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ACCULTURATION AND INDIGENEOUS ECONOMY AS FACTORS IN LAPP CULTURE CHANGE[1]

ROBERT T. ANDERSON

Small-scale reindeer domestication has been known to Lapland for at least a millennium, but recent research indicates that economic dependence on herding is a product of the 16th and 17th centuries (Anderson, 1958). Erik Solem maintained that this conversion from a hunting and fishing economy, which he placed in the 18th century, was accompanied by and precipitated a change in emphasis from communalism in social organization to a predominance of individualism. In summarizing Solem's hypothesis for an English speaking audience, however, Lowie added something not explicit in the latter's work—he admitted the probability of the influence of Scandinavian neighbors as well as reindeer breeding on the breakdown of former communal rules (Lowie, 1948, p. 28). Lowie's cautious statement is a crucial modification of the hypothesis, because, as will be shown, the centuries during which full-fledged pastoralism developed were also centuries of increasingly intimate contact with the Scandinavians. The latter are characteristically individualistic and the effect of their contact with the assertedly communalistic Lapp could have contributed importantly in sociocultural change. Assessment of the nature of the relationship between developing pastoralism and a changing emphasis in social organization must, in any case, take cognizance of Lapp-Scandinavian acculturative influences as well as of indigenous economic factors.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Solem's contention that a shift in emphasis from communalism to individualism is relatable to indigenous economic changes is based upon the observation of four developments: (1) the degeneration of the Lapp social unit called the *sit,* (2) the recent occurence of pronounced differences in wealth, (3) the employment of hired help, and (4) the neglect of the old and decrepit.

Development number one. The Lapps formerly lived in groups of several families called *sits* in which a kind of communalism ruled. With the development of full-scale pastoralism the *sit* lost its communalistic nature (Solem, 1933, pp. 81-84, 184-188; Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp.28-29).

The *sit* is basically defined by two elements. First, a specific land area defines it geographically; Lapland is divided into a mosaic of *sit*-areas marked by natural, but nonetheless definite boundaries. Second, a group of people or families defines the *sit* as a specific population (Tanner, 1929, pp. 338 ff).

The names of the various *sits* of Finno-Scandia have generally remained the same as far back as written documents take us. They

[1]Part of the research for this paper was conducted as a Research Training Fellow of the Social Science Research Council (1956-1957) and as a Postdoctoral Fellow of the National Science Foundation (1957-1958).

are usually taken from a hunting or fishing place, winter village, or other geographical object, but they are never taken from either real or putative ancestors (Solem, 1933, p. 82). In addition, members need not be, and often are not, related. A family or individual may change membership subject to the approval of the *sit* they would join, and this is not necessarily contingent on kinship. Even non-Lapps have been admitted to such groups occasionally (Tanner, 1929, pp. 339-341). The *sit*, then, is not primarily a kinship group, although kin ties may be coordinate with it (Whitaker, 1955, p. 57).

There is, on the other hand, abundant evidence to suggest that its basic rationale is economic. The following description of the *sit* as it is still found among the Skolt Lapps will bear this out.

The basic unit of the *sit* is the family and the highest authority, the council of elders (*norraz*) is made up of the heads of the families. The decisions of the council are binding, and the only recourse to dissenters is to leave the group. Joining another group, however, is dependent upon the approval of the *norraz* of that *sit*, and its members are extremely suspicious of such deviants (Tanner, 1929, pp. 345-346).

Tanner distinguished between two functions of the *sit*: its "external politics" and its "internal politics." The former is principally concerned with relations to neighboring *sits*. It maintains the integrity of the borders, resolving border-conflicts, and arranging for "foreign" concessions and inter-*sit* cooperation. For example, Suenjel and Njuehtt'jaur *sits* customarily fished a rich salmon area jointly, although it was located on the latter's territory. (A document from 1574 shows that this is not a new practice.) An individual in trouble with a neighboring folk was formerly tried before his own *norraz* which determined his guilt and in turn represented him before the neighboring council (Tanner, 1929, pp. 347-352). The *norraz* also negotiates with the Finnish government on behalf of the group (Nickul, 1948, pp. 16 ff.).

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Economic motives are especially salient in "internal politics." All land and water belongs to the *sit* as a unit, and its disposal is the jurisdiction of the *norraz*. The minutes of a meeting of the Skolt Lapps of Suenjel in 1938 cogently reveal this function.

> "Our ancient fishing-rights in the lakes named above are of the following nature: The rights include all fishing whether by net or drag-net in all suitable places in lakes and rivers quite independent of close periods, size of net's mesh, species of fish and the paths along which they move.
>
> "The rights also cover the use of the adjoining shore and the land in the immediate neighbourhood for the purpose of drying nets and drag-nets on strands, for storing sheds and dwelling-huts, also the right to take wood from that land for fuel and other requirements for living at the fishing-place.
>
> "Fishing is only practised for the families' own needs.
>
> "Fishing-rights may not be surrendered or let out.
>
> "The Village Council has represented the community to outsiders and settled internal disputes by a simple majority decision. The Village

> Council decides on the loss of fishing-rights, their expiration or other necessary arrangement so far as this can be done according to earlier usage. There is no appeal from the decision.
>
> "The right to vote on the Village Council appertains to the head of the family and grown-up sons in each of the families listed above who have their own fishing-water or a part in common to several families." (Nickul, 1948, p. 18.)

In its essentials at least, the *sit* is undoubtedly an old institution in Lapland. Gjessing is of the opinion that the archeological evidence of villages indicates its great age, as does the entirely Lapp character of the name itself (Gjessing, 1947, p. 50). Solem is convinced of its antiquity, mainly on the grounds that it differs too much from anything Scandinavian to be a recent loan or reaction from that direction (Solem, 1933, pp. 104-106). In view of the close relationship between the *sit* organization and Skolt economics, Tanner, too, believes that this is a very old institution (Tanner, 1929, pp. 412-416). But if the basic elements of the *sit* are ancient, the institution itself has nonetheless shown a tendency to change in historical times. Thus, Solem's argument for the loss of the communalistic aspects of the *sit* is not based on recent Skolt data but draws upon historical inferences. To quote Solem, "The system that was originally in force for the use of the *sit* territory and the division of game shows that within the *sit* there ruled a kind of communism" (Solem, 1933, p. 100).

His assumption that "a kind of communism" prevailed in the original institution is based on one fact alone: beaver, wild reindeer, bear, and wolf were during the 17th and 18th centuries divided among all the members of the *sit* regardless of which individual had made the catch. Solem surmises this inventory of the 17th and 18th centuries a recent limitation, "and that the original system was that *all* game were divided equally among the families of the *sit*" (my emphasis) (Solem, 1933, p. 100).

It is to be noted, however, that of the game cited by Solem both bear and wild reindeer were hunted communally, which would suggest that division of these particular animals among the members of the *sit* was intrinsic in the method of hunting (Manker, 1947, pp. 107 ff.). Even in recent times the Polmak Lapps regularly practiced salmon fishing as groups rather than individually and the spoil was divided equally among the participants (Solem, 1933, p. 93). It is possible, then, that communalistic division of the catch resulted from certain limited communal hunting methods. If such were the case, then it is likely that animals hunted exclusively by individuals would not have been subject to wholesale distribution. The records of a court decision made for Sodankylä and Kemikylä in 1770 show that beaver might only be hunted during a certain part of the year, the period when the skin was at its best. Communal regulation of the beaver hunt extended to the allotment of hunting places for the individual hunters, and forbade capture of animals less than one year old (Fellman, 1910-1915, III, pp. 211-215). Thus, in a somewhat different sense, beaver hunting was also a cooperative project.

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Only the wolf is not explained by this hypothesis. The evidence for the hunting of wolves in pre-pastoral times, however, is so scanty that it is best left out of the discussion. The only reference to communal apportionment of captured wolves is a court record for 1733 which *denied* the community the right to divide an individual's wolf catch (Fellman, 1910-1915, III, pp. 117-118).

Still another reason for believing that the communal division of game was always of restricted scope is that among both the Mountain Lapps and the Skolt Lapps the *sit* resides in a single settlement only during the winter. During the summer the reindeer breeders are to be found with their herds spread out high in the mountains or along the arctic coast of Norway. The Skolt Lapp families also leave the winter village when each goes his own round of fishing areas during the rest of the year. This would indicate that communalistic appropriations could not occur during the greater part of the year, the divergence of the families militating against it.

Besides regulating the apportionment of cooperatively obtained goods, it is possible that communal distribution of some game was also a means of caring for the needy. Thus, the court record dealing with the division of wolves (see above) also informs us that it was formerly an obligation to divide beaver and wild reindeer, "because of the poor old people and other disabled people who could not get their own food." (Fellman, 1910-1915, III, p. 117).

To summarize: Solem refers to the 17th and 18th centuries as a period when "a kind of communism" was in force which especially permeated the institution of the *sit*. The discontinuation of communal division of game he views as comensurate with the degeneration of the *sit* as a social unit, thereby exemplifying a trend toward individualism.

From the data submitted in evidence, however, it would be more accurate to say that at that time Lapp culture was activated upon by *two* principles: a *cooperative* one *and* an *individualistic* one. What has been called communism seems no more pervasive of social organization than certain instances of cooperation based upon hunting methods and communal residence. No evidence negates the entirely plausible assumption that most game has belonged to the individual hunter.

Further, the termination of those documented examples which do exist of communal division of spoils cannot be credited simply to the introduction of stock-breeding as a primary economic pursuit. This possibility is refuted by the Skolt data since the Skolts are not primarily reindeer breeders, yet have ceased this cooperative method of distributing some game animals. Scandinavian influences can scarcely be denied consideration. In Polmak, for example, Lapps are said to have abandoned cooperative fishing as a result of the example set by Finnish fishermen. However, discontinuation among the Lapps of communal division of some game apparently resulted largely from the extinction of the limited inventory of animals subject to these rules.

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The *sit was* affected by the developing economic dependence on reindeer breeding. The surprising thing is that the *sit* conserves so much of its old character in the face of changed circumstances of social mobility. The main sanction of the council of elders is missing since it is now possible for dissenting members simply to leave the *sit*. And, instead of a council, each *sit* has an individual leader, a man who assumes the position by virtue of his success in amassing the largest reindeer herd. But the voluntary nature of the pastoral *sit* reiterates emphatically that it is still based upon a pervasive spirit of cooperation —and it should be noted that the *sit* is the normally ascribed institution of reindeer breeders (Lowie, 1945, p. 252). It has been claimed that, "notwithstanding the cooperative principle on which the unit rests, individual ownership predominates. Though pasturage lands are shared, each family has its own tent, driving equipment, domestic utensils, and reindeer . . . " (Lowie, 1945, p. 252). This argument is scarcely persuasive or pertinent in a herding context, since we have seen that this was also the case in the prepastoral *sit*.

Although the pastoral *sit* is more individualistic than the present day fishermen's in that it is easier to leave the former group, it is worth noting that while cooperative hunting is no longer practiced in Lapland, cooperative herding is still standard procedure among the Reindeer Laps. It is true, however, that the reindeer *sit* no longer represents a member in cases involving a member of another *sit*. This decrease in communalism is correlated with both an acculturative factor (the present jurisdiction of Scandinavian courts) and an indigenous economic factor (loss of the sanction of the council against leaving the *sit*).

Development number two. As hunters and fishers the Lapps had no significant distinctions of property, but with the development of a pastoral economy there came to be marked differences between the wealthy and the poor(Solem, 1933, p. 104; Cf. Lowie, 1948, p. 29).

Some Lapps own as many as 5,000 reindeer while others have only 20. A few specific instances indicate more clearly the nature of this economic disparity. In Könkämä the 1918 census shows that of 97 families, 19 had over 200 reindeer, 25 had from 200 to 100, and 53 had from 100 to 5. In Lainiovuoma for the same year the figures are, 9 families with over 200 reindeer, 13 having between 100 and 200 and 27 with less than 100 (Elgström, 1922, pp. 108-109). In Kautokeino in the year 1865, of 111 families, 49 had 200 reindeer or more (16 with over 400), and "some although not many" with around 50 (Smith, 1938, p. 282).

In 1899 Helland computed the number of reindeer necessary for subsistence on pastoralism without recourse to wage labor or hunting and fishing (quoted in Elgström, 1922, p. 109). From 30 to 40 animals must be slaughtered each year to provide the family's food and hides. There must be 30 or 40 male reindeer, of which 10 to 12 are used for

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breeding and the others are castrated and trained for transportation. Reindeer cows average one calf a year, but the mortality rate of yearlings is 50%, so about 100 females are necessary to replenish the herd. Thus it is concluded that approximately 200 animals are necessary for the support of a family.

The census reports may be interpreted on the basis of these figures as follows: Those with around 200 support themselves without difficulty. Those owning over 400 have a large surplus. Those with between 200 and 100 must be regarded as probably having enough to support themselves solely by reindeer breeding since the number less than 200 may represent a count made after the main slaughter was accomplished, before the new crop of calves was born, or simply a conservative count on the part of the reindeer owner. Those owning less than 100, however, are sub-standard and must supplement their income with what they can. Most of these may be definitely classed as poor.

The three examples suffice to indicate the substantial spread from rich to poor, although they are not sufficient to show the relative proportions of rich, average, and poor as they vary from year to year and from place to place.

The Skolt Lapps afford a clue to the significance of wealth and poverty in Lapland. These Lapps, who live in the Petsamo district of Finland, are fishermen. The seasonal rhythm of their lives is determined basically by their dependence on fish and they migrate regularly during the course of the year from one fishing place to the next (Nickul, 1948, p. 60 *passim*). In this respect they contrast with the Mountain Lapps whose seasonal migrations are determined by the needs of the reindeer herd.

Fishing is carried on from April-May until November-December. Fish are dried for the winter although the basic item of food for these months is reindeer meat. Care of the reindeer is casual, only owners of large herds ordinarily tend their herds during the winter, while the majority of the population enjoys the social life of the winter village. Ordinary families allow their animals to graze unattended during the winter, inspecting them only once every one or two weeks. From May until autumn all reindeer herds are set free regardless of their size (Nickul, 1948, p. 67). Reindeer are essential to their economy, since they play an important role in their winter diet (Tanner, 1929, pp. 151-152). Yet, they are definitely not Reindeer Lapps since the vast majority of them have herds of less than 200 reindeer; neither does the reindeer herd dominate their way of life as it does among the Mountain Lapps.

In Suenjel (Skolt Lapland) the main differences in wealth are expressed in number of reindeer. There were 44 families of which 5 had 200 or more reindeer (2 with more than 400), 5 had between 100 and 200, and 34 had less than 100 (Nickul, 1948, p. 66). Since the Skolt's livelihood comes mainly from fishing rather than reindeer

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herding, the Halland-derived formula for determining rich and poor cannot be applied as it was to the Reindeer Lapps.

The Skolts slaughter from 2 to 8 reindeer yearly for their needs (Nickul, 1947, p. 67). Taking 8 as the figure, this would require 16 females to replenish the herd each year, figuring a 50% mortality and an average reproduction rate of one calf per cow per year. For such a small herd, two males for breeding is a high estimate. From Nickul we learn that there were 394 sledges of various sorts in the year 1938, and there were 44 families. If we assume that each family owned one castrated reindeer for each vehicle, this would give a figure of 9 draft animals per family. (Draft animals then make up 5% of the herd while among the Reindeer Lapps they comprise 12%. But since the latter migrate over much greater distances and do not have the permanent equipment at stopping places that the former have, it seems reasonable that these Lapps should have so many more sled-pulling reindeer.) These computations indicate that a Skolt family would need for subsistence *at the most* a herd of ca. 35 reindeer. Of 44 Suenjel families, 22 of them (i.e., 50%) own 35 or more reindeer, and of these 11 (25% of all of the families) own 70 or more. Among the Kautokeino Lapps of 1865 14% had 400 reindeer (i.e., double the computed basic number).

The Skolts have fully as much diversity in private wealth as do the Mountain Lapps. It must therefore be assumed that distinctions of property are not the result of complete economic dependence on reindeer breeding, because the Skolts depend overwhelmingly on fishing. But while it has been shown that complete pastoralism is approximately four centuries old, partial dependence on reindeer breeding is proven by Othere's account in Orosius' history to be at least eleven centuries old. Why, then, did differences in wealth not occur until recent times?

P. L. Smith's explanation was that, "a natural economy based essentially on hunting and fishing does not create a difference between rich and poor" (Smith, 1938, p. 164).

Scandinavian culture contact provides the answer to this question. The rule of the birkarls over the Lapps, attested for the beginning of the 14th century and in existence for an undetermined period before that time, ended in Tornio Lappmark in 1553. (The exploitation of the Lapps in Russian and Finnish Lapland seems to have been organized in much the same way as in Sweden and Norway.) (Collinder, 1949, p. 18.) It will be shown below that under the birkarls the Lapps were completely surpressed. To quote Buddus, "The excessive Power of the Birkarli over the Laplanders, and the advantage they had of Monopolizing all Commodities, had made them so Rich and Insolent, that they oppress'd the Poor, by keeping all the best Things for their own Shares, and giving that which was worth nothing to the poorer Sort" (Solem, 1933, pp. 81-84, 184-188; Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 28-29). Under such despots no Lapp could acquire a surplus, even though he had essentially the same economy as today. Part of the explanation of the present disparities in the possession of material goods among both the Skolts and

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the Reindeer Lapps must therefore be their release from subjugation to the birkarls and the subsequent development of a political environment ever more permissive of the retention and accumulation of surpluses.

To sum up, Solem's case for the significance of property differences creating rich and poor in a formerly equalitarian society rested on the contention, first, that the prehistoric fisher-Lapps were full-fledged communists. The data which formed the basis for this, the second of four arguments in support of the efficacy of indigenous economic factors in Lapp culture change, it has already been observed, are more reasonably regarded as indicating a communal division of the fruits of some cooperative endeavors. These were restricted historically to (a) the only time of the year (winter) when the various families of the *sit* were not dispersed, and (b) the kinds of game obtained by cooperative hunting techniques. This concurs with Lowie's statement first made over thirty years ago that, ". . . full-fledged communism, to the exclusion of all personal rights, probably never occurs . . . " (Lowie, 1947, p. 206). Tame reindeer have long been individually owned. It is attested for the 9th century in the account of Othere. Since differences in wealth are as outstanding among the Skolts as among Mountain Lapps we cannot accept the opinion that property distinctions resulted solely from the development of full-scale pastoralism in relatively recent times. Since separate ownership of property, and especially of tame reindeer which are capable of multiplying themselves, is an ancient trait, the former lack of distinctions of wealth must have been due to the despotic rule of the birkarls, which lasted until the 16th century. Indeed, the main reason for assuming an earlier economic equality is that the birkarls virtually robbed the Lapps of all surplus goods. This is supported by some philological evidence—the Lappish words for "rich" and "riches" are Germanic loan-words which would suggest the recency of the conception (Solem, 1933, p. 104). Solem, it should be noted, maintained that differences in wealth were precluded by the communal distribution of the catch. "It is obvious that such a social system hindered the creation of a class of rich men among the Lapps as long as it was in force." (Solem, 1933, p. 104). But since the communal distribution of a restricted number of animals in the 16th and 17th centuries did not preclude the coexistence of individually owned animals, including tame reindeer, it cannot be taken as an indication of economic equality, much less an explanation of it! To quote Lowie again, "A people may be communistic as regards one type of goods, yet recognize separate ownership with respect to other forms of property." (Lowie, 1947, p. 210).

Taxation under the birkarl rule may be taken as an explanation of why a wealthy class did not develop before the 16th century. It is reasonable to assume that post-birkarl Scandinavian influences favored such a development. Lapp-Scandinavian trade especially is suspect of reinforcing such a trend, since it grew to be a bigger and bigger enterprise as the years went by. As an attractive use for wealth it might have functioned as an especially powerful incentive to the

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accumulation of wealth. Yet, its effect seems to have been rather slight. Among the Lapps, the wealthy and the poor dwell in the same kind of tent or one-roomed cabin with relatively little difference in quality, and they wear the same kind of clothing, although of late, standardized factory-made European clothing has become more common because it is *cheaper* than the traditional Lapp costume. The rationale of wealth does not seem to be the desirability of European products but simply the development and maintenance of large herds as an end in itself.

Development number three. As large herds became common an innovation of importance took place—the use of hired help, creating a class of hirelings (Solem, 1933, p. 201 ff.).

The Lapps address hired servants by the old Germanic or Finnish words for "boy" and "girl." This suggests that the trait occurred after contact with Scandinavians; it does not prove that it was borrowed (Drake, 1918, pp. 232-233). Although Scandinavian influence may have been present, it has the character of a development following naturally upon full-scale pastoral sm.

In Suenjel some men were hired to serve as reindeer herdsmen in households not having sufficient workers of their own. Their salary in 1938 was 400 Finnish marks a month plus food and outer garments (reindeer fur-coat and boots) (Nickul, 1948, p. 67). Similarly, among the Reindeer Lapps, fam lies with large herds were forced to seek help (Solem, 1933, p. 201). As Solem points out, the cause seems *a priori* to have been lacking until herds grew too large for single families to handle (Solem, 1933, p. 201).

Among the Reindeer Lapps a helper's wage consists partly in his keep, partly in clothing and equipment, and partly in reindeer—though lately it has become more and more common to pay in cash as well. Nevertheless a boy starting with nothing at the age of 15 years can, by dint of hard work and careful management, own a herd of some 100 reindeer by the end of 12 to 15 years. If he marries and receives more reindeer as a dowry he can become a full-fledged reindeer breeder in his own right (Collinder, 1932, p. 33). From P. L. Smith we learn that the life of the hireling was not bad (*var ikke därlig*) since he received his wages in clothing and a certain number of female reindeer (3 to 6 each year). The reindeer were given him before calving time and the offspring also belonged to him (Solem, 1933, p. 203). "Many servants soon became owners of up to 100 reindeer, and many of the biggest reindeer herds in Kautokeino have their origin in the servant-wage" (Smith, 1938, p. 282).

The position of the wage earner differs fundamentally from anything Scandinavian. Regarded as members of the family (*de blir betraktet som medlemmer av familien*) they are not common laborers but men likely someday to be members of the council of elders (Solem, 1933, p. 203). The recent tendency to pay wages in money, however, is a shift in a Scandinavian direction.

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Among the Skolt Lapps hired herdsman are usually employed only during the winter — the only period when the large reindeer herds require any close attention. During the rest of the year they concentrate on fishing just as any other Skolt.

On the whole, the hired hand does not in himself exemplify a shift in emphasis towards individualism. His position of equality and the temporary aspect of his employment do not within Lapp social organization differentiate him significantly from the youthful hunter or fisher who must also work and wait before becoming a senior member of the community. From a theoretical standpoint, he is simply a neophyte on the road to full citizenship.

Development number four. Nomadism made it difficult to take care of the aged and the decrepit and these people are worse off than in the hunting stage (Solem, 1933, pp. 63-64).

Illustratively, Solem mentions the case of a Finmark Lapp who had once owned a herd of 1,000 reindeer but in old age was reduced to living in a wretched room with but 20 reindeer to his name—yet his son owned a sizeable herd. From Pehr Högström (1746) we learn that the Lapps care for their old parents out of shame but not out of love, and that such care is difficult because of their nomad life (Solem, 1933, pp. 63-64).

The health and vigor of the nomad Lapp attest the salubrious aspects of a migratory life. But if it is a healthy life it is also a strenuous one and with old age it becomes unbearably so. Little can be done to alleviate the difficulties of the aged and feeble. One possibility is to leave them in a permanent settlement, the winter village or a Scandinavian settlement, which is precisely what the Lapps often do. Permanent settlement often results in less sanitary conditions — a cabin or room accumulates possessions and dirt as opposed to the portable tent with its scarce furnishings and floor of birch twigs changed weekly.

But it must not be forgotten that the hunter and fisher Lapps also are migratory. If migration is harder on the Reindeer Lapps it is only insofar as the routes are longer and often over more difficult terrain or through more severe weather. For both groups, the plight of the senile and infirm is to be left behind. For both groups the result is not starvation and cold, but loneliness and an unfulfilled urge to be "on the road." Among the Skolt Lapps we have the case of Illep, who is not in full possession of his senses and has been kept in the communal home in Petsamo for years. In summer he gets an irresistible longing for his home and once he managed to escape and return, only to be expatriated once more (Nickul, 1948, p. 25). Sedentary life can be as miserable for a Skolt as for a reindeer nomad.

Concerning this fourth citation of a shift towards individualism, it must be concluded that the worsened state of the aged is more apparent than real since the aged could not have been much better off in

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pre-reindeer times. Yet insofar as their position is worse it is directly due to the increased severity of the annual migrations, a development only tangentially considerable as proof of increased individualism.

SCANDINAVIAN PENETRATION

Culture contact between Lapps and Scandinavians is not a new phenomenon. The Swedish philologist K. B. Wiklund has shown that some Germanic loan-words date from the beginning of the Scandinavian Iron Age — around 500 B.C. (Manker, 1947, p. 22). Most of the nomenclature of milk production consists of Scandinavian loan-words and it seems very likely that Lapp dairy culture was borrowed at an early date (Manker, 1947, p. 82). Even in the Middle Ages the towns of Ume, Pite, Lule, Tornio, and Kemi, at the mouths of the major rivers in the northern Bothnian Gulf, were important commercial centers. Inland penetration, however, received its first major impulse in the beginning of the 17th century when the Swedish government campaigned for settlement of the north. Colonization was encouraged by the promise of immunity from taxation for a certain number of years (Collinder, 1949, pp. 22-23).

During this and subsequent centuries many colonists came to Lapland as merchants, missionaries, or civil servants. Hunting and fishing attracted others. In 1706 the Scandinavian court in Sodankylä held that only Lapps might trap beaver and all others were expressly forbidden to engage in such an occupation (Fellman, 1910-1915, III, p. 62). The same court reversed itself in 1758 in the face of increasing pressure and held that immigrants might henceforth have the same beaver rights as Lapps (Fellman, 1910-1915, III, pp. 165-166). The report of a meeting held in Karasjok in 1728 indicates that colonists were engaged widely in salmon fishing at that time. In this meeting it was announced that one family had to move to Teno because of the "interference" of settlers (Collinder, 1949, p. 19).

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Scandinavian farms, encouraged by tax benefits, encroached steadily on the northern Lappmarks. Increasingly the Lapps found themselves neighbors to farmers subsisting on cattle breeding combined with the cultivation of potatoes, turnips, and fodder (Collinder, 1949, pp. 22-23). The immigrants included Finns as well as Norwegians and Swedes. In 1756 ten Finnish (Kven) families lived in Karasjok. According to a later report by Samuel Bugge Budde these Karasjok farmers owned some cattle and lived mainly on milk and fish (Smith, 1938, p. 107).

To a slight extent industry advanced into Lapp territory. Mining was in progress in the northern-most part of Sweden by the middle of the 17th century where, because of the lack of roads, some Lapps were employed to carry ore and metal on their reindeer (Collinder, 1949. p. 19).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ACCULTURATION

Edward H. Spicer has recently pointed out that, ". . . no instance of acculturation can be adequately described so long as the social structure of contact is omitted, and hence . . . no change sequence can be explained without some consideration of the social structure." (Spicer, 1958, p. 433). If we turn, then, from simple documentation of the presence of Scandinavians on Lapp territory to consideration of the structuring of intercultural social relations, we find that the two people generally tended to go separate ways economically, the Scandinavians emphasizing farming and the Lapps, reindeer herding and fishing. Insofar as they both exploited the same hunting and fishing resources, it was typically without social cooperation or intercourse. Lapps did leave their own communities to pursue a Scandinavian way of life. Permanently settled Lapps, whether fishermen or farmers, are not included in this study, which is restricted to nomads and semi-nomads.

By social structure of contact we understand those regularized forms of behavior which pattern the interaction of individuals of the two different cultures. It is through these contacts that culture is diffused. From this point of view, the massive confrontation of Lapp and Scandinavian, as it concerns us here, is seen to narrow down primarily to social relations regulated by involvement in six major activities: taxation, trade, administration of law, Christian communion, education, and mutual aid.

Taxation. The Finns were probably the first to seek revenue in the far north. Even before the 9th century they were taxing the Lapps of the Gulf of Bothnia as well as the province of Norrland, Sweden (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, xiv). The Norwegians, however, were not far behind and sedulous collection of taxes is attested for the Norwegian kings from the year 800 on (Smith, 1938, p. 1). In the 11th and 12th centuries the Carelians were the *de facto* rulers of much of Lapland and they levied taxes for a time, to the detriment of other sovereignties (Smith, 1938, p. 2). Since the first of the 13th century the Lapps have owed taxes to Sweden and by the middle of that century the Russians had replaced the Carelians in the pursuit of this particular type of exploitation (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, xviii, xxix).

In earlier times birkarls were the tax collectors. The earliest record of them is a communication of 1328, but in 1358 King Erik Magnusson confirmed their priveleges "as his father and grandfather had done before him," which would suggest that it was an old institution even at that time (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, p. xxxv). Their origin is obscure, not even the origin of the name *birkarl* is clear, but it appears that they were farmers or merchants from the areas around Tornio, Lule, Pite, and Ume. In return for a certain payment to the crown they had the right to demand taxes (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, p. xxxvi; Smith, 1938, p. 2; Collinder, 1949, p. 17).

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To the birkarls the Lapps were a kind of property, and, like other property, were subject to transfer and inheritance. In 1454, for example, some Lapps were transferred from a Tavastian warden to his brother who was a Norbotten (Swedish) birkarl (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, p. xvii). The only limit to the amount of revenue that might be demanded was "the birkarls' pleasure and the Lapps' ability to pay" (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, p. xxxvii).

It is no exageration to say that the Lapps were exploited (cf. Homen, 1921, p. 22). They were not only subject to the demands of individuals who virtually owned them, but disputed ownership simply meant multiple rights to taxation. A war between Norway and Novgorod ended with a peace treaty in 1326, whereby it was decided that Russia should join Norway in taxing the Lapp "towns" (*byer*) of Enare, Teno, Utsjok, Kautokeino, Avjovarre, and Lappojavrre. Earlier the Swedes had begun to tax the same towns through the birkarls, so these Lapps were subject to tax demands by three states (Smith, 1938, p. 2). In 1595 Russia and Sweden put an end to their double taxation of Tornio Lappmark, although it was not until 1809 that the last instance of multiple ownership of tax rights was ended by a treaty between Sweden and Russia giving exclusive rights to Russia for the taxation of Kemi. In 1751 Sweden and Norway terminated their common taxation of Tornio and Kemi Lappmarks (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, p. xxiv). Until the treaties of 1595 and 1751 the Lapps of Tornio were not only subject to taxation by more than one state, they were not only devastated by wars fought on their territory, but sometimes they were fined by one nation for having paid taxes to another (Collinder, 1949, p. 18). These evils of multiple taxation, however, were considerably lessened for Tornio at the end of the 16th century and were ended by the middle of the 18th century.

The first step towards ending exploitation by the tax-collector occurred in 1553 when royal wardens or sheriffs (*fogder*) were appointed by the Swedish king to replace the birkarls. With the collection of revenue in the hands of agents of the king it became a more regulated affair (Smith, 1938, p. 3). The report for Tornio for 1553 related that the tax was set at three reindeer skins per year, plus fish and meat for the warden, with specifications for the substitution of other skins or fish(Smith, 1938, p. 405). In 1558 the tax was increased to four reindeer skins (Smith, 1938, p. 8). Furthermore, the Lapps were classified as whole-tax Lapps, who paid the full amount, and half-tax and quarter-tax Lapps who paid corresponding amounts.

Since many of the first wardens were birkarls, wanton exploitation did not cease immediately, yet, the stage was set for consistency and reasonableness (Smith, 1938, p. 3). Until the beginning of the 17th century the custom was still effectively to collect as much as the Lapps could give. Carl IX put an end to this by issuing in 1602 "an order stating the amount of the tax the Lapps should pay." (Fellman, 1910-1915, IV, p. 90). This royal order set up a system of income tax

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based on the principle that a tenth of the year's reindeer, fish, and game should belong to the king. In the decades that followed, the arbitrary high-handedness of previous centuries gave way steadily to reasonable measures of tax assessment.

Taxation, then, was for many centuries an avenue of culture contact between Scandinavians and Lapps. Beginning in the 16th century and progressing through the years, the original wanton exploitation underwent a change. By the 17th century, the application of tax regulations, classification according to ability to pay, and assessment of a tithe gave the possibility for individualism to be expressed in the accumulation of private wealth, since surplus acquisitions were no longer subject to confiscation. Furthermore, the tax-collector to taxpayer relationship also represented an encouragement of individualism by the example of the egocentric behavior of the European and the obligation thereby imposed upon the Lapps to reciprocate as individuals. Taxes were levied against single persons rather than communities, and the tax-collector dealt with tax matters on a man-to-man basis. Involvement in taxation was in this way a development of increased individualism.

Trade. The antiquity of trade undoubtedly goes back to the first meeting of Lapp and Scandinavian. Our first definite knowledge, however, dates from the 14th century when we learn that it was the privilege of the birkarl to trade as well as to tax (Smith, 1938, p. 2). There is, unfortunately, no evidence for the nature or the amount of trade and it is not until the 16th century that more explicit information is available. One thing is sure, the Lapps were in a poor position to bargain. Manker's description of the birkarls is enlightening, "They pressed the Lapps hard, did as they wished with the Lapp girls, and could even burn the Lapps before taking over their property." (Manker, 1947, p. 240).

When royal wardens took over the job of tax-collecting in 1553 they modified the birkarl's ancient right to trade. Under the new system the birkarls traveled with the wardens on their yearly rounds, but all business was forbidden until the warden had collected his taxes and bought what he wanted (Smith, 1938, p. 7). This must have left very little for the birkarls, because the warden's needs were great. As an example, in 1557 Gustav I, king of Sweden, ordered his wardens to "purchase every year for the use of the court good marten skins, black fox, cross fox, *fjellrackor,* black beaver, black glutton, black bear." (Smith, 1938, p. 16). Another indication that the wardens had strict orders to buy up large quantities of furs is seen in the affidavits that were often made to attest that no more skins were to be found than those purchased (Smith, 1938, p. 17).

Skins were paid for entirely with coin or silver until 1571 when it became the custom to exchange skins directly for goods (Smith, 1938, p. 17). With the Lapps thus supplying most of their needs directly through the wardens the cash business of the birkarls was hard hit.

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The result was that the birkarls came on their own initiative to bargain with the Lapps—presumably more inclined to fairness under these circumstances. In 1605 Carl IX instructed his wardens to take care that the birkarls only visit the markets once a year, "and not in the night as they have heretofore done to their shame." Transgressions were perpetrated under "penalty of death" (Smith, 1938, p. 17).

But the wardens were ineffective in their fight against illicit trade and by the 17th century the birkarls were augmented and eventually replaced by free-booters and adventurers who traded widely with the Lapps (Smith, 1938, p. 7). The Lapps, in their turn, often found it advantageous to travel to the coast to barter illegally (Smith, 1938, pp. 40, 42, 172 ff.).

With the end of the birkarl period, then, the Lapps, no longer wantonly exploited, had skins to trade. To be sure, the early years of trade gave the Lapp little bargaining power, yet it was trade and not robbery. Gradually, as the north opened up, illegal and non-governmental trade gave the Lapps more and more discretion in the conduct of business until prices were subject only to the law of supply and demand.

With the possibility of buying Scandinavian products came an influence towards individualism in so far as tempting foreign goods were to be had in exchange for Lapp surplus skins and fish. An individual's command over these desirable, non-Lapp products was limited only by his ability and desire to purchase them. In recent decades, and particularly since World War II, some active reindeer herders have acquired means of motor transport, two-way radio sets, rifles, and other expensive modern equipment. It is notable, however, that these items of property are primarily purchased and valued for their utility in animal husbandry. Among herders, prestige continues to reside almost exclusively in the possession of large numbers of reindeer. More commonly, a certain fondness for Scandinavian foods and beverages is notable; yet not to the extent of replacing a high value upon native products. Over the centuries, a tendency to greater use of Scandinavian goods is documented, including certain essential food-stuffs. As long, however, as the rich Lapps are the reindeer herders, their necessarily nomadic existence makes the accumulation of Scandinavian goods impractical and undersirable. The consumption and accumulation of economic goods, then, continues to center upon the reindeer, so that trade, although indispensable, is nevertheless a minor economic factor quantitatively and hence a minor aspect of any increase in individualism.

Law. The Lapps had their own traditions for regulating litigation and securing justice. Old men, chosen for their wisdom and honesty, were selected to be judges. Sigrid Drake informs us that around 1800 a man by the name of Hindrik Kubbli in Asele was highly respected as a judge (Drake, 1918, pp. 227-228). The council of elders (*norraz*) also functioned as a court of law. Tanner holds that, "Originally the

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norraz was the sole, unrestricted authority for the administration of justice in the *sit*." (Tanner, 1929, p. 366).

The first infringement on indigenous juridical activities was by the birkarls. Although the birkarls apparently had no legal machinery for the administration of justice, they often functioned as judges by virtue of their unassailable—and hence unimpeachable—position as "owners" of the Lapps (Fellman, 1910-1915, III, pp. xi-xii).

As early as the beginning of the 14th century the Swedish court system was set up to encompass the whole of Sweden, but since it was not made to apply to the birkarl districts it did not affect the Lapps nor interfere with the birkarls' sporadic and arbitrary function as judges (Fellman, 1910-1915, III, pp. xiii ff.). With the end of the reign of the birkarls the judiciary came into the hands of the wardens or sheriffs. In 1589 the king ordered that courts should meet throughout Lappland (Smith, 1938, p. 24). The king's order did not result in much activity, however, and until well into the 17th century the wardens exercised what little jurisdiction there was (Smith, 1938, p. 59).

By the middle of the 17th century courts, presided over by royal judges, came to meet more often in Lapland. The Swedish archives contain court registers (*dombøker*) for the Lapps from 1649 on, however it was not until the 18th century that regular court sessions were held and litigation involving Lapps became common (Smith, 1938, pp. 59-60).

Lapp legal practices incorporated both individualistic and communalistic practices. The judge or council of elders had the authority to decide civil cases as well as crimes and torts. The party judged guilty or responsible was liable as an individual for indemnification or punishment (Solem, 1933, p. 96). However, a communalistic orientation in legal matters existed in cases dealing with acts perpetrated against a foreign community. In such disputes the accused was tried by his own *norraz*, which determined his guilt and his punishment and then assumed the responsibility of placating the injured group (Tanner, 1929, p. 349). Insofar as the Scandinavian legal system did not apply this communalistic concept, the displacement of the native judiciary constituted a specific example of increased individualism resulting from acculturation.

Christianity. The conversion of the Lapps to Christianity began quite early, but little progress was made before the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The oldest document on the subject is a letter of 1389 from Queen Margaret to her Lapp subjects exhorting them to the faith. Its effect was not great; it is not even known whether this letter was ever translated from Latin. An ordinance of 1603 resulted in the building of the first churches in Lapland, including those in Jukkasjärvi and Enontekis, and by 1700 Kautokeino and Utsjok each had a church.

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Under Carl IX, who was crowned in 1672, Christianization was speeded through the building of more churches and the provision of Lappish speaking priests. By the first half of the 18th century it was a rule, whether carried out or not, that all priests speak Lappish. The prayer book of the Swedish church and the New Testament were translated, and from that time on Lapps were found among the pastors of the north.

In Kautokeino, missionary activity was undertaken by the Norwegians who used Finnish rather than Lappish as the church language. Their diligence, however, was as great as the Swedes and their proselytizing wrought notable changes among the Lapps. In 1741 we learn that the church in Utsjok needed enlarging because it was too small to hold more than half of the congregation, and in 1747 it was suggested that Enotekis be seperated from Jukkasjärvi to become each an independent pastorate (Collinder, 1949, pp. 19-20; Manker, 1947, 245-255; Smith, 1938, *passim*).

To be precise as to when Christianity has replaced paganism as the ethos of a people is difficult. In the case of the Lapps, nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that by the early 1700's a notable segment of the reindeer-breeding population had become Christian. The Protestant theology of which they became adherents, combining communalistic concepts of church attendance and the "golden rule" with its individualistic concern for personal salvation was not, in its dualistic orientation, an approach hitherto alien to the Lapp.

There is evidence to suggest the use in pre-Christian times of altars or holy stones (*seiter*) where communal offerings were made (Solem, 1933, p. 83). Yet, worship and sacrifice could be undertaken by one man for the welfare of the whole family or group—a "pagan" tenet not essentially different from the Christian belief in the efficacy of individual prayer for others. Recourse to the shaman for help or guidance bears a striking ressemblance to Christian reliance on the intercessory and counselling function of the priest. At the same time, however, few Lapps were without a personal god (i.e., holy stone) to which they could appeal themselves personally.

In a general assessment, therefore, of indigenous Lapp religious beliefs and practices, an impressive array appear to have been long based on individualistic principles, and the conversion to Christianity cannot in itself be regarded as greatly innovating in this regard.

Education. The first successful attempt to bring schools to the Lapps was in 1631 when king Gustavus Adolphus introduced the Skyttean school for Lapp boys. Until the mid-18th century, by which time 7 schools had been founded in the Swedish Lappmarks, the schools reached only a small number of boys for training as teachers and missionaries. The base of Swedish Lapp education was broadened in 1735 with the establishment of a tent school which moved from one nomad camp to the next. By the 1760's twelve such schools were in

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operation. Schooling was an essentially minor, sporadic factor in Lapland until 1916, however, when special nomad schools were founded under the direction of a nomad school inspector. Under this system, pupils attend ambulatory summer schools for the first three years and stationary winter schools for the last three, for a total of six years of education. Most teachers are Lapps, although the language of instruction is Swedish, and the avowed aim of these nomad schools is to give the same educational possibilities to Lapps as to other Swedish citizens without estranging them from their traditional way of life (Collinder, 1949, pp. 126-129; Whitaker, 1955, pp. 115-117). Thus, except for the teaching of practical subjects such as Swedish and mathematics, the training is in Lappish subjects by Lapps. Essentially conservative in purpose, it is difficult to regard it as significant in any change from communalism to individualism.

Mutual aid. In general, Lapp and Scandinavian live in a relationship of economic symbiosis rather than competition. The Lapp provides furs, meat, and fish. The trader returns coffee, flour, sugar, salt, butter, cooking utensils, cloth, yarn, tenting material, knife blades, and silver for decoration. In return for money and skins the colonists sometimes provide Lapps with room and board during the winter. They also take care of Lapp-owned goats in the winter in return for care of their own small numbers of reindeer by the Lapps. This relationship of nomad and colonist extends beyond purely economic transactions to extensive mutual visiting and what has been called the 'privileged friend' institution (Pehrson, 1950, pp. 157-160). It thus seems clear that colonist-nomad relations must, if anything, be regarded as having intensified the sense of communalism of both parties. In a work on early relations between the two peoples, it was noted that, "in a subarctic region antagonistic instincts cannot remain in dominance. It is impossible to be in conflict with human beings at the same time as with severe natural conditions. Mutual aid is a form of adapting oneself to the climate." (Campbell, 1948, pp. 270, ff.). This may or may not be true, but it suggests clearly the nature of the relationship under discussion.

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CONCLUSION:

Acculturation and Economic Factors in Lapp Culture Change

We have been considering by what factors of sociocultural provocation certain propensities of Lapp social organization have altered. Investigation of the problem has been affected by emphases of its pioneer analyst, Eric Solem. His principal concern was the nature and cause of the change from a "relatively communistic orientation" of Lapp culture to a more individualistic one and he credited the development of full-scale reindeer pastoralism with the precipitation and and maintenance of this trend. The probability that the influence of infiltrating Scandinavians, whose social values differed significantly from the Lapps, warranted as much consideration in the asserted break-

down as economic dependencies occurred to Lowie but was not notably elaborated upon by him.

Our examination of the data has been one of three-fold consideration. Having established the possibility that both full-scale pastoralism and acculturation were associated with change in Lapp social structure, it was necessary, first, to examine the four cases of culture change relatable to indigenous economic adjustments that have been accepted as exemplifications of a trend toward individualism, and secondly to analyze the history and nature of contact between the Scandinavians and the reindeer-breeding Lapps. Pivotal to both investigations, however, emerged a third consideration, the need to re-examine the assertedly pervasive communism formerly structuring Lapp culture.

Our findings may be summarized as follows: Certain changes in the ancient Lapp social institution of the *sit* were found reasonably to assert a growing attention to individual rights. These cultural adjustments were causally relatable, in part, to the introduction of a full-scale pastoral economy, and, to a lesser degree, to contact with Scandinavians. But the great importance formerly attributed to this development was due to an over-estimation of the *sit's* early communistic nature. (And calling these changes "degeneration" is a misnomer.) The development of differences between rich and poor appears mainly to have been an extension of the individualism already inherent in the Lapp way of life, and its more overt expression in the post-17th century period is largely creditable to the disappearance of the inhibiting effect of birkarl rule. Differentiation in wealth was, however, fostered and encouraged by both indigenous economic developments (reindeer-breeding) and acculturation (the strengthening Scandinavian contact of pre-existent concepts of individual property). The plight of the aged and the creation of a group of wage-earners must, on existing evidence, be rejected as significant indications of mounting individualism since the changes attributed to both developments are more assumed than verified and, in any case, appear to have little altered existing statuses.

Northern Research

Increased individualism relatable to purely acculturative factors is difficult to document. Insofar as the Lapps became involved in individualistically-oriented Scandinavian trade and taxation, some concessions to new economic differentiations occurred, but with surprisingly limited pervasiveness. The introduction of Scandinavian law represented only a slight alteration of pre-existing Lapp legal practices which were not lacking in concern for the individual, and the substitution of Christianity for paganism, none at all, since aboriginal religion, like jurisprudence, was also markedly individualistic. Schools and Lapp-Colonist mutual aid functioned essentially to reinforce and preserve established native values.

We are left to the conclusion that even in prepastoral times Lapp culture embraced an individualistic principle as well as a cooperative one. While there has been a tendency to greater emphasis of individualism, the outstanding fact is that in the face of contact with

Scandinavian neighbors and the development of reindeer breeding, the cooperative principle has shown a remarkable power of persistence. In this, the basic role of economic factors is observable. Today, reindeer herding operates efficiently on a semi-communal basis, utilizing the *sit* as a basic unit of socioeconomic organization. For economic expediency during the winter months, the herds of several families may be kept together and the job of tending them apportioned among the members of the group. The accumulation of wealth derived from the growth of an economy with a surplus production. Acculturative factors, which did not result in change in basic industry, were limited in influence to the structuring of purely European-Lapp social relations and, in Lapp society proper, to a reinforcement of tendencies otherwise present.

Caution must be observed, however, in attributing primacy to economic factors in Lapp culture change. In spite of differences in wealth, Itkonen's statement holds true that, "rank and class are not clearly defined among the Lapps . . . " (Itkonen, 1951, p. 37). Cooperation extends to the almost compulsive care of the poor. A Lapp still gives to his needy compatriots without thought of recompense and, indeed, without even expecting a verbal "thank you." *Sit* membership is not a consideration in this behavior. "They are very ready to assist the Poor with their own Raindeer, either by lending them or else by giving one of them. To this Purpose speaks Samuel Rheen: Many of them are very charitable and compassionate towards the Poor; if a poor Laplander, who has no Reens of his own, comes to one of his wealthy Countrymen, to desire him to lend Two, Three, Ten, nay Twenty of his Raindeer for a Summer, either to make use of their Milk, or any other Employment, he will seldom deny him." (Scheffer, 1701, pp. 35-36). My own experience among the Lapps in 1951 can best be stated by quoting Scheffer as he wrote over 300 years before, "They are also very obliging and Hospitible to Strangers, whom they receive with great Kindness, and entertain them with what their Huts afford, being ready to do them all the good Offices they are capable of." (Scheffer, 1701, pp. 35-36).

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Communalism is, in short, a pervasive aspect of the Lapp way of life and economic expediency is inadequate to explain the total expression of the cooperative spirit. One may, on the contrary, reasonably assume that a value on mutual aid exists as a vital part of tradition, and that economic changes are themselves molded by the cooperative ethic. Although reindeer herding may be assumed to perpetuate communalism, it may equally be assumed to have been an adaptation to a tradition of cooperative enterprise—an extension of social habits associated with older methods of hunting. Conversely, although increased individualism resulted directly from economic changes, the economy itself appears always to have been adapted to a value on individualism. The history of Lapland has not been that of a substitution of individualism for communalism, but a case of the continuous dynamic interaction of mutually opposed, yet adapted sociocultural techniques

of cooperation and separatism, offering a mechanism for incorporating and molding change regardless of whether primarily indigenous or acculturative, economic or non-economic.

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NEW WORLD MIGRATION ROUTES

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Like Alaska, northeastern Asia underwent glaciation only in the mountain regions even during the maximum extension of the ice sheets, while the final glaciations are thought to have been confined to higher elevations or never to have spread far from their mountain sources.[1] The terminal stage, possibly equivalent to Valders, was represented only by scattered remnant glaciers which have since completely disappeared. Unlike Alaska, however, the adjoining half of the continent was very largely ice-free, and at no time was the way blocked between Bering Strait and this unglaciated hinterland — at least via the route lying south of the ice. During the more moderate final glaciations a northern route along the arctic shore was certainly available as well, and conditions in general would have been more favorable to the presence in this area of either animals or man.

We know from the biologists that a land connection must have existed between Asia and Alaska, although they cannot tell us precisely when. However, it is easy to demonstrate that a lowering of present sea level by only 120 feet would create a dry passage, not in Bering Strait itself but via St. Lawrence Island (Byers, 1957). And if we accept Russell's recent calculation of a Wisconsin sea level of minus 450 feet (Russell, 1957), we are confronted with a vast, level, ice-free plain extending both north and south of the strait — exactly the situation postulated by Hulten on the basis of his widely-respected studies of plant distributions (Hulten, 1937). The best estimates as to when this intercontinental land connection terminated run in the neighborhood of 11,000 to 8,000 years ago, but we are safe in assuming that it existed during most of the phases of Wisconsin glaciation as well as at earlier Pleistocene stages.

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Thus, even at times when Alaska may have been an isolated pocket walled off by ice barriers from the rest of North America, it was linked with ice-free Asia. In fact, from the standpoint of biology and human geography, it would perhaps be more accurate to think of Alaska as forming part of Asia at such times.

We must make passing reference to the Aleutians if only to dismiss them from the picture. The depth of water west of Attu rules out the possibility of any former land connection in this area. There is no basis for postulating the presence of pack ice as a substitute, and in any case, as Skarland (1954) has pointed out, long distance travel over sea ice is highly improbable. The distances involved, and the hazardous conditions of navigation, debar any movements by water until primitive seafarers had reached a high level of skill; and even then, we have evidence for none but the most sporadic and conjectural contacts in very recent times (cf. Chard, 1959). We must note also that the Aleutian Islands were heavily glaciated.

[1]For the most recent authoritative map of Siberian glaciations, see the **Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia,** 2nd edition, Volume 47 (1957), facing page 240.

Let us now examine in more detail the routes available to early man between ice-free Asia and the Bering land bridge. What I will term the southern route begins near the mouth of the Amur River, skirts the precipitous western and northern shores of the Sea of Okhotsk where the coastal ranges run out to the ocean, and then cuts overland to Bering Sea across a low-lying gap that I propose to call the Koryak Corridor. These Okhotsk coastal ranges form a formidable barrier that has tended from Neolithic times to restrict contact with the interior and to channel movements along the shore. And we may well assume that they played a similar role in earlier eras as well. Under present conditions this route would hardly appeal to early man: it is comparatively difficult for people without boats, and most of the known movements are associated with maritime cultures or, in very recent times, with reindeer-riding peoples. Except for localized and highly seasonal fish runs, the Okhotsk coast offers little sustenance to a pedestrian group. Moreover, the worst terrain conditions are located at the very start of the route, immediately north of the Amur, and would probably effectively discourage any attempt at northward movement following the coastline. However, a drop in sea level of only 100 meters, well below Russell's Wisconsin figure, would change the picture completely and expose a relatively level coastal shelf 20 to 30 or more miles in width, providing a habitat for game animals and an easy path for man (cf. Chemekov, 1957). So sharp a contrast in feasibility has convinced me that any significant movements via this southern route must have been confined to periods of glaciation with attendant low sea levels. And we know that the way was never barred by ice. A corollary to this, of course, is that the traces of man's presence along this route must be largely buried beneath the sea. The most promising area in which to find them would be what I have called the Koryak Corridor—that low-lying ice-free short-cut from the head of the Okhotsk Sea to Anadyr Gulf. There is no certainty, of course, that early man did not detour south around the coasts of Kamchatka but still it would seem that our best chance of finding sites above water is along this possible overland section.

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The low sea level prerequisite for this route might of course have been affected by isostatic movements for which we have inadequate data. But owing to the relatively small extent of the final glaciations in this area, we are probably safe in assuming such movements to have been of only minor consequence at that time.

By analogy with Alaska we may assume that climatic and environmental factors were not unfavorable to the presence of animals or man in ice-free areas of northeastern Siberia during glacial periods, and especially the final ones with which we are primarily concerned. During the latter, vegetation may have been much like the present on available evidence. Even at the time of maximum glaciation, the Okhotsk coastal route at the worst probably experienced conditions not inferior to those prevailing today in inhabited portions of Greenland, both areas being tempered by the proximity of the ocean. The Bering Sea region may in fact have enjoyed a relatively mild climate whenever land

bridges blocked off the arctic waters and allowed it to receive the full benefits of warm currents.

It may be asked whether the Kurile Islands would not provide an alternate southern route from the Amur region to Kamchatka and Bering Sea. It is true that Hokkaido was linked to the continent via Sakhalin at various times during the Pleistocene, but the depths of water between the islands of the Kurile chain rule out a land connection in the latter area, nor is pack ice a likely substitute here. Moreover, there is evidence that the Kuriles were subjected to local glaciation. Human occupation or use of the islands had to await the development of maritime cultures, and on present evidence this came very late in the historic scene (cf. Chard, 1956).

The other route by which man or elements of his culture could reach the New World ran from the mouth of the Lena River eastward along the arctic shore to Bering Strait. Even with modern sea levels this is a continuous strip of lowland that has provided free movement to peoples in both prehistoric and historic times. A lowering of the shallow adjoining seas by as little as 50 meters would create a vast coastal plain to complicate matters for the archaeologist. Thus we probably cannot hope to find more than a small fraction of the remains which any early wanderers might have left. The eastern half of this route may have been blocked during the maximum glaciation, but was almost certainly open during Wisconsin times, especially the final phases. Unlike the southern route, it would have been not only feasible but inviting during interglacial periods. At such times, however, the final step to Alaska would have involved surmounting a water barrier at the strait. The climate along this barren arctic shore in times of glaciation, on the other hand, was surely inferior, though perhaps offset by the vastly greater game supply on these extensive lowlands. As it is, we have at present no evidence that would suggest that this northern route was used in preceramic times (Chard, n.d.).

Archaeological reconnaissance along these probable migration routes in Siberia has just begun and has been carried on primarily in terms of present shore lines and landscapes. It is hardly surprising therefore that no traces of the early migrants have yet been discovered. As I have indicated, the majority of such remains must be under the ocean, but there are doubtless accessible sites that await the searcher who looks in the right places. The great quantity of mammoth remains for which arctic Siberia is famous give hope that some day we shall find traces of the hunters who must have pursued them. After all, we must not forget how few traces of early man have come to light as yet in Alaska despite two decades of diligent search.

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AN ESKIMO COMMUNITY AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

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In recent years anthropologists writing on community study methods have pointed out that few such studies attempt to describe and analyze in detail the interrelations of a community with its social-cultural environment (Steward, 1950; Arensberg, 1954; Redfield, 1956). In addition, Steward has stressed the fact that the historical approach has been infrequently used in community studies and when it is, rarely covers more than a few years of the immediate past. "The result is that analysis of function tends to be predominantly synchronic and lacks insights into basic trends that the historical method might give" (1950, p. 24).

Two recent papers have attempted to deal with the problems mentioned above. Opler outlines the way in which Senapur, a village in north central India, has been interacting constantly with the outside world for at least the past two hundred years and suggests that it is "the pattern of outside contact rather than the fact of outside contact that is altered" (1956, p. 9). In concluding his paper, he writes, "An attempt has been made in this paper to see an Indian village in terms of its extensions, and as part of larger units organized on social organizational, political, caste or religious grounds. The involvement of Senapur villagers with organizations, places and events outside of the village is considerable and it seems that this has been the case for a very long time. Yet it has not interfered with the separate identity and cohesiveness of the community, which in some respects is more marked than before" (1956, p. 10).

Smith and Reyes have considered the "changes over time in the interrelations of one community with the world outside, and Opler's (1956) proposition that the unity and identity of a community as well as its extensions form part of the same process" (1957, p. 464). In studying culture change at the community level, they are interested not only in determining the changes over time in the community's connections with the outside world, but also in establishing which of these changes affect, or have affected, individuals, groups, and the community as a whole (1957, p. 464).

The unit of study for Smith and Reyes is the Japanese agricultural community of Kurusu and their method of categorizing the factors that identify and unify the community as well as interrelate it with its social-cultural environment is described as follows:

"There are activities and organizations (in the community) which:

1) **Internally** define Kurusu as a unit, giving its residents a sense of community;

2) Place Kurusu within a network or hierarchy of interrelationships, in which Kurusu is **externally** defined as a unit by some outside agency or organization;

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3) Involve individuals and groups in Kurusu with individuals and groups outside the community, and in which Kurusu is not defined as a unit;

4) Have the potential for increasing the scale of Kurusu's world, but which are means for contact rather than contact itself" (1957, p. 465).

The time perspective used by Smith and Reyes includes the twenty-five years between 1930 and 1955. Within this time span they seek to determine whether a particular identifier or interrelation has a) vanished, b) declined in importance, c) remained unchanged or d) increased in importance or been newly introduced (1957, p. 465).

The purpose of the present paper is to place in historical perspective the interrelations of one community with the outside world using the same method of categorization as that employed by Smith and Reyes and keeping in mind Opler's comments concerning possible changes in the pattern of outside contact. The community under consideration is the Eskimo village of Point Hope in northwest Alaska studied by the author in 1955 and 1956.[1]

Point Hope, a community of approximately 250 individuals, is located along the northwest coast of Alaska midway between the larger towns of Kotzebue and Point Barrow. The inhabitants of Point Hope, like those of other villages along the arctic coast, are largely dependent upon the hunting of sea mammals for their subsistence. The area around the village is sparsely settled, the nearest communities being fifty miles to the south and one hundred miles to the north.

The time perspective to be used in considering community interrelations at Point Hope spans the fifty-six years between 1900 and 1956. In dealing with interrelations that are no longer a part of the culture, the data used have been obtained from historical records, an ethnographic report by Rainey (1947), and interviews with elderly village inhabitants.

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I

In order to have a base from which to consider community interrelations at Point Hope, we are interested in establishing the fact that community cohesiveness exists. Of the various activities and associations that characterize Point Hope and provide a sense of community feeling, the following fifty-six year trends can be recognized:

1) *Vanished*: large extended families as the most important unit of the social structure; yearly cycle of ceremonies held in the *qalegi* or men's house; aboriginal warfare;

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2) *Declining*: yearly subsistence round; village endogamy;
3) *Unchanged*: the church; bond of common residence;
4) *Increasing or new*: None.

The powerful extended families that once characterized Point Hope community life have long since been replaced by small conjugal units, usually composed of a man, his wife, their children, and perhaps one or two dependent relatives. Although very little detailed information can be obtained about the old extended families, it appears that their relationships with one another were often characterized by feuds and bitter rivalries (Rainey, 1947, pp. 240-242). Nevertheless, communal solidarity apparently transcended these bitter family feuds, probably because of the bond of common residence, village endogamy, and the cooperative nature of the subsistence activities. However, since each extended family was a closely knit, almost independent, social unit, it is likely that their disappearance has weakened family-centered loyalties and brought about a strengthening of community ties.

Although warfare with neighboring groups had probably disappeared before 1900, it can be considered as having been an important factor in community cohesiveness because it united the community against a common enemy.

The annual cycle of ceremonies in the *qalegi*, which was closely connected with the subsistence cycle, has been described in detail by Rainey (1947). It is sufficient to point out here that its value as a unifying force in the community has not been completely lost since disconnected remnants of the cycle have been combined and are now performed as part of a week-long Christmas program that is one of the most important yearly functions involving the entire community.

The yearly subsistence round, though listed as declining, is still the most vital single force in the community and probably the most important factor in affirming village unity and identity. The hunting of sea mammals and other food-getting activities involves the community in a cycle of cooperative endeavor to which village life has been geared for centuries; the spring whale hunt in particular requires the cooperative effort of everyone in the village. The people are proud of their position as one of the few whaling communities along the arctic coast and also of the fact that hunting in general is better than in most other places. All villagers are agreed that Point Hope is "a good place to live." Since the people are fully dependent upon hunting for the bulk of their food supply, the subsistence cycle is of the greatest significance for community well being. Although an increasing amount of cash is being earned by villagers through the employment outside the village during the summer months, this by no means takes the place of other subsistence activities. However, it does take some of the uncertainty out of a subsistence economy and at the same time makes it possible for the villagers to enjoy some of the luxuries with which they have become familiar through contact with European and American culture.

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The subsistence cycle, as a unifying system in the community, appears to be in no immediate danger of disintegration. However, if a time should come when summer employment no longer satisfies the need for a cash income, a movement of people from the village to urban centers can be expected. Predominent wage work and the purchase of food would not be compatible with village life.

The Protestant Episcopal Church established a mission at Point Hope in 1890 and has continued to be the only church in the community up to the present time. More than sixty years of Christian teaching has all but obliterated the body of aboriginal religious and supernatural beliefs that helped the pre-contact Point Hoper to relate to his natural surroundings and solve some of the problems presented by a difficult environment. Point Hope lacks the religious factionalism that characterizes many Alaskan villages and there can be no doubt but that homogeneity in religious faith has been an important factor in maintaining village unity.

In summary, it will be noted that while within the past fifty-six years there has been nothing new emerge to unify Point Hope and none of the existing unifying forces are increasing, nevertheless the continued importance of the seasonal cycle of subsistence activities together with other activities and associations involving the entire village suggests that the community still has a strong sense of unity despite the influx of new ideas and the development of outside interests.

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II

There are a number of important interrelations in which Point Hope is externally defined as a unit by some outside agency. The fifty-six year trends to be noted in this regard are as follows:

1) *Vanished*: reindeer herding;
2) *Declining*: none;
3) *Unchanged*: the church;
4) *Increasing or new*: the store; post office; school; National Guard; formal community organization; voting precinct; health services; welfare services.

The reindeer herding program and the government school represented Point Hope's first intensive contact with the United States government; both institutions were established in the village during the last decade of the 19th century. The original importation of reindeer into Alaska was supposed to be for the benefit of the Eskimo population. Lapp herders were brought from northern Norway to teach the people the proper methods for caring for the herds. The project was under the direction of the Bureau of Education and although there was a herd at Point Hope until 1948, the attempt to make reindeer herders out of the Alaskan Eskimos was largely unsuccessful, mainly because they are a sedentary people who follow a definite cycle of hunting and fishing activities quite foreign to the nomadic routine of close herding.

However, reindeer herding was important in the history of Point Hope's contact with government agencies. The deer were owned by a joint stock company of Eskimos, herders were trained outside the village and government officials visited the community. The Bureau of Education was the first outside agency to define Point Hope as a unit.

Although the first Episcopal missionary at Point Hope maintained a school from the time of his arrival, a government school building was not constructed until 1904 and the Bureau of Education did not assume full control until 1924; in 1931 administrative control was transferred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Point Hope school taught grades one through six until 1953 when the seventh and eighth grades were added. With the exception of the Episcopal priest and his wife, the school teachers are the only permanent white residents in the village and because they are the representatives of the United States government and practically the only means of contact between the people and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they have a considerable amount of influence. The Point Hope school has been an important means of contact for the villagers for many years. Through it, village young people learn to read and write English, increase their geographical knowledge, and become familiar with many aspects of the outside world. Thus its influence on the village increases year by year. Since 1953 it has been possible to complete high school entrance requirements in the village and as a result, more young people express interest in attending the Bureau of Indian Affairs high school at Mt. Edgecumbe in southeastern Alaska. Through improved contacts with the outside world, young people are developing interests centered outside the village. An opportunity to travel away from the community and see some of the things they have read about in magazines and heard about over the radio, has great appeal. However, increased high school attendance raises problems concerning the future of the community. It is too early to be able to predict what percentage of graduates will be returning to the village and what problems of adjustment they will have to make. It seems likely, however, that many Mt. Edgecumbe graduates will not return, unless there is no alternative, since the trades taught at the Bureau of Indian Affairs high school are not trades that can be practiced in the village. It is therefore probable that as more young people leave the village to complete their education and become more oriented toward a money economy, they will become correspondingly disoriented from community subsistence activities and will seek economic opportunities away from the village.

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Smith and Reyes have pointed out an interesting community reaction to some of the external definitions of Kurusu as a unit. "Community members have responded to several of them very much as they do in situations and on occasions they themselves have defined the community as a unit" (1957, p. 467). A similar sense of community shown at Point Hope with respect to the formal community organization, the church, and, to a lesser extent, the school.

In 1920 the Episcopal Church organized a village council to control

the local affairs of the village and in 1940, when the village was chartered as a corporation of the United States, the council came under the general direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1956, the Point Hope village council consisted of eleven members who were elected by the villagers for three year terms. The Point Hope council is more genuinely operative than in many Alaskan villages though it lacks the means of enforcing its decisions. Also, the general absence under aboriginal conditions of any group or organization having disciplinary powers has made it difficult for the council to become established as a functioning regulatory group appropriate to the new culture. Its effectiveness depends heavily on the prestige of its members and the system of elections has generally assured that individuals properly qualified have held the positions. In this way it has been possible for the villagers to express in a formal manner a factor of village influence and control that is inherent in Eskimo culture. The council acts for the village in official dealings with outside agencies and is the outward expression of communal solidarity. It is in charge of many social functions involving the entire community and its actions are nearly always a true reflection of community attitudes.

The function of the church in village life has already been discussed and we have seen how it is involved in establishing a sense of community. A certain aspect of this is demonstrated by the fact that resentment against the community is often taken out on the church. That is, people who have something against the village as a whole will find that about the only action they can take to show their indignation or disapproval is to stop attending church; they boycott the one socially approved activity in which nearly all the community takes part. The church and school buildings, though constructed by outside agencies for purposes essentially foreign to Point Hope culture, are the true focal point of village activities today. The school is available for council meetings, films, dances and the meetings of all village organizations; the parish hall of the Episcopal Church is available for similar functions and is the center of important community activities at Christmas and Thanksgiving. As such, they are important factors in maintaining a sense of community.

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III

The largest number of interrelations of Point Hope with the outside world involve individuals and groups in Point Hope with individuals and groups outside the community but in which Point Hope is not defined as a unit. The fifty-six year trends observable are as follows:

1) *Vanished*: trading expeditions; trading partners; commercial whaling;

2) *Declining*: trapping; visiting during the whaling season; military service;

3) *Unchanged*: none;

4) *Increasing or new*: summer employment outside the village;

extra-community ties resulting from exogamy; contacts with the American legal system; village organizations (PTA, Women's Club, Mother's Club, Girl Scouts, Health Council, etc.); newspapers and magazines; American holidays; American games and entertainment; unemployment compensation; technological devices; local crafts; modern transportation; modern communications.

Some of these factors involving community interrelations will be discussed in more detail later, but a more complete treatment of two of them here will show how they differ from the interrelations previously discussed. The handling of furs and products of local manufacture by the village store is illustrative of the way in which a local activity can relate a community to the outside world. The Point Hope store is not operated by a trader resident in the village but is affiliated with the Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association, a non-profit cooperative purchasing agency in Seattle operated through the Department of the Interior. It has been listed as involving an interrelation in which Point Hope is externally defined by an outside agency. The village store handles furs which it disposes of through ANICA or through independent Seattle fur buyers. The villagers bring their seal skins, fox pelts or polar bear skins to the store which takes them on consignment, two-thirds of the price being paid in store credit to the seller at the time of the sale. The store then ships the furs to the buyer in Seattle and when that transaction is complete, the original seller receives the remaining third of the sale price. With the exception of polar bear skins, the store does not do as large a business in furs as it did fifteen or twenty years ago when the price of fox pelts was high. However, the villagers are vitally interested in fluctuating fur prices and information from Seattle fur buyers is posted in the store where it can be read by everyone.

A similar situation exists with regard to products of local manufacture. The store buys whalebone masks, ivory carvings and baleen baskets on consignment from the villagers and ships them to the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Association in Juneau which disposes of them to retail merchants. The individual craftsman receives two-thirds of the selling price at once and the other third, minus two percent handling charge, when the item is sold to the retailer. The sale of products of local manufacture is on the increase and a larger number of villagers are finding it worth while to do ivory and bone carving. This development of the market for curios is tied in with the general development of the tourist industry in Alaska, a factor which is certain to be of importance in future community contacts with the outside world.

A significant type of interaction with the outside world is that involving the adoption of new technological equipment. Perhaps the most obvious aspects of change in Point Hope culture pertain to technology and have resulted in the almost complete abandonment of the traditional Eskimo material culture. Nearly all the tools and weapons now in use in the village are manufactured rather than home made

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and must be purchased with cash. Even the few that are made in the village require some material in their manufacture that must be purchased. Aboriginal methods and concepts have been rapidly replaced by the most recent 20th century methods and concepts, and the people of Point Hope, far from regarding such change suspiciously, have been quick to recognize the advantages of such efficient new techniques and instruments. However, the Point Hoper, like his counterpart in the Japanese agricultural community of Kurusu, finds his "dependence on outside sources of supply and the necessity for earning enough cash to meet the costs of fuel and parts increasingly bind him to a world over which he has less and less control" (Smith and Reyes, 1957, p. 470).

IV

Wilson and Wilson, in their discussion of the boundaries of society, point out that "the extent of conscious relations, contemporary and historical, is the extent of a particular society" (1954, p. 24). Since all contemporary societies overlap and shade into one another, each one must have a point of reference before it can be defined. Thus if we speak of Point Hope society, we are referring to "all the relations directly realized" by the people of Point Hope (1954, p. 25). Within societies are "areas and periods of common life of more or less intensity" which are called communities (1954, p. 30). Thus the Point Hope community, with its more intense relationships, is differentiated from the extra-communal contacts that are the less intense relationships of Point Hope society.

The same authors have defined the scale of a society as being "the number of people in relation and the intensity of those relations" (1954, p. 25), and we have seen the various ways in which Point Hope's scale has been increased over a fifty-six year time period not only because more people are in conscious relations with one another, but also because relations between Alaska and the outside world are more intense than they were. There are certain factors of modern Point Hope life that have the potential for increasing the scale of Point Hope's world and are the means of contact. These factors for increasing the scale of the community are, significantly, all on the increase and they all automatically relate the community with the outside world, give access to urban ways and generally break down the community's isolation. Increasing mass communication media include magazines and newspapers, postal service, mail order catalogues, radio, telegraph, motion pictures and books. The introduction and increasing development of air transportation in northwest Alaska has been perhaps the most significant factor for increasing the scale of the community and it is closely related to many of the interrelations previously discussed. It is important to realize, however, that closer proximity to urban centers the familiarity with urban ways have not resulted, to an appreciable extent, in the urbanization of the community. Many features of community life, as we have seen, give Point Hope residents a sense of community and reinforce traditional community values.

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V

In discussing the relations of Senapur with the outside world, Opler has pointed out that it is possible to emphasize interaction "without even raising the question of economic self-sufficiency, without pointing out that Senapur today draws upon the outside market for cloth, many tools, dyes, kitchen utensils, matches and kerosene, among other things" (1956, p. 8). He further stresses the fact that "the basic articulations of Senapur and Senapur people with other communities and far-flung places . . . is not a recent development or a consequence of modern communications and transportation" (1956, pp. 8-9). In order to stress the usefulness of these ideas as they concern Point Hope's relations with the outside world, five aspects of community interaction that have been mentioned previously will be discussed in some detail. These are trading expeditions, the concept of trading partners, visiting during the whaling season, warfare, and extra-community ties resulting from exogamy. All of these are aspects of non-material culture and all have considerable historical depth.

During the summers, as recently as fifty years ago, many Point Hope families traveled by boat along the coast southeast to a trading center at Hotham Inlet in Kotzebue Sound near the present town of Kotzebue, or northeast to the mouth of the Utukok River. At Hotham Inlet they traded with inland Eskimo from the Noatak, Kobuk and Selawik rivers as well as other coastal peoples from Wales, the Diomede Islands, Port Clarence and East Cape, Siberia. The coastal people traded seal oil, whale oil, seal and walrus hides and ivory to the inland people for furs, dried fish, jade and other inland products. A lively trade in amunition, rifles, glass beads, tea, lead, drilling, tobacco and alcoholic beverages was also carried out (Rainey, 1947, pp. 267-68: Porter, 1893, p. 137). At the mouth of the Utukok, the Point Hope people carried on a similar trade with coastal and inland Eskimo of Northwest Alaska.

Closely connected with summer trading expeditions, and an important social relationship involving adult men, was the partner concept. In aboriginal times this term was used to identify the relationship between two individuals in different villages who were partners for purposes of trade. Thus if Point Hope people were trading with an inland group at Kotzebue, or with another coastal village, it would be advantageous for a person to have a trading partner both to trade with and to offer protection if any ill feeling developed between members of the two villages. If, for example, a Point Hope man should have sexual relations with a woman at Noatak, the child that resulted would often be considered as a partner of its father's children at Point Hope. This is one way in which the inter-village partner relationship could be established and the kinship term for children so related was formerly an important one. The partner concept of the type just described as well as the trading expeditions to Kotzebue and the mouth of the Utukok have long since disappeared. However, they represented

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an early manifestation of community interaction and were an important aspect of Point Hope life, economically as well as socially.

Although interaction with neighboring as well as far-flung peoples was common for the late 19th and early 20th century Point Hoper, these relationships were by no means always peaceful and were often carried out under circumstances of mutual animosity and distrust that occasionally threatened to erupt into open warfare. It is probable, as we have previously mentioned, that actual warfare had disappeared by the beginning of the 20th century. However, late 19th century observers reported that Point Hopers claimed they once exercised control over much of the country between Kotzebue Sound and Icy Cape. In the latter part of the 18th century, according to community tradition, the people from around Noatak began encroaching on Point Hope territory and it wasn't long until they had occupied the southern part of the Point Hope region as far north as Kivalina. One summer, about the year 1880, a great land and sea fight reportedly took place between Point Hope and Noatak Eskimos just below Cape Seppings. The Point Hope people were defeated and forced to withdraw from all that part of the country. So badly were they defeated that they lost most of their good hunters and suffered greatly from famine (Wells, 1890, pp. 10-11). Wars of this kind have taken on an almost legendary character in the minds of the Point Hopers and though the Eskimos are generally a peaceful people, there can be no doubt but that such battles actually did take place. It also seems certain that the people of Point Hope either controlled or were at least thoroughly familiar with a large area in all directions from the village and resented the intrusion of neighboring groups. Warfare has been previously listed as a factor in establishing and maintaining a sense of community and although never of major importance in Point Hope culture, did much to increase awareness of neighboring peoples.

Since Point Hope is the best whaling location along the northwest coast of Alaska, it has long been common for people from the neighboring village of Kivalina as well as more distant villages such as Kotzebue, Noatak, Point Lay and Point Barrow take part in the hunt and the ceremonies that follow the end of the whaling season. This custom is less common today than it was fifty years ago but people still come to the village to visit friends and relatives at that time. Toward the end of the 19th century, when commercial whaling offered employment to people from the coastal villages, large numbers of coastal and even some inland Eskimos camped near Point Hope to assist in the commercial whaling operations. A certain amount of trade was carried on and a great football game was played each spring following the whaling feast or *nalukataq*. The playing field extended as much as ten miles along the beach and the game, which more closely resembles soccer than it does American football, usually continued for several days. The visiting Eskimos often far outnumbered the Point Hope people and there were often bitter fights that resulted in serious injuries. The great players of that period are still remembered and talked about in the village (Rainey, 1947, p. 256).

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Extra-community ties resulting from exogamy are perhaps less important historically than those resulting from the types of contact mentioned above. Under aboriginal circumstances, village endogamy prevailed and it has only been within the past ten to fifteen years that Point Hopers have looked outside the community for their marriage partners. However, the lines of communication that have been opened by this means are significant and as more Point Hopers leave the community for varying lengths of time, either for purposes of employment or to go to school, exogamous marriages will increase and become of greater importance as a factor for interaction with the outside world. In recent years, the marriage of several Point Hope girls to white men has extended kinship ties to the continental United States.

CONCLUSIONS

Smith and Reyes have suggested "that change at the community level cannot be understood without an understanding of the role of agencies outside the community, for it is our impression that purely internal change unrelated to outside factors is a relatively rare phenomenon" (1957, p. 471). Both Opler and Smith and Reyes have stressed the fact that if we are to comprehend the nature of communities we must give careful attention to the pattern of the interactions of such groups with the world around them. The data presented here sustain these views and have shown that the Eskimo village of Point Hope, though geographically more isolated than either Senapur or Kurusu, has a complex network of inter-relations which greatly influence nearly every phase of community life. Although the community has been successful in maintaining its unity and identity, it is clear that a true understanding of the functioning of Point Hope culture cannot be achieved without reference to its relations with the outside world.

Attention has been focused upon Opler's comments concerning the changing pattern of outside contact. It has been shown that important contacts between Point Hope and other communities have been long established and are not a recent development nor are they the results of modern systems of communication and transportation. By placing community interaction in historical perspective, it has been possible to see clearly the changing pattern of contact and to appreciate the factors responsible for Point Hope's steady increase in scale.

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NOTES AND NEWS

WOLF KILL OBSERVANCES, NORTHWEST ALASKA[1]

This is about wolves, and the Eskimo old-timers that hunted them. If they killed a wolf, they skinned it, left the meat there and cut the head off and brought the skin home.

When the wolf hunter brought the wolf skin into his camp he went around his house and kicked the ground four times for a male, and five times for a female wolf. And after he kicked four times for a male, he took off his clothes and left them outside. He went inside. Next day, he put on other clothes.

He took a little hammer. He hammered four times. That meant he was sending the animal back where it came from. If the hunter treated the animal correctly, he believed it would come back again to be hunted. So on each of the four days—four sleeps—that followed he ate just one bite. After the fifth day he ate all that he wanted and he went hunting again.

If the hunter killed a female, he kicked the ground five times. And for five days he (fasted). He stayed at home. And he drank only a small amount of water. After the sixth day he ate all that he wanted.

There is no more of such things; that was the old custom. They did the same thing from the beginning of Kivalina and Point Hope. The same way, exactly the same way at Noatak. But my father did it a little differently. When he killed a wolf or wolverine, he skinned it, left the meat there and brought home the skin. He went around the house, kicked four times if a male, five times if a female. He hung up the skin on a rack. He hung up his clothes and went inside. And he began to pray something — (to) a spirit. After he prayed he took out a little hammer and pounded four times. And he hung up a knife (or) some valuable things by the skylight. That wolf was going to take the present home with him. So after five days, my father ate like he usually did.

"And from where was your father, Sivik?"

My father was from Kivalina.

Charles Lucier
College, Alaska

[1]From magnetic tape recording obtained at Kotzebue, Alaska Aug. 1951. Edited for publication. Speaker-informant, Chester Sivik.

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