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The First Peary Collection of Polar Eskimo Material Culture

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND¹

In 1891 Frederic Ward Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, was appointed Chief of the Department of Ethnology and Archaeology for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. His task was to assemble a large anthropological collection for the world's fair in 1893, and for this purpose field parties to various parts of the world were directed to collect ethnographic specimens and other materials representing many different cultures. One of these parties, an expedition to northwest Greenland, was under the command of Lieutenant Robert Edwin Peary of the United States Navy.

Lieutenant Peary eventually became a Rear-Admiral and received world-wide recognition for his arctic explorations, particularly his achievement in reaching the North Pole in 1909. In 1891, however, he was serving as Chief Engineer at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. He received an appointment to lead an arctic expedition for the American Geographical Society and the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. It was during this expedition (1891-1892), his first to the country of the Polar Eskimo, that Peary made the collection for Putnam and the World's Columbian Exposition.

¹ Except where indicated, information in this section is taken from Keely and Davis (1892), R.E. Peary (1892, 1898), J.D. Peary (1897), and Dexter (1969).

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Putnam obtained an appropriation of \$10,000 from the executive committee of the Exposition to be used for the purchase of ethnographic specimens from members of a number of expeditions about to depart for various parts of North America. The principal goals of Peary's Greenland expedition were to determine the northernmost extension of the subcontinent and to collect materials and information of scientific interest. Putnam agreed to pay \$2,000 for ethnographic and archaeological materials from the Polar Eskimo and specifically requested that Peary make as complete a collection as possible.

The North Greenland Expedition, as it came to be called, was originally conceived on a modest scale. Eventually, Peary received more support than he had anticipated and Putnam soon realized that the expedition would not be devoted to the collection of materials exclusively for the world's fair. He became worried that he might not obtain all the materials necessary for his conception of the exhibition if other institutions were to receive a share of the collected specimens. After some negotiations, a memorandum of agreement between Peary and Putnam was drawn up on June 2, 1891, just three days before the expedition sailed. It read in part as follows:

Mr. Peary to be appointed by Mr. Putnam as Special Assistant in charge of Ethnological and Archaeological work in Greenland for the World's Columbian Exposition, and is to obtain all objects possible, illustrative of the life and customs and the arts of the Arctic Highlanders inhabiting the Whale Sound region, in particular, and such other natives of Greenland as may be practical; also photographs and measurements of the people, and, if possible, moulds of a man, woman, and child, for the purpose of making models of actual life size in every particular. Also all objects of past and present times he may be able to secure, relating to the life of the people, their weapons, utensils, ornaments, etc. and several sets of garments with which to dress a series of models of men, women, and children. Also a stone house, to be so taken down and to be rebuilt in Chicago by the aid of drawings and photographs and descriptions; with this house to be all its contents—beds, lamps, utensils, etc. Also, drawings and photographs of a snow house, so that a model of one can be made in Chicago; the contents of such a house also to be secured for furnishing the model. Several skeletons and contents of graves to be secured and if possible, a large number of skulls of the natives. If any native boats exist among the people, one or more to be secured. Sledges and skins of dogs to be secured, both with full harness; and the skins of native mammals and birds used by natives for food and dress. In fact all objects relating to the conditions of life of the people.

The North Greenland Expedition, sailing in the steam sealer *Kite*, reached Godhavn, Greenland on June 27 and Upernavik on July 1. On July 11, Peary broke his right leg and was unable to take

an active part in the affairs of the expedition until September. A permanent camp, named Red Cliff (or Redcliffe) House, was established in McCormick Bay at the entrance of Inglefield Gulf on July 25 (fig. 1). A dwelling was set up and four days later the *Kite* left the party and headed south.

The expedition's surgeon and ethnologist was Dr. Frederick A. Cook who later gained considerable notoriety for his claims to have reached the North Pole before Peary. It is likely that the bulk of the ethnographic specimens collected specifically for the World's Columbian Exposition were obtained by Dr. Cook.

On July 24, just before reaching McCormick Bay, the *Kite* stopped at Netiulume (or Nettik), a small Eskimo village of three tents on Whale Sound where, according to Mrs. Peary, "we hoped to obtain a native house, sledge, kayak, and various utensils and implements for the World's Columbian Exposition." Knives, saws, files, and other tools were traded for seal skins and narwhal tusks. The only ethnographic specimens mentioned are a "skin house with its interior fittings complete," and a sledge, all of which were obtained in exchange for a hatchet, a saw, and two files. Some skeletal material and a few artifacts were taken from a burial ground in the vicinity of the settlement.

These ethnographic materials were shipped back on the *Kite* and in a letter dated July 29, which Lieutenant Peary sent on the ship to Putnam, he mentioned erroneously that most of the specimens were obtained at a settlement called Ittiblu (or Ittibloo) approximately 23 km. further up Whale Sound from Nettik. Neither village was occupied at the time of Holtved's field work in 1935-1936 (Holtved, 1967, fig. 1).

After leaving Peary and his small party on the shores of McCormick Bay, the *Kite* stopped at an Eskimo settlement on Cape York. Here representatives of the Academy of Natural Sciences made a fairly sizeable collection of ethnographic material. The Cape York Eskimos appeared to have had more contact with Europeans or with Eskimos to the south than the residents of Nettik, as there was more evidence for the use of iron and wood.

Meanwhile, in mid-August Peary's explorations in the vicinity of the permanent camp got under way with a boat trip to the islands in the vicinity of McCormick Bay. Dr. Cook traded for ethnographic specimens at a small village of 13 inhabitants called Keate on

FIG. 1. Map of the Smith Sound region.

Northumberland Island. He noted that each man in this settlement possessed a kayak, a harpoon, a lance, and a bird net. Two possessed bows and arrows, a number of rolls of sealskin line, and some narwhal sinew. Holtved's (1967, fig. 1) map shows this settlement as Kiatak.

Beginning in early November, a number of Eskimo families began to arrive at Red Cliff House. By the seventh there were 17 men, women, and children living around the camp and other families arrived and departed throughout the winter. Some of these Eskimos came from Cape York and vicinity, but most were from the previously mentioned villages of Nettik and Ittiblu on the south shore of Whale Sound.

Dr. Cook made anthropometrical measurements of 75 individuals during the winter and Peary himself obtained a complete series of photographs of the same persons. Dr. Cook appears also to have taken the census, enumerating a total of 233 Polar Eskimos. Whether or not any of this non-artifactual material was turned over to Putnam along with the ethnographic specimens cannot be determined. The photographs and census data were published in Peary's (1898) book dealing with the expedition.

In April Peary made a sledge trip around the southern and eastern shore of Inglefield Gulf and stopped at several villages to obtain dogs and purchase walrus meat, furs, and other equipment for planned explorations to the north. The Eskimos encountered were anxious to barter their possessions and although there is no mention of specific items, it is likely that ethnographic specimens were obtained. In any event, a considerable amount of trade goods were distributed in exchange for the items Peary required.

It was in the spring of 1892 that the major work of the expedition was carried out. Departing from Red Cliff House in late May, Peary and one companion, proceeding overland, reached the head of Independence Fjord on July 4. By August 6 they were back on the shores of McCormick Bay. During Peary's absence, Dr. Cook obtained ethnographic specimens from the Eskimos living at Red Cliffe House in exchange for pieces of boards, barrel staves, boxes, and miscellaneous lumber fragments no longer needed by the expedition.

The *Kite*, meanwhile, had left Philadelphia on July 5 to pick up Peary and the members of his party. The vessel reached Cape York on July 22 and on the following day put ashore once again at the settlement of Nettik on Whale Sound. Here representatives of the Academy of Natural Sciences secured a "rich" collection of ethno-

graphical material in exchange for needles, knives, scissors, thimbles, and other useful items. Late at night on July 23 the *Kite* reached Peary's winter quarters to find that the lieutenant had not yet returned from his trip to the north.

On August 9, three days after his return from the overland expedition, Peary set out on a second trip into Inglefield Gulf, this time by boat. One of the purposes of this trip, which lasted approximately one week while the *Kite* was standing by, was to obtain ethnographic specimens at the settlements called Karnah and Nuna-tochsoah (Qanaq and Nunatarssuaq; see Holtved, 1967, fig. 1). These materials had been promised by residents of the settlements during the winter and at the time of Peary's first trip in April. Unfortunately, neither Lieutenant nor Mrs. Peary's accounts of this brief expedition into the Gulf make any further mention of these specimens or whether they were, in fact, obtained. In any event, the ethnographic material secured throughout the year was shipped out on the *Kite* which, delayed by the loss of one of Peary's men on a glacier northeast of Red Cliff House, left McCormick Bay on August 24 and reached Philadelphia on September 24, 1892.

As a result of Peary's letter of July 29 and information transmitted through the Academy of Natural Sciences, Putnam, who had no way of knowing what might be collected during the winter and spring, became concerned at the meager amount of material he was going to receive. He also was unhappy to learn that part of what had been obtained was to be assigned to the Academy. As a result, he balked at making the final payment of \$500 due Lieutenant Peary at the conclusion of the expedition. Putnam eventually acquired the bulk of the collection for the Exposition, but even that amount was apparently a good deal less than he expected, although it at least approximates what was mentioned in the memorandum of agreement. However, considering the fact that Peary was in almost constant contact with Eskimos throughout the winter and spring of 1891-1892, and frequently traded with them for meat and skins for clothing, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the acquisition of an ethnographic collection, although of some interest, was not particularly high on his list of priorities for his expedition.

At the conclusion of the world's fair, the scientific collections which had been acquired with Exposition funds were turned over to the Field Columbian Museum as a nucleus to found the institution that became Field Museum of Natural History. Putnam became Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural His-

tory on a part-time basis and continued his association with Peary. During the latter's next expedition to Greenland in 1893, he began a collection of Polar Eskimo material for the American Museum. This collection was augmented on future trips and in the winter of 1897-98, A.L. Kroeber, a student of Franz Boas at Columbia University, worked with six Eskimos who had been brought to New York from Smith Sound by Peary. The data obtained from these Eskimos, together with the ethnographic collections secured by Peary for the American Museum, were prepared for publication by Kroeber (1900).

THE POLAR ESKIMO AND EUROPEAN CONTACT

The Polar, or Smith Sound, Eskimo have long been famous as the most northern peoples in the world. Their settlements are scattered along the coast of Melville Bay from Cape York to Inglefield Gulf and formerly extended as far as Etah and Aunartoq. When first contacted by John Ross in 1818, the Polar Eskimo had lived in isolation for so long that, according to the explorer, they believed themselves to be the only people in the world. Ross met Eskimos in the vicinity of Cape York and they willingly exchanged their own implements for metal knives, looking glasses, and beads. This exchange is depicted in a famous drawing by the expedition's Eskimo interpreter, Sacheuse (Ross, 1819, opp. p. 88). Some Eskimos were enticed on board the ship and seemed to have little knowledge of wood. The knives which the Eskimos exchanged with members of the expedition were examined by the ship's armorer who believed that their blades were made from pieces of iron hoop or flattened nails. On being questioned, the owners of these knives said that a piece of wood with some nails had come ashore and they had picked it up. Ross illustrates (1819, opp. p. 102) a knife with a metal blade.

Following the explorations of Ross, the Polar Eskimo had few contacts with Europeans until the arrival of expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin in the early 1850's. Of these, the most important was that of E.A. Inglefield which discovered Inglefield Gulf and sailed through Smith Sound for the first time. On August 22, 1852, Inglefield met Eskimos in the vicinity of Petowik Glacier where they were hunting birds. These people appeared to possess no metal or wood and he believed they had not previously seen Europeans (Inglefield, 1853, pp. 46, 49).

On August 25 Inglefield approached a settlement on Whale Sound, almost certainly the village of Nettik with whose inhabitants

Peary had intensive contact in 1891-92. Although each habitation was searched in the hope of finding traces of Sir John Franklin, only a single knife blade with a stamped English inscription, a fragmentary ax, tin cannister, piece of rope, and some small pieces of steel fitted into a bone handle were located. The British explorer believed these implements had been obtained in trade with Eskimos to the south who received them from English and Scottish whalers (Inglefield, 1853, pp. 59-62). The latter had extended their activities into northern Greenland waters following the explorations of Ross and William Parry. Members of Inglefield's expedition acquired a few Eskimo artifacts from the inhabitants of Nettik in exchange for some files, spears, and knives.

Inglefield's discoveries were continued by Dr. Elisha Kent Kane whose expedition maintained winter quarters at Rensselaer Bay from the fall of 1853 until late in May, 1855. Kane was the first to give a reasonably detailed account of the Polar Eskimo and his descriptions provide a vivid picture of their poverty in wood and iron. He notes that the shafts of harpoons were made by lashing several pieces of wood together and that pieces of barrel hoops were used for knife blades. "A single rusty hoop from a current-drifted cask might have furnished all the knives of the party" (Kane, 1856, vol. 1, pp. 205-206). Kane also noted, however, that the tips of the Eskimo lances were of steel and were skillfully riveted. He assumed that such metal had been obtained from trade with Eskimo settlements to the south. Kane and members of his party contributed to the supply of trade goods and materials by exchanging needles, beads, and old cask staves for walrus meat (Kane, 1856, vol. 1, p. 209). Their ship, *Advance*, was abandoned in the spring of 1855 and should have provided an abundant supply of both wood and metal. However, it burned almost immediately through carelessness of the Eskimos (Hayes, 1885, pp. 288-289; Holtved, 1967, p. 10, footnote 1).

Kane was the first to point out that the Polar Eskimo had no bows and did not hunt caribou. He also noted the absence of the kayak and the typical Eskimo three-pronged fish spear (Kane, 1856, vol. 2, pp. 208-210). Open-water seal hunting was impossible without the former and salmon in lakes and streams were not taken without the latter. In the late 1850's or early 1860's, probably in 1859 according to Petersen (1962, p. 99), a group of Eskimos from north Baffin Island arrived among the Polar Eskimo and reintroduced the traits mentioned above.

A member of Kane's expedition, Dr. Isaac Israel Hayes, undertook his own explorations in the Smith Sound region in 1860-1861 to complete surveys begun by the earlier expedition and make explorations toward the North Pole. Hayes' ship, the *United States*, was frozen in opposite the abandoned settlement at Etah, and throughout the winter he was intermittently in contact with Eskimos from the same Whale Sound and Northumberland Island settlements whose inhabitants visited Peary 30 years later. Members of the Hayes expedition distributed knives, needles, iron, and bits of wood in exchange for dogs and skin clothing (Hayes, 1885). The explorer observed that the Eskimos with whom he traded had no guns, but that their harpoon shafts were made of wood, "probably from Dr. Kane's lost ship, the *Advance*" (Hayes, 1885 p. 245).

In 1891 Peary began his series of expeditions to the Smith Sound region. Up to that time little change had occurred in Polar Eskimo life. As we have noted, limited amounts of wood and metal were obtained from whalers, early explorers, and through trade with Eskimos to the south. These materials enabled inhabitants of the Smith Sound region to improve their hunting gear and other equipment to a certain degree. However, as Rasmussen (1921, pp. 6-7) has pointed out, their culture was, in all essentials, virtually untouched by outside contacts. Over a period of nearly 20 years, Peary supplied the Eskimo families that helped him, which at one time or another included virtually everyone in the area, with considerable amounts of imported hardwood, food, guns and other weapons, thimbles, needles, cloth, metal knives, steel traps, tobacco, and many other items. It is important to emphasize that prior to Peary's expeditions, commercial intercourse with whalers and expeditions was casual at best. Writing with reference to the early years of the present century, Rasmussen (1921, p. 8) states emphatically that "it is Peary who has given the tribe its present effective equipment for winning a livelihood."

Particularly helpful to the Eskimos were the firearms which they obtained from Peary. A gun was a rare object before Peary and even when the Eskimos succeeded in obtaining a few weapons from whalers and other sources, they were never able to gain much advantage from them as powder and shot could only occasionally be obtained. From Peary they received modern, breech-loading weapons and his frequent visits to the region enabled him to keep the Eskimos fairly regularly supplied with ammunition. Beginning in 1910, Danish trading stations were established in the region and the people were

able to replenish their supplies of trade goods which, by that time, had ceased to be luxuries and had become essential to their livelihood.

An example of the largesse with which the Eskimos must have associated the appearance of Peary on their coast occurred at the end of the expedition which acquired the items of material culture described in this study. In early August of 1892, as the *Kite* waited off the coast of McCormick Bay, "Mrs. Peary distributed the household utensils to the delighted women of the village, and then both women and men were assembled in line upon the beach, and everything I did not care to take home with me given to them, together with untold wealth sent them [on the *Kite*] by kind friends of the expedition in Philadelphia, in the shape of wood, knives, iron kettles, etc.—treasures priceless to the Eskimo mind" (Peary, 1898, vol. 1, p. 418). Since this scene was to be repeated many times in the future, and in fact had already taken place when the *Kite* stopped at Cape York and Nettik on its way north, it is little wonder that Peary (1898, vol. 1, pp. lix–lx) could write at the conclusion of his expedition in 1897: "The effect of my Expeditions upon these children of the North has been to raise the entire tribe to a condition of affluence."

THE COLLECTION

The Peary collection of ethnographic materials from the Polar Eskimo was received by the Field Columbian Museum on October 31, 1893 and catalogued as accession 25. Although, as we have noted, many specimens were collected by representatives of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia for that institution, Putnam was apparently successful in acquiring most of the collection for his exhibition. A note in the accession file maintains that Peary's "complete collection" was divided between the Exposition and the Academy of Natural Sciences. It further states, however, that "the bulk of the collection is now in the Columbian Museum." The file also contains a list which purports to be "Lieut. Peary's complete collection." It is reproduced here as *Appendix II*.

Just how much of the material on this list went to Philadelphia cannot now be determined with certainty. The Academy would certainly have been justified in retaining those items collected at Cape York by its representatives on board the *Kite* in the late summer of 1891, and at Nettik in July, 1892. That institution no longer has ethnographic collections, and the present whereabouts

of their Polar Eskimo material is unknown. In any event, it would appear that whatever Putnam was able to acquire for his exhibition at the world's fair was, at the conclusion of the Exposition, turned over to the Field Columbian Museum. The Academy, however, still retains in its archives papers, notes, and letters relating to the North Greenland Expedition (Phillips and Phillips, 1963, p. 88).

In the catalogue of the Department of Anthropology at Field Museum, the Peary collection is assigned 366 catalogue numbers. In a few cases, more than one specimen has the same catalogue number. Some items have lost their numbers and a few apparently were never catalogued. At the time this study was begun, 263 catalogue numbers representing 280 specimens were located in storage and on exhibition (*Appendix I*), leaving specimens represented by 103 numbers unaccounted for. Of this number, 15 specimens are no longer in the collection, having been sold, exchanged, or consigned to waste. The remainder have apparently been lost. A large percentage of these were small, carved ivory animal and human figures for which no location is designated in the catalogue. It is likely that they have been missing from the collection for many years.

The present condition of much of the Peary collection is poor. Seventy-eight years of inadequate storage and damaging exhibition installation have taken their toll. Ivory, antler, bone, and wood specimens are cracked and broken. Sinew has disintegrated, and skins have dried and split. Most items of clothing have been badly damaged by insects and in some cases are virtually unrecognizable. Unfortunately, the Peary collection is an excellent illustration of the sad fact that acquisition by a museum of valuable examples of a material culture which has almost completely disappeared is no guarantee that such items will be preserved for posterity.

In addition to the works of Peary and other explorers already cited, ethnographic information concerning the Polar Eskimo can be found in studies by Markham (1866), Bessels (1884), Rasmussen (1908, 1921), Steensby (1910), Ekblaw (1927-28), and Holtved (1951).

The Peary collection is sufficiently varied so that items of material culture can be discussed under the following headings: sea mammal hunting, hunting of land animals and birds, fishing, tools and manufactures, household equipment, games, toys, and models, clothing, miscellaneous, unidentified, and raw materials. For comparisons I have relied heavily on two previous studies of Polar Eskimo material culture by Kroeber (1900) and Holtved (1967).

Sea Mammal Hunting

Of the various arctic explorers who visited the Smith Sound region in the nineteenth century, only Peary saw the Eskimos using kayaks. Although the word still remained in the language, the art of building kayaks had been forgotten and it was not until the late 1850's or early 1860's, with the immigration of people from Baffin Island, that this cultural item was reintroduced. Thus the kayak that came to be used in Peary's time was the fairly broad, heavy Baffin Island type. In more recent years, however, kayaks resembling those made in west Greenland have been used with increasing frequency (Holtved, 1967, p. 74).

There were, at one time, two *kayaks* in the Peary collection but over the years they disintegrated and were discarded. However, Kroeber (1900, pp. 272-274) has described and illustrated a specimen collected by Peary for the American Museum of Natural History which closely resembles the typical central Eskimo form. The west Greenland type now used in the area is described in detail by Holtved (1967, pp. 74-80).

The collection does contain a number of hunting implements associated with the kayak. There are two *kayak harpoons*, both of which have heavy wooden shafts constructed by lashing two pieces of roughly worked wood together. The proximal sections of wood are missing from both specimens, but the total lengths of the shafts can be estimated as approximately 2 m. One harpoon has a centrally located ivory finger rest. At the distal ends of these weapons are movable foreshafts which fit into ivory sockets. On one harpoon the socket is fixed to the shaft by means of a single thong passing through both. The other has a socket with a pronounced, spur-like, asymmetrical tang which is lashed to the shaft (pl. 1, 1). The foreshafts of both specimens are held in place by two thongs which pass through holes in both the foreshaft and the wooden shaft itself.

Kayak harpoons of this type are illustrated by both Kroeber (1900, pl. XI, 2) and Holtved (1967, fig. 61, e). These heavy implements, especially suitable for walrus hunting, were thrown in a high curve so as to achieve maximum benefit from their weight when they hit the animal. Under influence from west Greenland, the Polar Eskimo now use a lighter harpoon thrown with a throwing board.

Another important hunting implement used with the kayak is the *kayak lance* of which there are three complete and one incomplete specimens in the Peary collection. The complete lances are 152, 163, and 178 cm. in length respectively, have composite wooden shafts,

PLATE 1. 1. Kayak harpoon, 164 cm. long (14227); 2. Ice-hunting harpoon, 155 cm. long (14210); 3. Ice-hunting lance, 150 cm. long (14208); 4. Kayak lance, 178 cm. long (14224); 5. Kayak lance, foreshaft and socketpiece, 68 cm. long (13856); 6. Kayak lance, 163.5 cm. long (14213); 7. Ice-hunting harpoon, 153 cm. long (14205).

and ivory foreshafts which, like the foreshafts of the harpoons, have flat tenons at the distal end which fit into a depression in the ivory socketpieces. Two lances have ivory finger rests approximately in the middle of the shaft. All three have unbarbed metal blades at the distal ends of the foreshafts. On two lances the blades are short and held in a blade slit by a single rivet (pl. 1, 4). One has a long, round tang which fits into a hole in the proximal end of the foreshaft (pl. 1, 6).

In addition to the complete kayak lances, there is a single specimen without the shaft. It has an extremely long foreshaft and a socketpiece with asymmetrical tang and a lashing knob at the proximal end (pl. 1, 5). It differs from the complete specimens in that the foreshaft is held to the socketpiece by thongs running through a single pair of drilled holes.

Kayak lances are illustrated by Kroeber (1900, pl. XI, 3) and Holtved (1967, fig. 64, a). They are generally used for killing sea mammals that have first been secured with the harpoon. Holtved notes that for hunting white whales, a lance is sometimes used with a bladder lashed near the proximal end of the shaft. The lance illustrated by Kroeber has such a bladder.

According to Holtved (1967, p. 83), the *kayak stand* to hold the coiled harpoon line is not used by the Polar Eskimo at the present time. He cites this as one example of a poorly developed kayak technique, the result of natural conditions which limit the use of the small skin boat. Although Kroeber describes a Smith Sound kayak collected by Peary in some detail, he makes no reference to the presence of the kayak stand. There is one in the Field Museum Peary collection, but it probably comes from Godhavn since the list of the complete collection refers to a kayak and equipment from that area (see *Appendix II*, no. 46). The stand consists of a wooden hoop attached with thongs to a V-shaped frame. On one side of the hoop, three carved ivory seals are attached with thongs as decoration.

The final object in the collection associated with kayak hunting is a *drag anchor* consisting of a square, wooden frame 33 cm. wide made from boards approximately 7 cm. wide and 2 cm. thick. The frame is covered on one side with a section of walrus hide which is sewn onto it with thongs. At each of the four corners a strap is attached, the end of which is split so that it can be fastened through holes in each of the four sides of the frame. The opposite ends of the strap are in turn fastened to a connecting thong which is attached to

a sealskin float. The float with the attached anchor impedes the progress of a wounded animal as he draws it through the water. Drag anchors similar to the one in the Peary collection are described and illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 282, fig. 18) and Holtved (1967, pp. 87-88, fig. 63).

For hunting sea mammals on the ice, an *ice-hunting harpoon* is used. Holtved (1967, pp. 96-97) describes these weapons as having fixed foreshafts of iron rods inserted into an oblong groove in the distal end of a wooden shaft. However, six specimens in the Peary collection, three complete and three fragmentary, have foreshafts made of narwhal tusks, the form in use during the early days of European contact (pl. 1, 2, 7). On five specimens, the foreshafts are intact and vary in length from 50 to 124 cm. Holtved notes that if a narwhal tusk was long enough, it could serve as both the foreshaft and the main shaft.

Two of the complete ice-hunting harpoons in the Peary collection have ivory finger rests at their centers of gravity. Holtved (1967, fig. 68, a) illustrates such a harpoon with a broad, flat scoop at the proximal end for cleaning ice particles from a hole in the ice. A single fragmentary specimen in the collection has an ivory ice pick with an asymmetrical tang lashed to one end. Such scoops or picks served to convert a harpoon into a kind of universal tool which was carried on all sledge trips. It was especially important when used as a probe to test the thickness of the ice while traveling in areas where the ice was thin and consequently unsafe.

The collection contains a single *ice-hunting lance* which differs from the kayak lance by having a powerful ice chisel at the proximal end. This chisel was formerly made of walrus ivory but the specimen in the Peary collection and those described by Holtved (1967, p. 98, fig. 64, b) and Kroeber (1900, p. 281, pl. XI, fig. 4) have iron chisels. The wooden shaft of the Field Museum's lance is composite and there is a wooden finger rest located well towards the proximal end to offset the weight of the iron chisel (pl. 1, 3). Ice-hunting lances were never used in hunting seals at breathing holes, but their use in walrus hunting is described in detail by Holtved (1967, pp. 100-103).

The Peary collection contains nine *harpoon heads*, five of antler and four of ivory. Six have lines of varying lengths attached. Harpoon heads for seal and walrus hunting include four specimens with single spurs, closed sockets, and blade slits running parallel to the line hole (pl. 2, 4). Each slit contains a metal blade held in place

PLATE 2. 1. Reserve lance head (13857); 2. White whale harpoon head (13858); 3. Seal or walrus harpoon head (14240); 4. Seal or walrus harpoon head (13861); 5. Skin scraper (13862); 6. Skin scraper (14018); 7. Seal drag line handle with six wound plugs (13976).

by a single rivet running through it at right angles to the blade. Three specimens are similar except that they have open sockets with lashing holes (pl. 2, 3). Those are the older form.

There are two large, flat harpoon heads, both of ivory and one with line attached, used for white whale or narwhal hunting (pl. 2, 2). Both are closed socketed and double spurred with parallel incisions at the ends of the spurs. Above the line holes on each specimen are a pair of horizontal incised lines with short vertical incisions running at right angles to them. The blade slits of these specimens are at right angles to the line holes and thin metal blades are held in place with single rivets. Holtved (1967, p. 86) believes the flat harpoon head to be the result of influence from southern Greenland. This harpoon head type is described and illustrated by both Kroeber (1900, pp. 274-81) and Holtved (1967, p. 84-86).

The *harpoon line* used in hunting from a kayak is generally about 18 m. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. in width. The Peary collection contains three rolls, two of approximately this length and width and two of the three with harpoon heads attached. The line used for walrus and white whale hunting is thick and approximately 1 cm. wide. The collection contains two rolls, one of which has a closed socketed, walrus harpoon head attached and the other a flat head of the type used in hunting white whales or narwhals.

There is a single *reserve lance head* in the collection (pl. 2, 1). It has a small, closed socket and can be placed over an ice-hunting harpoon foreshaft to convert a harpoon into a lance. Holtved (1967, p. 88) mentions but does not illustrate this type of implement.

For seal hunting at breathing holes the *three-legged hunting stool* is used and there are two of these in the Peary collection. One is fastened to a flat-bedded sled which will be described later. Both have flat, semi-lunar shaped seats and are approximately 43 cm. high. The seat of one stool is made from the lid of a small keg on which the name of the firm "Kemp, Day & Co.," is still visible. Other lettering has been obliterated. In all respects these stools resemble the specimens illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 269, fig. 1) and described by Holtved (1967, p. 98). According to the latter, such stools are only rarely used at the present time.

Also associated with the hunting of seals are two ivory *drag handles* which are attached to a line, the other end of which is attached to a dead seal. The animal then can be effectively dragged with little effort. To one of these handles is fastened a set of six ivory *wound plugs* (pl. 2, 7). These were used to close the holes in the

skin of a dead seal so that the blood would not escape. The collection contains another set of five similar plugs fastened together with sinew.

A large antler fragment that has been roughly worked is identified in the catalogue as a "club." It may have been used as a *seal club* to dispatch wounded animals taken with a harpoon. Neither Kroeber nor Holtved mentions the use of such clubs.

The final item in the collection that is possibly associated with sea mammal hunting is an ice-hunting harpoon, the foreshaft of which has been removed and replaced with a section of curved antler tine which is lashed to the wooden shaft. This implement may have served as a *boat or meat hook*.

Fishing and Hunting of Land Animals and Birds

Like the use of the kayak, the hunting of caribou with bow and arrow was forgotten among the Polar Eskimo until reintroduced by immigrants from Baffin Island. *Bows* were used extensively at the time of Peary's visit, however, and there are seven specimens in the collection. All are made of antler sections and in each case the bow staves consist of three pieces, cut off square, and joined end to end by sinew lashing through drilled holes (pl. 3, 1, 4). Flat pieces of antler are placed on either side of the joints to provide support and lashed with walrus hide thongs. The bows are strengthened with eight to ten strands of sinew along the back. This backing, which could be tightened at either nock, was held in place by lashing at various points along the stave. The bow strings, of braided sinew, have loops at either end for attachment to the nock. The bows in the Peary collection vary in length from 73 to 87 cm. Similar specimens are described and illustrated by Kroeber (1900, pp. 275-77, fig. 10a) and Holtved (1967, pp. 106-107).

Arrows in the Peary collection, of which there are 28 complete examples, all have unfeathered wooden shafts and most are lashed at the notched proximal end, presumably to prevent splitting. Holtved (1967, p. 107) maintains that the length of the shaft was determined by the distance from elbow to finger tips and the shafts of most of the arrows in the collection are of approximately that length. Fifteen shafts are composite, consisting of two or more pieces of wood lashed together with sinew. On the basis of the tips, the 28 arrows can be divided into three types. Type 1, of which there

PLATE 3. 1. Bow (14038); 2. Quiver (14067); 3. Quiver (14027); 4. Bow (14068).

are 14 examples, has a rather blunt metal head which tapers toward the proximal end, fits into a slot at the end of the shaft, and is held in place with sinew lashing (pl. 4, 1, 2, 5). Thirteen have iron heads while the head of one specimen is brass.

The type 2 arrowheads, 12 in number, have bone or antler foreshafts 11 to 15 cm. in length which are beveled at the proximal end and lashed to the shaft with sinew. A short iron arrowhead is fitted into a slot at the distal end of the foreshaft and held in place with a single rivet (pl. 4, 3, 4, 6). This type of arrowhead is characteristic of the Central Eskimo (Boas, 1888, p. 505, fig. 445).

There are two type 3 arrowheads, both of bone flattened and pointed at the distal end (pl. 4, 7). They are beveled at the proximal end and fastened to the shaft in the same manner as the type 2 specimens. This may also be an imported form.

Associated with the bow and arrow is the *quiver* of sealskin. There are five such quivers in the Peary collection, four of which resemble the specimen illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 276, fig. 11). This type consists of three compartments, the largest for the bow. There is also a smaller oblong compartment for the arrows with a cap that covers the arrow tips. The third compartment is a small pouch for spare arrowheads, sinew, and other repair materials. The two larger compartments are either joined together along one edge or connected by a strip of sealskin so that they can be folded together lengthwise. The complete quiver is carried by a handle or carrying strap fastened to the compartments at the point where they are attached (pl. 3, 2). A fifth quiver is simply for arrows alone and consists of a rectangular section of sealskin with the two sides sewn together. There is no strap or cap to fit over the arrowheads, but the bottom is a separate piece (pl. 3, 3).

Evidence for the taking of birds consists of two *bird nets* for capturing little auks. Both have oval wooden frames to which sinew netting is attached. The connection of the frames to the handles is strengthened by means of wooden cross bars. The handles of both specimens are incomplete, but this type of net was characterized by a long handle. The hunter hides between two rocks and swings the net quickly up and down to take the birds as they fly past (Holtved, 1967, pp. 111-112, fig. 72).

The use of the *sling* in hunting is not mentioned by either Kroeber or Holtved, but there are two examples in the collection. Both consist of two sections of sealskin line attached to an oblong strip of the same material approximately 3.5 cm. wide in the center and

PLATE 4. 1. Arrow, type 1 (14051); 2. Arrow, type 1 (14062); 3. Arrow, type 2 (14029); 4. Arrow, type 2 (14040); 5. Arrow, type 1 (14030); 6. Arrow, type 2 (14041); 7. Arrow, type 3 (14058).

tapering toward the ends. There is a loop at one end of one section of line, and a small piece of sealskin at the other. Such slings were probably used for birds and small mammals.

The only implement in the Peary collection associated with fishing is a two-pronged *fish spear*, the point of which is of bone and closely resembles a specimen illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 284, fig. 23). Each prong is barbed on the inside with a few barbs on the outside at the very end. The point tapers at the proximal end and is lashed to a wooden shaft 91 cm. in length. It is probable that the complete shaft was at least half again as long.

Closely associated with hunting as well as with many other aspects of life in the Smith Sound region is the flat-bedded *sledge*. The Peary collection formerly contained two such sledges, but only one remains. It is made of sections of driftwood carefully cut and lashed together with walrus skin thongs. Pieces of bone are also utilized in its construction. The length of the runners of this specimen is 203 cm. and the breadth of the bed 55 cm., making it considerably shorter and narrower than the sledges observed by Holtved (1967, pp. 61-62) in use among the Polar Eskimo. He mentions, however, that the long sledges now used are a rather late phenomenon and a product of the greater availability of wood. In front the runners of the Field Museum's specimen do not turn up. The sledge shoes are sections of walrus ivory squared off at the ends and lashed to each other as well as to the runners. There is no shoe section that exceeds 10 cm. in length.

The museum's Smith Sound sledge is equipped with a sealing stool, an ice-hunting harpoon (incomplete), ice-hunting lance, coil of walrus skin line, and a whip. There is also another *whip* in the collection. It is simply a piece of wood 61 cm. long, tapering at the distal end to which is attached a length of walrus skin with a knot in the end. The sledge is also equipped with heavy narwhal and walrus skin thongs for lashing a load. In addition to the complete sledge, the collection contains three possible *dog harness parts*; two buckles (pl. 12, 8), and a small hook (pl. 11, 5).

Tools and Manufactures

The Peary collection contains seven *snow knives* which vary in length from 31 to 45 cm. Four ivory specimens are made from single sections of walrus tusk, flattened and relatively sharp along one edge

PLATE 5. 1. Knife (13871); 2. Snow knife (14010); 3. Snow knife (14011); 4. Snow knife (14008); 5. Snow knife (14005).

and carved to form a handle at the proximal end (pl. 5, 5). A knife made from a split antler tine is similarly constructed (pl. 5, 2). Two ivory snow knives are of two-piece construction. One has an ivory blade and a bone handle attached with two brass rivets (pl. 5, 3). The other has an ivory handle joined with sinew directly to a blade of the same material (pl. 5, 4). This would appear to represent a successful repair of a broken one-piece specimen. Three of these snow

PLATE 6. 1. Hatchet (13919); 2. Saw (13869); 3. Knife (13872); 4. Knife (13873); 5. Knife (13882); 6. Knife (13874); 7. Knife (13881).

knives have holes for a thong by which the knife could be hung or worn suspended from the body. A thong loop is in place on two specimens. According to Holtved (1967, p. 123), the Polar Eskimo today use a broad bladed carpenter's hand saw instead of a snow knife for cutting out snow blocks when making a house.

In speaking of *knives* owned by Smith Sound Eskimos, Kroeber (1900, pp. 283, 285) states that they are generally obtained from

Europeans and when the handles break, the blades are riveted to new handles of bone or ivory. There are four such knives in the Peary collection. One resembles a table knife (pl. 6, 4) and another a large bread knife (pl. 6, 3). Both have ivory handles fastened to the blades with a pair of metal rivets. On the blade of the larger is the inscription "Lockwood Brothers" with an engraved hallmark in the shape of a long-necked bird between the two words. Below this inscription is the word "Pampa." The blade of the smaller knife has the inscription "Warranted Cast Steel" and "Sheffield."

The other knives with metal blades are quite distinct. One has a very short blade, probably sharpened down from one originally much longer, set in a rectangular ivory handle to which is attached a short length of thong (pl. 6, 6). At the base of the blade is the incised inscription "Park N & Marshall." The other knife has a two-piece blade set into one side of a long ivory handle (pl. 5, 1). There is a grip at the proximal end and a hole for the attachment of a thong. The specimen may have been used as a snow knife.

Five knives are made from sections of ivory. Three are similar in that they have flat blades and constrict at the proximal end to form a handle (pl. 6, 5, 7). One specimen has two drilled holes for thong attachment. The other two ivory knives appear to have been made in imitation of metal bladed implements of European manufacture.

According to Holtved (1967, p. 124), the larger metal bladed knives were used as flensing tools as well as for a variety of other tasks including functions of the saw, adz, and chisel. It would seem, however, that none of the ivory specimens are sharp enough to have functioned effectively as cutting tools.

Small *saws* were also obtained from Europeans and they were fitted with bone and ivory handles in the same manner as the knives just described. There is one such saw in the Peary collection, the ivory handle of which is fastened to the blade with two rivets (pl. 6, 2).

A serviceable *hatchet* has been fashioned by lashing a flat iron bar to an antler handle with sealskin line. A working edge has been achieved by grinding both sides of the distal end of the iron bar (pl. 6, 1).

Evidence for the use of the traditional Eskimo *bow drill* by the Smith Sound Eskimo is confined to two *mouthpieces*, one of ivory and the other of wood, three *drill bows* and two *drill shanks*. Two

PLATE 7. 1. Awl (?) (13896); 2. Drill mouthpiece (14024); 3. Drill shank (14023); 4. Drill shank (14020); 5. Ulu (13867); 6. Ulu (13865); 7. Ulu (13866); 8. Drill bow (14026); 9. Drill bow (14019).

of the bows are made of antler (pl. 7, 8) and the third of ivory. The ivory specimen has a plug of the same material at one end fastened with a brass rivet (pl. 7, 9). The two mouthpieces are rectangular with a hole in one end to receive the proximal end of a shank. The ivory specimen is illustrated (pl. 7, 2). One drill shank is of ivory and the other of wood. Both have points made from round, iron

nails (pl. 7, 3, 4). Holtved (1967, p. 125) maintains that the bow drill is only occasionally used in the Polar Eskimo area at the present time.

There are two *skin scrapers* in the collection, a one-piece ivory specimen (pl. 2, 6) and a scraper with a metal blade and wooden handle (pl. 2, 5). The blade of the latter has slightly convex edges and has been inserted into a slit in the handle and lashed with sinew.

Ulus or women's knives in the Peary collection are of two types. Three specimens have two-piece ivory handles, the pieces being joined together with thongs. The iron blades of these knives are cemented into slits in the lower sections of the handles (pl. 7, 7). The second type, represented by two specimens, also consists of a two-piece handle but the metal blade is riveted to the lower section. Of these, one specimen has a bone and ivory handle (pl. 7, 6), while both sections of the handle of the second are made of antler (pl. 7, 5). Both ulu types are illustrated by Kroeber (1900, fig. 28, 9-c).

A pointed fragment of ivory may have been used as an *awl*. It has an ivory knob which fits over the proximal end (pl. 7, 1). Another specimen, also tentatively identified as an awl, is much smaller, round, and thickened at the proximal end (pl. 12, 9).

There are three examples of the so-called "winged" *needle case* in the Peary collection. All consist of ivory tubes and sealskin strips into which the steel or ivory needles are fitted so that the whole can be drawn into the tube. The strips are ornamented with ivory carvings, thimbles, and anchor-shaped sewing ring holders. A small ivory tube with a wooden plug for additional needles is attached to one specimen. Because of their variety, all three winged needle cases in the collection are illustrated (pl. 8, 2, 3, 7).

Other styles of needle cases are also represented. Two bone tubes, one with a wooden plug and the other with a threaded bone screw top, also contained needles. The former has a thong with a skin sewing ring attached (pl. 11, 7) while the latter has two anchor-shaped ring holders and an ivory thimble attached by a short length of sinew to the lid (pl. 8, 4).

Household Equipment

The six water *buckets or pails* made of sealskin with the hair removed vary greatly in size and are generally characterized by two-piece construction (pl. 9, 1-2). The sides are one piece of skin and the flat bottom another. However, two specimens are made of several

PLATE 8. 1. Spoon (14055); 2. Needle case (14002); 3. Needle case (14001); 4. Needle case (13989); 5. Bag or bucket handle (13990); 6. Bull-roarer (13978); 7. Needle case (14003); 8. Spoon (14017).

small pieces of skin sewn together to make the basic two pieces. Four buckets have handles of the same material. An ivory *bag or bucket handle* might have been used with this type of container (pl. 8, 5). Kroeber (1900, p. 288, fig. 31) illustrates a small bucket similar to those described here.

PLATE 9. 1. Bucket or pail (14185); 2. Bucket or pail (14193); 3. Cup (14203); 4. Bag (14172); 5. Bag (14164).

There are also four sealskin *bags* in the collection. Two closely resemble the buckets just described except that they have no bottom piece (pl. 9, 4). The other two bags are much larger. Both are wide at the bottom and narrow sharply at the top (pl. 9, 5). They may have been closed by means of a thong wrapped around the narrow neck.

PLATE 10. 1. Pot (14091); 2. Dish (14086); 3. Dish (14087).

Four round to oval composite containers were probably used as *dishes* for eating and for the temporary storage of food. One specimen, approximately 17 cm. in diameter, has sides made from two pieces of thin, curved bone held together by bone reinforcement pieces inside and out fastened with small bone pegs. The bottom is two pieces of wood lashed together and fastened to the rim with small bone pegs (pl. 10, 2). A second, more oval, dish is similar but smaller. It has a one-piece wooden bottom and the two pieces of curved bone are lashed as well as pegged together. Two specimens have curved wooden sides as well as wooden bottoms and are approxi-

PLATE 11. 1. Top (13999); 2. Toy or model bucket (14200); 3. Toy or model pot (14090); 4. Ajagaq (13996); 5. Hook (13993); 6. Toy or model lamp (14095); 7. Needle case (14004); 8. Lamp (14094).

mately 18 cm. in diameter. Pegged bone reinforcement pieces were used to fasten the sides of one, while on the other, the two side pieces are simply overlapped and lashed. An unusual dish, made entirely of bone, has a bottom which appears to have been constructed from a section of the skull of a large sea mammal, possibly a walrus. The narrow sides of this triangular container are also of bone (pl. 10, 3).

A small, round container, 9 cm. in diameter with two two-piece bone sides and a wooden bottom is probably a *cup*. The sides are lashed together and pegged to the bottom. A fragment of quartz is set into the center of the wooden bottom (pl. 9, 3).

The collection contains one ivory and two bone *spoons*. Two are long and very thin with narrow, hollowed out bowls (pl. 8, 1). The third is made from a caribou mandible, the hollow interior of this bone serving as the bowl (pl. 8, 8).

The Polar Eskimo used soft steatite for making *pots* whenever the material could be obtained. The collection contains two typical specimens of different sizes, oblong in shape with slightly convex and rounded corners. There are suspension holes at the four corners. The larger specimen is 27 cm. in length (pl. 10, 1) and the smaller, 15 cm. Kroeber (1900, p. 288, fig. 33) illustrates a similar pot.

Steatite is also used for the manufacture of *oil lamps*, of which there are two triangular specimens in the collection. The illustrated lamp appears to have been very little used and was perhaps made for Peary (pl. 11, 8). Wicks for lamps of this type consisted of dried moss, while a fire was struck with a piece of pyrite (Kroeber, 1900, pp. 288-89, fig. 34).

Games, Toys, and Models

Lieutenant Peary may have commissioned the making of models of a number of items of material culture while he was in the Smith Sound region. The collection which he made later for the American Museum of Natural History also contains a number of models. It is probable too that the Eskimos living at Red Cliff House carved models from time to time and offered them, unsolicited, in trade to members of the expedition. On the other hand, Peary also seems to have collected some genuine toys but, unfortunately, the Field Museum catalogue does not distinguish between the two.

A toy or model *ice-hunting harpoon* is 53 cm. in length and resembles the full-sized specimens previously described. There is also

PLATE 12. 1. Toy or model snow knife in sheath (13892); 2. Animal carving (13925); 3. Bull-roarer (13980); 4. Unidentified (13988); 5. Unidentified (13981); 6. Toy or model sledge (13992); 7. Snuff box (?) (13983); 8. Harness buckle (13994); 9. Awl (?) (13975); 10. Unidentified (13896); 11. Unidentified (13901); 12. Toy or model knife (13879); 13. Toy or model knife (13886); 14. Toy or model knife (13867); 15. Toy or model knife (13876); 16. Toy or model knife (13889); 17. Unidentified (13894); 18. Toy or model axe (13893).

a miniature flat *harpoon head* of bone with a length of sinew attached. It has a closed socket and resembles the full-sized type used for white whale and narwhal hunting. Also associated with hunting and possibly a toy, is a small, incomplete *cross bow*. The stock is of wood and the bow of bone. Unfortunately, the trigger mechanism is missing.

Four small sealskin *buckets* and a *bag* of the same material have been identified as models or toys solely on the basis of size. These are the smallest specimens among the fairly large number of such items in the collection and they closely resemble larger examples (pl. 11, 2). Other household items are a small steatite *lamp* (pl. 11, 6) and two steatite *pots* (pl. 11, 3). There is also a small toy or model *axe* of wood (pl. 12, 18).

Eleven ivory *knives* range in length from 5 to 11 cm. They all resemble, to some extent, full-sized specimens previously described, and five are illustrated to show the range of variation (pl. 12, 12-16). There is also a miniature ivory *snow knife* in a sealskin case (pl. 12, 1). Other toys or models in the collection include an ivory *sledge* (pl. 12, 6), a small *carved animal* of ivory, perhaps a fox or dog (pl. 12, 2), and two miniature carvings that possibly are intended to represent *seal pokes*. These may be part of the equipment for a model kayak, or they may have hung from needle cases. Carved animals similar to the one described above are illustrated by Kroeber (1900, pl. XIV). Holtved (1967, p. 160) notes that many Polar Eskimos, both men and women, are skilled at carving ivory figures which are intended primarily as toys.

There are three specimens in this category which can definitely be identified as toys. One is a *top* consisting of an oval disk with a piece of wood inserted through a hole in the center. There is also a smaller hole in the disk to which a sinew line may have been attached (pl. 11, 1). Holtved (1967, p. 159) mentions that tops are popular among Polar Eskimo children and that yarn reels are frequently used for the purpose today. Also presumably toys are *bull-roarers* of which there are five in the collection. Four are flat, rectangular pieces of ivory with two small drilled holes in the center through which is passed a looped piece of sinew (pl. 8, 6). The fifth specimen is rounded at the ends, constricted in the center, and has no attached sinew (pl. 12, 3). A bull-roarer collected at Cape York by members of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences on board the *Kite* is illustrated by Keely and Davis (1892, p. 179).

The collection contains a typical Polar Eskimo *ajagaq* which, along with its stick, is made of ivory (pl. 11, 4). A virtually identical specimen is described and illustrated by Holtved (1967, pp. 160-161, fig. 94). The object of the game is to throw the *ajagaq* into the air and catch it on the attached stick by hitting the hole at either end. At the time of Holtved's field work in 1935-36, the game was no longer being played (1967, p. 160).

Two pairs of *sealskin mittens*, one pair with the hair removed, are identified in the catalogue as models. They resemble the full-sized mittens and reach only to the wrist.

Clothing

The Peary collection originally contained many items of men's and women's fur clothing. Some specimens have been lost, however, and others have deteriorated both in storage and on exhibition. As a result, a relatively small number of specimens can be identified and described.

Clothing of the Polar Eskimo includes an outer coat with attached hood, trousers, inner boots, and outer boots. The coat is short and cut the same for men and women except that hoods of the women's coats are much larger so that an infant can be enclosed. Men's trousers are cut low in front but higher in the rear. They extend just below the knee where they meet the inner boot and the boot. Women's trousers are very short, but their inner and outer boots are long enough to cover the entire leg.

The collection contains three *men's outer coats* made from the skins of ringed seals. These coats, all in poor condition, require three skins for their manufacture and are worn in summer. The sewing pattern used appears to be similar to that illustrated for seal-skin coats by Holtved (1967, p. 38, fig. 25). There is also a single outer coat of fox skin with a polar bear skin trim around the bottom and strips of white fox fur at the shoulders for decoration. This type of coat has become less common in recent years because fox skins are an important item of trade. Holtved (1967, p. 36) mentions that in 1936 only one man had a fox skin coat. Today caribou skin coats are the most common, although a garment of fox skins is both lighter and warmer. A coat requires seven or eight skins.

There are two *coats of little auk skins* which have deteriorated to such an extent that it is difficult to determine their original shape. This type of coat has the advantage of being warm and light, but is

also very fragile. According to Holtved (1967, p. 39), when a bird skin coat is not in use, it is stored turned inside out and rolled up.

Men's trousers of polar bear skin, represented in the collection by two specimens, are worn in both winter and summer. They are extremely practical, being both warm and strong, and polar bear skin is easy to brush free of snow and ice. The examples in the Peary collection resemble a specimen illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 291, fig. 40) and were cut and sewn according to a pattern shown by Holtved (1967, p. 41, fig. 27). There is also a pair of *sealskin trousers*, the legs of which are slightly longer than those made of polar bear skin.

Men's *sealskin boots* reach to the knees and have soles made of bearded sealskin. The collection contains three pairs of waterproof boots for summer wear made of sealskin from which the hair has been removed after extended treatment with hot water. Holtved (1967, pp. 42-44) describes such boots in detail and illustrates a pattern virtually identical to the one from which the Field Museum's specimens were cut. In addition to the complete boots, the collection also contains four pieces of bearded sealskin which have been cut for boot soles.

A single pair of *inner boots* are made from a combination of caribou and fox skin. They are cut similar to the boots.

Of the six pairs of *mittens* in the Peary collection, three are of sealskin with hair removed and three of the same material with the hair on. In addition, there is a single mitten in the latter category. Four pairs of these mittens reach only to the wrist. They are not cut to a consistent pattern, but most appear to be of two-piece construction similar to a pattern illustrated by Holtved (1967, p. 47, fig. 30, a). There are two pairs of mittens of the gauntlet type. One pair is entirely of sealskin with the hair removed, while on the other, the area above the wrist has the hair on. According to Holtved (1967, p. 47), gauntlet mittens are generally used when constructing snow houses.

A *woman's outer coat of sealskin*, of which there are three in the Peary collection, is made from two seal skins. The pattern is rather complicated, but closely resembles one illustrated by Holtved (1967, p. 51, fig. 34). On one specimen there are four parallel, sewed-in strips of dark sealskin under the arms.

There are two pairs of short *women's trousers*, one of fox skin and the other of sealskin. Both have been made of several small,

irregularly shaped pieces of skin. According to Holtved (1967, pp. 54-55), sealskin trousers were formerly worn under those of fox skin.

Women's boots are long enough to reach the crotch. The two pairs in the Peary collection are made of bleached sealskin. To give such skins the necessary stiffness, they are dried in freezing weather. The pattern used is identical to the one illustrated by Holtved (1967, p. 55, fig. 39).

Children's clothing is not well represented in the Peary collection. There are three *loose hoods for children's coats*, all made of sealskin. Two are made of single pieces of skin sewn at the top of the head and under the chin, while the third consists of several small sealskin fragments. Kroeber illustrates a child's hood of caribou fawn skin (1900, p. 297, fig. 47), and Holtved illustrates a hood pattern (1967, p. 57, fig. 41).

There are three pairs of *children's mittens* together with a single specimen. One pair is of caribou skin with the hair inside and no thumbs. Another is of polar bear skin and the third of sealskin. In design, both these pairs of mittens closely resemble specimens for adults previously described. The single mitten, like the two pairs just described, is of tanned sealskin with a strip of the same material with the hair on at the wrist.

A pair of *girl's sealskin trousers* is exceedingly well made. There is a strip of sealskin around the waist and strips of tanned sealskin at the ends of the legs. On each leg is an intricate pattern of tanned sealskin strips.

Children's boots are constructed like those for adults but do not have bearded sealskin soles. There are three pairs in the collection, all of which reach just to the knees. One pair is of tanned sealskin and another of the same material with the hair inside. This pair has strips of sealskin as trim around the top. The third pair of children's boots is of unborn sealskin with the hair inside.

Miscellaneous

The Peary collection contains a single tambourine *drum* frame with an ivory handle which closely resembles one illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 302, fig. 54). He notes that such drums had a section of seal intestine stretched over the bone frame and were beaten with a walrus tusk. The Museum's drum has an ivory stick attached to the handle with a section of sinew (pl. 13, 2).

PLATE 13. 1. Scratcher (14012); 2. Drum frame and stick (14015); 3. Necklace (14179); 4. Necklace (14083).

A small tube-like container of ivory has a wooden bottom and carved, parallel serrated ridges running around the center (pl. 12, 7). A cap, probably of wood, is missing. This specimen is identified in the catalogue as a *snuff-box* but the identification should be considered tentative.

There are seven sealskin necklaces which have from one to three pointed ivory pendants attached. On six specimens at least one of

the pendants is sewn into a small piece of skin. Glass beads hang from the pendants on two specimens (pl. 13, 3, 4). All resemble a necklace illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 289, fig. 38).

A *scratcher* used by a person to remove lice from his or her body is a long, slightly curved section of ivory with a tuft of polar bear fur at the distal end. This specimen has drilled holes at the proximal end, presumably for the attachment of a handle (pl. 13, 1). A similar scratcher is illustrated by Kroeber (1900, p. 289, fig. 36).

Unidentified

There are eight specimens in the Peary collection that cannot be identified. Seven are of ivory and one of wood. A small, roughly shaped piece of ivory has a hole drilled in one end (pl. 12, 5). Two small walrus tusks have centrally drilled holes (pl. 12, 11). There are three small objects, two of ivory and one of wood, which are thin and spatulate-shaped at one end (pl. 12, 10, 17). Two ivory artifacts, one in the shape of a whale's tail (pl. 12, 4), are drilled as if to cover the end of some object.

Raw Materials

Raw materials in the Peary collection include 15 small fragments of ivory, three small walrus tusks, a roll of narwhal sinew, and three rolls of narwhal skin line. There is also a complete sealskin prepared without the hair for making into boot soles. Holes at intervals around the edge indicate that it was staked to the ground as part of the drying process.

CONCLUSION

Virtually every explorer from Ross to Peary who had contact with the Polar Eskimo noted the small amount of wood and metal utilized by the people in the manufacture of various items of their material culture. Such exotic materials as were available to the Eskimo have invariably been attributed to contact with whaling ships, the various explorers themselves, and occasional wrecked ships, or driftwood fragments. Very little attention has been paid to the possibility that such materials were also received through a continuing trade with Eskimos to the west in Canada and to the south along the coast of west Greenland. This approach has been neglected in spite of suggestive comments by two Franklin search

leaders, Inglefield and Kane, and the anthropologists Franz Boas, Knud Rasmussen, and Robert Petersen.

If Polar Eskimo material culture can be said to have been relatively unaffected by outside influences until Peary's massive presence in the region for nearly 20 years, then we would expect that the material collected by him on his first expedition would be notably lacking in items utilizing wood and metal in their construction. But this is definitely not the case. Metal of various kinds and wood were utilized extensively by the Eskimos who made the tools and weapons which are the subject of this study. With reference to metal, we have noted that the blades of all five lances are of that material, and all 13 harpoon heads have metal blades. In addition, 25 of 28 arrowheads have metal blades, as do all five ulus, four out of nine knives, and one of two skin scrapers. Metal was also used for a saw blade, hatchet, drill bits, and needles; in short, for virtually every use where its properties are superior to materials locally available. As for wood, it was used extensively for kayaks and sledges, as well as harpoon and lance shafts, arrow shafts, drill shanks, and a variety of other implements.

The Polar Eskimo are known to have used meteoritic iron in the manufacture of their implements and Peary collected three large meteorites in the vicinity of Cape York in 1895 and 1897 (Peary, 1898, vol. 2, pp. 553-600). In addition, one of the rare occurrences of natural terrestrial iron is to be found on Disko Island near Godhavn in southwest Greenland. The Cape York meteorites are known to average 7.5-8 per cent nickel and the Disko Island iron 2-7 per cent. Small chips from nine metal-bladed implements in the Peary collection were ground and polished for examination in an electron probe microanalyzer. The analysis indicated that nickel was completely absent from all the chips which, in each case, were shown to be typical manufactured, low-grade steel.¹

It is possible, of course, that some of the items in the Peary collection were manufactured during the explorer's year-long stay in the Inglefield Gulf area and utilized wood and metal obtained from the members of the expedition. It is much more likely, however that a large amount of the material was collected by Dr. Cook at Nettik before Peary's winter quarters were established, and by representatives of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences at

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Edward J. Olsen, Curator of Mineralogy, Field Museum of Natural History, who performed the analysis.

Cape York as the *Kite* was returning home in the summer of 1891. As noted earlier, the Eskimos at the latter settlement were believed by those on board the *Kite* to have had more contact with Europeans as there was greater evidence for the use of metal and wood than at the Whale Sound settlement. However, this could also be explained by more intensive trade with Eskimos to the south. In any event, neither the Eskimos on Whale Sound nor those at Cape York could have benefited in the summer of 1891 from trade materials brought by the Peary expedition and distributed during the coming year.

Steensby (1910, pp. 278-279) noted that in his time the areas visited by the Polar Eskimo extended from Humboldt Glacier to Melville Bay, but that there had apparently been no communication with the Eskimos of Upernavik before 1904. He suggests that contact may have ceased in the early eighteenth century. On the other hand, Stein (1902), who made a study of geographical knowledge of the Polar Eskimo at the turn of the century, concluded that it extended south to include Upernavik.

Trade materials in the Peary collection may also have been introduced by migrating Canadian Eskimos in the nineteenth century. Boas (1888, pp. 442-443; 1907, p. 480) has noted that some Baffinland Eskimos hunted in the uninhabited islands north of Baffin Island and had contact with Smith Sound people. A family he knew at the time of his field work in 1883-84 had visited the Polar Eskimo. Rasmussen (1908, pp. 23-26), Steensby (1920, pp. 261-264), Petersen (1962), and others have discussed the migration by way of Devon Island in the late 1850's which reintroduced the kayak, bow, and three-pronged fish spear. Beginning in the eighteenth century Dutch whaling ships reached Davis Strait and after 1817 British whalers frequently visited the west shore of Baffin Bay. At least some items of European manufacture would have been part of the cultural inventory of north Baffin Islanders traveling to northwest Greenland. Petersen (1962, p. 109) has suggested that there may have been traffic in both directions over a long period of time. Even without frequent direct contact, it is possible that the Baffin Island Eskimos were a source of metal and wood throughout much of the nineteenth century and perhaps earlier.

The archaeology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in northwest Greenland is poorly known, but there is no conclusive evidence, the statements of Ross and others notwithstanding, that communication with southern Greenland and northeastern Canada

was ever completely broken. The relative abundance of wood and metal utilized in the manufacture of various implements and weapons in the Peary collection may indicate that many of the specimens came from the Cape York region where contact with the south would have been more frequent, rather than from settlements in the Inglefield Gulf area. It further suggests that although the Polar Eskimo were, beyond a doubt, an extremely isolated people, they probably had more contact over a longer continuous period of time with peoples of southwest Greenland and northeastern Canada than has been generally noted.

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APPENDIX I

THE PEARY SMITH SOUND ESKIMO COLLECTION

(Accession 25)

Following is a list of the Peary Smith Sound Eskimo specimens described in this study. It is not a complete list of the collection as it appears in the catalogue of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History. Specimens that could not be located or have been sold, traded, or otherwise disposed of are not included. Museum catalogue numbers preceded by an asterisk (*)

are illustrated. Specimens are listed in the order of the text descriptions. Identifications given here do not invariably correspond to those in the catalogue.

Sea Mammal Hunting

14220	kayak harpoon (incomplete)
*14227	" " "
*14213	kayak lance
*14224	" "
14229	" "
*13856	foreshaft and socketpiece of kayak lance
14214	kayak stand
13718	drag anchor
*14205	ice-hunting harpoon (two harpoons, one complete, have the same number; the complete specimen is illustrated)
14206-07	ice-hunting harpoon (incomplete)
*14210	" " "
14219	" " "
*14208	ice-hunting lance
13859-60	seal or walrus harpoon head
*13861	" " " " "
*14240	" " " " "
14245	walrus harpoon head with line attached
*14246	seal harpoon head with line attached (illustrated with ice-hunting harpoon)
14248	seal harpoon head with line attached
*13858	white whale harpoon head
21370	white whale harpoon head with line attached
14212	roll of line for seal hunting harpoon
14240	roll of line for walrus hunting harpoon
*13857	reserve lance head
13126	sealing stool
*13976	seal drag line handle with set of six wound plugs
13902	seal drag line handle
13974	five wound plugs
14202	seal club (?)
14215	meat or boat hook

Fishing and Hunting of Land Animals and Birds

14032-33	bow
*14038	"
14048	" (incomplete)
14053	"
14060	" (incomplete)
*14068	"
14028	arrow, type 1
*14030	" "
14031	" "
14035	" "
14049	" "
*14051	" "
14061	" "
*14062	" "
14063-66	" "
14069-70	" "
*14029	arrow, type 2
14036	" "
*14040	" "
*14041	" "
14042-43	" "
14045-46	" "

14050, 1-2	" "
14056	" "
14071	" "
14039	arrow, type 3
*14058	" "
*14027	quiver
14037	" "
14047	" "
14059	" "
*14067	" "
14241	bird net (incomplete)
14244	" " "
14072-73	sling
14230	fish spear
13124	sledge equipped with sealing stool, ice-hunting harpoon (incomplete), ice-hunting lance, coil of walrus skin line, whip (these additional items have no catalogue numbers).
13162	whip
*13994	harness buckle
*13995	" "
13993	hook

Tools and Manufactures

*14005	snow knife
14006-07	" "
*14008	" "
14009	" "
*14010	" "
*14011	" "
*13871	knife
*13872	" "
*13873	" "
*13874	" "
13880	" "
*13881	" "
*13882	" "
13884	" "
13890	" "
*13869	saw
*13919	hatchet
*14019	drill bow
14025	" "
*14026	" "
14021	drill mouthpiece
*14024	" "
*14020	drill shank
*14023	" "
*13862	skin scraper
*14018	" "
13864	ulu
*13865	" "
*13866	" "
*13867	" "
13870	" "
*13896	awl (?)
*13975	" "
*14001	winged needle case
*14002	" " "
*14003	" " "
*13989	tubular needle case
*14004	" " "

Household Equipment

14158	bucket or pail
14171	" " "
14175-76	" " "
*14185	" " "
*14193	" " "
*13990	bag or bucket handle
14154	bag
*14164	"
*14172	"
14174	"
14085	dish
*14086	"
*14087	"
14204	"
14218	"
*14203	cup
13997	spoon
*14017	"
*14055	"
14089	pot
*14091	"
14093	lamp (incomplete)
*14094	"

Games, Toys, and Models

14014	ice-hunting harpoon
14081	harpoon head with line attached
14016	cross-bow (incomplete)
14169-70	bucket or pail
14199	" " "
*14200	" " "
14173	bag
*14095	lamp
*14090	pot
14096	"
*13893	axe
*13867	knife
13875	"
*13876	"
13877-78	"
*13879	"
13885	" (incomplete)
*13886	"
13888	"
*13889	"
13891 (?)	"
*13892	snow knife
*13992	sledge
*13925	animal carving
13984	carving of seal poke (?)
13998	" " " " "
*13999	top
13977	bull-roarer
*13978	" "
13979	" "
*13980	" " (incomplete)
13982	" "

*13996 ajagaaq
 14180 sealskin mittens
 14181-82 " "

Clothing

14039-40 man's outer coat of sealskin
 no number " " " " "
 no number " " " " fox skin
 14232 coat of little auk skins
 14236 " " " " "
 14242-43 man's polar bear skin trousers
 14146 man's sealskin trousers
 14151-52 man's sealskin boots
 14165 " " "
 21364, 1-4 prepared bearded sealskin for men's boots
 no number inner boots or stockings
 13802, 1-2 sealskin mittens
 14158, 1-2 " "
 14168, 1-2 " "
 14238, 1-2 " "
 21365 " " (one only)
 21366, 1-2 " "
 no number " "
 14144-45 woman's outer coat of sealskin
 14234 " " " "
 14155 woman's trousers of fox skin
 no number " " " sealskin
 14147-50 woman's sealskin boots
 14142 child's sealskin hood
 14233 " " "
 14235 " " "
 14195-96 child's caribou skin mittens
 14177-78 child's sealskin mittens
 14184 pair of child's polar bear skin mittens
 14201 child's tanned sealskin mitten
 14192 girl's sealskin trousers
 14156-57 child's sealskin boots
 14162-63 child's tanned sealskin boots
 14190-91 child's sealskin boots

Miscellaneous

*14015 drum frame and stick
 *13983 ivory snuff box (?) (incomplete)
 14074-75 necklace
 14077-78 "
 *14079 "
 14080 "
 *14083 "
 *14012 scratcher

Unidentified

*13981
 13987-88
 *13894
 13895
 *13896
 13900
 *13901

Raw Materials

13897-99	walrus tusk
13904-18	ivory fragment
14161	roll of narwhal skin line
14186	sealskin prepared for boot soles
21368	two rolls of narwhal skin line
21369	roll of narwhal sinew

APPENDIX II

(from Field Museum accession file)

ESKIMOS OF SMITH SOUND

Collector, R. Peary

Note: This is Lieut. Peary's complete collection which was divided between the World's Columbian Exposition and the Academy of Sciences in Philadelphia. The bulk of the collection is now in the Columbian Museum.

- 1 Bow with two arrows.
- 2 Bows.
- 3 Bow with three arrows and sealskin quiver.
- 4 Male costume consisting of foxskin kapetah [*kapatak*-outer coat of fox skin], sealskin netcheh [*natseq*-seal, an outer coat of sealskin], bearskin nannookes [*nannuk*-polar bear, trousers of bearskin], little auk skin akpalia [*atigeg*-inner coat], sealskin kamiks [*kamik*-boot], hare skin allersee [*alersit*-stockings], sealskin poodlunas [*poodluk*-mitten], sealskin iokudis [*niaqoorut*-hair string].
- 5 Male costume consisting of sealskin netcheh, bearskin nannookes, little auk skin akpalia, sealskin kamiks, deerskin [*caribou*] allersee, sealskin iokudis, sealskin poodlunas.
- 6 Male summer costume consisting of sealskin netcheh, sealskin nannookes, sealskin kamiks, sealskin iokudis.
- 7 Female costume consisting of foxskin kapetah, little auk skin akpalia, foxskin kotlee [*qardleek*-under trousers], sealskin drawers, sealskin kamiks, deerskin allersee, sealskin hood, bearskin poodlunas, sealskin and ivory necklaces.
- 8 Female summer costume consisting of sealskin netcheh, sealskin kotlee, sealskin kamiks, deerskin allersee, sealskin iokudis.
- 9 Miscellaneous clothing: 3 male netchehs, 1 male nannookes, 2 children's hoods.
- 10 Piece oogsook [*uksuk*-bearded seal] skin as prepared for kamik robes [?].
- 11 Sealskins as prepared for tents or garments.
- 12 Box with ten skulls and miscellaneous bones.
- 13 Skin tupic [*tupeq*] or tent complete with tent poles, skins for bedding and duplicate window.
- 14 Skin tupic complete (brought back in 1891).
- 15 Box miscellaneous specimens (stone lamps, etc.).
- 16 Snow knives made of walrus tusks.
- 17 Hatchet, iron and deer antlers.
- 18 Bow drill, three pieces, bow drill and mouthpiece all of walrus ivory.
- 19 Bow drill, ivory and wood.
- 20 Bow gun (child's toy).

- 21 Saw, ivory handle.
- 22 Fish spear.
- 23 Back scratchers of walrus ivory and bone.
- 24 Ivory toy knives.
- 25 Three rolls, narwhal sinew used for thread.
- 26 Roll, reindeer sinew used for thread.
- 27 One necklace, sealskin and ivory.
- 28 Three slings.
- 29 Bundle seal intestines as used for windows.
- 30 Two seal spear heads and lines.
- 31 Bone spoon, from lower jaw of narwhal.
- 32 Six needle cases with thimbles and ornaments, all carved from walrus tusks.
- 33 Three sealskin bracelets.
- 34 Eight women's knives.
- 35 Child's top.
- 36 Two sealskin bags with toy ivory carvings.
- 37 Sealskin cup with toy stone dishes.
- 38 Sledge with lance, harpoon, walrus line, knife, dog harness and seal chair.
- 39 Sledge with lance, harpoon, walrus line, whip, traveling bag, knife, sheath, seal chair and dog harness.
- 40 Sledge with lance, harpoon, walrus line and traveling bag containing material for striking fire, seal chair and dog harness.
- 41 Sledge with lance, seal spear, walrus line, knife sheath and seal chair (imp.).
- 42 Four seal harpoons with wooden shafts.
- 43 Four seal spears with long narwhal tusks.
- 44 Two seal spears with short narwhal tusks.
- 45 One long fish spear.
- 46 Kayak (Godhaven), complete with paddle, harpoon and line, line rest, sealskin float, centerboard, lance, bird spear, waterproof jacket, ivory ice knife, ivory seal toggles.
- 47 Kayak (Whale Sound), with paddle, lance with bladder float, sealskin float, walrus line.
- 48 Kayak (Whale Sound), with paddle, lance, sealskin float, drag, walrus line.
- 49 Kayak (Whale Sound), with paddle, lance, drag and walrus line.
- 50 Kayak with paddle, lance, harpoon, sealskin float, drag and walrus line.
- 51 Two walrus lances.
- 52 Tupic with two skin windows and two deerskin.
- 53 Tupic frame.
- 54 Sealskin bag with five ivory whirligigs or tetotums [bull-roarer].
- 55 Six sealskin [illegible] and cups.
- 56 Bear and sledge of walrus ivory (toy).
- 57 Point for harpoon, iron and ivory.
- 58 Ivory implement, use unknown.
- 59 Six ivory skin scrapers.
- 60 Pair of child's kamiks (female).
- 61 Ivory skin scraper.
- 62 Iron and wood skin scraper.
- 63 Bow and arrows with sealskin quiver and case.
- 64 Pair sealskin mittens.
- 65 Pair sealskin mittens (child's).
- 66 Five sealskin mittens (toy).
- 67 Dressed sealskin mittens.

- 68 Pair sealskin mittens (made to order).
- 69 Child's (female) costume, sealskin jacket, trousers, stockings and kamiks,
from Godhaab, S. Greenland.
- 70 Two sealskins as prepared for women's boots and kayaks.
- 71 Two sealskins as prepared for men's boots.
- 72 Sealskin as prepared for tents or sealskin garments.
- 73 Four bone and wood cups.
- 74 Bone cup.
- 75 Wood cup.
- 76 Three stone lamps.
- 77 Seven stone cooking dishes and cups.
- 78 Four spear heads and walrus lines.
- 79 Coil narwhal hide lashings.
- 80 Three coils oogsook skin lashings, coarse to fine.
- 81 Two native travelling bags with fire implements.
- 82 Bottles of seal oil.
- 83 Musical instrument (tambourine) with ivory beater and accompanying
head ornament.
- 84 Walrus lance head (ivory).
- 85 Two bird nets.
- 86 Bow with four arrows, sealskin quiver and case.
- 87 Bow with three arrows, sealskin quiver and case.
- 88 Bow with three arrows, sealskin quiver and case.
- 89 Bow with six arrows, sealskin quiver and case.
- 90 Bow with three arrows, sealskin quiver and case.

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