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FROM **HUNTERS** *TO* **HERDERS**

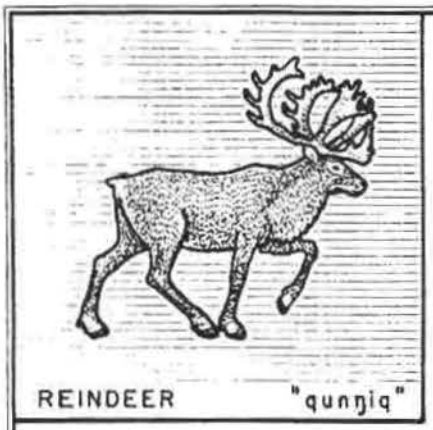
The Transformation of Earth, Society, and Heaven Among the Iñupiat of Beringia

By
Linda J. Ellanna
and George K. Sherrod

August 2004

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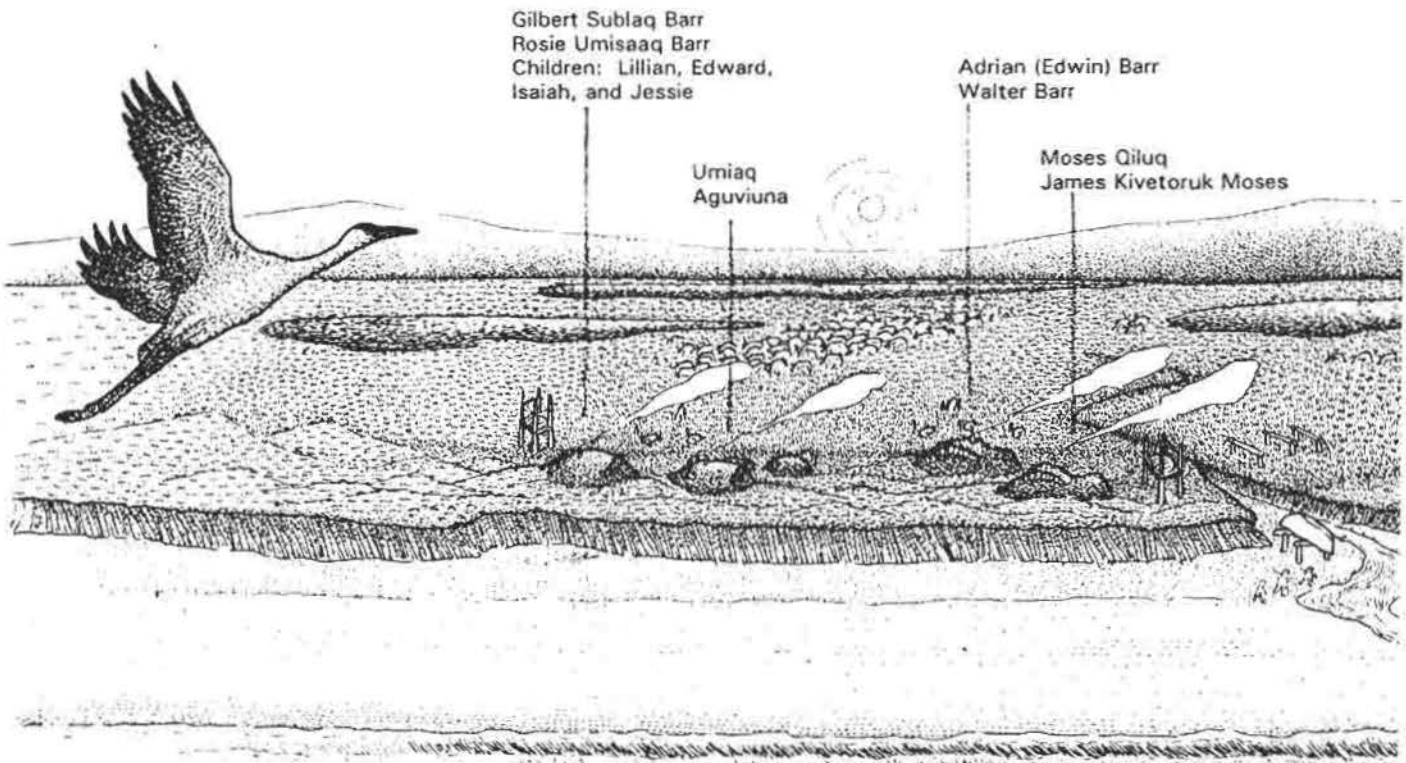
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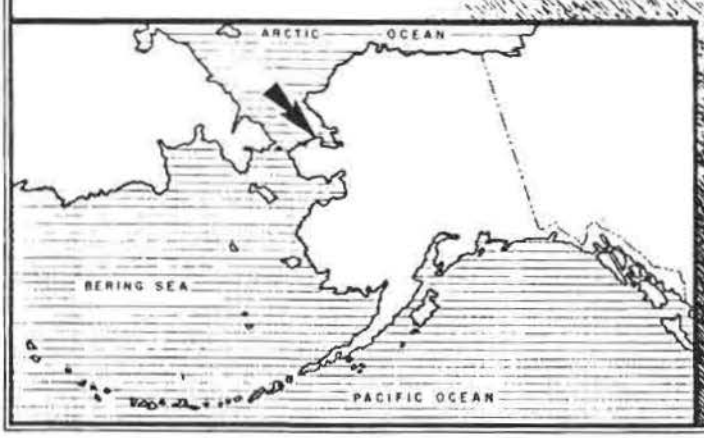


REINDEER "qunŋiq"

U B L A

UBLASAUN, "crack of dawn," IS AN OLD, SEA MAMMAL HUNTING SITE WEST OF CAPE ESPENBERG ALONG THE COASTLINE OF THE CHUKCHI SEA. DURING THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY WHEN REINDEER "qunniq," WERE INTRODUCED INTO THE AREA, A PERMANENT WINTER CAMP WAS ESTABLISHED AT THIS LOCATION.





C H U K

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
240 W. 5th Ave., Room 114
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

IN REPLY REFER TO:
H30(AKRO-RCR)

NOV 8 2004

Dear Colleague:

I am happy to present you with a copy of *From Hunters to Herders: The Transformation of Earth, Society, and Heaven Among the Iñupiat of Beringia* by Linda Ellanna and George K. Sherrod. This book tells of the introduction of reindeer herding to the Iñupiat living on the northern Seward Peninsula between 1918 and 1925. The authors focus on Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr and his family and associates, who herded reindeer and hunted seals at Ublasaun, near the present community of Shishmaref. The reindeer project was the idea of Sheldon Jackson, a missionary and educator who thought that by entering the herding industry, the Iñupiat could gain a permanent food supply and improve their lives.

If you have any questions about the book, please call me at (907) 644-3472 or email me at Rachel_Mason@nps.gov. If you wish to obtain additional copies, please contact Greg Dixon of our staff. He can be reached at Greg_Dixon @nps.gov or by telephone at (907) 644-3465.

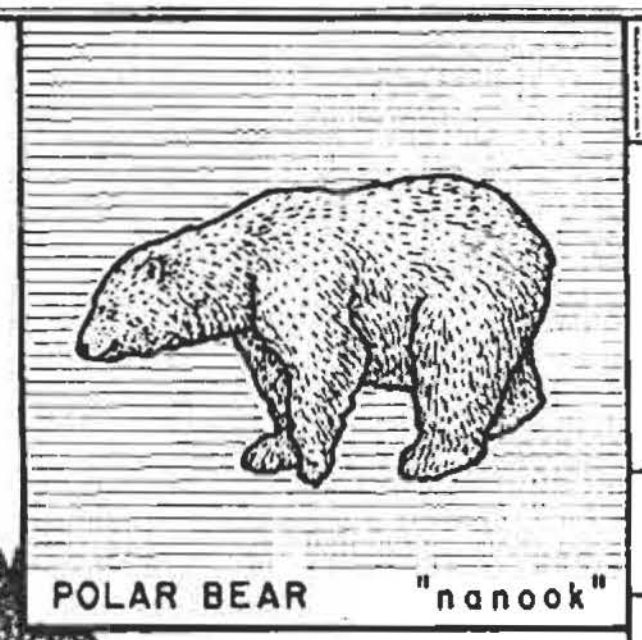
Sincerely,

Rachel Mason

Rachel Mason
Cultural Anthropologist

S A U N

THE SITE CONSISTS OF THE RUINS OF SODHOUSES, "inipiaq," AND ASSOCIATED STRUCTURES, SUCH AS RAISED POLE CACHES, "igigaq," PIT CACHES, "siqlaag," DOG YARDS, "pituklit," AND BOAT RACKS, "umiaquik."



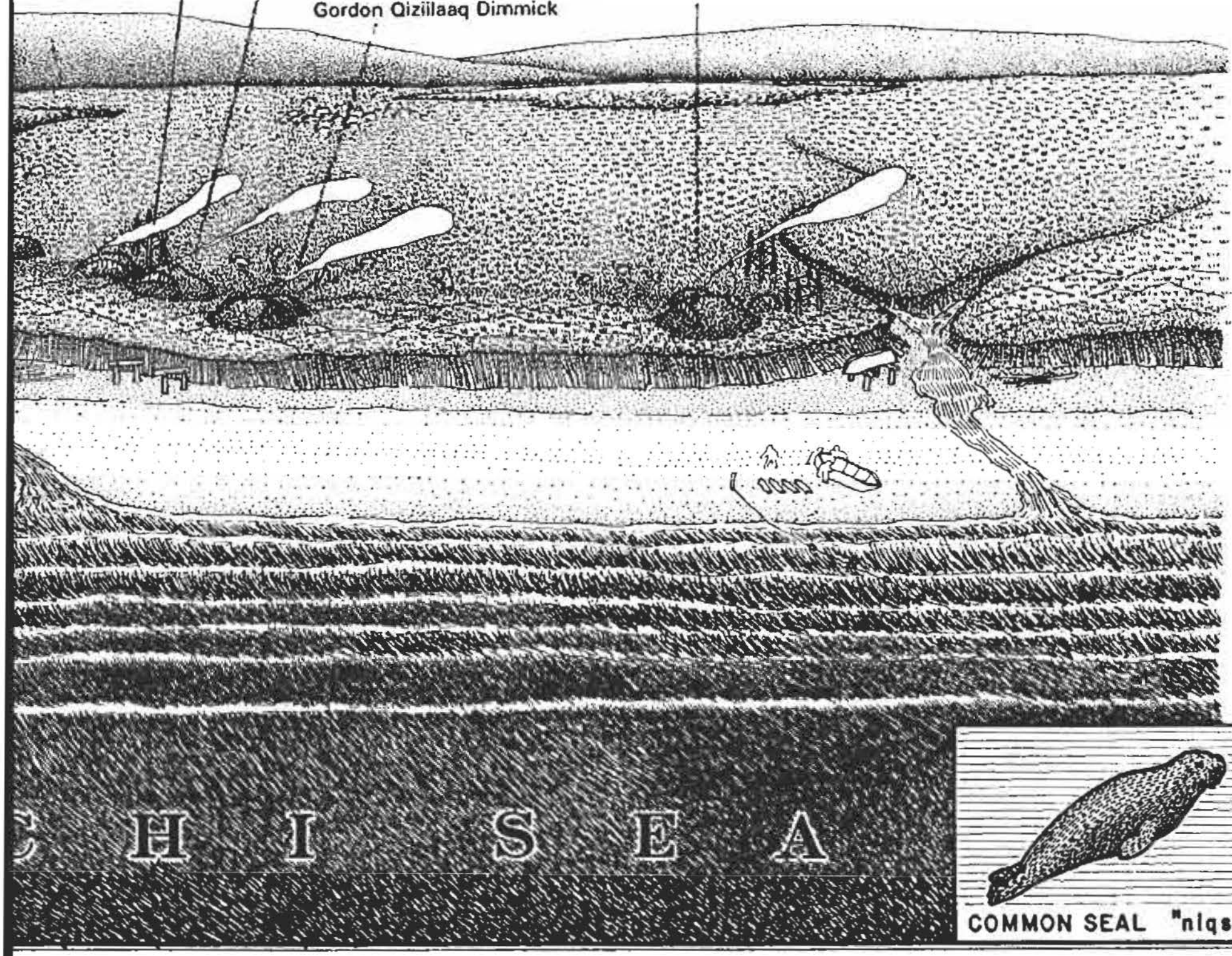


Peter Kahlook Barr
Bessie Sikinguaq Okie
Children: Roy, David, and Lydia

Lloyd Koonuk and Margaret
Children: Rudolph, Ernest, and Daisy

Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr
Emily Paizuzraq Kiyutelluk
Children: Fannie, Gideon Elijah, Bessie, and Mary

Gordon Qiziilaaq Dimmick



C H I S E A

REINDEER HERDERS' CAMP circa 1925
(LATE FALL)

DELINEATED BY JAMES E. CREECH, 1993

SHARED BERINGIAN HERITAGE PROGRAM
ONE MAN'S HERITAGE PROJECT
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

UBLASAUN

SHEET

ALASKA

FROM HUNTERS *TO* HERDERS

THE TRANSFORMATION OF EARTH, SOCIETY, AND HEAVEN
AMONG THE INUPIAT OF BERINGIA

By
Linda J. Ellanna
and
George K. Sherrod

Department of Anthropology
University of Alaska
Fairbanks, Alaska 99775

Edited by Rachel Mason, National Park Service
August 2004

Front cover photograph

Photo 13. Back row, left to right: Eugene Ningeulook, Charlie Weyiouanna, Andrew Tocktoo, Tommy Seetomona. Front row, left to right: Fred Davis, Tommy Teayoumeak, and Fred Avessuk. These young men were hunters and reindeer herders. During fawning season, they slept out in the open using reindeer skin sleeping bags to protect the fawns from predators. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 079).

Inside front cover

Panoramic drawing of Ublasaun, originally a seasonal hunting camp and later a permanent reindeer herding camp. Figure 7 by Jim Creech.

PROJECT SUMMARY

This ethnohistorical study focuses on the lives of a group of Iñupiaq reindeer herders living at the winter reindeer herding and seal hunting settlement of Ublasaun on the northern Seward Peninsula between 1918 and 1925. Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr and his family and associates were drawn from hunting into reindeer herding as part of a plan missionary / educator Sheldon Jackson set in motion in the 1890s to improve the lives of Alaska Natives. More generally, this study aims to analyze Iñupiaq sociocultural change associated with the introduction of reindeer herding in Alaska, as well as how this process has been portrayed in Western history. The authors interviewed elders, particularly the late Gideon Barr, Thomas Makaiqtaq's son, to obtain first-hand knowledge and memories of stories passed down over generations. They also relied on other oral histories and ethnographic documentation of Iñupiaq culture, archival records from the Alaska Reindeer Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the written memoirs of non-Native teachers, missionaries, reindeer agents, and frontier entrepreneurs. Research for the study was conducted in the early 1990s as part of the One Man's Heritage Project within the National Park Service's Shared Beringian Heritage Program. The One Man's Heritage Project was a long-term, interdisciplinary study of Iñupiaq reindeer herding in Northwest Alaska, centering on the past settlement of Ublasaun.

ОБЗОР ПРОЕКТА

Главной целью этого этнографического исследования было изучение жизни группы оленеводов инупиак, проживавших с 1918 года по 1925 год в Убласаун (Рассветное), зимнем поселении оленеводов и охотников на тюленей, расположенном на севере полуострова Сьюард. Томас Макайктак Барр, его семья и соплеменники были обучены оленеводству, которое являлось частью плана миссионера и образователя Шелдона Джэксона. Этот план был начат приводиться в исполнение в 1890-х годах с целью улучшения жизни аляскинских коренных жителей. Большей частью исследование предпринимает попытку проанализировать социально-культурные изменения в среде инупиаков, связанные с введением оленеводства на Аляске, а также как этот процесс был отображён западными историками. Авторы исследования интервьюировали старейшин, в частности покойного Гидеона Барра, сына Томаса Макайктака для сбора из первых рук сведений и воспоминаний передаваемых из поколения в поколение. Они также использовали другие устные повествования и этнографические документы культуры инупиаков, архивные записи Службы аляскинского оленеводства и Бюро по делам индейцев, а так же письменные воспоминания белых учителей, миссионеров, агентов оленеводства и пограничных предпринимателей. Сбор материалов для этого исследования был произведен в начале 1990-х годов в рамках проекта «Наследие одного человека» под эгидой программы «Объединенное наследие Берингии» Службы национальных парков. Проект «Наследие одного человека» являлся долгосрочным, комплексным исследованием оленеводства среди инупиаков на северозападе Аляски и фокусировался на исчезнувшем посёлке Убласаун.

DEDICATION

This depiction of the socioeconomic and ideological events surrounding the introduction of reindeer herding to the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska is dedicated to the memory of Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr. His story, and those of his family, breathed life and the Iñupiat perspective into a tale that, heretofore, has been documented through the lens of missionaries, teachers, government personnel, and other observers or the scholars who interpreted their works—those who principally have portrayed the vision of the western world, regarding this unique attempt at social and cultural engineering of indigenous peoples.

DEDICATION, 2004

The completed volume is dedicated to the memory of its lead author, anthropologist Linda Justine Ellanna, who died in January 1997, and to the memory of Gideon Kahlook Barr Sr., who died in September 1997. Dr. Ellanna made many significant contributions to Alaska anthropology as a researcher, teacher, and writer. Gideon Barr, son of Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr, was a major source of the knowledge and history documented in this book. He leaves a lasting cultural legacy to his people.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In writing this document, we have drawn collectively upon more than three decades of sociocultural, anthropological field research in Northwest Alaska. The most knowledgeable, generous, and hospitable Iñupiat of the area who have contributed directly or indirectly to this project are too numerous to identify by name. However, while we regret that we cannot recount the names of every Iñupiat to whom we are indebted for completing this work, several people do stand out. Gideon Kahlook Barr's memories provided much of the foundation upon which this narrative was reconstructed. To Vincent and Molly Tocktoo of Shishmaref, we owe our warmest thanks for being both mentors and family during the years. Alex and Elsie Allockeok Weyiouanna and their son and daughter-in-law, Clifford and Shirley Goodhope Weyiouanna, have all shared their knowledge of reindeer herding of the past and that of the present. The assistance of Herbert Anungazuk of Wales—as a friend, a source of history, and a facilitator of research throughout Northwest Alaska prior and subsequent to his employment with the U.S. National Park Service—has spanned nearly two decades and is deeply appreciated.

We are ever indebted to our colleague and friend Dr. Ernest (Tiger) S. Burch Jr. for sharing his insights gathered over three decades of research in Northwest Alaska in contributing to this project. His roles as field researcher at Shishmaref and Ublasaun and contributions to and review of this manuscript were integral to its completion. Others who have greatly assisted us in this endeavor include colleagues Drs. Craig Gerlach, Peter Schweitzer, and the late Roger Powers of the Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks; Polly Wheeler from the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada; and Dr. Igor Krupnik of the Smithsonian Institution and the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, Russia. Additionally, we offer our gratitude to graduate and undergraduate students Jim Simon, Matthew Ganley, Anna Kertulla, and Michael Faugno of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Administrative and nonacademic staff of the University of Alaska Fairbanks who provided support—including, but reaching beyond the realm of the financial—thereby enabling us to complete this project that had expanded considerably since its inception, include Drs. Anne Shinkwin, Luis Proenza, Gerald McBeath, Gorden Hedahl, John Leipzig, and Charles Geist; Cary Lu, Thomas Wolfe, Tracie Cogdill, and Judy Brainerd.

We lastly thank the U.S. National Park Service, Alaska Region for its conception of and substantial financial support for this project through the auspices of a cooperative agreement with the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Most significantly, we would like to thank Jeanne Schaaf, Project Manager and developer of the One Man's Heritage Project, who also served as the National Park Service's technical representative for the study. Additional thanks go to Paul Haertel and Dr. Ted Birkedal, who recognized the temporal and intellectual requisites and commitment necessary for scholarly research. Others from the U.S. National Park Service who deserve special mention for their commitment to the project include Jim Creech, Lisa Greene, Joy Kucinski, Steve Peterson, and Phyllis Stromme, as well as Ernie Suazo, Ken Adkisson, and Richard Harris of Bering Land Bridge National Preserve. Finally, thanks

go to Thetus Smith for her invaluable manuscript editing and layout and to Denis Galvin, for his strong advocacy in favor of a solid program of natural and cultural research as an essential preamble to good park planning.

Acknowledgments, 2004

Linda Ellanna and George Sherrod conducted the research for this volume in the early 1990s and completed the manuscript in draft form in 1995, including the acknowledgments above. Sadly, Dr. Ellanna's illness, followed by her death in 1997, halted work on the project.

An additional set of acknowledgments is in order to thank all those who helped to complete the manuscript in its present form. In 1999, Dean John Liepzig and Associate Dean Charles R. Geist of the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Alaska Fairbanks took the initiative to bring to closure this important University research effort on behalf of the National Park Service. Professor Peter Schweitzer of UAF's Department of Anthropology served as project lead and hired anthropology graduate student Stacie McIntosh to prepare the manuscript for publication. Stacie did an excellent job as technical editor while preserving the authors' writing style and scholarly perspective; she also added a useful glossary for the benefit of the non-specialist reader. Tracie Cogdill, then secretary of the UAF Department of Anthropology, facilitated the university's communications with NPS project personnel. Polly Wheeler, cultural anthropologist, also served as a liaison with the university and shared her professional expertise. Herbert Anungazuk of the NPS then carefully went over the manuscript to check references and to make the Iñupiaq orthography consistent. With the help of these people, Stacie was able to accomplish an enormous task within a short time.

It was not until 2004, however, that Bob Gerhard, head of the NPS Shared Beringian Heritage Program, made program monies available to publish the volume. The project was also fortunate to obtain publication funds from the Alaska Park Technical Reports program. Many thanks to both of these programs.

To illustrate the story of Iñupiaq reindeer herding, we used 32 photographs taken by Edward Keithahn, who with his wife Toni taught school in Shishmaref, 1923-1925. The Keithahns' son Richard graciously gave permission for these photos to be used in this book. Thank you also to James Magdanz, who allowed us to use his photo of the late Gideon Barr, and to Mary Sue Cross Anderson (niece of Gideon Barr), for permission to use a picture of Thomas *Makaiqtaq* Barr and his family.

Holly Poydack, a student at the University of Alaska Anchorage, worked on the project as an intern in the summer of 2004. Her main tasks centered on the illustrations for *From Hunters to Herders*. Her family connections to Shishmaref and her familiarity with Iñupiaq culture proved invaluable in completing the editing for the manuscript. We were even more fortunate

that Holly's mother, Bernice Sockpick Allred, is from Shishmaref and was able to identify many of the photos. Holly's other relatives who helped include Alma Mullins, Joan Hjalseth, and Sarah Ringstad. We are very grateful for the many ways that Holly helped with this project.

We also thank Fred Tocktoo of the Nome office of the Western Arctic Parklands (NPS), originally from Shishmaref, for his help in identifying the Keithahn photos. On a trip to Shishmaref, Fred found an extraordinary manuscript, prepared by the late Edgar N. Ningeuleuk with the assistance of Shishmaref Elders, Alex and Elsie Weyiouanna and Walter Nayokpuk, describing each of the Keithahn photographs. We relied primarily on that manuscript to develop captions for the Keithahn photos Linda Ellanna chose to illustrate *From Hunters to Herders*. Richard Keithahn generously gave a complete set of his father's photos to the community of Shishmaref. The late Susan Fair was a key contact to Mr. Keithahn and was instrumental in facilitating the elders' identification of the photos.

This project would never have been completed without the assistance of a number of employees of the National Park Service, Alaska Region. Herbert Anungazuk, cultural anthropologist and Iñupiaq cultural expert, identified the people in some of the photos and provided other invaluable advice in every phase of this project. Stephanie Stephens, Museum Curator, and Jerry Kyle of the curatorial team helped us through the adventure of locating the Keithahn photos. Jeff Bennett of the GIS team created two maps on very short notice. Cultural Resources Team Manager Ted Birkedal and Lake Clark/Katmai National Parks and Preserves Cultural Resources Chief Jeanne Schaaf, formerly research archaeologist at the Alaska Regional Office, provided institutional memory and unfailingly supported *From Hunters to Herders* throughout the project's long history. Joy Kucinski sustained the project as its contracting officer. Thetus Smith, writer-editor, championed *From Hunters to Herders* throughout all its delays and did a wonderful job of copy-editing and laying out the manuscript, along with a multitude of other tasks. We owe each of these people a large debt of gratitude.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

The Bering Land Bridge National Preserve is located on the Seward Peninsula in Northwest Alaska, stretching along the northern coastline of the Chukchi Sea and extending southward inland to the Bendeleben Mountains (Figure 1). The preserve is named after the Bering Land Bridge, a prehistoric land mass that connected Siberia and Alaska, creating a "bridge" between Asia and North America that allowed for the migration of plants, animals, and people between the new and old worlds. Established in 1980 by a presidential proclamation (Schaaf 1996:1), the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve was created in response to the dearth of scientific information present, comprising data relevant to various disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, biology, climatology, ecology, geology, and geomorphology, among others.

The following report is a part of a larger effort titled the One Man's Heritage Project, sponsored by the National Park Service's Shared Beringian Heritage Program. The Shared Beringian Heritage Program was created in 1991 to foster scientific research and an exchange of ideas between Russian and American scientists, land managers, and Native peoples. Specifically, the program was developed by the National Park Service to provide background information relevant to planning the proposed Beringian Heritage International Park in partnership with Russia. Toward this effort, it is the objective of the Shared Beringian Heritage Program to bring together a variety of specialists from various disciplines to work on a specific research topic or problem.

The One Man's Heritage Project is the result of such collaboration. Originally conceived by Project Manager Jeanne Schaaf, the project consists of a long-term, integrated study of early twentieth century Iñupiaq reindeer herding, including human ecology, ethnohistory, ethnoarchaeology, and historical architecture (Schaaf 1996:3). The One Man's Heritage Project centers around the past settlement of Ublasaun, a former winter reindeer herding village that is an archaeological site on the north shore of the Seward Peninsula in the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve. The man is Gideon Kahlook Barr, local expert and Iñupiaq elder who lived at Ublasaun with his family when he was a young boy. Interviews with Gideon Barr, as well as with his sister Bessie Barr Cross, comprise the core of this report.

The following is an ethnohistory of the introduction of reindeer herding to the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, integrating the disciplines of anthropology and history. A glossary has been included that defines

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

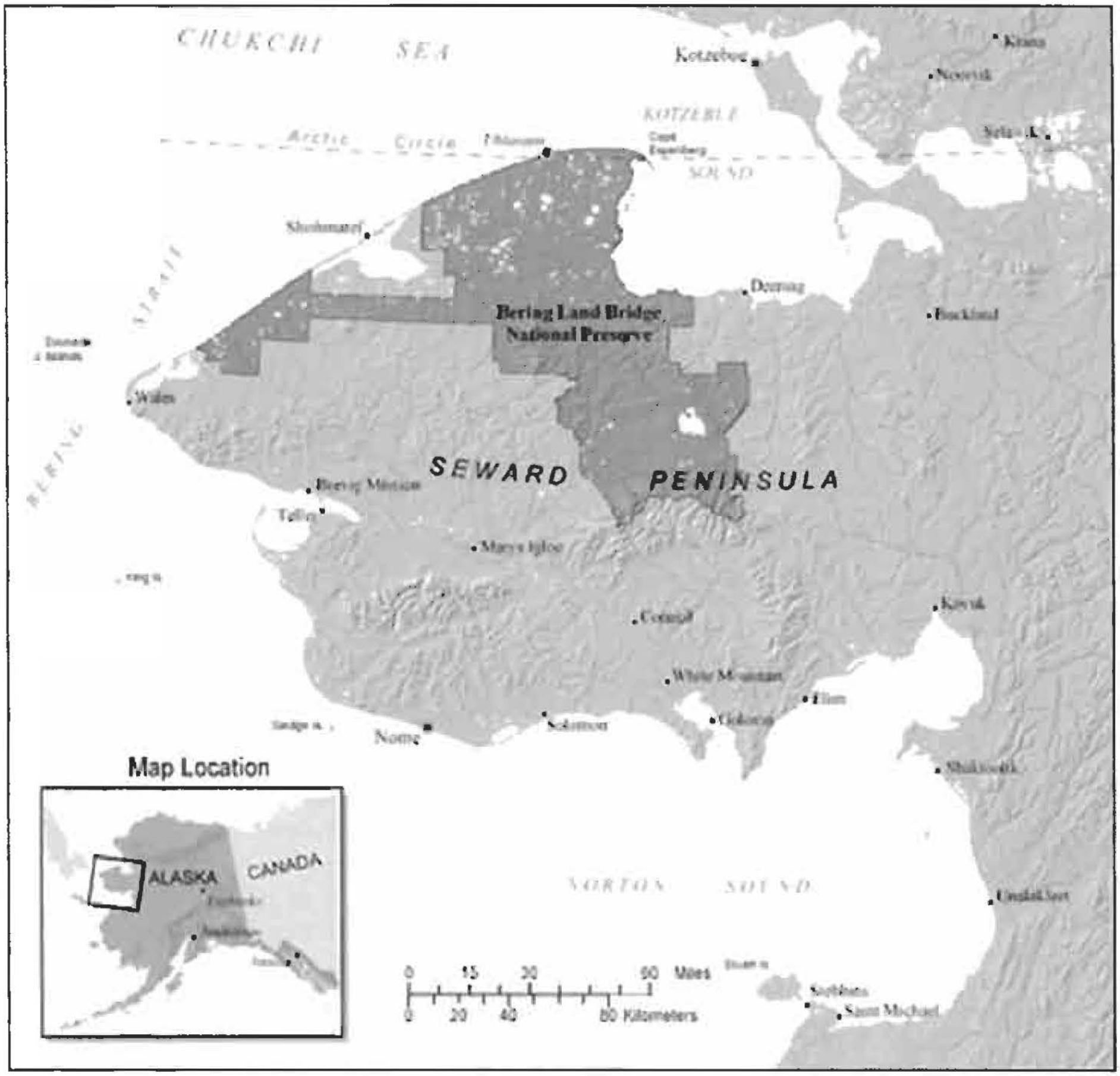


Figure 1. Location of the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve on the Seward Peninsula in Alaska.

common anthropological terms and uses, as well as many of the Iñupiaq words appearing in the report. Because this document is an ethnohistory, much of the information it contains is derived from historical accounts by explorers, missionaries, government officials, and other non-indigenous settlers or visitors to Alaska. Many of these accounts reveal prejudice against the Iñupiat, and Alaska Natives in general, because of the then-contemporary, turn of the century ideology prevalent in the United States and elsewhere. It is not the intent of this report to justify or sanction those views, but to explore how this ideology influenced decisions the Euro-American missionaries and government agents made concerning Alaska Native lifestyles and livelihoods.

Readers who are seeking a more general review of Iñupiaq reindeer herding on the Seward Peninsula should read *Ublasaun, First Light* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service 1996). Other manuscripts produced as a result of the One Man's Heritage Project include place-names research (Fair and Ningeulook 1995), a compilation of historical archaeology papers (Gerlach n.d.), and an architectural report on Ublasaun (Creech n.d.). In addition, the National Park Service Alaska Region and the University of Alaska produced a documentary video entitled *Sulipta Paitaat: Our Ancestors' Heritage*. All of the above, plus this volume, form the cohesive whole that is the One Man's Heritage Project.

Study Design

Two primary goals were set forth for this ethnohistorical project. The first was to portray the lives of a group of Iñupiaq reindeer herders living at the winter reindeer herding and seal hunting settlement of Ublasaun on the northern Seward Peninsula in the early decades of the 1900s. The second goal was to analyze the nature of Iñupiaq sociocultural change associated with the introduction of domestic reindeer herding in Alaska, as well as the portrayal of this process in Western history.

There were very few people alive in the early 1990s who could recall with clarity the events of the early 1900 era, particularly some of the aspects of day-to-day life. As pointed out by University of Alaska Fairbanks co-researchers in the U.S. National Park Service's Shared Beringian Heritage Program: One Man's Heritage Project:

> Unfortunately, many of the topics targeted for study in the original research design are not represented in the presently available data. This stems in large part from the fact that today's Native elders were mere children during the climax of Alaskan reindeer herding. [Simon and Gerlach 1992:5]

For example, interviews with elders such as Gideon Barr, who was a young boy and man during the peak and subsequent collapse of the reindeer industry in Alaska, benefited from the fact that he had been the recipient of oral histories from his father and others, thereby providing a skeleton upon which this story of Ublasaun and its inhabitants could be reconstructed. Glimpses into the lives of the families domiciled at the winter reindeer herding community of Ublasaun between 1918 and 1925 also have been extracted from other Iñupiaq oral histories, ethnographic documentation, and the memoirs of teachers, preachers, reindeer agents, miners, and

frontier entrepreneurs.

However, the story of Ublasaun, if based solely on these sources, would be fragmentary. Therefore, we have merged the discontinuous components of this tale into a literary whole using ethnographic "glue" derived from years of personal fieldwork in Northwest Alaska and accounts by fellow anthropologists of closely related peoples. While we have not distorted the facts as presented in the record, we have embellished upon them in reconstructing the story of Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr and his family and associates so that the story, while being representative, may not be precise in each and every detail.

The analysis of Iñupiaq socioeconomic and ideological response to the introduction of reindeer required extensive oral history, archival, and ethnographic research. We identified core aspects of the worldviews and social and economic organizations of both the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, as can be reconstructed with a reasonable degree of confidence for the early years of Euro-American contact, and those of White colonists and agents of planned assimilative cultural change. These outsiders most commonly viewed the indigenous peoples of the study area as stereotypes mandating particular "corrective" actions. We have tried to explain the historical manifestations of Euro-American influence on Iñupiaq culture as products of the interaction of distinct worldviews, social organization, and associated behaviors, in some cases leading to forms of both covert and overt cultural conservatism on the part of the Iñupiat and, in others, of selective sociocultural change, conflict, and synthesis (cf., Fienup-Riordan 1990 on the Yup'ik of the Kuskokwim Delta).

Lastly, we have assumed that neither the Iñupiat nor the White immigrants of Northwest Alaska acted independently of the larger world of which they were a part. The people in this narrative were inextricably linked to the prevailing attitudes, paradigms, and associated events that transpired in Washington, D.C.; Saint Petersburg; and, later, Moscow, and other centers of national political and economic affairs at the end of the 1800s and the first half of the 1900s.

The Quest for Data

The period explored in the context of this research, beginning in the 1870s and extending to the end of the 1940s, began before extensive and unbiased documentation of Iñupiaq life and perspectives. Therefore, fieldwork was necessary, as it was impossible to answer the questions posed in this research by using only previously conducted anthropological studies. The fieldwork for the ethnohistorical component of the Shared Beringian Heritage Program provided the contextual setting and the opportunity for obtaining a minimal number of interviews. Additionally, our cumulative six decades of field research among the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska provided a corpus of previously gathered data. These data provided a context for the interpretation of this brief, albeit specific, field experience to accomplish the goals of the research, using mechanisms akin to ethnographic analogy. Lastly, essential Iñupiaq place name and genealogical data were collected and corrected by Burch and the authors during and after the field period.

Field data gathered by archaeologists and depictions of the structures at the site drawn by historical architects, both complet-

ed in association with the U.S. National Park Service funded segment of this project, also provided useful information. This included a description of the physical configuration of the community of Ublasaun; the predominant technology associated with the taking of resources, including reindeer, at this and related sites; the placement and architectural details of domestic units and associated structures; and the relationships between this winter village, other settlements, and seasonally occupied sites on the northern Seward Peninsula.

In addition to interviews, the Iñupiaq data and perspectives employed in this ethnohistory were drawn from oral histories and unpublished, documented sources—a common method for dealing with the "histories" of groups that lacked written languages (cf., Sahlins 1987; Wolf 1982). Of these sources, oral history accounts relayed through transcribed interviews were among the most significant and included data from the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. National Park Service, the Alaska Native Language Center of the University of Alaska Fairbanks (e.g., Kaplan 1988), and Kawerak, Inc., the regional non-profit entity of the Bering Straits Native Corporation. Additionally, some oral history accounts were derived from early ethnographic narratives (e.g., Ostermann 1952).

Personal documentation was central to fully characterize certain aspects of Iñupiaq life and the attitudes of the missionary/teachers who also acted as reindeer officials. For example, Ellen Kittredge Lopp's (and some of William T. Lopp's) letters and selected issues of *The Eskimo Bulletin*, which Lopp published in Wales, Alaska, were critical sources of ethnographic data on the Iñupiat of Wales and other areas in which these teachers traveled. Additionally they provided historical accounts, attitudes of missionaries/educators of the time, reindeer history, and many other kinds of knowledge (e.g., Smith 1984).

Published versions of personal documentation were equally central to the research task at hand. An example is the diary of T.L. Brevig (Johnshoy 1944), a Norwegian Lutheran Church clergyman assigned to the Teller Station between 1894 and 1917 to provide spiritual guidance to the Samis (who immigrated to Alaska in association with the introduction of reindeer herding), and, later, to the Iñupiat. This source is dominated by Brevig's accounts of missionary exploits, and, therefore, has limited ethnographic or historical value beyond that of documenting his and his churches' goals and values. However, limited autobiographical accounts of teachers residing and working in the study area during the end of the 1800s and early decades of the 1900s provide useful information. Examples of such accounts are those of Clarence Andrews (1939), who served as teacher, reindeer superintendent, and Iñupiaq advocate at Deering in the mid-1920s; Harrison Thornton (1931), who was one of the first missionary/teachers at Wales in the early 1890s; and Edward Keithahn (1963), who was a teacher at Shishmaref from 1923 to 1925, and knew and photographed much of the population of the villages of the northern Seward Peninsula. Other biographies, such as that of Carl Lomen (1954), contribute a perspective of the White entrepreneur in Northwest Alaska from the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century until the end of the 1930s. Lomen's (1954) interpretations of his family's history, including the introduction of

reindeer and the Lomen family involvement in this industry, are claimed to be the definitive "story of the Alaska reindeer industry."

Critical genealogical, residential, kinship, economic, and other data were obtained from the archival records of the Alaska Reindeer Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Alaska Reindeer Service archival information included tabulations of reindeer by owners, correspondence related to the issuance of range permits, the inheritance of reindeer estates based on the relatedness of individuals, circulars issued to Iñupiaq herders and local superintendents, and overall governmental policies and accepted practices as revealed by the contents of memoranda. Bureau of Indian Affairs village censuses enumerated members of the communities by household; relationships of individuals in each domestic unit; age, gender, place of birth, ethnicity ("race"), and, occasionally, occupation of everyone in the community at the time of the census. For some of the years, the material cumulative assets of household members were itemized, described, and evaluated in terms of dollars by the teachers who conducted the censuses.

The annual reports of the Bureau of Education related to the introduction of domestic reindeer span the period of 1892 to 1914. The reports from 1892 to 1908 (for the year 1906) were written somewhat generically by Sheldon Jackson and were designed as much to promote support for his assimilationist activities as to provide a factual account of the reindeer and education events of the previous year. Therefore, the reindeer reports, like many sources of ethnohistory, must be viewed with a critical eye because of their biases. For example, the portraits of eight children brought from the Bering Strait area to Carlisle Indian School in 1897, and how they appeared in 1898 dressed solely in Western clothing and hairstyles appropriate to the period, speak loudly of the colonial and assimilationist perspective of Jackson and his supporters. It has also been documented that Jackson was a master of using printed media to further his objectives (e.g., Hinckley 1961:93). Hinckley (1961:93-94, 131) concluded that the annual reports were padded with information from the previous year, that the use of the first person pronoun indicated Jackson's egotistical involvement in the reindeer project, and that Jackson was assigning himself federal titles in these documents before the posts officially existed. For example, Jackson referred to himself as the U.S. General Agent of Education in Alaska in 1884, although this post was not created until April 11, 1885.

There were also multiple governmental sources from various periods of time intended to assess the status of Alaska and its resources in general, and Alaska Natives more specifically, including their education, economy, and "progress" into civilization. An example of such "academically" authored reports includes Anderson and Eells (1935) for the period 1930-1931. That document ostensibly focused on the status of education and the potential of Natives for learning. Anderson and Eells were commissioned at a time when the education of Alaska Natives had been placed under the Office of Indian Affairs, rather than the U.S. Office of Education (Anderson and Eells 1935:5). Another example of a governmentally funded study is that of S. Hadwen and L.J. Palmer (1922), reported in a U.S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin, *Reindeer in Alaska*, dedicated to the reindeer enterprise initiated by Jackson, and

referring to it as

> The most admirable project by the U.S. Bureau of Education to provide a means of livelihood for the Eskimos in Alaska, whose former hunting resources were rapidly decreasing. [Hadwen and Palmer 1922:2]

Hadwen and Palmer (1922) analyzed the reindeer industry as being handled by "crude methods without the benefit of any definite scientific investigation or oversight." The intent of their research was to provide science to a project that was somewhat out of control and needed the guidance of the modern livestock industry, which included the interbreeding of reindeer and caribou to improve stock.

More recent governmentally funded reports largely have consisted of compilations of both primary and secondary sources to be used as the basis of cultural inventories and assessments. These include, but are not limited to, the works of USDOI (1974), Grauman (1977), Williss (n.d.), and, to some extent, Powers et al. (1982), Koutsky (1981a, 1981b), and Eisler (1978), the latter three works being based both on primary and secondary sources, as well as extensive fieldwork conducted in the study area.

Versions of the histories of the "good," "brave," and "heroic" missionary juxtaposed against the "primitive," "noble" or "ignoble savage," and "depraved" and/or "deprived" Eskimo provide insight into the worldviews, values, and strategies of individuals and organizations spearheading the assimilationist movement in Northwest and other areas of Alaska. Such accounts are largely biographical and authored by persons associated with the various denominations that proselytized Alaska's indigenous peoples. For example, the works of Lazell (1960) and Stewart (1908) about Sheldon Jackson exemplified the views of the authors, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Presbyterian Historical Society, thereby representing the values of Jackson and lauding his efforts as being heroic:

> He [Jackson] did more than any other person in the nineteenth century to inform the American nation about Alaska's needs and people. His failure to accomplish all he hoped to do is, in large part, due to the disgraceful inaction of successive Congresses... [Lazell 1960:9]

Although ostensibly representing more objective, historical accounts of the reindeer period in Alaska, works such as Postell's (1990) or Murray's (1988) description of Norwegian herder Carl Sacariasen's account of the infamous Yukon relief expedition are equally biased in favor of the missionary-promoted assimilation of indigenous peoples. Murray stated:

> Missionary endeavor is not in good repute today. These earnest individuals are pictured in popular stereotypes as totally ignorant of the customs of the native population, unfamiliar with their language and guilty of imposing an alien religion on the hapless aborigines almost by force. Those who feel righteous indignation over missionary activities do not know of the things Sheldon Jackson did to preserve native culture. [1988:3]

An analysis of missionary documents is extremely useful, but requires careful and detailed scrutiny for use in establishing the ethnohistory of indigenous peoples (Whiteman 1985b: 295-322).

For the most part, scholarly histories or ethnohistories of the human, cultural, faunal and ecological components of the introduction of the reindeer industry to Alaska that were written principally by anthropologists and economists have been fewer than more popular accounts and were predominantly written between 1950 and 1980 (with the exception of Simon and Gerlach 1992 undertaken in conjunction with the project resulting in this monograph). Anthropologist and ethnohistorian Margaret Lantis (1950, 1952) was one of the first to write about the cultural implications of reindeer herding by Alaska Natives. Her work was followed by that of another anthropologist/ethnohistorian, Dorothy Jean Ray (1965, 1975, 1983). A more socioeconomic emphasis was presented in the monograph by economist Olson (1969a). Most recently, Stern, Arobio, Naylor, and Thomas (1980) (two of whom are anthropologists and the other two economists) published an extension of the work of Olson (1969a). Olson (1969a) and Stern et al. (1980) were promulgated, in part, to assist governmental agencies in promoting and managing the more contemporary reindeer industry in Alaska. All of these sources, with the exception of Ray's (1983) treatment of Charlie and Mary Antisarlook, focused more on reindeer herding as it generically affected "Natives" than on the specific social organizational and ideological implications of herding to the Iñupiaq and Yup'ik cultures and peoples of Alaska.

Lastly, but most certainly not least importantly, are the ethnographic and ethnohistorical monographs on the Iñupiat and Yupiit of Alaska and Chukotka. These provided much of the sociocultural, ethnohistorical, and theoretical frameworks for all facets of this work. We are most indebted to the works of Ray (1965, 1975, 1983, 1984) and Burch (1975, 1984, 1988, 1991). Additionally, other accounts of importance for this purpose included Eisler (1978); Fienup-Riordan (1990); Gubser (1965); Hall (1984); Krupnik (1993); Nelson (1980); Oswalt (1963a, 1963b, 1967, 1979, 1990); Rasmussen (Ostermann 1952); Sobelman (1985); Spencer (1959, 1984); and VanStone (1984).

CHAPTER 2
THE GEOGRAPHICAL, SOCIOCULTURAL, HISTORICAL, AND INTELLECTUAL CONTEXTS

The Geographical Context

The geographical region of primary concern includes an area stretching from the Kobuk River delta in the Kotzebue Sound region, south along the eastern and southern shores of the sound, the entirety of the Seward Peninsula—coastal and interior—and, more peripherally for these purposes, eastern Norton Sound (Fig. 2). The relevant adjacent islands in Bering Strait include the Diomedes (Inalik and Imaklik), King (Ukiuvuk), and Sledge (Ayak). The latitude of this area is both high Subarctic and low Arctic, with inland temperatures reaching greater extremes than those moderated by the Bering Sea, Bering Strait, and Chukchi Sea along the coast. The coastal plains in this region are punctuated by a myriad of ponds, lakes, islands, islets, lagoons, and connecting streams and rivers. The interior of the Seward Peninsula is separated from the coast by relatively high, glacially chiseled, craggy mountains with peaks taller than 2,000 feet. These mountains both act as isolating barriers and provide a diversity of habitat, supporting fauna and flora distinct from that of the coastal plains.

The habitat of the region is diverse internally—marine, riverine, lacustrine, and terrestrial—overall supporting a variety of species. Human access to and dependency on wild resources have varied historically and contemporarily by location, economy, social organization, technology, and knowledge. For the most part, tundra life forms are the dominant vegetation, with spruce forests located on the eastern periphery of the study area, including the Kobuk River drainage and segments of the interior Seward Peninsula and Norton Sound. Tundra vegetation includes sedges, mosses, lichens, herbs, and dwarf shrubs that carpet vast layers of permafrost and poorly drained soils.

Geographically, the settlement serving as the focus of this research at its onset, Ublasaun (Uplazaun, Ublazaun, Ullugsaun, also known to archaeologists as KTZ-149), is located on the north coast of the Seward Peninsula approximately two miles north of the Arctic Circle (Koutsky 1981a:17). This semi-permanent fall spring seal hunting and netting site—and, in the early 1900s, a winter reindeer herding camp—is situated 2.3 miles west of the mouth of the Kitluk River, 23.6 miles southwest of Cape Espenberg, and 6.8 miles northeast of the historical settlement of Singiq (located at the northernmost tip of Shishmaref Inlet). Ublasaun is also approximately seven miles northeast of the larger and more permanent settlement of Qivaluaq (Kividluk or Kividlo), which

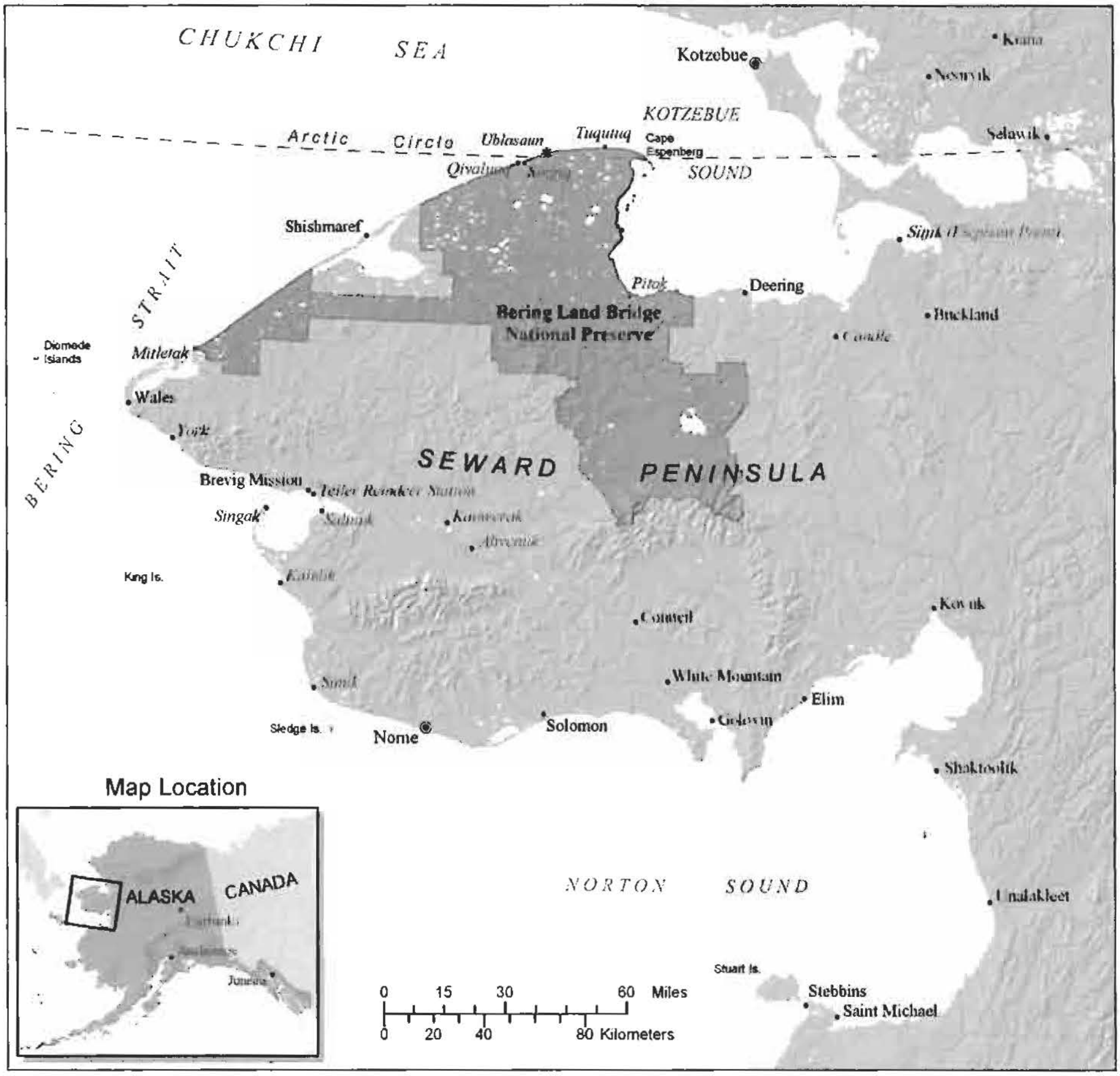


Figure 2. Northwest Alaska showing approximate locations of place-names, including historic settlements, mentioned in the text.

in 1892 was a village of seven houses and possibly a qazgi (Ray 1983:214). The site of Ublasaun sits on a low bluff on the Chukchi Sea, where driftwood deposited by storm surges accumulates at the mouths of two small streams. The name "Ublasaun" refers to the last occupation of a settlement that had been used at different points of time prehistorically and historically by Iñupiaq inhabitants of the area.

Shishmaref (Kigiqtaq) is the only community on the northwestern coast of the Seward Peninsula that was occupied as a permanent settlement in 1994. This prehistoric and historical settlement, documented since first Euro-American contact, is located on Sarichef Island surrounded by the waters of the Chukchi Sea and Shishmaref Inlet, approximately 25 miles south of the Arctic Circle and roughly 120 miles northwest of Nome. The island is roughly 5.5 miles long and 1.5 miles wide.

> According to local people, the original village site was inland on the banks of the Arctic River. They say there are mounds of whale bones there marking the site. The village has been located at or near its present site since before the arrival of Caucasians. [Heller and Scott n.d.:21]

The population of Shishmaref has varied through historical time from 131 individuals in 1912; 131 again in 1920; 223 in 1930; 257 in 1940; 194 in 1950; 175 in 1957; 217 in 1960; 267 in 1970; 306 in 1975; 394 in 1980; and 456 in 1990 (Ellanna and Roche 1975; Heller and Scott n.d.:21, 158; Sobelman 1985:40; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990). In addition to Shishmaref, the extant communities of Teller, Brevig Mission, Wales, Deering, Buckland, Candle, Selawik, and Noorvik form a northern Seward Peninsula and southern Kotzebue Sound geographic subregion of Northwest Alaska.

Additionally, there are multitudes of both seasonal and historical settlements, the majority of which are either no longer occupied permanently or, in some cases, systematically used because of factors associated with the centralization of indigenous populations. These settlements and camps stretched along the coast from the delta of the Kobuk River in the Kotzebue Sound area to Cape Nome, and occurred inland across the Seward Peninsula, forming the socioterritorial and socioeconomic arena in which a vast part of this story of reindeer herding unfolded. From north to south these include, but were not limited to, the following sites:

- Noorvik on the Kobuk River delta, established in 1914 by The Society of Friends Mission on a federal reservation, principally inhabited by Iñupiat who previously resided in the mining town of Deering (Ray 1983:218; Wells 1974:5);

- Selawik, first reported in 1842 (Zagoskin 1967) based on second hand information and listed by Petroff in the 1880 census (Orth 1971:852);

- Elephant Point, a beluga whale hunting site used by Buckland residents reported by Nelson (1971) Buckland, which first appears on a U.S. Geological Survey map in 1914 (Orth 1971:165);

- a small concentration of people in



Photo 1. Shishmaref school class of 1923-1924. School started in mid-October and ended in mid-April so students could take part in subsistence hunting and gathering. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 142).

Spafarief Bay until mining resulted in the formation of the community of Candle in 1900 (Ray 1983:218);

- Deering, established in 1901 as a supply station to interior Seward Peninsula mining camps (Orth 1971:264);

- Pitak (Pittaq) located at the mouth of the Goodhope River (Burch 1991; Ray 1983:217);

- several temporary fishing and sealing sites in the area between the mouth of the Goodhope River and Cape Espenberg (no permanent settlements are recorded) (Burch 1991; Ray 1983:216-217);

- Tuqutuq at the mouth of the Espenberg River (Inuiqniq, Iñuigniq, "Taapkuk" in the 1880 census) (Burch 1991; Ray 1983:216);

- Ublasaun (Ullugsaun, Ublazaun) (Burch 1991; Koutsky 1981a:17);

- Qivaluaq (Kividlo, Kivaluaq, Kividluk) on the northernmost part of the barrier islands that create Shishmaref Inlet (Burch 1991; Koutsky 1981a:18; Ray 1983:214);

- Salliñq, a settlement associated with Qivaluaq but facing the lagoon rather than the Chukchi Sea (Burch 1991);

- Singiq (Singik, Singeak, Singyuk, Singyak) located on the mainland across Cowpack Inlet and closely associated with Qivaluaq (Burch 1991; Koutsky 1981a:17-18; Ray 1983:214);
- multiple winter sealing, ugruk (bearded seal), caribou, waterfowl, and other resource harvesting camps between Qivaluaq and Shishmaref (Burch 1991; Ray 1983:214);

- Shishmaref (Kikiktuk; Qikiqtaq; Qigiqtaq) first reported by Kotzebue in 1816-1817 (Burch 1991; Kotzebue 1967:199-201; Koutsky 1981a:19; Ray 1983:213);

- a number of small villages occupied during ugruk and seal hunting seasons were located between Shishmaref and Mitletak, including Iqpiq (Ikpek), which was said to have had a qazgi (Burch 1991; Ray 1983:213);

- Mitletak (Mitletok, Mitletukeruk, Mitletavik) at the northern entrance to Lopp Lagoon (Ray 1983:212; Smith 1984:18) and the neighboring coastal village of Singaurak (Singlorak, called "Synowrook" by Lopp, Ray 1983:212);

- Kingigan, or Wales, the largest community on the Seward Peninsula, actually composed of two villages– Agianamiut to the south and Kiatanamiut to the north–referred to as Cape Prince of Wales or the "Cape" in most of the reindeer literature and first named Cape Prince of Wales in 1778 by the Cook expedition;

- York, a mining camp located at the mouth of Anikovik River northwest of Cape York, which was established in 1899 near the pre-nineteenth century village of Anaktoaluk (Orth 1971:1067; Ray 1983:210);

- multiple inland villages on the Kuzitrin, American, and Pilgrim Rivers as reported by W.R. Hobson in 1854-1855 (Ray 1983:205-206), including the second largest village on the Seward Peninsula, Kauwerak; Ahvenuk (Aviunak), which was known as Mary's Igloo during the gold rush at the end of the 1800s and early 1900s; Igloo; and Pilgrim Hot Springs (Koutsky 1981b:30, 78);

- multiple camps and settlements on both sides of Tuksuk Channel, including two small villages, both of which were called Singaurak, located on each bank of the mouth of this channel (Ray 1983:204);

- Salinuk or Nuk (today known as Teller) located on the southern sandspit, separating Port Clarence and Grantley Harbor (Koutsky 1981b:19-20; Ray 1983:203-204);

- Brevig Mission located on the northeastern shore of Port Clarence and commonly referred to as Port Clarence, Teller Reindeer Station, and Teller Mission in the 1890s and early 1900s, renamed Brevig Mission in 1913 (Johnshoy 1944:254);

- Singak (Synok, Sinuk) was the largest village on Port Clarence (Beechey 1968; Ray 1983:203);

- Kalulik located at Cape Douglas was a large and relatively long-term village and was described by W.T. Lopp in 1893 as being the home of a famous shaman (Koutsky 1981b:22; Ray 1983:199) ;

- Singiyak, a village at Cape Woolley across from King Island, occupied until the 1918 influenza epidemic wiped out the entire population (Ray 1983:199);

- Sinuk (Singak, Sinrock, Synrock) located on the southeastern bank of the Sinuk River. It is the site where the first Iñupiaq reindeer herder, Charlie Antisarlook, established his herd (Ray 1983:197);

- many small camps located between the Sinuk and Snake Rivers, primarily occupied as summer fishing sites or used as small year-round settlements (Ray 1983:197);

- Sitnasuak, a village located on the Snake River before the founding of the community of Nome in 1898 after gold was "discovered" on Anvil Creek (Ray 1983:196);

- Situk and Ayasayuk (Kebethluk), two villages located at Cape Nome (Ray 1983:195).

The Sociocultural Context

The indigenous peoples of the study area collectively refer to themselves as Iñupiat when asserting their distinctiveness from other "Eskimo" peoples, such as the Inuit or Inuvialuit of the Mackenzie River Delta of Northwest Canada, the mainland or central Yup'ik of SouthWestern Alaska, or the Siberian Yup'ik of St. Lawrence Island and the Chukotsk Peninsula of the Russian Far East. Iñupiat (singular Iñupiaq) is derived from the term *iñuk* meaning "person."

> [The] notion of Iñupiat, has broad linguistic, cultural, and geographic connotations. It does not refer to a specific tribe, society, or other social entity. [Burch 1975:1]

The language spoken by the Iñupiat of Alaska, used in an area beginning roughly in the middle of Norton Sound, along the coast and some miles inland along major river systems, and throughout the Northwest and Northern Arctic to the Canadian border, is termed "Iñupiaq" by the people themselves and scholars alike. Linguists have determined that Alaska Iñupiaq, which is distinct from the dialectical continuum that stretches from Alaska across arctic Canada into Labrador and Greenland, has four principal dialects that are paired into two groups (Woodbury 1984:56). Bering Strait and Qawiaraq comprise the Seward Peninsula group, and Malimiut and North Slope the North Alaska group. Bering Strait Iñupiat also has three subdialects: one spoken at Wales and Shishmaref, one originally at the two Diomede Islands, and one at King Island.

The Qawiaraq dialect was transported by Kuzitrin River people to eastern Norton Sound in the second half of the 1800s. The Malimiut dialect has a southern subdialect that was carried from the north into eastern Norton Sound in the 1800s.

The Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska were organized into a number of distinct sociopolitical units before contact, and maintained them, in part, throughout the historical period in various and frequently changing forms. Drawing on the research of Burch (1975) in Northwest Alaska, we have used the term "society" to refer to these named sociopolitical entities.

Using elements of Burch's (1975) and Ray's (1975:105-107, 1983:173-226) discussions of societal (in Ray's case "tribal") boundaries and membership measures for Northwest Alaska, and those of Fienup-Riordan (1984), Pratt (1984), and Shinkwin

and Pete (1984) for the central Yup'ik, for these purposes, the following criteria are considered relevant to societal affiliation and boundary demarcation:

1. an intelligible but distinct subdialect;
2. recognized use rights to a specific territory, usually composed of a drainage area of one large river and its tributaries and other smaller rivers in the area, or a piece of coastline;
3. a generally common seasonal round;
4. the location of a primary winter village with at least one qazgi and surrounding satellite settlements and camps;
5. a marriage universe, with some exceptions for purposes of alliance;
6. a preponderance of primary kin ties;
7. a shared ceremonial life;
8. a set of mutual and reoccurring personal names;
9. and a sense of group identity.

Depending on the perspectives of both societal members and outsiders (scholars or lay persons) trying make sense of Iñupiaq sociopolitical organization and socioterritorial boundaries from the time of contact through a period of rapid sociocultural change during the historical period, the names and numbers of societies in the area of Northwest Alaska vary (cf., Burch 1975:10-12; Ray 1975:7, 1983:173-226).

Ray (1975, 1984:286) concluded that during the 1800s, there were 22 Eskimo (Iñupiaq and Yup'ik) "tribes" in the Bering Strait area as she defined it (from Pastolik on the Yukon delta in the south to the Goodhope River in the north). She also concluded that Iñupiat who resided in the Buckland, Candle, and Deering areas in the mid-1800s were more culturally and linguistically affiliated with the Kotzebue Sound region, and not included in those named "Bering Strait tribes" (Ray 1984:286, 295). Burch (1975:10-12, 1984:303-305), focusing more on the Kotzebue Sound than Bering Strait region but overlapping the classifications of Ray (1984: 286, 295), referred to these sociopolitical units as "societies," and provided a more inclusive compilation of such social groupings for an area from Golovnin Bay in the south to the Colville River in the north. Moreover, he (Burch 1994:4) aggregated 13 of Ray's (1984:286, 295) distinct Iñupiaq "tribes" into 10, also for the time period circa 1800.

Concerning the study area of interest, for the mid-1800s Ray (1984:286) identified the Shishmaref, Cape Espenberg, Goodhope, Buckland, Deering, and Candle "tribes" as distinct sociopolitical units. Conversely, Burch (1975:11) identified the existence of merely one society located along the southern shores of Kotzebue Sound (including Goodhope, Deering, Buckland, and Candle) and Shishmaref and Cape Espenberg (Tapqaq or Tapqaqmiut) yet another single sociopolitical unit in 1850, in part as a result of processes of ingathering and consolidation of multiple societies in the course of the historical Euro-American contact period. For example, for the period 1800 to 1825 Burch (1975:11) argued that Iñupiat from the tip of Cape Espenberg, Goodhope, and Deering (Pitagmiut) were a single society, while Candle and Buckland (Kangigmiut) composed a second. Oswalt (1967:6-7, 13) also made the distinction between the Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula (Kauwerak and Kingigmiut of the interior peninsula and Wales, respectively) and those of Kotzebue Sound (Malimiut or Malemiut).

Winter settlements observed by

1827 on the northern Seward Peninsula and southern Kotzebue Sound included Wales, Shishmaref, Cape Espenberg, and Goodhope Bay (Ray 1975:90). In 1880, Hooper (1964: 26) noted the distinctiveness of the people of Cape Espenberg, whom he termed "Tup-kug-ameuts," from those of Cape Prince of Wales ("King-eegan-meuts"). Hooper (1964: 26) also identified distinct groups residing in the vicinity of the Buckland River ("Kung-eegameuts"), Hotham Inlet and Cape Blossom ("Kee-kik-tag-ameuts"), Sulawick (Selawik) ("Sulawig-meuts"), Koogarook (Kougarok) River ("Koo-og-ameuts"), and Icy Cape ("Oto-kog-ameuts"). On his expedition between 1881 and 1883, Jacobsen (1977:88) noted a distinction between people living "between Norton Sound and Kotzebue Sound" as being "Malemiut," while those to the west, including "Prince of Wales Peninsula," are the "Kawiaremiut."

For the study period, kinship was the single most important facet of social organization of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. Though there is regional variation between the societies considered here, a generalized overview is presented in this chapter, with more complex and analytical treatment of the topic in chapter 6.

Kinship ties between Iñupiat were based on factors of biology, marriage, and the extension of family relationships to people who were neither consanguineally (by descent) or affinally (by marriage) related through social mechanisms such as marriage and comarriage, adoption, passing on and sharing of personal names, trading and hunting partnerships, and female-focused partnerships referred to in English today by some people as "friendships." Biological relatedness was recognized when social and biological facts coincided, but was only one of many factors that established and united kin (Burch 1975:46).

While the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska reckoned descent bilaterally (through both fathers' and mothers' sides), they employed Iroquois cousin terminologies in which cross cousins (mother's brother's and father's sister's offspring) had distinct nomenclature from those of parallel cousins (father's brother's and mother's sister's children). Additionally, matrilateral and patrilateral parallel cousins were differentiated (Burch 1975: 70; Ray 1975, 1984:286). In some cases, sibling terms were applied to cousins - most commonly to parallel cousins. In sibling sets, age relative to ego was recognized in terminology, with the eldest same sex sibling exercising authority over juniors.

A set of people related consanguineally to any one individual (or two in the case of same sex twins) was defined, from that person's (or persons') perspective as *ilagiit*, a category of relatives that Burch (1975: 46) concluded was "roughly equivalent to the anthropological category of personal kindred." The relative number of an individual's subordinate kin greatly influenced his or her political position in a given family group, settlement, and society. Although most literature on Eskimos in general and Iñupiaq in specific has stressed the overt role of maleness as dominant over that of femaleness, this assumption about gender relations, at least at the covert level, is reconsidered in subsequent chapters.

For the most part, marriage among the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, especially during the early historical period, was perceived to be a mechanism by which individuals established domestic units, and families

expanded kinship networks and, oftentimes, consolidated power, wealth, and prestige. While personal preference in the selection of marriage partners was not totally ignored, marriages were predominantly arrangements between families, as opposed to the choice of individuals. Societal endogamy was the norm, although marriages outside of this sociopolitical unit were instituted to bring about alliances with mutually interdependent families or groups.

Coresidence and the birth of one of more children, particularly before missionary influence, formalized marital unions between two individuals. Similarly, dissolution of marriages involved the cessation of coresidence, but did not dissolve most of the social bonds and obligations forged by their inception (Heinrich 1972). While both marriage and divorce required social recognition, neither was ceremonially formalized. Before Christian influence, there were few negative sanctions against adolescent sexual relations before marriage, except for those that were considered incestuous (i.e., father-daughter, mother-son, siblings including parallel cousins classified by sibling or sibling-like terms). There was no concept of illegitimacy.

Although most marital unions were between a single male and female, polygyny (the marriage of one man to two or more women) was common as practiced by men of influence and wealth. Conversely, polyandry (the union of a single woman with two or more men) occurred, although infrequently, or not of lengthy duration. Comarriage, one of the most misrepresented and misunderstood aspects of Iñupiaq culture, was neither wife swapping nor a gesture of hospitality on the part of men (Burch 1975:48). Rather, the practice normally involved a consensual relationship between two conjugal pairs for purposes of extending or consolidating primary kin networks and reciprocal obligations. Comarriages were usually long term and, once forged, like any type of marriage, were rarely fully dissolved. The offspring of any of these marital unions shared varying degrees of sibling relationships.

An extended or local family, rather than the nuclear family common in Western society or domestic unit (people living in a common dwelling), was constituted around a set of siblings and cousins. This social group was the most significant component of Iñupiaq society of Northwest Alaska:

> A local family was a single, coherent organization, one in which the constituent relationships were articulated with one another in terms of a definite pattern. The Eskimos did not have a name for this type of organization, as such, but they referred to the members of one simply as *ilagiit*, i.e., as people interacting in terms of kin relations. [Burch 1975:241]

A senior male member of the group overtly led each local family. It was to the advantage of members of such a family unit to augment the wealth and prestige of their leader (Burch 1975:212). The most prominent of such leaders in any society were referred to as *umialiq*, the most significant position of institutionalized leadership in Northwest Alaska Iñupiaq society. Although most commonly expressed as "skinboat captain" and hunt leader, the position of the umialiq was considerably broader in meaning:

> This single Eskimo term means several different things in English,



Photo 2. These men had just returned from checking the seal nets. The man with the oar in a horizontal position is indicating that a beluga has been caught in the seal net. If it had been vertical, it would have indicated that a young *ugruk* had been caught. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 100).

> according to the context in which it is used. Appropriate glosses, include the following English terms: "boss," "rich man" "underwriter," "creditor," "employer," and "boat captain." In the sense of "boss" or "boat captain," an umealik would probably be the man leading the hunt, in the sense of "wealthy man" or underwriter," he often would not be. [Burch 1975:212]

The institution of the *qazgi* or men's house was the "court" of the umialiq. The qazgi among the Iñupiat was a physical structure in which men worked, exchanged knowledge with each other and with adolescent boys, and conducted both recreational and ceremonial activities, as opposed to also being a place of residence, such as was the case among the central Yup'ik of Alaska. Membership and relative status in a qazgi were directly associated with both a man's kinship ties to, and the wealth and social position of, the umialiq with whom the qazgi was associated (Bogojavlensky 1969; Ellanna 1983a, 1983b).

Shamans or *angatkuut* provided spiritual leadership. Though these figures have been stereotyped in the lay literature as being merely "medicine men," "magicians," "witchdoctors," or, more simply, "healers," they were men, and sometimes post-menopausal women, who had undertaken successful spiritual apprenticeship and had the powers to make things right in a world that had gone awry due to inappropriate human behavior toward the spirits of the universe of which they were a part. Shamans could be benevolent or malevolent, or both, depending on the perspective of those they were acting for or against. The most powerful men were those holding the roles of both umialiq and

shaman.

The Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula, Bering Strait, north and northeastern Norton Sound, and south and southeastern Kotzebue Sound had minimally three distinctive economic patterns during the early historical period. These subsistence patterns to a greater or lesser degree, persisted well into the mid-1900s—the temporal period of concern here (Ray 1975:104).

Those people located at Cape Nome, Cape Prince of Wales, and offshore islands (King, the Diomedes, and Sledge) specialized in the hunting of large marine mammals from *umiaqs,* or skinboats (Bockstoce 1979; Bogojavlensky 1969; Ellanna 1983a; Kaplan 1988; Ray 1983:173-226). Those sea mammals of specific interest included the bowhead whale and/or Pacific walrus, although gray whales, beluga, and other smaller whales, as well as bearded and three species of hair seals, were taken as well. Residents of these insular or insular-like (e.g., Cape Prince of Wales) communities developed maritime skills and technology associated with their focus on large marine mammal hunting, including sophisticated and acute navigational proficiency and extraordinarily large walrus hide covered umiaqs.

These large and seaworthy crafts facilitated the dominance of these Iñupiat over intercontinental trade with the Siberian Yupik and Chukchi of the coast of the Chukotsk Peninsula; the Kauweramiut of the interior Seward Peninsula; and Iñupiat who resided north and northeast along the Chukchi Sea and Kotzebue Sound coasts minimally to Point Hope and south and southeast through Bering Strait, along the Bering Sea and Norton Sound, to the northern mouth of the Yukon Delta (Saint Michael after 1833). These large-sea-mammal hunters participated in symbiotic relationships between the islands and the coastal mainland and interior dwellers of both Alaska and Chukotka. In large part, such symbiotic relationships were a product of diversity of each group's geographic and overall environmental conditions. Wales, which is more like an island because of the mountainous barriers isolating it (Ellanna 1983a), had a settlement pattern similar to the islands in the 1890s and early 1900s—that is, the majority of people left the village during the summer for trading and fishing at locations considerably distant from the winter village (Smith 1984:244).

While all Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula and adjacent islands hunted caribou, often traveling some distance to do so (cf., Bockstoce 1979; Burch 1984:306-307; Oswalt 1967:93-94; Ray 1975:104, 1984:287-289; Wells 1974), only the settlements and societies of the interior Seward Peninsula and southern Kotzebue Sound practiced the second primary economic pattern of the study area—cooperative caribou hunting. For these purposes, the Iñupiat of the interior Seward Peninsula (generally referred to as the Kauweramiut) and the Malimiut of the Goodhope River, Buckland, and Candle areas specialized in this subsistence pattern in the 1800s and, in some cases, the early 1900s, as did many groups residing in the interior to the north that were either wiped out or dispersed to the coast in response to Euro-American trade, disease related deaths and the attendant relocation of survivors to intact communities located along the coast, and a decline in the number of caribou (Burch 1975; Hall 1984: 345; Ray 1975:106; Wolfe 1982).

Spencer (1959:6-7; 1984:279) argued for a strict ecological dichotomy between

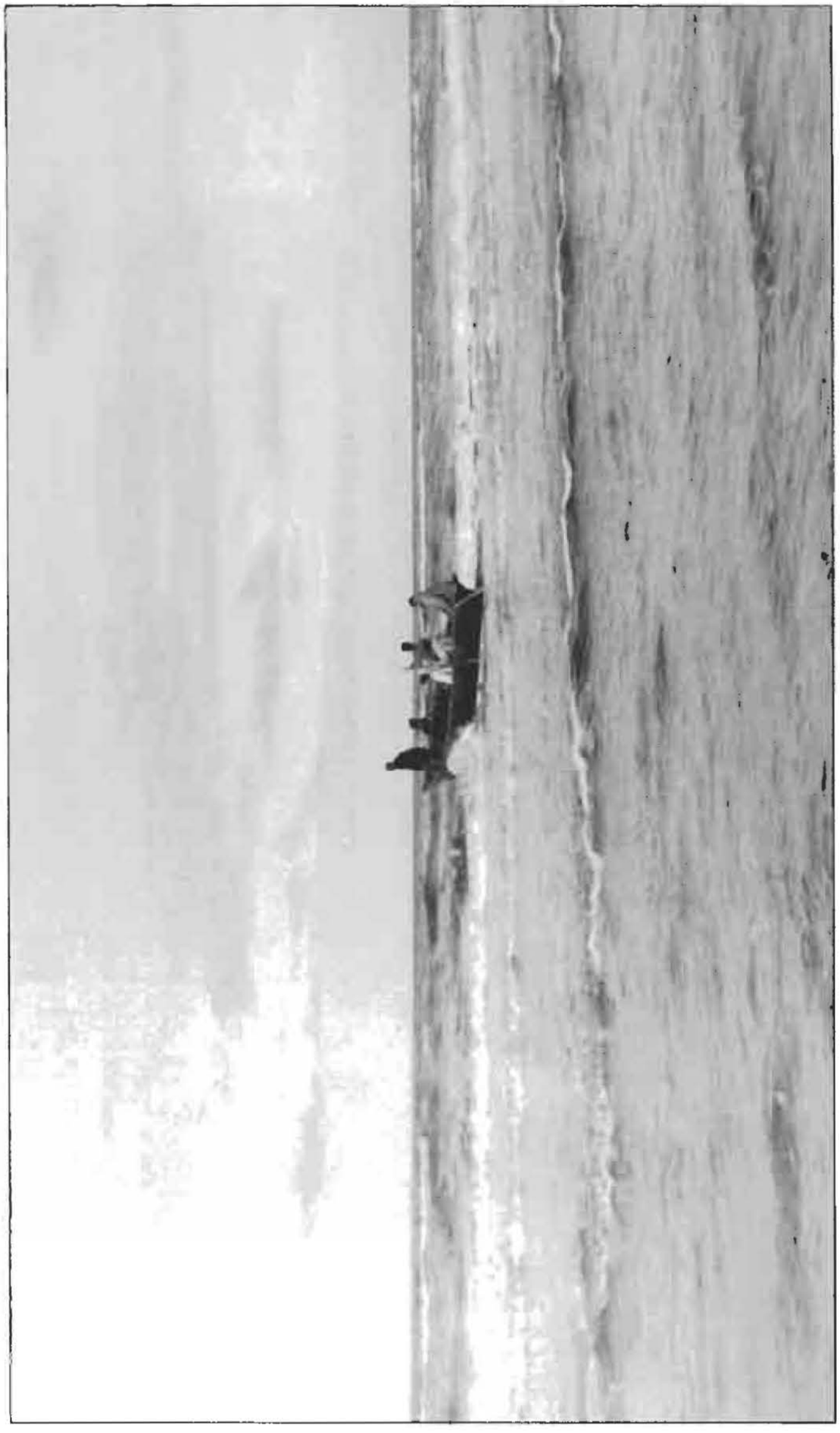


Photo 3. The boat crew was going out to check the seal net. The mast is not visible; the crew rowed about two miles to get to the net. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 169).

those Iñupiat who were principally coastal sea mammal hunters and those whose focus was on caribou—what he terms the "inland," or "caribou," and the "maritime," or "sea mammal," hunting foci. As with large marine mammal hunting by skinboat crews, systematic caribou hunting and caribou dependency required forms of complex social organization necessary for the construction, maintenance, and use of caribou fences, corrals, and snares (Spiess 1979:245). The fences were made as aids in driving the caribou into lakes, where they were dispatched from kayaks. Spencer (1984:282), in his later work, surmised that his dichotomy was one of variability, rather than one of "firm lines of distinction."

Despite Dall's (1970) conclusion that caribou had left the Seward Peninsula by 1868, Ray (1975:174) argued that the Kauweramiut continued to live in the interior of the Seward Peninsula in a village of five houses and one qazgi, suggesting that caribou were still on the peninsula at that time. Field data corroborate Ray's conclusion about the availability of caribou even in the southern Kotzebue Sound and Cape Espenberg areas minimally into the 1880s.

The third economic adaptation of interest in this context has been referred to as "small sea mammal hunting and fishing" (Ray 1975:104). Although the emphasis on a particular species varied by area, this pattern was common during the 1800s and early 1900s at Cape Espenberg, Shishmaref, Port Clarence, and northern and northeastern Norton Sound, comprising basically all of the coastal people without the geographic and associated technological, social organizational, and ideological access to bowhead whales or Pacific walrus (Ray 1975:104). This subsistence pattern involved a reliance on small marine mammals: such as spotted, ringed, ribbon and bearded seals; beluga whales; fish such as salmon, whitefish, and blackfish; and, when and where available, caribou.

Indigenous trade networks were of central economic importance to the Iñupiat of the study area. This trade included intercontinental activities that were fully functional before and after Euro-American contact (Oswalt 1990:65; Ray 1975:38; Smith 1984: 49). Trade for Siberian reindeer skins and wolf pelts in exchange for Alaska beaver and land otter hides was dominated by Bering Strait societies (Oswalt 1990:65; Smith 1984: 49). The spotted skins of reindeer from the Siberian side were much more highly valued than the skins of caribou for making clothing (Brower 1942:120).

Major trade centers were at Wales, the Kotzebue area at the tip of the Baldwin Peninsula, Sisualik on Cape Krusenstern, Port Clarence, the northern mouth of the Yukon River, the Utukok River, the mouth of the Colville River at Nigalik, and Barter Island in Alaska; and at East Cape (Naukan, Nevuqaq), Anadyrsk, Uelen, Chaplino (Indian Point or Unjaziq), and Anyuy, a tributary of the Kolyma River in Siberia (cf., Brower 1942:40; Burch 1984:304-306, 1988; Hall 1984:342; Krupnik 1993:40, 67-69; Ostermann 1952:51; Oswalt 1967:132; Ray 1975, 1983:55-66; Schweitzer and Golovko 1994).

For example, in 1924 Knud Rasmussen, on the Fifth Thule Expedition, reported that more than 1,000 Iñupiat and Chukchi were gathered at Kotzebue in the summer for purposes of trade. The site was virtually a city of "Eskimo tents" (Ostermann 1952: 51). During the 1850-1854 voyages in search of the missing Franklin expedition, a large

encampment was described at Point Clarence "on the north spit between the two harbours" (Collinson 1976:72-73). A large number of Natives were there in early September wanting to trade caribou and herring for Western goods (Collinson 1976:72-73). In 1890, Hooper (1964:20) described the fierce reputation of Wales Iñupiat and their domination of trade with people of the Siberian mainland at East Cape—that they were feared by people up and down the coast. Trade between inland and coastal Iñupiat at a trade fair in Kotzebue Sound was described in 1880:

> The coast natives bring oil, walrus-hides, and sealskins; those from Cape Prince of Wales bring whiskey, arms, tobacco, and the skins of tame reindeer, which they purchase from the Tchuktchis [*sic*]. These articles are exchanged with the natives of the interior for furs-wolf, fox, marten, mink, &c. [Hooper 1964: 26]

Trade between the King Islanders and the Siberian mainland peoples for reindeer leggings is well documented in oral history, as well as trade to Kotzebue and St. Michael (Kaplan 1988:45).

Among the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, intersocietal and interethnic relations, in addition to trade, involved organized warfare (Burch 1974). Blood feuding—the act of seeking revenge for the death of one's relative—occurred intrasocietally, intersocietally, and interethnically. The primary goal of warfare, a societal or confederative endeavor, was to defend or expand the integrity of boundaries at multiple levels or to plunder an opposing group, taking women and children as hostages and diverse kinds of wealth. Additionally, warfare was a mechanism employed to protect or claim trade routes and key resource harvesting areas. Both generalized (bow and arrow) and specialized technology (including bone, ivory, and hide armor) were employed before the use of firearms and metal breastplates. Russians, and later, Americans, actively discouraged indigenous warfare, as it was perceived to be disruptive to the colonial, economic goals of these non-Natives interlopers.

The relationships between the Chukchi of Siberia and Alaska Iñupiat involved both trade and warfare, as is attested to in an abundance of oral histories (Ray 1984: 287). In the 1790s, Kobelev reported that the Chukchi had attacked the village of Wales taking women and children as prisoners (Ray 1975:53). Professional Iñupiaq traders often traveled into foreign territories without consequence, although they were frequently heavily armed (Ray 1975:88).

Because of the structure of the analyses in this monograph, the ideology of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska is described in detail in chapter 7. Therefore, this topic is not redundantly presented in this sociocultural overview.

The Context of Euro-American Contact

> We come now to 1898. During the next two years more than thirty thousand persons—at least seven times its population—would overrun Seward Peninsula. From the reconstruction of this history, it is apparent that on the eve of the gold rush, the Eskimos were so far acculturated to the western life style that their own culture can no longer be discussed mainly in terms of traditional content, but in terms of adaptation and acceptance of large parts of American culture. The popular notion that Eskimos lived in an aboriginal condition at the end of

> the nineteenth century, waiting for their first born ideas, is far from accurate. Even at the first meeting with Europeans their material culture already contained European objects. Economic adjustments that had been developing since the 1780s had interpenetrated all aspects of their life, including intertribal affairs, and had prepared the foundation for changes during the twentieth century. The direction taken in this respect was a matter of degree, not kind. [Ray 1975:251]

This quotation regarding the nature of processes of cultural change after Euro-American indirect and direct contact on the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska dispels one stereotype—that of the "pristine primitive Eskimo"—while seemingly promoting yet another—the Eskimos as people who have lost their culture. That is, Ray (1975:251) astutely points out that at the time of Euro-American contact, the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska were not locked in an historical vacuum, but rather were active participants in an interlocking network of trade and attendant social relations that both brought and disseminated goods and ideas of indigenous and European origin. European and American explorers and colonialists ethnocentrically perceived themselves to be changing indigenous peoples—either through annihilation at one extreme or, at the other end of this cultural change continuum, assimilation. However, in reality the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, like other Native Americans and indigenous peoples worldwide, were dynamically and diachronically strategically modifying their sociocultural systems as new and distinct options became available.

In large part related to the cultural change paradigms in American anthropology commonly expressed in ethnographies and ethnohistories of the 1950s and 1960s, Ray (1975) and many others writing about "Eskimos" (cf., Chance 1966; Hughes 1960; Oswalt 1963b; VanStone 1962) focused on aspects of indigenous cultures markedly modified rather than on more conservative underpinnings of society and culture that had remained viable, even if manifested overtly in new forms, into the 1990s. In this frame of reference, we explore the history of Euro-American indirect and direct contact with the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska in this chapter, with the exception of the inextricably linked formal Western education and reindeer herding events treated in more detail below.

In this section, then, we present a brief but relevant overview of Euro-American contact history with Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula, Bering Strait, and Kotzebue Sound areas. Importantly, it should be remembered that Eurasian trade goods passed from Siberia into Alaska and vice versa by way of well-established and long-term trade networks long before the Iñupiat of the area had any direct contact with Euro-Americans in the latter half of the 1700s, with the Iñupiat of Cape Prince of Wales and the Diomede and King islands and Kotzebue Sound in Alaska and the Siberian Yupik of East Cape (Nevuqaghmiit) and the Chukchi on the Chukotsk Peninsula being dominant middlemen in this aboriginal trade network (Nelson 1971; Ray 1975; Schweitzer and Golovko 1994).

With the exception of St. Lawrence Island, not of direct concern in this study, Russian attempts to make contacts with the indigenous peoples of the Alaska mainland and the islands located in Bering Strait were largely unsuccessful before the Bering and Chirikov journeys much farther south in

1741, that led to the influx of fur pelt seeking *promyshlenniki* into the Aleutian Islands and, later, Kodiak Island, Prince William Sound, Southeast Alaska, the Alaska Peninsula, Bristol Bay, and the Nushagak River. British place names in and adjacent to the study area—such as Point Rodney, King Island, Cape Prince of Wales, and Norton Sound—attest to the presence of Captain James Cook and his crew in 1778. As participants in the obsessive British pursuit for a northwest passage to the Orient, Cook and his crew traveled in the Bering Sea, Bering Strait, and Chukchi Sea on both the American and Siberian mainlands as far north as Icy Cape. Cook and his crew failed to note Port Clarence and Kotzebue Sound, but they provide the earliest descriptions of what was later called the Seward Peninsula. The men on this expedition of discovery made the first documented contact with the Natives of the mainland, but had little acculturative effect, as they were principally involved in trading, an activity in which the people of Bering Strait, the coastal Seward Peninsula and the offshore islands were already quite adept. Narrative accounts, coastline maps, and the artistry of John Weber provide useful early ethnographic data.

The Russian financed voyage of Joseph Billings in 1791, who previously had sailed with Cook, resulted in descriptions of the Iñupiat camped near what Ray concluded was Cape Rodney and the mouth of the Sinuk River (1975:47-52). Billings noted that caribou were abundant on the Seward Peninsula at that time, with that animal furnishing much of the clothing worn by the Iñupiat observed by members of this expedition (Ray 1975:49). Men's waistbands were decorated with wolf or fox tails. Trade goods sought by the people interacting with those of the Billings expedition included iron, knives, blue glass beads, and metal buttons, but Iñupiat access to imported metals and beads was already apparent. Billings' expedition also provided early ethnographic data and influenced the subsequent searches for the elusive Northwest Passage (Bockstoce 1977a).

Of central importance for these purposes was the Russian financed search for the Northwest Passage in 1816 under the leadership of Otto von Kotzebue on the ship *Rurick*. Those associated with this journey of exploration included Ivan Fedorovich Krusenstern, von Kotzebue, Lieutenant Gleb Shishmarev, Dr. Frederick Eschscholtz, naturalist Louis von Chamisso, and artist Louis Choris (Ray 1975). Members of this expedition sighted but did not land at Cape Prince of Wales and went ashore at the site of the settlement now referred to as Shishmaref, where the residents were said to have had fled after being threatened unsuccessfully by the crew with firearms and, subsequently, sabers, which frightened the Iñupiat away (Kotzebue 1967:204; Ray 1975:57). Kotzebue reported that the Shishmaref Iñupiat possessed Russian lances with iron tips (Ray 1975:58). Although members of this expedition met some Iñupiat in the area of Shishmaref Inlet, Kotzebue characterized the interactions as having a tenor of hostility (Kotzebue 1967; Ray 1975:56-57). Members of Kotzebue's expedition went on to name Cape Espenberg:

> Northward from Cape Prince of Wales the coast appeared to be very much inhabited, and when Kotzebue went to shore—apparently near the east end of Cape Espenberg—to investigate the direction of the coast, he saw five

umiaks with fifty men coming from the east. "At the head of each boat was a fox-skin, on a nigh pole, with which they beckoned to us, uttering, at the same time, the loudest cries." Soon the men armed with lances and bows and arrows, landed and sat down on the ground in a large circle, "two chiefs [seating] themselves apart from the rest."...to demonstrate his friendship, Kotzebue distributed tobacco. [Ray 1975:58]

From Cape Espenberg, Kotzebue and his crew sailed north to the cape, which they named Krusenstern, and explored and defined the perimeters of the sound that now bears the captain's name. Additionally, members of the expedition named Goodhope Bay, the Choris Peninsula, Chamisso Island, and Eschscholtz Bay (Ray 1975:59-67). Kotzebue anchored about 10 miles northeast of the present day community of Deering, where eight Iñupiat in an umiaq approached him. Kotzebue described them as being apprehensive and constantly prepared for a fight (Ray 1975:59). Two days later, the crew landed at the mouth of the Nugnugaluktuk River, where they encountered other Iñupiat (Ray 1975:60). It was noted that the Iñupiat sought tobacco as a trade item, known and available to the indigenous people of Kotzebue Sound by way of aboriginal trade networks. In fact, it is unlikely that knowledge of Kotzebue Sound was unavailable to the Russians at this time or earlier, in part as a result of trade fairs held at that location in which people from both continents participated (Bockstoce 1977a).

In 1820 and 1821 the Russian Imperial Navy financed a two-ship expedition led by Mikhail N. Vasiliev in the *Discovery* and Gleb S. Shishmarev in the *Good Intent*—the most ambitious attempt to date to locate the coveted Northwest Passage (Foote 1964:57-58; Ray 1975:64-65). Shishmarev documented the use of firearms by Iñupiat in Kotzebue Sound:

> At Elephant Point in July of the previous year, 1820, a party from one of the Russian ships encountered about three hundred Eskimos from the Buckland River who were camped in tents. They noticed that some of the natives had firearms, and later, when hostilities broke out between the Russians and Eskimos, the two groups exchanged gunfire. [Bockstoce 1977a:7]

In conjunction with the east to west search for the Northwest Passage proposed by Captain John Franklin, the British sent forth an overland expedition to the Mackenzie River, the members of which were to traverse the Mackenzie by boat to its mouth, and then proceed west to Bering Strait. The British also sent forth a naval expedition from east to west headed by Captain William Edward Parry (Bockstoce 1977a:10). Captain Frederick Beechey, commanding HMS *Blossom*, was sent to meet Franklin at Kotzebue Sound in 1826 with supplies necessary for his return trip to England, as well as a vast array of trade goods, including red broadcloth, iron in various forms, hatchets, nails, cases of beads, principally blue jewelry and trinkets, knives, print handkerchiefs, kaleidoscopes, needles, scissors, mirrors, shirts, fish hooks, and vermilion (Bockstoce 1977a:10).

Significant for these purposes is trade between Beechey and approximately 18 people from the village of Shishmaref, who traveled to the ship in skinboats, particularly in search of iron and tobacco, for which they reluctantly were forced to trade bows and arrows (Beechey 1968; Bockstoce 1977a:

104-105). At Shishmaref, Beechey noted a considerable large village of "yourts" (yurts or semisubterranean houses) (Bockstoce 1977a:104). Iñupiat from others areas, such as Cape Prince of Wales, were returning to their winter homes by the end of August and early September of that year (Bockstoce 1977a:110). The Iñupiat whom Beechey encountered were very accomplished traders, but they indicated that most of their trade had been principally through indigenous trade networks, rather than with White people (Bockstoce 1977a:111). Additionally, the Iñupiat traders drew accurate maps of the coastline, including the area from Cape Krusenstern to Cape Darby, and delineated Port Clarence—evidence indicative of their aboriginal long-distance, systematic, maritime travel, and associated knowledge base. The Iñupiat encountered by members of the Beechey expedition seemed unfamiliar with firearms, whereas others from the Buckland River and Cape Prince of Wales areas were certainly acquainted with the capabilities of muskets (Bockstoce 1977a:129). For the most part, however, the Iñupiat remained primarily dependent on local technology modified, in some cases, by the use of metal acquired in trade.

Retreating south from the pack ice in October 1826 without locating Franklin, Beechey later returned to the Alaska coast in 1827 (Bockstoce 1977a:14). Crewmembers aboard the expedition's barge were killed in a wreck of the vessel, and the Iñupiat salvaged the useable metal from the barge. Beechey described these Iñupiat in the following terms:

> Before we left the island [Chamisso] we were visited by several natives whom we remembered to have seen the preceding year... Our visitors were, as before, dirty, noisy, and impudent...[after the visitors left and returned at 3:00 A.M., Beechey stated] there is every reason to believe that [thievery] was their real motive. [Beechey 1968:256-257]

The Iñupiat, after hearing a shot, responded with a volley of arrows aimed at Beechey's party and wounded two of the crew:

> After a considerable time, an elderly man came forward with his arms and breast covered with mud, motioned us to begone, and decidedly rejected all offers of reconciliation...[Beechey towed their umiak on board imprisoning them on the island] for I [Beechey] was unwilling to allow them to depart with sentiments which might prove injurious to any Europeans who might succeed us. [Beechey 1968:285-286]

These hostilities continued with the abduction of one man as hostage by members of Beechey's crew in an effort to regain goods believed to have been stolen by the Iñupiat. The Iñupiaq hostage was finally set free (Bockstoce 1977a:14, 126-127).

Beechey anchored at Port Clarence in late August and early September 1827, where he and his crew, noting several boats and tents, concluded that the people there were well provided with iron. Beechey's party estimated the population of the Port Clarence area at 400 people residing in three villages: one on the north spit of Grantley Harbor, one more permanent in appearance with winter houses on the north side of Port Clarence, and one at the entrance of Tuksuk Channel—the latter seemingly a seasonal fishing site (Beechey 1968; Bockstoce 1977a:121; Ray 1975:84-86). At Port Clarence they met

some of the same Iñupiat whom they had encountered at Chamisso Island the previous year, including people from Cape Prince of Wales (Bockstoce 1977a:122). At the end of September, hostilities broke out between the *Blossom*'s crew and Buckland River Iñupiat at Chamisso Island, concluding in the deaths of both crew members and Iñupiat (Beechey 1968; Bockstoce 1977a:130-131). When the *Blossom* left Kotzebue Sound in the fall of 1827, it was the last British ship to go north of Bering Strait for the next two decades (Bockstoce 1977a:132).

In 1848 a search began for the missing Franklin expedition, resulting in an increased non-Native presence in the Bering Strait, as well as the earliest overland expedition from Kotzebue Sound across the Seward Peninsula and into Norton Sound (Collinson 1976; Ray 1975:143). Between 1848 and 1854 nine ships, eight of the British Royal Navy and one private yacht, sailed along the coast of Northwest Alaska and dispatched parties inland, seeking clues to the whereabouts of Franklin and his men (Ray 1975: 141-148). Consequently, the inhabitants of the interior of the Seward Peninsula became less isolated from direct Euro-American contact. The crews of the *Plover* and *Rattlesnake* (Ray 1975:173-174) constructed two houses at Port Clarence in 1850 and 1853. The overland expeditions included that of William Hobson from Port Clarence to Kotzebue Sound in 1854 through Tuksuk Channel, across Imuruk Basin, and up the Kuzitrin River to the interior Seward Peninsula villages of Kauwerak and Soiyuk. Hobson followed the Spafarief or Kiwalik River to the southern coast of Kotzebue Sound, on to Chamisso Island, and across to the Goodhope River, reaching the village of Pittakpuk (Pitak, near Pittaq bluff) on the river's floodplain, where people there had a good supply of caribou (Burch 1991; Ray 1983: 217; Williss n.d.:36). Hobson then went on to the present site of the community of Deering and Chamisso Island (Ray 1975:153).

Between 1865-1867 more non-Natives penetrated the interior of the Seward Peninsula to construct the proposed Western Union Pacific telegraph line, a project that was never completed. However, it did lead to the establishment of a telegraph station at Port Clarence in 1866, referred to as Libbysville at the time (Ray 1975:157-169, 173-174). Participants in the endeavor noted that there was a scarcity of caribou in the Unalakleet area in 1867 (Ray 1975:164).

More frequent, diverse, and, ultimately, sustained contact between Iñupiat and non-Natives in the study area resulted from the expansion of the American commercial whaling industry into the Bering Sea, Bering Strait, Chukchi Sea, and Arctic Ocean in the mid-1800s (Bockstoce 1986). Serious attempts to take bowhead whales in the Arctic, principally for baleen and oil, commenced in 1848, when the whaler *Superior* sailed through Bering Strait (Bockstoce 1986:21; Foote 1965). Although the industry began to decline as early as the 1860s, commercial whaling continued into the 1900s and brought about more sustained contact between Iñupiat and non-Natives when steamships began overwintering along the northwest and arctic coasts of Alaska, and shore-whaling commenced (Bockstoce 1977b, 1986:232).

Although the history of whaling is lengthy, complex, and interesting (see Bockstoce 1986 for a more detailed account), the most important outcome for these purposes

relates to what Revenue Service Captain Michael Healy, Sheldon Jackson, and others concluded was the starvation of the "Eskimos" of northwest coastal Alaska. This alleged "starvation" resulted initially from the depletion of bowhead whales and, later, of Pacific walrus taken commercially for ivory, as well as the large amount of caribou harvested to meet the demand of feeding the many non-Native whalers who were present or ended up spending time in Alaska waters or onshore.

Second, but not less significantly, was the role of commercial whaling crews as carriers of diseases, such as the influenza epidemic of 1900 that was exacerbated by measles introduced from Siberia the same year (Wolfe 1982). This, and numerous other diseases of epidemic proportions, contributed to demographic and settlement pattern shifts, influencing the way in which the introduction of reindeer herding into Alaska, to be discussed below, transpired.

Third, the whalers, and fur traders, who pretended to be whalers, provided access to a regular commerce in trade goods, particularly when whaling profits began to decline (Bockstoce 1986:184; Ray 1975: 191). Such goods included firearms and materials associated with their use (e.g., rifles, shotguns, cartridges, reloading implements, gun powder, and lead shot); commercially made fabrics and tailored "White" clothing; food goods (e.g., sugar, tea, baking powder, dried applies, rice, molasses, and hard breads); liquor and tobacco; and a diverse variety of tools (e.g., metal knives, files, drills and drill bits, whaling shoulder-bombs, compasses, and so on) (Ray 1975:139). For the study area, however, access to trade goods from the Hudson's Bay Company to the east down the Kobuk and Noatak Rivers cannot be underestimated as a source of Western commodities during the last half of the 1800s.

Jackson and his followers attributed the moral and physical decline of the "Eskimos," beyond that of starvation, directly to commercial whalers and traders, and later, to the non-Native prospectors and gold miners who came to Alaska in the late 1890s and early 1900s (Smith 1984). Commercial whalers (officers and crew), the traders who accompanied them or followed, and prospectors and miners provided the Iñupiat with alcohol and taught them methods for the production and use of "spirits." These trading practices and the employment of Iñupiat subsistence whalers in the commercial endeavor also influenced seasonal rounds and settlement locations and strategies, patterns of leadership, social stratification, and other Iñupiaq socioeconomic and sociocultural phenomena affecting the outcome of the introduction of reindeer.

There is little question that minimally 20,000 bowhead whales and 150,000 Pacific walrus were harvested by commercial whalers (Bockstoce 1986:15, 72). However, the magnitude of food depletion and resultant Iñupiaq starvation – and causative factors, in the case of caribou shortage – are the subject of varying assessments (as discussed below and by Bockstoce 1986:15, 72, 136-142; Burch 1975:27, 90; Foote 1964; Lomen 1954; Ray 1975; and others).

For the two decades after the U.S. purchase of Alaska in 1867, there was little federal government presence in the territory. It is worth noting that the operation of the revenue marine cutters initially was sporadic. In subsequent years, more regular annual



Photo 4. Unknown young lady, left, and Mary Okie Dimmick. Mrs. Keithahn taught the girls dressmaking in school. These young ladies were happy to have their own dresses. The dresses were used only on Sundays or on special occasions, such as the week of the Christmas program. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 194).

summer patrols in Alaska and Siberian waters of the north Pacific, Bering Sea, Bering Strait, Chukchi Sea, and Arctic Ocean were undertaken (Ray 1975:189). This service, under the jurisdiction of the Treasury of the United States , was responsible for regulating firearm and liquor trade as well as customs and fisheries business, and, in general, acting as the presence of American authority in the new territory. The revenue marine cutter patrols carried out other functions, such as searching for mission vessels, providing passage to stranded whalers or miners and to missionaries/teachers coming north to "civilize" the Iñupiat and other Natives. One example of such contact was that by Hooper and his crew on the revenue steamer *Corwin* in 1880. In July of that year, Hooper traded calico, drilling (a thick cotton fabric), and tobacco for red and white fox skins with Iñupiat from a settlement of approximately 20 houses at Cape Espenberg (Hooper 1964:23).

However, these patrols were uniquely relevant concerning the Iñupiat of the region because of the diversity, intensity, and nature of interactions between revenue marine cutter patrols and indigenous people. These patrols participated in the Alaska Reindeer Service's transportation of imported reindeer from Siberia, to be discussed below; in attempting to control the trade of firearms and alcohol; in trying to maintain Western law and order and dispense justice involving disputes between Natives and non-Native whalers, traders, and prospectors; and in documenting ethnographic and demographic information regarding Alaska's indigenous peoples, particularly those residing on the coast.

Jacobsen's (1977) voyage in Alaska between 1881 and 1883 provided some relevant ethnographic information. Jacobsen (1977:141-142) recorded the community of Kauwerak with five houses and one qazgi and visits to this settlement from Port Clarence people attending a welcoming feast. The Kauwerak people attempted to sell Jacobsen caribou meat, attesting to the continued presence of that species in the interior of the Seward Peninsula in the early 1880s. On a journey to Cape Prince of Wales, Jacobsen recorded three houses at the outlet of a lake into "Port Clarence Bay," the village of "Singrak" (Singak) with three houses of five to six people each, Iñupiat from "Kikertarok" (near the present site of Kotzebue) on the northern shore of Kotzebue Sound heading for "Shaktolic" (Shaktoolik) to a feast, and many other locations north and south of the Seward Peninsula (Jacobsen 1977:142-155). Shishmaref and other communities of concern herein were not noted, however.

Lastly, although concurrent with reindeer herding and the introduction of formal Western education discussed in chapter 4, a few words on the gold rush in Northwest Alaska are in order, particularly because of the role of gold prospecting and mining in the formation of the city of Nome. Daniel Libby of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition had discovered gold on the Seward Peninsula—specifically on the tributary of the Niukluk River—as early as 1866 or 1867.. The first mining district was organized in 1881 by the Alaska Mining Company to extract a silver deposit at Omilak Mountain (Schrader and Brooks 1900:27). Not until 30 years later (1897) did Libby return with a party of relatives and friends to prospect in the same area of his original find. By the winter of 1898-1899, several mining companies had been organized with Council as the

population center (Brooks 1973). The Anvil Creek finds that began the Nome gold rush are commonly attributed to three Scandinavians—former Norwegian reindeer herder Jafet Lindberg, Eric Lindblom (a whaling ship deserter), and John Brynteson, a Michigan miner, during the fall of 1898 (Cole 1983:37; Lomen 1954:14-15; Schrader and Brooks 1900:31).

> I think that one of history's strangest sights was that witnessed by the equally startled Eskimo and reindeer of the Bering Strait areas as multitudes of white men and a few adventurous women, bitten by the gold bug, ranged up and down many miles of the beaches on both sides of Nome, ripping up the tundra in a frantic search for wealth beyond their dreams. [Lomen 1954:21]

By the end of 1898, 300 claims had been filed in the Nome Mining District. By the summer of 1899, there were 2,000 recorded claims with an estimated production of $3,000,000 of gold by the end of the season (Schrader and Brooks 1900:16). Nome became and remained the largest town and regional center of the Seward Peninsula, principally because of the activities that occurred there at the turn of the century.

Prospecting activities influenced other areas in the vicinity of the northern Seward Peninsula and southern Kotzebue Sound, including the location of gold in the Cape York region, 100 miles northwest of Nome and 25 miles from Port Clarence (Schrader and Brooks 1900:25; Smith 1984). In fact, it was Cape Prince of Wales reindeer herder Stanley Kivyearzruk who located coarse gold on Buhner Creek, precipitating the organization of the Kanowock Mining District during the summer of 1899 with its chief camp at Cape York at the mouth of the Anikovik River approximately 41 miles northwest of Teller (Schrader and Brooks 1900:26; Smith 1984:282).

Another find on a tributary of the Goodhope River during the winter of 1897-1898 resulted in the exploration of the rivers draining into Shishmaref Inlet in 1900. Some of the latter prospectors established their headquarters at Serpentine Hot Springs inland from Shishmaref. Important for these purposes is the fact that many of the Samis brought to Alaska to herd reindeer were lured to search for gold rather than maintaining reindeer herds (Lomen 1954:16). Not unexpectedly, the Iñupiat of the study area were not excited about the gold finds (Smith 1984:282). Lastly, during this period of intense mining on the Seward Peninsula, it was commonly reported that the caribou populations were sparse if not totally absent (cf., Schrader and Brooks 1900).

Conceptions of Hunters and Herders in the Intellectual Climate of the 1800s

> A conception of the progressive unfolding of human and social potentialities—evolution in the broad sense—was in large part related to the triumph over the theological partisans of degradationism, the belief that man had "fallen from grace" rather than risen from lowly beginnings. The rise of progressivism fitted neatly with the increasing intellectual interest in primitive peoples, now being described scientifically (in the sense of natural history) in many faraway parts of the globe by missionaries, botanists, museum collectors, geographers, ship's doctors, and "gentlemen adventurers" of many types. The major scientific interest was in arranging these fascinat-

> ing reports about primitive peoples in layers of culture from the most primitive to the most evolved, with a particularly strong emphasis on the origins of various institutions. [Service 1985:3-4]

The age of exploration and colonialization by western Europeans and, later Americans, yielded considerable documented evidence of peoples of different, and oftentimes "inhuman" or barely human, "races" living throughout the world, who not only practiced "primitive," "heathenistic," "savage," or "barbarous" behaviors but obviously were inferior to the citizens of enlightened, progressive Christian nations. Initially, the existence of such "primitive" peoples posed major ideological and theological problems. For example, when Eskimos were first recorded in the 1570s, they were conceptualized as bestial entities more similar to "animals" than to "humans"—humans and animals being perceived as qualitatively very distinct from each other and basically unrelated during this period of intellectual history (Fienup-Riordan 1990:9-10). Humans were on the pinnacle of the pyramid of life.

The achievement of human status in mainstream Western thought by indigenous peoples of the Americas and elsewhere took another couple hundred years to achieve. How was the "primitive" condition of such peoples to be explained? As the quotation above suggests, some theologians found their answers in the Old Testament of the Bible, which they interpreted as teaching that humans had degenerated following their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. While some people progressed from that lowly status by knowing God and becoming civilized, others, such as the Eskimos, remained in this primordial degenerative state. In contrast, also during the latter half of the 1700s, some philosophers (such as Rousseau) perceived these newly "discovered" indigenous peoples to be "natural men" and "noble savages," uncorrupted by the evils of civilization. In the case of Eskimos, others saw the ability of these people to exist in the rigors of the Arctic as admirable and ingenious given the environment, although, without question, inferior to Western humanity.

> The initial fascination for Euro-Americans was in the sharp contrast between the harsh, cold, primordial conditions of arctic life and the ultimately admirable human qualities and adaptive strengths attributed to its aboriginal occupants. Such adaptive strengths presumably enabled them [the Eskimos] to cope with the severity of their environment. The social Darwinism of the nineteenth century preached the survival of the fittest, a principle that was applied to all phases of natural development. What, then, was more admirable, more susceptible to idealization than a people who were apparently so perfectly fitted to their environment, masters of their domain. [Fienup-Riordan 1990:15]

The intellectual climate of the Western world was strongly dominated by evolutionary theory in the second half of the 1800s. British social theorist Herbert Spencer's (1967) coining of the term "social Darwinism" in the 1870s—to describe his application of Darwinian (Darwin 1950) principles to universal evolution including the transformation of human societies—was significant in this context. More influential to the growing field of ethnology and social evolutionary theory was Lewis Henry Morgan's (1985) *Ancient Society* published in 1877. Morgan used evolutionary theory to explain the origins of multiple social insti-

tutions—including forms of marriage, the structure of the family, concepts of property and inheritance, and features of political organization. The cause and effect relationships, as outlined by Morgan (1985), provided a virtual "cookbook" for "intellectuals" of the late 1800s and early 1900s wishing to engage in abstract or applied endeavors at social engineering. In essence, Morgan's *Ancient Society* not only explained the "primitive" status of the indigenous peoples of the Americas but also outlined the manner in which those groups could be brought from their base conditions to more closely approximate the apex of humanity represented by the civilized White, Western world.

By the early 1800s the United States, having thrown off the shackles of British rule while incorporating some of its institutions such as slavery, had a "love-hate" relationship with colonialism. Despite the legal abolition of slavery in the 1860s, Americans, in their quest to conquer the frontier in the spirit of "manifest destiny," developed new forms of colonialism distinct from the models they had rejected. It was the citizen frontiersmen or pioneers, rather than the British administrators and soldiers, who spearheaded the Western movement, colonizing the new frontier by claiming its land and resources. When these pioneers ran out of land and new-found wealth for the taking at the shores of the Pacific Ocean, the thrust of the frontier movement moved northward more in search of valuable resources from the land, rather than land for the land itself. Differing from the European colonial models with which Americans had firsthand experience, there were negligible attempts to subjugate America's indigenous peoples into the status of slaves or peasants. Rather, Native Americans were perceived as obstacles to the fulfillment of manifest destiny, dealt with by means of warfare, relocation, and confinement on reservations.

Leading clergy and scholars of the 1800s—who were often one and the same—of industrialized nations of Western Europe and the United States had found the explanation for the existence and "primitive" status of Native Americans most appropriately addressed by the theses of social evolution. The social evolutionary paradigms of the time were based on intellectual stereotypes, rather than on the ethnographic realities exhibited by any sociocultural group (Fienup-Riordan 1990:1-34; Wenzel 1991:38).

While some of the American pioneers were busy staking claims to land and resources, others were more intent on staking claims to souls—principally those of Native Americans. Whereas commercial whalers, prospectors, fur traders, and other entrepreneurs systematically had been pillaging the known frontier of the North since the late 1700s, it was not until the last decades of the 1800s that American Protestant missionaries expanded their efforts from the "west" to Alaska in the north, preceded only by the Russian Greek Orthodox and some Roman Catholic clergy.

Sheldon Jackson, as a representative of both the Protestant mission movement and the intelligentsia of his time, was a contemporary of Lewis Henry Morgan, Herbert Spencer, and other social theoreticians. To Jackson, his colleagues, and the bulk of the population of United States in the latter half of the 1800s who knew, however superficially and stereotypically, about the indigenous peoples of the Americas in general and the Eskimos of the North specifically, the only

path to the salvation, preservation, and civilization of these "heathens" was through the introduction of Protestant Christianity and new economies not based on hunting, gathering, fishing, and trapping. Though Jackson was overtly to be driven by the mandates of social evolution, he concurrently but more covertly was an advocate of the European colonial model using the mechanism of introducing reindeer herding to the Natives of Alaska. That is, while "saving" and "elevating" Alaska Native peoples, he also sought to develop an indigenous class of pastoral peasants.

An understanding of the intellectual paradigms under which Jackson and his followers pursued their goals is critical to comprehending the consequences of the introduction of reindeer to the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. That is, outdated social evolutionary theories—as operationalized by mechanisms of diffusion and assimilation—do not provide the intellectual insights necessary to accomplish this analytical task. Time also has proven that theories of acculturation and modernization, prevalent in the late 1950s and during the 1960s, have neither shed much light on the processes of cultural change nor provided predictive value.

Similarly, though the introduction of reindeer involved shifts in technology and economy in the same ecological setting, a strictly materialist approach to comprehending the outcome of this event has limited utility. To date, treatments of this topic have been primarily historical, ethnohistorical, or economic in nature (Lantis 1950; Olson 1969a; Ray 1965; Stern et al. 1980), with less attention focused on social organizational and, particularly, ideological phenomena associated with the introduction of reindeer to the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska.

The cultures and societies of Northwest Alaska, as elsewhere in the world, have always been undergoing change. That is, there was no "traditional," "pristine," static, ahistorical social state from which indigenous people either degenerated or progressed. Rather, an understanding of both the processes of sociocultural change and the results must incorporate a dynamic analysis of the social relations, ideologies, and material conditions of both the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska and their social, economic, and theological proselytizers in a historical perspective.

Furthermore, the use of anthropological dichotomies—such as real and ideal, etic and emic, objective and subjective, synchronic and diachronic—employed for analytical convenience, provides points of reference rather than explanations of process. That is, sociocultural structures and meanings are continuously called on by their bearers to facilitate their existence in a constantly changing world. Accordingly, social and material structures change and symbolic meanings are renegotiated. Sahlins noted some of the problems of understanding historical events and related cultural change from an anthropological perspective:

> Clearly, the twin anthropological (or historical) errors of materialism and idealism consist in attempts to link the meaningful significance and the worldly happening in some mechanical or physicalist relation of cause and effect. For materialism the significance is the direct effect of the objective properties of the happening. This ignores the relative value or meaning given to the happening by the society. For idealism the happening is simply an effect of its significance.

> This ignores the burden of "reality": the forces that have real effects, if always in terms of some cultural scheme. [1985: 154]

As relevant to the question at hand, then, the results of the processes of cultural change must be analyzed as outcomes of the interactions of the bearers of distinct cultures and members of unique societies. The result of this interaction is synthesis. In this case, the analyses in the examples of change portrayed in chapters below are focused on getting at some primary syntheses as they were manifested in the sociocultural systems of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. In chapter 8 the analytical components are dealt with collectively to reintegrate the whole and hopefully to be able to extrapolate beyond the confines of the study based on lessons learned from exploring this complex and engrossing tale.

CHAPTER 3
THE HOPE AND PROMISE OF UBLASAUN: A HERDER'S STORY

It was the spring of 1918, and the world was embroiled in the closing phases of World War I. This was the year that the tide of the war ultimately would turn to favor the allied forces. During the coming winter, however, 20 million people around the world would succumb to a devastating epidemic of what was termed "Spanish influenza." While the war, removed by geography and culture from the day to day concerns of most Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, may have had little direct influence on their lives, the influenza epidemic to come was to affect everyone. The tumultuous climate of the year passed unnoticed in the short life of Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr's first son, one-year-old Gideon Kahlook Kunautaq Barr. ("Makaiqtaq" was spelled many ways by White teachers, such as "Mukaktik," "Mukritruk," and "Mukituk.") Thomas's wife Emily had given birth to Gideon in the northwestern Seward Peninsula village of Shishmaref on July 21, 1917. Among Shishmaref's residents were several women healers and midwives to whom Iñupiat turned for assistance when giving birth. One of Gideon's Iñupiaq names, Kahlook, was bestowed upon him as a namesake of a deceased relative of his father. His other Iñupiaq name, Kunautaq, was that of his father's father.

It was in 1918 that Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr built a house at Ublasaun, planning to abandon the family's former home at the winter camp to the southeast. This winter camp was called Qivaluaq by the Iñupiat, but known as Kividluk or Kividlo to the few White people in the world aware of its existence. Nearby Qivaluaq was the associated settlement of Salliñq, or "a place where there is a lagoon behind and a beach coast outside."

In 1918, as it had been for millennia since the end of the last "ice age," the Seward Peninsula reached out across the narrow waters of Bering Strait toward the Chukotsk Peninsula of Siberia. The windswept tundra of the northwestern Seward Peninsula lay behind a coast line that often was pounded by the crashing waves of the Chukchi Sea. In the spring of 1918 a multitude of Iñupiaq settlements and seasonally occupied camps dotted the shores of this landmass, dispersed opportunistically among its many lagoons, inlets, lakes, streams, sandy bars, islets, and islands.

Spanish influenza would reach the area by late fall of 1918. Some settlements north and east of Shishmaref were spared, however, largely due to a quarantine enforced by local Iñupiat with the use of firearms. The people of Cape Prince of Wales to the southwest and other settlements to the east in the interior of the Seward Peninsula and to the northeast in the Kotzebue Sound area were not so lucky, as the epidemic forever changed the distribution

of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, touching everyone in some way by taking the life of a relative, trade partner, or acquaintance.

When Thomas began to construct his house at Ublasaun, he knew from the rich oral tradition of his people, from his experience camping there while fall seal netting, and from the remains of ancient houses—occupied by people who had not yet acquired metal implements, but who used large, pecked stone net sinkers and indigenous pottery—that his was not the first winter settlement at this location.

In 1918 Ublasaun remained a very productive site for fall seal netting by the Iñupiat of the area. Every household had a few fathoms of seal-rawhide, eight-inch mesh net. Before freezeup, people cooperatively netted the much needed and desired spotted seals (adults and pups), ugruk (bearded seal), and, at times, beluga (white whales). Each household's net was attached end to end until the greater net was composed of three or four of the smaller panels, weighted to the bottom of the sea by stone sinkers. The seals taken between the knots became the property of the family in whose individual net they were caught. Seals that had drowned and washed ashore down current from the net became the property of whoever discovered them in the morning on the beach. Therefore, early each morning, children raced from their houses down the beach to find seals that had washed ashore. The large net was checked by adults in umiaqs twice daily and monitored constantly to ensure that the large ugruks or beluga whales that might become entangled in the mesh could be dispatched before destroying this piece of cooperative technology. Periodically, the large net was brought ashore to dry, lest it become too soft to be effective. Some of the seals were stored whole in underground caches, where they soon froze, and were processed during the coming winter as needed.

But 1918 was the first time that Ublasaun was to serve as a winter village for Iñupiaq reindeer herders, whose lives had predominantly depended upon the bounty of the sea and the wild herds of caribou that once roamed the tundra.

Both the seeming disappearance of the caribou and the arrival of imported Siberian reindeer from Chukotka were phenomena relatively recent in the tradition of the Iñupiat. In the next two years, Thomas's brothers, nephews, his apprentice Gordon Dimmick (Qiziilaaq), and some other relatives and associates moved from Qivaluaq to Ublasaun, where they remained during the winters until 1925. Ublasaun was chosen as an opportune site for the winter camp, since the herd kept straying away from Iñuirniq (Espenberg River) and heading southwest. Ublasaun was closer than Cape Espenberg to the herd's previous calving grounds near Qivaluaq. Reindeer does, like caribou does, try to return to the place of their birth to fawn each spring. Additionally, there was good moss for winter food near Ublasaun. So the herders decided to move there to remain closer to their animals.

Seven more semisubterranean houses were constructed by the people who moved to Ublasaun following Thomas and his family. This is the community that Thomas's son, Gideon, remembered as a young child.

A description of the distribution of people in the eight houses at Ublasaun and their relationships contributes a breath of life into this setting. Thomas's semisubterranean house was the first dwelling on the south-

western periphery of Ublasaun, on the east bank of a small creek that drained nearby tundra lakes. Besides Thomas, his wife Emily Paizuzraq Kiyutelluk (Qayutialak) and their three daughters and two sons—Fannie, Bessie, Mary, Gideon and Elijah—lived together in this, the largest house at Ublasaun. Thomas's youngest brother Peter Kahlook (Qauqluk) Barr, who as a child had been adopted out to another family, his wife Bessie Sikinguaq Okie, and their three children Roy, David, and Lydia resided two houses up the beach from his eldest brother's home. The unmarried apprentice herder Gordon Dimmick, whose father was from Kivalina and who subsequently married Peter's wife's sister Mary, lived in a small house situated between those of Thomas and Peter.

Thomas's other brother Gilbert Sublaq Barr lived at the northeastern most periphery of Ublasaun with his wife Rosie Umisaaq, their daughter Lillian, and their three sons Edward, Isaiah, and Jessie. There was a strong bond of kinship between Gilbert and Thomas, who wanted to live, herd, and travel with each other. Rosie's stepfather Umiaq and mother Aguviuna lived in the shadow of their daughter's house in the most traditional style structure in the settlement, reminiscent of the dwellings of people who occupied this site before iron came to the Iñupiat.

Three other houses were positioned between those of the brothers Gideon and Gilbert. One was the home of two young men Adrian (also called Edwin) and Walter Barr. These young men were brothers whose deceased father Ahvalook was the eldest brother of Thomas, Gilbert, and Peter. The second was the home of widower Moses Qiluq and his adopted son James Kivetoruk Moses. Moses was from up the coast. His now-deceased wife was Thomas's older sister Quganaq. The third dwelling was inhabited by Lloyd Koonuk and his first wife Margaret, who was James Moses's sister, and their three children, Rudolph, Ernest, and Daisy. James's biological father was the brother of widower Moses Qiluq. Lloyd Koonuk, originally from Arctic River southeast of Shishmaref, was the brother of the affluent reindeer herder William Allockeok (Allagiaq).

The total population of Ublasaun in the early 1920s was approximately 30—a fairly large winter settlement even then, since members of the village dispersed to Cape Espenberg and elsewhere during summer months. This community, however, was not large enough to have a qazgi or men's house.

Except for Umiaq's and Aguviuna's more traditional domicile, the houses at Ublasaun were transitional between the semisubterranean homes found at Shishmaref and throughout Northwest Alaska in the recent Iñupiaq past, and frame dwellings at Deering, the dominant house form of the future. In 1920, from the exterior, the village resembled several small hills with protruding smokestacks. A small skylight made of the translucent stomachs of walrus or of glass was set in the apex of each of these sod-covered mounds—this skylight being large enough to emit light but small enough, hopefully, to deter the raiding paws of a polar bear.

Gideon remembers that the family's 10-by-18-foot house at Ublasaun was constructed of driftwood. The small amount of scrap lumber available at Cape Espenberg was used to build the single bed for Thomas and Emily. Gideon and his siblings slept on

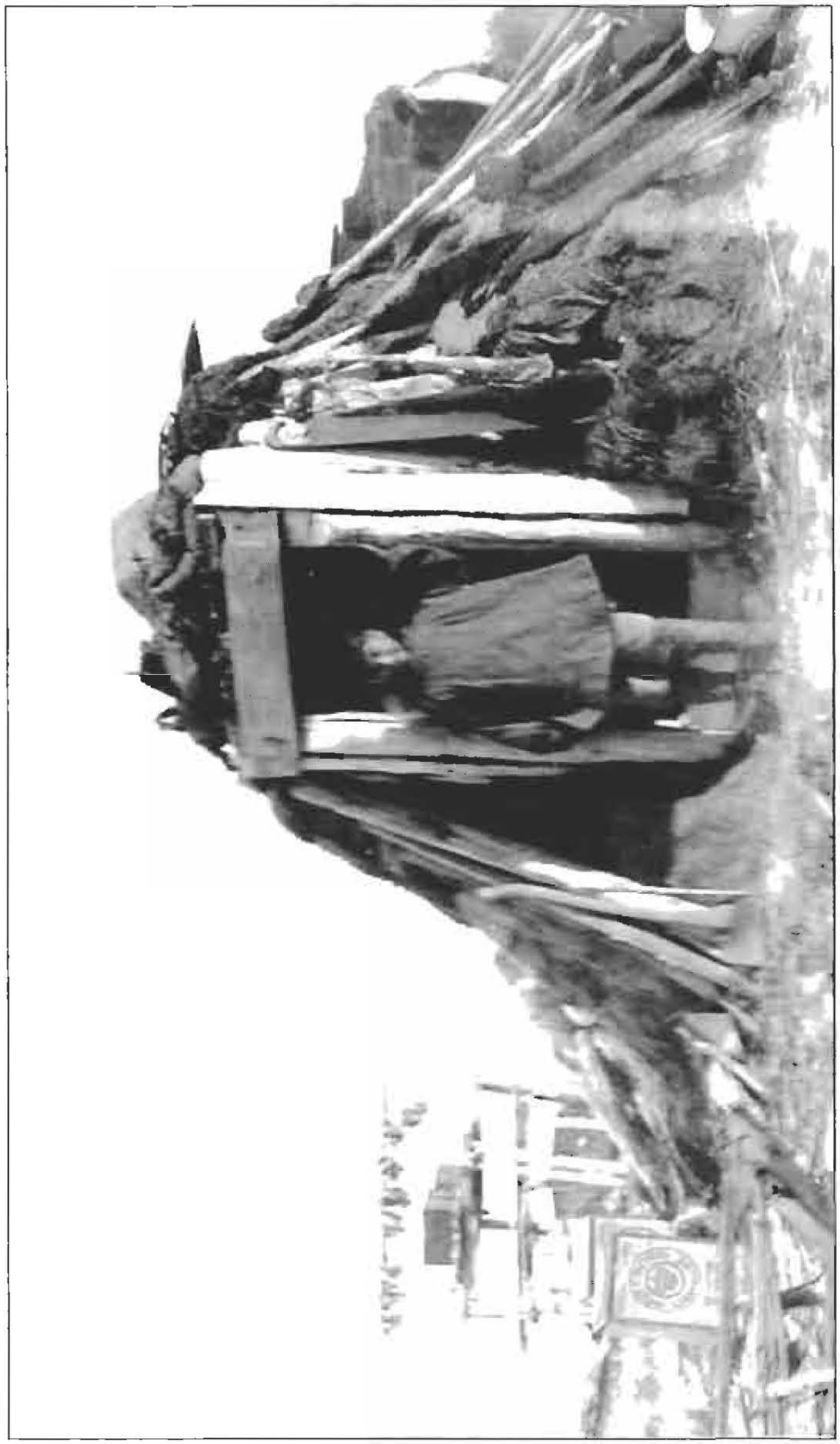


Photo 5. Boy in front of sod house. Food could be stored on the side of the entrance and under the wood planking. Meat is drying on the cache in the background. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 023).

the floor. The plates and cooking utensils were stored in the corner next to the stove. Each house had a single door connected to the living room by a long hallway. Food, clothing, hunting implements, and other items were stored in the tunnel-like corridor. While serving as a storage shed, the tunnel functioned to buffer the living quarters from the arctic winds and cold.

There were numerous elevated and subterranean caches around each dwelling in or upon which each family stored food, tents, hunting gear, clothing, and other items essential for life in the Arctic. The elevated caches were constructed of four driftwood poles 8 to 10 inches in diameter and 20 to 25 feet long, firmly implanted in the tundra. Between these uprights, cross pieces were attached that, in turn, supported one or more floors. The first floor was positioned as low as seven feet above the ground with others placed five to six feet above the one beneath it. Kayaks, spears, nets, ice scoops, and other implements for harvesting resources were stored on the lower level. Animal pelts wrapped in ugruk or walrus hides were placed on the upper tiers to protect them from the elements. Families with umiaqs stored them upside down for the winter on elevated platforms beyond the reach of hungry canids. However, for most of the time, the families' work dogs were staked in proximity to their owners' dwellings. From a distance, the elevated caches and overturned umiaqs on their platforms provided the only hint of occupation, since the houses appeared as mere knolls in an otherwise windswept landscape. Worn paths in the snow linked the clusters of domestic structures to each other, forming the physical manifestations of a community.

Gideon described the differences between the interiors of the old house of Umiaq and new houses at Ublasaun as he remembered it in 1990:

> It [an old house] has a kitchen and a living room, and hallways—a little short hallway and a storage shed. Those were used and made before they start using stoves in the house. That kitchen got to have—the top of it has to be built up a little higher than the living room because the smoke has to go out. And inside the living room it is only heated by a seal oil lamp, and they also cook some and melt some snow on those seal oil lamps. You can tell real easy if it's an old house. There would always be on the right side coming in that's the kitchen there and the living room over there. That is only heated by seal oil lamps. That's they way they were built.
>
> When we built these houses, we lived modern way. We got stove, cast iron stove, and a smokestack. Nice and warm in the house all the time. And the only seal oil lamps we ever used was in the storage shed during the winter. And we were using kerosene lamp at first and then, finally, these gas lamps come out and that's when we start using the gas lantern, which is even too bright. [Barr 1991e]

The floors of the structures were planked with wood, except for the cache. A rawhide loop was kept near the covered opening in the ceiling for snaring polar bear legs if such animals attempted to reach through the stomach or glass skylight. If a polar bear leg were caught with the loop, the Iñupiat tightened the tension on it and the loop was attached to a house beam. Then the men exited the house with weapons and killed the bear.

It was not uncommon on a winter day to see children sliding down steep banks with fleshed seal skins ready to stretch. The children "curved the front up" and they really

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Photo 6. Since houses had limited space, storage caches were used to store food and other hunting equipment. *Ugruk* skin was used for covers due to its waterproof qualities. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 161).

slid fast. They also used slabs of ice as sleds if seal skins were not available.

In 1918 Thomas, Gilbert, Peter; the brothers' paternal nephews Adrian and Walter; James Moses, and Lloyd Koonuk, all had reindeer. Dimmick was Thomas's apprentice herder. While each man had his own reindeer identified by a unique earmark, the animals were kept collectively in a single herd. An earmark was a pattern cut into the ear of a fawn while it was still with its mother and was used to establish ownership of the animal. By consolidating the reindeer, these related owners cooperatively herded, thereby caring for their reindeer 24 hours a day—a technique called close herding—while alternatively pursuing hunting, trapping, and fishing. Herding involved ensuring that the animals did not stray or fall victim to predators such as wolves, wolverines, and polar bears. While the reindeer had to be watched year round, the most critical time was in the spring when the does fawned.

During the months at Ublasaun before spring fawning, the herders engaged in trapping furbearers—primarily red and arctic foxes, but also mink, land otter, lynx, and wolverine. As prices for pelts in the early 1920s ranged from $22.50 to $250 for a blue or silver fox, trappers potentially were able to earn more in three months than a government teacher/reindeer agent did in an entire year. Being in the vicinity of reindeer improved the prospect for a successful trapping harvest, as foxes were drawn to the herds in search of food in the form of carrion.

White traders aggressively sought the pelts of the Iñupiaq trappers. In the summer, small boats as well as four-masted sailing schooners anchored off Cape Espenberg northeast of Ublasaun, trading dry goods, ammunition, and groceries such as flour,

sugar, milk, coffee, and beans for fox pelts. Some traders developed long-term relationships with the Iñupiat similar to indigenous trading partnerships. For example, while wintering at Ublasaun, Thomas and the others traded with John Backland, the owner and operator of a large schooner. In subsequent years they traded with Backland's son. The high value of the pelts induced some fur buyers to undertake risky, extensive winter travel by dog team to beat out their maritime competitors. In 1923, White fur buyer John Swedler visited Ublasaun. Not only was Swedler the first White man Thomas's six-year old son Gideon remembers seeing, but the trader also taught the boy his first English word, "dollar." While Gideon watched, Thomas traded fox pelts for pieces of green paper. Gideon was fascinated by the paper money with pictures of strange looking men he didn't know.

Trader Swedler traveled by dog team from Candle and Buckland. He acquired his Iñupiaq name, Kimoqtetoghoruaq or "a person that has eaten a dog," because of a time when he was caught in a storm and was forced to consume one of his animals to survive. Because people at Ublasaun traded in the winter with overland travelers and in summer with merchant vessels, there was less reason for these Iñupiat to go regularly to any other settlement to obtain Western goods. However, they exchanged their dollars for goods periodically at the trading post at Deering.

In April, when trapping had come to an end, the Ublasaun families moved to spring ugruk hunting camps up and down the coast where the reindeer fawned. People remained at those camps until the baby rein-



Photo 7. Paul Tocktoo is in the white parka cover with an unknown boy in black. They are standing in the entrance to a sod house. Snow blocks were good wind-breakers and prevented snow from building up when it blew from the north. Most of the house entrances faced south, east, or west. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 134).

deer were old enough to make the migration to summer pasturage at Cape Espenberg. In 1919 the Barr brothers constructed a reindeer corral at the cape. The corral was used for multiple purposes. As the reindeer were driven through the chutes, each herder's animals were counted. Additionally, young bulls destined to become steers were moved into a holding pen awaiting castration. Fawns then received the earmarks of their mothers. It was during the summer of 1921 that Gideon's mother also had a baby at Espenberg—his sister Elizabeth, who became more commonly known as "Bessie." By the spring of 1922 Thomas had amassed a herd of 1,163 animals.

With the onset of fall, the herders collected the reindeer and drove them back down the coast to Ublasaun. This cycle was repeated annually until 1925. These were the years of Gideon's childhood that he recalls most fondly:

> Starting December, yah. December, January, February, and those months, if the dogs start barking, us kids, we don't have to go out—our parents had to look out and see if it's a bear [polar bear] or dog team coming in, because your dogs will, as soon as they hear something or smell something, then usually they start barking.
>
> Well, I like it [Ublasaun] because it was nice, clean life, happy life. Hardly anybody get to arguing or something and, when something starting to come up that's not right, they'll, our fathers, get together and talk it over and advise whoever, whoever try to get off the line. They give them good advice, saying that's not the way to live. You won't be living happy...And they won't care to help you no more pretty soon, because you've done something that is not right with all the, all the neighbors. That was the real strong advice. Those old, old people, old women and old men. These women take care of their young girls and those old men, they would take care of the boys. They keep on advising them. [Barr 1991e]

By 1925 the lives of Thomas Barr and his family underwent considerable change. However, to understand the nature of this transformation in the lives of the people of Ublasaun, we must return to the events that preceded the formation of the community.

In approximately 1869, two years after the purchase of Alaska from Russia by the United States, Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr was born at Cape Espenberg to his father Kunautaq and his mother Kuvaaq. As a small boy, Thomas lived at Singiq across the lagoon from Qivaluaq. It is near this location that Thomas's father was eventually buried.

When he was a small boy during the fall and winter, Thomas played at the area of an old village called Ikpiziaq, located about one mile from Singiq on the east side of the Kalik River. By 1937 it looked like no one had lived there because drifting sands had covered the remains of the old sod houses. As a young boy, Thomas was told a story about why that village was abandoned:

> Sometimes after Christmas, maybe March, when the sun get high enough, when he [Thomas] was old enough to go out, he [went] away from the sod house where his parents lived, [and went to the old village site]. There was a little lake behind that, ah, behind that little knoll that slowly [was] vanishing towards the west, down this way. And there was a little lake right here, right in front it [the village], and in early fall, they decided to play football, they didn't know that ice wasn't thick enough. Well, when

> the people kicked the ball they're pretty heavy, and all the village people they get out there on the lake and they break through and they lost most of the population from drowning. [Barr 1991e]

One spring when the days got long and were nice, Thomas was playing around the houses at Singiq and Ikpiziaq. He looked up and saw molting animals that were eating from the ground. It was here that he learned that these animals were caribou feeding on moss and lichens on the top of the hill:

> He'd [Thomas] be standing right along side the window watching those animals feeding on top and then he would holler at them, shout at them. And when the caribous heard that noise, the shouting he made, they would lift up their heads and listen and start looking around. That's how close the animals always had to feed even though they are wild in those days... [Barr 1991e]

However, shortly after Thomas was old enough to accompany the men hunting, the caribou began to disappear from the northwestern Seward Peninsula. At that time, the Iñupiat were using rifles rather than bows and arrows for hunting caribou. Thomas remembered when they corralled them using *iñuksuk,* or cairns of caribou horns. The disappearance of caribou caused hardship for Thomas's family, as they relied heavily on the meat for food and on the hides for clothing. After that, they became more dependent on reindeer hides obtained through trade with the Siberians from across Bering Strait.

From the time Thomas was about 14 or 15 years old until his early 40s, whaling vessels and trading ships were commonly seen in the waters of the Bering and Chukchi Seas and Bering Strait. In the spring, the whaling ships anchored at Port Clarence to the south and took on crews of Iñupiaq whalers, seamstresses, cooks, and cabin boys. While Thomas was not employed by the whalers or traders, he knew people who were. Some Iñupiat thought that it was the whalers and traders with their abundant firearms that were responsible for driving off the caribou as well as killing many bowhead whales and walruses.

In approximately 1889 when Thomas



Photo 8. Gideon Kahlook Barr Sr., August 1993. Photo by James Magdanz.

was nearing the age of 20, he began trading with schooners and Siberians near Cape Espenberg and on the Baldwin Peninsula near the site of the contemporary community of Kotzebue. By then, Thomas already had established trading relationships with a Chukchi partner from East Cape from whom he obtained green tobacco, wolf and wolverine skins. The Siberians traveled to Cape Espenberg after going 55 miles in open water from the Chukotsk Peninsula. There they awaited good weather to travel on to the trade fairs to the north or back to their homes. The Siberians—including men, women, and children—lived at Cape Espenberg in makeshift dwellings constructed by their overturned skinboats.

Thomas did not trade beaver pelts, although they were in great demand by the Siberians, because the Iñupiat of the Kobuk River had an abundance of this species and actively conducted trade with the Siberians at Kotzebue trade fairs. People from Serpentine Hot Springs in the interior of the Seward Peninsula and from the settlement of Selawik also were beaver traders. Before metal was available in the trade network, Thomas was told that people from the head of the Kobuk River exchanged jade and jade tools, knives, and ax bits for coastal products. Thomas also remembered umialiit from both the Alaska and Siberian sides trading whiskey. It was sold in wooden casks to the umialiit, who subsequently traded the beverage in lesser quantities contained in flasks manufactured from ugruk intestines.

Thomas had a rifle that he didn't like because it kicked too much. However, his Siberian trading partner really wanted the rifle. The partner promised Thomas that on his next trip back, he would bring goods to exchange for the firearm. So Thomas gave his trading partner the weapon, but he never received payment because that was the last time the Siberian came to Alaska.

In 1892 Thomas had heard stories about the arrival of live reindeer at Port Clarence delivered on the umiaqpak, named the *Bear*. Because of the long-established trade with the Siberians for reindeer pelts, the Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula saw the coming of live reindeer as both being a new opportunity but also as potentially disrupting their social and economic networks with the people of the Siberian mainland and specialized traders in the Bering Strait region. Within two years, some reindeer had been moved to Cape Prince of Wales, where there were permanent White residents—the missionary teachers William and Ellen Lopp and their family.

In August 1897, Thomas's wife-to-be, Emily Kuvaaq Payuraq Kiyutelluk, was born at Shishmaref. Some people at Shishmaref had relatives among the Siberian Natives, including his wife's kin. Emily's father, Kiyutelluk, was accidentally shot by his brother, Okshuk, while seal hunting the spring before she was born. Emily's mother's name was Mary (Mukluwik). Mukluwik's brother was Charlie Goodhope or Teyeopuk. Mukluwik subsequently remarried a man named Kiyutuk. Thomas's children referred to both Kiyutelluk and Charlie Goodhope as "grandfather."

During the year 1898, before he had turned 30, Thomas observed a most amazing phenomenon. He witnessed several White men, including an officer from the umiaqpak *Bear*, accompanied by Iñupiaq guides, driving hundreds of reindeer across the tundra north to Point Barrow—across the tundra that

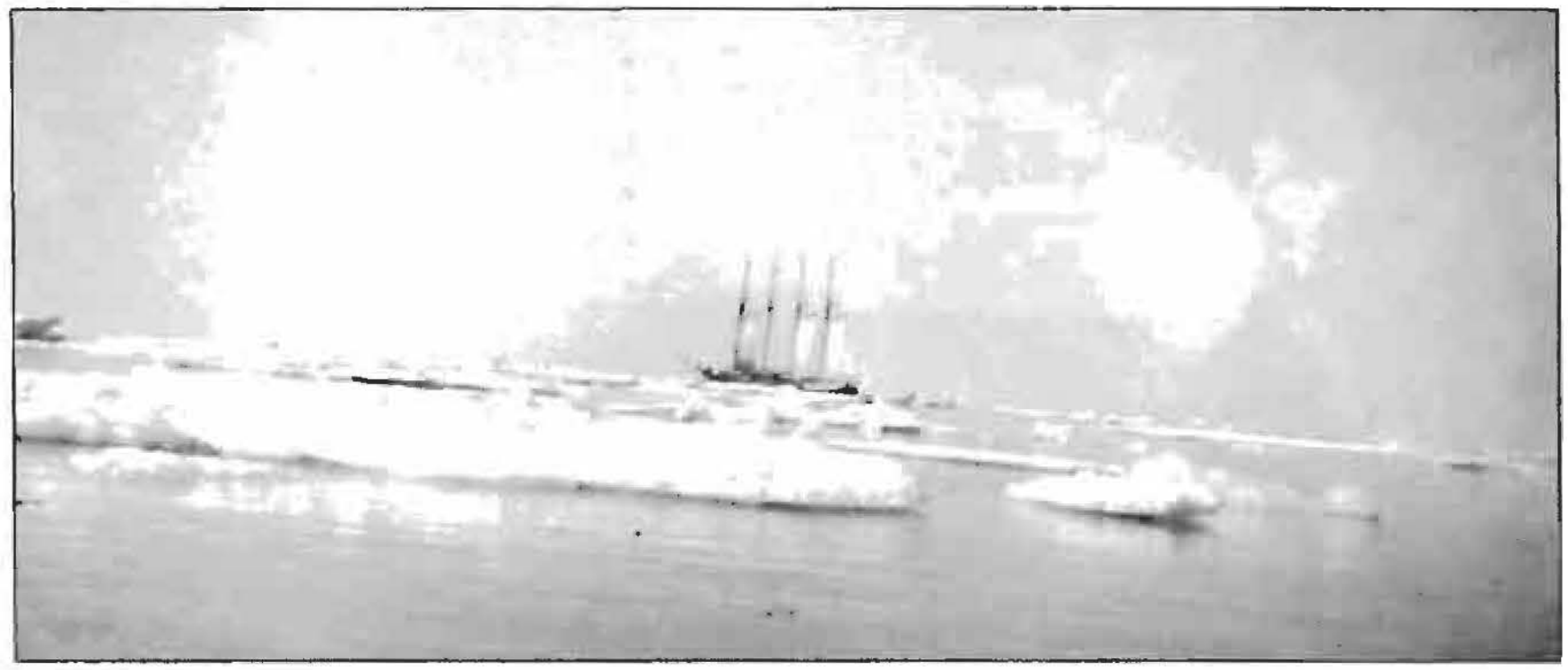


Photo 9. Trading ship, *C.S. Holmes*, which the local people called *Sitamalik*, meaning four-master. It traded staple goods like coffee, tea, sugar, flour, cloth, rifles, and ammunition. When the ship was sighted on the horizon the people would yell, *"Traymay umiqpak!"* Edgar Ningeulook interpreted this as "trading ship," or the "trading ship is here." Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service. (neg. 074).

he visualized as the homeland of the caribou that fascinated him as a boy. While visiting Wales that same year, Thomas was sitting in a qazgi and heard the men tell a story that explained how reindeer came to be:

> A young man was once hunting caribou, but without killing them. He merely followed them, appearing every time they tried to escape from him; in that way he tired them.
>
> In the end the animals were so exhausted that they no longer avoided him. Thus, they became accustomed to his voice, and were no longer afraid of him.
>
> At length the young man married, but still followed the caribou, which accumulated and became more and more numerous. The only time he came back to the house he had built was when his clothing was worn out. His wife made new clothes for him, after which he went back to the caribou and kept on following them, so that they might become familiar with him. He was wise in his way of handling them, and as he never made them afraid or chased them, they became almost tame.
>
> Summer and autumn passed, and winter came. But still the young man was with his caribou, which were now multiplying while other herds joined his. Then he moved his tent out to the herd, and thus he became the first caribou herdsman.
>
> The caribou were no longer shy like the wild ones. They were very fond of eating frozen urine, and when they began to eat human urine, their hair became speckled with white.
>
> His wife became pregnant and gave birth to a son, and the son grew up. And when he was old enough to help his father to watch the caribou [*sic*]. They took turns at it; when the father was with the herd, the son slept and vice versa.
>
> Wolves were numerous in the land where they lived, and they bit the caribou to death. One day the father complained that the son slept too long, which was the reason why the caribou were killed.
>
> The son took this accusation to heart; and so one evening when his father had returned to the herd, the son

dressed himself in festive clothing and asked his mother to give him a substantial meal. Later, mother and son retired to rest, but during the night the son thrust a knife into his heart and killed himself—out of anger at his father's reproach.

Next morning his mother saw the blood on the platform; she lifted the caribou skins and saw her son lying dead. This caused her deep grief, but as she wanted her husband himself to find his son dead, she dried up the blood and covered the body again with the sleeping-skins.

That evening the father came home. He inquired after his son and was again angry at his sleeping so long; and when he had eaten the food his wife had prepared, he went to waken him. He flung the skin aside-and found the boy lying dead on the platform. His grief was great, and the mother made it greater, for she cried: "It is your own fault; you killed him yourself with your reproaches!"

Autumn came, and the father traveled to some people living near and urged young men to accompany him; he wanted them to help him kill long-homed caribou bulls.

So they killed long-horned caribou bulls, many of them, and the father then had them build two large vaults of caribou antlers laid criss-crossed, and then these were covered with skins; and in one of them the father laid his dead son.

Then he mounted to the top of the other and spoke thus-wise to the young men standing around him:

"Let this, the land of the tame caribou become your land; do not sell them and do not kill them off, but let them become more and more. Use them; kill of them what you require in order to live without sorrow and anxiety, but never more than that!"

Having said this, he divided his herd among the young men who had helped him to build the vaults; then he stabbed himself with his knife as his son had done, and was buried in the other vault of caribou antlers.

Thus, says the tale, died the first man to tame caribou; from him descend all the other herds.

The two burial chambers are still shown as a monument over the first people to live on tame caribou. [Barr 1991; this story was also told to Knud Rasmussen by Atarnaq of Wales in 1924]

Later in his life, the moral of this story was to be significant in Thomas's advocation of "close herding."

In the same year as the reindeer drive, Thomas saw more White people than he thought existed in the world. Gold-seeking prospectors and miners crossed the Seward Peninsula in a wave that was to deluge the Iñupiat. Thomas heard stories of the growth of large White villages south of Wales near Ayasayuk (Cape Nome), and in the vicinity of Point Clarence at a new settlement called "Teller Station." Thomas was puzzled about what all these changes meant to his and his relatives' way of life.

In 1899 Thomas and his brother Gilbert built a house at Nuiqtat ("rocking motions"), located about eight miles west of the tip of Cape Espenberg on the Chukchi Sea. The place acquired its name from Iñupiaq oral history, which described Cape Espenberg as having once been a floating land mass—similar in nature to the way the world was when it was first created by "Father Raven."

The following year there were concurrent epidemics of measles and influenza, which took a heavy toll on the Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula. While the White immigrants to the area appeared relatively

unaffected by these illnesses, the Iñupiat succumbed in large numbers. Attempts by traditional healers—shamans or angatkok—to battle the evil spirits causing the sickness were futile.

While the direct effect of these epidemics on Thomas is unknown, he and his brother relocated their houses in 1900 to the old Espenberg site—approximately one mile from the coast up the Espenberg River. It was common practice for Iñupiat to abandon a dwelling if a relative died in a house. In fact, if large numbers of people died in any settlement, it was not unusual for surviving members of the community to relocate the entire village elsewhere.

As a young boy, and later as a grown man, Thomas had seen the cycle of at least two economic "booms" and "busts" in his life mostly undertaken by White immigrants to Alaska. While Thomas had passed through life to this point in an atmosphere of dramatic change, he could not have predicted that there was much more to come, instigated by world markets and players of which he had no knowledge. Although commercial whaling continued into the first decade of the 1900s, the industry had commenced its decline in the early 1860s before Thomas's birth, and by 1907 was no longer economically viable due to the collapse of the whale oil and baleen markets. About the same time that whalebone (baleen) was no longer of mercantile importance, the trading schooners became a conduit for Iñupiaq participation in the arctic fur trade. Fox pelts became a resource of considerable demand.

In 1898 the western gold rush had expanded into the far north, with the sprouting up of the "boom" mining communities of Deering and Candle in 1901, located a short distance east of Cape Espenberg and Thomas's and his brothers' summer homes. Deering and Buckland had a profound influence



Photo 10. Louise *Tunmaaq* Tocktoo Barr, who sang solos in the church at around this age, is wearing a calico parka cover with a wolf ruff. Her mittens are tanned reindeer skin, and she wears reindeer skin mukluks. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 217).

on the lives of the Barr family in subsequent years.

Stanley Kivyearzruk from Wales had entered the herding program and became an independent herder by 1905. Thomas knew Stanley through his visits to Wales. Early in 1905, Stanley Kivyearzruk's apprentices, Harry Kigrook and Frank Asunok, built houses that served as reindeer camps about halfway between the tip of Espenberg and the mouth of the Goodhope River. Harry Kigrook was the father of Fannie Kigrook—who later became Gideon's second wife. The formation of this herd adjacent to Cape Espenberg piqued Thomas's interest in acquiring his own reindeer.

By 1905, Thomas and his brothers were too mature, and more importantly, too well established in life with large kin followings and investment capital to have reduced their status to that of mere reindeer apprentices with no guarantee of reward at the end of a period of indentureship. At this time reindeer became more readily available to those Iñupiat who were capable of purchasing them without serving the mandatory apprenticeships. Thomas purchased his initial five reindeer from James Keok of Wales on August 14, 1905, for five fox skins and $100 in cash.

On July 27, 1907, Thomas bought 13 more reindeer in two separate purchases from James Cross, who was superintendent of the Wales Congregational Mission. Thomas's brother Gilbert also purchased reindeer, bringing the total of their combined herd to approximately 100 animals. Though the bill of sale designated these reindeer as going to Deering, they were located on the range next to Cape Espenberg and to the south as far as the Lane River range used by Stanley Kivyearzruk. Those reindeer were purchased for the Barr brothers—Thomas, Ahvalook, and Gilbert. Soon other people in the Espenberg area obtained reindeer, including Thomas's youngest brother Peter, who had served as an apprentice for William Ookonok and had been adopted out of the Barr family as a child; Harry Kigrook; James Kivetoruk Moses; and Adrian and Walter Barr, Ahvalook's sons.

Between 1905 and 1910, Thomas experienced some major events that altered his status and role in his social network. His eldest brother Ahvalook died, leaving Thomas as the oldest male in the sibling group responsible for the other brothers and their families and Ahvalook's adolescent sons. In that period Thomas also wed Emily—a young woman half his age, stepdaughter of Kiyutuk, and the maternal niece of aspiring reindeer herder Charlie Goodhope. Neither the age difference nor what appears to be an arranged marriage was atypical of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska at that time. Shortly thereafter, Thomas began raising a family. Lastly, during these years, Thomas and his brothers were involved in both "traditional" and more contemporary economic activities, including reindeer herding, trapping, hunting, fishing, trading, and seasonal wage employment in the mines near Deering.

Owning reindeer brought about changes in the lives of the families involved. Herders had winter homes made out of driftwood and sod located on the coastline. Herders' families remained on the coast most of the time. Most men trapped, hunted seals, herded reindeer, and traded fox skins for flour, sugar, coffee, and other goods from these camps. They used reindeer mostly during the winter and in July, when they



Photo 11. Reindeer handlers at *Qaggat* Reindeer Corral, five miles west of Shishmaref on the mainland. Most of the men could not be identified; they may have come from other reindeer camps in the area. They are wearing waterproof mukluks made of the skins of *ugruk* or other seals. The reindeer handlers walked so much that they wore out three mukluk *ugruk* soles during the course of a summer. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 080).

butchered fawns for parka skins while their pelts were "just right." Women needed three fawn skins to complete one man's parka but only two for a child's garment. Those with few reindeer had to be careful of the number that they took in any given year, though they desired reindeer meat, as they did caribou, as a food to accompany their main diet of seal. Thomas butchered reindeer to dry in September when the flies were gone, taking whatever his family needed for food in the winter. He pitied people who did not have many reindeer, and helped them out. He also had a few sled reindeer and seven dogs. Thomas, like most Iñupiat, preferred dogs to reindeer for sledding, because the reindeer fell down on glare ice; and it was also colder traveling with reindeer, as they kicked up snow into the face of the driver.



Photo 12. Eugene *Avuguziaq* Ningeulook, at left. The unknown young man on the right is not originally from Shishmaref, but he may have been involved in the reindeer industry in another village. They are wearing white spotted reindeer parkas called *atigi* or *mumŋuq*. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 211).

Between 1909 and 1918 Thomas used Qivaluaq, his childhood home, as a headquarters for winter herding activities with James Keok from Wales, chief herder of what was referred to as the Shishmaref Number 2 Herd. Thomas, his brothers Gilbert and Peter, and their apprentice Gordon Dimmick had a total of nearly 100 reindeer in this herd. Besides Keok and the Barr brothers, other men owning animals in the herd included H. Karmun, T. Kotenna, A. Kiyutelluk, D. Iokwana, H. Kokizowak, Outpolluk, Soagzrunuk, Nealotok, Pete Ehechvaiuk, Charlie Goodhope, Ahinkok, and W. Okouok. The Shishmaref No. 2 herd was bounded on the southeast by the Buckland River animals herded by Thomas Sokwenna. Stanley Kivyearzruk's herd at the Goodhope River was also located to the southeast. At that time, two Kotzebue herds were to the northeast on the Baldwin Peninsula, the first of which was principally owned by the Friends Mission and the second largely belonging to Sami herder Alfred Nilima. Two other Shishmaref herds were to the south



Photo 13. Back row, left to right: Eugene Ningeulook, Charlie Weyiouanna, Andrew Tocktoo, Tommy Seetomona. Front row, left to right: Fred Davis, Tommy Teayoumeak, and Fred Avessuk. These young men were hunters and reindeer herders. During fawning season, they slept out in the open using reindeer skin sleeping bags to protect the fawns from predators. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 079).

and southwest, the first composed mainly of reindeer belonging to John Sinnok with some government animals, and the second ranging at the Serpentine River, principally owned by Allockeok.

Lloyd Koonuk's brother Allockeok had become a powerful reindeer entrepreneur. As a young boy, Allockeok was adopted by a White man named Thomas Chase, a miner at Kougarok. As a result of growing up with a White father, Allockeok was a fluent speaker of English. He referred to Gideon as "nephew."

During the years Thomas and his family lived at Qivaluaq, their square house was constructed out of materials salvaged from a shipwreck. Ralph Olanna's parents owned Thomas's home and lived next door. During those years, Thomas and his brothers built an umiaq at Cape Espenberg, and Thomas and Emily had three girls—Fannie, Martha, and Suzy. The Barr brothers and their families wintered here and hunted in the area from Qivaluaq to Cape Espenberg and inland to Serpentine Hot Springs.

In 1914 Thomas knew many Iñupiat who had been living in the mining camp at Deering where a school had been established. All the Iñupiat of the area were told by the Friends missionary/teachers that Deering was an "evil" place where non-Natives were "corrupting" the local Eskimos. That year the missionaries relocated the school and most of their Iñupiaq followers from Deering to a site on the Kobuk River named "Noorvik." To Thomas, it was puzzling that the missionaries and the White "God" had so little influence over the miners. It also appeared to Thomas, his relatives, and friends that White laws, enforced by the umialiqpuk ("big boat captain") of the revenue cutter *Bear*, were used to punish the Iñupiat, but not the White miners, whom the missionary/teachers thought were so bad.

The following winter, Thomas went to the first reindeer fair held at Igloo in the interior of the Seward Peninsula. Reindeer herders came from far and wide for this gathering. It was at the fair that Thomas met the White businessmen from Nome, the Lomens. The Lomen family recently had purchased Alfred Nilima's reindeer that had been in the Kotzebue herd and now were located on the Seward Peninsula in the vicinity of Buckland. In addition to the Lomens, there were many other White men at the fair including Walter Shields, the reindeer superintendent for the northern district, and T.L. Brevig, the missionary from Teller. Some of the White people were telling Thomas and the other Iñupiaq herders that there wasn't enough range for the large number of reindeer. Therefore, the Iñupiaq herders were encouraged to form village companies or associations, putting all their reindeer under one mark and hiring a chief and assistant herders. Although Thomas and the other herders enjoyed the driving, lassoing, racing, and other contests at the fair, he didn't think that the formation of a company was a good idea.

In 1917 Thomas and Emily had their first son whom they named Gideon Kahlook Kunautaq Barr. World War I had already begun in Europe, and Thomas and his brothers, having acquired a suitable number of reindeer, were preparing to move their winter camp to Ublasaun where they remained for several years as individual reindeer owners with a common herd. The winters were spent at Ublasaun and the summers at Cape Espenberg.

In 1925 the reindeer industry was in a

state of disarray, thereby disrupting the lives of Thomas and the other residents of Ublasaun. While Thomas and his followers had amassed a considerable number of reindeer, there were very few outlets for either reindeer meat or hides. The Lomens' company was dominating the market outside Alaska, and Whites located in mining camps still operative, such as at Deering, were supplied by the nearest herders. Meanwhile, the federal government, through its superintendents, adamantly continued to discourage Iñupiaq herders from killing their reindeer for their own consumption. Thomas was aware that some herders had opted to adopt open herding over the more cautious and, in many Iñupiaqs' opinion, more responsible methods of close herding they had been taught by the Whites and Samis in the past. Some herds were officially consolidated into companies, while others were becoming unavoidably mixed. In some respects, the reindeer had gone from being an asset to becoming a liability.

The settlement at Ublasaun was disbanding. Peter Bart, Lloyd Koonuk, and Gordon Dimmick began spending most winters at Shishmaref. Gilbert Barr also maintained a house at Shishmaref which was 12 feet by 16 feet, and was occupied by him and his family of seven for part of each year. However, Gilbert continued to take his reindeer to Cape Espenberg in the summers and eventually moved to Deering for the winters. By the end of the summer of 1925, Thomas's and his brothers' reindeer had become mixed with the herd of Stanley Kivyearzruk.

In the two years to follow, Thomas and his family were to make several important moves. Ublasaun was abandoned as a winter herding settlement. By 1926, approximately at the time of the death of Thomas's sister who had been living with them, the rest of the Barr family—Thomas, Emily, Fannie, Gideon, Elijah, Bessie, and Mary—officially moved from Ublasaun to Deering, in part so that the children could go to school. Elijah died at Deering of a ruptured appendix during the winter of 1926, and his sister Fannie died in the hospital at Kotzebue the following April. With the death of Fannie, Gideon became the eldest of the Barr children.

Gideon and his sister Bessie attended school. In 1990 Gideon recalled going to school in Deering:

> I didn't walk into school until I was nine years old, 'cause my father had to stay out in the country [with the reindeer]. I used to be ashamed of myself so much. I'd be real tall boy compared to those little primary kids, that's the worse thing that I could ever stand, because for me being tall and the rest I went to school with, they're so small. It's really painful, [I] was ashamed of myself. It wasn't my fault. [Barr 1990]

While at Deering in the winters and at Cape Espenberg in the summers, Thomas and Emily had more children, including the twins Nora and Mabel and another daughter in 1929, named after the deceased Fannie. In 1930 Laura was born and in 1932 they had another son who they named Elijah after the son Thomas and Emily had lost in 1927. Finally, the youngest child Bill (or Zaccheus) was born in 1935.

Since the original school in Deering had been dismantled and moved to Noorvik in 1914, the new teacher Clarence Andrews, who had arrived in Deering in 1925, renovated a saloon to serve the purposes of a facility for educating the 38 Native children



Photo 14. Thomas *Makaiqtaq* Barr and family in the early 1930s. Left to right: Twin sisters Nora and Mabel, Thomas, Emily, Gideon, Bessie, Fannie, Laura, Bill (Zaccheus), and Elijah. Photo courtesy of Mary Sue Cross Anderson.

of the town; white children attended a different school. Most of Deering's 75 people were Iñupiat. While Deering had become somewhat less of a roaring frontier town by 1926, it had retained the flavor of an early twentieth century mining community with a roadhouse that served as a saloon and dance hall. Since many of the White miners had already abandoned the Seward Peninsula, Iñupiaq men were seasonally employed in mining, mostly handling the hydraulic nozzles that cut away at the tundra to expose the gold bearing soils beneath. Iñupiaq women were busy catching and processing salmon for their families' use. Most of the Iñupiat were living in one room frame cabins abandoned by White prospectors and miners. For example, Gilbert and his family—he and his wife, seven children, and his wife's father and mother—resided in a one room frame cabin with a loft.

The second move took place at the Barr's summer camp at Cape Espenberg in 1927. The family moved from old Espenberg to a new house located about one mile from the mouth of the Espenberg River. As recalled by Gideon in 1984, although the family was wintering in Deering, Espenberg remained their home from early May, throughout the summer, and until the first part of September when school started. Gideon recalled:

> Mostly I was raised out in the country around Cape Espenberg area where there is hardly any people. There is some people, but, not a village. It's just the family people that took care of the reindeer herd mostly. [Barr 1984a]

At the new site at Cape Espenberg, Gilbert and his family lived next door to Thomas's family. Moses Quiliq and his adopted son James lived five or six miles away on the west side of the Espenberg River, as did Thomas's eldest, deceased brother's (Ahvalook's) three sons, Arthur, Adrian, and Walter. While the children were growing up, Emily's stepfather and mother lived with them. Thomas's parents had died long before.

In 1927 the government succeeded in changing the reindeer program from individual owners and ear marks to cooperative herds. The Iñupiaq owners of the Lane River (Stanley Kivyearzruk) and the Espenberg herds formally organized into a company on July 17, 1929, which they decided to call the Nuglunguktuk (also recorded as Nuglinuktuk, Nuglunuktuk, Niqlanaqtuuq, Nugnugaluktuk, Niglinuktuk, Neglunuktuk, Neglinuktuk, Nugglugnuktuk) Reindeer Company named for the river that drained the range. The Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company had its roots in a less formally organized Cape Espenberg reindeer cooperative established in 1927 in association with the shift in government policy and, more practically, the mixing of animals from the two herds. Since there was no school at Cape Espenberg and no teacher to act as local reindeer superintendent, Deering became the headquarters for the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company. The reindeer owners from the area, including Thomas, explicitly did not want to join with the Shishmaref herd. Although some owners previously had signed to be part of the Shishmaref herd at the request of government officials, they had changed their collective minds and returned to Cape Espenberg.

Thomas and the other herders agreed that the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company was to have a five-member board of directors, four of whom were to be elected by stockholders and the sixth being the local

representative of the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. At that time, the reindeer superintendent was teacher Clarence Andrews. Thomas was elected president of the company at its first meeting. Stanley Kivyearzruk became vice-president, Harry Kigrook the secretary, and Thomas's paternal nephew Adrian the chief herder.

The Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company applied for a grazing permit to include the lands previously occupied by the Lane River or Stanley Kivyearzruk herd and those pasturages used by Thomas Barr and his brothers. The combined range was situated between that of several other reindeer companies. The Deering Reindeer Company's range was to the east, while those of the Seward Peninsula, including the Shishmaref herd,were to the south and west. The Igloo herd lay to the south, whose range in 1929 was described by Thomas and recorded by teacher Andrews as follows:

> The boundaries of their [Nuglunguktuk Company] combined range are as follows: Beginning at Cape Espenberg, where the waters of the Kotzebue Sound join the Arctic Ocean, the east boundary is the shoreline of Kotzebue Sound as far as to the mouth of the Goodhope River, thence up the Goodhope River to the mouth of Humboldt Creek, thence up Humboldt Creek to its head. The boundary from that point turns northward and follows the divide, or watershed, between the waters that flow into Kotzebue Sound to the mountain 1,000 foot high at the head of the Serpentine River, thence north on the ridge to Devil Mt., thence north to head of Ikpoogrook River. Thence down that river to the Arctic Ocean. Thence east to Cape Espenberg. This would bring it back to the point of beginning, at Cape Espenberg. They have occupied a small amount of territory on the Arctic shore and have a corral at the mouth of the Nunagayok River, which flows into the Arctic about 8 or 9 miles west of Cape Espenberg. This brings a part of their range into the Seward Peninsula District. The far greater part, however, lies in the Northwestern District, according to the description given in the orders concerning the lines of the districts as divided. To split on the watershed is difficult as it makes a long, thin strip of land on each side of a divide which is poorly marked as it is a very flat country full of marshes and small lakes. [USBOE 1923-1944]

Between 1929 and the early 1930s, there were consequential range disputes between the Shishmaref Reindeer Association, the Deering Reindeer Company, and the Nuglunguktuk Company, and William Allockeok and his brother Lloyd Koonuk, who had become partners after the dissolution of Ublasaun. In his capacity as president of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company, the then 60 year-old Thomas enlisted the aid of his children's teacher Clarence Andrews in trying to protect the range of the herd.

Of the numerous range disputes, the one between Thomas's company and that belonging to Allockeok and Koonuk was the most troubling, and involved a barrage of letters and telegrams between Andrews, on behalf of the Nuglunguktuk Company, and other local and regional reindeer superintendents and reindeer companies competing for good range. In justifying their claims to the disputed territory, Allockeok and Koonuk had drawn upon the fact that the latter had been living with Thomas at Ublasaun between 1918 and 1925. Additionally, although Allockeok and Koonuk were brothers, the latter's second marriage had been to a woman whom Thomas considered to be his

sister's daughter. Furthermore, Thomas's son Gideon remembers that his father and Allockeok considered one another kin.

Clarence Andrews was a strong proponent of close herding. In his capacity as superintendent charged with oversight of the reindeer of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company, he told Thomas how bad open herding was. Andrews convinced Thomas that the government was promoting open herding only to benefit White owners such as the Lomens. In addition to the range wars, Thomas, as president of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company, was confronted with a shortage of adult men capable of participating in the herding operation, since the roundup activities conflicted with other forms of employment.

During the depression commencing in 1929, Thomas was to experience another event in world economics over which he had no control and about which he had little direct understanding. The prices for fur pelts and reindeer fell dramatically, while the value of gold actually increased. The placer mining operations on the Seward Peninsula once again boomed. Therefore, many herders found that their most successful avenue to obtaining Western goods was by being employed at the mines in Deering and Candle.

During the depression, when Thomas's son Gideon barely had started the fourth grade, his father took him out of school on November 10, 1930. In 1990 Gideon poignantly recollected this event:

> Just when I was really get into it, you know, school, when I was 13 years in the fall. So I didn't even know he [Thomas] walked in, because we were facing away from the door. And someone came along and touched me on my shoulder. I looked up, it was my father. I asked him "what"? He said, "Son, you won't become a teacher. Now I already talked to the teacher here. Now you have to go home with me. I'll show you how to hunt. You won't become a teacher no matter how much schooling you try to get. But if you, if you learn how to take care of yourself the real Eskimo way, the subsistence way of hunting, you won't go hungry. You'll be safe to live up here in Alaska." These things were more important than school to him [Thomas], because that was the only way. Well, got to be a good hunter, then you'll never go hungry. If you're lazy or not a very good hunter, then your family, if you have a family, they'll go hungry anyhow. That was the purpose that he [Thomas] was looking after. [Barr 1990]

So Thomas taught Gideon to hunt. Thomas showed Gideon how to set traps, go after foxes, hunt seals, and use kayaks in the spring. Father and son also got ugruk on top of the ice in the spring and learned to put a little air under the skin of a seal in water, plugging it so that it floated.

Thomas also took Bessie, his second oldest child, out of school in 1930 when she was nine years old. Thomas taught her how to hunt and drive dogs as well, as he was disappointed in this time of need that she was not a son. According to Bessie, he raised her to be a boy. By the time Bessie was 10 years old, she had her own dog team. When her team had pups, Thomas told her that he could not allow her to feed them reindeer meat. If Bessie wanted to keep them, she would have to feed them some other way. So, unaccompanied, Bessie took a boat to a nearby island, where she knew seals sunned themselves in the spring. There she shot four spotted seals to feed her pups. When Bessie was between

10 and 11 years old, she used her dog team to ferry supplies between the Barr home on the coast at Cape Espenberg and her father's, paternal uncles', and their sons' trapping cabins in the interior of the Seward Peninsula.

In 1930 Thomas had few options but to take his two older children out of school to help support the family. He was now over 60 and, given the economic failure of the fur industry and his inability to convert reindeer into cash, subsistence from the land and sea became the only viable means of supporting his family. After taking Gideon and Bessie out of school, Thomas moved the family to Buckland for nine months, returning to Deering and Cape Espenberg in the summer. During this year Emily's stepfather, who had been living with them, died before completing a bow he was making for Gideon. Once Gideon and Bessie were helping support the family, Thomas and Emily remained in Deering most of the year so that the younger children could attend school.

By 1931 Thomas held 22.4 shares in the Deering Reindeer Company, which, by 1932, had grown to a total of 15,863 animals. At the same time, Thomas personally owned 48 reindeer and 460.2 shares in the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company. Thomas and his brothers and their collective offspring together owned the majority of reindeer (1,014) in the Nuglunguktuk Company. By then, Harry Kigrook was the secretary of the Nuglunguktuk Company.

In 1931, Thomas had to deal with another major dispute between the Shishmaref and Nuglunguktuk companies. Despite his objections, the local reindeer superintendent at Deering, named Moyer, ordered the Nuglunguktuk herders to remark 725 Shishmaref reindeer corralled with their own herd as belonging to the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company. Moyer assured Thomas and the other herders that there would not be a problem, as he was sending a letter to the reindeer superintendent at Shishmaref instructing him to remark the same number of Nuglunguktuk reindeer expected to be corralled with the Shishmaref herd to their company. Moyer explained that this solution was better than the alternative of driving reindeer between the two herds. The problem was that there were not 725 reindeer from the Nuglunguktuk company herd corralled at Shishmaref in that and subsequent years. Consequently, Moyer realized that the reindeer were not moving between the Shishmaref and Nuglunguktuk herds, but, rather, that the Shishmaref Reindeer Company and Allockeok had invaded the northern range. Thomas perceived the mixing of the herds to be a direct result of the open herding policy being promoted by the federal government.

In the early 1930s, wolves that ostensibly had moved south and wiped out the Noatak and Kivalina herds came onto the Seward Peninsula and began killing reindeer. In 1982, Gideon Barr recounted the events of the period and echoed his father's sentiments about the evils of open herding:

> Finally all the company earmarks was all mixed up, cause, the herd was all mixed up. Summer time, they just turn them loose…And they got too many and they overgraze the Seward Peninsula… And then [1927] they starved out, and then the wolves come in from the north. That's the way the reindeer was unlucky. Government, government got hold of a little herd from Deering and then put it up at Selawik. And this guy that saved that government herd was name Charlie Smith from Selawik. When wolf come

> in from up north, so he took care of that herd, night and day, winter and summer, and that's how come there was a little herd left. And then when the wolf go away and then that herd, ah increase rapidly and then they start to roam out some. Little herd, here and there. Now it's all back to Seward Peninsula again... [In] 1927, that's when they let the herd go. Nobody, nobody really take care of the herd of their own. They just turn them loose. [Barr 1982]

For Thomas, the wolves killing the reindeer was clearly the result of herders "sleeping too much" and not paying adequate attention to their animals, as was foretold in the story he had heard at Wales as a young man.

By 1932, the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company was facing many problems. In late July and early August of that year, a roundup of reindeer at the company corral indicated that Nuglunguktuk had a mere 1,915 reindeer, a decline from the 6,000 animals in the herd the previous year. These included mavericks marked to the company, fawns killed for parka skins, individual owner marks transferred to the company, and reindeer from the Cape Prince of Wales herd. Additionally, Deering teacher William Fortson reported that the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company had no "finances whatever and the individuals have had a poor income for the last year and are in no position to build a new corral." As a result of the depression, employment in the gold mines at Deering and Candle was the only viable means by which Iñupiat of the area could obtain cash.

Reindeer herding suffered in two ways. Since men were employed in mining, there were few available for summer roundup activities. Secondly, because furbearer trapping was no longer lucrative, Thomas and his peers were incapable of supporting themselves through trapping in conjunction with herding during the winter months. Wages associated with employment in the mines were not matched by the reindeer industry, and herders were unable to convert reindeer into currency. As a result, adolescent boys and some girls and women attempted to undertake summer roundups for purposes of marking, castrating, and butchering reindeer, but with marginal success.

In 1935, reaching the age of 15 when young men were expected to become more self sufficient, Thomas's oldest son, Gideon, stopped living in his parents' home and took up residence with his father's brother's son Walter Barr, who was 28. They lived in a cabin at Killeak lakes.

In 1937, Walter married Grace Tipplemen from Candle, and they resided in the cabin after their marriage. Grace already had one daughter, and she and Walter had five more children—a daughter in 1942, a son in 1943, and three other daughters in 1945, 1946, and 1948. Grace died in 1948.

The year Walter and Grace married, Gideon, the bachelor, constructed a trapping and herding cabin at the headwaters of the Nugnugaluktuk (also recorded as Nunagaluqtuq or Nugnugalurtuk) River. Gideon was now indisputably an adult Iñupiaq living on his own.

The year 1937 was to be important in the life of Thomas, Emily, and other members of the Barr family. By then, Emily's mother had died. Most of Thomas's family, including Gideon, had moved to Singiq, where the former had lived as a young boy and grown up. There were three or four homes at the Singiq settlement. The area was an excellent location for winter and spring

fish camps, as whitefish were available year round and were netted in the water under the ice. Here Gideon built a home for his parents Emily and Thomas, who was then 68 years old, next to James Moses' house. James and his wife Bessie were operating a small store at Singiq for White fur buyer John Backland—the son of the captain of the four-masted trading schooner Thomas had seen as a young man. During this same year, Gideon also constructed a plank-walled house for his own use on his 139-acre allotment and ran his trap lines up and down the coast and some distance inland. Unfortunately, a fall storm in 1937 pushed the waters of Kuukpaum Imagrua (known also as Cowpack Inlet) onto the beach, thereby destroying the Barr family's 30-foot wooden whale boat that had been stored there—a loss worth more than $1,000 at the time.

In the fall of 1937, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Reindeer Act—a piece of legislation that was to affect the future history of the reindeer industry throughout Alaska by limiting ownership of reindeer to Natives. With the government's acquisition of the Lomen reindeer and the removal of non-Native competitors, Thomas again had hopes that he or members of his family could benefit from the endeavor he had begun in 1905 with the purchase of his first reindeer. By this time, Thomas was too old to personally undertake the rigors associated with herding. Yet, he still hoped that his eldest son Gideon, who was still actively engaged in herding as secretary of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company, would further the family's position in the herding business. Using a traditional Iñupiaq means of forming alliances with other families to achieve economic gain and prestige and to resolve disputes, Thomas and Emily arranged a marriage between their son Gideon and Katherine Eningowuk, the daughter of Joseph Eningowuk. In 1923, when Thomas and the others were at Ublasaun, Joseph Eningowuk had been a large owner and the chief herder of one of the Shishmaref herds. In fact, that year Joseph owned 284 of the total 905 reindeer in this herd, with four other herders having nearly 100 reindeer each. In 1984 Gideon described his 1937 marriage as follows:

> Someone has talked—has planned us. That's the way it turned out to be. I guess I wasn't really for it at first, and at first she wasn't really my choice. But we just have to listen to the older people. [Barr 1984]

Gideon and Katherine had a stillborn son the following year.

After the passage of the Reindeer Act, the federal government continued to attempt to control the Iñupiat in all aspects of herding. For example, government officials wrote frequent circular letters to "Eskimo" owners encouraging or, more appropriately, ordering them to carry out the earlier policy of maintaining close and constant herding, construct more corrals and cabins, kill wolves, conduct more thorough roundups, and divert the profits from the sale of reindeer into the management of the company as opposed to the benefit of the shareholders.

Thomas's revived hopes for his family's success in the reindeer industry were dealt a severe blow during the harsh winter of 1938 to 1939, when as many as half of the reindeer throughout Alaska perished. During that winter, Gideon and his wife Katherine lived in Shishmaref, while Thomas and Emily remained at Singiq. In 1939 the adminis-

tration of the Nuglunguktuk herd was transferred from Deering to Shishmaref because most of the active members of the company were residing the greater part of each year at Cape Espenberg or Shishmaref rather than at Deering.

In 1940 the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company was not doing well. Thomas owned only 30 reindeer valued at $100. Harry Kigrook was the president of the company, while Gideon acted as secretary. The Deering cooperative lost many reindeer that year, as the dispute between the Nuglunguktuk and Shishmaref reindeer companies concerning the handling in 1931 was resolved. Nine years after the conflict started, the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company was pressured to provide the Shishmaref Reindeer Company with 725 reindeer to compensate for the marking fiasco of 1931. The same year Thomas and Emily, and Gideon and Katherine moved back to Deering from Singiq and Shishmaref, respectively. Thomas still had six children living at home. Shortly thereafter, in 1941, Thomas's first living grandchild Christina was born to Gideon and Katherine. Gideon resigned as secretary of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company, being replaced by his paternal cousin Adrian Barr.

In 1942, Thomas was 73 years old. His hopes for his family's future in reindeer herding seemed doubtful as had those of some of his relatives and competitors, such as Lloyd Koonuk and William Allockeok. Gideon's involvement in the company had ended, and he began working at the mine in Candle. Adrian, who had been the chief herder of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company, sold his house at Espenberg and moved to Teller with his wife Louise and their children.



Photo 15. Louise Tunmaaq Tocktoo Barr is seen here holding an unidentified child. Louise sang solos in the church both in English and in Iñupiaq. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 110).

In the same year, Sam S. Kendrick, Bering Unit Manager of the Alaska Reindeer Service at Teller, wrote a letter to J. Sidney Rood regarding, among other things, the "poor" condition of the Espenberg herd. He stated:

> The Nuglunguktuk is very inactive at present, because about 90 percent of the owners live at Deering and Kotzebue, the balance at Shishmaref. I have been using my influence to dissolve this organization and hope to get better results this year.

Kendrick wanted to combine Allockeok's herd with that of Shishmaref. His goal was to dissolve the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company and turn over the range to the Shishmaref enterprise. Although not official until 1948, the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company was no longer considered a functional herding concern. Sam Kendrick's recommendations were ultimately successful.

By World War II, reindeer had become a basically negligible component of the economy of the area. People were living much as they had 36 years before when Thomas has purchased his first reindeer. As noted by a Shishmaref teacher, ugruk was the primary food source for the residents of the northern Seward Peninsula. In one year local Iñupiat consumed 13,200 pounds of ugruk, most of which was dried and stored in seal oil and poke containers. Herring was the second most important resource in terms of weight at 11,000 pounds. The teachers reported that no Iñupiaq was interested in gardening, and there was no mention of reindeer as a food resource. The government teacher at Shishmaref had the following observation:

> I have watched the natives for five years, and I find that there is nothing that will keep them away from taking their foods at the proper time. It appears to me at times that they do not work at their jobs enough, and I often hear others state that the natives do not work at gathering a supply of native foods enough, but I then wonder what I and those that criticize would do if we were in the natives' place. I saw one of my natives go out on the Arctic ice this past spring for the tenth time before he got his first oogruk [*sic*] of the season. [USBOE 1923-1944]

In 1991 Gideon recalled his and his father's last trip to Ublasaun:

> In the early 1940s, we stayed about maybe one month and a half or so. My father wanted to stay here...The house was in good shape then, 'cause just before freezeup [we had repaired] the roof. We were still up at Espenberg area, and right after freezeup then [Thomas] he took us down here. [Barr 1991e]

In 1942, in response to World War II, Gideon moved without his family to Nome to work as a warehouseman for a construction company under contract to the U.S. Army. Katherine, their daughter Christina, and their son Delano, born in 1943, remained in Deering with Thomas, Emily, and other members of the family.

In the fall of 1944 Gideon received word that 75 year-old Thomas was ill, so he returned to Deering from Nome. Thomas knew that he was dying, and asked Gideon to obtain some fawn reindeer meat—his favorite food. Gideon and his paternal cousin, Walter, left for Cape Espenberg to get the fawn meat for Thomas. While there, the weather became bad and they were stormbound for one week. Upon their return, they learned that Thomas had died.

Ublasaun was no longer used for either reindeer herding or as a seal hunting and fishing camp by Thomas's brothers, sons, and nephews. With Thomas's death, and the demise of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company, the hope and promise of Ublasaun

were gone. The following summer, baby boy Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr, named according to In upiaq custom for a recently deceased person, was born to Gideon and Katherine.

CHAPTER 4
THE INTRODUCTION OF REINDEER HERDING AND MISSIONARY EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

> To establish schools among a starving people would be of little service... To feed the population at government expense would pauperize, and in the end would certainly destroy them.
>
> Some other method had to be devised. This was suggested by the wild nomad tribes on the Siberian side of Bering Strait. They had an unfailing food supply in their large berds of domestic reindeer. Why not introduce the domestic reindeer on the American side and thus provide a new and adequate food supply?
>
> To do this will give the Eskimo as permanent a food supply as the cattle of the Western plains and sheep of New Mexico and Arizona to the inhabitants of those sections. It will do more than preserve life—it will preserve the self-respect of the people and advance them in the scale of civilization. It will change them from hunters to herders. It will also utilize the hundreds of thousands of square miles of moss-covered tundra of Arctic and sub-Arctic Alaska and make those now useless and barren wastes conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the United States.
>
> A moderate computation, based upon the statistics of Lapland, where similar climatic and other conditions exist, shows Northern and Central Alaska capable of supporting over 9,000,000 head of deer.
>
> To reclaim and make valuable vast areas of land, otherwise worthless; to introduce large, permanent, and wealth-producing industries, where none previously existed; to take a barbarian people on the verge of starvation and lift them up to a comfortable self-support and civilization, is certainly a work of national importance. [Jackson 1896:10-11]

This quotation of Sheldon Jackson presents a backdrop for understanding some of the rationales put forth to justify the importation of reindeer into Alaska. However, a historical perspective on the introduction of reindeer herding is inexplicably linked with the period of contractual, federal missionary education of the Iñupiat and other Natives within the study area and throughout Alaska. The remaining chapters of this monograph will analyze the introduction of reindeer herding to the Iñupiat of the northern Seward Peninsula and southern Kotzebue Sound from the perspectives of socioterritorial, social organizational, and ideological change, conflict, and syncretism.

This chapter provides a relatively succinct chronological overview of the sequence of events associated with the vision of directed cultural change or social engineering by way of formal western education and reindeer herding, with an emphasis on governmental policies, and shifts in such policies, toward Native education, reindeer herding, and herders as relevant to the analysis to follow.

For alternate treatments of the reindeer episode in the history of American-Native relations in Alaska see Lantis (1950); Olson (1969a); Ray (1965); Stern et al. (1980). For much of the primary

source data on the topics of both education and reindeer herding in Alaska see Jackson (1893, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898a, 1898b, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, and 1908) and the U.S. Bureau of Education (1908, 1909-1944, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1915, 1923-1944, 1934-1945, 1936-1971, and 1953-1955).

The history of missionary education and reindeer herding in Alaska cannot be discussed or analyzed without considering the evangelical policies, strategies, and philosophies originating in the contiguous United States and its territories in the 1800s. Since the formation of the colonies in the United States, missionaries were perceived by the government to be an effective means of dealing with the "problem" of indigenous peoples.

In the United States, specifically under the Jefferson presidential administration in the early 1800s, the governors of the territories were directed to act as superintendents of Indian affairs under the Office of Indian Affairs in the War Department (Berthrong 1988:255-257). Specially appointed agents were hired to civilize American Indians "by teaching them agriculture and the domestic arts" (Berthrong 1988:255). The office became the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1824 and, a few months later, resumed as the Office of Indian Affairs again in the War Department (Berthrong 1988:256; Nash 1988:266; Szasz and Ryan 1988:289). By 1849 the office was transferred to the Interior Department, renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and became "the principal government agency for the management of Indian-White relations" (Berthrong 1988:257; Nash 1988:266).

The policy of removing Indians from their land in deference to White settlers began in the early 1800s as pioneers pushed west, with most removal being involuntary. This led to the 1830 Removal Act, Andrew Jackson's presidential policy of using force to remove Indians from their lands (Berthrong 1988:258). The jurisdiction of Indian agencies continued to expand westward, also.

> Until well after the Civil War, Indian agents throughout the West dealt with placating their charges using food and goods, or trying to mitigate the ravages of war upon the Indian people. [Berthrong 1988:259]

The reservation period began after the Civil War, when Indian wars became less common. President Grant turned from nominating military personnel to selecting religious missionaries as Indian agents (Berthrong 1988:259).

> Each denomination that accepted responsibilities within the Indian service appointed an executive committee on Indian affairs to approve all nominations for Indian agents and other agency personnel. [Berthrong 1988:259]

The use of missionaries in dealing with American Indians involved the objectives of wholesale cultural change and assimilation into American society—principally through formal education commencing in 1871 (Berthrong 1988:262). The rationale for this ultimately disruptive approach was that it was to the benefit of indigenous peoples to be elevated from the "primitive" state to a level allowing integration into mainstream society (Szasz and Ryan 1988:294). In reality, these goals were rarely, if ever, achieved:



Photo 16. Bertha *Qituk* Iyatunguk and Anna Weyiouanna. These girls visited the Keithahn home frequently to learn more of the Western civilization. Here, they wear summer clothing. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 197).

> The missions were usually a force for disintegration of the Indian society, and they joined the settlers, the Army, and the government policy in the process of disruption. Their persistent attack on the religion of the Red man and their relegating of all his beliefs and ritual practices to the realm of superstition deprived the missionaries the use of the Indian spiritual values and ideas as bridges to the gospel and to acceptance of the Christian faith in terms meaningful to Indians. The cultural product was usually something different from both the traditional society and the white pattern. [Beaver 1988:439]

Beginning in the mid-1800s, Protestant missionaries rapidly spread west and, later, north in the wake of the frontier movement. Formal education was a central component of the evangelizing policies of multiple Protestant denominations.

> There was never any argument over whether the aim of missions was "evangelization" or "civilization," since the two were regarded as twin objectives. The debate was about sequence: did one begin with evangelizing and move on to civilizing, or was the order to be reversed? Some persons believed that the gospel could be understood and accepted only when a significant degree of civilization had been achieved; others held the position that conversion had to come first, because only acceptance of the gospel could awaken a desire for civilization. Whatever the theory about sequence, actually both activities were stressed and the school was regarded as the chief means of evangelism. [Beaver 1988:437]

Reindeer herding, in the Alaska context, provided a mechanism for those who favored the civilization before the evangelization sequence or for those who strategized that the two processes should be undertaken simultaneously.

With the end of the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, philanthropists and reformers turned their attention to the plight of the American Indian (Beaver 1988:444). With the presidential election of Ulysses S. Grant in 1868, the federal government embarked on a formal policy of assimilation. In Grant's inaugural address, he stated that he favored a policy toward Indians resulting in their civilization and ultimate citizenship. In 1869 Congress appropriated $2,000,000 to enable the president to establish a "peace policy" with the Indians—that is, it was perceived to be cheaper to civilize, educate, and assimilate indigenous people than to maintain a state of hostility toward them (Beaver 1988:443; Szasz and Ryan 1988:291-293).

Grant relied heavily on missionary institutions to implement his policies toward American Indians. For example, missionaries were selected as special agents for reservations. In general terms, then, the policies and actions emerging from the Grant administration stimulated missionary expansion throughout frontier areas of the United States inhabited by American Indians.

However, with the presidential election of Garfield in 1881, the government's avid support of missionary activities among American Indians greatly diminished (Beaver 1988:449; Berthrong 1988:261). During that time, rivalries between Protestant groups were minimal. However, competition between Protestants and Catholics commonly took the tenor of open hostility. The competitive relationship of Protestants vis-a-vis eastern and western Catholicism ultimately was to be significant in terms of the mission-

ary, education, and reindeer herding history of Alaska.

Sheldon Jackson, born in 1834 to a dedicated Presbyterian family, was educated at Union College in New York and became an ordained Presbyterian minister upon graduation from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1857 (Stewart 1908:18, 32). Significantly, Lewis Henry Morgan, one of the "fathers" of American social evolutionary theory, had graduated from Union College in 1844, and by 1851, had published his first major work, *The League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (Service 1985:16). Morgan's work was to influence the nation's view of the "noble" but "primitive" indigenous peoples of the Americas.

Jackson attempted to join the Presbyterian foreign ministry as soon as he became ordained:

> In the early days of the settlement of the West, the work of evangelizing the North American Indians, in so far as this was attempted, and carried on exclusively through the agency of the [Presbyterian] Board of Foreign Missions. The stations to which its missionaries were sent were usually on reservations, remote from civilization, and virtually outside its pale. Within the limits of the Indian Territory, the largest of these reservations, there were motley groupings of Indians, representing several of the aboriginal confederacies and tribes of half-breeds of various colour; and also of negroes, who were held as slaves. [Stewart 1908:40]

Jackson was driven by an energetic ambition or obsession to participate in bringing civilization and Protestant Christianity to the "uncivilized," "primitive," "savage," and "pagan" indigenous Native Americans of the United States (Jackson 1880). In pursuit of this goal, he pushed westward from his parish in Minnesota, chaplainship in the Civil War, and position as reservation school teacher in Oklahoma to serve for the Presbyterian Home Mission in delivering his message to a broad area in the west, from Canada to the Rio Grande (Lazell 1960; Stewart 1908:236). Between 1870 and 1882 Jackson was superintendent of the Presbyterian Home Missions (Beaver 1988:455; Lazell 1960). Hinckley (1961:134) noted that before shifting his attentions to Alaska, Jackson had become convinced that the industrial school was the most expeditious way of integrating young Native Americans into the world of the White man (Stewart 1908:328). In historical perspective, the view of Jackson as a heroic figure in Alaska Native history has been pervasive both in the past and more present times. In his monumental and classic survey of "Eskimos" originally published in 1936, Birket-Smith represents this view:

> [After 19th century Euro-American contact with Eskimos], there were left only the miserable dregs of a people ruined and demoralized when at last the United States began an energetic campaign of restoration which has been as rapid as it has been successful. The name that will for all time be remembered in this connexion [*sic*] is that of Dr. Sheldon Jackson...To change a pronouncedly hunting people into herdsmen would seem a difficult task, but that transformation which once gradually took place under aboriginal conditions on Siberian soil was successfully achieved by the Americans in Alaska in a very few years. [Birket-Smith 1959:220-221]

In 1877, Jackson made his first trip to Southeast Alaska as a representative of

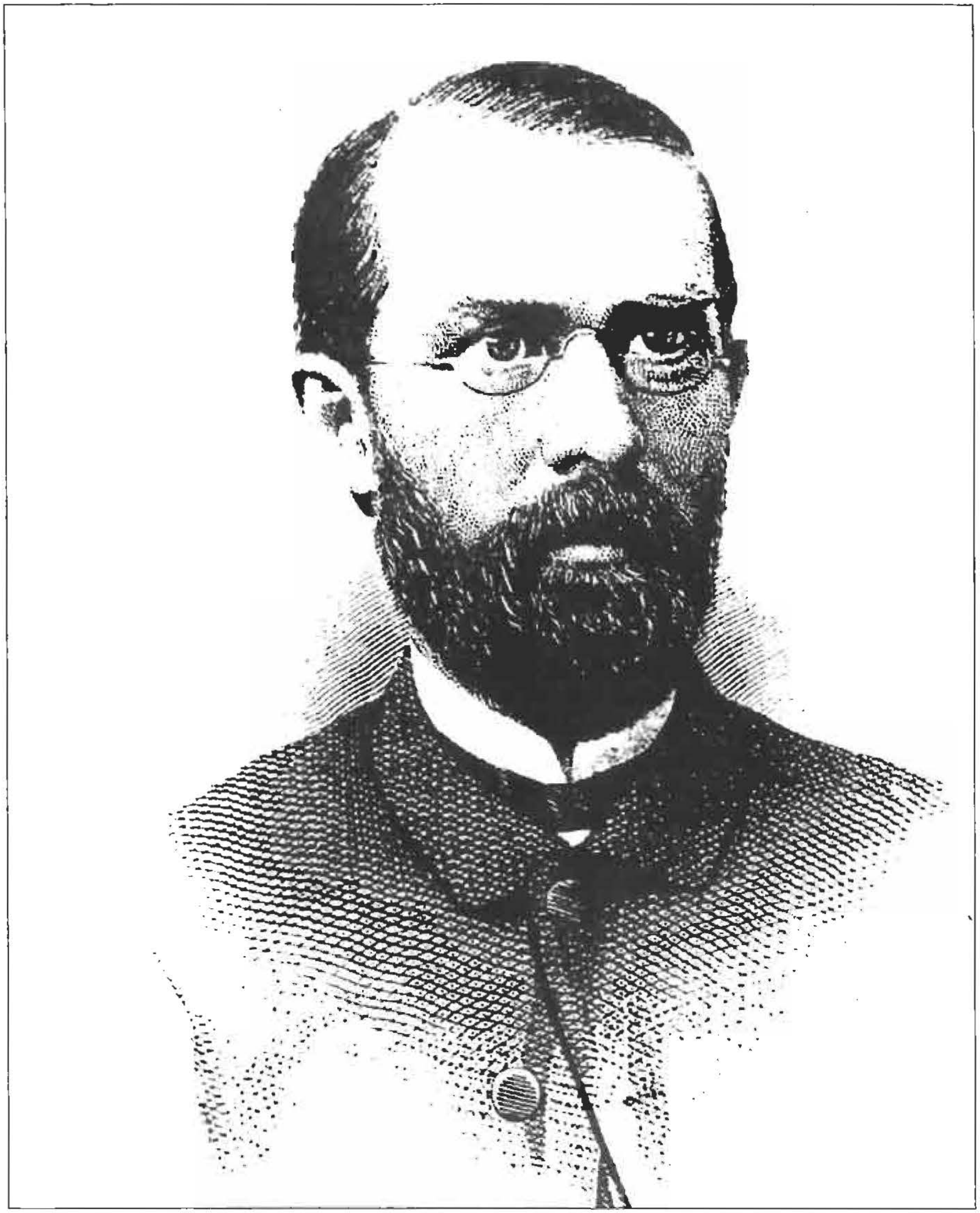


Photo 17. Portrait of Sheldon Jackson. Photo courtesy of Alaska State Library, Juneau, AK. Photo #01-3279.

the Presbyterian Home Mission, albeit with no official church authority in the territory (Stewart 1908:236, 340). His coming to Alaska was, in large part, the result of this general Protestant movement into the frontier (Beaver 1988) and, more specifically, related to Jackson's reading a letter from army Private J. S. Brown stationed at Fort Wrangell to General Howard that described the precarious conditions of Alaska Native at the hand of Whites (Lazell 1960:53). Jackson was deeply disturbed about what he termed the "low moral status of the Indians," for which he blamed, in part, the White man (Lazell 1960:14). He was also concerned about the Tlingit and Haida practice of slavery, which was a violation of the "Christian concept of the worth of the individual, and also a violation of the Constitution" (Lazell 1960:17). As a result of this visit, a school was established at Fort Wrangell in 1877 under the Presbyterian ministry (Bancroft 1970:710).

Jackson perceived Alaska to be the most fertile and receptive setting for continuing his life-long goal of civilizing and proselytizing the indigenous people of the western and northern United States and its new territory of Alaska. Jackson made more than 900 public addresses about Alaska between 1877 and 1883 and was instrumental in the effort to create a Presbytery of Alaska. He also lobbied throughout the United States for both private and public funds for industrial schools/missions and encouraged the settlement and development of the new territory (Hinckley 1961:76, 134; Stewart 1908:271). According to Jackson, Henry M. Teller, who was Secretary of the Interior in 1894, and Commissioner of Education John Eaton, industrial schools were the most expeditious way of incorporating young aborigines into the White world (Hinckley 1961:134).

Jackson's efforts throughout the period of missionizing Alaska and introducing reindeer herding closely involved mutual support of women's Christian groups. According to Stewart (1908:263), Jackson was both the proposer and first advocate of concerted action among women of the Presbyterian Church. Women became a main lobbying target for Jackson's missionary activities throughout his career (Hinckley 1961: 79-80; Stewart 1908:256-263). In part, he achieved the support of Christian women by giving public speeches about the exploitation of Native women as being treated like chattel, bought by miners, sold into prostitution, forced to marry old men, and other terrible fates, such as the alleged widespread practice of female infanticide, vastly exaggerating these claims (Hinckley 1961:88).

From 1877 until 1884 Jackson's continued intense missionary efforts through schools in Southeastern Alaska. To Jackson, there was an inextricable link between teachers and preachers, with the former providing the latter a means of gaining access to indigenous peoples. From the date of his first visit to Alaska, Jackson sought interviews with members of Congress, wrote letters to influential people, and efficiently used public media urging the establishment of public schools and the formation of a provisional government in the territory. Given the intellectual climate of the time in the United States, Jackson's social evolutionary and assimilationist views were shared by many of the country's most elite and powerful.

After the passage of the Organic Act of 1884 that provided for a modicum of governance and $25,000 for the "education of children of school age in the territory, with-

out reference to race," Jackson was appointed General Agent for Education in Alaska in 1885 (Jenness 1962:8; Stewart 1908:342). Using his authority and control over federal funds, Jackson embarked on a scheme to expand the evangelical activities of Protestant missionaries through governmentally funded "contract" schools with various denominations. Jackson and his supporters encouraged the expansion of the Moravian Church on the Kuskokwim and Nushagak Rivers beginning in 1884 (Oswalt 1963a:24-25, 1990:78-791), the founding of the "Holy Cross" Mission on the Yukon by the Roman Catholics in 1886, and the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America in Unalakleet and Yakutat in 1887. They also supported the Anglican Reverend William Duncan's movement of his Tsimshian followers out of British Columbia to Annette Island also in 1887, the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church mission and contract school at Unalaska in 1889, and the establishment of the Congregational Church at Cape Prince of Wales and the Episcopal Church at Point Hope, both in 1890 (Stewart 1908:364, 372).

It was also during that time that Jackson first reported concern for the "Eskimos" of Northern Alaska, whom Marine Revenue Service personnel reported to be in a "degraded" condition (Stewart 1908:373-374). In the larger context of United States policies in which governmental support of the assimilation of indigenous peoples under the auspices of religious groups was waning, Jackson was, in fact, expanding missionary activities in Alaska through using federal funds to create and support mission schools (cf., Beaver 1988).

Jackson's first trip to the Arctic was in 1890 on the revenue steamer *Bear,* under the command of Captain Michael A. Healy, in response to the reports he had read and heard regarding the deprived and depraved condition of the Eskimo in Northwest Alaska.

> The bare, unagricultural-looking land, the strange habitations, and the skin-clad people, made him [Jackson] amenable to any suggestion that would "lift these poor people from their degradation" and "build up their manhood" [citing a Jackson letter in March 1890 to L. M. Stevenson, a missionary volunteer who ultimately ended up in Point Barrow]. Jackson, and Healy as well, did not recognize that the Eskimos conducted their lives within well-defined mores and led as happy and rewarding an existence as inhabitants of a more complex society. [Ray 1965:73]

Jackson's implicit model reiterated in this quotation is clearly that civilization is essentially a corollary of food production—an idea that would have him seeking an alternative nonagricultural mode of food production for the Iñupiat.

In March of 1890, before his trip north with Healy aboard the *Bear*, Jackson published a call for volunteers to "man" the northern areas of Alaska, despite what he called the rigors of the arctic winters, the isolation from the outside world, and the difficulties associated with teaching English among a "people who were as a rule ignorant of it" (Stewart 1908:376). This appeal received a positive response from 12 men and 12 women, from which Professor L.M. Stevenson and medical doctor John B. Driggs were selected for Point Hope and Professors William T. Lopp and Harrison R. Thornton for Cape Prince of Wales. All of Jackson's travel, and that of his volunteers, was provid-

ed by the U.S. Marine Revenue Cutter *Bear* under the command of Healy.

As a result of the 1890 trip, Jackson felt be could justify acceptance and support of the accounts of widespread starvation of the "Eskimos," the primary source of which had been Captain C.L. Hooper's records from his 1880 journey on the U.S. Marine Revenue Steamer *Corwin,* regarding the decimation of the population of St. Lawrence Island between 1878 and 1880 (Hooper 1964:6a, 10-11). Although there was grue-some evidence that most of the population had died, Hooper was not the most unbiased of observers:

> These natives are a lazy, worthless people. They hunt and fish only when forced to do so by hunger. The only sign of civilization among them is their fond-ness for whiskey and tobacco. [Hooper 1964:8]

A historical analysis of the St. Law-rence Island deaths suggests that multiple factors were operative in contributing to this tragedy, including an epidemic and related social and economic collapse, poor hunting conditions, and the use of alcohol (Bock-stoce 1986:140-141; Ellanna 1983a). Jackson (1893:11) reported that the King Islanders were starving and had resorted to eating dogs in the fall of 1891. However, lacking com-parable examples from the mainland, Jack-son misrepresented the historical record. As pointed out by Ray:

> In order to impress his readers with the Eskimos' mortality, Jackson misquot-ed Captain William Beechey's report of a large village at the location of present-day Shishmaref in 1827. Jackson quoted the village as once having from 1000 to 2000 people. What Beechey actually said was that it [the village near the site of modern Shishmaref] was "the largest they had seen yet." The population at Jackson's time was 80, with about 15 houses. [Ray 1965:76]

The idea of importing reindeer herded by the Chukchi of Siberia to Alaska cannot be credited to Jackson. Naturalist Charles Townsend, traveling aboard the Revenue Steamer *Corwin* in 1885, may have been the first to publicly suggest this venture (Postell 1990:11; Ray 1965:74). Lomen (1954:28) argued that the idea was first suggested by Henry W. Elliott in 1872. Healy, who had taken his first cruise to Alaska with the U.S. Revenue Marine Service in 1868, had been a proponent of the importation of reindeer since at least 1885. Healy's ideas about Siberian reindeer herding being imported to Alaska resulted from the regular visits of the Marine Revenue Service cutters to the Siberian coast since 1879 and his discussion of the topic with Charles Townsend during the 1885 journey on the *Corwin* (Brooks 1973:488-489). Healy had no qualms about sharing this idea with Jackson (Postell 1990: 12; Ray 1965:74). Teachers Lopp and Thorn-ton, stationed at the Wales mission, had their own plans for importing reindeer by skinboat after they first arrived at Wales in 1890 and learned that some Cape Prince of Wales Iñu-piat had a financial interest in Siberian herds (Brooks 1973:489-490; Ray 1965:75 citing a letter from Lopp to Neda Thornton in 1930).

Jackson justified the importation of reindeer to Alaska using several rationales. First was the "starving Eskimo" concept, which he promoted throughout the United States in attempts to raise money and get legislative appropriations for his scheme,

again at times misusing or exaggerating data. Second, he argued that with the introduction of domestic reindeer, the Native population would increase—a demographic model that he later transferred to the incoming White population. Third,

> The introduction of domestic reindeer is the commencement of the elevation of this race from barbarism to civilization. A change from the condition of hunters to that of herders is a long step upwards in the scale of civilization. [Jackson 1893:13-15]

Additionally, the introduction of reindeer would solve the problem of transportation in the Arctic, as Jackson was a great detractor of dog teams, espousing their inefficiency. Lastly, importing reindeer would develop a new industry in Alaska that would benefit the wealth of the entire United States.

In any event, it was the 1890 journey and, implicitly, Jackson's firsthand observations that were used as the justification for lobbying for federal governmental support of the importation of reindeer from Siberia. As Jackson stated:

> I found them [the Eskimo of Alaska] like their neighbors on the Siberian side to be a hardy and active people, but because they had never been instructed to depend upon the raising of reindeer as a support, unlike the Siberians, they were on the verge of starvation. The whale and walrus that formerly had constituted the principal portion of their food have been destroyed or driven off by the whalers; and the wild reindeer [caribou] that once abounded in their country, have been killed off by the introduction of breech-loading firearms. [Jackson 1893:5]

Healy reiterated this sentiment:

> From time immemorial they [the Eskimos] have lived principally on the whale, seal, walrus, salmon, and wild reindeer. But in the persistent hunt of white men for the whale and walrus, the latter has largely disappeared, and the former has been driven beyond the reach of the natives. The white men are also erecting canneries on their [Alaska Natives'] best fishing streams, and the usual supply of fish is being cut off; and with the advent of improved firearms the wild reindeer are migrating farther and farther away. [Jackson 1893:31]

The actual scarcity of food hypothesis has been subject to question. Jenness (1962: 11) much later concluded that there had been a "breakdown of [the] aboriginal subsistence economy" due to the use of "high-powered rifles"—a conclusion few would agree with today. There is no doubt that the commercial whaling industry had impacted both the bowhead whale and Pacific walrus (Bockstoce 1977b; 1986:347). However, seals and fish remained abundant. Caribou populations appeared to decline at least after the mid-1880s, though this has since been analyzed, at least in part, as due to natural demographic fluctuations and changing migratory patterns. Caribou were not totally gone from all of the coast by the end of the 1800s, however, as hunters in the Point Barrow area speared approximately 100 from kayaks in 1894 (Brower 1942:109, 145, 168). In any event, the explanation for the unavailability of caribou

to the Iñupiat as being a reduction in number due solely to the introduction of the breech loading rifle is not supportable.

During the summer of 1890, Jackson, through a contract with the American Missionary Association (Congregational Church), established a school at Cape Prince of Wales staffed by Lopp and Thornton (Jackson 1893:5; Smith 1984:v; Stewart 1908:376). Similar contracts with the Protestant Episcopal Church resulted in a missionary contract school at Point Hope under the guidance of Driggs and a Presbyterian Board of Home Missions funded school at Point Barrow under Stevenson (Jackson 1893:5; Stewart 1908:376).

The idea of involving private donors, missions, and Christian volunteers in the educational process was perceived as accelerating the very slow progress of constructing and implementing government schools for Natives in Alaska, because of inadequate federal funding. More importantly, such religious affiliated institutions were, in Jackson's and his colleagues' opinion, the perfect forum for bringing about the overall "assimilation through formal education" in the context of the Christian paradigm. Jackson demanded that teachers be affiliated with a church and be able to prove that they had been active Christians (Ray 1975:207). Moreover, if an employee in a contract mission school behaved in a manner inconsistent with Jackson's view of morality and a proper Christian life, he or she was fired (Ray 1975: 207). Additionally, Jackson encouraged the marriage of his missionaries with government teachers—the ultimate union of church and state—with a relatively high degree of success (Lopp and H. Hall Young were examples of such unions) (Hinckley 1961:168; Smith 1984:vii).

The missionary teachers were expected not merely to teach a standard academic elementary curriculum but also to bring about directed cultural change of their wards. The Iñupiat were, in Jackson's and many of his peers' view during this time, at or near the bottom of the pyramid of human existence. For example, in 1888 Jackson's language policy for Alaska Native schools was as follows:

> The Board of Home Missions has informed us that government contracts for educating Indian [Native] pupils provide for the ordinary branches of an English education to be taught, and that no books in any Indian language shall be used, or instruction given in that language to Indian pupils. The letter states that this rule will be strictly enforced in all government Indian schools. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs urges, and very forcibly too, that instruction in their vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to their speedy education and civilization. It is now two years and more since the use of the Indian dialects were first prohibited in the training school here. All instruction is given in English. Pupils are required to speak and write English exclusively; and the results are tenfold more satisfactory than when they were permitted to converse in *unknown* [emphasis ours] tongues. [Krauss 1980:95]

Speaking in Native "tongues" was not only perceived by Jackson and some of his colleagues as being counter productive to the civilization of indigenous people, but was believed to cause the spiritual and mental degeneration of the missionary teachers (Hinckley 1961:168-169). It is unlikely that Jackson and others failed to consider the implications of such a policy on the culture, identity, and self esteem of members of a

group who were forbidden to use their own language. Rather, the condemnation of the language was seen to facilitate the process of dividing people from their "primitive" and "uncivilized" practices and traditions. Of course, the goals of these efforts to bring about cultural assimilation and transformation were placed in the framework of humanitarian aid and relief to the Eskimos ravaged by immoral "white men" in their selfish pursuit of resources and wealth.

Jackson's interests went far beyond the organization and implementation of formal schools, however. As a firm believer in the concept of industrial training schools, Jackson envisioned them to be a means for "civilizing" people who were principally hunters, fishers, trappers, and gatherers—the way of life of all indigenous peoples of Alaska at the time of Euro-American contact and throughout the period of time that Jackson was involved in the missionary and reindeer herding efforts in Northwest Alaska. To Jackson, reindeer herding in the Alaska context was the means of realizing the goals of industrialization and economic change essential for bringing about the social and cultural evolution of hunters and gatherers into civilized people (Stewart 1908:387). Moreover, reindeer contributed to Jackson's desires to settle and develop Alaska without any concern for Natives.

Even before Jackson had purchased the 16 expendable reindeer of 1891, he had sent a letter to the president of the Tacoma, Washington, Chamber of Commerce, urging support of his pending Congressional appropriations. In the entire letter there is not a whisper that the reindeer were being bought for the benefit of the Eskimo. Instead, he said, "The introduction of domesticated reindeer from Siberia into Alaska will build up a new industry and greatly add to the commerce of the Puget Sound Ports as well as to that of the whole Pacific coast." (Ray 1965: 94 citing a letter of January 1891 from Jackson to the President of the Tacoma Chamber of Commerce).

Although Jackson directed the teachers to provide instruction, in English, to the Native students in reading, writing, and arithmetic, they also were expected to teach health, sanitation, carpentry, domestic skills, morality, and, importantly, were required to undertake the supervision of the reindeer enterprise commencing the summer of 1892.

After his trip to Alaska in 1890, Jackson lobbied in Washington for a government appropriation to realize the importation of reindeer (Jackson 1893:11; Lazell 1960: 91; Stewart 1908:388-389). The resourceful Jackson used missionary publications and general newspaper media to obtain personal donations for importing reindeer during the summer of 1891. He was successful in raising $2,146 from private contributors (Jackson 1896:11; Stewart 1908:389). During the summer of 1891, when Lopp was conducting a survey of reindeer range potential on the Seward Peninsula, Jackson and Healy on the cutter *Bear* purchased 16 reindeer to prove that reindeer successfully could be transported by ship (Jackson 1893:9; Stewart 1908:390). Jackson and Healy held the reindeer aboard the ship for approximately three weeks and landed them at Unalaska in the Aleutian Islands (Jackson 1893:27). Although none survived the winter on the island, Jackson and Healy had made their point about the feasibility of successful transportation of reindeer over a much longer distance than would be the case in the Bering Strait

area—that is, between the Siberian coast and, ultimately, the deep water and protected anchorage of Port Clarence on the Seward Peninsula.

The importation of reindeer from Siberia was not merely an idea conceived of in the United States and implemented without problems. Clackson and others reported repeatedly that the Siberians were "superstitious" about selling live reindeer, though they had long engaged in the trade for reindeer hides to insular and mainland peoples on the Alaska side of Bering Strait. In his 1893 report appendices, Jackson cited an 1870 publication by George Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, in which the Koryaks and Chukchi were said to be:

> Most noticeable in their reluctance to part with a living deer. You may purchase as many dead deer as you choose, up to 500, for about 70 cents apiece; but a living deer they will not give to you for love nor money. [Jackson 1893:20]

Other data indicated that there was a distinct stratification of herders on the Siberian side, and that "big deer herders" had economic motives for wanting smaller herd owners not to sell live reindeer (C. Siem as reported in Jackson 1899:179-185). Contrastingly, the exportation of live reindeer provided an incentive to Siberian owners of small herds to exchange live reindeer for highly valued trade goods. There was concern on the Siberian side about the amount of reindeer being amassed on the Alaska mainland. As Siem reported:

> It would prove itself to be of advantage if the Alaskan deer were taken away from the Bering Sea coast. Exaggerated reports of their numbers, carried across the Bering Straits [*sic*] by the Eskimo traders, tend to prejudice the deer men against selling more. [Jackson 1900:184]

Healy was one source of the idea that the Natives of Siberia were "superstitious" about live reindeer based on his observations of considerable ceremonialism in the transmission of reindeer (Jackson 1893:7). In part, the reluctance of the Chukchi to trade or barter live reindeer was associated with their ideological views about reindeer and the appropriate ways of treating them. Jackson reported that because of the "superstitious" nature of the Chukchi, if they sold live reindeer and an epidemic should occur, their shamans would blame the misfortune on the person who sold the animals (Jackson 1893: 8). However, the Siberians' "superstition" regarding the sale of live reindeer may have had fundamentally an economic motive, associated with their control and maintenance of a favorable balance of trade with the Iñupiat and Siberian Yupik of Alaska and the islands of Bering Strait through the domination of the indigenous market for adult and fawn deerskins in general and, more specifically, for multicolored skins more characteristic of reindeer than caribou. Additionally, by not selling live reindeer, the Chukchi could obtain as much in trade for the hides as for the reindeer and retain the meat for their own use (Ray 1965:79).

Between the summers of 1891 and 1892, Jackson again relentlessly lobbied Congress unsuccessfully for an appropriation of $15,000 to support the importation of reindeer from Siberia with the assistance of congressmen Teller from Colorado (Jackson 1893:6, 1896:11; Stewart 1908:391). Though this congressional action also failed, Jackson had adequate funds through donations

to purchase 175 reindeer, 171 of which were landed alive. This action was taken in the face of considerable public doubt. As described by Jackson in 1893:

> In the public discussions which arose with regard to the scheme a sentiment was found in some circles that it was impracticable; that on account of the superstitions of the natives [of Siberia] they would be unwilling to sell their stock alive; further, that the nature of the reindeer was such that he would not bear ship transportation, and also that even if they could be purchased and safely transported the native dogs on the Alaskan coast would destroy or the natives kill them for food. [Jackson 1893:7]

Additionally, Jackson and Lopp became aware that importing reindeer, in part, was not supported locally as they were told that there was "ridicule [about] the idea of introducing reindeer on this side on the part of some of the Cape Prince of Wales natives" (Jackson 1894:58).

In any event, these reindeer were transported in five trips to Port Clarence, where a facility was constructed the same summer (Jackson 1893:6, 10; Stewart 1908: 393). The establishment was referred to as Teller Reindeer Station. With seemingly no knowledge or, at best, comprehension of the significance of the long-standing relationship between the Chukchi and Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska as enemies, Jackson conveyed four Chukchi herders (Jackson 1896:13) with the reindeer to train the Iñupiat in handling and herding techniques:

> To protect the Eskimo, Government regulations prohibited white men from owning female reindeer, a wise precaution during the early days of the industry. He [the Eskimo] had no experience with domestic livestock, therefore, a few Siberian deer men were brought over to instruct the Alaska Eskimo in the care of the animals. [Lomen 1954:31]

The subsequent conflict between the Iñupiat and Siberian deermen who had been sent to train them was not based merely on intergroup hostility, but largely on the fact that the potential success of Alaska reindeer herding was perceived to be disruptive to the social and economic relationships already established between peoples on both sides of Bering Strait. All but one of the Siberian herders left before Sami herders came in 1894, in large part because they thought that the people of Wales would kill them (Olson 1969a:32).

Jackson's opinion of the Siberian herders was not too favorable, despite his use of them as a model for the transformation of the Alaska Eskimo:

> The Siberian deermen are a non-progressive people. They have lived for ages outside of the activities and progress of the world. As the fathers did, so continue to do their children. [Jackson 1893:8]

Although Jackson preferred from the beginning to employ Sami herders from the Scandinavian North (Ray 1965:80):

> Siberian herders were employed at the beginning of the enterprise, not because they were considered the best, but because they were near by [*sic*] and were the only ones that could be had at the time...By universal consent it is admitted that the Lapps of northern Europe, because of their superior intelligence are much superior to the Samoyedes deer men of northern Europe and Asia and the

> barbarous deer men of northeastern Siberia. Intelligence applied to the raising of reindeer, just as to any other industry, produces the best results (Jackson 1896: 14).

This view of the Siberian herders was shared by T.L. Brevig, who later was the missionary at the Teller Station:

> From a social and cultural point of view, these [Siberian reindeer herdsmen] ranked even lower than the Eskimos. They were uncivilized and more barbaric, and their treatment of the reindeer was very cruel. [Johnshoy 1944:24-25]

Miner Bruce was appointed to the position of Superintendent of the Teller Station for the first year (Jackson 1893:10, 1896: 13). However, Bruce and his assistant Gibson were removed from their positions during the first year by Healy, who charged the former with trading five gallons of whiskey for reindeer in Siberia and for selling rifles to the Natives (Lazell 1960:111; Ray 1965: 83). Lopp, who was teaching in Wales at the time, reluctantly succeeded Bruce during the subsequent year (Smith 1984), until Jackson hired William Kjellmann, a Norwegian living in Wisconsin, to take over the Teller Station. By the fall of 1892, nine Iñupiaq apprentices had entered the course of instruction at the Teller Reindeer Station (Jackson 1894:16).

In the spring of 1893 and with the apparent success of the Teller Reindeer Station through the winter of 1892 to 1893, Congress appropriated $6,000 for the continuation of the importation of reindeer from Siberia to provide both a food source for the Iñupiat and a means for transforming them from hunters to reindeer pastoralists (Jackson 1896:13). This action had policy implications by legislatively and administratively linking the school system, missions, and reindeer herding.

Lopp's associate at Wales, Thornton, was murdered by three young local Iñupiaq boys in August 1893 (Smith 1984:vii; Thornton 1931:x-xi). Although the Iñupiat of Wales executed the murderers, in part to prevent the wrath of the Revenue Marine Service on the village, this provoked some setback on the part of the missionary/teacher program that Jackson had conceived. However, it was clear to many people before his arrival in the village that Thornton was socially and ideologically too rigid to have worked successfully in such a cross-cultural setting, particularly at Wales (Smith 1984:11-12). By the fall of 1893, the deceased Thornton was replaced as teacher at Wales by the return of Lopp with his wife Ellen.

The plan to transform the Iñupiaq economy involved an apprenticeship program—a program akin to the industrial schools of Jackson's fancy. Jackson and his followers changed the policy of the apprentice program and its implementation yearly for the next decade (Olson 1969a:21-22; Ray 1965:81-82). Initially, Iñupiat were to be selected and recruited by superintendents to become apprentices for two years' training at a station. As apprentices, they were to receive housing and food. At the end of two years, they were to be given ten reindeer and returned to their home villages. Subsequently, the program was changed:

> Under Dr. Jackson the Reindeer Service developed an apprenticeship system whereby young, progressive Eskimo were engaged to tend the reindeer under Lapp instruction. In addition to his maintenance, each young man was given a

> few animals every year. At the end of the five-year apprenticeship period he was graduated to ownership, with some forty head of reindeer; and as an owner he could, if necessary, employ an apprentice himself. [Lomen 1954:43-44]

In 1893 it was decided that apprentices would receive two reindeer the first year and five animals the second. The apprentices were to be encouraged to remain with the herd at Port Clarence another four years. If they remained for five years, they were to be given an additional 10 to 15 animals and allowed to leave (Olson 1969a:22). In 1894 the terms of the apprenticeship changed again, with the apprentices receiving two reindeer the first year, five the second, and ten the third and for each year thereafter (Ray 1965: 82). Healy was opposed to the idea of deferred payment, as he felt that the Iñupiat were incapable of comprehending the receipt of something years into the future, and incapable of working under the concept of deferred gratification (Ray 1965:81-82).

It is noteworthy that despite the alleged starvation, Iñupiat did not enthusiastically receive the recruitment of apprentices. At the end of the first two years, only five of the 17 apprentices were over the age of 25 (Olson 1969a:22, 29). It has been concluded that:

> Apprentices drawn to the Reindeer Station in the first several years were atypical Eskimos, and those who were not entirely atypical at the start soon found that hunting and fishing were more to their liking, after all, and so neglected their herding. [Ray 1965:81]

Ray's conclusions are supported by Jackson's policies as to the type of "Eskimos" who should be sought as apprentices:

> In selecting apprentices it would not be well to choose the best huntsman among the Eskimo, for the fact that a man is a successful huntsman shows that his strongest interests lie in the direction of a hunter's life; that this view is correct has been demonstrated by our apprentices. The liking for hunting is a hindrance to the interest in herding and taking care of reindeer, and hunters are not willing to settle down to the somewhat confining life of a herder. To this should be added that all those among the Eskimos who live where there is seal fishing, and who on that account are good, zealous huntsmen, are the ones who in the longest run will be able to maintain themselves without reindeer. They will longest be able to get their support from the seal. Such apprentices should first be chosen who are likely to be the first to need help...to wit, those Eskimos who live among the fjords and along the streams [those dependent upon fish]...The chief thing to be considered is their intelligence. [Jackson 1896:86]

However, it is noteworthy that most of the apprentices in the early years came from the more wealthy families at Wales—the largest and one of the most affluent sea mammal hunting and trading populations. Furthermore, as discussed below, the first Iñupiaq to receive his own herd, Charlie Antisarlook, an umialiq and shaman, was from Ayasayuk or Cape Nome, a large marine mammal hunting site.

In the summer of 1894 Jackson hired the Norwegian William J. Kjellmann to act as superintendent of the Teller Reindeer Station. As a young man, Kjellmann had worked as a herder in Norway and was the first experienced participant in the reindeer project (Jackson 1895:10, 1896:14). Since Kjellmann had worked with reindeer in Norway, he concurred with Jackson's view that Samis

would be preferable teachers of reindeer herding and husbandry to the Iñupiat as opposed to the Siberians. "It was quite obvious that he [Sheldon Jackson] intended the Samis to be prime factors as private owners in the expanding reindeer industry" (Lomen 1943: 45).

Lopp disagreed, however, preferring Iñupiaq reindeer handlers (Smith 1984). Lopp and his wife and children had learned Iñupiaq and were familiar and comfortable with Eskimo culture:

> When sober, the natives are friendly and for the most part grateful for the benefits conferred upon them by the mission,... They have many laudable traits, being generally honest, truthful, and industrious. Their vices are those due to ignorance and superstition, and we have great hopes that patience, kindness, and perseverance will cure them. [Smith 1984:70]

Using privately donated funds, Jackson sent Kjellmann to Norway to recruit Sami herders, their families, and specially trained herding dogs. Kjellmann arrived at the Teller Reindeer Station in July of 1894 with seven herders and their families (16 total Samis) (Jackson 1895:10-12, 1896: 14). Fellow Norwegian, missionary Tollef L. Brevig, arrived the same summer to act as the Scandinavian pastor to the Samis and, secondly, to function as the teacher at the government school at Teller Station, so that Kjellmann could devote his time to reindeer associated activities. Brevig was given permission to preach the gospel to the "Eskimos" (Jackson 1895:10; Johnshoy 1944:24).

The 53rd Congress, Second Session increased the appropriation for the mission work to $7,500 in 1894, and the same amount was allocated in 1895 (Jackson 1896: 14). In 1894 120 head of reindeer were purchased in Siberia and taken to the Teller Station—creating an Alaska herd of 588 animals (Jackson 1895:13). Jackson (1895:18) argued that the existing procedures for purchasing animals in Siberia were inefficient and proposed the establishment of a purchasing station in Siberia.

The involvement of Samis in Alaska herding was perceived both positively and negatively by the Iñupiat. The record indicates that the Samis were not considered to be enemies as had been the Siberians, thereby removing at least that obstacle from the working relationship between those teaching herding and the Iñupiat. Kjellmann's view of this relationship was probably different from that of the Iñupiat, however:

> The apprentices, at least most of them, have long since discovered their inferiority and seen how much they have to learn from these people [the Samis]. We have now reached a point where no apprentice undertakes to do anything before he has consulted one of the Lapps, so far as languages make it possible. [Jackson 1897:65]

Jackson made the following comparison between the Sami herders and Eskimo apprentices:

> One of the tendencies observed in the apprentices is a feeling that as soon as they can throw a lasso and drive a team that they have learned all that they need to know, and that after a few months' service, they are fully competent to take the entire charge of the herd...Because a fireman on a locomotive learns to open and shut certain valves, and start, slow down, or stop

> the engine, it does not follow that he is competent to take the engineer's place. No more does it follow because an Eskimo man gains a little experience with reindeer that he is able to take charge of a herd. In Lapland where the people have greater intelligence and the advantage of heredity, a young man is required to serve an apprenticeship of five years before he is considered competent to manage for himself. [Jackson 1895:18]

The Samis had contracts with the Bureau of Education that paid them for their participation in the herding industry, more generous and diverse provisions than the Iñupiaq apprentices, and a greater possibility of accumulating reindeer for their own herds (Olson 1969a:25; Ray 1965:87). The Samis whom Jackson was to recruit in 1898 were given a contract guaranteeing them the loan of 100 reindeer for three or five years after completing their tenure with the Alaska Reindeer Service—ultimately promising the Samis more reindeer than were available in Alaska at the time. From the perspective of Jackson and most of the missionaries and teachers, the Samis, while culturally different from Americans and industrialized Europeans, were higher up the sociocultural evolutionary ladder in terms of being civilized than were the Iñupiat (Jackson 1895:11).

The Iñupiat realized that the original justification for bringing the reindeer from Siberia was ostensibly for their benefit. Lopp and his wife Ellen had traveled up the coast from Wales to Point Hope spreading the word about the benefits of reindeer pastoralism (Smith 1984:46). Yet, the Iñupiat were forbidden to kill the reindeer for either food or clothing, unless provided by the station, under the rationale that such actions were necessary for allowing the herds to grow (Ray 1983:122). In fact, in 1897 Jackson demanded the arrest of an Iñupiaq who had killed a reindeer to provide an example to others as to the serious implications of such actions (Ray 1965:85). Additionally, it was obvious to the Iñupiat that Samis, White missionaries, and the government all owned reindeer, but that they, as the alleged "starving Eskimos," were given none. In 1894 the first reindeer allocated from the Teller Mission Station—119 animals—were given to the American Missionary Association at Wales under the direction of Lopp (Jackson 1895:66, 1896:15).

By 1894 Jackson was fully cognizant of the growing resentment on the part of the Iñupiat and, in the fall of that year, signed an agreement with Charlie Antisarlook to loan him 100 reindeer based on the terms that the same number, of which 75 were to be females, be returned to the Teller Reindeer Station in 5 years (Jackson 1895:66-67). Antisarlook was a man of considerable influence. He was a widely traveled trader and had served as an interpreter for Healy since 1890 (Ray 1983:119). It is likely that Jackson perceived Antisarlook as presenting a minimal risk if reindeer had to be allocated to the Iñupiat. Additionally, Antisarlook had served as an apprentice at the Teller Reindeer Station since its inception, although fired by Bruce and rehired by Lopp.

In January 1895 Antisarlook and his wife Mary (a half Russian, half Yup'ik woman from Saint Michael) took 115 reindeer, 15 of which he and his brothers had earned as apprentices, and 4 of their own apprentices to the Sinuk River—this first Native owned herd being referred to as the Point Rodney herd in government documents (Johnshoy 1944:94, 114, 121). By 1899 Antisarlook had

328 reindeer, the number of animals returned to him to replace the 133 he lent the government for the Point Barrow "relief" expedition to be discussed below (Jackson 1900:15; 140). Although he died in the 1900 influenza epidemic, his herd was inherited by his wife, who became known as "Sinuk (or Sinruk, Synrock) Mary" and prospered, eventually being relocated to the Unalakleet area (Jackson 1896:73; Olson 1969a:29-30; Ray 1983: 117- 140; Stern, et al. 1980:26).

By 1895 Jackson began to state his concern for non-Natives who were locking into Alaska and how the reindeer industry could help them by "...opening up...the vast and almost inaccessible region of Northern and Central Alaska to White settlers and civilization" (1896:16). Jackson saw the process as being the conversion of white moss through reindeer into food and clothing for White men by its subsequent transformation into reindeer meat and furs (1896:16).

By 1895 Jackson's policies were shifting to a more open advocation of restricting Native access to reindeer in favor of allocation of animals to missions and Sami herders. For example, in 1895 Jackson directed that reindeer be allocated to the Swedish Evangelical and St. James Episcopal missions located on Golovnin Bay and a Catholic mission on the Yukon at Nulato, the first two missions receiving their reindeer in 1896.

In 1895 and 1896 Jackson continued to maintain firm control of reindeer that had come into the hands of Natives. When on his rounds of schools and reindeer herds in the summer of 1896, Jackson arrived at Golovnin Bay to find the missionary Mr. Hultberg and the trader Mr. Dexter in a major dispute over Eskimos selling their reindeer to the store. Jackson left trader Dexter "a formal notification that they [Eskimo apprentices] were not allowed to sell" (Jackson 1897:26, 101-102, 109-110). If apprentices were to sell reindeer, they were not to be allowed by the missionary teachers to remove the reindeer from the herd (Jackson 1897: 109). Jackson's increasingly covert hostility toward Natives in general, and Eskimo herders and apprentices specifically, is evident in the following quotation:

> If any deer is injured through the carelessness or negligence of a herder or apprentice, the same will be charged to his account, and in the case of an apprentice, replaced from his deer. Where one or more natives kill or injure a deer, procure all the evidence possible, that they may be punished. [Jackson 1897: 109-110]

Following Jackson's instructions, in 1895 Kjellmann and Brevig punished an Iñupiaq, Axsegroak from Nook, who had killed a reindeer and fed 10 neighbors and himself, all of whom were starving. It was Kjellmann's and Brevig's view that all who shared in the meat should pay for the crime, despite the fact that one man offered to kill himself. The Iñupiaq involved in this event referred to the superintendents as "oomaliks" and were forced to pay one fox skin each and the reindeer hide for participating in the "illegal" kill (Jackson 1896:58-59). Of the 13 apprentices at Wales in 1895, four had left by 1896 and two were discharged because they had "no interest in herding" (Jackson 1896: 66-67). No longer did the importation of reindeer seem to be associated with providing assistance to Natives. To the contrary, by 1896 Jackson felt that "it is indispensable that the natives should thus become prepared

for teamsters to do the freighting of that vast region for the white men" (Jackson 1897: 120).

In defense of his reindeer distribution program, Jackson pointed out that in 1895 he had lent three Native herders reindeer, forming the third station near Cape Nome—the Antisarlook or Point Rodney herd. But he staunchly defended the role of his missionary/teachers in allocating reindeer to Natives:

> In arranging plans for the distribution of the domestic reindeer in Alaska, so far as the native population are concerned, I have looked to the missionaries settled among them for cooperation and assistance...They [the missionaries] are the wisest and most disinterested friends the natives have. From their position and work, having learned the character and needs of the people, they can wisely direct the transfer of the ownership of the deer from the Government to such of the natives as have been trained in the care of deer. [Jackson 1897:15]

Not coincidentally, in 1896 Jackson also changed the Native apprenticeship program to a duration of five years with no reindeer to be earned during the period of instruction. Furthermore, Iñupiat completing the five-year apprenticeship had no guarantee of either receiving reindeer as gifts or being lent reindeer to establish their own herds:

> The feeding, clothing and instruction of a man and his family are ample payment for his services while learning this trade. Experience has shown that the apprentice at the station makes a better living than his associates at home. When he completes his apprenticeship, it may be proper to give him some deer for a start, but if this is done, it will be as a gift and not wages. [Jackson 1897:110]

In addition to not giving the apprentices any wage, there are accounts in both the reindeer reports for 1895 and 1897 of reducing the rations for Eskimo apprentices, since they had "all...the fish and seal oil they wanted" and "all...Native grub they can eat" (Jackson 1896:51, 102). Jackson instructed the teachers to have Eskimos stay on their "native diet," thereby not creating wants difficult for them to supply by not eating expensive food from San Francisco (Jackson 1897: 112). Yet in the reindeer annual report, J.C. Widstead, who was now superintendent of the Teller Station, narrated that:

> [The] entire coast from Cape Prince of Wales down to the lakes suffered more or less. At Palarzook, especially, but also Topcarzook and Canougok, villages between us and the cape, the natives were actually starving. Results of sealing were insufficient in the fall, frost fish failed them in the winter, and later the little crab which they sometime resort to for lack of something better also failed. [Jackson 1897:48]

No reindeer were imported from Siberia in 1896 and 1897 (Postell 1990:27; Ray 1965:91). In 1896 Jackson contracted with two commercial firms to buy reindeer, when he learned that the government ship *Bear* was unable to pursue reindeer acquisition that season. However, the effort to buy reindeer was unsuccessful (Ray 1975:91).

In the winter of 1896 the Russian government granted permission to locate a purchasing station at St. Lawrence Bay in Siberia. Rather than importing reindeer that summer, the station was established by the beginning of fall (Ray 1965:91). The operation of the station, however, was ultimately unsuccessful.

In June 1897 Thomas J. Morgan, federal commissioner of Indian Affairs, terminated the policy of contracting with missions for the delivery of education through the operation of schools. This cessation of support was stimulated by rivalries between Catholics and Protestants over control of reservation schools. Morgan, a Baptist clergyman, believed that the Catholics were attempting to use their foothold in the American education process to eventually take over all public schools (Beaver 1988:449). While withholding funds, Morgan encouraged Protestant denominations to continue their educational mission at their own expense with donations from members.

By the summer of 1897, Jackson was confronted with the reality of no longer being able to openly support missionary activities with federally allocated educational funds. Governmentally owned and supervised reindeer, then, became the mechanism by which federal funding indirectly could be channeled into the perpetuation of Jackson's goals of continuing the expansion and support of missionary activities among Alaska Natives.

Between 1897 and 1898, a coalescence of events occurred that provided Jackson the opportunities and justifications to achieve his long-term goals of establishing a colony of Sami herders, who in turn would enhance the reindeer industry in Alaska by providing an economic base for missions through reindeer (cf., Ray 1965:95-96). The site for the new headquarters of the government reindeer station, named Eaton Station after former Commissioner of Education John Eaton, was selected on the Unalakleet River (Jackson 1898b:12). Wales herders and apprentices Tautook, Sokwenna, Ootenna, Netaxite, Kivyearzruk, and Keok assisted Lopp in getting the Eaton Station established under the direction of superintendent Kittilsen. Reasons for moving the government station from Teller to Eaton were multiple, including the degradation of lichens in the Teller area, accessibility to timber (an environmental necessity from the perspective of Sami herding), closer proximity to the governmental center of the region at Saint Michael, and a suitable home for a Sami colony eight miles from the nearest Eskimo community. The two relief expeditions described below, and the shift of the gold rush focus to Northwest Alaska—which resulted in attendant demands for meat, pack animals, and transportation—provided the rationale for acquiring additional European reindeer, equipment, and Sami handlers and teachers and expanding missions under the guise of assisting Whites colonizing Alaska (cf., Hinckley 1961).

Not all of those associated with the reindeer industry, including Lopp and Healy, were enthusiastic about the establishment of a Sami colony or even the presence of Samis in Alaska:

> The landing of so many Lapps to look after the small government herd at Unalakleet or colonize this part of Alaska is much ridiculed here [St. Michael]...What the U.S. Bureau of Education expect [*sic*] to accomplish by bringing so many Laplanders to Arctic Alaska is an enigma to all who are personally acquainted with the destitution, need, and possibilities of the Eskimo race. There is already an excess of trained herders and experience has demonstrated that it is easier to increase their number than the number of the herds. [Ray 1965: 97 citing an article of unknown authorship from *The Eskimo Bulletin*, a publication printed by Lopp in Wales]

In 1897 accounts ostensibly came from the interior that there were stranded prospectors starving to death on the Yukon River. There were accusations by detractors that Jackson had some role in facilitating the spread of these rumors. In any event, Jackson's services were temporarily transferred from the Department of the Interior to the War Department to arrange for recruiting Sami reindeer, herders, sleds, harnesses, and moss from Norway as a relief effort for the starving prospectors (Jackson 1898b:9; Lazell 1960:169; Smith 1984:175).

Kjellmann already had arrived in Norway in an effort to recruit Sami herders to Alaska. At the very end of December 1897, Jackson joined him there when the Yukon relief effort was allocated governmental funding in the amount of $200,000 in late 1897 (Jackson 1898b:32). The result was the recruitment of 68 herders and their families (113 Samis in all), 539 reindeer, 418 sleds, 511 harnesses, and 500 tons of moss (Jackson 1898b:39; Lomen 1954:33). Several of the Samis who had signed contracts decided not to go to Alaska immediately before the ship *Manitoban* departed. Jackson got the police and threatened to send those who broke their contract to jail (Lazell 1960:169).

Sailing from Norway to New York in February, crossing the continental United States by train, and traveling by ship to Alaska (Haines), five Sami herders and two others, a vastly reduced number of reindeer (114) mostly due to their starvation and the rigors of the journey, and some equipment eventually reached Circle City in February 1899 under the supervision of Hedley E. Redmeyer, approximately one year after they had departed Norway (Jackson 1898b:39-45, 1900:18-19, 165; Ray 1975:238-239).

The remaining 108 Sami, Norwegian, and Finnish emigrants (67 herders and their families) were sent from Seattle to Eaton Station during the summer of 1898 on the ship *Navarro* (Murray 1988:98-99). This "relief effort" was termed "Jackson's Wild West Show" by the Oregonian. This effort, although not providing assistance to allegedly "starving miners," accomplished Jackson's goal of getting Samis to Alaska. In Jackson's words:

> In my estimation, next to the discovery of gold, the most important event, commercially, in the history of Alaska during this year [1898] is the importation of this colony of Lapps. Experience is rapidly demonstrating that the only possible efficient transportation service in Alaska must be through the use of reindeer, and this necessitates the trained and expert drivers of reindeer found among the civilized Lapps and Finns. [1898b:47]

In the winter of 1897, firsthand reports from Point Barrow reported that there were about 300 stranded commercial whalers on the arctic coast, whose ships were ice bound or crushed in the Arctic Ocean (Brower 1942; Jackson 1898b:19-31, 83-95; Smith 1984:207, 221-224). Accounts of this relief expedition vary widely, depending on the agenda of who is recounting the story (cf., Brower 1942 and Jackson 1898b). Nonetheless, it was reported that the rumors upon which the government acted suggested that the stranded whalers near Point Barrow were in imminent danger of starvation unless relief actions were undertaken by the government.

Charles Brower, who had come to Alaska in 1884, was in charge of a shore-based whaling station owned by H. Liebes

and Company during the year in which the events of this relief expedition unfolded (Brower 1942:viii, 212-213). A reindeer "relief" expedition was organized during the first couple of months of 1898, led by Lieutenants E. P. Bertholf, David Jarvis, and surgeon Dr. Samuel Call of the Revenue Marine Service (Jackson 1898b:26-27). Reindeer from the Teller, Golovnin Bay, and Wales Stations and Charlie Antisarlook's herd were collected, totaling 448 reindeer to be driven to Point Barrow. Lopp, Antisarlook, and an apprentice named Ootenna drove the herd across frozen Kotzebue Sound, through the mountains, west of Point Hope, and along the coast to Point Barrow under what the Iñupiat advised were perilous conditions, arriving in March 1898 (Brower 1942:212-213; Jackson 1898b:19-31; Lazell 1960:64-65; Ray 1975: 239-240; Stern et al. 1980:28-29)—a seemingly more "successful" expedition than that on the Yukon, as only 66 reindeer were lost. However, according to Brower (1942: 213) the reindeer were nothing but "skin and bones" upon their arrival. When the relief expedition reached Point Barrow, it was apparent that the whalers, with the assistance of Iñupiat and personnel from the shore-based whaling station, had rescued many provisions from the stranded vessels. Additionally, according to Brower (1942:212-213), the staff of the Liebes Whaling Station under his direction and with the assistance of local hunters had adequately supplied the stranded whalers with food, and only 180 of the animals driven north were killed for meat (Jackson 1898b:21).

> But perhaps it was just as well that Lopp started back to Wales with the dog team almost at once...had he stayed around longer he might have realized that he'd really been driving "coals to Newcastle," so to speak, because of all the fresh meat our Eskimos had been bringing in for weeks. [Brower 1942: 213]

The remaining reindeer were used to start mission herds at Point Hope (Episcopal) and Point Barrow (Presbyterian), with 34 going to the former and 391 to the latter (Jackson 1898b; Ray 1983:127). Importantly, since most of the herders and drivers on the expedition were Iñupiat, Jackson argued that this event proved that "Eskimos" could be turned into herders if given a chance and the proper supervision by Whites (Jackson 1898b:28).

Although the evidence about food availability during the end of the 1890s is somewhat confused and the commercial harvests of the bowhead whale and the Pacific walrus had reduced their populations, temporary food shortages, usually in spring, were well documented in the oral tradition of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska before the commercial whaling and mining periods of contact history. The letters of Lopp and his wife Ellen suggest that, despite short periods of hunger, the vast majority of food being eaten by the herders and apprentices at Wales Station between 1893 and 1902 was composed of sea mammals (hair seals, ugruk, and whales), fish, migratory waterfowl, and other resources taken by local Iñupiat (Smith 1984: 80, 114, 118, 184, 210, 254, 375, 431, 436). However, what is meaningful in this context is that, despite the importation of reindeer to "feed the Eskimo," by 1899 Iñupiat with or without apprentice affiliation were unable to look to reindeer for relief from periods of food shortage. In the words of Lopp:

> No deer have been butchered for meat. As the supply of seal and walrus meat and fish has been much less this year than usual, our herders were compelled to subsist, at times, on flour, molasses, and tea, a very unsatisfactory diet. [Lopp's annual report from Cape Prince of Wales for 1899 cited in Jackson 1900:109]

Several allocations of reindeer at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century warrant consideration in this context. In 1899 numerous non-Native residents of the Kotzebue Sound area submitted a petition for an allocation of reindeer to "relieve the winter sufferings of the destitute natives of this region" (Jackson 1900:163). Mission stations established between 1897 and 1900 included the Norwegian Mission Station at the site of the old Teller Station (1900) and the Catholic Mission at Nulato (1901). The second recorded allocation of reindeer for a private herd occurred in 1898, when three Iñupiaq apprentices—Tautook, Sekeoglook, and Wocksock—were given reindeer in accordance with their contract to start a combined herd of 186 animals, reportedly to be established in the Teller area (Jackson 1898b: 9-10, 12, 1900:16). By 1899 Jackson reported that this herd numbered approximately 300 animals (Jackson 1900:15). In 1899 Antisarlook's herd numbered 328 reindeer (Jackson 1900:16). With the exception of the Wales herd of 714 reindeer, of which a few belonged to apprentices but most were the property of the American Missionary Association mission, the Eaton government herd was the largest with 737 animals, only 23 of which belonged to an apprentice (Jackson 1900:16, 68).

Jackson advocated very early in his Alaska career that reindeer used as pack and sled animals were extraordinarily superior to dog teams as a mode of transport. When the gold rush began on Norton Sound, Bering Strait, Kotzebue Sound, and the interior Seward Peninsula in 1898, Jackson was certain that reindeer would assume the function of dog teams as the primary mode of transportation (Jackson 1900:19, 1904: 21-22; Brooks 1953:412). Additionally, the large number of miners who came north in search of their fortunes increased the demand for reindeer meat. The period brought problems to Jackson as well as hopes for a vastly expanded industry, as many Sami emigrants chose to become miners rather than herders, and some Samis sold animals directly to miners (Jackson 1900:21-22).

On both sides of Bering Strait and throughout most of Alaska, the corresponding occurrence of two epidemics—measles and influenza—and secondary bacterial infections in 1900, with the synergistic effects of disrupting the social order of the Iñupiat, impacted the reindeer industry and associated missionary activities both directly and indirectly (Jackson 1901:10-11; Smith 1984:320-325, 338; Wolfe 1982). For example, half of the Iñupiat at Teller Station died during this epidemic (Johnshoy 1944). Jackson was unable to secure many reindeer in Siberia for importation, as most of those herders either were sick or had died there, as well (Jackson 1901:9-10). Similarly, many of the Iñupiaq apprentices and herders died or were disabled for much of the year in Alaska, including Charlie Antisarlook and his two brothers and Wocksock, who recently had established a herd with his partners (Jackson 1901:10-11, 15; Smith 1984:320, 323). In many cases, the herds were left on their own, as many Iñupiat were too ill to round up the reindeer.

The epidemic raised the issue of inheritance of reindeer owned by Iñupiat, as it was customary in the western legal tradition to give the surviving wife her deceased husband's reindeer rather than, for example, transferring them to the eldest son. Importantly in this context, the epidemic left many children on the Seward Peninsula orphaned (Wolfe 1982; Smith 1984). Those children were mostly taken in by various missionaries to be raised at their discretion free of other influences and therefore more effectively assimilated (Johnshoy 1944). Finally, and of significance, the shamans were ineffective in dealing with these diseases of plague proportions, and their credibility was undermined to the advantage of the missionaries, as acknowledged by Brevig:

> By the help of God, none of those died who had just caught the epidemic or who became sick shortly after they had been brought into the mission...The natives lost their faith in their traditional superstitions and evil spirits and medicine men. They said, "None of those which we previously relied upon have been able to help us, while none of those sick ones which the white teacher had treated from the beginning have died"... Thus, the majority of the natives broke more and more with their own traditions. The medicine men lost their power and reputation. [Johnshoy 1944:158]

Reindeer herd ownership statistics for the first decade of the 1900s are important in understanding the implementation of the seemingly ever-changing policies of Jackson and the Bureau of Education toward Iñupiaq participation in this industry. This was also the final decade of Jackson's leadership in the reindeer herding endeavor. In 1900, Lopp had proposed dividing the Wales herd to establish another in the vicinity of Shishmaref Inlet (Jackson 1901:16, 97), although it did not occur until 1904. In 1900 there were 3,323 recorded reindeer, 644 of which belonged to the government, 1,184 to 6 mission stations, and 1,495 to 20 Iñupiaq apprentices or herders (Jackson 1901:23). Most of those reindeer that Charlie Antisarlook owned were inherited by his wife Mary after his death in 1900. Lieutenant Bertholf of the Marine Revenue Service traveled to Sinuk to advise Mary about problems she was facing with her reindeer due to the influx of gold seekers to the Seward Peninsula:

> Finding that the herd had been interfered with by lawless whites and much of the pasturage in the immediate vicinity of the herd burned by fires started by the whites, I advised her [Mary] to move, during the coming winter, to the east side of Norton Sound, where she would be among her relatives and better protected from annoyances by white men. [Jackson 1902:29]

By 1901 a total of 10 mission herds extended from the Kuskokwim River to Point Barrow, possessing a total of 4,164 reindeer derived from the 1,280 animals that had been imported from Siberia (Hadwen and Palmer 1922; Jackson 1902:15; Olson 1969a:11). That year also marked the first decade after the initial importation of reindeer. In 1901 100 reindeer were lent to the Friends Mission at Cape Blossom and were driven north by Iñupiaq apprentices George Ootenna, James Keok, and Stanley Kivyearzruk (Jackson 1903:23; Smith 1984:405). Jackson (1902: 18) reported that by 1901 from 30 to 35 Iñupiat had served 3-to-5 year apprenticeships, with 20 of them reindeer owners. The importation of reindeer from the Tungus of eastern

Siberia, under the direction of Bertholf, also occurred in 1901 (Jackson 1902:20-22, 142-166).

In the decade after the importation of reindeer, the Iñupiat, for whom the reindeer had been introduced to "save them from starving," remained unable to use the reindeer as a resource. In 1901 Brevig assisted the U.S. Marshal Evans from Teller in the arrest and conviction of six Iñupiat who had killed and consumed 12 reindeer. The men were sentenced to serve one to two months in prison, the "purpose of which was to frighten them rather than to punish them" (Johnshoy 1944:195). According to Brevig's interpretation of this event, the Iñupiat knew they were guilty of a "crime" and "appreciated" Brevig and the Marshal's efforts to put them in jail (Johnshoy 1944:194).

The final importation of Siberian reindeer occurred on the *U.S.S. Bear* in 1902 (Jackson 1904:111), after which time the Russian Imperial Government made any further sale of live reindeer illegal (Jackson 1904:143; Lomen 1954:48; Ray 1965:72). Jackson had reached an agreement with the Northwest Commercial Company of Nome for this firm to act as a concession for obtaining and transporting exported reindeer into Alaska through the North Eastern Siberian Company (Limited) for the Native missions until this activity was outlawed by the Russians (Jackson 1904:165). By 1902 the Wales herd had more than 1,000 reindeer. Ootenna, Keok, and Kivyearzruk were Lopp's three most experienced, self-supporting herders, owning 192, 175, and 166 reindeer, respectively (Jackson 1903:4). There was a total of 5,148 reindeer, 2,609 of which belonged to 44 Eskimo herders (Jackson 1903:11, 17). Lopp, who had served such an important role in the reindeer industry in Northwest Alaska, resigned as school teacher at Wales and relocated to Seattle, although he soon became the head of the Alaska Reindeer Service (Smith 1984:441).

In 1902 Jackson continued to argue for the importance of keeping reindeer at mission stations, despite the governmental policy that was contrary to his position. Jackson's arguments were multiple. His logic was that if a mission has reindeer, Natives will not leave home for much of the year in search of food (Jackson 1903:24)—this despite the fact that Jackson had been encouraging a continuation of Native diets rather than use of reindeer or other imported foods in previous reports. Jackson argued that the presence of reindeer at missions would keep Natives from congregating in "mines, where they live by begging and immorality, and soon disappear from the face of the earth" (Jackson 1903:24). Having reindeer gave missionaries a means of "rewarding" families that became and lived as Christians, therefore becoming "civilized." Ownership of reindeer relieved the missions of revenue shortage problems and provided missionaries with a source of meat. Lastly, the reindeer afforded missionaries with a source of transportation so that they could proselytize over a more expansive area (Jackson 1903:24).

In 1903 the reindeer population in Alaska had reached 6,505 animals (Jackson 1904:17). There were 68 Eskimo herders (mostly Iñupiaq, but some Yup'ik) and apprentices who owned a total of 2,841 animals or 44 percent of all reindeer (Jackson 1904:9). The Eskimos had an average herd size of 42, ranging from less than 10 to more than 300 (Jackson 1904:17). The missions held title to 2,176 or 33 percent of the animals,

while the Samis owned or had been lent 1,150 or 18 percent of all reindeer. The government only owned 338 or 5 percent of the reindeer in Alaska by 1903, and those were designated for future loan programs (Jackson 1904:9). Hugh J. Lee, who had replaced Lopp at Wales, reported a new apprentice payment program there, in which participants were allocated 25 reindeer of their own and issued a loan of 25 mission reindeer after five years of service (Jackson 1904:63).

Throughout the history of the reindeer herding enterprise, the stated intent and policy of importing the reindeer for the benefit of "starving Eskimos" had been violated at several levels. These include the first government herd going to the Wales mission; the prohibition of Iñupiat selling reindeer (especially females) or killing them for food or raw materials; the use of both government owned and Iñupiat reindeer to "save" starving miners and commercial whalers; and the government contracts with the Samis providing them not only money and better support than Iñupiaq apprentices, but also access to reindeer ownership more readily than that afforded to the Natives.

By 1900 those who were critical of Jackson felt that the policy and goals of the reindeer herding project had shifted toward an increase in missionary and Sami owned herds. For example in 1905, less than half (41 percent) of the reindeer were owned by Natives and were distributed in herds averaging less than 50 animals, while at the same time the Samis herds averaged 238 reindeer (Jackson 1906:11; Olson 1969a:34; Stern et al. 1980:33).

As is clear from the discussion above, by the turn of the century Jackson and his supporters were explicitly more vested in the economic development of Alaska by White settlers than alleviating the "deprivation" of the indigenous people of the territory. Rather than the assimilationist model underlying his early rationalization for importing reindeer, Jackson had gone one step further. He began explicitly supporting a model of European colonization, in which indigenous populations were transformed into a servile labor force, rather than being either the victims of genocide or elevated to a level of equality suggested in the more American "melting pot" theory of assimilation. This philosophy was poignantly revealed in his reindeer report for 1903 and reiterated in 1904 (Jackson 1905):

> This raises the question what that attention should be and how these natives can be made valuable helpers and assistants in the development of the country by the white men now there engaged in mining operations. Any successful method of accomplishing such desirable results must keep clearly before it the aim to prepare the natives to become a help to the immigrants who come from the States for the purpose of conducting mining operations. There are two things which the native may be taught to do which will enable him to help the immigrant: First, he may be taught how to create a supply of cheap food; second, he may be taught how to supply cheap transportation by means of reindeer...The native knows how to take fish from the rivers and from the sea for his family use, and with proper training can be made an equally successful fisherman for the market.
>
> The experience of the past twelve years has proved that he [the Native] can also become skillful in raising reindeer for food. With the gradual disappearance of the caribou and moose in sections of Alaska and the difficulty and expense of

bringing beef and mutton from the States to inland mining camps, it is of great importance that the Eskimo be trained to raise reindeer with which to supply the immigrant miner with fresh meat ....

In the development of the rich mineral resources of that region he [the White man] will find the reindeer and the Eskimo herder and teamster the connecting link between himself and the resources of nature - for his comfort and for his profit. [Jackson 1904:19-21]

Ownership patterns of reindeer by Iñupiat largely had been dominated by certain families. Lopp's successor Lee at Cape Prince of Wales noted the development there of what he termed a "reindeer aristocracy." While explicable in terms of Iñupiaq social order, as discussed below, the attempt to break up such alleged "aristocracies" fitted Jackson's model of the "Eskimo" becoming peasants with little to no internal social stratification. Lee countered this development in the industry at Cape Prince of Wales in 1903 by making rules about apprentices, assumedly sanctioned by Jackson and his supporters:

> In the past the owners have been nearly all related to each other, so that but a very few families have been benefited, but the rule now in vogue is that all new apprentices must be boys who are not related to other deer owners. I hope in this way to introduce the ownership of the reindeer into as many different families as possible.
>
> This new rule was greeted with cheers by the population of the village, as they were beginning to feel jealous of the Kingegan reindeer aristocracy, and the new rule is that no boy shall become an apprentice until he shall have learned some English. [Hugh J. Lee as cited in Jackson 1904:65]

In 1905 the Secretary of the Interior commissioned an investigation of reindeer herding and education in Alaska, because of Jackson's-and others' who agreed with his philosophies-seeming reversal in reindeer policy, his continued support of missionary activities with money derived from the reindeer industry and other governmental sources, and his avid determination to have education provided primarily by missionaries. The investigative endeavor was conducted by Frank C. Churchill, a strong advocate of the separation of church and state. Churchill's report not only addressed problems associated with the role of Iñupiaq reindeer herding, such as the allocation of such large numbers of reindeer to the missions, but questioned Jackson's apparent receipt of dual salaries for the same job—one from the federal government as an agent of education and the other from the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions (Lazell 1960:192).

Jackson's (1908) annual reindeer report of 1906 included his own refutation of Churchill's report, as well as letters of support from several missionaries, including Brevig. As Brevig reported:

> This summer (1905) there was prevalent disorder throughout all of Alaska among the Government teachers, missionaries, and reindeer herd managers. Some of the younger officers of the customs [*sic*] ships, some politicians in Washington, including Dr. Jackson's subordinates, with Mr. Lopp as helper had banded themselves together for the purpose of having Dr. Jackson removed from office. They also proposed to have the reindeer business and its management placed in the hands of the Customs department and thus remove the reindeer herds from their connection with the missions. [Johnshoy 1944:208]

Olson (1969a:37), in his modern account of the history of the reindeer industry, concurred with Brevig's accusations against Lopp, as the latter was very supportive of Iñupiaq herding and generally was opposed to the involvement of missions, Samis, Whites, and Siberians in this industry.

In the annual reindeer report for 1905, Jackson (1906:7) began to restate his original intention of importing reindeer from Siberia as a "means of saving the inhabitants of the northern and northwest regions of the Territory [of Alaska] from starvation"—an old line of argument in response to the Churchill investigation. Nonetheless, he did not back down on his policy that the missions remain the focus of herding. For example, in 1905 both Deering (Society of Friends) and Shishmaref (Lutheran) were also established as mission stations (Jackson 1906:10). The former herd was under the direction of chief herders Keok and Karmun, who had served as apprentices at Wales. The Shishmaref based herd included reindeer owned by Thomas Sokweena, Joseph Eningowuk, Frank Iyatunguk, and John Sinnok (Jackson 1906:60-61). Jackson even strongly argued the fiscal advantages of mission over government stations (Jackson 1906:19- 20).

During 1906, the last year of Jackson's supervision of the Alaska Reindeer Service, the stated policy was to provide small herds (approximately 100 animals) to mission stations for the "industrial training" of Eskimos—loans to be repaid at the end of a specified period (Jackson 1908:9). Apprentices were to be compensated with two reindeer per year for a five-year apprenticeship. However, once an apprentice was successful in obtaining reindeer, he remained under the supervision of the superintendent in regard to matters of disposing of any animals, including the prohibition on selling females. In 1906 5,153 reindeer were owned by 99 Eskimos, again with very disparate herd sizes. The Shishmaref and Deering herds had grown to 414 and 647 animals, respectively. Of these, the Iñupiat owned 369 of the Shishmaref reindeer and 461 of the Deering herd (Jackson 1908:10, 12). Although the presence of reindeer by then in the Espenberg area was documented, no mention of that region per se was made in the 1906 report:

> During the past three winters the Eskimo herders at Wales and Shishmaref have been accustomed to drive part of their herd over the frozen tundra a distance of 150 miles to Nome, and there kill and sell to the butchers several of their surplus male deer. In this way they earned $3,229.35 during the winter of 1905-6. [Jackson 1908:10]

Much of the 1906 report was a critique by Jackson of the Churchill investigation, principally revolving around an accusation that the investigator had spent most of time on the cutter *Thetis* and only 12 total days inspecting schools (Jackson 11908:14-15). Multiple letters of support for Jackson and in opposition to the Churchill report were incorporated in this final account, including critiques from the missionary/teachers at Shishmaref, Teller, Barrow, Bethel, and Gambell (Jackson 1908: 26-31, 46-55; Johnshoy 1944; Oswalt 1990: 107-112). Jackson attributed the Churchill investigation to sectarianism and denominational controversies and jealousies (Jackson 1908:33).To the bitter end, Jackson argued that the intent of Congress in providing funds for importing reindeer was to support both Natives and missions, despite the fact that



Photo 18. William *Aqviaq* Sinnok, left, and his brother Ralph *Panikpak* Sinnok. Their father John Sinŋaq was a reindeer herder from Wales who moved his reindeer herd to Shishmaref. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 107).

federal contracting with Christian schools already had ceased 12 years before (Jackson 1908:36).

Nonetheless, Churchill's investigation and report raised adequate questions about Jackson's management of both education and reindeer to culminate in his coerced resignation as general agent for education in Alaska, written in 1907 to be effective in 1908—the year of his death (Jackson 1908:7; Lazell 1960:199; Stewart 1908:461). Supervision of herding was transferred from Jackson to Lopp, who had been appointed the superintendent of reindeer in the northwest district in 1904 (Olson 1969a:11). Whereas even Jackson's detractors have argued that he provided service to Alaska Natives by forcing the federal government to fund schools and other services—a task that they had previously neglected—the status of the reindeer service as a result of his administration and tactics for raising money from both the government and the public was less than admired by many who knew Alaska well. For example, Dr. Alfred Brooks, who was in charge of the U.S. Geological Survey in Alaska from 1903 to 1924, although concurring that Jackson had dedicated his life to public service, had the following to say about him:

> To deny Jackson's services to the people of Alaska would be to belie the facts...On the other hand, a Jackson myth has been growing up in missionary circles which is equally as far from the truth. Many honestly believe that he was a pioneer missionary in the Territory,

though the facts show that, except for a few months spent at Sitka, he never did any missionary work in Alaska during his 30 years of service. He has also been represented as having undergone great hardships and as having made many perilous journeys; but this is also untrue, for nearly all his trips were made on steamers. Above all, Dr. Jackson had been credited with a profound knowledge of Alaska. This is a great exaggeration, for at best his knowledge was very superficial. In fact, it was his ignorance of the physical conditions in the Northland and of its people which led him to make many egregious blunders of administration. Another factor coupled with this was Jackson's fondness for sensational statements, no doubt in part developed as necessary to the propaganda to which he devoted most of his life. Jackson also had a weakness for being the central figure in every situation and was given to taking credit to himself for the work of others. [Brooks 1973:494-495]

Lopp was not an ordained clergyman when he initially came to Alaska in the early 1890s, although associated with the American Missionary Association while a teacher at Wales (Roberts 1978:223). Roberts (1978:23), in writing about the history of the Society of Friends in Alaska, concluded that Lopp was more interested in the quality of secular education of Alaska Natives than in their proselytization. This was at odds with the Society of Friends mission philosophy of the early 1900s, which concluded that the imminent coming of Christ made it useless to focus much attention on the secular education of Natives (Roberts 1978:223). Not being an ordained pastor, Lopp could not perform weddings and had to call on Brevig at Teller for undertaking such functions (Johnshoy 1944:37).

Mr. Lopp was not a pastor, but he was a college graduate and had taken much interest in Biblical study, yet he courteously waited until I came so that we together might the better answer any questions which we raised [regarding explaining the Bible]. [Brevig's view as recounted in Johnshoy 1944:97]

Though to some degree Lopp bought into the assimilationist model promoted by both missionaries and the government, he and his wife were positively disposed toward, and very knowledgeable about, the Iñupiat, as was well described by his wife Ellen in her letters to family (Smith 1984). In fact, their older children spoke Iñupiaq fluently and one was given only an Iñupiaq name (Smith 1984). Lopp never had been a proponent of White ownership of reindeer, or either Siberian or Sami instruction of the Iñupiaq apprentices and herders (Andrews 1939).

Between 1903 and 1907, the number of reindeer in Alaska increased from 6,505 to approximately 15,839. Of these, 6,406 were owned by 114 herders and apprentices, with an average herd size of 56 animals. Again, the range of variation between the number of reindeer owned by apprentices and the herds of independent owners, which averaged 112 animals, was considerable (Olson 1969a:37). In retrospect, one of Jackson's biographers (Stewart 1908:413) saw the reindeer population increase and associated expansion of Alaska missions as illustrative of Jackson's heroic contributions:

These figures [reindeer counts] indicate, beyond all question, or doubt, that the reindeer industry is now well established in Alaska. It has become a part of its educational system and has

> the hearty support and good-will of every one of the ministers and teachers [at] the thirty-eight or more missionary settlements which now dot the surface of the habitable portion of Alaska. It has awakened energies and ambitions which hitherto have lain dormant; it has furnished an object lesson to the natives in economizing their possessions and in doing its part alongside the Church and school in transforming the starving, dying Eskimos into well-fed, self-supporting, and self-respecting American citizens. [Stewart 1908:413]

There were an estimated 19,322 reindeer in Alaska in 1908 at 23 stations, and 46 percent of the stock was Native owned (USBOE 1909:1048, 1054). These included Shishmaref No. 1 and Deering No. 1 (also called Lane River) herds, both of which were established in 1905. The Shishmaref herd, to be kept south of Shishmaref Inlet, was formed with 398 reindeer from the Wales herd, including animals owned by Thomas Sokweena, Joseph Eningowuk, Frank Iyatunguk, John Sinnok, Harry Karmun, and Walter Kiyuktuk (Jackson 1905:108). The Deering herd was established by a loan of 100 reindeer from Lopp to the Friends Mission. Other herds established between 1905 and 1907 included Kivalina (1905) (Hall 1984: 281), Iliamna, Tanana, Icy Cape, Wainwright, Kobuk, Sinuk, Igloo, Council, Golsovia, Shaktoolik, and Egavik (Jackson 1909:1051-1053). Minimally, by 1905 there were other independent herds not reported by Jackson, including that of Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr, living between Shishmaref and Cape Espenberg. The stated intent was to have the government manage the Alaska Reindeer Service once again to benefit Natives:

> During the past year the reindeer enterprise has been administered primarily to benefit the natives. The chief object has been to bring about a more rapid and a more general distribution among the natives of the reindeer belonging to the Government, the missions, and the Lapps, in order that the increase of the herds might be theirs [the Natives'] and the reindeer enterprise thus become in fact a native industry. In this object we have succeeded only in so far as the government reindeer are concerned. [USBOE 1909:1046]

The 1907 annual report was written by Harlan Updegraff, Chief of the Alaska Division for the Commission of Education, based in New York (USBOE 1908). Updegraff's view of Alaska Natives reflected no enlightenment over the Eurocentric and sociocultural evolutionary modeled biases and overt racism of Jackson and his supporters, as revealed by this internally inconsistent statement:

> He [the Alaska Native] has accepted the Christian religion, he prefers the white man's food and clothing, and he [has]is adopted the structure of the white man's house whenever he is financially able. Furthermore, in many parts of Alaska his income is derived from labor performed for the white man...The native races may be elevated to a higher standard of civilization only through a system of education which recognizes the community as the unit of effort and the individual as the subunit.
>
> The laws of nature bind the individual to his own social stock by such strong ties that they can rarely be broken. The social habits and impulses which have been inherited or established by social contact in the early years shape the life of the individual...It must be remembered that the advancement of an inferior race is not dependent upon the

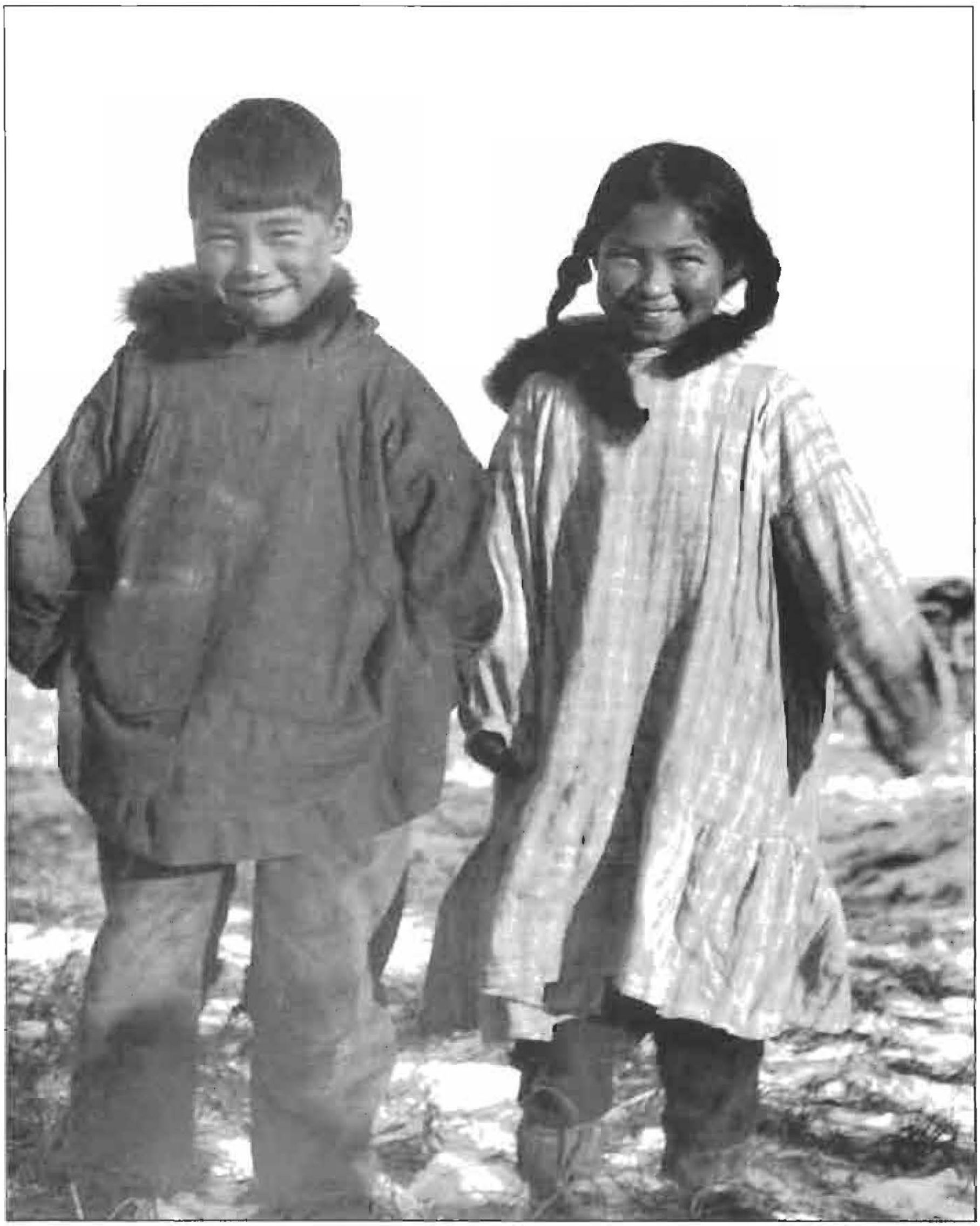


Photo 19. Howard Sinnok, left, and Helen Ningeulook (Attatayuk). They were in the second grade and happy to have their first parka covers. Helen is wearing waterproof mukluks. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 051).

> extent of the acquirements of individuals of the habits and impulses of civilized life, but upon the extent of the contributions of the individual of higher habits and better impulses to his fellow-man. The most rapid advancement of an inferior race will be brought about, therefore, by educating the brightest boys and girls in such ways as will cause them to render the greatest service to their people.
>
> Civilization has been evolved by a fairly even process and the different elements that have composed it at its various stages of development. It was through efficient participation in these related elements that increased control over nature and self was gained and the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual life of the race evolved. The Alaska natives should pass through this process under competent direction. [USBOE 1908: 385-386]

Who was to provide this "competent direction" — the paternalistic government, of course. Although Updegraff concluded in 1907 that some relationship between the Bureau of Education and mission societies should be continued to support the latter in their efforts to civilize Alaska Natives, government schools rather than missions were designated as the institutions responsible not only for education but also for providing direction to reindeer herding under the Alaska Reindeer Service (USBOE 1908:411).

In 1908 Walter Shields became the new superintendent for the Northwestern District of the Bureau of Education:

> His presence ushered in a new era for the Eskimo and the reindeer... It did not take him long to grasp that the main problem confronting his Bureau in northwestern Alaska was the reindeer industry. The best way of advancing conditions for the native people was going to be to develop this industry. He [Walter Shields] was inspired by the challenge. [Lomen 1954:72]

According to Lomen (1954:73), Shields "believed that if whites could play a part through the investment of capital, the reindeer industry would benefit."

Updegraff also submitted the 1909 U.S. Bureau of Education annual report, with Lopp remaining superintendent of schools in the northern district with his headquarters in Seattle (USBOE 1910). Legislatively mandated compulsory attendance of children in public schools was specifically delineated. The Deering and Shishmaref schools had been established in 1905 and 1906, respectively (USBOE 1909:1025), closely affiliated with the creation of reindeer herds in these locations. In addition, throughout Alaska agriculture had been added as a fundamental part of the school curriculum (USBOE 1909: 1026). Reindeer herding was perceived by the federal government officials as essential to the continued task of civilizing Alaska Natives:

> The most prominent feature of the industrial education of the natives of Alaska as it is being conducted by the bureau is the reindeer service, The reindeer industry has become the center of the life of many Eskimo villages, and the progress in civilization that has been made through participation in it is marked. [USBOE 1910:1307]

This new era—the period of governmental paternalism in the arena of reindeer herding—and its policies had many implications for Iñupiaq participation in this industry. First, the government policy was in-

tended to place as many reindeer as possible in the hands of Natives by taking herds to Natives rather than forcing potential herders to serve as apprentices:

> The fiscal year 1909 was in many respects the most remarkable in the history of the Alaska Reindeer Service. It marks the beginning of the period of full utilization of all the reindeer owned by the Government for the benefit of natives, for at the present time there is hardly a surplus government reindeer north of the Kuskokwim River. This was made possible by the establishment of new stations, by the employment of natives as chief herders instead of Lapps, thus permitting the expenditure of larger amounts for support of apprentices, by transferring reindeer to both chief herders and apprentices in lieu of salary or supplies, either in whole or in part, by accepting on an economical basis the largest practicable number of apprentices, and by better and closer supervision. [USBOE 1910:1321]

Other government policies implemented in the post-Churchill report to secure Eskimo ownership included a prohibition on the sale or other type of disposition of female reindeer to any person other than a Native (USBOE 1909; Stern et al. 1980:35). Old, barren, or otherwise disabled does could be killed only if reported to the government superintendent. This report provides the first official recognition of Qivaluaq replacing Deering as a reindeer herding site for herd owners Keok, Karmun, Makaiqtaq, and their apprentices, although the herd is listed as "Shishmaref (Keok's) Herd," also sometimes called Shishmaref Number 2 herd (USBOE 1910:LIX, LXVI).

In 1911 the report on education and on the Alaska Reindeer Service for the past fiscal year commenced as follows:

> With the authority of Congress the Bureau of Education has extended its work in Alaska far beyond the narrow limits of providing schools for children of the natives.
>
> The education of the natives of Alaska is conceived as meaning their advancement in civilization. With this in view superintendents, teachers, physicians, and nurses must regard themselves as social workers striving to elevate the native races intellectually, morally, and physically. In the schoolrooms emphasis must be laid on instruction in manual training and then domestic arts. In the villages the endeavor is made gradually to establish sanitary conditions. [USBOE 1912:5]

The number of Native reindeer owners had increased by 146 between 1907 and 1909, making a grand total of 260, still, however, with very disparate distribution between large herds and those men who had obtained only a few animals (USBOE 1910: 1322). By then the missions had begun to sell off some of their animals to Natives.

In the next decade there were to be many changes in the reindeer ownership pattern. By 1911 there were 33,629 reindeer, with 460 Natives owning 20,071 animals or 60 percent of the reindeer (USBOE 1912: 23). By 1912 the total count had increased to 38,476 reindeer, with 633 Natives owning 24,068 or 62.5 percent of all animals (USBOE 1913:13). In 1913 reindeer numbers were still on the rise—47,266 total reindeer with 797 Natives owning 65 percent of the animals. The following year (1914) there was a total of 57,872 reindeer, with 980 Natives owning 37,828 or 66 percent of all reindeer. Finally, by 1915 the herds had increased to

70,243 for all of Alaska, with 46,683 or 66 percent in Native ownership (USBOE 1917: 7).

It should be considered, however, that these increasing percentages of reindeer held by Natives were not particularly significant to increased viability of reindeer herding and husbandry as an industry to benefit particularly the Iñupiat, since these statistics clearly demonstrate that there was greater Native ownership of still very small herds of reindeer, averaging 48 animals by 1917, but with a widely disparate range of from a couple of animals to several hundred (Stern et al. 1980: 37). Finally, by 1913 the Lomens—a Nome based entrepreneurial family that had come to Alaska during the peak of the gold rush—began acquiring reindeer. This was to be the beginning of the history of White private ownership of this industry (Lomen 1954: 73; USBOE 1917:8). It is curious that while Walter Shields, who was superintendent of the northwestern district of the Alaska Reindeer Service, stated in his 1915 report that the entrance of Whites into the industry was not to the benefit of the Natives (USBOE 1917:22), Lomen (1954:73) claimed that Shields played a major role in arranging for this family's initial acquisition of reindeer two years earlier.

Before considering the Lomen period, however, it is significant to note that once again there was to be a new shift in reindeer herding policy that, it could be concluded, was ultimately a major factor in bringing about the disintegration of Iñupiaq herding. This was the idea and, later, policy—promoted and supported by Lopp and other government officials—of cooperative or corporate herd ownership and management. This policy was unquestionably related to the widespread distribution of reindeer into so many Native hands between 1907 and 1915. The concept of cooperative management of reindeer was first proposed to Lopp in 1911 by Charles Thomson, Missionary of the Congregational Church at Wales, and Dr. James Hamilton, Diomede teacher:

> We beg to submit for your consideration a plan designed to increase the value of the reindeer industry to the natives. As a substitute for the ownership of individual deer by natives, indicated by ear markings, we suggest that the natives be permitted to own herds on the corporation plan, each owning a fractional share of the entire herd; viz., an undivided interest, according to his investment, and receive from time to time a pro rata share of the profits in the form of dividends, according to the following general organization:
>
> (1) In organizing the business, there should be approximately a share of stock for each deer in the herd, at the par value of $20 per share;
>
> (2) The does should be kept for breeding purposes, the excess of bucks, over and above those needed for breeding purposes, should be sold for slaughter; the net profits over and above all expenses should be held subject to distribution in the form of dividends;
>
> (3) In compensating herders and apprentices a share of corporation stock should be substituted for each reindeer provided for under the present plan;
>
> (4) The stockholders should meet annually and elect directors. [USBOE 1912:80]

Within a couple of years of this suggestion, Lopp became a proponent of cooperative herd ownership, because herds were growing rapidly, overgrazing and overcrowding on some ranges had become an issue,

there were multiple small herd holdings, there were problems associated with inheritance, the demand for reindeer in local markets had declined, and there was a general reexamination of Bureau of Education policy (Murray 1988:213; Stern et al. 1980:46-47). Under this cooperative system, reindeer from one village or a number of proximal villages were to be combined under the direct management of a paid chief herder.

The government used the idea of organizing and implementing reindeer fairs to promote the idea of cooperative management based on shares, as well as to encourage competition and individual pride in being a good herder and master of the skills necessary to achieve that status (Lomen 1954: 113; Olson 1969a:41- 44; USBOE 1917:8-9, 73-82). Shields was alleged to have made the following statement justifying the fairs at the first gatherings:

> In engaging in the reindeer industry there are two things to be studied—the reindeer and the Eskimo who has to be employed to take care of them. The Bureau of Education can claim no qualification for the scientific study of reindeer, but the employees of the Bureau do claim to be especially qualified to handle the Eskimo. That is our work. We must never forget that to the Bureau of Education the reindeer industry is just one means of development of the Eskimo. To the white owner, the Eskimo is just one means for the proper development of the reindeer industry. That is important to remember. [Lomen 1954:116]

The fairs began in 1915 and ended in 1918 with the deadly influenza epidemic. Fair events included contests to determine the fastest sled reindeer, the strongest animal, the best driving reindeer, the most skillful lassoer, the cleanest and fastest butcher, the top reindeer song composition, and general skills, such as bow and arrow and rifle shooting and snowshoe racing (USBOE 1917: 73-82). The first fair was held at the interior Seward Peninsula community of Igloo. Subsequent fairs were held at Akiak, Noatak, Noorvik, and Unalakleet (Stern et al. 1980: 46; Ray personal communication).

In 1918 the Spanish influenza epidemic swept the Seward Peninsula. Between Saint Michael and Cape Prince of Wales, the epidemic claimed an estimated 1,200 victims (Andrews 1939:127). From an area between Wales and Shishmaref northeast to Cape Espenberg, the Iñupiat were spared the effects of the disease, primarily because of the rigid and armed quarantine organized by Shishmaref people. Superintendent Shields also died during this epidemic.

While Jackson was criticized for not allowing the Iñupiat to harvest animals for personal use, it is apparent that those who replaced him shared the same views on the domestic consumption of reindeer. Although not explicitly stated, the reindeer were now viewed as having commercial potential that best could be exploited by consolidating herds under central management—a Western, corporate model. While the Iñupiat, in theory, benefited economically from such a consolidation, the relatively low level of active Native participation in herding negated the assimilative function that had been professed as the primary rationale for initiating the importation of reindeer and herding to Alaska.

It is unclear from the record, however, the degree to which governmental agents, including Lopp, were cognizant of the fact that through the process of cooperatization, this policy resulted in the diminishment of

incentive from the Iñupiat perspective. That is, reindeer represented more than a commodity that could be exchanged for money in the form of wages or sales profits to the Iñupiat, but rather a means by which individuals could accumulate more traditional forms of wealth and achieve greater social status. Additionally, in an Iñupiaq driven economic scenario, it was the process of obtaining wealth and having control over it, not just the end result, which was important in an Iñupiaq driven economic scenario.

A major transition from Native to non-Native private ownership of reindeer continued from the first and second decades of the 1900s until 1939. In 1908 federal appropriations for the Alaska Reindeer Service dropped from $25,000 yearly to $9,000, probably associated with the depression of 1907, the restructuring of the Alaska Reindeer Service after the resignation of Jackson, and the philosophy that the industry had reached a stage in which it should be more financially independent (Olson 1969a:12). Correspondingly, in 1908 the missions began selling reindeer in larger numbers—reindeer allocated to them under federal government contracts to benefit the Natives. Initially the missions sold reindeer to Eskimos. However, the potential for widespread commercialization of reindeer gained the attention of Nome-based entrepreneurs.

The period of intense non-Native ownership of reindeer and involvement in commercial herding started in 1913, when the Lomen family initiated the purchase of 1,200 from Alfred and John Nilima, Sami herders who lived in the Kotzebue Sound area (Lomen 1954:73). The reindeer ownership transferred hands in 1914 (Plaskett 1984:72). Nilima was reportedly unhappy with the growing plethora of restrictions associated with the reindeer industry (Plaskett 1984:72). The elder Lomen, Gudbrand, eventually became a District Court judge for the Second Judicial District in Nome (Lomen 1954). Lomen's (1954:73) account of their family's involvement in the reindeer industry indicated that Shields welcomed the involvement of some non-Natives in the reindeer industry. Shields, according to Lomen (1954:73), believed that the enterprise would profit by White ownership. Lomen was convinced that there would be no "governmental objection" (Lomen 1954:73).

> So in the fall of 1913 he [Shields] explained to me that Alfred Nilima's contract with the Government was going to expire the following summer and, should Nilima see fit to sell his holdings to whites, there would be no government objection. [Lomen 1954:73]

Concerns about non-Native ownership were exacerbated in 1914, when the missions began liquidating of their reindeer through sales to the Lomens. The Lomens purchased 1,000 reindeer from the Swedish Evangelical Covenant Mission in Golovin in 1915 for $18,000 (Andrews 1939:219, 225; Lomen 1954:87). In that same year the Lomens negotiated a sale with Brevig for 319 animals, to be effective in 1916:

> In the month of November when I [Brevig] visited Nome, I entered into an agreement with Lomen and Company. The company agreed to purchase the mission's reindeer at eighteen dollars per head. This agreement was to be in effect as of January first, 1916, but since it was considered best that only the contracting parties know about this deal, the affair was not made public. [Johnshoy 1944:288]

The reference by Brevig to keeping the deal secret reveals his knowledge that minimally, some would perceive the action to be inappropriate.

Brevig had been convinced by attorney Lomen that the mission's contract with the government was not enforceable or binding (Johnshoy 1944:287-290). Nevertheless, Lopp threatened legal action against the missionary society. Additionally, R.P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, wrote in 1915 that the sale of the reindeer by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Mission was in direct violation of the spirit and letter of the contract the mission had entered into with the government in 1909. Claxton declared the sale null and void and asked the mission to return the reindeer or legal action would be taken against them.

Brevig's account of the subsequent events follows:

> We telephoned Mr. Lopp and told him that he could start legal action if he wished. This he attempted to do but was given the decision that the case had to be tried in the district where the reindeer were. Attorney Lomen informed us later through letter, that during the summer they had tried to bring this case up for a hearing in the court at Nome, but the United States prosecuting attorney refused to take the case, because they [the U.S. government] had no ground to stand on. Thus this saga ended. [Johnshoy 1944:290]

As a final note on this affair, Brevig recorded in his diary that in 1907, "Dr. Jackson wrote me privately, 'Do not let them bluff you to give back the reindeer: they are your property and can not be taken'" (Johnshoy 1944-288-289).

Lomen's view of the reindeer industry is clearly accentuated by how he described it:

> To call it the reindeer industry was to make it seem more substantial than it really was. At the time we entered it, unfenced public domain was roamed by herds of semiwild docile reindeer. Herding was done on foot by Lapps and Eskimo. Herds were small, animals valuable. Except for a few corrals and range shelters there was little or no equipment. There were no abattoirs or cold-storage plants, no refrigerated ships, no "outside markets" for meats and hides. [Lomen 1954:76]

The Lomens continued to expand their reindeer empire. In 1917 they purchased 1,717 reindeer from Samis Andrew Bahr, John Nilima, and M.I.K. Nillika. They bought 2,032 reindeer from Nils Klementsen and Ole Bahr at Egavik in 1918. The Lomens added 819 reindeer purchased from Peter Bals and others at Egavik in 1919 (Lomen 1954:87). By 1918 the Eskimo owned 60 percent and the Samis 23 percent of 'the reindeer (Spencer 1984:281). And in 1921 the Lomens purchased 1,060 reindeer from Peter and Isaac Hatta at Buckland. (Lomen 1954: 87). While the Society of Friends at Kotzebue wanted to get out of the reindeer business in 1927, they thought it inappropriate to sell reindeer to herders who were not Native, so they sold their animals to Iñupiaq herders rather than to the Lomens. However, with few missionaries having qualms about the sale of reindeer to non-Natives, the Lomens' total purchase in the beginning of the 1920s was approximately 8,700 reindeer, distributed in range between Buckland, Egavik, Kotzebue, and Teller. Continuing their practice

of purchasing from missions and other non-Natives, the Lomens owned 14,083 reindeer by 1929 (Stern et al. 1980:40).

> In all these dealings we [Lomens] received the assistance of govemment employees responsible for the reindeer operations under their control. They took keen interest in seeing white owners enter the industry, realizing that only in this way could substantial outside markets be built up. [Lomen 1954:88]

The Lomens also purchased a cold-storage plant at Nome and constructed others throughout the Seward Peninsula and Norton Sound areas. In 1923 they organized the Enterprise Steamship Company and acquired two small schooners for transporting meat from cold storage plants to ports, later also acquiring a refrigerated ship (Lomen 1954: 169). The Lomens' contended strategy was to leave local markets to the Natives and promote the sale of reindeer outside Alaska (Lomen 1954). However, there was a negligible local market, and Lopp already had been seeking an outlet for Native-owned reindeer outside the territory, securing contracts to provide reindeer to be served in railroad diners (Mozee 1933:6).

The government attempted to use federal resources to help Native reindeer herders during the Lomen period. Much to the dismay of the Lomens, this assistance to the Iñupiaq herders involved backhauling reindeer meat for sale outside the territory on the government supply ship the *U.S.S. Boxer* (Lomen 1954:214; USBOE 1925). This action was in direct competition with Lomens' efforts to secure and maintain a monopoly on the market outside Alaska. However, from the Iñupiaq perspective, the *U.S.S. Boxer* provided only an unreliable and sporadic means of shipping reindeer to market. For example, Andrews (1939:173-174) reported in 1924 that after a chief Iñupiaq herder from Kivalina had driven his herd of 6,000 animals 50 miles to the beach where they could be loaded for transport, he was informed that the captain of the *U.S.S. Boxer* refused to take on any reindeer as cargo because he lacked appropriate orders from Seattle to do so.

In the 1920s the federal government made attempts to improve the status of the reindeer industry in Alaska through the expertise of biologists. The government invested $300,000 between 1921 and 1924 toward this end. Specifically, in 1920 the Bureau of Biological Survey (now U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service) undertook a program to improve the condition of reindeer and develop improved methods of range management. A reindeer experiment station was established at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks to assist in this effort. Palmer, a reindeer biologist, observed in the mid-1920s that:

> Moreover, since reindeer grazing to him [the Eskimo] is often merely of secondary consideration to hunting and fishing, as a grazer he requires constant and direct supervision. If the reindeer industry depended upon the unaided efforts of the Eskimo it would be limited in scope. [1927:4]

Andrews (1939:140) critiqued the Bureau of Biological Survey as being both ineffective and serving the interests of the Lomens rather than that of the Native owned reindeer industry.

By the 1920s, 30 years after the first reindeer had been imported from Siberia, it was estimated that the herds had increased to 200,000 reindeer, with an additional 100,000

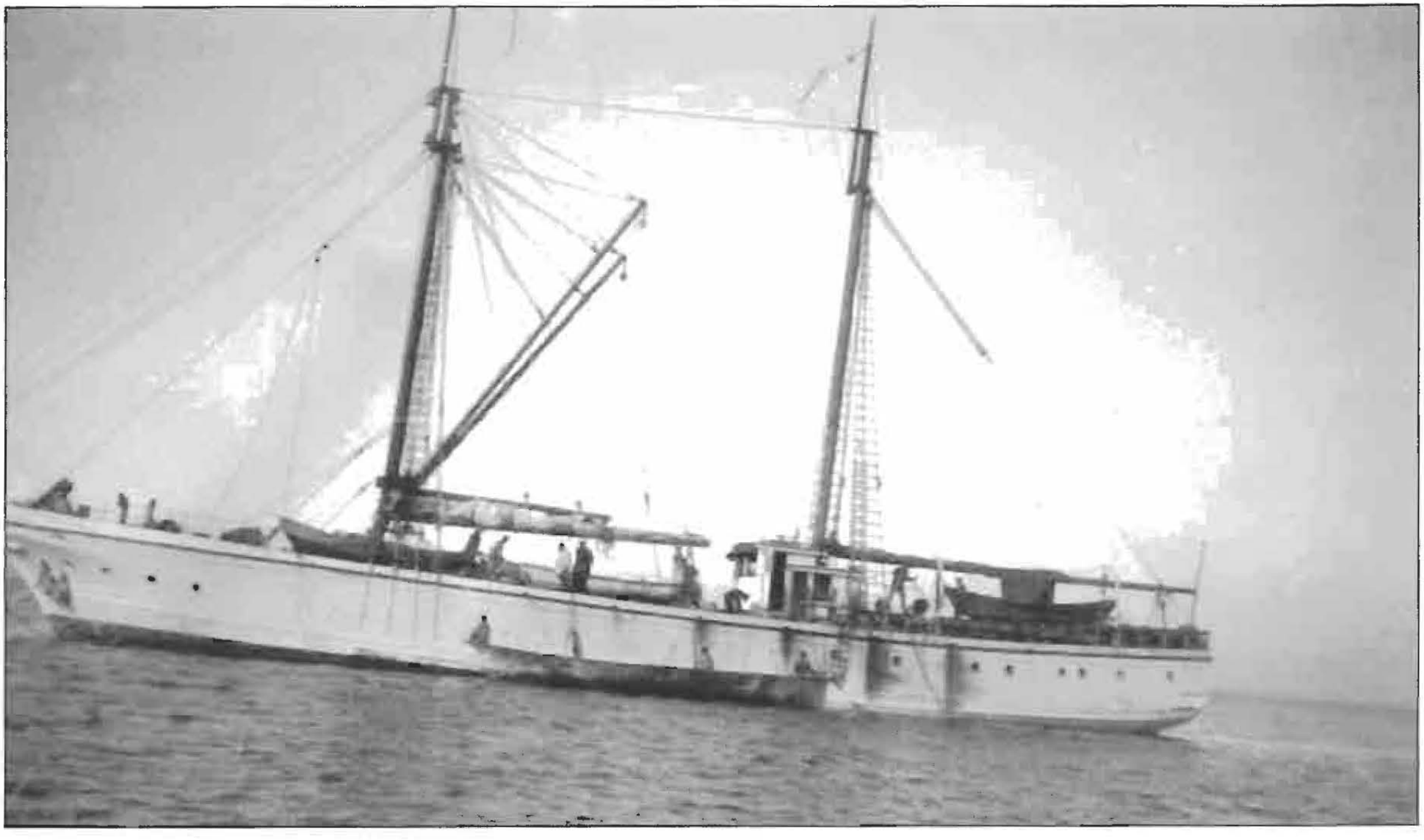


PHOTO 20. Revenue cutter, *The Bear*, referred to by the local people as *Nanuq*. The *Bear* was a U.S. Government Law Enforcement ship that patrolled the Bering and Chukchi Seas every spring and summer. Sometimes it brought school teachers when other ships could not make it to Shishmaref. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 026).

killed during the interim to provide meat and hides (Hadwen and Palmer 1922:69). In 1922 the ownership of herds in Alaska fell into three groups: that of Iñupiaq, non-Native men married to Iñupiaq women, and non-Natives (Whites including Samis) (Hadwen and Palmer 1922:10). Both the missions and the Samis, former owners of relatively large reindeer herds, had ceased participation in herding by the beginning of the 1920s.

> In 1917, the Bureau of Education reported the Eskimo ownership [of 85,000 to 90,000 deer] to be distributed among 1,568 natives...The ownership of reindeer among natives is not uniform. There are numerous small owners, each with a few head, often only 2 or 3, and a few Eskimos are large owners, with several hundred to a thousand animals. Among the whites, aside from the Lapps, and those married to native women, who for these purposes are classed as natives, ownership is as yet limited, being largely confined to the relatively few who have been able to buy the herds that had been acquired by the Lapps and the missions.
>
> Up to within a few years, the Alaska reindeer industry had been largely a native enterprise and development has been entirely under the supervision of the Bureau of Education. The Eskimos were taught herding and given ownership in reindeer through a system of progressive apprenticeship under instruction of the Lapps...The reindeer were originally imported for the Eskimo, and the policy of the Government was to limit ownership as much as possible to the natives, Largely through the recent purchases of herds from these latter owners [the Lapps and missions], white men have been able to become owners and to enter the industry...white ownership of herds is now needed to assure the desirable economic development of the industry. [Hadwen and Palmer 1922:10-11]

This interpretation of the history of reindeer herding in Alaska illustrates the manner in which the government's goals and objectives in importing these animals were neither accurately nor analytically retold, but rather construed to support current federal policies.

Hadwen's and Palmer's (1922:28) promotion of open, as opposed to closed, formal, more privatized grazing allotments was based on a model of handling range cattle in the "Western States." They attributed overgrazing to the close herding method of handling reindeer (Hadwen and Palmer 1922: 30)—the European system that had been encouraged in Alaska even though it was disruptive of Iñupiat participation in other activities and ignored the more inclement weather conditions in the territory. Andrews critiqued the Bureau of Biological Survey's promotion of open herding as yet another way for the Lomens to take advantage of reindeer owned by Natives:

> Then a system of what was called open herding was introduced, advocated by the corporation [Lomens] and supported by the U.S. Biological Survey [government]. This lets one owner's deer run over into the next herd, which had not hitherto been permitted. Soon this degenerated into going over into the next herd and driving the deer of all marks down to the corral, and marking all unmarked deer into the mark of the one who drove them down. This went on for years, despite the protests of the field force [local government reindeer superintendents]. The natives protested and were unheard. As a matter of course, the native was getting the worst of it all the time. The natives owning deer in the corporation herd got no sale. The corporation [Lomens] sold continuously and made almost no reports of whose deer it butchered. It charged the native

> for herding their deer on the lands the natives supposed should belong to them for grazing their deer. The Government neglected to provide for certain areas being allotted to each, until 1927, thirty-five years after the native began the work. [Andrews 1939:225-226]

Furthermore, Andrews surmised that open herding would result in reindeer becoming a wild species synonymous with caribou.

> If not kept under control, in a few years the reindeer herd is almost impossible to collect when wanted for butchering. It is like caribou hunting; they must be killed when and where found. Then they are lost to all intensive purposes as a domesticated animal. [1939:143]

Hadwen and Palmer's report reinforced the concept of cooperative herding:

> The organization of herds on a cooperative Oasis, as proposed and recently initiated by the Bureau of Education, will not only secure proper and definite allotments of range but will promote more effective management of both herds and ranges. Such organizations among native owners will make possible the employment of the best reindeer men for herding and prevent interference and meddling by others. [Hadwen and Palmer 1922:35]

Hadwen and Palmer (1922:34) advocated the need to develop industrial regulations that would accommodate both White and Native ownership—championing the idea that the industry should "aid in fostering local white enterprises in the Territory." Lastly, they stated that Eskimo reindeer were badly managed because of improper methods and the lack of trained supervision on the part of teachers in the Bureau of Education. By the early 1920s, then, the federal government, through most of its representatives, was both condoning White ownership of reindeer and suggesting yet another policy shift in recommending open as opposed to close herding.

The economic climate of the depression in the 1930s was dismal even in Alaska. As the market for reindeer declined and became increasingly competitive, controversy over non-Native ownership of reindeer became more intense (Lomen 1954:219). Range warfare between the various Eskimo herders, but principally between the Iñupiat and the Lomens, was reminiscent of the western frontier, including rustling, poaching, and the transgression of range boundaries (Mozee 1933:11).

Roberts (1978) described the interaction between the Lomen Company and the Eskimo herders as follows:

> In the early 1930s, the Lomen stores were offering to purchase native-owned deer in exchange for $2 credit. These owners remember selling their deer meat for as much as $.40 a pound. Although the proposition was "tantamount to dishonesty" in their [Iñupiat] eyes, because of debt and badly crowded ranges they seemed to have no other alternative. In some cases, a charge of $1.94 per year for herding the deer rendered the credit practically valueless. [Roberts 1978:282]

That is, while the Lomen Company was willing to exchange $2.00 in credit for each reindeer at their commercial outlet, they were subsequently charging Native owners $1.94 herding fee for each reindeer found in their herd. In effect, they were purchasing some reindeer owned by Natives at the cost of $.06

apiece.

The federal government investigated the status of the industry on an annual basis. In 1931 a federal Reindeer Committee (also known as the Kendrick Committee) was appointed to look into charges against the Lomens. This committee was composed of the Governor of Alaska, Chief of the Alaska Division of the Office of Indian Affairs, the General Supervisor of the Alaska Reindeer Service, a single Eskimo representative, and one of the Lomens—what Mozee saw as a very discriminatory body vis-a-vis the Native herders (Mozee 1933). Committee reports were made and, according to Andrews (1939: 226), "pigeonholed" in Washington. Andrews, who had observed or participated in the fledgling reindeer industry in Alaska from its inception in 1892, made the following observation about Native herding:

> Considering that they [the Iñupiat] did not have other than what they had earned by the wages, by reindeer or other manner, while the corporations [Lomens] boast of millions of dollars invested, the native has done remarkably well, and until the heresy of "open herding" was introduced, and his deer were mixed with the white men's herd, to his [the Iñupiaq's] loss and damage, he has accomplished much for a man only one lifetime removed from a hunter on the sea. [1939:145-146]

Though the Lomens claimed that this committee vindicated their activities (Lomen 1954:219), Andrews (1939:226), who had gone public with charges about what was happening between the Lomens and Native owned herds as facilitated by the government, said that by 1932 the situation was in chaos (Lomen 1954:219). Mozee (1933:1), superintendent of the Alaska Reindeer Service northern region, attributed his dismissal from the Alaska Reindeer Service in 1933 by the Secretary of the Interior and Alaska's Governor Parks as directly attributable to his objections to the Lomen Company's activities regarding reindeer. Lomen's recollections of the happenings during this time period were quite different, of course:

> The reindeer industry was the only one in northwestern Alaska, in which the Eskimo was an important factor. It gave him opportunity for development, permanent employment, and assured independence. Over the years the Lomens furnished employment to hundreds of Eskimo reindeer men, paying them hundreds of thousands of dollars...In other words, we helped the Eskimo to help themselves.
>
> Federal paternalism toward the native people invariably proves detrimental to Eskimo character and welfare...If Eskimo are so poor that reindeer must be given them by the Government, then they are also too poor to herd them properly. They cannot tend reindeer in the storm-swept hills without supplies and equipment...By providing employment for Eskimo deer men, our company made it possible for them to purchase necessary supplies for themselves and families [from the Lomen stores], and at the same time care for their own deer, which were mixed with ours. Thus the industry insured to the Eskimo a more stable economy. [Lomen 1954:228-229]

From Andrew's (1939), Mozee's (1933), and many others' perspectives, the Lomens were trying to coerce Native owners and cooperatives into partnerships with them, thereby assuming the liabilities of the Lomen Corporation (Andrews 1939:226). The Natives protested, and Lomen attempted to get

the administrative assistant of the Secretary of the Interior to prohibit Native interference with the movements of Lomen deer across the ranges (Andrews 1939:226).

The Lomens continued to argue that the "success" in the reindeer business only had benefited Alaska Natives. Ultimately, the Lomens were not able either to secure adequate financing or outside markets to make reindeer herding a business success, despite their near monopoly on supply sources, lighterage, and the distribution of reindeer products, or to stem the tide of the public controversy that favored ownership limited to Natives. Additionally, the financial failure of Sami Jared Lindeberg, a major supporter of the Lomen enterprise, and the loss of other sources of backing, put the Lomens in an increasingly difficult economic position.

The government continued to play a strong role in managing the Native owned herds. Government superintendents sent frequent circular letters, strongly suggesting changes in Iñupiaq herding operations as well as encouraging the reinvestment of profit from the cooperatives into the company rather than to payment of dividends to individual stockholders. For example, in 1937 J. Sidney Rood, Acting General Reindeer Superintendent, wrote a circular to all Iñupiaq reindeer owners advocating close herding, the construction of corrals and range cabins, more thorough roundups, the killing of wolves, the use of reindeer bells, and castration of many more bull fawns and mavericks (USBOE 1937).The government was assisting in the marketing of hides. They discouraged the Iñupiat from killing baby fawns for their skins (USBOE 1937).

In September 1937 President Franklin Roosevelt signed a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to proceed with extinguishing all non-Native interests in reindeer in Alaska and shifted the authority over reindeer herding to the Alaska Native Service in the Office of Indian Affairs rather than the Department of Education. This action ultimately terminated the Lomens' involvement in reindeer (Lomen 1954:281). In the end, the amount of money ($795,000) allocated for the purpose of extinguishing ownership of reindeer by non-Natives, though not dispensed in a timely fashion, was more than adequate to pay off non-Native owners. In fact, approximately only $333,000 was used to purchase the reindeer, another $113,000 acquired all of the associated improvements and facilities, and $46,000 went to administering the costs associated with the purchase (Stern et al. 1980:71, 73).

Although the Lomens originally estimated their assets—including reindeer, equipment, corrals, abattoirs, and all related paraphernalia—at $2,000,000, their major financial backers in 1937 offered sale of the company's assets to the government for $950,000 (Lomen 1954:278). In the end, the Lomens' creditors received significantly less than the latter amount. Lomen concluded:

> Obviously we had been as "hamstrung" by the Government as the reindeer were by the wolves—two-legged as well as four-legged—through investigations, departmental, senatorial, and congressional, in the years since 1927, to say nothing of the departmental competition on sale of meat and hides in the United States. [1954:288]

After the signing of the Reindeer Act in 1937 and the assessment and purchasing of non-Native reindeer and associated equipment, the Lomen era was nearing an end. By

1939 the Office of Indian Affairs, Reindeer Service, forbade the transport of any reindeer hides owned by non-Natives on either of the government's ships *U.S.S. Boxer* or *U.S.S. North Star*. Finally, by 1940 the Lomens and all others who were not Native were out of the reindeer business (Lomen 1954: 295). Carl Lomen concluded in the 1950s that "even though we were finally forced out of the reindeer business by government officialdom, [it] was a rich and often thrilling experience" (Lomen 1954:xii).

The Native reindeer cooperatives or associations had failed or were failing. They had found it difficult to employ herders paid in reindeer or stock in the company, in part due to falling value of the animals. Overgrazing and wolf predation were perceived by the federal government to be major problems with Iñupiaq herding (USBOE 1929, 1932, 1944). Whatever the causes, the cessation of close herding, overgrazing, wolf predation, and mixture of reindeer with roaming caribou herds left the industry with few animals. It is estimated that between 1931 and 1940, the number of reindeer dropped from 640,000 to 250,000 (Olson 1969a:14-15).

By 1940 the federal government, through their circulars to owners, teachers, and unit managers, began to encourage associations with falling reindeer numbers to transfer reindeer to men who were interested in herding and had knowledge about how to carry it off successfully (USBOE 1944). In Circular No. 72, April 14, 1944, J. Sidney Rood, General Reindeer Supervisor, wrote:

> To convey the reindeer to herders would create a class of stockmen, such as raise livestock in the States. It would create a class of herder-owners on each range, such as raises reindeer in Lapland. Such men, of course, make money raising and selling animals: this is necessary and just. But they, also, benefit everyone by producing meat, hides, and other essential animal products which people need. They keep the valuable livestock alive, and raise crops every year.
>
> Herders will be encouraged to take good care of reindeer if they own the reindeer, because they will be planning and working for themselves. The better they manage the reindeer, the more money they will make. If they neglect the herd, they will suffer loss of their reindeer business. They will try their best to make the herd produce good crops every year, to make the deer tame and fat, and to save reindeer moss (lichens) from being destroyed, because they will make more money that way. [USBOE 1944]

However, despite this new federal policy shift to reinstate private ownership of reindeer herds, reindeer numbers continued to decline, reaching a low of 25,000 in 1950 (Olson 1969a:15). In 1941 Shishmaref herders were unable to find a single reindeer on their range. Similarly, when Deering owners decided to return to individual ownership in 1944, they were unable to find even a tenth of their recorded herds (Williss n.d.:106). By 1951 there were only 6,570 reindeer on the Seward Peninsula (Stern et al. 1980:101).

In the 1940s the policy under the Alaska Native Service, as stated by Rood, was to create an industry similar to that of the Samis with herds not exceeding 3,000. Rood thought that competition, entrepreneurial motivation, and the success of some and failure of other owners was the proper road to success in the industry (USBOE 1934-1945). The mechanism by which Rood hoped to create his class of stockman was a policy of lending a potential herder 500 to

1,000 reindeer to be repaid in five years with the herder retaining the natural increase. The borrower also received supplies for the first year, while, in turn, accepting supervision and training from government personnel. Government herds were formed, from which loan reindeer were derived, such as the Eschscholtz herd established in 1941 with 4,500 reindeer from old Lomen herds.

CHAPTER 5
HOME RANGE TO RANGE WARS

> Any rights of Eskimo ownership were deemed as residing only in the reindeer. It apparently never occurred to Jackson and his co-workers that the imported reindeer, which were loaned to missions and Laplanders, were grazing on land legally belonging to the Eskimos, and to which title had not yet been extinguished. [Ray 1965:95]

Introduction

As Ray (1965) perceptively pointed out in the quotation above and, although European colonists and their descendants had been dealing with Indians in the contiguous United States in excess of three and a half centuries, neither the federal government nor the majority of groups or individuals who came to Alaska recognized the existence of non-Western, long established rights to wild resources and land in the new territory. In this chapter we juxtapose the Western view of Alaska as being a vast, unoccupied, unowned (except in a general federal sense), undeveloped country against the functionally complex, institutionalized system of resource and land use, settlement patterns, and politically recognized tenure integral to the Iñupiaq culture of Northwest Alaska in the 1800s. This chapter examines the synthesis of these widely disparate systemic views as played out in the reindeer herding period.

Resource Use, Settlement Patterns, and Land Tenure and Polity on the Northern Seward Peninsula

In the 1800s all Alaska Native societies had bounded territories and norms regarding access to resources within those territories. However, the concept of wild resources or land as commodities (i.e., goods that are objectified and can be transferred between groups or individuals irrespective of the relationships between products, suppliers, and consumers) was not found among the Iñupiat of arctic and subarctic North America (cf., Gregory 1982:7; Ingold 1987:131; Sahlins 1981; Wenzel 1991). These norms included a cyclical seasonal round and associated settlement pattern characteristic of each society and undertaken by local family groups within the larger social unit.

In the case of the Iñupiat of the Cape Espenberg area, a reconstruction of the seasonal round as practiced near the turn of this century is complicated by the fact that members of the society were drawn into the neighboring communities of both Shishmaref and Deering during the ingathering of more dispersed peoples associated with the establishment of schools, churches, and permanent trading facilities in the first decades of the 1900s. We know that people who wintered at Cape Espenberg were alternatively coastal sea mammal hunters and fishers, trappers, and caribou hunters. In the maritime realm of economic behavior, the Cape Espenberg annual subsistence round probably most closely resembled that of the population wintering at Shishmaref, while the caribou hunting aspects of their economy were presumably more like that practiced in what are now the Deering and Buckland areas. Therefore, information on both the seasonal rounds of Deering—as recalled by elder James Wells (1974), a near contemporary of Gideon Barr—and Shishmaref—as reconstructed by an anthropologist who undertook fieldwork in the latter community in the 1970s (Eisler 1978)—are presented here. In both cases, information about the seasonal rounds at earlier points of time was passed down through oral histories from the ancestors of the Iñupiat.

James Wells's (1974:5) father and mother, Frank and Kitty, were reindeer herders, who, along with two-thirds of the Native population of Deering, were encouraged by the Society of Friends Church to establish a new community in 1914 on the Kobuk River delta—the present settlement of Noorvik (Wells 1974:5). Although moving as a child to Noorvik, Wells continued hunting and fishing in the Deering area, and it was this annual seasonal cycle of land use and fish and game procurement that he wanted to pass on to younger generations.

Wells (1974) divided the year according to Iñupiat seasonal periods. January was called "Si khin ah rook rook" (*siqingnachuq*), or the time when "the sun is beginning to rise higher and higher after it has been really low in the last new moon before this one" (Wells 1974:11). January was one of the coldest months of the year, the temperature determined by observable phenomena such as the cracking noises of the trees. Marten, mink, fox, lynx, wolverine, land otter, and wolf were trapped with deadfalls and snares (Wells 1974:13).

February was called "Koo rhu Auk toek Vik," or "the sun is high enough so the snow is being melted by the sun and the water is now dripping from the tree branches and from the high river banks, and then it is frozen into icicles towards evening" (Wells 1974:17). Navigation during snowstorms with high winds was based on celestial signs, wind direction, the shapes of snowdrifts, and other observable phenomena taught to hunters as young men by elders. Ptarmigan, pickerel, blackfish, and mud shark were taken during February, the fish either being hooked or trapped under the ice. Bear dens were marked in the fall in the event that people might need bear meat and fat during the coming February, although most bears were taken later in the year.

March, "Khil ghich Tut Kak," or the month when "the summer hawks have come" (Wells 1974:23), was an important time for bear hunting. By this time of year, bear meat was scarce and the fat gone. The animals were taken in their dens with spears and jade axes. During the last part of this moon,

sheefish were hooked through the ice.

The fourth new moon, April, was called "Ting mat Tut Kat," meaning "the geese have come, and different species of water fowls [*sic*] are also beginning to come" (Wells 1974:29). With the days longer and warmer, hunters took ptarmigan using nets constructed of green cut willows. Hiding from the birds, the hunter scared a large flock of ptarmigan into the net with a hawk wing. Muskrat also were either trapped through ice holes or, when possible, shot in open water with bows and arrows. Summer fish camps were established at sites different from the winter village, having either caribou skin tents or framed moss and grass houses as forms of shelter. This was a very important month for hunting bear and caribou, particularly fawns, as they provided the hides necessary for children's clothing.

The fifth new moon, May, was known as "Si Qucik Vik" (*sukloavik*), meaning "the ice has gone out" (Wells 1974:35). Geese and ducks were an abundant source of fresh meat. Ptarmigan, seagulls, ducks, and geese laid eggs, anxiously awaited by the Iñupiat, who had been without this food much of the winter. People also hunted muskrat from kayaks using bows and arrows or spears. This activity persisted until the pelts were no longer prime. Braided sinew dip nets were used for taking freshwater fish in the rivers.

June, referred to as "Ig nyi Vik" (*ignivik*), or the time when "geese and ducks and other birds are now laying their eggs," is the most important period for egg gathering. This was the season during which families diversified their harvest activities. That is, families with skinboats went to Kotzebue Sound for seal and beluga hunting via Selawik Lake, whereas others stayed behind to hunt for waterfowl, continue fishing, and pick willow and sour dock greens.

Those who went to the Kotzebue Sound camped at Sisualik on Cape Krusenstern, where other Iñupiat from the Noatak and Kobuk Rivers and, in later years, Kotzebue, were gathered for seal and beluga hunting (Wells 1974:42-43). Seals were stalked on the ice by hunters, using seal claws tied onto a stick to scratch the surface, thereby "putting the seals to sleep" or making humans appear to be other seals. Beluga were driven into shallow water by 15 to 20 hunters in kayaks and speared. This cooperative endeavor was led by a "captain of the big drive" (Wells 1974:44). Additionally, bears were speared by hunters, who confronted the animals as they stood erect. Furthermore, bears were snared with strong ugruk (bearded seal) hide ropes placed along paths leading to creeks. Those families that took belugas and seals stored the flesh from these animals in large quantities in sealskin pokes, using excess meat, hides, and fat as trade items.

July, "Ting ee Vik," or the moon when "the geese and ducks and other waterfowl are not flying" involved large drives of molting migratory waterfowl (Wells 1974: 49). Moreover, salmonberries, blackberries, blueberries, cranberries, and, in some areas, wild strawberries were gathered and stored in sealskin pokes, sometimes mixed with sour dock. Berries also were stored in birchbark containers sewn together with willow roots. Caribou hair and hides were prime during this time of the year. Three or four hunters went out together with pack dogs, bows and arrows, and spears to the head of the Noatak River, where there were many caribou during the summer:

> They expect to be out a long time, because they must get lots of caribou skins for their big families. If they catch enough caribou in a short time, they will come home early. They also want to catch mountain sheep. [Wells 1974:53]

The Iñupiat crossed from the upper Noatak to the Kobuk River drainage, with both men and dogs packing meat, hides, and fat to creeks that were tributaries of the Kobuk River. The hunters rafted down the creeks and, eventually, the rivers until they reached the divide into the Selawik area.

August, the eighth new moon, or "Ah mi ayk si Vik" (*amigitshivik*), was the time when "the caribou, moose, and other animals with horns are now peeling off the skin of their antlers" (Wells 1974:57). Hunting caribou and bears was essential during August. Wells (1974:57-58) described the method of driving caribou from mountain tops through chutes following ridges, eventually leading to big lakes. The chutes were constructed of trees or rocks arranged to appear as if they were humans. The caribou ultimately were driven into the water, where they were speared by men in kayaks or shot from shore with bows and arrows. This was a busy month for obtaining whitefish and pickerel with willowbark braided set nets. These fish were dried. Seal hunters returned home from the coast with highly valued seal oil, meat, and ugruk hides that were used for mukluk bottoms and the rawhide webbing of snowshoes.

In September, "Ovie rhaum Tut ka," or "the last summer month before freeze up," people continued to fish, mostly for dog food, and to collect driftwood and insulative dry moss and grass. Some bears were hunted before denning.

October, "Si Koo Vik" (*shikovik*), or "freeze-up season," was considered to be the onset of winter. Weirs, constructed in June to block fish from migrating out of lakes, were opened. Fish were trapped in large quantities in dip nets that held 40 to 50 pounds each. The weir periodically was opened and closed with willows to harvest fish more efficiently. Bears were dispatched in their dens with spears and, more recently, rifles.

November, "Nulak vik" (*nuliagvik*), or "the mountain sheep are mating," was the time hunters traveled to the headwaters of the Noatak River. There they hunted caribou individually with bows and arrows as opposed to cooperative drives.

The twelfth new moon, December, was called "Si khin ah chak" (*siqingniglaq*), or "the sun rises and stays up only a short time" (Wells 1974:83). This was the season for preparing caribou hides, sheep skins, and sinew for making clothing. Gifts were also prepared to be presented to other people who had been helpful in times of need. Messengers were sent from one winter village to another to invite neighbors to feast; play competitive games; dance; and exchange furs, caribou hides, and seal oil.

The Shishmaref seasonal round, as reconstructed by Eisler (1978:9-22) based on oral history accounts, varied somewhat from that of the Deering area, particularly regarding sea mammal versus caribou dependency. Eisler (1978) provided neither the Iñupiaq names nor as detailed a seasonal round of harvesting activities as did Wells (1974), dividing the year into four parts based on a Euro-American agricultural seasonal model.

During the winter, families conducted activities near their settlement and semisubterranean homes. Men hunted seals from

leads and breathing holes, sometimes traveling as far as 50 miles from the village to do so. They set seal nets at leads or through holes cut into the ice. Netted seals were valued, as their blood was fresh and uncoagulated. Seals taken during the winter were used for human and dog food, clothing, and oil rendered from the fat. An active working dog team consumed a seal each day. Nets were used for sealing until the ice conditions were such that hunters risked losing their technology (Eisler 1978:9-10).

Winter settlements frequently were located near lagoons or channels from which fish were taken through the ice. Old men and women contributed to the household's food supply by ice fishing (Eisler 1978:12).

Other animals hunted during the winter included polar bear, caribou, and a variety of small game. Occasionally, men hunted polar bears, using dogs to chase and tire the prey. Polar bear meat was highly valued and their pelts used for clothing. Caribou hunting was very difficult during winter months because of the rigors associated with moving great distances across the windswept and snow covered tundra. However, a small number of these animals were harvested by individual hunters using bows and arrows. Small game, such as arctic hare and ptarmigan, were snared during the winter. Since these animals were not found on the coast, hunters traveled inland to stream and river beds where willow thickets abounded. Fox, wolverine, and small numbers of wolves were hunted and trapped, their hides essential for the production of trim and ruffs on winter clothing (Eisler 1978:12).

In late spring, the food shortages that often accompanied the end of winter were alleviated. Families drove ptarmigan and arctic hare into nets. Waterfowl, entangled with bolas or shot with arrows, were a welcomed source of fresh meat in the spring. Arctic ground squirrels and muskrats were snared during this season. Gull eggs, and occasionally those of ducks and geese, were gathered (Eisler 1978:13).

While there was still adequate snow to enable hunters to use dog sleds, families moved from the winter village to spring seal camps located northeast and southwest along the northern Seward Peninsula coast. Hunters took seals from kayaks on the open water of the Chukchi Sea, or they approached sleeping ugruk on the ice, scratching the ice as if they were other seals. For the people of Shishmaref, ugruk (bearded seals) were the most favored of the seal species, especially during their northward migration in the spring. Ugruk were a source of food, oil and raw materials, with stomachs and intestines used to construct rain coats and translucent skylights, and hides used to cover kayaks, as boot soles, and as the source of rawhide line. Smaller hair seals provided human and dog food, lamp oil, clothing skins, and storage pokes (Eisler 1978:14-15).

When the snow had melted from the tundra after seal hunting, families cooperatively hunted caribou by driving them into lakes, where they were dispatched by hunters in kayaks. Long *inuqshug* (fences) of caribou antlers were used to guide and funnel the movement of the animals into the water. The meat was dried and stored in seal oil in sealskin pokes. The pokes were cached underground in a hole with a wooden floor and covered with logs and sod (Eisler 1978: 15-16).

As the days became longer and warmer, families moved from spring seal-

ing to summer fishing locations. They set rawhide nets for whitefish, trout, and salmon. Men in kayaks drove beluga, which entered the channels and estuaries associated with Shishmaref Inlet and the Serpentine River following schools of herring, into shallow water where the animals were speared. Small seals and caribou were opportunistically taken during the summer. As in the case of Deering, berries were collected in late summer (Eisler 1978:17-19).

In the fall, families traveled to the mouths of rivers and lagoons to seine for tomcod and herring. Boat loads of fish were acquired in this manner. Hunters focused their attention on the southwardly migrating waterfowl and sea mammals, primarily spotted seals and young ugruk. Whitefish were netted as well. After freezeup, families returned to the winter village from where the annual cycle would start yet again (Eisler 1978:19-20).

Caribou products and the pelts of wolves and otters were acquired by means of trade with people living farther inland and having greater access to caribou. Highly desired reindeer skins used for clothing and bedding were obtained from Siberian traders (Eisler 1978:21).

Unlike their Deering area neighbors, the people of the coast in the area of Shishmaref were reluctant to harvest brown bears. The aversion on the part of the coastal dwellers to taking these animals was, in part, associated with the belief that *angatkuut* (shamans) transmutated into this species, thereby potentially causing death and misfortune to a hunter taking such prey (Eisler 1978:17).

In the cases of both Deering and Shishmaref—as we have concluded was the situation at Cape Espenberg—semi-permanent winter villages were seasonally the largest and most enduring communities and were the focus of societal, family, and individual identities some part of each year (usually during the coldest winter months), though local families seasonally occupied multiple smaller satellite settlements.. Frequently, a winter village had minimally one qazgi—sometimes multiples of these institutions, each of which was associated with an umialiq. The qazgis were the institutional manifestations of intrasocietal and, at times, intersocietal ceremonialism. These large winter villages were relatively numerous and, in conjunction with their associated seasonally occupied camps and resource use areas within territorial boundaries, formed neighboring contiguous areas of occupation and activity (Ray 1983:173-226). The movement of the Iñupiat across the land and sea was neither random nor opportunistic, but rather highly patterned, and was based on winter village and societal affiliation, in addition to resource availability.

Within societal boundaries, extended or local families had usufruct rights to key resource harvesting areas, such as trap lines, fish camps, and fall marine or terrestrial hunting sites. For the Iñupiat, as well as other northern hunter-gatherers, access to these areas of resource extraction was based on continuity of use by familial units and, for individuals, on her or his consanguineal, affinal, or "fictive" ties to a particular group of kin (cf., Ellanna and Balluta 1992 for the Dena'ina Athabascans; Feit 1991 for the Cree Algonquians). Primary rights to land and resources established through consanguineal models endured throughout the lifetime of an individual, despite his or her gaining secondary privilege elsewhere on the basis of affinal

or other alliance mechanisms (Burch 1975: 248).

Under structured circumstances, permission was extended to members of another society for accessing land and resources across boundaries. For example, either annual or seasonal food shortages in one area as opposed to another; social ties derived from marriages, partnerships, adoptions, or, less commonly, naming; transient privileges; and trade were all mechanisms by which intersocietal access was temporarily accommodated (e.g., Heinrich 1972; Ray 1983:161-162). The importance of mutually understood permission, whether covert or overt, in crossing societal boundaries cannot be understated as a guiding principle among Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. Access to resources rather than land per se, except in the cases of villages or camp sites, was the important variable in Iñupiaq socioterritoriality. Although personal property existed in the form of a man's kayak or harpoon, or a woman's sewing bag and clothing, such a concept was not applicable to parcels of land or resources at any level among the Iñupiat of the study area.

The Americanization of the Last Frontier: The Creation of Private and Public Lands

As described in detail above, the Americanization of Alaska involved the integration of multiple stereotypes of hunting and gathering societies in general, and those of the North more specifically. Stereotypical assumptions included the view that the new territory, despite its obvious resources, was largely devoid of human habitation and use—that it was a frontier awaiting "taming" and "development" under the auspices of federal and missionary initiation of animal and plant domestication and the introduction of industry.

Although cognizant of the fact that the territory was formally "owned" by the United States after 1867, the absence of governmental presence and concern fostered the perception on the part of Euro-American immigrants, entrepreneurs, and adventurers that the lands and resources belonged to the White public, in part available for the taking by individuals, to be placed into private ownership. For example, a circular dated November 9, 1945, from A.D. Johnson, the Bering Unit Reindeer Manager, to local superintendents, company directors, and herders, reflected that this view about land and resources had remained preeminent not only in the late 1800s, but well into the 1900s:

> Nearly all of the land in Alaska except small tracts, for which the Government has passed title for mining ground, home sites, etc., belongs to all of us, or all citizens of the United States, of which Alaska is a part. Sometimes this Government land is called Eminent Domain, which means the same thing. Some of this public land has been withdrawn by the Government. The land withdrawn can be used for whatever the Government has decided justifies this withdrawal. This land withdrawn is set up as a reservation —White Mountain is a good example of such a reservation. The Government ownership of these public lands, as well as the regulation thereof, has been interpreted by various agencies of law to mean that the Government has authority to assign rights (not permanent) to individuals to use the natural resources, which includes the plant life which nature has provided. [USBOE 1945]

As Ray (1965:95) concluded, in both the social evolutionary assimilationist and external and internal colonial models, the concept that indigenous people had preexisting land rights was virtually nonexistent (cf., Dyck 1989; Wolf 1982; Young 1992:18).

Concurrently, there were operative stereotypes of the indigenous peoples of Alaska as being "savage," "heathen," "primitives" living in an ahistorical and somewhat pristine state of barbarism awaiting the opportunity to advance to the socially "higher" Euro-American branch of humanity. These aboriginal peoples made a living by what was perceived to be haphazard and opportunistic wandering throughout this vacant land, grasping food and raw materials whenever intersected. As Jackson propagandized the situation, the tenuous "natural" existence of particularly the "Eskimo" had been made even more marginal by the commercial activities of New Bedford whalers and their extraction of bowhead whale and Pacific walrus and, through their presence and the availability of firearms, wild herds of caribou that once roamed the Seward Peninsula in abundance. From the Euro-American point of view, there was neither an indigenous system of patterned use of resources nor any recognizable configuration of land tenure or polity providing guiding principles.

The importation of reindeer and the institution of herding in Alaska were presented by their promoters as providing indigenous peoples with an economic alternative to and replacement for hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering. The pastoral activity of herding, as perceived by its advocates, both provided a more civilized economic base and, secondarily, a reliable food supply. The shift from hunting to herding was thought eventually to result in more patterned and reduced mobility of the wandering Eskimos.

"Close herding," in which herders maintained constant contact with and vigilance over their stock, was the paradigm promoted by the federal government, missionaries, and the Sami instructors for the first three decades after reindeer had been imported. Close herding required a movement from more inland winter herding sites to summer coastal range in imitation of the animals' natural habits. In fact, though the Seward Peninsula had little timber. The relocation of the primary governmental herding station from Teller to Eaton was related to the availability of wooded country on the Unalakleet River for winter herding at the latter site.

As explored in preceding chapters, reindeer herding was inextricably connected to the institutions of the school and church in the model of assimilating indigenous peoples. Not coincidentally, reindeer stations were the geographic focus of herding and the location of missions and schools—during the early years, one and the same. In a parallel fashion, those directing herding programs were simultaneously teachers and preachers during the early decades of the introduction of reindeer into Alaska. Even when church and state were both formally and, in theory, functionally separated with the end of the Jacksonian era, pragmatically the church and school, along with trading facilities, became the nucleus for newly imposed pastoral settlement patterns and ingathering of more dispersed Iñupiat into "villages" in Northwest Alaska (Burch 1975:277). It was the opinion of the missionary/teachers and government officials that indigenous peoples could best be civilized in the context of Western style communities and "normal" domestic units,

such as the nuclear family, domiciled in framed houses rather than semisubterranean, extended family dwellings.

In the process of establishing contract mission schools while he served as General Agent for Education in Alaska in the mid-1880s, Jackson effectively carved up the territory into ecumenical dominions, each associated with one or another church or denomination. The center of each dominion was the mission/school/reindeer station, surrounded by ranges allocated in association with herding. The indigenous populations were absorbed in each of these dominions as were other features of the terrain—the missionaries acquiring herds of reindeer and flocks of parishioners. Even after the cessation of formal missionary contract schools, government teachers applied the same paternalistic and colonial model to indigenous peoples for whom they maintained "responsibility." In these ecumenical dominions, reindeer herders were allocated specific ranges on which their animals grazed. With the passage of time and an expanded number of reindeer, range allocation became increasingly more formalized, involving the issuance of codified permits with strictly defined geographic parameters and conditions. Permits were allocated to missions, Native and non-Native owners, and eventually Native corporate herds:

> For instance, the Government may give a Native reindeer owner *clear and exclusive rights* to use a certain portion of the public domain for grazing his reindeer. These rights, where issued, are contained in a regular contract between the Government and the owner or owners. We call this a grazing lease. [US-BOE 1945]

However, this range permitting process meant more to federal and local government officials than it did to either the herders or the reindeer. In part, as a consequence of the philosophy of the post-Jacksonian era of getting reindeer into Native hands and the government's advocation of "open herding" in the early 1920s, the insignificantly few privately owned animals and larger and viable Native owned herds had become mixed up and pragmatically inseparable. The government's solution to this problem—reorganizing herding along a Western corporate model in which the Iñupiat owned shares rather than animals—was incompatible with indigenous cultures. By the early 1930s there were thousands of Native stockholders in 78 reindeer associations or cooperatives (Olson 1969a: 58). Wild West range wars, and associated behaviors such as poaching and rustling, were more the norm than the exception.

Hunting Territories, Mobility, and Herding: Attempts at Alienation and Commoditization

Despite Jackson's and his proponents' claims of a depleted subsistence base and the alternative allegedly provided by reindeer, out of both choice and necessity the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska continued to rely primarily on resources acquired by the activities of hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering as opposed to herding. Initially, the Iñupiat were given no access to reindeer for consumption, except for apprentices who were able to eat only what superintendents deemed acceptable. Furthermore, Jackson and his followers aggressively sought negative sanctions

against Iñupiat who were perceived to be "poaching" reindeer, even under conditions of starvation. Subsequent to the transfer of stock to Iñupiaq herders, the federal government continued to control reindeer herding through directives and by the enforcement of punishments on herders who attempted to sell or kill reindeer as needed. Ultimately, Jackson cautioned the local superintendents about discouraging Iñupiat from relying on locally available wild resources in the fear that indigenous populations would draw on the same imported supplies needed to support White missionaries and teachers. The persistent Iñupiat reliance on locally available wild resources perpetuated aboriginal societal territoriality, despite the fact that this indigenous social order and polity never had been recognized by White encroachers. Furthermore, Iñupiaq socioterritoriality continued to operate as a separate and distinct system overlain by the activities of herding and associated allocation of formal grazing areas by governmental representatives.

The continued dependency of the Iñupiat on locally acquired fauna and flora mandated that indigenous peoples not abandon the seasonal cycle central to facilitating harvesting activities. The Iñupiat annual cycle was distinctive from that of the natural geographical and ecological inclinations of the reindeer. In some cases, individuals and, particularly families, tried to compromise this diverse set of requirements by strategically divided activities, with some members of a local group pursuing herding while others continued hunting and gathering. In fact, winter reindeer camps on the coast were deliberately placed at sites known for marine mammal productivity or in proximity to mission stations, deliberately located to facilitate summer maritime transport.

Ultimately, attempts to simultaneously accommodate herding and indigenous hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering failed for the most part. Localized range depletions, taking up to 25 years to rectify (Lantis 1950:31), forced the relocation of reindeer increasingly more distant from sites strategic and productive for acquiring wild local faunal and floral resources. Gradually, the reindeer were drawn to more outlying pasturage, while hunters were reluctant to leave the areas needed to sustain life in the Iñupiaq context. Finally, the compromise of practicing "open" as opposed to "close" herding was adopted by the Iñupiat, not principally at the urging of governmental officials in the 1920s but as an empirical solution to conflicting demands between hunting-gathering and pastoral modes of subsistence.

Often, the sites of reindeer stations, churches, and schools were not associated with traditional societal centers or territories. To the degree that these Western outposts were affiliated with access to trade goods and medical treatment, they enticed the ingathering of the Iñupiat. This trend was increasingly exacerbated by demands of missionaries and teachers for mandatory attendance of all Iñupiat at church services and their children at school.

In their attacks on the shamans or angatkuut, missionaries, at times armed with Western vaccines and medicines, engaged in open conflict. The success of the Western spiritual entrepreneurs was enhanced by the synergistic effects of epidemic diseases on indigenous peoples and societies (Wolfe 1982). While the qazgi was perceived by missionary teachers to be the theater for demonic "pagan" rituals and interactions, the school and mission was the fortress of civilized religion and morality.

Progressively, the teacher/missionaries and, later, government teachers took on the guise of increased authority and leadership at the expense of angatkuut and umialiit. Although this class of missionary/teachers was relatively successful at driving aboriginal spirituality and its practitioners underground (Oswalt 1963a), they were basically unsuccessful in the wholesale elimination of either the beliefs or the covert practices of indigenous spiritual specialists.

The processes of ingathering or centralization, promoted by White representatives of Western society and culture, brought about the decline in the number of Iñupiaq winter settlements. Those indigenous settlements—such as Cape Prince of Wales or Shishmaref—that were selected as the sites of schools, churches, and trading facilities persisted as villages into the 1900s, while other communities declined or were abandoned as a result of induced centralization. Whereas initially it was difficult for the Iñupiat to maintain the extent and timing of functional seasonal rounds from these more centralized settlements, the division of labor, alternative schemes such as leaving children with elderly relatives, and modern, non-locally produced technology (e.g., outboard motors and snowmachines) permitted continued mobility amid the pressures for centralization (cf., Ellanna 1983b; Ellanna and Balluta 19192; Ellanna, Sherrod, and Langdon 1994; Pelto 1987).

As in the case of territoriality, internal societal usufruct rights remained intact in response to the continuing need for the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska to hunt, trap, fish, and gather. However, grazing territories, issued in total ignorance of or disregard for Iñupiaq socioterritorial boundaries, brought about sociopolitical conflict.

For example, despite Jackson's desire to seek apprentices who were not good sea mammal hunters, the earliest fledgling herders predominantly came from the more wealthy and powerful families at Wales. The obvious conflict between Jackson's goals in this regard, and the reality of who became apprentices in the early years, principally had to do with whose territory the mission station and reindeer were attempting to appropriate. Exceptions did occur. For example, Charlie Antisarlook was a powerful person, possibly an umialiq, so he had less apprehension about trespassing on Kingigan (Wales) territory than would men of lesser influence. Charlie, most likely, obtained temporary permission to be in the territory of neighboring groups. However, as soon as Charlie received his reindeer, he and his entourage headed back to the mouth of the Sinuk River—Cape Rodney—or the northwesterly border of the Cape Nome territory to which he had valid claims.

The importation of reindeer had implications for disrupting indigenous trade networks and attendant social relations on both sides of Bering Strait. For example, in regard to the Chukchi, Miner Bruce commented that:

> Early last fall we began to be troubled by the Siberians' fears for their safety from harm by the natives. It became known soon after the deer were landed that there was a disposition to ridicule the idea of introducing reindeer on this side on the part of some of the Cape Prince of Wales natives. [Jackson 1893:58]

Additionally, Brevig reported throughout his journal (Jackson 1898b:67) that the mission trade of deerskins from the herds of imported

origin with Diomeders, King Islanders, and other Natives disrupted the indigenous exchange network (Johnshoy 1944).

As reindeer became more numerous and the now semi-independent Iñupiaq herders were being dispatched in a leapfrog pattern northeast of Wales, they inevitably were assigned to ranges outside their respective societal territories. Again, conflicts arose, such as that between originally Wales-based and, subsequently, Shishmaref-based herder Allockeok and the deermen of the Cape Espenberg area.

There were no indigenous sociopolitical institutions in Northwest Alaska that could have facilitated and governed the assignment and protection of ranges associated with reindeer herding, even if the United States federal government had given the Iñupiat the authority to do so. Therefore, the only institutions that functioned directly or indirectly to govern reindeer range allocation, protection, and transference were those of the federal government and, for a short time, the territorial administration of Alaska. The functioning of federal agents regarding matters associated with territoriality was in direct conflict with indigenous sociopolitical institutions. The acceptance of such external authority would have mandated Western political and ideological assimilation and a basic disregard for indigenous institutions. The implementation of cooperative herding in the middle of the 1920s, and the subsequent decline of the reindeer population beginning in the 1930s, negated any necessity for wholesale Iñupiaq sociopolitical, institutional change in favor of Western authority and personnel in regard to herding.

The recognition of ecological relationships between reindeer and pasturage for some Iñupiat transformed land from being the arena upon which economic activities (i.e., hunting and gathering) were conducted to becoming the underpinning of the mode of production in the herding paradigm. This was to bring about conflicts between individuals vested in the pursuit of reindeer husbandry and those persisting primarily in hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering endeavors as the base of economic procurement.

In the herding paradigm, particularly when the government began issuing exclusive grazing permits, some reindeer owners viewed land as alienable—that is, they potentially could keep others from using the acreage for which they held a government permit. In the sense that land was viewed by non-Natives as a commodity, it also could be allocated, transferred, sold, and inherited. To the extent that reindeer herding in Alaska was modeled after cattle or sheep ranching and involved range allocation and disputes, there was an ideological conflict with Iñupiaq cultures of Northwest Alaska, in which societal boundaries and usufruct rights governed access and inheritance to, and humans were not seen to be the masters and owners of land and resources.

Implications for Ublasaun

In the early 1990s Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr's son Gideon recollected the annual cyclical round of wild resource harvesting by people who lived in the Cape Espenberg area, including seasonal harvesting at Ublasaun. Gideon said that he and his family always preferred living "out in the country," as opposed to settlements, such as Shishmaref

or Deering, both before and after Thomas's involvement in reindeer herding.

The Cape Espenberg seasonal round began in spring. During that time, people left their winter village and traveled to ugruk hunting spring camps, the location of which was dependent on ice conditions. Hunters searched for places where the ice was old and rough—ice that would stay on the beach for a long time. Ugruk went up through holes in this rotten but flat ice to sun themselves on warm spring days. Entire families camped on the shore until the ice went out. Ugruk meat was dried and stored underground with seal oil in a poke.

Other harvesting activities were undertaken by Cape Espenberg Iñupiat in the spring, such as the gathering of sour dock when the leaves were new and tender. Squirrels also were snared early in the spring and again in late fall with willow sprigs and little pieces of wing bone.

Sometimes walrus were taken from spring sealing camps, but their availability was inconsistent through time. Access to walrus depended on the spring migratory route of the animal—that is, for Cape Espenberg people to obtain them, walrus had to travel close to the shore in the vicinity of the northern Seward Peninsula. All walrus meat not boiled was stored in a barrel or poke with seal oil and buried underground. It was eaten as a delicacy by people, and surplus meat was fed to dogs.

In the past, the Iñupiat of Cape Espenberg had fewer dogs—maybe only two or three—than in more recent years. Dogs were used as pack animals and assisted men in seal hunting by locating breathing holes. In the past, people could not afford to feed many dogs, since the dogs competed for the same foods as their owners.

Caribou were not available on the coastal plains of the Seward Peninsula after Thomas was a young man old enough to go hunting with adults. Therefore, the Iñupiat of Cape Espenberg hunted caribou south of Devil Mountain, where they met other hunters from Shishmaref and Serpentine Flats. Espenberg people also went into Lane River country, where they encountered people from the Mary's Igloo area. They did not go to Imuruk or Kuzitrin Lakes, as "that was too far" and was the territory of the people of Kuugrug (Kougarok), who hunted caribou at Imuruk Lake.

At that time, caribou were hunted with rifles and blockaded by use of caribou antler inugshuq (cairns). These were cooperative hunts, occurring in the summer shortly after the cessation of ugruk hunting in June, when hunters took some fawns, a preferred food and source of hides for children's clothing. Espenberg hunters mostly drove the animals into lakes, including a body of water only about seven or eight miles southwest of the cape. Hunters in kayaks used spears to dispatch the caribou after driving them into the lake. Caribou were butchered by the lake, and the meat dried and stored with seal oil in pokes. The pokes were then cached in wooden lined underground pits covered with logs and sod. While men were hunting caribou, Espenberg women continued to pick sour dock and willow greens, also preserved in seal oil filled pokes.

Caribou were also hunted in the fall, as the greater seasonal fat content was highly valued. "Eskimo ice cream" was made out of caribou tallow. In the fall caribou were driven into corrals. A snare was placed between every opening in the corral. When

the caribou were snared, they were shot with sinew-backed bows and arrows. Espenberg hunters also stalked caribou by hiding behind a bank or some other feature that sheltered them from the caribou's view.

After spring and early summer hunting, Espenberg Iñupiat went to visit other villages and, when the berries were ripe, collected blackberries, salmonberries, blueberries, and cranberries. Most berry picking occurred in August.

In September, Espenberg people went fishing for herring around the Shishmaref area. Few herring were in the vicinity of the cape proper; but, alternatively, there were whitefish and some salmon on the ocean side of Cape Espenberg. Herring were sometimes salted. Salmon, too fat to be dried, were also considered excellent if salted for winter use. Other fish—as most other faunal and floral species—were also dried, stored with seal oil in a poke, and buried underground.

Ublasaun was a productive location from which seals were netted in the fall. Seal nets were set from the beach out to about three fathoms, then tied to another net, and to yet another. The seals taken between knots connecting net panels belonged to the family who owned that segment of net. Seals were also netted after freeze-up during the winter on Lopp Lagoon. Seal nets were anchored by skin pokes filled with sand. On the beach the nets were tied off to the roots of moderate sized pieces of driftwood.

Just before freeze-up Espenberg Iñupiat seined for herring and cod with sealskin or twisted black whale sinew thread. After freeze-up, people used herring and whitefish nets on rivers to get fresh herring. Nets were set under the ice either farther upriver or in lakes with whitefish, such as those northwest of Devil Mountain. Whitefish harvest persisted for approximately three weeks after freeze-up.

After fishing, it was time for trapping. Trapping was the most important thing to do in winter. In 1987 Gideon recalled, "That's the only income you had in order to buy this White man food such as flour, sugar, coffee—all that. They traded them out at the stores." Gideon also traded fox and wolverine pelts.

In the early 1990s, Gideon felt that it was inappropriate for him to discuss land use south of Shishmaref. He said that he was not familiar with that country because he lived at Cape Espenberg and did not go that far south. Gideon stated:

> Anyway I don't have too much experience from there [Shishmaref] on down [the coast] because I don't travel too much in that area during the summer and in winter. I was raised up Cape Espenberg area most of my life, until 1960. [Barr 1990]

Instead, Thomas's and Emily's children grew up in the vicinity of Kuzimmaqtuuq("has rhubarb") on the eastern side of Cape Espenberg, approximately 15 miles from the cape proper, located on Kotzebue Sound. In the early 1990s, Gideon recalled detailed place names from Shishmaref north to Cape Espenberg, from Espenberg along the coast of Kotzebue Sound to Deering, and inland on the northern Seward Peninsula to Serpentine Hot Springs.

Gideon recalled that neither he nor his father had gone to Siberia, although his father had a Siberian trade partner. Only certain people knew the Siberian dialects. In fact, Gideon claimed that he never had

seen Siberian people until recently, when they came to Kotzebue to the trade fairs and to Nome for the Elder's Conference and, in 1991, when a group in several boats stopped at Shishmaref.

Unlike Gideon, Thomas saw Siberians on the Alaska mainland. Actually, he worked as a middleman in intercontinental trade. The people from East Cape came with paddles and sails—no outboard motor—and camped at Cape Espenberg. Then the Siberians headed for Kotzebue, usually in July, until the "closing time" (enforcement of political boundaries between the then Soviet Union and Alaska). Gideon remembered that he did not know Diomeders until they first started going to Kotzebue trade fairs, although he knew the people from Wales. Wales traders used to travel to Kotzebue from their winter village to go to the hospital before there was one at Nome.

In Gideon's lifetime, fur trade was very important, although the market for pelts declined during the depression, when he and his sister Bessie were taken out of school, and, again, in his adult years after World War II. Gideon traded red and white fox, wolverine, wolf, mink, and muskrat pelts for ammunition, coffee, canned evaporated milk, flour, and sugar. There was no "oleo" (margarine) in those days. Everything came in barrels.

Thomas had a trading partner in Selawik. Living on the coast at Cape Espenberg, Thomas collected seal and ugruk skins, rawhide line, seal oil, and reindeer fawn skins. In early April, he made an annual trip with these trade items to Selawik after passing through Kotzebue. At Selawik the Iñupiat had dried fish, land otter, beaver, muskrat, and other resources not found in the Espenberg area. The Selawik people had fish and brown bear oil, but wanted seal oil for variety. Trade took place between partners, not just with
anyone. Partners were approximately the same age. Thomas's Selawik trading partner's grandson and Gideon inherited the reciprocal relationship from their grandfather and father, respectively.

Thomas, his family, and others at Cape Espenberg and, for a period of time, Ublasaun, attempted to maintain their well established Iñupiaq annual cycle of resource harvest after they obtained reindeer in the first decade of the 1900s. Thomas and his following employed herding strategies that involved taking reindeer with them as they followed their seasonal round. The establishment of Ublasaun represented compromising an ideal winter village settlement location close to fish, for one with accessibility to undepleted reindeer pasturage. By the mid-1920s it had become impossible to simultaneously conduct both activities. This factor, coupled with the mixture of Cape Espenberg reindeer with other herds in the southern Kotzebue Sound and northern Seward Peninsula areas, resulted in the de facto acceptance of corporate herding conducted by hired staff.

Ingathering processes instituted by governmental and missionary players brought about the ultimate dissolution of Cape Espenberg as a distinct winter settlement and, most likely, unique Iñupiaq society. Mining activities at Deering provided a town in which a Society of Friends school and church was established twice—the Iñupiaq majority of the first settlement moving to the site of Noorvik in 1914 and the reopening of the Deering school in the mid-1920s. Additionally, the Iñupiat of the area had the

opportunity to undertake employment for wages in the mining industry in Deering. These factors, in addition to the merging of reindeer herds and the location of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company's administration to Deering, provided a rationale for Thomas's decision to move his family from Ublasaun and Cape Espenberg to Deering in 1926. Conversely, the Iñupiaq settlement of Shishmaref became a point of centralization for some of the Cape Espenberg people, with its school, Lutheran church, and limited mercantile facilities. After Thomas's death, Emily Kiyutelluk Barr and the children still living with her relocated from Deering to Kotzebue. Eventually Gideon was to live in Kotzebue, Nome, and Shishmaref at varying periods of his life, when the development of the former two regional centers offered opportunities for wage employment. Yet, in the early 1990s, Iñupiat from both Shishmaref and Deering recognized Cape Espenberg as having been the center of an Iñupiat group distinct from all others in the past, though unpopulated in recent decades.

Grazing lands for reindeer were divided into parcels by the government, with no concern for territories associated with particular indigenous societies. Herders were presented with arbitrarily drawn maps of ranges at reindeer meetings. The Espenberg herders—who had first formed the Cape Espenberg Reindeer Company in 1927 and, later, the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company in 1929—had their own distinct grazing territory, as did the herders at Deering, since at least the 1920s. Joseph and Scott Walluk's Kuukpak, or Cowpack, herd was allocated a grazing area in the northern reaches of Shishmaref Inlet near Qivaluaq and Singiq after Thomas and his brothers had relocated their winter pasturage to Ublasaun. Four Shishmaref reindeer companies became one between 1923 and 1924, and their grazing area was adjacent to and south of that of the Espenberg/Nuglunguktuk companies. The Goodhope herd had grazing rights in the Goodhope River drainage west of Deering. Stanley Kivyearzruk—and his herders Harry Kigrook, who was Gideon's second wife's father, and Frank Asunok—had his herd at Niglingaqtuuq, which was a point of land in the Nugnugaluktuk River estuary, approximately 25 miles south of Cape Espenberg on the western shores of Kotzebue Sound. By 1925 the Kivyearzruk and Barr reindeer had merged, gaining external recognition as a single herd in 1929 under the name of the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company. Herders in this enterprise used two corrals in the vicinity of Cape Espenberg.

The Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company was engaged in a range dispute with William Allockeok and his brother Lloyd Koonuk, who were claiming part of the Espenberg range. For the most part this dispute between Allockeok and Thomas Barr and their associates was conducted through the White reindeer superintendents. In this case, the reindeer superintendents and their volleys of letters regarding this range war functioned analogously to Iñupiaq shamans known for settling intergroup or interfamily hostilities for pay.

Examples of the range disputes on the northern Seward Peninsula, as conducted by White government superintendents on behalf of the Iñupiat, were multiple. For example, in 1932 many telegrams regarding range wars were sent to superintendent Mozee from the various herd administrators in the region. One of February 8, 1932, proposed that the

Arctic River serve as a boundary between the Wales herds and that of Allockeok—an idea Allockeok opposed (USBOE 1932). This same telegram stated that the Serpentine River was the boundary between Allockeok's and Shishmaref's herds, and proposed that a border between the Shishmaref and Nuglunguktuk herds be reestablished. From the end of the 1920s, Allockeok refused to join the Shishmaref Reindeer Association and wanted to maintain a separately owned herd (USBOE 1929). Mozee wrote a telegram on August 20, 1929, in which he stated that he would not approve either the Shishmaref or Nuglunguktuk grazing applications until the Shishmaref side of the controversy over range was investigated (USBOE 1929).

Also, a letter from the Seward Peninsula administrator of reindeer to the general superintendent at Nome gave the following account of the history of Shishmaref's, Allockeok's, and his brother Kunnuk's herds:

> 1. The Wm. Allockeok herd is what in 1925 was known as the Shishmaref No. 2 herd and had been grazing their deer on the range shown in the map as the old Allockeok Range. About 1923 or 1924 the four Shishmaref herds were organized into the SRA [Shishmaref Reindeer Association]. A year later Allockeok withdrew his deer again from the association and formed a herd of his own. Since that time his had been a separate herd. 2. In 1924 or 1925 the Lane River herd which up to this time had been a Deering herd joined the SRA and put their deer together with the Espenberg herd which also became a part of the SRA. The Lane River and Espenberg herds together have had up to the present a separate mark and herded their deer separately, but their names have been on the SRA books and their signature to the bylaws of the said organization. During the last two or three years they have used the range between the Lane River and Cripple River very little. Originally this was a part of the range used by the Lane River herd. 3. The range on which Allockeok has his deer now is his old range marked on the map. This range has been overgrazed and has very little winter feed left on it. Allockeok and also the members of the SRA feel that it would be better if he and his brother Lloyd [Koonuk] took the old Lane River range and they [the SRA] took Allockeok's old range, as this would make it easier to keep their deer from mixing and would give them all winter feed. 4. Lloyd has been a member of the SRA but as he and his brother have quite a few deer together now, they decided it would be better to form a partnership and put all their deer together rather than try to separate those that they own together now. You will notice that the application is a partnership between William and Lloyd applying for ground to graze their deer jointly. I sent you a copy of the agreement between them some time ago. [USBOE 1929]

In response to the proposed range reallocation, government teacher Andrews at Deering wrote a letter of objection. The submitted areas were, at the time, still used by herders from the northern Seward Peninsula, including Stanley Kivyearzruk. Andrews wrote:

> Stanley Kivyearzruk is one of the oldest of the reindeer men now living. He earned his deer at Teller or Wales, drove them to his present location about or over 15 years ago and lives there on the range, except when he is in Deering in winter schooling his children. His wife died about a year or two ago. To give his range to Allockeok and turn over the management of the herd to him will be equivalent to confiscation

> by gradual means, for Allockeok is not noted for fair and generous dealings. [USBOE 1929]

In another memorandum that same year, Andrews was increasingly critical of Allockeok, referring to him as "ignorant but very tricky and has the habit of telling things wrong" (USBOE 1929).

In summary, the depletion of reindeer in the 1930s solved range disputes that the government agents had been unable to resolve. However, the people who had lived at Ublasaun during the winters between 1918 and 1925 were in a no-win situation. Without a resident school teacher at Espenberg, cape Iñupiat were forced to associate with either the Shishmaref or Deering school teacher/reindeer agent. The fragmentation of the Espenberg society into different villages and reindeer cooperatives escalated the range wars and complicated attempts at resolution. For example, while brothers Thomas and Gilbert Barr ultimately became residents of Deering, their youngest brother Peter and the Moses family—all of whom had lived at Ublasaun—relocated to Shishmaref. Lloyd Koonuk, another occupant of the Ublasaun winter camp, eventually joined his brother Allockeok in yet a third faction. Finally, although these players were all competing in the arena of reindeer, they were integrally interconnected by primary and secondary bonds of kinship.

CHAPTER 6
THE MYTH OF THE EGALITARIAN SOCIETY

> The case of Too-nuk's hoarding ivory, illustrates a trait often seen among the more ambitious Eskimos. They have been known to hoard valuable furs, ivory, and even money, preferring to suffer from want, in sickness and "starving times," rather than part with them. [an account by W.T. Lopp that was published in *The Eskimo Bulletin* in 1902; Smith 1984:432]

Introduction

W.T. Lopp's portrayal of the Iñupiat of Wales cited in the quotation above stood in stark contrast to the stereotypic view of "primitive" hunters and gatherers as being communalistic and egalitarian, and living precariously on the edge of starvation and death. Without question, Lopp's insights were relatively unique given the intellectual climate of the late 1800s (cf., Morgan 1985) in general, and of Christian pioneers in specific.

Accompanying the notion of "civilization," as opposed to the status of "Eskimos" in Alaska when first proselytized by Protestants in the 1880s, was the view that such "heathens" lived in a state of primitive communalism, bereft of concepts of private property and any sense of hierarchical social order. Notions such as "wealth," "power," "prestige," and "class structure" were considered inapplicable to indigenous societies of the territory—particularly to the Iñupiat, as Jackson and some others had undergone more lengthy contact with the obviously more stratified Indians of Southeast Alaska before moving north.

Missionary teachers and government agents, when confronted with the discrepancies between Iñupiaq behaviors and the models incorporated within their stereotypes, opted to endorse the idea that such strange and atypical behavior on the part of hunters and gatherers could be explained as a product of interfaces with Whites of "low moral standards," fully rectifiable through the experience of missionization. These ideological colonialists clung tenaciously to their models, explaining any Iñupiaq deviance as being the effect of some foreign and unnatural cause.

In this chapter we examine conflicts between the social order of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska and the paradigms promoted by Euro-American agents of change. The resolution of these conflicts is examined in the section "Umialiit of Deer" and the Ublasaun case study.

Stratification, Leadership, and Gender in Iñupiaq Societies of Northwest Alaska

> A point that needs to be made at the outset, and emphasized, is that in traditional times, both individuals and groups of Northwest Alaskan Eskimo could and did achieve a standard of living far above that of their fellows...Northwest Alaskan Eskimos operated in terms of "rank," not egalitarian societies...Anyone who suggests otherwise is probably confusing the 1890-1910 situation with the traditional one, or else is applying the (reasonably accurate) stereotype of Canadian Eskimos to the Northwest Alaskan population; either procedures would be in error.
>
> The general fact of ranking in Northwest Alaska can be inferred from the accounts of early writers... It was also brought to my attention repeatedly by informants, the best of whom were concerned that I might present an artificial picture in which the actual variation in the behavior of their ancestors would be obscured. They insisted that, in traditional, as well as transitional times, some individuals were shiftless, unhappy, stupid, luckless, weak, poor, and/or ineffective, just as some were in 1970; some other individuals were, during the same period, energetic, happy, intelligent, fortunate, strong, rich, and/or powerful. Most people were distributed between those two extremes, again, just as they were in 1970.
>
> The majority of Northwest Alaskan Eskimos aspired to a standard of living well above that of mere persistence. The stereotype of Eskimos being content with the condition of abject poverty did not apply to most of the Northwest Alaskan Eskimo population at any time during the century and a quarter covered by this study. That they were able to cope with poverty and adapt to it when nothing better was possible does not mean that they accepted it. Furthermore, at all time periods for which I have information, a large percentage of the Eskimo population in Northwest Alaska apparently desired much more than the minimum, and some people were willing to work hard to get it. [Burch 1975: 205-206]

Other data support these conclusions. For example, Wells' (1974) account of the Deering area of Northwest Alaska, while depicting another variation in social stratification as expressed through productive activities, substantiated Burch's (1975) more general comments. Seasonal variation in Iñupiat resource and land use activities along southern Kotzebue Sound was based on whether or not a family had access to a skin-boat. Beluga drives in the past involved 15 to 20 hunters in kayaks whose efforts were coordinated by a "captain of the big drive."

The phenomenon of social stratification, as described by Burch (1975) and Wells (1974) above, was not unique to the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. In the 1950s Spencer noted similar features of social organization among the neighboring Arctic Coastal Iñupiat of Alaska, among whom poverty was associated with lack of family ties and the absence of a circle of relatives, while wealth and success were associated with large kin networks and with the skills of being an umialiq:

> It is to be emphasized that social standing was reserved for very few; it might take years of building toward sufficient property to command the services of a crew and one lean year could ruin a good start...Wealth was conceived to exist in expendable surplus of any and all goods. This meant extra food, a full cellar, extra clothing, skins and furs of

> all kinds, pokes of oil, weapons, utensils, tools, boats, sleds, dogs, and the like. [1959: 154, 156]

In Arctic Coastal Alaska, men of such position and wealth feared powerful shamans.

The principal way by which particular bilaterally reckoned kin groups amassed wealth and prestige was through participation in collective productive activities, such as skinboat hunting, caribou and beluga drives, net and weir fishing, and trading. Resources harvested through cooperative ventures were not distributed equally between the members of the entire group, but were allocated within localized families in accordance with the degree of ownership of the primary modes of production—technology, usufruct rights to key harvesting locations, and people who act as producers.

Technologies employed in collective harvesting endeavors included umiat, caribou surrounds, and fish weirs and nets. These items of technology were not societally owned nor owned equally by all segments of a large extended local family. Instead, this technology generally was associated minimally with the eldest productive male of the group possessing the skills, knowledge, and wealth necessary to supervise the construction, maintenance, and use of these means of production. Additionally, this individual and his closest kin controlled key geographic sites from which these technologies were deployed. Many cooperative units existed within any larger Iñupiat society. The relative status and affluence of such extended family groups were directly linked to the size of the productive social unit—especially its number of contributing males and females.

The ability of some extended families to amass more wealth than others was as dependent on control of distribution as on the ability to produce. If the common lay and scholastic stereotypes about all Eskimos, that they were generous and shared boundlessly, were true, their sharing would have negated differential productive capacities and related social stratification and provided for only one means of exchange—that of generalized reciprocity.

> During the course of field research among the north-west Alaskan Eskimos over a period of some twenty-five years I heard many statements about sharing and generosity almost identical to those cited above. But I also heard about "buying" and "selling," "borrowing," "inheriting" and several other ways in which goods were transferred from one person or group to another. When I investigated just how these words were expressed in the native language and what their referents were in terms of actual behavior, it became clear that the social reality of exchange was much more complex than the ideology would lead one to suspect. Not only that, it was evident that there were many contexts in which "sharing" and "generosity" had no place at all, even in the ideology. [Burch 1988:95]

Burch (1988) went on to conclude that concepts about, and practices related to, the transfer of property occurred differentially in the realms of societies, local families, conjugal families, and individuals.

In an attempt to amass wealth in a way that failed to negate the ideology of generosity, Iñupiaq men and women employed diverse and highly sophisticated strategies. For example, the food and raw materials derived from hunting bowhead whales, walruses, and belugas were systematically divided between crew members in a manner in which the umialiq and his brothers

and sons received the largest portion of the harvest. When the harvest was taken home, women assumed control and distributed within a network of kin and partners, in part distinct from that of her husband and his crew members (e.g., Bogojavlensky 1969; Ellanna 1983a). Obligatory reciprocal feasting was another means by which wealthy families gained more social status by giving while simultaneously creating indebtedness on the part of others.

What mechanisms did these more wealthy and prestigious productive kin-based associations use to maintain requisite demographic and social compositions? Particular strategies involving marriages, comarriages, partnerships, adoptions, divorces, ceremonialism, and naming were only some of the numerous means by which particular extended families ensured their social position and affiliated wealth. Marriages were functionally, not merely or primarily, unions between individuals as conceived of and practiced by the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska (Ellanna 1983a). Rather they were arranged, at times from birth, between heads of extended families to recruit desirable productive members in succeeding generations of people having similar or greater status and affluence—interfamilial alliance to extend the kin base. Conversely, particularly prosperous and strategically shrewd families arranged intrafamilial unions—such as those between classificatory cross cousins or sibling pairs—to consolidate or restrict access to technology, areas, and highly successful people within the existing group for succeeding generations.

Additionally, comarriages between consensual couples, adoption, the maintenance of obligatory and reciprocal relations after divorce, ceremonies such as the Messenger Feast, and the allocation of personal names were means by which the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska consciously manipulated sociocultural relations to forge new, or conserve existing, economic and social advantages (Bogojavlensky 1969; Burch 1975; Ellanna 1983a; Heinrich 1972). The perseverance of distinctive covert and overt Iñupiaq marital norms into the 1900s—including arranged marriages and comarriages—was noted in Wales by the Lopps at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century (Smith 1984:239) and in Shishmaref by Keithahn (1963) in the 1920s. Field data gathered from the study area in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s indicated the subtle, conservative nature of these aspects of social organization among the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. Similarly, the allocation of personal Iñupiaq names remained an important mechanism for expanding or consolidating social bonds and status throughout the historical and into the contemporary periods.

Throughout the decade of their tenure from 1892 to 1902, Lopp and his wife Ellen made notes in their letters about social stratification, outstanding individual characters, and the role of the umialiq at what was then commonly known as Cape Prince of Wales. In discussing missionary-teacher Thornton's fear of the people of Wales, Ellen Lopp stated:

> Mr. T. [Thornton] is the one who is afraid [of the people of Wales]... He wants to have the old *chief* [emphasis ours] Elignok taken away and is going to ask Captain Healy to take him. The chief's oldest son was killed in the Gilly affair, and he and his wife both think of it when they are drunk. Their second son is a rising chief. He got a whale this year, and if he trades it to advantage will

> be quite rich. He wants to have a house like an American house. The captain who anchored here first has a small one to trade him. [Smith 1984:54]

Furthermore, in reference to an outstanding umialiq and trader, Ellen Lopp made the following observation:

> Ah-woot-nuk made a record with his canoe last summer. In July he sailed across the strait, traded for a boat load of Siberian deer skins, and returned. Then he sailed to Kotzebue Sound, and exchanged these skins for red fox, beaver, and otter skins. Returning from the sound in October, he sailed across the strait again, and purchased another boat load of deer skins. [Smith 1984:432]

Among the neighboring Arctic Coastal and inland dwelling Iñupiat of the 1950s, Spencer (1959:152-153) noted that "in certain defined areas, men of wealth emerge as significant leaders." In comparing the coastal to inland groups, Spencer noted that umialiit both controlled skinboats on the coast and directed cooperative caribou drives in the Interior. In both cases, wealth was related to the control of means of production, prolific kin, goods, and resultant prestige. Though more cautious about suggesting that umialiit were equivalent to institutionalized "chiefs," Spencer stated:

> But in north Alaska, as a result of an incipient system of prestige wealth, chieftainship as a political factor may have been in process of development [in the form of the umialiq]. [1984:284]

In all the cases of the Iñupiat of Northwest, Arctic Coastal and Interior Alaska, leadership was based on the ability of individuals to rally followers and influence their behavior. The capacity to accomplish these tasks intrinsically was tied to knowledge, skills, status, and wealth manifested ultimately in economic stature. Since umialiq-ships were largely achieved statuses, and required constant maintenance as opposed to institutionalized, inherited offices, the bequeathing of the status of umialiq between generations was as dependent on the perpetuation of a suitable social arena as it was on maintenance of the appropriate technology. The social mechanisms discussed above for achieving alliance or maintaining consolidation were fundamental in this regard.

The qazgi, or men's house, in Northwest Alaska Iñupiaq society was the structural embodiment of leadership and, during intervillage or intersocietal ceremonies, manifested the wealth and prestige of an umialiq's followers. In villages with multiple umialiit, such as Cape Prince of Wales and King Island, each qazgi was associated with the political faction of the most powerful of multiple, associated skinboat captains (e.g., Bogojavlensky 1969; Ellanna 1983a). In settlements having only a single qazgi, the most powerful umialiq—in the multiple definitions of this term—provided leadership. In both cases, the qazgi provided the institution through which male knowledge and roles, including the subtleties of power, were transmitted intergenerationally.

In addition to umialiit, the spiritual powers of shamans, or angatkuut, and the collective knowledge and experience of elders provided both parallel and/or alternative sources of leadership. These various positions of influence, a strict code of norms or un-codified "laws," and, to some degree, the expectation of community-wide consensus,



Photo 21. When the *umiaq* was beached, an experienced "boat beater" would pound on the skin so dirt and sand could be extracted from between the skin and the frame. If the wind was calm, one could hear the pounding echo for miles. This boat required four female walrus skins to cover the frame; female skins were more desirable as they have fewer holes and scars than male walrus skins. The average length of an *umiaq* was 30 feet. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 144).

provided a system of checks and balances, preventing the abuse, but not deterring the use, of power in Iñupiaq society of Northwest Alaska. In the 1890s and early 1900s, Lopp and his wife, in their correspondence from Cape Prince of Wales to relatives, made frequent comments about the very functional Iñupiaq "laws" operative in the village. They maintained that the Iñupiat had their own customs and rules that they adhere to with strict distinctions between right and wrong (Smith 1984:55). In describing "blood revenge," Ellen Lopp stated:

> That is the custom here, a relative avenges a murder. And it is thought right if a man threatens another's life for the one who has been threatened to kill the one who has threatened him. [Smith 1984:56]

The economic role of women in hunting and gathering societies in general has been ignored by anthropologists, other social scientists, and lay persons for decades.

> Historically, ethnographic data on northern hunting and gathering societies primarily have been gathered by male researchers who have focused on the productive activities of men...The apparent "natural" dichotomy between males as hunters of large game and females as gatherers of mostly plant foods and small game may be rooted in western ideology, which associates the conquering of fierce and/or massive wild beasts with the behaviors of "manly men." [Ellanna and Sherrod 1993:2]

Though gathering was given more prominence in hunter-gatherer studies after the 1960s (cf., Lee and DeVore 1968), because of the relatively small contribution of plant resources in the Arctic to the overall economies of indigenous peoples, there was little impact from these new insights on the interpretations of northern foraging. Additionally, the processing and storage of game by women in the north rarely was considered part of the process of production, thereby relegating the economic role of women in the Arctic to little more than "homemaking."

As in the case of other general hunter-gatherer stereotypes and specific "Eskimo" stereotypes, the economic and political roles of women in Iñupiaq societies have been starkly underestimated and incorrectly portrayed (cf., Estioko-Griffin and Griffin 1981). In the conventional sense of the term "production" in Iñupiaq societies—meaning hunting, trapping, and fishing in addition to gathering—Iñupiaq women of Northwest Alaska have participated much more participant in the former three activities than previously thought (e.g., Ellanna 1983a; Nelson, Mautner, and Bane 1982). Women have become the principal fishers for domestic consumption in much of historical Arctic Alaska as a result of male involvement in seasonal barter or wage opportunities (cf., Fienup-Riordan 1983). Second, the processing and storage of game and fish, known to be undertaken by Iñupiaq women throughout all of the historical period, is as much a part of production as is the act of harvesting itself. Third, in many cases the behaviors of women toward the spiritual world are as critical as those of their husbands and unmarried sons in assuring harvest success (e.g., Turner 1990). Fourth, women have been acting as economic organizers of both domestic and extended (local) families, also throughout the historical period (Ellanna and Sherrod 1993). Lastly, the implications for power



Photo 22. Annie *Maamak* Nayokpuk (Koonuk) with son Lawrence Nayokpuk on her back. *Maamak* was the wife of the Native store manager, Elmer. Her father was Washington Qappikzruaq who was a "good" *aŋatquq*, or shaman. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 031).

inherent in the role of women as "owners" and distributors of food and raw materials from harvested game that has been "taken home" and their control of its consumption have been overlooked in understanding the socioeconomic and sociopolitical orders of Iñupiaq societies.

With regard to traditional Iñupiaq modes of property inheritance and issues of gender, Thornton noted in the 1890s at Cape Prince of Wales:

> Notwithstanding the assumed inferiority of women, no difference seems to be made between the two sexes in the matter of inheritance. All the children, whether boys or girls, share equally in the estate of a deceased parent.
>
> Widows, too, hold the property of their dead husbands. If the husband happened to be a rich man—an oomaellik [*sic*], or captain, she retains his social position to a certain extent... One woman here, the daughter of a great oomaellik (now dead) and the wife of another enjoys the unusual distinction of having the right to own and bear arms. Last spring we saw her shooting ducks with no little skill and success. [Thornton 1931:107]

The Creation of a "Civilized" Social Order

> It is as important to teach the natives just emerging from barbarism how to earn an independent support as it is to give them book instruction. The industrial pursuit which nature seems to have mapped out for the native population of arctic and subarctic Alaska is the breeding and herding of reindeer and the use of deer as a means of transportation and intercommunication. [Jackson 1897:15]



Photo 23. Grace *Azrgiaq* Davis Tocktoo is wearing a white reindeer fur parka. She had made the parka herself with instruction from her mother, Amelia *Aktuina Azrgiyiaq* Davis. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 111).

> [The reindeer enterprise] was far more to him [Jackson] than a straightforward economic project designed solely to satisfy the material needs of the Eskimos for food and clothing. Rather it was a powerful instrument for creating a new civilization among them, a civilization which would loosen the shackles of their communalistic culture, foster the growth of private ownership of property, and thereby develop those traditional traits of America's great pioneers, individual initiative, individual responsibility, and in a *few* [emphasis ours] superior natives the spirit of leadership. [Jenness 1962:18 citing USBOE 1910]

The quotations above illustrate that the missionary and reindeer herding movements into Alaska Native society were attempts at bringing about a distinctly new social order, suitable to facilitate the integration of Iñupiat and other indigenous peoples into the hierarchical order of western society. The western social order was not egalitarian, and the level into which Alaska Natives were to be integrated initially was not defined explicitly by the internal colonialists. In the atmosphere of the late 1800s, neither ethnic or "racial" minorities nor women were on an equal plane with middle American White males in the American social order of the time.

While the subordinate status of Alaska Natives was obvious to Jackson and his followers, echoing the intellectual philosophy of his era, this lowly position in the social order was not perceived as such by the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. Missionaries and governmental representatives were

confronted with the task of "putting Alaska Natives in their proper place" in the context of American society. This attitude was manifest in the philosophies of many missionary/teachers, including Harrison Thornton, who accompanied Lopp as a volunteer to teach at Cape Prince of Wales in 1891. After almost dying on the sea ice in an effort to prove the superiority of Whites in general and White males in specific over Natives, even at skills in which the Iñupiat excelled, Thornton wrote:

> It was really important for the success of my work to inspire the natives with some respect for me as the representative of my race, my nation, and my religion; and they would naturally admire intrepidity on the part of a hunter more than any other quality. Moreover, I felt certain that sharing their toils and hardships would greatly increase my influence among them. After this adventure, I solemnly resolved that I would never again be guilty of a similar performance. It was quite manifest that each of us [Thornton and Lopp] had given our "constituents" ample proof that he dare do all that becomes a man. Surely, the preservation of our lives and the successful outcome of our mission are more important than the mere killing of seals. [1931:191]

In general, in the worldview of the missionary/teachers and federal government officials, representatives of the class of Americans of which they were a part, they stood as the pinnacle of humanity in the evolutionary paradigm of the time. Other Whites, who were basically uneducated immigrants, stood beneath them on this pyramid of civilization. The Samis, whom Jackson had "imported" along with Eurasian reindeer, were below the level of other immigrants, in part because they practiced pastoralism and associated nomadism rather than plant domestication and sedentism. In fact, the Samis were not considered by Jackson and his followers to be "whites" of European descent. In this social evolutionary schema, the Siberian reindeer herders (Chukchi and others) were far below the Samis, while indigenous hunters and gatherers remained near the bottom of this ideological pyramid in a state of "heathenism" and "lower barbarism" (Morgan 1985:10-12).

The ultimate model for Jackson, and many of the colonial oriented agents of his time and the years to follow, was more that of a European paradigm in which Eskimos were to be transformed, not into equal participants in the American dream, but rather into a peasant class, which was perceived as necessary to support the Americanization and colonization of Alaska by Whites. This philosophy of indigenous peoples, as applied in the northern context, historically was somewhat different from the containment and isolationism of American Indians on reservations in the Unites States. The social order in Western society and the concept of servitude were exemplified by Teller missionary Brevig's travel to the Methodist mission at Unalaska to obtain a "proper maid," an Aleut from Unalaska who had been educated in a boarding school/orphanage, for his wife (Johnshoy 1944:146).

Within the context of White supremacy, the land and its wild resources were perceived to be owned by the federal government and managed and dispensed to other Americans (initially, in the Arctic, mostly missionary/teachers and, after the late 1890s, gold miners) by official representatives.

These included the contract missionary/teachers; later, government educators; reindeer superintendents; federal judges (after the gold rush); and the officers of the Marine Revenue Service, whose mission was to enforce federal law, including the prohibition on the sale of alcohol and modern firearms and ammunition to Alaska Natives. Even the Samis and, "morally depraved" White traders/store owners were viewed as superior to the Iñupiat.

Simultaneously, clergy and teachers, in the role of interpreters of spiritual matters and dispensers of knowledge, were offered as being the White counterparts of the spiritual leaders—shamans or angatkuut. They were aided in this pursuit by the widespread demise of Iñupiat from epidemics in the latter 1800s and the early 1900s. Teachers and Marine Revenue Service cutter captains, recognized by the Iñupiat as umialiit or umialiqput ("wealthy men" and "big boat captains"), were known for their authority, power, and control of stored goods.

The sanctioning of Iñupiaq marriages that had been arranged by parents, elders, umialiit, and shamans, was often commandeered by White counterparts after the coming of the missionaries. Polygyny and the rarely occurring polyandry, comarriages, arranged marriages, and cross cousin unions were overtly condemned and discouraged by Christian clergy and governmental teachers alike. Such social arrangements were not only considered "sinful," but counter to the elevation of the Iñupiat in the scheme of social evolution. Similarly, indigenous adoptions were intercepted by missionaries, who wanted to keep orphaned children personally or place them into western child care boarding facilities in order for Christian Whites to gain uncompromised control over the maturation of such youngsters outside of the influence of parents, other kin, and village elders. Partnerships were jeopardized, by their very nature, in the name of western entrepreneurship and capitalistic ventures in the form of trading facilities. The principles behind Iñupiaq naming were perceived by Whites to be "superstitious" and "uncivilized." Attempts were made, in part successfully, to introduce western, Christian naming patterns—both proper first names and surnames—most often in association with formal conversion and school attendance.

Because of the subordinate status of women in White middle American society of the late 1800s, Iñupiaq women were of little consequence to white men. The same powerless attributes associated with Victorian women were projected onto Native females. That is, comarriage was described as "wife swapping," with women being treated like chattel, and having no rights or role in this process. Similarly, Jackson graphically used what he portrayed to be the wholesale abuse of Native women by White men of ill repute to garner the support of Christian women's associations. Iñupiaq males were seen at least to have some value as the acquirers of game and fish, and as potential reindeer herders, while women were perceived to be merely inadequate domestics needing schooling in hygiene, etiquette, child rearing, and civilized cooking.

Umialiit of Deer

Hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering remained the foundation of the Iñupiaq eco-

nomic systems throughout the historic period considered in this context. That is, sea mammals (particularly seals), caribou, and anadromous and freshwater fish, as geographically available, continued to provide the bulk of the Iñupiat diet and, to a lesser extent, essential raw materials for making skinboats, foot wear, food storage containers, and other items of well-adapted indigenous technology. The reindeer, ostensibly brought to alleviate Eskimo hunger and overall deprivation, basically remained unobtainable to the Iñupiat as a fundamental source of food and raw materials. Therefore, the indigenous social order associated with the hunting-gathering way of life remained viable and intact.

Furbearer pelt trapping and trade underwent some degree of both quantitative and qualitative change. A greater percentage of Iñupiat time was spent in pursuit of furbearers—initially an economic activity with little effective federal governmental regulation—until the market degenerated after World War II. Trapping provided the Iñupiat with access to trade goods of European or American origin. Ironically, one of the few economic benefits the Iñupiat derived from having reindeer was greater success in trapping, as wherever there were reindeer, foxes became more abundant (Andrews 1939:142). The establishment of western commercial mercantile outposts and the seasonal availability of trading vessels disrupted the larger trade fairs and reduced the economic importance of intrasocietal and intersocietal trade partners. However, the persistence of trading partnerships well into the 1990s suggests the tenacity of these social relationships and the attendant economic interchange of locally available wild harvested resources considered integral to Iñupiat well-being.

Within the indigenous social matrix (characterized by social stratification), and particularly before the cooperatization of the herds, having reindeer became a new avenue for obtaining or maintaining wealth and status among the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska (Landis 1950:31). One such individual, aspiring to become an umialiq in a somewhat unconventional manner, was William Allockeok—an orphan, raised by a White man, who became quite prosperous and powerful through reindeer and mercantile ventures.

For example, at the first reindeer fair in 1915, Allockeok, one of the Shishmaref delegates who had apprenticed in Wales, gave a passionate speech on how to be a successful reindeer man:

> When you work with deer, make your work count, if you wish a good living from the deer, you should think and plan how to take care of them. If you don't do that the herd will decrease, and if you don't keep a good watch some will stray away and they will stay in places where the moss is not good and get poorer and poorer. We reindeer men make our living from the deer, and there is nothing that we can do so well as to take care of our deer. We are now planning to sell all our meat at the same place and at the same price. This will be good, for then no one will envy the men from other herds. We should all work together for the good of the industry. I know what reindeer herders have lost because they did not stay near the herd and seldom went out to round them up. If you do not get out to the herd until late in the day the deer will scatter and stray. I have watched this carefully for four years and have lost very few deer, because I have always started early. Many of the deer men lose deer because they do not attend to business; the deer get lost, or killed, or taken by people. If you

> wish to be a deer man you should always attend to business. [USBOE 1917:76]

Both Lopp and his successor Hugh J. Lee recognized the existence of what they termed the Kingigan (Wales) "reindeer aristocracy" since the inception of herding in Alaska (Jackson 1904:65). This provided an example of both intrasocietal and intersocietal social stratification, using reindeer as a form of wealth and prestige within the indigenous system. For example, a letter from missionary Lee in charge of the Cape Prince of Wales reindeer station after 1902 shows that he perceived that people in Wales were happy about his new rule prohibiting new apprentices from entering the reindeer program to be related to other reindeer owners. In making this unenforceable rule, Lee was handicapped by his ignorance of Iñupiaq kinship systems and assumed a preference for some "primeval" egalitarian order on the part of the Iñupiat. The tenacity of Iñupiaq social stratification and Lee's failure to distribute reindeer as widely as possible were evident in official government correspondence 13 years later:

> Although Wales has numerous reindeer men, and the majority of the natives are prosperous and thrifty, there are also some very poor people; while there is very little, if any, suffering from actual want, the poor and improvident do not hesitate to borrow or beg from those whose good management and thrift have enabled them to make provisions for their own families. [USBOE 1917:49]

Another example of the maintenance of indigenous social relations in the context of herding was illustrated by umialiq-like individuals and their male kin. Iñupiat who were the eldest of a large group of male siblings had an economic advantage in traditional society related to boat crew membership. This principle was extended to reindeer as illustrated by herder/owner Charlie Antisarlook, his brothers and their sons, and Thomas Barr and his brothers and sons, this corps of men being central to the formation of successful reindeer herds.

To the same extent that the indigenous social order was appropriate to the herding of reindeer, existing mechanisms for structuring kin alliances were applicable. Arranged marriages between families of prominent herders stand out in genealogical records for Northwest Alaska, some specific cases of which are discussed below. The practices of comarriage and polygamous unions, while largely driven underground by teacher / missionaries, covertly continued in both hunting-gathering and reindeer herding aspects of society and economy. Iñupiaq adoption and naming practices also endured into the 1990s. For example, Iñupiaq names, key to the indigenous concept of recycled souls, continued to be bestowed on infants, paralleled by Christian naming. The Iñupiat, then, had a dual naming system involving a set of primary personal, middle, and secondary (family) names in English (often Biblical or historical in origin) along with indigenous personal names associated with the name soul of deceased individuals (Burch 1975: 68-69, 142, 158; cf., Oswalt 1963a).

With few exceptions, solely owning reindeer did not provide the aspiring umialiq with the means of production necessary to entice and support followers and amass other wealth. The ability of the Iñupiat to convert reindeer into western goods, articles of indigenous origin, or locally harvested food

and raw materials was severely limited by government meddling in the incipient industry. That is, reindeer provided one means of access to, and were symbolic of, wealth and prestige. However, the lack of markets; governmental restrictions on the use, barter, or sale of the animals; the limited number of reindeer held by most Iñupiat; and the widespread distribution of Native owned reindeer inhibited the successful development of many specialized reindeer umialiit.

The concept of umialiq was extended by Whites to Iñupiat performing altered economic functions. For example, both W.T. and Ellen Lopp referred to the Native traders at Wales as "oo-ma-liks." One such person, Okbaok, had a store and promoted himself as an importer and exporter of Siberian and Alaska furs, skin clothing, ivory, and curios in *The Eskimo Bulletin* (Smith 1984:434).

The abilities of exceptional Iñupiat to fully realize attainment of the status of umialiq through reindeer herding was dealt a final blow when the federal government initially promoted and later coerced the Natives into adopting the western corporate model and open herding technique. Whereas umialiq and kin based ownership of wealth inspired some Natives to herd, owning abstract shares in a reindeer company or association rather than reindeer—combined with overall declines in the cash economy of Alaska at the end of the 1920s—eroded the incentive for most Iñupiat to become intensely involved in either reindeer herding or ownership. The connection between this governmental policy and the expansion of Whites, particularly the Lomens, into the reindeer business was so obvious and overt that it became, at least to some (including Jackson), the stated intent of importing reindeer to Alaska.

The Iñupiat did not perceive herding for individual wages to be a means by which one could achieve the status and wealth of an umialiq. Conversely, being paid for herding accomplished exactly what Jackson and his followers had intended—turning Natives into servants for largely White owners. The absence of widespread servitude in Iñupiaq culture acted against both the acceptance of such roles in relationship to Whites and, even more importantly, to members of one's own society.

While missionaries and government officials were attempting to bring about the demise of traditional Iñupiaq leaders (i.e., umialiit and angatkuut), indigenous peoples were actively engaged in extending their concepts of social order to comprehend the behaviors of Whites. To some degree, school teachers and/or missionaries had parallel roles to those of umialiit in the sense of the latter being "rich," "underwriters," "creditors," and "bosses," but not usually in the sense of "hunt leaders" (Burch 1975:212). For example, teachers and missionaries commonly controlled interactions between village members and outsiders; they had access to material wealth; and, like umialiit, they controlled the resources, including reindeer, provided to the other members of the community. Additionally, teachers and missionaries—through their roles as educators, proselytizers, and healers—overtly and covertly attacked the position of angatkok, handmaidens of the devil from the White perspective. In a sociocultural setting in which powerful umialiit were oftentimes also angatkuut, censure of one institution often simultaneously denoted condemnation of the other.

Because activities involving boat crews and umialiit remained central within

the sociocultural context of Iñupiaq life during the entirety of the historical period, indigenous leadership at this level was not eradicated successfully. In many cases, people possessing the qualities of umialiit tended to be those who filled more formal positions of authority, such as officers of reindeer companies and associations, or heads of "tribal" governments.

However, in the case of angatkuut, their competition with missionaries was decidedly more confrontational and mutually threatening. One indigenous solution to this conflict was for angatkuut to assume positions of influence within the church, thereby maintaining their roles as spiritual leaders—a classic case of syncretism. Since the missionaries considered many of the practices of angatkuut to be satanic in origin, there was no requirement for the Iñupiat to abandon beliefs in the validity of shamanistic power or spirituality. Rather, the overt practice of shamanism was driven underground and, seemingly, subordinated to Christian ritualism and clerical spiritual guidance. However, through oral histories and ceremonialism, angatkuut remained important sociocultural entities. That is, both benevolent and malevolent powers and feats of prominent angatkuut endured as a part of the cultural tradition of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska well into the early 1990s.

Iñupiat attempts at incorporating what they perceived to be the strange views and behaviors of missionaries, teachers, other government officials, and non-Native entrepreneurs were driven by indigenous points of reference and meanings. The Iñupiat referred to teachers and both lay and missionary reindeer superintendents as "oomaliks" (umialiit), a title extended to them because of their control over western resources and reindeer (Jackson 1896:58-59). Healy, as captain of the revenue steamer *Bear*, was referred to as umialiqpak or "big umialiq" based on his power and control of governmental resources and teachers, and his authority to carry out sanctions against both Whites and Natives.

Missionaries, teachers, and government workers basically considered the role of women in Iñupiaq society to be outside the realm of power and influence—a domestic, subordinate role at best. The ways in which Iñupiaq women exercised power—through controlling harvested resources and orchestrating social arrangements—were either misunderstood or ignored on the part of the primarily White male representatives of Western culture in Alaska during the period in question (Ellanna and Sherrod 1993). However, because Western inheritance rules and other aspects of non-Native legal systems were imposed on the Iñupiat, governmental representatives were obliged to deal with some women as reindeer owners. For example, the influenza and measles epidemics of 1900, with the attendant death of a large number of male herders and owners, led to widows being assigned reindeer ownership by government authorities. In Charlie Antisarlook's case, his death and that of his two brothers made his half-Russian, half-Yup'ik wife Mary (also known as Sinruk, Sinuk, or Synrock Mary) one of the largest Iñupiaq herders in the study area (Jackson 1902:124). The Whites, with their lack of understanding of the social and related economic roles of women in Iñupiaq society, treated Mary as an anomalous case.

Because non-Natives tended to be ignorant of the covert yet powerful socioeconomic roles of Iñupiaq women, they

assumed that women were inconsequential in matters of reindeer ownership, management, and distribution. To the extent that reindeer were conceptually more akin to harvested game than living wild resources (see chapter 6 below), it is highly unlikely that some level of control over the former by wives and mothers of male owners was either trivial or non-existent.

Field and archival data minimally indicated that women facilitated and participated in arranged marriages for purposes of consolidating reindeer wealth. Because they controlled the distribution of harvested game, it is likely that women had a covert role in the sale or redistribution of reindeer and their products. Additionally, during periods when men were either occupied in the pursuit of harvestable local wild resources or engaged in temporary wage employment, women and children provided the necessary labor to guard, corral, mark, and butcher reindeer (Andrews 1939). Furthermore, there is a stronger case for arguing the inheritance of reindeer herds from mothers to their married daughters than from fathers to their sons. In such cases, sons-in-law, their brothers, and maternal grandsons, if available, normally carried out most of the pragmatic day-to-day activities associated with herding.

Implications for Ublasaun

The settlement of Ublasaun mirrored the themes of social stratification typical of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska in the early 1900s. Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr and his brothers and eldest brother's sons, who had become active in reindeer herding, provided a core of productive males around whom this temporary winter grazing settlement was established. Social hierarchy in this group of consanguineally related men was based on status associated with relative age, with Thomas holding a senior position. A set of affinal relatives were associated with Thomas and his brothers and eldest brother's sons. The person with the most tenuous social status at this site was the herding apprentice Gordon Dimmick, who later was to gain access to the family through means of a marital alliance with Peter Barr's wife's sister Mary.

The dissolution of the winter community at Ublasaun was related, in part, to its location as a winter reindeer herding site—a place in which the supply of mosses and lichens eventually became depleted. Additionally, the mixing of distinct herds at the summer range at Cape Espenberg and changing governmental policies both played a significant role in the abandonment of Ublasaun as a winter settlement and in the formation of the Cape Espenberg Reindeer Company and the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company based at Deering. When the cooperativization or in corporation of the reindeer herds into companies occurred, Thomas retained primary status in the Nuglunguktuk Company as president; and other of his male relatives, including his son Gideon, served in various official capacities throughout the following years.

Ublasaun had been a productive seasonal spring and fall seal netting site throughout history. However, it was marginal as a winter village due to the absence of a lagoon. Lagoons and rivers provided the setting in which fishing and other harvest activities occurred, allowing the participation of a wide spectrum of age and gender cohorts,

thereby contributing to the well-being of the group at large.

As in the case of Wales, a reindeer aristocracy appeared to be developing on the northern Seward Peninsula, with Thomas appearing as a central character. In fact, this reindeer dynasty seems to have persisted into the early 1990s. For example, Teyeopuk or Charlie Goodhope—who had been an apprentice at Wales and one of the first independent Iñupiaq owners to establish a herd in the vicinity of Deering—was Thomas's young bride Emily Kiyutelluk's mother's brother. It is likely that Emily, her mother Mukluwik or Mary, and her stepfather Kiyutuk accompanied Charlie Goodhope when he moved north from Wales with his reindeer. Thomas and Emily's daughter Fannie became the second wife of Charlie Goodhope's son Fred, who inherited his father's reindeer. Thomas's granddaughter of this union, Shirley Goodhope, married Clifford Weyiouanna, who was the primary herder in Shishmaref in 1994, having acquired his reindeer from his father-in-law Fred Goodhope. Thomas's grandson, Fred Goodhope Jr., was the sole herder at Cape Espenberg in 1994, and married Clifford Weyiouanna's first cousin, Marilyn.

Within the context of Ublasaun, apprentice Gordon Dimmick wed Mary Okie—sister of Thomas's youngest brother Peter Barr's wife Bessie—subsequent to the breakdown of the settlement. James Moses lived at Ublasaun with his father's brother Moses Keyluk, who was also James' adoptive and, in Iñupiaq kinship terminology, classificatory father. Moses Keyluk had been married to Thomas's sister Quganaq, who had died before the relocation to Ublasaun. Lastly, Lloyd Koonuk, who also lived at Ublasaun, chose Annie as his second wife after the dissolution of the settlement. Annie was James Moses's sister and, therefore, Thomas's sister Quonuk's classificatory daughter.

While the marriages described above could be interpreted as attempts to consolidate relationships between individuals who took part in the Ublasaun venture, Thomas's son Gideon was a participant in an arranged marriage to Katherine Eningowuk, whose father was a prominent Shishmaref reindeer herder. This marriage extended relationships between Espenberg reindeer men and those stationed in the Shishmaref area—important during a period of hostile relationships between the herders of the two areas. Interestingly, the marriage between Annie and Lloyd Koonuk, also occurring during this period, functionally linked Lloyd's brother Allockeok's reindeer faction with the Espenberg contingent through Thomas via Annie's relationship with Thomas's sister described above.

With the failure of reindeer cooperatives in the late 1940s, Thomas Barr's death, and, possibly the critique of arranged marriages by missionaries throughout the northern Seward Peninsula and southern Kotzebue Sound, Gideon's first marriage also dissolved. Gideon's second wife Fannie Kigrook was the daughter of Harry Kigrook, who had been an apprentice at Wales and a herding associate of Stanley Kivyearzruk. Fannie had grown up in the same area as the Barr family.

Thomas Barr was a significant leader, not only at Ublasaun, but at Cape Espenberg and among some of the herders of the northern Seward Peninsula at Deering. Thomas was a progressive and innovative umialiq in several senses of the term used here. For

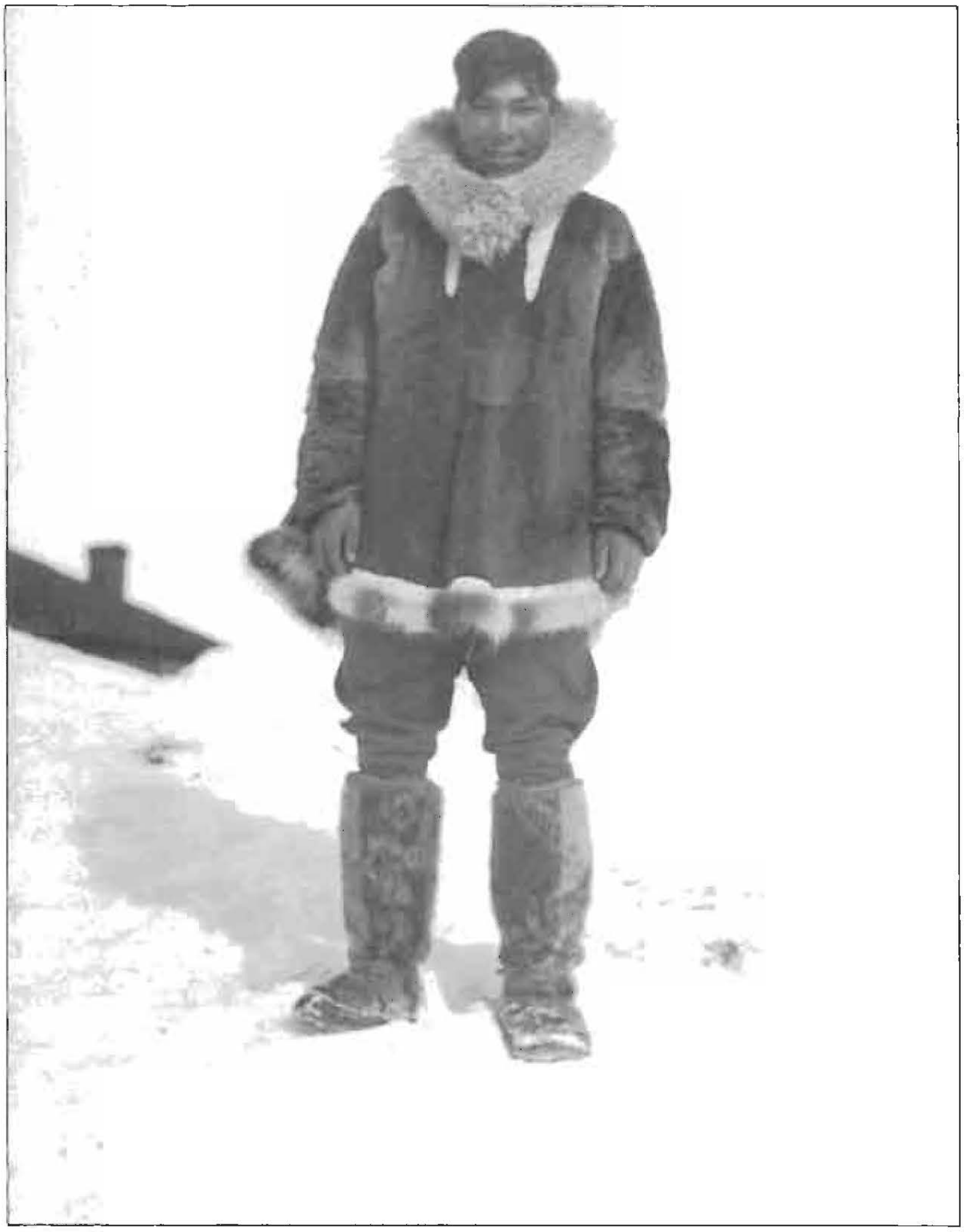


Photo 24. Charlie Weyiouanna was an apprentice reindeer herder who provided for his mother and other siblings after they lost their father, Johnny Wiavgana. Charlie is wearing a summer reindeer fur parka with bleached sealskin trim on the bottom. *Kamiks* are made from common sealskin. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 196).



Photo 25. John Okie, the best dressed man in Shishmaref. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 112

example, he was a whale boat owner, a lucrative furbearer trapper, an intercontinental trader, a major shareholder in the Deering cooperative store, an officer of the Nuglungguktuk Reindeer Company, relatively wealthy as demonstrated by his large and modern home at Ublasaun, and the nucleus of a large group of consanguineally and affinally subordinate kin. Through the marriages described above, Thomas was linked to men of means and social status, who were also reindeer herders, in neighboring societies. Lastly, Thomas acted as point of contact between members of his group and various White people, including traders, government officials, teachers, and, probably, miners in the Deering area.

In Iñupiaq society, the status of prominent men was complexly linked with the socioeconomic and sociopolitical capabilities and position of their wives, sisters, and daughters. In Thomas's case, his wife Emily was a person with advantageous linkages from the standpoint of reindeer herding. Based on the observations of Clarence Andrews, who was the teacher at Deering in 1924, Emily played a conspicuous role in managing family resources:

> The little trading craft that ply the coast get goods with less freight cost, can afford to cut prices to get good skins. Some of the Eskimos get wise and hold back some of the best skins to trade on the boat. If the local merchant gets an idea of it, he will search the igloo, take the skins if he finds them, and give credit as he sees fit. Mukkaktuk's [Makaiqtaq's or Thomas's] wife may sometimes sit on the skins when he comes, for they are as tricky as necessary in the case of need. [Andrews 1939:169-170]

We also know that after Thomas's death, Emily assumed the role of head of the family.

Thomas's attitude toward women in his family was exemplified by the fact that he confronted what Whites perceived to be the appropriate role of females in his teaching of and aspirations for his eldest living daughter Bessie. Thomas took Bessie out of school in 1930 along with Gideon. Having only one son capable of helping support the family during this time of economic need, Thomas taught Bessie to hunt, trap, and drive dogs. She, in turn, had her own dog team at a very young age and undertook activities central to the welfare of the entire family before reaching her teens.

CHAPTER 7
THE CREATION OF "HEAVEN"

[Reindeer herder Allockeok is telling teacher Keithahn about his understanding of Christianity.] Bible say long, long ago God he make world. Six days he finish. Gee whiz! Pretty fast work God! Pretty soon He make man. He name Adam. Adam plenty sorry he got no wife. God see that, so he say, "All right, Adam. I make 'em wife you fellows." Adam sleep, God take rib, make Eve. Gee whiz! Funny! Make man mud, women all same bone. No 'stan that me. Adam wake up, see Eve. He like it. Plenty happy now. He marry it.

God show first people all kinds trees. "All kinds fruit eat; only apples *never touch it*," God say.

Devil, he plenty jealous God. Him like to be boss, too. Pretty soon he make himself snake, all same big worm. Snake tell it Eve, "Go ahead, eat it! Apples fine taste!" Eve, she think about it. Maybe he speak right. She try. Gee whiz! plenty fine taste! Eve give to Adam, he try, too. Him like it.

Pretty soon Adam and Eve plenty sorry. He remembered it God said "Nothing doing, apples"! Plenty sorry Adam and Eve. Plenty red face.

God hear about that, him plenty mad. He chase it out of garden Adam and Eve. Can't feed it anymore bad people. Adam go to work now hunting, fishing. Eve she make clothes, raise children, plenty cook.

God all a time plenty mad. He tell it Adam and Eve, "You listened to me, you happy all time. Never die, children never die. Now, you listen to Devil. All right, you die some day. All your children die sometime. Everybody die some time. Plenty hard work, plenty sick, plenty trouble.

Well, missionary say we all children of Adam and Eve because they first people. God still curse people because their father and mother long time ago bad. Gee, plenty tough, God. Man make mistake, not right punish him children. I kill it somebody, not right punish my boy. I know that!

Now people in Shishmaref plenty go to church. Plenty pray because he hear about it, any kind you want, you pray, him come, all right. I think that mistake. All church people plenty poor: igloo empty, bad looks clothes, children all time no grub. All time pray, whatsamatter, never get?

People think about it, Allockeok him pretty tough man. Never go to church. Rich man, him no good 'tall. Some kind missionary, same way talk. Well, I say no! Allockeok him good man. I never go church because I can't like it all time long face, all-a-time pray. I work hard, plenty save because I got plenty children. Maybe some day I die. Gee whiz! empty house, plenty sorry my family. I never yet see God help hungry Eskimo. I think about it, better help self. Maybe God too busy. [Keithahn 1963:96-97]

Introduction

To comprehend the social, economic, political, and symbolic significance of the introduction of reindeer herding to the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, it is essential to explore indigenous ("traditional") ideologies, as gleaned primarily from documented oral

histories. Of particular importance are beliefs about the relationships between humans, animals, land, and other features—both those classified by Westerners to be "empirical," or based on experience, as opposed to "non-empirical"—of the Iñupiaq universe (Burch 1971).

Based on cross-cultural ethnographic data, it can be assumed that people in hunting-gathering societies viewed the creation, parameters, and delineation of the universe in ways distinct from those who domesticated plants and animals (Ingold 1987, 1988). In particular, within the ideological domains of most hunting and gathering peoples throughout the world, humans and animals were ontologically related, transmuted from one form to another, spiritually intertwined, and, in the case of some species or under certain circumstances, perceived to be one and the same (cf., Ingold 1988 for general comments; Fienup-Riordan 1990 on the central Alaska Yup'ik; Guenther 1988 on the "Bushman" of southern Africa; Nelson 1983 and Ellanna and Balluta 1992 on the Koyukon and Dena'ina Athabascans of Alaska, respectively).

As Wenzel stated the point in relationship to the Inuit of the Canadian arctic:

> Inuit subsistence has its own ideology. It comes in part from the belief that many animals were human in times past..., but it also arises from the social relatedness of its daily practice. Inuit do not segregate the qualities enjoyed by human beings from those enjoyed by animals. Animals share with humans a common state of being that includes kinship and family relations, sentience, and intelligence. The rights and obligations that pertain among people extend to other members of the natural world. [1991:60-61]

From this perspective, hunters did not relate to animals as their dominators, managers, or stewards, but rather as co-residents who shared the same conceptual ideology and maintained themselves through the accumulation of knowledge.

Hunters and gatherers, pastoralists, and late nineteenth century Western Protestants also embraced quite distinct ideologies about the relationships between humans and domestic—as opposed to wild—animals. For example, it is likely that Iñupiat made an ideological distinction between reindeer and caribou and dogs and wolves.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the nature of Iñupiaq cosmology, especially as it related to the domestication of animals, the nature of nineteenth and early twentieth century Protestant Christian ideology, and the syncretism of the two as manifested in the case of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. As so clearly articulated by Fienup-Riordan in regard to the Yup'ik of Western Alaska, a comprehension of the interface of indigenous Native American and other non-Western and Christian missionary ideologies is difficult to attain and the processes are poorly understood:

> Analysts of and participants in the native-missionary encounter in the Arctic have tended to depict conversion as an all-or-nothing process in which the native culture either is left intact or is totally transformed. The missionary encounter is presented not as a dialogue, but in terms of relative failure or success (Martin 1978; Tanner 1979). For example, Oswalt (1963a) attributes the easy acceptance of Moravian ideology along the Kuskokwim to an inherent weakness in the traditional nineteenth-

century Yup'ik value system. Many descendants of that encounter, however, modern natives and non-native clergy alike, maintain that Christianity simply gave new form to old beliefs...

As a result of the view that the native-missionary encounter was either pure oppression or enlightenment, missionaries alternately have been criticized for imposing themselves on native peoples and have been reified as the saintly bearers of "good news." Following Kan...the history of native-missionary interaction can rather be seen as an encounter between different systems of meaning. In Western Alaska this encounter has resulted in neither total commitment to nor total rejection of one by the other. Instead, a subtle internalization of selected cultural categories has taken place...The people involved made conscious choices based on perceived congruities, and in some cases incongruities, between Yup'ik and Christian systems of meaning. This "negotiation," sometimes intentional and deliberate and sometimes not, characterized the relationship between natives and Christian missionaries. [Fienup-Riordan 1990:69-70]

The Iñupiaq Order of the Universe

In the citation introducing this chapter, Allockeok expressed his dismay at the harshness and unforgiving nature of the Christian God and the apparent disregard of this deity for the needs of the Iñupiat. Differences between Christian worldviews and those of the Iñupiat were not limited to the temperament and justness of spiritual entities. For example, the Iñupiat view of the genesis of the universe and its empirical and nonempirical beings stands in stark contrast to those versions recorded in the Old Testament.

Rasmussen gathered an origin story in 1924 east of the Mackenzie River from Apagkak, whose home was on the Noatak in the Kotzebue Sound drainage. Concerning the genesis of the Iñupiat and other forms perceived to be living in the world,, Apagkak said:

> No, no one with certainty can know anything about the beginning of all life.
>
> But anyone who keeps his eyes and ears open and remembers what the old people relate, has a certain knowledge that can fill the emptiness of our thoughts. Therefore, we are always ready to listen to those who get their knowledge from the experience of dead generations. And all the old myths we got from our forefathers are dead men's talk. In these speak those who long ago were wise. We, who think we know so little ourselves, listen eagerly to them...
>
> The sky was made before the earth. But it was no older than that the earth was being formed and getting a hard crust, in those days when it became land. And here is the first living thing we have any story about.
>
> Tulungersaq, or Father Raven, we call him, because he formed all life in the world and in people and was the originator of it all.
>
> He was no ordinary bird but a holy power which made the beginning of everything that became the world we live in now. And yet, he too began in the shape of a man; he groped about in blindness and his actions were accidental, until it was revealed to him whom he was and what he was to do.
>
> Darkness was all around him and he could see nothing. He felt with his hands. His fingers rubbed over clay wherever he groped his way. The world was clay, everything around him was dead clay...
>
> Father Raven went about planting herbs and flowers, when suddenly he

> discovered some podding plants he had never seen before. He went over to look at them, and at the same moment the pod burst open and out jumped a human being, well built and quite fully grown. The raven was so surprised that he threw his beak back, whereby he himself turned into a man. Then leaving he went up to the newly born one and asked: "What kind of a one are you, and where do you come from?"
>
> The raven laughed and said, "Aj, Aj, Aj! You are a funny thing. I have never seen your like." And the raven laughed again adding: "I planted a pea-pod myself, but I had no idea anything like you would come out of it. But the earth we walk on is not finished yet. Can't you feel how it rocks up and down? Let us move over on to that hill there. The crust is firm and hard there." It was only then that the man discovered he was walking on quaking ground, and he hurried away with Father Raven. [The raven created many more men and women out of clay.] At first there was not much difference between men and animals. Animals could turn into men and men into animals. And men walked on their hands or crawled on all fours. It was only later that they learned to walk upright on their feet.
>
> The world was still dark, so raven took mica, which he had obtained from the sparrow, and breaking it and throwing it into the air, he thereby gave the world light. In this new world of light he taught people how to build houses, kayaks, and umiat and weapons so that they could sail the seas and hunt its animals. [Ostermann 1952:179-185]

To the Iñupiat, there were multiple and equally valid explanations of how the world was created and how current relationships between its different occupants arose. In this case, the creator, Father Raven, differing from the Christian God, was neither omnipotent—all powerful—nor omniscient—all knowing. Father Raven, as portrayed here, had no grandiose scheme, nor did he have predictive capabilities. Rather, his power rested in his vast knowledge—akin to that of elders. All creatures, including Father Raven, animals, and people, were equal players in the story of life as opposed to being hierarchically stratified by a creator. Certainly humans did not stand at the apex of a pyramid of entities or beings that were created by a single deity.

All Inuit groups, including the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, credited people, animals, some plants, and certain phenomena that are classified as "inanimate" in Western logic (such as rocks and mountains), as having souls and as being "living" entities (cf., Birket-Smith 1959; Hall 1984:343; Merkur 1991:3; Oswalt 1990:35; Fienup-Riordan 1990:72, 74, 167-168). In general terms, Merkur (1991:2) proposed that Iñupiat *numina* (indwelling guiding forces or spirits) included three primary classes of metaphysical beings—a profusion of differentially functioning souls, spirits, and *iñua*, the latter being translated both as "owners" in some ethnographic sources and as "indwellers in nature" in others.

Souls had multiple forms or stages including "breath souls," "mind souls," "name souls," and "free souls" (Merkur 1991:19-20).

> Everything outside the everyday is caused by a special power, an impersonal force, which permeates existence. This force is called [by some Eskimos] *sila*. The word is almost impossible to translate, because it expresses something which is to us [westerners] quite foreign. It may mean the universe, the weather or the intelligence. In itself, sila is neither

> good nor evil, but it is extremely dangerous to the person who does not understand how to deal with it. [Birket-Smith 1959:164]

Birket-Smith (1959), based on his survey of Eskimo cultures in the 1930s, compared this force—sila—to Polynesian *mana*. Personified sila were found in the form of iñua.

While Iñupiaq ideologies regarding souls varied regionally, multiple themes that reappeared in somewhat different forms through circumpolar. A brief overview of some of these conceptualizations of souls provides a framework for analyzing both Iñupiaq concepts of animal souls, their relationships to human souls; and the ideological responses of these indigenous peoples to Christianity and Western logic.

Nelson (1971:422) reported multiple distinct concepts of soul forms in the Bering Strait area in the late 1800s. One variation of soul provided life-giving warmth and had the form of a body. However, this type of the soul was without sense and took flight into the air when a person died (Merkur 1991:5). This life-giving soul has been interpreted as being a breath soul, acquired at birth with an infant's first respiration (Merkur 1991:35). After death, a breath soul became a name soul, functioning to guard future generations, particularly protecting namesakes. The breath soul concept closely was related to the idea of iñua—an indweller that "imparted a distinctive character to physical phenomenon" (Merkur 1991:35).

Other accounts of souls provided insights into the overall spiritual dimensions of Iñupiaq life. For example, the Iñupiat of Bering Strait and the caribou hunting Nunamiut of Interior Arctic Alaska were documented as attributing consequential importance to both the breath soul and iñua or "shade" of a person (Gubser 1965:206; Nelson 1971; Merkur 1991:7). Under certain circumstances, iñua suffered soul loss requiring shamanistic intervention. The "shadow" soul resembled the person to whom it belonged in form, but only was seen by shamans. The loss of this soul, or shadow, brought about death through its departure and never returned to the body, though it remained in communication with the iñua of the deceased person (Merkur 1991:7-8).

Another Bering Strait soul concept reported by Nelson (1971) had the form of a body, was sentient, and enjoyed an afterlife. The Nunamiut recognized the *ishuma* or "mind soul," which provided memory and problem solving abilities, and was the repository of emotion (Merkur 1991:7). The loss of ishuma caused senility or death.

Iñupiaq metaphysical pluralism distinguished between the variety of souls that were part of a body during life, some of which departed upon the death of an individual (Ingold 1987:246; Merkur 1991:35). Only "free souls" were able to leave the body during sleep, trances, and illnesses without causing any loss of life. However, if a free soul were lost or abducted while outside the body, failing to return in a timely fashion, the life of the afflicted individual was limited unless a shaman was enlisted to recover the roaming soul (Ingold 1987:246).

Like the Greenlandic Inuit (Oswalt 1979:153), the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska felt that certain possessions had a spiritual essence or soul, possibly even a part of the owner's soul. To barter, lose, or have something stolen, including animals killed, was to give up a part of one's self. Conversely, other individuals potentially acquired power from

the souls of objects belonging to others.

In the Iñupiaq worldview, death was not the terminus of the existence of spiritual entities embodied in sentient beings. Death was rather a rite of passage from one state of being to another paralleling that of life, until the rebirth of a finite number of souls. For example, Beechey in 1827 noted the following about the "religion" of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska:

> It seems probable that their religion is the same as that of the Eastern Esquimaux [*sic*], and that they have similar conjurers and sorcerers. We may infer that they have an idea of a future state, from the fact of their placing near the graves of their departed friends the necessary implements for procuring a subsistence in this world, such as harpoons, bows, and arrows, caiacs [*sic*], &c. and by clothing the body decently; and from the circumstance of musical instruments being suspended to the poles of the sepulchres, it would seem that they consider such state not to be devoid of enjoyments. [Beechey 1968:302]

To the Iñupiat, the number of souls of all beings was finite. That is, upon the death of an embodied entity, the iñua or life soul and, in the case of humans the name soul, resided in the spirit world until reborn. In the case of humans, the birth of a baby brought the name soul and iñua of an ancestor, usually but not always someone of a grandparental generation, back to earth. In the case of animals or fish taken by humans, the duration of time spent between lives in this world was influenced by the treatment afforded to the animal that had given itself to the hunter or fisher.

Since animals were perceived to have the ability to reason, talk, understand human speech, and otherwise behave and think like humans, it is only through their kindness as a result of being afforded proper respect in both thought and actions that they allowed themselves to be taken by people (cf., Fienup-Riordan 1990:45-46; Spencer 1959:264). As in the case of humans, the souls of seals or other animals taken during a given year reappeared in physical form in future times.

Angatkuut had special rapport with the metaphysical world in general. They functioned through the assistance of spiritual helpers and were called upon to act as intermediaries between humans and potentially offended animal or plant souls or spiritual guardians such as Sedna, the sea mother. Frequently, angatkuut were called upon to rectify the inappropriate meeting of two distinct categories of phenomena.

From the Iñupiat perspective, phenomena in the universe existed within bounded domains. While humans, animals, and other spiritual entities existed on an equal plane, disastrous consequences resulted from the indiscriminate mixing of components derived from such bounded domains. That is, the recognition and maintenance of separateness between domains was a fundamental concern and involved rigidly proscribed and prescribed behaviors. Some of these discrete domains of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, particularly as they relate to animal domestication, are presented here.

The pervasive land-sea dichotomy, found everywhere in areas of Iñupiaq and Yup'ik distribution, acted as a barrier to the inappropriate merging of endeavors and things concerning animals from the land with those of the sea (Birket-Smith 1959: 168; Oswalt 1979:316; Spencer 1959:264). For example, among the Nunamiut, weapons

used for taking caribou were not to be employed in the harvesting of sea mammals (e.g., Birket-Smith 1959; Oswalt 1967; Spencer 1959:269-270). Whereas fox and caribou hunting were compatible activities, foxes were dangerous to bowhead whales. Among Arctic Coastal Alaska Iñupiat, if a fox were brought to a dwelling alive, the entire community suffered from whales withholding their bodies from the offending human populace (Brower 1942:95).

Another dichotomy in the worldview of the Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula and the Kotzebue Sound area was that between fish and terrestrial species—a variation on the marine mammal and terrestrial animal theme (Oswalt 1979:230). For example, Wells (1974:37) recalled that angatkuut had a strict rule that people neither were to pull green growing grass nor scrape any hide while fishing on rivers with dip nets in the late spring. According to Wells (1974:53), it was taught that furs and sinew had to be stored in a cache, and caribou and sheepskins must not be tanned, nor sinew braided for sewing, during the summer while people were fishing. "A person who disobeys gets sick all of a sudden, suffers unbearable pain, and dies" (Wells 1974:53). Likewise, among the Nunamiut (Gubser 1965:200), a woman was prohibited from scraping or sewing caribou skins near a fishing place. If she did so, the iñua of the fish were angered, withholding their physical manifestations from Iñupiaq fishers.

The categorization of crea-



Photo 26. Every family in the village owned a storage cache. Caches were elevated from the ground so that dogs and other animals could not get into food or personal belongings. They were made from hand-hewn driftwood. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 132).

tures and phenomena into distinct bounded domains was not limited to the realm of ecology. The Iñupiat also distinguished animals from one another on the basis of their respective social relations with humans. What is of significance in this context was the social universe in which caribou, reindeer, wolves, dogs, and humans interacted. From the perspective of the Iñupiat—the "real people"—these social and ideological relationships were between co-predators and prey, and between stewards and wards (cf., Ingold 1988).

Oswalt reported a story about the genesis of caribou and reindeer as told by a man from the Unalakleet area who had learned this tale as a boy in the Bering Strait area.

> According to this myth, Raven created beach peas which grew on the naked earth, and from one pod a full-grown man burst forth. Raven approached, pushed up his beak, and also became a man...From clay Raven formed various pairs of animals at different times and gave life to them. Mountain sheep were created first, followed by reindeer and then caribou; a woman was formed next, to become the wife of the first man. Raven went on to create certain fish as well as other creatures and to teach the human couple how to live in their emerging environment. [1967:211-212]

This story is of consequence, given the explanation for the distinction between caribou (wild reindeer) and reindeer given to Thomas Barr by elders at Wales as recounted in chapter 3. The narrative above (Oswalt 1967) suggests a noteworthy variance between these animals reaching far back into the genesis of the world, whereas the latter story argued for the distinctiveness between these animals as resulting from their respective relationships with humans. Since Iñupiaq ideology is tolerant of regional, temporal, contextual, and experiential variation, these two accounts were not mutually exclusive nor inherently contradictory. Both stories highlighted the uniqueness of these two animals—while Western biologists relegate their differences to mere intraspecific variation. However, the story Thomas heard at Wales in the late 1800s elaborated on the formation of the social bond between herders and reindeer and hunters and caribou—between predator and prey as opposed to steward and ward.

The Nunamiut believed that the caribou possessed iñua. As Gubser stated:

> In the older days, when a man killed a caribou he was supposed to cut off its head after skinning the animal. Then the iñua was able to return to the other caribou and tell its relatives (generally) that it had been freed from its body; that is, it was said to "bring the good news" to its relatives. Here we see the implicit notion that caribou are essentially well disposed toward men and do not go out of their way to avoid being caught. The act of cutting off the head to send the tuttum iñua back to the caribou is a way of saying "thank you," as it were, for the meat and hides. [1965:326]

Additionally, the Nunamiut had a rich oral tradition about Iñupiat and caribou changing forms, and maintained that caribou observed human behavior and disrespected humans who were lazy and disorderly (Gubser 1965: 327-330).

According to Spencer (1959:269-270), a series of elaborate taboos arose among the Nunamiut regarding the treatment of caribou. When they were being hauled on a sled, care was taken to ensure that caribou

heads did not touch the ground. Marrow was not extracted from the leg bones of caribou until hunting was over. Additionally, Spencer noted that for both the Nunamiut and their coastal neighbors of Arctic Coast Alaska, the Tareumiut (based on Spencer's analytical distinctions) that:

> The caribou requires special treatment. If the breastbone is eaten, it should be accompanied by the meat from the ribs. Unless this is done, the caribou skull, with breastbone, ribs, and spine, will come flying through the air in pursuit. This monster also pursued the braggart. There was a man who recently remarked, "I don't know what kind of animal I haven't caught." There was a shaman present when he said this. The latter remarked: "Now maybe you'll see the caribou skeleton come at you." Sure enough, when the man was out hunting some time later, the caribou skull came flying at him. He ran from it but it caught up to him. Then it whistled and went away. The man returned to the community, told what he had seen, became ill, and died soon after. [1959: 263-264]

The neighboring Iñupiat (Tareumiut) at Point Barrow also treated caribou with special care. They greased the hoofs of a caribou carcass with a piece of blubber as soon as the animal was taken. When inquiring about this practice, Brower was told:

> This has to be done...because caribou were land animals and needed oil as soon as killed. Otherwise, how could the hunter expect any more luck [in hunting caribou]. [1942:91]

Another example of Nunamiut/ Tareumiut prescribed behavior regarding caribou was revealed in a parable about a married couple. When her husband was hunting, the wife always treated animals well by not wasting meat. However, she eventually got tired of butchering, cleaning, and storing caribou, so the wife secretly hoped that her husband would become an unsuccessful hunter. She didn't look forward to the summer when work on caribou was most intense. When her husband brought the first caribou of the season home, she placed a discarded bucket over the head of the dead animal, thereby decreasing her husband's chance of hunting successfully in the future. Her action was effective, as the husband's caribou hunting miserably failed in the weeks to follow, continuing into the spring. Without caribou meat, the couple was reduced to eating sinew and sealskins. In weakened condition, one day the man walked outside and saw the caribou asking for someone to take the bucket off his head. The animal promised all kinds of game would come to the hunter if he removed the bucket. When confronted by her husband, the wife confessed to her disrespectful treatment of this most important animal by putting the bucket on the caribou's head. She said she would never do anything like that in the future. Subsequently, the couple, having learned a very important lesson, never went hungry again (Spencer 1959: 413-414).

Among the Iñupiat, there were multiple spiritual stewards or caretakers of caribou. For example, in Nunamiut oral tradition, a "chief of the caribou" took the forms of either a human or a caribou (Kakinya and Paneak 1987:65-67). This guardian had the capabilities of withholding caribou from hunters if the bodies of harvested deer were treated disrespectfully, such as allowing them to become dirty or treating them angrily out

of frustration.

The concept of the "Caribou Mother" was distributed among the Caribou, Iglulik, Baffin Island, and Labrador Inuit. Referred to as Hila, Pinga, Pana, and Piwzuma (Merkur 1991:89), she regulated the indigenous ritual observances associated with caribou hunting and did not allow excess animals to be killed. The Caribou Mother was compared to or equated with the Sea Mother (Sila or Sedna) of other Inuit (Merkur 1991: 90). Some aboriginal groups in the eastern Canadian Arctic recounted myths regarding relationships among the Sea Mother, Caribou Mother, and other important spiritual "owners" or "guardians" of particular animals (Merkur 1991:91-93). The principal theme of the genesis of Caribou Mother stories dealt with a time during which sea mammals had already been created by the Sea Mother, but there were no caribou on earth. An old woman went inland and made caribou using her breeches and boots and speaking magical words. However, the Caribou Mother was forced to engage in separate acts of creation to give the caribou life through breath souls and personality from free souls (Merkur 1991:93).

Ingold's (1987:250) discussion of Caribou Man as the keeper and guardian of caribou among the Quebec Inuit suggested that the ill treatment of the animal resulted in this steward withholding caribou from humans. At times, Caribou Man was believed to assume the form of the spiritually powerful polar bear, predator of humans.

Oquilluk's description of caribou hunting by the Iñupiat of the Kauwerak area of Seward Peninsula provided insights into the spiritual relationships between humans and caribou:

> The menfolk went out to hunt caribou. If they saw a herd, they would not go near them. They would build a corral. The corral was made out of willows bound together with rawhide ropes. The people of Kauwerak had a special ceremony for this time. They had an ugly mask carved of wood. An aungutgouk [*sic*] would carry the mask to the corral to a pile of stones that looked something like a man. He would stick the mask in the stone. The people could see if the mask shed some blood—through its mouth. If the mouth shed lots of blood, that meant there would be lots of caribou. If it did not shed much blood, they would not get many animals. [1973: 97-98]

This story suggested the blatant inability of hunters to control caribou, including the number of animals they were able to corral and/or harvest. That is, the ceremony was predictive in nature as opposed to manipulative. The moral of this narrative was that success in caribou hunting was not in the realm of pragmatic or ceremonial control by the Iñupiat. The inability of humans to master caribou stood in stark contrast to the requisites mandated for herding—that is, the concepts and practices of corralling domestic deer for counting, earmarking, sled training, castration, trade, or butchering.

Although not Iñupiat, the pastoral Chukchi viewed feral reindeer as ideologically distinct from their domesticated reindeer stock. Ingold (1987) concluded that while the Chukchi viewed themselves as masters over their domestic reindeer as symbolized by acts of sacrifice, wild reindeer were held in esteem and perceived to be under the power of the same "supernatural" or "supreme" beings that influenced the lives of

the Chukchi. Similarly, according to Bogoras (1904-1909:497), the Chukchi made requests to a "supernatural" power—"the being of the Zenith"—to allow them to capture wild reindeer. If a male deer was obtained, the animal was offered food, his antlers were decorated, and his head was taken into tents where it was entertained with singing and drumming (Bogoras 1904-1909:380-381).

As described above, Iñupiat viewed reindeer as having been created separately and distinctly from caribou or as having achieved their unique status as a product of a long-term relationship with humans. The behavior of herders to reindeer paralleled the nature of the relationships between guardian deities and caribou. As protectors of reindeer, humans were required to assure that reindeer were not over-harvested, that they were safe from non-human predators such as wolves, that meat and hides were not wasted, and that they received assistance during reproduction (Ingold 1988:76-81). In the case of the Iñupiat in the study area, reindeer functionally had entered the social realm of humans, as taboos associated with mixing the domains of land (caribou) and sea (for example seals or fish) were not applicable to reindeer herding. For example, while herding deer at Ublasaun, seals were actively netted. Similarly, reindeer corralling occurred simultaneously with summer salmon fishing in the Deering area.

The degree to which the Iñupiat exercised control over reindeer was suggested by the fact that concepts of personal or family owned property were applied to these domesticated animals, while caribou were not considered to be under the authority of humans and, in fact, only became akin to property after being harvested at the discretion of the animal. Ownership of reindeer was symbolized by earmarks; and land having the mosses and lichens used for reindeer grazing moved from the realm of common societal property in the perspective of the hunter, to individually or family held grazing leases delineated by the federal government (cf., Ingold 1988:5).

To the Iñupiat of the northern Seward Peninsula and the Kotzebue Sound area, wolves were perceived to be more spiritually charged than most other animals. They and the killer whales of the sea held a special relationship to humans as social co-predators. All of the three predator-forms transmutated, as killer whales became wolves when they came on land, had human forms at times in the past, and exhibited human behaviors and ideologies.

An Iñupiaq story concerning wolves is important to understanding the role these animals played in the worldview of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. It was printed at Wales in the May 1902 issue of *The Eskimo Bulletin*:

> Long ago, when wild deer [caribou] were plentiful, a young hunter who had returned to his home on the coast from a successful deer hunt, sent his wife with a dog sled to haul in the deer he had killed and cached in the hills. On her way home with her load of meat, her dogs stopped and whined as if scared. After some urging, they went ahead, but as the moon rose, the woman saw the cause of their fright. For there, on each side of her sled, were two wolves. Their gaunt fierce look, frightened her. She immediately felt a pain in her stomach. As she neared her home, the wolves disappeared. But pain with which they had afflicted the woman increased during the night, and resulted in her death before morning.
>
> The husband wrapped her body in a walrus skin, and placed it on a rude drift-

wood [*sic*] scaffold. But on the following day, when he visited the grave, he found it was robbed, and the snow under it was covered with tracks made by two wolves.

Arming himself with bow and arrows and spear, he followed the tracks and soon discovered that they changed to human footprints, and between them, tracks of a third—a woman. Following their trail for hours, it took him to a cave-like house in the mountains. He entered and found his wife seated on the floor between two young men, sons of an old man and woman who were the only other occupants of the house.

Her captors refused to give her up. After much talk, they promised to let her return home for one year, if the husband would give them the copper knife-blade, which was lashed to the end of his spear. He agreed to this. As they were leaving, the old man added, "In one year my two sons will come after her, and bring her back, and neither your charms, nor you medicine-men can keep her from us."

After returning home, she lived in constant dread of the "wolf-brothers." She feared they would come and steal her away before the end of the year. She followed her husband wherever he went, and never once allowed him out of her sight.

Near the close of the year, a wise old woman announced that the wolf-brothers were now on their way to get the wife. The people then prepared to defend her. All the powerful charms and medicine men obtainable were secured for her protection. They lashed her to a post, in the middle of the "Kosga" [men's house], with so much seal thong, that only her face was visible. Scores of men, armed with bows and arrows, remained there to guard her. Others where [*sic*] stationed in the recess along each side of the long underground passage, which led to the door.

When the wolves arrived at the entrance, they became men. They walked down the long passage and entered unharmed. In their presence the armed men and charms became powerless. At a touch from the older wolf-brother the lashings dropped from the woman, and they carried her out.

Recovering from their spell, the people ran out-side [*sic*], but the wolf-brothers had disappeared with the woman. A searching party followed them to the mountain. But in the place of the former house, they found a common wolf-den. [Smith 1984:431]

This story illustrates several themes associated with the fraternity of men and wolves and their relative spiritual power. The intersocietal abduction of women was well documented for the Iñupiat of this and neighboring areas (cf., Burch 1974; Ray 11975). The social composition and kin relationships of the domestic unit of wolves reflected that of humans. Trade was a means of bartering to both wolves and men. However, while wolves and humans were analogous or, to some Iñupiat like "brothers," clearly the former possessed more spiritual power than their human counterparts, as illustrated by the ineffectiveness of Iñupiat angatkuut and armed bodyguards in protecting the wife from her second abduction.

Oquilluk documented certain dimensions of the relationships between both coastal and inland dwelling Iñupiat of the Seward Peninsula and wolves (1973:149-170). According to Kaweramiut Oquilluk, Toolik—the founder of the community of Kauwerak and a culture hero—killed a giant eagle (Tingmiakpuk) in self defense while hunting caribou in the Kigluaik Mountains. With the death of the eagle, Toolik heard a drumming sound. A spirit helper appeared to

Toolik and told him that the pulsating tone was the heartbeat of the eagle's mother. She was mourning the death of her son.

The spirit told Toolik that the only way to appease the grieving mother eagle was to return Tingmiakpuk's spirit to her. Toolik's spiritual mentor, with the assistance of other spirits, instructed him in the performance of the eagle-wolf dance. The inclusion of wolves in this dance was based on the symbiotic relationship between them and eagles—the latter sharing his or her harvests with wolves. The relevance of this ceremony to the Iñupiat was reflected in its strict ritual structure and the elaborate costumes used to express the important relationships between wolves, eagles, humans, and spirit helpers. During the last half of the dance, four wolves appeared emerging from their dens and assisted in the return of the younger eagle's spirit to his mother. The wolves danced joyously, as with the return of Tingmiakpuk's spirit, they would once again share in the bounty of the eagle's harvest. On Toolik's deathbed, he expressed the importance of the Iñupiat continuing to do the eagle-wolf dance "just like the spirit showed them [the Iñupiat"] (Oquilluk 1973:165). The repetitive performance of the dance—not just by Kauwerak people but also by those of Sinuk, King Island, and neighboring communities—secured the good will of the spirit helpers.

The symbolic significance of the tale in this context was that by returning the eagle's spirit to its mother, the wolves benefited by their reciprocal relationship with eagles. The Iñupiat, in turn, profited by placating the spirit of the eagle's mother, Toolik's spirit helpers, and, importantly, the metaphysically powerful wolves. In this case, wolves were appeased so they would neither compete nor harm the Iñupiat. Additionally, in this case, wolves were the physical medium by which spiritual imbalances were righted—a role generally assumed by angatkuut in human societies. Variations on this story involve ravens being in a symbiotic relationship with wolves rather than the eagle (Ingold 1988).

Siberian or Asiatic Yupiit were forbidden to take or harass killer whales, ravens, and wolves. Spiritual qualities were attributed to killer whales and they were perceived to be protectors of human hunters. During the winter, "killer whales changed into wolves to plague [miserly] owners of reindeer" (Birket-Smith 1959:165-166; Oswalt 1979:272). The fraternity between wolves and human hunters noted in Alaska did not extend to reindeer herders in the Siberian context.

To the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, in some cases wolverine and fox were afforded treatment and respect similar to that given to wolves, based on the perceived relatedness of these animals. Rasmussen (Ostermann 1952:163) reported that according to Iñupiaq oral traditions in Northwest Alaska in 1924, villages of wolves and wolverines were separated by a single river.

Additionally, he recorded that:

> A man who intended to hunt the wolf or wolverine must not cut his hair or drink hot soup for a whole winter. During the hunting season no hammer may be used in his house, neither a stone hammer for breaking marrow bones nor an ordinary hammer as a tool. The same rules apply for both wolf and wolverine.
>
> When a wolf hunter returns to his settlement with the skins of a newly-caught wolf over his shoulder, he must walk sun-wise the same direction from east to west around his house, kicking his heel four times against the outer wall if it is a he-wolf and five times in

the case of a she-wolf. By this means he initiates the ceremonies with an indication that a he-wolf gives four day's taboo and a she-wolf five. The moment they hear these kicks on the wall, the women inside have to bow their heads and turn their faces away from the entrance. At the same time, a man runs out and tells the men in all the other houses about it. Then they all go out knife in hand, hoping that the soul of the wolf, which is still inside its skin, will take a liking to one of the knives and next time allow itself to be killed by it.

At every house there are at least two wooden stages [storage platforms], one for meat and one for skins. Still with the skin over his shoulder the hunter then walks to the stage on which the skin is to be dried. While it is being stretched out and hung up, a young man runs up with a piece of caribou skin to give to the wolf-hunter, who lays it on the ground in front of him; he must then urinate on it and then remove all his clothing, so that he stands naked in the snow. He then rubs his whole body with the caribou skin, whereupon the young man lights a large fire at which the hunter further purifies his body by allowing the smoke to drift over him.

His knives, bows and arrows are then hung up by the side of the skin, and all cry out "It now sleeps with us." The meaning of this is that the soul of the wolf will sleep with the people that night; and during that night all the offerings become its property, though it does not take them away; at the same time, they still belong to the hunter.

After these ceremonies the hunter goes into his house and sits down beside his wife, all the women still sitting with bowed heads and averted faces. Then soon all the men of the settlement come on a visit to hear what the wolf-hunter has to tell; he tells stories for the entertainment not of his guests but of the wolf-soul.

Next morning at the first gleam of dawn the wolf-soul has to be sent away. The hunter goes down on one knee by the fire with a white stone hammer in his hand, reciting a magic song. Then he howls "Uhu Uhu!" four times if it is a he-wolf, five times for a she-wolf, and strikes the floor four or five times. Then he goes outside and crawls up the roof of the house to the window, while another man takes his place at the fire. Still on one knee the hunter listens for sounds inside the house, whereupon the man at the fire shouts to him: "How many?" The hunter then strikes four or five blows in response to which the man inside howls "Uhu!" four or five times.

This ceremony is repeated in all the houses, whereafter all the men with their knives in hands walk to the wolf skin, where the same is repeated, they crying "Leave us like a good soul. Like a strong soul." And then the ceremonies end with a big feast in the wolf-hunters house. [Ostermann 1952:36-37]

The elaborate ceremonialism involved in taking wolves illustrates the intense and complex spiritual significance of these beings in Iñupiaq ideology. To the Iñupiat, wolves were invited guests, offered personal possessions, entertained with stories, and feasted, while simultaneously being encouraged to leave the human settlement with a feeling of goodwill.

Another example of the treatment of wolves as honored and respected guests was recounted for the Deering area by Wells (1974:77-78), who recalled that hunters took a litter of wolves in April if encountered during their hunts. The young wolves were taken home and raised as if they were pets—a status rarely achieved by dogs. When they were six or seven months old, they were tied up with a piece of alder by boring a hole at

the ends where strong rawhide is tied. One end was used as a stake and the other tied to a collar, so that the wolf pups did not get tangled up. They were fed well to make their pelts prime and so that they would not become vicious. After their coats got long and thick, some were killed for their pelts and others were traded.

Comparative interpretive insights into the relationships between hunters and gatherers and their prey were provided by Ingold (1987) for the Ainu of Hokkaido Island in what is now northern Japan. In his discussions of hunting, sacrifice, and animal domestication, Ingold commented on the practice of the Ainu raising bear cubs for slaughter. Ingold (1987:260) interpreted the rearing of cubs on the part of the Ainu as "an attempt to prolong a beneficial visit from the spirit world beyond the narrow time interval between the slaughter of the beast and its consumption." While one could look upon the raising of bear cubs and wolf pups as a type of domestication, both cases were rather examples of special visitations of spiritually potent beings who could benefit or harm humankind. As such, it was a type of domestication that did not typify human relationships to "domestic chattel such as dogs or reindeer, whose reproduction is under human control" (Ingold 1987:260). Rather the bear in the Ainu case and the wolves in the case described by Wells (1974) were temporary residents of human households, lodged as emissaries from the spirit world and honored guests, as opposed to "slaves" to be commanded and disposed of at the will of a human owner (Ingold 1987:260). Human hosts offered the best of food and the finest treatment to these honored guests, thereby establishing and/or reinforcing communication between the spirit world and the human community. Their dispatch at the end of the visit was ceremonial and involved the inclusion of food for the trip of the bear or wolf to the spirit world—an act of sharing to facilitate reciprocation on the part of the masters of these animal spirits.

In the case of the Iñupiat of the Barrow area, wolves were treated in much the same way as foxes. However, wolves were spiritually more dangerous than foxes. As in the case of foxes, wolves were taken with traps, but only five were set at a time. Songs were sung over the traps at the time they were baited. When a wolf was taken, it was treated like the fox, with offerings of needles and thimbles if female and knives if male. Taking a wolf resulted in the practice of food taboos by local people.

Finally, early explorers and missionaries noted manifestations of the relationships between wolves (plus foxes and wolverines) in personal adornment of Iñupiaq men and children in Alaska. For example, in 1791 members of the Billings expedition reported Iñupiaq men in the Bering Strait area wearing wolf and foxtails on their waistbands (Bockstoce 1977a). Ray (1975:18) indicated that the custom was documented as far back as 1711 and persisted throughout the 1800s. She said that these particular animal tails were worn "partly as decoration [and] partly to enable the wearer to acquire the swift and clever characteristics of these animals" (Ray 1975:18). In the late 1890s, Wales teacher Thornton (1931:35) described the custom of young men and children wearing the tails of gray wolf or wolverine attached to their belts. These Iñupiat wore the tails on their backside from the waistband of their pants, mimicking the position of tails on wolves. Thornton attributed alleged Siberian percep-

tions of people living on the Alaska mainland as having tails to this practice (1931:35).

Rasmussen recorded in 1924 that the caribou hunters of the Utukok River (Utorqarmiut), the drainage of which lies between Point Lay and Icy Cape, were known as the "wolf people:"

> Because in winter they left their homeland, like the wolves, [and] followed the reindeer. These migrations proceeded between October and March and lay along the frozen rivers, with their many tributaries, wound their way like roads and paths through the dense brush of the plains and the valleys between the mountains. On account of the difficulty of procuring food for the dogs, they seldom had more than a couple with them, so that men and women had to drag the sleds themselves. [Ostermann 1952:32-33]

The role of the dog in Iñupiaq cosmology has important implications for the comparison of wolves and dogs to caribou and reindeer, and their relationships with humans. Oral histories regarding interactions between humans and dogs bear some superficial similarities to those concerning wolves.

For example, one widespread variation of the Sea Mother myth among the Inuit/Iñupiat involves her taking a dog as a husband, thereby associating the dog with biological paternity (Merkur 1991:125-126). Variations on the theme of the dog-husband story traversed from the Iñupiat of Port Clarence in Alaska across the Arctic to Greenland (Merkur 1991:126). A summary of the tale of the Sea Mother follows:

> There: was a girl who would have no husband. Her father despaired and said, "Since she will have no husband, she may marry my dog!" A man wearing a dogskin amulet came and married her. Next morning he proved to have been a dog that had taken human form. She became pregnant. When it was time



Photo 27. Often, families had few dogs, as the dogs tended to get rabid. Fewer dogs also meant less food was consumed, as the people had to feed the dogs from their own supplies. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service. (neg. 147).

> for her to give birth, her father took her to an island where she was confined in observance of the birth customs. Her husband, now in dog form, guarded her. The girl gave birth to a large litter. Half of her children were human beings, but half were dogs. Because the dog husband was unable to hunt for food, it was in the habit of swimming to the girl's father, who would load it with meat to carry back to the island. One time the father packed stones together with the meat. The burden proved too heavy for the dog, which sank to the sea bottom. Afterward, the father took meat by kayak to the island, and fed his daughter and her children. Seeking revenge for the magic words that had cursed her to wed a dog, the daughter encouraged those of her children that were dogs to bring about her father's death. The dogs badly mauled their grandfather before he made good his escape. With no one now to fetch meat, the girl transformed her clothing and/or boots into boats, and sent her children out into the world to fend for themselves. The dog and human children became the ancestors either of Indians or whites or, where Indians are unknown, of inland-dwelling spirits and whites. [Merkur 1991:127]

There are several meaningful contrasts between this story and the previous tale of the wolf brothers taking a human woman from her husband to make her their wife. The dog is able to marry the women as a result of her father's magical curse rather the animal's own desire—that is, humans had power over dogs, unlike the wolf example in which the wolves are eminently more dominant in the contest over the woman and against her protectors. In contrast to the wolf, the dog husband maintained a dependent relationship with his wife's father—a human—rather than being a hunter and provider as were the wolves. When the woman encouraged her dog children to take revenge on her father, even in large numbers they were unable to prevail. Lastly, the product of the union between the Iñupiaq wife and the dog husband, her children, became two forms of substandard human beings and not "real people"—that is, they were the ancestors of subhuman Indians (Athabascans), Whites, or other inland peoples.

In the worldview of the caribou hunting Iñupiat of Anaktuvuk Pass in Alaska, as described by Gubser (1965:2891) in the early 1960s, at times dogs were crossbred with wolves. The progeny of this union had a status intermediary between that of the dog—dependent upon and inferior to humans—and the spiritually powerful wolf. Furthermore, Gubser (1965:293) argued that the Nunamiut perceived that dogs lacked an iñua. Merkur (1991) implied, however, that dogs had breath souls in the worldview of eastern Canadian Arctic caribou hunting Iñupiat. Although the Nunamiut related a version of the dog husband story to Gubser (1965:293), this animal seemed to play a very minimal spiritual role in their society. It is unlikely, however, that dogs had no spiritual essence in the Alaska context, as Brower (1942:109) noted that the inadvertent killing of a lead dog by a hunter was offensive to the dog spirit.

Nelson (1971:438) reported that in the 1870s, Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska regarded dogs as very unclean and offensive to the "shades" or iñua of game animals. For example, great care was exercised to make certain that no dog would have an opportunity to touch the bones of a beluga. Similarly, the Quebec Inuit thought that if domestic dogs were allowed to chew the bones of cari-

bou, they offended the spirit of this highly venerated animal of central importance to human existence (Ingold 1987:150).

Dogs were a highly valued economic asset to men. Nunamiut men, for example, were "often judged by the number, power, endurance, and size of [their] dogs" (Gubser 1965:290). Men were commonly evaluated by their dogs in other ways as well. Vicious, fighting, working dogs reflected the mean, gruff personality of their human owners, whereas quieter and more industrious men had hard pulling and well mannered dogs (Gubser 1965:292-293). Dogs were used for pulling sleds, as pack animals in the summer, and as assistants in hunting musk ox in the early 1800s (Gubser 1965:291).

Meaningfully, Nunamiut and other Iñupiaq women were responsible for raising puppies and caring for adult animals. Given the economic implications of owning dogs in Iñupiaq society, it is not surprising that the care of both immature and adult animals largely was left in the hands of women as economic managers of local families or domestic units (cf., Ellanna and Sherrod 1993). In the same way that women reproductively and through social means (e.g., adoption, marriage, naming) strove to maintain demographic balance between sex and gender cohorts in the human societies of which they were a part, in their capacity of caretakers of dogs they ensured that the men had access to an optimal number of these animals. That is, having too few dogs economically inhibited productive activities, whereas too many placed a burden on their owners as competitors for the same food sources.

As in the case of reindeer, dogs entered the realm of personal property upon the death of their owner. Usually, his or her spouse or, in the case of very young person or an elderly widow or widower, his or her sons and daughters or parents and siblings inherited working dogs. As property, dogs were saleable, transferable, loanable, barterable, dispensable, or edible, only in the direst of circumstances. An attack on a person's dogs among most Iñupiat was tantamount to a challenge to oneself.

Missionaries, Genesis, and the Order of the Protestant Universe

> To meet the spiritual want of these rapidly forming settlements, and to anticipate the evil influences which were ever present in force, and ever active in the midst, was the work of the home missionary—the evangelist of the frontier—and never, perhaps, in the history of the Christian Church, was an emergency so pregnant with influences for good or evil, even more promptly and courageously met. [Stewart 1908:13]

As early as the 1870s, the justification of the Presbyterian missions for proselytizing indigenous peoples and those of non-Protestant faiths, as championed by the leader of the missionary movement into Alaska, Sheldon Jackson, is clearly represented in the following quotation:

> Alongside of the best representatives of Christian culture and civilization were the lawless and debased, the unfortunates and degenerates of human society, who are always found in force in the new settlements on the frontier. Here, in close contact with the best and worst of the Anglo-Saxon race, were Indians and half-breeds, Mexicans and Mormons, Chinese and Japanese, whose

> lives and habits and influences were at variance with the underlying influences and principles which from the beginning of its history have made our land stable and strong. [Stewart 1908:131-132]

Hooper, captain of the Marine Revenue steamer *Corwin*, portrayed Native religion similarly during his 1880 trip to the Arctic. Of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, he stated:

> Like all Indians, these are very superstitious. While hunting the white whale they are not allowed to chop wood, dig in the earth, sew, tan skins, and many other things, for fear the spirit that controls the movements of the white whales will take offense and not permit them to return the next season. When the whaling is completed they collect the bones and burn them; those who can afford it burn the clothes worn while whaling, the poorer natives paying tribute to the "God of the White Whale," by cutting off and burning a small piece of some garment. [Hooper 1964:24-25]

When the missionization of Alaska began, it was assumed that the Native peoples of Alaska lacked an awareness of the "true" or Christian god—in "spiritual" want of the teachings of Christianity and ultimate salvation. Although missionaries recognized these "pagan" beliefs, practices, and practitioners embraced by Natives in general, and the Iñupiat more specifically to this case, they had little understanding of the integration of these components into a functional ideological system or "religion." They viewed the Iñupiat as practicing mere "idolatry" based on the forces of evil. However, to the Iñupiat, indigenous belief systems included explanations for the creation of the world or, more broadly, the universe; strict moral codes of behavior between all existing entities intended to keep the cosmos in balance; concepts of souls, spirits, and passages through different states of being (e.g., birth, death, rebirth); and the ability of the individual and spiritual specialists to influence creatures, phenomena, and powers.

The Iñupiaq stories of creation, as recounted in oral tradition, were intended to provide the listener with an understanding of how the world came to be. Through the telling of oral histories, the Iñupiat were able to transmit, across generations, an understanding of the order of their universe and the meaning of the rules or norms ("morals") that governed the interactions of all entities occupying this cosmos. Conversely, to Western theologians, the ability to recite Biblical passages associated with the creation of the universe and conduct "proper" behavior, based on the word of God, was of greater significance than was the comprehension of the message.

In recounting the reactions of Natives to his Sunday school sermon, minister Brevig's misunderstanding of Iñupiaq oral history and comprehension of the universe of which they were a part was overtly displayed:

> Several Sundays were required for the presentation of the story of creation, for concerning this there were many questions to be answered, especially from the witch doctor. And yet these people were more readily taught and convinced than are doubters amongst civilized people. Our doubters, as a rule, refuse to believe the truth which they already have heard, while the heathen have not heard the truth before, but are seekers after the truth...It was not impossible to implant the concept of God in their soul because they already

had a certain idea of some god, although their faith concerning this god was mere idolatry. It was important to present God as the Creator of all, not only as the most powerful of all spirits, but even as the Creator of all spirits, who lives and exists in reality. Their [the Iñupiat's] spirits existed only in their *imagination* [emphasis ours]. Besides presenting Him as the Most Powerful, it was equally necessary to present Him as the best, most truthful, and most trustworthy, and all knowing. These divine characteristics, the spirits, according to their pagan belief, lack entirely.

The Eskimos had a very indefinite story concerning creation and the universe. How it came into being or who was its first cause their traditions had nothing to report.

The story of how the earth was peopled is as follows: There appeared a man some place in the world, but concerning how he came into being or whence he came, again there was silence. The man was at first naked, and fed upon berries. But soon he felt the need for a more nourishing food, so he hunted small game. Necessity made him an inventor, so he invented the bow and arrow. With these new weapons he captured large game, even the deer. When winter came, he needed protection against the cold. Thus his dire need again taught him to tan hides by rubbing them with stones and to make them pliable so that they could be fashioned into garments for the body. But man was alone and he began to roam far away. He came to a house where lived a woman who had an adult daughter. Whence and how these and the house had come into being, the story had nothing to say. The daughter became the wife of the man and from this pair all people on earth have descended.

The Eskimos were very eager to hear the Bible story concerning the creation of all things, and concerning the coming of sin through the fall. This especially made a dear impression upon them. [Johnshoy 1944:71-73]

Similar misunderstandings about the nature of Iñupiaq ideologies were made clear in the 1892-1893 report written by Lopp and Thornton. These teacher/clerics stated that they were "still unable to discover that the natives have any definite belief in existence after death; so much the better, perhaps, as we have no erroneous beliefs to eradicate" (Smith 1984:68).

Brevig's misinterpretation of the worldview of the Iñupiat was similar to that of his associates, as further revealed in this passage:

The Eskimo religion was largely a demon worship. They believed that evil spirits exercised a powerful influence over every event in their lives. They were constantly possessed with fear least they at any time should arouse these spirits' hatred and revenge. Accordingly they sought in every manner possible to win for themselves the good will of the spirits.

As mediator between the people and the spirits stood the Ungekok [*sic*], the "shaman," witch doctor, who was accepted by the people as having power or influence over one or more spirits.

By a fantastic ceremony consisting of the beating of drums, much howling, and wild dancing, together with the burning of incense, these witch doctors presented themselves as having the power to turn away the spirits' wrath. By the same means they also presented themselves as having the power to turn the anger of the spirits against anyone who did not implicitly obey their commands. As pay for their incantations they demanded whatever they most desired, and no one dared deny them. [Johnshoy 1944:54]

On multiple occasions, Brevig deliberately broke Iñupiat behavioral taboos and defied the angatkuut in an attempt to demonstrate "that the evil spirits were not able to harm the white teacher" (Johnshoy 1944:54).

As Brevig clearly displayed, in the evangelizing strategies of the Protestant missionaries to Alaska, there was no requisite for learning or comprehending indigenous worldviews—that is, they were a priori assumed to be merely "superstitions" of "primitive" peoples who lacked the mental capacities necessary to form logical thought, and who had no coherent body of rational explanations for the formation of the universe or the relationships between its entities.

In her letters to family, Ellen Lopp and her husband William—both of whom had empathy for the Iñupiat and seemed to comprehend slightly more of their epistemology, etiology, and ideology than other missionaries—discussed the teachings she and her husband were promoting in Wales between 1893 and 1902. In Sunday school prayer and Bible readings, they taught that there was only one god who:

> ... sees, hears, and knows all. Christ [is] perfect. We [humans are] imperfect. Forgiving spirit. Never angered. Commands. Prayer, thanksgiving and worship. Faith. Why we are here again. We are like two persons. Good and bad spirit [Smith 1984:45]

Ellen Lopp told her Sunday school in 1893 the following:

> [I have been]...telling the little Eskimos and some of their mothers how Saul couldn't be king any more because he stole sheep. [These] people know so little about even the simplest things that they would need to understand the story of Saul's disobedience. And he did steal...I might have said he disobeyed God, but I don't know any word for disobey [in Iñupiaq]. These people don't use such a word much. [Smith 1984:48]

Somewhat perplexed, she went on to write home that:

> One thing that troubles me when I think of these people becoming Christians is what to tell them they should or shouldn't do. They keep their own customs very carefully. But there are strict lines between right and wrong that they all agree upon. But we [Christians] can draw no such line for them. We don't agree among ourselves even. [Smith 1984:54-55]

Other Lopp Sunday school lessons in 1897 included:

> A soft answer turneth away wrath. Beloved now are we sons of God. Christ pleased not himself. Do good to them that hate you. Every good and perfect gift is from above. Forgive one another. God is love. Honor thy father and mother. I am the way and the truth and the light. Judge not that ye be not judged. Knock and it shall be opened. Live peaceably with all men. [Smith 1984:164]

Ellen Lopp, somewhat dismayed, recounted the following sermons given by the reindeer superintendent/missionary at Teller station:

> Mr. Kjellman [*sic*] told them [the Iñupiat of Wales] in the sermon that when people in the States did wrong they had placards telling what they had done put on them and had to walk

> about that way with people hooting and throwing things at them. He told them another day that to make whiskey out of flour and molasses was killing the flour and molasses and that to drink it was like eating something dead, like eating dead people. That if his wife went up to the graves on the hill and ate dead bodies, when she came back he wouldn't even let her into his house as she would make it stink. Sokweena [the Iñupiat translator] squirmed in his chair and interpreted. [Smith 1984:159]

The lessons taught by the Lopps, as opposed to those of Brevig or Kjellmann, were focused more on the forgiving and loving aspects of God than on his wrath. They also more pragmatically included a positive promotion of temperance, one of Ellen Lopp's major goals on coming to Alaska (Smith 1984:15).

In the Protestant Christian view of genesis, God was the creator of the universe. Of beings or phenomena on earth, only man was created in God's own image and provided with spiritual qualities such as a soul. Unlike Father Raven who graciously provided humans with knowledge to improve their situation, the paternalistic Christian God was all-knowing and saw it to be in the best interest of man to keep him ignorant. In fact, the acquisition of wisdom by humans and their fall from grace were inextricably linked—that is, the attainment of knowledge by eating the apple was the first sin.

All life forms created by God were not equal. Men, not women, were created in the Christian God's image, so the latter was relegated to a subordinate status. As interpreted by Protestant Christians at the end of the 1800s, different "races" were explained as varying states of rising up from the fall from grace. Those classified as "savages" were at lower levels of humanity than those who were "civilized." Other forms of life—such as animals and plants—were created by God for man's pleasure, use, and mastery, and were beings that were without souls. Because they possessed souls, only humans were afforded the possibility of eternal existence after death. Where the souls of the dead spent eternity was determined by knowledge and acceptance of God and Christ and their teachings and the nature of individuals' deeds and thoughts while on earth in human form. The alternatives of "heaven" and "hell" were basically constructs used to entice or coerce the "proper" behavior of people or negatively sanction the alternative, respectively.

From both the Protestant Christian theological and social intellectual paradigms of the time, the relative status of human populations was measured by the degree of control people exerted over nature and their own behaviors. People from industrialized societies not only domesticated (controlled) animals and plants, but they harnessed power from wind, rivers, and non-renewable resources such as coal and oil—the ultimate appropriation of nature (cf., Ingold 1987). Similarly, educated White Protestant Christians exhibited the greatest degree of "reasonable" self discipline in controlling their own behaviors—temperance, control of sexuality, and proper etiquette, behavior, dress, and use of language. Most missionaries who pushed westward and northward into Alaska saw themselves as being the epitome of civilized, Christianized humanity—the models for raising the lowly status of indigenous peoples.

As the missionaries failed to understand the nature of Iñupiaq ideology and

spirituality, Jackson and his theological colleagues initially attacked the more overt forms of Iñupiaq "religion"—ceremonies, shamans, amulets, the qazgi, and other physical manifestations of "devil worship." Additionally, social practices associated with rites of passage—such as sexual habits, marriages (or, in the missionary view, the absence thereof), divorce, and treatment of the body after death—were also targeted for eradication by the spokesmen for the Christian God.

> The major goal of missionaries was the replacement of Eskimo religion and much of the social patterning with Christian beliefs and behaviors. Shamans best symbolized Eskimo religion, and mission workers often regarded them as agents of Satan to be eliminated. Eskimos considered men of the cloth as the shamans among the whites, and they feared the seemingly powerful deities that the missionaries represented. However, missionaries of different faiths working in one locality competed with one another, thereby confusing their converts about the "true" form of Christianity. [Oswalt 1979:286]

The impact of epidemic diseases—such as those of 1900 and 1918—facilitated the effectiveness of attacks of the missionaries on shamanism and shamans, as the latter seemed to be unable to right the universe gone wrong by their spiritual powers (cf., Oswalt 1967a). For example, Brevig forbade the Iñupiat to perform healing ceremonies on the Teller Reindeer Station grounds and physically removed shamans attempting to perform such rituals (Johnshoy 1944:107). He used healing and saving a person from drowning as ways of discrediting the local Iñupiaq shamans (Johnshoy 1944:121-122). In one case Brevig claimed he cured Charlie Antisarlook's son by using medicine. Later, Brevig blamed the subsequent death of the adolescent on Charlie, a shaman, for bringing him to the mission too late. Brevig attributed the boy's request to be healed, and, later, to be buried in a Christian coffin with a Bible, to the secret workings of the gospel.

Brevig and other Protestant missionaries of the time also criticized the Iñupiat practices of not burying people and including grave goods with the deceased, although the former had no misgivings about interring Charlie's son with a Christian Bible. Church services were promoted as the ritualistic replacement for the indigenous ceremonies that were customarily conducted in the qazgi.

As noted by teacher Keithahn (1963: 18) in the 1920s at Shishmaref, few Iñupiat spoke or understood English after nearly two decades (at this village) of missionization. Angatkuut were still functioning in the community then (Keithahn 1963:60-62). One common explanation for "progress" in attempts to Christianize and civilize the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska was their "limited mental capabilities." In the early years of evangelical activity at Wales (e.g., 1890s), missionary-teacher Thornton stated the following about the intellectual capabilities of the Iñupiat:

> There are very few generic terms in this tongue [Iñupiaq]; hence it would seem that the Eskimo mind lacks the power of readily seeing points of similarity in different objects and combining them to form a mental concept of a new class, or genus—a power which Caucasian peoples appear to have possessed at a very early date. [1931:117]

This view of the intellectual capacities of Alaska Natives generically remained

unchanged well into the 1900s. As recently as the early 1930s, the government commissioned a study of education and other aspects of the social life of Natives in Alaska (Anderson and Eells 1935). Conclusions similar to those of Thornton nearly one half century before were echoed in Stanford University academics Anderson's and Eells' description of Natives as having "impaired mental abilities:"

> The mental ability of Eskimo children seems to be distinctly and measurably inferior to that of white children in the United States. It increases regularly with increasing amount of white blood in the case of children of mixed parentage. It is affected little, if at all, by the degree of contact with white civilization, by age, or by school attendance...It may be estimated that the inherent ability of unselected Eskimo children may be represented by an average intelligence quotient of between 75 and 90, probably one between 80 and 90, and that their actual ability to do ordinary school work is somewhat lower. [Anderson and Eells 1935:327]

This blatantly racist view of the Eskimo's genetic lack of intelligence affected how governmental agents in 1930 still were analyzing Eskimo concepts about the universe.

Based on their assumption that Natives had no "real" religion, Anderson and Eells proposed that religious change was necessary:

> It is probable that our Western religion is preferable to the old shamanistic practices and the taboo cult which it fostered. It should be the duty of the government, however, to aid the natives in developing a concept of the cosmos and the form of their relationships to it which is reasonable to them. No attempt should be made to foster any denomination. Also, the overlapping of denominational influence in the operation of the more remote native villages is undesirable, for this results in confusion and social dissension. [1935:212]

Anderson and Eells went on to recommend religious education in the schools:

> Religious education in the school, non-sectarian in character... [is] important to the natives to understanding the history, mythology, and practical aspects of both their native religion and Christianity, and enabling them to understand the involved and "foreign" language of the Scripture. [1935:387]

The apparent failure of both ecclesiastical and governmental endeavors to civilize and Christianize Natives was blamed on the inability of indigenous peoples to evolve at a more rapid rate because of their innate, genetic inferiority. Ironically, this line of reasoning was supported by the same social evolutionary thought that originally drove the movement to spiritually and economically save the Eskimos.

Euro-American ideology, as promoted by Jackson and his colleagues, was rampant with "superstitions" of relevance herein—that is, with ideas and concepts that were supported neither by biblical passages nor Western "scientific evidence." Perhaps most noteworthy in this context were Euro-American perceptions about wolves and other wild canines. Such superstitions were commonly implanted in the minds of children by tales of European origin—such as multiple stories of werewolves, including "Peter and the Wolf," "Little Red Riding Hood," "The Three Little



Photo 28. Ethel Walluk (Sereadlook), left, and Earl Walluk. They lived in Kuukpak most of the time, which is 35 miles east of Shishmaref. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Parks Service (neg. 104).

Pigs," "The Boy Who Cried Wolf," and others. In these tales and associated ideologies, wolves were portrayed as being the creatures and servants of evil. These conceptualizations of wolves pragmatically were linked with Europeans having domestic animals preyed upon by wolves. As God gave "man" dominion over animals, wolves interfered with that authority by taking livestock. Additionally, in European ideology, animals (e.g., ravens, black cats, wolves), that exhibited human-like traits and capacities—such as intelligence, social organization, capacity for communication, and successful predation,—were believed to have acquired such traits by being in league with the devil through demonic possession or association.

Jackson portrayed the work dogs of the Iñupiat as being closely akin to evil wolves. He and most of his associates in charge of herding insisted that indigenous dogs were not only poor modes of transport but, more importantly, mortally dangerous to grazing reindeer. These clerics ordered the destruction of any domestic dogs that attacked, injured, or killed reindeer (cf., Brevig as cited in Jackson 1898b:71). Jackson's long-term disdain for indigenous work dogs was clear in 1900, when the epidemic had killed so many Natives that, assumedly, the Iñupiaq dogs had no one to feed them:

> The large number of Eskimo families that have died during the prevalence of the epidemic have freed from all ownership and control a large number of dogs. This has been particularly the case in the neighborhood of Teller Station, where half the native population died, and the herders were so weakened that they could not properly watch the herd. The dogs with no one to feed them had to forage for themselves. Accustomed in former days to hunt the caribou they naturally attacked the reindeer herd on every occasion, resulting in the shooting of many dogs. [Jackson 1898b:71]

The missionaries' negative rhetoric about Iñupiaq dogs—as opposed to the valued Sami stock dogs and sled deer—was not founded in fact. To the contrary, virtually all missionaries relied upon sled dogs as the only viable means of transport in the arctic environment. Furthermore, Iñupiaq work dogs, while used to assist people in hunting, packing, and traveling, generally were restrained at settlements, fed fish and sea mammals, and not allowed to hunt caribou.

Lastly, Murray (1988:10) noted that "the Lapps had to change the whole philosophy of the Eskimo from a killer to that of a protector of animals." According to him, one Sami said:

> Men do not take care of deer, but deer take care of men…Your job is to follow the deer, then, and not try to make them follow you. Can't you see why this is so? They are more important than you. They can live without you, but you cannot live without them. With all your game killed off by these new rifles, what will you live on next winter if you do not keep your deer? See? You do not know what you will live on. [Murray citing Miller, *The Great Trek*: 16]

This citation suggests that the Samis were brought not only to teach the Iñupiat the mechanics of herding but also to disseminate their ideology, which promoted the protection of animals over predation.

Iñupiaq Ideology, Protestant Christianity, and Syncretism

The relatively flexible and tolerant nature of Iñupiaq ideology allowed for the incorporation of many aspects of Western Protestant Christianity without requiring the necessary rejection of many indigenous views and some related behaviors (cf., Oswalt 1963a). As was the case in the realms of socioeconomics, socioterritoriality, and social organization including leadership and polity, the Iñupiat were active players in accepting, rejecting, and modifying introduced concepts and institutions in the sphere of ideology (cf., Fienup-Riordan 1990). To the Christian theologian and scholar, the ability of the Iñupiat to simultaneously embrace what to Westerners were clearly contradictory concepts and "truths" went unnoticed, was perplexing, or was attributed to the innately illogical mind of these indigenous peoples. For example, in describing the behavior of Wales Iñupiat during a fall storm, Ellen Lopp said:

> The storm was very bad here and the people were afraid our seal hunters, camped on a sand spit ten miles from here, would be washed off and lost. They had their doctors [shamans] drumming and singing, their kind of praying. The wife of one came and had Mr. Lopp read the Bible and pray. She has been baptized into both the Greek and the Roman churches, but had her Eskimo doctor drumming a long time before she thought of praying. [Smith 1984:77]

This quotation indicates the Iñupiat integration of Christian and indigenous practices in attempting to deal with life crises.

Since the missionaries lacked comprehension of most aspects of Iñupiaq ideology, their efforts at evangelization were relatively ineffective in eradicating indigenous beliefs, but they did provide some alternative and acceptable views. Those aspects of Iñupiaq ideology most conspicuous as revealed in practice, or the most threatening, such as shamanism, were the first to be targeted and attacked by Protestant Christian missionaries. Although there was variance between different Protestant groups, in general, the behaviors most forbidden and critiqued by the Christian clergy were:

1. exorcistic healing practices, the casting of curses and spells, predictive scapulimancy, and the extraction of fees for services conducted by shamans;
2. the possession and use of amulets considered to be idolatry by the missionaries; the practice of dancing (especially with masks), drumming, and associated ceremonial feasting;
3. polygynous, polyandrous, arranged, cooperative, and unceremoniously celebrated marriages or sexual intercourse outside the institution of marriage;
4. the use of Native languages.

The missionaries' attacks on shamanism were frequently reported in the literature. In begging Jackson for medicine, one missionary teacher pleaded:

> My dear Dr. Jackson, please do what you can to have a physician located here, in order that not only those living here, and at the neighboring stations, but also the whole Eskimo population, may not have to resort to the heathen medicine men—that is to say, to the miserable witches among the Eskimos...Death is frequently the result of their medicine, and they bleed their victims in all directions, so that it is difficult to state which is to be preferred—to die, or to get well

> and be compelled to feed and maintain one more person in the future; that is, the one who saved the life [the shaman], according to their views. [Jackson 1896: 88]

While visiting Wales in 1901, Charlie Kittredge, Ellen Lopp's brother, reported passing a house where a shaman was working and that there was great drumming. The Iñupiat allowed him to observe the shaman healing a man who was ill. Curing by the healer entailed getting the evil spirit into the angatkuut's mouth and blowing it out the door (Smith 1984:356). It should be noted that this observation was made after William Lopp had been residing and teaching in Wales for more than a decade.

In part, because reindeer failed to become the economic focus for the Iñupiat of the northern Seward Peninsula and southern Kotzebue Sound and people continued to rely on obtaining wild local resources—economic activities encouraged by most missionaries—many aspects of indigenous views pertaining to the relationship between humans and animals persisted. That is, since the Iñupiat not only chose, but were strongly encouraged to continue hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering, their views about the spirituality of all entities found in nature and beyond basically remained intact. For example, from the perspective of the Iñupiat, the maintenance of amicable relationships with the spirits or souls of animals and their guardians—established and maintained by thoughts and appropriate behaviors—was critical to hunting success.

More importantly, the ignorance of missionaries about the multifaceted and interconnected spiritual relationships between the Iñupiat and the empirical and non-empirical aspects of their environment shielded these facets of the indigenous worldview from direct attack. However, as in the case described above of the women using both shamanic drumming and prayer to stop the storm and save the stranded Iñupiaq, harvesters frequently incorporated Christian amulets and actions, such as crosses, Bibles, and prayer, into the indigenous repertoire of measures used to maintain the balance of the universe.

While in the Western perspective, humans were expected to demonstrate mastery over land and resources, this perception negligibly influenced Iñupiaq ideology, both in the early years of Euro-American contact and up until the 1990s (cf., Ingold 1987:133; Wenzel 1991). With the exception of the notion of stewardship over domestic dogs and, later, reindeer, examples of the integration of the notion that humans are dominant over life forms were missing from the ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and historical records.

As described above in the tale of how caribou became domesticated reindeer (chapter 3), it was through the caribou's consumption of human urine and lengthy contact with a man that this animal was transformed from wild prey into a being requiring the care of humans. By becoming tame, the reindeer lost the autonomy and self sufficiency of the caribou. Thus, as indicated in the history of reindeer herding from the perspective of the Iñupiat, close herding consisting of prolonged contact between man and animal was favored over its "open" alternative.

Conversely, in the case of the Utukok River people, who were neighbors of the Iñupiat of the study area and who were referred to as "Wolf People," caribou retained their natural characteristics, while the

humans modified their behavior by mimicking wolves in the pursuit of prey. However, there was nothing inherently contradictory between these two examples in the paradigm of Iñupiaq worldview.

The affiliation of humans and wolves had ramifications for the interactions of Iñupiat, missionaries/superintendents, reindeer, and wolves. Despite the aggressive and unrelenting attempts on the part of the White superintendents to encourage the Iñupiat to eradicate wolves, the latter passively refused to participate in this endeavor, in part, because of their spiritual affinity with the species. Interestingly, a similar reluctance to kill wolves on the part of the Iglulik Inuit of Hudson Strait was noted by a British naval officer George F. Lyon in 1822:

> When the Eskimos arrived, they were accompanied by a pack of 13 ravenous wolves that proved troublesome to the English and Eskimos alike. The wolves did not attack people, but they were adept at seizing anything edible, including unguarded dogs. It is curious that the Eskimos did not attempt to rid themselves of the wolves by using spring-bait traps, which the Iglulik reportedly had in aboriginal times. [Oswalt 1979:173]

During the late 1920s and 1930s, it was perceived by the federal government that wolf predation had become a major factor in the dramatic decline of the reindeer herds. In response, the governmental representatives advocated that everyone involved in herding, including the Iñupiat, take an active role in eradicating this predator. In addition to the relationship between the Iñupiat and the wolf described above, another explanation for the reluctance of the Native deermen to assist in this undertaking involved the abandonment of close herding—championed by White reindeer superintendents. From the Iñupiat perspective, in moving from close to open herding, the Native herders, rather than the wolves, were responsible for the demise of the deer due to neglectful stewardship. As in the Chukchi case described above in which wolves were believed to raid the deer of herders who shunned social obligations (Bogoras 1904-1909), the Iñupiat perceived that it was they who had broken norms by abandoning the deer. Punishing wolves only would have exacerbated an already tenuous situation.

The degree to which the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska retained aspects of their indigenous belief systems and incorporated facets of Protestant Christianity is illustrated by explanations for the existence of shamanistic behavior well into the 1990s. For example, Wells (1974) reiterated throughout his account of the "traditional" knowledge of elders that the powers of shamans (who he termed "medicine men" in English) were always derived from Satan, that is, they were the forces of evil. While firmly believing in the existence and extraordinary spiritual power of these specialists, Wells (1974) simultaneously condemned them as being evil. The influence of Protestant teachings—in this case, the Society of Friends—was apparent in Wells' portrayal of shamanism as a dark, enveloping force from which the Iñupiat would never fully escape. Additionally, Wells (1974:98) recounted that the Iñupiaq prophet Maniilaq, a "super shaman" who was said to have lived 200 years ago, predicted the coming of Whites and opposed evil shamans, forcing them to "give up." The categorization of Maniilaq as a "prophet"

was illustrative of a means by which this culture hero was incorporated into a Christian/ Iñupiaq matrix, and thereby syncretized with indigenous Iñupiaq ideology.

Implications for Ublasaun

Thomas Barr and the others who lived at Ublasaun frequently recounted the story of the origins of Cape Espenberg and the ancestors of the people who resided there in the early 1900s. Three brothers, their sister, and mother were the first people to live at the cape. One brother, Ilaganiq killed the largest whale ever taken from a kayak. He set one part of the whale skull on a ridge on the northern tip of Cape Espenberg, so that his ancestors would see the tremendous size of the whale he had taken. Through time, however, the enormous whalebone that Ilaganiq had placed at the tip of the cape became weathered and became smaller.

The members of this family did not get along. Finally, one brother went to Deering, and the other traveled up the Kobuk River. The sister moved across Kotzebue Sound to dwell at Cape Krusenstern. Ilaganiq, the whale hunter and culture hero, remained at Espenberg with his mother. He was a good seal and ugruk hunter. Whenever Ilaganiq took a whale, he cut it up and swam across Kotzebue Sound to visit his sister at Cape Krusenstern. He gave his sister enough food for the winter. Ilaganiq's feet and hands were different from today's Iñupiat in that he had a thin layer of skin between his fingers and toes. When he spread them out, they acted as good paddles. That is how he took the whale meat across the sound to his sister.

Ilaganiq was also bigger than the average man. People acknowledged him to be very strong. He often traveled along the coast collecting parka skins from caribou hunters. Because of his size and power, Ilaganiq just took the skins rather than trading for them, making slaves out of the caribou hunters. The caribou hunters got tired of him robbing them and decided to kill Ilaganiq. They prepared many skins for him. When he got in his kayak to leave, they stuffed skins around him and over his legs, packing him in tight. Then they shot him with their bows and arrows. He managed to strike a couple of men with his paddle, and they both died. But Ilaganiq was unable to get the arrows out of his body, and he also died.

By fall his mother found out that Ilaganiq had been killed. At that time, Cape Espenberg was floating ground with deep water under it. Ilaganiq's mother made a shallow grave. She wanted to punish people for killing her son by ruining their ability to hunt in the waters near Cape Espenberg. She filled her mitten with dry sand when the wind was blowing to the northwest and talked with the mitten. She told the mitten, "wherever the wind blows, you travel, and this sand will work its way out." Wherever the mitten went, the water became shallow. The mitten traveled all the way to the Goodhope River, creating sand bars in Kotzebue Sound. When the mitten had completed its task, the Espenberg area became solid ground and the surrounding waters shallow.

By the time Thomas and the others moved to Ublasaun for winter herding, White missionaries had been at Wales for nearly 30 years and had recently moved in to Shishmaref and Deering. The reindeer herder Allockeok, who Thomas knew well and who

Gideon referred to as "uncle," related his impression of Christianity from the 1920s to Shishmaref teacher Edward Keithahn:

> I hear Bible stories. Long time ago young man he asked Jesus, "I like to go to heaven. What I'm do now?" Jesus asked, "You got plenty all kinds stuff?" Young man say, "Yes." Jesus say, "All right, you give every kind to poor people. Then you go to heaven. All right." Young man think hard. Pretty soon red face. Him think about it, "I'm work hard, plenty save. Other people no work, no save. All time lazy. I think not right divide up with same kind of people." That young man go to hell. Well, I'm same kind man. I like same kind people. Same kind people in hell, I like it too. Preacher say hell plenty hot. All right! I like it change. Alaska all-a-time plenty cold. Maybe hell fine for Eskimo!" [Keithahn 1963:97]

Allockeok, like Thomas, was an aspiring umialiq and considered to be a powerful person by other Iñupiat. Allockeok was willing to risk the wrath of a Christian afterlife of damnation to achieve status in an Iñupiaq way. Allockeok already had concluded that the Christian God was neither fair nor compassionate toward the Iñupiat.

While little direct information remained about Thomas' personal reaction to Christianity, it was known that he was not baptized, despite the fact that churches had been in the area for over half a century before his death. We know that Thomas abandoned houses or settlements in response to death—a fundamental Iñupiaq practice. Additionally, he was known to predict the weather, a skill that was often found in people possessing exceptional spiritual powers. Lastly, those who didn't know Thomas were able to learn something about his values and view of the world from the stories that he had told his son Gideon throughout the years.

When asked in 1987 about the "old religion before missionaries," Gideon stated what Thomas had taught him about this subject:

> They [the Iñupiat] don't know anything about bible but they know a person not suppose to steal and he not suppose to tell lie cause it'll hurt the others if he is talking about something, about lying, make up story or something like that. You're not suppose to help yourself from somebody's property without telling. If you need them that bad, sure you can use it and be sure and tell the owner that you did it...Always had to tell the owner of what he took as long as he knows. Otherwise if he don't tell the owner, that's stealing. That's not right. That's an old custom who never tell lies against each other in order to try and put somebody in trouble. Make up stories will hurt lots. That's a strict rule before white man ever showed up. A person got to live honestly...They said as long as he's trying to do them things, he won't live long; but if you're honest with other people and then help the elder people, be nice to everybody equally, then you will live long time. And that's a strong advice which is true. [Barr 1987]

In 1987 when Gideon was asked who the head of the old religion was, he replied:

> Most of these elder people always more—in my time—just like those older people they were just like missionaries telling you all what the good side of life is and what's the bad side of life, they kept that separate. They are the one that most likely are preacher. [Barr 1987]

According to Gideon, before the mis-

sionaries came, the Iñupiat way of burying bodies, which was continued well into the 1900s, meant placing the corpse rolled up in an old skin on a raised platform. No wooden boxes were used until the missionaries came to Northwest Alaska. Gideon's grandparents, when they died, were rolled in skins, not placed in wooden boxes. Thomas once told Gideon a story about a man who came back to life, escaping from the burial covering through a hole that had rotted in the skin. He got down from the platform and walked through the village. (This person, Talaaluk or a "person with a bad shaped nose," got his name because of a cut below his nose.)

Thomas also told Gideon that the Iñupiat way to bury people properly was with the things that they would need in the afterlife. In 1988 Gideon recalled his father's teachings:

> In older days especially, these medicine man, real bad people. All what they owned like hunting equipment, anything that they owned they had to put it on their grave site...You can't pick nothing out of those. If you ever run into an old grave site with all the property like that, some are real bad nowadays, even today's time. You won't feel right and if you don't return that from where you pick it up from, he'll [the shaman] get you. Those people are real bad they say. Which is very true. [Barr 1988]

Even recently, a man from Buckland touched grave goods and began growling like a wolf rather than talking. The man started growling after he picked up pieces from an old grave site including a doll made out of caribou horn. After he returned these things to the grave, the man became normal again.

Gideon also told a story about traveling to Serpentine Hot Springs as a young boy with two cousins—sons of his father's brothers Ahvalook and Peter. This was the first time the boys had been to Serpentine. They had been told that if a person places his mukluk string into the hot spring and it "cooked," then you would have a long life. However, if it didn't "cook," your life would be short. Gideon untied his mukluk string and dipped it into the water; the mukluk string wrinkled and curled, as it should when "cooked." One of his cousins placed his mukluk string into the water. It very slowly started to change, hardly cooking at all. The second cousin also put his mukluk string into the water and it remained unchanged. Gideon recalled that about five years after this incident, the cousin whose mukluk string was unaffected by the water died of a "sore throat."

In 1991 Gideon told about the relationships between different animal forms:

> Cause, you know how the ground squirrels around here, they look as if they have scales or little spots, the only way you can prove it is on the liver. You'll see white fish eggs in the liver. Not hatched, and these, ah, muskrats, and the only way you can prove it, that they say those are bullheads. Bullheads, fish go up the river, and then they die, then they come out as, ah, muskrats. Only way you can prove it is, ah, you'll see bullhead on the liver. [Barr 1991e]

After breakup each year before Thomas and the others left Ublasaun for spring and summer camps, they took all of the seal bones and oil—parts of the seals they had not used—and put them in one pile. Then when a south wind was blowing, they burned the remains of the seals. They waited for the southerly winds so that all of the smoke and debris from the fire would go back into the ocean, the home of the seals.

CHAPTER 8
CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE: THE LEGACY OF REINDEER HERDING IN ALASKA

> In 1968 I wrote that anthropology needed to discover history, a history that could account for the ways in which the social system of the modern world came into being, and that would strive to make analytic sense of all societies, including our own. Such an analytic history was needed, I believed, to counter the ascendancy in the human sciences of a formal rationality that no longer inquired into the causes of human action but merely technical solutions to problems conceived primarily in technical terms. Our methods were becoming more sophisticated, but their yield seemed increasingly commonplace. To stem a descent into triviality, I thought, we needed to search out the causes of the present in the past. Only in this way could we come to comprehend the forces that impel societies and cultures here and now...
>
> Such rethinking must transcend the customary ways of depicting Western history, and must take account of the conjoint participation of Western and non-Western peoples in this worldwide process. Most of the groups studied by anthropologists have long been caught up in the changes wrought by European expansion, and they have contributed to these changes. We can no longer be content with writing only the history of victorious elites, or with detailing the subjugation of dominated ethnic groups. Social historians and historical sociologists have shown that the common people were as much agents in the historical process as they were its victims and silent witnesses. We thus need to uncover the history of "the people without history." [Wolf 1982:ix-x]

This treatment of the introduction of reindeer herding to the Iñupiat of Alaska—and the social and intellectual milieu in which it occurred—was based on multiple messages vividly put forth by anthropologist Eric R. Wolf in his plea to colleagues set forth in the preface to his book, *Europe and the People without History*. The first of these was that causal explanations for social and cultural phenomena in the present, and consequences for the future, are complexly rooted in the past. To that end, our research did not begin with the landing of reindeer at Port Clarence in 1892, nor was it limited to the past of either Euro-Americans or Iñupiat. The second of Wolf's concerns was that all people, of all social statuses, are players in historical processes and through their actions and reactions mold both the manner and outcomes of sociocultural change through time. With this in mind, to comprehend this event, we examined the lives of multiple players—both Iñupiat and White—having diverse statuses and acting out a plethora of roles. Wolf's third concern was that "history" as we know it in the Western world has basically ignored those peoples lacking a written record. To ameliorate the fact that only Whites, frequently with a vested interest in the outcomes, wrote about the introduction of reindeer to Alaska while the Iñupiat passed along their versions of this story orally, we

drew on oral histories, archaeological data, and years of ethnographic knowledge along with more commonplace "historic" sources to make certain that different points of view were represented in this monograph and that new levels of comprehension were achieved. Lastly, as Wolf articulately pointed out not only in the preface, but throughout his monograph, events and cultures do not occur in isolation but must be placed in a global perspective. To this end, we have attempted to situate this event in the larger world order by expanding the geographic, intellectual, and temporal parameters well beyond those normally addressed within the context of discussing the introduction of reindeer to Alaska.

Wolf's comments in the quotation above certainly have significant validity in the larger arena of worldwide sociocultural research. However, with notable exceptions, his insights are poignantly relevant to the vast majority of such analyses that have been undertaken on the topic of Alaska Native-Euro-American contact in general, and to the case of the introduction of reindeer to the "Eskimos" much more specifically.

Numerous sources and scholars have concluded at various periods of time that the initial importation of reindeer to Alaska for the well-being and advancement of the Eskimos, as well as the hopes for the development of a "reindeer industry," ended in basic failure during the final years of the 1940s. For example, a dietary survey of rural Native communities described the status of reindeer herding in Alaska in 1961 as essentially nonexistent:

> At one time reindeer herds were locally owned and operated, serving not only as an important source of meat but also furnishing skins for clothing and sleeping bags. These herds no longer exist locally, but variable quantities of reindeer meat are shipped in from Teller. During the study year the total shipped.in amounted to no more than 1000 pounds. [Heller and Scott n.d.:21]

A Bureau of Indian Affairs report, also from the early 1960s, attributed the seeming failure of the importation of reindeer to Alaska to a variety of factors:

> 1. The Alaskan herds in 1930 were too large for the Alaskan market to absorb...When livestock prices tumbled in the depression, Alaskan reindeer could not be sold in the States...
>
> 2. Beginning in the late 1920's wolves migrated sufficiently far west to begin preying on reindeer herds...
>
> 3. The barring of "nonnative" ownership in 1937 served to eliminate from the industry those parties who had demonstrated the greatest skills and interest in the organization of herding, processing and marketing of reindeer...
>
> 4. Range management was not practiced, and the result was overgrazing.
>
> 5. The number of deer during the peak years (1930-1934) exceeded the capability of the land to sustain them. [Little 1963:14-24]

In more recent years, Olson's (1969a) principally economic analysis of the introduction of reindeer herding included the following conclusion, both about the influence of this attempt at social engineering on the Eskimo and its viability as an Alaska industry:

> Reindeer as a Native resource, and the Native herdsmen as managers of that resource, have not been and in all probability never will be instruments of social and economic change among Ber-

> ing Strait Eskimo. [1969a:193]
>
> There were years during which optimism about the commercial development of a reindeer industry was exposed as the unreliable excess of partially organized planners. Reindeer ownership and reindeer as a production resource became known as concepts that yield to cyclical market forces controlled by someone "outside" the Eskimo realm of influence. [1969a:67]

Anthropologist Ray's (1965) ethnohistorical account of this episode in the history of Alaska Natives, citing Lantis (1950) and an August 24, 1964, article in the newspaper *The Tundra Times*, closed as follows:

> Jackson did not live to see the large commercial herds that resulted from the purchases [by Lomens] in 1914. At one time there were about 600,000 reindeer in Alaska. Nor did he [Jackson] see the catastrophic decline of the industry during the 1940's. Now [in the early 1960s] there are only 38,000 reindeer in 16 herds, all owned by Eskimos.

Finally, in the most recent extensive publication on this topic, anthropologists Stern and Naylor and their economist co-authors (Thomas and Arobio) concluded:

> In addition to predation and caribou losses, some additional causes can be found for the decline of the reindeer industry, such as disease, poor herd management which resulted in straying, and overgrazing. The inability to fulfill reward expectations caused many persons to abandon their herds, especially when confronted with massive losses of animals from causes that appeared to be beyond their control. [Stern et al. 1980: 76]

Some of the conclusions explicitly asserted or implied by the various authors cited above regarding the apparent failure of the importation of reindeer to Alaska—both in light of the stated goals of assimilation of the Eskimo and the potential for bringing industry into the new territory. For example, the absence of a commercial market for reindeer meat and hides outside of Alaska is indisputable. The economic depression of the 1930s, associated low prices of meat, an effective cattle industry lobby against the sale of reindeer meat in the contiguous United States, and the costs and difficulties of transporting the meat such a great distance were all factors that inhibited the development of a reindeer industry. Even non-Native owners with Western financial expertise and backing, such as the Lomens, were incapable of turning reindeer herding into a viable economic enterprise at the scale they had envisioned.

Unquestionably, both localized and more widespread range depletion occurred—a process which commenced with the establishment of the first herds and became critical by the middle of the 1930s. In part, overgrazing was inevitable given the practice of maintaining stock within the proximity of permanent mission stations and what Hadwen and Palmer (1922; Palmer 1927) termed "mismanagement" on the part of unqualified and inexperienced reindeer superintendent/teachers. Although potentially having major implications in this context (cf., Krupnik 1993:166-171), shifting ecological circumstances and their impact on reindeer carrying capacity were not within the scope of this research (Gerlach n.d.).

Similarly, what was perceived to be intensified wolf predation in the 1930s theoretically might have contributed to herd population declines after 1934. As a general rule, as the number of ungulates increases, so

does the population of their predators (Guenther 1994, personal communication). The federal government's promotion of open and cooperative herding in the late 1920s impinged upon the herders' abilities to protect their stock.

From the standpoint of the development of an economically viable industry of national magnitude, the restriction of ownership to Natives after 1937 was counterproductive. Obstacles including the lack of an adequate means of communication and banking facilities, as well as cultural differences, made it highly unlikely that indigenous peoples scattered in villages and camps on the Seward Peninsula could develop and maintain profitable entrepreneurial relationships with commercial interests located in the contiguous United States. The federal government failed to provide the technical assistance theoretically necessary to ameliorate these limiting conditions.

Similarly, erratic government policies concerning reindeer herding in Alaska negated attempts at planning on the part of both the herders and local superintendents, and created an attitude of mutual distrust and frustration. Furthermore, not only were the "official" policies inconsistent through time, but their implementation at the local level depended on the diverse and oftentimes contradictory philosophies, capabilities, and hidden agendas of both mission and government superintendents.

Lastly, as Olson (1969a) recognized, the importation of reindeer herding was unsuccessful as a mechanism for bringing about the social and economic change of the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. As indicated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs report cited above (Little 1963), by the early 1960s the government apparently had forgotten that this was Jackson's repeatedly stated justification for initially importing reindeer to Alaska.

However, while the conclusions described above have validity, they are two-dimensional. Like blueprints and flowcharts, they address this historical topic from a technical or mechanical perspective, but fail to consider the myriad of human motivations and actions that bore causative relationships to the outcomes—the human dimension. These conclusions approach the obvious and are akin to what Wolf (1982:ix) referred to in the quotation above as "commonplace" in nature. Most notably, previous accounts and interpretations of this event in Alaska Native history have either ignored or paid well-intended lip service to the Iñupiat as actors in this most complex and absorbing drama (cf. Wenzel 1991:25). They also lacked a holistic perspective. That is, previous accounts, for the most part, have failed to place the unfolding story into a number of critical contexts, including the ideological and intellectual paradigms of the White and Iñupiaq actors, the global arena, and the sociopolitical climate of the time. Finally, the rigorous academic scrutiny applied to pastoral endeavors and other transformations of modes of production elsewhere in the North by Ingold (1988) has not been applied in the Alaska case.

Some additional and/or alternative conclusions are presented below in an effort to synthesize the aspects of this study that, hopefully, have contributed greater depth and breadth to an understanding of the Alaska reindeer experience. As such, this treatment also examines the Iñupiat role as an active player rather than a passive recipient in the scenario of Euro-American contact and sociocultural change in Northwest Alaska.

Justifications for the introduction of reindeer and the concept of pastoralism to the Eskimos of Alaska—although most characteristically described as a means of "civilizing" and assimilating these indigenous peoples—represented a range of multifarious views and applications bonded together by a common thread. At one end of the continuum was the objective of complete ideological and economic assimilation of the Iñupiat and other aboriginal peoples of Northwest Coastal Alaska—a goal implying a future state of their equality in mainstream American society. At the opposite terminus of this conceptual continuum were the aims of those who were more interested in salvaging souls for an afterlife rather than being concerned with the status of such peoples in the world of the living.

Thorough integration of the Iñupiat into American society, although it was the stated ideal of some Whites involved in this event, was never attempted, in large part due to the racially and culturally biased attitudes and intellects prevailing at this time in United States and European history. Conversely, as in the case of the Society of Friends in the Kotzebue Sound area, the missionaries focused the majority of their efforts on Iñupiaq spiritual salvation. In the case of Sheldon Jackson, the prime mover behind this episode, the establishment and support of Protestant Christian missions in Alaska at any cost was the overriding goal that imbued him with unrelenting energy and ingenuity. To Jackson, either covertly or, in the later years of his civil service, more overtly, assimilation in the sense of equality of Native peoples seems never to have been the underlying model. Rather, Jackson sought to elevate Natives through reindeer herding—as an example of industrial training—into a higher level of socioeconomic order in which they would be capable of serving as skilled and efficient laborers to White entrepreneurs "developing" Alaska. Following the Jacksonian era, federal governmental policy followed a more paternalistic path.

Rationales for the failure of the reindeer industry to provide the medium for the assimilation of Alaska Natives, whether based on the hidden or stated agendas of the non-Native actors or the economic feasibility of such an enterprise (cf., Olson 1969a), wholly disregard the desires, the actions, and the reactions of the Iñupiat (in this case). The unfulfilled cultural change and modernization prophecies of Alaska Native ethnographies of the 1950s and 1960s have highlighted for a much longer period of time the relatively conservative nature of many aspects of indigenous sociocultural systems, including, but not limited to, ideological relationships to the land and its empirical and non-empirical occupants; the tenacity of kin-based social orders; the persistence of territoriality in both group and individual identity; and the highly structured nature of the social relations of production, distribution, and consumption (cf., Ingold 1988). The Iñupiaq's resistance to undertaking herding under the conditions dictated by the federal government and its emissaries, in fact, may have contributed directly to the decline of the herds. That is, the reindeer experiment, as initially introduced, may have failed because the Iñupiat opted not to assimilate, rather than the converse.

Because the missionaries never comprehended the Iñupiat ideological systems and ritualistic practices that they were attempting to replace, the result was a composite of indigenous and Protestant Chris-

tian beliefs and modified forms of both. In respect to the Iñupiat view of the universe associated with land and animals, there was little substantive change. Institutions such as the qazgi and specialists, such as the shaman, were driven "underground," but their validity did not diminish. To some degree in all areas, the schoolhouse/church and lay clergy became surrogate forms of their indigenous counterparts.

While shamanistic and other highly visible ceremonial displays were the targets of missionary and teacher attempts at cultural eradication, the more personal act of hunting was not. Hunting can be viewed as a ritual in and of itself—as a rite of renewal (cf., Guenther 1988; Ingold 1987:153, 217-218; Wenzel 1991:61). From this perspective, harvesting was the point of articulation between hunter and animal, society and environment. For the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska, as among many other hunters and gatherers worldwide, hunting and other harvesting activities were the means of reaffirming social and cultural identity and strengthening ties between humans and other non-human residents of a shared universe (cf., Nelson 1983; Wenzel 1991). The view that hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping were merely economic and/or nutritional endeavors was contrary to Iñupiaq worldview. This perception also assumed a dichotomy between the secular realm of economic behavior and the "sacred" realm of religion—a dichotomy that is atypical of hunters and gatherers. The theoretical replacement of foraging with herding inherently involved serious ideological and behavioral consequences not anticipated by missionaries, teachers, and other spokespersons of mainstream American society.

Most hunter-gatherers, such as the Iñupiat, viewed feral animals as individuals possessing free will. That is, while approachable by anyone having the socially recognized right to pursue game or fish in a specific area, the prey retained the privilege of deciding whether or not to offer its body and, if so, when and to whom. Consequently, wild resources only assumed some characteristics of private property once they had been harvested (cf., Bogojavlensky 1973; Ingold 1987:113, 1988:3; Tanner 1978). That is, while humans and their social bonds regulated the disposition of the products of harvesting, control or ownership was qualitatively different from that of personal property, such as items of technology and clothing. Additionally, the Iñupiat viewed themselves to be stewards of domestic dogs. Although dogs were seen as being the property of individuals or domestic or local families for purposes of use and exchange, they were not to be abused, neglected, or otherwise treated disrespectfully.

By way of contrast, pastoralists generally viewed the animals they were herding as private or kin group property while on the hoof, so to speak (Ingold 1987:113; 1988: 3), with the allocation of their stock being at human discretion whether or not ceremonially treated. The federal government viewed reindeer as a commodity—like cattle or sheep—belonging wholly to its owner. Although it is generally agreed that some pastoralists, like American ranchers, conceptualized their stock as being personally owned, there is little evidence that others, such as the Chukchi, envisioned their animals solely as commodities free of social obligation—as suggested by the reluctance on the part of the Chukchi to sell live deer.

Because the Iñupiat had domestic

dogs that were conceptually distinguished from wolves, found it necessary to explain in oral histories the distinctiveness of caribou—a feral animal—from domesticated reindeer, and considered the caribou to be a ward of the human herder, it is suggested here that the Iñupiat had no ideological conflicts in assuming control over reindeer herds. To the Iñupiat, in some respects, live reindeer penetrated the realm of harvested game. Therefore, while there was no inherent ideological conflict to the Iñupiat in commencing herding, they did not view their stock as a Western commodity in the same sense as encouraged by the federal government.

To the degree that reindeer were akin to dogs, harvested game, or other wild resources, reindeer fell under the influence of, and were symbolically associated with, women. For example in Northwest Alaska, intergenerationally a family's involvement in herding was primarily traceable through females as opposed to males. As described in greater detail in chapter 5, genealogical and family history information from the Northern Seward Peninsula and Southern Kotzebue Sound suggests that deer most commonly passed to subsequent generations through daughters by means of inheritance and/or arranged marriages. Additionally, sibling set marriages (i.e., siblings from one family marrying those from another) potentially restricted the number of people with whom women, who controlled the distribution of harvested resources once they were brought home, obligatorily shared. Such marriages were strategically arranged by umialiit to facilitate their abilities to amass wealth.

The stratified nature of Northwest Alaska Iñupiaq society, focused on umialiqships, was described in significant detail in chapter 5 (cf., Bogojavlensky 1969; Ellanna 1983a and 1983b; Krupnik 1992:86-127). Based on Euro-American stereotypes about Eskimos that have persisted in the United States from the late 1800s to the present (cf., Fienup-Riordan 1990:11-34), missionaries and/or other representatives of the federal government during the early Alaska reindeer era perceived these indigenous peoples to be egalitarian and communal in nature. This characterization of the Iñupiat paralleled the Protestant Christian ideals promoted by the missionaries and teachers. In contrast, the policies and intent of the apprentice program, though fluctuating through time, basically promoted the concept of individual ownership of reindeer herds in the image of Western capitalism. Given what we know about Iñupiaq social organization of Northwest Alaska interfaced with the eventual allocation of deer to Natives both through the apprenticeship program and, later, through private sales, the development of reindeer aristocracies, while distasteful to the missionaries, is not surprising in retrospect. However, when the federal government started the active promotion of cooperative (company or association based) herding under the control of White superintendents in the 1920s, the incentive and autonomy associated with individually owned herds—particularly as a relatively newfound means of gaining wealth—was destroyed. This was a major factor in the demise of reindeer herding in Alaska by the early 1940s.

By the mid-1940s, governmental agents such as Rood recognized the requisite for recreating individual incentive in attempting to salvage remnants of reindeer herding in the context of Alaska Native society. Regional reindeer superintendent Rood (1938)

concluded that the only way Natives overall were to benefit from reindeer was to re-institutionalize the concept of private ownership. To that end, governmental officials openly embraced the concept of having a limited number of Native owners possessing large and viable herds. Furthermore, the federal government assumed the role of assisting herders, rather than directing them.

Interestingly, by 1962, in contrast to 1941, the importance of reindeer, for example in the overall economy of Shishmaref, had changed dramatically. The return to individual herd ownership and the absence of the government in a role of authority seems to have contributed to the viability of herding for a small number of private owners. No use of reindeer meat was recorded in 1941, but in 1962 reindeer supplied 15,600 pounds of meat to the community, although ugruk and other seals remained the mainstay of the diet of Shishmaref people (USBOE 1962).

In this new environment, the Iñupiat had incorporated reindeer as a component of their larger socioeconomic system and had done so without evolving from hunters to herders. Reindeer were integrated into the social, cultural, and ideological systems of the Iñupiat along the lines of umialiq-ships without significant disruption. One measure of the level of integration of a new economic activity into the overall economy of a given group is reflected in the ordering of social relations and institutions in support of such an enterprise (Ingold 1987:11). The Iñupiaq societies initially and predominantly involved in the reindeer herding industry in Alaska were primarily those involved in large marine mammal or cooperative caribou hunting and trading. These societies, characterized by stratification and leadership vested in individuals controlling the means of production (i.e., large skinboats or caribou surrounds) were better equipped socially and intellectually to integrate reindeer herding than were small marine mammal hunters and fishers (Spiess 1979). Additionally, large marine mammal hunters of the Bering Strait, such as those at Cape Prince of Wales, had a vested interest in retaining their monopoly for trade of reindeer skins and the hierarchical sociopolitical organization necessary for organizing, implementing, and maintaining kin-based, wealth producing economic activities.

The integration of reindeer along the lines of umialiq-ships avoided intraterritorial and interterritorial disputes. Reindeer umialiit attempted to confine their herding activities, within the limitations of governmental intervention, to those areas to which they had internally recognized or affinal access, subsequently externally validated by the issuance of reindeer permits.

Had a semi-domesticated form of reindeer/caribou been available to the Iñupiat outside of the context of Euro-American intervention, a modified form of carnivorous pastoralism potentially could have occurred autochthonously (Ingold 1988; Krupnik 1992:160-184). As an experiment in social evolution, however, the importation of reindeer herding did not result in the transformation of culture and society for the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska.

Implications for Ublasaun: A Retrospective

Fourteen years after Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr's death, a new era of reindeer herding began. The revival of the reindeer economy was grounded in the concept of individual ownership and limited distribution of animals. Herders in that period of governmental

paternalism included Thomas' son-in-law Fred Goodhope and Harold Dimmick, whose father was Makaiqtaq's apprentice at Ublasaun. In 1958 Goodhope and Dimmick established a herd of 1,572 deer at Cape Espenberg. The deer, wire, building materials, and tents essential to the operation were loaned to them by the federal government, and the assets were to remain governmental property until their loan was repaid. The animals that they received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs were originally part of the Eschscholtz Bay and Buckland herds. As in many other cases, this partnership dissolved because of a disagreement in 1961, at which time Dimmick took 550 deer to Koyuk. After retrieving his deer from their migration back to their place of birth at Cape Espenberg in 1961 and 1963, Dimmick gave up herding and moved into the Matanuska Valley near Anchorage in Southcentral Alaska (Olson 1969b). The corral constructed by Goodhope and Dimmick was in the general vicinity of that previously used by the Nuglunguktuk Reindeer Company of Deering. Fred Goodhope's herd was subdivided in his later years between Thomas' grandchildren, Fred Goodhope, Jr. and Shirley Goodhope Weyiouanna. These are the last two remaining herds on the northwestern shores of the Seward Peninsula in the early 1990s.

In 1950, James Kivetoruk Moses, who was at Ublasaun as a child, abandoned his trapping cabin on the shores of Devil Mountain Lake and moved to Shishmaref, subsequently to become a well known Native artist. In 1952 Gideon married Fannie Kigrook of Cape Espenberg, the daughter of herder Harry Kigrook and Annie Tocktoo. Gideon and Fannie had several children together—the oldest Annie, then Mary Ann, Gideon Jr., a girl who died as an infant, Elsie, and Arlene. Gideon and Fannie lived in Kotzebue from 1952 until 1961, where he worked as captain of a tugboat that carried supplies up the rivers and along the coast of Northwest Alaska. Gideon and Fannie lived in Kotzebue near many other people from the Cape Espenberg area, including Fred Goodhope Sr. and his family and Thomas' widow Emily (until she died in Shishmaref in 1975) and son Bill Zaccheus Barr. Thomas' daughter Bessie, married to bush pilot John Cross, also lived in Kotzebue, where she raised a family and remained in the early 1990s.

In 1961 Gideon and Fannie moved permanently to Shishmaref, where he resided until the mid-1990s. Some of Thomas' kin, such as his brother and close companion Gilbert, remained in Deering until their death. Thomas' brother Peter, after leaving Ublasaun, moved to Shishmaref where he spent his final days. In 1976 Gideon's household in Shishmaref included his wife Fannie, her brother James Kigrook, their sons Gideon Jr. and Perry, their daughters Elsie and Arlene, a granddaughter Donna (Elsie's daughter), and adopted grandchild Vivian. Gideon was baptized into the Lutheran Church by Reverend Duane J. Hudson on July 30, 1980. The last inhabitants at Cape Espenberg, then, like the first in oral tradition, were scattered to the north, east, and south of the cape.

Thomas was successful among the Iñupiat of his time. To a large extent, his demise as a herder was a product of federal government intervention and the world economies that waxed and waned on the shores of the northern Seward Peninsula. Nonetheless, Thomas Makaiqtaq Barr had set the stage for reindeer herding among the Iñupiat of Northwest Alaska. His legacy lives on in the herds of his grandchildren.

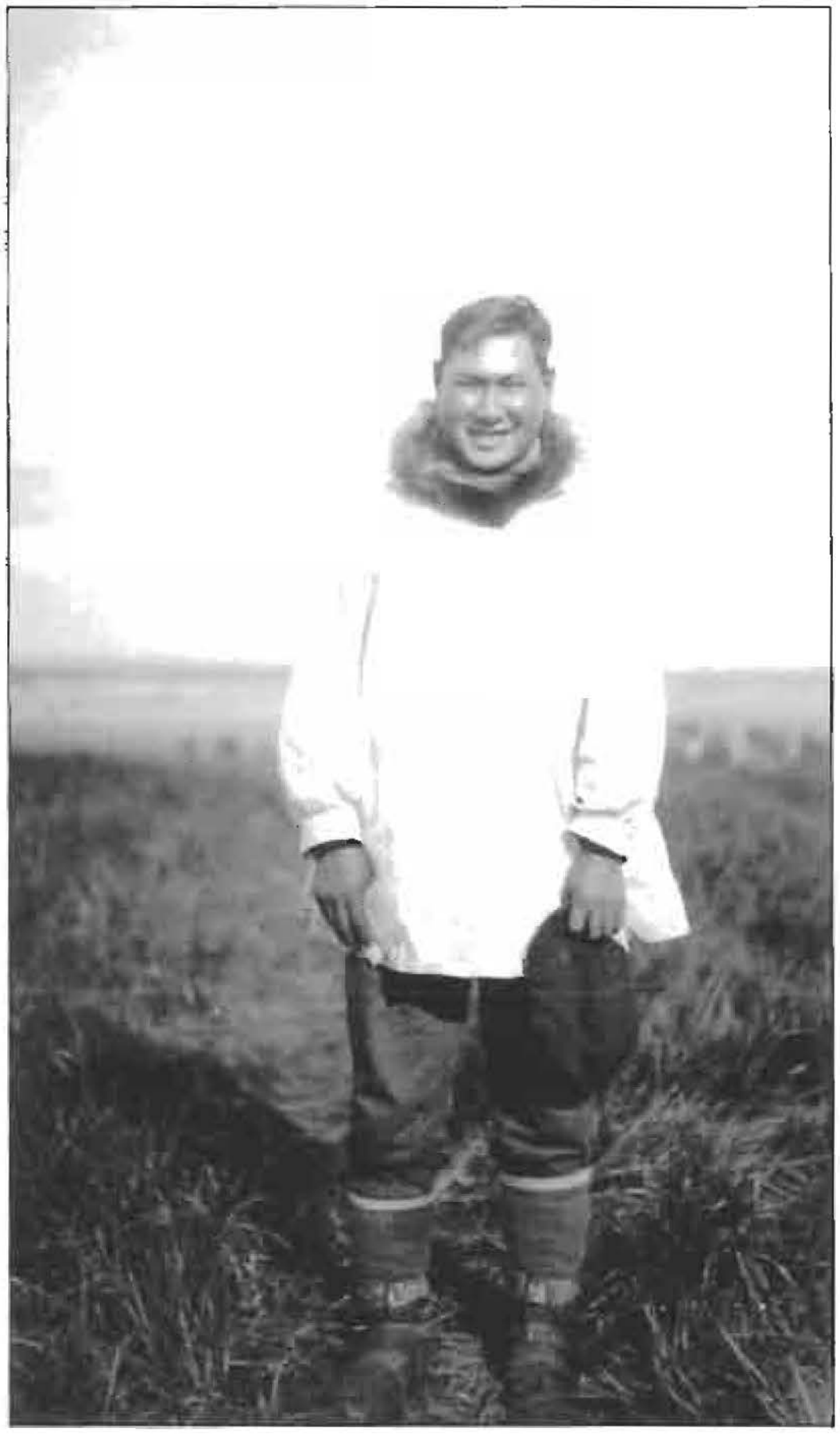


Photo 29. Tom *Kununlaq* Tocktoo. He is wearing waterproof *kamiks*. Oil was applied to the mukluk skin to make it more water repellent and to keep the leather from becoming too dry. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 151).



Photo 30. Andrew *Papazrualuk* Tocktoo, an apprentice reindeer herder, is wearing a fall squirrel skin parka. The trim is bleached sealskin and hairless reindeer skin. The squirrel parka was sometimes used under a reindeer parka for extra warmth, especially when hunting and traveling by dog team. Photo by Edward Keithahn, circa 1923, courtesy of Richard Keithahn and National Park Service (neg. 216)

GLOSSARY

acculturation — The process by which important changes take place in a culture as a result of intensive, firsthand contact with another culture.

affinal — Related by marriage (for example, one's mother-in-law or son-in-law is considered an affinal relative).

alliance — A bond or connection between individuals, families, tribes, or states to further the common interests of both groups' members of these groups.

***angatkok* (plural: *angatkuut*)** — Iñupiaq for shaman/shamans.

assimilation (see also *forced assimilation*) — The process of change that a minority group may experience when it is dominated by another culture; the minority is incorporated into the dominant culture to a point that it no longer exists as a separate cultural unit.

baleen — Whalebone.

bilateral descent — A form of kinship reckoning in which descent is traced through both the male and female lines.

canids — Any of the family (*Canidae*) of carnivorous animals that includes the wolf, fox, coyote, and the domesticated dog.

caribou fences — Fences used to drive caribou into lakes, or other constrained areas, where they were killed.

close herding — A technique in which herders maintained constant contact with and vigilance over their stock of reindeer, staying with the herd 24 hours a day.

comarriage — A consensual, sexual relationship usually long-term, between two conjugal pairs for the purpose of extending or consolidating primary kin networks and reciprocal obligations.

conjugal — Of or relating to being married, including married persons and their relations.

consanguineal — Related by biological or "blood" ties; (your biological mother, father, sister, or brother are consanguineal kin).

covert/overt — Hidden/open, a dichotomy in anthropology referring to those things in culture that are not apparent versus those that are apparent.

cross cousins — Cousins who are related to each other through an opposite-sex parent link (for example, the children of your father's sister[s] or your mother's brother[s] would be your cross-cousins).

descent — Lineage, or the degree of closeness of association with others through kinship over generations.

diachronic analysis — A type of analysis that tries to understand the present in terms of the past.

dichotomy — Something with two seemingly contradictory qualities. Anthropology has a number of dichotomies, such as overt/covert, real/ideal, or male/female.

diffusion — One society's borrowing of a cultural trait belonging to another society as the result of contact between the two societies.

egalitarian society — A society in which all persons of a given age-sex category have equal access to economic resources, power, and prestige.

ego — In the reckoning of kinship, the reference point or focal person.

eminent domain — A government's right to take private property for public use by virtue of the superior dominion of the sovereign power over all lands within its jurisdiction.

endogamy — A marriage practice according to which people are expected to take mates from within their own group (e.g. kin, caste, community).

ethnocentrism — The belief that one's own culture is superior to all others.

ethnography — A descriptive account of a particular culture, usually containing an analysis of its social structure (including kinship), economic and political organization, and religion.

ethnohistory — A kind of historical ethnography that studies cultures of the recent past through the accounts of explorers, missionaries, and traders, and through the analysis of such records as land titles, birth and death records, or other archival materials.

evangelization — The effort to convert others to Christianity; preaching the gospel.

extended family — A family consisting of two or more single-parent, monogamous, polygynous, or polyandrous families linked by a blood tie.

forced assimilation — Use of force by a dominant group to compel a minority to adopt the dominant culture; for example, penalizing or banning the language and customs of an ethnic group.

idealism — The theory that the essential nature of reality lies in consciousness or reason; that only the perceptible is real.

ideology — The content or manner of thinking characteristic of an individual, group, or culture.

Ilaganiq — Also called *Illiamavik* -An important character, one of several brothers, in an original story (chapter 7).

insular community — An isolated community.

interfamilial alliance — Alliance between two families, usually through marriage, in order to further the common interests of both families.

intersocietal — Between two different societies.

intrasocietal — Within the same society.

iñua — In Iñupiaq ideology, the spirit of all natural or living things, which is capable of taking on different physical forms but usually is revealed in a human-like appearance.

iñuksuk* or *iñuqshuq — Cairns built of caribou horns to resemble people, and used to hunt caribou.

***Iñupiaq* (plural: *Iñupiat*)**	Alaska Native group primarily occupying the northern regions of the state.
ishuma	The Nunamiut (inland In upiaq) mind soul, which provided memory and problem solving abilities and was the repository of emotion.
kinship	The social recognition and expression of genealogical relationships, both affinal and consanguineal. Kinship systems may include socially recognized relationships based on supposed, as well as actual, genealogical ties.
land tenure	The act, right, manner, or term of holding land.
Maniilaq	Iñupiaq prophet.
manifest destiny	A future event accepted as inevitable; in the mid-nineteenth century, expansion of the country to the Pacific was regarded as the Manifest Destiny of the United States.
materialism	The theory that physical matter is the only or fundamental reality and that all beings, processes, and phenomena can be explained as manifestations or results of matter.
matrilateral descent	A form of kinship in which descent is traced through the female line.
numina	In upiaq indwelling, guiding forces or spirits that include three primary classes of metaphysical beings: differentially functioning souls, spirits, and iñua.
ontological	Relating to or based upon being and existence.
open herding	A technique in which herders allow animals to roam free as if living in the wild, only to be handled at specific times in the year, such as during fawning.
paradigm	A philosophical and theoretical framework of a scientific school within which theories, laws, generalizations and the experiments performed in support of them are formulated.
parallel cousins	Cousins who are related to each other through a same-sex parent link (for example, the child of your father's brother or your mother's sister is your parallel cousin).

pastoral Of, or relating to herding and raising livestock.

patrilateral descent A form of kinship in which descent is traced through the male line.

personal kindred All of a person's relatives; an ego-oriented set of consanguinal or affinal kin patrilaterally and matrilaterally reckoned by ascending and descending relationships.

poke A bag or other storage container made from the skin of a seal.

polity Political organization or a politically organized unit.

polyandry A system of marriage in which a woman may have more than one husband.

polygyny A system of marriage in which a man may have more than one wife.

prescribed Dictated; set as a rule. For example, marriage prescriptions may specify who an individual must marry.

prestige Social reputation based on a subjective evaluation of social statuses relative to one another.

promyshlenniki Russian fur-trappers.

proscribed Restricted or forbidden. For example, marriage proscriptions specify who an individual cannot marry.

qazgi Among the Iñupiat, a physical structure in which men worked, conducted recreational and ceremonial activities, exchanged knowledge and taught adolescent boys.

rank A position in a hierarchical system of social classification.

reciprocity Mutual exchange of gifts or services.

Sami A reindeer-herding group living in Northern Europe, including Northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Also known as Lapp or Laplander.

scapulomancy Predicting the future by the study of animal bones, often by interpreting the cracks developing in a shoulder blade (scapula) which has been heated in a fire.

semisubterranean houses — Houses typical of In upiaq groups that are constructed partially underground, such as those at Ublasaun.

shaman — A person with supernatural powers who uses the power to heal the sick (or cause harm), divine the hidden, or control events.

sila — In Iñupiaq, a force representing the universe, weather or intelligence.

social Darwinism — Application of the theory of natural selection to social organization, hence misinterpreting Darwin's biological theory of evolution.

social organization — The patterning of human interdependence in a given society through the actions and decisions of its members.

social stratification — A system of social classification in which various statuses are viewed as unequal to each other.

sociopolitical typology — Classification scheme based on the scale and complexity of social organization and the effectiveness of political regulation (includes band, tribe, chiefdom, and state).

status — Any position that determines where someone fits in society; may be *ascribed* (gained without the choice of the individual, such as inherited) or *achieved* (gained through an individual's efforts).

syncretism — The combination of different forms of belief or practice.

tuttum — Iñupiaq for caribou.

ugruk — Iñupiaq for bearded seal.

umialiqpiuk — Iñupiaq for ship captain (big boat captain), such as the captain of a Revenue cutter or steamer.

***umialiq* (plural: *umialiit*)** — Iñupiaq for boat captain, boss or rich man; indicates someone of very high status within a society or community.

***umiaq* (plural: *umiat*)** — Iñupiaq for boat or skinboat.

umiaqpak — Iñupiaq for ship or big boat, such as a Revenue Cutter or Steamer.

usufruct rights	The legal right of using and enjoying the fruits or profits of something belonging to another.
***Yup'ik* (plural: *Yupiit*)**	Alaska Native group primarily occupying Southwest Alaska.
yurt	A circular domed tent of skins or felt stretched over a collapsible lattice framework, used by pastoral peoples of inner Asia.

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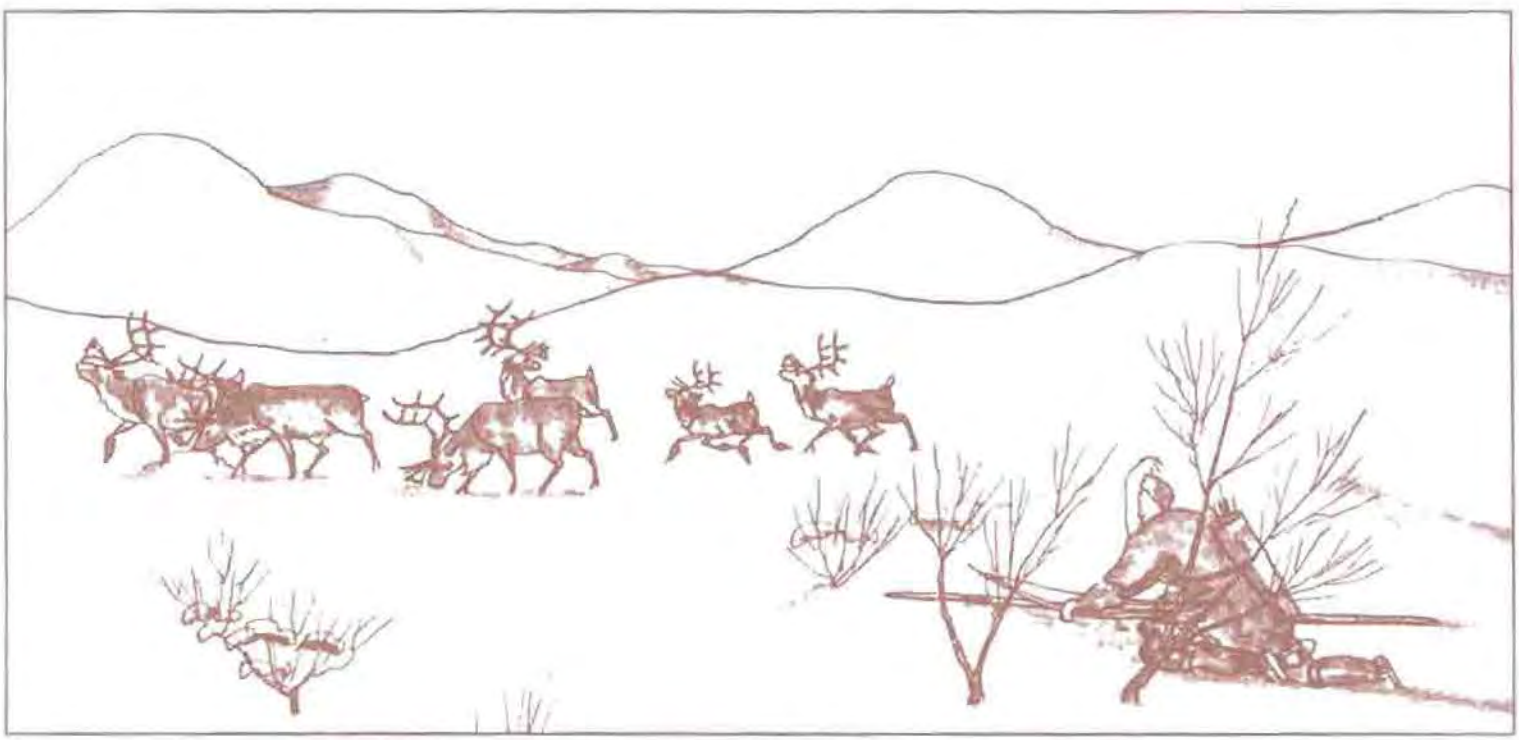


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