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A. F. KASHEVAROV'S COASTAL EXPLORATIONS IN NORTHWEST ALASKA, 1838

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
JAMES W. VANSTONE

TRANSLATED BY
DAVID H. KRAUS

September 28, 1977



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A. F. KASHEVAROV'S
COASTAL EXPLORATIONS
IN NORTHWEST ALASKA, 1838

1838-1839 - Kashevarov's
Coastal Explorations
in Northwest Alaska

FIELDIANA

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations.	ix
Preface	1
Introduction	3
Preface to the Translation	17
Journal of A. F. Kashevarov's Explorations, 1838	18
Notes	66
Appendix	80
Notes to Appendix	93
References.	95
Index	100

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Map of Alaska	4
2. Map, Cape Thompson to Cape Sabine	19
3. Map, Cape Beaufort to Point Lay	23
4. Map, Utukok River to Peard Bay.	29
5. Map, Peard Bay and vicinity	32
6. Map, Walakpa Bay to Tangent Point	39
7. Map, Cape Krusenstern to Cape Seppings	60

PREFACE

In the minds of most students of Alaskan history and ethnology, exploration of the coast of northwest Alaska is associated with the great British explorers Cook and Beechey, or the various vessels dispatched by the British government in search of John Franklin's third expedition. The contributions made by Russian maritime explorers are usually thought of as having been confined to the Aleutian Islands and panhandle archipelago where most of her colonizing and economic exploitation took place, with perhaps an occasional northern penetration such as that of Kotzebue in 1815-1818.

It is true that, with the exception of Kotzebue, the Russians did not make many notable contributions to our knowledge of the geography and ethnology of Alaska north of lat. 64°. However, the explorations of Vasilev, Shishmarev, Khromchenko, and Etolin are worthy of study and provide an added dimension to our understanding of Russian expansion in the north Pacific and her response to the efforts of Great Britain and the United States to establish a sphere of influence in this area. Far more significant from a scientific point of view, however, were the coastal explorations of Aleksandr Filippovich Kashevarov, whose party, during the summer of 1838, traveled in Eskimo skin boats from Cape Lisburne to a point approximately 30 miles east of Point Barrow. Kashevarov's journal of his explorations, not published until 1879, is translated here. His accomplishments deserve to be known to all historians and anthropologists concerned with Alaska and its native inhabitants.

My purpose in this account is not only to reproduce Kashevarov's 1838 journal in English, but to place his achievements in historical perspective and call attention, in particular, to his ethnographic contributions. In this manner I hope to emphasize the importance and significance of a generally neglected event in the history of Russian America.

For critical comments and helpful suggestions during the preparation of this study, I am grateful to Ernest S. Burch, Jr. and John

Bockstoce. Their thorough knowledge of the geography, history, and ethnology of northwest Alaska has helped me to avoid numerous errors. In spite of their diligent efforts, there may still be a few for which I alone am responsible.

The translation of Kashevarov's journal was undertaken with financial support from the James R. Getz Fund of Field Museum of Natural History. David H. Kraus of the Library of Congress, translator of the journal, the appendix, and some of the material used in the introduction, also performed many editorial services. The collaboration, as in the past, has been a happy one. Henry N. Michael helped to resolve certain problems of terminology which had puzzled both the translator and the editor. Valuable assistance in obtaining biographical information on Kashevarov was provided by Dr. Svetlana G. Fedorova of the Institute of Ethnography in Moscow. The maps were drawn by Richard Roesener and the manuscript typed by Kathleen S. Fine.

INTRODUCTION

Although Russia had laid at least theoretical claim to all of Alaska since the middle of the eighteenth century, her primary interest in the fur trade confined intensive exploration and exploitation first to the Aleutian Islands and, somewhat later, to the Gulf of Alaska and the southeastern archipelago. Nevertheless, her sovereignty over the northern regions meant that she possessed the land adjacent to the western portion of the fabled Northwest Passage, an area of vital interest to other European nations, particularly Great Britain. Termination of the Napoleonic wars allowed both Great Britain and Russia to resume their rivalry in the north Pacific. The first post-war explorations, those of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue in 1815-1818, were an indication to the rest of the world that Russia intended to sponsor northern coastal explorations and had hopes of finding a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Kotzebue sailed from Turku (Åbo) in 1815 in the brig *Rurik* and reached Kamchatka by way of Cape Horn the following year. During the summer of 1816 he continued his voyage to the northeast as far as St. Lawrence Island and then through Bering Strait and along the northern coast of Seward Peninsula to the sound which bears his name. Kotzebue's instructions specified that he was to look for a safe anchoring place in Norton Sound from which to examine the northern coast the following year. Having discovered Kotzebue Sound, the explorer considered this adequate for such a purpose and felt no need to continue south to Norton Sound. Kotzebue then visited the eastern end of St. Lawrence Island before proceeding to winter quarters in Hawaii. He went north again in 1817, but since his health was poor and ice conditions in the vicinity of St. Lawrence Island promised a difficult passage north, he turned back without notably extending his explorations (Kotzebue, 1821, vol. 1, pp. 187-241; vol. 2, pp. 162-177). After the expedition returned to Europe, there was considerable criticism of the voyage, most of which revolved around the fact that Kotzebue had allowed a comparatively slight disturbance of his health to interfere with the

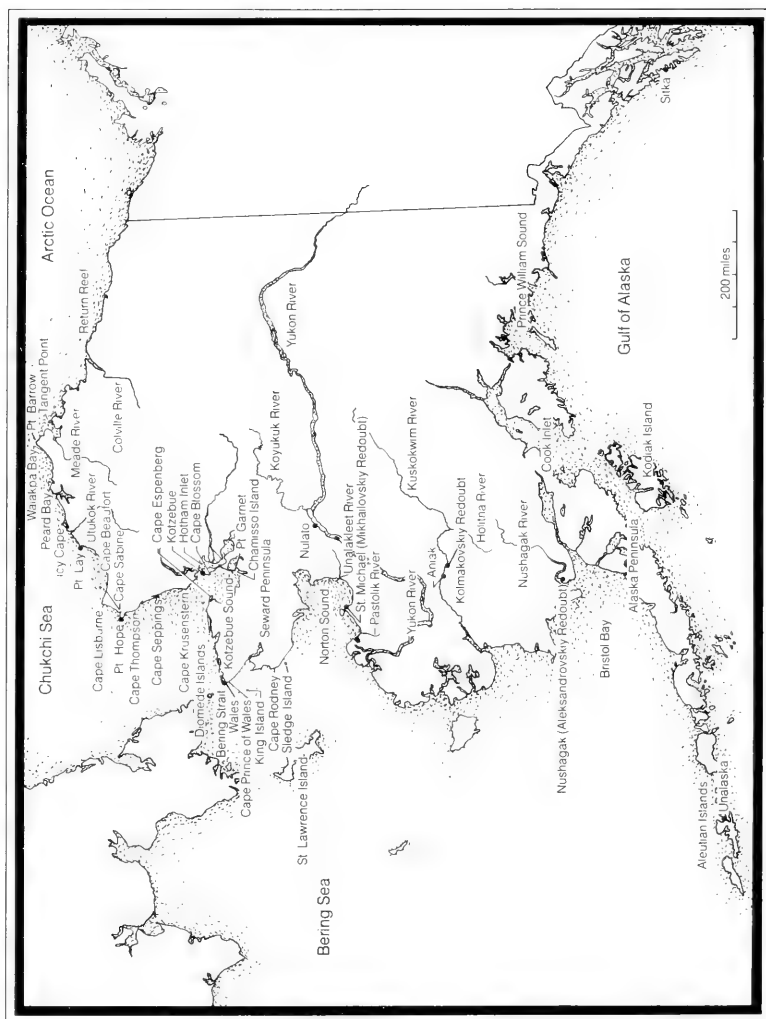


FIG. 1. Map of Alaska.

original plans for northern explorations and investigation of a passageway to the Atlantic (Mahr, 1932, pp. 13-14, 25-26).

In England, meanwhile, Sir John Barrow, Secretary of the Admiralty and a patron of arctic discovery, followed these Russian explorations with considerable interest and warned that the Russians were "strongly impressed with the idea of an open passage around America." He further observed that "It would be somewhat mortifying if a naval power but of yesterday should complete a discovery in the nineteenth century, which was so happily commenced by Englishmen in the sixteenth" (quoted in Kirwan, 1960, p. 77). Partly as a result of Barrow's urging, Parliament offered a substantial reward in 1818 for finding a northwest passage or attaining the farthest north should it turn out that a westward route to Bering Strait was impossible.

Russia continued her northern explorations in 1819 when, by order of Tsar Aleksandr I, an expedition under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Mikhail N. Vasilev was dispatched to describe and survey the northern coasts of Alaska and at the same time to look for a northwest passage. Vasilev set sail from Kronstadt in two naval sloops, the *Otkrytie* (Discovery) under his command and the *Blagonomerenny* (Good Intent) under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Gleb S. Shishmarev who had served with Kotzebue. Both ships reached Kotzebue Sound in July, 1820 and continued north as far as lat. $71^{\circ}6'$, 35 miles north of Icy Cape, where they were stopped by ice.

Vasilev and Shishmarev spent the winter in northern California and the Hawaiian Islands. By June, 1821 both the *Otkrytie* and the *Blagonomerenny* were at Unalaska ready for a second season of surveys. Shishmarev was directed to carry out surveys along the northeast coast of Asia, while Vasilev, after exploring the coast between Bristol Bay and Norton Sound, proceeded north and reached lat. $70^{\circ}40'$ before being stopped once again by ice. He then abandoned his second attempt to conduct surveys in the Arctic Ocean. Like Captain James Cook in 1788 and others after him, the Russian navigator learned that progress northward in a large sailing vessel was virtually impossible much beyond lat. 70° (Berkh, 1823, pt. II).

The Vasilev and Shishmarev expedition also demonstrated that detailed northern coastal surveys were extremely difficult if not impossible from a large sailing vessel because of numerous islands and

the difficulty in distinguishing between straits and inlets. The British explorer, Captain John Franklin, was aware of this in the early 1820's when planning his second expedition. Another person who appreciated the problem was Count Nikolay P. Rumyantsev, the Russian Chancellor of State, who had provided financial support for Kotzebue's explorations. Rumyantsev was disappointed at Kotzebue's failure to explore the coast northeast of Kotzebue Sound and he also recognized that Vasilev had failed to add to geographical knowledge of the area east of Bering Strait. Furthermore, he was distressed that the Russian government seemed to be taking no further steps to investigate these interesting problems (Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pp. 334-335).

In 1821 the Tsar had issued an ukase claiming territorial sovereignty along the coast from lat. 51° N to Bering Strait and dominion over adjacent seas 115 miles from the shore. Both the British and Americans objected strongly against this unilateral termination of free coastal navigation and it may have been that because of these objections, the Russians were unwilling to pursue discoveries for strategic advantage that would be counter to those of the British (Gough, 1973, p. 13). Although the northern areas explored by Kotzebue, Vasilev, and Shishmarev were north of the region where Russia claimed territorial sovereignty, they were, as we have noted, of strategic importance to the discovery of a northwest passage, a subject which had been of vital importance to the British for more than 200 years.

Count Rumyantsev apparently did not share his government's reluctance to carry out coastal explorations in northwest Alaska. In 1824 he wrote to the General Manager of the Russian-American Company, Matvey I. Muravev, requesting him to outfit an expedition to explore the northern coast of Alaska, the cost to be paid jointly by the count and the company. This request, of course, had the approval of the company's general administration in St. Petersburg and it probably also had at least the unofficial blessing of the imperial government as well. On more than one occasion, the Russian-American Company served as an effective front for activities directly concerned with Russian power in North America.

Rumyantsev, like Franklin, believed that a land expedition could carry out a better survey of the coast than could ships. Therefore, he envisioned that his expedition would proceed to Icy Cape in a company vessel and then in small boats undertake detailed surveys northward and as far east as the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

The Russians were aware that Franklin was about to begin a similar expedition from the opposite direction and it was apparently hoped that the two parties would meet, thus sharing the glory of completing a northwest passage of sorts. On the other hand, if Russia were to make no further attempt at northern coastal exploration, the British would eventually reach Bering Strait and Russia would be open to criticism for allowing other nations to explore her seas and coasts (Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pp. 334-335).

Count Rumyantsev desired that his expedition be under the command of Vasilii S. Khromchenko and Adolph K. Etolin, veteran naval officers in the employ of the Russian-American Company who had recently completed successful explorations off the coast of southwestern Alaska (VanStone, 1973). He allotted 20,000 rubles for the undertaking and the general administration authorized Muravev to spend as much as 10,000 rubles if necessary. At this point, however, Count Rumyantsev died and since his heir did not approve of spending money for this purpose, the entire project collapsed. As it appeared unlikely that Rumyantsev's expedition would actually be able to co-operate with Franklin as the Count had hoped, this may have been another factor in the decision to abandon the enterprise (Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, p. 336).

Just as Count Rumyantsev and others in Russia knew of the plans for Franklin's second expedition, so Franklin was apparently aware of the possibility of new Russian explorations in the north Pacific. He feared an attempt by the Russians to extend their domain to the north and was a firm believer in the need to check Russian power in North America so that it would not be extended into the rich fur-bearing region of the Mackenzie basin (Gough, 1973, pp. 11-12). This was an area with which Franklin already had some familiarity as a result of his first expedition (1819-1822) which had wintered north of Great Slave Lake near the headwaters of the Coppermine River (Franklin, 1824).

The purpose of Franklin's second expedition (1825-1827) was, therefore, to reach the mouth of the Mackenzie overland and then explore westward along the coast to the northwest extremity of North America for the triple purpose of advancing geographical knowledge and the fur trade, as well as preventing the encroachment of Russia. Traveling overland from New York, Franklin and his party reached Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca in mid-July, 1825 and the mouth of the Mackenzie a month later. Winter quarters were established at Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake and the

following summer Franklin and Lieutenant George Back explored west of the Mackenzie Delta as far as Return Reef at lat. 148°52' (Franklin, 1828).

Franklin had hoped and expected to reach Icy Cape in the summer of 1826 and requested that a vessel meet him in Kotzebue Sound or some other location further north in order to bring the party back to England or to furnish it with supplies for a return by land (Gough, 1973, p. 11). Captain Frederick W. Beechey in the sloop *Blossom* was dispatched in 1826 to co-operate with Franklin and, hopefully, to meet his party somewhere north of Kotzebue Sound.

The *Blossom* arrived at Chamisso Island on July 22, 1826 and on that day discovered Hotham Inlet, an indentation of the coast that had escaped the notice of Kotzebue. Beechey then proceeded north along the coast keeping a continual lookout for Franklin and utilizing the ship's barge to make close-in surveys. A decision was made to send the barge north from Icy Cape under the command of Thomas Elson; ship and barge parted company on August 17. The *Blossom* then returned to Kotzebue Sound to await Elson's return, arriving there on August 28.

Elson and his party, after considerable difficulty, reached Point Barrow on August 22, just six days after Franklin turned back from Return Reef, and rejoined Beechey in Kotzebue Sound on September 10 (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, pp. 356-472). "By this expedition about seventy miles of coast in addition to those discovered by the *Blossom*—making in the whole 126 miles—have been added to the geography of the polar regions, and the distance between Captain Franklin's discoveries and our own have been brought within so small a compass as to leave very little room for further speculation on the northern limits of the continent of America" (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 442). Beechey was correct in his assumption. Although he failed to meet Franklin in 1826, or again in 1827 when he returned to Kotzebue Sound and the barge explored as far north as Icy Cape (Beechey, 1831, vol. 2, pp. 254-291), the remaining unexplored coast of Alaska consisted only of the approximately 200 miles between Return Reef and Point Barrow. Beechey's careful surveys of the coast between Kotzebue Sound and Icy Cape also proved once and for all that there was no northwest passage south of the northern limit of the Alaska mainland.

In 1830 Baron Ferdinand P. von Wrangell became General Manager of the Russian-American Company, having already

achieved distinction both as a naval officer and as an explorer. Although he was in Alaska for slightly less than five years, his interest, guidance, and scientific curiosity, together with the demands of the fur trade, led to important explorations in southwestern Alaska which added greatly to the existing knowledge of Alaska's geography and peoples (VanStone, 1970, p. 1). Upon completion of his term as General Manager, Wrangell returned to St. Petersburg and proposed to the company's general administration that an expedition be sent to examine the unexplored section of coast between Point Barrow and Return Reef. This expedition was to be under the command of A. F. Kashevarov, who would proceed with his party on a company ship as far north as the ice would permit and then continue north in smaller vessels in the manner that Count Rumyantsev had proposed earlier.

A. F. Kashevarov was born in 1809 on Kodiak Island. According to Fedorova (1973, pp. 338-339), the explorer's father, Filipp Artamonovich Kashevarov, was a *promyshlennik* or fur trader, but other sources refer to him as a school teacher and he could, of course, have been both. Kashevarov's mother was either an Aleut or an Eskimo; here again the sources are contradictory. The creole sons of company employees were frequently sent to Russia to study at company expense and young Kashevarov arrived in St. Petersburg at the age of 12 together with two other creole boys, one of whom, according to Fedorova (1973, pp. 338-339), was Yakov Netsvetov, who later became the first Russian Orthodox priest on the Yukon River. In St. Petersburg Kashevarov was first placed in a private boarding school and later entered the Kronstadt Navigation School from which he graduated in 1828. His first assignments involved a circumnavigation of the world in 1829-1830, during which he mapped some previously unknown islands in the Marshalls, and, in 1831, a voyage from Kronstadt to Sitka. In the latter year he became an ensign in the Fleet Navigation Corps.

Back in Alaska again, Kashevarov assumed command of a number of company ships between 1833 and 1837 usually sailing between Sitka and Kodiak Island, but also occasionally to other ports. In 1837 he was promoted to second lieutenant and his superiors must have continued to be impressed with his skill as a navigator for he was chosen to lead the coastal expedition proposed by Wrangell (*Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar*, 1895, vol. 14a, p. 818; *Obschiy morskoy spisok*, 1900, vol. 12, suppl., p. 495; Lipshits, 1952, p. 175; *Russkie Moreplavateli*, 1953, p. 510; *Bolshaya Sovet-*

skaya Entsiklopediya, 1973, vol. 11, pp. 554-555; Fedorova, 1973, pp. 338-339).

Kashevarov's expedition was planned more carefully than any small-boat explorations in Alaska up to that time. The party was to travel in a single baydara (umiak) and five baydarkas (kayaks). In Sitka both warm clothing and small wood and leather food containers were designed specifically for use in the baydarkas in the event that the expedition was forced to abandon its larger boat. In addition, the most modern instruments for surveying and observation were also provided (Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pp. 337-338).

While these preparations were in progress, and unknown to Kashevarov and those responsible for his enterprise, the Hudson Bay Company, with the blessing of the British government, had dispatched an expedition with exactly the same goal: to survey the arctic coast line from Franklin's farthest point west to Point Barrow. Thomas Simpson and Peter Warren Dease left Fort Chipewyan on June 1, 1837, reached the mouth of the Mackenzie on July 9, and Return Reef on July 23. Simpson, alone and on foot during the last four days, arrived at Point Barrow on August 4. Thus the British — and not the Russians, as Barrow had feared — achieved the distinction of making the final survey of the north coast (Simpson, 1843).

Following his coastal explorations in northwest Alaska, which are the subject of the journal translated here, Kashevarov returned to more routine service for the Russian-American Company. Between 1839 and 1843 he commanded company ships sailing between Sitka, Petropavlovsk, Okhotsk, and California; in 1841 he was promoted to lieutenant (*Obschiy morskoy spisok*, 1900, vol. 12, suppl., p. 496; *Russkie Moreplavатели*, 1953, p. 510). In 1840 the first brief report on his coastal explorations (Kashevarov, 1840) was published, to be followed five years later by the publication of that portion of his diary kept between July 5 and July 16, 1838 (Kashevarov, 1845). These diaries were written in addition to and separate from the expedition's journal and they contain some additional information, especially with reference to tribal classification and distribution (Ray, 1975b, pp. 131-132). The following year he (Kashevarov, 1846) published the ethnographic account "Zametki ob eskimosakh v Russkoy Amerike" (Notes on the Eskimos in Russian America) which is translated here as an appendix.

In 1845 Kashevarov returned to St. Petersburg where he was

discharged from the service of the Russian-American Company and assigned to the Hydrographic Department of the Naval Ministry to work on a compilation of maps for an atlas of the north Pacific Ocean (Kashevarov, 1850).¹ During this interval he was promoted to captain of the second rank (*Obschiy morskoy spisok*, 1900, vol. 12, suppl., p. 496; *Russkie Moreplavатели*, 1953, p. 510). In 1850 Kashevarov returned to the service of the Russian-American Company with the rank of captain-lieutenant and was appointed commander of the port of Ayan on the Okhotsk Sea where the company maintained a post. During the Crimean War (1854), British ships attacked the port; for his role in repulsing them Kashevarov was awarded the order of St. Vladimir, 4th class (*Lipshits*, 1952, p. 177).

Kashevarov remained at Ayan until 1855 when he was once again discharged from the company's service and returned to St. Petersburg to serve in the Hydrographic Department. He was appointed chief draftsman of the department in 1858 and served in that capacity until 1862 when he was assigned to the reserves. In 1865 he retired with the rank of brigadier general and died on September 25, 1866 (*Lipshits*, 1952, p. 178; *Obschiy morskoy spisok*, 1900, vol. 12, suppl., p. 496).

While still serving at Ayan, Kashevarov became an outspoken critic of the Russian-American Company and something of a spokesman for those who, like himself, were born in Alaska and loved their native land. It did not escape his notice that the directors of the company who met in St. Petersburg, most of whom knew little about Russian America, were more concerned about stockholders' profits than they were about the welfare of the inhabitants of Alaska, both Russian and native. In the early 1860's, when serious consideration was being given to the future of the company, Kashevarov published articles that were highly critical of the general administration. In one of these (Kashevarov, 1861) he noted the difficulties of reconciling the loyalty expected of a company employee with the patriotic feelings of a native Alaskan, while in others he sharply criticised the organization of trade in Russian America and the over-exploitation of natural resources. This situation could

¹According to Fedorova (1973, p. 261), an "Atlas of the Eastern Ocean" compiled by A. F. Kashevarov with descriptions of colonial seafarers of 1844-1862" was published in St. Petersburg in 1862. Of the sources on Kashevarov's life and work, only the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (1973, vol. 11, p. 555) mentions this publication. Although the encyclopedia refers to a published atlas, Fedorova's source is the "Central State Archive of the USSR Navy."

only be remedied, in his opinion, if Alaska was incorporated into the Russian state, thus becoming totally independent of the company (Kashevarov, 1862a, b).

It was doubtless these opinions, outspoken for the time and freely offered in print, that hastened Kashevarov's departure from company service. Certainly, he was correct in his assessment of the role of the company in Russian America. By this time, however, the Russian government was deeply involved in serious political difficulties in Europe and elsewhere and had little inclination to devote much attention to the needs of its North American possession except to consider its sale to the United States. This event took place in 1867, less than a year after Kashevarov's death (Chernenko, 1967, p. 7; Lipshits, 1952, p. 177).

Kashevarov's journal of his coastal explorations in northwest Alaska during the summer of 1838 was not published until 1879, 13 years after his death. The accounts which appeared in 1840, 1845, and 1846, in a language little known in western Europe at the time, were apparently insufficient to call attention to his accomplishments. In any event, there are no references to his trip in any of the accounts of the Franklin search expeditions which frequented the same area of the north Pacific between 1849 and 1855 seeking clues to the disappearance of John Franklin's third expedition. In 1849, 1850, and 1852 there were boat expeditions from Icy Cape to Point Barrow and beyond that covered some of the same territory as that traversed by the Kashevarov expedition. The members of these parties were totally unaware that any European other than Thomas Elson in the *Blossom's* barge had made this trip before them (Moore, 1851, pp. 33-40; Pullen, 1852, pp. 23-33; Maguire, 1852-1853, pp. 48-59; 1854, pp. 160-186). In fact, the only contemporary explorer to acknowledge Kashevarov's accomplishment was his fellow countryman, Lavrentiy A. Zagoskin, who may have had access to the former's unpublished journal and definitely utilized his early article published in 1840 (Zagoskin, 1967, p. 294). Zagoskin included Kashevarov's discoveries on the map of Alaska which accompanied his own explorations, first published in 1847-1848 (Zagoskin, 1956, map).

It is hoped that readers of the translation and editorial comments which follow will be in a position to make their own evaluation of the accomplishments of Kashevarov's party. Perhaps some guidance can be offered, however, by considering these accomplishments in

the light of two major considerations: 1) the significance of the expedition from the standpoint of additions to geographical knowledge; and 2) ethnographic information obtained by Kashevarov concerning the Eskimo inhabitants of the areas covered by the expedition.

An accurate assessment of Kashevarov's geographical contributions is difficult because no map was published with his journal. Several references are made in the journal to the accuracy of Beechey's map and it could be that Kashevarov believed publication of his map to be unwarranted since it did not improve substantially on the one already published by Beechey. Kashevarov's text, however, contains a far more detailed geographical discussion than is given by Smyth in his account of Elson's barge trip, and more than in any of the trips along the coast by members of the various Franklin search expeditions. As a result, the reader obtains a much clearer picture of the country and its environment than can be obtained from any other contemporary account. Kashevarov's additions to geographical nomenclature in the area east of Point Barrow are not retained on modern maps. However, the considerable number of Eskimo settlements he identified by name, and which appear on Zagoskin's (1956) map, indicate the significance which the latter attached to the expedition of his countryman even though he was aware that it duplicated, to some extent, the achievements of both Beechey and Simpson. It can be said, therefore, that Kashevarov added little that was totally new to the geography of northwest Alaska, but he was the only nineteenth-century explorer to describe the coast and its environment in reasonable detail.

It is in the area of ethnography that Kashevarov's contributions are truly notable. Unlike the parties of Elson, Pullen, Moore, and Maguire, he made a point of questioning the Eskimos he encountered on his trip and noted their villages and camps. His was the first expedition of the period to have the benefit of an Inupik-speaking interpreter, making it possible to obtain from the natives accurate information concerning the country, as well as the names of settlements, rivers, and tribal groupings.

Particularly useful and detailed is Kashevarov's information on settlement patterns. Thirteen permanent and seasonal settlements are identified with certainty and four more with reasonable certainty. This is a far greater number than is mentioned by any other contemporary expedition and most of them were placed on maps for

the first time as a result of Kashevarov's exploration. Occasionally, the number of dwelling units is listed together with other information that makes approximate population estimates possible. Kashevarov's journal also contains the first detailed published description of Eskimo houses and summer tents in northwest Alaska.

Perhaps the most significant ethnographic contribution in the journal is the identification of "tribal" groupings by name, as well as information concerning inter-tribal relations. These data constitute an important historical supplement to recent research attempting to define the territorial extent of traditional societies or "tribes" in northwest Alaska in the mid-nineteenth century (Burch, 1975, pp. 10-13). However, Kashevarov, in spite of the assistance of his interpreter, appears to have had little understanding of dialectical differences in the area, or even of the broad distinction between the Yupik and Inupik languages.

The reader will note that Kashevarov's journal contains many references to the plant and animal life of northwest Alaska, as well as good accounts of Eskimo subsistence activities. There are also references to trade with inhabitants of Kotzebue Sound and Bering Strait which suggests the existence of an elaborate trade network involving peoples of northeastern Siberia, the nature of which Zagoskin was able to determine in considerable detail just four years later (Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 100-103).

Considering Kashevarov's interest in the Eskimos and their way of life, it is surprising that he did not, like Beechey (Bockstoce, nd), make a collection of ethnographic specimens. There is a small collection of ethnographic material obtained by Kashevarov in the Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology, Leningrad, but it does not, apparently, contain any specimens from northwest Alaska (Lipshits, 1953, p. 368).

In summary, the ethnographic information in Kashevarov's journal is both considerable and of high quality. It far surpasses both in quantity and quality similar information in the accounts of members of the various Franklin search expeditions, most of whom seem to have considered the Eskimos beneath their notice. It is equal in value to the ethnographic data collected by Beechey, an excellent observer (Bockstoce, nd), and has the advantage of pertaining primarily to an area which Beechey himself did not see. In spite of the importance of Kashevarov's ethnographic contributions, however, his journal has seldom been consulted by anthropologists who

have worked in northwest Alaska during the past 25 years. Foote and Williamson (1966, pp. 1,041-1,107), in their excellent study of the human geography of northwest Alaska, note that Kashevarov visited the area; they were aware of the journal and possibly his other publications, but made only minimal use of them.

With the exception of the journal, the most important of Kashevarov's publications for anthropologists is the article entitled "Zametki ob eskimosakh v Russkoy Amerike," a translation of which appears here in an appendix. Like the journal, it has been ignored by American anthropologists, but on the basis of this article alone a Soviet scholar has described Kashevarov as "an important student of Alaskan ethnography" (Lipshits, 1952, p. 175). This is, indeed, an accurate evaluation since the article in question merits comparison with Wrangell's pioneer study "Obitateli severo-zapadnykh beregov Ameriki" (The Inhabitants of the Northwest Coast of America) originally published in 1839 (Wrangell, 1970, pp. 5-20). Although Wrangell was apparently aware of Beechey's publication, he does not utilize it extensively. The emphasis in his account is on the Eskimos and Indians of southwestern Alaska; thus Kashevarov's article compliments it nicely. Together they indicate that by 1850 the Russians had a reasonable understanding of the inhabitants of their vast North American domain.

In his article Kashevarov's emphasis on man and his relationship to the environment has a decidedly modern flavor. He contrasts the environment of the Chukchi Sea area with that of the region to the south and notes the extensive contrasts in temperature throughout the year in the north that are, in part, responsible for the definite seasonal round of subsistence activities. Demographic data include a total population estimate, the earliest specifically for northwest Alaska. The seasonal movements of people and Russian trade are considered, and there are accounts of villages with an even more detailed description of winter houses than occurs in the journal.

Kashevarov repeats some of the information included in his journal, specifically his definition of the "tribal" groupings, as well as much geographical and botanical data; the same linguistic errors are also perpetuated. A limited amount of additional material on the seasonal round is included. There are good accounts of hunting methods, particularly for caribou, and a more detailed description of the kayak than is to be found in the journal. Careful observations

of clothing and personal adornment are also significantly more detailed than comparable treatments in the journal.

It is rare in nineteenth century accounts of exploration in Alaska to read anything about social organization or other less obvious aspects of culture. Kashevarov, however, writes with obvious interest and sensitivity with reference to such matters as polygyny, child rearing, leadership, and respect for the aged. Similarly, he is concerned about the hazards of impending culture change and the unhappy fate which he believes awaits the Eskimos of north-west Alaska if they are cut off from their traditional way of life.

In making a general assessment of Kashevarov's accomplishment, it is necessary to keep in mind that his explorations appear to have differed considerably from those of other explorers who were employees of the Russian-American Company. Kashevarov was more than simply an advance agent for a fur trading company whose duties consisted primarily of providing basic information that would assist his employers to make their plans for expanding the fur trade. In fact, there is relatively little information on the fur trade in Kashevarov's journal, and he apparently made no attempt to trade for furs as did Khromchenko, Zagoskin, and other company explorers. The real goal of the expedition would appear to have been political. At the instigation of Wrangell and unaware of the accomplishment of Thomas Simpson, the company hoped to achieve for Russia the honor of completing exploration of the north coast of Alaska. It is clear, however, that the company never really believed it would be in a position to take advantage of the fur trade in that area.

PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION

A. F. Kashevarov's journal of his coastal explorations in the summer of 1838 was published in 1879. Other publications relating to the expedition appeared in print considerably earlier and it is not clear why the appearance of the journal was so long delayed. One explanation that suggests itself is that Kashevarov's criticism of the Russian-American Company, which must have caused a certain amount of official displeasure, may have delayed the release of his journal for publication. Also the Russian government, desirous of maintaining as much of a trade monopoly as possible in Alaska, felt no need to publish information which they had on hand since such publication could only benefit foreigners.

The original Russian text contains numerous references to the weather and the condition of the sea. Many of these have been eliminated in the translation, but I hope that enough have been retained to enable the reader to understand and appreciate the environmental conditions under which the expedition was carried out.

In the translation of the journal and in the appendix, too, words appearing in brackets are those of the editor, while words or sentences in parentheses are part of the original text. Where necessary and when known the present-day spelling of place names is indicated in brackets next to the original transliteration. All editorial footnotes are numbered and placed at the end of the translation (p. 66). Footnotes in the original text are indicated by an asterisk and placed at the bottom of the page where they occur.

Russian proper names and other words in Kashevarov's journal have been transliterated according to a modified form of the Library of Congress system. The reader should remember that all dates in the journal are according to the Gregorian calendar which was 12 days behind the Julian calendar in the nineteenth century. The following Russian measurements occur in the texts of the journal and appendix: *arshin* = 28 in., *sazhen* = 2.3 yd., *verst* = .66 miles.

JOURNAL KEPT DURING THE "BAYDARA" EXPEDITION
SENT OUT TO DESCRIBE THE NORTHERN COAST OF
AMERICA FROM THE FIFTH OF JULY THROUGH
THE SIXTH OF SEPTEMBER 1838

BY THE LEADER OF THE EXPEDITION,
SECOND LIEUTENANT OF THE NAVIGATOR'S CORPS,
KASHEVAROV

July 5th, From Noon

Light air; few clouds; sunshine; thick ice floe at sea to the N and E. At 9:00 the expedition, consisting of five three-hatch baydarkas¹ and one 12-oar baydara² under the command of Second Lieutenant Kashevarov of the Navigator's Corps, leaving the brig *Polyphem*, moved on to Cape Lisburne.³ The crew of the expedition consists of Navigation Assistant Malakhov⁴, Company Factor Kulishev, Medical Student Benzeman, an interpreter, a baydara leader, 21 oarsmen for the baydara and the five baydarkas, a Chpagmiut.⁵ After disembarking, the expedition began putting its baggage, weapons, and two months provisions in order so that when it parted with the brig *Polyphem*, then cruising off Cape Lisburne, it would have all that it was supposed to have for the expedition. This, in fact, proved to be the case. The expedition was equipped with instruments consisting of a sextant with 20-in. scale divisions (the work of Master Trouton), one artificial horizon with a correcting device, two thermometers with Reaumur and Fahrenheit scales, two telescopes, one drawing instrument, four second clocks, logs, sounding leads and spares, one artificial magnet, two Pyle compasses with four spare cards, one stop watch, and one No. 1101 Parkenson chronometer, which, when checked at New Archangel [Sitka] showed on May 7th, 1838: 2°24'31".79 behind mean noon, deviation 2.685 sec/24 hrs; in using the chronometer to convert longitude to the meridian of Greenwich, we took the longitude of New Archangel Port as 135°18'40"W of Greenwich. Corresponding elevations of the same showed our situation on June 22nd as 0°35'54".68 behind mean noon. Daily deviation 2.6662 sec.

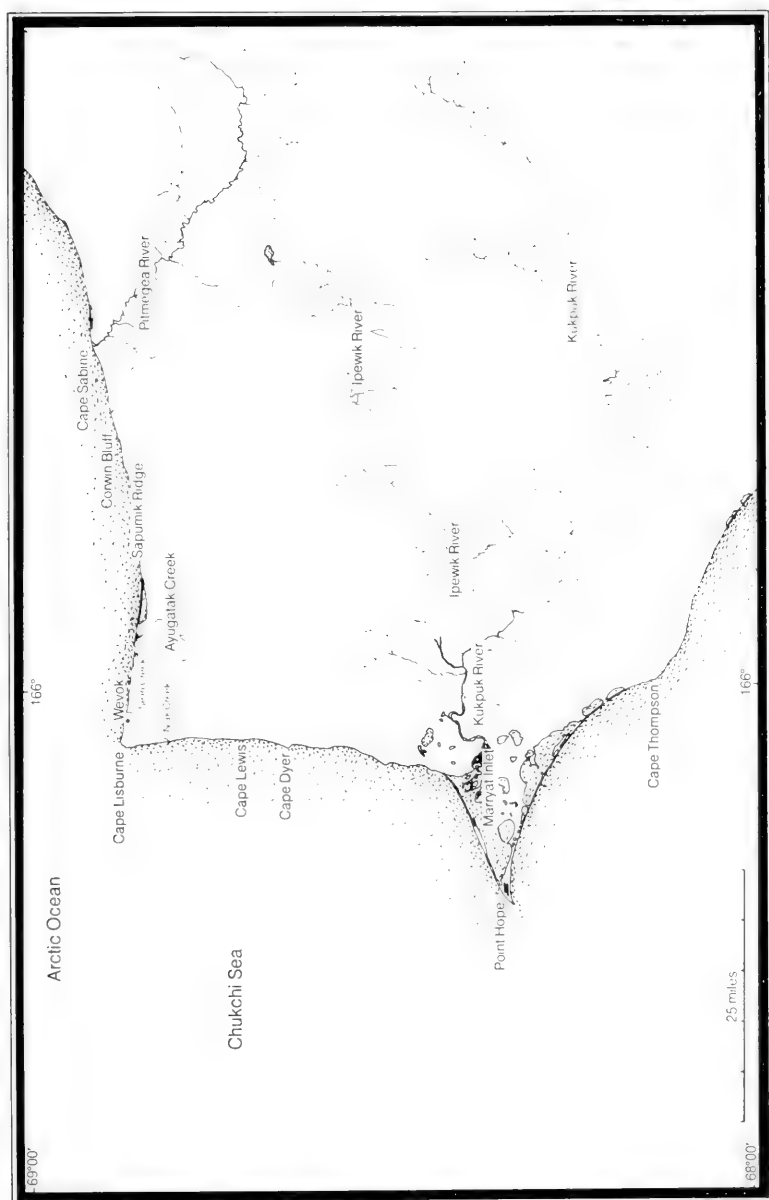


FIG. 2. Cape Thompson to Cape Sabine.

The coast consists of flinty rock up to 850 ft. high, but at the foot of the cliffs there is a sandy beach up to 1,400 ft. wide, quite suitable for landing baydarkas. Here we were met by savages (20 persons of both sexes with two children and two baydaras) who call themselves Tykagmiuts.⁶ Their winter settlement is on Point Hope; they speak the Maligmiut language, which has the same root as the Kodiak language, but is a dialect that differs in many respects from it.⁷ The appearance, dress, and ornaments of the Tykagmiuts are quite the same as those of the inhabitants of the Kuskokwim and Kvikhpak rivers.⁸ Cape Lisburne is called Inakuchik by the natives.⁹

Wind moderate; cloudy; ice can be seen to the NE. *Polyphem* has disappeared to the north.

July 6th, From Midnight

Wind calm; cloudy; the brig appeared to the north on the horizon at 7:30.

Wind fresh with sharp gusts from the cliffs. *Polyphem* turned to the W and at 10:00 disappeared from view.

From Noon

Wind fresh with gusts from the cliffs, cloudy.

July 7th, From Midnight

Wind moderate; cloudy with the sun shining through; no ice is to be seen at sea. At 4:00 we began to assemble and at 5:00, with God's help, we set out. Because of the strong gusts of wind from the cliffs, the baydara had to be towed.

Wind moderate; few clouds; sunshine. At 10:45 we put into shore near a tent in which we found seven savages of both sexes with children; they had two baydaras. The tent was made of caribou skins sewn together and was conical, about 12 ft. high. The caribou skins had been worked soft and were wrapped around crossbars with the hair side out. The natives call themselves Tykagmiuts and also live on Point Hope (Tykaga in the native language) in the winter. These people, like the savages we met on Cape Lisburne, come here for caribou.¹⁰ There is a small fresh-water stream near the tent.

Wind fresh; cloudy; we set out from the tent and traveled NE. The beach ended, the shore became a cliff to which ice froze, forming ledges up to 20 ft. thick extending 15 to 20 ft. from shore.¹¹

From Noon

At 1:00 the squall wind shifted to the NE, with snow, at times with rain; the wind began to rise, as a result of which the sea became very choppy near the edge of the ice. we turned around and at 2:00 made it back to the natives' tent amid great danger from the pounding surf.

July 8th, From Midnight

Wind light; few clouds. Observations show our position to be $68^{\circ}50'54''$ N; the chronometer shows our longitude to be $165^{\circ}28'48''$ W; deviation of the compass $36^{\circ}2'$ E. The stretch of coast we have traversed from Cape Lisburne checks in all details with Captain Beechey's map.

From Noon

Wind fresh with strong gusts; cloudy; ice in the sea.

July 9th, From Midnight

Wind the same; cloudy; fog.

From Noon

Wind moderate, with gusts; cloudy; fog over the mountains. We set out at 2:30. Throughout the area, which we had observed for 15 versts around our landing, the surface of the mountains consists of fine sandy stone tightly held together by fine gray sand — and everywhere there are multitudes of ground squirrels and many caribou tracks. The mountains end at the coast in cliffs up to 700 ft. high, beneath which is a beach up to 20 ft. wide, which, like all projections from the cliffs, is covered with ice. There is very little driftwood on the shore, which consists of coarse gravel.

At 5:00 we set out from our landing and followed the coast NE. The baydara under the command of Navigation Assistant Malakhov was sent forward; the five baydarkas remained under the command of the leader of the expedition.

In the 10 miles we covered from the landing there was no ice at sea or on shore.

We passed Cape Sabine.¹²

July 10th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; cloudy; the surf has begun to get heavier. We passed

Cape Beaufort at 6:30.¹³ At 8:00, because of the very heavy surf, we landed on a marshy piece of coast 5 miles to the N of Cape Beaufort. From this cape the range of mountains, which thus far had run along the coast, veers to the E, inasfar as we can see.¹⁴ Not a single elevation can be seen to the N of the mountains; the land surface for the most part consists of boggy tundra 1½ ft. thick, beneath which is solid ice. There is grass about 3 in. high on the tundra, no other vegetation is evident. The coast consists of silt in places; sometimes the coast is level with the water, sometimes it rises in small steep banks to heights of 6 ft., and in places it consists of coarse gravel. The trend of the coast is in exact agreement with Captain Beechey's map.

From Noon

Wind light; cloudy; lighter surf. We cast off from the landing and moved N along the coast.

At 9:30 we put in on a spit, at our baydara landing at the south end of Long Lake [Kasegaluk Lagoon], in latitude 69°17'N. There is much ice within our range of view to the N. Our baydaras had put in here at 8:00 in the morning.

July 11th, From Midnight

Little wind; few clouds; sunshine. At 7:00 we set off northward with the baydara. At 8:00 we entered a channel between the shore and the thick ice.

At 9:00, having proceeded 5 miles from the last landing, we passed through the first strait into Long Lake (counting from the southern end of the lake), and it proved to be shallow. At 11:45 we stopped on the south shore of the second small strait into the lake; at noon we observed our position to be 69°25'21"N. The shore of the south end of Long Lake running northward is a low spit. Little wind; clear.

From Noon

Calm; clear. Because of the thick ice at sea, we sought a fairway in the lake; we found it along the east shore of the lake, about 5 ft. deep; we portaged the baydara over the banks of the lake there and beginning at 3:30 moved along the lake NW by N. At the observed parallel, the lake is 2½ miles wide and at the same parallel a small stream empties into the lake from the E.

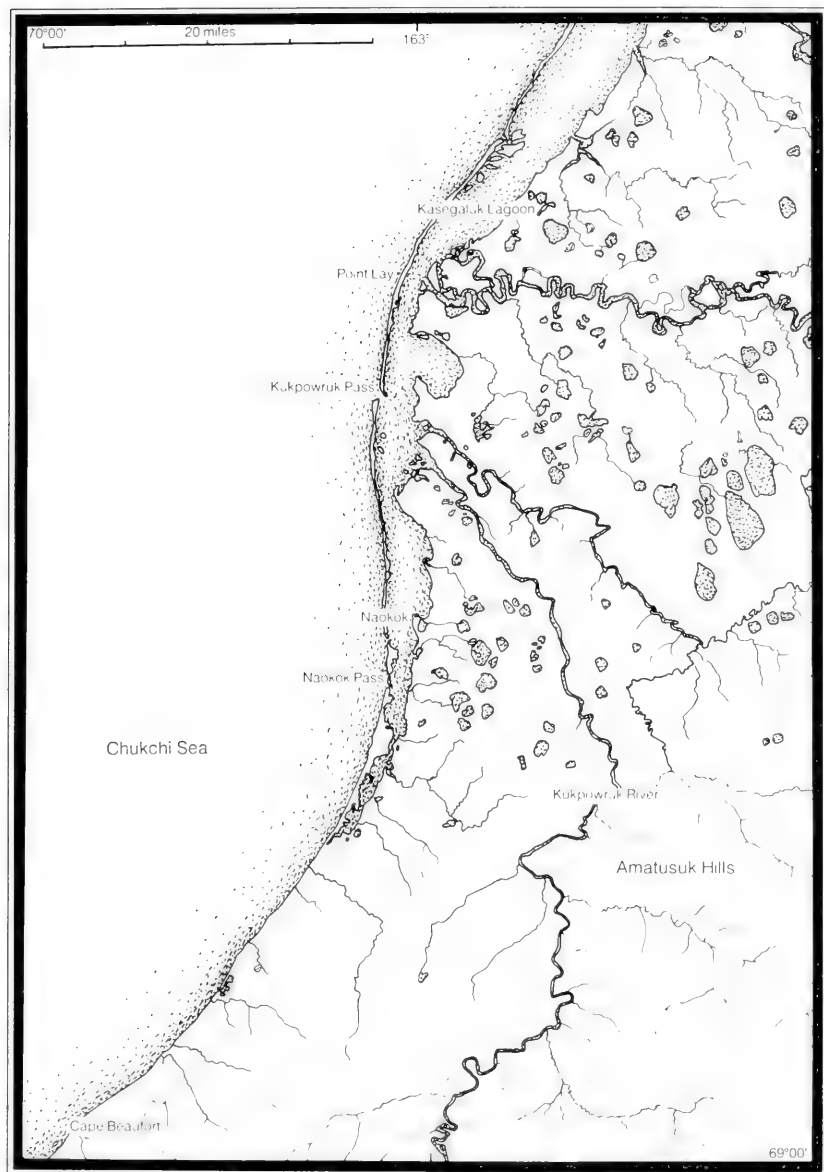


FIG. 3. Cape Beaufort to Point Lay.

At 10:30, having rowed the baydara 10 miles from our noonday point, we landed on the E shore of the lake, which had narrowed to one-half mile at that point. The east bank of Long Lake is 6 to 12 ft. high and consists of tundra covered with grass up to 3½ in. long; there is more driftwood on the shallows that run along the entire east shore of the lake than there is on the west shore, which continues as a low sandbar. We noted that when there are heavy breakers, water spills from the sea into the lake along its west shore. Many caribou can be seen in the tundra.

July 12th, From Midnight

The hint of a wind rose from the SE at 1:30. We set out at 2:00. Soon the lake became shallow and we could find no fairway, so we moved out from the lake into the sea through a small strait at latitude 69°35'N.¹⁵

Clear. At 3:30, because the ice was so compact, we could not make our way northward by baydara; we entered the lake by a strait 4 miles to the north of the previous one.

At 9:00 the baydara ran aground on a shoal and we began to drag it along the shoal to the N.

At 11:00, having found enough draft for the baydara, we were able to proceed by oar. At 12:00, because our people were exhausted, we pulled up on a spit.

From Noon

Calm, at times light air from SE; clear. Measuring the depth of the lake, we found that 1 mile N of our landing it was 4 ft. deep, and it continued thus for a considerable distance; for a distance of 1 mile, however, the lake was only 1 ft. deep; we began to unload the baydara so that we could portage the load in parts over the bank, which consisted of fine sand. The work began at 4:30.

By 11:30 we had transported the whole load across the bank and, having reloaded the baydara, left it at anchor. The crew was given a rest. At 12:00 the wind was light; there were few clouds; sunshine.

July 13th, From Midnight

At 5:00 we set out and proceeded N along the lake.

At 8:00, having passed four small, low islands in the lake at Point Lay,¹⁶ we again began to encounter shallows and, since we observed

less ice at sea, we left the lake by the sixth strait, entered the sea, and proceeded N in a twisting path through the ice.

At 11:00 we put into shore.

Wind very light; clear. At noon we observed our latitude to be 70°0'12"N, the sun was sighted at SE 38°. The sea current 140 ft. off shore, beneath the surface amid the ice, was one-half mile per hour running north.

From Noon

At 1:00 we set out again. At 2:30 we put in at a native summer camp consisting of 30 tents. It belongs to the Utukagmiuts, whose winter quarters are in the tundra, whence they came down the river that flows into Long Lake to the N of the summer camp, a three day journey.¹⁷ Along this river is a stand of *pichikans* somewhat below the Utukagmiut settlement.¹⁸ They came here to hunt bearded seals and large whales. The number of savages reached 100 persons of both sexes with children. They speak a language quite similar to Maligmiut. The Utukagmiuts are well built and look healthy; their dress and ornamentation are similar to those of the Kvikhpaks.¹⁹

Wind very light; clear; the ice is sparser at sea, but compact along shore. We went on. From 5:00 on, we began to encounter larger pieces of ice than we had before. Along the coast the ice piled up in mounds up to 14 ft. high. Bearded seals were common at sea and on the ice.

Calm; clear; at 6:00 we put into shore. At sea the fragmented ice was continuous to the N; it was impossible to get through by baydara.

Today the whole crew had quite severe stomach aches.

July 14th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; cloudy; murky on the horizon. The ice to the N is immobile; to the S it is moving. Lake depths measured 1 to 2 ft., not enough for the baydara which can be rowed at speeds up to 1½ miles per hour in a calm. Owing to circumstances and on the basis of instructions from the director of the main colony, to save time, the expedition was divided into two parts. The baydara, under the command of the company factor Kulishev, was ordered to return southward to latitude 69°25'N and to remain there at the stream until the five baydarkas under the command of the leader of the expedition returned.²⁰

Navigation Assistant Malakhov, the Chpagmiut, Utuktak, and 10 Aleuts ²¹ were to continue northward. On the baydara, besides the factor, there were: the medical student, the baydara master, and 12 oarsmen; in all 15 men. They were charged with preserving as many provisions as possible and to build a hut, in case the expedition were to spend the winter in this country.

From Noon

Having loaded four-week's provisions in the baydarkas and taken all the mathematical instruments, we departed: the baydara to the south, the five baydarkas to the north.

Wind moderate; cloudy with the sun breaking through. At 5:00 we passed Icy Cape and then, finding it impossible to make our way farther through the ice, entered the lake, in which we often ran onto sandbars and had to drag the baydarkas across them.²² At 9:00, having passed an uncharted strait on a spit, which strait is the ninth from the south end of the lake, we put into shore for a rest.

At 10:00 we set out, moving from the lake into the sea. At 11:00, on passing a sizable village, we put into shore to calm the frightened inhabitants. The settlement, called Kayakishgvigmiut, lies on the north side of Icy Cape, from which the coast runs east.²³ The settlement has about 300 inhabitants; they are well built and appear to be healthy; they belong to the Silalinagmiut tribe, which begins at this settlement and continues northward along the coast. They speak a Maligmiut dialect and are identical in appearance to the Tykagmiuts we saw.

The Kayakishgvigmiuts were friendly; they warned us of the next people, the Kakligmiuts, describing them as evil.²⁴

Wind light; cloudy with the sun breaking through. We continued our journey at midnight. The coast is littered with ice. We followed a tortuous course amid the ice.

July 15th, From Midnight

At 1:45, because of the thick fog that suddenly reduced visibility to no more than 70 ft., we began to seek a passage along the coast, amid the ice; we landed at 2:00.

From Noon

Wind light; cloudy; horizon clearer. At 3:30 we set out to NE. At 4:45 the sandbar came to an end; the coastline was low; in places it was marshy, in places sandy; in places there were small hillocks;

the lake could be seen beyond the lowland. At 6:00 we passed through the tenth strait into the lake; from here the coast turned N. A thick fog set in at 9:00. At 10:00, owing to the thick fog, we put into shore, which consisted of coarse sand.

Fog clearing up. We set out.

July 16th, From Midnight

When the fog cleared away soon after midnight, we found ourselves in a clear channel between a sandbar and small ice fields; the channel being one-half to 1 mile wide. At 1:00 we began to encounter finer and more compact ice; we entered the lake by strait no. 11, but 1½ hr. later, because of shallow water, we put out to sea through strait no. 12.

Little wind; cloudy. The channel between the shore and the large ice masses was as much as three-quarters of a mile wide. At 5:00 we stopped at a settlement situated on a steep bank rising to 20 ft. above the sea. The settlement is called Kalymatagmiut; it has 25 inhabitants who belong to the Silalinagmiut tribe.²⁵ In error, they took us for their enemies the Kakligmiuts, but we placated them by giving each person a leaf of tobacco. Long Lake ends at this settlement.

We continued our journey at 8:00, accompanied by a native baydara with seven savages. Their baydara was similar to that of the Nadvyaks.

At 11:00 we put in at the mouth of Wainwright Inlet, which the natives call Tutagvik.²⁶ The native baydara also stopped here and three of the savages set out on foot toward the head of the bay to the summer camp Tutulivigmiut to invite the inhabitants to visit us.

Wind moderate; cloudy. The mouth of Tutagvik Bay appeared to be shallow.

From Noon

At 7:00 two native baydaras with 28 men belonging to the Silalinagmiut tribe came to us from the summer camp Tutulivigmiut. The newly arrived savages proved to be bold and strongly inclined to thievery. They live here only in summer; their winter camp is to the north of us and is called Kullyulik²⁷; it is the last Silalinagmiut settlement; beyond begins the Kakligmiut tribe.

Wind moderate; overcast. At 11:00 the savages set out for the

opposite side of the mouth of the bay and set up their night's lodgings under their baydaras, about a quarter of a mile from us.

July 17th, From Midnight

Our savages of the day before arrived at 6:00. We learned from them that they do not know where trees grow and know of river beaver only by hearsay. In the vicinity of the bay there are red and silver foxes; and there are wolves. There are no fish in the bay. The natives eat caribou all year, in summer there are many ducks; and they hunt whales, bearded seals, and walrus at sea. From the settlement Kilamitykagmiut²⁸ the trend of the coast (as well as the territory we have traversed thus far) coincides with Captain Beechey's map — it consists of sandy banks rising at times to heights of 10 ft., and along the whole coast there is a beach up to 35 ft. wide on which there is an occasional piece of driftwood. The ground is level, covered with tundra three-quarters of a foot thick, below which is solid ice. Grass 2½ in. long grows in the tundra.

We emerged from the bay at 6:45. Two of the native baydaras accompanied us northward, while the third went south.

Three miles to the north of the mouth of Tutagvik Bay we passed the winter settlement Kullyulik, which consists of 14 sod huts situated on high banks about 12 ft. from the sea.²⁹ The savages stopped at this settlement. The coast from this settlement northward is monotonous, consisting of clayey and sand cliffs with a sandy beach up to 70 ft. wide. There is fine stone coal on this beach, apparently cast up from the sea bottom by the surf. At depths of 2½ and 3 ft. beneath the surface of the beach there is ice.

Wind light; cloudy; the ice is fine and quite sparse. The sea current has a noticeable northward trend from Kullyulik, but is not strong.

From Noon

At 1:30 we passed an empty, abandoned settlement. At 2:00 we landed on shore at a small hill; we had come 14 miles from Tutagvik Bay.

At 4:00 we proceeded northward from the hill; the coast to the N became lower, consisting of coarse sand and bits of stone coal.

At 6:00 we passed Point Belcher³⁰, on which is the first settlement to the N, Atanyk [Atanik]³¹, occupied by a people belonging to the Kakligmiut tribe (which begins at this settlement and continues

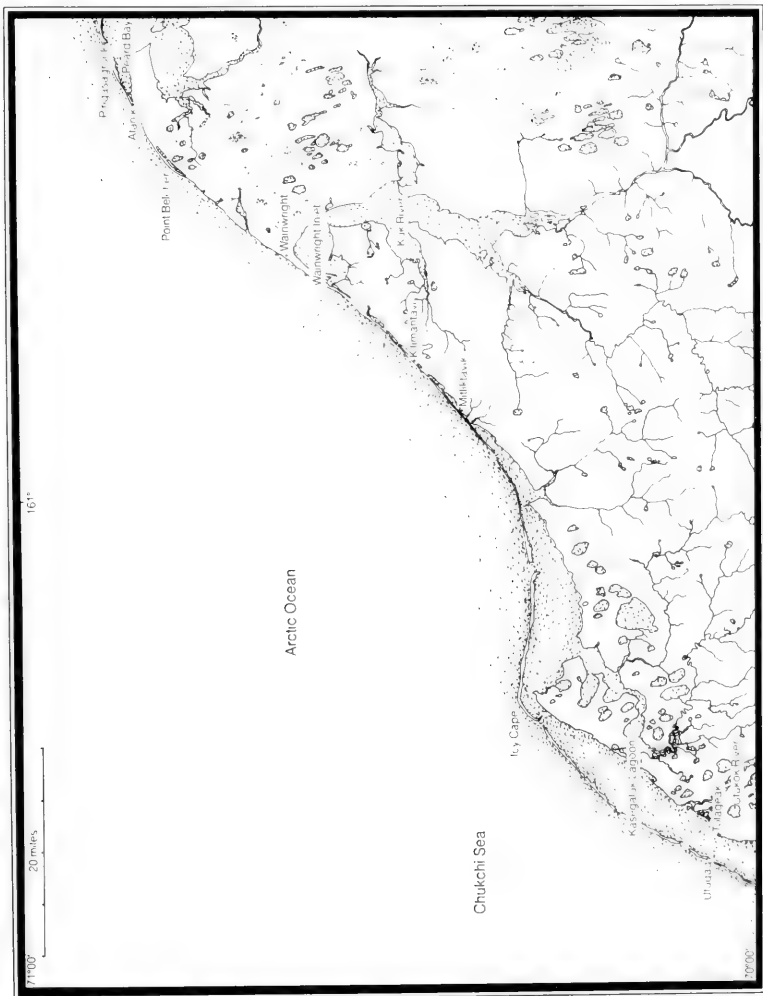


FIG. 4. Utukok River to Peard Bay.

northward). In language and appearance, the Kakligmiuts are very similar to the Silalinagmiuts. The inhabitants of Atanik, taking us for their enemies, the Tykagmiuts, met us with weapons in hand, bows and arrows, but after we had explained our situation through Utuktak (the Chpagmiut who accompanies us) they made friends with us and each accepted a leaf of tobacco from us.³² We went on at 7:00. The ice became denser. At 8:45, having passed a sandy point, we landed on the first (from the S) small island; it was impossible to proceed farther through the ice.

Wind light; cloudy; thick fog on the horizon. Two one-hatch baydarkas with two savages came toward us from Atanik; from them we learned that the sandy point we had passed is called Topkhak³³ by them, and that the islet on which we had landed is called Pinishigiryu.³⁴ At 11:00 the savages returned to their settlement.

July 18th, From Midnight

Little wind; thick fog; the ice along the coast is somewhat sparser than yesterday. At 7:00 we set out toward Point Franklin.³⁵

At 10:45, since we could not make our way any farther north, and without reaching Point Franklin, we put in at an islet consisting of gray sand. On this small island there are three winter sod huts completely fallen in.³⁶ The greatest elevation on this island is 2 ft. above water level and at high water the sea floods it. There is no driftwood or fresh water. Sea birds breed here and we found a few of their eggs. At noon we determined our latitude to be $70^{\circ}54'57''$ N and, by chronometer, we determined our longitude to be $158^{\circ}38'51''$ W on the map. The deviation of the compass was $38^{\circ}22'$ E.

From Noon

Wind very light; cloudy. At 7:30 we set out across the lake toward Peard Bay³⁷ with frequent stops because of shallows encountered enroute across the lake. At midnight we stopped at the eastern corner of the lake on the shore, from which we could see Peard Bay; however, it was completely covered with ice.

July 19th, From Midnight

Wind light; cloudy and overcast.

From Noon

Little wind; thick overcast and humid. Today, on surveying the

coast, we found there was continuous ice everywhere, beginning at our landing, in latitude $70^{\circ}53'N$, tight against the shore, which rises gradually and one verst from us reaches a height of 30 ft. above sea level, comprising a flat elevation as far as the eye can see; and several small lakes can be seen on this upland. The surface consists of tundra 8 in. thick, beneath which is solid ice. Grass $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 in. long grows on this tundra; no other plants are to be seen. In the lake which forms small sandy islands that run from Point Franklin to the SW and SE, and the coast running from Cape Topkhak straight to the E, the depth is from one-half to 3 fathoms³⁸; the bottom is fine gray sand; in places the tops of the sandbanks have dried out. In the straits between the islets the greatest depth is three-fourths of a fathom.³⁹

July 20th, From Midnight

At 2:00, with a light NE wind and thick fog, the temperature dropped to $1^{\circ}R$ [$+34^{\circ}F$]; at the same time the water temperature in Peard Bay, amid the compact ice, was $-\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}R$ [$+31^{\circ}F$], in the ice-free lake, it was $+2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}R$ [$+38^{\circ}F$].

Wind light; cloudy with the sun breaking through. At 9:30 we saw two savages in the tundra and invited them to come to us, but, since they were very timid and mistrustful of us, we dismissed them so that they could invite others of their comrades who, they told us, were hunting caribou in the tundra.

From Noon

At 4:00 natives, 10 men and six women, came to us together with the savages we had sent off in the morning. They were all from the settlement Atanik; they were returning to their dwellings from Point Barrow, which they call Kiballyu,⁴⁰ and because of compact ice had been forced to stop at a small stream which they call Iona-gimzhva,⁴¹ 6 miles north of our landing.

Little wind and heavy overcast. The savages who had been with us returned to their camp. They displayed an inclination toward thievery.

July 21th, From Midnight

At 8:00 the wind began to blow from the south, by nine it had shifted to west; moderate wind; cloudy; fog ceased.

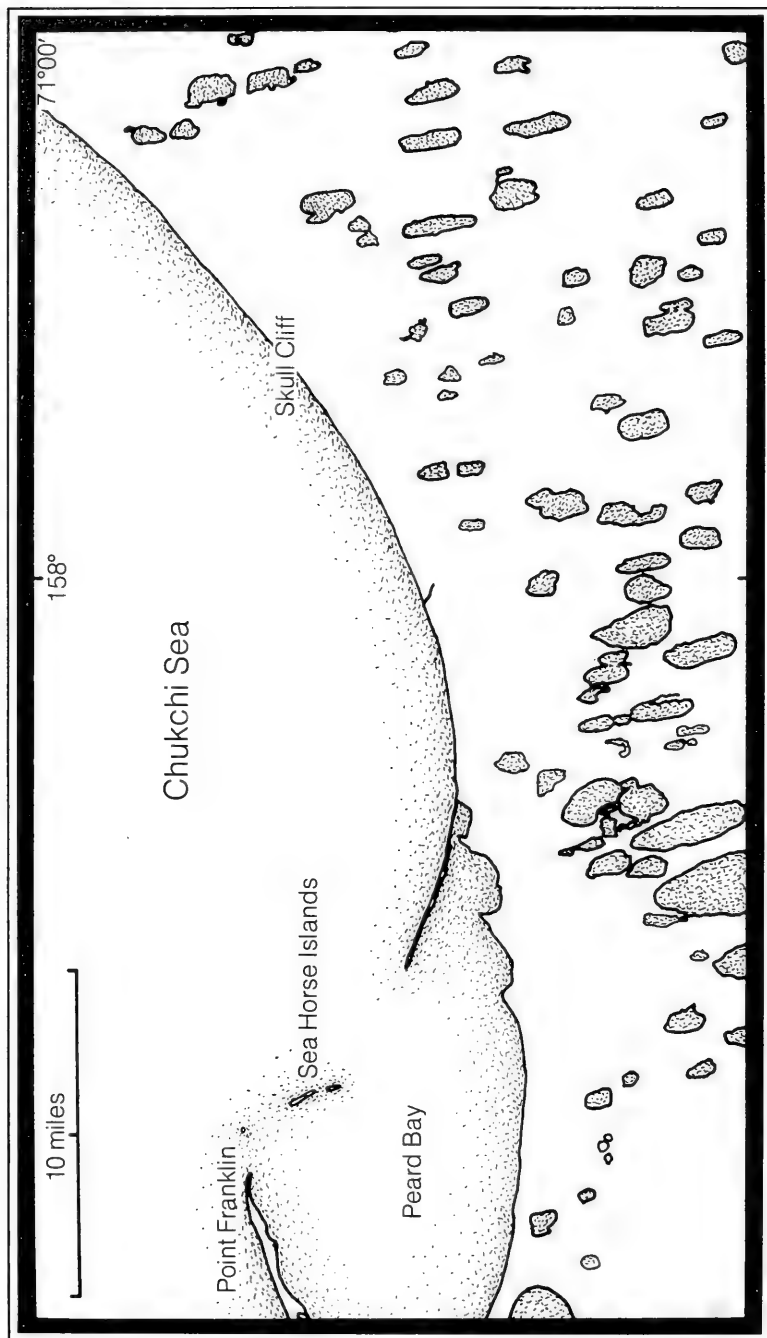


FIG. 5. Peard Bay and vicinity.

From Noon

Little wind; cloudy. Savages, about 14 men and eight women, altogether 25 persons with the children, arrived from Ionagimzhva. Among them was a man called Pukak, who was revered in Atanik, and two persons from the next settlement to the north of us, Utkiagvik;⁴² they all belong to the Kakligmiut tribe. From them, and particularly from Pukak, we learned that the sea coast from Point Kiballyu suddenly, having taken a turn to the E, runs first straight for one-day's baydara journey and then, in great bends, continues in that direction to the Big (Kvikhpak) River, of which they have heard, but none has been that far.⁴³ According to Pukak, a numerous people lives on that river, and large fish live in its waters.

Beyond that river they know nothing of the direction of the coast-line or of its inhabitants, nor have they heard anything about them. In the other direction, to the S, they know only the places as far as Chamisso Island, which they call Kikokhtak and which in Kodiak means island.⁴⁴

From Pukak we learned that in the past summer people similar to us, who called themselves Kalikagmiuts, had arrived at Point Kiballyu (Barrow) from the east. One of the savages immediately showed us a scrap of paper obtained from a Kalikagmiut inhabitant of Point Barrow. This proved to be from our manuscript calendar of 1836 and on it a half diameter of the sun was indicated. This scrap paper was one of those which the Nushagak interpreter, the creole Lukin, had distributed to coastal inhabitants of North America in 1836, to whom he had gone at that time with the sole purpose of expanding the trade of his post on the Kuskokwim River with the natives, wishing by distributing these papers to leave evidence behind him; and in the process he called himself a Kalikagmiut, composing this word from two Kodiak words: *kaliga*, which means paper, a letter, a book, etc., which applies only to letters (this word entered the Aleut language after the arrival of the Russians), and *gmiut*, which is added without fail by the Kodiaks and by all the inhabitants of the northwest coast of America from Kodiak northward, to the ending of the name of a tribe of people and often to the name of a settlement.⁴⁵

The director of Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt, Fedor Kolmakov, had told me about the distribution of such scraps of paper, specifically from the manuscript marine calendar, by the Numagak [Nushagak]

interpreter Lukin to the inhabitants of the northern coast of America and that Lukin had reached that coast in 1836, having set out from the mouth of the Khulitna [Holitna] River for the north in the middle of July of that year and returned at the beginning of October, 1837. However, since the interpreter Lukin had been on the Kuskokwim River at that time, it had been impossible to verify the story then. This sheet of paper from the manuscript calendar of the schooner *Kvikhpak* (under my command in 1836) by chance got into the hands of the director of the Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt, Kolmakov, who sent it to Lukin at the beginning of July in a package and Lukin got this, with Russian letters, according to Kolmakov, and Lukin could add nothing to it on reaching the northern coast because he had neither pencil nor ink.⁴⁶

Pukak also told me that he was now returning directly by water to his home, Atanik, whence in spring he and his children had come on foot over the ice, taking with them a baydara and reached the settlement Nuatagmiut at the mouth of a quite large river, which, according to Pukak, is an eight to 10 days baydara trip to the east of Kiballyu. Nuatagmiut is a temporary settlement; toward summer all the tundra inhabitants gather there in considerable numbers and then in summer spread along the northern coast for the sea hunt;⁴⁷ by autumn some of them move to Point Barrow, where all the Kakligmiuts gather at that time of year for the whale hunt. When winter comes, the tundra people go home. Pukak called the tundra peoples Kakligmiut-Pya (the true, or native Kakligmiuts, from the word *pya*, which means root in the Kodiak language). From them he obtained a small piece of river beaver [skin], which is a great rarity among the local Kakligmiuts.⁴⁸

The Kakligmiut Pukak, who appeared to be about 45 years old, remembered well that Kakligmiuts used to live on the sandy islets on which we saw the inundated sod huts. But since these islands began to be reduced by high water driven by strong winds from the SW in autumn, the inhabitants had moved to Atanik and Utkiagvik. In the dry summer time, the wind carried off sand from the surface of these small islands, and during high water the ice further reduced their height.⁴⁹ Driftwood arrives from north and south. In Peard Bay, in the course of two days, we noted that the water rose for 18 hr. running, increasing 10 in. by measure, then began to decrease even more slowly.

In the vicinity of our camp we saw several red foxes and caribou; we heard the howling of wolves, but did not encounter any. In

winter sometimes polar bears come here, and they have been known to attack people.

Wind light; cloudy; at times light rain; the ice on the coast has begun to move.

July 22nd, From Midnight

At 2:00 the savages went home and we began to prepare for departure.

Wind light; cloudy; the ice has become sparser along the coast. We continue north.

At 6:00 we passed a camp of natives who entreated us not to put out to sea because we could easily perish amid the fine, compact ice, which is dangerous for baydarka travel.

At 9:00 the ice became somewhat sparser and travel safe. At 11:00, having got out of the compact ice and having entered a clear channel between the shore and the large blocks of the ice fields, we put into shore for rest at 71°01'N. From Peard Bay to this latitude the coast consists of clayey cliffs up to 35 ft. high, beneath which is a beach up to 55 ft. wide, consisting of soft clay. In many places along the coast there are gulleys with streams of pure water, and at their mouths a beach of coarse sand or fine stones suitable for landing. There is less driftwood on the beach than in the ravines in which, in places, the wood lies about 4 ft. above the sea. The top of the cliffs is level, covered with tundra about 6 in. thick, beneath which is solid ice. On the tundra there is grass, barely perceptible, and a delicate, spreading willow bed, as well as occasional flowers—white, yellow, and sky-blue—with stems about 3 in. long.

From Noon

Wind fresh with gusts; cloudy with the sun breaking through; breakers. At 4:30 we set out to the north along the coast, through a clear channel between the coast and the ice. Captain Beechey's map is accurate in all details.

Soon driving rain in squalls from the NE.

At midnight we stopped at Utkiagvik village, on Cape Smyth.⁵⁰

From the last stopover to this cape, the coast, as before, is elevated, reaching heights of 45 ft. above sea level and consists of clay and solid ice; beneath the cliffs is a beach consisting of sand and gravel that reaches widths of 35 ft. Northward from Cape Smyth

the coast suddenly becomes lower. The settlement Utkiagvik is quite considerable; however, all but 14 of its inhabitants were afield.⁵¹ They belong to the Kakligmiut tribe.

July 23rd, From Midnight

At 1:30 we made for Point Barrow, which, on Captain Beechey's map is in latitude $71^{\circ}25'N$, longitude $156^{\circ}10'W$.⁵² Wind light; cloudy. In 45 min. we had passed Point Barrow, from which we began our description of the coast, which suddenly turned E by N $1/20$, according to the compass. From Cape Smyth we traveled 8 to 10 Italian miles by log and then ran parallel to Point Barrow and found that Point Barrow on Captain Beechey's map is about $3\frac{1}{2}'$ north of our calculated latitude; however, inasmuch as we attributed this difference to the northward flow of the sea current, which we have noted is very weak and cannot be determined accurately, we accepted the position of Point Barrow on Beechey's map as the starting point of our description. Having gone 1 mile from Point Barrow, we passed a sizable settlement, Nugmiut, consisting of more than 20 winter sod huts; it belongs to the Kakligmiuts, most of whom were away on the caribou hunt at the time.⁵³ The coast is monotonous, consisting of gravel rising from 6 to 8 ft. above water level. A half mile past the settlement we passed through a strait 350 ft. wide; it separates a low sandy islet from the coast; over a distance of 3 miles from this islet we passed two more narrow straits which separate three low, sandy islets. We landed on the last of these, the fourth from the Point. It is 420 ft. long and 140 ft. wide. These islets rise 2 to 4 ft. above sea level. From the last one we took a bearing on the settlement on the right bank of Point Barrow and found it to be $SW\ 76^{\circ}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ Italian miles away. As we rounded Point Barrow, 32 natives in two baydaras came out from the settlement toward us and despite our kindnesses and gifts they insolently moved toward us and were about to release a cloud of arrows at us, but their insolence ceased when they saw that we were ready to defend ourselves.⁵⁴ At 5:00 the wind suddenly freshened from the W; to the E everything was covered by a dense fog.

Wind fresh; overcast and fine rain. At 8:00 the same two baydaras came from Nugmiut under gut sails mounted on two poles; however, they stopped to W of us on the nearest islet. Just before 10:00, by chronometer we found our longitude to be $156^{\circ}25'15''W$, calculating by Point Barrow our longitude is $156^{\circ}06'W$. Deviation of the compass, $39^{\circ}34'E$.

Wind fresh; cloudy with the sun breaking through occasionally; fog on the horizon. Not seeing the coast to the E, we set out SE by E from the last islet. In half an hour we saw the coast enroute. At 11:30 we landed on a small point along the coast.⁵⁵ At noon we observed our latitude to be $71^{\circ}15'13''N$; a compass sighting of the sun showed it to be $SE\ 41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Compass bearings: the point is W by S 82° at a distance of three-fourths mile. To the E there is a point at $70^{\circ}NE$, 2 miles away by sight estimate. Between these points and the observed one there are shallow and shoaly bays; there is a small stream to the W. The depths, from the last islet, the fourth, to the observed cape ran $1\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms; the bottom consists of sand.

From Noon

At 12:15 we set out for the first point, 70° to the NE of us. As 1:00 approached, having passed the point, we continued ESE until 1:45, then, passing $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the traverse of the first point, we stopped at the fourth small point beyond the observed one and took our bearings; the second point was $66\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to NW, the third point was 75° to NW, and the fifth was 27° to NE, the latter being a quarter of a mile away. The coastline between the observed point and the four points consisted of silt, with a bank 2 to 5 ft. high, from which there extended a shoal about one-half mile from shore. There were no landings suitable for baydarkas. On the surface of the ground, which is covered with tundra 3 in. thick underlain by solid ice, there is a scarcely perceptible grass, some small flowers — white, sky-blue, and yellow — and small wild mushrooms. We saw caribou and wolf tracks. Of birds, we saw the brown owl. There is a small fresh-water stream at our halting place. Very little driftwood is in evidence. A multitude of small lakes runs inland, but nowhere is there the slightest elevation, except that extending gradually toward Cape Smyth.

Between points 4 and 5 there is a bay, evidently running inland, whose eastern shore trends $SE\ 28^{\circ}$.⁵⁶ No rise or fall of the water is evident. Wind fresh; cloudy. At 11:45 we shoved off and headed for the fifth point on a course $NE\ 27^{\circ}$ and soon began to pass the mouth of the bay between the fourth and fifth points; the head of the bay could not be seen. We called this bay Prokofev, in honor of the Director of the Main Administration of the Russian-American Company.⁵⁷ Wind light; cloudy; fog on the horizon, the coastline is barely visible.

July 24th, From Midnight

At 12:45, having passed the fourth point at a distance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, we stopped at the fifth point to wait out the dense fog. The greatest depth at the mouth of the Prokofev Bay proved to be $1\frac{1}{4}$ fathoms; the bottom is gray sand. The fifth point comprises a narrow band of low boggy coast; in places it is covered with light grass and occasionally flowers. The lake water is brackish. There is very little driftwood. When the fog cleared, we took our bearing from Point 5:⁵⁸ Point 4 was 24° to SW; Point 3 was 49° to SW; Point 2 was 67° to SW; Point 6 was $79\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ to NE, and the last point visible on the coast was 69° to NE. At sea there is a small island, which at first seemed to be another point, $27\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ to NW. Between points 5 and 6 there is a narrow bay which runs inland 59° SE along the eastern shore of Point 5, but we could not see the head of this bay.⁵⁹ At 2:45 we set out for the small island $27\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ to NW and, having proceeded $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Point 5, we stopped at the island toward 3:00; the island consists of coarse sand; it is low, and in all aspects is like the small islands along the east side of Point Barrow. A series of similar islets runs E by S. Because the neighboring shoreline is so low, we could not find a point on it from which we could take our bearings from the island. Between Point 5 and the island the depths varied from one-half to 2 fathoms; the bottom was fine gray sand.

Wind light; cloudy; fog on the horizon at times. We proceeded from the islet along the south side of the sand banks or sandy islets on a course E by S. Following this course, two miles from the islet, at 4:00, we passed the traverse of Point 6 and at the same time crossed the sand bank. This same course, E by S, leads from Point 5 to the coast; the bearing on Point 5 is NE 69° , it being the last one before land's end to the E.

Soon the islets began to trend northward, being a mile from us at nearest. Ice mountains [probably grounded ice] were visible beyond them to the N. At 5:45 we proceeded from the islet at which we had stopped and at 6:30 approached Point 7, which consisted of a clay cliff up to 12 ft. high, beneath which was a beach about 14 ft. wide, consisting of sand and fine, brick-colored stone. The bearing on this point from Point 5 was 69° to NE; however, because the coastline was so low, we could not detect either Point 5 or 6 from here. In general, the coast from Point 6 toward Point 7 rises and is drier than the former; no driftwood is to be seen. Point 7 is blunt and

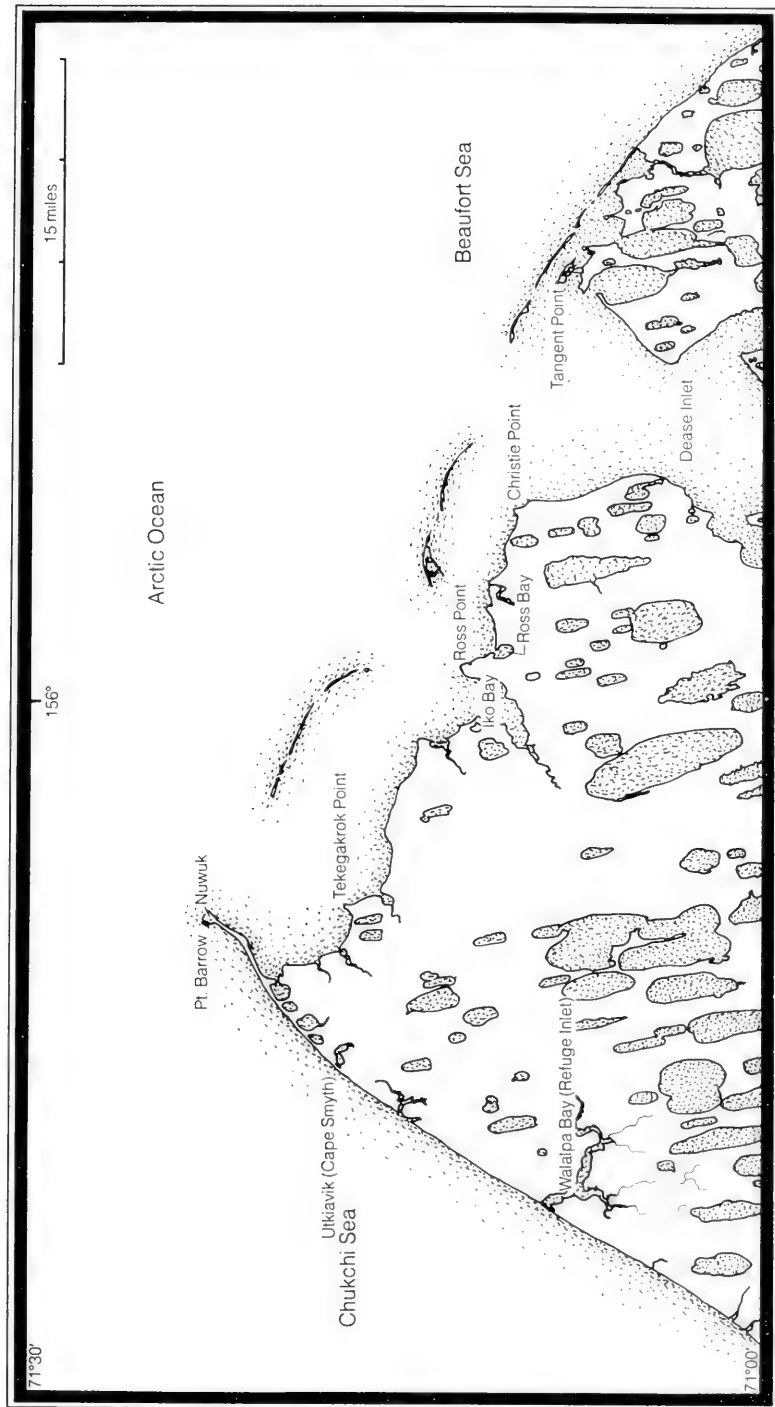


FIG. 6. Walakpa Bay to Tangent Point.

runs almost parallel for 280 ft.; on both sides of it there are small bays and the shoreline descends. From atop Point 7 no elevations of any kind could be seen along the coast. From the islet to Point 7, the ocean depth is no more than 2 fathoms; the bottom is sand everywhere. From Point 7 we set out for the next point, which we sighted 62° to the NE of the last point, and from it the bearing on the continuation of the coast from Point 7 was 56° to NE. Proceeding three-quarters of a mile on course 62° NE, we found that in that direction what we had seen was not a point but an elevation about 6 ft. high on the low coast near the sea. We continued to the end of the coastline, which we came abreast of at 6:00 when we were 1 mile from this elevation. This turned out to be a low point, on which it was impossible to land. The west shore of this point, Point 8 in this description, runs SSE, the east shore runs ESE. From it, 140 ft. to WNW there is a small sandy island about 175 ft. in circumference. Points 8 and 7 outline a bay which extends in a regular, shallow arc into the coastline.

Continuing to round Point 8 along the coast, we sailed on a course ESE about 15 ft. from the coast; having proceeded thus for 1 mile we came to Point 9, which rose as much as 6 ft. above the sea. From this point, called Stepov in honor of Lieutenant General Stepov, Knight and Inspector of the Corps of Navigators, the coast stretches 42° SE and ends in a bend 62° to SE, beyond which we could not see the coast.⁶⁰ From Point Stepov the coast begins to descend and on reaching sea level becomes swampy. In places it consists of liquid mud and silt, beneath which, at a depth of 3 in., there is solid ice. Continuing 2 miles from Point Stepov and finding a suitable place for a landing, at 7:00 we put into shore without reaching the last point we had seen.

From Noon

At 5:00, having a light wind from SW, we proceeded ESE when the fog on the horizon cleared. We noted sand banks a mile from shore. Having proceeded $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we began to steer SE along the coast, which till now had been 7 ft. high in places and in places was at water level.

For 1 mile the coast ran SE by S, for three-quarters of a mile it ran S by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E, for three-quarters of a mile S by E with a small bay. Having proceeded three-quarters of a mile in this direction, we put in on a small point about 3 ft. above sea level, to survey the

area. Everywhere the coast consists of thin tundra. There is no driftwood. There are no freshwater streams.

The shoreline continues to trend SW; to the S we sighted and took bearings on two river mouths; W by SW 25° and E by SE 48° ; we were 3 Italian miles from the latter. From these river mouths the coast runs NE and ends in a steep cape 85° to the SE of us. We set out for it at 7:00. Having covered 5 miles proceeding SE 85° , at 9:00 we put in at a point consisting of a clayey cliff as much as 8 ft. high; from it we went NNW to another steep cape, toward which the coast forms a regular bay beginning at the first steep point or cape. Nowhere did we find depths greater than 2 fathoms and the water was rather fresh around the first steep cape. The bottom consisted of fine sand in places and of silt in other places.

Having proceeded $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles, we came to the second steep cape, which rose 7 ft. above the water. Near this cape, to the E, there were four native tents. From the cape we went north along the steep coast.

Wind light; overcast and rain.

July 25th, From Midnight

At 12:30, having traveled $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we passed a second summer camp consisting of five tents, from which three baydaras with natives followed us. At 1:00, having continued for another $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we landed on a low narrow point. From there we took our bearings: there was a sandy islet $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the W, the coast ran SE 6° toward the second steep cape; the coast ran E by N 18° and after 700 ft. trends ENE and soon, turning to the SE, we lost sight of it in the fog. This cape was named in honor of Baron Wrangell, former Chief Administrator of the Colonies, Rear Admiral, and Knight.⁶¹ It consists of gray sand; from the shore for 350 ft. there is bog everywhere, 4 to 5 in. thick, with solid ice beneath. There is little driftwood, no vegetation, and no good fresh water nearby. Soon after we landed, the aforementioned three native baydaras put in at Cape Wrangell. From these savages, who belong to the Kakligmiut tribe and who have their winter quarters at Nugmiut on Point Barrow, we learned that the sandy islet we had seen to the W of us is the last of the series of islets that run straight from Point Barrow and that the sea coast from Cape Wrangell, which has a general eastward trend, becomes winding and forms broad gulfs. The gulf between Point Stepov and Cape Wrangell,

which we saw, has no other name among the natives than *tachik*, which means gulf or bay, therefore we named it for the Chief Administrator of the Colonies, First Captain of the Guards and Knight, Kupreyanov.⁶² The savages sold us several fresh fish similar to whitefish.

At 5:30 the savages departed for their summer camp. They tried to steal our chronometer, thermometer, and expedition log, but we forced them to return the things they had stolen. Following this, the savages began to threaten to attack us in large numbers and they tried to talk Utuktak, the savage who accompanied us, into leaving us, threatening that in a few days, when all the Kakligmiuts were to gather on Point Barrow for the whale hunt (which takes place every autumn when the sea ice permits), we would be taken prisoner; they said that more than 20 baydaras would gather at the point and they all would attack us. We had already heard from the Silalinagmiuts that the Kakligmiuts all gather at Point Barrow for the whale hunt at the beginning of August when the sea ice around that point breaks up sufficiently to provide a clear passage for whales. The Silalinagmiuts conduct the whale hunt at the beginning of summer when the ice moves, which one may conclude from their stories, does not take place before June. After the ice moves out from shore, they stop the hunt until autumn when the ice driving toward shore again allows them to kill whales. None of the local inhabitants, neither Kakligmiut nor Silalinagmiut, dare to go far out to sea in their baydarkas.

Wind light; overcast; intermittent rain.

From Noon

Wind moderate; cloudy with the sun breaking through. Yesterday's guests, men only and 40 of them, came to us. Each carried a bow in hand and had a quiver full of arrows on his back, in addition to a knife—which the savage is never without and which hangs from his side in a sheath.

The savages continued to approach us one by one and the number of natives kept increasing and increasing, and as their numbers increased so did their audacity. As each new savage arrived, they all insistently demanded that we give them tobacco, and although we had already given them tobacco, they let us know that they were dissatisfied or they laughed at our presents. The Chpagmiut, Utuktak, who accompanied us, became convinced, after our negotiations

with the Kakligmiuts, that if we tarried here any longer the savages would attack us to steal our things, which they had not seen but imagined to be copious and were tempted by them. We were led to believe or at least strongly suspect that the intentions of the savages were unfriendly or inclined that way, as evidenced not only by their behavior with us, but by the fact that this time they had not brought their women or children with them. Further, the respected Kakligmiut, Negubanna, who tried more than the others to talk Utuktak into leaving us, repeated that his kinsmen had evil intentions toward us and that they were only waiting until there were enough of them to attack us.⁶³ At that time a baydara with four men and a woman arrived from the east; they approached our baydarkas without invitation and began examining them boldly.

We could halt the audacity of the savages only with force; our kind treatment of them had not disposed them toward friendship. The position of the expedition had become highly doubtful, the more so because the Aleuts who rowed our baydarkas were convinced that the savages were invincible because of their numbers, their powerful builds, the fact that they were used to danger, and besides they were not tired as were the Aleuts. For these reasons, at 4:30 we set out to the south to change our position. However, the savages pursued us in their baydarkas, and asked us where we were going. In passing the summer camp of the natives, we noticed unusual activity there. New ones were probably arriving (for all those we knew were chasing us); they were taking down their tents rapidly and loading their things post-haste into their baydaras. Several savages ran along shore, carrying light baydarkas. At 5:30, in trying to elude the baydaras that were chasing us, we moved out from shore on a course WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W. At this moment a very thick fog suddenly set in, limiting visibility to less than 150 ft. and we followed our previous course along the coast southward for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Wind fresh; heavy overcast; intermittent rain. Toward 8:00, after proceeding 5 miles WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W, we passed the last sandy islet to the E of Point Barrow. The native baydaras had put in on this island because of the high waves, so that we could not put in there. We could not proceed to the east because of a fresh head wind, heavy seas, thick fog, and our ignorance of the route. It would not have been prudent to land on shore after all we had witnessed from the natives. The large numbers and very unfriendly attitude of the inhabitants put an end to further progress of the expedition; we

were forced to return and we proceeded WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W along a narrow sandy islet 4 ft. high on its north side; the sea was free of ice to the east of it. By 9:00 we began to hold W by S, covering another half-mile of our previous course, when the island to the south of us was lost from view; very low ice islands appeared. Up to that point, following our first course, the ocean depth was negligible and ranged irregularly from 1 to 3 fathoms; everywhere the bottom was sand. From here on, however, the ocean depth increased and was regularly 6 or 7 fathoms.

At 10:45, after we had gone $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles W by S, we sighted the third island from the east, which trends W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ W; we proceeded in this direction and along the north shore of the island. At 11:30, having traveled 4 miles on this course, we landed on the island. It is 560 ft. wide at its widest, in places rising 4 ft. above sea level and at that height grass $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 in. long grows here and there, traces of breakers can be seen in the low places—they spill over from the sea during stout winds from the north. This island, as all the preceding ones, consists of gravel and gray sand. There is no driftwood anywhere.

Wind light; overcast and rain; at midnight we moved along the north shore of the island W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ W.

July 26th, From Midnight

We followed the course W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ W along the island till 4:00; 6 miles from the landing the island trended SW and was soon lost from view. We sighted Point Barrow at a distance of 3 miles.

Wind and weather as before. The ocean depth here began to decrease regularly to $4\frac{3}{4}$ fathoms; everywhere the bottom was sand. When taking the depth measurements, we were about 1,000 ft. off the north shore of the island. We could no longer hold a straight course on account of the ice; we rounded Point Barrow in a twisting path among the ice; the irregular movement of the ice made it difficult to determine the route. Here we ended our description of the north coast of America.⁶⁴

Wind moderate; overcast; rain. At 6:30, with Point Barrow to the NE, we proceeded about 2 miles to the S. The ice became more compact. As we approached the coast, the ocean depth gradually decreased and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles out the ice rested on a shoal stretching to one-half mile from shore. Small pieces of ice filled the interval between the large ice floes and shore.

Wind moderate; overcast and rain. At 11:00 we came within a mile of Cape Smyth.

Wind light; overcast; intermittent rain; we passed the settlement Utkiagvik.

From Noon

At 12:30, threatened by the ice, we approached the coast within one-half mile of the settlement. Eight savages with arrows and spears approached us from the settlement and were ready to shoot at us, but seeing our readiness to defend ourselves, they let us alone. We were quite successful in making our way close by the coast to S. At 3:00, 10 miles south of Cape Smyth, it became impossible to go any farther through the ice; the compact ice pressed tight against the shore. From the cliff we could see that the ice was somewhat less compact two miles at sea, but we could find no way to get there and we sighted surf out there. We landed.

Wind light; overcast and humid. By the map we should be in Refuge Bay,⁶⁵ but we cannot see it near us; perhaps the ice has blocked its entrance; we cannot see it ahead of us either.

July 27th, From Midnight

A slight wind from the SE moved the ice a bit so that at 2:30 we set out to find a passage in the sea, by a winding path about 7 ft. wide among the ice.

At 3:30, after moving out 1½ miles from the coast, we emerged safely from the ice into the open, but here, because of the surf, the ice floe was constantly breaking up and we nearly lost one of the baydarkas, the one with the interpreter Obukhov. We proceeded S one-half mile from the floes, which were packed tightly against the shore.

Wind light; overcast. At 7:00, having got by the compact ice, we stopped at a small stream to dry our clothes. There was plenty of driftwood at the mouth of this streamlet.

From Noon

Wind light; cloudy; overcast on the horizon. We traveled south, in an hour we had left the ice to the north of us; to the south the sea is clear of ice as far as the eye can see.

July 28th, From Midnight

At 2:00 we landed at Peard Bay to rest.

Wind moderate; cloudy with the sun breaking through; no ice visible in the sea.

From Noon

At 8:00 we set out by lake to the SW.

July 29th, From Midnight

At 2:00 we landed on Pinishigigiryu Island. Calm; cloudy; no ice to be seen in the sea. At 3:00, having left the lake, we went by sea southward along the coast. At 5:30 we landed at Atanik, whose inhabitants greeted us cordially. Here, we learned from the natives that every year strong winds from the SW raise the water level 5 ft. along the coastline, as indicated by markers. At that time the driftwood lying on the low ground and carried by the sea either from the south or the north is deposited on the coastal elevations where it remains when the water recedes. This is probably the reason why there is driftwood here, for without this chance rise of the water there would not always be enough driftwood here for the needs of the inhabitants.

Calm; cloudy; overcast on the horizon. At 6:00 we left Atanik and went south.

We spent from 8:45 till 11:00 on shore to repair one of the bay-darkas.

From Noon

At 3:30 we passed Tutagvik Bay.

Wind moderate; cloudy with the sun breaking through; fog on the horizon. At 6:30 we arrived at the village of Ksigamestakgmiut, in which, at the wish of the inhabitants who greeted us cordially, we stopped to rest.⁶⁶

July 30th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; few clouds; sunshine; intermittent fog. Our companion, the savage Utuktak, who spent the entire time with the natives, both Kakligmiut and Silalinagmiut, and, at my request, probed into their customs, beliefs, way of life, and various things connected with their daily life, informed me that everything is the

same with them as with the coastal inhabitants of Norton Sound and Kotzebue Sound. The staple of the inhabitants, Silalinagmiut and Kakligmiut, is the caribou, which is abundant here, especially in summer when the days are hot; then the caribou, bothered by multitudes of mosquitoes in the tundra, run in large herds toward the coast, seeking coolness there. The natives kill them with arrows or try to drive them into the lake, where, approaching them in light baydarkas, they spear them. In winter, when the snow is deep, the natives dig wolf pits in the snow, into which the caribou fall and become certain prey for the savages.⁶⁷ In summer the caribou meat is dried on racks and kept for use. In fall and spring, when the ice is constantly moving, the natives hunt at sea among the ice; they kill whales, bearded seals, and walruses, whose meat they store in ice holes dug into the tundra. In general, in the matter of storing provisions, the local savages are extremely unsanitary. The weapons of the natives consist of the bow and arrow, and spears of caribou bone. The local inhabitants handle these weapons very skillfully: an arrow released from a bow with ordinary force travels distances of 560 to 630 ft. In our presence they hit a target at 67 paces with a stiff cross wind blowing. According to the natives, they can send an arrow straight through a caribou at close range.⁶⁸ They had never seen firearms before we came. They get iron spears, knives, and metal objects in general by trading with the inhabitants of Bering Strait and Kotzebue Sound, where they also get Cherkass tobacco, for which they have a great passion.⁶⁹ Here we bought a one-hatch baydarka, the kind which is used by both Silalinagmiut and Kakligmiut for hunting caribou in lakes. At 4:00 we set out southward from Kilamytakagmiut,⁷⁰ but at 6:00 we had to land to repair one of the baydarkas.

Wind moderate; cloudy; fog on the horizon. We pushed off at 7:30 and in half an hour entered the lake by the first strait from the north, that is, the twelfth from the south. At 8:45 we landed on the mainland on the east side of Long Lake. The wind freshened, being a headwind, and the fog was thick.

From Noon

Wind fresh; overcast and humid.

July 31st, From Midnight

Wind fresh; clear. At noon the observed latitude was 70°22'

34''N; longitude, by chronometer, 160°26'30''W (by map, 160°-38''W); compass deviation, 38°14'E.

From Noon

Wind fresh; few clouds; sunshine; breakers.

August 1st, From Midnight

Wind moderate; cloudy; lighter surf. At 5:00 we set off S by W across the lake. At 5:30, beyond the shallows, we exited from Long Lake into the sea through the second strait from the north. A fresh whale lay cast up on the beach; the greater part of it had been cut away by the natives. Continuing to row to the south along the coast, we traveled between a spit and the underwater sandbars that run parallel to the coast and 70 to 100 ft. from it.

At 9:30 we landed on the spit to make observations and to rest.

Wind moderate; few clouds; sunshine. At noon the observed latitude was 70°19'18''N, the longitude by chronometer was 160°-52'27''W (by map, 161°14'W). Compass deviation, 46°6'E. According to the compass, the spit runs NNE and SSW, on a perpendicular to the mainland 1½ miles; the gravel on the spit is 3½ feet thick, beneath it is solid ice.

From Noon

At 1:15 we set out to the SSW by sea, along the coast, and a quarter of an hour later, having progressed about three-quarters of a mile, we began to row SW by S. The look of the coast has changed; it consists of gray sand with hillocks, comprising a long narrow band 70 ft. wide, beyond which Long Lake can be seen. The coast ends 1 mile to SSW, as a strait into the lake.

Wind moderate; cloudy with the sun breaking through. At 3:30, proceeding SW by S, we approached a hillock from which the coast runs east to the aforementioned strait. From this hillock to the west the coast runs SW by W ½ W; half a mile farther, SW by W; a mile farther, WSW; and 3 miles farther it began to trend SW. Not far from shore there was an underwater sandbank on which a small breaker could be seen. At 5:00 we landed on a spit. On the mainland, to the southeast of us, we could see a large native summer camp.⁷¹

Wind moderate; few clouds; sunshine. At 10:00, when the surf had subsided completely, we continued to the southwest.

August 2nd, From Midnight

At 12:30, having proceeded 6 miles from the last stop, we passed the settlement Kayakishgvigmiut,⁷² in which there was not a single person. Then the coast turned S by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W. At 1:30, having proceeded $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the settlement, we came abreast of a strait and continuing $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles S by E, we landed on the south shore of this strait from the lake side. The coast on the sea side runs SW 15° .

At noon we observed the latitude to be $70^\circ 17' 28''$ N, longitude by chronometer $161^\circ 52' 45''$ W (by map, $161^\circ 45'$ W). Compass deviation, $37^\circ 44'$ E. The compass bearing on Kayakishgvigmiut, near the north side of Icy Cape, was NE 1° . From our position we determined that Icy Cape is in latitude $70^\circ 20' 20''$ N; longitude, by chronometer, $161^\circ 45' 13''$ W.

From Noon

At 12:30 we set out SE across the lake. Wind light; few clouds; sunshine.

At 9:00 we landed on the mainland.

August 3rd, From Midnight

At 4:30 we set out across the lake to the south.

At 11:00 we landed on a spit to make observations. We crossed over to the sea coast, which is about 1,000 ft. from the lake shore. The sea coast runs southward, SE 24° to N, NW 11° , and on the map this is Point Lay. Four low islets lie in the lake, one-half mile to the south of us.

At noon the observed latitude was $69^\circ 48' 41''$ N; longitude, by chronometer, $162^\circ 45' 48''$ W (on map, $162^\circ 44'$ W). Compass deviation, $36^\circ 34'$ E.

From Noon

At 12:45 we set out across the lake to the south. At 6:00 we passed the marker left on the spit by our baydara crew on their return trip to the south end of the lake.

Little wind; few clouds; sunshine. At 8:00 we landed on a small point on the east shore of the lake. Today, during our trip down the lake, most of the time we had to drag our baydarkas over the shoals; we killed a caribou.

August 4th, From Midnight

At 5:00 we set out to the south along the lake.

Wind moderate; clear. At 8:15 we joined our baydara crew which had set up a camp at the designated place. Two of them were sick, but everything had gone well with them since we parted.⁷³ They arrived here on July 16th.

From Noon

Wind barely perceptible; cloudy.

August 5th, From Midnight

At noon, from two observations, we determined our latitude to be $69^{\circ}24'47''N$; longitude, by chronometer, $162^{\circ}50'32''W$ (on the map, $162^{\circ}56'W$). Compass deviation, $32^{\circ}52'E$.

Following instructions, the baydara crew had built a hut, 14 ft. long, of hewn driftwood at this site, in case we had to winter here; they had gathered the driftwood over a distance of five versts along the lake shore to the north and south. Grass grows here. The ground consists of tundra three-quarters of a foot thick, beneath which is ice. The length of the grass increases inland, reaching 6 in. farther from the coast. Besides this grass, about two versts from the shoreline on the banks of the stream on which our camp is located, occasionally we found camomile, wormwood, a wild tasteless sorrell, culinary roots similar to those known in Sitka as *Kolomnas*, and earth incense. All these are small in size and quantity. On the small lakes, in the swamp, here and there on the low parts of the east shore of the lake there is yellow or black clay; we burned a small quantity of the yellow clay taken from the lake and converted it into a metal similar to tin. However, we were never able to repeat this experiment. Occasionally, we found stone coal or various stones, which we took as samples. These were on the low parts of the lake shore. The lake water is brackish, since the lake communicates with the sea through numerous straits, which, it would seem, form randomly.

We got the following picture from what the factor, Kulishev, said: on the night of July 20, near our hut, the surface of the tundra was covered with flowers of three or four species, which had withered by August 5. A day's walk from our camp on the tundra, between the mountains that run eastward from Cape Beaufort, they had seen a sizable stream flowing northeast (later we learned that this is the river of the Utukagmiuts).⁷⁴

From Noon

Wind light; cloudy. We spent the day here to give the Aleuts a rest and to repair one of the baydarkas.

August 6th, From Midnight

Little wind; cloudy. At 5:00 we began to prepare for departure. Placing the baydara at anchor in deep water, we transported the freight in portions across the sandbars in a small baydara which we had built here for use around the hut.

Our careful observations conducted to date had not revealed any regular rise and fall of water in the lake; when the winds were from the south the water rose, when they were from the north it fell, depending on the wind force, but, in general, these changes were negligible; on June 25 the water rose 2 ft. with a fresh wind from the south.

At 9:00, after making observations and leaving the lake, we traveled south along the coast. Three observations made here showed that chronometer no. 1101 fell 2:52 behind mean time $0^{\text{h}}30^{\text{m}}10^{\text{s}}.51$ per 24 hr.

Wind moderate; clear.

From Noon

At 12:30 the wind suddenly stiffened and a thick fog formed. At 1:45 the increasingly heavy surf prevented us from continuing along the coast. We put in to shore at a small stream, which according to our calculations, is in latitude $69^{\circ}10'N$.

August 7th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; thick fog, heavy surf.

From Noon

Stiff wind; few clouds; sunshine; fog on the horizon and over the mountains; surf. Today, when the fog cleared, we saw mountains to the south, running northeast from Cape Beaufort.⁷⁵ We climbed the nearest ridge of these mountains, about four versts away, and at about 100 ft. above sea level we found several thin layers of earth, in general about 9 in. thick, beneath which there is 2 to 3 in. of quite hard silt, also in very thin layers; below this there is a foot of soft ice mixed with silt; below that is solid ice which can barely be smashed with a pick. The upper layer of soil was blackish-red, mixed with

crumpled and rotted grass; the subsequent layers of earth were mixed with thin roots, also decomposed. From the foot of the mountains to the sea coast, the surface of the earth consists of thin tundra dotted with small lakes peculiar to the tundra of this territory. The lakes which we studied were up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, with a solid ice bottom, which, when struck with a pick, sounded like a blow against rock. Here and there on the tundra there were hillocks, the only places where one could walk without sinking; the hillocks are about 3 ft. thick and beneath them is solid ice. The medical student found several medicinal grasses along the banks of the stream: branching spoonwort, *avetrika*,⁷⁶ veronica, and wild burret; they all were small and seemed to him to be of good quality. There is also a bit of scrub willow, wild rosemary, and some dwarf birches.

The coast consists of sandy cliffs up to 6 ft. high, beneath which is a 140-ft. wide beach of coarse gravel. A boggy tundra begins about 150-200 ft. from the low coastal cliffs. As to birds, besides ducks we noticed a raven. We had not seen ravens before in this territory. Caribou are not as plentiful here as they are farther north.

Beginning at midnight, the wind slackened; it is dark.

August 8th, From Midnight

Wind moderate; thick fog; surf. At 7:30 we launched our boats successfully and headed south.

From Noon

At 3:00 we landed 4 miles south of Cape Beaufort. The beach is gravel and on it are narrow lakes of salt water running north along the coast; two versts from the coast and perpendicular to it is a small hill apart from the others, at $69^{\circ}00'N$ and $163^{\circ}35'W$, according to the map. On this hill, which rises 250 ft. above the sea, we found several tiers of gray sand, arranged like slate obliquely and horizontally, mixed with earth and hardened like stone, but it broke up quite easily. These rows extended downward $3\frac{1}{4}$ ft. Beneath them was a foot of liquid silt, and below this, solid ice. The surface of the hill was dry in general; the same plants grow there as we noted before and in places there were flowers, but already faded. In general, the vegetation does not grow taller than 9 in. From the foot of the hill to the sea the surface of the earth is mostly mud 2 ft. deep; the coastal area for a stretch of about 100 ft. consists of sand $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, beneath which is ice. There is plenty of driftwood on the beach. At 5:30 we shoved off and proceeded south under sail.

Around 9:00, because of a very thick fog that suddenly set in and because the landings ahead were poor, we put into shore on the north side of Cape Sabine, where we found two baydaras and 22 Tykagmiuts with their wives and children, who had come here from Point Hope to hunt caribou.

August 9th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; dark clouds; pounding rain; very dark on the horizon; surf.

It is impossible to push forward. By 8:00 the water had begun to rise; the breakers began to reach the tents, which at first we had placed 70 ft. from the sea at a height of approximately 3 ft.

From Noon

Moderate gale; cloudy; intermittent sunshine; heavy breakers. Today an Aleut is indisposed due to fatigue. By 6:00 (i.e., over a period of 16 hr.), the sea had risen $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. along the coast (visual estimate), on account of the stiff wind from the west.

August 10th, From Midnight

Wind light; few clouds; sunshine; breakers. Tonight snow fell on the nearest mountains, which are in general of moderate height and which had been snow-free until now. At 8:30 we launched our craft safely and traveled toward Cape Lisburne, which soon came into view to the southwest, from behind Cape Sabine.

From Noon

Little wind; few clouds; sunshine.

At 6:30 we put in at a stream, at the place of our first landing beyond Cape Lisburne, and found there a family of savages, Tykagmiuts, numbering about 10 persons, with children.⁷⁷ En route we came upon a dead whale buoyed by the water, still quite fresh.

At 9:15 we went on toward Cape Lisburne.

August 11th, From Midnight

At 3:00 we rounded Cape Lisburne, at 3:30, having progressed a mile to the southeast, we stopped at a small stream, at the mouth of which was a small beach. The mouth of the stream was covered with gravel from the southwest, which we noted in other streams to the north as far as Point Barrow. Between Cape Lisburne and the

last streamlet we passed a waterfall about 3 ft. wide, falling from the top of the cliff straight into the water, a drop of 14 ft.

Wind moderate; cloudy with the sun breaking through; the surf has become heavy. It was impossible to travel farther south because of the rocky, precipitous coast running southward from Cape Lisburne together with the high surf; therefore, we unloaded the baydara and dragged it on shore.

At noon our observed latitude was $68^{\circ}50'18''\text{N}$; longitude, by chronometer, $165^{\circ}57'28''\text{W}$ (on the map, $166^{\circ}07'30''\text{W}$). Compass deviation, $31^{\circ}54'\text{E}$.

From Noon

Wind moderate; cloudy; breakers. Today we killed about 30 murre on the cliffs of Cape Lisburne; the murre, like the tufted puffins and the sea gulls, are plentiful on these cliffs. Among the birds were a few of Bering's cormorants. We did not see caribou anywhere, although we went inland about five versts. Two of the crew are sick.

August 12th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; cloudy and fine mist; surf.

From Noon

Wind fresh; cloudy; heavy surf. By 9:00 the sea water had risen, by visual estimate, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. along the coast, but from the quite abundant driftwood near the stream one may conclude that the water here rises as much as 8 ft. We could not proceed today because of the breakers, so we stayed put. In the ravines along Cape Lisburne, five versts to the northeast of our landing place, we saw human bones strewn everywhere and, besides, there were several graves in shallow holes along the edges of which was a $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wall of stones laid without mortar and topped with driftwood fastened with stones. In other graves there lay human bodies that had not yet decomposed and beneath each was a bow and arrows.⁷⁸ In the crevasses in the cliff, which consisted of flinty rock, there were small stones as if driven into the cliff and on these stones were quite regular figures depicted in relief. We took a few of these stones as samples.

August 13th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; cloudy; clear horizon; breakers.

From Noon

Wind moderate; fine mist; heavy breakers. Two of the crew are sick today.

August 14th, From Midnight

Wind moderate; cloudy and rain; heavy breakers.

From Noon

Wind light; few clouds; now and then starlight (the first time we saw stars twinkling here), breakers quieter.

August 15th, From Midnight

At 4:30, having traveled 2 miles, we were forced to return to the second stream from the cape, on account of the cliffs without a beach at which the surf and eddies were considerable and dangerous for a baydara. The landing site was better at this second stream than at the first.⁷⁹ We unloaded the baydara and dragged it safely ashore.

From Noon

Moderate gale; cloudy with the sun breaking through; light breakers. The sea water, which had dropped as much as 2 ft. by morning, has risen again by the same amount.

Today in a draw not far from our landing we found a clearing in which there were berries, known in the colonies as *shikshi* [crowberries]. The ravines are covered with a thin, greening tundra on which one can see trails made by the natives.⁸⁰

August 16th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; cloudy; intermittent heavy rain; breakers.

From Noon

Wind fresh; cloudy; intermittent rain squalls; heavy breakers. Today to the south of our camp we found berries: crowberries in larger quantities than yesterday and here and there bog whortleberries on stems 1 in. long, with two or three small leaves, on which there are one and very rarely two berries; like the crowberries, they taste watery.

August 17th, From Midnight

Wind light; dark clouds; breakers not so heavy. We began to load

the baydara at 5:00, but within half an hour we had to desist because the surf kept getting higher.

From Noon

Wind fresh; cloudy; fine rain; breakers.

Wind moderate; cloudy; intermittent rain; breakers.

Today on Cape Lisburne our hunters killed 70 murre. Five savages approached us from the north side of the cape; they were returning to their home in Tykaga, on Point Hope, but were detained here by heavy surf.⁸¹ We didn't learn anything from them, except that they can shoot arrows for distances as great as 560 ft. En route from Cape Lisburne our hunters saw three winter sod huts near the coast, well situated but uninhabited.⁸²

August 18th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; cloudy; rain; breakers.

From Noon

Wind moderate; cloudy; intermittent rain; breakers.

Today, upon examining the native sod huts, we found them to be as follows: they were placed on slight elevations that were dug out as much as possible and on the outside the huts were covered with several layers of thin sod. The outside height of the hut was no more than 4 ft. A small opening led to an underground corridor 3 ft. long and 3½ ft. deep; on the left side of the corridor there was a small storeroom, on the right side a corresponding empty space, apparently a kitchen; at the end of the corridor another opening, barely wide enough to admit a person, led into the hut itself. The hut was 14 ft. long, 7 ft. wide, 6 ft. high from the floor to the roof in the middle and about 4 ft. high along the sides. The walls of the hut were lined on the inside with hewn timbers, the roof and the floor, which was fairly clean, were also made of hewn timbers. Across the entire end of the hut were bunks. On the right side was a small isolated space 1 ft. from the floor, rectangular in shape and 3 ft. high; the walls and the floor [here] were not lined with anything. At the top of the roof, near the corner, on the right side, there was a rectangular framed window 1½ ft. square. In the corners nearest the entrance to the hut there were shelves for night lamps. These lamps are chiseled from simple stone in the form of a sector [triangle]. In

general, it was quite clean inside the hut. In the corridor, which was entirely of sod, there were two doors; all hatches had covers.⁸³

August 19th, From Midnight

Wind light; cloudy; breakers quite heavy; soon there was a squall from the NE. At 7:15 we launched our boats safely and proceeded SE.

At 9:15 we passed the precipitous Cape Lewis.⁸⁴

Wind light; intermittent strong gusts from the cliffs; cloudy with a spattering of rain.

From Noon

At 1:00 we passed the precipitous Cape Dyer, which is 600 ft. high.⁸⁵ From there the cliffs gradually become lower; the cliffs themselves, which had been of stone, now consist of sandy scree covered with tundra; beneath the cliffs there is a continuous beach 35 to 100 ft. wide, consisting of gravel. Beyond Cape Dyer we passed one winter sod hut in which there was a single savage, an old man.⁸⁶ He told us that two of his comrades had set out about a month ago for caribou that had been killed not very far away in the tundra. He assumed that they (his comrades) had been killed by Utukagmiuts whom they sometimes meet in the tundra; they don't know of any other people there. The old man asked if he could accompany us to Marryat Inlet. He belonged to the Tykagmiut tribe.⁸⁷ We agreed but then he immediately refused to go. Then we were hit by a rain squall from the southeast that lasted half an hour. At 2:30 we landed on the coast, which is about 40 ft. high, to rest.

Wind fresh; cloudy with the sun breaking through. At 3:15 we set out along the coast westward. At 4:30 we approached the mouth of Marryat Inlet and set about measuring it.⁸⁸ The coast from Cape Lisburne to here is charted accurately on Captain Beechey's map, lacking only some minor details, namely two streamlets, the first after the cape. At the mouth of the inlet the ocean depth is 3 fathoms, but 700 ft. from shore there is a shoal beginning at Point Hope and continuing to the precipitous coastline 3 miles to the NNE of the mouth of Marryat Inlet; the water on that shoal is one-half to 1 fathom deep. The coast around the mouth of the inlet up to Point Hope itself is called Tykaga by the natives. It consists of gravel and rises steeply 8 to 10 ft.; grass grows in places on the high ground. There is a great deal of driftwood on the shores of the inlet. At the

mouth of the inlet there is a current running northwest at 2 knots. In the inlet and opposite its mouth the water is fresh, but one-half mile to the west it becomes briny. After making measurements, which took a half hour, we proceeded along the inlet toward its south shore.

At 8:30 we landed on the south shore of the inlet.

August 20th, From Midnight

Little wind; cloudy; intermittent light rain; fog on the horizon.

At 5:00 we began to transfer our things to the south shore of Point Hope across the marshy tundra, one verst from the shore of the inlet.

Little wind; cloudy; from time to time rain clouds from the northwest; fog over the mountains to the east. At noon we portaged the baydara to the south shore of Point Hope, which, like the north shore, consists of gravel rising as much as 7 ft. above sea level. The large winter camp Tykaga is on this cape; its inhabitants, according to the savages we met at Cape Lisburne, are quite numerous, comprising a special tribe of Tykagmiuts. They gather at this camp only in winter; they spend the summer and fall hunting caribou in various places. The Tykagmiuts are completely like the Silalinagmiuts in both language and appearance.⁸⁹

From Noon

At 2:00 we set out for Cape Thompson⁹⁰ in a very thick fog, which cleared up completely at 3:00.

We met a native baydara towed by four dogs driven by one man; in addition, there were six men and four women with children who either walked alongside or sat in the baydara. They were all Tykagmiuts and told us that farther to the east there are several more summer camps belonging to their kinsmen.⁹¹ Their baydara is similar to that of the Kodiaks, but differs somewhat from that of the Kakligmiuts. Their dogs are the same kind as those of the Chukchi and the Kakligmiuts.

Wind light; few clouds; sunshine.

Wind fresh; squalls; dark clouds.

At 9:00 we put in at Cape Thompson and left the baydara at anchor on the west shore of the cape. Fourteen Tykagmiuts, who lived in a summer camp not far from our landing, approached us;⁹² at first they took us for their enemies the Kakligmiuts. The savages

told us that more than nine days ago they had seen a ship at anchor near the village of the Kyktagagmiuts near Kotzebue Sound.⁹³

August 21st, From Midnight

Wind moderate; few clouds; sunshine.

At 7:00 we set out to ESE. Rounding Cape Thompson, which consists of three blunt rocky cliffs, we passed two openings in the cliffs through which we passed in our baydaras. These openings are about 6 ft. high and 5 ft. wide.

Wind in gusts from the cliffs; few clouds; sunshine. At 10:30, after passing a small stream on the east side of Cape Thompson, we towed the baydara, dividing the crew into two shifts.

From Noon

At 5:30 we came upon a whale that had been cast up on the shore. We cut off several pieces of meat for ourselves—it was quite well preserved. At 8:30 we put into shore 20 miles to ESE of Cape Thompson at a small freshwater lake.⁹⁴

August 22nd, From Midnight

Wind fresh; few clouds; sunshine. At 7:00 we set out ESE. Wild peas and wild onions were growing at our landing site on a sandy spit. The grass was a foot or more tall.

At 7:30 we passed through a strait into the lake; a mile later we passed through another strait at which there was a small summer camp.⁹⁵

At 11:30 we passed through a third small strait at the mouth of which there was a fairly sizable summer camp on a spit rising 7 ft. above the sea. Eight baydaras, each with 14 men, approached us from this camp. A crowd of more than 150 persons stood on shore. They, like the inhabitants of the summer camp we passed this morning, comprise a separate tribe and call themselves Kivalinagmiuts, after the name of their settlement, which is in a latitude of approximately 67°40'N; in appearance they are similar to the Tykagmiuts with whom they have family ties; but their language is more like that of the Chpagmiuts, who live near the Mikhailovski Redoubt.⁹⁶

From Noon

The savages who came to meet us, although they did not have

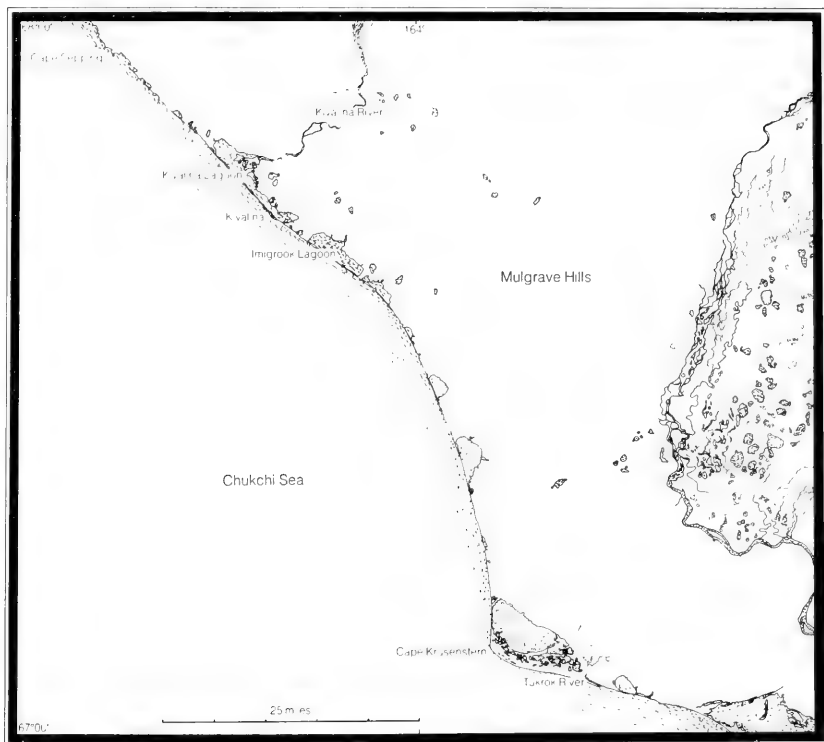


FIG. 7. Cape Krusenstern to Cape Seppings.

arrows with them, each had a knife and they boldly circled us with their baydara, trying to force us to the shore. The wind soon freshened from WSW, forcing them to hasten back toward the shore from which they had come.

Moderate gale; bright; thick clouds on the horizon; heavy breakers. At 3:00, amid great danger, we landed safely on shore, in the surf, 8 miles east of the summer camp. Our landing place was a spit 700 ft. wide and 8 ft. high, beyond which is a salty lake, the eastern end of which we could see but the western end was lost to sight behind a bend to the southwest.⁹⁷ Here and there on the spit there was grass 1½ ft. tall.

Moderate gale; bright; thick clouds on the horizon; heavy breakers. At 8:00, 20 Kivalinagmiut men approached us. The northern lights began at 10:00 and continued till midnight, with weather

conditions the same. The savages who approached us led us to suspect them of evil intentions toward us and, in addition, not far from us there was another crowd of savages of similar mind (one of the savages, an old man, warned Utuktak of this). Therefore, working the savages into one spot, we surrounded them with our sentries so that they could not signal the other natives. The rest of our crew was on full alert at their guns.

August 23rd, From Midnight

Wind fresh; few clouds; breakers not as heavy. We began to load the baydara at 5:00.

At 7:00 we launched the baydara safely. The number of savages had increased to 60 by this time.

At 11:45 we passed a stream.

From Noon

Wind moderate; cloudy; surf. At 4:30 we landed opposite the Mulgrave Hills.⁹⁸

Today, when we examined the walrus-skin covering of our baydara, we noticed for the first time that it had been spoiled by worms.

August 24th, From Midnight

Moderate gale; cloudy; heavy breakers.

From Noon

Wind savage; cloudy; intermittent squalls with driving rain; heavy breakers; the water along shore has risen about 4 ft.

Today we replaced the worm-eaten skin covering with a spare one. Near our landing site we noted the following berries: crowberries, bog whortleberries on a stalk 2 or 3 in. long with four to six berries, and a small number of cowberries. The grasses included, besides those mentioned above, trefolium. Caribou are quite plentiful, but we did not kill any. There are ducks in the little streams.

August 25th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; cloudy; intermittent fine rain; heavy breakers.

From Noon

Wind fresh; cloudy; intermittent squalls with driving rain; heavy breakers. Today we saw geese and swans flying south; we killed 10

ducks and several partridges, which are rather plentiful in the tundra. Two of the crew are down with boils.

August 26th, From Midnight

Wind light; cloudy; breakers lighter.

At 8:30 we put out safely from shore. Wind light; cloudy; surf getting heavier. At 11:30, experiencing great danger from the breakers, we rounded the reef and Cape Krusenstern, on the south side of which the sea was quite calm.⁹⁹ Between capes Thompson and Krusenstern the coastline is in complete agreement with Captain Beechey's map. The shore consists of gravel and rises quite steeply from the sea to heights of 4 to 7 ft. Along the whole coast and for a short distance from it there are many small lakes, some of which have several passages that connect them with the sea, but all are shallow. The mountains that run along the coast are of moderate height in general and are not snow covered.

From Noon

At 3:00 we stopped at two winter sod huts 9 miles to the east of Cape Krusenstern. Here we found about 10 savages belonging to the Kyktagagmiut tribe; their language is so similar to that of the Chpagmiuts that our oarsmen could understand them and communicate with them in Kodiak.¹⁰⁰ Otherwise, they look exactly like the other savages we have seen, except that they are not so dexterous and agile as the more northerly peoples. The natives said that they had heard that the brig *Polyphem* was at Chamisso Island (Kikakhtak, i.e., "Island," in Kodiak) and that the main and most populous village, Kyktagagmiut, is somewhat to the north of Cape Blossom, on the low coast.¹⁰¹ From the local savages we purchased several loaches, which are very tasty, and various berries; crowberries, cloudberryes, bog whortleberryes, and crowberryes. All these berryes grow nearby on the tundra and the savages preserve them, mixing them together in a butter, adding some roots to it. They keep this in square buckets, bent together from a single board, except for the bottom.

At 5:00 we proceeded farther toward Hotham Inlet¹⁰² and, in passing some half-dozen sod huts scattered along the coast, we traded tobacco for many loaches [probably whitefish] which the savages catch in nets placed in numerous spots along the coast. At 8:30 we stood at anchor off the west shore of the mouth of Hotham Inlet on account of darkness and the numerous sandbars in the mouth of the inlet. The coast from Cape Krusenstern to the

east first rises and, reaching a height of 18 ft. near the first sod huts, descends again at the mouth of the inlet, where it comprises a grass-covered spit about 5 ft. high. Along the entire coast there is a beach of coarse gravel from 70 to 350 ft. wide, very favorable for landings. As before, Captain Beechey's map of the coast is accurate in all details.

August 27th, From Midnight

Wind light; few clouds. At 3:30 we hoisted anchor and began to round the sandbars from the ocean side.

From Noon

At 12:15 we stopped on a beach on the south side of Cape Blossom, which consists of sandy scree up to 25 ft. high. From it the coast to the southeast continues to be precipitous and along the entire coast there is a beach up to 35 ft. wide, suitable for landing. On the heights along the shoreline we found many crowberries, cowberries, bog whortleberries, and various flowers that had not yet faded. To the north of us we saw three savages gathering berries, but on seeing us they fled.

At 1:45 we again got underway, proceeding SE by E.

Wind light; few clouds; sunshine.

At 8:00, owing to the approach of darkness and a big leak in the baydara, we put into shore and dragged the baydara onto the beach.

August 28th, From Midnight

Wind fresh; few clouds; sunshine; heavy breakers.

At noon our observations showed our latitude to be $66^{\circ}33'18''N$; longitude by chronometer $161^{\circ}36'34''W$ (on the map, $161^{\circ}50'W$); compass deviation, $28^{\circ}10'E$. Our location agrees completely with the map; we are situated on an isthmus which rises 30 ft. above the sea; on it are all the aforementioned berries, but now in larger quantities. Scrub willow an arshin or more tall grows in the gullies, where the streamlets run. This is the first time we have seen vegetation this big.

From Noon

Wind fresh; clear; breakers.

August 29th, From Midnight

Wind light; clear; light breakers.

At 5:30 we set out for Chamisso Island.

At 11:30 we rounded Point Garnet¹⁰³ and soon sighted Chamisso Island to the east.

From Noon

At 1:00 we landed on the low east cape of Chamisso Island, on which we found an indication that the *Polyphem* had been there.

We found many berries on the island; crowberries, bog whortleberries, and cloudberryes. There was very little driftwood.

Wind fresh; clear.

August 30th, From Midnight

Wind moderate; few clouds; sunshine. At noon our observed latitude was $66^{\circ}13'42''$ N; longitude by chronometer $161^{\circ}22'56''$ W; compass deviation, $29^{\circ}48'$ E.

From Noon

Wind fresh; few clouds; moonlight; from time to time starlight and northern lights.

August 31st, From Midnight

Wind fresh; clear; sunshine; white clouds on the horizon.

From Noon

Wind light; dark clouds; intermittent wet snow.

September 1st, From Midnight

Wind fresh; few clouds; sunshine.

From Noon

Wind fresh; cloudy; intermittent light rain.

September 2nd, From Midnight

Wind fresh, few clouds; sunshine.

From Noon

Wind moderate; few clouds; sunshine.

September 3rd, From Midnight

Wind light; few clouds; sunshine.

At noon we determined that chronometer no. 1101 was $0^{\text{h}}34^{\text{m}}-59^{\text{s}}.46$ behind mean time, with a daily departure of 1:02.

From Noon

Wind light; cloudy. Today we crossed over from Chamisso Island to the mainland to the east to hunt caribou.

September 4th, From Midnight

Wind light; cloudy with the sun breaking through.

From Noon

Wind fresh; cloudy; intermittent snow squalls. Today we killed three large caribou; there are large herds of them in the tundra.

September 5th, From Midnight

At 7:00 *Polyphem* arrived at Chamisso Island; the three baydarks immediately went out to the ship with the news that the expedition was in good condition and to tell where it was situated.

From Noon

Wind moderate; cloudy.

At 6:00 we left Chamisso Island, where we had arrived at 10:00 and went aboard *Polyphem* to sail for New Archangel.

NOTES

1. Two-hatch baydarkas were made by the Aleuts and Koniag-speaking Eskimos of Kodiak Island. They were little used, however, before the introduction of firearms when they were necessary for hunting since the recoil of a gun might capsize a lighter vessel; when one hunter was firing, the other kept the boat upright (Jochelson, 1933, p. 55). Three-hatch baydarkas were a Russian innovation for the use of hunting parties sent out by the Russian-American Company.

2. The Eskimo umiak, an open skin boat.

3. Captain James Cook sighted and named Cape Lisburne on August 21, 1778 (Cook and King, 1785, vol. 2, p. 460).

4. This was probably Vasily Ivanovich Malakhov, a pioneer employee of the Russian-American Company in the Cook Inlet area and father of Petr Vasilevich Malakhov. The latter, in the same year as the Kashevarov expedition, became the first Russian to navigate the Yukon from Nulato to the coast. As Fedorova (1973, note 64, p. 338) has pointed out, Soviet historians have frequently attributed the services of the son to the father.

5. This was Utuktak, an Eskimo from the coast of Norton Sound between St. Michael and the mouth of the Unalakleet River. According to Zagoskin (1967, map 2, p. 104), this region was occupied by the "Chnagmyut" and Wrangell, in his classification of Alaskan Indians and Eskimos published in 1839 (1970, p. 15), similarly referred to these people as living north of the Pastolik River and west of Cape Rodney. Zagoskin arrived at Mikhailovskiy in July, 1842 with the expectation that Utuktak would also serve as his interpreter. However, this well-travelled Eskimo "exercised his right as a free man and flatly refused. He declared that he had formerly been a bachelor, but that he now had two beautiful wives, and because of them his wants were fulfilled" (Zagoskin, 1967, p. 89). Since Utuktak lived close to the Yupik-Inupik boundary, he

probably spoke and understood both languages. It is clear that he was more useful to the expedition than the "interpreter" also mentioned here. For a thorough discussion of tribal and linguistic distribution in the Bering Strait region during the nineteenth century, see Ray, 1975b, ch. 10.

6. Possibly the seasonal settlement of Wevok (Uivak) mentioned by Collier (1906, p. 8) and located "about three miles east of Cape Lisburne." It was occupied at the time of Collier's visit in August, 1904. On the Alaska Reconnaissance Series map (Point Hope quadrangle), this settlement is shown at the mouth of Selin Creek. According to Smith and Mertie (1930, p. 103), Wevok was abandoned when geological surveys were conducted in the area in the early 1920's. They located it near the point where the winter trail that turned inland south of Cape Lisburne to avoid the cape came out to the coast again. According to Burch (pers. comm.), this seasonal settlement was occupied by Point Hope polar bear and seal hunters in winter, abandoned during the whaling season, and occasionally reoccupied by egg gatherers and caribou hunting parties in summer. Wevok was located with reference to wind conditions. It was in the lee of westerlies coming east past the cape, and was tucked so tightly against the steep cliff face that strong north winds had little or no effect because of the high pressure zone that built up there.

7. Captain Cook, in 1778, was too far offshore to have observed Point Hope, and the first European to do so was Captain-Lieutenant Gleb S. Shishmarev in command of the ship *Good Intent* in 1820. He named it Golovnin after the famous Russian circumnavigator (Ray, 1975b, p. 69). Point Hope received the name by which it is now known from Beechey in 1826 (1831, vol. 1, p. 363) who wished to honor Sir William Johnstone Hope, a lord of the Admiralty. The Eskimo name for the point and the village at its tip is *tikeraq* (index finger) (Rainey, 1947, p. 235). Inhabitants of Tikeraq or Tigara—modern Point Hope village—are sometimes referred to as tikerarmiut (Kashevarov's "Tykagmiut").

According to Burch (1975, pp. 10-13), the traditional Eskimo population of northwest Alaska was organized in terms of a set of "societies," each of which was associated with a particular territory regarded as its "home" district. The members of some societies stayed within their home territory throughout the year, while those of others moved out of their own districts at various times. Each

society tended to be endogamous. Burch has defined 20 societies between Norton Sound and the mouth of the Colville River, one of which, Point Hope society, includes the residents of Tigara. The home territory of Point Hope society extended from Cape Thompson on the south to above Cape Beaufort on the north, and included most of the Ipewik and Kukpuk River drainages.

An important characteristic that served to distinguish the members of one society from those of another was that of dialect. All Eskimos in the region through which Kashevarov travelled spoke dialects of the Inupik language; regional variation was pronounced but the dialects were mutually intelligible (Burch, 1975, p. 13). When Kashevarov speaks of the "Maligmiut" language, he means Inupik. His interpreter was using the designation for it employed by the northernmost Yupik speakers on Norton Sound (Ray, 1975b, p. 130; Burch, pers. comm.). However, inhabitants of Kodiak Island, the Koniag, speak Yupik, a language spoken south of Norton Sound. The two languages are not mutually intelligible.

8. The Yukon was known to the Russians as *Kvikhpak* (*kwiqpak* -big river), the Eskimo name for the lower portion which they occupy. The Athapaskan name is now applied to the entire river.

9. According to Orth (1967, p. 579), Cape Lisburne was often referred to by the Eskimo as *uivaq ungasiktoq* meaning "distant cape" as opposed to *uivaq qarvitoq* for Cape Thompson which means "near cape." *Uivaq* (or *Uivak*), meaning "cape" was frequently spelled "wevuk" or "wevok."

10. The Point Hope Eskimos have hunted caribou in the vicinity of Cape Lisburne for centuries and continue to do so at the present time (Rainey, 1947, pp. 265-267; Foote and Williamson, 1966, pp. 1,058, 1,060; VanStone, 1962b, pp. 62-63). It is possible that the small camp encountered by Kashevarov's party was located at the mouth of Ayugatak Creek, due east of Cape Lisburne. Sea birds nest on the rock cliffs at Cape Lisburne and the Point Hope Eskimos usually combined caribou hunting with the killing of birds and egg collecting (Rainey, 1947, p. 266; Foote and Williamson, 1966, p. 1,058; VanStone, 1962b, pp. 62-63).

11. Possibly Sapumik Ridge or Corwin Bluff.

12. Cape Sabine, named by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, map opp. p. 459), is located at the mouth of the Pitmegea River. As late as 1918

there was a small winter settlement near the mouth of the river (Stuck, 1920, p. 168).

13. Cape Beaufort was named by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, p. 369) in 1826 for the then hydrographer to the Admiralty.

14. The Amatusuk Hills, inland from Kashevarov's camp, are the last elevation of any note that a coastal traveller heading north will see in northwest Alaska.

15. The topography of the narrow spit which separates Kasegaluk Lagoon from the Chukchi Sea changes rapidly due to wave and ice action. Some of the small passes between the lagoon and the open ocean that existed at the time of Kashevarov's journey do not show on modern maps.

16. The islands, six in number, are approximately 12 miles north of Point Lay. There is a sizeable pass to the ocean opposite the islands, but it changes in shape and size frequently. Point Lay was named by Beechey for George T. Lay, naturalist on the *Blossom* (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, map opp. p. 459).

17. Probably Utuqaq, a summer camping place for members of Utukok River society who lived on the upper Utukok River (Burch, 1975, p. 12). It was situated on an outer island directly across the lagoon from Tolageak (Tulaariaq), another summer encampment (Burch, pers. comm.). For a description of the subsistence cycle of Utukok River people, see Larsen and Rainey, 1948, pp. 30-36.

18. The term *pichikans* cannot be translated. It is probably a misprint and must refer to a stand of willows or cottonwoods.

19. Members of Utukok River society are, of course, Inupik speakers. "Kvikhpaks" is a reference to one of the Eskimo groups living along the lower Yukon (Oswalt, 1967, map 2). As Nelson (1899, p. 31) has noted, garments worn by both men and women from Point Barrow to the mouth of the Yukon were practically identical in pattern.

20. The baydara and its crew were to wait for the return of Kashevarov and the remainder of the party at or near Naokok.

21. This term was used for a number of different linguistic groups by the Russians. Most frequently they distinguished between the Aleut-speaking Fox Island Aleut and the Kodiak "Aleut" who were actually Koniag-speaking Eskimos.

22. Icy Cape was named by Captain Cook in August, 1778 (Cook

and King, 1785, vol. 2, p. 455). This was the northern limit of Cook's discoveries. There is a sizeable pass to Kasegaluk Lagoon southwest of the cape.

23. According to Spencer (1959, p. 16), the settlement at Icy Cape was known as Kayaakserevik (Qayiaqsirvik). Beechey (1831, vol. 1, p. 375) noted a village at this point in 1826. It had a population of 57 in 1890 (Porter, 1893, p. 8) and was still occupied seasonally as late as the mid-1920's (Stuck, 1920, p. 190; Smith and Mertie, 1930, p. 103).

24. The Silalinagmiut and Kakligmiut "tribes" can be identified as Northwest Coast society and Barrow society respectively. Kayaakserevik was the largest Northwest Coast settlement in traditional times (Burch, 1975, p. 12; pers. comm.).

25. The now abandoned settlement of Kilimantavi (Qilamik-tarvik) about 20 miles southwest of the mouth of Wainwright Inlet. The name is recorded by Zagoskin (1956, map) as "Kylyamigtavik," presumably from information provided by Kashevarov. The settlement was occupied as late as 1883 (Murdoch, 1892, p. 44), and served for many years thereafter as a stopping place for travelers along the coast (Smith and Mertie, 1930, p. 104). Kashevarov does not mention Mitliktavik, a village approximately 10 miles southwest of Kilimantavi. Although occupied as late as 1918 (Stuck, 1920, p. 192), it appears to have been temporarily abandoned when the *Blossom's* barge passed there on August 18-19, 1826 (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 417; Gough, 1973, p. 159).

26. Wainwright Inlet was named by Beechey for Lieutenant John Wainwright of the *Blossom* (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, map opp. p. 459). There have been several villages on the spit between Wainwright Inlet and the sea as well as on the shores of the Inlet and along the lower Kuk River (Orth, 1967, p. 1,025; Milan, 1964, p. 3). The crew of the *Blossom's* barge erected a post here for John Franklin on August 20, 1826 (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 419).

27. Burch (pers. comm.) indicates that this settlement is now known as Ulrung and was located on the site of the present village of Wainwright.

28. The spelling is different, but this is another reference to Kilimantavi.

29. See note 27.

30. Point Belcher was named by Beechey for Lieutenant Edward Belcher of the *Blossom* (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, map opp. p. 459).

31. The abandoned village of Atanik (Ataniq), located approximately 8 miles northeast of Point Belcher near the point where the sandspit that forms the northwestern boundary of Peard Bay joins the mainland. Atanik was occupied in 1890 when it had a population of 34 (Porter, 1893, p. 8), and Stefansson (1914, p. 11) believed that the "Atanirrmiut" were represented by some living individuals in 1912.

32. This statement indicates that Utuktak was familiar with the Inupik language.

33. "Topkhak" (*tapqaq*): a beach ridge covered with a good growth of grass. In this context it would appear to be a reference to Point Belcher.

34. The name of this abandoned settlement, Pingusugzuk, is spelled "Pingasagrook" on the U.S.G.S. Alaska Reconnaissance Topographic Series map (Wainwright quadrangle). It was noted by Smith and Mertie as "Pingashugaruk" during geological surveys in the mid 1920's, and is described by them (Smith and Mertie, 1930, p. 105) as "a very large old settlement that has long been abandoned" which had a population of "several hundred people." The 10th Federal Census lists a village called "Pindshuragin" that had a population of 29 in 1880 (Petroff, 1884, p. 4).

35. Named by Beechey for Captain John Franklin with whom he had served on the latter's first polar expedition. Beechey had originally given the name to a cliff which, when observed from a distance, appeared to be on the coast. Later investigation by the *Blossom*'s barge proved the contrary and the name was transferred to the spit. Beechey refers to it in his text as "Cape" Franklin, but on his map it is designated a "Point" (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, pp. 375, 419, map opp. 459).

36. Burch (pers. comm.) believes that Pingusugzuk (see note 34) was probably a descendent of this old village at Point Franklin, having been gradually moved south as the beach eroded.

37. Named by Beechey for Lieutenant George Peard of the *Blossom* (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 420).

38. This sentence is grammatically garbled.

39. Kashevarov's movements in the Point Franklin area are con-

fusing to the modern reader. Much of this confusion is the result of changes in the coast line that have taken place since the nineteenth-century explorations. It is clear from Beechey's (1831, vol. 1, opp. p. 459) map that in 1826 Point Franklin was not a continuous spit but rather a number of low, sandy islands separated by shallow water. These are the islands to which Kashevarov refers in the preceding pages. Beechey named them the Sea Horse Islands (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 419), but today the designation applies only to two small islands at the entrance of Peard Bay.

40. The large Eskimo village on the tip of Point Barrow was called Nuwuk. On Zagoskin's (1956) map, "Kiballyu" is shown just south of the tip of the point.

41. There are many small streams flowing into the Chukchi Sea along the stretch of coast northeast of Peard Bay that is known as Skull Cliff, but this name is unrecognizable.

42. Utkiavik (Utqiavik) was the name of the settlement at the site of the modern Barrow village. According to J. Simpson (1875, pp. 237-238), it had a population of approximately 250 living in 40 houses in 1852-1853. A severe famine resulted in 40 deaths the following year. In 1882 there were 23 families and a total population of 130 (Ray, 1885, p. 39).

43. Almost certainly a reference to the Mackenzie River.

44. Chamisso Island was named in 1816 by Kotzebue after the naturalist on his expedition, Louis Adelbert von Chamisso (Kotzebue, 1821, vol. 1, p. 213). The Eskimo designation given by Kashevarov resembles the Inupik word for island.

45. A form of the Russian word *kalligrafiya* - calligraphy; thus literally "letter people."

46. Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt, the first Russian-American Company post north of the Alaska Peninsula, was established at the mouth of the Nushagak River in 1819. Fedor Kolmakov was the first post manager. Using the redoubt as a base of operations, Ivan Yakovlevich Vasilev explored the Nushagak River for the company in 1829 and 1830. In the latter year he crossed over to the Kuskokwim drainage and descended that river to the coast. These explorations resulted in the construction of a series of trading stations at various points along the middle Kuskokwim including, in 1841, Kolmakovskiy Redoubt about 20 miles above the present village of Aniak. Much of the trading activity along the Kuskokwim during

these years was conducted by Semen Lukin, a creole employee at the redoubt. He traveled extensively on both the Kuskokwim and Yukon rivers, visiting coastal settlements on many occasions. However, there is no evidence that he ever traveled north of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, the company's post near Stuart Island north of the mouth of the Yukon. Thus the sheet from a manuscript calendar to which Kashevarov refers had traveled a considerable distance in approximately 2 years (VanStone, 1967, pp. 10-11; Fedorova, 1973, pp. 253-256). The "Kalikagmiuts" described by Pukak as having arrived at Point Barrow from the east is almost certainly a reference to Thomas Simpson who reached the settlement in August, 1837 from the mouth of the Mackenzie River (Simpson, 1843). However, it is unlikely that he was the source of Lukin's calendar fragment.

47. This was the summer trading center at the mouth of the Colville River. On Maguire's (1854, map facing page 186) map it appears as Nigamak. Leffingwell (1919, p. 98) calls it Nigalik, and Stefansson (1914, p. 9) Nirlik. The name may be derived from *nikilivik*, the Eskimo name for the Pacific white-fronted goose (Rausch, 1951, p. 158).

48. The suffix "pya" or *piaq* means "authentic" or "real." Therefore, the tundra peoples referred to must have been more authentic occupants of an unknown area known as *kaqlik*. In any event, the "Kakligmiut Pya" were probably riverine Eskimos living south of Point Barrow, possibly along the Meade and Ikpiqpuk rivers (Burch, pers. comm.). They undoubtedly obtained the beaver skin traded to Pukak from Athapaskan Indians on the Koyukuk River.

49. See note 39. Kashevarov recognized the rapidly changing configuration of the coast line in this area.

50. Although Cape Smyth does not appear on many modern maps, it is listed as a current geographical name by Orth (1967, p. 891). The cape was named by Beechey for William Smyth, mate of the *Blossom*, who accompanied the boat expedition commanded by Thomas Elson (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 421). It is the last high land on the coast before the low sand spit that stretches out to Point Barrow. As noted previously (see note 42), Cape Smyth is the site of modern Barrow village.

51. Like most permanent coastal villages in northwest Alaska, Utkiavik was virtually abandoned during the summers when the inhabitants scattered to temporary camps to hunt and fish.

52. Point Barrow, the northern-most point of the United States, was named by Beechey for Sir John Barrow, patron of British northern exploration (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, pp. 414-415). Its correct location is 71°23'29"N latitude.

53. The now-abandoned village of Nuwuk which in 1852-1853 had a population of 309 (J. Simpson, 1875, p. 237). Illness and starvation had reduced the population to 150 by 1882-1883 (Ray, 1885, p. 38).

54. Burch (1975, pp. 225-226) notes that traditional Eskimos of northwest Alaska were frequently aggressive when they had a clear numerical superiority over another group, native or white.

55. Possibly Tekegakrok Point, 71°17'32"N.

56. Possibly Iko Bay, although Kashevarov's description of the eastern shore does not seem accurate.

57. This is the first geographical feature named by Kashevarov, who, not knowing of Thomas Simpson's journey to Point Barrow from the east the preceding year, believed himself to be traveling in unexplored territory. The Russian name did not last. The name Iko Bay was first published in 1854 (Maguire, 1854, map facing page 186).

58. Possibly Ross Point.

59. Possibly Ross Bay which had been named the previous year by Thomas Simpson (1843, p. 151).

60. Possibly Christie Point or another projection of the coast line near the western entrance to Dease Inlet. The name Christie Point was given by Thomas Simpson in 1837 (Simpson, 1843, p. 150).

61. Kashevarov's name for Tangent Point at the east entrance to Dease Inlet. Tangent Point was named by Simpson (1843, p. 145).

62. Kashevarov's name for Dease Inlet, the latter designation having been bestowed by Simpson (1843, p. 149) in honor of his traveling companion, Peter Warren Dease.

63. See note 54. Burch (1974, p. 4) has convincingly demonstrated that the Eskimos of northwest Alaska clearly understood the importance of the principle of mass. A decision to attack would never be made until the attacking party was certain that it could muster more men than they believed to be in the enemy force.

64. Under the circumstances, Kashevarov was probably wise to terminate his explorations at this point since he was now a considerable distance from possible assistance. His supplies must have been running low and it was becoming clear that he could not count on the native inhabitants for help in case of need. Also, he sensed among the members of his crew, worn out by their previous exertions and somewhat frightened by the hostile Eskimos, a desire to turn back.

65. Shown on modern maps as Walakpa Bay, this estuary was designated as Refuge Inlet by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, pp. 431-435, map opp. p. 459). The *Blossom's* barge was trapped there by ice from August 25 to 28, 1826 and encountered a village of nine tents (Bockstoce, nd).

66. See note 25. Another spelling of Kilimantavi.

67. This method of hunting caribou is described by Maguire (1854, p. 178) and Murdoch (1885, p. 99), but it was unknown to Spencer's (1959, p. 31) informants in the early 1950's. See appendix (p. 85).

68. Precise eyewitness accounts of the effectiveness of traditional Eskimo weaponry are extremely rare. Members of the *Blossom's* crew reported seeing an Eskimo on Chamisso Island shoot an arrow through the head of a loon at an estimated distance of 40 yd. (Gough, 1973, p. 169). Following an hostile encounter with Kotzebue Sound natives in September, 1827, Beechey noted the effectiveness of their arrows. At a distance of 100 yd. one sailor suffered a flesh wound, while at 8 or 10 yd. the right arm of a marine was pinned to his side (Beechey, 1831, vol. 2, pp. 287-288). Writing with reference to the Copper Eskimo, Stefansson (1914, p. 96) estimated that 25 to 30 yd. was the maximum range of great accuracy with a bow and arrow, but also stated that the weapon was effective on caribou from 75 to 90 yd. At 35 to 50 yd. an arrow could pass through the body of the animal.

69. Lieutenant Kotzebue gave his own name to the sound which he was the first European to enter in 1816 (Kotzebue, 1821, vol. 1, p. 238). The existence of an important trading center in this area during the nineteenth century was reported by Beechey in 1826 (1831, vol. 1, pp. 351-352). Russian Cossacks had penetrated north-eastern Siberia by the middle of the seventeenth century, but it was the establishment of an important trading market on a tributary of the Kolyma River in 1789 that made it possible for quantities of

European trade goods and native products to flow into Alaska from the Chukchi. The people of Diomed Island, Cape Prince of Wales, and King and Sledge islands were the middlemen of this intercontinental trade, and Hotham Inlet in Kotzebue Sound became an important distribution center for all of northwest Alaska (Van-Stone, 1962a, pp. 126-128; Ray, 1975b, pp. 97-102). For a detailed discussion of this trade in the 1850's see J. Simpson (1875). Although firearms were apparently used by the Eskimos of northwest Alaska as early as 1819 (Ray, 1975a), they were not available in quantity until introduced by American whalers about 1850.

70. The same settlement referred to in notes 25, 28, and 66. This spelling conforms more closely to that on Zagoskin's (1956) map.

71. The lagoon just inside and north of Icy Cape was frequented in summer by large numbers of spotted and bearded seals. Residents of the village of Qayiaqsirvik camped there in summer to hunt (Burch, pers. comm.).

72. See p. 26 and note 23.

73. According to Foote and Williamson (1966, p. 1,046 fn), there is "good reason" to believe that Kashevarov's party may have carried smallpox, an epidemic of which was raging in southwestern Alaska, into northwestern Alaska. No sources, however, are given for this supposition.

74. This was the Kukpowruk River, an occasional route for members of Utukok River society when traveling to and from the coast. Caribou hunters from Kivalina and Point Hope also traveled on the Kukpowruk in summer (Burch, 1975, pp. 11-12; pers. comm.). Kashevarov's party missed the mouth of this river on their trip north and also on their return.

75. At the southern end of Kasegaluk Lagoon north of Cape Beaufort the Amatusuk Hills extend almost to the coast.

76. *Avetrika* cannot be translated. It is probably a misprint.

77. See note 10.

78. Except for the large traditional burial ground at Point Hope itself, members of Point Hope society did not have a special burial place. People were buried where they died. The concentration of burials mentioned here and the fact that they were accompanied by weapons suggests that a battle had taken place on Cape Lisburne, probably between Point Hope and Utukok societies (Burch, pers. comm.).

79. Probably Niak Creek. According to Orth (1967, p. 685), the name of this creek was reported in 1904 by Dr. John B. Driggs, pioneer Episcopalian missionary at Point Hope who noted that it was the site of an "Eskimo campground." Although no source is given for this information, it is probably Collier (1906).

80. These trails are more likely to have been made by caribou, always plentiful in the vicinity of Cape Lisburne during the summer months.

81. See note 10.

82. The "Eskimo campground," referred to in note 79, at or near the mouth of Niak Creek. It was a winter settlement called Nia (Burch, pers. comm.).

83. Traditional Eskimo houses in northwest Alaska are described in some detail by J. Simpson (1875, pp. 255-256) and Murdoch (1892, pp. 72-76). For a slightly more detailed description by Kashevarov, see appendix (p. 84).

84. Named by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, map opp. p. 459) for a member of his crew.

85. Named by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, map opp. p. 459).

86. A small settlement which, according to John Driggs, was called Capaloo (Qipalaaq), the Eskimo name for Cape Dyer. It was abandoned at the time of Collier's geological explorations in 1904 (Collier, 1906, p. 44; Orth, 1967, pp. 290-291).

87. In the nineteenth century, warfare between members of the various Eskimo societies in northwest Alaska was common but did not prevent inter-societal relations of a more positive nature such as trade (Burch and Correll, 1972).

88. Named by Beechey in 1827 (1831, vol. II, p. 275) for a relative of Lieutenant Belcher of the *Blossom*.

89. See note 7.

90. Although spelled "Thompson" on modern maps, the cape was named by Beechey in 1826 (1831, vol. 1, p. 358) for Deas Thomson, a commissioner of the navy. This landmark had already been named Cape Rikord by Vasilev and Shishmarev and appears as such on nineteenth-century Russian maps (Zagoskin, 1956, map).

91. This type of summer travel is described by Rainey (1947, p. 265).

92. Eskimos from Point Hope hunted caribou and birds, and gathered eggs each summer at Cape Thompson (Rainey, 1947, p. 266; Foote and Williamson, 1966, p. 1,058). There were a number of families camped there at the time of Beechey's visit in August, 1826 (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, pp. 359-362).

93. A reference to the *Polyphem*. The name "Kyktagagmiuts" (Qiqiqtarzurmiut = peninsula people) for the inhabitants of Kotzebue Sound is shown on Zagoskin's (1956) map.

94. Probably in the vicinity of Cape Seppings, named by Beechey in 1827 (1831, vol. 1, map opp. p. 459). There are a number of land-locked lagoons in this area.

95. The Kashevarov party is in Kivalina Lagoon (also called Corwin Lagoon) which had more outlets at that time than it does today. The small summer camp was probably opposite the mouth of the Kivalina River (Burch, pers. comm.).

96. Kashevarov was apparently the first European to observe the large summer camp near the present settlement of Kivalina (67°58'30"N), although his party did not stop there. Beechey does not refer to the camp since he was becalmed and drifted with the current along with section of coast on August 1, 1826. However the *Blossom* was visited by Eskimos desiring to trade (Beechey, 1831, Vol. 1, p. 359). The "Chpagmiuts" (see note 5) were Yupik speakers.

97. The reference here is to Imigrook Lagoon.

98. Named by Beechey in 1826 (1831, vol. 1, p. 358). It is derived from the name given in 1778 by Captain Cook (1785, vol. 2, p. 453) to a slight projection of the coast opposite the range of hills.

99. Cape Krusenstern was named in 1816 by Kotzebue for Admiral Adam Johann von Krusenstern, the first Russian circumnavigator (Kotzebue, 1821, vol. 1, p. 237).

100. This was the settlement of Aniyaaq located just inside the mouth of the Tukrok River and the westernmost winter village of members of Kotzebue society (Burch, pers. comm.). It seems unlikely, however, that the inhabitants actually understood the Kodiak dialect.

101. The settlement referred to was located near the present village of Kotzebue. Cape Blossom received this designation from Beechey in 1826 after the name of his ship (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 456).

102. Named by Beechey in 1826 for Sir Henry Hotham, a lord of the Admiralty (Beechey, 1831, vol. 1, p. 342).

103. Named by Beechey in 1827 (1831, vol. 2, p. 279).

APPENDIX

Notes On the Eskimos In Russian America

by

A.F. Kashevarov

No. 208 of *Severnaya pchela* contained the article "Iskusstva i manufactory Eskimosov" (Arts and Artifacts of the Eskimos), which, evidently, was based on information on Eskimos living on the eastern half of the northern coast of North America. It tells us little about the inhabitants of the western half of this coast, which belongs to Russia. Over such a vast distance, from Prince William Sound on the Pacific Ocean to Labrador on the Atlantic Ocean naturally one encounters differences in climate, in locale, and in sources of nourishment. This all has an important, if not a principal, influence on the habits and customs of the savages as well as their arts and artifacts.

The influence of local characteristics is clearly evident in the Russian-American colonies. There the coastal natives speak a language of the same root as Eskimo, but differ from each other in many respects. For example, the Chugach and Konyags, who live between Prince William Sound and the Alaskan Peninsula on the mainland and the islands in the Great or Pacific Ocean, have a sea which never freezes over, a mountainous and rocky land covered with coniferous forests, with no sizable rivers. Here in winter it is rarely colder than 15° below zero Reaumur [-1.8F] and often snow alternates with heavy rain. The sea, the beaches,* and the sea birds provide the inhabitants with their main means of sustenance. Therefore, the Chugach and the Konyags are primarily sailors and fishermen. On land they are languid and clumsy, but at sea they are skillful and brave. In their marvelous baydarkas, which they have brought to perfection, they go far out to sea, cross broad

* These beaches (*laidas*) comprise a shoreline that is exposed at low tide and inundated at high tide. During low tide, the natives gather various shellfish and seaweeds, which they use as food.

straits and, when whirlpools suddenly appear in a fast-moving strait, or when a storm raises large seas and they must make for an open beach in fearful surf, they wield their oars skillfully and use wave laws, which they know from practical experience, and cope with dangers at sea that bravery alone could not overcome. For the coastal dwellers of the Bering Sea, from the Alaskan Peninsula to Bering Strait, the country is drained by a multitude of rivers, large and small, the seacoast is unforested, low and tundra-clad, as are the hills some distance from the sea. For three-fourths of the year, these latter are covered with ice, which is frozen solid in winter. The temperature reaches 30° below zero Reaumur [-35.5°F] and the snow lasts the whole winter. Therefore, among the inhabitants of that region hunting is divided into winter and summer seasons, i.e., hunting on land and hunting at sea. Thus, these people are hunters as well as fishermen and there is an abundance of game in both seasons. But they are not sailors; their flat-bottomed baydarkas are made for travel in calm waters on rivers and along a shallow coast, in general. Next come the inhabitants of the polar part of the Russian-American holdings. It is with this region and these people, who are little known to Europeans, that I intend to acquaint the interested reader.*

Over that whole expanse the number of seacoast inhabitants reaches 2,400 souls of both sexes.¹ And this handful of people, as is the case with many savage peoples, occupies vast territories and, although they are of the same tribe, they are divided into several families living in friendly or unfriendly relations with each other. The Kaklignmiuts and the Silalinagmiuts inhabit the northern part from Cape Wrangell to Icy Cape. No one lives between Icy Cape and Cape Lisburne.² The Tykagagmiuts, the Kivalingagmiuts, and the Kyktagagmiuts live between Cape Lisburne and Chamisso Island. This whole populace, in general, is well built, strong, and warlike, and is physically similar to the Chukchis and speaks a language of the same root as both Eskimo and Chukchi.³

This country, for all the severity of its climate, has its peculiarities and may be characterized as the gradual demise of nature.

* Having surveyed this country on behalf of the Russian-American Company from Kotzebue Sound to Cape Wrangell—my farthest point—over a distance of almost 500 Italian miles (875 versts), I was in all the settlements of the savages. To the coast I described, running from the northernmost limit of North America, Point Barrow (the native name for which is Kiballyu) to the East, I have given the name: Prince Menshikov Coast.⁴

It is divided into hilly and flat country. Hilly from Kotzebue Sound to Cape Beaufort; the maximum height is about 900 ft. The low country runs to the north, maintaining a height of 6 to 12 ft. as far as Cape Franklin. Thence the coast rises, as it were, to 50 ft. and forms cliffs consisting of a mixture of clay and pure ice. The entire Prince Menshikov Coast decreases in height, nearly to sea level, and forms a savannah. To the north of the mountains, on the flat part, the soil is tundra everywhere, lying as a crust on pure, solid ice. This crust gradually becomes thinner, decreasing from 12 in. to 2 in. thick (on Prince Menshikov Coast).

Berries grow south of 69°N: bog cranberries, bog whortleberries, red bilberries, cloudberryes, several unknown to me, and mushrooms. Among the plants were the scrub willow which reaches heights of one-half to 3 arshins (Kotzebue Sound). There are grasses and flowers. The last berry to the north, and the shrubs sometimes reach a height of 1½ arshins. Then, here and there, some flowers appear on the tundra surface: white, yellow, and dark blue. The height of the grass, like the thickness of the tundra, gradually decreases from 12 in. to 2 in.

Nature plays out to the north, but man lives there and, evidently, does not know want. The multitude of caribou, wolves, and foxes, and the sole domestic animal, the dog, surely and securely satisfy the needs of the polar resident all year round. During the short summer (not more than two months long), the sea cover breaks up and delivers whales, walruses, and seals to them. Migratory birds, nesting on these inhospitable shores, provide tidbits. Even the summer storms, a yearly occurrence here, are of great use to the local inhabitants; from the sea they bring in driftwood, which had been on the sea ice, and cast it high up on the shore or across the spits into the lagoons where it remains for the rest of the year.⁵

To the south of Cape Lisburne, these resources are reinforced in summer by sea birds which nest on the rocky cliffs, and by berries and fish. Whitefish abound on the Prince Menshikov Coast at Freigang River, the northernmost of the American rivers, which empties into Kupreyanov Bay.⁶ At Cape Franklin, among the seasonal ocean fish we noted is the humpbacked salmon, which is more asleep than alive; scarcely moving, it floats in a slanted position almost at the surface of the cold sea at the end of July.

Small whales and walruses swimming near the surface, of which there are plenty here, come close to shore in certain easily accessible

places, affording the local inhabitants the possibility of hunting the whale and the walrus without going far from shore in their bay-darkas, which, because of the pressure of large ice masses is not only hazardous all summer long but, in general, is impossible. Seals abound all year long; in winter they get out onto the ice through leads or through breathing holes which the seals make through thick ice.

And this is all that providence has allotted to the Eskimo for his sustenance. The caribou, the wolf, and the fox; the whale, the walrus, and the seal are not easy to get. The cold here reaches terrible proportions, more than a human can bear, but the Eskimo, in the literal sense, is destined to struggle with cold and hunger. All this the savage has learned to conquer and, through hard trials and experience, to create for himself those means by which he can save himself from the cold, and everything he sees is almost certain to become his prey. He has raised himself to human status with these resources. With the prerogative of these resources, the Eskimo has become a hunter; indeed, how else could he survive in this severe climate except as a hunter? He has settled by the sea because there are no large rivers nor fish-filled lakes left for him, these being in the hands of others who, though of the same tribe, are hostile to him. Life on the tundra, where there is neither tree nor soil, river nor lake, is impossible.⁷

Not an inclination toward the nomadic life, but simple and natural reasons led the Eskimo to develop two types of dwelling: winter and summer, i.e., permanent and portable. The move from winter to summer quarters is unavoidable here, in this severe climate, for every savage, because in summer it is damp in the sod huts which are made for winter and water enters through the floor and the walls from the ice, which melts *in the earth* around the hut. The move takes place every year at a certain time and almost always to the same places for the caribou hunt. The savages also move to engage in trade with their neighbors and because they are invited as guests. This is as necessary for them as air and food are for life.⁸

The winter settlements are usually built on hilly places, where one can dig deeper into the earth.⁹ The polar savage does not worry about drinking water. In summer he digs a well on a spit — the water in the well is usually brackish, unpleasant to the taste; he drinks it with ice which is always plentiful in the nearby sea. In winter he melts snow for drinking water. Since the layer of earth

is thinner in the north, the winter huts are higher on the outside here than among the southern Eskimos. Thus, from a distance these huts look like heaps of something and only from the racks, which each settlement has, can one guess that he is approaching an inhabited place.¹⁰ These racks are made of driftwood and are always shaped like a □. On these they hang caribou meat, walrus skins, thongs, and other things. The population of a settlement can be told immediately by the number of racks. Around a settlement they dig many pits, like cellars, with an ice floor (provided by nature) in which they store walrus and whale meat.

On Cape Lisburne I was able, in the absence of the savages who are always mistrustful of aliens, to examine a winter sod hut in detail. This is the way it was built and here are the dimensions. On a small elevation the earth was excavated to a depth of 4 ft. In this excavation a hut was built, coated all around on the outside with several layers of thin sod. One sazhen to the west of the hut there was a small opening which served as the entrance to a corridor 8 ft. long, 3½ ft. deep, and 3½ ft. wide, dug in the earth. In it, along the sides of the excavation, there was place for a kitchen and a storeroom. The corridor led to a hatch in the floor of the hut; the hatch was barely wide enough to admit a person — it was the entrance to the hut. The walls, floor, and roof of the hut were made of split and roughly hewn driftwood. In the front, along the whole width of the hut, there were bunks 5 ft. wide, made of split slabs. On the right wall, between the bunks and the back wall, there was a regularly shaped opening 4 ft. wide and 2½ ft. high, dug out in the side of the wall. On the right slope of the roof, which also served as the ceiling, there was a square window 1½ ft. to the side. In both corners of the back wall there were triangular shelves; on them were night lamps carved from stone and also triangular in shape. All the hatches and openings had covers; further, there was a door at either end of the corridor. The hut was 14 ft. long, 7 ft. wide, 6 ft. high in the middle, and a little more than 3 ft. high at the sides. Everything in the hut was in order, clean and dry, although the neighboring huts were full of water.

The summer dwellings are built very quickly and simply. Three or four poles, of any length, are tied at one end with a leather strap run through holes. Then the other ends of the poles are set upright and spread out so that one or two hoops of various sizes can be fastened to the inside. Finally, around these poles, beginning at

the top, they wrap caribou skins, dressed and sewn together with the hair side out. Thus, they can set up a conical tent of any size they want. To admit light they fashion a pane of walrus gut and sew it into the caribou skin.

The large winter settlements are the most populous, around 300 inhabitants of both sexes. However, this number is sometimes doubled by visitors from neighboring settlements who come for the whale hunt (spring and fall), or to trade, and sometimes on invitation to what in our colonies are called games (*igrushki*), consisting of continuous eating, drinking, and dancing and usually ending in the complete ruin of the host, who gets a big reputation for lavish hospitality.¹¹

The population of a summer settlement varies, because in summer the Eskimos disperse to various coastal points, where they hope to get more caribou, which is essential for their needs. The caribou provides the Eskimo with everything: food, clothing, footwear, and tents. They hunt the caribou all year around, and for this they use arrows and spears. They can kill a caribou with an arrow at about 20 paces; the same arrow, shot from a bow, will travel more than 80 sazhen.

In summer, when the caribou do not know where to go to escape the clouds of mosquitoes, they run toward the sea where it is cooler, and approach the summer camps of the Eskimos in large herds. When the caribou, on their own volition, enter the small lakes, of which there is an abundance on the tundra, or are driven into them by the Eskimos, the Eskimos approach the caribou in baydarkas and spear them. Caribou cannot maneuver in shallow water.¹²

The baydarkas used by the Kakligmiuts and Silalinagmiuts are of special construction and are beautifully made, with exceptional precision, to the last detail. They have one hatch. The front side of the hatch, the upper part of the baydarka, is flat on the stern. Toward the nose, running from the front of the hatch, there is a circular frame which gradually narrows so that it is easy to sit down in the baydarka and stretch one's legs. Usually the baydarka is covered with sealskin. When the Eskimo sails in such a baydarka, he seems to sit in the water; often due to refraction, which is so common in the polar lands, one cannot tell what is moving in the water, the caribou or the Eskimo in his baydarka. A baydarka is about 12 ft. long and weighs no more than 20 lb. And for the Eskimo the baydarka is needed more in the tundra, on the lakes,

than on the sea, because it is highly maneuverable. Our Aleuts, who always travel in baydarkas, could not even get into an Eskimo baydarka.

In winter the caribou hunt is somewhat more difficult for the Eskimo. He must go out into the tundra and there build himself a snow house, usually in this fashion: he digs a big hole in the deep snow, covers it with a snow roof having a dome as high as possible so that it will be visible for some distance. Sometimes, by necessity, the Eskimo sits through a storm or cruel cold in this pit, and when the caribou, lured by the convexity of the roof, falls into the pit he becomes the easy prey of the Eskimo, who spears him.¹³

The Eskimo wastes nothing of the caribou: he dresses its skin superbly; from the bones he makes arrowheads; from the sinews, thread; and the rest he devours without exception.

After the caribou, the seal, walrus, and whale are the most important items of the Eskimo's provisions. Seals and walruses go out onto the large ice floes and then it is easy to kill them. However, the Eskimos gather in large numbers for the whale hunt — Kakligmiuts on Point Barrow in the fall, the southern Eskimos¹⁴ in spring in various places, as opportunity allows. Unfortunately, I can say nothing more about the whale hunt.

In winter, when they are on the lookout for seals, they build an ice hut on the ice to protect themselves from the penetrating wind and sometimes to protect themselves against the polar bear which visits these Eskimos from time to time, although not as often as one might expect in this polar country. However, they say that it is very cold in the ice huts.

They remove the hair from the sealskins and use them for baydaras and baydarkas. They eat the meat and fat of this animal and use the neck and entrails for various purposes. They don't waste a thing. They cut straps from its hide and make footwear from them; from the intestines they sew one-piece slickers, from the tusks they make various implements and baubles; the meat is used as food. The whale provides delicacies and fat which is used in general as the best flavoring for any food. Baleen is a necessity for the Eskimo handicraft and substitutes for glue: the savage uses it to tie and sew things together in as tight a fit as needed.

Birds complete the northern Eskimo's diet. However, he makes use of birds for only a short time and then passing, killing them

more for sport than for need. For this purpose he simply uses a stone, which he throws accurately by hand or from a sling. In addition, he uses small bones, which he shapes like a ball or a cylinder. On each bone there is an ear, to which he attaches a sinew thread from 2 to 3 ft. long. He ties six or seven such threads (with bones) together at one end and affixes a small bunch of feathers. When a flock of ducks flies low enough over the coast, which often happens in this foggy climate, they take the bunch of feathers in their right hand and the bones in the left, calculate the flight of the birds, and throw this weapon upward. In flight the bones spread out and fall on two or three of the birds, stunning them; they fall to the ground and are killed immediately.

The southern Eskimos hunt sea birds on the cliffs with snares and use the skins of these birds for clothing. However, not many engage in this form of hunting.

The Eskimos keep their winter food supplies in storage places on high coastal cliffs, probably so that neither wild animals nor dogs can steal them.

Besides these animals, which form the only food of the northern Eskimo, he hunts the wolf and the fox. Perhaps there are other animals here as well, but I have not seen them. The fox and the wolf skins are used as trade goods.

From the animal hunt, the Eskimo turns to his handicrafts and takes them up as diligently as he does the hunt.

In a moderate climate the savage makes, besides clothing, simple blankets which he throws over his shoulders. But in the far north, where winter lasts five-sixths of the year, such dress is inadequate for the inhabitant, however wild, coarse, and insensitive he may be. He, as a hunter, cannot wrap himself in clumsy clothing — long, wide, heavy. The Eskimo has successfully coped with these conditions. He has devised the parka, trousers, and soft boots and gloves, all of caribou skin, which, as I have already mentioned, he works superbly.

The parka is similar to the Russian *menyuk*, only with sleeves and with a place for the neck. Around this neck cut they sew a cap which, in case of need, can be pulled together with a string better to cover the head, ears, and chin. The cap is edged with some kind of long-haired fur, for example, wolf, wolverene, hare, or the fur of other animals which they take locally or furs they acquire in trade.

Among the rich, this fur trimming is made quite beautifully, of two or even three furs of different color. This luxurious fur trimming is necessary to protect the face — in winter from the cold, in summer from the mosquitoes which prefer to land on this trimming and can easily be chased away with the hand. (It is amusing to see an Eskimo as he is walking and at every step waves his hands in front of his face, now his right hand, now his left.)

The parka is knee-length. The trousers are somewhat longer, or they include boots. The boots are tied below the knees. The parka is tied with a thong. The fingers of the gloves are cut out separately and then sewn together. The woman's costume differs from the man's only in that small round cuts are made in the sides of the parkas and similar openings are made in the front and back. In winter they wear two or even three parkas. In such cases, the inner parkas do not have the cap or the slicker; in general these are made only to cover the head as far as the forehead and to protect the ears.

In damp weather, over the parka they put a walrus-gut slicker similar in pattern to the parka. Further, they make watertight boots and gloves of sea-animal skins. They use the gloves when rowing their baydaras or on a sea hunt. By the way, when it is raining hard, the Eskimo in these parts does not like to leave his dwelling, except when absolutely necessary.

Men complete their attire with one or two tails, wolf or fox, attached to their belt from behind. (Wolf tails are worn only by wolf hunters). Some attach various bone baubles to their belts, and each has a knife and whetstone (knives are whetted at a sharp angle from one side only). Both men and women are sure to have a small sack attached to their belt, in which they keep a pipe, steel, and tinder and another small sack with tobacco. Many of the children have similar sacks on their belts. Children dress exactly the same as the adults. Some of the men cut their hair only on the crown of the head and farther down they trim it around in a circle; others have a small braid which falls to the shoulder. Others do not cut their hair in a circle, but variously: those that have mange (I've seen many northern Eskimos with the mange and with diseased eyelids) shave their heads, as it were. Women make two braids and wind them around their heads. As hair ornaments, men wear beads or reguluses strung on a thread. Some use ring-shaped cuts of caribou hide for this purpose. The women do not wear any head ornaments, at least not in summer. Further, the men wear a kind

of walrus-bone stud [labret], placed in a hole made in the lower lip. To the outside of these studs, the rich will attach a stone rare for the savages and bought at a high price from their neighbors, or a large regulus split in half. For such an ugly decoration, young people must have their lips pierced at a certain age. This is done ceremoniously, so that subsequently they may have the pleasure of wearing a stud with an inner diameter of half an inch and an outer diameter of 1 in. in such holes. The women tatoo their chins, either in the middle in two narrow stripes running downward, or in one broad stripe with two narrow ones on the sides.¹⁵

In addition to making clothing and ornaments for same, the Eskimos are skillful at making armor from flat pieces of bone or from baleen, to protect themselves from enemy arrows.

The Eskimo's weapons are the bow, the arrow, and the spear. The northern Eskimos do not have the variety of arrows that the Bering Sea inhabitants or the southern Eskimos have. Their spears are made of walrus bone or of iron. The Eskimos are expert bowmen. To protect their left hand from the bowstring they always wear a kind of bracelet of walrus bone or baleen on that arm. The Eskimo devotes every spare moment to making or repairing his weapons. Wherever he goes he takes his bow and quiver of arrows with him.

The baydaras of the northern Eskimos are better than those of the southern Eskimos, and they hold up to 12 persons. The baydarakas of the Kakligmiuts, although beautiful and cleverly conceived, are, in general, not made to take even small waves. In summer, when going into the tundra, the Kakligmiut carries his baydarka on his shoulders and his bow and a walking stick or a spear in his hands. The Kakligmiut walks smartly, holding himself erect, and can walk for some time. However, when he sets out for a summer camp in his baydara, he loads a large sled in it so that he can return by land, if it becomes impossible to return by water. He can haul the baydara on the sled, and vice versa. If he goes out in early spring to some distant place on the ice, he can haul the baydara on the sled [and return by water].

The household utensils of the Eskimo are very simple and unpretentious: wooden buckets, cups, bags made from sea-animal skins, stone night lamps, and some have iron kettles got by trade. The buckets are square, bent together from a single board, except for the bottom. In addition, the Eskimo has spades, hooks, a large

sled, and various small appurtenances of domestic life. The hooks are made of walrus tusk; a bone is attached to the top of a spade.

Now that Russian trade has extended far to the north in America, one can find iron implements even on the Prince Menshikov Coast, taken there from Kolyma or the Russian-American colonies. These implements consist of axes similar to the adze, needles, drills, knives, and nails, which are also used as awls and chisels. These are supplemented with bone implements of their own design.

Each Eskimo learns to make and use all the implements he needs for hunting on land and sea. Only the baydara and baydarka frames are made and put together by special master craftsmen who have the knack and the sure eye for this art. The accuracy of construction of the oar-powered craft is remarkable. The women must know how to dress animal skins and furs, to twist threads, to sew both clothing, and baydara skins. These are the main duties of the sexes.

The Eskimo economy is simple. The meat of slain animals is hung in the open air in summer or is stored in pits, in winter their supplies are stored in holes dug at a height in the face of a steep sea cliff. Since such storage places cannot be made just anywhere, the Kakligmiuts often store their winter supplies far from their village. They take their food as it comes and almost always raw, in this differing not in the slightest from animals. On tasting wheat crackers and sugar, they frowned and spit it out.

The Eskimos love songs and dancing. Wherever they may be and whatever the time or season, on being asked, especially if offered a leaf of tobacco, the Eskimo will immediately sing and dance till he drops. The inhabitants of Icy Cape are especially known for their artful dancing. Indeed, when there I saw grace and mimicry that one would hardly expect from savages; I heard songs with words and with a pleasant tune, while among others, especially the southern Eskimos, I have heard songs consisting of a single phrase, often improvised, with an extremely unpleasant, crude, and monotonous tune. The favorite dance of the northern Eskimo consists of heavy and frequent shifting from one foot to the other, while waving both arms in all directions, and, from time to time, performing high leaps in time with the rhythm of the song and the drum. During all this the women, squatting, rock from side to side and move their hands slowly and affectedly around their faces. The drum, made of sea-animal bladders, was the only musical instru-

ment I saw among them. The drum is round, with a handle, and they beat it with a thin stick.

By Eskimo custom, an excellent bowman and, in general, a good hunter may have two or even, they tell me, three wives. Parents are tender and attentive to their children. I noted that the father has influence even on a grown, bachelor son. The respect for a skilled hunter is confined to his personal attainments. Some old men and old women enjoy general personal respect. Only at Tutagvik Bay did I notice that the Eskimos showed special respect to two persons, one young and the other old. These two persons clearly exerted influence over the Tutagvigmiuts, who were bolder than the other Eskimos in their dealings with us and were inclined to theft. Thievery, a common passion of savages, is not considered a vice by the Eskimo; they brag to each other of acquiring things in this manner and are even ready to kill for it.¹⁶ In his crude mind, the Eskimo believes that any object can have a secret influence on him. I saw a striking example of this on the Prince Menshikov Coast in my encounters with the Eskimos: many of them wore a kind of amulet on their chest, a small bag in which they carefully preserved a scrap of paper with writing which they obtained by chance in a remarkable way in 1836.¹⁷

Among the southern Eskimos there are large communal huts, *kazhim*, in which all conferences, ceremonies, and winter dances take place. The northern Eskimos, however, cannot construct large dwellings, so they must perform such communal customs in the open air.¹⁸ The dance is not only a source of pleasure, but is necessary for the physical and moral well being of a polar inhabitant. This exercise provides salutary motion and gives him something to do when the severe winter and prolonged night bring on involuntary but disastrous inactivity and have a pernicious effect on the empty mind of the savage.

The life of the Eskimo, like that of other savages, proceeds regularly, monotonously, like a wound-up machine. He stays within bounds, within the cycle he follows: here now, tomorrow there, and all for the same reasons, for one and the same goal: to live like an animal, as his forefathers existed. He knows what his ancestors knew and acts in the same way as they did, inventing nothing, perfecting nothing, losing nothing; in this savage communal life he finds protection from others, personal self-protection, and bloody revenge. Without convictions, guided in life only by experience, the savage is unquestioningly servile to the customs of his ances-

tors. Destruction of these customs, even through education, would mean his destruction if this enlightenment would disenchant the [resulting] half-savage with his past and leave him alone to struggle with new concepts and new needs.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

1. In northwest Alaska a substantially greater number of people lived inland than on the coast. Since Kashevarov's explorations were confined to coastal areas, he encountered only a few inland dwellers; namely, those camped at the mouth of the Utukok River.

2. The area between Icy Cape and Cape Lisburne was the border zone between Point Hope and Northwest Coast societies (Burch, 1975, pp. 11-12). Kashevarov missed a few small settlements in this area because they were set back from the beach along creeks and rivers.

3. The historical relationship between the Eskimo and Chukchi languages is still debatable, although the research of Swadesh (1962) appears to indicate some as yet undefined form of historical connection.

4. Named for Aleksandr Sergeyevich Menshikov (1787-1869), a military leader and diplomat. Kashevarov's designation appears on Zagoskin's (1956) map, but has not been retained on modern maps.

5. Kashevarov was one of the few nineteenth-century observers to be aware of the significance of driftwood in northwest Alaska and the part that storms played in providing this important resource.

6. Probably the Meade River which flows into Dease Inlet.

7. This is an ambiguous statement unless by "of the same tribe" Kashevarov means simply non-European. He was unaware of the densely populated rivers of northwest Alaska and the significance of fishing as a major subsistence activity for these people.

8. Kashevarov correctly notes the two main summer subsistence activities of the northwest Alaskan Eskimos: caribou hunting and trading.

9. Winter settlements were built on hilly places partly for insulation, as Kashevarov suggests, but also for better drainage and improved defense.

10. In August, 1826 Beechey (1831, vol. 1, p. 363) described the settlement at Point Hope as resembling, from a distance, "a forest of stakes."

11. Reference here is to the Messenger Feast which is described in detail by Spencer (1959, pp. 210-228). Kashevarov did not witness one but was apparently told about them. As for the "complete ruin" of the host, however, he is exaggerating. He may have been extrapolating from similar customs observed in southern Alaska.

12. Kashevarov was the only early observer who noted the importance of spearing caribou from kayaks in the lakes of the arctic coastal plain. The Eskimos he observed hunting in the high country east of Cape Lisburne (see journal, p. 20, and journal note 10) would, however, have been using bows and arrows, and snares.

13. Kashevarov appears to be confusing two things here: 1) the snow house which was occasionally used by hunters when sitting "through a storm or cruel cold," and 2) the snow pit used for hunting caribou.

14. When Kashevarov writes of the "southern Eskimos" he is probably referring to the Pacific Eskimos of the Gulf of Alaska.

15. Kashevarov's description of clothing and personal adornment usefully compliments that of Beechey (1831, vol. 1, pp. 339-341, 456).

16. Traditional Eskimos had no inhibitions about stealing from strangers, but did not steal from members of their own society (Burch, pers. comm.).

17. A garbled reference to the event described on journal pp. 33-34; see also journal footnote 46.

18. Kashevarov is wrong here. The "northern Eskimos" did construct large *qazqis*. According to Rainey (1947, p. 244), there were seven such structures at Point Hope in the nineteenth century, Except for their size, *qazqis* resembled dwellings. Kashevarov may be referring here to the *nulukatuk*, or spring whaling feast, that was held out-of-doors at designated *qazqi* feasting places (Rainey, 1947, pp. 262-263). Other dances and ceremonies were also held out-of-doors in summer.

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INDEX

- Alaska Peninsula, 80, 81
 Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt, 33, 34, 66, 72
 Aleuts, 43, 51, 53; definition of, 69
 Amatusuk Hills, 69, 76
 Aniyaaq: settlement of, 78
 Armor, 89
 Atanik: warlike behavior of inhabitants, 30; inhabitants inclined toward thievery, 31; settlement of, 28, 33, 34, 46, 71
 Atanik. *See* Atanik
 Atanyk. *See* Atanik
 Athapaskan Indians, 73
 Ayugatak Creek, 68
- Back, G., 8
 Barrow, Sir John: and the Northwest Passage, 4
 Barrow society, 70. *See also* Kakligmiut tribe
 Barrow village, 72
 Baydara. *See* umiak
 Baydarka. *See* kayak
 Beechey, Capt. F. W., 13, 15, 36, 67, 75, 78, 94; explorations of, 8; to co-operate with Franklin, 8; accuracy of his map, 13, 21, 22, 28, 35, 57, 62, 63, 72, 75, 78
 Bering Sea, 81
 Bering Strait, 6, 7, 14, 67; trade with inhabitants of, 47
 Big River. *See* Mackenzie River
 Birds: hunting of, 86-87
 Bristol Bay, 5
- Capaloo: settlement of, 77
 Cape Beaufort, 22, 50, 51, 52, 68, 76, 82; named, 69
 Cape Blossom, 63; named, 78
 Cape Dyer, 57; named, 77
 Cape Franklin. *See* Point Franklin
 Cape Krusenstern, 62; named, 78
 Cape Lewis, 57; named, 77
 Cape Lisburne, 18, 20, 21, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 67, 68, 76, 81, 84, 93, 94; burials at, 54; named, 66; Eskimo name for, 68
 Cape Prince of Wales, 76
 Cape Rikord. *See* Cape Thompson
 Cape Rodney, 66
 Cape Sabine, 21, 53; named, 68; settlement at mouth of, 69
 Cape Seppings: named, 78
 Cape Smyth, 35, 36, 37, 45; named, 73
 Cape Thompson, 58, 59, 62, 68; Eskimo name for, 68; named, 77; summer camp at, 78
 Cape Topkhak, 31. *See also* Point Belcher
 Cape Wrangell. *See* Tangent Point
 Caribou: hunting of, 20, 31, 36, 47, 53, 58, 68, 75, 78, 85, 86, 93, 94; uses of, 20, 28; abundance of, 52, 54, 61, 65; trails made by, 77
 Chamisso Island, 33, 62, 64, 65, 75, 81; named, 72
 Chnagmyut. *See* Chpagmiut
 Chpagmiut, 18, 26, 30, 42, 59
 Chpagmiut tribe, 78; boundaries of, 66
 Christie Point: named, 74
 Clothing: description of, 87-88
 Colville River, 68; settlement at the mouth of, 73
 Cook, Capt. James, 66, 67, 69, 78; explorations of, 5
 Copper Eskimo, 75

- Corwin Bluff, 68
 Corwin Lagoon. *See* Kivalina Lagoon
- Dease Inlet, 42, 74, 93; named, 74
 Dease, P. W.: accompanies Simpson, 10
 Diomed Islands, 76
 Division of labor, 90
 Driftwood: movement of, 34; absence of, 37; abundance of, 45, 52, 57; location of, 46; importance of, 93
 Driggs, John B., 77
 Dwellings: description of, 56-57, 83, 84, 94
- Elson, T., 8, 12, 13, 73; explorations of, 12
 Eskimo languages: relationship with Chukchi, 93
 Eskimos of northwest Alaska: population, 81; adaptability of, 83; ceremonies of, 85; dispersal in summer, 85; dancing, 90-91; respect for aged, 91; thievery by, 91, 94; importance of trading, 93; settlement patterns of, 93, 94
 Etolin, A. K.: explorations of, 7
- Fauna: description of, 21, 28, 30, 33, 35, 52, 54, 61-62, 82-83; distribution of, 34-35, 68; abundance of, 37
 Firearms: availability of, 76
 Flora: description of, 28, 31, 37, 38, 50, 52, 55, 57, 61, 62, 63, 64
 Food: storage of, 87, 90
 Franklin, Capt. John, 10, 70; second expedition of, 6, 7-8; expeditions in search of, 12, 13
 Freigang River. *See* Meade River
- Golovnin. *See* Point Hope
- Holitna River, 34
 Hotham Inlet, 8, 62, 76; named, 79
 Household utensils: description of, 89-90
 Hudson Bay Company, 10
- Icy Cape, 5, 6, 8, 12, 26, 49, 76, 81, 90, 93; named, 69
 Iko Bay, 37, 38, 74
 Ikpikpuk River, 73
 Imigrook Lagoon, 78
 Inupik language, 20, 26, 68, 69, 71
 Ipewik River, 68
 Ionagimshva: settlement of, 31, 33
- Kakligmiut: similarity to the Silalinagmiut, 30
 Kakligmiut tribe, 33, 34, 36, 41, 70, 73, 81, 85, 86, 89; enemies of Silalinagmiut, 26; boundaries of, 27, 28, 30; story about, 33; settlement patterns of, 34; trade with interior peoples, 34; warlike behavior of, 42-43, 45, 74; beliefs and customs of, 46-47; kayaks of, 58. *See also* Barrow society
 Kakligmiut-Pya, 34; meaning of term, 73
 Kalikagmiut: meaning of word, 33
 Kalymatagmiut. *See* Kilimantavi
 Kasegaluk Lagoon, 24, 25, 47, 48, 69, 70, 76; extent of, 27
 Kashevarov, A. F.: given command of expedition, 9; life of, 9-11; preparations for expedition, 10; publications of, 10-11, 15; critic of Russian-American Company, 11-12; ethnographic contributions of, 13, 14-15, 16; geographical contributions of, 13; and the fur trade, 16; goals of explorations, 16
 Kayaakservevik: settlement of, 70, 76
 Kayak: number on expedition, 18; construction of, 66; description of, 85-86, 89; accuracy of construction, 90
 Kayakishvigmiut: appearance of inhabitants, 26; settlement of, 26, 49. *See also* Kayaakservevik
 Kazhim: ceremonies in, 91
 Khromchenko, V. S.: explorations of, 7, 16
 Kiballyu. *See* Point Barrow
 Kilamitykagmiut. *See* Kilimantavi
 Kilamytakagmiut. *See* Kilimantavi

- Kilimantavi: settlement of, 27, 28, 46, 47, 70, 75, 76
 King Island, 76
 Kivalina Lagoon, 78
 Kivalina River: camp at mouth of, 78
 Kivalina village, 76, 78
 Kivalinagmiut: similar in appearance to Tykagmiut, 59
 Kivalinagmiut tribe, 81; settlement of, 59; warlike behavior of, 60-61
 Kodiak Island, 9, 33, 68
 Kolmakov, Fedor, 33, 34
 Kotzebue, Otto von: criticism of, 3, 5; explorations of, 3, 6
 Kotzebue society, 78
 Kotzebue Sound, 3, 5, 8, 14, 59, 75, 78, 82; trade with inhabitants of, 47; named, 75; location of trading center, 75-76
 Kotzebue village, 78
 Koyukuk River, 73
 Ksigamestakgmiut. *See* Kilimantavi
 Kuk River, 70
 Kukpowruk River: travel on, 76
 Kukpuk River, 68
 Kullyulik: last Silalinagmiut settlement, 27; settlement of, 28. *See also* Wainwright village
 Kupreanov Bay. *See* Dease Inlet
 Kuskokwim River, 33, 34; trading activity along, 72-73
 Kvikhpak River. *See* Yukon River
 Kvikhpak tribe, 69
 Kyhtagagmiut tribe, 78, 81; settlement of, 59, 62. *See also* Kotzebue society
 Kylyamigtavik. *See* Kilimantavi
- Long Lake. *See* Kasegaluk Lagoon
 Lukin, Semen, 33; travels of, 34, 73
- Mackenzie River, 6, 33, 72, 73
 Malakhov, V. I., 18, 21, 26, 66
 Malakhov, P. V., 66
 Maligniut language. *See* Inupik language
 Marryat Inlet, 57; named, 77
 Meade River, 73, 93
- Messenger Feast, 94
 Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, 59, 66, 73
 Mitliktavik: settlement of, 70
 Mulgrave Hills, 61; named, 78
 Muravev, M. I., 6
- Naokok: settlement of, 69
 New Archangel. *See* Sitka
 Nia: settlement of, 77
 Niak Creek: settlement at mouth of, 77
 Nigalik. *See* Nuatagmiut
 Nigamak. *See* Nuatagmiut
 Nirlik. *See* Nuatagmiut
 Northwest Alaska: geographical description of, 20-21, 22, 26, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40-41, 50, 51-54, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 81-82; changes in coast line of, 34; Eskimo societies of, 67-68; trade by inhabitants of, 77, 87
 Northwest coast society: boundaries of, 93. *See also* Silalinagmiut tribe
 Northwest Passage: search for, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11
 Norton Sound, 3, 5, 66, 68
 Nuatagmiut: settlement of, 34, 73
 Nugmiut. *See* Nuwuk
 Nulato, 66
 Nulukatuk, 94
 Nushagak. *See* Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt
 Nushagak River, 72
 Nuwuk: warlike behavior of inhabitants, 36; settlement of, 36, 41, 72, 73
- Pastolik River, 66
 Peard Bay, 30, 31, 34, 35, 46, 71, 72; named, 71
 Personal adornment, 88-89
 Pindshuragin. *See* Pingusugzuk
 Pingasagrook. *See* Pingusugzuk
 Pingusugzuk: settlement of, 30, 71
 Pinishigiryu. *See* Pingusugzuk
 Pinishigigiryu Island, 46
 Pitmegea River, 68
 Point Barrow, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 31, 33, 34, 36, 41, 43, 44, 53, 69, 72, 73,

81, 86; location of, 74; named, 74
 Point Belcher, 28; named, 71
 Point Franklin, 30, 31, 72, 82; named, 71
 Point Garnet, 64; named, 79
 Point Hope, 20, 56, 57, 58, 67, 68, 76, 78, 93; named, 67
 Point Hope society, 76; burial practices of, 76; boundaries of, 68, 93
 Point Hope village: appearance of, 94; ceremonies at, 94
 Point Lay, 24, 49; named, 69
 Point Stepov, 40, 41. *See also* Christie Point
 Prince Menshikov Coast, 81, 82, 90, 91; named, 93
 Prokofev Bay. *See* Iko Bay
 Pukak: inhabitant of Atanik, 33, 34, 73; travels of, 34

Qayiaqsirvik. *See* Kayaakserevik
 Qazqui. *See* kazhim
 Qilamiktarvik. *See* Kilimantavi
 Qipalaaq. *See* Capaloo
 Qiqiqtarzurmiut tribe. *See* Kyktagagmiut tribe

Refuge Inlet: named, 75
 Return Reef, 8, 9, 11
 Rummyantsev, Count N. P.: and Russian exploration, 6, 7, 9
 Ross Bay: named, 74
 Ross Point, 74
 Russian-American Company, 8, 10, 37, 66; and Russian power in North America, 6; trading posts of, 72

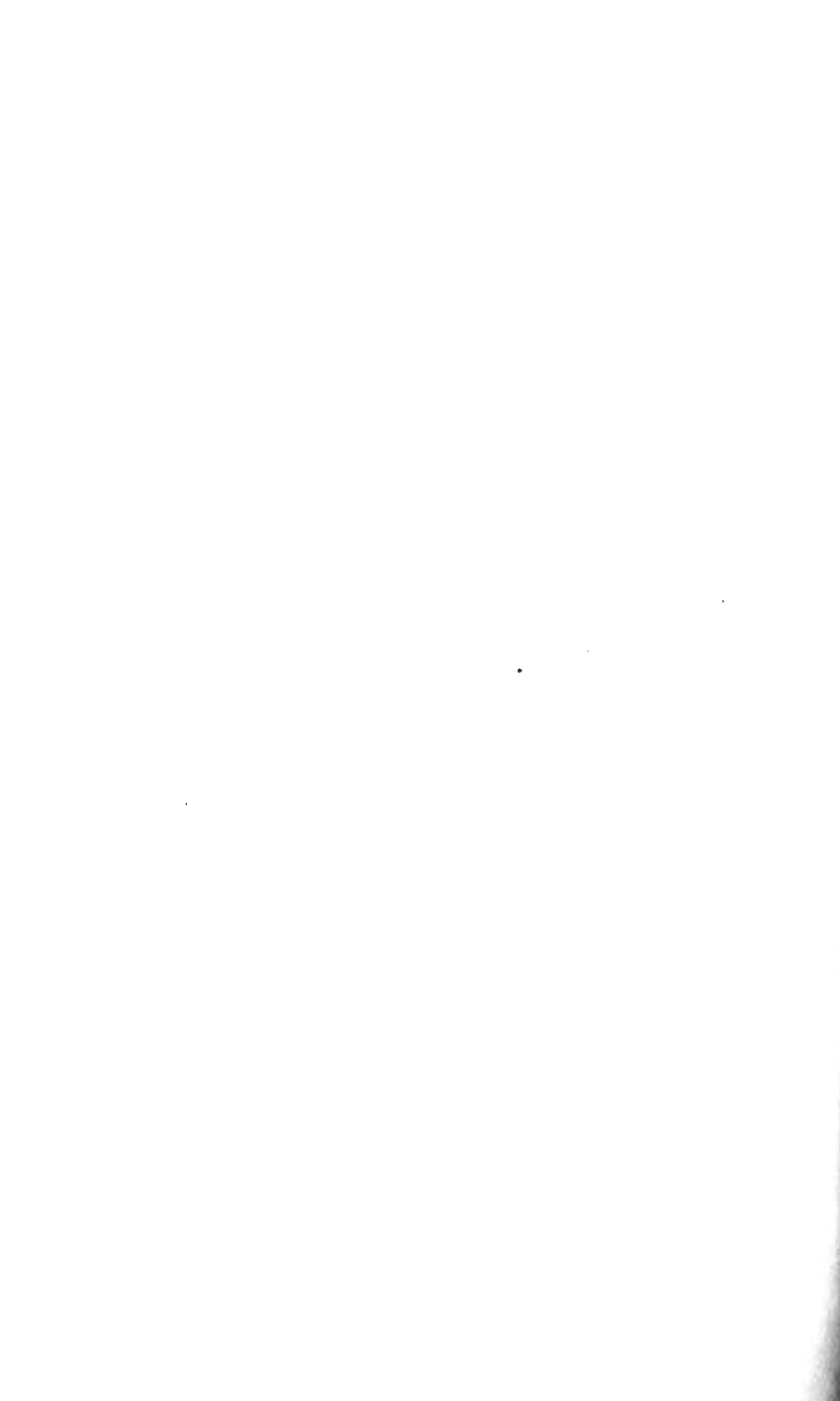
St. Lawrence Island, 3
 St. Michael. *See* Mikhailovskiy Redoubt
 Sapumik Ridge, 68
 Sea Horse Islands: named, 72
 Sea mammals: hunting of, 25, 28, 34, 47, 76, 86; abundance of, 25; use of, 86
 Settlements: description of, 83-84; size of, 85
 Seward Peninsula, 3

Shishmarev, G. S.: explorations of, 5, 6, 67
 Silalinagmiut tribe, 42, 70, 81, 85; boundaries of, 26; enemies of Kakligmiut, 27; thievery by, 27; trade with, 27; similarity to the Kakligmiut, 30, 58; beliefs and customs of, 46-47. *See also* Northwest coast society
 Simpson, T.: explorations of, 11, 13, 16, 73
 Sitka, 9, 10, 18, 50, 65
 Skull Cliff, 72
 Sledge Island, 76
 Smallpox, 76
 Stuart Island, 73

Tangent Point, 41, 81; named, 74
 Tekegakrok Point, 74
 Tents: construction of, 20
 Tigara. *See* Point Hope
 Tikeraq. *See* Point Hope
 Tolageak: settlement of, 69
 Tukrok River: settlement at mouth of, 78
 Tulaariaq. *See* Tolageak
 Tutagvik Bay. *See* Wainwright Inlet
 Tutulivigmiut: summer camp on Wainwright Inlet, 27
 Tykagmiut: appearance of, 20; similar in appearance to Kivalinagmiut, 58, 59
 Tykagmiut tribe, 20, 26, 57, 81; enemies of the inhabitants of Atanik, 30; camp of, 53, 58; burial practices of, 54; kayaks of, 58; language, 58; seasonal movements of, 58; *See also* Point Hope

Uivak. *See* Wevok
 Ulrung. *See* Kullyulik
 Umiak: number on expedition, 18; capacity of, 89; accuracy of construction, 90
 Unalakleet River, 66
 Unalaska, 5
 Utkiagvik. *See* Utkiavik
 Utkiavik: settlement of, 33, 34, 35, 36, 45; seasonal occupation of, 73

- Utqiarvik. *See* Utkiavik
- Utukagmiut: appearance of, 25; settlement of, 25; river of, 50; warlike behavior of, 57. *See also* Utukok River society
- Utukok River, 69, 93
- Utukok River society, 69, 76
- Utuktak: interpreter with expedition, 26, 30, 61; negotiates with Kakligmiut, 42-43; relations with Zagoskin, 66; linguistic knowledge of, 67, 71
- Utuaq: settlement of, 69
- Vasilev, I. Ya.: explorations of, 72
- Vasiliev, M. N.: explorations of, 5, 6
- Wainwright Inlet, 27, 28, 46, 91; named, 70; settlement on, 70
- Wainwright village, 70
- Walakpa Bay. *See* Refuge Inlet
- Western Alaska: geographical description of, 81
- Western Alaskan Eskimo: dancing, 91; ceremonies in the *kazhim*, 91
- Weapons: efficiency of, 47, 56, 75, 85; description of, 89
- Wevok: settlement of, 67
- Wrangell, F. P. von, 16, 66; becomes general manager of Russian-American Company, 8; and Russian exploration, 8-9
- Yukon River, 66, 68, 69, 73
- Yupik-Inupik boundary, 66-67
- Yupik language, 68, 78
- Zagoskin, L. A., 13, 14, 16, 66, 72, 78, 93; and Kashevarov's explorations, 12





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