INTRODUCTION TO "THEY ARE INVETERATE USERS OF TOBACCO":[1] DR. JAMES TAYLOR WHITE'S 1898 MANUSCRIPT ON TOBACCO USE AND PIPE CONSTRUCTION AMONG ALASKA NATIVES

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I met James T. White in 1980, while I was researching in the Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. We instantly became fast friends. He had been dead for 68 years, but he let me pry into his life through his diaries, correspondence, scrapbooks, photographs, and natural history and ethnological collections located in various archives, museums, and cemeteries in Alaska, Washington State, California, and Washington, DC. We are friends still—I've even smoked a pipe with him at his grave—and there is more of his life to share. This is just one small part.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JAMES T. WHITE, MD

James Taylor White (Fig. 1) was born on December 13, 1866, in Port Townsend, Washington Territory. Not many years later, his father, a captain in the United States Revenue-Cutter Service (a predecessor of the U.S. Coast Guard), moved his family to San Francisco, where White attended high school and, in 1888, graduated from the University of California Medical College (University of California 1889:41). Three months after graduation, he applied for a position as surgeon with the Revenue-Cutter Service (White 1889a), and over the next 16 years—as long as the Revenue-Cutter Service hired private physicians for its cutters—he would periodically serve in that capacity.

Although the Revenue-Cutter Service's annual patrols in Alaska waters were generally routine, each of White's cruises coincided with a pivotal event in Alaska. He made his first voyage north in 1889, serving on the Revenue Cutter *Bear*, which was tasked that year with bringing lumber and supplies to Point Barrow for building the Point Barrow Refuge Station. In 1890, after furthering his studies at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, White served on the cutter *Rush*, whose mission that summer was to patrol near the Pribilof Islands to prevent pelagic sealing. In 1894, White was again on the *Bear*, participating in the third year of Sheldon Jackson's project to transport domestic reindeer from Siberia to the Teller Reindeer Station on the Seward Peninsula. From 1900 to 1902, White served on the Revenue Steamer *Nunivak*, patrolling the Yukon River in the wake of the Klondike and Nome gold rushes. While on the *Nunivak*, he treated Natives who were victims of the combined flu and measles epidemics that ravaged villages up and down the river in 1900.

After White left the *Nunivak* in 1902, he served on cruises of the revenue cutters *McCulloch*, *Manning*, and *Bear* until 1905, when the Treasury Department decided to assign government physicians from the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service for cruise duties. White was devastated, plaintively writing to the Secretary of the Treasury, "I have been so long at sea . . . that I now feel more at home here than I would in an office ashore" (White 1905). White's attempts to continue in the Revenue-Cutter Service were fruitless, and he opened a medical practice in California. He married another physician, Dr. Mary Parker, in December 1906. Less than six years later, White contracted typhoid fever and died on March 18, 1912. He was buried near his father at Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland, California (*San Francisco Call* 1912).

Figure 1. Dr. James T. White on the deck of the Revenue Cutter Bear. *Note that he is holding his own pipe (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks).*

THE MANUSCRIPT IN CONTEXT

Saturday, July 6, 1889, 9:50 a.m.: Under an overcast sky, the Revenue Cutter *Bear*, on its annual summer cruise to Alaska, anchored at the entrance to Port Clarence on the central coast of Seward Peninsula, southeast of Bering Strait (USRC *Bear* 1889). On board was Dr. James Taylor White, a California physician hired by the Revenue-Cutter Service to serve on the *Bear* that summer. Almost immediately, White began to provide needed medical assistance to crews of eight whaling vessels in the harbor and to local Natives. Although White spent most of his time at this duty, when Natives came aboard the *Bear* to trade, he purchased (traded for) a model "omyak and a couple of pipes" (White 1889b).

It was not uncommon for visitors to this part of the Arctic to seek Native pipes. As Dorothy Jean Ray (1975:242–243) pointed out, there was a flourishing "curio business" at Bering Strait by the 1880s, and "one of the most popular souvenir items at both Port Clarence and Saint Michael was the ivory pipe." The *Bear*'s 1889 cruise was White's first assignment with the Revenue-Cutter Service, and he spent portions of the next 16 years assigned to Alaska voyages with the service. Throughout these years, collecting—unfortunately, sometimes by grave robbing—Native "curios" was always one of his favorite pastimes.

It is surprising that after obtaining his pipes at Port Clarence on July 6, 1889, White never again mentioned purchasing Native pipes in any of his later diaries. His only statement that is even close is once again in his 1889 diary, when Natives came to the cutter to trade while the *Bear* was at the Iñupiat village of Utukok at Icy Cape on July 24: "I tried to get a very fine pipe and even offered a bag of flour for it, but they would not part with it" (White 1889b).

Despite White's failure to obtain a pipe at Icy Cape in 1889 and the lack of any mention of obtaining pipes in his other diaries, by the time he had finished collecting his "curios" he had accumulated 24 pipes from Alaska, three Haida pipes from the Queen Charlotte Islands, and nine from various points in Siberia (for the distribution of the pipes White collected, see Fig. 2). Other smoking-related items in the collection are tobacco pouches, chewing tobacco and snuff boxes, a cigarette holder, and even a tobac-

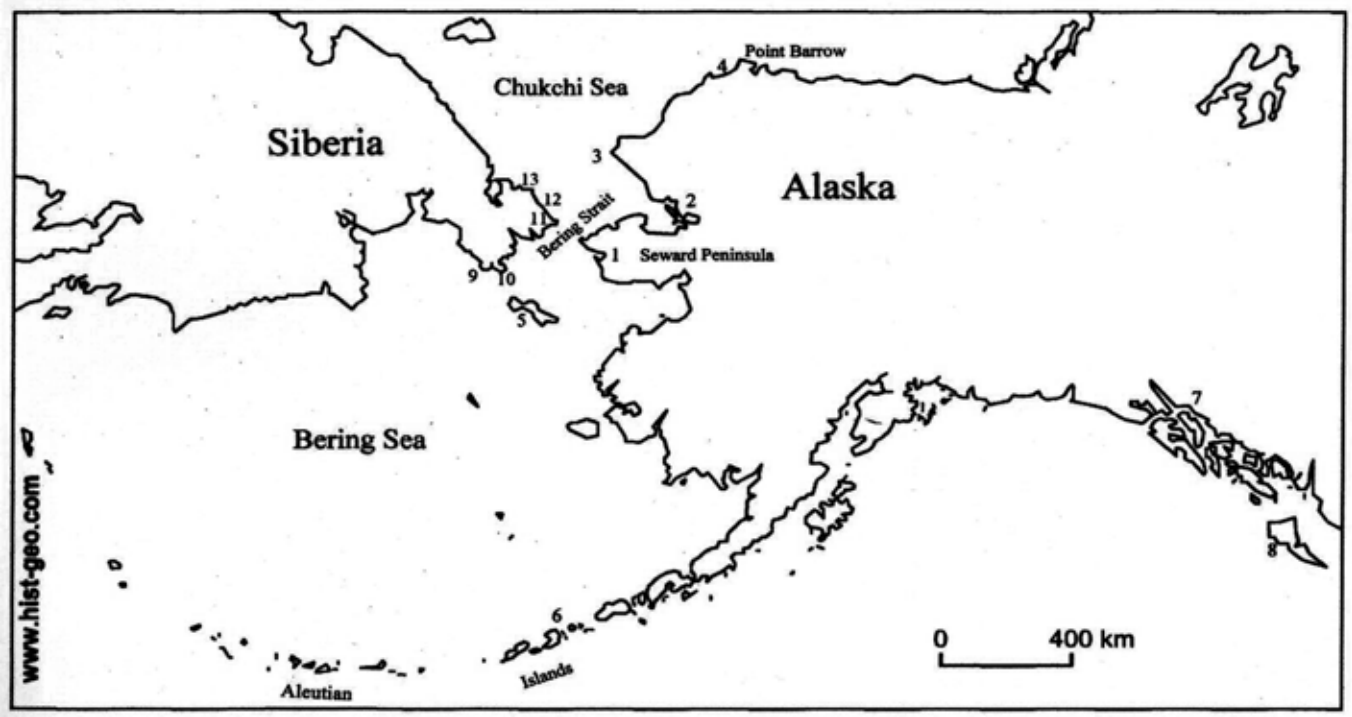

Figure 2. Distribution of Native pipes in the James T. White Collection at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, University of Washington, Seattle. (1) Port Clarence (n = 10); (2) Kotzebue Sound (n = 3); (3) Point Hope (n = 6); (4) Cape Smyth (n = 1); (5) St. Lawrence Island (n = 2); (6) Unalaska Island (n = 1); (7) Taku Inlet (n = 1); (8) Queen Charlotte Islands (n = 3); (9) South Head, Siberia (n = 2); (10) Indian Point, Siberia (n = 3); (11) East Cape, Siberia (n = 1); (12) Uelen, Siberia (n = 2); (13) Enurmino, Siberia (n = 1).

co specimen in what is appropriately—and not surprisingly—a medicine bottle (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 1904/1912). In July 1898, White decided that collecting was just not enough, so he set about writing a manuscript describing tobacco use and pipe construction (White 1898a). A few months earlier, he had completed another manuscript titled "Native Intoxicants" (White 1898b), but it was not as well documented or illustrated as his more interesting tobacco manuscript.

Twenty-eight of the 36 pipes White collected are noted in some way in his tobacco use and pipe construction manuscript, either through direct discussion or in the sketches that accompany photographs he made of the categories of pipes he was describing. Three of the omitted pipes were argillite pipes used by the Haida of Canada's Queen Charlotte Islands, and White may have deliberately excluded them from his discussion of Alaskan and Siberian pipes. The other omitted pipes were two from Point Hope and one each from St. Lawrence Island, Unalaska, and Taku Inlet (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 1904/1912).

When White served as surgeon on the cutter *Rush* in 1890, he spent some time in Seattle, the population of which had mushroomed following reconstruction after the Great Seattle Fire of 1889 (White 1890), and he was encouraged to open a private medical practice there. He opened that practice in Seattle's Pioneer Building in 1891. In Seattle, White joined the Young Naturalists' Society, founded in 1879 when a group of teenagers "with no formal education in the sciences, gathered together to discuss their common interests" (Benson 1986a:352). By the next year, the society had begun "a systematic collection of 'scientific objects'" and developed a museum collection and library (Benson 1986a:352). After a brief period of inactivity between 1887 and 1894, the society became a more professional scientific organization, "the center for all natural history work in Seattle" (Benson 1986a:352), publishing original papers and exchanging specimens with other institutions across the country. In 1904, the society disbanded and its collections were moved to the University of Washington, where they became "the central collection upon which the state museum was based" (Benson 1986b:90).

While living in Seattle between 1891 and 1894, and again between 1896 and 1898, White became deeply involved with the Young Naturalists' Society. He was an

"enthusiastic member," even serving briefly as its president and curator of ethnology close to the time he wrote his tobacco and pipe manuscript (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 1897, 1898). Referring to White's Alaska curio collection, Bill Holm (1983:11–12) wrote that White's connection with the Young Naturalists was significant: "The native cultures of the Northwest Coast were sparsely represented [in the society's collections] until the fortuitous association of the Society with Dr. James T. White." During White's cruises with the Revenue-Cutter Service, "he assembled a remarkable collection exceeding five hundred objects, mostly from the Arctic" (Holm 1983:11).

White gave his collection to the Young Naturalists' Society at some point in the 1890s. His original notes on his collection were lost when it was transferred to the museum, but when White visited Seattle in 1904 "he made a new but abbreviated catalog" (Holm 1983:12). A remaining fragment of his original notes "hints at richly detailed information recorded by the collector himself, rather than sketchy, secondhand, and often fanciful descriptions that accompanied so many collections at the turn of the century" (Holm 1983:12). White's descriptions of pipe construction in the following manuscript is an indication of the importance he gave to such "richly detailed information."

Exactly when in the 1890s White gave his collection to the Young Naturalists Society is unclear, particularly in relation to the date he wrote his manuscript (i.e., White 1898a). Describing his pipes, White refers to them by the numbers found in his 1904 "abbreviated catalog" of objects given to the University of Washington (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 1904/1912). The numbers in the manuscript, therefore, must correspond to White's earlier notes that accompanied the collection when it was first given to the Young Naturalists' Society.

Holm's estimate of the number of items in White's collection highlights a problem facing researchers working with early collections that have received little or no attention since being put in a museum. The estimate of "exceeding five hundred objects" is a reasonable attempt to come to grips with the exact number of objects held by the Burke Museum. However, if one cares to decipher White's accession list, it will be found that, on its surface, there are 493 items listed (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 1904/1912). This number is misleading. There are accession numbers that refer to more than one object: the item numbered 66 is actually "Seven blunt headed arrows"; number 124 is "Ten Masks"; number 150 is "18 Small Bird Snares"; number 251 is "Fourteen Ivory Carvings"; and number 452 is "Five Tobacco Bags." If such individual items are counted, the number of objects in White's collection reaches 745. To make counting more frustrating, there are accession numbers for which the description of the item simply uses the plural "s": "Ivory carvings" (nos. 248, 261, 314, 331), "slate knives" (no. 396), "implements, etc. from graves" (no. 436), and "small spears" (no. 435). Then there are occasions when the numbers that were reassigned to items after 1912 do not match an item's description: The item originally numbered 23, "Three Grotesque Masks used in dances," has only two reassigned numbers (693–694); original number 36, "Four Seal Spears," has five reassigned numbers (788–792); and, unfortunately for precision in describing White's pipe collection, the "Three Carved Slate Pipes" from the Queen Charlotte Islands, originally numbered 67, has four reassigned numbers. It becomes an unsolvable perplexity!

In July 1912, only four months after White's death, the California law firm of Parker & Parker wrote to University of Washington president Thomas F. Kane on behalf of his widow, Mary Parker White (yes, the law firm was her father and brother), requesting information about the curio collection. Kane passed the request on to museum curator Frank Stevens Hall and history professor Edmond S. Meany for response (Kane 1912).

Meany had been a founding member of the Young Naturalists' Society in 1879 and served as the society's secretary when it disbanded in 1904. He admitted that he had personally taken "the contents of the [society's] museum and library out to the University at its new location" when White's original catalog of specimens was "misplaced." Meany remembered well his "late friend, Dr. James T. White" and told Mary White that when he lived in Seattle in 1891, her husband had prepared a catalog of the Young Naturalists' Society's display cabinet, which contained objects collected between 1886 and 1891. When White visited the University of Washington in 1904, Meany "secured him employment for a short time by the University so that he could go over the collection to mark each specimen and to make a new catalog" (Meany 1912). That new catalog was the Burke Museum's accession list numbered 846, dated November 1904, which notes that the collection was the gift of Dr. White.

Professor Meany, President Kane, and Curator Hall all agreed that "the University desires to be scrupulously fair in settling this case entirely" to Mrs. White's satisfaction, but "we would of course like to have the specimens

remain where they have been so many years," particularly since "when the Doctor left at the end of his last visit he said…he wished that we would use the specimens and books as if thye [*sic*] were our own" (Meany 1912). While waiting for an answer from Mary White, the museum went ahead and added a second number (1912-159) to White's 1904 accession list (Hall 1916), although the list's original number (846) has also been used in Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act notices (*Federal Register* 2006) relating to repatriating cultural items White had collected.

Information on the source of the collection was also changed, the items credited as the "gift of Mrs. James T. White" (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 2017). In addition, individual items in the 1904 accession list were reassigned numbers, which explains why numbers that designate individual pipes described in White's manuscript differ from numbers assigned to the items when they are searched for on the museum's website today.

Living in Alaska at various times, I presented two papers on White's ethnographic work and curio collection at meetings of the Alaska Anthropological Association (Stein 1983, 2013). On both occasions, 30 years apart, I challenged Alaska anthropologists to look closely at White's material. I have chosen, finally, not to wait.

Editing someone else's work is never an easy task. I have, for the most part, let White speak for himself without worrying about whether he intended to maintain the paragraph arrangement of his manuscript in a final draft. I have, however, moved some of the obviously scattered material in his manuscript to sections where they seemed a better fit. There were also very few spelling errors in the manuscript that needed correction, although I have done so for clarity (e.g., he insisted on writing "ivery" rather than "ivory"). I have corrected verb tenses and some punctuation, as well as White's citations of sources. I have used endnotes to place White's manuscript in the context of what other authors, before and after him, wrote about tobacco use and pipe construction.

When White wrote his manuscript, he photographed each category of pipes he intended to write about. Then he made small sketches of the photographs (on the back of stationery from "Lethead & Cawley, Prescription Druggists" of Seattle) and assigned each pipe in the sketch the appropriate number from his earlier catalog in order to refer to each in his text (see example below). White also refers to six illustration figures in his manuscript, but only two of them have turned up in the White Papers at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. White had intended for a third figure to illustrate "a small, short-stemmed pipe [from Cape Blossom in Kotzebue Sound] that is sometimes seen and which resembles very much, in miniature, some Chinese pipes," and a fourth to show various-sized pipe bowls. Two unnumbered figures (appearing in White's text as "Fig __") would probably have referred readers to the sketches and photographs attached to the manuscript. I have renumbered White's two existing figures (while indicating the original numbers he assigned them) in order to accommodate additional figures I have added to the manuscript. It was easier to do that than try to juggle two separate series of figures.

A SIDE NOTE

Although White did not discuss the Siberian Chukchi pipes he collected, it is fairly obvious he intended to do so. Like his other pipe categories, White photographed and made a sketch of eight pipes collected at five points along the eastern Siberian coast and one from St. Lawrence Island (Fig. 3). He probably collected these in 1894, while once again on the cutter *Bear*. During that cruise, the missionary Sheldon Jackson was purchasing Siberian reindeer for transport to the Teller Reindeer Station. While White participated in all aspects of the deer transfer, he continued his collecting activities, this time on both the Siberia and Alaska coasts.

It is difficult to determine the age of these Chukchi (the St. Lawrence Island pipe is more likely Siberian Yupik) pipes. Bockstoce (2009:169) notes that the explorer Fyodor Petrovich Litke of the Russian Navy, visiting the Chukchi in 1828, described Chukchi pipes as wooden and "inlaid with lead or tin designs," such as the pipes White numbered 198-201 and 203 in Figure 3. Many are similar in design to those described and/or illustrated by Hooper (1853:187) and Dall (1870:810). A photograph of a similar "Siberian pipe" is in Hanson (2011:3).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

White's manuscript was ahead of its time, but just barely. Two major ethnological studies that included details much like White's about Alaska Native smoking habits and pipes would be published the year after White wrote his own analysis (i.e., McGuire 1899; Nelson 1899). These reports are longer than White's but cover essentially the same basic subjects. It is impossible to prove, of

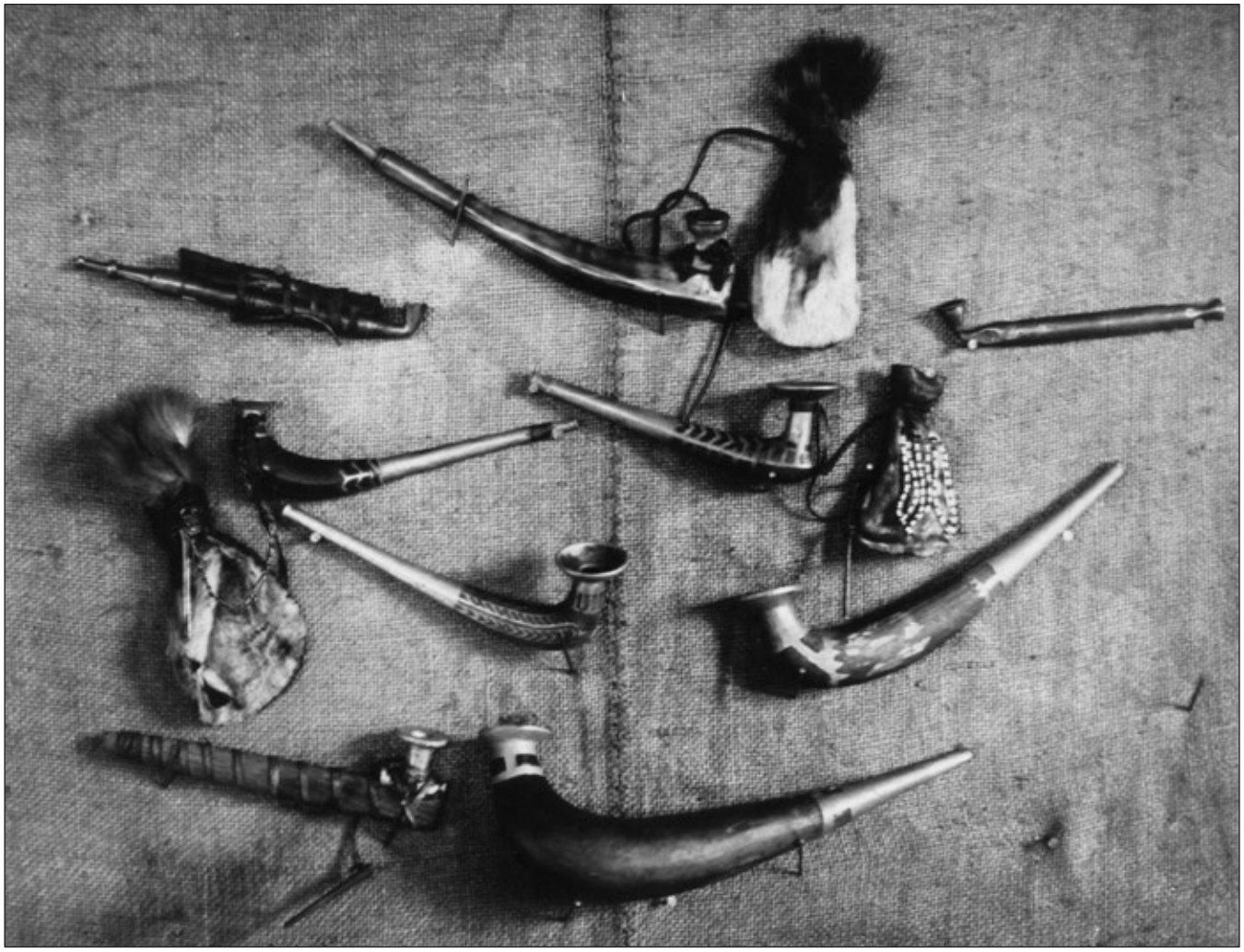

Figure 3. Siberian pipes (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks, No. 76-2-285). 207 = 465 Indian Point, Siberia; 200 = 469 Whalen, Siberia; 204 = 473 South Head, Siberia: 199 = 594 Whalen, Siberia; 205 = 602 Enurmino, Siberia; 206 = 600 St. Lawrence Island; 203 = (no reassigned number) South Head, Siberia; 198 = 467 East Cape, Siberia; 201 = 601 Indian Point, Siberia.

course, but perhaps White decided not to complete his manuscript because of the publication of Nelson's and McGuire's studies.

There are two parts to White's discussion. The first part, describing how Alaska Natives originally received tobacco and how tobacco was used, is based primarily on observations by earlier visitors to the Arctic—Frederick William Beechey, John Murdoch, and Henry D. Woolfe—supplemented by his personal observations cor-

roborating those accounts. This basic outline is confirmed by more modern researchers, probably best by Ray (1975, 1983) and Bockstoce (2009).

The second, more technical part of the manuscript is about pipe construction. All this information is based on White's own careful examination of pipes he had collected. In some examples he cites, it is possible that he disassembled the pipe he refers to in order to examine how it was made. In one case, however, White found a two-stick pipe (no. 210) in a Native grave at Point Hope. It had been taken apart, and he was able to examine its construction. It is unknown whether White reassembled the pipe himself after examining it, but it is complete in the photograph he took of his two-stick pipes.

A question arises when looking at White's collection as a whole: Had White not begun serving on revenue cutters again in 1900, what might he have worked on next? Was he intending to do more with certain objects or just leave them at the museum for someone else to study? White's 36 pipes comprise only a fraction of the objects now part of the Ethnology Collections at the Burke Museum, and the collection could have provided other options for study.

The model umiak White got the same day he obtained his first pipes at Port Clarence was certainly a possibility. Not quite as numerous as his Native pipes, 27 models of umiaks, kayaks, and canoes fill another niche in his collection at the Burke Museum (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 1904/1912). In fact, one of his Native boat models—"one of only 13 such models found in museum collections in the world"—recently became noteworthy. In 2015, the museum's curator of North American anthropology, Sven Haakanson, took White's model of an Alutiiq *angyaaq*, a type of boat the originals of which Russians had completely destroyed in the early nineteenth century, reverse engineered it, and not only created a full-size copy but brought model kits back to Kodiak Island so children in a kids' camp could learn how such culturally important watercraft were formerly built. It was "the first time Angyaaq of any kind were built on Kodiak since the 1850s" (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 2015). I have no doubt that my friend would be pleased.

NOTES

1. Quoting from White's manuscript, I have created what I think is a fitting title, as it is a common theme among those who have written about Native tobacco use.

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"THEY ARE INVETERATE USERS OF TOBACCO"

James Taylor White, MD (1898)
Edited and Annotated by Gary C. Stein

When tobacco was first introduced among the Alaska Eskimo is unknown, but it must have been at quite an early date, for the first white visitors to the Arctic coast found them using it. "The only narcotic in use among these people," says Prof. Murdoch, "is tobacco, which they obtain directly or indirectly from the whites, and which has been in use among them from the earliest times when we have any knowledge of them" [Murdoch 1892:65].[1]

Tobacco most probably found its way to these people across Bering Straits from Siberia [Murdoch 1892:65]. The Cossacks had, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, pushed their way across Siberia to the Pacific coast, and one expedition attempted to subdue the Chukchi in the far northeast but with rather disastrous results.[2] From this time on, Russians were constantly in Siberia, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the first tobacco brought into Arctic Alaska came indirectly from them rather than from the Spanish or English in the south, especially when we consider the close trade relations that have existed—and do still exist—between the Eskimo of Alaska and the Chukchi of Siberia by way of Bering Straits in the summer.[3]

Tobacco is today one of the staple articles of trade, as it was in Capt. Beechey's time, who found it then the most marketable article and trusted through its influence to gain their confidence and assistance [Beechey 1831, 1]. One can accomplish more with tobacco, unless it be rum, than with any other kind of trade goods, and for buying trinkets, curios, etc., tobacco will complete a trade when everything else will fail.[4]

They are inveterate users of tobacco in any form, and the stronger and blacker the better. The tobacco is of many kinds, both Russian and American, & when the stock is finished native substitutes are used. The pipes are so small that, like those of the Japanese, they may be smoked out with a few strong whiffs. The smoke is swallowed. The kind most easily disposed of among them is leaf tobacco and a pure leaf plug tobacco which is commercially known as "Navy Fives." They will not trade for a fine-cut nor a granulated tobacco, though they will smoke either if it is given to them, and the same may be said of cigars and cigarettes. Some of the boys used to beg cigarettes from us and appear to enjoy smoking them [Fig. 1], but they would not trade for them, and now and then a man would light a cigar, if given him, but when he supposed no one was watching, it would be placed in the little box where the chewed up quids are kept. A sweet, moist, plug tobacco is another kind that is not wanted, as it cannot be smoked very easily, and too, they do not seem to care for it for chewing. In fact they will not take in trade any form of tobacco they cannot dispose of to the interior natives and these latter have not yet been educated to using our modern brands.[5]

The habit of chewing may be said to be universal, as it is not confined to any age or sex, but all chew—men, women, and children. Even little babies, carried on their mothers back, will eat a piece of tobacco with apparent relish, and I have seen such a baby's eyes sparkle on getting a piece of tobacco as its more civilized cousins would on receiving a piece of candy. Although the children chew tobacco as much as do the grown people, it is seldom you see them smoking. Sometimes a half grown boy will have a white man's pipe given him, when he will proudly strut about with it in his mouth and bother every one around to have it filled. With tobacco as with many other of their customs, these Eskimo seem to have no especial time when the child adopts the habits and customs of the adult.[6]

In chewing, the tobacco is used unadulterated. The saliva is swallowed without any apparent injurious effect, and the masticated leaf is then usually saved and

Figure 1. Arctic Native children smoking cigarettes on board ship (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks, No. 76-2-258).

dried for use in their pipes, for not a particle of tobacco is wasted. Even the cleanings from the pipes are consumed [Murdoch 1892], though this apparently depraved taste is not confined to these people, but I have seen Portuguese laborers in this country do the same. A common way of reserving a partially masticated "quid" for future use, is to stick it behind the ear, where it is held in place by their fringe of long hair, and when the substance has all been chewed out of the tobacco it is put away to dry in small wooden boxes, carried about for that purpose.[7]

For snuff, the leaf tobacco is rubbed into a fine powder and is carried in a tube made from the wing bone of a goose, or sometimes in a small wood or ivory box. H. D. Woolfe says the inland and Kotzebue Sound natives mix with the powdered leaf the charred fungi from the spruce tree [Woolfe 1893:146].[8] Snuff is not very generally used along the coast, but the great demand for leaf tobacco is for trade with the interior natives, among whom, I am told, snuffing is quite common.[9]

For smoking, the tobacco is cut up quite fine and now that it has become quite plentiful is usually smoked unadulterated, but I was told that even now many of the natives add the dried bark of the vine willow. Murdoch [1892:69] says the Eskimo at Point Barrow mix their smoking tobacco "about two parts of tobacco to one of wood" finely cut up, and Woolfe says the inland and Kotzebue Sound tribes mix their tobacco "with fine grains of shredded willow pith" [Woolfe 1893:146]. Whether this is simply an old custom handed down from the times when tobacco was scarce, or whether it is done from matters of taste, I could not find out. It certainly gives the tobacco a very rank and disagreeable odor.

An excellent description of their method of smoking is given by Capt. Beechey in an account of "a smoking

party in which the women and children partook equally with the men," as witnessed at Kotzebue Sound. The pipe used on this occasion was small and would contain no more tobacco than could be consumed at a whiff. To these instruments there were attached a pricker[10] and a strip of dog skin from the last of which they tore off a few hairs and placed them at the bottom of the bowl of the pipe to prevent the tobacco, which was chopped up very fine, being drawn into the mouth with the smoke:

> The tobacco which they used had pieces of wood cut up fine with it, a custom which is no doubt derived from the Tschutschi, who use the bark of the birch tree in this manner and imagine it improves the quality of the herb. The pipe being charged with about a pinch of this material, the senior person present took a whiff and passed the empty pipe to the next who replenished it and passed it on, each person in his turn inflating himself to the fullest extent and gradually dissipating the fumes through the nostrils. The pungency of the smoke and the time necessary to hold the breath occasioned considerable coughing with some of the party, but they nevertheless appeared greatly to enjoy the feast. [Beechey 1831, 1:411–412][11]

The custom of having smoking parties, or of passing one pipe from one to another, I never witnessed nor did I hear of it being done at this day. All the men whom we met, and the women too for that matter, had their own individual pipes.[12]

Smoking tobacco is carried in a skin pouch or bag which is tucked under the belt or inside the parka, this latter being quite a favorite place for carrying a good many things. These bags are often quite fancifully decorated with variously colored fur and tassels, or sometimes with beads.[13]

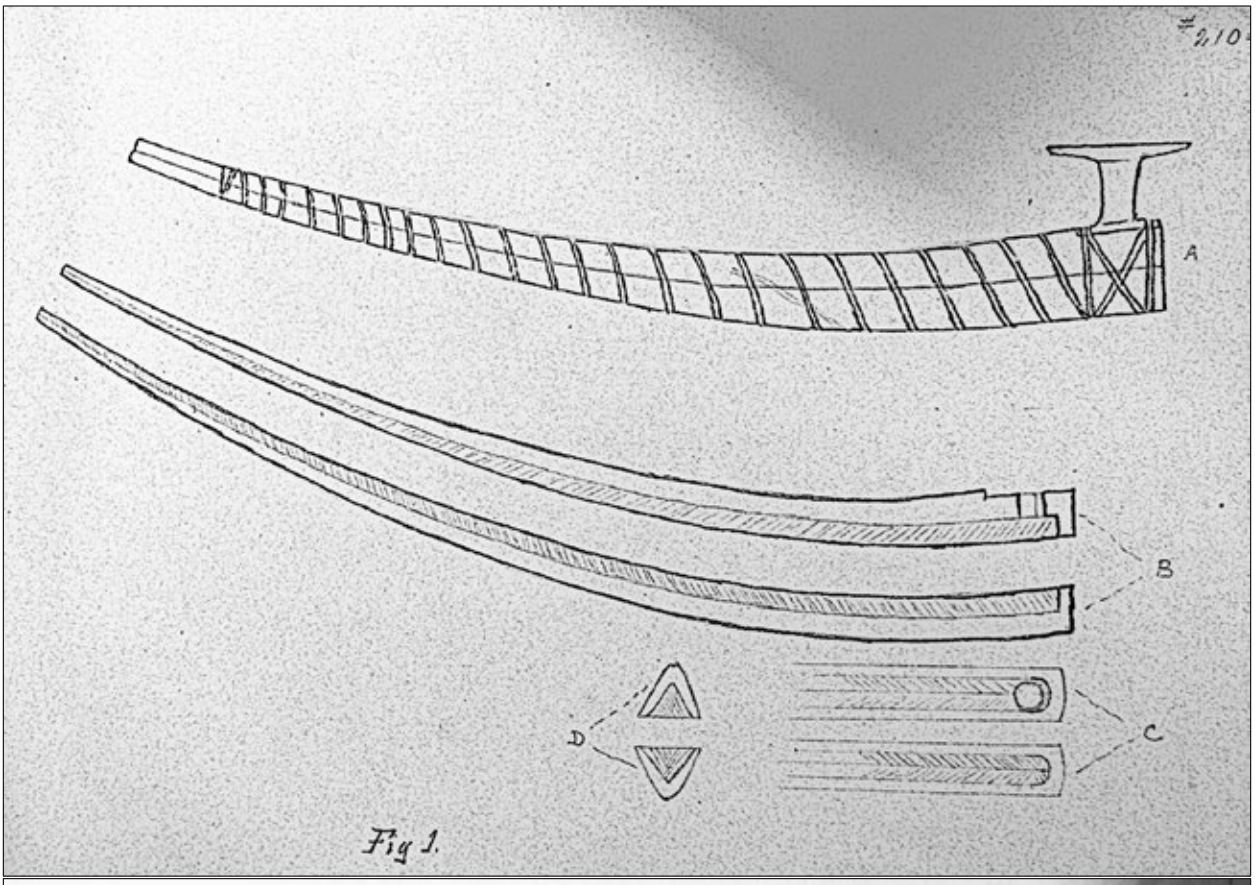
The Eskimo's pipe is totally unlike the whiteman's pipe, and his method of smoking is different from ours. We fill a large wood or meerschaum bowl full of tobacco and smoke for half an hour for the pleasure of smoking; an Eskimo smokes for the effect the tobacco produces, emptying his pipe in three or four deep inhalations. These pipes hold only a pinch or two of tobacco, resembling in this the Japanese pipes, and too, their method of smoking is similar, though the Japanese smoke only a little at a time but very often; they do not inhale the smoke so deeply nor so continuously as do the Eskimo. These pipes are all similar in shape, though they vary in size and in the amount of curve given to the stem.[14]

As a rule, the man's pipe is short and heavy and with a comparatively small bowl, and the woman's pipe is longer, more slender, and the bowl has a very wide flange about it, often two inches or more across, though I have one woman's pipe from Cape Smyth, the bowl of which has no flange at all. The stems are usually of drift wood common to that region as pine, birch, and cotton wood, but some are found made of oak, Spanish cedar, or walnut obtained from the [whaling] ships.[15]

The pipes, according to the way they are made, may be divided into two varieties in styles, one made of two pieces of wood and the other from a single piece. The first are made of two pieces of wood cut in the form of a prism, more or less curved, and tapering from the butt towards the mouthpiece. These two pieces are cut to fit snugly together and are held in place by a lashing of thong [Fig. 2A (White's Fig. 1A)]. On the inner surface a V-shaped groove is cut [Fig. 2B, C, D (White's Fig. 1B, C, D)] so that when the two pieces are placed together a continuous hole is made. The bowl is fitted to a flattened surface at the large end and is held in place by the same thong that holds the two sticks together, and sometimes an ivory mouthpiece is added. To clean the pipe the lashing is removed and the two sticks separated.[16]

[Fig. 2 (White's Fig. 1) and Fig. 3] shows a pipe of this variety and is a typical pipe as used by the women of Arctic Alaska (#210). It was found in a grave at Point Hope, the bowl under the head and the thong and the sticks on the ground. Usually these people destroy all articles placed with the dead and I have often found pipes too badly broken to be of any use, but this one had only been taken apart.[17]

The stem is made of two pieces of some rather hard wood, 16¼ inches long, and lashed together with seal thong. The bowl is of copper, 1⅝ inches high, and has a saucer-shaped flange, 2½ inches wide, around the top. The bowl proper appears to have been cast and then worked into shape with a file, the little irregularities being filled in with lead. The flange was evidently cut from a piece of sheet copper and hammered into shape. Both the flange and the base piece were brazed with the bowl. The pricker is a piece of copper wire and is fastened to the stem by a strip of seal thong. Another pipe of this variety, also used by a woman, came from Cape Smyth (#369 [see pipe in Fig. 3]) and is longer and narrower than most of them. The stem is made of two pieces of pine 18 inches long, not as much curved as usual, and lashed together with a narrow strip of seal thong. The bowl is one piece of lead about an inch high and, unlike most of these pipes, has no wide flange around the top but simply flares out a



A two-stick pipe

Fig 1. A pipe from Point Hope, one-half the actual size.

A shows the pipe in outline as it is when ready for use.

B. shows the two sticks separated, upper and lower. The shaded portion shows when the V shaped groove is cut.

C. shows the inner surface of both sticks at the butt end. The shaded part represents the groove.

D. is a section of both sticks showing size of the V shaped groove.

Figure 2. Two-stick pipe construction (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks. Photographed by Gary Stein).

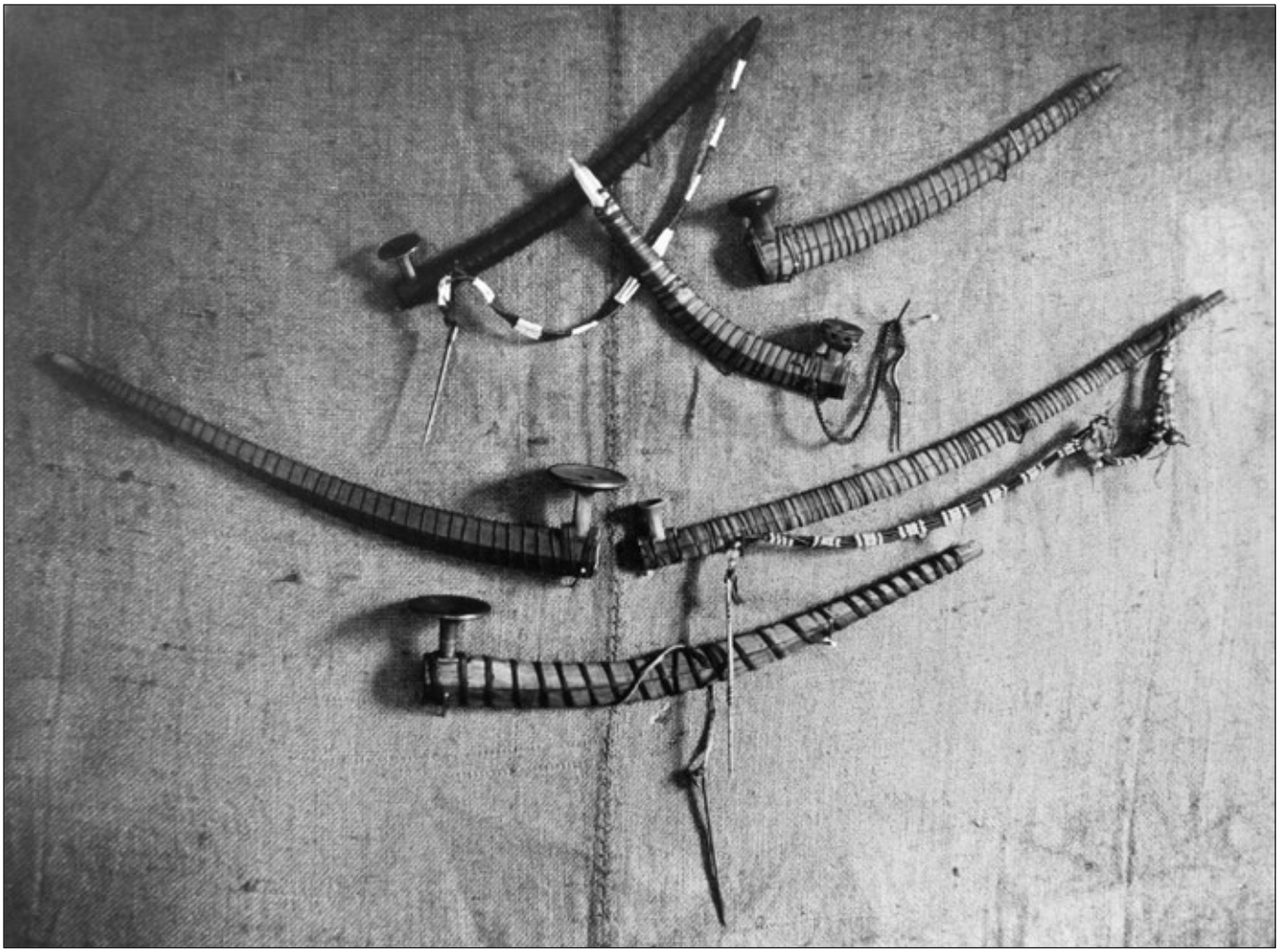


Figure 3. Two-stick pipes (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks, No. 76-2-287). 59 = 595 Arctic Alaska (JTW Port Clarence); 369 = 474 Cape Smyth; 60 = 593 Arctic Alaska (JTW Port Clarence); 210 = 599 Point Hope; 368 = 429 Kotzebue Sound.

little (to about ¾ inch), offering enough surface to hold the tobacco. The pricker is a piece of steel, remodeled by a file that probably came from some ship carpenter's shop. This is attached to the stem by a band of red, white, and blue beads, 15 inches long.

The pipes used by the men are smaller than those described above. One from Port Clarence (#60 [Fig. 3]) is evidently made from a piece of root 10½ inches long and sharply curved. The bowl, 1½ inches high, is of lead with a brass flange over the top 1¼ wide, and around the bowl, cage like, is an open work design of lead.

Another pipe from Port Clarence (#59 [Fig. 3]) and made of pine, has a stem 11½ inches long, almost straight. The bowl is of a drab-colored soapstone 1½ inches high and the same across the flange.

The second variety is made of a single stick in much the same shape as the first but with the corners rounded off [Fig. 4 (White's Fig. 2)]. The hole through the center of the stick is drilled from either end, coming out about the middle on the under side. Where the drill makes its exit, a movable trap is placed to facilitate the cleaning of the pipe. The bowl is fastened on the large end by a strip of thong or plaited sinew. To this variety is usually attached a mouthpiece of ivory or stone. The stems vary in size and length from 8 to 14 inches, and while some are decidedly curved, others are almost straight.[18]

These single-stick pipes vary even more than do the others. One from Kotzebue Sound (#366 [Fig. 5]) is made of pine, 12 inches long. The plug in the butt is an empty cartridge shell, and the mouthpiece is ivory. The bowl, lashed on with a heavy strip of thong, is made of a drab-colored soapstone. The pricker is a piece of copper hammered into some fancy design and attached to the stem by a small iron chain. To the stem is also attached a strip of skin which may have been used for the purpose Beechey [1831, 1:411] describes to supply the hair that is first placed in the bowl before smoking. This pipe shows considerable age and wear.

Another pipe of this kind from Port Clarence (#209 [Fig. 5]) is almost new, has an ivory mouthpiece and a lead bowl that was evidently cast and then finished with a knife.

One pipe from Point Hope (#367 [Fig. 5]) has the stem and bowl made from a single piece of walnut. The stem is quite slender and but slightly curved, and there is no trap on the under side. The bowl, without a flange, is lined with brass and the top is covered with the butt of a shotgun cartridge.

The only variations from these curved pipes is a small, short-stemmed pipe that is sometimes seen and which resembles very much, in miniature, some Chinese pipes. One of these small pipes from Cape Blossom, Kotzebue Sound, has a straight stem of oak, 8¼ inches long, with a small brass ferrule for a mouthpiece. The bowl is neatly made of copper lined with lead and shows a great deal of taste and skill in its manufacture.

A pipe of rather unusual make was obtained at Point Hope [unnumbered pipe, Fig. 5]. It is made of a copper tube, of native manufacture, 13½ inches long, but in the desired shape, and widened at one end to form the bowl. On this wide end is brazed a heavy copper flange.[19]

Many very fine pipes are made of walrus ivory, but they are seldom, if ever, used for smoking. They are made in the same shape as are the single stick pipes, but being less curved the hole is bored straight through them. Some are quite large and heavy, being made of a whole tusk, and are either decorated with figures carved in relief or with pictures and designs etched on. These pipes may have originally been used for smoking, but are now only made to trade with the whites and usually a high value is placed on them [Fig. 6].[20]

The bowls of the pipes vary in size and are made of a variety of substances. Nearly all are now made of some metal, lead and copper being most commonly used, and sometimes iron and brass, but pipes with bowls of stone, ivory, wood, or deer horn [Murdoch 1892:66–67] are still used. They are all similar in shape, and some are quite fancifully decorated with inlaid work and often show considerable skill and ingenuity in their manufacture.[21]

The pipes are usually carried stuck in the belt or in a sheath attached to the belt but sometimes are suspended by a cord around the neck, inside the parka. In smoking, a little reindeer hair, plucked from the sleeve of their parka, is first placed on the bottom of the bowl to keep the fine tobacco from being drawn into the stem, and then a few pinches of tobacco are placed on top of this and ignited. Now nearly all of these people have matches, but it is not uncommon to see them use a "flint and steel" for lighting their pipes. In this case the "steel" is a good sized piece of pyrites. The four or five puffs are then inhaled, one after the other, until all of the tobacco is burned and before any of the smoke is allowed to escape from the mouth. Then it is gradually blown out through both the mouth and nose. The usual ending is a violent fit of coughing and often a half-dazed condition lasting two or three minutes.

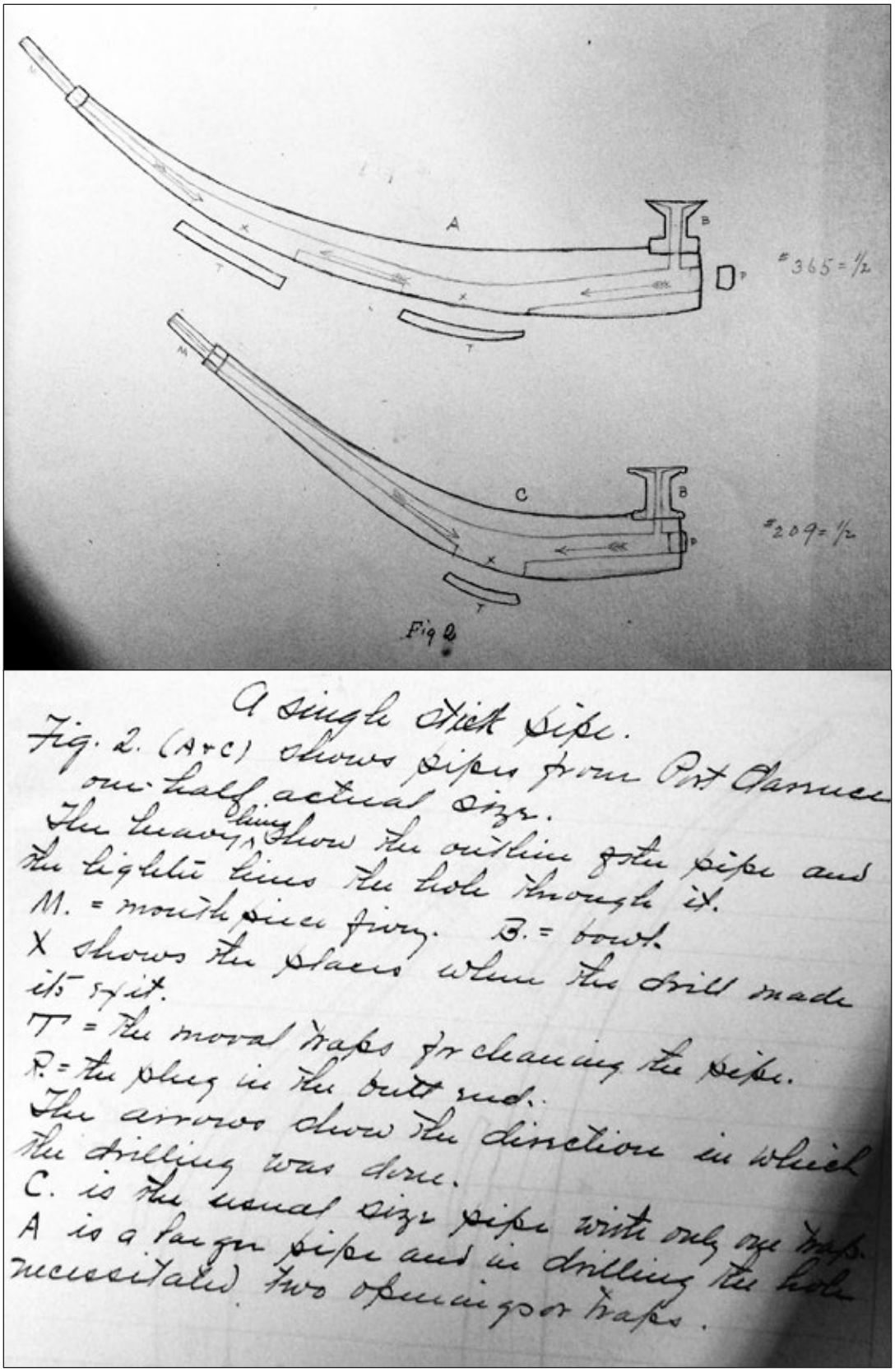
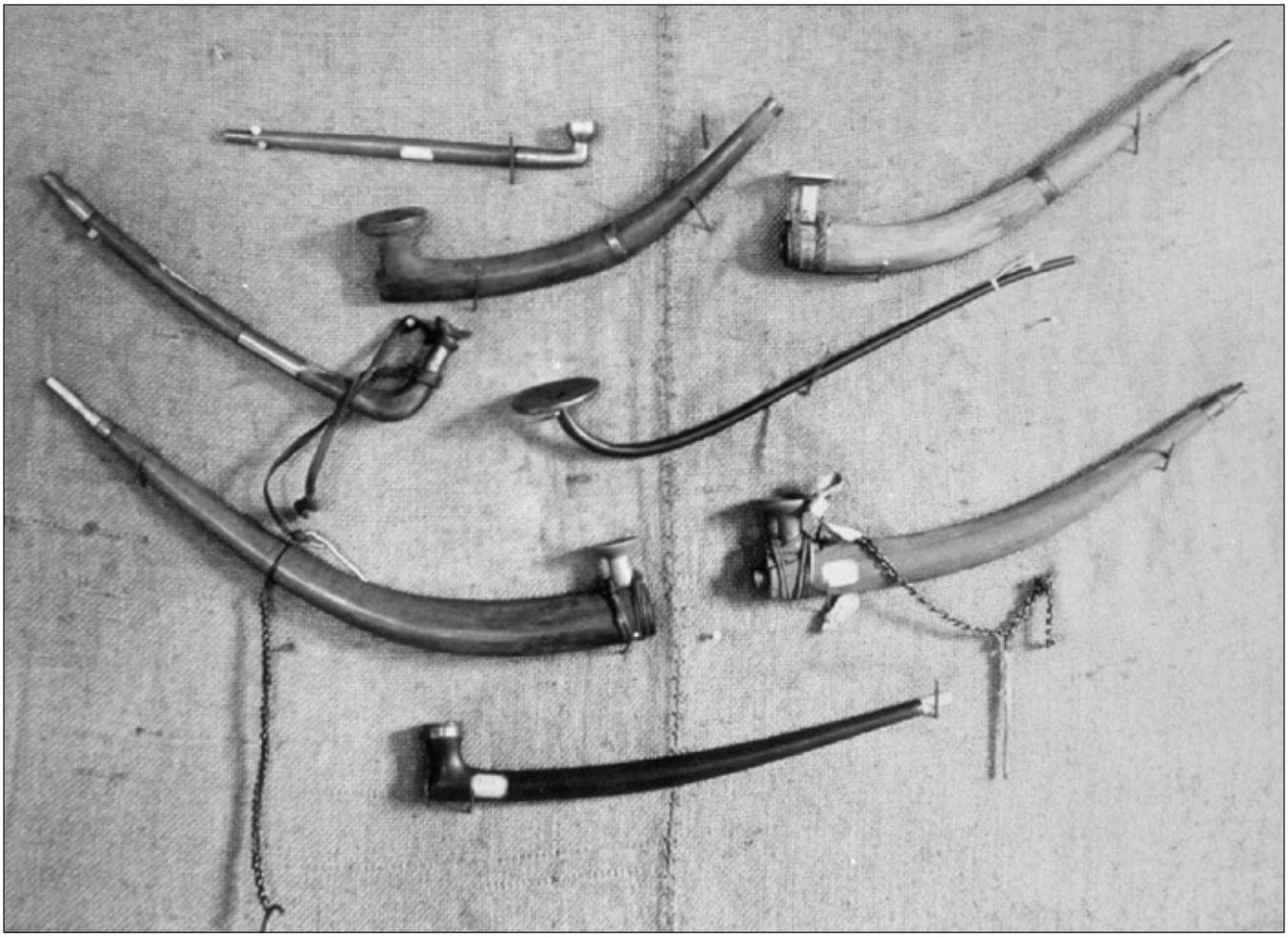


Figure 4. Single-stick pipe construction (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks. Photographed by Gary Stein).



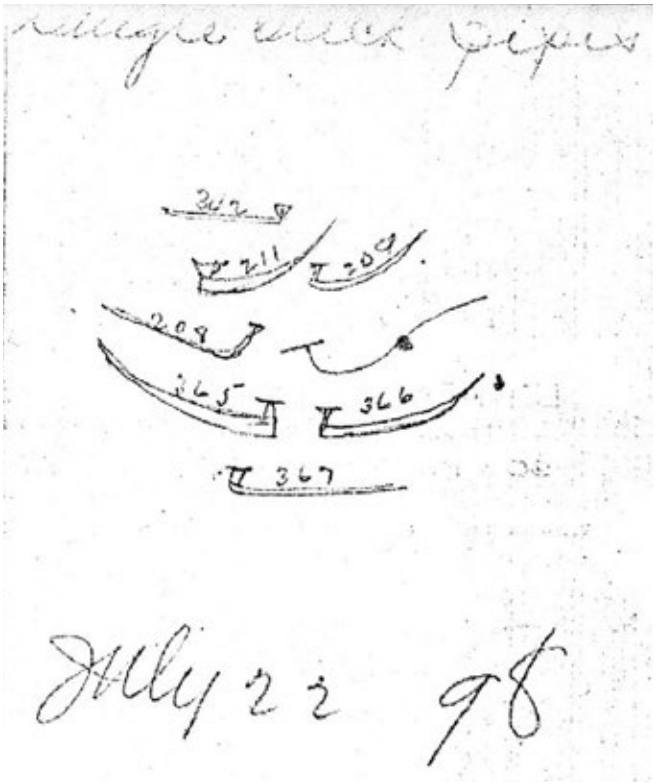
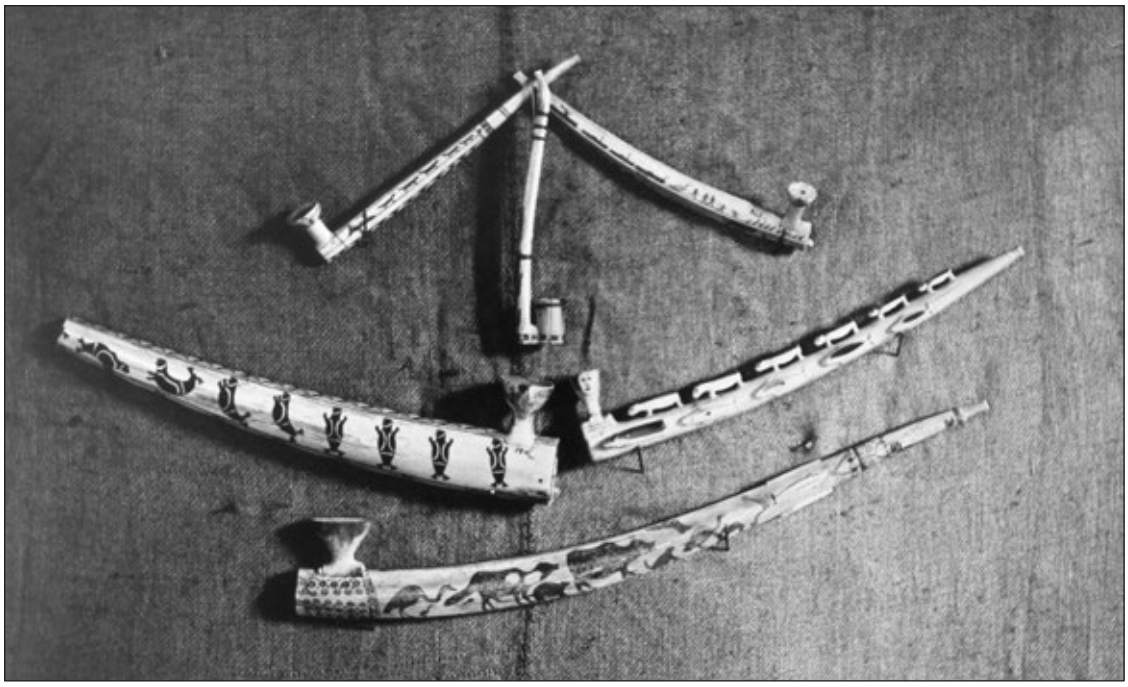


Figure 5. Single-stick pipes (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks. No. 76-2-286). 342 = 603 Kotzebue Sound; 365 = 468 Port Clarence; 211 = 599 [?] Point Hope; 366 = 596 Port Clarence; 209 = 598 Port Clarence; 367 = 597 Point Hope; 208 = 592 Kotzebue Sound [unnumbered pipe] = 470 Siberian Arctic (or Point Hope).



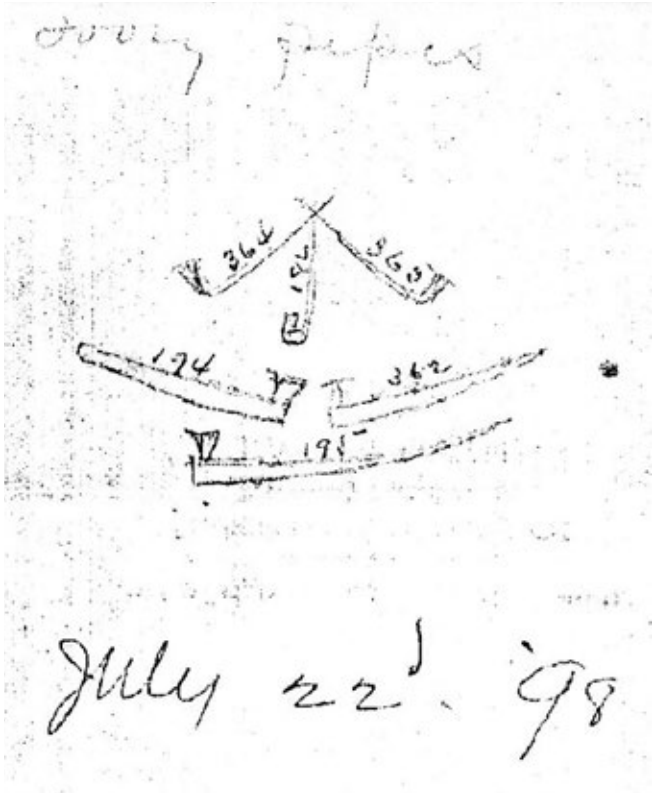


Figure 6. Ivory pipes (John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865–1913, USUAF339, Box 3, Folder 31, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections and Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks, No. 76-2-288). 364 = Port Clarence; 194 = 591 Indian Point, Siberia; 363 = Port Clarence; 195 = 471 Port Clarence; 186 = Port Clarence; 362 = Port Clarence.

NOTES

1. John Murdoch served as naturalist and ethnologist of the expedition led by First Lieutenant Patrick Henry Ray, 8th Infantry, U.S. Army, to establish a permanent station to collect meteorological, astronomical, tidal, and ethnologic data at Point Barrow between 1881 and 1883 as the United States' contribution to the First International Polar Year. His report was not published until almost 10 years after the expedition.
2. In writing of "the Chukchi and Koryak Wars," John Bockstoce (2009:87–92) noted that while Russians expanding eastward across Siberia were successful in subjugating most Native groups in their path, "when they penetrated northeasternmost Asia, they encountered native groups that were increasingly difficult to subdue." The expedition White refers to as ending in "disastrous results" was probably that of Cossack commander Afanasy Shestakov, defeated by the Chukchi in 1730. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Chukchi recognized that "there were, in fact, advantages in trading with the Russians" (Bockstoce 2009:90).
3. Ray and Bockstoce have written extensively about the importance of tobacco in the trade connections between Eskimos of the Northwestern Alaska Arctic and Siberian Chukchi, and their studies complement each other. Ray (1983:83) linked Arctic Natives' desire for using tobacco with the tobacco

trade and the importance of those who traded it: "Every man and woman in Alaska yearned for a puff of tobacco, and when the organized market . . . [in Siberia] began providing tobacco with regularity, the safety of its bearers was paramount." Ray (1964:63) was also predominantly interested in how the trade influenced the migration of Native groups from the north into and south of Seward Peninsula.

Bockstoce (2009) also wrote about Natives' penchant for tobacco and migration of Native groups, but he takes a broader view of the extent and prominence of the tobacco trade as part of the wider topic of the fur trade between Alaska and Siberia. He also discusses the changing value of Russian tobacco in relation to furs and the consistent attempts by the Russian-American Company to become the middleman in the cross–Bering Strait trade. Its lack of total success in that effort is why White was able to say in 1898 that the old trade relations between Asiatic and Northern Arctic Natives "do still exist."

White was skeptical that tobacco arrived in Alaska from the Spanish and English. Bockstoce (2009:87), however, notes how some tobacco grown in the Americas indeed reached the cross–Bering Strait trade from Spanish and American sources when "tobacco was carried west across the Pacific from Mexico to the Philippines, then via the Portuguese to Macau and from there onward, through many hands, to eastern Siberia" and then across Bering Strait.

Lieutenant Lavrentiy Zagoskin explored the Kuskokwim and Yukon rivers for the Russian-American Company in the early 1840s to determine better trade routes and locations for Russian trading posts, an effort that was intended to make Russians—rather than Natives—the middlemen in the fur trade between the coast and interior Alaska. Zagoskin certainly wrote about the trade in tobacco from Siberia for Alaskan furs, but he also noted how important tobacco and smoking accoutrements were as payment to Native guides, gifts to ease communications between his party and the Natives they encountered, and the trade of tobacco for needed food (e.g., Zagoskin 1967:134, 163, 205, 234, 238).

4. Frederick William Beechey, captain of HMS *Blossom*, spent the summers of 1826 and 1827 along the Arctic Coast, hoping to fulfill his orders from the British Admiralty to connect with an expedition led by Sir John Franklin coming westward from the Mackenzie River. As an example of tobacco's importance to Alaska Natives, while the *Blossom* was at Icy Cape Beechey "bought four hundred pounds of caribou meat for four pounds of tobacco" (Beechey 1831, 1:373). Beechey's experience would be repeated over and over again by explorers in the Arctic. Bockstoce (2009:253), for example, quotes the assertion by British naval lieutenant Philip Sharpe (on board HMS *Rattlesnake* in 1853) that among the Natives gathered to trade at Port Clarence "TAWAK was loudly demanded on all sides, it formed in fact the great circulating medium." Thirteen years later, William Healy Dall was in Alaska at the very end of Russia's possession of its colony, and on the Yukon River he noted that while other trade goods might be "useful," among the Natives he encountered "tobacco and ammunition are the great staples" (Dall 1870:78). A more recent work notes that it was "the allure of the plant and the metal" (tobacco and iron goods) obtained from Siberia that fostered Alaska Natives' participation in the cross–Bering Strait trade (Litecky 2011:69).

   White's reference to the importance of rum as a trade item is significant in terms of changes coming to the Arctic. By the time White entered the Arctic, whaling vessels had been north of Bering Strait hunting bowhead whales for more than 40 years, and rum became an important trade item, particularly in trade for baleen, commonly known as "whalebone." In his manuscript on "Native Intoxicants," White (1898) wrote that, in terms of alcoholic beverages, "the natives of Alaska have been particularly unfortunate in their intercourse with the whites, more so than the natives of any other part of the coast." The description in Bockstoce (2009:265, 276) of a Chukchi drunken spree in 1851 after receiving rum brought by whalers is so similar to descriptions of how Natives around Bering Strait became intoxicated when smoking tobacco that a study comparing the results of the addictive qualities of both substances among these Natives would be useful.

5. Much of White's discussion of the types of tobacco used by Alaska Natives is based on Murdoch's 1892 ethnological report, but because White's first encounter with the region was only six years after the Point Barrow expedition of which Murdoch was a part, it is likely that his own observations confirmed Murdoch's.

   "Navy Fives" is still a common term used when discussing pipe tobacco, based on the practice "in

colonial days" when "sailors twisted tobacco into a roll and tied it tightly. . . . In time, all twisted tobacco, and later pressed tobacco, became known as 'navy,' because it was convenient for sailors and outdoorsmen, due to its compact size and long-lasting, slow-burning qualities" (Arno665 2013; Maven's Choice 1999; Tate 2011).

Bockstoce (2009:220, 223) notes that while Russian tobacco was traded eastward along the Arctic coast by 1826, by 1849 "twist" tobacco was moving westward down the Yukon from the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Yukon via Gwich'in middlemen, 15 years before Hudson's Bay Company traders themselves came down the river.

"Twist" tobacco was often differentiated from other forms of tobacco—both the early leaf tobacco as well as later "plug" or "pressed" tobacco, which consisted of layers of tobacco leaves compressed into a block (Tate 2011). For example, during his 1891 cruise on the Revenue Cutter *Bear* to purchase Siberian reindeer for transport to Alaska, missionary Sheldon Jackson included tobacco among his "barter goods for the purchase of Reindeer" (Jackson 1953a:4). Toward the end of his cruise, "not wanting to carry over any trading goods," he consigned "2 casks (40 lbs) Twist tobacco" worth $18 and "3 Boxes (120 lbs) Plug tobacco" worth $51 to schoolteacher W. T. Lopp at Cape Prince of Wales (Jackson 1953b:92). As partial payment for their services, Jackson gave his Siberian interpreters three pounds of the slightly more expensive twist tobacco (Jackson 1953b:101).

The "sweet, moist, plug tobacco" that White said the Natives were not fond of often had "flavorings like rum, fruits, and spices" added to it (Arno665 2013).

It is likely that twist and plug tobacco became more popular because they were easily traded to Alaska Natives from whaling ships that came to the Arctic seasonally after 1848, and by the 1880s were traded to the Natives at shore-based whaling stations (Bockstoce 2009:346, 385). At least by the 1870s, "tobacco developed as the whaler's most lucrative medium of trade," and by the 1880s, after San Francisco became the headquarters of the whaling industry, "since it [tobacco] was grown in the United States it could be easily transported to San Francisco and inexpensively brought to the Arctic" (Walkerman 2005:6, 65).

Murdoch (1892:66) also noted that while he was at Cape Smyth "a little of the strong yellow 'Circassian' tobacco used by the Russians for trading . . . is very highly prized, probably because it was in this form that they first saw tobacco." Nelson (1899:228–229) wrote that "old men" of the Bering Strait region told him "that the use of tobacco was introduced among them before they were brought into direct contact with white men, by means of trade with their Asiatic neighbors, who brought across Bering Strait small bundles . . . of Circassian leaf tobacco."

Circassia is a region in the northern Caucasus and along the northeast shore of the Black Sea, almost 5,000 miles west of Bering Strait. Russian traders carried tobacco grown there to trade fairs, such as the Ostrovnoe rendezvous on the Maly Aniui River. At the trade fairs, Circassian tobacco—leaf tobacco tied in bundles called "hands"—would be traded to Chukchi who had come from the eastern Siberian coast 800 miles away. In turn, the Chukchi traded this favored type of tobacco to Alaska's Natives. In 1764, when Russian-Chukchi explorer Nikolai Daurkin crossed from the Siberian peninsula to Big Diomede Island, he found that he could trade the 108 pounds of tobacco he carried for considerable profit in furs. As Bockstoce (2009:76) writes, "A comparison with the amount of furs received in trade for tobacco in later years makes clear that tobacco at that date was without doubt a scarce and highly desired commodity at Bering Strait."

When Russian explorer V. S. Khromchenko (VanStone 1973:70) stopped at Stuart Island in Norton Sound in July 1822, he noted that Natives from the island and the nearby mainland came to his ship to trade "beaver, fox, and otter skins for iron knives, kettles, pewter pipes, and Cherkass tobacco." Bockstoce (2009:144) quotes the *Blossom*'s admiralty mate, James Wolfe, regarding the St. Lawrence Island Natives in the mid-1820s: "The first word they uttered was 'tobacco' . . . but they would only take that weed in the leaf." It continued to be popular among the Eskimos, although some explorers considered it "of a very inferior nature" (Hooper 1853:186).

In the mid-1860s, Dall (1870:78) noted that Circassian tobacco, "imported only by the Russians," was still "the prime favorite where the Russians trade; but those [Natives] who deal more with the English at Fort Yukon like the long natural Kentucky leaf best."

Dall did have one criticism of Circassian tobacco, noting that its effect "on the lungs is extremely bad, and among those tribes who use it many die from asthma and congestion of the lungs" (Dall 1870:78, 81).

It is somewhat ironic that Circassian tobacco became the most sought-after product on the Alaska coast. Hanson (2011:1–4) learned from a Russian source that this tobacco plant was *Nicotiana rustica*, "the same species of tobacco that was raised in the eastern half of North America in prehistoric times." Planters in Jamestown, Virginia, cultivated it and exported it to Europe until 1620. When smokers found it "too harsh and 'hot' or biting," it was replaced that year by a milder South American variety that became a more commercially viable crop.

6. White learned some of this information as early as the *Bear*'s cruise of 1889, even before he purchased his first Native pipe. That summer, the cutter was carrying north materials to build the Point Barrow Refuge Station, which Congress had authorized the previous spring. Along with the supplies came Captain Gilbert Borden, a retired whaling master, whom the Treasury Department appointed superintendent of the station (Bockstoce 1979:153). White recorded in his cruise diary conversations he had with Borden about Arctic Natives, although Borden was better acquainted with Natives of the eastern, rather than the western, Arctic. In his June 16, 1889, diary entry White (1889) wrote:

> I forgot to write down a little yarn by Capt. Borden on the Baffin Bay Esquimo: "The women carry their babies in a bag or hood hung on their backs. When the time comes, the child is taken from this hood, weaned, dressed, and married, though he is not allowed to be with its bride or 'child wife' until he has killed his first deer, nor is he up to this time allowed to use tobacco, though the girl may smoke or chew as early as she may wish which is usually quite early." It struck me that some of the girls in our country might like this custom. On the other hand, the babies on the Behring Sea are fed tobacco almost before they are fed anything else.

In a separate note attached to his manuscript, White wrote that "even the women and children smoke and chew, and they begin to do so at so tender an age that we have seen a child, who could indeed walk, but still suckled his mother, both chew tobacco, smoke, and take a 'dram.'" Glen Sherman (1972:49) quotes Anglican priest Charles E. Whittaker's observation that this custom persisted among Eskimos of the Mackenzie River Delta into the twentieth century: "Niki, a woman of the delta Eskimo, was nursing her son of twenty months or two years, and enjoying her smoke meantime. The youngster dropped the breast, took possession of his mother's pipe for a few draws, then returned to his food supply. No one accounted it as strange or hurtful."

7. Reporting his explorations of 1842–1844, Zagoskin (1967:210, 218) noted that the coastal Natives living between the mouths of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers used small "fossil animal bones" to carve tobacco boxes "and other household ornaments," and that Natives on the Yukon were "remarkable for their carvings on various fantastically designed tobacco boxes . . . and other bone and wood articles." Ray (1981:31–32), writing about "wooden tool and work boxes," similarly noted that "tobacco boxes were not made until the tobacco trade began across the Bering Strait at the end of the eighteenth century, or with the Russian-American Company after their Bering Sea posts were established. . . . The high regard in which tobacco . . . was held seems obvious in the care lavished on the containers made to hold snuff or quids of tobacco."
8. Henry D. Woolfe was a correspondent for the *New York Herald* when he accompanied Norwegian explorer Johan Adrian Jacobsen's 1882–1883 expedition to Northwest Alaska to collect ethnographic artifacts for the Royal Ethnological Museum of Berlin. When White met him in 1889, Woolfe had just been assigned to the Pacific Steam Whaling Company's shore-based whaling station near Point Barrow. Woolfe had had eight years' experience in the Arctic and wrote the ethnographic report on Arctic Eskimos for the 1890 census. Woolfe's assertion that Alaska Natives used a fungus from spruce trees to mix with their tobacco was incorrect. Other writers correctly observed that the fungus used came from birch trees (e.g., Dall 1870:81; McGuire 1899:594).
9. White was correct that snuff was not as popular as smoking along Alaska's northwest Arctic coast, but this was not true for Natives in Southwest Alaska. While at Hagemeister Island in Bristol Bay in May 1822, Russian explorer V. S. Khromchenko (VanStone 1973:48–49) noted that Eskimos who visited his ship "prefer snuff above all else and use a prodigious amount of it." When other Eskimos visited the ship as

it was sailing along the island's coast, Khromchenko (VanStone 1973:50) wrote, "You cannot imagine how much and with what pleasure the Americans [Natives] . . . sniffed ground tobacco. They preferred it even to the necessities of life."

Illustrations of snuff boxes collected in the Lower Yukon region in the early 1840s are in Zagoskin (1967:216–217). Snuff "tubes" that were "in general use from the Kuskokwim northward to Kotzebue Sound" are described and illustrated in Nelson (1899:275).

10. Although White uses the term "pricker" to describe the implement used to clean out pipe bowls, most authors writing about Native Alaska pipes used the term "picker."
11. In writing of the Eskimo desire for tobacco—"fondness" was a commonly used term—Ray (1977:32) noted that "in the early days of the tobacco trade across the Bering Strait, the supply of tobacco was limited, so the smoker had to make the most of the tiny amount of tobacco in the small pipe bowls. He did this by swallowing as much smoke as possible in one inhalation and holding it until he became unconscious, recovering in about fifteen minutes." Almost all visitors to the Arctic on both sides of the Bering Strait from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries described Eskimo smoking in the same way.

    The mixing of wood with tobacco was almost certainly derived from Chukchi practices. British naval lieutenant William Hooper (1853:174–176) wrote how, because of "the scanty quantity" of tobacco available to them, the Chukchi had developed an elaborate method of providing wood for the mixture, "showing in a remarkable degree how the savage, whose share of life's supplies is limited, economises and turns to account every scrap which falls in his way."

    > A small knife, with a bent blade and a handle generally made of the tip of a deer's horn, is in great use among them and . . . with it they thin down sticks to the required size for whip-handles or walking-staves, and it is this operation which provides wood to mix with the tobacco. No chips are hacked off, that would be useless waste. With the fore finger on the back of his queer little knife, the operator runs from one extreme to the other of the stick, in a rapid succession of strokes, detaching each time a gossamer twisted shred, of the same unbroken length as the stick. It is wonderful to see the regularity with which string after string of woody fibre is separated, and the skill and patience . . . employed to reduce the wand to its required proportions. When finished, it leaves the hand of the operator as smoothly rounded and nicely tapered as if produced by the lathe. The shreds are collected in a bundle, cut and recut across and across, until sufficiently fine, when they are mixed with the tobacco in proportions varying with the quantity of the latter in stock, but generally, I believe, about one third part of wood is used. (Hooper 1853:175–176)

12. Compare this statement to Beechey (1831, 2:304), who observed seven years earlier that "parties assemble to enjoy the fumes of this narcotic and the pipe passes round like the calumet of the Indians, but apparently without the ceremony being binding." This practice had obviously changed by the time Murdoch was in the Arctic, perhaps because of greater availability of tobacco. Certainly, by then more Natives were carrying pipes. Murdoch (1888:335) believed that because "tobacco was used by Eskimos exactly as used by the whites, purely for pleasure, and never . . . as a ceremonial observance" like American Indians, this was proof "in favor of the opinion that the use of tobacco among the western Eskimos was not of American origin."
13. Aleksander F. Kashevarov, a Russian-American Company explorer who led an expedition along the northern Arctic coast in 1838, wrote a similar description: "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" (VanStone 1977:88). There are eight tobacco pouches in White's collection: one from Siberia, one from Kotzebue Sound, one from Port Clarence, and five from the Aleutians/Kodiak Island.
14. Both Nelson and McGuire noted that the design of Eskimo pipes varied according to location. Nelson (1899:280) wrote that "in general their remarkable likeness to pipes used in China and Japan is noteworthy, and suggests the source where the patterns were derived." McGuire (1899:587) wrote that "the curves of pipes . . . vary greatly, depending a great measure upon the locality where found, the bowls at times being of stone and the sizes of the stems increase as the Siberian coast is approached."
15. After his cruises in Arctic Alaska in 1826 and 1827, Beechey discussed tobacco use but not pipe

construction. Forty years later, Dall (1870:81–82) described the construction of Chukchi, Eskimo, and Indian pipes in his extensive study of Alaska's resources. Murdoch, in the Arctic only six years before White's first cruise, described the construction of two pipes collected by the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, drawings of which appear in Captain Patrick Henry Ray's final report of the expedition (Ray 1885:47–48, 91).

16. White obviously got his information from Murdoch, who wrote that lashings holding sections of pipes together were most often made of sealskin thong, although thongs of braided sinew or deerskin were sometimes used (Murdoch 1892:66–67).
17. Regarding pipes as grave goods, Nelson (1899:311) wrote: "If the deceased be a man, his pipe, flint and steel, tinder, and pouch of tobacco are placed in the box and if a snuff taker, his snuff-box and tube." One of 13 "associated funerary objects" in White's collection that were repatriated to the Native Village of Barrow in 2006 was "1 pipe cleaner with beads" (*Federal Register* 2006).
18. Royal Navy Lieutenant Hooper (1853:176) described how some Chukchi pipes were constructed in a similar manner, "with a large trap-door in the under part which allows a few pieces of dry grass to be laid inside to absorb the moisture and when closed, is covered with a strip of leather which effectually keeps it air-tight."

    Nelson (1899:280–281) described White's "movable traps" as "small, door-like pieces fitted neatly in the lower part of the stem, which can be removed at will to enable the owner to clean out the accumulated nicotine," which was "removed occasionally and mixed with the chewing tobacco." Nelson's drawing of one such pipe from Kotzebue Sound is not as well executed as White's depiction in Figure 4.
19. This unnumbered pipe in his sketch and photograph in Figure 5 is numbered 470 in the current Burke Museum Ethnology Collection. White says it is from Point Hope, although it is listed on the Burke Museum accession list (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture 1904/1912) as coming from the Siberian Arctic.
20. Although White does not discuss specific ivory pipes in his manuscript, it is probable that he planned to do so. He sketched and photographed six ivory pipes in his collection, one from Siberia and five from Port Clarence.

    Writing about Native pipes as tourist souvenirs, Ray (1975:243) notes that the popular ivory pipes were "either carved with multiple figurines in imitation of their old carvings or engraved with graphic scenes as on their earlier drill bows." In an almost perfect turnabout, Ray (1977:27) describes a drill bow from Kotzebue Sound that "depicts the joys of pipe smoking. A man with smoke pouring from his mouth appears to be falling either helplessly, or ecstatically, backward."

    Desire for tobacco was expressed through not only carvings but other cultural means as well. Khromchenko (VanStone 1973:84), on the northern coast of Golovnin Bay in 1822, noted that in singing one of their "humorous songs" the Eskimos would "take some phrase and sing it in chorus, for example, 'Ya tabak kroshu, a ty et' [I chop tobacco, and you don't]. Out of boredom, the savages sometimes chant this same song for an hour or more."

    Zagoskin (1967:119), invited to the kashim (a traditional semisubterranean men's house, in which communal and ceremonial events were hosted) at the village of Agakhkhlyak/Tachik near Fort St. Michael in October 1842, witnessed a "women's evening party" in which one of the participants "gave out tobacco, and in her song she praised the Russians who brought the coastal people much tobacco. The dancer represented with great artistry all the steps of intoxication, or rather stupor, resulting from smoking and sniffing." On the Kuskokwim River in 1844, Zagoskin's party was entertained by a dance performed by "newly baptized" Natives in which they expressed their gratitude to Semen Lukin, the manager of the Russian-American Company's trading post of Fort Kolmakov, "for shining the light of Christianity upon them, for ending the quarrels between them, and for rendering different services in selling them tobacco at the current price" (Zagoskin 1967:119, 228). Nelson (1899:349) also provided a "song, composed by a man at Cape Prince of Wales in Bering strait, [who] expressed his wish to see the [whaling] ships come in the spring, because his tobacco was gone."
21. Among 33 "unassociated funerary objects" in White's collection intended to be repatriated to the Native Village of Point Hope are "2 pipe bowls" (*Federal Register* 2017).

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