uniform as to lead one to suppose each tribe had a skillful operator for the purpose; this, however, is not the case, neither is there any ceremony attending the operation.

The labrets worn by the men are made of many different kinds of stone, and even of coal, but the largest, most expensive, and most coveted, are each made of a flat circular piece of white stone, an inch and a half in diameter, the front surface of which is flat, and has cemented to it half of a large blue bead. The back surface is also flat, except at the center, where a projection is left to fit the hole in the lip, with a broad expanded end to prevent it falling out and so shaped as to lie in contact with the gum. It is surprising how a man can face a breeze, however light, at 30° or 40° below zero, with pieces of stone in contact with his face, yet it seems from habit the unoccupied openings would be a greater inconvenience than the labrets which fill them. (J. Simpson, on the Western Eskimo, Arctic papers of the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1875, pp. 239-40.)

The Point Barrow natives informed Professor Murdoch, of the Signal Service party lately stationed there, that very long ago, so long that it was only known by tradition, the men wore large median labrets like one which he purchased. But that fashion is now entirely extinct.

CLASSIFICATION OF MASKS.

From the preliminary remarks it will be realized that the term *mask* is not a specific, but rather a family name, and that the classification of objects so denominated is somewhat complicated.

To begin with, we have three principal types to distinguish, for which it is necessary to coin terms, since there are none in the English (if indeed in any other) language which discriminate between them.

1. The MASK.—An opaque object intended to be worn over the face, and to conceal or defend it, normally with breathing and peep holes.

2. The MASKETTE.—An object resembling a mask, but intended to be worn above or below the face. Normally without perforations.

3. The MASKOID.—An object resembling a mask or face, but not intended to be worn at all. Normally, and almost invariably, imperforate.

EVOLUTIONARY SERIES.

Type 1.—MASKS.

A. For defense against physical violence, human or otherwise. Relations individual.

a. Passive.—Characterized by the purpose of offering a mechanical resistance to the opposing force, with or without aesthetic modification. Transitional series from the simplest type to the metallic helmet.

b. Active.—Characterized by the purpose of exerting a moral influence on the agent of the opposing force by exciting terror, either by direct hideousness or by symbolizing superhuman agencies supposed to be friendly to the wearer. Transitional series from the ordinary war mask aesthetically modified, to that of the shaman or of the priest.

B. Symbolical of social agencies, associations, orders, professions, supernaturalism. Relations ordinal or tribal.

a. Illustrative of the connection of the wearer with a particular association, band, order, or profession, having a common relation to the rest of the community.

Examples.—Masks used by the Iroquois "False-faces;" the Zuñi members of the order of the Bow; organizations for public games, dances, or theatricals; the "medicine men" or shamans; ecclesiastics; the Tlinkit clans or totems.

b. Illustrative of special rites, irrespective of the individual acting in ritual.

Example.—Masks used in religious ceremonies not purely ecclesiastical; death masks.

Type 2.—MASKETTES.

A. Symbolical of social agencies, as in subdivision B, sections *a* and *b* of Type 1.

Type 3.—MASKOIDS.

A. Symbolical of relations with the supernatural.

a. Of the individual.

b. Of the community.

All types and forms of masks, except, in some cases, the preserved fragments of actual humanity, will fall into one or another of the preceding sections, which are, however, not divided from one another by sharp lines of demarkation, but rather tend to a gradual transition.

OF THE PRACTICE OF PRESERVING THE WHOLE OR PART OF THE HUMAN HEAD.

This practice is widely spread, and perhaps among savages more remarkable in the breach than in the observance. It is and has been particularly notorious in regions west (Borneo) and southwest (Australia) of the south central Melanesian region, where this inquiry into the subject of masks may be said to make its starting point. The inhabitants of this archipelago are well known to indulge in it, and such a preparation is figured by Turner in an article¹ on masks, etc., from near New Guinea, and bears a curious resemblance to the celebrated specimen from Mexico figured by Waldeck, Squier, and Brocklehurst. In Blanche Bay, Matupi Island, Captain Strauch² reports skulls as painted, supplied with artificial hair, and used in the dance. This is distinctly related to the mask-idea. According to Schmeltz³ the death mask of the Shaman is placed in his late residence above the place where he was wont to sit, while those of enemies are preserved as trophies.

The Museum Godeffroy possesses seven crania and nine human masks painted and adorned much like those described by Turner and Strauch, and which were obtained in the interior of New Britain at Barawa and Raluana, near Matapu. Schmeltz figures two of them (l. c., t. iii, figs. 3, 4). In one of these the nasal alae are bored and teeth of *Cuscus* inserted. Another mask, exactly imitating those with a part of the skull for a foundation, is wholly made of a kind of putty or paste and came from New Britain. (L. c., p. 435.)

In Hermit Island, north of New Guinea, the dead were formerly burned, the skull, ornamented with flowers, was hung in a tree, the lower jaw reserved as a neck ornament or hung up in the house. (Schmeltz, l. c., p. 458.)

In the New Hebrides, at the island of Mallicollo, the skeletons of the dead are exhumed and the fleshy parts imitated by the application to the bones of vegetable fiber or material, presumably cemented; these pseudo mummies are placed in the sacred houses or temples. A skull so treated is in the Museum Godeffroy. These people also alter the shape of the cranium by pressure in infancy as did some of the people of the western coast of both North and South America. (Peru, Mexico, Oregon, British Columbia.)

¹ Journal of Anat. and Physiol. xiv, p. 475 *et seq.*, plate xxx, 1880.

² Schädel masken von Neu Britannien, Zeitschr. f. Ethn. xii, 1880, p. 404, pl. xvii.

³ Cf. Ethn. abth. Mus. Godeffroy, Hamburg, 1881, p. 20, t. v, f. 1; p. 435, 2, 1; p. 487, t. xxiii, xxxv.

In the Marquesas skulls were preserved and ornamented, the eyes replaced by pieces of pearl shell, and the lower jaw fastened to the upper by cords. According to Schmeltz (l. c. p. 242) the Marquesans used various methods of preserving the dead, who were frequently embalmed and preserved for a long time, or laid in caves or in trees. A little house, high in the mountains or among the pinnacles of the rocky coast, was used as a mausoleum. Here, until the flesh had disappeared from the bones, were useful articles, food, and drink brought for the use of the dead from time to time. Finally the skull is brought to one of the sacred "taboo" places and secretly deposited there. This duty was performed by one of the children of the dead, who, as well as others who know of the act, does not speak of it to any one. The skull is the only part which is regarded as holy; the remainder of the skeleton is destroyed.

This recalls the observations of early writers among the Tlinkit, who burned or destroyed the body and skeleton of the dead, and placed the preserved head or skull in a little separate ornamented box near by or upon the chest containing the ashes of the remainder of the frame.

The point on the western coast of South America nearest to the Polynesian Islands, as before pointed out when speaking of labretifery, is in the region of Bolivia. Here we find the remarkable heads, from which the bone has been extracted with its contents, and the remainder, by a long course of preparation, finally reduced to a dwarfish miniature of humanity, supposed to be endowed with marvelous properties.¹

A similar practice is reported from Brazil by Blumenbach, in the last century.² The preserved heads from New Zealand are in most ethnographic museums.

How far the use or application of these remains may vary, or have varied, among the different races who prepared them, there are no means of knowing. The variations developed during an indefinitely long period must be supposed to be great, however uniform the incipient practice. Thus, in Borneo the Dyak head hunter seeks trophies of valor in his ghastly preparations, whatever associations they may also have with the supernatural. The Australian widow carries for years her badge of former servitude and present misery in the shape of her husband's prepared cranium. These ideas are quite different from those of the people we are considering, with whom the prepared remains have a direct connection with their idolatry or fetichism, and were, both in the Archipelago and in America, placed on or by the idols at certain periods or continuously. But the bare fact of any use or value being connected with such relics among certain peoples, while to others the corpse and all its belongings become objects of terror and

¹ See also J. Barnard Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum*, p. 249. This practice has also been reported from the Amazon region.

² Blumenbach, *Decas Craniorum*, Gottingen, 1790; cf. pl. xlvii.

aversion, or unclean, has evidently, in connection with other ethnic facts, a certain bearing or weight.

The most remarkable and interesting instance of this practice known to anthropologists is that of the Inman mask now in the Christy collection, forming part of the British Museum. This is believed to have been brought to Spain shortly after the Spanish conquest and formed part of several collections, being at last secured by Mr. Henry Christy.

In this specimen the eyeballs are replaced by polished hemispheres of pyrites; the nasal septum masked by pieces of shell, and a mosaic of small bits of dark obsidian and green turquoise or chalchihuitl, inlaid in broad bands across the face. The part of the skull behind the ears is cut away, so as to admit of placing this human mask over the face of an idol, where it was fastened by leather thongs, which still remain attached to it. It was elegantly figured in colors by Waldeck in *Brasseur de Bourbourg's Monuments Anciens du Mexique*, plate 43, p. viii.¹ It was then in the Hertz collection.

The following account of its use is given by Sahagun,² as quoted by Bourbourg:

Au mois Izcalli on fabriquant un mannequin du Dieu du feu Xiuhcentli * * * on lui metait un masque en mosaïque tout travaillé du turquoises avec quelques bandes de pierres verte appelleé chalchihuitl traversant la visage; ce masque était fort beau et resplendissant.

This mask, therefore, belonged to the third type, and might properly be classed near the stone maskoids, of which Mexico has produced so many.³ (Cf. *Ant. Mex.*, 1st exp. Du Paix, pl. xv, f. 16.)

Further north I have come upon no distinct record of such a practice,⁴ though Meares and some others represent Callicum and Maquinna, chiefs, at Nutka and vicinity, as preserving the skulls of their enemies, while

¹ It is also represented by a cut derived from Waldeck by Squier in his article on chalchihuitls from Mexico and Central America, *Ann. Lyc. Nat. Hist.*, N. Y., 1869; and in colors by Brocklehurst in his recent work on Mexico.

² *Hist. Gen. de la Cosas de Nueva España*, ii, chap. xxxvii.

³ The Museum Godeffroy has received from New Britain a mask so small and of such a character that Schmeltz supposes it to have been intended to be placed over the face of one of their idols (l. c., p. 485).

⁴ In 1787 Dixon observed that the Thinkit of Yakutat Bay in disposing of the dead separated the heads from the bodies, preserving the bodies in a sort of chest above ground (as do the Northern Inuit on the Yukon River at the present day), with a frame of poles over it. The head was separately preserved in a carved and ornamented box painted in various colors and placed on the framework about the chest. In Norfolk Sound, now known as Sitka Sound, one of his party observing a cave in the hillside, entered it and found one of these boxes containing a head which seemed to have been newly placed there. Nothing is said of any body or chest as being in the cave. (See Dixon's *Voyage around the World*, London, 1789, pp. 175, 181.)

Among the Thinkit of Sitka, according to Lisianski, in 1805, bodies of the dead were burned, but of bodies of those who fell in war the head was preserved and placed in a separate wooden box from that in which the ashes and bones were placed. (Lisianski, l. c., p. 241.)

the manuscript voyage of the *Eliza*, Captain Rowan, to the Northwest coast in 1799 determines definitely, not only that the blood-thirsty savages of Queen Charlotte Islands and the adjacent mainland decapitated and scalped their victims, but that these trophies were very highly valued among themselves and sold for extraordinary prices, judged by either Indian or civilized standards. Thus Captain Rowan endeavored to recover the scalps of several whites murdered by the Queen Charlotte Islanders, and found they had been sold to a Naas chief for sea-otter skins to the value of several thousand dollars. So far as is known, the native tribes bordering on these, northward and eastward, knew nothing of such practices, and never adopted this particular barbarity. Nor are masks in use among them (excluding the coast tribes), except where they have been visibly adopted in rare instances of imitation.

I have not had time to investigate the relations to this practice of the tribes of the Antilles, and indeed have been able to hardly more than touch upon the more salient features of the whole topic.

OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF MASKS WITH RELIGIOUS AND
SOCIAL RITES AND EXERCISES ASSOCIATED WITH
THEM, GEOGRAPHICALLY CONSIDERED.

It is quite certain that in early stages of culture social festivals and religious or superstitious rights were separated by no distinct line, and probable that the social ones grew out of those which were, to a considerable extent, if not wholly, of a religious character. However, among the aborigines of the Northwest coast, at the time of their discovery the distinction between the games or semi-theatrical performances, illustrative of tribal myths, legends, and traditions, and those of a religious nature performed by or under the direction of a shaman or priest, had become quite well marked. Our knowledge of the myths and religious beliefs or superstitions of the vicious and extremely savage islanders of the Archipelago north of New Guinea is extremely imperfect, and for many of them altogether wanting. Hence it is impossible for the most part to formulate a comparison between their ideas and those entertained by the people of West America. For the latter, even, we have but little authentic information, much of which is derived from persons ignorant of the fundamentals of ethnography, and whose assumptions, made in good faith from the facts before them, may often incorporate unintentional error. Turn in what direction we may, on every hand are gaps in the evidence, miscomprehensions of savage philosophy, and a tantalizing incompleteness of material. Our best endeavors are but groping in the twilight.

In this condition of things it only remains for us to bring together by regions such evidence as we may, trusting to time and further research to bridge the chasms.

For the present purpose, the geographical order adopted is as follows:

1. North Papuan Archipelago.
2. Peru.
3. Central America and Mexico.
4. New Mexico and Arizona.
5. The region occupied by Indians from Oregon to the northern limit of the Tlinkit.
6. The Aleutian Islands.
7. The Inuit region from Prince William Sound to Point Barrow.

MASKS OF THE SOUTH SEAS.

The Papuan Archipelago.—One of the earliest papers on the masks of this region is that of Captain Strauch, of the German navy, in the *Zeit-*

schrift für Ethnologie.¹ He figures a number of masks and maskettes, beside other articles. He notes that the larger ones are figures of a religious nature and the smaller ones festive. Several of the latter are notable for distortion of the mouth with the view of making them more ludicrous or terrifying. Those figured by him were collected by the *Gazelle* at the islands known as New Hannover. Some of them show apertures for earrings. D'Urville notes in the voyage of the *Astrolabe*² that the people of New Holland pierce the alæ of the nose in one or two places, in which they insert the small canine teeth of a pig. A mask from this vicinity shows these.

The following masks are figured by Schmeltz in *Der ethnographisch-anthropologische Abtheilung des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg* (8°, 692 pp., 46 pl., 1 map; Hamburg, Frederichsen & Co., 1881); t. fig. 1, pp. 436, mask from New Hannover; t. iii, figs. 3, 4, pp. 20, 434, masks of human skulls from New Britannia; t. v, fig. 1, p. 20, mask from New Ireland; t. x, fig. 6, p. 70, small dance-ornament in imitation of a face and arms, provided with a finger stall, recalling the finger-masks of the Inuit of the Kuskokwim River, Alaska; t. xxii, fig. 4, p. 120, mask from Lunuar Island, New Hebrides; t. xxix, fig. 1, p. 301, mask from Mortlock Islands; t. xxxi, fig. 1, p. 439, maskette from New Ireland?; t. xxxiii, figs. 1, 2, 3, p. 487, masks from New Ireland; t. xxxiv, fig. 1, p. 487, mask from New Ireland. From this valuable work of Schmeltz, based upon the finest existing museum of South Sea ethnology, I have extracted the following notes on masks, dances, and related customs of the Melanesian peoples:

In the New Hebrides group of islands masks are used in dances which the women are prohibited from seeing. They are built up on a foundation of cocoanut shell, colored with red, black, and white; the mouth and nose are large; a boar-tusk perforates the flesh on each side of the mouth, the points turned up to the forehead; they are called "NaBee;" one in the Museum Godeffroy came from Lunuar Island, near the south coast of Mallicolo. A hat-shaped head ornament is used in this region during a feast which takes place at the time of the Yam harvest, similar to the Duk-Duk hat of New Britain. For some of these hats Schmeltz believes European models have served, one being much in the shape of a "cocked hat" formerly used in European navies, others like foolscaps, and still another like a very old-fashioned female's hat. These resemblances, however, may be derived from the very nature of the article, as some of the helmet-masks greatly resemble the ancient Greek helmet in form, and not due to imitation.

In one mask from New Ireland a flat carving pierced or carved out (tongue?) projects from the mouth, with an arrow piercing a fish upon it, which Schmeltz states resembles a carving which the natives are accustomed to hold in the mouth while dancing (l. c., p. 21). Again

¹ Vol. viii, 1877, p. 48 *et seq.*; taf. ii-iv.

² Vol. 1, pl. 99; vol. iv, p. 736, cf.; also Juke's *Voy. Fly*, i, p. 274.

others from the same locality show, in one, an S-shaped flat piece of wood inserted labretwise *between the mouth and the nose*; in two others wooden boar-tusks, one on each side, with, between them, a flat perforated wooden-carving ending anteriorly in an arrow-point, similarly placed between the mouth and nose, like lateral and median labrets; in another there is only the median piece; and in still another there is a tusk only on one side of the upper lip; (l. c., p. 23). Some of these masks were intended to be held on by a mouth-bar between the teeth, placed on the inside behind the mask-mouth as on the northwest coast of America. Maskettes or carvings for the head-dress similar in many respects to the masks are also characteristic features of the paraphernalia of the dance in New Ireland and New Britain; (l. c., p. 32, 3.)

Hubner describes part of the Duk-Duk ceremony, as it is practiced in New Britain, as follows:

If any of the chief's family are ill, a Duk-Duk will probably be performed, since only these rich people can afford such a luxury. This ceremony lasts about a week, and the natives say that when a sick man sees a Duk-Duk he either gets well or soon dies. This ceremony or religious performance takes place in a tabooed inclosure where women and children may not go on pain of death. One or more men are entirely covered with leaves, excepting only their legs, which are bare and visible, and their heads, upon which a Duk-Duk mask is placed, usually made of bast from the wild cherry tree.

In this array the weater now runs through the island, begging from everybody; even the whites are expected to give tobacco or shell-money. Women and children, under the severe penalties which follow their seeing the Duk-Duk messenger, must hide themselves during this time; above all they must not say that this garb conceals a fellow-countryman, but Turangen, one of their deities. Probably the performer will first take a canoe to another island and thence come back and make his first appearance coming out of the water. If the mask comes off the performer's head or falls so that the sharp point at the top sticks in the ground, he will be killed.

I learned from one of the chiefs that the dress of the Duk-Duk is composed entirely of single chaplets of leaves, the undermost, attached to two strings passing under the shoulders, hangs directly over the hips. More and more of the chaplets are put on until the man is covered to the neck, when the Duk-Duk hat is put on his head.

During this solemnity those present indulge in a sort of mock fight, screaming and roaring; the young people run to one of the elder persons and perhaps after three applications, each presents his back to the old man, who strikes it with a stout club, upon which the beaten person cries *Boro* (i. e., pig), and runs away. This agrees with the custom that the "Tambu" people who are entitled to enter into the ceremony may not eat pork. Upon their connection with the Duk-Duk ceremonial, I can say nothing further, because the people who are not "Tambu" know nothing, and those who are will say nothing about it. If any one will become "Tambu" he must remain in a sitting posture in a house in the first Tambu inclosure for a month, silents, and without seeing any woman. However, he is well fed and naturally gets fat. This done, he must then perform a dance. He can then be seen of women and is "Tambu." He must, however, abstain forever from pork and the flesh of sea animals, otherwise, as is universally believed, he will die. (Schmeltz, l. c., pp. 17-19, plate iii, fig. 1.)

Compare with this performance Swan's account of the Tsiakh dance or ceremony for the sick among the Indians of Cape Flattery (l. c., pp. 73-4) and with Schmeltz's figure of the Duk-Duk performance Swan's figure of a female performer in the Tsiakh dance. The fact that

one of the medicine dances of the Cape Flattery Indians is called Duk-wally is of course a mere accidental coincidence to which no importance should be attributed.

The hat-shaped mask of the Duk-Duk ceremony is surrounded with tresses of bast which conceal the face and are colored red below; the body of it is conical, with a long stick extending vertically from its apex. The lower part of this is painted red, with triangular figures on two sides; the upper part is more or less covered with bast, and has a bunch of leaves at the point. These leaves and those of the dress are from the Pandanus tree. A similar hat is placed on their idols, according to Captain Brück, in New Britain, and recalls the curious conical hat with a succession of small cylinders rising from its apex one above another carved on some of the old Tlinkit and Haida totem posts, but which no one has reported as actually worn, if, indeed, they exist anywhere except on the totem posts and in museums. A club or staff is held in the hand in both the Indian and Melanesian ceremonies.

The following notes are from specimens actually examined:

20651 (Plate IX, figs. 9-10).—This mask was obtained by H. S. Kirby near Levuka, Friendly Islands. It is composed of a wood resembling spruce, of which the unpainted surface forms the groundwork of the coloration. The interior is slightly concave, with a small stick to be held in the teeth. The front is rather flattish. There are two rounded ears over the forehead which, with the peculiarly formed mouth, indicate that some sort of animal with a pointed muzzle and upright rounded ears was intended to be symbolized. The chin, mouth, nose, lower edge of eyebrows, and a band around the edge of the ears are colored red. The other markings indicated by the figure are black. There is a white band round the mouth which also served as an eye-hole. In front of the ears and around the upper edge of the mask are peg-holes, by pegs in which hair, feathers, or fiber was probably once fastened. There are traces of gray downy feathers which had been pegged on each side of the chin. There had been an operculum or something of the sort, once, to serve as pupil for each of the eyes of the mask which are not perforated. There is a knob with a hole in it carved at the top of the mask, probably for the purpose of putting a cord into by which the article might be suspended. In the record-book no history is attached to this mask, other than the details mentioned. The figure is one-fifth the linear size of the original.

Plate VII, figs. 5-6. This is a wooden maskoid from Mortlock or Young William's Island, Caroline group, South Seas. The original is deposited in the American Museum of Natural History, Central Park, New York City. I am indebted to the director, Prof. Albert S. Bickmore, for the privilege of figuring it. It strongly resembles some Innuït masks in general appearance. Its dimensions are $28\frac{1}{2}$ by $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and from front to back it is about 8 inches in greatest depth. The disk is shield-shaped, and about 3 inches in greatest thickness.

The face is colored white with a sort of lime-wash, which has sealed off in spots. The margin is black, with radiating white lines nearly effaced. There is a faded band of red on the border and under the brows. The eyes are indicated by mere grooves, nearly closed. Touches of white in the mouth indicate teeth. A rounded lump of wood is attached at one of the upper corners, which has been much bored by ants or boring crustacea. The wood seems to have been drift-wood. At the back is a roughly-hewn keel through a hole in which passes a cord of vegetable fiber by which it was tied to a wall or post. There is a small wooden projection behind the right upper margin, which is pierced with a hole. Use and history unknown.

From the Mortlock Islands of the Caroline group the Museum Godeffroy has several masks or maskettes very similar to the one here figured from the museum in New York. They are used in the dance, and are called by the natives "To-pā' nu." There is only one wooden knob above, as in the figured specimen.

Plate VIII, fig. 7; Plate IX, fig. 8. This is a wooden maskette or helmet recalling some of the Tlinkit dancing masks, and was probably put to a similar use. It is said to have come from New Ireland, near New Guinea. It is one of a collection deposited in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, with the preceding, and figured with the kind permission of Professor Bickmore. The wood is that known as "burau" in the South Seas; the hair is of vegetable fiber of the natural (dark) grayish color. The base coloration is dull red, with white tracery in a sort of thick lime-wash. The pupils of the eyes are formed of the calcareous opercula of *Turbo petholatus* Linné, exactly in the way in which the opercula of *Pachypoma gibberosum* are used on the northwest coast of America.

From the lower part of the front edge to the top of head is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The total width, exclusive of the hair, is about 8 inches; the spike on top of the head is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and from the back to the front edge is about 15 inches. The lower part of the face is not represented. History and exact uses unknown.

Plate X, figs. 11-12. This is a maskoid carving similar to some which have been considered by Schmeltz to be idols, or ornaments for boats intended to be set into a post or socket. It is stated to have come from New Ireland, and belongs to the same series as the two preceding specimens. From the base on which the figure stands to the top of the appendages over the head is about 2 feet, the diameter is about 6 inches. It is of "burau" wood, with a fringe of cocoa fiber, eye pupils of the *Turbo* operculum, colors dull red, black, and chalky white. The head somewhat resembles the maskette just described; except that fiber used for hair is of the cocoa husk. The two appendages over the head may be supposed analogous to the lump of wood on the first-mentioned specimen from Mortlock.

This specimen is figured as the best accessible Melanesian example of

the peculiar attitude and combination seen in some Mexican terra-cottas and in many maskettes, maskoids, and rattles from the Indians of the northwest coast of America.¹ That is to say, the mouth is open, the tongue protruding and continuous, with the tongue of an animal (in this case a snake) which is held in the hands of the main figure and hangs down between the knees. In one specimen in the same collection the serpent is continuous with or attached to the male organ of the sustaining figure, which would indicate an idea, or association of the idea, of life and transmission of spiritual influence or life similar to that entertained by the natives of the northwest coast of America.

In the present instance, the figure is represented as without legs, unless the stick-like supports for the hands be considered as recurved conventionalized limbs. The mouth is open, the tongue protruding and its tip held in the mouth of a doubled-headed serpent, whose opposite head hangs down near the base, also with the tongue visible. The upper head has the triangular form belonging to poisonous serpents. The lower head is narrower and more cylindrical. Just behind the latter, from its neck, two leaves or palm branches start out, and, rising in the form of a lyre, their tips are attached, one on each side, behind the under lip of the principal figure. About midway these branches are held by the hands of the latter, each of which is also supported by a straight stick rising from the base. Each elbow is supported in the mouth of a serpent which rises from the base for that purpose. The history and uses of the specimen are unknown.

Several others in the same collection reproduced the same attitude, but the animal supported was sometimes an enormous beetle, with branching horns, and sometimes a bird with a long beak, like the shamanic kingfisher of the Haida rattles.

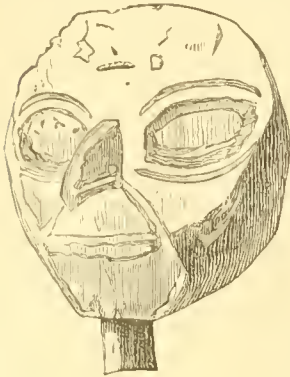
MASKS OF PERU.

The use of masks seems to have been much the same as in Mexico and on the northwest coast. Purchas states, on the authority of Vega (lib. 8, ch. 1, p. 2), that at Cuzco, at the feast of Corpus Christi, the Peruvians joined in the festivities and procession according to their habit in celebrating their own feast :

After their wonted Pagan rites: *viz*, Some clothed with lion's skins, their heads enclosed in those of the beasts, because (they say) the Lion was beginner of their stocke; * * * others in monstrous shapes with visors [i. e. masks] with skins of beasts with strange gestnres, and fayning themselves Fooles, &c. * * * Thus had they used to solemnize the Feasts of their Kings and thus in my time, sayth Vega, they solemnized the feast of the most holy sacrament. (Purchas, America, book ix, chap. 12, p. 946, edition of 1626.)

¹ Which are noted under their appropriate heads.

Maskoids of wood and terra cotta are not uncommon. In Squier's Peru (p. 90) he figures a maskoid of wood, which is reproduced here (figure 13). It is of rather rough construction, smeared with a reddish ochre and bears a notable resemblance to some found much further north. He states that it was found at Pachecamac, buried at the feet of a body, under a pile of stones. This specimen is now in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City and is number 954 of the Squier collection.



In the "Necropolis of Ancon in Peru" the authors¹ figure several mummies in their wraps. At the heads of several of them are attached very similar maskoids, projecting outside of the cerements and with various appendages attached at the back and sides. This recalls the Aientian and Mexican custom of covering the face of the dead with a mask. It is entirely probable, from their similarity, that Squier's specimen had been originally attached in like manner and become displaced.

The United States National Museum has recently received a fine specimen of this sort of mortuary wooden maskoid, which is represented by fig. 14, Plate VI. Like the others, it is rudely carved, reddened with ochre and originally had several little cloth bags and other appendages attached to it. The original condition is restored as far as possible in the figure. The whites of the eyes are composed of oval pieces of white shell, set into excavations in the wood. A number of little locks of hair were put beneath them and the hair projecting around the edges well represents eyelashes. The irides are represented by bluish circular pieces of mussel (*Mytilus*) shell cemented on to the whites. This specimen, number 65376 of the museum register, was obtained by G. H. Hurlbut at or near Lima, in Peru. Its total length is 12½ inches.

MASKS OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEXICO.

It is unnecessary to refer at length to the use of masks and maskoids in this region. The use of the human mask inlaid with obsidian and turquoise has already been described under another head. Beside this relic of humanity so strangely adorned, there is in the Christy collection a very similar wooden mask, inlaid with similar materials as well as red and white shell. This is figured in a magnificent manner by Waldeck,² and was used as described in the quotation from Sahagun

¹ Reiss and Stübel. See plates 14, 15, 18, and 19.

² Mon. Anc. du Mexique, p. viii, pl. 43. Another is in the Berlin Museum.

(p. 96).¹ Maskoids of stone, terra cotta, jasper,¹ and jadeite from this region are to be found in most anthropological museums and are figured in all works on Mexican antiquities. Satirical maskoids in terra cotta are common. Some of the gold articles found in the graves at Chiriqui in Central America were of a maskoid character, though most of them were rude figures.

Some recent illustrations of antique Mexican paintings² show conventionalized figures wearing exactly the maskette head-dresses figured in this article from the Moqui villages.

After the death and shrouding of their "king" a painted mask set with jewels was put over his face.³ The use of the Peruvian maskoids and the Inuit and Aleutian death-masks for the same purpose are to be noted in this connection.

MASKS OF NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.

In the National Museum there are quite a number of maskettes and head-dresses from New Mexico and Arizona, one of which, together with a doll showing the method of wearing them, is figured in this paper.

22330 (Plate XII, fig. 15).—A doll obtained at the Moqui villages in Arizona, by Maj. J. W. Powell, and presented to the National Museum. It is figured to show the method of wearing the maskette head-dress about to be referred to, and also as illustrating the progress in conventionalizing the forms of which the head-dress is composed. Originally intended for human figures the forms became such as are figured on the head-dress (22942), and by a further progress the bare block patterns which we see on the head of this doll.

The colors are varied and their distribution only to be made intelligible by a colored figure. The doll's painted dress is white with red stripes. One stocking is green the other is partly yellow, both have black borders; the arms and eyes are black, the head-dress is green, red, black, and yellow, while the face is ornamented with blue, red, yellow, green, and white. The figure is one-eighth the length of the original.

22942 (Plate XII, figs. 16-17).—Moqui maskette head-dress collected by Maj. J. W. Powell at the Moqui villages in Arizona for the United States National Museum. The right-hand figure shows the front of the head dress, the left-hand one the back of it. The height of the original is seventeen times that of the figure. No less than thirteen figures are indicated on the arch of the head-dress, the principal one in the center with two supporters, then an intermediary, and finally four others at

¹ Ant. Mex., Du Paix, 1re expéd., pl. xv., figs. 16, 16a.

² Anales de Museo Nacional, vol. iii.

³ Purchas, ed. 1626, book viii, ch. ix, page 872.

each side. The whole is brilliantly colored with a variety of colors. Precisely similar head-dresses are represented in old Mexican pictures reproduced in the *Anales* of the Museo Nacional of Mexico. The exact meaning of these and analogous articles used by the Zuñi Indians we shall probably learn eventually from the report of Frank N. Cushing, who has given some inklings of their nature in his recent articles in the *Century Magazine*.

MASKS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE COAST AND ISLANDS OF
WESTERN NORTH AMERICA, FROM WASHINGTON TERRITORY TO
PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND.

The products of this region must be taken together for our present purposes, since it is well known that their customs, as regards masks, &c., are essentially similar, and also that it is a regular matter of trade for Indians of one locality and linguistic stock to make masks for sale to and final decoration by people of other stocks and habitat; so the essential features of a mask used by a Makah or Tlinkit Indian may have been designed and executed by a member of the Haida nation.

Among the Haida and Tlinkit especially, the style of ornamentation is artistic and characteristic, though in the last few years beginning to lose its purity before the march of civilization. It comprises a rather wide range of conventional figures, which are applied to many different articles beside masks, maskettes, and the totem-posts, considered as maskoids. The shamanic paraphernalia includes masks as a principal item, one for each of his familiar spirits, or at least different masks or maskettes, which are put on with strict reference to the particular power to be appealed to. In combination with them the rattle is a particular and essential item, and may be regarded as, in some sort, the shamanic scepter.

In their dances, of which Swan has given us the best, though a too-evidently incomplete idea, masks play, perhaps, the most important part; and here the invention of the Indian finds its widest scope. I have described a large number of the more interesting specimens in the National Museum, which, in this department, is richer for Northwest America than any other in the world.

They are divisible into dancing masks and head-dresses of which a maskette forms the most conspicuous part; helmets and shamanic masks of varied patters,¹ and decoys.²

¹ Cook speaks of the great variety and grotesqueness of the masks used at Nutka and the rattles used by the medicine-man and at dances. He also devotes a quarto plate to figures of them. (See Cook's *Third Voyage*, vol. ii, London, 1784, p. 306, pl. 10.)

² According to Meares, the people of Nutka had in 1788 a dress for war, composed of thick moose skin, which was "accompanied with a mask representing the head of

CUSTOMS AT CAPE FLATTERY.

In Swan's monograph of the Indians of Cape Flattery¹ some account of their tamánawas or religio-superstitious ceremonies and rites are given, together with the more social or semi-theatrical performances which take place about the same time. The reader is referred to the original for the full account which is only summarized here. The facts contained in it are very valuable, though it is evident that the writer has not thoroughly mastered the true inwardness of what he describes, and indeed he freely admits this to be the case.

The figures of masks given by Swan are reproduced here, and comprise five masks and one bird's-head maskette. There is no special history given of them further than that they were used by the Makah Indians on the Cape Flattery reservation in the dances about to be described, and were mostly carved by Indians resident on Vancouver Island and sold to the Makahs, who paint them to suit themselves. See plates XIII, figs. 19-20; XIV, fig. 23; XVI, fig. 30; XVIII, fig. 40.

According to Swan, at certain periods, generally during winter, the Makah Indians have ceremonies or mystical performances, of which there are three kinds. These are the Dūkwalli, T'siark, and the Dō-h'tlūb. The latter is rarely performed, requiring much expense and many participants.

All these ceremonies are commenced in private, only the initiated being allowed to be present. What occurs is not known. Subsequent portions of the ceremonial are performed in public and spectators are admitted.

Swan infers from what he has seen that the Dūkwalli is a ceremonial to propitiate the T'hlūkloots or "Thunder-bird," who seems with the Makahs to take precedence over all other mythological beings. Into these ceremonies both sexes, and even children, are initiated, but this is entirely distinct from the process by which the youth selects his totem, familiar or guardian spirit, which is done in solitude and by night.

Swan believes that in these ceremonies there is nothing approaching our idea of worship. The Indians state categorically that there is not.

some animal; it is made of wood, with the eyes, teeth, &c., and is a work of considerable ingenuity. Of these masks they have a great variety, which are applicable to certain circumstances and occasions. Those, for example, which represent the head of the otter or any other marine animals, are used only when they go to hunt them." (Meares' Voyage, London, J. Walter, 1790, p. 254.) "The seal is also an animal very difficult to take on account of its being able to remain under water. Artifices are therefore made use of to decoy him within reach of the boats; and this is done, in general, by means of masks of wood made in so exact a resemblance of nature, that the animal takes it for one of his own species and falls a prey to the deception. On such occasions some of the natives put on these masks, and, hiding their bodies with branches of trees as they lie among the rocks, the seals are tempted to approach so near the spot as to put it in the power of the natives to pierce them with their arrows. Similar artifices are employed against the sea-cow and otters occasionally. (Meares, l. c., p. 261.)

¹ Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge No. 220, 1869.

The Makahs, like most American Indians, believe that all living things, even trees, had formerly human shape, and have been transformed for punishment or otherwise into their present condition. This was chiefly the work of two persons; brothers of the sun and moon, who came upon the earth for the purpose, and there is a large variety of myths and legends as to the reasons for and circumstances connected with particular transformations.

The above-mentioned ceremonies are exhibitions intended to represent such incidents. There are no persons set apart as priests for the purpose; some expert performers may take a principal part in each ceremony, but they are as likely to be slaves or common people as men of mark, and, except while so engaged, are not regarded as distinguished from the rest.

The Indians state that the particular ceremonies originate not with themselves, but with their guardian spirits, who communicate to one of them what should be done. He thinks out for himself, with such assistance, the mode of the exhibition, the songs and dances, and when the plan is perfected announces it to a select few, who are drilled in secret. When all is perfected the representation takes place suddenly and without announcement before the astonished tribe.

If any performance is a success it is repeated and gradually comes to be looked upon as one of the regular ceremonies of the kind; if it does not satisfy the audience it is laid aside. So it happens that they have some which have been handed down from remote ages, while others are of comparatively recent date.

The great ceremony of the Dūkwalli originated with a band of Nittinat Indians, living near Barclay Sound, Vancouver Island, and was by them communicated to the Makahs. The legend upon which it is alleged to be founded is given in full by Swan in the paper referred to.

The performance is given at the expense of some individual, who often saves for a long time in order to accumulate property enough to carry it out. It is kept secret until nearly ready. Notice is given the night before the first day's performance by hooting and howling, firing guns, &c., and the initiated gather in the lodge and create a tremendous din. Torches are flashed through apertures in the roof of the lodge followed by a noise made to resemble thunder, after which all whistle in a manner to represent the wind. The uninitiated fly in terror. Every house is visited and the inmates invited to the ceremonies.

The first five days are devoted to secret ceremonies and initiations. The first public performance is a procession on the fifth day of males and females naked, or nearly so, with their limbs and bodies scarified and bleeding. Invited guests receive presents. Every evening after the first secret days are over is devoted to masquerades, when each lodge is visited and a performance enacted. The masks are chiefly made by the Klyoquot and Nittinat Indians from alder, maple, poplar, &c., and sold to the Makahs, who paint them to suit themselves.

They are kept concealed until the performance begins. Many of them have the eyes, lower jaw, &c., movable by a cord. One such party was composed of men with frightful masks,¹ bear-skins on their backs, and heads covered with bird's down. They had clubs in their hands, and as they danced around the fire struck wildly about, caring little what or whom they struck. One of the number was naked, a rope around his waist and a knife in each hand, making a fearful howling. Two others held the rope as if to restrain him. Boxes and utensils were smashed and much damage done.

On another occasion the performers, who were males, with masks resembling owls, wolves, and bears, crouched down with their arms clasped about their knees, their blankets trailing on the ground and fastened around their necks with a single pin. After forming in a circle with their faces toward the fire they commenced jumping sidewise around it, their arms still clasped about the knees. Their exertions were continued several minutes; they were succeeded by about thirty women with blackened faces, heads covered with down, and a girdle drawing their blankets tightly to the waist. These danced around the fire singing as loud as they could scream, accompanied by the spectators, and beating time with sticks on boards placed before them for the purpose.

During the day performances were going on on the beach. Representations of all sorts were given. For instance, two naked boys, rubbed with flour, and with white cloths around their heads, symbolized cold weather. Others who wore masks resembling a bird's beak, and tufts of feathers in their hair, moved slowly near the water, raising and lowering their heads, and were intended to symbolize cranes.

At the end of the performance a young girl came out on the roof of the lodge wearing a mask representing the head of the thunder bird, which was surmounted by a topknot of cedar bark dyed red and stuck full of white feathers from eagles' tails. A smaller girl had a black mask to represent the ha-hék-to-ak, or lightning fish. The masks did not cover the face, but were on the forehead, from which they projected like horns. The ceremony closed with a reception, performance, and distribution of presents at the lodge, and the whole wound up with a feast. This Dūkwalli is repeated at one or more villages every winter.

In the T'siark, which is a medical or curative ceremony, no masks are reported as used, but peculiar head-dresses are worn.

For the Do-h'tlub the reader is referred to the original, it being of essentially the same character as the ceremony of the Dūkwalli, though older, and of course differing in all its details.

The Makah denominate these ceremonial masks hū-kan'-itl-ik.

From this summary the reader can form a very good idea of the way in which the dancing masks are used and how multifarious their variety may be.

¹ See Plate XIII, fig. 13.

The masks strictly belonging to the medicine man are generally heir-looms, and mostly used in secret. The shamán is said to have one for each familiar spirit, in some way symbolical of that spirit, and which is put on when it is to be summoned by means of the magician's rattle. This instrument is worthy a more extended notice. They are generally elaborately carved and painted, and in old as well as modern specimens of remarkably uniform size.

TLINKIT AND HAIDA MASKS.

With regard to the present use of masks among the Haida, the following information is extracted from Dr. Dawson's report on that tribe:

A cloak or blanket very much prized by the Haida, and called *nakhin*, is obtained in trade from the T'simpsonian. It is shaped somewhat like a shawl, with a blunt point behind, and surrounded by a deep and thick fringe of twisted wool. The cloaks are made in many small separate pieces, which are afterward artfully sewn together. The colors of wool used are white, yellow, black, and brown, and the pattern bears a relation to the totem, so that an Indian can tell to what totem the cloak belongs. They are used specially in dancing, and then in conjunction with a peculiar head-dress, which consists of a small wooden mask (maskette), ornamented with mother-of-pearl. This stands up from the forehead, and is attached to a piece fitting over the head, ornamented with feathers, &c., and behind supporting a strip of cloth about two feet wide, which hangs down to the feet, and is covered with skins of the ermine. (Pp. 106B, 107B, l. c.) One of these is figured by Bastian, taf. 1, fig. 2, 2a.

Six kinds of dancing ceremonies are distinguished among the Haida. One is called *Ska-dal*; the women occupy a prominent place in this dance, being carefully dressed with the little masks and cloaks above mentioned. It requires no particular number of people, the more the better, and occurs only when a man desires shortly to build a house. One man performs on a tambourine, beating time, to which they all sing. The song is a sort of eulogy of the builder as well as the dancers, celebrating their strength, riches, &c., and is in the T'simpsonian language, which many of the Haida speak fluently, and from which tribe many of their ceremonies appear to have been derived in comparatively recent time.

Another dance is called *Skarut*. One man (usually a hired dancer) performs this dance. It takes place some days before a distribution of property, on the occasion of such an event as the tattooing of a child, or death of a relative or friend. The dance is performed by a single man, naked, except for a breech-cloth. In the first part of the dance, which appears to be intended to simulate a sort of possession or frenzy, one of the grotesque wooden masks is worn, and this is the only dance in which they are used. The wearing of the mask, however, is not absolutely necessary, but a matter of choice with the performer. Getting heated in the dance he throws the mask away, snatches up the first dog he can find, kills him, and tearing pieces of his flesh, eats them. This dance is not performed in the house as the others are, but at large through the village. (Pp. 125B, 129B.)

Masks are to be found in considerable number in all the villages, and though I could hear that they were employed for a single dance only, it is probable that there may be other occasions for their use. The masks may be divided into two classes: the first those which represent human faces; the second those representing birds. [Figures are given by the author on Plate VI, representing three masks and two maskettes,

one-tenth natural size.] They are carved in wood. Those of the first class are usually amply large enough to cover the face. In some cases they are very neatly carved, generally to represent an ordinary Indian type of face without any grotesque idea. The relief is generally a little less than in nature. Straps of leather fastened to the sides of the mask are provided to go round the head of the wearer, or a small loop of cedar-bark string is fixed in the hollow side of the mask to be grasped by the teeth. The top of the forehead is usually fringed with down, hair, or feathers. The eyes are pierced to enable the wearer to look out, and the month is also often cut through, though sometimes solid and representing teeth. Grotesque masks are also made in this style, but none were observed to have a smiling or humorous expression. The painting of the masks is, according to taste, in bars or lines, or the peculiar curved lines with eyelike ovals (stated by Swan to be derived from the spots on the lateral fins of a species of skate-fish native to these waters) found so frequently in the designs of the coast Indians. The painting of the two sides of the face is rarely symmetrical, a circumstance not arising from any want of skill, but intentional. Of the second class of masks, representing birds, there are various kinds. One obtained at the Klue village had a beak 5 or 6 feet long projecting from the center of a mask not much unlike those above described. The beak was painted red, and the whole evidently intended to represent the oyster catcher common to this coast (*Haematopus niger*). Another represents the head of a puffin (*Fratercula*). It is too small within to include the head and must have been worn above the head. (L. c., pp. 137B. 138B.)

The carvings on the rattles of the Tlinkit, especially those of the southern part of the Archipelago, are matters belonging particularly to the shaman or medicine man, and characteristic of his profession. Among these very generally, if not invariably, the rattle is composed of the figure of a bird, from which, near the head of the bird, or carved upon the back of the bird's head is represented a human face with the tongue protruding.

This tongue is bent downwards and usually meets the mouth of a frog or an otter, the tongue of either appearing continuous with that of the human face. In case it is a frog, it usually appears impaled upon the tongue of a kingfisher, whose head and variegated plumage are represented near the handle in a conventional way. It is asserted that this represents the medicine man absorbing from the frog, which has been brought to him by the kingfisher, either poison or the power of producing evil effects on other people. (See Plate XXII, fig. 50.)

In case it is an otter, the tongue of the otter touches the tongue of the medicine man, as represented on the carving. The hands of the figure usually take hold of the otter's body by the middle, sometimes by the forelegs. The hindlegs of the otter rest either upon the knees of the figure representing the medicine man, or upon a second conventionalized head, which is in front of and below the knees. The tail of the otter hangs down between his hindlegs. A somewhat similar rattle is figured by Bastian (l. c. taf. 4, fig. 4, 4a), from near Port Simpson.

This carving is represented, not only on rattles, but on totem posts, fronts of houses, and other objects associated with the medicine man, the myth being, as has been elsewhere described,¹ that when the young aspirant for the position of medicine man goes out into the woods, after

¹ See Alaska and its resources, page 425, 1870.

fasting for a considerable period, in order that his totem spirit may seek him and that he may become possessed of the power to communicate with supernatural beings, if successful, he meets with a river otter, which is a supernatural animal. The otter approaches him and he seizes it, kills it with the blow of a club and takes out the tongue, after which he is able to understand the language of all inanimate objects, of birds, animals, and other living creatures. He preserves the otter's tongue with the utmost care in a little bag hung around his neck. The skin he also preserves; and it forms an important part of his paraphernalia.

This ceremony or occurrence happens to every real medicine man. Consequently, the otter presenting his tongue is the most universal type of the profession as such, and is sure to be found somewhere in the paraphernalia of every individual of that profession. In this way, these carvings, wherever found, indicate an association of the object carved with the medicine man. They may be either his property, or carved in memory of him. The last case seems to be confined to the totem poles.

This remarkable form of carving, namely, that representing a figure with the tongue out, and communicating with a frog, otter, bird, snake, or fish, is one of the most characteristic features of the carvings of the people who live between Oregon and Prince William Sound.

The same thing is found to a certain extent in Mexico. A cast of a terra-cotta figure in the National Museum (No. 7267), collected by E. H. Davis, represents in an almost identical attitude a seated figure, holding an animal, probably a fox, in its hands, whose tongue is continuous with that of the figure itself. Another (No. 10699), is very similar to No. 7267. One of the lava images from Nicaragua in the National Museum represents a human figure and animal in the same posture.

In the autumn of 1878, while passing through New York, I observed in the window of a shop devoted to curiosities, two masks from the South Seas, alleged to be from the Solomon Islands. From the materials of which they were composed and the opercula with which they were ornamented, there was no doubt as to their having come from the Indo-Pacific region, and the locality given was probably correct.

One of these masks represented a figure in the identical position above mentioned. The tongue protruded, the hands clasping by the middle a conventionalized animal, which I could not recognize. The fore legs of the animal touched the shoulders of the figure composing the mask. The hind legs rested upon his knees. The tail hung down between the hind legs, and touched the base of the mask. There was a space of an inch or more between the bellies of the two figures, as is usually the case with the figures represented on the rattles and other carvings from the northwest coast of America, previously referred to.

Afterwards, in attempting to secure this mask for the National Museum, being much struck with the extraordinary resemblance in nearly all its details to the masks made by the Tlinkits, it was found to have been disposed of, and could not be traced. Since then, in the American

Museum of Natural History in New York, I have observed numerous instances of a somewhat similar position of the figures composing masks from New Ireland and the vicinity of New Guinea.

The object with which the tongue was in communication was sometimes a snake, which then was furnished with other snakes or with branches resembling palm leaves proceeding from its body in imitation of arms and legs, and was very frequently either a bird or a very large beetle, of the kind which have enormous horns or jaws extending in front of the head. One of these is represented on Plate X, figs. 11-12, and, with others, has been referred to under its proper geographical head.

E. G. Squier has called attention to the fact that in carvings the tongue has been used by most (and especially by west) American peoples as an index to life or death in the object symbolized. The tongue firmly held forth indicates life or vigor and spirit; the tongue dangling helplessly from one corner of the half-open mouth signifies death or captivity doomed to end in death. The Mexican antiquities indicate this with great clearness, and from our knowledge of the Tlinkit myths, we are justified in considering that the touch of the tongue, as in the case of the otter, frog, and kingfisher, symbolized to them the transmission of spiritual qualities or powers. I learned from an old Aleut, who had been well educated and held positions of trust under the Russian regime in Alaska, that, formerly, among his people, the wife desiring sons of especial vigor took her husband's tongue between her lips during the generative act, and men who had no progeny were reproached as "short tongued." This appears to be an enlargement of the same idea, and that something of the same kind is symbolized by the South Sea Islanders, in their carvings of tongue-touching forms, is sufficiently evident from some of these articles which cannot be fully described here.

The following masks from the northwest coast have been examined:¹
2658. Plate XIV, fig. 24. The mask was collected by Mr. Scarborough, of the United States exploring expedition under Wilkes. The locality may have been anywhere between California and British Columbia, as it is simply recorded as from Oregon, which name covered at that time a much larger area than at present. It is likely to be of Haida workmanship. It is one of the oldest specimens in the Museum, as the number indicates, and the most artistically carved of any I have seen from that region. It is made of Alaska cedar, smoothly carved, but brown and polished by age and use; mostly uncolored. The eyeball around the iris is whitened, the hair and other markings on the face are black. The hair of the mustache, beard, and head had been in-

¹Since this paper was put in the printer's hands I have been able to consult a new work in which a number of masks from the Northwest Coast are most beautifully illustrated in colors and described. This is Dr. Bastian's *Amerikas nordwestküste neueste ergebnisse ethnologischer reisen*, etc., folio, Berlin, Asher, 1883.

licated by some kind of furry skin, now hardly determinable, but which had been cemented to the wood with spruce gum. The mask is very light and thin. There are two holes above the corners of the mouth, into which a cord was probably pegged on the inside, to hold in the teeth when worn. It was doubtless used in games or dances, and has no indications of use in connection with religious or medical rites. In fact it is entirely different from masks used on such occasions. It probably is a very accurate representation of the physiognomy of the people by whom it was made and used. The figure is one fifth the linear size of the original.

2659 (Plate XIII, fig. 18).—Mask collected by R. R. Waldron, of the United States exploring expedition under Wilkes, on "the northwest coast of America." Exact locality and history not stated. This is a remarkable and well-executed specimen, but thick and heavy. It is carved of Alaska cedar, which comes to the surface on the lighter parts of the ribbed marginal band. The parts representing the face are black. On the upper part of the back, on the cheeks, on and between the eyebrows, on each side of the nasal septum, and on the forehead are spots where bits of mica have been fastened on with spruce gum. The whiskers, represented by transverse lines, the form of the nose, and other features suggest that the carver may have had a sea-otter in mind. There are pegs on the posterior edge whose use may have been to retain a netting or lattice by which the mask was held on the head. A withe, knotted and twisted, arranged to be held between the wearer's teeth, is fastened to the concave interior on each side of the nasal septum. The article is evidently of great age, and bears signs of having been long in use. The figure is one-fifth the linear size of the original.

A very similar mask from Nahwitti, on the northwest end of Vancouver Island, is figured by Bastian (*l. c.* taf. 2, fig. 2), with the information that it is worn in the medicine dances by the so-called "wild-men" who, as described by Swan, are given to assaulting the bystanders indiscriminately, and hence are to be avoided. This mask, however, is painted with red and other bright colors, and is adorned with whitish feathers. It is said to be called "nutlematlekull."

20892 (Plate XVII, figs. 31-32).—A dancing mask; obtained from the Haidas of the Klenmahoon village, Prince of Wales Island, Alaska, by James G. Swan. This mask is carefully carved of Alaska cedar. The ears, nostrils, lips, edges of the eyelids, and the continuous stripes across the face are red. The short dashes forming a band between the stripes are lead-colored, and appear to have been made with a soft piece of micaceous iron ore. The eyebrows and mustache are stripes of blue blanket cloth fastened on with pegs. Hairs from a fox-skin are pegged into the chin, and it looks as if other hair might have been so fastened on the upper edge of the mask. Within there is a loop of withe to be held in the teeth. The mask is thin and light.

21573 (Plate XVIII, figs. 42-42).—Another incomplete or unfinished dancing mask, probably of Haida make, obtained by Dr. White, of the United States Army, in Alaska, for the National Museum. This one was evidently made for sale, and had never been used or made fit for use. The wood was fresh and unstained, and no peep-holes or breathing holes or arrangement for fastening the mask on a wearer's head had been made. It represents a face with a tiara of bear's claws over the forehead. The lips, ears, nostrils, and band below the tiara are red, colored with oil paint obtained from the whites, as is the rest of the painted work. The bear's claws, pupils of the eyes, and the hair are black; the irides greenish; and the dark tracery on the face, shown in the figure, as well as the upper bar of the head-dress are blue. The light parts of the figure in the original show the uncolored natural wood. This is one specimen of many which have of late years been brought from the northwest coast, which have been made expressly for sale as curiosities, and which want essential parts which should be found in an article used or intended for use. A ring made of brass wire is inserted in the nasal septum, but such is rarely, if ever, now worn by the people of the Archipelago. The figure is one-fifth the linear size of the original.

20570 (Plate XVI, figs. 28-29).—Dancing mask from Bellabella, British Columbia, collected by J. G. Swan. The upper mandible was carved separately and permanently pegged to the face. The lower mandible is movable, and was made to rise and fall by pulling a line of twisted sinew which passes back and out behind over a rounded stick, pulley-fashion. The mask was held on by cords behind. The interior is quite roughly hollowed out. The surface of the face was whitened before being painted; that of the bill is bare wood, except where painted. The eyebrows and pupils are painted black; the eyes, inner edges of the mandibles and nostrils and light lines on the forehead, red; the quadrangular figures on the forehead, blue; other painted parts, bluish green. The mask is probably a conventional representation of the head of the sea-eagle or "Thunder bird" of Tlinkit mythology, of which mention is made elsewhere. It is not possible to determine exactly the meaning of some of these carvings, for, as observed by Swan, the Indians allow their fancy the wildest flights in the manufacture of dancing masks, while the conventional figures, having totemic or ritualistic function, are quite carefully maintained in their chief characteristics. The figure is on a scale of one-fifth, linear.

30209 (Plate XVII, figs. 33-34).—Dancing mask, representing a death's head, bought at Barclay Sound, Vancouver Island, of the natives belonging to the tribe usually termed Nūtkā, by J. G. Swan. This is an extremely old mask, and the soft spruce wood of which it is made shows signs of decay; perhaps was selected as appropriate for the purpose on that account. It bears a ghastly resemblance to the visage of a dried-up corpse. The inside of the mouth is black; the general surface has been rubbed with a whitish earth, giving it a moldy appearance. It is pro-

vided with bushy eyebrows of wolverine skin (*Gulo luscus* L.), between which is a notch in the wood from which something once attached there has fallen away. It was fastened to the head of the wearer by cords which were attached at a hole within behind the forehead, and also one at each side. The length of the original is 11 and its breadth 9 inches. Another very similar mask from Neeah Bay, figured in Swan's paper on the Indians of Cape Flattery is reproduced here (Plate XVII, fig. 35).

20578 (Plate XIII, fig. 21).—A well-carved modern mask, collected by J. G. Swan for the National Museum at Bellabella, British Columbia, near Millbank Sound; history wanting. It is carved of Alaska cedar, rather thick and heavy. The ears, nostrils, lips, upper forehead, bands around the face and across the cheeks are colored red; the eyebrows and irides are black. The remainder of the portions dark-shaded in the figure are blue, powdered while wet with triturated mica, which adhered when the paint had hardened. The surface of the wood is bare in some of the lighter-shaded portions. The eyes are not perforated, the wearer peeping through the nostril holes. This mask was held on by cords passing through its ears and around the nasal septum. The interior is soiled with red paint, which appears to have been rubbed off the painted face of the wearer. This is also evidently a festival mask, not used in connection with, or, at least, not symbolical of, superstitions or totemic ritual. The figure is one-fifth the linear size of the original.

23440 (Plate XVIII, figs. 38-39).—Dancing helmet from Neeah Bay, collected for the National Museum by J. G. Swan. This is carved of alder wood, and was probably made by the natives of Vancouver Island for sale to the Makahs of Neeah Bay, near Cape Flattery. It represents the head of a hawk or eagle. The under part of the beak is hollowed out for lightness, but a cross-bar is left for strength. Three cords extend across the back from one edge to the other over the head; the points where they are fastened are shown in the figure. The dark portions in the figure are black in the original, the next lighter are red; the parts represented as white in the figure are the natural color of the wood. The length is 14 and the breadth 8 inches.

20890 (Plate XIX, figs. 43-44).—Dancing helmet or maskette, from Kaigalnee Strait, Prince of Wales Islands, Alaska, collected by J. G. Swan for the National Museum in 1876, and obtained at the Klemmahoon village. The head and dorsal fin are of alder wood; the back, tail and lateral fins of hide or leather painted over. Underneath the top is a broad band of sealskin to go behind the head and hold the helmet on, and there are some strips of buck or moose skin to tie under the chin. The fringe at the back of the dorsal fin is composed of locks of human hair pegged in. The figure was reported as intended to represent a sculpin (*Cottus*), but it is more likely to be a killer whale (*Orca*), to which the long dorsal fin and flat tail certainly belong. It may have been intended as a sort of combination. The upper half and base of the dorsal

fin, the pupil, eyebrows, the outlines of tracery on fins and tail, all black. Teeth, nostrils, eyeballs and basis of tracery on fins and tail, white. Area around the eyes and nostrils and the chin blue. On the stout hide, composing the fins and tail, something like white paper seems to have been pasted, upon which the black tracery is painted. The figure is on a linear scale of one-fifth the size of the original.

30210 (Plate XIV, fig. 22).—Dancing mask from Nutka, Vancouver Island, made of pine wood, collected for the National Museum by J. G. Swan. The lips, the margin of the mask, and the band on the left cheek are red; eyebrows, tracery around the eyes and narrow band on right cheek, black. The remainder is the natural color of the wood. The hair is made of the cambium layer of bark of some tree washed free of sap, dried and beaten into threads. The cords by which it was fastened are gone; some remnants still remain around the margin of the mask. A sort of wooden lattice is pegged behind the mouth, inside the cross-pieces seen through the opening from in front, and marked by a transverse black line to imitate teeth. There is a loop within to be held in the teeth. The resemblance between this and the South Sea mask figured on Plate IX is noticeable. The figure is on a linear scale of one-eighth.

30211 (Plate XV, figs. 25-27).—Dancing mask with movable wings from Nutka, Vancouver Island, collected for the National Museum by J. G. Swan in 1876. The material is the same as in 30210, with the addition of a row of upright feathers in the top of the wings and face. The hair is of bark like the latter, but has the down of some feathers stripped from the shaft and mixed with it. The upright feathers over the face are in front of the hair, and are lashed to a bent stick behind the upper margin of the face. The hinder side of the wing has an eye-like spot painted upon it. The front has a rude human figure in black and red; a red line below the chin and around the cheeks; eyebrows and irides black, eyeballs white. The remainder of the surface is of the natural color of the wood. The peepholes are through the nostrils. The wings are lashed firmly in three places to an axis, which plays in a wooden spool at top and bottom. These spools were firmly fastened to the mask by lashings not shown in the figure to avoid confusion. The diagram shows the framework by which the mask was held on the head, and the ingenious mechanism for flapping the wings. A represents the upper part of the left wing near whose upper edge a cord, B, is pegged to the outside, passing over the upper margin of the mask, and down through a hole in the medial bar of the frame; thence backward through a hole in the rounded end of a transversed bar of the frame, and then (C) downward to the hand of the wearer. The wings were hung so that they naturally tended to swing backward; a pull on the cord would send them forward, and they would recoil of their own weight. When worn, a large mass of the same sort of stuff as the hair was put into the upper

part of the frame as a cushion for the head, and to raise the peepholes nearer to the eyes. The figure is one-sixth the linear size of the original.

2662 (Plate XXI, fig. 47).—Maskette from the northwest coast of America collected by E. Very during the Wilkes Exploring Expedition. The material is birch wood and the mask has been hollowed out by a small gouge probably made from a beaver's tooth. The light places in the figure at the eyes, teeth, spots below the claws, &c., are thin flat pieces of haliotis (*H. Kamchatkana*, native to the region) fastened on with spruce gum, mostly with a hole in each piece of shell. The colors are dark brown or black, red and green; the bare wood shows in a few places. The part of the carving which is behind the lower figure was applied to the forehead and is hollowed out for that purpose, showing signs of having been worn. The head-dress to which it was attached did not accompany it. The lower figure in the front is a conventionalized figure of the sparrow hawk, (*Tinnunculus sparverius* L.); the upper larger one that of the beaver; a close inspection shows that the apparent beak was intended to represent the two large incisors. The figure which is on a scale of one-fifth linear represents it as more rounded in front than in reality, and the median line dividing the two incisors, which is quite indistinct in the original, has been overlooked by the artist. The cancellated appendage between the feet is intended to represent the tail of the beaver.

9259 (Plate XXI, fig. 48).—Maskette collected near Sitka by Dr. A. H. Hoff, U. S. A., for the Army Medical Museum and transferred by that institution to the United States National Museum. The figure is one-fourth as long as the original. The eyes and certain patches visible above the hands and feet are formed of pieces of Haliotis shell cemented with spruce gum. The arms, tongue, and feet are red. The rest is more or less blackened. The figure above is the otter, with his tongue out; that below is the frog; both are familiars of the medicine-men, to one of whom this carving undoubtedly appertained. The head-dress, of which it originally formed a part did not come to hand. This belonged to some shamanic paraphernalia.

20581 (Plate XX, fig. 46).—Maskette, used with a head covering, collected at Fort Simpson, British Columbia, by J. G. Swan for the United States National Museum. The figure is one-fifth the length of the original. It represents the features of an old woman with her face painted and wearing a labret or kalushka. It is made of spruce wood. The tracery on the front of the cheeks and on the forehead is cobalt blue. The scales of the cheeks, the hair-parting, ears, and mouth are red. The hair is black, with some red streaks; the pupils are black, with a small perforation burned through; the remainder of the face of the natural color of the wood, somewhat darkened by age and use. The eyebrows are of bear-skin, the strips only tacked at the outer ends. To the inner ends threads are attached which pass through four pinholes in the forehead and through a staple opposite the chin inside. By pulling these threads

the eyebrows could be raised or lowered at the pleasure of the wearer. There is an arched mouth-bar inside to be held in the teeth when dancing, in order to keep the head dress steady.

2666 (Plate XX, fig. 45).—Dancing maskette, representing a woman's face with a very large kalushka or labret, collected by the Wilkes Exploring Expedition on the northwest coast of America in 1841. No history. Probably of Haida make. Painted with a dull red stripe around the right side of the face; a few narrow lines on the left cheek. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$, width 7 inches. This is figured chiefly to show how the kalushka was worn.

No. 2785. Tlinkit dancing maskette, collected by J. G. Swan, Sitka, Alaska. This specimen represents a heavy wooden helmet of a rounded conical shape, with a mask carved upon it, forming part of the same piece of wood. This mask represents a grinning face, half red, half blue, with broad, black eyebrows, white teeth, mustache and goatee of bear skin, and hair, which apparently once stood upright, pegged in on the top of what would have been the head. This is a fair instance of those cases in which the mask serves as a mere ornamentation to the helmet. It is understood that this particular helmet was used in dancing; but there is no doubt that similar ones were—and the thickness of this is such that it might be—used as a means of defense in war.

In the National Museum collection are a great variety of these dancing helmets and a few of those intended for defense. They represent various animals, conventionalized in the usual manner and similar to those which are used in the mask proper. Those masks which are attached to the helmets, or form part of them in those cases where the helmet is a single piece of wood, are, of course, not perforated or pierced in any way except for nose or ear rings or other appendages. As the object is intended to be placed entirely on top of the head, there is no necessity for any perforation for sight or respiration.

In some cases the upper part of these head-dresses represents a fish, whose body is partially opened, or is so carved that it appears like a hollow lattice work, within which may be seen a human figure. This is in allusion to a particular myth, of which I have been unable to obtain the details.

2661 (Plate XVII, figs. 36-37).—Shamanic mask, symbolical of the eagle or totemic "thunder bird," obtained by the United States exploring expedition under Wilkes on the northwest coast of America. The eyebrows and bill are black, the caruncle over the back of the bill and the tongue within it are red. It is a thin and light carving of cedar wood, trimmed with swan-skin, having the down attached. It was held upon the head by means of a netting made of cord twisted from bark fiber, and which was once attached in many places to holes in the posterior outer and upper edges of the mask. This form is not uncommon. I have seen several in collections. The figure is one-sixth the size, linear, of the original. The myth of the "Thunder bird" refers to a gigantic bird

which takes whales in its claws and devours them, the flapping of whose wings produces thunder, and who launches (at Neeah Bay) a supernatural fish¹ (*Hippocampus*), which appears to mortals as lightning. The Tlinkit form of the myth may be found in Alaska and its Resources, pages 423, 424.

This myth, in some form or other, seems to be very widespread on the West American coast. I have been informed that the ancient Mexican mythology included a belief in such a creature. Further north it is known to be spread from Washington Territory to Prince William Sound, where the Innuit begin to occupy the coast. Prof. E. W. Nelson astonished me by declaring that it exists among the Innuit of the shores of Bering Sea, and proved his point by producing a carving of the very bird from the Diomed Islands in Bering Strait.

This is another of the links which bind diverse West American nations into a mysterious partnership.

¹ See Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, pp. 8, 9.

MASKS OF THE INNUIT.

It is generally known that the Innuít or Eskimo form one of the most distinct, sharply defined, and homogeneous aboriginal stocks in America. Their only offshoots are the Aleuts, who have undergone a local development under special conditions, which has altered them in many respects from the parent stock ; and the Yūit of the Asiatic side of Bering Strait, forced emigrants from America, who, from hunger, privation, constant association with the alien Chukchi, and separation by hostility from people of their own race, have become to a certain extent degraded and crushed.

Apart from these, in language, traditions, arts, handiwork, mode of hunting, and even for the most part, in physique, the Innuít of Labrador and those of Alaska Peninsula are separated by no differences of an essential kind. Their lives are, of course, modified to their particular environment, but it is said, and I believe with truth, that a man, understanding thoroughly the dialect of either extreme, could pass from village to village, from Greenland to Labrador, from Labrador to Bering Strait, and thence southward to the Copper or Atua River, staying five days in each halting place, and that in all that journey he would encounter no greater differences of speech and customs than he could master in the few days devoted to each settlement.

Probably there is no other race in the world distributed over an equal territory, which exhibits such solidarity.

From this Dr. Rink argues that they must at some time have been distributed in much more compact fashion, and attained nearly their present degree of culture before their separations and migrations began, a conclusion which seems eminently sound.

It is possible that the Aleuts branched off somewhat earlier, but we have every reason for supposing that the Yūit have passed into Asia within three hundred years at most. According to Gibbs and Swan, the Indians of Fuca Strait have distinct traditions of the Innuít as a race of dwarfs, who live in "the always dark country" on the ice, dive and catch whales with their hands, and produce the aurora borealis by boiling out the blubber, it being the reflection from their fires on the sky. They are magicians, and their names must not be pronounced. As the Western Eskimo, on the whole, are nearly as tall and quite as athletic as the Indians, this idea has probably been transmitted from North to South with its attendant modifications in passing from mouth to mouth, rather than derived from any actual contact in the past.

However, the point to be brought into the strongest light is the fact that, notwithstanding the homogeneousness of the Innuít race, the prac-

tice of labretifery and the use of death masks, as well as the profuse adornment of themselves with dancing masks for pantomimic mythic ceremonies, are confined to those Inuit west of the Rocky Mountains and the Colville River, and these features, especially labretifery, are practically unknown to their kindred in the east, with whom, nevertheless, they have annual communication for purposes of barter.

On the other hand, the ceremonies and use of masks, particularly in pantomimes, are extremely and essentially similar to those of the Tlin-Kit, Haida, and Makah previously described.

The adjacent Tinneh, a weak and cowardly people, have imitated these customs as they have the Inuit dress; but the inland Tinneh, two or three hundred miles inland, know nothing of them.

The use of masks among the Inuit, as elsewhere, is shamanic, pantomimic and ceremonial; and in some exceptional cases mortuary.¹ The Alents will be separately considered. The Inuit of Prince William Sound, from the ancient masks herein described, seem to have had less than the usual artistic taste and ability. However, this lot may have been made for a temporary purpose with the idea of throwing them away when that had been accomplished (as was a not uncommon practice), and therefore may not afford a fair criterion.

From Kadiak Island northward to Norton Sound there appears to be great similarity, though it is only where the whites are little known that these matters retain a pristine vigor. On the Lower Kuskokwim, and on the Yukon delta, especially the southern part, is a region which was found by Mr. Nelson particularly rich. The collection of masks obtained by him seems exhaustive, and is not equaled in variety and interest in any other museum in the world. Unfortunately, his health has suffered from his too great devotion to science, and he has not yet found himself able to classify and describe these treasures, or this chapter need not have been written.

Beyond Norton Sound some very rude but curious masks were obtained by Nelson at the Diomedé Islands, Bering Strait, and at Point Barrow, the northernmost extreme of Alaska, a few artistic and interesting masks were obtained. The latter, however, judging from those collected, are almost wholly wanting in the element of the grotesque which is so rife in Bristol Bay, or the Kuskokwim and Yukon deltas.

Further information in regard to these northern people will probably

¹ It seems that they were occasionally used as decoys, as previously noted by Meares among the Tliukit. Lisianski says: "Next to the otter the most valuable animal in the estimation of the Kadiak men, is the species of seal or sea dog called by the Russians *nerpa*. It is caught with nets made of the same material as the line of the sea-otter arrow; or killed when asleep; or, which is the easiest manner of taking it, enticed toward the shore. A fisherman concealing the lower part of his body among the rocks puts on his head a wooden cap or rather casque resembling the head of a seal (Plate iii, fig. c), and makes a noise like that animal. The unsuspecting seal, imagining that he is about to meet a partner of his own species, hastens to the spot and is instantly killed. (Lisianski, l. c., p. 205).

soon be available on the return of the party lately stationed at Point Barrow by the Signal Service.

The figures will give a better idea of the masks and their appendages than can be expressed in words. A few remarks in regard to the object of these pendants, &c., may not be out of place.

When the wearer is dancing the feathers and other appendages attached flexibly to the margin of the mask will move backward and forward in correspondence with the motions of the wearer, a feature which is considered by these people as a very important part of their appearance while partaking in the dance.

These dances are usually made to the sound of a parchment drum or tambourine struck with a long wand by one of the older men of the village. He is frequently accompanied between the intervals of drumming by some person who sings a few words alternating with a uniform chorus in the customary Innuït fashion. To this the spectators, most of whom are women, add their voices in chorus. These songs are descriptive of some event such as might occur on a hunting, fishing, or other expedition, generally relating either to some of their mythic legends, or to actual events which have taken place to the knowledge of those present. At some crisis in the song, the little doors of the mask will be thrown open, and the chorus will be suddenly changed. The disclosure of a humorous or terrifying face, where none was seen before, by suddenly opening the little doors (which are pulled open by small strings which pass inside the mask), is supposed by these people to have something particularly humorous or startling about it.

The finger-masks, of which some descriptions will be given, are worn by the women on their forefingers during the dance, and are, perhaps, peculiar to the two deltas. They are also variable in character, and represent often heads of animals as well as the faces of human beings. The latter are sometimes normal and sometimes ludicrously distorted. Often small figures, representing on a much diminished scale the complex maskettes which we have just described and like them furnished sometimes with miniature doors or flapping wings, are attached to the borders of large masks, to portions of the dress, or to wands or other articles held in the hand by the dancers. Many such are contained in the collection of the National Museum.

Among the humorous or ludicrous masks, which represent conventionalized animals or portions of animals, there are some which show either human faces or whole human figures, either concealed by flaps or carved in depressions on the surface of an animal mask. Some represent in a rude manner the head of a merganser, or saw-billed duck. The head is, however, resolved into a rounded, convex, anterior portion like the bottom of the bowl of a very large ladle. The bill, with its long teeth represented by pegs, is bent backward over the top of the head almost exactly as the handle of a ladle. The rounded part, however, has lost all resemblance to a bird's head, and is carved to repre-

sent a human face more or less distorted, from which the groove between the two halves of the bill passes perpendicularly upward, and then backward over the head, starting at the root of the nose belonging to the human face.

In other cases, as for instance when the head of a seal is represented, the carver not unfrequently represents, instead of the eye, on the other half of the mask corresponding to that which is carved in a normal manner, a small human face, perhaps on the broad grin, supplied with hair in little locks pegged in, with teeth, ear-rings, or miniature labrets.

The masks most commonly carved in this way are those representing the head of a fox, wolf, or seal. It is a common thing in all the masks, human and animal alike, to have the tongue loose, so that it will rattle or move with the motions of the dance, or to have miniature arms, legs, or wings attached to the mask at the margin, which are intended to move in the same way. They are generally lashed to the stump of a feather, the quill of which is pegged in and whittled to a point outside, to which the appendage is attached and which gives it the necessary flexibility.

Masks of the kind above mentioned may be found in the National Museum collection under the numbers 38865, 38733, 38861, 48985, etc. Most of these were collected by Mr. E. W. Nelson. The masks from Point Barrow are particularly distinguished by an artistic finish and the extremely faithful way in which they represent the features of the Inuit of that vicinity, who bear a stronger resemblance to their Greenland relations than do the Inuit of Alaska further south, a circumstance doubtless due in part to the fact that their surroundings are much more like those of Greenland than is the case with those of the coasts of Norton Sound and Bristol Bay.

Labrets are of comparatively rare occurrence on these masks, although all the male members of the tribe wear them.

INNUIT OF PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND OR CHUGACH BAY, ALASKA.

An interesting series of rude and evidently very old and much weathered masks was received some years ago by the National Museum from the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco. They had been collected by their agent at Port Etches, in response to a general order from the company requesting such collections.

These masks were carved out of nearly flat slab-like pieces of Sitka spruce (*Abies Sitkensis*), and exhibit little or no artistic skill. They had originally been ornamented with feathers and with rude attempts at decoration with red argillaceous iron ore, the only source of the red color known to these people before vermilion and other civilized paints were introduced by the whites. It is an curious fact that some one had

made an attempt to furbish up the old painting by danbing on a little vermilion and by sticking a few new feathers into the holes, whence the old ones had rotted away. I suppose that these masks were old dancing masks, which, as was sometimes the custom, were thrown away after the festival was over into some convenient and perhaps habitual rock-shelter. There they had lain many years, for wood decays with great slowness in this climate when not actually subjected to periodic soakings and dryings. When the agent had appealed for "curios" to the natives of the adjacent villages, some one had thought of these old masks as a means of procuring some tobacco, and having brought them in, supposed a little brightening up would not make the price any smaller, and so, before presenting them to the agent, added the vermilion and new feathers. At least this is the way I interpret the evidence of the specimens.

The attempts at humor in the make-up of these masks give one a very poor idea of the wit of the makers. These efforts are confined to elevating one eyebrow and depressing the other; to tipping the straight gash by which the mouth is represented up or down at one corner; to representing the left eye as half-closed, closed, or even absent; painting one eye red and leaving the other blank.

It is to be remarked that though these people are the most southeastern of all the West American Inuit, and in constant communication with people of Tlinkit stock, there is not the slightest similarity of style between their masks and those of their Indian neighbors. Indeed, they are not much like those of the present Inuit tribes of the peninsula and eastern coast of Bering Sea, nor of the Aleuts in details. But the style is distinctively Inuit, nevertheless.

These masks are described below and figured, as it seemed they were well worth it, notwithstanding their rude execution.

None of the present inhabitants of Prince William Sound appear to wear labrets; at least I saw none with them, though they were formerly worn by the males, and of the usual Inuit type, *i. e.*, that resembling as nearly as possible a "stove-pipe" hat.

With the exception of fig. 20265, these masks are figured on a scale of one-eighth the size of the originals.

20265 (Plate XXIII, figs. 54-56).—Dancing mask made of white spruce wood, very rude and cumbersome, contributed to the National Museum by the Alaska Commercial Company, collected at Prince William Sound by their agent. History wanting, but they all bear evidence of much weathering and were doubtless obtained from some rock-shelter, where they had lain many years. The figure shows the shape, which resembles the conventional form adopted by the Inuit of the western coast for the head of the "bowhead" whale (*Balaena mysticetus*, L.). A similar carving, very minute, but representing the same subject, was dug out of shell heaps at Port Möller by me in 1874, and figured in the first volume of the Contributions to American Ethnology (P. 87, fig.

16089). It is also in fashion of a mask and was probably lashed to some part of a head-dress. The figure is reproduced here for comparison (Plate XXIII, figs. 57-58).

There is a faint trace of red ochre on the median keel of this carving and on the upper back edges, and there are numerous holes along the outer edges where feathers had once been pegged in. There is nothing to indicate how it was to be held on the head. The original is 26 inches in length and 9½ in breadth.

20263 (Plate XXIII, figs. 51-53).—Dancing mask; record the same as that of the preceding. The figure shows the shape. There is a band of red ochre over and under the lips and on the border of the lower bevel. On the upper bevel is a half moon and some irregular blotches, now quite faint, but originally intended to indicate seals or fishes. There was originally a lattice behind with three cross-sticks and two uprights to hold it on, besides a mouth-bar of wood, which, however, showed no tooth-marks. There was no indentation to accommodate the neck. There had been one feather pegged to the upper margin over the nose. There was no indication whatever of a left eye in this one, and it does not seem to have been much used.

20267.—Dancing mask from Prince William Sound; history similar to the preceding numbers; rude and heavy. This mask is well represented by the figure; it is somewhat decayed from exposure and must be very old. There is a shallow groove with a red blotch under it for a left eye. There are traces of red ochre around the mouth and on the upper border. The right eye is not colored. There was a feather pegged in at the top on each side. This is known by the decayed remains of the quill around the peg. Head lattice gone, but places where two cross-sticks were lashed still visible.



20267.

20269 (Plate XXV, figs. 63-64).—Dancing mask; same record as the preceding. Upper border indented by a rounded notch, as seen in the figure. Originally there was one feather in each horn or process at the sides of the notch. In the furbishing-up already alluded to a new feather had been stuck into one of the old pegholes. The forehead is perforated. The nostrils, as in all this series, serve as peepholes. Above them on the back of the mask and below the forehead perforation the red ochre from the wearer's forehead had been rubbed off on the wood. Such incidents give a human interest to these relics which otherwise they seem almost to lack, like fossils. The nose was greenish, and a stripe of the same runs up to the point where the feather was pegged in, one on each side. There is some red around the mouth, radiating streaks about the forehead hole (sun ?); the moon on forehead is red and also

the right eye and in general the edges of the mask. The back has no neck indentation, but a heavy lattice bar, to which apparently were once attached three or five lattice sticks.

20268. (Plate XXIV, figs. 60-62).—Dancing mask; material and history as in the preceding specimens from Prince William Sound. The figure gives a sufficient idea of its form. Remains of red ochre are perceptible in a band around the mouth and around the edge of the mask; the right eye is red, also concentric circle and radii around the hole in the forehead (to represent the sun?) and a red half moon above it. Red paint from the wearer's face also visible in the interior of the mask where the two had come in contact. A V-shaped groove extends from the root of the nose upward to the insertion of two feathers, one on each horn of the mask. On each side there were originally six feathers, pegged in; peepholes at the nostrils where a fragment of sinew thread indicates that a nose ornament was hung, and, inside, a small bar of wood lashed with strong sinew by the middle and by a cord about an inch long to the nasal septum. This was held in the teeth and took the place of the ordinary arched mouth-bar, fastened at both ends. The lower margin of the mask is indented or excavated in the middle, the better to receive the front of the neck. The lattice mostly gone.

To show the way in which these masks were usually held on, a restoration of the back of this or a similar mask has been figured. The notch for the neck, the L-shaped mouth-bar, and the lattice are shown in a way the imperfect and decayed condition of the originals would not admit of.

A strong bar was lashed horizontally near the top of the mask by its ends. A variable number of uprights were rigidly lashed to this bar and their free ends to a loose bar. The torsion exerted on the upper horizontal bar, when the head was inserted between the lattice and the mask, held the latter like a spring upon the head, and more steadiness was added by the mouth-bar being held between the teeth. There were numerous small variations on this plan, but the essential principle was in nearly all cases the same.

20264. (Plate XXV, fig. 65).—Dancing mask from Prince William Sound; record as above. This specimen is imperfect. There are remnants of blackish coloration on the nose, running up to a point on the forehead. On the upper bevel of the mask red blotches rudely indicate two fish on each side, and a seal in the middle with a narrow crescent below them. From the projecting ball of each eye a seal is represented as hanging, facing the nose; a seal is represented on the side of the forehead and two on the cheeks looking outward; on the right side there are three, and on the left four red circles above the upper lip, which, as well as the lower slope of the eyebrows, is reddened. The left eye was originally reddened. A strip of whalebone and a feather were stuck into the upper lip on each side. A bit of fur had been bound around the upper edges. The mouth-bar was attached to the nasal

septum by a cord around the middle. The lashings were of sinew, and there are many peg-holes at the sides, but the ornaments they fastened long since disappeared.

20266 (Plate XXIV, fig. 59).—Dancing mask from Prince William Sound; record and general appearance much like the last, as will be seen by the figure. There are traces of red ochre over the lip, on the right eye, on the eyebrow, and some nearly effaced figures on the forehead. A number of feathers had been pegged to the side margins. The left eye had not been colored. The peep-holes were through the nostrils, the lattice entirely gone.

From the same locality as these masks a dried body was sent, which still showed labret holes in its withered cheeks and a perineal incision, by which the viscera had been extracted in order to dry the remains. No record of particulars accompanied the specimens other than that above referred to.

INNUIT MASKETTE FROM KADIAK ISLAND.¹

16268. (Plate XXVI, fig. 67).—Maskette of the Kaniagmut Innuït, obtained at Saint Paul, Kadiak Island, Alaska, by William H. Dall. The size of the disk is 8 by 5 inches. It is imperforate. The disk is rather heavy and thick, but carefully carved after one of the ancient model by one, or under the direction of one, of the old men of the village. It is painted white, with lines and tracery on it of red, blue, and black. The disk is surrounded by a narrow, flat hoop, through which are passed the quills of three large dark feathers on each side. A little in advance of

¹ The customs of these savages (Innuït of Kadiak) are nearly allied to those of the Oonalashkans. They have the same kind of instruments, darts, and boats, or baidars, but much worse made; nor are they so active upon the water. Their dances are proper tournaments, with a knife or lance in the right hand and a rattle in the left; the rattle is made of a number of thin hoops, one in the other, covered with white feathers, and having the red bills of the sea-parrot suspended on very short threads; which, being shaken, strike together, and make a very considerable noise; their music is the tambourine, and their songs are warlike. They frequently are much hurt, but never lose their temper in consequence of it. In these dances they use masks, or paint their faces very fantastically. (Sauer, in Billings' Voyage in 1792, on Kadiak Innuït, p. 176.)

November they spend in visiting each other, feasting in the manner of the Oonalashkans, and dancing with masks and painted faces. (Sauer, l. c., p. 178.)

They still observe their annual dance in masks, and with painted faces; the masks are called *kugah*, and I discovered that some particular ornaments of their dress used upon this occasion were regarded as charms, having power to prevent any fatal accidents, either in the chase or in their wars; but in the latter they now never engage. (Sauer, l. c., p. 272.)

In 1805 Langsdorff (vol. ii, p. 49) observed of the Kadiak natives that "the masks which earlier travelers observed these people to wear at their festivals seem now entirely laid aside.

the feathers are inserted the stems of nine semilunar bits of carved wood, of which one is figured on an enlarged scale, which are whitened and ornamented with a pattern of lines and dots. The presence of these appendages on this mask explains the purpose of the myriads of leaf-shaped and variously formed appendages which was discovered in the rubbish of the Unga rock-shelter. Taken by themselves, having lost all connection with their originals, most of which had become dust or so broken as to be unrecognizable, these little articles were incomprehensible.

Behind the disk of this maskette was a strong arch-shaped hoop, to which strips of skin from the neck of the winter reindeer, with the long hair attached, were fastened to form a sort of aureole or fringe. Three of the supports of the hoop project beyond the fringe, and to each is attached by a sinew-thread a leaf-shaped appendage. In use, these hang down and move with the motion of the wearer, but in the figure, for the sake of clearness, they are represented as pointing outward; one is represented on an enlarged scale. The attachment of such swinging or pendulous pieces to the head-dress, mask, or garment used in the dance was universal. The response of their motion to the swaying of the wearer's body in time with the tambourine in the dance was justly considered graceful and attractive, as was the swaying of the fringes and feathers.

INNUIT MASKS FROM THE KUSKOKWIM RIVER.

No. 64241.—Dancing mask from the Innuits of the Kuskokwim River, collected by E. W. Nelson; nearly flat, circular, with white goose feathers inserted into holes around the outer edge, and supported behind by a small wooden hoop. The face, in the center, is regularly formed; the eyes, nostrils, and mouth perforated. The disk is 14 inches in diameter, exclusive of feathers. Mouth furnished with natural teeth, probably of a dog. Four rude animal heads, about 2 inches long, are inserted at equal distances from each other near the margin; a black circle is painted outside of the face. The groundwork of the mask is white; the relief around the face, the hair, etc., is colored a dull green, the outer edge of nostrils and a broad mustache, are black. Two hands, about 7 inches long, are pegged to the front outer margin; there is a hole through the center of each, and they are roughly colored red. The mask projects in relief about 3 inches.

No. 61244.—Kuskokwim River Innuits dancing mask, collected by Mr. E. W. Nelson. Disk of the mask about 8 inches in diameter. Margin fringed with deer hair, much destroyed by moths. Two hoops of wood exterior to the disk probably once supported a fringe of feathers. Five or six small wooden appendages, shaped like the blade of a pad-

dle, belong to it: these were originally pegged to the forehead forming a sort of arch over it, they are whitened. Relief of the disk black; the cheeks and around the eyes, white. Two large wooden appendages about 8 inches long, somewhat saber-shaped, are loosely fastened one on each side just outside the cheek. One eye circular with a dash of blue around it; the other, semi-lunar. Mouth wide, arched upward, center reamed out circularly, with an appendage like a beak about 2 inches long, one part above and one below this central perforation.

No. 64257.—Innuït dancing mask from the Kuskokwim River, collected by E. W. Nelson. Length, about 20 inches. Shape, oval. Disk somewhat concavely arched. At the lower end something rudely resembling a seal's head is attached, with two round projecting pegs, probably representing eyes. The disk as a whole is probably intended to represent a seal, or other animal, conventionalized. This part of the mask is blackened. The whole area of the back, with the exception of a margin about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, is excavated and whitened. There are here represented, in the center, two eyes inclined downward at the inner corners, two oval nostrils, and a semi-lunar mouth, concave downward, with blackened wooden pegs for teeth. The eyebrows and a line over the nose, and another below the lower lip, are blackened. A rude face is represented in the upper portion by black lines. In the outer portion of the margin, are two large round holes nearly equi-distant from the ends and from each other. The interior of these holes is colored red. Owls' feathers are pegged into the outer margin at about four places on each side, and are supported by two hoops which are lashed to each other, to the lower pair of round holes in the margin, and also to a square hole at the upper end.

No. 30775.—Maskette found on the ice floating in the sea off Unalashka Island, having probably drifted from the Yukon River, or Kuskokwim River, on the ice. Disk elongated, about 22 inches long and 7 inches wide, broad and rounded at the lower end, tapering and truncated at the upper end. In the center a circular space is excavated, about 8 inches in diameter, in which is a face carved in relief, with perforated \odot shaped irides, the pupils of which are represented by circular bits of wood, supported by bits of wood not cut out. The mouth is semi-lunar, arched upward, with six teeth carved in the wood above and below. There are two pegs in the chin and two in each cheek. The hair was formerly blackened. The whole mask has the appearance of having been washed in a river or on the sea-shore, so that the coloration is mostly gone. Below the carved face (one on each side) are two round disks of tinned iron, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, let into the wood, and having the appearance of eyes. The whole mask seems as if it was intended to represent the dorsal surface of a whale. To the outer margin large feathers were formerly pegged in, of which only the shafts remain.

No. 64216.—Maskette used by the Innuït of the Kuskokwim River,

collected by E. W. Nelson. This specimen considerably resembles, in most respects, No. 33109 (described above). It is, however, smaller, being about 14 inches in length over all; and the face carved on the body is covered by two small doors, hinged at the sides, which, when they are closed, conceal it—the body then appearing smoothly convex over its whole surface. When these little doors, which meet when closed and open in the middle, are opened, the face carved upon the body is made visible. The inside of these doors is painted with figures of reindeer and seals in black, on a white ground. The legs and arms attached to the disk are grooved on the front surface, reddened, and pegs resembling teeth stuck in at the edges of the groove.

This description of mask appears under a great many different forms. Sometimes the mask itself represents a face with a beak or other appendage attached to it; and the ears are represented by wing-like appendages, which move backwards and forwards, and are painted with figures of animals, as in the case just mentioned.

In other cases, the disk of the mask represents the body or the head of an animal, or in some cases the body of a fish. On the front surface of this, that is to say the back of the animal, similar little doors will be placed, which, when opened, disclose another face with gaping jaws, or some other unexpected carving. The variety is difficult to describe. Hardly any two of them are alike. Most of them are more or less ornamented with deer hair, feathers, seal's whiskers, or something of the kind, which, in many cases in the Museum specimens, has been lost or destroyed. The object of these appendages, such as doors or wings, is by opening them suddenly to give a surprise to the spectators during the course of the dances in which they are worn.

FINGER MASKS.

No. 36236.—Finger mask from Chalitmt, Yukon delta, collected by E. W. Nelson. This is about 3 inches high, not including fringe. Disk circular, concavely excavated, surrounded by a narrow frame joined to the disk by four projections, the intervening spaces carved out. Central disk representing a round face with an obsolete nose, not perforated, mouth narrow, concavely arched upward, coloration white, margin surrounded with a fringe composed of a strip of skin from the reindeer's throat, with the long white hair attached to it.

No. 36231. Finger mask, collected by E. W. Nelson, in the south part of the Yukon delta, at the village of Käng-ëgik-nög emüt. Disk circular connected by a narrow stem with the stall for the fingers. The whole, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, exclusive of fringe. Fringe of deer hair, with two or three tail-feathers of the old squaw duck. Disk without a margin. The right eye brow forming a semicircle, or nearly so, with the bridge of the nose with which it is continuous. Beneath it is a semilunar perforation representing the eye. At the lower end of the ridge another perforation representing the nostrils. Mouth commencing on

the right side, curving to the left, a little downward, and then following the curve of the right margin upward to a point above the right eyebrow. There is no left eye or eyebrow.

No. 37130 (Plate XXVII, fig. 69).—Finger mask about 4 inches long, collected by E. W. Nelson on the Lower Kuskokwim River. A circular disk of 3 inches, connected with a T-shaped handle below, and no perforated finger stall. Disk somewhat excavated, with narrow margin. Center occupied by a round face. The bottom of the groove separating the face from the margin is marked with a red line. The left eye, and the space around it, is concave; the eye semi-lunar and perforated. A single nostril is indicated, the outer point of which is somewhat turned up on the left side. The right eye is represented by a round, projecting peg. There is no right nostril. The mouth commences below the middle of the left eye, on the left side, and curves up over what would be the right cheek to a point midway between the peg which represents the right eye and the groove surrounding the face. The whole is carved in very slight relief. The margin is surrounded with a strip of deer skin, retaining the hair like the others, and one or two strips of bird's skin which formerly had the feathers upon them, to the end of which a single white feather is fastened. The workmanlike smoothness and artistic finish of the disk is poorly represented by the wood cut, which has an appearance of rudeness not characteristic of the original.

INNUIT MASKS FROM NORTON SOUND AND THE YUKON DELTA.

No. 33113.—From the Innuite of Norton Sound, Alaska; collected by E. W. Nelson; collector's number, 1428. A maskette of oval form, about 2 feet 2 inches over all in length, and 10 inches wide in the middle. The disk is about 14 inches in length, and apparently represents in the center a kyak with a deep groove, colored red, on each side of it, about 1½ inches wide, outside of which is the margin of the mask, whitened. The groove is set with pegs, resembling teeth, alternately placed, those on the inside alternating with those on the outside; there are about seven on each side. In the kyak, where the hole for the sitter would be, is represented a face in relief, with perforated eyes. Mouth and nostrils not perforated. The main groundwork of the whole mask is whitened; the outlines touched in in black. The mouth of the face is colored red; the nostrils and eyes black. Something resembling a beard is represented by dashes of black. The nostrils point nearly forward, and are circular. Above this face is a rectangular thin piece of wood about 4 inches long by 2½ high, fastened at the bottom somewhat in the manner of a sounding-board, and on it is represented the figure of a seal in black. At the top and bottom ends of the oval disk, under the bow and stern of the kyak, are represented two large hands, about 6

inches long by 5 inches wide, the fingers red, the palms of the hands white, with a black line across each. In the lower hand is represented the figure of a seal in wood, pegged on; this is whitened with an ash-colored back. Both hands are represented as nearly wide open.

No. 38857.—Dancing mask from the Yukon River; collected by E. W. Nelson; collector's number, 1620; obtained from the Innuít of Rasboinikskoi village; height of disk about 6 inches, somewhat oval, face carved in relief. Above the mouth and below the eyebrows it is whitened; the remainder is of a greenish color. The margin is marked with a red line inside and outside; between the lines it is of the natural color of the wood. Mouth large, arched downward, semi-lunar, eyes and mouth perforated, fringe composed of feathers pegged into the outer margin.

24334 (Plate XXVI, fig. 68).—Shamanic mask from Saint Michael's, Norton Sound, Alaska, collected for the National Museum by L. M. Turner. This broad shield-shaped mask or rather maskette is said to have been the property of a shamán and to symbolize a lynx or wild-cat. It is 17 by 13½ inches. The upper and lateral margins are ornamented by stiff feathers inserted into holes and secured by pegs; they are still further stiffened by a cord which passes from quill to quill fastened strongly to each and drawn taut between the feathers. To the middle of the upper margin part of the skin of a ptarmigan (*Lagopus albus*) is attached by a cord. It is in the brown summer plumage. Two little rude heads, intended for mink, are placed in the upper part of the mask, one at each corner. The face in the center is provided with pointed projecting ears, separately carved. One of the mink heads and one of the ears are represented on a larger scale in the figure as well as a section of the mask showing its relief. The face is whitened with some red stripes on it; the general field of the disk is greenish. The mouth is furnished with real teeth, perhaps of seals, set in, and a rudely carved paw is attached on each side of the face. The whiskers are represented by some small narrow feathers set in over the upper lip.

There are quite a number of such masks in the collection, that is of the same general character, and they are alleged to represent some mythical animal spirit which has appeared to the shaman during his solitary meditations.

It is to be hoped that when Mr. Nelson has recovered his health he will unravel for ethnologists the mysterious web of fact and fancy which veils to us the relations and uses of the Innuít masks. No one is perhaps so well qualified to do it, and it is certain that there is no existing collection which approaches in number or variety the assortment of these objects which the National Museum owes to his energy and sagacity.

24328 (Plate XXV, fig. 65).—Maskette resembling a seal's head, obtained from the Unaligmit Innuít at the village near Saint Michael's, Norton Sound, Alaska, by L. M. Turner. Dimensions, 10¾ by 7¼ inches.

This maskette is a fair representative of a very common type; its coloration is chiefly black and white and it has no perforations. It was doubtless attached to the head-dress and worn in one of the pantomimic dances. From this variety to the other, in which the face is distorted or a small human face looks out from the side of that of the animal, the distance is not great.

No. 30109.—Collected by E. W. Nelson, south of the Lower Ynkon: collector's number, 1445. Inuit maskette over all about 18 inches in length, representing a figure with arms and legs extended and bent forward. The disk of the mask consists of the body of this figure, to which the head and neck, arms and legs of the figure are attached. These are also supported by a small wooden hoop in front, at a distance of about 2 or 3 inches from the body. The body of the mask is of a squarish form, beveled off to meet the neck and also to the attachments to the limbs. It is white. The central part of it circularly excavated. In the bottom of the excavation is a round face with perforated mouth and eyes. The edge around the face is colored red with round white spots, about ten in number, at nearly equal intervals. The face is white. The eyebrows are black and a black line passes around the eyes above and below and over the nose, like the frame of a pair of spectacles. There is a black line over each nostril. The nostrils themselves, a mustache (divided in the middle by a white line), and a sort of goatee—all these are black. The lips are red, mouth concave downward, without teeth, and nearly closed. The head has a long neck and an oval face, with ears and mouth red, dotted black mustache and eyebrows; black eyes, not perforated; and the usual black mark on the chin. The groundwork is whitened. The arms and legs of the first joint from the body, are white, surrounded by a black band, with a white spot on it. The distal joint of each limb is reddened, with a white spot. Something has, at one time, been pegged to the palm of each hand and to the ankle of each leg. Between the arm and the leg on each side, and nearest to the former, has been pegged in one feather, and a piece of wood rudely carved to represent a hand, fastened by the shaft of a feather so that it will move when the mask is shaken.

————.—Inuit maskette probably from Norton Sound, without a number; collected by E. W. Nelson. Height of disk about 8 inches, diameter about 6, nearly flat, margin reddened, forehead of a bluish green, cheeks between eyebrows and mouth whitened. The right eyebrow reddened, also the mouth. A round hole in the center of the forehead, about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The left eye represented by a similar round hole. The nose is curved to the right very strongly. No nostrils are represented. The right eye is represented (almost closed) by a curved perforation slightly concave upwards. In the center of the right cheek is a prominence, with a circular hole in it, and a nearly flat margin. The nose appears as if it was turned somewhat towards this prominence. The mouth is narrow, sharply pointed

to the left, with four short pegs representing teeth, is nearly below the nose, and perforated throughout the greater part of its length. At the right corner of the mouth is another circular perforation, with a red beveled margin, immediately beneath the perforation of the cheek, and about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This has four pegs representing teeth in the upper part, and three in the lower part. It is evidently intended to represent a sort of supplementary mouth. This mask was held on by a deer-skin thong, which is still attached to it, and apparently went around the back of the head.

No. 38646 (Plate XXVII, fig. 70).—Innuït maskette, collected by E. W. Nelson at Big Lake, near Cape Rumiantsoff. It is of an oval shape, about 8 inches long, smaller at the upper end, with the left margin slightly concave, and the right margin considerably convex, rounded below and also above. The left eye arched upward, represented as nearly closed, the curve of the eyebrow forming nearly a semi-circle with the left side of the ridge of the nose. The nose is represented without nostrils. The right eye is represented nearly at right angles to the other, and as fully opened. It is also perforated. The outer angle points nearly upward. The eyebrow extends from a point about an inch above this perforation, curving slightly to the left, and then curving strongly to the left near the end of the nose. The mouth is represented as rounded at the left end, where it is also perforated with a nearly circular hole. It curves below the nose for a short distance, and then nearly parallel with the right side of the disk. It is reddened inside, and contains numerous pegs of uncolored wood, representing teeth. There is no perforation in the bottom of the groove representing the mouth, except the rounded one below the left eye. The general surface of this mask is not colored. According to Mr. Nelson, it is intended for use in some legendary festival.

INNUIT MASKS FROM BERING STRAIT.

No. 64216.—Innuït maskette, collected by E. W. Nelson, at the Diomed Islands, Bering Strait. Maskette of a squarish-oval form, very rough; about 9 inches in length by 6 in width. Very roughly carved. Wood not smooth. Most of it is rubbed with a whitish earth. The upper portion of it, where the hair would be, is blackened. The upper half contains, below the two eyebrows, two narrow, nearly horizontal perforations for eyes, of which the right one is somewhat higher than the other, and between them a rough, irregularly carved projection representing the nose. Below this, and a little to the left, on the flat part of the face, are two perforations, somewhat resembling nostrils. A little further to the left, and below, is a perforation or slit representing the mouth, and nearly horizontal, except that the right end is turned

downward nearly at right angles. To the right of the nose, above described, and of the nostrils mentioned, below the right eye, is another similar nose, carved on what otherwise would be the right cheek. The whole carving is of the roughest and most ordinary description. It appears to have been held on by a thong, passing through two holes in the margin, just below the level of the eyes, one at each side.

INNUIT MASKS FROM POINT BARROW, ARCTIC OCEAN.

No. 64230.—Mask used by the Arctic InnuIt of Point Barrow, Alaska collected by E. W. Nelson. About 8 inches in length. Face about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and from tip to tip of the wings, about 19 inches. Mask of an oval form, rather convex, and carved rather thin. Much weather-beaten or washed. Represents very faithfully the features of the InnuIt of Point Barrow. A black line crosses the face over the eyes, which are represented as nearly closed. The interior of the mouth is blackened, the lips are red, ornamented with teeth taken from seals and inserted in the upper and lower jaw of the mask. A black streak on the upper lip, and another on the chin, represent a monstache and a little goatee. A groove surrounds the disk of the mask, in which it is probable that a strip of reindeer hair, or cord, with feathers in it, was originally placed, but of which no portion remains. At each side of the mask is a triangular wing, the base extends from the level of the outer corner of the eye to the level of the outer corner of the mouth, and is hinged on with a cord, made of sinew, to the margin of the mask, so that it will move backward and forward. On these wings are represented figures of whales, birds, and a boat with people in it. They are drawn in black upon the clean surface of the wood. The upper margins of the wings are smooth and nearly horizontal. The lower margins are somewhat arched, and are ornamented with notches. The margin all around is reddened with red chalk, or similar coloring matter. The main body of this mask appears not to have been colored, or, if colored at all, to be merely rubbed with the white earth, to which reference has been made.

ALEUTIAN MASKS.

As has elsewhere been stated the Aleuts or Unŭngŭn, protected and isolated by their insular habitat from an extremely distant period, seem to have developed in particular directions to a greater extent than any other known branch of the Innuït stem. This is especially evident in their language, religious exercises, and certain details of handiwork, such as embroidery, and grass-fiber weaving.

The early advent of bigoted and fanatical priests, whose promotion to a more congenial sphere depended in part on the number of converts and communicants they were able to report, aided by brutal and unsympathetic traders as masters of all, resulted in a total break-up of everything resembling their original state of culture, except such branches of it as related to hunting and daily labor.

For fifty years the Aleuts were treated as slaves. Hundreds of them were lost in long journeys at sea in their frail skin canoes. Their women were taken from them to serve the purposes of their brutal masters (being first baptized that lust might not be defiled by relations with paganism, a practice in vogue with some of the Russians in the Yukon region¹ as lately as 1867 to my personal knowledge). In every way they were ground to the earth. The priests when they came baptized them; subjected them to tithes; prohibited their festivals and pantomimic dances as heretical and blasphemous; taught them that their forefathers, being all pagans, were eternally damned, and that everything appertaining to them and their shamanism and other customs, as well as their very tombs and dead bodies savored of hell-fire. So thoroughly were they taught this lesson that to-day the ethnologist may rifle their fathers' graves in the sight of all, and the only emotion it excites in their minds is astonishment that any one will risk eternal torment by touching the accursed remains. About 1830 Veniaminoff came, and in seven years spread the gospel and taught the Aleuts for the first time that Christianity was not necessarily the symbol of things brutal, licentious, selfish, cruel, and depraved. The race had imbibed a sort of melancholy, in strange contrast to their original light-heartedness, and of this they have not yet shaken off the evidences. But, with a living example of love, care, piety, generosity and self-denial before them in the person of Veniaminoff, for seven years, a new life arose in the minds of the people. From the hunters they turned to the church for solace, æsthetic gratification, and leadership, and, as a peo-

¹This knowledge refers not to the Aleuts who have all been "Christians" since 1830, but to wild Indians of the interior. It was formerly equally true of the Aleuts.

ple, have never swerved from this course. It is true they are very ignorant, and that many of the old superstitions are still secretly believed in, as among civilized folk, but, as a general statement, it may be said that the character and nature of their ancient rites are almost wholly extinguished from memory and entirely from actual practice, and have been for many years. With the present generation almost all that remains of the knowledge of these things will absolutely pass away. The idea that the knowledge of these things is sinful has been so persistently instilled into their minds that no passing stranger can induce them to reveal what they know. After some years pretty close intercourse a few hints have been dropped, or a few explanations vouchsafed, from time to time, but even then an inquiry would cause an immediate relapse into a wilful and stony ignorance in regard to anything of the sort. For this reason I can offer only a repetition of remarks which have been printed before¹ in various places touching their ceremonial use of masks. They had the usual method of dancing with masks on during the progress of several sorts of ceremonies, and added to that another practice, spoken of before as practiced in Mexico, namely, covering the face of the dead with a mask.

In 1840, in his "Notes on the Unalashka District," Father Veniaminoff wrote in regard to the Aleuts.

Their original pantheism has entirely disappeared. Their songs and dances are now quite different from those described by the early voyagers. The idolatrous custom of dancing with masks on in their secret rites has passed away.

If the missionaries had sent the pantheistic paraphernalia as trophies to the Imperial Academy of Sciences, with a description of the details of the paganism they supplanted, their defects might be covered with the veil of charity, but, on the contrary, they destroyed on the spot everything they could get at, and even went so far as to rifle all conveniently situated tombs² and to destroy the carvings, masks, and relics

¹See Alaska and its Resources. 8°. Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1870, pp. 388-390; also, Contributions to N. Am. Ethnology, vol. 1, pp. 89-91, 1875; and Remains of later prehistoric man obtained from caves (etc.), of the Aleutian Islands. 4°. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, No. 318, Washington, 1878, pp. 23-32.

²Their only music is the tambour, to the beat of which the women dance. Their holidays, which are kept in the spring and autumn, are spent in dancing and eating. In the spring holidays they wear masks, neatly carved and fancifully ornamented. I believe that this constitutes some religious rite which, however, I could not persuade them to explain. I attribute this to the extraordinary and superstitious zeal of our illiterate and more savage priest, who, upon hearing that some of our gentlemen had seen a cave in their walks, where many carved masks were deposited, went and burnt them all. Not satisfied with this, he threatened the natives for worshiping idols, and, I believe I may say, forced many to be christened by him without being able to assign to them any other reason than that they might now worship the Trinity, pray to St. Nicholas and a cross which was hung about their necks, and that they would obtain whatever they asked for, adding that they must renounce the devil and all his works to secure them eternal happiness. It appeared to me that they regarded this as an insult; be that as it may, however, they were not pleased, but had not power to resent. (Account of the Aleuts of Unalashka in Sauer's Account of Billings' Voyage, 1792, p. 160; the masks are figured on Plate xi.)

they contained. Veniaminoff, as his books show, would have been more rational, but the mischief antedated his service in the district.

They were originally very fond of dances and festivals, which, on the whole, correspond pretty well with those of the Innuït and the people of the Sitkan Archipelago. These festivals, as among the continental Innuït, were chiefly held in the month of December. Whole villages were entertained by other villages. Successive dances of children, naked men beating drums (or rather tambourines), and of women curiously attired were followed by shamanic incantations and feasting.

If a whale was cast on shore the natives assembled with joyous and remarkable ceremonies. They advanced and beat tambourines of different sizes. The carcass was then cut up and a feast held on the spot. The dances had a mystic significance, some of the men were dressed in their most showy attire, and others danced naked in large wooden masks which came down to their shoulders, and represented various sea animals. They had religious dances and festivals in December. During these, images or idols, temporarily prepared, were carried from island to island, and strange ceremonies, of which we have only dim traditions, were performed in the night. There were mysteries sacred to the males, and others to the females. In some secret orgies both sexes joined without reproach. Hundreds of women wearing masks are said to have danced naked in the moonlight, men being rigidly excluded and liable to death if detected intruding. The men had analogous dances. An idea prevailed that while these mystic rites were going on a spirit or power descended into the idol. To look at or see him was death or misfortune, hence they wore large masks carved from drift-wood, with holes cut so that nothing before them or above them could be seen, but only the ground near their feet. After the dances were over idols and masks alike were broken up and cast into the sea. These masks were held by a cross-bar inside between the teeth and a loop passing over the head. They were different from those masks used in festivals not of a religious nature.

A further illustration of the same idea was shown in their practice of putting a similar mask over the face of a dead person when the body was laid in some rock-shelter. The departed one was supposed to be gone on his journey to the land of spirits, and for his protection against their glances he was supplied with a mask. For wealthy or important persons a particular process was employed to preserve the remains. The bodies were eviscerated, cleansed from fatty matters in running water, dried, and placed in wrappings of furs and fine grass matting. The bodies were usually doubled up, encased, and suspended above the ground in some place sheltered from the rain, as a cave or rock-shelter. It is stated, however, that sometimes the prepared body was placed in a life-like posture dressed and armed. They were represented as if engaged in some congenial occupation, such as hunting, fishing, or sewing. With them were also placed effigies of the animals they were supposed

to be pursuing, while the hunter was dressed in his wooden armor and provided with an enormous mask, all ornamented with feathers, seal vibrissæ, and tufts of hair, with a countless variety of wooden pendants colored in gay patterns. All the carvings were of wood; the weapons even were only fac-similes in wood of real weapons. Among the articles represented were drums, rattles, dishes, weapons, effigies of men, birds, fish, and mammals, and wooden armor.

I have elsewhere¹ given an account of my investigations in a cave or rock-shelter near the entrance to Delaroff Harbor, Unga Island, Shumagin Islands. M. Alphonse Pinart, has also published an account² of researches in the same vicinity, with figures of masks and other articles of which he was able to make a collection.

In 1868 Captain Riedell gave me a perfect mask from this locality (No. 7604), which I presented to the National Museum. Shortly afterward Dr. T. T. Minor, of the United States Revenue Marine, presented another (No. 7946), obtained at the same place. In 1871 the cave was visited by M. Pinart, who secured the cream of what was left, though leaving much that was valuable. In 1873 I was able to visit the cave in person, and collected everything worth having which remained, including one large and very perfect mask (No. 13002). These are here figured. Besides these, a very large number of fragments, halves of masks, and so on, were obtained. Most of them were of a cork-like consistency from great age, and were more or less broken or injured. So soft were they as to crumble under the brush used to remove loose dirt.

These masks were all different from one another in details, but made on one general type. They would average 14 inches high and (excluding the convexity) 10 or 12 in width. They were nearly all similar in having a broad, thick, but not flattened, nose, straight, flat eyebrows, thin lips, and a wide mouth, into which little wooden teeth were inserted. They also agreed in being painted in various colors, usually black and red, in having bunches of hair pegged in to indicate a beard, sometimes hair across the upper edge of the forehead, in being pierced only in the nostrils and mouth, and in having the ears large, flat, and usually pegged on much above the normal plane in human beings, generally at the upper posterior corners of the mask.

¹ Remains of later Prehistoric Man, etc., pp. 28-30.

² Pinart has issued an elegant publication, referring to this cave, which he entered in September, 1871, and has illustrated several masks and parts of masks in color. He seems to consider that there was a difference between masks placed over the dead, in which he includes those without a perforated mouth, and those which were worn by the mourners, which he believes to have been broken and thrown away at the time of the funeral ceremonies. However this may be, I have not heard it referred to by those from whom I have been able to obtain the few details I have given, and as I have never had an opportunity of comparing notes on this subject with M. Pinart, I must reserve my opinion. Certainly, I have found both kinds associated with the remains of the dead and the kind with perforated mouth much more common than the other sort, and all the unbroken ones I have seen were of this kind. (Cf. *La caverne d'Aknañh, Isle d'Ounga, par A. L. Pinart.* 4°. Paris, Leroux, 1875; and *Comptes Rendus*, 1875, tome 80, pp. 1032-1034.)

Various curved lines were lightly chiseled or painted on the cheeks in many cases. A small round bar extended from side to side within. The ends, projecting through the mask below the corners of the mouth, look as if labrets were intended to be indicated, but this is a mere accident, as this sort of mask never has labrets and the ordinary kind exhibited only the median and not lateral labrets. The bar referred to was held in the teeth, as the marks of biting testify. Various holes about the edges were used for inserting feathers or little wooden pendants gaily painted. These masks exhibit great ingenuity and skill in carving, when we consider that it was all done with stone and bone tools. The nose, being the thickest portion, is longest preserved, and there must have been fifty such noses in the *débris* which covered the floor of the cave. Such shaped noses I have observed only once on masks not from Aleut caves. In that case the mask was one used in Shamanic ceremonial from the Nushagak River, Bristol Bay, collected by Mr. McKay.

The most remarkable thing about these masks is that they bear no resemblance whatever to the Aleutian physiognomy, though they agree very well in type among themselves. On the other hand, the masks for ordinary dances, not religious, are excellent illustrations of the Aleutian type of face. Thus, figure A, from Billings' voyage, is a thoroughly characteristic Aleutian face, and even the grotesque one figured by its side (B) is of the same natural type.

These dancing masks, like those of the Makah or Haida, are immensely variable and generally grotesque. None are found in any American museum, and none, unless in Russia, in the museums of Europe. They were all destroyed by the missionaries, and even those I have described from burial places owe their preservation to being in out-of-the-way places. The practice of putting a mask over the face of the dead seems not to have been universal, since no masks were found in the Kagamil cave, but under what circumstances they were used is not known, except that they have been found with adults from one end of the Archipelago to the other, when the bodies were placed in rock shelters. Those buried in the earth did not have masks, as far as known, nor have any been obtained from underground caves, properly so-called. It may be that the custom had something to do with the placing of the bodies in comparatively open places, not secure against the visits of malevolent spirits; but this is merely a speculation.

Plate XXVIII, fig. 71 (A).—Aleutian dancing mask, showing tiara of feathers, ear-pendants, and labret with plate and beads attached, obtained at Unalashka by Martin Sauer in 1792, while attached to Billings' expedition, and figured by him on plate xi of his account of that voyage, English edition.

Plate XXVIII, fig 72 (B and C).—Grotesque dancing mask from Unalashka, showing the cleat-shaped labret with a single pendant of beads attached, from the same source as the preceding. The outline C shows

a profile view of the labret, the lower part being that which was within the mouth. Beads were attached to the labret only or chiefly on ceremonial occasions.

13002 (Plate XXVIII, Fig. 73).—Aleutian death mask obtained in a rock-shelter, near the cave previously mentioned, where only a single body had been laid. The locality is near Delaroff Harbor, just outside the southeast point of entrance, Unga Island, Shumagin Group, Alaska. The original is 14 inches high and $13\frac{1}{2}$ wide, excluding the convexity. The front and both profiles are shown. It will be observed that the two sides are not ornamented alike, and it may be added that, through exposure or pressure, the dead and corky wood has become somewhat warped. The original bears faint traces of red and green color.

7604 (Plate XXIX, Figs. 74).—Aleutian death mask obtained from the cave or rock-shelter of Aknañh at Delaroff Harbor, by Capt. Charles Riedell, in 1868, and presented to the United States National Museum by W. H. Dall. The size of the original is $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and 10 inches wide, disregarding the convexity. Slight traces of color remain upon it. The right ear remains, but the other is lost. The teeth were represented by single pegs, inserted between the lips, across the middle of which a black line was drawn to separate, in appearance, the upper from the lower set of teeth.

7946 (Plate XXIX, Figs. 75).—Aleutian death mask from the same locality, presented to the United States National Museum in 1868 by Dr. T. T. Minor. It is $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches high by 10 wide, disregarding the convexity.

In all these masks the nostrils are pierced vertically, and the mouth horizontally. They were held in the mouth by a cross-bar between the teeth, which generally shows marks of biting. As the ends of this bar for greater strength are put clear through the mask, and are visible below and behind the outer corners of the mouth, they might in the figures be mistaken for an imitation of lateral labrets, which is not the intention. Most of them retain traces of red coloration, produced by red oxide of iron, which occurs in combination with clay, forming a sort of red chalk formerly much used for ornamentation before the whites introduced vermilion. The green coloration was produced by grinding up a kind of mycelium, of a bright green color (*Peziza*), which occurs in rotten birch wood; it was used either alone or in combination with a white chalky earth, to give it body. In the latter case it has a bluish tint in the green. Charcoal and oil were used for black, and the above white earth for white. Blue carbonate of copper, which is found on the Kuskokwim River, and is an article of trade with the tribes along the coast, and graphite from near Norton Sound were also used for coloring with, but were too rare to be had in most cases. The red bark of a resinous tree, perhaps the Sitka spruce or hemlock, was also used for coloring wooden articles; a bit of the bark being wet with saliva and rubbed on the clean fresh surface of the wood. The root of a plant

furnished a pale yellow, but this I have rarely seen. Perhaps it was not permanent. The root of the alder was, and still is, used for coloring deer-skins a beautiful red-brown, but I have never seen it applied to wooden ware or carvings.

Amber from the lignite beds was made into rude beads, and esteemed of extraordinary value. Other beads were made of bits of gypsum, shale, small hollow bones, cut in lengths, and variously colored bits of serpentine. I have never seen any nephrite or jadeite, which is not rare on the continent, especially near Norton Sound where there is a mine of it, and is much valued; but perhaps it was considered so very valuable as to escape the shell heap and the tomb.

NOTE.—I take a last opportunity to insert here, out of its proper place, a piece of valuable information which has reached me since this paper was in type. I learn from M. Alp. Pinart, whose reputation as an ethnologist is world wide, and who has recently spent six years on the Isthmus and in Central America, that the labret is still in use among the savage tribes from Darien to Honduras. It is worn only by the women, and is placed in the lower lip below the nose. The large labrets figured by Dampier have passed away; the women now wear (as among the Tlinkit) only a small button or a little silver pin. This fact fills quite a gap in the previously stated chain of evidence as to the distribution of labrets.

MASKS AMONG THE IROQUOIS.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

The following note relating to the use of masks among the Iroquois is worthy of attention in connection with the general subject. So little has been preserved which is trustworthy in regard to the myths of the Indians of Eastern America, that the remarks of the late Lewis H. Morgan, here quoted, stand almost alone in offering, together with the facts, an explanation of their relation to Indian life from a qualified observer. The annexed figure (Plate XXII, Fig. 49) of an Iroquois mask is copied from that which appears in Mr. Morgan's report on the fabrics, inventions, implements, and utensils of the Iroquois, made to the Regents of the University, January 22, 1851, and printed as an appendix to their fifth annual report, pp. 67-117, Albany, New York, 1852.

The tendency of the Iroquois to superstitious beliefs is especially exemplified in their notion of the existence of a race of supernatural beings, whom they call False-faces. This belief has prevailed among them from the most remote period, and still continues its hold upon the Indian mind. The False-faces are believed to be evil spirits or demons without bodies, arms or limbs, simply faces and those of the most hideous description. It is pretended that when seen they are usually in the most retired places, darting from point to point, and perhaps from tree to tree by some mysterious power; and possessed of a look so frightful and demoniacal as to paralyze all who behold them. They are supposed also to have power to send plagues and pestilence among men, as well as to devour their bodies when found, for which reasons they were held in the highest terror. To this day there are large numbers of the Iroquois who believe implicitly in the personal existence of these demons.

Upon this belief was founded a regular secret organization, called the False-face band, members of which can now be found in every Iroquois village both in this [New York] State and Canada, where the old modes of life are still preserved. This society has a species of initiation, and regular forms, ceremonies, and dances. In acquiring or relinquishing a membership their superstitious notions were still further illustrated, for it depended entirely upon the omen of a dream. If any one dreamed he was a False-face [Gā-go-sā] it was only necessary to signify his dream to the proper person, and give a feast, to be at once initiated; and so any one dreaming that he had ceased to be a False-face, had but to make known his dream and give a similar entertainment to effect his exodus. In no other way could a membership be acquired or surrendered. Upon all occasions on which the members appeared in character they wore masks of the kind represented in the figure, the masks diversified in color, style, and configuration, but all agreeing in their equally hideous appearance. The members were all males save one, who was a female and the mistress of the band. She was called Gā-go-sā Ho-nun-nas-tese-tā, or the "Keeper of the False-faces"; and not only had charge of the regalia of the band, but was the only organ of communication with the members, for their names continued unknown.

The prime motive in the establishment of this organization was to propitiate those demons called False-faces, and among other good results to arrest pestilence and disease. In course of time the band itself was believed to have a species of control over diseases, and over the healing art; and they are often invoked for the cure of simple

diseases, and to drive away or exorcise the plague, if it had actually broken out in their midst. As recently as the summer of 1849, when the cholera prevailed through the State, the False-faces, in appropriate costume, went from house to house at Tonawanda, through the old-school* portion of the village and performed the usual ceremonies prescribed for the expulsion of pestilence.

When any one was sick with a complaint within the range of their healing powers, and dreamed that he saw a False-face, this was interpreted to signify that through their instrumentality he was to be cured. Having informed the mistress of the band, and prepared the customary feast, the False-faces at once appeared, preceded by their female leader and marching in Indian file. Each one wore a mask, or false-face, a tattered blanket over his shoulders, and carried a turtle-shell rattle in his hand. On entering the house of the invalid, they first stirred the ashes upon the hearth, and then sprinkled the patient over with hot ashes until his head and hair were covered; after which they performed some manipulations over him in turn, and finally led him round with them in the "False-face dance," with which their ceremonies concluded. When these performances were over, the entertainment provided for the occasion was distributed to the band and by them carried away for their private feasting, as they never unmasked themselves before the people. Among the simple complaints which the False-faces could cure infallibly were nose-bleed, tooth-ache, swellings and inflammation of the eyes." (Morgan, *l. c.*, pp. 98-100.)

The mask figured (Fig. 49) was purchased by Morgan from an Indian of the Onondaga tribe of Grand River; another in the State collection, not figured, came from Tonawanda.

It will be observed that while (1) the association of the mask with a spiritual being and (2) an implied connection between the action of that being upon a third party with the wearing, by a devotee of the supposed spirit, of a mask symbolizing the latter, and, in general, the invocation of spirits for medical purposes, are features common to wearers of masks among savage peoples everywhere, yet the details of the origin and symbolism of the Iroquois masks is quite different from anything reported from the coast of Northwest America. Moreover, it appears to be certain that the use of masks among the people of the Mississippi basin and the Atlantic water-shed was rare, and formed no prominent feature of their festivals or customs. The Eskimo (Innuits), of Greenland, are stated by Bessels to know nothing whatever of the use of masks or labrets.

* That is, through the part occupied by those Indians who still retained their original beliefs and customs, as distinguished from the more civilized.

SUMMARY AND SPECULATIONS.

It now remains to review the field and put the facts in orderly array in brief synopsis.

It appears that (on their discovery) we have the western coast of the Americas peopled by nations differing (as they still differ) in language, color, physique, æsthetic and mental development, morals, and social customs. The Peruvians, Botokudos, Mexicans, Pueblo people, Timneh, Selish, Haida, Tlinkit, Innuít, Aleut, and Nutka may be mentioned. Many of these families or stocks are only partially located on the western coast; as, for instance, the Timneh and Innuít. Yet the different branches of the family agree closely in language, physique, and most social customs, both on the west coast and elsewhere.

The original population of America is too distant to form the subject of discussion. There can be no doubt that America was populated in some way by people of an extremely low grade of culture at a period even geologically remote. There is no reason for supposing, however, that immigration ceased with these original people. Analogy would suggest that from time to time accessions were received from other regions, of people who had risen somewhat in the scale elsewhere, while the inchoate American population had been doing the same thing on their own ground. Be this as it may, we find certain remarkable customs or characteristics geographically spread, north and south, along the western slope of the continent in a natural line of migration with overflows eastward in convenient localities. These are not primitive customs, but things which appertain to a point considerably above the lowest scale of development in culture.

Some are customs pure and simple; *e. g.* labretifery; tattooing the chin of adult females; certain uses of masks, etc.

Some are characteristics of culture; *e. g.* a certain style of conventionalizing natural objects, and, in a higher stage, the use of conventional signs in a hieroglyphic way; a disposition to, and peculiar facility in, certain arts, such as carvings in wood, etc.

Some are details of art related to religious or mythological ideas, such as the repetition of elaborate forms in a certain attitude, with relation to myths therefore presumably similar in form or origin.

Some are similar myths themselves, a step further in the same retrospect.

If these were of natural American growth, stages in development out of a uniform state of culture, it might fairly be expected that we should find them either sporadically distributed without order or relation as between family* and family wherever a certain stage of culture had

* Used in the sense of stock, race, or stämme.

been reached or distributed in certain families wherever their branches were to be found. This we do not find.

The only other alternative which occurs to me is that these features have been impressed upon the American aboriginal world from without. If so, from whence?

Northern Asia gives us no help whatever. The characteristics referred to are all foreign to that region.

If nations from the eastern shores of the Atlantic were responsible, we should expect the Atlantic shores of America to show the results of the influence most clearly. This is not the case, but the very reverse of the case.

We are then obliged to turn toward the region of the Pacific.

The great congeries of islands known to geographers as Polynesia and Melanesia, stretch toward South America in latitude 25° south, as in no other direction. Here we have a stream of islands from Papua to the Paumotus, dwindling at last to single islets with wide gaps between, Elizabeth, Ducie, Easter Island, Sala-y-Gomez, San Felix, St. Ambrose, from which comparatively it is but a step swept by the northerly current to the Peruvian coast. We observe also that these islands lie south from the westerly south equatorial current, in the slack water between it and an easterly current and in a region of winds blowing toward the east.

Here, then, is a possible way.

I have stated how the peculiar and remarkable identity of certain carvings associated with religious rites turned my attention to the Melanesian Islands.

The customs, etc., I have called attention to, are, particularly, the use of masks and carvings to a more than ordinary degree, labretifery, human head preserving; identity of myths.

In Melanesia we have not yet found more than traces of labretifery, but if the speculations of ethnologists, that these and the African race had a common origin, have a reasonable foundation, we have in Africa, as I have shown in America, a wonderful development of this practice, which in that case might be due to a similar impulse from a parental locality.

In Melanesia, and to a less extent in Polynesia proper, we find the art of carving wonderfully developed, and (including New Zealand as a southern offshoot) thence on the suggested way we have the prehistoric carvings and inscribed tablets of Easter Island, the sculptures and picture-writing of Peru, Mexico, New Mexico, and Arizona, and the northwest coast, forming a nearly continuous series with local developments wholly or mostly different in detail and showing local style, but with a general agreement in fundamental character not elsewhere paralleled.

In his work on the geology of the provinces of Canterbury and Westland, Haast expresses (l. c., pp. 407-431) the opinion that New Zealand

was populated in quaternary times by an autochthonic race, who were the hunters of the moa, and who appear from their remains to have more or less resembled the Melanesian type. The Maori traditions include the idea of an older race who did not know the use of jade implements. The traditions of North Island Maoris place a race of wild men in the interior as do those of the people of Chatham Island. These were recognized as an older race by the Maories, and were dolichocephalic.

The people of Samoa, in deforming the head to make it more brachycephalic, are suggested by Kubary (Schmeltz, l. c., pp. 472-474) to have been originally actuated by a desire to conform their appearance to that of the higher, incoming, and conquering brachycephalic race which invaded these islands, and overcame the original dolichocephalic melanitic inhabitants. The chiefs and upper classes were held by pride from mixing with the women of the subject race, and their descendants show it in their purity of type as regards color, hair, and form. The commoner sort, however, probably were less continent in this respect, and therefore their descendants, proud of their ancestry on one side, but with the blood of the conquered element conspicuous in the longer shape of the head, sought by artificial means to modify this inheritance.

The Polynesian in its purity was a brachycephalic, conquering race. As now found, it has mixed with the lower and conquered long-headed people, and both have been more or less modified by contact, example, and intermarriages.

The features most akin to those to which on the western coast of America particular attention is now called are evidently related more to those of the Melanesians or predecessors of the true Polynesians than to the latter, except so far as the Polynesians have been modified by the customs of their forerunners. This would accord with the greater antiquity which the circumstances seem to imperatively require.

In Melanesia we find human heads more or less habitually preserved, painted, and ornamented; the same again in New Zealand, in Bolivia, in the interior of South America, in Mexico, and again on the northwest coast. Here again, be it not forgotten, modes and details are locally different, but the essential fact is the same. In the opposite direction we have it in Borneo, and in Africa also.

In Melanesia we find carved figures of a peculiar sort used in religious rites, or with a religious significance, and, strangely enough, two or more figures in a peculiar and unaccustomed attitude especially devoted to these purposes. Again, in Central America and Mexico, we meet the same attitude, and again on the rattle in the hand of the shaman on the northwest coast, and in the carvings on his head-dress and by his door.

In Melanesia we find social festivals celebrated with masks upon the face. We find the priest officiating in a mask, and masks hung up in the morai, or temple of the dead, and in memory of the dead. In Peru, in Mexico, on the northwest coast to the frozen borders of the icy sea,

we find parallel, and, in most cases, closely similar customs elaborately developed, with local omissions or additions, but the thing at bottom appears to be the same.

In Melanesia we yet know almost nothing of the mythology. As they have no sea eagles, they probably have no "thunder bird," but his voice is recognized, and his portrait drawn from Mexico to the Polar Sea in West America.

I have already shown how the custom of labretifery passes from tribe to tribe over ninety degrees of latitude, and I do not know how many linguistic stocks. The custom of tattooing lines on the cheeks of girls is a small thing, and widely spread. Perhaps it should be omitted from this series as not sufficiently exclusively West American. However, it prevails, or did prevail, from Melanesia to Peru, and from Mexico to the Arctic, on the lines we have traced.

Now, I have not a word in favor of any idea of common origin of the people possessing these characteristics. Taken within visible limits I consider it perfectly untenable. I believe, however, when we know our aborigines better we shall be more surprised by the points on which they agree than impressed, as we are now, by their remarkable differences.

But from my point of view these influences have been impressed upon people already developed to a certain, not very low, degree of culture. I have stated why I believe it to have come to the western Inuit since the chief and universal characteristics of that race, as a whole, were fixed and determined. I have mentioned how such a change may be seen in actual progress among the degenerate Tiutch on the Lower Yukon. The adoption by the Haida of the T'simpsonian ritual and mythological or social dances described by Dawson, the same acquisition by the Makah from the Nittinats, related by Swan, are cases in point, though feeble ones.

Of course this influence has not been exerted without contact. My own hypothesis is that it was an incursion from Melanesia via South-eastern Polynesia which produced the impact; perhaps more than one. In all probability too, it occurred before either Melanesian, Polynesian, or American had acquired his present state of culture or his present geographical distribution.

The impulse communicated at one point might be ages in spreading, when it would probably be generally diffused in all directions; or more rapidly, when it would probably follow the lines of least resistance and most rapid intercommunication.

It is true that there is no such arrangement in savage society as that by which a fiat in Bond street determines that within six months every white man's head shall be roofed with a particular style of hat. Nevertheless communication among them is rapid, and in things they understand, or are interested in, faithful and effective, even between unfriendly tribes.

But, it may be said, these things are mere accidental coincidences; sporadic occurrences, from which no sound hypothesis can be drawn. This is the very question at issue, and I deny that such treatment of the subject is scientific. The suggestions here put forward may be all and singular erroneous; even some of the data may be assailed; but after getting the present interrogation points out of the way the question they merely indicate is as far from solution (if nothing else is done) as ever.

The mathematical probability of such an interwoven chain of custom and belief being sporadic and fortuitous is so nearly infinitesimal as to lay the burden of proof upon the upholders of the latter proposition.

Even were it acknowledged to be fortuitous it would still be the result of natural laws, and it would be interesting to inquire in such a case why these laws should work more effectively in a north and south than in any other direction, and what the circumstances are that produce a crop of labrets equally in Central Africa or in the Polar regions.

It has to me the appearance of an impulse communicated by the gradual incursion of a vigorous, masterful people upon a region already partly peopled by weaker and receptive races, whose branches, away from the scene of progressive disturbance, remained unaffected by the characteristics resulting from the impact of the invader upon their relatives.

It by no means follows on this view that these practices were imposed by conquerors on subjected tribes. On the contrary, people actually conquered, as in the case of Tlinkit slaves, would probably be denied such privileges as those symbols which were characteristic of their masters.

But people cognizant of the presence of a more vigorous or remarkably courageous race, from whom they could with difficulty defend themselves, and which was marked by certain particularly notable customs, unfamiliar and astonishing to those who first became acquainted with them, such as labretifery, might adopt customs with an idea that the desired courage or vigor might follow the symbol if adopted among themselves. The invaders would retain their original custom and conquer a place for themselves; the conquered would gradually disappear; the unconquered would exist in an intermittent sort of armed truce adjacent to the region of the conquerors; the custom would be propagated by mere contact with and high estimation of the qualities of the invaders by residents who remained unconquered.

Such a change was to a certain extent in actual progress within a recent period in the Yukon region. The Mahlemüt Innuit, the most bold and vigorous of the Orarian tribes of the region, would boldly carry their skin canoes over mountains, launch them on the other side and fearlessly invade the territory of the Tinneh Indians on the Lower Yukon, carrying on a trade in which the buyer dictated the prices. The miserable, though well-fed, Tinneh of this part of the river, constantly in fear of the more energetic coast tribes, have adopted (whether for this

or other reasons) the labret, the pipe, the foot-gear, tonsure, and dress of their alien superiors with slight modifications; practices and customs utterly unknown to the Tiueh of the upper river, bold, warlike, and enterprising, who would behold their unworthy relatives with utter scorn.

It is well known to those who have studied the region that the western slope, especially of Middle and North America, is a region of bounteous food supply, especially derived from the sea which washes it and the rivers which drain it.

The progress of conquest or armed migration, especially with people who subsist upon the country they are in, must be largely guided by the ability to find food. Any landfall of invaders on the western coast would be influenced in their movements by the presence of the Andes and the desert plains which border on the east the region of plenty near the shores. Migration in a northerly or southerly direction, either of the invaders or by those retreating before them, would be almost imperative except where the granaries of Middle America open the width of the continent to those who come, from whence to the nearer Antilles is but a step.

With its vast agricultural resources Squier has recognized in Central America an important center of aboriginal distribution. George Gibbs was confident that the region of Puget Sound—its creeks in season literally choked with salmon—was another. Indeed, the area from Puget Sound to Cape Spencer, though hardly to be termed a *center* on account of its extent, might be regarded as a sort of hive in which human swarms might continually be fed to maturity and issue forth.

The people of this region from the earliest times were known as the most vigorous, most warlike, most implacable, most subtle, most treacherous, most cultured, and fondest of blood for its own sake of any American tribes known to history. The decimated crew of Chirikoff's vessel, the first to touch on those shores, was a type of what many successive explorers suffered without having wronged the savages, and an example of a temper in the latter which even yet has hardly cooled.

It is, however, undesirable to carry these speculations beyond that point where they may excite investigation and inquiry, if not antagonism of a healthy kind, in the minds of others. I therefore bring them to a close.

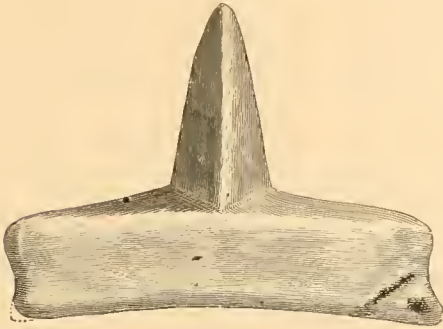
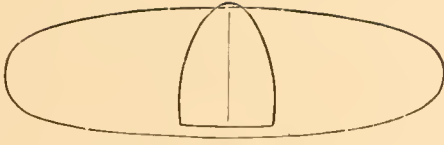
In terminating the discussion of this material I desire to express my obligations to Prof. S. F. Baird, Director of the National Museum, for facilities for study and inspection of material, and to Messrs. J. K. Goodrich, of the Museum, and J. C. Pilling, of the Bureau of Ethnology, for kind assistance in details bearing upon the preparation of this paper.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

P L A T E V.

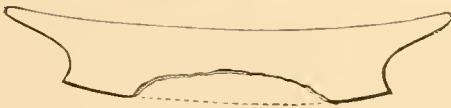
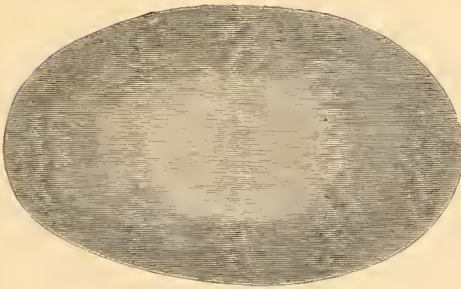
FIG. 1 (16139).—White marble labret, obtained from the uppermost layer of the shell heaps at Port Möller, Aliaska Peninsula, by W. H. Dall; (page 91).

FIG. 2 (16138).—Shale labret, from the same layer and locality; closely resembling the Tlinkit kalushka. Collected by W. H. Dall; (page 91).



(16139)

1



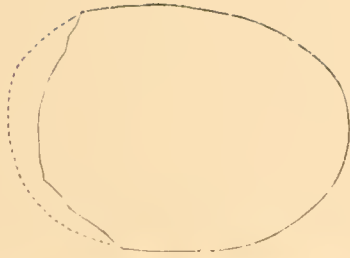
(16138)

2

PREHISTORIC ALEUTIAN LABRETS.

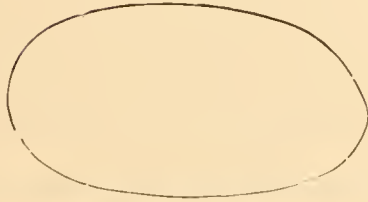
P L A T E V I.

- FIG. 3 (14933).—Ancient Aleut labret, from uppermost layer Amaknak cave, Uualashka Island. Collected by W. H. Dall; (page 91).
- FIG. 4 (12991).—Another similar to the last, and from the same locality. Collected by W. H. Dall. These two are carved of walrus-tusk ivory. It is uncertain whether these were worn by males or females, as none such have been in use during the historic period; (page 91).



(14933)

3



(12991)

4

PREHISTORIC ALEUTIAN LABRETS.

PLATE VII.

FIG. 5. Wooden maskoid from Mortlock Island, Caroline group, from a specimen on deposit in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. Figured by permission of the director, Prof. A. S. Bickmore; (page 101).

FIG. 6. Same in profile. (Page 101).



5



6

MASKOID FROM CAROLINE ISLANDS.

PLATE VIII.

FIG. 7.—Profile view of a wooden maskette, from New Ireland, figured from a specimen deposited in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. Figured with the permission of the director, Prof. A. S. Bickmore; (page 102).



7

MASKETTE FROM NEW IRELAND.

PLATE IX.

- FIG. 8.—Front view of a wooden maskette, from New Ireland, near New Guinea, from a specimen in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. Figured by permission of the director, Prof. A. S. Bickmore; (page 102).
- FIGS. 9, 10 (20651).—Front view and section of a wooden maskette, from Levuka, Friendly Islands. Presented to the United States National Museum by H. S. Kirby; (page 101).



20651

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20651

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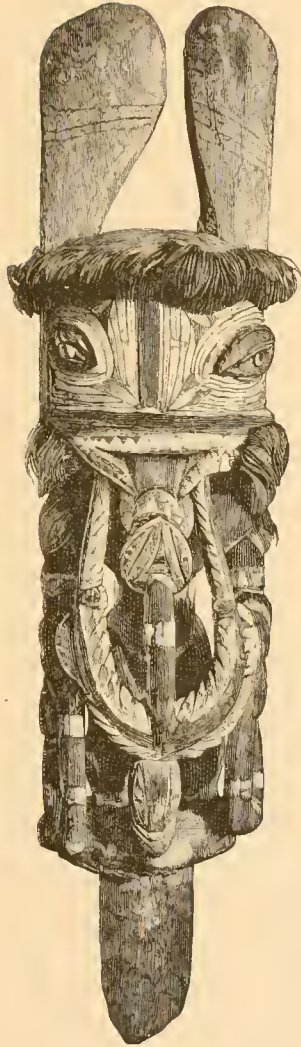
MASKETTES FROM NEW IRELAND AND THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

P L A T E X .

FIGS. 11, 12.—Wooden maskoid carving, from New Ireland, near New Guinea, in the South Seas. Profile and front views showing the serpent biting the tongue of the effigy. From a specimen deposited in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, and figured by the kind permission of the director, Prof. A. S. Bickmore; (page 102).



11



12

MASKOID FROM NEW IRELAND.

P L A T E X I.

FIG. 13.—Wooden mortuary maskoid, from the figure in E. G. Squier's Peru (page 90), found in a burial place at Pachecamac, Peru, and now forming part of the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. (This figure is inserted in the text, page 104.)

FIG. 14 (65376).—Similar maskoid, from near Lima, Peru; presented to the United States National Museum by G. H. Hurlbut; (page 104).



(5376)

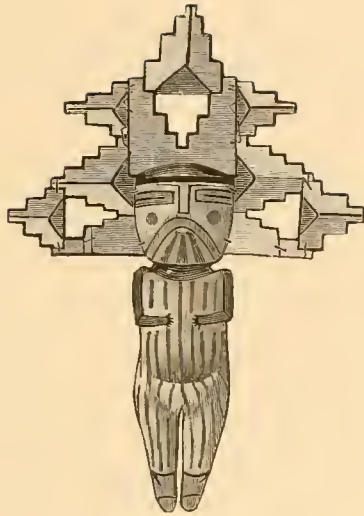
14

MORTUARY MASKOID FROM PERU.

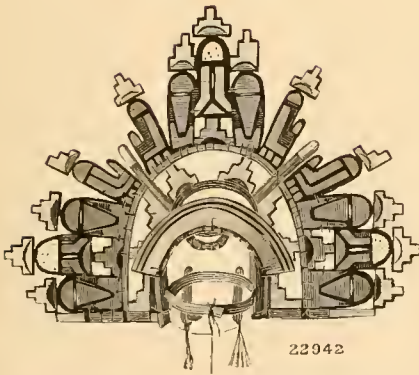
P L A T E X I I.

FIG. 15 (22930).—Doll showing the mode of wearing, the maskette head-dress figured below it. Presented to the U. S. National Museum by Maj. J. W. Powell, who obtained it at the Moqui villages in Arizona; (page 105).

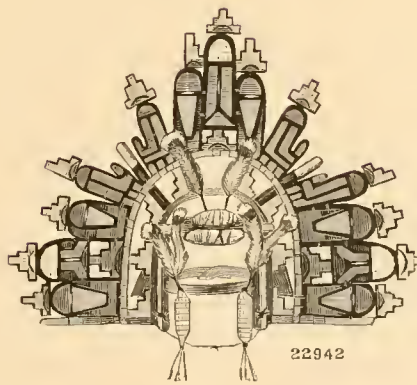
FIGS. 16, 17 (22942).—Front and rear of Moqui maskette head-dress used in dances at the Moqui villages. From a specimen in the U. S. National Museum. Collected by Maj. J. W. Powell as above; (page 105).



22930
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22942
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22942
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PLATE XIII.

- FIG. 18 (2659).—Mask from the northwest coast of America in the U. S. National Museum, collected by R. R. Waldron of the U. S. exploring expedition under Wilkes; (pages 109, 114).
- FIG. 19.—Dancing mask used by the Makah Indians, of Cape Flattery, Washington Territory. From a figure by J. G. Swan; (page 107).
- FIG. 20.—Another ditto; (page 107).
- FIG. 21 (20578).—Dancing mask from Bella-bella, British Columbia, collected for the U. S. National Museum by J. G. Swan; (page 116).



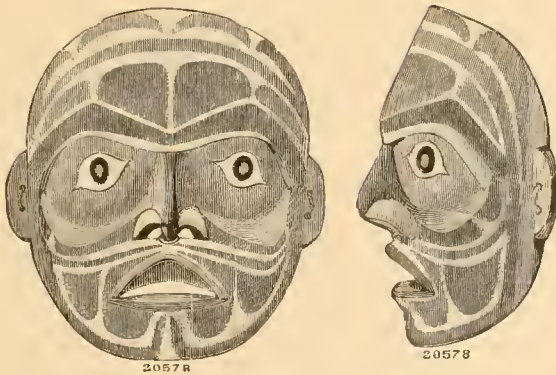
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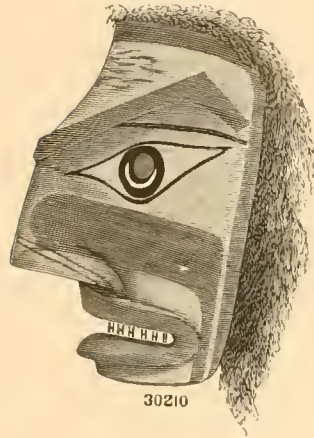
INDIAN MASKS FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA.

PLATE XIV.

- FIGS. 22 (30210).—Dancing mask from Nutka Sound, Vancouver Island, collected for the U. S. National Museum by J. G. Swan, front and profile views; (page 117).
- FIG. 23.—Dancing mask used by the Indians of Cape Flattery, Washington Territory. From a figure by J. G. Swan; (page 107).
- FIG. 24 (2658).—Mask from the northwest coast of America, collected by Mr. Scarborough during the United States exploring expedition under Wilkes; (page 113).



30210

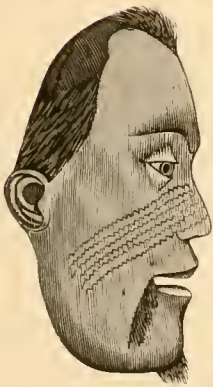


30210

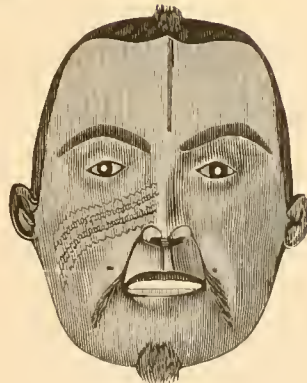
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2658.



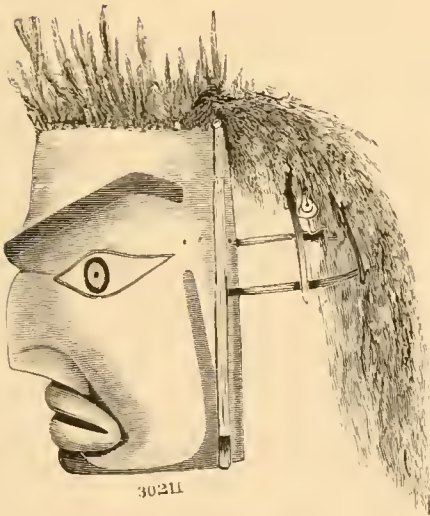
2658.

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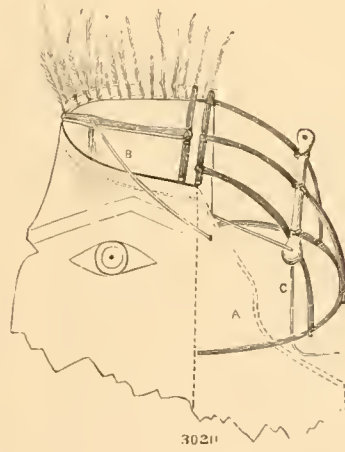
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INDIAN MASKS FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA.

PLATE XVI.

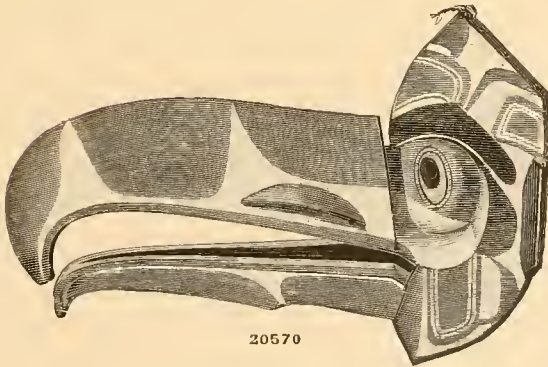
- FIGS. 28, 29 (20570).—Front and profile views of dancing mask, representing a bird's head, with movable lower jaw; obtained for the U. S. National Museum from the Bella-bella Indians, British Columbia, by J. G. Swan; (page 115).
- FIG. 30 (2714).—Dancing mask used by the Makah Indians, of Capo Flattery, Washington Territory; collected by J. G. Swan for the U. S. National Museum; (page 107).



20570
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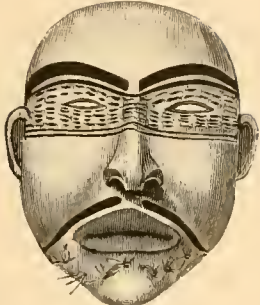


20570

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PLATE XVII.

- FIGS. 31, 32 (20892).—Dancing mask obtained from the Haida Indians of the Klemmahoon village, Prince of Wales Islands, Alaska, for the U. S. National Museum by J. G. Swan; (page 114).
- FIGS. 33, 34 (30209).—Dancing mask representing a death's head used by the Nutka tribe of Indians at Barclay Sound, Vancouver Island; collected for the U. S. National Museum by J. G. Swan; (page 115).
- FIG. 35 (1419).—Similar mask from the Makah Indians at Cape Flattery, Washington Territory; collected by J. G. Swan; (page 116).
- FIGS. 36, 37 (2661).—Shamanic mask representing the "Thunder bird," obtained on the northwest coast of America by the U. S. exploring expedition under Wilkes; (page 119).



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30209
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30209
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(1419)
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20892
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2661
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PLATE XVIII.

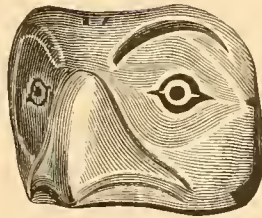
- FIGS. 38, 39 (23440).—Dancing helmet from the Makah Indians at Neeah Bay, Washington Territory; collected for the U. S. National Museum by J. G. Swan; (page 116).
- FIG. 40.—Maskette representing a bird's head from the same locality as the preceding; from a figure by J. G. Swan; (page 107).
- FIGS. 41, 42 (21573).—Haida (?) dancing mask; collected for the U. S. National Museum by Dr. White, U. S. A.; (page 115).



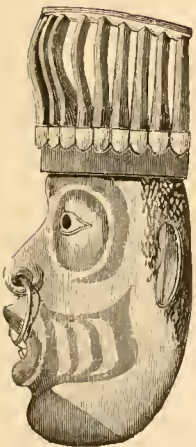
23440.
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23440
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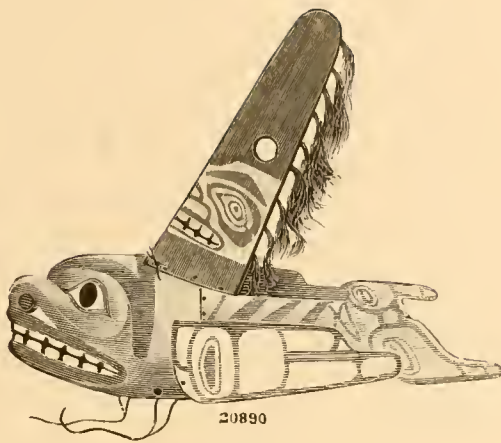
21573
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21573
42

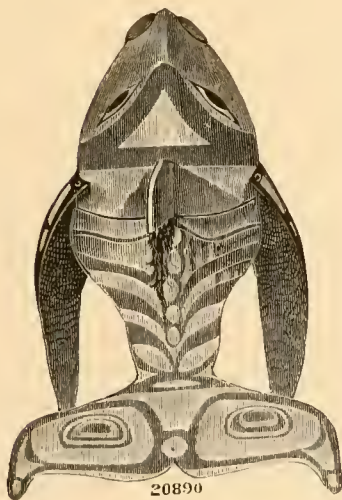
PLATE XIX.

FIGS. 43, 44 (20890).—Dancing helmet of the Haida Indians; collected at the Klemmahoon village, Prince of Wales Islands, Alaska, by J. G. Swan for the U. S. National Museum; (page 116).



20890

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20890

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INDIAN MASKETTE FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA.

P L A T E X X .

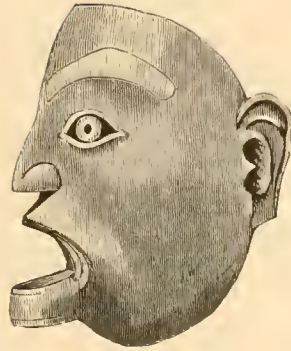
FIG. 45 (2666).—Dancing maskette, showing the mode of wearing the kalushka obtained (from the Haida Indians?) on the northwest coast of America during the U. S. exploring expedition under Wilkes; (page 119).

FIG. 46 (20581).—Dancing maskette, representing the face of a woman with a small kalaska, obtained from the T'simpsian Indians, of Port Simpson, British Columbia, for the U. S. National Museum by J. G. Swan; (page 118).



2666

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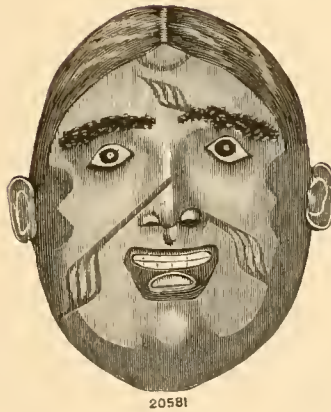


2666



20581

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20581

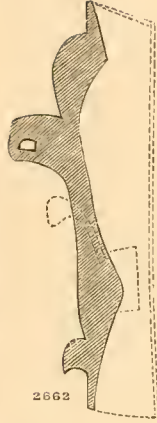
P L A T E X X I .

FIG. 47 (2662).—Front view and section of maskette collected on the northwest coast of America during the United States exploring expedition under Wilkes, by E. Very, U. S. N.; representing the beaver totem; (page 118).

FIG. 48 (9259).—Maskette representing the otter and frog, front and profile views, obtained from the Tlinkit Indians of Sitka by Dr. A. H. Hoff, U. S. A., for the U. S. National Museum; (page 118).



2662



2662



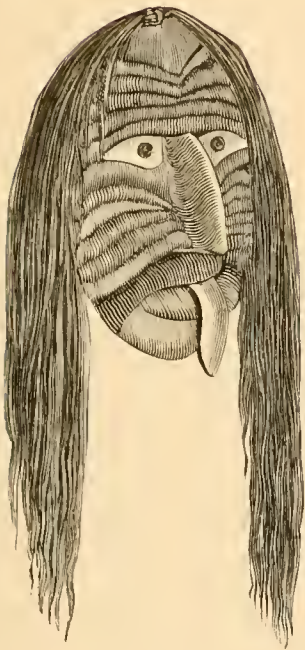
0259



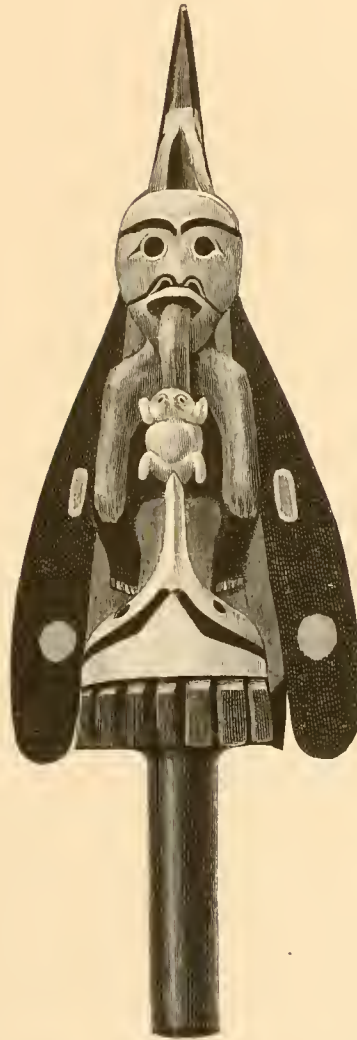
0259

PLATE XXII.

- FIG. 49.—Iroquois mask used by the order of "Falsefaces," from a figure by L. H. Morgan, in the Fifth Annual Report on the State Cabinet by the Regents of the University, Albany, 1852, p. 67; (page 144).
- FIG. 50 (56470).—Shamanic rattle used by the Haida, from a specimen obtained by J. G. Swan at Port Townsend, W. T., from a Queen Charlotte Island Haida, showing the sbaman, frog, and kingfisher with continuous tongues; (page 111).



49

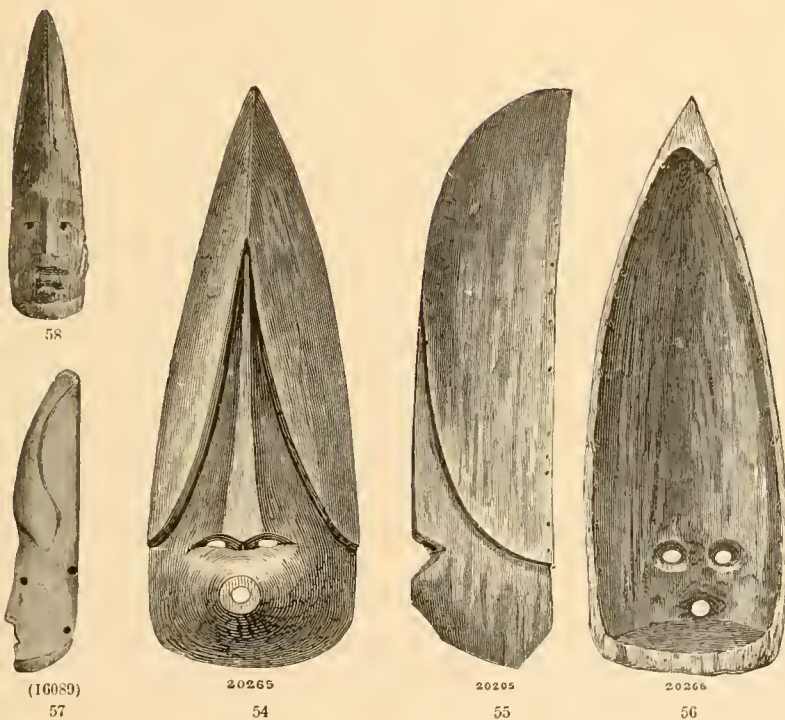
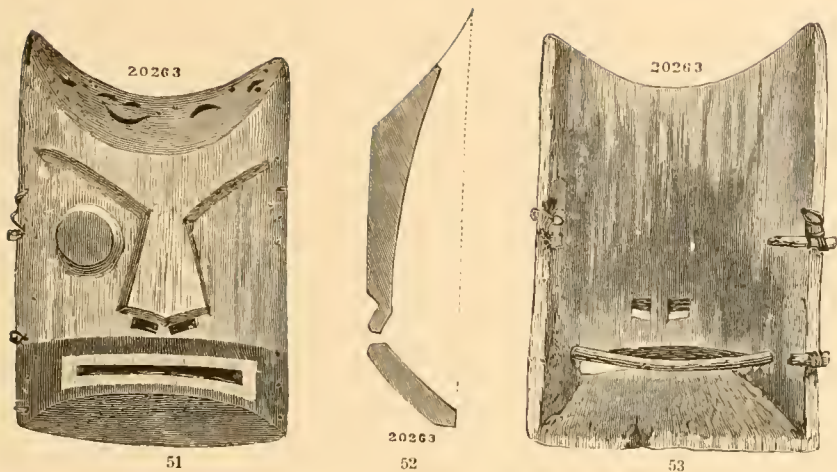


50

IROQUOIS MASK AND HAIDA MEDICINE-RATTLE.

PLATE XXIII.

- FIGS. 51-53 (20263).—Front and rear views and section of mask used by the Innuït of Prince William Sound, Alaska, presented to the U. S. National Museum by the Alaska Commercial Company; (page 126).
- FIGS. 54-56 (20265).—Front, rear, and profile views of a mask used by the Innuït of Prince William Sound, Alaska, presented to the U. S. National Museum by the Alaska Commercial Company; (page 125).
- FIGS. 57, 58 (16089).—Ivory carving, natural size, from the shell heaps of Port Möller, Alaska Peninsula, collected by W. H. Dall for the U. S. National Museum, and figured for comparison with the preceding; (page 126).

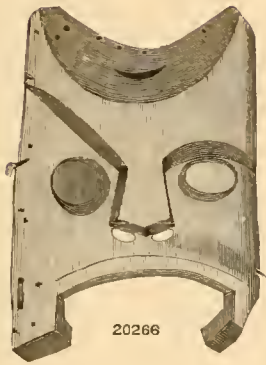


INNUIT MASKS FROM PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND.

PLATE XXIV.

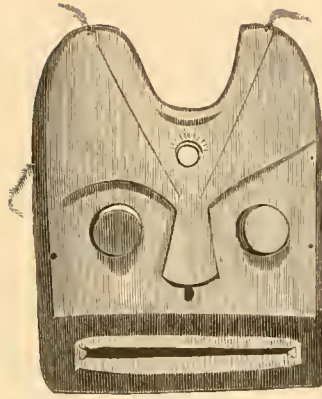
FIG. 59 (20266).--Mask used by the Innuit, of Prince William Sound, Alaska, presented to the U. S. National Museum by the Alaska Commercial Company; (page 128).

FIGS. 60, 61, 62 (20268). Front and rear views and restored lattice of Innuit mask from Prince William Sound, presented to the U. S. National Museum by the Alaska Commercial Company; (page 127).



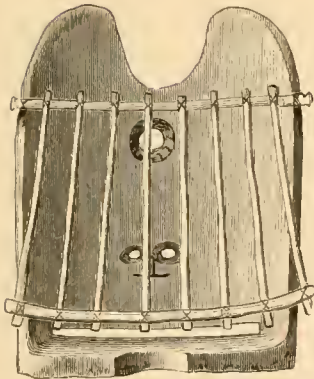
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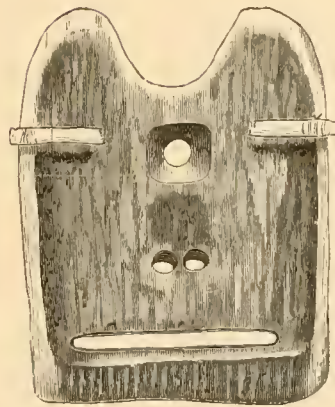
20268.

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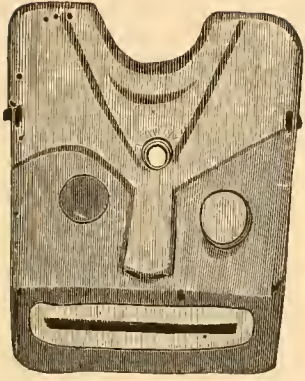


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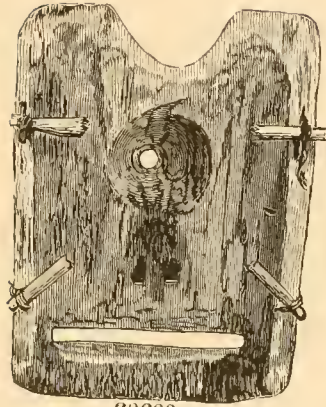
62

PLATE XXV.

- FIGS. 63, 64 (20269).—Front and rear views of Inuit mask from Prince William Sound, Alaska, presented to the U. S. National Museum by the Alaska Commercial Company; (page 126).
- FIG. 65 (20264).—Front view of Inuit mask from Prince William Sound, Alaska, presented to the U. S. National Museum by the Alaska Commercial Company; (page 127).
- FIG. 66 (24328).—Maskette, representing a seal's head, obtained from the Inuit of Saint Michael's, Norton Sound, Alaska, for the U. S. National Museum by L. M. Turner; (page 133).



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20269
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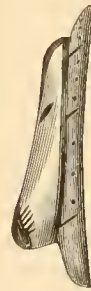


20264
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24328.

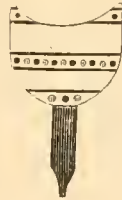
66



24328.

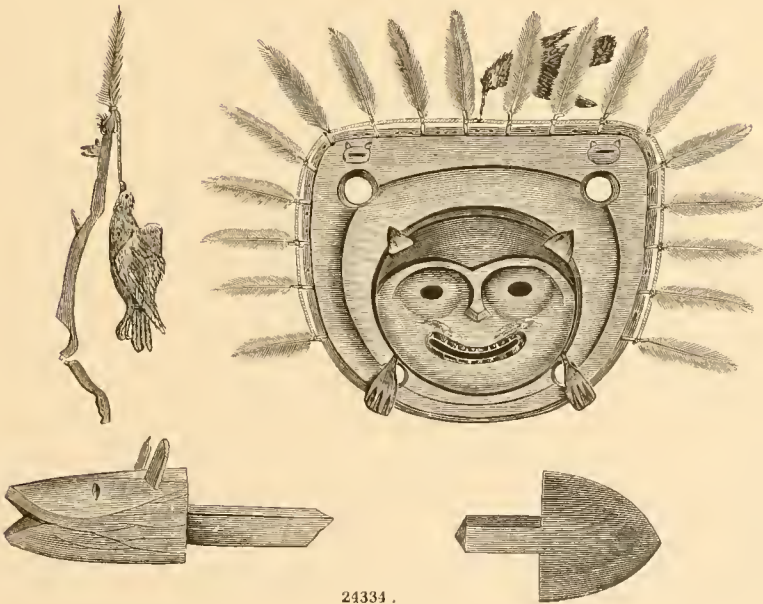
PLATE XXVI.

- FIG. 67 (16268).—Inuit maskette obtained at Saint Paul, Kadiak Island, Alaska, made by the Kaniagmut Inuit, and presented to the U. S. National Museum by W. H. Dall; (page 128).
- FIG. 68 (24334).—Front view, section, and enlarged views of accessories of Inuit mask obtained at Saint Michael's, Norton Sound, Alaska, for the U. S. National Museum, by L. M. Turner; (page 133).



16 268

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24334 .

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INNUIT MASKS FROM KADIAK AND NORTON SOUND.



(37130)

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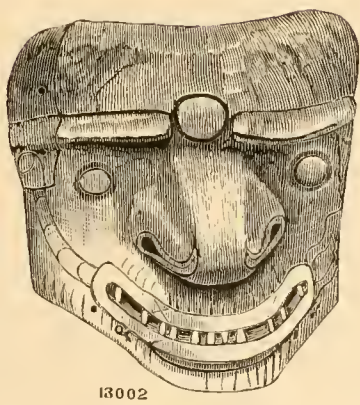
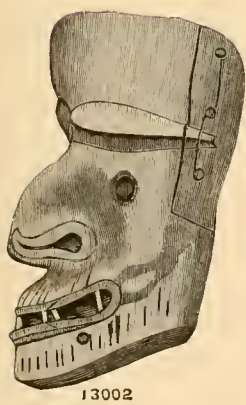
(38046)

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INNUIT FINGER MASK AND MASKETTE.

PLATE XXVIII.

- FIG. 71 (A).—Aleutian dancing mask, used during social festivals among the Aleuts, showing the method of wearing the labret then in vogue. From a figure in Sauer's account of Billings' Voyage, plate xi, figure not numbered; 1792 (page 141).
- FIG. 72 (B).—A grotesque mask used on similar occasions, showing the cleat-shaped labret described by early navigators. C indicates the same labret in profile. From a figure in Sauer's account of Billings' Voyage, plate xi, figure not numbered; (page 141).
- FIG. 73 (13002).—Aleutian death mask, obtained from a rock shelter where the dead were laid, near Delaroff Harbor, Unga, Shumagin Islands, Alaska. Obtained and presented to the U. S. National Museum by W. H. Dall; front and both profiles shown; (page 142).



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ALEUT DANCING AND MORTUARY MASKS.

PLATE XXIX.

- FIG. 74 (7604).—Aleutian death mask, from rock shelter, near Delaroff Harbor, Unga Island, Shumagin Islands, Alaska; collected by Capt. Charles Riedell, and presented to the U. S. National Museum by W. H. Dall; front and right profile views; (page 142).
- FIG. 75 (7946).—Aleutian death mask, from the same locality; collected by Dr. T. T. Minor, U. S. R. M., and presented to the U. S. National Museum; front and left profile views; (page 142).



7604



7604

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7946



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ALEUT MORTUARY MASKS.