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ABSTRACT

Prepared as a resource for Alaskan educators, this book is designed for any grade level or learning setting. It provides the basis for teachers to develop their own appropriate units. Sections encompass: (1) an introduction to the interdisciplinary framework of this source book; (2) a background about the Eskimos of the world, the cultural divisions of Alaska, and the distinction between Eskimos and Aleuts; (3) a presentation of the natural environment of the Northern Eskimos of Alaska; (4) a description of Northern Eskimo culture emphasizing the history, the cultural and sub-cultural divisions, and the diversities within the total culture; (5) a presentation of the Eskimo life style in the Bering Sea area; (6) the details of the shared culture of Northern Alaskan Eskimos emphasizing sub-cultural differences between the people of the Bering Sea and St. Lawrence Island areas; (7) a presentation of the distinct and unique qualities of sub-cultural adaptations made by the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos; (8) a presentation of the conditions and events of Northern Alaska Eskimos from 1890 to the present; (9) a condensation of the book "People of Kauwerak"; and (10) an annotated time line regarding Alaskan Eskimos. Films suggested for classroom use and bibliographies for teacher reference are listed in the appendix. (HBC)

THE NORTHERN ESKIMOS OF ALASKA

A Source Book

Alaska Department of Education
Division of Instructional Services

Compiled by
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June, 1972

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FOREWORD

This source book is prepared as a resource for Alaskan educators. It is not designed for any one grade level or any particular learning setting. Hopefully, it will provide the basis for teachers to develop their own units appropriate to their classrooms.

This booklet is in response to a need clearly stated by the Eskimo people, and was prepared in an atmosphere of mutual effort between us. If it meets the present need, it is because the Native people, and particularly the Northern Eskimos, taught me to perceive the world around me. With great patience and fortitude they taught me to see the realities of the North today through the fog of my own preconceptions and stereotyped thinking. It was they who taught me to appreciate the mutual efforts of Natives and non-Natives over the past ninety years as they operated against tremendous handicaps to produce the success in transition thus far. It was the Eskimo people who showed me the justice and workability of the principles of American government in spite of its cumbersome inequities in specific instances of localized problems. The Eskimos still view time in the Oriental perspective—the past and the present merging constantly to produce the future direction. This positive approach to coping with inevitable change and man's adaptation to his total environment is the theme for the facts stated herein.

I wish to acknowledge my deep debt to William Oquilluk, Jerome Trigg, his wife Nellie and his daughter Barbara, Martin and Maggie Olson, Myrtle and Tommy Johnson, Dorothy and Jim Isabell, Peter Kakaruk, Myron Wheeler, and a host of others who acted as my teachers over the years. I wish to thank members of the Barrow City Council, the village councils of St. Lawrence Island, Diomede, and other places, the Arctic Native Brotherhood, and the Alaska Federation of Natives who all in some way aided in the development of this resource. I also wish to thank Patricia Bressett, my former instructor-mentor at the University of Alaska (Anchorage) who unstintingly gave her time and expertise to the finalization of the manuscript in the effort to make it a practical and useful tool for the classroom teacher who may be new to Alaska.

Laurel L. Bland, Specialist
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UNIT I. STUDY OF A PEOPLE

"The original human inhabitants of the New World, and thus the ancestors of all North and South American Indians, migrated from Asia across what is now the Bering Straits. This migration probably took many thousands of years, during which Alaska was a major occupation zone. . . . The descendants of these people have perhaps been living in Alaska for 50,000 to 60,000 years. During this time, the environment changed, changed several times, initiating changes in the cultural life, and perhaps even the physical characteristics of the natives."

— John P. Cook
University of Alaska
from a Report to the Alyeska Pipeline Service Company
July, 1971.

Unit I. Study of a People

A. Rules and Tools: Tradition and Territory

1. It is necessary to draw on the research of specialized scholars in order to learn of the origin, past, and present of a distinct group of people within the populations of the world.

2. Anthropologists are specialists who study the evolution of mankind from human origins to the present. They reconstruct the way man has lived from the artifacts of the past. These are the tools, weapons, homes or the places men built their houses, the things collected around the homes, and drawings or other marks or symbols left on rocks, in caves, or engraved upon the things that were used. They also seek clues and traces for ideas and ways of looking at the world in the past that may still be present in the habits and customs of living people.

   Anthropology includes:

   a. Archaeology — the study of ancient remains;

   b. Linguistics — reconstruction of early forms of a language from one in use today in order to trace its beginning;

   c. Ethnology — reconstruction of the social system—how people lived from day to day at work, play, in the homes, and at times of war or natural disaster. (The ethnologist draws upon the evidence of archaeology and linguistics, gathers stories, legends, and remembrances, and carefully fits the pieces together to draw a picture of living people of the past.)

3. The word *culture* is used as a technical term in anthropology. It has essentially the same meaning when used by historians, sociologists, economists and others who study human behavior from different points of view. CULTURE includes everything that surrounds the distinctive way a group of people live. A CULTURAL GROUP may or may not have physical characteristics that distinguish its members, such as skin color or shape of the eyes. A cultural group, however, sees themselves as belonging to one special way of living—a LIFE STYLE—and the rest of the world generally agrees with them.

   If a cultural group is very large, or if its members are scattered over a large territory, there may be differences—even in language—between smaller subgroups within the culture. The entire group, however, agree upon three basic things and adapt their daily living to those ideas: (Plate I)

   a. Man's relationship to the environment—how he lives comfortably with weather and climate, the kinds of foods to be eaten and how they can be obtained twelve months out of the year to sustain the population, and how he does or does not use the land, sea, fresh water, and the things found in them and on them.

   b. Man's relationship to man—how he gets along with others around him from his family to others beyond his cultural group and subgroup. This includes how children are raised; what is considered good and bad, beautiful or ugly, how people are to be punished or rewarded; what makes a person or a group rich or poor; what an individual, family, group, community, or entire cultural group may own or control;

who will lead and who will govern; and, most importantly, how people will communicate with each other verbally, silently, symbolically.

c. Man's relationship to the spiritual—how man copes with the forces over which he has no control, yet directly affect his personal life and his society. This includes conception and birth, death, sickness and disease, natural events and conditions (e. g., changing weather, earthquake, flood, drought, volcanic eruption, changing seasons, abundance or scarcity of food or other basic resources, and the success or failure of individual or group efforts or desires).

4. HISTORY is the record which man makes for himself in order to recall and preserve events, observations, and lessons of the past. The study of ancient cultures from their origins to the present draws upon two kinds of historical record in addition to the findings of the anthropologists.

a. Documents — the records and observations written at the time events occurred or shortly thereafter: Examples include scientific reports, ships' logs, and official records of governments or agencies, diaries, and correspondence.

b. Tradition — the events or interpretation of events of the past that are preserved unchanged as true stories or legends and passed along generation after generation as part of the process of education of youth and emerging leadership, as well as maintaining group identity and solidarity. Examples of tradition include *Epic of Gilgamesh, Son of Beaoweulf,* and the *Old Testament of the Bible.*

B. Framework for Learning

"Eskimos are one of the few peoples who reflect racial, linguistic, and cultural homogeneity. They are a recognized segment of the Mongoloid population, their languages belong to a separate linguistic stock and their cultural adaptations are distinctive."

— Wendell H. Oswalt
from *Alaskan Eskimos*

1. Eskimo culture represents man's adaptation to a northern climate and natural environment. It reached its peak in Alaska. The Eskimo way of life began evolving at least 6000 years ago. Once reached, this peak balance in social, economic and environmental efficiency remained virtually unchanged for nearly 600 years.

2. All the Eskimos of the world share three things. It is on this basis that people are said to be Eskimos:

their language comes from the same ancient source
their ancestors came from Northeast Asia
their livelihood in some way depends upon sea mammals (10)

3. All Eskimos of the world speak only two languages, with a number of distinct regional dialects:

- Inupic Language—all Northern Alaskan, Canadian, Labrador, and Greenland Eskimos
- Yupic Language—all Southern Alaskan, St. Lawrence, and Siberian Eskimos (10)

4. Eskimos live only in northern latitudes and are geographically divided into five regional subgroups:

   Siberian Eskimos
   Alaskan Eskimos
   Central Canadian Eskimos
   Labrador Eskimos
   Greenland Eskimos (10)

5. Alaskan Eskimos are divided into three cultural subgroups based on language:

   Northern Eskimos, Inupic
   Southern Eskimos, Yupic
   St. Lawrence Island Eskimos, Siberian Yupic (10)

6. Aleuts do not regard themselves as Eskimos. Some anthropologists consider them to share in the Eskimo culture. The Aleut way of life centered entirely on the sea and its resources. They made little use of the land resource other than as sites of their homes and villages. Eskimos depend upon the combined resources of land *and* sea to sustain life. (16, 10, & 2e)

7. Alaskan Eskimos are subdivided *geographically* into Northern and Southern Eskimos. This division occurs just south of Norton Sound near St. Michael and includes the people of St. Lawrence Island among the Northern Eskimos of Alaska. This geographic division is about the same as the Alaskan Mainland language division between Yupic and Inupic speaking Eskimos. The language spoken in the area between St. Michael and Unalakleet is a modern blend of the two tongues. (16)

8. Until the 20th Century Eskimos of Alaska depended upon *subsistence* economy. The meat supply was harvested from the migratory herds of whales, walrus, caribou, and ever present seals, as well as waterfowl, birds, and small land animals. Fish were taken in nets, seines, and traps. Leafy greens, vegetable roots, and berries were harvested from tracts of land where they grew abundantly year after year. Raw materials for construction came from stands of timber, abundant driftwood, the large animals, and other natural resources including native metals like copper nuggets. Different local regions specialized in harvesting the abundant resources and traded these at established trading centers for the surpluses of others. Money was not used, but credit buying was common, with extra value added if one trader had to wait for the next season to complete a transaction. Each household, however, could be self-sustaining. Whale, walrus, caribou, and harvests of the heavy fish runs required teamwork among a number of families, with a sharing of the catch. Other harvesting of the food supply was often done individually or by single families. (8, 12d & e, & 2e)

9. The Alaskan Eskimos harvest some of the largest animals in the world, a wide variety of waterfowl, birds, and fish.

   Land Animals:
      Caribou — 175 to 250 pounds
      Bear — 150 to 300 pounds (polar bear up to 800 plus)
      Reindeer — 150 to 250 pounds

   Sea Mammals:

Bowhead whale — up to 60 tons
Beluga (white whale) — up to 1500 pounds
Walrus — up to 2000 pounds
Seals: Oogruk (bearded seal) — up to 800 pounds
Hair seal — 25 to 30 pounds
Spotted seal — 100 pounds
Ribbon seal — 60 to 100 pounds

Fish: (primary species)
Salmon, trout, whitefish, shee fish, cod, flounder, herring, tom cod, and smelt

Shell fish:
Crabs, clams, and mussels

Small animals: (primary)
Squirrel, fox, wolf, wolverine, lynx, land otter, mink, porcupine, weasel, and marmot

Birds and waterfowl:
Ducks, geese, swan, crane, gulls, murres, auklets, sea parrots, and ptarmigan. (16)

10. From 1900 on Eskimos have had to depend more and more on *wage-boosted subsistence* if they live in a village. Guns, ammunition, boat motors, fuel, and snow machines are necessary for the family to obtain meat and fish for the table. Beef and pork would be too costly for any ordinary pocketbook, even if they were available in the village store. Other necessities for modern life also require cash. The present wage-boosted economy is an attempt to balance the realities of survival with the changes of modernization. (16 & 2e)

11. Eskimos live in portions of Alaska that are conveniently divided by natural barriers like mountains, rivers, sounds, peninsulas, and islands. A group of Eskimos, usually speaking a slightly different dialect from others around them, are said to "belong" to that land. It is the land they occupy and use. This group is called a *band* or *territorial unit*. They are now named according to the largest village in that territory, or for some natural landmark. Example: Kauweramuit—people of sand bar village. (12d & 2e)

12. Borders between territorial units were known and recognized. Persons did not travel outside their territory unless they were known, and certain of their welcome. Messengers passed among the different territorial units. They wore or carried special identification. (9, 12d and e)

13. Only a few Alaskan Eskimos live where the temperature goes below minus 45 or above plus 65. The extreme temperatures are found, during winter and summer months, in those areas separated from the seashore by mountains or high rugged hills. In such places—the interior of the Seward Peninsula and near the headwaters of the Noatak and Kobuk Rivers—temperatures range from minus 40's in the winters to high 80's in the summer. (16)

14. Only about 10 percent of the Alaskan Eskimos live above the Arctic Circle. (16)

15. There are about 33,000 Eskimos living in Alaska (1970). The number who live

permanently in places like Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, or Seattle is not known, but is estimated to be more than 5,000. (2e)

16. The Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska refer to themselves collectively as "Alaskan Natives." This is regarded as an acceptable and useful descriptive term. (16 & 2e)

17. English is the language of common communication between Eskimos of different language backgrounds. Less than 10 percent of the children under age 12, who are descendants of Inupic-speaking Alaskan Eskimos, now speak their ancestral language. For most children of St. Lawrence Island, English is a second language. English is a second language for about half of the children of Southern Eskimos. (16 & 2e)

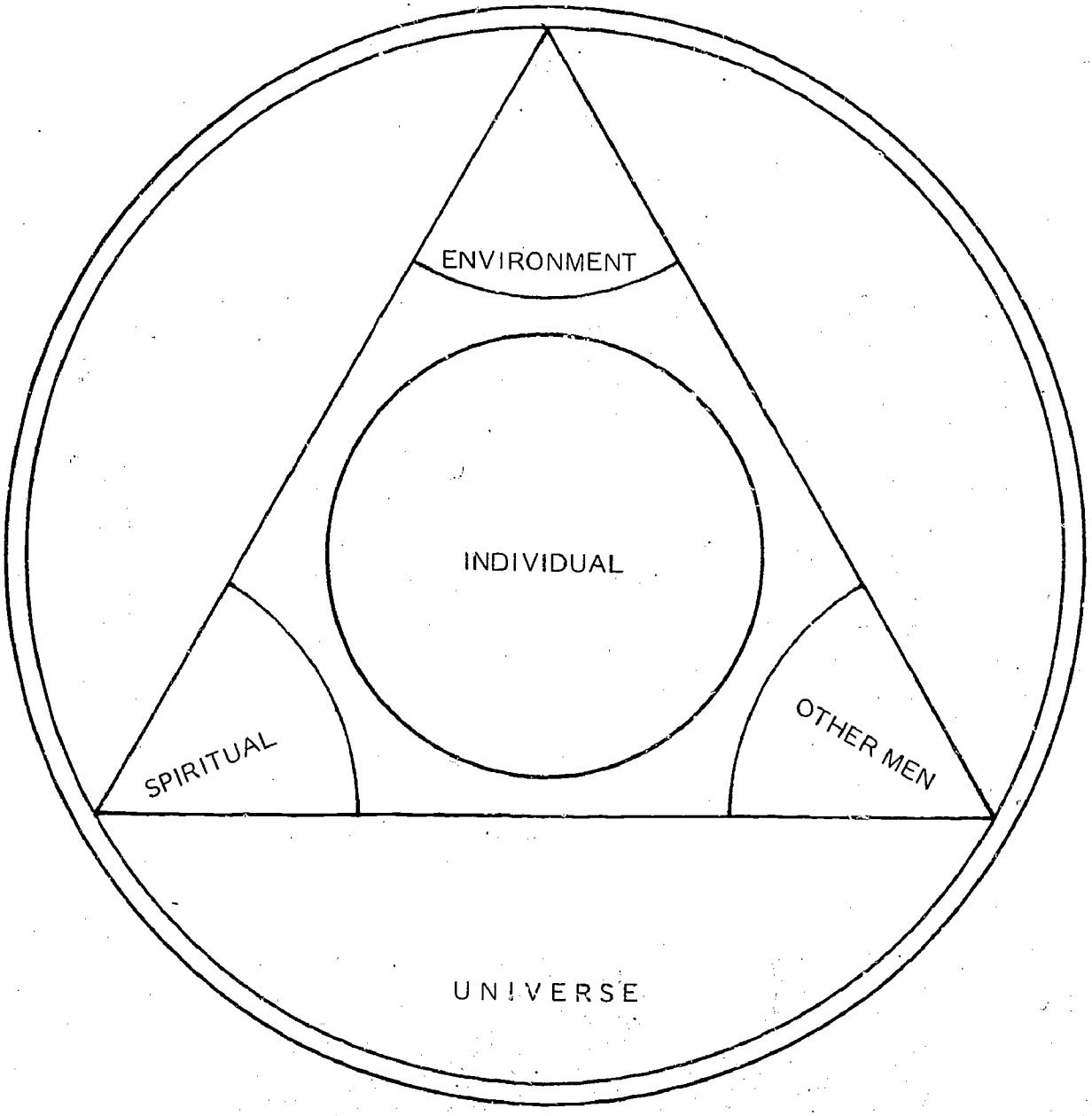
SUMMARY:

To enable us to learn and understand about the origin, evolution, and development of a way of life different from our own, the anthropologist provides information about the rules, tools, and patterns of living left behind in abandoned settlements or the living language; the observer-historian provides a careful record of what occurred or could be seen at a certain time; and the cultural leaders and teachers preserve the story of the past and keep it alive by telling the younger generations "how it really was" until this, too, is written down and becomes the "history of tradition."

Sources: Standard college texts and collected lecture notes.

PLATE I

COMPONENTS OF CULTURE



UNIT II. I AM AN ESKIMO

"Eskimos, according to popular literature, lived in a country of perennial ice and snow, built snow houses, and subsisted mainly on raw seal meat and blubber . . . . No area of Eskimo occupancy is snow-covered perennially; in most regions snow is absent during at least two or three months of a typical year. Furthermore, most Eskimos never have seen a snow house, let alone lived in one. Snow dwellings were most typical of one section of the central Arctic (Canadian—Ed.), and in the rest of the Eskimo area houses were made of wood, turf, or stone. The seal was indeed an important source of food throughout much of the Eskimo area, but it was not always eaten raw, and was often supplemented or partially replaced by fish in the diet."

— Wendell H. Oswalt
Alaskan Eskimos

A. 1. Who can say: "I am an Eskimo"? Anthropologists are agreed that certain things must be present if a way of life is to be called "Eskimo culture." There may be local adaptations to the natural environment or changes in some of the social customs, but the following conditions are required:

a. The racial ancestors came from northeastern Asia. (10)

b. The ancestors established territorial ownership and control of most of the habitable lands in the most northern latitudes of the world. (12e)

c. The language evolved from an early stock called ESKALEUTIAN. (10)

d. Generally the main source of food comes from sea mammals; it involves a complex blend of advanced hunting technology with social customs surrounding the harvest. (10)

e. Some of the ancestors specialized in harvesting caribou in the interior lands. However, an important part of the food supply still depended upon sea mammals; and sea mammal by-products which were required for construction of clothing and tools. (10 & 12)

f. Marine mammal hunters, like the people of King Island and Pt. Barrow, depended upon the inland caribou hunters to supply land products not readily available to them. (12e and 2e)

g. Virtually all Eskimos take large harvest of fish. It is generally dependable. It serves as a prime source of dog food and a basic staple food for the people. (10 & 2e)

h. Leadership and social controls, as well as recreation and ceremonies, were centered in what some anthropologists call the "Kazghi" system. *Kazghi* is an Inupic term that has come to mean a community house used by the men. It served all the purposes of a community center plus being a classroom, conference room, and a forum for making group decisions and solving community problems. Problems included deciding punishment for serious crimes and what to do about invasions of territory. (12d, 12e, 2e, 6 & 9)

Not all bands had a permanent village with a separate kazghi, but the system was present in some form. The leadership and decision making came from the older men and women. The easiest way to describe this form of government, although over-simplified, follows:

> Eskimo social and political control rested on benevolent or paternal dictatorship of the older people. Authority was seldom obvious or openly exercised unless individual or family action created serious problems for the entire community.
>
> Individuals were *expected* to conform to the proven customs and the rules. If a serious crime occurred, the village or group leader called the heads of the families together to decide what should be done. If the problem could not be solved then, the leading man (oomaelik in some Inupic dialects) traveled to the

main village of the territory to seek the advice of the oomaelik and the elders there. This was the final arbitration, and the decision reached was, in effect, the judgment of the matter.

Political decisions affecting more than one territory took place near where several boundaries converged on neutral grounds. This was commonly the spring or fall trading centers. The oomaeliks, or their representatives, of the different territories and the villages or hunting bands would be present at that time. (12d, 2e, 6 & 9)

2. The world was aware that men lived in the Far North. The way of life was not labeled until an Algonquin Indian told a French explorer the people were called "esquimeaux" by his people. Today Northern Eskimos are called Inupiats. Their language, Inupic, is based upon their word for "real men" or "real people." Yupic is used similarly for the Southern Alaskan Eskimos. (10)

3. Eskimos were "discovered" and caught public attention after the reports of explorers were published. The most important to Northern Eskimos were reports that followed Capt. Cook's voyage in the late 1700's; followed by Rasmussen's trek by foot and dog sled from Labrador to Point Barrow and Nome at the turn of the century. Rasmussen's report noted that the basic language was the same from Greenland to northern Alaska. This was the first indication that people across a vast wilderness shared an ancient culture. (10)

4. Since 1900 a great many volumes of research about Eskimos have been compiled. Many romantic novels were written, most of them by people who had little knowledge or personal experience with the Eskimo way of life. In the past 25 years scholars have been able to travel to Eskimo lands to study the remarkable adaptation man has made to a difficult environment. By 1965 most scholars had arrived at the same conclusion as the Eskimo people. The Eskimo culture evolved in North America; it reached its peak technology in Alaska; and that the Seward Peninsula acted as the "cradle of Eskimo Culture." (10)

5. Eskaleutian was the language spoken by a number of bands of people living in northeast Asia about 8000 years ago. This is the parent stock of all Eskimo languages. There are three main divisions of Eskimo Culture in Alaska. These divisions arise from the language divisions. Four cultural adaptations in Alaska share Eskaleutian as a parent language.

6. The Aleut language evolved from Eskaleutian around 5000 years ago. (10) In time the ancestral Aleuts settled along the southern rim of the Bering Platform where Pacific waters washed against the volcanic mountains of the Aleutian Chain. Some evidence of early Eskimo culture is found on the Aleutian Islands, but it is not known if those people were the ancestors of the Aleuts or if they moved on toward what is the Alaskan mainland today and the Aleuts settled in that region later on. When the Aleuts did settle on the Chain, their language became entirely different from the one spoken by the Eskimos. (10) The Aleuts developed very large communal homes. They had a social system with classes of serfs and commoners, and very large ruling households that formed a nobility. Their style of clothing became very different from the Eskimos and they developed one of the finest grass weaving technologies in the world. They enjoyed an abundant food supply all year round from sea mammals to fish and shell fish and great quantities of birds. Their climate is not severe, and they do not experience a general freeze-up. It is, however, very stormy with constant winds and fog. In modern times the

Aleuts were enslaved by the Russians and only a few survived that era. Later many Aleuts lost their homes, camps, and entire villages during, and as a result of, World War II. The United States government continued a practice begun by the Russians of maintaining a colony of Aleuts on the Pribilof Islands to harvest the fur seal. In recent years the state of Alaska, through actions of the Alaska State Commission for Human Rights—Office of the Governor—has acted to end the aspects of peonage still present for Aleuts of that area. (16 and general sources) The Aleut way of life is now recognized as the *Aleut Culture*, and is not considered part of Modern Eskimo Culture.

B. Divisions of Alaskan Eskimo Culture

1. *The Southern Alaskan I.* ... language first appeared about 2000 years ago. At one time the Southern Alaska Eskimos (Yupics) occupied all the coastal lands in Alaska from the south end of Norton Sound to Prince William Sound. When the explorers came they were living from around the Unalakleet River south, all through the delta areas of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers, on Unalaska and all around Bristol Bay, all of the Kodiak Islands, and along Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound. A few years later the Northern Eskimos from around Kotzebue Sound began to join the people of Norton Sound, and the people living in the area between Cape Denbigh and Besboro Island adopted a blend of Yupic and Inupic language and custom. The Eskimos of Kodiak (Konaig) were displaced or enslaved by the Russians, and the Indians overran the territory of the Eskimos living in the Prince William Sound—Cook Inlet territories. (10) The Yupic Eskimos' natural environment and social customs differed in several important ways from the Inupic Eskimos—particularly the Northern Alaskan Inupiats:

   territorial units were separated regionally by land, climate, and differences in language dialects (as different as Dutch is from German), Yuk (mainland Bering Sea), Cux (Nunivak Island), Suk (Pacific Rim); (10)

   territorial and regional units were influenced by the customs and trading systems of their nearest neighbors—Tlingit Indians in the south, Aleuts in the west and Athabascan Indians in the north or east;

   border conflicts amounting to sustained warfare occurred between regional Eskimo language groups and the various Indian bands; (10)

   heavy salmon runs brought a greater emphasis upon fish harvest; (10)

   colonization by the Russians was present (1760's on Kodiak, 1785 a mission school on Kodiak, missions and redoubts in the Kuskokwim-Yukon area in the early 1800's); (10 & 13)

   continuous local mission education and services by the Moravians and Catholics in the same area (St. Michael and Holy Cross) since the early 1800's; (13)

   the first Eskimos to be directly affected by United States purchase of Alaska (canneries in the 1870's); (15)

   the last to receive elementary schools in the villages (1960's). (16)

2. *Siberian Eskimos of Alaska:* The people of St. Lawrence Island are *geographically* included among the Northern Alaskan Eskimos. They do not speak the Inupic language.

They do not have the same customs or ancient religious ceremonies. Their cultural history (oral tradition) is different from either Inupiats or Alaskan Yupic speaking people. The people of St. Lawrence share with the Siberian Eskimos a distinct adaptation of the Eskimo culture. Some important cultural differences are:

their language is an early off-shoot of Eskaleutian (about 3000 B.C.); (10)

they probably settled on St. Lawrence Island about 2000 years ago; (16)

they have remained insulated and isolated from the Alaskan Eskimos until the 20th Century; (16)

they are still closely related to Siberian Eskimos of the Chukchi Peninsula by customs and life style. (10)

3. In modern times there have continued to be wide differences between the customs and circumstances of the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos and those of the mainland:

the Eskimos of St. Lawrence Island are called the Eiwhuelit;

they were the first Eskimos to be affected by the whaling industry; (5)

their immediate and close family ties were severed in recent years by political tensions between the United States and the U.S.S.R.; (2e)

they occupy a distinct geographic entity (a large island) yet they can own no land and presently have no means of obtaining any title of any kind to any of the land on the Island. (16)

4. *The Northern Alaskan Eskimos*, (Inupiats): The Inupiats of Alaska live from the Unalakleet River area north along the coastal lands, (including all of the Seward Peninsula, and the drainages of the Kobuk and Noatak Rivers) to the Brooks Range where the headwaters for the Kotzebue Sound drainage begin. They also occupy the entire region north of the Brooks Range. The people of King, Sledge, and Diomede, and Barter Islands are Inupiats. Eskimos of Canada are also Inupiats. Until very recent years there was little difference in habits of daily life between villages in Alaska and Canada. Currently, the variances in federal policy and administration between the two nations are bringing about small changes and political boundaries have tended to separate people. Both Alaskan and Canadian Eskimos must be near schools and government-sponsored agency services. These are located in larger arctic communities, and Eskimo families have moved to permanent settlements close enough to obtain needed services. The farthest east Alaskan Eskimo community is at Barter Island (Kaktovik), the most westerly Canadian Eskimo Community is Aklavik on the Mackenzie River delta. Canadian policy is to construct whole community facilities and move an entire territorial unit in as occupants. American policy is to place administrative services in existing larger communities and leave the decision to move to that community up to the individual. (See D. Jenness) Both Alaskan and Canadian Eskimos developed slight language differences between territories. This difference is more like a strong accent or differences in word usage than the evolution of a separate dialect. (10 &2e) Other than language, some important differences between the Canadian—Alaskan Northern and Southern mainland Eskimos are:

three distinct patterns of Eskimo culture; (12e)

all patterns involve sea mammals and their by-products as a necessity for survival; (12e & 10)

established trade routes circulating goods from Siberian Eskimos, Canadian Eskimos, and Athabascan Indians through periodic trade "fairs" at central locations; (10 & 16)

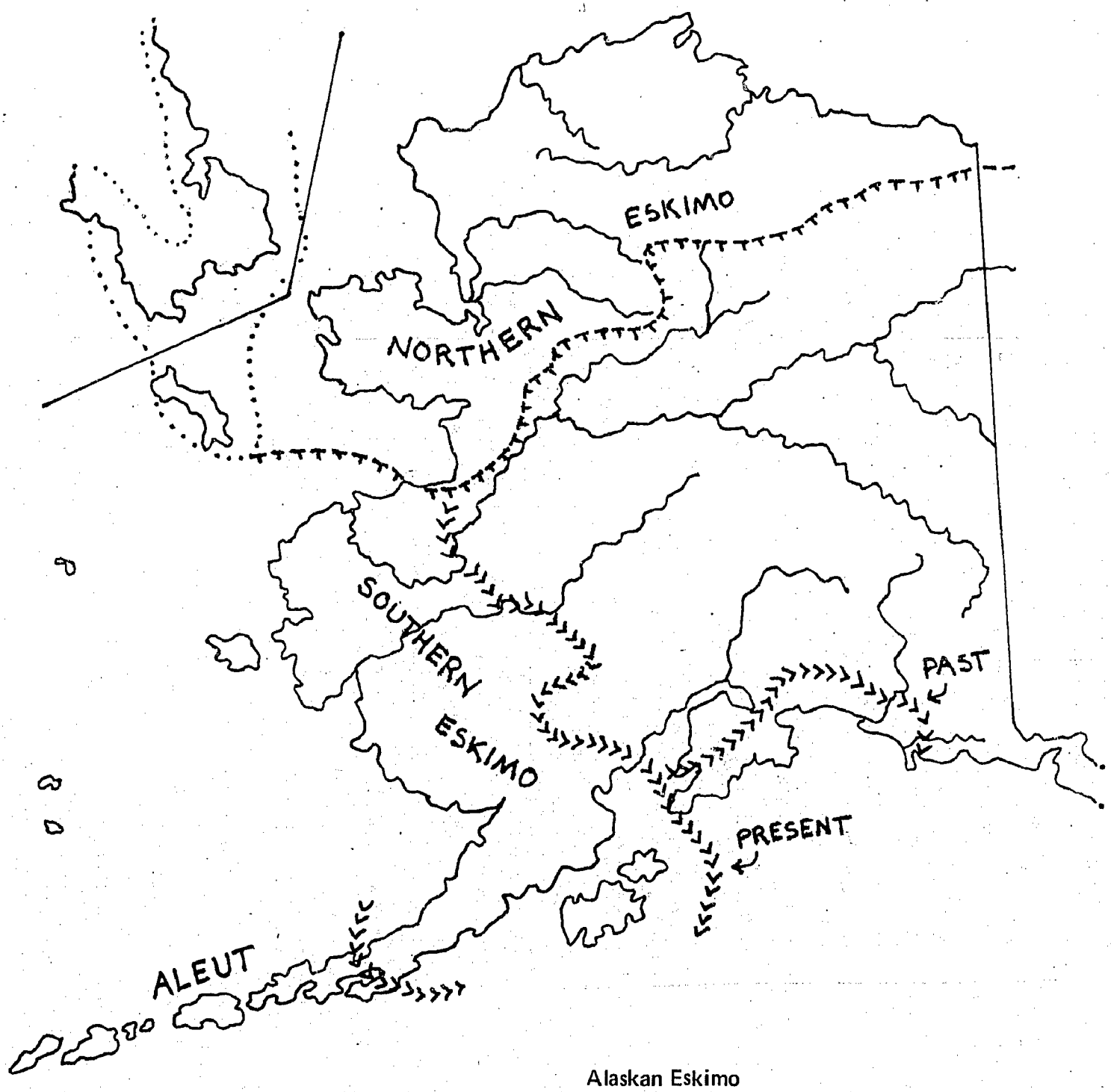
travel and visiting between territorial units regulated by set rules and customs that maintained communications among the territories. (6, 9, 2e, 10, 12e, & 16)

5. When the Euro-Americans first entered northern waters there were approximately 26,000 Inupic and Yupic Eskimos living in Alaska. There were 48,000 Eskimos in the entire world. Less than one-half of the total Eskimo population lived outside Alaska. (10)

SUMMARY:

Today there are 33,000 Eskimos in Alaska and approximately 11,000 Northern Alaskan Eskimos. The following information will emphasize the cultural adaptations of the Inupiats. The Northern Region includes the Eskimo territorial units from Stebbins to the Canadian border, (following the geographic bounds given in Section B-4). It will include St. Lawrence Island in those aspects of description where there are striking differences.

PLATE II



Alaskan Eskimo
Modern Socio-Cultural
Divisions

UNIT III. NORTHERN ALASKAN ESKIMOS – THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

"The aboriginal Alaska Native completely used the biological resources of the land, interior, and contiguous waters in general balance with their sustained human carrying capacity and this use was only limited in scope and amount by technology."

— from *Alaska Native and the Land*

Unit III. Northern Alaskan Eskimos—The Natural Environment

A. *Arctic Slope Regions*

1. There are three environmental regions occupied by Northern Eskimos. Each has a distinct pattern of climate, weather, and geographic features. Permafrost underlies all of the land. Shallow restless stormy seas constantly change depths in the coastal waters. Rivers are shallow and meander in ever-changing patterns of channels, sloughs, ponds, and streams. Annual freeze-up lasts a minimum of five months. The environmental regions are:

   the Arctic Slope, 15% of the State (56.6 million acres)

   the Bering Sea Region, 9% (36.8 million acres)

   the Bering Strait Region (St. Lawrence & Punuk Islands), 3% (1.3 million acres)

   The total land area is 26% of the state, 94.6 million acres.

   a. The Arctic Slope (entirely above the Arctic Circle: Land*)

      1) It extends from the Arctic Ocean to the peaks of the Brooks Range north to south, and east from the Canadian Border to the coast of the Chukchi Sea.

      2) It holds three physiographic divisions: Arctic Coastal Plain, Arctic Foothills, and the northern slopes of the rugged Brooks Range.

         a) The Brooks Range splits at the west end into the DeLong and Baird Mountains.

         b) The Brooks Range is a continental divide—part of the main continental system of North America. Streams flow north above the mountains, south below them.

         c) No forests grow north of the Brooks Range—land is mossy tundra, more water than soil.

         d) Several large stream-fed lakes are found in the mountains. They drain into the large rivers (used since ancient times as transportation routes).

         e) There are only three passes in the 600 miles of jagged peaks: These passes have guided the movements of caribou and humans for thousands of years.

            Howard
            Survey
            Anaktuvuk

2. The Arctic foothills descend from south to north. They are rugged, often with flat-topped mountains up to 1200 feet high, steep ridges, and mesas.

3. The Arctic Coastal Plain was beneath the ocean until recent geologic time.

*Physiographic detail is incomplete for this region since much of the area has not yet been fully explored and reported. Principal river names are given in Unit VI.

a. The Plain is flat, covered with ponds, marshes, and lakes. It is about 70 miles wide.

b. The largest river system is the Colville (350 miles long). It ends in a large delta on the Arctic Ocean coast.

c. The Chukchi Sea borders the eastern coast. The Beaufort Sea extends from Pt. Barrow west.

d. Principal coastal points, headlands, and islands are: (east to west)

Point Hope
Cape Lisburne
Point Lay
Icy Cape
Point Barrow
Barter Island

4. Arctic Slope: Climate

a. It is a true desert with average annual precipitation of four inches or less.

b. The region has almost constant intense winds, and the chill factor can reach minus 100 degrees or more.

c. Temperatures along the coast seldom rise above 45 degrees except for short periods in June or July, when it may reach 65 degrees. The sun, as it reflects off the ice or snow on calm days, creates warmth seldom found on official records, and only light clothing is needed for people hunting or fishing.

d. Winter temperatures along the coast average around 30 degrees below zero.

e. Temperatures vary more widely in the interior where winter lows range from minus 50 to minus 70 degrees.

f. Temperature changes are not as noticeable as the seasonal length and number of sun-hour periods. Point Barrow averages 72 days of darkness beginning November 15, and daylight for a like period beginning early in June. The transition is swift and noticeable as the days grow shorter or longer. Travel and activity is not stopped by darkness, as reflections from snow and ice, during clear weather, gives good visibility for land travel.

g. Summer is brief, but the swiftness of plant growth turns the country green before the snow is completely melted.

h. The prevailing winds are easterly except during the winter months when it shifts to the northeast. The ability of ships to service the coastal communities and the success or failure of the sea mammal harvest depends upon the vagaries of the wind and how it affects the pack ice (holding it along the shore or letting it recede). The pack ice usually recedes from the coast for a short period of time between August 1 and late September. Some years it does not recede at all.

i. Snowfalls are not heavy, but the strong winds bring blizzard conditions and severe

drifting causing power outages in villages and making all forms of travel difficult and hazardous.

5. Arctic Slope: Plant and Animal Life

   a. Big Game: Caribou are abundant, Dall sheep are common, as are polar bear, with a recent increase in grizzly bear. The once common musk-ox no longer existed by 1900. A few half-wild reindeer can be seen with caribou.

   b. Fur bearers: Weasel and Arctic fox are abundant, the wolverine, red fox, and wolf are common and are expected to increase.

   c. Marine mammals: Bearded seal (oogruk) and ringed seal are abundant, the harbor seal and walrus are common. The population of migrating whales includes bowhead whales and belugas, with other species only occasionally seen.

   d. Waterfowl: The Arctic Slope is a primary nesting area and yearly migrations bring hundreds of thousands of ducks, geese, and cranes to the region. Swans also nest there, but are fewer in number than the others. The eggs serve as a diet supplement. The large Arctic National Wildlife Refuge runs from the Canning River to the Canadian border containing some of the largest waterfowl nesting areas in the world.

   e. Other important meat bearers are the ptarmigan, an occasional moose in the hills, and marmot or squirrel.

   f. Berries, root tubers, and edible leafy plants grow in the tundra and on the hills. (This is not as important a food source in the Arctic as it is in the Bering Strait region.) These include:

      Blackberries
      Cranberries
      Salmonberries
      Blueberries
      Grass root tubers

B. *Bering Seas Regions*

1. Boundaries are the peaks of the DeLong Mountains and Brooks Range on the north, the headwaters of the major westward flowing rivers along an imaginary line from the Kobuk headwaters following the highest elevations to the headwaters of the Unalakleet River, the northern slopes of the Kaltag Mountains and the portage to the Yukon, west to Norton Sound.

   a. Physiographic features include:

      Drainage of Arctic Foothills south to Kotzebue Sound
      Southern slopes of the DeLong and Brooks Mountains
      Seward Peninsula*
      Baldwin Peninsula
      Baird Mountains
      Waring Mountains
      Western part—Ambler—Chandalar Ridge

*The Seward Peninsula is considered a unique geologic area of the world due to its concentration and variety of mineral deposits and the ways they occur. Forty-nine of the 52 rare earths of the world are found there.

Source: (2e — Reports of Alaskan geologists quoting findings of U.S. Bureau of Mines.)

Kigluait Mountains
York Mountains
Bendeleben Mountains
Selawik Hills
Nulato Hills eastern drainage
Noatak Lowlands
Kobuk—Selawik Lowland
Buckland River Lowland
Section of Yukon—Kuskokwim Lowland (north of Pikmiktalik River)

Islands: Besboro, Sledge, King, Little Diomede, St. Lawrence, Punuk, and Sarichef

Ocean: Chukchi Sea, Bering Sea, Bering Straits, Kotzebue Sound, Norton Sound, Port Clarence, Grantley Harbor, Hotham Inlet, Eschscholtz Bay, Norton Bay, Golovin Bay.

Capes and Headlands: Cape Krusenstern, Baldwin Peninsula, Cape Espenberg, Cape Prince of Wales, Cape Douglas, Point Spencer, Cape Wooley, Cape Nome, Topkok Head, Rock Point, Cape Darby, Moses Point, Bald Head, Point Dexter, Cape Denbigh.

Major Lagoons and Lakes: Selawik Lake, Inland Lake, Imuruk Lake, Salt Lake (Imuruk Basin), Kuzitrin Lake, Salmon Lake, Krusenstern Lagoon, Shishmaref Inlet, Arctic Lagoon, Lopp Lagoon, Safety Sound, and Golovin Lagoon.

Major Rivers: Noatak, Kobuk, Selawik, Buckland, Kuzitrin, Tuksuk Channel, Niukluk-Fish, Koyuk and Unalakleet.

Scenic Wonders: Great Kobuk Sand Dunes, Lava beds of Imuruk Lake, Noatak Canyon

Major Hot Springs: Serpentine, Pilgrim, and Fish River Springs (Seward Peninsula)

b. The Region holds countless small lakes, ponds, sloughs, and marshes. In the higher elevations of drainages, rivers are often swift, with waterfalls, and seldom completely freeze over. Hot springs occur sporadically throughout the area, often underground and only visible by the oasis-like greener and more luxuriant plant growth around them. *Many were recreational spots in the prehistoric past.* (*-*2e)

c. Lowlands, ridges, and hills are covered by tundra, grasses, and along many streams are stands of willow, alder, and birch or cottonwood. In the upper reaches of the Noatak and Kobuk drainages spruce forests begin. Timber stands are found just beyond the coast extending inland from Golovin Lagoon and bordering Norton Bay.

d. The major mountain pass to obtain the southern reaches of the Brooks Range is Ivishak Pass in the Baird Mountains. A number of passes are found to reach the Bering Sea Coast from the interior of the Seward Peninsula. Included are Mosquito and Grand Central Passes.

e. Coastal waters, lakes, and rivers are generally shallow with constantly shifting

channels and sand bars. The exceptions are crater or glacial lakes in the mountains, deep water at Port Clarence and Cape Nome, and Tuksuk Channel between Grantley Harbor and Salt Lake drops steeply to depths of 80 feet or more.

f. The islands are small, very rocky, and rise abruptly from the sea.

2. The Bering Sea: Climate

a. The coastline, until the mountains are reached, has a maritime climate from May to October. The temperature range is not extreme, ranging from the low 40's to high 60's. Winter temperatures seldom drop below minus 20 for long periods of time. The winds, during storms, can drop the chill factor to minus 60 or more. Temperatures are most extreme in winter months, and snowfall is less around Kotzebue Sound and north, than along the coast south of Cape Prince of Wales.

b. The interior areas are blocked from the sea by mountains or high rugged hills. The temperature in such locations can range from highs of 85 plus in the summer to minus 60 in the winter. Areas like Imuruk Basin receive intense winds during larger storms, and tidal action strongly affects Selawik, Inland, and Salt Lakes, sometimes extending nearly 100 miles up the river systems which feed into the lakes.

c. Fifty to sixty inches of snow falls over the general region. This is not troublesome to persons living in the region except when the high winds create great drifts, and the blowing snow creates whiteouts which hinder all forms of travel.

d. The largest rivers are the Noatak, Kobuk, Kuzitrin, and Koyuk. All are, or have been, important transportation routes.

e. It is possible to travel along the coastal lagoons by boat for great distances without having to use the stormy Bering Sea. Principal rivers are accompanied with a network of lesser streams enabling people to travel across many miles of land by boat or sled.

f. Freeze-up begins in the interior areas in October and lasts until late May. Coastal areas begin to freeze in November and break-up occurs in June, although Port Clarence and portions of Norton Sound may be ice-free a little earlier.

3. Bering Sea: Plant and Animal Life

a. Big Game: Grizzly bear, moose, and caribou are abundant, Dall sheep, polar bear, and black bear are common, and all are expected to increase except the black bear.

b. Furbearers: Muskrat, squirrel, land otter, weasel, wolverine, hare, Arctic fox, red fox, and wolf are common, and mink is abundant.

c. Marine mammals: Bearded seal and ringed seal are abundant, the harbor seal and walrus are common, bowhead whales and belugas are common, and the California grey and other species of whale are often seen.

d. Waterfowl: Ducks number in the hundred thousands, geese in the ten thousands, and swans in the thousands when they nest on the marshes.

e. Birds: The ptarmigan is omnipresent on the mainland, sea birds, including gulls, murres, and auklets abound on the coasts and both their flesh and eggs are important supplements to Eskimo diet.

f. The Chamisso National Wildlife Refuge is located at the base of the Baldwin Peninsula and is a bird and waterfowl nesting area.

g. Seals and caribou are still the primary meat source for mainland Eskimos, and walrus is the staple for Diomede and King Islands.

h. Domesticated reindeer were introduced to the region (and the Arctic Slope) at the turn of the century. Fifteen of the 17 remaining herds are associated with the Seward Peninsula.

i. Berries, root tubers, and edible greens grow abundantly in most of the region, with heavier growth farther south. This produce is still important to many Eskimo families. The berries are an important supplement to the diet at most villages.

C. *Islands of the Bering Sea*

All the islands of the Bering Sea show the same environment and are included in this section, although land claims procedures as a political convenience have dictated classifying St. Lawrence Island as an environmental region. The acreage given previously for the Bering Sea region includes the few acres comprising Sledge, King, and Diomede Islands.

1. The principal islands, other than St. Lawrence, are King, Sledge, and Diomede Islands. The climate of these islands is very similar to the adjacent mainland. Each of these smaller islands supported a territorial Eskimo unit, but only Diomede is inhabited today. The islands have small spring-fed streams providing fresh water. They are rocky and rugged. King and Diomede rise abruptly from the sea with virtually no beaches. Low berry bushes and mosses grow in patches on a few level spots near the tops of those islands. Sledge Island has a sandy beach on the north side. It is fairly level and supports stands of willow and alder shrubs. A few small animals are found on the islands, and a number of Arctic foxes are seen on Sledge Island during the winter months. The rocky cliffs are congested nesting areas for auklets, murres, puffins, gulls, and other sea birds, including cormorants and sea parrots; these are a reliable secondary food source. *Eggs are prized as delicacies of all but the cormorant. The island Eskimos also harvest edible seaweed. People of King Island made seasonal trips along the interior rivers of the Seward Peninsula to harvest greens, berries, caribou, and fish. *(2e & 6)

2. St. Lawrence Island and Punuk Island: (Hall, St. Matthew and Pinnacle Islands)

   a. The submarine plain of the Bering Sea is known as the Bering Platform. These islands rise abruptly out of this plain. Hall, St. Matthew, and Pinnacle are uninhabited, and are rocky, fogbound, and rugged.

   b. St. Lawrence Island has a massive many-vented volcano, (Atuk Mountain). High rough and rocky hills rise at each of the other four points that jut into the surrounding sea. It is about 104 miles long and 20 to 25 miles wide.

   c. Several small rivers drain from the interior to the coasts; there are several lagoons, one nearly half the length of the island, and numerous lakes and ponds. Lowlands on the islands are marshy tundra.

3. St. Lawrence Island: Climate

   a. The Bering Sea provides a maritime climate, so temperature range is not extreme, but annual average temperature is only 20 degrees. On rare sunny winter days the sun's reflection gives a strong feeling of warmth.

   b. The climate is very severe. It is foggy, windy, and stormy. It rains or snows about 300 days out of the year. Constant high winds sweep the snow into mountainous changing drifts and create howling blizzards.

   c. Freeze-up occurs about the same time as the Seward Peninsula.

4. St. Lawrence Island: Plant and Animal Life

   a. Big game: Polar bear is the only large wildlife, and is rarely seen.

   b. Furbearers: Few live on the island except the Arctic fox, and abundant squirrels.

   c. Marine Mammals: These are abundant and increasing, and include walrus, bearded seal, harbor seal, ribbon seal, and ringed seal. The sea lion is seen and is also increasing. The whales, although abundant, are not easily or regularly harvested.

   d. Waterfowl: Ducks are abundant, but only small numbers of geese or swan are seen.

   e. Birds: Murres, puffins, auklets, and kittiwakes nest on the islands, and Hall and St. Matthews are the only known nesting areas for McKay's snow bunting. St. Matthews, Hall, and Pinnacle Islands form the Bering Sea National Wildlife Reserve.

   f. Domestic reindeer were stocked on St. Lawrence Island by the U.S. Coast Guard during World War II. *Remnants of the herd still graze on the island, but they are considered a foreign beast by the Eskimos, who would prefer to have them removed. *(2e)

D. The natural environment of the Northern Eskimos is sometimes described in biotic zones. There are:

   1. Eskimoan (arctic climate, tundra cover)

   2. Hudsonian (sub-arctic climate, tiaga forestation)

SUMMARY:

Northern Eskimo lands include virtually all forms of land and water known. Here can be seen rugged glaciated mountains, rolling sand dunes, flat mossy plains, grassy hills, mesas, buttes, waterfalls, oceans, seas, lakes, ponds, streams, hot springs, lagoons, and sloughs. Mosses, shrubs laden with berries, stands of willow and alder, and forests of fir trees live in different regions. Big game roaming free includes three of the world's largest species of bear, (black, polar, and grizzly), sheep and caribou, as well as the semi-domesticated reindeer. The largest sea mammals known are found in the coastal waters. Fish and shellfish are abundant in streams and along the coasts. Small fur-bearing animals appear everywhere. The most remarkable aspect of wildlife is the tremendous numbers of waterfowl and birds that nest in that region. Birds also include the eagle, falcon, and snowy owl, as well as several varieties of swallows and sparrows. Every physical feature of the land

was named by the Eskimos. These were usually descriptive of the place itself, or an event that occurred nearby. Few of these names are recorded, but many are still remembered by older hunters. Almost all wildlife was used by Eskimos at some time. In times of severe winter, or poor harvests, the fish, birds, and small animals meant survival until the next year's hunting season. (16, 10 & 2e)

The general climate is harsh with frequent severe storms. Only the Arctic Slope region is difficult for human occupation. Average temperatures are low compared to temperate zones. The long sunlight hours from late April to mid-September bring a warm-feeling sun. Physical activity on the ice and snow in the sunshine can bring uncomfortable warmth if heavy clothing is worn. The coastal lands of the Bering Sea region enjoy a temperate to cool maritime climate from late spring until early fall. (16, 10 & 2e)

(Source: unless otherwise noted, No. 16)

UNIT IV. PEOPLE OF THE NORTH – GENERALIZATIONS ON THE PAST

"Eskimo culture arose first in the Bering Sea area, and although its background is traceable to eastern Siberia, its emergence as a cultural entity was in Western Alaska . . . . The Aleut stock remained limited to Alaska, and in western Alaska the Eskimo stock became more diversified than in any other region of Eskimo occupancy."

— Wendell H. Oswalt from *Alaskan Eskimos*

Unit IV. People of the North — Generalizations on the Past

There are three geographic/cultural sub-divisions among the Northern Alaskan Eskimos:

- People of the Arctic Slope:

  TEREUMIUT — the coastal hunters of whales, walrus, and seal
  NUUNAMIUT — the inland hunters of caribou

- People of the Bering Sea:

  the territorial units of the Kotzebue Sound Drainage (including Kivalina)

  the territorial units of the Seward Peninsula

  no general Eskimo term is given for these hunter-trader-fishermen

- People of St. Lawrence Island:

  EIWHUELIT — hunters of whale and walrus, harvesters of waterfowl

A. *People of the Bering Sea and Arctic Slope*

1. Physical characteristics:

   Average height (5'8"), although it is not unusual for men to be six feet or more tall;

   Light tan skin, although suntan is quickly acquired and can color exposed skin dark brown;

   Small feet, small strong hands;

   Dark brown to black eyes, black heavy fine hair, often slightly wavy;

   Some have a pronounced Oriental eye fold—others almost none;

   The men have lean powerful muscular bodies with moderately short legs and enjoy excellent muscle coordination to an advanced age;

   The women are small boned with delicate features;

   Early reports stated Eskimos were heavyset, but this appearance was given by loose many-layered clothing;

   Medical research indicates that Eskimos feel cold just as quickly and severely as Caucasians, but can deal with it better psychologically;

   Eskimos do not all belong to one blood type;

   Eskimos are able to observe things in greater detail and to remember, report, or draw what they saw better than other Americans (perception and visual memory). (2d)

2. Economy:

The Tereumiut and Nuunamiut relied on a system whereby the Tereumiut established permanent coastal settlements along the Arctic shores and evolved a complex technology for harvesting the great whales, walrus, and seals. Special ceremonies and customs associated with the hunt and capture of these animals evolved.

The Nuunamiut evolved a similarly complex technology and attendant set of customs associated with the cyclic wanderings of caribou migrations, and only built temporary villages; each group depended upon the harvest of the other to supply basic resources. The skins, berries, and other products of the foothills, as well as items obtained in trade from Indians and other Eskimos were traded by the Tereumiut for sea mammal fat and oils, ivory, baleen, walrus and oogruk skins, and trade items from Siberia, or other Eskimos.

The people of the Bering Sea had access to stands of fir, birch, or alder timber along several of the rivers, large regular fish runs, annual migrations of whales and walrus, and abundant seals. The land supports great numbers of widely varied small fur-bearing animals, large game, nesting waterfowl, edible greens, and berries.

The rivers, mountains, plains, basins, and islands form natural territorial boundaries. The territorial bands developed in these localized units and traded surpluses with other units. In time a mutual use of territory occurred through alliances between kazghis. Political alliances followed; and until 1900 these formed the basis for Eskimo political, social, and external economic activity.

Some of the territories within this region depended heavily upon fish, some on caribou, and some on sea mammals, but all three harvests were necessary to the total region for a yearly food supply.

Trading centers evolved in the distant past and became the "gears" in an interlocking system of widespread trade that included Siberian, Northern, and Southern Eskimos. This, in turn, meshed with other aboriginal systems permitting circulation of goods over the northern portion of the world. It functioned separate and apart from the paths of Western, Euro-American commerce.

The more northern and island dwellers maintained heavy dependence on whaling, the more southern people on seal and fish. Both needed caribou, the main harvest of the more inland settlements.

3. Settlements:

Permanent settlements were maintained year round, but were not fully occupied. In most territories, everyone returned for the winter months. There were many villages occupied only seasonally, with the people returning year after year. One family might have a home in three villages: one for coastal hunting; one for fishing, collecting berries and greens; and one for inland hunting.

4. Social Controls:

The center of civil government and social life was the winter village. Every household of a territory recognized the leadership of the older men who were the leaders of the kazghi(s)

of the winter village. They served as arbitrators rather than rulers. (9 & 10)

5. Education:

Education was informal and direct. Girls were educated by older women. They learned by observation, by doing, and by listening to entertaining stories with a lesson built into them. Boys were educated similarly, but were permitted to listen and to observe the activities of the kazghi. Older boys virtually lived in a kazghi of the winter village. All territorial business was the concern of the kazghi, and people used it like a modern community center. (9 & 10) Observing these activities served as secondary level education for youth.

6. Recreation:

Great value and respect are given to physical fitness. A wide variety of games and contests evolved and became traditional pastimes. These require excellent coordination, quickness of hand and eye, and stamina. People of all ages participated in races, jumping contests, weight lifting, wrestling, and games of skill. Children had a number of toys, including miniatures of adult tools and equipment, balls, and dolls. People also played gambling games similar to dice and jacks. Travel to see the country or to visit others was a common pastime.

7. Shelter:

Permanent and temporary housing drew upon several designs and methods. These were based upon the materials at hand, the location, and the season or length of time a place would be used.

Portable tents were made of light skins sewed together and placed over a pole framework. Tents to be used for an entire season were more houses than tents, but they were constructed of heavier skins (sometimes with hair or fur left on for insulation) and placed over a framework of willow poles, caribou antlers, whalebone, or driftwood. Tents could also be insulated with a layer of dried grass, moss, or sod. Cold weather and winter houses commonly were partly below the level of the ground, with a tunnel-like entrance to trap cold air at a lower level than the house floor. Floors of temporary tents were covered with small boughs or sand. If the tent was used at a seasonal village—camp, floors were often made of timber or driftwood and left to be used again when the family returned.

In the far northern region, the house might have an "L" shaped tunnel entrance covered with a skin doorway at the bend of the "L" to stop cold air flow. Many Arctic coastal homes used a whalebone framework and frequently were walled with large flat blades of the same material. Floors were stone or whalebone. In later years, lumber salvaged from old whaling boats was used for interior walls and floors.

Bering Sea area homes were often made with driftwood or willow frames. These frames were covered with light willow or alder branch latticework; next a layer of dried grass bundles or skin covered with willows, and a layer of thick sod blocks formed the outside walls. Floors were mostly made of driftwood and covered with dried grass that could be changed periodically. Windows or vents were placed in the roof. Some homes had a small fireplace in the center or in the back corner (if there was a plentiful wood supply). The common fuel for heating, light, and cooking was animal oil—particularly sea mammal oil—burned in shallow stone or clay trays. Clothing varied in material according to how

and when it was to be used, but certain patterns were basic. The parka was made of fur, skin, gut, and bird skins. It could be made with the fur inside or out, but usually the skin side was showing. Bleached skin was commonly used for winter hunting parkas because it is white. Mukluks were made of a variety of skins and furs, including fish skin. They were made in several ways for specific uses; e.g., loose and roomy with crossed foot ties for hunting, hair-free skin with a top band across the foot for rain and wet, and fancy trimmed and patterned boots with ankle ties for only dancing and special events. Socks of skin or furs were used, and dried grass or moss was formed into insoles. Men and women both wore pants, although the length was determined by where they met the tops of the mukluks. The winter houses were so warm that very little clothing was needed indoors. Children, when they began to walk, were dressed much like their elders. Before that time they were carried inside their mother's parka against her warm bare back. Infants wore a diaper of soft skin or fur lined with dried velvety moss.

8. Clothing and Dress:

At one time labrets (buttons or rods) of ivory or bone were inserted in small slits above, beneath, or at the sides of the lip. Tatooing was also done on the face to indicate whales or polar bears killed by an individual or a relative, or sometimes just for ornamentation. The large blue and white glass beads obtained in trade from Siberia were much prized, and any beads were valued. Along the Bering Sea, women wore the beads in bibs of strings suspended from their ears and as necklaces and bracelets. A woman's beads were placed with her body along with her other personal things (knives, skin pouches, and special cooking pots) when she died, just as a man's weapons, sled or boat, and other truly personal equipment stayed with him.

9. Religion and Ceremony:

Religious expression used by ancient Eskimos is called SHAMANISM. It assigns special powers to natural forces and calls upon the spirits of the dead or the life force of animals (seen as a single controlling spirit of all animals of that specie, such as "Mother of the Seals, the Caribou Spirit or Wind"). It believes that spirits of the dead have great power. An individual who can control or possess the spirits or their power is a shaman. He is a person of great power—someone to be feared. His services are needed because he can bring good luck in the harvest, foretell the future, and cure sickness that does not respond to normal treatment. He can bring bad luck and trouble to his enemies. A shaman can perform magic, and is either a leader or a participant in the ceremonies and dances of the community center. At large gatherings, like the trading centers, the shamans often competed with each other to see who could do the most amazing magic. Charms and amulets are part of Shamanism.

10. Dancing:

Although Eskimo dancing is for fun, and a way of telling a story or illustrating a moral lesson, much dancing is ceremonial. Eskimo dancing uses only the drum for music and is accompanied by singing—sometimes with words, other times with a rhythmic melody. Some dances are invented and owned by individuals, others by groups. Some dances, if they are ceremonial, require special clothing and certain types of drums. Ordinarily drums are handled hoops with an animal membrane (i.e. stomach) or skin scraped very thin and tightly stretched over the hoop. They are struck from underneath on the skin or rim with a light stick. One exception is a Bering Sea ceremonial drum used in the Eagle—Wolf Messenger Feast. This was made of carved driftwood laced and sealed to form a 3 x 2 foot

box. This was suspended from the ceiling, filled with water to reach a certain tone and struck on the side with an ivory stick. It could be heard several miles away. Whether for fun or ceremony, gloves are commonly worn for any Eskimo dancing. (9 & 10)

11. Transportation:

Eskimos walk great distances. Three other forms of transport are:

- boats: the small kayak, large skin-covered boats, and small skin retrieval craft;
- sleds: the dog sleds are usually pulled by five to seven dogs in a straight-line harness (the fan-shaped harness is used mostly in Canada); dogs were also used as pack animals.
- sledges: a heavy, sled-like vehicle suited for hauling loads over tundra or ice.

The design of kayaks and skin boats vary slightly from region to region, according to the types of stresses most commonly placed on the craft by local waters. The kayak is very lightweight, entirely hollow, and can carry a full load. It has only one opening. The opening is constructed so the waterproof clothing of the oarsman can be lashed to the raised circular ridge of the opening. This makes man and craft a single unit, and keeps the man completely dry. (A former common contest was for men to roll their kayaks over and over in the water to see who could do it the greatest number of times.)

The skin boat, called an umiak, runs from 18 to 30 feet. In the past the size of a umiak was given by the number of walrus skins needed to cover the framework of driftwood. The skin boats of St. Lawrence Island were 9-skin boats, those at Pt. Hope were commonly about 4-1/2 skins. Crews numbered 9 to 12 men. A very small skin boat for one man was used to retrieve dead seals or walrus from the water. All the skin boats look something like a standard rowboat. They can operate in very shallow water, as well as the open sea. They are considered to be a very safe craft.

All dog sleds use basically the same design, with only minor individual variations. The romantic dog team with 16 or 20 dogs was not seen until 1900, and was mostly used by non-Eskimos. Dogs require daily attention. They consume great quantities of food (which must be harvested and dried). A sled dog is a work animal. It is mean, and usually vicious toward anyone but its owner. A reliable dog team will not respond to anyone *but* its owner in a dependable way. Dogs must be chained, and they guard the short space around their chain area ferociously. A very small light sled that could rest on the bow of a kayak was (and is) the handy "gadget" around the village. It is pulled mostly by individuals. The kayak sled can be used summer and winter.

B. *People of St. Lawrence Island:*

1. The people of St. Lawrence Island had neither political nor family ties with the other Eskimos along the Alaskan shores, and only weak trading associations until the 20th Century. V. C. Gambell opened a mission school at Sivokak in 1894 and that village was renamed for him after his death in a marine disaster a few years later. Only a few people from the Island visited regularly on the mainland, or related directly to it, until World War II brought national defense installations to the North. Subsequently, strained relations with Russia ended customary visits for extended periods of time between relatives living in Siberia and those on St. Lawrence Island. By the 1960's, families ceased

to see each other on the high seas, as well. The last visit between relatives on the sea was reported to be in 1968, and parents, sisters, brothers—even wives—of people living on St. Lawrence today may remain in Russia, unable to return to their families on the Island. (2e)

2. The people of St. Lawrence are generally shorter than those of the mainland, and tend to reflect their Oriental ancestry more visibly. Their old traditions and customs are closely related to harvesting the walrus and whale. The walrus is the basic meat staple, and failure to harvest and store a year's supply in the underground ice cellars or caves means starvation. In 1878-79 more than 1500 people died from such a failure. In 1954 and 1955 people went hungry as well as several other times since 1940. Radio communication and the airplane prevent widespread death due to starvation. Recent installation of an experimental community cooler developed at the University of Alaska is expected to prevent loss of walrus and whale harvest through spoilage. The two villages on the Island (Savoonga and Gambell) have community-owned Native stores, as well as BIA schools (to the 8th grade), and St. Lawrence Island now relates very closely to Nome and the rest of the State. (10 & 16)

C. SUMMARY:

1. Adaptations of housing, clothing, religion, ceremony, recreation, and education among the Inupiat speaking Eskimos varied according to where people lived—the climate, weather, and the resources most readily available to them. They were known to each other by their territorial or political units, and usually were given a name that described their largest winter village or their most notable resource; e.g., the "fish-river people" because their country has many trout in the streams.* (9)

2. Leadership was exercised by either a single older man who headed up the affairs at the community center in the winter village, or by a council of the older successful men of the territory.

3. Local and regional law, order, and peace were maintained on the basis of discussion, conciliation, and arbitration at the household, village, and regional levels. Alliances for trade, social and ceremonial reasons, and mutual defense were made between the territories. There were occasional battles and long-lasting feuds between some of the territories over border violations or a crime committed by someone outside his own territory. There was little territorial violation over the years. The trespasser was usually in trouble at home, as well as the source of a serious problem with another band. The hunters who entered another territory was usually small in number, and the defender was helped by others of his band, so punishment was swift and permanent. The hunters meant life and death to the people of the territory. Peace was maintained between territories above all other considerations.

4. Religion and Ceremony generally centered on demonstrations by the shamans showing their power and the power of their spirits. Individual religious practices included the use of charms and amulets which could bring luck to the hunter, promise personal safety, or aid in the successful achievement of a number of desires. The shamans were usually gifted with extrasensory powers and they were important and respected people (and feared) for that reason. In all others ways, the shaman lived about as anyone else, maintaining himself and his family, although he was usually a wealthy man because he was paid for his services.

*Kauweramiut word = Nushalamiut

5. Eskimos did not use wheeled vehicles. Wheels require a hard, even surface; but the tundra is very rough and pitted with deep, water-filled pockets. Log rollers were used for moving extremely heavy articles short distances. Modern times have brought the snow machine, all-terrain vehicle, and small plane. Whenever possible, and where practical, this has been adopted. The drawbacks to such equipment are:

   - Machines do not find their way to camp or home in a blizzard, whiteout, or pitch darkness.
   - Machines will blindly go in thin ice, over a cliff, or tip or roll down steep inclines (dogs will stop if the trail is dangerous).
   - Mechanical failure and lack of fuel will stop a machine, leaving a person stranded miles away from shelter (and will not keep them warm if it is deathly cold).
   - Machines are costly to obtain, costly to operate, costly to maintain, and most important of all, parts are often not in stock and must be ordered from distant points, leaving people without transportation for many weeks.

   Snow machines do work on sand, gravel, and tundra, but they run into mechanical trouble quickly and wear the tracks fast.

   In spite of the drawbacks, mechanical transport is preferred for its speed, ease of handling, and convenience. Most Eskimo men are very skilled in maintaining and operating tracked vehicles and Eskimo pilots are usually exceptionally skilled.

6. Life for Eskimos, before others came to Alaska, was much like life anywhere. Much time was taken up with harvesting, processing, and storing food and other needed materials like skin, furs, fuel, and ivory, stone, wood, or bone for tools and utensils. More time was spent in converting materials into clothing, boats, sleds, and other items. Time was needed to raise, feed, and train dogs. Adults taught and trained the children and youth. Sickness and injury required special attention. Midwives helped with childbirth. Shamans communicated with the spirits and powers which affected people's lives. People played games, had contests, traded with each other for things they needed, and expressed their feelings or told stories in songs and by dancing. Some years the harvests were very poor and people went hungry. Sometimes a sudden winter storm or a tidal action would destroy a whole village and everyone in it. The winters were long and cold, with little sunlight. The summers were warm with lots of daytime and great flocks of birds returned bringing an abundance of fresh eggs. Each family household traveled to the seasonal fishing, hunting, and winter places. Their safety and wealth depended upon their physical health and the skill and knowledge of the adults.

7. Eskimos did not wander about aimlessly looking for game. They identified very strongly with their territory and a kazghi. (A kazghi is sometimes compared to a political party in American politics.) A small change in the depth of the off-shore waters of the coast, the climate, or the annual migrations of sea mammals or caribou could bring extinction to a band of people. The maintenance of a functional territorial unit—that is enough people for a sustained good life—was precarious. Eskimos followed the proven ideas, methods, and beliefs of their ancestors. Changes by choice in the way of doing things came about *only* when the new thing was proved to be better than a former way.

Sources: Except where noted otherwise, No. 10.

UNIT V. PART I: PEOPLE OF THE BERING SEA REGION

"...writers consistently imply that the Eskimos have no political organization, and some have flatly stated that they have no territorial concepts, boundaries, leadership, or law!....., the Eskimos have been deprived of a fundamental part of their culture; the relationship of a group to a specific territory with its processes of control both within and beyond its boundaries. Political organization, thus defined, is applicable to <u>any</u> Eskimo group, no matter how simple or complex its government." (underline added)

— Dorothy Jean Ray
from: *Land Tenure and Policy of the Bering Strait Eskimos*

Unit V. Part I: People of the Bering Sea Region

A. 1. The people who occupy the territories (ethnic identification) are called:

KEVALINGAMIUT
NOATAGMIUT
NUNATAGMIUT
KOWAGMIUT
MALEMIUT
UNALIGMIUT (Inupic-Yupic blend)
KAUWERAMIUT
KINGIKMIUT
INGUKLIMIUT
TAPKAKMIUT
SELAWIGMIUT
EIWHUELIT (St. Lawrence Is.--there are 2 local territorial subdivisions recognized by the Eiwhuelit.)

2. No one knows positively how many Eskimos lived in this region before European or Russian contact. It is estimated more than 2000 people lived on St. Lawrence Island. At least 3500 people lived in the rest of the region (with two or three hundred living on each of the islands—King, Sledge, and the Diomedes). These figures are from 1866 and 1880 (census). They do not tell us if this a high or low period of population, and the estimates were made 30 to 50 years after infectious diseases were introduced by explorers, traders, and whalers. The present population is estimated to be nearly 8500, with only about 800 Eskimo people living on St. Lawrence island.

3. More than 160 Eskimo villages or communities were recorded for the mainland when the first explorers came to the region. Not all of these were occupied at the same time, and not all of the settlements being used had people living in them all year long. There are presently 31 year-round communities in 30 locations. * Two communities have no schools, and are occupied almost entirely by adults, with children as occasional summer visitors: * (* — *2e) (10)

King Island village on King Island (adults)
King Island village at Nome
Mary's Igloo (Aukvanuk) (adults)
Kivalina
Kotzebue
Kiana
Kobuk
Selawik
Deering
Inalik (Diomede)
Brevig Mission
Nome
White Mountain
Elim
On St. Lawrence Island: Gambell & Savoonga
Shaktoolik
Stebbins
Candle
Noatak
Noorvik
Ambler
Shungnak
Buckland
Shishmaref
Wales
Teller
Golovin
Koyuk
Unalakleet
St. Michael

4. Economy: Subsistence

a. Harvest:

1) The economy of the region was based on four ways (patterns) the people obtained food and other materials they needed:

- Whaling Pattern (whale, walrus, seal, and fish)

- Caribou Hunting Pattern (caribou, fish, seal, and beluga—a small white whale)
- Small Sea Mammal Pattern (seal, beluga, fish, and caribou)
- Walrus Pattern (walrus, seal, whale, and fish)

Each pattern centered on harvesting the animals listed in the order above; BUT every pattern included harvest of berries, waterfowl, birds, squirrels, rabbits, eggs, and vegetable or root products.

2) The people of Wales and Kivalina followed the Whaling Pattern; the people of St. Lawrence and Diomede, the Walrus; the inland dwellers of the Seward Peninsula and along the upper reaches of the Noatak and Kobuk Rivers were Caribou Hunters; while the rest of the groups followed the Small Sea Mammal Pattern.

3) Subsistence harvest has severe limitations. The methods of storing and preserving foods is limited by available technology. Fish and meat can be dried. If weather turns damp, it may be ruined by mold. Foods can be frozen, but when a few warm days occur, it may thaw and be spoiled. Greens, fish and meat (the latter cooked or partially dried) can be stored for long periods in animal, fish, or bird oils. Preparation of hides, skins, and furs takes long hours of hard work and must be done under certain conditions of weather and temperature. Berries are not always plentiful in the same locations every year.

5. Trade:

a. The people of the whole interior of the Seward Peninsula—extending to Port Clarence and south along the coast to Safety Lagoon—were called Kauweramiut. They were known as traders of the Northern Eskimos. The trading centers were established in antiquity. They were not "markets," but annual gatherings of people at certain places so trading could take place. The entry point for Siberian goods was around Cape Prince of Wales. The Kauweramiut controlled the Siberian trade. The principal trading centers were Cape Prince of Wales or Pt. Spencer, the Baldwin Peninsula near Kotzebue, and another secondary center a little way east of Pt. Barrow. The Pt. Barrow Eskimos carried on trade from that center west along the Arctic Coast. (9, 12 & 16)

b. People regularly collected at these trading centers after break-up and before freeze-up to exchange their surpluses for the different surpluses of others. Things traded included:

- jade and other special stone for blades and points
- native metals
- ivory
- beads from Siberia (and later from North American trading posts)
- reindeer, otter, fox, caribou, walrus, and oogruk skins
- items of clothing
- tools, weapons, and equipment

c. The dates are not known, but metal—and later brass pots—were brought for trade by

the Siberians. Tobacco was also brought by the Siberians long before the white traders appeared in the north. The trading system (see Plate II) permitted goods to be circulated over the entire northern region. These goods originated at distant points in North America (from French, English, American, and Spanish trading posts) as well as Asia and Moscow.

6. Settlement:

   a. Each territory contained at least one large village and several smaller ones. They were located on the sea coast, in sheltered bays and sounds, and along the rivers. Everyone in that territory was as aware of the boundaries of his homeland as if it had fences built around it. The permanent winter villages had at least one kazghi.

   b. Entire families moved to the seasonal harvest camps or villages. Sometimes the smaller permanent winter villages would be completely empty for several months. The larger villages were occupied during these periods by a few people. These were usually older people with young ones around to help them with daily chores.

   c. Occasionally one household (one large family associated with one set of grandparents) settled alone and did not participate directly in the winter village activities. They might not like the leadership at that time. If the family grew and prospered, in time a new village would be founded.

   d. Sometimes villages were wiped out by a flood, landslide, or some other disaster. If it were not occupied, a new village was not built at the site for several generations. If it were occupied, several villages or campsites would fall into disuse for a long period of time.

   e. Location of villages and small family homesites depended upon the affect of ever-changing channels in rivers and coastal waters upon fish and sea mammals; or that of climate and weather upon the caribou, plant, and other animal life.

7. Shelter:

   a. Houses: Permanent houses generally had a tunnel entrance below ground level to serve as a cold air trap. They were rectangular, had central fireplaces if driftwood or stands of willow or spruce were abundant, and sleeping—lounging platforms were attached to the walls or set on the floor. A variation were houses with ground-level entrances in sheltered areas and the fireplace built-up either in the center or in a back corner. Houses were lighted and vented. Window covers were made of skin or gut scraped thin enough to let light penetrate.

   b. The people of the upper Kobuk and Noatak Rivers frequently changed the location of their villages. Usually they constructed similar houses, although occasionally a village would be composed of dome-shaped houses with a skin- and sod-covered pole framework more like the tents used at campsites. The people of King Island had a special summer house built of heavy walrus skin attached to a rectangular framework. Other summer houses were covered with planks or bark fastened to a framework of posts covered with mud daub over lattice. These summer dwellings were constructed of pliable poles bent to form a dome-shaped framework. This was covered with a lattice woven of small leaf-free branches. A heavy layer of adobe-like mud was applied and allowed to dry. Houses were insulated from the cold, if they

were to be used in those seasons. Blocks of sod were placed moss-side against the building until the entire structure was covered except the skylight. Houses ranged in design from a one-room structure with entry passage or storm shed to an arrangement of one to three side-rooms opening off a large central area. Sometimes a small hall-like room was attached to the entry as well.

c. Tents: Skin tents varied in style from area to area, but were in keeping with the climate and seasonal use. Some were placed upon platforms of driftwood, but most rested on the ground. Dome-shaped tents with a framework of pliable poles were common. Along Norton Sound the whale hunters used the teepee design. (10)

d. Storage: Caches were constructed above and below ground. Depending upon the materials available and the purpose of the cache, a number of designs were used. A teepee-like structure of poles and laced brush was used for storing dried fish, meats, and berries. Natural and man-made caves were used to store meat. Tools and equipment used at one location only seasonally were often stored in the caches, as well. Bark, plank, skin, and latticed branches were used to cover raised caches. In some places, stone cairns were used for fish and caribou, and temporary leaf- or moss-lined storage pits were dug in the top layer of permafrost. Fish and meat were left on racks indefinitely, but this was commonly used as dog food. (10)

8. Clothing:

a. The warmth of traditional Eskimo clothing comes from layers of loose-fitting garments that are windproof and trap warm air layers. Caribou and reindeer hair is hollow, which adds to the insulating qualities of clothing made from these materials. Fawn skins are preferred for parkas. Spotted reindeer, not natural to Alaska, was a valuable Siberian trade item. The slip-over inside parka has the hair side turned in. It may or may not have a hood. Outside parkas normally have the hair side turned out. The hoods are rimmed with wolverine because it does not collect frost.

b. Women's outside parkas were long, reaching below the knee, and were split to the thighs to allow for free movement. The back of both inside and outside parkas were roomy to permit a baby to be carried against the back. The child was held in place by a belt beneath the pouch. This fastened across and above the breasts. Men's parkas were shorter, with the inner one reaching just below the waist. Men usually wore a belt from which could be hung a knife, tobacco pouch, or pouches of small tools. (Women also used belts to carry sewing pouches and personal things when away from home.) Outside parkas were trimmed with long V-shaped inserts of white hair or fur.

c. Mukluk footwear was made according to the way it was to be used. For cold weather, hunting boots reached the knee, or mid-thigh, and the tops had the hair side in. Oogruk was preferred for soles, but polar bear, caribou hide, and sealskin were used. Waterproof summer boots were made of skin with the hair removed.

d. The houses were warm and free of drafts. The men commonly wore shorts or an apron of skin, fur side in, when indoors.

e. Mittens, used in cold weather, were made of very warm fur (dog or bear).

f. Socks of sealskin were used, and insoles of dried grass provided insulation for oogruk

soles, and could be easily changed if the boots became wet.

9. Social and political controls:

   a. Protection of territory, peaceful and orderly behavior among the people, and the general welfare of the entire territorial membership was taken care of through the *personal* and *personalized* leadership of older men and women.

   b. Some anthropologists refer to the leaders as "chiefs." The Eskimos say this is not a good term. Leadership was observed in a man, occasionally when he was still a youth, and when he proved himself, people would turn to him for advice and follow his example. (9 & 6) When there was a single primary leader, he acted almost like a ruler. Other times a group of leading men acted as a council, and their decisions were law.

   c. The center of government was the kazghi. If there was more than one such community center, the function was much like two political parties, each with its own leadership. The two kazghis did not quarrel, however, since peaceful self-imposed order was absolutely necessary to the existence of a village. (12, 9, & 6)

   d. People did not travel outside of their territory unless someone knew them and could vouch for them at another kazghi in foreign territory.

   e. The young men in the kazghi were instructed not to cause problems with others or to go outside of the home territory if it could make trouble. Leadership was outspoken on the rules of the community. The kazghi settled arguments or disputes most indirectly; just as they advised on the various problems that arose. They simply stated the opinions of the men who controlled the majority of the households. Individuals rarely went against such advice or opinion.

   f. When territorial boundaries were crossed without permission, (usually by hunters) and the decision was to punish the trespassers, the leading member of the winter-village kazghi might lead the war party; or another better suited for that job could be chosen. It was common to ask permission of another territory to hunt in their lands if the harvest was poor. This request was almost always granted. Violations of territory were, therefore, a serious matter.

   g. When someone did not behave as others expected, and created trouble in a village, it was known in the kazghi. If the matter was serious, it was made part of the business at the kazghi, and the offender heard about it in strong terms. Sometimes a person was able to correct the situation, and the matter was forgotten. If it was too serious, and the welfare of everyone was threatened, the person would have to leave the company of others (a terrible punishment), or could be executed. This was usually done by a member of his family, since they were responsible for his birth, and therefore responsible for his actions. Such a condemned person often left the village, but knew if he were ever seen, he would be killed. (2e & 9)

   h. Although all the people in a unit did not live in a village, or their community might not have a kazghi, they felt they belong (that is, they *used*) a certain kazghi whether they ever physically entered it or not. In that way, they were subject to the then present leadership. If they did not like current leaders, they stayed away from the kazghi. They did not go against the rules or decisions made there. (9 & 6)

10. Religion and Ceremony:

a. The Eskimos turned to a person with special powers for advice, instruction, or help in spiritual matters. The Eskimos had shamans of great power called "aung ut guk(s)." They were usually men. Lesser shamans, who could communicate with spirits and be helped by them in good works, had the power of "keela." They were ordinary people with a gift, and usually were women. The early missionaries considered the shamans witch doctors and devil worshipers. Many Eskimo people refer to shamans by these English terms. Aungutguks were very powerful, and no one wanted to have one for an enemy. They often charged heavy tribute for their services, and were greatly feared. *As a result, unless they became rulers through fear, people often shunned them, and they lived apart from the village with their family. Some aungutguks were benevolent, and became village leaders at the kazghi.* (9)

b. Shamans used masks of their spirits, special powerful charms and curses and spells. They went into trances. Their spirit (soul) would fly away from their body and cruise about the world. They often had terrible battles with other flying shamans, or the spirits encountered in flight. Sometimes they would not recover from a trance, or were sick and sore after regaining consciousness. Then, it was believed, they had been killed or badly beaten by those they met. A shaman beat strange rhythms on his small drum, and sang weird and scary songs and melodies before he went into a trance, or when preparing to contact his spirits. Much of his work was done in darkness in the kazghi, but he also practiced in secret. (12 & 9)

c. Persons who had keela had the ability to draw on the powers of spirits that surrounded others. Usually in a semi-trance, they could talk with these spirits, who answered so anyone present could hear. They could let people know how hunters were doing, and whether or not a missing hunting party or individual was alive or in good health. They were healers of the mind and body. (9)

d. The aungutguk(s) did not participate in matters at the kazghi that had to do with territory or the rules that people lived by except as a private person. He could be called upon to ask his spirits to foretell the outcome of the season's harvest, or to command their help, although in helping out, the aungutguk was more apt to volunteer. The aungutguk(s) depended upon others for his power and wealth. If he became too evil in his ways he was killed, or people shunned him to such an extent that he was unable to live comfortably. (9)

e. The Eskimos observed a number of ceremonies connected with birth, death, and the hunt. One is called "first fruits." A man paid special honors to the first large animal of any specie that he killed at the beginning of the season. Most Eskimos pour a small amount of fresh water over the muzzle of a newly killed seal, since it was believed the seal permitted itself to be killed and used in exchange for a drink of fresh water for its spirit. It is also believed that animals appeared to be used by humans; but if their bodies were wasted or abused, they would not reappear as abundantly in following seasons. The first large game killed by a boy was very important. This was shared with the elders and others in the village, according to their relationship to the boy, but he was not permitted to eat any of that animal himself. This was an object lesson in sharing and mutual dependence.

f. The Messenger Feast originated on the Seward Peninsula. At such times, usually

upon the direction of a powerful aungutguk, and after a rich harvest, decision in the kazghi would be to host a special gathering. Preparations could take as much as two years. Songs and dances were composed, fancy dress clothing was constructed and great quantities of food were prepared. Long before the feast, messengers with long decorated poles bearing symbols recording the demands of the host kazghi, were sent to other villages. People from other territories allied by trade, defense agreements, or family ties were invited. Such feasts involved games, contests, and dancing for hours on end. The feast had religious overtones. The part of the dancing dealing with the spiritual was carefully rehearsed and danced in a singular fashion. The guests were taught the ceremonial dances and songs, since their aid was necessary to the purpose of the dancing. The original ceremonial Messenger Feast, the Eagle—Wolf Dance, is performed (with local changes) among all Northern Alaskan Inupiats. It is still retained in its original form by the Kauweramiut of the Seward Peninsula.

The Messenger Feast was an economic function, as well as social and political. The gifts exchanged by the leaders of each kazghi were a form of trade and credit. Political ties were strengthened by the gatherings, new marriages were arranged, and communication was maintained over great distances through the periodic feasts. (9, 10, 12)

11. Artistic Expression:

a. Music* — Although whistles and whistling was present, this was more for imitating bird and small animal calls and seldom incorporated in the music. *(9) Eskimo music depended upon singing for melody. The common instrument was the drum. This was made in many sizes. The basic design is a hoop or oval made of wood, bone, or ivory with a taut walrus stomach or caribou skin covering. Intricate rhythms are played by striking the rim or skin from underneath. Melodies resemble tones of the oriental scale, but use quarter and half tones not familiar to Euro-American ears. Melodies are sung both with and without words. Key and rhythm are established for the singers by the drummer(s) before singing begins.

b. It takes great skill and years of practice to become a drummer. An expert drummer is greatly admired. The quality of Eskimo dancing depends upon the leadership and directing ability of the drummer. (9) Eskimo dances are created by individuals or groups who then own them. Certain styles of dancing are regarded as specialties of particular units, although all the groups enjoy them. Dances and songs were performed for others at Messenger Feasts, the trading centers, and for visitors. These were then shared, but credit was expected (and given) to the creators when the dances were performed. (9)

c. Some dancing is done sitting on benches or seating platforms (bench dances). Only the upper portion of the body, the head, arms and hands are used to tell the story. There are men's dances and women's dances, as well as those done by both. Women's dances are less strenuous than men's and do not call for strong jumping or stamping steps. Some dances resemble reels. Presently, the name given an ancient dance may not indicate what the dance is about, but the kind of fancy parka that is used in the dance. For example, the "weasel dance," is named after the 16 weasel skins that hang from the arms and across the back of the parka. When the dancers perform, these fan out and sway in unison with the prescribed motions of the dancers. This is one dance that is part of the ceremonies of the Eagle—Wolf Dance.

(9) Eskimo dances have been passed along since antiquity. Thousands were created, but only a few hundred are still used. New dances are still being created. Eskimo dancing entertains, remembers past events, describes a story, and once was part of religious expression.

d. Carving, etching, and drawing: — Eskimos are famous for their ivory carving. In addition, they carve or etch on wood, bone, stone, and other surfaces. The only paintings on rock known among Northern Eskimos are in Tuksuk Channel on the Seward Peninsula. They are probably about 200 years old. Eskimo people say they were done by the last of the aungutguks of the region. The overhanging cliff where they are painted is rapidly breaking away and falling into the deep water. In 1971 a large face broke away and partly covered the pictures of hunters, skin boats, and a dancing aungutguk. The pictures are painted with mineral pigments mixed with animal or fish oils.

Eskimo etching included detailed scenes from everyday life. Much of the past is known from the ancient etchings on tools and household utensils found by the archaeologists. Sometimes carved masks of wood or bone were used to make a dance—story more realistic, other times they had spiritual meanings. Sometimes they were meant just to make people laugh. The masks of the shamans indicated the way their spirits looked, or possibly the extent of their powers. They were frightening to see.

Puppets were used some places, like Pt. Hope, but it is not known if they were for entertainment or for religious purposes.

Sources: (Unless otherwise noted, 10, 12, & 16)

BARTER ISLAND
NIGALIK
PT. BARROW
Passes
Mountain
KOTZEBUE
PT. HOPE
WALES
PT. SPENCER
FOREIGN GOODS — TRADE ROUTES
Entry Points
Siberian (later Siberian-Russian)
Indian (later Indian-European)

PLATE III

UNIT VI. PART II: PEOPLE OF THE ARCTIC SLOPE (REGIONAL DIFFERENCES)

". . . , northern Alaska, demonstrates the interaction, both in the prehistoric past and in the ethnological present, of groups each reflecting a major ecological pattern. These are two: the nuunamiut, people of the land, whose life developed around the caribou; and the tareumiut, the people of the sea, whose primary orientation was toward sea mammal hunting and in the area of the Arctic Slope, at least, especially toward whaling."

— Robert F. Spencer, from *The North Alaskan Eskimo: A Study in Ecology and Society.*

Unit VI. Part II: People of the Arctic Slope (Regional Differences)

A. 1. The terms NUUNAMIUT and TEREUMIUT come from Eskimo words that describe two ways of living. The Nuunamiut lived in the mountains and hills of the North Slope and harvested the caribou. They were nomadic in the past, following the migrations of the caribou. Only one settlement exists inland today. The Tereumiut lived in permanent villages along the Arctic coastline and at the mouths of the rivers draining into the Arctic Ocean.

2. The territorial ethnic identifications were:

Tereumiut	Nuunamiut
Tigeramiut	Noatagmiut
Kukparungmiut	Keraligamiut
Utukamiut	Kanianermiut
Kunmiut	Killinermiut
Sidarumiut	Tulugamiut
Utkiavinmiut	Koluguragmiut
Nukwukmiut	Ikpikpagmiut
Tikixtagmiut*	Kagmalirmiut
Kikiktarugmiut*	

*These two units lived east of the Kugruakmiut River and had many customs in common with the Canadian Arctic Eskimos with whom they had close social and family ties.

3. The population reports of 1850 and 1880 estimate that about 3000 Eskimos lived in the Arctic Slope region. Approximately 2500 live there today.

4. Fifty-seven villages were reported in this region. Most of them were along the sea coast. Today there are five villages. All but one, located on the most eastern mountain pass in the Brooks Range, are on the coast:

Point Hope	Wainwright
Barrow	Kaktovik (Barter Is.)
Anaktuvuk Pass	

There are three summer villages where a few adults remain all year:

Point Lay	Atkasook
Nooiksut	

5. Economy:

a. The Tereumiut way of life centered on hunting whale, (the Whaling Pattern), but walrus and seal were important to the meat harvest. Coastal people hunted the caribou, netted fish, and collected eggs and vegetable foods, but their main livelihood came from the sea. They depended upon the inland people to supply caribou products and other resources not available along the coast. The Nuunamiut, in their turn, depended on the coastal people to supply them with sea mammal oil, ivory, baleen (tough pliable cutaneous strips from the mouth of the bowhead whale), and the tough, heavy sea mammal skins used for boats and boot soles.

b. Trade: The ancient trade route of the Arctic Slope was centered on the Colville River Delta at a place called Nirlik. Eskimos from the Kobuk—Noatak areas traveled up the river system bringing trade goods from the center on the Baldwin Peninsula. The Pt. Barrow people carried on active trade with the visitors. Later the Pt. Barrow people traveled to Barter Island in their skin boats for further trade with Eskimos from the East and the most northern Athabascan Indians. During the winter, people from Pt. Barrow traveled throughout the area carrying on trade in the different villages. Both the Tereumiut and Nuunamiut used the trading centers, but trade between the two groups was sustained and continuous and not dependent upon the seasonal trading "fairs." This trade was carried on along the Colville River system and the principal rivers of the Arctic Slope:

Kongakut	Canning
Sagavanirktok	Kupuruk
Itkillik	Anaktuvuk
Ikpikpuk	Meade
Utkukok	Kokolik
Kukpuk	

6. Settlement:

a. Point Barrow and Point Hope are sites of continuous human habitation over the past 5000 to 6000 years. People lived in those places before the Eskimo culture was fully evolved. It is not known if they were the actual ancestors of the Eskimos of today, or if they were other men who stayed awhile, and then moved on to more temperate climates.

b. The Eskimo people of the Arctic coast lived in permanent villages, with camp sites for seasonal use that were actually part-time villages. In the larger villages there might be several kazghis, each led by a separate umalik—the owner of a large skin whaling boat. Every family in the village was related in some way to one of the crew members of a boat, and thus to a certain kazghi.

c. The inland people's life revolved around the habits of the caribou. Herds numbering thousands roam over the barren ground, beginning in the late winter, searching out satisfactory fawning grounds. Fawns are born in April. Shortly thereafter, the animals begin a migratory drifting toward the Brooks Range and the mountain passes, to fall and winter forage on the southern approaches to the mountains. Caribou do not return to the same places each year. The Eskimos were required to hunt for the returning herds, and once located, they were followed and harvested. The animals were herded into natural or man-made corrals, lakes, or rivers and slaughtered with bows and arrows, spears, knives, and clubs.

d. Virtually all mainland Eskimos hunted the caribou, but the individual hunter used snares, dead-falls, or a weapon; and that meat was supplemental to the family share of a communal harvest.

7. Shelter:

a. The coastal people did not have fireplaces in their homes. They used the seal oil lamp for heat as well as light. Sleeping platforms attached to the walls were high enough to avoid floor drafts, if the underground entrance tunnel did not trap all

cold air. Little heat was needed to keep a home comfortably warm.

b. The inland people usually built a new house each year convenient to the area occupied by the herd to be harvested that season. The village was located near willow thickets, the source of fuel and construction materials. This would serve the people for about one year, although some villages might be occupied for several years.

c. Some groups of inland people periodically lived in tent-like homes year-round, and might move their location several times in a year. This could be due to a failure of a large herd of caribou to appear as expected, a shortage of fuel, or bad luck (poor hunting) at different locations. When frequent moves were made, the village communities were called "camps." In the past, the only difference between a camp and a village was that the houses in a "village" remained as permanent structures and were used regularly by the owner's family. Houses in a camp were demolished for the move, and the reusable materials salvaged for new homes at another location.

d. Tent homes were made in a special way: They were not flimsy nor really portable. Willow poles were forced into the ground in opposing pairs and lashed together to form a dome-shaped framework. Caribou skins sewn together were placed hair-side out over the frame leaving a doorway, window, and smoke hole. This was in turn covered with caribou skins without hair, and blocks of sod or banked snow covered the structure to a height of several feet, or completely. Heavy windproof skins covered the raised doorway, and a window frame of willow or horn held a semi-transparent pane of animal gut. The floors were covered with small boughs that could be replaced from time to time. A raised stone fireplace below the smoke hole completed the home.

e. Storage: Caches, cairns, caves, and pits were commonly used in addition to the meat cellars, and ice cellars were confined to the coastal areas.

Another important raw material, and trade item, was driftwood. Certain kinds of driftwood, like spruce and twisted hardwoods, were valuable for their usable width or strength, and were collected and stored in a dry place.

Meats were stored in underground cellars or caves. Fresh ice to be melted for water (during warm weather when fresh water is difficult to obtain) was also stored underground by the coastal people. Old abandoned dwellings are still used for meat cellars, since they are well insulated with sod above and permafrost underneath.

8. Transportation: Except for slight changes in design, methods and vehicles used for transportation were generally the same throughout the Inupiat Eskimo regions.

9. In general terms, there was little difference in clothing among the Inupiats, except that the Nuunamiut women sewed their boots to their trousers, making pants and boots a single garment.

10. Social and political controls:

a. The greatest cultural difference between the people of the Arctic Slope and those of the Bering Sea is in the form of leadership. Only communities specializing in whale and walrus in the regions farther south were led, or ruled, by the owner—captain(s)

of the large skin boats. Leadership of all coastal territorial units of the Arctic Slope was exercised by these men. Each owner had a following of his own extended family and those of every member of his crew. The sharing of the catch was according to this relationship.

b. Little is known about the leadership of the inland Arctic Slope people. Sometimes a community would hold only the members of a large family—elders, their children, any spouses, and the younger generation. In such a case the elders would direct and regulate the group's action. Decisions and other matters relating to the livelihood and cultural activities probably took place by visits to the camps and kazghis of other villages in the territory. The annual gatherings at the coast for trade and short-term sea mammal hunting provided another means for communication among the leaders within territories as well as those from other territories. At such times, the meeting would perform the same functions as the kazghi of the permanent winter villages.

11. Religion and ceremony:

a. Point Hope is famous for the unusual ancient remains associated with burial practices. It was not generally the custom of Eskimos to bury their dead. It was considered impractical because permafrost underlies much of the ground; and it was not in keeping with religious beliefs. Some extremely intricate ivory carvings, including one-piece chains made of a single walrus tusk and fine whalebone masks, were buried with individuals of ancient Point Hope.

b. A particular practice of Arctic Slope shamans centers on a carving of a mystic animal spirit called a "kikituk." A powerful shaman carried this spirit in his body until he needed it. After undergoing a painful trance the spirit was born. The shaman then sent this malignant kikituk to destroy his enemies. When the job was done, the shaman swallowed the kikituk and it became dormant in his body until it was needed again. The kikituk could bore through the earth and find its prey anywhere in the world, it was believed. If a person only saw one near himself, then he knew he was the intended victim of some powerful shaman.

c. In the Arctic Slope region, as elsewhere, the shaman dealt with the spiritual world, not with ruling in matters of community leadership or the decisions of the kazghi having to do with harvest, trade, political alliances, or crime. The only exceptions occurred those rare times when a shaman secured short-term control of a community by frightening its members into submission to his wishes.

d. The most well-known ceremony of the Arctic Slope region is the nu luk a tuk, the whale festival. This is a form of the Messenger Feast. It centers on celebrating the whale harvest, and had religious significance. The feast is held after the whale season ends—in the late spring. Owners of the skin boats of successful crews host the ceremonies. The honors paid to the boat owner, the crew captain (if another man), the man who sighted the whale, the first one to harpoon (or shoot) the animal, the first crew to catch a whale, a man's first voyage as a crew captain or crew member are all dictated by centuries of tradition. Special honors and courtesies are paid to the elderly, the families and relatives of the crew, and the owners, captains and crews of other whale boats as well as to visitors from other villages.

Dances focus upon telling the stories of whale hunts of the past and in keeping alive

the songs and dances of passing generations. Ceremonial dancing of the past was associated with the return of the whales' spirits to the sea so they would come by again to be harvested. A portion of the ceremony is devoted to carving the flippers (muktuk) of the first whale caught by a crew into portions to be presented to village members according to an ancient and established pattern of individual honors. The entire amount of this meat must be distributed, with none left over.

12. Artistic Expression:

    a. Carving and etching reflected the preoccupation of the artist, and revolved around the life of the whaler or that of the caribou hunter.

    b. In the Arctic, masks were used to illustrate or add to the entertainment of dancing. Driftwood and whalebone were carved into human-like expressions. Masks were not used as much by shamans here as farther south, but bird or animal heads were stuffed and worn in many dances of ceremonial nature. Comic dancing was a favorite entertainment at most Eskimo social gatherings, whether masks were used or not. Funny gestures, strange noises, and the obvious enjoyment of the performer would be greeted with gales of laughter, particularly if he was a good mimic, as well.

    c. Drums used in the far north were small—only about 12" across. Those of the inland people had spruce frames. Drums in the Bering Strait were two to three feet across. The small drums are seldom seen today.

    d. Skin sewing is an expression of womanly creativity. The Eskimos agree that the Northern Eskimo women excel in this art. Part of any important gathering at a Feast or trading center was the wearing of new clothes that displayed the artistry of the women of the kazghis, households, or skin boat crew members. Each territorial unit developed designs using combinations of furs and skins that clearly identified the wearers of that area. In addition, if certain women created a design that was widely copied, the originator was known. Details of cut or trim of men's hunting parkas and women's parka covers still reflect the regional differences today between the Arctic Slope people, the Bering Strait people, and those who live on St. Lawrence Island.

13. The greatest overall difference between the Eskimo people of the Arctic Slope and those of the Bering Sea Region is in their harvest trading patterns. The livelihood of the people centered on two kinds of harvest; one from the sea mammals, the other on the inland caribou. Each depended upon the other to supply basic necessities for life. Together they maintained a balanced and harmonious use of the vast amount of land required to sustain human life.

Sources: (10, 12, & 2e)

UNIT VII. PART III: THE PEOPLE OF ST. LAWRENCE ISLAND: UNIQUE IN ALASKA

"The Eskimos of St. Lawrence Island . . . represent an offshoot of the Siberian Eskimo population, and their cultural development has closely paralleled that of the Siberian group . . ., St. Lawrence Island was occupied by Asiatic rather than Alaskan Eskimos."

—Wendell Oswalt, *Alaskan Eskimos*

Unit VII. Part III: The People of St. Lawrence Island: Unique in Alaska

A. 1. The Eskimos of St. Lawrence Island are citizens of the United States and the state of Alaska. They are called Northern Alaskan Eskimos because their culture is Eskimo and because they are politically affiliated with the United States. Culturally, they trace their habits and customs to the Eskimos of the Siberian coasts.

2. The closest ties throughout the generations have been with the families of Ungwaezik (Chaplino) on the Chukotski Peninsula thirty-eight miles away. Although they trace ties along the coast from East Cape to Anadyr Sound.

3. Small communities, family campsites, and sites of ancient villages dot the coast all around the Island. In modern times only one large permanent village was on the Island. It was called Chibutak or Sivokak until recent times when it was renamed Gambell for the first missionary to live there. At approximately the same time, a place called Savoonga grew from a reindeer herding camp to a village. Now these are the only villages on St. Lawrence. The first explorers recorded twenty-one villages or camps on the Island.

4. In the late 1960's a military installation was built at Northeast Cape on the Island. A school was opened for the children of Eskimo people living around the site in 1967. One year later the site was closed, as was the school, and that village ceased to be a year-round community.

5. The population of St. Lawrence Island was once more than 2000. In the winter of 1878-79 more than 1500 people died of starvation. Many small coastal villages disappeared at this time.

6. Economy:

   a. The main source of food is the walrus. The subsistence harvest of St. Lawrence is much like Diomede. Honor, respect, and wealth are all related to capture of the huge bowhead whale, but the main meat supply comes from the walrus. Important parts of the diet include seal, fish, birds, eggs, seaweeds, roots, greens, and berries.

   b. Storage: Long sections of walrus skin with the fat and meat attached are folded over and laced together with a string of the hide. These are called *tochtak*. They weigh about 110 pounds each, and are placed in meat cellars or cool houses to be used during the other seasons.

   c. Trade: The St. Lawrence people generally traded with the people on the Siberian mainland and seldom came to Alaska. They saw each other frequently on the sea during hunting periods. Family members from the mainland frequently spent the entire winter on the Island, or Islanders stayed with relatives in Siberia. A good deal of trade was done through this informal exchange. (2e)

7. Settlement: Campsites for fishing and berrying were placed on the rivers and creeks. Small villages and camps also grew up where a good place was found to launch and bring the big skin boats back from the open-sea hunting.

8. The Islanders developed distinct clothing designs. Parka hoods fit the face closely, and the rain-proof clothing (made of sea mammal gut) is trimmed with tassels and tails of fur. Like the other whale hunters of the North, the outside hunting parka is made of skin

bleached white by repeated freezing before being cut and sewn into clothing. (Note: Textiles are now replacing the white skin hunting parkas.)

9. Social and political controls rested with the owners of the large skin boats, very much as was done on the Alaskan mainland.

10. Religion and ceremony: The ceremonies of the past focused upon the seasonal rites to prepare for whale and walrus hunting. These involved the members of the crew and the wife of the boat owner, as well as the owner, himself. Some of the ceremonies were secret. All were associated with the spiritual forces of the sea, weather, and the animals to be hunted. The Walrus Festival is the celebration following the harvest. Special ceremonies were also observed when bodies of the dead were taken to burial places.

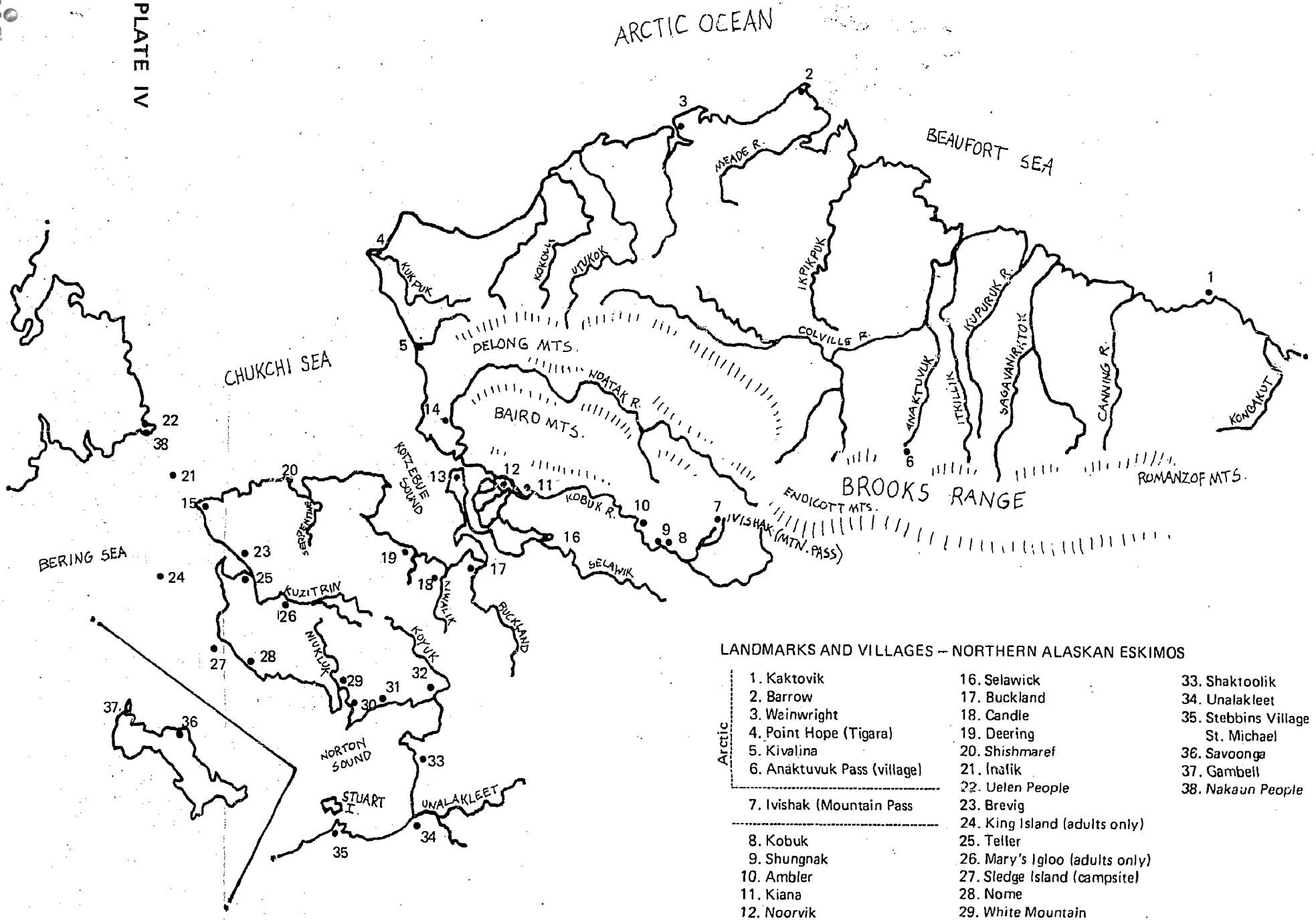
    The complete story of their past is still to be written by the people of St. Lawrence Island. Two great heroes are Daleenuk and his brother, Simu, the dwarf. They are considered the discoverers of St. Lawrence Island. A very long time ago, the Siberian coastal people suffered a period of terrible starvation. These two men took their skin boat and set out to find a place where their people could survive. They came to St. Lawrence Island. It was rich with fish, berries, and greens. They could see walrus and seals nearby. Daleenuk and Simu returned to their home village and guided the people back to the Island. This was the beginning of the people who live there today. Families still trace their relationship back to these two men. (2e)

11. Artistic Expression: Carvings, skin-sewing designs and decorations reflect the early Asiatic origins more directly than mainland work. The traditional dances, with their songs, are well remembered as well as the old ceremonies. The Eskimo language is still preferred, and virtually all St. Lawrence children speak English as a second language. This setting encourages the creation of new songs and dances, and education of young people about the past is still done through storytelling, one of the important Eskimo arts.

12. It is not easy to travel back and forth from Nome to St. Lawrence Island by boat or airplane because of constantly stormy weather. Atmospheric conditions create many problems with radio communication. Improvements in technology have increased traffic in very recent years.

Sources: (No. 16 unless otherwise noted.)

PLATE IV



LANDMARKS AND VILLAGES – NORTHERN ALASKAN ESKIMOS

Arctic

1. Kaktovik
2. Barrow
3. Wainwright
4. Point Hope (Tigara)
5. Kivalina
6. Anaktuvuk Pass (village)

7. Ivishak (Mountain Pass

8. Kobuk
9. Shungnak
10. Ambler
11. Kiana
12. Noorvik
13. Kotzebue
14. Noatak
15. Wales
16. Selawick
17. Buckland
18. Candle
19. Deering
20. Shishmaref
21. Inalik
22. Uelen People
23. Brevig
24. King Island (adults only)
25. Teller
26. Mary's Igloo (adults only)
27. Sledge Island (campsite)
28. Nome
29. White Mountain
30. Golovin
31. Elim
32. Koyuk
33. Shaktoolik
34. Unalakleet
35. Stebbins Village
St. Michael
36. Savoonga
37. Gambell
38. Nakaun People

UNIT VIII. THE HISTORIC PERIOD--19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

"The people have been quick to adopt those items of temperate zone culture that would enable them to live better. The harpoon, spear, and bow were quickly replaced by firearms when they became available. The paddle was replaced in part by the outboard motor; the airplane and snow traveller are replacir. the dog team for some uses. However, there are many items of food and clothing that were developed through the centuries by Arctic People that are far superior to those in use in warmer climates--these the Eskimo prefers and has wisely retained."

from *Alaska Natives and the Land*

Unit VIII. The Historic Period--19th and 20th Centuries

A. 1. Long before the Russian, European, and American explorers came to northern Alaskan waters, news traveled rapidly among the Inupiats. Later, when white men began to settle in the northern regions, they spoke of the "Mukluk Telegraph" in order to label the way Eskimo people from Pt. Barrow could be talking about events around Norton Sound before the non-Eskimos heard of them. Strangers were often surprised to learn they were expected at a village when there was no way for them to notify Eskimo people they were coming—this was also "Mukluk Telegraph." (1) By the time non-Eskimos began to appear in large numbers on the ships of explorers, traders, and whalers, the Eskimos probably were far more aware of the existence of other people of the world than the rest of the world was of them.

a. Russian and European explorers were in northern Arctic waters at an early date. Krupischef reported the Diomede Islands to the Russian Tzar in 1727, Bering sailed through the straits that bear his name in 1728, and Capt. James Cook explored around King and Sledge Islands and Norton Sound in 1778.

b. The first whalers appeared at the Bering Straits by 1819 and found the Eskimos were using tobacco that had reached them through the Siberian trade routes by 1790.

c. Whalers began appearing in the Alaskan waters of the Chukchi Sea and Arctic Ocean in large numbers by 1848. By 1850 the Pacific whaling was a multi-million dollar business with American ships doing most of the harvesting in the Arctic, although German, French, and English ships were there, too. At least five whale ships reached Point Barrow in 1854. Eskimos from St. Lawrence Island and Diomede Islands were hired by whaling captains as early as 1860.

d. In 1867 Russia sold its holdings in Alaska to the United States. At this time there were no settlements, stations, or trading posts inhabited by non-Eskimos in the territories occupied by the Northern Alaskan Eskimos. The most northern Russian outpost was at St. Michaels, in southern Eskimo territory.

e. Before 1854 the Northern Alaskan Eskimo way of life remained unchanged. From 1885 to around 1890 the scene was set for events that would alter many parts of Eskimo life. Firearms were introduced, making it easier for one hunter to supply his family with meat without the help of others. Alcohol was introduced suddenly without explanation or education in its use or abuse, and drunkeness became a problem after the traders had been around. Not all traders dealt with alcohol, but they were in the minority. Personal experience with Europeans and Americans was limited entirely to the kinds of men who sailed the Arctic seas. The customs and lands of the Northern Eskimos had not yet been breached. There were so few usable guns, hunting habits were still the same. Occasionally a U.S. Revenue Cutter (now U.S. Coast Guard) was seen at larger coastal villages.

f. In 1887 the Quakers opened a mission with a day school for Eskimo children at Kotzebu. Eskimos of that area had asked for a mission similar to ones already established in Southern Eskimo or Indian villages along the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers.

g. In 1890, Sheldon Jackson (Education Agent for the Department of Interior—the

agency responsible for administering the Territory of Alaska) traveled along the Arctic coast to investigate the need for establishing schools. A number of churches were contemplating establishing missions in Alaska. Congress appropriated very small amounts for administrative needs in Alaska (and less for education); schools could not be established or run on public funds. Sheldon Jackson negotiated agreements with various churches to establish mission day schools in villages in northern Alaska. Public funds would be used to aid the mission education insofar as federal law would allow.

h. At this same time, Jackson also assumed leadership in a plan to transplant semi-domesticated reindeer from Siberia to found a livestock economy among the Eskimos. Jackson's visit was made at a time when whaling was approaching its peak period. Eskimo harvest of sea mammals had decreased alarmingly, and there was hunger apparent along the coastal villages. (Large scale whaling ceased about 1915.)

1890 – 1910

2. Between 1890 and 1910 a number of events took place. The impact upon Northern Eskimos cannot be underestimated. Change was inevitable, the Eskimo people knew and accepted this fact. During this period, settlement in Northern Alaska was swift, and the entire area was dominated by the newcomers, even though not many were physically present in the Arctic Slope Region.

a. Whaling stations (winter maintenance of small retrieval boats and fuel stockpiles) were established at Pt. Hope, Pt. Barrow, and convenient points all along the coast. Coal piles dotted the coastline wherever they would be safe from winter storms, and Eskimos were frequently called upon to carry coal to the ships in their skin boats.

b. Various churches agreed to place missions with day schools in different areas of northern Alaska. In the long run, this had the effect of unofficially "dividing up" introduction of Christian and Euro—American ideas among churches with different policies regarding how people should behave. Classroom education was directly subsidized by the Department of Interior — Bureau of Education — until 1894. After that time it was regulated by the Department and conducted by teachers hired by the Bureau. In reality, education and missionary services were closely tied until very recent years. The established missions provided continuity to education and administrative services in the North. New teachers often relied on the missionary personnel for guidance and advice while they learned to adjust to the new circumstances in which they found themselves.

c. Some of the earliest missions were established by the Friends Church (Quakers), Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Lutherans (including the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America). In the years before 1900 mission schools were established at (or near) Pt. Barrow, Pt. Hope, Kotzebue, Shungnak, Deering, Wales, Shishmaref, Teller, Kivalina and Golovin Bay. Several missions were associated with the reindeer herds. When the Lapp herders were brought to Alaska to instruct Eskimos in livestock management, the contract included the services of a pastor of their Lutheran faith.

d. Education emphasized household, carpentry, and gardening skills and the 3—R's. Methods and philosophy of the early schools resembled one-room country schools around small farming communities in the midwestern and western states. Missions

were established in larger villages. Several were built at whaling stations. The U.S. Revenue Cutter brought building materials, supplies, missionaries, and teachers to the regions. Missionaries usually provided medical care as well as academic and religious instruction. Teachers, according to individual ability, also supplied medical care, and often assumed many duties associated with village record keeping as required by the federal (and later state) government.

e. Eskimo people began moving and settling permanently near villages that contained a mission, trader, or whaling station.

f. Reindeer were introduced from Cape Denbigh to Pt. Barrow. Teachers or missionaries were responsible for the administration and supervision of all record keeping associated with the deer. Missions were also assigned reindeer herds. Later they came to regard these herds as church property.

Breeding deer were loaned to individuals or villages by the Department of Interior. After a herd was established, the same number of deer were "paid back" to the federal government by taking an equal number of deer as the original loan and assigning them to someone else to start a herd.

g. Gold prospectors arrived on the Seward Peninsula. They asked the Eskimos to show them places where they could find the yellow or white metals (gold and silver). The strikes that sparked the Nome gold rush were found in this way, Ohir Creek and Council were the first. A silver mine, found the same way, operated near Golovin for many years. No benefits were received by the Eskimos. Gold in great quantities was found along the old beach lines and the interior rivers of the Peninsula. The gold rush brought more than 20,000 people to that area within two years. More than 15,000 people lived in Nome. Miner's Law prevailed, and Eskimos received neither legal or moral protection for their villages or hunting—fishing camps.

h. Nome appeared suddenly and dramatically on the beach near Anvil Mountain, on the site of a summer fishing camp—village. It was a roaring wide-open mining town, but held churches and a school. (Eskimo children were not permitted to attend the Nome public school until the mid—40's.)

i. The Second Judicial District was created to cover all Northern Eskimo territory. Titles, deeds, and mining patents were issued to individuals and companies. Nome was organized as a city. Parcels of land began to be assigned to companies, churches, and individuals as "private or corporate property." Eskimos did not believe that land could be "owned." The land was there to be used. As a result, many Eskimo families lost use of lands permanently (when, at the time, they assumed it was temporary) while the non-Eskimos took something they needed from the ground.

Nome became so lawless that shortly after 1900 the Army was called in to maintain order Fort Davis was founded on one of the largest local seasonal fishing and sea mammal hunting campsites.

j. Epidemics of infectious diseases swept through Eskimo villages. Measles, smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis extinguished many small settlements. Trading centers and ceremonial gatherings spread sickness and disease deep into the remote interior.

1910 – 1940

3. After 1910 until 1940, when the Federal government recognized the strategic importance of Alaska, life for the Eskimo people was a bleak picture.

   a. The Alaska Native Brotherhood was founded in Southeast Alaska in 1912 to serve as a voice and agent in special interests of Alaskan Native people. A Camp of this organization was founded in Nome shortly after 1930. A few years later, the Camp became the Arctic Native Brotherhood; the first Eskimo organization in Alaska and the only one until the 1960's. Eskimo leadership rested primarily upon Frank Degnan (Unalakleet), and Sam Mogg and Charles E. Fagerstrom of Nome. Other Eskimo men gained recognition as representatives of the Eskimo people, including Percy Ipalook, William E. Beltz, Eben Hopson, and Arthur D. Johnson. (All of the men named ran for Territorial or State Legislature: all but Sam Mogg served at least one term. Several are now primary leaders in Native Affairs—the others remained active until their deaths.)

   b. Schools in the larger communities like Nome were segregated until the mid-40's. In communities like Haycock and Teller, children were not accepted in the school unless they were half-white and the teacher agreed to have them in class. The Secretary of Interior began directing education of Alaskan Native children in 1905, and this continued as a segregated system of education until the present. Although mission schools were no longer subsidized directly after 1894, church financed day schools were still the only means of education in many villages, doing a difficult job well. Some teacher missionaries, such as Robert and Carrie Samms, remained in a single area as long as 50 years (Kobuk River villages). The Quakers joined the Evangelical Covenant Mission (Lutheran) in supporting a boarding high school at Unalakleet after the Kotzebue school became federally supported.

   c. The transplanted reindeer herds flourished. In the early 30's there were more than 600,000 deer in Alaska, mostly on the Seward Peninsula. The herds were largely controlled by private commercial interests, their agents, or employees. When the deer were first imported from Siberia, Siberian herders came with them to instruct the Eskimos in herding. Later, when the Russian government halted the export of reindeer to Alaska, the Siberian herders left. Lapp herders were then brought to Alaska. Many remained, and a few owned some of the larger herds in later years. Herds were owned by individuals, (Eskimo and non-Eskimo), missions, and companies. The Lomen Commercial Company's interest in reindeer in 1930 was worth two million dollars. Even Franklin Delano Roosevelt had a $1,000 invested in the Alaskan reindeer business (Lomen papers).

   d. Infectious diseases continued to take their toll. In 1917-18 the great influenza epidemic hit Alaska. Terrible storms knocked out telegraph and telephone lines in the North and many villages could not be warned against carriers coming into their communities. (Those few who did receive messages and took precautions did not suffer the first and greatest death tolls.) Whole villages died in a few days after the flu reached them *and mass graves holding as many as 100 people are to be found on the Pilgrim and Agiapuk Rivers of the Seward Peninsula.* The flu left broken families, orphans, and many weak or sick people as it passed. Tuberculosis, already epidemic in the United States, followed and continued as a scourge of Eskimo people until only very recent years. Pneumonia and ear infections added to medical problems. The latter three medical problems still plague Eskimo people today. (* — * 12)

e. Bering Sea Eskimos moving to Nome built their houses of whatever materials they could obtain. Others constructed homes of salvaged materials near missions, traders, or whaling stations. They were often poorly constructed of unfamiliar used materials. Others acquired temporary shacks built as shelters by prospectors, miners, or their followers. Crowded conditions, poor sanitation, and malnutrition became prevalent. Sickness and disease created an inability to obtain a livelihood for many families.

f. After the flu epidemic orphanages were established at White Mountain and Pilgrim Hot Springs. Eskimo leaders strongly objected to placing orphanages (and later boarding schools) in isolated areas where children could not learn about modern life and urban living skills. Their protests did not have any effect. (2e)

g. Arctic Slope Eskimos were not directly disrupted by the gold rush. They adjusted as best they were able to the inroads of disease and death. They continued to follow the subsistence economy more than people living along the Bering Sea north of Norton Sound. The Nuunamiut (Arctic Slope) way of life virtually disappeared at this time, and the caribou hunters moved to the coastal area. There was almost no way to earn cash. Some arts and crafts could be sold, but the bottom had dropped out of the fur market in 1929 and it never recovered. Occasional money or goods were earned by men who unloaded the supply ships, if the ships were able to make it to Pt. Barrow and Wainwright.

h. Wainwright and Pt. Barrow both had missions with schools. The ships brought food and other supplies for needy families. During this period, there were times when ships could not unload because of pack ice for four years running. When this happened, supplies were brought overland by dog team from the nearest place the boats could reach. Sometimes this was Kotzebue or Nome.

i. In 1937, demands by the Department of Interior for clarification of the intent of Congress regarding ownership of reindeer resulted in legislation declaring that only Indians of one-quarter or more Indian blood could own reindeer for commercial purposes (The Reindeer Act). Previously, in 1934, Congress had declared that for purposes of federal administration, all aboriginal people under United States jurisdiction, including Eskimos, would be designated as Indians (The Wheeler—Howard Act).

j. Controversies arose between the missions, and some conflict developed between people in the villages over mission schools versus schools provided by the U.S. Department of Interior. There was much misunderstanding and dispute over ownership of reindeer herds and the number of animals owned by an individual or group. Many seasonally occupied camps or harvest-time villages disappeared. Some villages split over controversies, and new short-lived villages were established at a distance from the parent village.

k. For the Eskimos of the Bering Sea region, the years around 1940 were extremely difficult. Around 1936 the reindeer had multiplied beyond any ability to manage them, and the grazing lands would no longer support the herds. Even the Reindeer Act was no help at that time. Wolves and other predators had multiplied almost as fast as the reindeer, poor grazing had weakened many of the herds, and extremely severe winters for two years combined to drastically reduce herds. As a result of the controversy surrounding the right to own deer, large numbers were sold to the

federal government by Lomen Commercial Company. This was largely a paper transaction, because by the early 40's only 200,000 deer remained, and portions or whole herds had joined the caribou and gone wild. The gold mining was reduced to a few small operations. Nome had first burned then been badly damaged by a severe storm and high water. It had become a small, isolated and poverty stricken town whose main business was to serve as a staging area for government agencies (i.e. Department of the Interior and Territorial civil administration) or to obtain Eskimo handicrafts at a low price in exchange for other goods or alcohol at inflated prices.

l. Nome was the largest community in the North. The population was almost entirely Eskimo, but the Eskimo people had virtually no voice in local government. Discrimination extended to schools, churches, and places of business. There was almost no employment except when the ships came in for unloading. The few Eskimos who were able to obtain steady jobs, or who were associated with the few remaining large extended families so cash income was stretched with part-time wages, moved into better housing; but most were restricted to poor and inadequate homes.

m. The White Mountain Industrial School, a boarding school that began in 1936, was preparing a few young people to compete for jobs then non-existent due to discrimination. The boarding schools at Unalakleet (Covenant) and Pilgrim Hot Springs (Catholic) were also providing a similar education.

n. Eskimo families were struggling to adjust to the overwhelming changes in their way of life caused by mandatory education for children and cash required for goods. Few schools offered more than a 6th grade education. Money was required to purchase the equipment for feeding a family, but jobs were not available to earn money. Racial discrimination defeated the efforts of many to adapt to the inevitable changes around them.

1941 — 1960

4. The years 1941 to 1960 brought more sudden changes to the Northern Eskimo people. The occasional Eskimo youngster permitted an opportunity to complete high school grew to a steady trickle of young people with high school diplomas. A few young adults entered college and several young women became registered nurses. There was little opportunity for them in the villages, and almost none returned to northern Alaska. The men fared a little better, especially those who became pilots. There was a growing demand for bush pilots—both private and commercial.

World War II brought the opportunity for Eskimo men and women to gain knowledgeability and a growing skill in the use of technological equipment such as two-way radios. Defense construction brought heavy equipment and the chance to observe and learn skills in the crafts and trades. Some events with overall long-range effect upon the Eskimo people during this period include:

a. The strategic importance of the Bering Sea coast was recognized by Congress. Fear of invasion by the Japanese lead to the establishment of the Eskimo Scout Battalions under the leadership of Col. Marvin R. "Muktuk" Marston. He relied heavily upon the local leadership of such Eskimo men as Sam Mogg, Eben Hopson, and Dan Lisburne. Although many Eskimo men were not able to enter the military for a number of reasons, virtually every Eskimo man between 16 and 50 years of age

belonged to the Scouts. It was not unusual for boys of 14, or men of 65, to take an active part in the coastal patrols. Several instances of these scouts losing their lives in this national defense action have been reported, but they do not appear in the history books.

b. The founding of the Eskimo Scouts was based upon establishing a network of armories in the Eskimo villages. This continued as part of the Alaska National Guard until every Eskimo village of any size held an armory with two-way radio communication. This has continued until the present. Late in 1960, Major John Shaffer, Commander, First Eskimo Scout Battalion, became the first Eskimo to hold field grade rank and command of the Eskimo Scouts.

c. In the early 40's Nome became the relay point for military planes being ferried to Russia under American Lend—Lease policy. Military bases soon dotted the countryside from Cape Nome to Pt. Thompson below Pt. Hope. Nome became an Army town. Massive stockpiles of ammunition and supplies were unloaded and bombs covered the slopes of Anvil Mountain just outside of Nome. American Army and Navy personnel, Russian pilots, and Eskimos shared the comradeship of fighting men. Rush construction from Pt. Barrow to Unalakleet, plus the handling of mountains of supplies, created more jobs than people, and many Eskimo families moved to take the jobs and aid in the war effort.

d. In 1955 the U.S. Public Health Service assumed responsibility for providing medical care for Alaskan Natives. This was partly in response to the continued epidemic quality of disease and sickness among Native people and the uncontrolled ravages of tuberculosis in the villages. A crash program to upgrade or construct facilities to bring medical care to northern Alaska began. Jobs were available at Kotzebue and Barrow for Eskimo workers. More families moved to these villages permanently. At Pt. Barrow the Navy's interest was strengthened by World War II. The Arctic Research Laboratories grew to a major installation providing some permanent employment for Eskimos (with heavy seasonal demand during the construction periods).

e. The war years drew public attention to the needs of Eskimo people, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs was allocated funds by Congress to greatly expand its operations in Alaska. Northern Eskimo schools were established in virtually all villages with 25 or more permanent residents and 12 or more school-age children.

f. These schools ended at the 8th grade although, in fact, many did not go beyond the 6th grade. Eskimo children stayed with friends or relatives in Nome, Fairbanks, or Anchorage, or went to boarding schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska or other states. Few Eskimo young people attended the Alaskan boarding school at Mt. Edgecumbe during this period—most went to Oregon or Kansas. A few attended church-run high schools at Unalakleet, Holy Cross, or St. Mary's (the last two on the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta).

g. The program to control tuberculosis brought members of some families to Seattle and Anchorage for periods up to two years. Many died, and members of their immediate family who followed them sometimes remained in the city. A number of Eskimo infants and children were adopted by non-Eskimos starting about this time. Over the years many of them returned to Alaska after completing their education or military service.

h. The only places offering the hope of steady employment for Eskimo men looking for jobs in Alaska were Fairbanks and Anchorage. Men were hired for road, highway, railroad, and port construction or maintenance. Young men began moving to these cities and were soon followed by family members.

i. The people of King Island regularly came to a summer village campsite near Nome. A school had first been established on the Island by the Catholics and later run by the federal government. During this period, it became impractical to continue its operation. The King Islanders began occupying temporary houses at the campsite year-round shortly before the school closed. When the entire village moved to Nome, there was no housing available; no means to construct housing; and the people lived as best they were able in whatever could be put together from salvage and used materials to provide shelter from the vicious cold ocean winds.

j. Strained relations between Russia and the United States during the Cold War period resulted in the fortification of Big Diomede Island. The people of Little Diomede were no longer able to cross the International Date Line that runs about a mile and a half away in front of their village. About 1946, walrus hunters from Little Diomede, who strayed into waters near Big Diomede, were captured by the Russian garrison and held for nearly two months before they were released through action by the federal government.

k. During World War II, about 1943 (the exact date is not known) the Siberian Eskimos from Big Diomede and the villages of Uelen and Naukan on the Chukchi Peninsula stopped visiting their relatives on the Seward Peninsula.

l. Traffic between St. Lawrence Island and Nome began to increase and by 1960 social and family ties between the Island Eskimos and those on the mainland were common.

m. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, through provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler—Howard Act of 1934) aided a number of Northern Eskimo villages to organize village councils. This began the process that would permit them to engage in federal and state political administration as well as negotiating contracts to obtain or supply services. One result was the Nome Skinsewers, a cooperative financed under the Nome IRA Council. Contracts with the federal government to supply arctic clothing provided a $60,000 annual gross for a few years until synthetic materials and reduction of military forces in the Arctic shut off the demand.

n. In 1958 the Alaska Statehood Bill passed. The Bill guaranteed all the civil rights and privileges of Alaskan Native people to be the same as those for any other citizen of Alaska.

o. In 1946 many Eskimo people realized that none of the land in the Northern regions belonged to them. They were legally in the same position as the caribou, reindeer, and sea mammals. They used the natural resources, but were "administered" by the U.S. government. Spearheaded by Frank Degnan, the Eskimos placed their first land protest with the U.S. Court of Claims.

p. By 1960 Northern Eskimo men and women were appearing in the villages and larger cities of Alaska prepared and able to undertake the responsibilities of leadership. They sought ways to aid Alaskan Eskimos to bridge the growing gap between the

social, economic, and community conditions of the North and that of the rest of the State. Northern Eskimo leadership focused upon Jerome Trigg, long-time president of the Arctic Native Brotherhood (Nome); Eskimo schoolteacher Tony Joule (Kotzebue); Frank Degnan, President of the Unalakleet Village Council; and Eben Hopson of the Pt. Barrow Village Council.

1960 — 1970

5. The period 1960 to 1970, for the Northern Eskimos was one of growing awareness among themselves, the State, and the federal government of the realities of their political, economic, and cultural circumstances. They became a center of national controversy, and the target of assessment, evaluation, and public and professional debate through social and medical research. Some of the studies were requested by Eskimo leadership, and the clear statement of the problems to be faced were welcomed. Other reports that undermined the human dignity of Eskimo people were bitterly resented. Meanwhile, a number of events took place in the process of Eskimos adapting village life to a workable wage-boosted subsistence economy in keeping with modern customs and state and federal law.

   a. After passage of the Statehood Act in 1958, Alaska began selecting State lands. No land was selected in the Bering Sea Region, but 36,000 acres are under patent—most of it to mining companies. Nearly one million acres are held in reserve for Eskimo use—largely as grazing areas for reindeer—but the land is public domain (federally owned). St. Lawrence Island is entirely public domain and administered by the Department of Interior. More than half the Arctic Slope Region is claimed by the federal government including Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 (23 million acres) and the Arctic National Wildlife Range (6 million acres). Two million acres more were selected by the State shortly after statehood. Eskimo people began to fear they would have no opportunity to own any of the land their people had used for thousands of years.

   b. Reindeer as the basis for a livestock industry in the Bering Sea Region was still an unsettled question. In 1966 the Northwest Reindeer Processing Company was started by Thomas and Myrtle Johnson. They provided the first middleman marketing service for the reindeer owners. In addition to the problems and costs of transporting meat from slaughter areas to markets, new legal complications arose. Reindeer meat must conform to federal government regulations concerning livestock and poultry slaughter if it is to be sold in public markets. The first slaughtering facility to meet such standards was begun at Nome in 1970. Only two herds graze near the facility, and the question of slaughter, transportation, and marketing continues to plague Eskimo reindeer interests.

   c. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 paved the way for establishment of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). By 1968 community action programs financed by OEO had reached most of the larger Northern Eskimo communities. Legal aid to help in village government and civil matters, VISTA volunteers providing a number of services including adult basic education, and the Head Start program all played an important role in modernizing village operations.

   d. The Alaska Federation of Natives was founded in 1966. Its primary purpose was to represent Alaskan Native interests in obtaining a final settlement and clarification of the rights of Eskimos, Aleuts, and Alaskan Indians regarding the lands they now occupy and all that they once used.

e. A Land Claims Bill was introduced and passed the U.S. Senate in 1968. A number of Congressional Committee hearings and fact-finding visits publicized the circumstances over which Eskimos have no control. The first were the Hearings on the Land Claims conducted by both the U.S. House and Senate. Later, Senator Kennedy held hearings in Alaska related to Indian education. The Alaska State Commission for Human Rights, Office of the Governor, reported its findings on racial discrimination in employment, housing, and educational opportunity. Federal and State response brought substantial increases in money to be spent for improving the village schools, faster transfer of BIA schools to State-operated schools (under the Johnson—O'Malley Act), greater emphasis upon local medical care, and the organization of strong local government in the villages. A number of programs using combined state and federal money were begun. Most combine formal training with paid on-the-job training.

- Health aides to provide para-professional medical practitioners for the village.
- Teacher aides—para-professional teachers, particularly Native-language-speaking elementary and preschool aides.
- Village magistrates—to serve as Justice of the Peace for each village.
- Village police—to protect lives and property at the village.
- Advisory School Board members—to aid in the management and curriculum development of village schools.

In addition, special services were established for Alaska Native youth under Upward Bound.

f. By 1970 most Indian youngsters were attending public high schools near their homes. Mt. Edgecumbe had become primarily an Eskimo boarding high school, although many youngsters were still sent outside the state to school.

g. Nome Beltz Vocational School opened in Nome in the mid 60's to provide job training for adult Eskimos. After two years, it was changed to a boarding high school for Northern Eskimo youth.

h. The epidemic qualities of tuberculosis were brought under medical control by 1960. Improved medical care permitted Eskimo people to live longer, and fewer babies died each year. By 1960 the Eskimos began to experience a population explosion. Very soon schools became overcrowded. The housing, family incomes, and the abilities of individuals to supply basic necessities became more and more difficult.

i. In 1968 one of the seven largest deposits of oil known in the world was discovered on the North Slope near Sagavanirktok River delta. This was on land claimed by Eskimos of that region. The question of land ownership became an issue affecting the future of Eskimos, Alaskan Natives in general, and the economic growth of the state of Alaska.

j. By late 1970 Congress had begun final action on settlement of the Alaskan Land Claims. The Northern Eskimo people were preparing to assume management of the lands and money to be assigned to them under local and regional corporations established for that purpose.

k. Eskimo concern for good education for their children became a public demand by 1965. Young leaders were entering local and state politics; many of them educated at the University of Alaska. William Hensley was elected to the State Legislature in 1966. Barbara Trigg joined her father in serving the Bering Sea Region. In 1970 William Hensley was elected a state senator and two other young Eskimos, Chuck Degnan and Frank Ferguson, were elected representatives, giving that area total Eskimo representation in the State Legislature for the first time. Eben Hopson was appointed to a special post, in the Office of the Governor, to advise on Native Affairs. Joseph Upicksoun assumed leadership of the Arctic Slope Native Association. Charles Edwardson of Barrow became a political journalist supporting the special interests of the Eskimos for the Washington, D. C., newspapers.

l. Three Eskimo authors appeared in this period. Lela Oman of Nome published *Ghost of Kingikty*, a collection of the ancient legends of the people of the Kobuk and Noatak Rivers. William Oquilluk (at age 75) completed the history of the Eskimo people, giving a detailed account of the Kauweramiut. Emily Ivanoff Brown (in her 60's), a village teacher from Unalakleet and writer of stories about Eskimo life, in 1970 was given special honors upon her graduation from the University of Alaska. Professor Ronald Senungetuk from Wales drew international attention for his work and that of his University of Alaska students in both modern and traditional Eskimo art forms.

m. By 1970 the economy of the Northern Eskimos was fully and completely changed from subsistence to one of wage-boosted subsistence. Virtually all Northern Eskimo families depend upon the harvest of fish, sea mammals, caribou, and birds or waterfowl to provide a stable meat supply. Only a few families in the more isolated villages depended upon the berries and greens to maintain the family larder. Money to purchase staple foods and other necessities, when no one is employed, is obtained through Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Bureau of Indian Affairs General Assistance funds, and Social Security. Some income is earned through the sale of handicrafts, and many Eskimo men and women depend upon "odd job—dollar bill" employment to supplement family income.

In spite of a serious shortage of jobs, a growing number of Northern Eskimo men and women are finding employment in jobs created through Office of Economic Opportunity programs. Many of these positions relate to the management of village community development projects (housing, sanitation, and delivery of welfare and medical services).

SUMMARY:

The direction of the future for Northern Eskimo people will largely be determined by the outcome of the Alaska Native Land Claims and their management of the settlement. Their present plans call for investing much money in village improvements, education, and loans to establish local businesses. Recent and present emphasis is upon preparing Native youth and adults to assume management responsibilities and future leadership.

UNIT IX. PART I: TRADITION AND TODAY

Part I: An abstract of *People of Kauwerak,* used by special permission of the author, William Oquilluk, and the Arctic Native Brotherhood.

Some Eskimo History: *People of Kauwerak*

"This is all that is left of this country where the people of Kauwerak hunted and built their homes and villages. Today there is nothing left but abandoned villages and ghost towns and mining camps. There are a few hunting and summer camps that people use. One or two families still live sometimes at Mary's Igloo. Pretty soon, maybe, there will be no more Kauweramiut living in this country, anymore. I hope it won't happen that way."

— William Oquilluk, from *People of Kauwerak*

Tradition

A. 1. Eskimo history was handed down through the centuries by the older people telling the stories of the past as they heard them from their grandparents. These were told in great detail, but they changed very little over the years. The details of the early history do have regional differences, but the theme of survival of major disasters remains about the same.

2. The highlights of the history of the Bering Sea Eskimos appear below:

Four great disasters befell the Inupiats. Each time the people were nearly wiped out, but a few remained to start new generations and help the younger people to learn the skills of their ancestors.

In ancient times the Eskimo people lived in a warm climate. They did not need to hunt for food because it was all around them. They did not need to make clothes or houses because the weather was good. Suddenly, one day, the great mountain near where they lived erupted and devastated the land around them. Before this happened, a strong young man had a vision. He was warned about the coming disaster. Some of the people listened to him and they had moved to a safe place. Later, in another vision, he was told of cold weather coming. The people followed him to a cave for shelter. Soon the sun eclipsed behind the moon for three days. When it came out again the world was cold and dead, and only four Eskimo families remained.

The people called the young man Ekeuhnik, a glowing coal. Ekeuhnik watched the few birds and animals that survived the first disaster. From the spider he learned to make fish nets. From the ants and mice, he learned about building warm houses and storing food. From a leaf drifting across a pond, he learned about rafts and a sail. He carved a dummy of himself and fitted the skins of animals around it until he learned the best pattern for making clothes. All these things he taught the others so they could take care of themselves in the cold world. Then he chose a companion, Seelamieu, and they left to search for a rich land where people would not go hungry.

Seelamieu and Ekeuhnik traveled for a year. They learned many things about how people would have to work in order to survive. They saw ice and heavy snow for the first time. They saw a walrus and discovered its hide would make a good strong boat when it was stretched over a frame of driftwood. Near the end of their journey, they built a skin boat and returned to bring their people to the rich country they had found in a land of mountains and rivers.

Hundreds of years went by. The Eskimo population grew and people began to spread out far and near. A man named Beeueoak had a terrible dream. When he awoke he told people the water was going to rise and cover everything. Only a few people believed him. They worked together to build a great raft with tents on it for the families to live in. P etty soon the rains came and high winds. The storm did not stop, and after a while the raft began to float. Soon there was nothing to be seen but the water, the raft, and dead things floating all around in the water. Finally, Beeueoak saw the first rainbow. Pretty soon the water began to go down and the raft stopped on the side of a high mountain. The few Eskimo families left alive were on the raft.

After the water went down the people saw the world had changed. The marshy lands with

rivers and lakes were covered with the waters of Kotzebue Sound. The rivers had changed their channels, and the old villages were washed away or ruined. The people began again to live in the country, learning new ways to suit the changes. One day Beeueoak found the skeletons of a man and a woman who had drowned in the flood. In a vision they offered to do anything he wished if he would find the few bones missing from them and put everything together. Beeueoak did this, and with the powers of the spirits, he became the first aungutguk (shaman).

Hundreds of years went by and the population grew again. This time it spread far and wide because the land was rich and people had plenty to live by. Then came a terrible winter. Spring came in April but it only lasted four weeks and winter came again. There was no warm weather until the next April. Everything froze up and there was no food. People began to die of starvation. Pretty soon there were only seven Kauweramiut people and two Tigara (Pt. Hope) people left. A woman named Napauruhk and her little son lived near Cape Darby. The woman walked about two hundred and fifteen miles to reach Sinruk village where she found a grandmother, Nasaruhk, with a little girl. The women lived together until the children grew up. Later the boy, Anayuhk, became a good hunter. He and the granddaughter, Paniruhk, began raising a family and teaching them the rules of Eskimo life.

After the grandmother died, the family began to travel in a skin boat looking for other survivors. They found a woman at Port Clarence that became Anayuhk's second wife. They found an old man near Unalakleet with a grandson. He joined them and became Napauruhk's husband and the boy became husband to one of Arayuhk's daughters. They traveled to Pt. Hope and left a son there to be husband to the young girl living with a grandfather. Then the family returned to Imuruk Basin in the interior of the Seward Peninsula where they prospered and many children were born. Napauruhk lived to see five generations using Imuruk Basin. When Paniruhk and Anayuhk died, their bodies were placed on grave platforms near the north end of Little Salt Lake. The graves are gone, but the places can still be found because only grass grows there, no bushes. They are called the Second Generation Forefathers.

The country stayed good for many generations. The Eskimo population grew so big people built villages far from each other. Pretty soon the language began to change, although people could still understand each other. Sometimes the caribou did not come close to a village. Then people would go on the hunting lands of another village. This caused trouble. After while the old men decided the trouble was getting too serious. Messages were sent to the kazghis of the different parts of the country. After spring seal hunting, the leading men from the kazghis gathered at Point Spencer. They decided on the places the different groups of people should use so there would be plenty of room for everyone to hunt and put their nets. They used the river systems, mainly, to assign lands. This stopped big trouble between the villages, and the leading men told the hunters not to go to other places without getting permission to use them first. Sometimes this happened, when the caribou took a different path in the spring, but usually people were glad to help each other out.

Many generations were born and families grew. Girls usually stayed around their parents, even after they had husbands. The husbands would join the girl's family. Pretty soon big families were living all around in Imuruk Basin. A young man named Toolik noticed this. The Siberian warriors were coming to the Basin and they made trouble for the families living all alone like that. He talked to some of the old men about people moving together and making a permanent village they could defend. They said it was a good idea. The next

year, when many families were at Point Spencer for seal hunting, Toolik told them his idea. He told them about a place at the end of Salt Lake that had a sandbar in the water to make a good place for nets. He told them there were plenty of rabbits and ptarmigan around that place and caribou in the mountains. They decided to make the village. The old men called it Kauwerak—sandbar village. That is how the people of that territory got their name, Kauweramiut.

A few years after the village was built, Toolik went to the Kigluait Mountains to hunt for caribou. A giant bird, a tingmiatpak, flew toward him. Toolik shot an arrow through its throat and killed it. On his way back to Kauwerak, he had a vision. The spirits told him the Kauweramiut had to send the bird's spirit back to its sorrowing mother, and they should get other Eskimo people to help. They told him just how to do it, taught him special dances and songs, and how to make a driftwood drum filled with water so it would sound like the mother bird's beating heart. When Toolik returned to the village he told the others and they began to prepare. It took a year to get ready. They sent messengers to the other territories and invited them to come. The Eskimo people continued to hold this feast every few years until 1914. The last time the whole dance was done the way the Kauweramiut learned it long ago was at Mary's Igloo (Aukvaulook). Etorina, the drummer, and many of the dancers died in the flu. The same thing happened in other villages. Only a few old people still remember how the dancing should be done.

Not too long ago there was trouble and wars with the Siberians. They used to come to Umuruk Basin in their skin boats. First they wanted to use the land. Later they came to take different things they wanted and to steal the women. There was trouble with the Indians around Fish River too. The leading men from the kazghis helped each other out. The men from Norton Sound helped to fight the Siberians and the people from the other villages helped them fight off the Indians. The last big battle with the Siberians took place about a hundred years ago. All the Siberian warriors were killed but one. He was sent back to tell the others what happened. They wanted to come back after they got guns, but their leading men told them not to try because it would be like the last time. The Siberian warriors never came to Imuruk Basin again.

Things did not change much after the third disaster, except for settling the country and the wars with the Siberians and Indians, until the whalers came. Lots of things happened then, but the fourth disaster was the time of terrible sickness. People got the flu and whole villages died off in a few days. Pretty soon not many of the old families were left. Sometimes they were all gone; other times only a few people were left.

Now things have changed. Children are not learning their Eskimo language and lots of people do not remember the things the ancestors said should always be remembered. The forefathers said Eskimo people should follow the rules of their ancestors. If they did not, the Eskimo people would maybe have another disaster. It is hard to survive when something like that happens.

Part II: A description of village life today based upon observation and the collected field notes of L. L. Bland.

Today

What is it like in an Eskimo village today? Some of the things that are true of all villages can be used to describe an imaginary village on the Bering Sea coast.

The village sits close to the ground. The seashore is on one side. On the other side is a lagoon. One or two rivers empty into the lagoon from the mountains that cut the horizon. In early May the seashore and lagoon are covered with thick ice, but there is open water a little way out in the sea. The sun is brilliant on the snow and feels hot. The men are already tanned dark brown from hunting the seals swimming along the edge of the ice. Soon the great flocks of birds will arrive and it will be time to go egg hunting. The snow machines are busy all the time. The men are going back and forth to the edge of the sea ice to hunt or meeting the mail planes and hauling freight. There are a few dog teams around, and some of the people are still hauling ice to melt for water from the freshwater streams across the lagoon.

The children at the BIA* schoolhouse are getting restless. It is nearly time for summer vacation, and their parents are getting ready to go to their camp to set nets for the early runs of sea trout before the herring and salmon arrive. Even the little children in the Head Start program have begun to lose interest. Everybody is talking about seeing the kids coming home from boarding school any day. Pretty soon the village is almost deserted. One of the Village Health Aides stays there, and so does the Postmaster and the Village Policeman. The Teacher Aides and the Head Start teachers have gone to camp. Some of the men are still up north where they have gone to help with whale hunting, taking their big skin boat with a 33-horsepower motor. When they come back, some of them will join their families at camp. Most of them will go to the larger places like Nome, Barrow, or Anchorage to look for summer jobs. Next year the village expects to have a contract for a housing project. This will let more of the men stay near home and work. Two years ago the airstrip had to be graded. The State gave the village council a contract for the job, and several of the men worked at home that year. It made life pleasanter for the families.

In late August the families start coming back from camp, for it will soon be time for school to start. They bring bundles of dried fish and barrels of wild berries. The early greens have already been stored at home in seal oil or in a meat cellar. The supply ship, the *North Star*, will soon be coming bringing fuel, the yearly order for the village-owned store, and materials for the school. Some of the men will be able to work carrying the supplies from the ship to shore in the skin boats.

After school starts there is much to do. The men who have been away will return in time for moose or caribou hunting. There are lots of ducks and geese yet, and these will have to be prepared for freezing or drying. The nets have to be mended before they can be set under the ice in winter. Before long some of the men will go to winter camps to set the lingcod traps and maybe do a little fur trapping as well. Some people will be traveling. There will be Advisory School Board meetings in Nome and Kotzebue. National Guard encampment at Anchorage comes in February. There will be regional meetings for the Rural Community Action Program, Alaska Federation of Native projects, training for the different village aides, and Native organization meetings. Some of the people will go to

*Bureau of Indian Affairs

special workshops or meetings in the village when people from the government or universities visit.

There will be some bad storms. Probably the power will be off several times for a day or two. If it is a lucky year, no one will get lost in a blizzard or drown when the ice breaks open without warning.

One or two families will have new snow machines. The whole village is very proud of a young woman who will graduate from college in the spring. At Christmas time two young men in the Army will come home to visit. There is something going on all the time. The church has meetings twice a week, and there are movies at the community center or the school every week or so. The village council election will be coming up, and people are anxious to plan for a community washeteria and bath house.

Suddenly the days are getting longer. It is not so cold outside and the young men are gone hunting ptarmigan. The women and old folks are out on the ice, fishing for tomcod. It will soon be May again.

UNIT X. TIME LINE – A FEW PEAKS AND VALLEYS

"NO MAN LIVES ON AN ISLAND" -- but the ships of state do not recognize small ports!

"Western Euro—American commercial, then industrial, civilization has pushed its invasion of foreign landscapes for the blatant purpose of profitable exploitation of natural resources even further into far distant regions till by the turn of the century, no corner of the globe was inaccessible to its agents."

— Jacob Fried, from *Urbanization and Ecology in the Canadian Northwest Territories*

"Under conditions of rapid change such as are taking place among the North Alaskan Eskimo, the question of government policy and its implementation assume strategic importance in determining the course of future events."

— Norman Chance, from *The Changing Role of Government Among the North Alaskan Eskimos*

Unit X. Time Line — A Few Peaks and Valleys

During the evolution of the Eskimo way of life in North America people drifted east and west across the top of the continent as the climate changed and territorial limits for the different bands became established. Over the centuries, patterns of communication developed that are little known or understood today. Bering Sea coastal Eskimos of today trace family bloodlines back to distant generations living in Central Canada. It is probable that strange ships bearing a different kind of men appeared off the Atlantic shores before 1000 A.D. and were discussed in the kazghis of the Bering Sea not too many years later. Stories handed down from the distant past show clearly that the Eskimos were aware of a variety of men, and that the coming of the early explorers was not a great surprise—only the differences in their appearance, ships, and customs.

Eskimos: General

3000 B.C.	The earliest adaptations of men to the specialized way of life called Eskimo Culture were in use (Iyatayet site: Arctic Small Tool: Cape Denbigh).
1800 B.C.	People were living in early Eskimo communities around Kotzebue Sound (Old Whaling).
1000 B.C.	People of the Chukchi Peninsula were adopting to and forming Eskimo cultural traits.
700 B.C.	The Choris period of Eskimo culture flourished at Pt. Hope.
300 A.D.	New adaptations of Eskimo origin were adopted. (Norton Sound, Near Ipiutak—Pt. Hope).
700 A.D.	Another adaptation, Birnirk, appeared at places like Pt. Hope, and similar Eskimo developments were taking place on St. Lawrence Island (Okvik and Old Bering Sea).
982 A.D.	Leif the Lucky landed on the northern coast of North America. (15)
1300 A.D.	The advanced techniques of hunting whale and large sea mammals were becoming common, as well as harvesting of caribou in a system of two specializing groups (Western Thule).
1400 A.D.	The patterns of Eskimo life based upon efficient harvest of sea and land mammals and fish were fully established as they were to function for nearly 600 years. (10)
1497-98	John Cabot discovered Labrador and the northwestern coast of North America. (15)
1733	The Moravians of England established a mission for the Labrador Eskimos. (14)
1766	There were 4 Moravian missions operating among Labrador Eskimos (still functioning in part in 1970). (14)

1727	Krupischef reported the Diomede Islands to the Tzar.
1728	Bering sailed through the straits between Alaska and Siberia.
1730	Gvozdev landed (or closely approached) Cape Prince of Wales.
	Russian Cossacks engaged in bloody warfare to subdue the Eskimos of the Chukchi Peninsula.
1764	Russians were exploring the Siberian coastal waters and islands.
1778	Captain James Cook reached Sledge and King Islands and explored along Norton Sound and Golovin Bay.
1789	Mackenzie explored a river that bears his name to the Arctic Ocean (a string of trading posts followed along his route in a few years). (15)
1790	Tobacco (obtained from Siberian Eskimos who received it from Russian fur traders to use for bartering with Alaskan Eskimos) became a valued trade item after it was introduced at the Seward Peninsula trade center. (12d)
1819	The first whaling ships passed through the Bering Straits (followed by "Yankee traders" who sailed coastal waters in small schooners looking for exotic trade items—usually out of China ports). (5)
1829	The Russians explored along the Nushagak and Kuskokwim Rivers in Southern Eskimo territory. A post was established near St. Michael on the southern tip of Norton Sound (Yupic territory at that time). (12e)
1839	Alexander Kashevarof explored the Arctic coast of Alaska. (15)
1841	The Russians established an outpost on the Kuskokwim River in Southern Eskimo territory. (12e)
1848	The whalers began operating off the Bering Sea Coast in ever increasing numbers. (5)
1849-54	Four ships of the search for the lost *Franklin* explorers reached Pt. Clarence. For five consecutive winters at least one ship wintered in Grantley Harbor and engaged in trade and visiting with the Eskimos. (12d)
1850	Alcohol was introduced as a trade item for Eskimo goods or services. (5)
1851	The first shipwreck among the whalers was reported—off Cape Lisburne. (5)
1866	Forty men, employees of Western Union Telegraph Company, built a headquarters camp across from Teller Spit (Libbysville) for constructing a telegraph line to Siberia. The project was abandoned in 1867. It was a hungry winter, and the men were greatly dependent upon Eskimo assistance to obtain food. (12d)

1867 — Russia sold its interests in Alaska to the United States with the stipulation included that Alaskan Natives such as the Eskimos would be "subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may, from time to time, adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country."

United States attention to Alaska, at that time, was directed exclusively toward Southeast Alaska. Eskimos were virtually invisible in federal government policy for nearly 100 years. (16)

1879 — The first coal-burning steam powered whaling vessels began to operate in the Bering and Chukchi Seas. (5)

1880 — Less than 300 non-Natives lived in Alaska; all but 30 lived in Sitka. None were living in the Northern Region. (16)

1881 — Ten soldiers arrived at Pt. Barrow and began exploring the inland regions of the Arctic Slope. They were aided by local Eskimo guides. (10 & 2e)

1884-85 — It was a common practice for the whalers to hire Eskimos as helpers in the whale hunt. (5)

Firearms were becoming common among the Eskimos and began to replace the bow and some other small-game hunting weapons. (5)

A number of scientific expeditions were sent to explore and study the land and people of Northern Alaska (including the Harriman Expedition, resulting in a 14 volume report published by the Smithsonian Institute). Eskimos guided and aided the explorers, who were usually unaware that their guide also provided safe passage for them as they moved through different territories. (15, 12e & 2e)

1884 — The Organic Act was passed establishing Alaska as a land district and provided that United States laws relating to mining claims were to have full force and effect; but it also stated that Indians or other persons were not to be disturbed in their use or occupancy of any lands, and that their means to acquire title to those lands would be determined by Congressional legislation at a later date. (16)

1885 — At least five whaling ships wintered off Pt. Barrow. (5)

The Northern Eskimo population and the herds of whale and walrus were both reduced to approximately one half of the numbers reported for them in 1850. (3)

The Cutter *Bear* was transferred from the Navy to the Revenue Marine Service to patrol the Alaskan coast. Shortly it would be the only visible evidence of United States government in the North for many years. Its mission was to preserve the peace and protect American business interests, but duties often involved cargo, emergency relief, and arbitration of local disputes, as well as providing passenger service along northern and Arctic coastal villages for teachers, visiting officials of government, and occasionally, Eskimos. (15, 12e & 2e)

1887	The Swedish Covenant Mission was established at Unalakleet. (12d)
	The Friends (Quaker) Mission was established at Kotzebue. (15)
1890	Sheldon Jackson traveled along the Arctic coast to investigate the needs for Eskimo education, and subsequently secured agreement of several denominations to place missions with day schools in various northern locations. (15)
	Missions were established at Cape Prince of Wales, Pt. Barrow, and Pt. Hope. (12d)
1890-1900	Whaling stations were established at Pt. Hope and Pt. Barrow; followed by other stations along the coast between the two. (5)
	Reindeer were introduced on the Seward Peninsula (from Siberia and accompanied by herders). (8 & 15)
	Russia halted importation of deer; the Siberian herders returned to their homes, and Lapp herders replaced them. (8)
	Teller Mission was founded. (8)
1897-98	A crew from the U.S. Revenue Cutter drove a herd of Reindeer overland from Pt. Hope to Pt. Barrow to feed crews of 14 whaling vessels caught in the pack ice. (5)
1898	Congressional action extended homesteading laws to Alaska and provided that land be reserved along shores and streams for landing places for Native crafts, but did not provide for water rights on such reserves. (16)
	Gold was discovered on the Seward Peninsula by two Lapp herders. (12e & 2e)
1899	Gold was discovered on Anvil Creek and Bering Sea beach sands. (12e & 15)
	Nome organized local government, and corrupt courts and "miner's law" soon prevailed. (15 & 2e)
1900	More than 100 Nuunamiut (Inland) Eskimos died of flu at Pt. Barrow. (5)
1902	More than 100 Pt. Barrow Eskimos died of a measles epidemic. (5)
1903	The Canadian Border was established, placing a political barrier between family members from Coppermine River to Pt. Hope. (It has never prevented social contact, and agreement between the United States and Canada permit Eskimos and Indians to pass between borders without restriction.) (15 & 2e)

1912	Alaska became a territory of the United States, and the Territorial Legislature was formed. (15)
	The Alaska Native Brotherhood was founded to serve the special interests of Alaskan Native people. (15)
1915	The Territorial Legislature enfranchised Alaskan Natives. (15)
	Whaling came to an end. (Between 1835 and 1915, more than 5000 ships carrying at least 150,000 men visited northern waters from Kamchatka to the Beaufort Sea.) (5)
1917-18	The Spanish Influenza epidemic swept through the Bering Sea Region. (12e & 2e)
1920	Reindeer formed the basis for a profitable business for commercial interests and deer meat was being shipped to San Francisco for dog food manufacture, as well as sold for table meat for mining camps. The herds were generally controlled by non-Eskimo interests such as the Lomen Commercial Company, and most of the village herds were administered and managed by the missions or the teachers (under the Bureau of Education, U.S. Department of the Interior). (8)
1925	The Department of Interior was authorized to establish vocational training schools for aboriginal people. (15)
1926	Congressional action permitted Alaskan Natives to receive restricted deeds for lots in surveyed townsites—the first federal action regarding individual land ownership of benefit to Alaskan Natives, but of little benefit to Eskimos since many townsites in the Northern Region had still not been surveyed in 1970. (16)
1927	New voters were required to prove ability to read and write English, thereby preventing many Eskimo adults from using the polls. (15)
1929	The demand for fox skins stopped and many Eskimo families lost their only means of obtaining cash income. (Many men had turned to trapping after commercial whaling ended and trading posts had been established in the large villages along the Arctic Ocean.) (2e & 3)
1930	Congressional action (related to the Great Depression) extended government subsidy. This provided some income to Eskimo families through general relief, but these were seldom village residents.(3) *Teachers often petitioned the administration of the Bureau of Education for "destitution funds" to use on behalf of needy families ravaged by tuberculosis. They were seldom successful.* (2e)
1935	Congress passed a jurisdictional Act related to the Tlingit—Haida Indians that paved the way for Eskimos and other Alaskan Natives to sue in the federal courts for compensation for lands taken from their use for national purposes. (16)

*Correspondence in Arctic Native Brotherhood Heritage Collection--University of Alaska Archives.

1936 The Arctic Native Brotherhood was founded. The White Mountain Industrial School (boarding) was opened by the Bureau of Education to provide vocational training for "promising Eskimo youth." (2e)

The Wheeler—Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act) declared that Eskimos and other aboriginal peoples would be considered "Indians" for the purposes of that Act, and thereby clarified the legal position of Alaskan Eskimos in relation to federal policy and congressional action. (16)

1937 The Reindeer Act established that only Alaskan Natives could own reindeer as commercial livestock. (8)

1940 Natural causes, administrative confusion, and neglect, in part, resulted in a sudden drop in number of reindeer. Only a few small herds remained owned either by the federal government or a few Eskimo families. (8)

1941 Percy Ipalook of Barrow became the first Presbyterian minister ordained among the Alaskan Natives. (2e)

1941-1946 World War II turned Nome into an arsenal as well as a relay point for lend—lease military planes being flown to Russia. Military bases and armories were constructed all along the coast with military listening posts and radio stations set up at remote locations both on the coasts and behind the safety of coastal mountains on the Seward Peninsula. (2e)

The Eskimo Scouts were established and began to patrol the shores in aid of the regular military forces. (16 & 2e)

Many Eskimo settlements were deserted as families moved to aid in the construction of defense installations at Nome, Kotzebue, Unalakleet, Pt. Barrow, and other places. (12e & 16)

1945 The Territorial Legislature passed an anti-discrimination Act regarding Alaskan Natives in public schools and places of business. (15)

Voting precincts were established in places where there had been none before—several in the Northern Region. (15)

1946 The Indian Claims Commission Act was passed permitting Indian tribes to sue the federal government on certain kinds of claims. This related primarily to "Indian title" lands; that is, lands reserved by the federal government for use and benefit of Indian people (though in no way owned by Indians), including reserves or sites for schools, hospitals, livestock grazing, and subsistence occupations. At this time, very few of the lands called "Indian title" under the Department of the Interior were subject to any anticipated change in status. Northern Eskimos use and occupy lands that are mainly in public domain. Whether those lands were specifically reserved for their use or not, the existing situation was workable because of federal policy not to disturb their use of the lands. (16)

1946-48 Strained relations between Russia and the United States led to a complete severance of close family ties between Siberian Eskimos and Alaskan Eskimos of St. Lawrence and Diomede Islands and the Seward Peninsula. (2e)

1955 The U.S. Public Health Service assumed responsibility for health care of Alaskan Natives and quickly expanded medical care and preventive medicine. Medical advances combined with concentrated treatment brought tuberculosis under control and the Eskimo population began to gain in number. (16)

1958 The Statehood Act was passed and the state of Alaska began to select state lands. First selections were in forest areas occupied by Athabascan Indians. The people filed a protest with the Secretary of the Interior through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With the selection of more than two million acres on the North Slope, the Northern Eskimos (as well as other Alaskan Natives) became concerned that vast tracts of land customarily used for subsistence would be claimed by the State for industrialization, leaving them unable to maintain themselves at all. (16)

By 1966 more than 40 protests had been filed by Natives of Alaska covering nearly 300 million acres, in reaction to the various tracts selected by the State. The federal government suspended releasing lands to the State and the "land freeze" was put in effect until such time as Alaskan Native claims to lands held by the federal government could be settled. (16)

1960 It became obvious that the Eskimos were undergoing a population explosion. Eskimo leadership began to voice publicly a growing concern for coming needs in housing, education, medical care, and Eskimo earning power. (16 & 2e)

1964 Milton Swan of Pt. Hope became the first Eskimo to be an ordained Episcopalian minister. (2e)

1966 The Alaska Federation of Natives was established. (2e)

1967 The Northwest Reindeer Processing Company was formed with Eskimo ownership. Reindeer herds were being reinstated and hopes of re-establishing reindeer as a commercial enterprise were revived. (8)

A bill was introduced to Congress to resolve for once and all the issue of lands claimed by Alaskan Natives. Final settlement will, in effect, begin a process to end their present status as wards of the federal government and provide them with the legal rights and economic means for individual and group self-determination.

1968 The discovery oil well on the North Slope indicated that the reservoir in that location is one of the seven largest discovered in the world. (2c)

1968-70 Congressional committee hearings for both the Senate and House were held in Alaska in preparation for drafting of land claims legislation. (2e)

A Presidential Agency, The Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, compiled a comprehensive and detailed illustrated report for congressional use, *Alaska Natives and the Land*. For the first time the circumstances, conditions, legal status, and basis for claims were stated objectively, in total, for the Alaskan Native people. It spelled out, as stated in the final chapter, the "Framework for Decision" for the Congress and the President of the United States. This act will be a landmark decision in American government and law.

It will be the first time in American history when the original inhabitants of a vast portion of the country—an entire state—acted in unison with the bodies representing the entire population of the United States to achieve a just and equitable settlement regarding American expansion versus the modernization of an ancient culture within the body of American citizens.

SOURCES

Note: The following materials listed will provide verification for virtually all statements made in the foregoing text. The following authoritative list is used because the sum total of the resources used in compiling this source book is represented in their treatment of the various details. The materials used are numbered according to the matched numbers appearing in the text.

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FILMS SUGGESTED FOR CLASSROOM USE

The following films are available from either the Alaska Department of Education or the University of Alaska.

Top of the World

Living Stone

Eskimo River Village

Airways to Education (will provide understanding about modern conditions)

Knud (excellent for Unit I)

Men Against the Arctic

The Entire Series on the Netselik Eskimos Released by the Canadian Film Board

Nanook of the North

Note: For secondary classrooms, there are a number of films now available by arrangement with Alaska Federation of Natives through RurAL CAP. These have been made in recent years to aid state and federal government in developing programs and projects to aid Eskimo people in the transition to modern technology.

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Arctic Native Brotherhood

Box 333
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10, 1971

Mrs. Laurel L. Bland
Box 782
Nome, Alaska 99762

Dear Mrs. Bland:

On behalf of William Oquilluk, who has asked us to act in his interests regarding his book, People of Kauwerak, we are happy to extend permission for an abstract of this work to be included in the Source Book you are compiling for the Alaska Department of Education.

We have long sought to have accurate and up to date information about Alaskan Native people, and Eskimos in particular, included in the educational resources for teachers in the state. I have reviewed the manuscript for the Source Book on Northern Alaskan Eskimos and feel it will be a valuable addition to the schools.

I feel the material is presented fairly, and that the parts dealing with recent years pretty well tells the story. I recognize that many details that are important to Eskimo history will have to wait for the day when a complete history of Alaskan Eskimos can be written.

Thank you for requesting my opinion. I look forward to seeing your work in the Nome schools very soon.

Sincerely,

Jerome Trigg

Jerome Trigg, President