THREE ESKIMO COMMUNITIES

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Of all the contemporary aboriginal North Americans, the Eskimos, more than any other single ethnic group, have managed to retain the essence of their old way of life. Through time the Eskimos have developed and maintained a diversity of culture unusual within one ethnic group, and thus they afford an excellent opportunity for the study of the effects of differential acculturation within the gross isolate of one culture and society. This paper is a descriptive and analytical study of three contemporary Eskimo communities, each of which occupies a very different ecological niche. The particular plan of the paper is first to present an account of each community in terms of its culture and society today. The descriptions are followed by an analytical section in which is discussed the gross similarities and differences of the acculturation process in each of the three villages.

The three communities considered are Napaskiak, Point Hope, and Eskimo Point. The first, Napaskiak, is situated along the lower Kuskokwim River in western Alaska. Its inhabitants speak the Yupik dialect of the Eskimo phylum and are primarily salmon fishermen, mink trappers and wage laborers. The second village, Point Hope, is on the coast of northwestern Alaska. These Eskimos speak the Inyupik dialect and are sea mammal hunters who supplement their aboriginal economy with wage labor. The community of Eskimo Point is located along the western shore of Hudson Bay in the Northwest Territories of Canada. The Eskimos living there are primarily caribou hunters and fox trappers, and, like the Point Hope people, they speak Inyupik.

The junior author made a year-long community study at Napaskiak during 1955-1956, and the senior author made a comparable study at Point Hope during the same period. The Eskimo Point data were collected jointly by both authors during the summer of 1959.[1]

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The Napaskiak Community

Napaskiak and the adjacent satellite settlement of Oscarville, form one riverine community on the low, flat, alluvial plain of the lower Kuskokwim River in southwestern Alaska. The community is situated in the midst of alder and willow stands which form a zone of transition from the up-river coniferous forest and the open down-river tundra. The mean annual temperature of the area is 30 degrees F., and the temperature ranges from –45 to 90 degrees F. The 18 inches of annual precipitation is not a great deal, but it, coupled with the relatively low rate of evaporation, the permafrost and flatness of the country, produces a great deal of standing water in the form of bogs, lakes and ponds. The local fauna include red fox, land otter, mink, and the dusky shrew in addition to a few other small mammals, but there is a conspicuous absence of larger land mammals. A few arctic birds, including the raven, snowy owl, Canada jay and ptarmigan, are found in the area year-round. In addition to these there are migratory ducks and geese during the summer. The most important edible species of fish include salmon and whitefish, along with cod, pike and blackfish.

Within the community reside 180 individuals, and of this number five are considered by the people themselves to be racially non-Eskimo. Of the five, one is an Anglo-American born in the United States, while the four others are acknowledged to be of mixed Caucasian-Eskimo ancestry. The only other Anglo-Americans who have ever resided in the community were Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers and a trader who lived in Napaskiak for a few years, then moved to Oscarville soon after the turn of the century and lived there until his death in the 1950's. One other man, who lives at Oscarville, is of mixed Aleut and Russian parentage.

Traditionally Napaskiak is a long established village. It is recorded in the first comprehensive census of the area reported in 1880, and, according to informants, the people have occupied the present village site or one within a few miles of the village for many generations. Initial contact with Western Europeans came in the year 1829 during the inland penetration of western Alaska by the Russian explorer Vassilief (Bancroft, 1886, p. 547). However, intensive contact with Euro-Americans apparently did not take place until long after the purchase of Alaska in 1867. Probably around 1885 the Eskimos of this area began to have more constant intercourse with outsiders. It was in this year that the Moravian church established its mission headquarters

Cuzma, Mrs. Mary MacDougall of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Oscarville traders Mr. and Mrs. Joe Mendola. While at Point Hope, the senior author benefited from the helpful assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Charles J. Evans, the Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers, and the Rev. and Mrs. Rowland J. Cox of St. Thomas' Mission. Villagers who were particularly helpful included the following: Mr. and Mrs. David Frankson, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Lisbourne, Mr. and Mrs. William Lisbourne, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Nash, Mr. and Mrs. Bob Tuckfield, Mr. and Mrs. Billy Weber, Mr. John Oktollik, Mr. Augustus Kowunna and Mr. Luke Koonook.

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at the community of Bethel, some seven miles up-stream from Napaskiak. Bethel is the most important trading, transportation and mission center for the Kuskokwim River, and it is one of the most important links between Napaskiak and the outside world.

Settlement pattern. The physical community consists primarily of wooden structures ranged along the banks of the Kuskokwim River. A few houses at Oscarville retain an aboriginal design, with sod covering a driftwood frame. Some houses are the log cabin style, while the majority are frame houses made from commercial lumber. The houses of near relatives tend to be clustered together, and their caches, smokehouses, drying racks and perhaps a bath house are usually not far from the owners' houses. Normally each dwelling is occupied by a nuclear or nuclear core family although there are a few extended family household units.

The remaining structures dominate the village, both because of their size and their well-kept appearance. The Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic church, built in 1931, is on the inland side of the Napaskiak settlement and is surrounded by a fence and cemetery. Just beyond the church is a house built and maintained for visiting church dignitaries. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has a school in Napaskiak which was first opened in 1939. The recently constructed school building, including classrooms and attached residence, are the best built and maintained structures in the village. Across the river at Oscarville the Oscarville Trading Post and warehouses are located. These structures are the most imposing and well-maintained buildings on this side of the river. The trading establishment has been at this location since about 1908 and serves both Oscarville and Napaskiak.

The majority of the villagers spend part of each year away from the community at an inland camp. These are familial camps where nuclear or extended families live during the late spring while shooting muskrats and to which the men return in early winter to trap mink. There is considerable variation in the physical form of the family residence at one of the tundra camps. Some have small wood and sod huts, while others have only a wall tent in which they camp. More will be said later of these camps in a discussion of the seasonal round.

Subsistence cycle. Making a living in Napaskiak means participating in three major subsistence activities. A man normally fishes for food, hunts and traps for muskrats and mink for their pelts and meat, and works for wages. It is around these pursuits that the yearly cycle is organized. In early June, after the Kuskokwim River ice has broken up, the villagers begin to set large-meshed gill nets in the river eddies to ensnare the first king salmon ascending the river to spawn. Everyone anxiously awaits the first salmon catch, and once the fish have been taken in set nets, the men begin to drift net for salmon. The latter technique involves paying out a length of gill net from a boat, the net being at right angles to the river current. The

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net is allowed to drift free for about two miles along a straight stretch of the river. After a drift is completed, the net is pulled into the boat and the fish removed. A man may take as many as 80 king salmon in a single drift, but usually the catch is much less. As the king salmon run diminishes, the dog (chum) salmon begin to run and continue to do so sporadically until August when the season closes with a run of silver salmon. The salmon caught early in the summer are split and sun dried, then smoked, and stored for winter. Those caught in late fall are buried whole in the ground and serve mainly as winter dog food. The quantity of salmon taken varies from year to year, and while salmon caches may be exhausted by early spring, starvation is virtually unknown. Salmon is the primary staple for most families, but there are some families that for one reason or another do not catch a sufficient number to last through the winter. These individuals must rely heavily upon blackfish, cod, and ptarmigan taken during the winter.

Summer employment, although limited, is an important source of cash. In early June and again in September a sea-going cargo ship arrives at Bethel, bringing the year's supplies to this trading center. Some men (10) find temporary employment as longshoremen, and each may earn approximately $200.00 during the two unloading operations. From late June through early August men (10-20) are also employed at the Bristol Bay salmon canneries. These individuals may bring home from $300.00 to $600.00 for the season. A few (6) other men are able to find temporary summer work as laborers in the Bethel area. Only one village man has steady employment in the community. He is the special assistant in the Bureau of Indian Affairs school and earns some $3,000.00 a year.

The only plant food collected in any significant quantity by most families is the salmonberry (known as the bakeapple berry in some arctic regions). As these berries ripen in early August, families usually travel to the tundra by boat and spend a few days gathering salmonberries for winter consumption. The most common dish prepared from them is *agutuk* or Eskimo ice cream, which is primarily a combination of oil and berries.

Late in the fall not long before the river freezes a number of men (10-12) ascend the Kuskokwim River by boat to hunt moose. These excursions into the interior usually take the hunters up river at least 60 miles, and from three to four moose have been taken each season over the past few years. The moose hunting trips are a recent innovation since it has only been within the last decade that these animals have begun to come into the country in significant numbers.

Late in the fall most village men prepare to go to their mink trapping camps. Formerly entire families camped together away from the village during most of the winter, but this changed with the introduction of a Bureau of Indian Affairs school. The children are required to attend school, and the men must leave their families behind when they go to fall camp or else

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trap mink within half a day's dog team travel from the village. In the latter instance there is no need to maintain a trapping camp. Those men that have fall camps, usually located on the tundra to the south of the community, move to them either by boat just before freeze up or by dog team after freeze up. While at camp a man traps mink and fishes for blackfish, using a funnel-shaped fish trap set into small streams. The blackfish serve as food for dogs and humans later in the winter.

One of the most time-consuming winter activities is the gathering of firewood with which to heat the houses during the day. Most families rely upon green alders as fuel; however, a few men collect enough spruce driftwood during the spring and fall floods to supply their winter fuel needs. In the households that rely upon alders the men usually gather a sled load at a time from the adjacent islands. The small trees are taken to the village and cut into stove lengths.

By mid-December most of the men who maintain fall camps have returned to the community to participate in the American and Russian Christmas celebrations. Additionally, the weather is so severe and the mink so inactive that there is little reason for remaining in camp. From mid-December until early spring subsistence activities continue, but the amount of game or fish taken is often negligible compared to the amount of energy expended. Ptarmigan are hunted or snared as they move from the tundra to the willow and alder thickets. Hares are likewise hunted or snared, but most families depend upon their caches of dried salmon, with the game as a dietary supplement.

The approach of spring in March and the lengthening days bring a greater variation in the daily round. The blackfish migrate again and men reset traps for them; likewise, preparations are made for the move to muskrat hunting camps on the tundra. These camp sites are usually the ones used by the men for their fall and early winter mink trapping bases. Spring muskrat hunting is a family activity, for by this time the children are out of school and the people are weary of winter confinement in the village. At spring camp while the men and older boys are gone for days at a time hunting muskrats, the women set short lengths of gill net in the sloughs to catch pike or whitefish, and they also may hunt muskrats near the camp. Only after the lake and slough ice melts or breaks up do the families return to the village by boat. If they reach the Kuskokwim River early enough they will dip net smelt during the brief up river run of these small but extremely plentiful fish. Some families dry the smelt, but most catch only enough for immediate consumption. The people then settle down for the summer and prepare their nets for the first salmon of the year.

An important factor in establishing the living standard of some families is the amount of federal or state funds the members receive. The total yearly aid administered through the Alaska Department of Welfare, Bureau of

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Indian Affairs or Social Security Administration amounted to some $18,000 in 1956. The recipients of such aid are mainly persons over 65 receiving Old Age Assistance and families with children qualifying for Aid to Dependent Children. The former type of assistance is quite important since it frees families from supporting old people and it gives elderly persons a steady income and a maximum of financial security. A final source of cash is derived from National Guard membership. The (17) men are paid for each of the forty-eight drill sessions and for their two week encampment period.

In the year 1954 the total cash income for the community amounted to approximately $12,000 for furs, $18,000 for wages, $16,000 for relief (Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to Dependent Children), and probably some $3000 was received from other sources, such as special Bureau of Indian Affairs, a government insurance payment and Social Security.

Social structure. An ethnographic reconstruction indicates that in aboriginal Napaskiak the most important ties between individuals were based upon close blood relationships. These bonds were conditioned by residence propinquity and friendships. The residence unit consisted of an extended patrilocal family, but the young adult males of such families spent most of their time in the *kashgee*. The *kashgee*, or kashim as it was termed by the Russians, served as a workshop, bath house, ceremonial structure, eating place, and sleeping place for most males. In recent years the scheme of family life has been subjected to several changes. The *kashgee* burned down for the last time about 10 years ago, and it has not been rebuilt. Even during its most recent use the *kashgee* was unimportant for ceremonial activities and served mainly as a bath house and sleeping place for young unmarried men and visitors to the community. The households today are usually composed of nuclear or nuclear core families. Houses of related families are physically separated from one another but may be linked economically. For example, two brothers may occupy separate but nearby homes and share a single dog team and boat as well as draw their food from a common cache. Extended family households still exist, but they seem to be giving way to the smaller living units. Another emerging pattern is for old people, those over 65 years of age, to build houses for themselves and live alone. This is now possible as a result of the Old Age Assistance funds obtained by these persons from the government. The over-all trend seems to be toward smaller households that are economically self-sufficient.

One of the most interesting facets of social life centers about the emerging patterns of village leadership and formal organization. In aboriginal times the leading shaman within a village was quite influential in community activities due to his rapport with the supernaturals. He was respected for his knowledge and abilities, having a position somewhat comparable to an outstanding hunter in more northerly Eskimo villages. At the same time, in

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pre-contact Napaskiak there was a single influential person whose prestige rivaled that of the leading shaman. This individual was the dance leader who organized ceremonial activities for the community. When the Russian Orthodox priests came to the settlement in 1906, they selected a dance leader as the "chief" over the various shamans, perhaps because of the shamans' forceful resistance to Christianity, although the details of this power struggle were not recorded. The important fact is that the position of the chief was coveted and brought prestige to this appointed officer. It did, however, pass into the hands of a powerful shaman temporarily in the early 1930's. Since that time the chief has become an important symbolic leader, but his actual influence has been diluted due to the emergence of three separate institutions: the Orthodox Brotherhood, village council, and the National Guard.

In 1931 the Orthodox Fathers organized the Brotherhood as a mutual aid association embracing all the adult male church members. The group held periodic elections of officers. These individuals met with the membership each month in order to solicit funds or foods for destitute families and to purchase ceremonial equipment for the church. The organization has been quite effective in realizing its purposes. The church now has a nearly complete set of ritual apparatus, and families in adverse economic conditions have been substantially aided. Local assistance to poor families is no longer necessary with the comprehensive welfare program that is now available through the state and federal governments. Thus, the Brotherhood has been stripped of one of its most important functions. It still remains a highly viable institution but has turned more and more to church affairs.

A step toward self-government has come about with the creation of a council elected by the adult male villagers. The council was organized in 1945 under the stimulus of the Bureau of Indian Affairs teacher, who visualized Napaskiak as gaining federal recognition under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act. However, the final step of asking for governmental approval of the organization has never been taken. When the council was formed, the members formulated a set of village laws, and through the years they have sporadically held elections for officers. The most important trend notable in council organization is that it has come to include most adult males rather than mainly older men. The council does not hold regular meetings and tends to act only in crisis situations.

The National Guard organization is an outgrowth of the Alaska Territorial Guard unit formed in the village during World War II as a scouting branch of the U. S. Army. The hastily organized A.T.G. had many attractions for the local men, for they were freely issued military equipment and were permitted to use it in their daily subsistence pursuits. At the same time they were told that they were helping their country, but this concept was poorly understood in comparison to the immediate material benefits. With the end of World War II the National Guard absorbed the A.T.G., and there were radical changes in the administration of the local units. The members were

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no longer permitted to use Army equipment freely, and they were required to attend drills which were held regularly. More significant still, older men were replaced as leaders by young Eskimos highly indoctrinated in military protocol. The aggressive behavior of these individuals, encouraged by the military, runs counter to local ideals of leadership. The temporary result has been for older men to drop out of the organization and to view with distrust their aggressive sons and nephews while concurrently attempting to strengthen their own positions through the church and its organization.

Religious system. The religious organization functioning today is the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic church. The beliefs and dogma are those set forth by the priests, bishop, and standard book of Orthodox ritual. Additionally the villagers rely heavily upon the verbal advice of a former Russian Orthodox priest who lives at Oscarville. There are certain isolated concepts that have survived from aboriginal times, but these do not constitute a systematic body of belief. However, it must be added that many curing beliefs and techniques have survived and proliferated, but these have become largely disassociated with religion. Thus, the shaman still cures and is at the same time a pillar of the village church.

The important ceremonial events in the lives of the villagers center about the rituals of the Russian Orthodox church. An Orthodox church calendar hangs in each household to remind the members of the important ceremonial dates. Everyone in the community participates in at least some Orthodox church activities, and virtually everyone is a member of this church except for the transient teachers and one man who shows little interest in any church. Villagers support their church through participation in rituals and the contribution of funds and labor to church activities. There are weekly services held on Saturday evening, Sunday morning and Sunday evening. The Easter season, Russian Christmas, Russian New Year, the Epiphany and the annual Napaskiak church conference are the high points of the ceremonial year. In theory, Easter is the peak of the ceremonial cycle, but it may occur when many villagers are at muskrat camp, in which case there is limited participation. In actual fact, Russian Christmas activities are the most elaborate. The Christmas celebrations last for three days and involve ceremonial feasting, long processions, church services and the casual drinking of intoxicants, particularly wine. The Russian New Year is celebrated by the midnight burning of Christmas trees and an early morning church service. The Epiphany has significance for the villagers as being the day that they follow the priest to the river in order to collect water blessed by him for their homes and the church. The fall church conference seems to be an imitation of a long standing Moravian church practice of meeting in the fall with their members to discuss problems and church teachings. The Russian Orthodox conference is held at Napaskiak and usually takes place in early August. It attracts visitors from as far as 150 miles away. The purpose of the conference is to reinforce Orthodox ideals

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and to listen to the advice of the Bishop of Alaska, who comes from Sitka to attend these meetings.

Although Orthodoxy is the professed faith of virtually all persons, it would be rash to suggest that the range of belief and dogma are fully understood and accepted. There has never been a priest stationed in the community nor is catechism taught to the children. Furthermore, few individuals read English well enough to understand the Orthodox book of ritual and dogma, but most persons can read and understand the Biblical translations into Eskimo. The essence of the village belief system centers around the Christian concepts of God and Jesus. Even though Jesus was a white man, he is thought to have come to earth and died at the hands of sinners for the sake of all men. The weekly church services, Russian Christmas, Easter and communion are all held in memory of Jesus, while his teachings are preserved in the Bible. The local church representatives have the obligation to remind and teach the people of the sacrifice that Jesus made for all peoples.

Material culture. The assemblage of artifacts utilized today bears little resemblance to aboriginal Eskimo material culture. The survivals that do persist include tool forms, such as the ulu or crooked knife, or items of clothing, particularly the woman's parka. The people have retained some complex artifact forms such as the kayak and canoe but surprisingly little else. What does seem to have persisted, however, is a pride in workmanship which has continued as an Alaskan Eskimo craft tradition. This is particularly in evidence for plank boats, basket sleds, houses, and occasionally for other items of local manufacture. The bulk of the material culture consists of American manufactured goods obtained either from a local trader or through a mail order company. Typical household equipment includes a cast iron stove, bed and mattress, trunks, suitcases, tables, chairs, metal cooking utensils, and curtains at the windows. The clothing worn by the average villager can be purchased from a mail order house except for the *mukluks* which are still a popular form of footwear. The Napaskiak Eskimos have given up much more of their traditional material culture than they have of their religious or social systems. Their ready acceptance of some new product that makes it possible to more fully exploit the environment is certainly an important factor in explaining the persistence of Eskimo society.

Village health. Probably the single greatest community interest centers about diseases and their cures. Good health is a very real concern to everyone, and the greatest menace by far is tuberculosis. In Napaskiak with its 140 residents there were, at the time of the study in 1956, some 37 individuals diagnosed as actively tubercular. There is always the nagging probability that one will contract the disease, in which case the normal routine of daily life would be disrupted. Cases that are not considered as extremely serious receive in-village treatment consisting of chemotherapy and rest, while persons with more serious cases are sent to hospitals for extended periods. The

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problem of persons leaving the community, sometimes for years, coupled with the high death rate undoubtedly has repercussions upon the village social structure.

The aboriginal concept of diseases is that the dangerous substances are air borne and mysteriously contracted. When an individual becomes ill he will, if the illness persists, try various curing techniques. The sequence of treatments varies widely, but the range of treatments is rather well defined. Home remedies, such as patent medicines, herbs, or a steam bath, are usually the first attempted. If a complaint persists, a person may ask for medicines available through the school or the Bethel hospital. If middle-aged or older, he is more likely to consult a local shaman. It seems as though people turn to the church and prayer only as a last resort, but holy water may be used as a home remedy. The tendency for the people to have more faith in scientific medicine is increasing. They recognize that it is often inadequate but perhaps better than their own resources. Thus, women tend more and more to bear their children in the hospital at Bethel and to take advantage of systematic post-natal care.

The scientific health services available are quite complete, but they have only been so within the past few years. Most important is the village medical chest from which supplies are allotted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs teacher, often after radio consultation with the U. S. Public Health Service doctor at the Bethel hospital. The people may also go to the Bethel hospital out-patient clinic, and if they are seriously ill they may be hospitalized there or sent to an Anchorage hospital. Local in-village treatment of tuberculosis is administered through the Arctic Health Research Center of the U. S. Public Health Service, and special nurses who visit the community sporadically are attached to this program.

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The Point Hope Community

The community of Point Hope (on some maps called Tigara, an approximation of the Eskimo name) is located on a point of land that extends out into the Arctic Ocean midway between Point Barrow and Kotzebue Sound. The Point Hope peninsula, which resembles a triangular-shaped breakwater, is approximately fifteen miles in length, and its unusual structure has been caused by the combined effects of ocean currents, pressure from the ice pack and deposition from the Kukpuk River which flows into the Arctic Ocean at this point. The entire western end of the peninsula consists of a series of regular depressions separating parallel ridges that run in an east-west direction. It seems likely that these ridges were formed by the action of ice and currents. The depressions vary from two to six feet in depth, and some retain the water from melting snow throughout the summer. All the peninsula is covered by a typical tundra growth consisting of mosses, lichens, grasses and low-flowering plants. The vegetation is particularly thick in the low depressions between the ridges.

The climate of Point Hope peninsula is characterized by strong winds, but winter temperatures are not severe compared to those of interior Alaska. During the summer of 1956 the temperature varied between 45 degrees and 55 degrees F., but cold northeast winds made it necessary to be warmly dressed at all times. During the winter of the same year, the temperature rarely fell below –30 degrees F., but such temperatures were frequently accompanied by winds of from forty to ninety miles an hour.

The area in the immediate vicinity of the Point Hope peninsula supports a considerable and varied fauna. There are large numbers of caribou as well as wolves, arctic foxes, brown and grizzly bears, ground squirrels and various kinds of small rodents. Fish are not abundant in the Point Hope area, but salmon, whitefish and grayling are occasionally taken. Water fowl of several varieties pass over the Point Hope peninsula each spring and nest in the sea cliffs to the north and south. Sea mammals are essential to the economy of the Point Hope Eskimos, and small hair seals, large bearded seals, walrus, belugas and baleen whales are taken every year in the sea off the peninsula. Polar bears, which follow the pack ice hunting sea mammals, are also plentiful.

Settlement Pattern. On the western tip of the Point Hope peninsula is located the village of Point Hope. A barren, low, isolated, and windswept point seems like a strange location for one of the largest Eskimo villages in Alaska, but the excellence of the sea mammal hunting has made it a favored place for human habitation for many centuries. At the extreme northwest end of the peninsula are the remains of a large abandoned village. The old houses and midden refuse are scattered along two grass covered ridges, and the modern village is simply an extension of this archaeological site with the houses being constructed in rows along the ridges just as they were in prehistoric times.

The village consists of some fifty houses, all of which are of frame construction, although many have a covering of sod around them so that they have the superficial appearance of the old style semi-subterranean houses. The village is dominated architecturally by a number of large buildings that serve as the location for many community functions. Centrally located are the school buildings, consisting of two frame classroom structures with residences attached. Point Hope, with a population of approximately 265 in 1956, has had some form of school since 1890. At the northeast end of the village are located the buildings of St. Thomas' Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the only church in Point Hope. The large parish hall is the focal point of community activities. The Alaska National Guard building serves a similar purpose although it is mainly used as a drill hall for the local National Guard unit. The village store, affiliated with the Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association, is a large frame building with metal sheathing on the outside. Inside it is very much like a country store in appearance and is the gathering and visiting place for many villagers.

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The trading center for Point Hope is the town of Kotzebue, 175 miles to the south and formerly a three-day trip by dog team. For this reason Point Hope was considered to be extremely isolated twenty-five years ago and was seldom visited by outsiders except during the summer months when the sea was open and ships could anchor off the point. With the advent of scheduled air transportation, however, the picture changed completely, and the village is now accessible at all times of the year.

The Subsistence Cycle. Toward the end of September or the first week in October, most of the Point Hope men who had obtained summer employment away from the village have returned. Although summer work in Fairbanks and at various points along the arctic coast now lasts into the fall and winter months, the Point Hope men usually prefer to be back in the village in time for the fall subsistence activities and preparation for winter.

Fishing for grayling at the mouth and along the lower reaches of the Kukpuk River is probably the most important fall activity for the Point Hope people. The women and older men, who do most of the fishing, stay in the fish camps from around October 1st until about the middle of November, while other members of the families make occasional trips by dog team back and forth from the village to the camps, carrying supplies and bringing back loads of fish. Although several fishing methods are used, most of the fish are taken through holes in the ice with a hook and line. The fish caught are simply allowed to freeze and are brought back to the village by the sackful.

The hunting of caribou is also an important fall activity. These animals are hunted in the highlands of the interior, along the lower Kukpuk River, or along the coast to the north and south. The caribou are killed with high powered rifles, and their meat provides a welcome change from the fish diet that predominates during the fall months. The southward movement of various migratory birds, particularly eider ducks and owls, provides a limited amount of food during the fall months.

In addition to the hunting activities described, the men of Point Hope devote much time during the fall months to preparations for winter. Sleds are built or repaired and harnesses are made ready. Houses are repaired and storm sheds constructed of snow blocks in order to insure greater warmth when the winter winds blow.

The hunting and fishing that goes on during the fall is seldom more than sufficient for immediate needs, and the people rely heavily on seal meat stored in the underground caches from the previous spring. Money earned during the summer allows for the purchase of food at the village store, thus alleviating shortages that might otherwise occur.

Winter seal hunting normally begins in late October or early November when the shore ice is formed and solid enough to bear the weight of a man. At first, seals and *ugruks* (bearded seals) can be shot near shore, but later in the winter, when the pack ice moves in, the hunters must occasionally go

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as far as two or three miles out on the ice looking for open leads. Breathing hole hunting, which has been widely described for the entire arctic, was the standard method before the introduction of the rifle, but now most of the hunting is done at open leads.

Polar bears are plentful on the ice around Point Hope as they follow the open leads looking for seals. During the winter of 1955-56, more than thirty-five bears were killed and in the previous winter, nearly seventy. The skins are sold to the village store at the rate of $10 per foot and are the most important source of cash income during the winter months. Beginning in early December, white foxes are also plentiful on the sea ice. However, these animals are not trapped nearly as extensively as they were fifteen or twenty years ago when fur prices were high and they provided the most important source of cash and store-credit for the villagers.

Tomcods, very small arctic fish traveling in large schools, arrive at Point Hope in January and are taken through holes in the ice off the north shore of the peninsula. Jigging for tomcods is the favorite winter occupation of women and old people. In late February and early March, crab fishing becomes an important part of the daily routine. The small crabs are found on the south side of the peninsula in deep water and are taken on a metal grid baited with a piece of seal meat. Tomcods and crabs provide some variety in the monotonous diet of seal meat during the winter months.

All other types of winter hunting and fishing are definitely subordinate to the main task of securing as many seals as possible for food, fuel, dog food and clothing. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the seal to the Point Hope Eskimo. Its flesh provides the main source of food throughout the winter for both people and dogs. Its fat is a cheap, efficient fuel for heating houses, and the skins that are not kept for home use can be sold to the village store.

Preparations for spring whaling begin in early March when the *ugruk* skins are put on the *umiaks* and other whaling gear such as paddles, floats, and darting guns are made ready. Each whaling captain *(umelik)* is responsible for preparing his boat and equipment and securing the services of a crew. Crews usually number from four to eight men, and their services are secured either through payment or relationship to the *umelik.*

The belugas (white whales) usually appear before the large bowhead whales, and their appearance is a signal for the whaling crews to go out on the ice. All whale hunting is done off the south side of the peninsula, and the boats are drawn up at the edge of the ice with their bows projecting over the water and blocked upright so that they can be launched at a moment's notice. Members of the crews seat themselves on the boat sleds which are covered with caribou skins. Some members of each crew watch for whales while the others sleep.

When a whale is sighted, all the boats are launched in pursuit. The

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harpooner sits at the front of the boat, and as it approaches the whale, he stands up and drives the harpoon deep into the animal's body. A trigger mechanism releases a bomb that penetrates inside the whale and explodes. The animal then sounds, taking with him the line attached to the harpoon and the floats. All the boats gather in the vicinity of the place where the strike was made and wait for the floats to reappear, which is a sign that the whale will soon surface. When the animal appears, the boats rush forward and attempt to affix another harpoon and bomb. Eventually the whale appears on the surface dead.

After the whale has been killed, the carcass is towed back to solid ice, where the whole village participates in the butchering process. All the boats share in the whale, each boat crew being entitled to a particular portion, depending on the order of arrival at the scene of the kill. During the butchering process the rules governing the partition of the whale carcass among the various crews are meticulously followed, and each hauls its share away to be stored in underground caches.

The whale hunters remain on the ice as long as there are open leads or large open ponds where whales can breathe. When the wind shifts to the south and closes the leads, the crews go ashore for a much needed rest. Seals, belugas and walrus are also hunted during the whaling season, although these animals are ignored if whales are running. Eider ducks and murres also appear in early May and are killed with shotguns as they fly over the whaling camps.

Early in June, most of the bowhead whales have passed Point Hope and the crews return to shore. At that time preparations are made for the *Nulukatuk*, or spring whaling feast, which signifies the end of whaling until the following year. The *Nulukatuk*, at which the successful whaling captains distribute pieces of whale meat to friends, relatives and needy villagers, is the last remaining ceremonial event at Point Hope that exists in context and has meaning as far as Eskimo culture is concerned. It not only signifies the end of the whaling season, but emphasizes the participation of the entire village in this important activity. At the same time it also emphasizes the prestige to be gained from killing a whale and reinforces the whaling captains' position as important men in the village.

After the spring whaling feast, the Point Hope men turn their attention to hunting seals. Spring seal hunting usually begins about the first of June when the ice starts to break up and there are small leads and open ponds close to shore. Under these conditions, seal and *ugruk* hunting is very good and usually continues so through June into July whenever a south wind keeps the ice close to shore on the south beach. The small spring seals can be hunted from shore, the hunter sitting on the beach with a .22 caliber rifle. It is not uncommon for a hunter to get fifteen or twenty seals in one day; these are stored in the underground caches. Walrus are also occasionally

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taken in the late spring although they no longer haul up on the peninsula in great numbers as they once did.

Sea birds continue to migrate past the village during June and July in great numbers. Flying northward, they follow the south shore of the peninsula to the end and then fly low across the very tip. Hunters with shotguns station themselves at this point and kill great numbers of birds. Many of these are placed in the underground caches to be eaten during the fall and winter months.

Summer is a time of relative inactivity in the village compared to other seasons of the year. Once the ice has gone, there is little or no sea mammal hunting of any kind. Even before spring sealing is over, many men leave the village to seek employment in Fairbanks, Anchorage and other Alaskan cities, or at the various military sites that are in the process of construction along the arctic coast. Climatic conditions in Alaska, which limit most building construction and other outside work to the summer months, permit the villagers to earn a cash income at a time that does not interfere with the hunting activities on which they are still dependent for most of their food.[2]

During the summers of 1951 to 1953 there were opportunities for nearly all the adult men to work on a radar station being constructed at Cape Lisburne, fifty miles north of the village. Many men joined a building trades union at that time, a fact that contributed greatly to their subsequent success in obtaining summer employment. Although most men are hired for unskilled labor, a few have become skilled carpenters, and a variety of other unions are represented in the village.

Some Point Hope men have been going to Fairbanks and Nome during the summers for a number of years to work for a gold mining company. This is still the chief employment opportunity for non-union men, although the relatively low wage scale, combined with expensive transportation costs, limits the amount of cash that a man so employed is able to bring back to the village. Some non-union employment is also available at Kotzebue and Point Barrow. Often it is possible for a man to combine longshoring or other work in these towns with ivory carving to be sold to tourists.

For those who do not leave the village in summer there are a limited number of food getting opportunities. Toward the end of June, caribou come down out of the mountains and range along the coast to escape the mosquitos. A large number can be killed by hunters traveling along the coast in outboard powered *umiaks*, or by going to the mouth of the Kukpuk River.

Early in July, boats leave for Cape Lisburne to the north and Cape Thompson to the south to gather murre eggs. These birds nest by the thousands on the cliffs, and each female lays a single large egg. Many persons combine egg gathering with caribou hunting. Beginning late in July

[2] For a detailed discussion of the relations between subsistence and wage economies at Point Hope, see Van Stone, 1960.

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and continuing through August, there is some fishing with nets along the north beach close to the village. However, fish are not plentiful, and few people find it worthwhile to engage in this activity.

Such is the yearly cycle of subsistence activities on which the economy of the Point Hope people is based. Although some of the specific techniques are different, the cycle itself, with the exception of summer employment outside the village, has not changed greatly during more than one hundred years of direct contact with European culture. Basically the cycle is still much the same as it was in prehistoric times. In evaluating the meaning of the seasonal cycle in Point Hope life, it can be said that while most men would rather earn their living by hunting than by any other means, the possession of a cash reserve, obtained through summer employment, takes some of the uncertainty out of a subsistence economy and at the same time makes it possible for them and their families to enjoy the luxuries with which they have become familiar through contact with European and American culture.

Social Structure. Point Hope social structure is characterized by preferred parallel or cross-cousin marriage, bilateral descent and bilocal residence. The preference for cousin marriage, stronger formerly than it is today, is largely defeated by the relatively small number of marriageable women in the village. Although bilocal residence is characteristic of the village social structure and inherent in the extended family system that was once an integral part of the social system, neolocal residence is preferred and is the ideal of most young married people. However, from a financial standpoint, this is virtually impossible, and a newly married couple will normally reside with the side of the family that is best equipped to receive them.

Point Hope is a community that is characterized for the most part by village endogamy and is not segmented into unilineal consanguineous groupings of kinsmen. The inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage though they are not always able to trace the exact kinship connections. Within the community the only social structuring is into families, and except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is with the community as a whole. The extended family group has long since been replaced by relatively small conjugal units, usually composed of a man, his wife, their children and perhaps one or two dependent relatives.

In aboriginal times, each person in the community was a member of one of the six or seven *qalegi* (called *kashgee* in southwestern Alaska) organizations that existed in the village. Although the *qalegis* were essentially ceremonial organizations, they also had considerable social significance. Praise or censorship of a person's actions as expressed by fellow *qalegi* members undoubtedly served as a powerful force for social control. Today there is little left of the *qalegi* organizations. Only two remain and they are significant only in so far as they affect the organization of ceremonial activities at Christmas and at the end of the whaling season.

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In 1920 the Episcopal Church organized a village council to control the local affairs of the village, and in 1940, when the community became chartered as a corporation of the United States, the council came under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The village council system has been notably unsuccessful in many Alaskan villages because it is just a formal structure with no meaning in village life and no power in terms of the new culture. In many cases, village councils have been nothing more than stages on which village factionalism is played out or, at best, representative of only a small minority in the village. At Point Hope the village council is probably more genuinely operative than in many villages. However, it lacks the means for enforcing its decisions and appears to be only moderately successful as a liaison between the village and outside law enforcement agencies. 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. The effectiveness of the council depends heavily on the prestige of its members, and a system of elections has generally assured that individuals properly qualified have held the positions. In this way it is possible for the villagers to express, in a formal way, a factor of village influence and control that is inherent in Eskimo culture.

The decline and virtual disappearance of the large extended families at Point Hope has, more than anything else, served to reduce the importance of the family head in the village-wide social structure. In spite of this, leadership patterns do not seem to have undergone as great a change as might be expected. The village leaders are still the good hunters and whaling captains. If these individuals also happen to be strongly associated with the church, it does them no harm. However, church association is not enough in itself to insure a position of leadership. The most obvious village leader is the council president, and in recent years the tendency has been to elect an individual who speaks good English and is an adequate spokesman for the village in contacts with the outside world. The less obvious aspects of leadership are seen in day-to-day activities, and under these circumstances the successful hunters and whaling captains function as leaders. If these individuals are also well adjusted to a money economy, it will enhance their position in the eyes of the villagers, and their prestige will be correspondingly increased. Although leadership qualities remain much the same as in the past, the individuals who possess them are no longer the heads of large extended families, and their influence is correspondingly decreased. The continued functioning of modified traditional leadership patterns, together with religious unity and retention, for the most part, of the aboriginal subsistence cycle, has resulted in a strong sense of communal solidarity. As long as the village retains its present economic structure, this situation is likely to continue and the community will be strengthened accordingly.

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Religious System. Sixty years of Christian teaching have 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. Since 1890, Point Hope has been served by St. Thomas' Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The mission is in the charge of a resident priest, assisted by a villager who acts as interpreter at the services and is a part-time maintenance employee as well. The church is represented in the village by the church council, whose members are selected by the priest. Each member of the council is a licensed lay-reader and helps the priest run the mission.

There are three church services in the village every week. On Sunday morning there is the regular service of morning prayer and sermon with a celebration of the Holy Communion on alternate weeks. Sermons are preached in English but are translated for the congregation. A Sunday evening service is also held, as well as evening prayer on Wednesday followed by games and a dance for the young people. A number of community activities, mostly for young people, are also sponsored by the mission.

Elderly informants maintained that when the Point Hope people first heard about Christianity they liked and accepted it partly because it relieved their worries about shamans and partly because they liked the description of heaven. Today, everyone in the community is baptized and is, theoretically, a member of the church in good standing. Everyone attends services at least half the time, and although women attend more regularly than men, this is because some men hunt or do other work on Sunday. Many people in the village feel that it is wrong to hunt or work on Sunday, but a sizeable number of men, particularly those who are heavily oriented toward a subsistence economy, will attend church only if the weather is unfavorable for hunting.

The church is definitely a working part of the village and fully integrated into community life in a variety of ways. A certain aspect of this is demonstrated by the fact that individuals who wish to show their resentment 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. Thus, the small fraction of non-church goers are usually people who have nothing against the church, and who probably consider themselves religious and good Christians, but rather have something against those individuals who do attend church regularly. This does not mean, of course, that there are not those in the village who are rather indifferent about church going for no other reason than that they are just not particularly interested or do not wish to be bothered. However, these individuals are not necessarily indifferent about religion itself.

Like people everywhere, the average Point Hoper finds the strength of his religious feelings dependent to some extent upon the circumstances of his

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life. Men who seldom attend church will, when they fall ill, insist on wearing the crosses that were given them at confirmation. Individuals who are admittedly bored by the church services because of failure to understand the rather complex language of the Episcopal ritual are worried by thinking of a person not being baptized or confirmed. In cases of serious illness, members of the family are always very anxious to have the missionary come and have a service of the Holy Communion at the bedside of the sick person. It would seem that while some people are relatively indifferent to religious ritual, true skepticism and disbelief are non-existent.

There can be no doubt that homogeneity in religious faith is an important factor in creating solidarity and serves as a unifying force in the village. Point Hope lacks the religious factionalism that characterizes many Alaskan villages, and the people, united as they are by their membership in a single church, are provided with ideal patterns of behavior that are quite meaningful. In the village ideal behavior patterns have always involved cooperation, helpfulness, loyalty, etc., and the teachings of the church tend to reinforce these. A person who is leading a Christian life is, ideally, doing no more than is expected of him. The fact that many people's lives are far from the ideal does not lessen the validity of the concept.

Material Culture. The most obvious aspects of change observable in Point Hope culture today 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 and must be purchased with cash. Even the few that are made in the village (sleds, dog harness, boats, etc.) require some material in their construction that must be purchased. Aboriginal methods and concepts have been rapidly replaced by the most recent twentieth 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. There has been an almost complete Americanization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, flashlights, radios, etc.—and such changes, together with those involving the subsistence economy, have been accepted because, although in some ways they involve excessive expense and their procurement works a hardship on the individuals involved, they are clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience. Although formerly the relationship between craftsmanship and utility was a very close one, the changes in material culture do not seem to be in conflict, either functionally or symbolically, with other firmly established and unchanging norms of village behavior. Instead, individuals within the existing culture marvel at the way their predecessors were able to exist satisfactorily without the new methods and techniques which they take for granted today.

The changes that have been mentioned are the direct result of an increased cash income for the village which can be attributed almost entirely

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to increased summer employment opportunities that have become available in recent years. This is graphically indicated by the fact that in 1946, the total wages earned by villagers, which included four individuals employed in the village at year-round jobs, was $3,548; in 1955, the figure was $53,891.[3]

Another source of cash income for Point Hope residents is provided by payments under the Social Security Act which became effective in Alaska in 1937. The amount of welfare money that comes into the village is not great. In 1956 there were thirteen individuals receiving Old Age Assistance at a total cost of $880 per month or slightly more than $67 a month per person. Five families were receiving Aid to Dependent Children at a total cost of $432 per month, and there were no recipients of Aid to the Blind. It should be pointed out that while the number of people depending entirely upon welfare assistance is small, in families where there is an old person a large number of people will often be indirectly dependent upon the monthly Old Age Assistance check. Old Age Assistance has greatly strengthened the position of old people who formerly were dependent entirely on their relatives for support. Similarly, the position of widows has been greatly improved by the payment of Aid to Dependent Children. Formerly widows were dependent upon the charity of their relatives and usually returned to their parents' homes after their husbands died. The existence of Aid to Dependent Children has made it possible for them to set up and maintain independent homes.

Village health. Contact between the Eskimos of northwest Alaska and American commercial whaling vessels during the late nineteenth century resulted in the introduction of European diseases that took a frightful toll among people to whom they had been previously unknown. It seems safe to say that the population of the arctic coast was depleted by one half as a result of these diseases. Influenza and tuberculosis took by far the greatest toll of lives, but other diseases, such as measles, mumps, and whooping cough, were also prevalent. The decline in population in most villages, including Point Hope, seems to have continued until about the turn of the century, after which the population was stabilized and has been increasing slowly. Infant mortality in particular is still high at Point Hope, a fact that is at least partly attributable to inadequate local medical care and uncertain transportation to the U. S. Public Health Service hospital at Kotzebue.

The center for medical care in the village is the clinic located at the school house. The teacher holds a clinic hour every evening and reports to the doctor in Kotzebue on a nightly radio schedule. The Public Health Service supplies the school with a limited amount of medical equipment that

[3] These figures were obtained from annual economic surveys compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although it is doubtful whether a truly accurate estimate of annual income is obtained in this manner, the figures can probably be considered as reasonable estimates and have, in this case, important comparative value.

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permits the treatment of minor ailments and also the administering of emergency first aid to the more serious cases.

Parents are quick to consult with the teacher if a child is ill, but the will of the child often influences the decision of the parents to administer medication that the teacher recommends. There seem to be few theories, magical or otherwise, to account for disease; it is something that is simply accepted. However, some people have their own ideas about what is wrong with themselves or their children and do not put much faith in what the teacher or visiting nurse tells them. However, only in cases where understanding between the teacher, or visiting nurse, and villagers breaks down are people reluctant to accept medical advice for themselves and members of their family.

All the people in the village have had periodic X-rays and tests for tuberculosis. A United States Coast Guard vessel makes yearly stops at the village to take X-rays and perform other medical and dental work. Occasionally public health teams make visits to the village to take X-rays and perform other medical services. An attempt is usually made to get the people with active tuberculosis into sanitariums in southeastern Alaska, but often there is much delay, sometimes due to lack of beds or transportation, but sometimes because of administrative difficulties.

A public health nurse stationed at Kotzebue periodically visits the community, mostly for the purpose of administering vaccinations. Most people of all ages have received smallpox vaccinations and shots for typhoid fever, whooping cough, tetanus and diphtheria. The doctor stationed at the Kotzebue hospital does not visit the villages except in cases of extreme emergency. Occasionally doctors on research projects pay brief visits to the village, but they seldom have the time or the inclination to perform routine medical services.

Although Point Hopers generally put considerable faith in the medical advice and remedies obtained at the school clinic and from visiting nurses, there are, nevertheless, many "home remedies" that are extensively used, and a number of individuals have acquired reputations as amateur medical experts. However, these remedies are almost never used to the exclusion of seeking advice at the school clinic.

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The Eskimo Point Community

Eskimo Point is the most important population, administrative, trading, and mission center for the Eskimos of western Hudson Bay between Churchill and Rankin Inlet. The community proper is located along a boulder-strewn beachline which drops off toward a small inlet on the sea side to the north. To the south behind the community the land gives way to a series of lakes and sloughs, finally terminating at an opposite beach about two miles away. The surrounding flora consists primarily of grasses, mosses, and low-growing

vascular plants which typify the tundra of this area. A faunal inventory includes mainly the white fox, the migratory barren ground caribou, ground squirrels and a few lemmings. Sea mammals frequenting the adjacent coast include the harbor seal, ringed seal, bearded seal, white whale (beluga) and, rarely, walrus. The only local fish of economic importance is the arctic charr. In the summer there are migratory water fowl, including ducks, geese, and cranes, in addition to shore birds and gulls.

At Eskimo Point there are three clearly defined and locally recognized population segments. The Caribou Eskimos are numerically the largest group, numbering around 165 individuals. Most of these people were born inland on the Barren Grounds, but others, especially the younger ones, were born at coastal camps. The second population segment consists of Eskimos who have come to the community from other Hudson Bay villages and their children; there are 30 such individuals in the community. A third group, numbering 13, are of Western European descent; they are all connected with the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (henceforth Northern Affairs) school, Anglican or Roman Catholic missions, Hudson's Bay Company or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Only in very recent years has Eskimo Point had a permanent Eskimo population. The Padlimiut who inhabit the area are traditionally inland dwelling people who come to the coast for only part of the spring and summer if at all (for a comprehensive account of these people as they lived in the early 1920's, see Birket-Smith, 1929). From the time that Churchill was established as a Hudson's Bay Company trading center in 1685, there has apparently been intermittent contact between fur traders and some segments of the Caribou Eskimo population. Hearne traded with the Eskimos along the west coast of Hudson Bay before making his famous inland penetration of the country to the northwest of Churchill in the years 1769 through 1772 (Tyrrell, 1911, p. 3). It had long been a Hudson's Bay Company practice to send trading boats along the coast to meet with the Eskimos. Barges were later hauled along the coast with a powerboat and anchored near summer population concentrations. One such trading barge was anchored before Eskimo Point and attracted Padlimiut from the point itself, one of the larger islands on the opposite side of the inlet from Eskimo Point, and Sentry Island, all being favorable spots for summer camps. During 1923 a trading barge was wrecked off Eskimo Point, and in 1924 a permanent Hudson's Bay Company post was established there. In the same year the Roman Catholic mission was established, while the Anglican mission was founded in 1926. There was no Anglican missionary in residence from 1946 to 1957. During the summer of 1959 a Northern Affairs school was completed, and school began in the fall of that year. In spite of the fact that the trading company, missions, and police have been located in the area for more than 20 years, it has only been within the past few years that the community has had a year-round Eskimo population. Formerly, and at present, many fami-

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lies range inland during the fall and winter, returning to the coast for the late spring and summer.

The intensity of contacts between Eskimo Point residents and the outside world fluctuates according to the season of the year. There is air service between Churchill and Eskimo Point on one day of each month. The schedule is kept reasonably well in the summer, but air transportation is unpredictable during the balance of the year. The planes carry freight, passengers and mail into the community. Other forms of predictable yearly contacts include the arrival of a medical party to X-ray the villagers and the coming of the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship. Additional contacts from beyond the community are less predictable but not infrequent. For example, Royal Canadian Mounted Police aircraft make frequent calls at Eskimo Point on business for the police or Northern Affairs. However, all of these forms of interaction with persons beyond the village primarily involve the white settlers of Eskimo Point. The Eskimos' contacts with their own people are usually confined to the occasional arrival of a peterhead boat in the summer or a dog team in the winter. Thus the Eskimos of the village have a low degree of intensity in contacts.

Settlement pattern. The physical community has a very amorphous quality insofar as the Caribou Eskimo population is concerned. Virtually all of these people live in canvas tents in the late spring, summer and fall. The most usual tent form is rectangular, but a few resemble the aboriginal cone-shaped structure. The early winter dwelling is usually a tent with snowblocks built up around the walls. Later a snowhouse is constructed as the typical winter dwelling. As the house site becomes littered with debris, the people move to another location. The initial location of a summer tent depends primarily upon which patches of ground are first free of snow and upon the religious affinity of the family. In general the Roman Catholic families camp near their mission and the Anglican families camp near their church, although there may be families of both denominations living beside the non-Christians along the ridge at the opposite end of the community.

The families of the two Eskimos who are special constables occupy two separate houses. These are frame structures and both belong to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. These individuals live in tents during the summer. The janitor of the new school will occupy a frame house near the school building. Three Eskimo families have winter dwellings constructed of odd pieces of wood, cardboard, and tarpaulins; this form of semi-permanent structure is a recent innovation. In the community there are four other frame houses belonging to Eskimos. These are usually unoccupied throughout the year but are used for storage. They were built when fur prices were high and people had considerable sums of money, but the houses proved difficult to heat with the scanty fuel and heating facilities known to the Caribou Eskimos.

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The other forty odd structures belong to the Anglican church, the Roman Catholic church, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and to a mining company that has a temporary geological survey base camp at Eskimo Point.

The households are consistently those of nuclear or nuclear core families although in many instances near relatives live in adjacent tents. Two snowhouses with a common entrance may be occupied by a newly married couple and the parents of one of the couple. There is no physical cohesion among extended family members.

Subsistence cycle. Two alternative cycles of subsistence activities prevail among the present Eskimo residents of Eskimo Point. One cycle is of aboriginal derivation, while the second is essentially sedentary and wholly new to the Caribou Eskimos. Somewhat less than half of the community members move to the barrens in late August to intercept the caribou as they migrate south for the winter. The people go inland by boat as family units. Some move north to the area where the Maguse River widens and forms the lower end of Maguse Lake; other families move to the McConnell River drainage, and some others move due west. Prior to moving inland, families may receive limited credit for staples such as flour, tea, sugar and ammunition from the Hudson's Bay Company store. Each hunter is sold only a hundred shells for a high powered rifle and a comparable number of .22 caliber rifle shells. This limitation is based upon the theory that if many caribou were intercepted and if there were an unlimited supply of shells available there might be a needless slaughter of more animals than necessary. In the event that large numbers of caribou do not pass by the inland camps, persons reasonably near the coast will leave their families and make a final trip to the sea to hunt bearded seal before returning inland for the winter. The men may also set out nets in the "fish lakes" for salmon trout. As the lakes freeze, individuals may jig for fish through the ice or reset their nets beneath the ice. Additionally, ptarmigan will be hunted during the winter. However, the intensity of any subsistence pursuit apart from caribou hunting is contingent upon how many caribou are taken. When these animals are numerous, all other subsistence pursuits become unimportant. As winter progresses and the snow begins to drift, snow blocks are cut and walls built around the tents. Later, when the snow is the proper consistency for building a snowhouse, winter dwellings are constructed. Both tents and snowhouses are customarily heated with a primus stove.

An all-important winter activity is the trapping of white foxes which range from along the coastal ice to the interior of the Barren Grounds. Each man traps for himself, just as he hunts for himself, and the trap lines may take from one to three days to cover, often consisting of as many as one hundred sets. Most individuals have shorter lines and many fewer traps.

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Those persons trapping from Eskimo Point have a more limited range and less opportunity to take large numbers of pelts. The mobility that any individual has in trapping is contingent upon the number of dogs he owns and the condition of these animals. The size of one's dog team depends upon the amount of dog food available for the winter. If caribou are abundant inland and seals numerous along the coast, then a man may have a large team and be able to trap over a greater area and take more foxes than would be possible with fewer dogs. In 1957-58 there was a great scarcity of dog food, and most of the dogs died. Consequently, the majority of the families now have few if any animals. This seriously limits their mobility, but the teams are slowly being rebuilt. Most men in isolated camps make weekly or monthly trips to Eskimo Point to trade their skins for supplies at the Hudson's Bay Company store and then return to their families at camp.

The number of foxes taken by Eskimo Point trappers varies greatly from year to year, but under favorable circumstances the good trappers may take from one to two hundred animals in a season and earn as much as $4,000.00 in credit at the Hudson's Bay Company store. Expenses are high, however, and during the trapping season much food must be purchased as there is little opportunity for hunting. A long time resident of the village has estimated that it takes from $600.00 to $800.00 to support an Eskimo family of four for one year. The accompanying chart indicates the number and value of the foxes, together with a few wolves and two polar bears, purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1949 to 1959 and clearly indicates the fluctuations from year to year not only in the number of foxes trapped, but also in the price received.[4] In interpreting these statistics it should be kept in mind that occasionally the price to be obtained for pelts is higher at Churchill or Rankin Inlet, and when this is the case, some trappers take their fox skins to these communities.

Year	*Number of Fox Skins*	*Value*
1949-50	3,533	$13,420
1950-51	741	6,809
1951-52	1,630	9,361
1952-53	3,737	27,016
1953-54	5,459	53,148
1954-55	2,575	21,431
1955-56	2,958	27,871
1956-57	791	10,970
1957-58	869	11,495
1958-59	1,049	17,708

The fox trapping season ends on the 15th of April, and the men return to Eskimo Point with their families, bringing their boats and camping

[4] These statistics were made available to the authors through the courtesy of Mr. N. Ross and Mr. F. B. Walker of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg.

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equipment back on sleds. They then camp at Eskimo Point in tents and go sealing at the edge of the floe ice, which is usually some 7 miles from shore. On these hunting trips they carry their canoes over the ice by sled to open water and launch the canoe in a lead. Some canoes are propelled by outboard motors, and others are paddled. A few harbor seals are taken, but the hunters are most anxious to kill the bearded seal. This large bulky animal suns itself on the small ice pans at this time of the year and under proper conditions may be approached within a few yards and shot. In spite of the fact that seals are hunted and killed, they are not considered as really adequate human food. Most of the seal meat and fat is stored for the dogs, and the oil is not used in lamps.

After the ice melts and drifts from the small inlet to the north of the point, gill nets are set along the shores for arctic charr. These fish are taken all summer but never in sufficient quantities to be dried and stored for winter; instead they serve as day-to-day food. Not all of the families own or set nets. In the summer white whales are hunted, but only the skin is eaten. The fat and meat are usually saved for dog food. Numerous ducks and geese migrate to the Eskimo Point area in the summer, but these are only occasionally hunted although the eggs may be gathered and eaten.

For the families that live at Eskimo Point all year the seasonal round of activities is quite different. The company, school, and police employees are in the community year-round and are the only Eskimo households with a predictable income. The other families remaining in the village throughout the year may venture a short distance inland to hunt caribou in the spring or fall, but these excursions are only of a few days' duration. Such individuals also trap foxes near the village during the winter. Foxes are usually quite abundant along this section of the Hudson Bay coast, and in good years when fur prices are high an individual may obtain a great deal of trade goods. This has no doubt been an important factor in attracting families to remain at the coast during the winter. Other families living at Eskimo Point year-round seem to be chronically unable to support themselves, and these individuals subsist upon direct government relief, or quasi-relief from the Anglican or Roman Catholic missions.

Opportunities for summer employment exist but are unpredictable. During the summer of 1959, for example, there were a few men helping the Northern Affairs construction crew build the new school, and two men accompanied a party of ornithologists to the McConnell River area to band migratory birds. There has been a tendency for a few individuals to go to Churchill and work for wages during the summer and to return to Eskimo Point for the winter, subsisting partially upon the money they have earned.

When unskilled jobs are available in the village, they are often delegated at the suggestion of the police, who arrange for the most destitute to receive the work. It does not seem to confer prestige of any sort to have such jobs; in fact, just the opposite is likely to be the case. In 1957 a

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group of men and their families, numbering approximately 100 individuals, moved to Rankin Inlet to work in the nickel mine, preferring steady wage work to the uncertainties of a subsistence-trapping economy. It has been said that the best hunters and trappers were the ones to migrate to Rankin Inlet.

The Eskimos benefit from a certain amount of unearned income, the most important of which is the family allowance that is payable to all citizens of Canada. A family receives $6.00 per month for each child until it reaches ten years of age and then $8.00 a month until the child is sixteen years old. Old persons and physically handicapped individuals may also draw special support from the government. Currently the relief, old age assistance and family allowance programs at Eskimo Point are administered by the police, and the total amount of relief and other aid is said unofficially to be approximately $9,000.00 a year.

Social structure. The household is clearly the most important social unit in Caribou Eskimo society. Household membership, whether in a tent or snowhouse, is usually restricted to a nuclear family, but additional members may include one or more unmarried individuals closely related to the husband or wife. These residence units are often situated near similar dwellings of parents, in-laws, or siblings, and two closely related families may occupy snowhouses with a common entrance. As mentioned earlier, religious affiliation may determine where an individual will pitch his tent or build his snowhouse.

The household also serves as the most integrated economic unit. In each dwelling there is customarily a male hunter responsible for the welfare of his family. However, his responsibilities may be lightened if he has one or more sons who can also hunt and trap. Traditionally the men of a house have the sole responsibility for securing food. After the item is brought into the house, whether it is tea from the store or caribou from the tundra, it becomes the property of the woman of the family. Some families have retained this division of economic responsibility. In other dwellings subsistence responsibility is more diffuse, and both the husband and wife are concerned with food getting activities both in and out of the house.

The village of Eskimo Point is a physical community with certain continuities in time, but there is very little to indicate that among the Eskimos there exist any social feelings of community cohesiveness. Instead it appears that there are small social segments composed of individuals who interact casually with other persons in their group. The most frequent contacts are among persons of like social and/or religious ties. Not only do the Roman Catholic families live near one another during the summer, but they are likewise socially cohesive. The social hall of the Roman Catholic church is the habitual meeting place for adult church members and all village children. Some families gather here in the evenings to chat, play pool or Chinese

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checkers; others simply sit and watch the activities about them. One special attraction is the showing of motion pictures once a week when the films are available. In addition, there are daily services in the church which unite the members for ceremonial participation. The Angilcan church social hall serves many of the same functions as that of the Roman Catholics, but the former is ill equipped and poorly lighted, which makes it less attractive. One significant difference between the two is that dances are not held in the Roman Catholic social hall but are held in that of the Anglican church. There is less ceremonial participation on the part of the Anglican villagers since their church services are held only on Sunday.

Other factors tend to split the Eskimo population along religious lines. Competition between the two denominations has led to hard feelings between the missionaries. The villagers are clearly aware of this factionalism and tend to assume the same attitudes toward Eskimos of another faith. The attempt of each denomination to gather into its fold the most successful families leads to open competition. The religious split is perhaps more serious than it might have been since there was no resident Anglican missionary in the community from 1946 to 1957. The religious division among the Eskimos carries over into social life as Anglicans and Roman Catholics tend to marry those of the same denomination.

Until the fall of 1959 the only schooling available to the village children was offered by the respective missions. There was and is boarding school also available for Roman Catholic students at Chesterfield Inlet and for some children at the Gospel Mission church at their Maguse River establishment. In all of these schools religious activity, education and subsistence welfare blend into one another.

Mention should be made of the non-Christians and their status in the religious life of the community. It would appear, at least superficially, that the non-Christians may be fitted into two general categories. Either they are successful persons who are materially oriented and little interested in the spiritual value of Christianity or else they are what have been called "tea and tobacco natives." This is meant to convey that such individuals profess to be interested in whichever church is willing to supply them most liberally with tea, tobacco, and food. There is no doubt that some aboriginal religious concepts survive and may constitute a third element in the religious life of the community. It is doubtful, however, that they form a systematic body of belief competing with the Christian churches. Since food problems are sometimes critical, it is important that both churches distribute food or supplies to faithful members. This linkage between religious participation and subsistence welfare is an effective technique for gaining and holding participants.

The previously existing leadership complex among the Caribou Eskimos has virtually disappeared, but it is worthwhile recounting for a clearer understanding of the emerging pattern today. A leader is called *ishwhomattapok*,

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which may be translated as "the one who is thinking." The foremost qualification necessary for a leader was that he be a good hunter, which is equated with being a thinking individual. Such a person assumed a leader's role by demonstrating repeatedly that he was capable of locating and killing caribou. By the time an individual of this nature was around thirty years old, families with less capable hunters, whether related or nonrelated, were attracted to his camp. A leader had no real authority, and anyone in the camp was free to move as he saw fit. It was usually to his advantage, however, to follow the directions and suggestions of the *ishwhomattapok*. A leader with enduring success as a hunter would attract more and more people until he directed the activities of half a dozen or more families. He continued to be influential only so long as he was a successful hunter. He may or may not have consulted with other hunters depending upon how assured he felt in his position. As his ability as a leader failed, the attached families left him to shift for themselves or to join another leader. It was repeatedly stated that the leader made no effort to instruct a younger male to replace him, and families who once had an influential leader often experienced a difficult time surviving after his abilities had begun to fail. Informants clearly stated that there are no real Eskimo leaders in the community today.

In retrospect it seems that aboriginal leaders became less important and finally nonexistent when the people were drawn into the fox trapping economy. The Hudson's Bay Company manager controlled the supply of exotic foods and goods that the people soon came to regard as necessities. The only product the Eskimos had to exchange for trade goods was fox pelts, and they were encouraged and even coerced into spending more and more time trapping these animals. There is very good reason to believe that the Hudson's Bay Company managers were authoritarian in their dealings with the Eskimos and that in the past the Eskimos were told what to do and when to do it. When fox prices were high the people had a great deal of credit, not cash, available, and this trade could only be carried on through the Hudson's Bay Company store. When the price of foxes dropped, the people could not understand the change. Although the skins were always bought by the store, the prices paid were of course low, making trapping unprofitable but still necessary for trade items. Under these circumstances, Eskimos were either unable or unwilling to return to their almost complete dependence upon caribou. When the Caribou Eskimos had developed needs that could be fulfilled only by trapping foxes, the Hudson's Bay Company manager became a real director of the activities of persons trading into his store. The managers were periodically transferred, and each one could interpret company policy according to his own experience and philosophy. Needless to say, the ambitious trader who brought in the most furs was the one likely to gain company recognition and advancement.

With the establishment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police station at Eskimo Point another radical change came into village life. For the police

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constable became the official governmental representative in the area. Even though the Eskimos lived at the community only in the summer, the police ranged out and visited the isolated camps. Law enforcement was not a great problem and the police came to serve other functions. They administered the family allowance, relief funds and medical supplies. Thus they too became influential in determining the economic life of the people. As had happened with the Hudson's Bay Company manager, the police constable came to assume a position of authority and leadership. Direct control over individual affairs varied with the particular constable stationed in the community. Some appear to have limited their intervention in village affairs to instances where intervention was clearly necessary, while others became minor dictators, disrupting family life and making arbitrary decisions that took little or no account of the feelings or thoughts of the individual Eskimos involved.

The prevailing attitude among the persons of Western European descent at Eskimo Point is that the Eskimos are "just like children" and they must be led and directed. It is felt that the Eskimos will shy away from facing any problems unless someone is firm with them. When it is realized that aboriginal Eskimo life is a shadow in the background of the lives of these people and that control of Eskimo economic life is out of their hands, it is little wonder that Eskimo leaders have disappeared and been firmly and decisively replaced by police and company representatives.

Material culture. The former way of life of the Caribou Eskimos required considerable physical mobility, and under these circumstances the people accumulated relatively few material possessions, as may be noted in the monograph by Birket-Smith (1929). With an increase in physical stability, the Caribous Eskimos of Eskimo Point have not correspondingly increased their material possessions. The artifacts of a typical household would include a canvas tent as a summer dwelling and the ubiquitous primus stove for heating and cooking in the tent or winter snowhouse. Other household items include a low wooden bed frame, situated in the rear of the tent, upon which are placed caribou skins, blankets, and perhaps one or more sleeping bags. Near the walls and under the bed frame are small trunks and boxes containing out-of-season clothing and pieces of skins or cloth. There are cooking and eating utensils scattered about, including at least one tea kettle, frying pans, pots and buckets in addition to a few cups, bowls and spoons. The woman also has her metal tin containing sewing equipment and an ulu-type knife for cutting skin. The man's equipment found in a dwelling includes various wood working tools, two or more rifles and an assortment of knives. Additionally many households own an accordian or phonograph. The family also possesses objects not kept in the house, such as fox traps, a sled and dogs, and perhaps even an outboard motor and canoe.

Clothing is the only major complex of material culture items. The majority of clothes worn today are manufactured in the south and purchased

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through the store. This includes dresses, shirts, boots, socks, sweaters, jackets, etc. Additionally, certain garments are made from materials purchased at the store, such as light canvas for parka covers, cotton prints for dresses, and duffel for footwear. The habitual summer clothing for men and boys includes *mukluks* or overshoes with duffel liners and socks, trousers and a cotton flannel shirt in addition to a jacket or parka cover. Winter clothing is ideally made from caribou skins and is of aboriginal cut, but the scarcity of skins makes this an impossible ideal. An effort is made to clothe at least the men in skin garments since they are most exposed to the weather. Even this has not been possible in recent years. Younger and older women commonly wear slacks with blouses and sweaters, while those of middle age tend to wear cotton print dresses. The women often wear kerchiefs on their heads or have a colorful shawl about their shoulders. Footwear for women consists of *mukluks*, shoes or shoepacks.

Village health. The health facilities available to community members include in-village treatment, drawing upon locally available medical supplies. In emergency cases or when some chronic ailment is suspected, the patient is sent free of charge to a hospital in the south. These health services are made available to the Eskimos through the Indian and Northern Health Services of the Department of National Health and Welfare. In 1959 the Community medical supplies were administered by a registered nurse. She is a part-time employee of the Indian and Northern Health Services and is the wife of the Hudson's Bay Company trader. When the nurse considers that an Eskimo requires hospital attention, she normally sends him by scheduled or police aircraft to the Churchill hospital. Here the patient is examined and either sent to another hospital farther south or returned to the village.

In-village treatment consists of administering drugs to patients at a clinic which is held on weekday mornings in one room of the storekeeper's house. Prior to the arrival of the nurse in 1957, the police gave out medicines, and at various times the mission representatives have served the same function.

Those individuals hospitalized at the time of the study were under treatment for tuberculosis (7), leg deformity (1), a cardiac condition (1) and respiratory ailments (2). One other individual's illness was as yet undiagnosed. The total population from which these hospitalized individuals were drawn was 236.

Differential Acculturation

While recognizing the common basis of Eskimo culture and society throughout arctic and sub-arctic America, it is also pertinent to consider the important regional differences. Through an analysis of the differences and gross similarities we can better identify the characteristics of this particular ethnic group and more clearly define the sub-groups in structural

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terms. The concept of differential acculturation is not a particularly adequate designation for the variation within Eskimo culture and society; it is only considered as a convenient label. What we are specifically concerned with is describing how the circumstances of historic contact and the different environmental settings have resulted in varying receptivity to Western European ideas.

Span and intensity of contact. It is one of the anomalies of arctic exploration that although most of Hudson Bay was fully explored by 1780, contacts with the Eskimos, particularly along the west coast, were casual. The nature of the western shore of the Bay, with its extreme tides, low projecting tidal flats and scarcity of good harbors, made it necessary for ships to stand well out from the shore at all times. Likewise, the migratory way of life of the Caribou Eskimos kept them away from the coast for most of the year and further reduced the opportunity for contacts with explorers. It is not surprising that as late as 1923, when Birket-Smith and other members of the Fifth Thule Expedition were in the area, many of the people they met had never before seen white men (Birket-Smith, 1929, p. 26; 1959, p. 177). Whaling ships, which frequented the northern part of Hudson Bay in great numbers after 1860, found that whales did not inhabit the shallow coastal waters along the southwest coast. Even though Hudson's Bay Company boats traded into this area as early as the middle of the 18th century, the Caribou Eskimos had no intensive contact with Europeans until well into the 20th century.

There is evidence that the people of Point Hope received trade goods as early as the beginning of the 18th century, but it was not until 1826 that the village was first observed by Europeans. The point was named by Captain F. W. Beechey when he passed through Bering Strait to cruise northward along the northwest coast of Alaska (Beechey, 1831). Beginning in 1848, whaling vessels began to cruise in the Arctic Ocean north of Bering Strait, and the number of vessels increased steadily. The Eskimos of Point Hope and other northern coastal villages worked on the whaling ships and traded with the whalers. Since many ships spent the winter in the arctic, the resulting contact was intensive, and the Eskimos became familiar with a wide variety of European material objects and also began learning to speak English. The whaling ship crews also taught the Eskimos to make intoxicants and introduced diseases which caused considerable mortality. With the decline in the value of baleen, whaling came to an end early in the 20th century (Van Stone, 1959, pp. 1-10). The plight of the Eskimos of Point Hope and other northern Alaskan villages attracted the attention of missionary organizations and the United States government. However, contact remained sporadic until the military construction boom during and after World War II.

As we already know, the circumstances of historic contact at Napaskiak were significantly different from those recorded for Point Hope and Eskimo Point. There is little indication that the Napaskiak Eskimos had extensive

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contacts with Western Europeans until after the purchase of Alaska, as it was then that San Francisco trading companies began to trade out of the Bethel area. By the time our information concerning the community becomes less speculative, around 1900, we find the people aligning themselves with Russian rather than American influence. What seems to have happened was that they sought to resist certain forms of change but realized that they could not completely hold on to their aboriginal ways. Napaskiakers came to associate themselves with Russian ideas, since, according to informants, their relatives up-river had done so. Apparently the most systematic pressures for change came from the missionaries. When the Moravian missionaries came into the area subsequent to 1884, the Russian Orthodox priests again became active along the Kuskokwim River following an extended period of inactivity. The Napaskiak people chose to become Russian Orthodox in spite of intensive Moravian efforts to have them embrace their form of Christianity.

In terms of years of exposure to Western European ideas through the presence of Americans or Canadians in the respective villages, we find that there have been 70 years of intimate direct contact at Point Hope, 52 years at Napaskiak and 36 years at Eskimo Point. However, it is significant that the bulk of the Caribou and other Eskimos at Eskimo Point were only attracted there very recently, while at Napaskiak and Point Hope there have been long established communities with relatively stable populations.

Extra community awareness. One of the most interesting contrasts between Eskimo Point and Point Hope concerns the degree of extra community awareness, a fact which is partially linked with formal education and an ability to speak English. As has been discussed, formal education at Eskimo Point has been confined to more or less casual instruction of children by the Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries. The classes were carried out in Eskimo, and as a result, there is practically no English spoken in the community. All of the Western European residents of the village either speak Eskimo or have access to a professional interpreter so that the villagers have little opportunity or need to learn English, nor are they able to practice what little they might know. The construction of a federal school in 1959 and the aim of this system to have English taught by non-Eskimo speakers doubtless will bring about a change in the language situation.

The relatively restricted nature of extra community awareness at Eskimo Point is largely the result of this inability to speak English. Canadian and American magazines rarely find their way to the village, and the villagers have little knowledge of the North American mass culture aside from some of its material manifestations. Some villagers have been north to Rankin Inlet to visit relatives and friends and a few have spent time at Churchill or at the sanitarium at Brandon, Manitoba, but, generally speaking, knowledge of the outside world is almost non-existent. The Padlimiut do not think of themselves as Canadians. Their lack of formal education and ability to speak

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English has been a distinct handicap in obtaining well paying employment, and they are ill-equipped to take advantage of the economic opportunities that are beginning to come their way.

At Point Hope, the Episcopal missionary taught school beginning in the fall of 1890, and as early as the first decade of the twentieth century there was a government school at the village. As a result, nearly everyone under the age of fifty can speak English adequately. The Point Hopers have been extensively exposed to European and American culture only since the latter part of the 19th century, but in this relatively short period of time they have become familiar with the material aspects of American culture and have widened their world view considerably. Although their most intimate extra-community relationships continue to be with the villagers in the immediate area, a widened interest in and knowledge of the larger cities of Alaska and life in the United States has developed. Intensive contact and changing economy have resulted in a demand for English speaking individuals for labor and other services within the village and for employment outside the village. There is a direct relationship between an adequate command of English and the ability to obtain skilled or semi-skilled high paying construction jobs. Those individuals who speak little or no English are usually unable to find work except at relatively low paying jobs where there is a minimum of verbal contacts with whites. This is a distinction of which the people themselves are well aware. Still another factor in awakening the interest of these Eskimos in the outside world is the recent proposal of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission to set off an underground nuclear explosion near Point Hope. The possibility of relocating the people has drawn them directly into the atomic age and its multitudiness problems.

Napaskiak stands in an intermediate position between Point Hope and Eskimo Point regarding an awareness of the outside world. Physical contacts with places and persons beyond the immediate Kuskokwim River region have been channeled through three particular institutions. Individuals who are ill and cannot be treated at the Bethel hospital are sent either to a hospital in south-central Alaska or to the continental United States. In either instance their acquaintance with non-hospital life is superficial. While in the hospital they are usually quartered with other Eskimos or Indians, and through these contacts their knowledge of different areas of the United States and Alaska is broadened. Likewise their English proficiency is often improved under these circumstances. For the village men, there is also the possibility of working at a Bristol Bay salmon cannery during part of the summer. This form of activity has a great deal of appeal to most men. They do not find that the six week work routine is boring, and the wages earned are a welcome source of income. The men live and work with other Eskimos and need not speak English for cannery jobs. A third opportunity for men to leave the area results from U. S. National Guard membership. Each spring this organization has a two week encampment in Anchorage which

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all members are expected to attend. They leave the community as a group and are together throughout their stay in the Anchorage area.

The school in Napaskiak established in 1939 has only been moderately successful in teaching the younger generation English and certain American values. Persons under 25 years of age can usually speak and understand some English, but there are a few individuals in this age group who went to school for years but did not learn English. Villagers do not place a value upon knowing English. Virtually nothing in daily life requires a second language. They can trade, go to church, attend local meetings and correspond in Eskimo, and thus they see no reason to learn or retain a knowledge of English. The persons over 25 that do speak it well are either highly acculturated or else were originally from another community.

It is rarely that an individual Napaskiak man leaves the vicinity of the village to work for wages except to go to the canneries as previously noted. In the three instances recorded for recent years, none of the men involved stayed away for more than a few months. They consistently returned before their six month work contract expired since they were "homesick." Neither do we find males raised in Napaskiak moving to another village to take up permanent residence, and recently there has been an increasing tendency for women to be successful in finding husbands from within the community. A contrary situation exists at Point Hope where nearly all the men have, in recent years, left the community to take jobs during the summer months. Both men and women, some 15 in all, who had grown up at Point Hope have left the area permanently. Other individuals have moved with their families to other coastal settlements, particularly Kotzebue; there are approximately 20 in this category. There has likewise been an exodus from Eskimo Point. The most striking instance occurred when some 100 persons moved to Rankin Inlet to work in the nickel mine, but there have also been a few cases of persons moving elsewhere permanently.

Village trade. The role of the Hudson's Bay Company at Eskimo Point has been discussed, and it has been shown that the people are completely dependent economically upon the Company. The use of the credit system has made it impossible for the Padlimiut to learn to operate within a money economy, and the absence of a local post office has effectively restricted mail order purchasing, which reinforces the monopoly enjoyed by the Company. Point Hope, on the other hand, has never been completely under the influence of a private trader. In 1920 the mission organized a cooperative store that was replaced six years later by the Point Hope Trading Company, owned by approximately forty local shareholders. During the early years of the store's independent existence there was little cash in the village, and furs and local manufactures were taken in exchange for food and merchandise. The fact that fur prices were high helped the store to flourish, but by 1945 there was a general feeling that those who were not shareholders were not being well

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served by the store. In 1946 the village took over the store, and it became affiliated with the Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association, a non-profit cooperative purchasing agency operated through the Department of the Interior. The stockholders of the old Point Hope Trading Company were paid off with money borrowed from a revolving credit fund available to Indian chartered corporations such as existed at Point Hope. A repayment schedule has been set up which was to have been completed in 1960, and the store would then belong to the village.

Today the Point Hope store does a cash business but also handles furs and locally manufactured items in exchange for store goods. The annual inventory totals more than $30,000.00 Summer employment has increased the purchasing power of the villagers, a situation graphically illustrated by the fact that in 1947, shortly after the village took over the store, it was doing approximately $3,000.00 worth of business a year. During 1956 the total sales averaged more than $6,000.00 each month. Although much of the villagers' cash income is spent locally, there is also a considerable mail order business. It has been only in recent years that the people have become aware of the advantages of mail order purchases, and catalogues of all varieties now come into the village in great numbers.

There are very vague remembrances at Napaskiak of a store there being managed by a Russian, but no one knows more than the mere fact that it existed briefly. The first permanently established local trader came to the village soon after the turn of the century and established himself at Oscarville. The trader lived most of his adult life at Oscarville and was a moderately successful businessman. He appears consistently to have had the welfare of the community at heart, and no one considered him unjust, an accusation frequently made against traders. The villagers seem to have consistently traded with him rather than with Bethel stores. Napaskiakers also resisted Bureau of Indian Affairs encouragements to organize under the Indian Reorganization Act and form a cooperative store. The Eskimos maintained they were well treated by their trader so why change; at the same time there were surely pressures applied by the trader to resist the governmental proposal. However, upon the death of the original trader in the early 1950's his daughter and her husband assumed management of the store. They have been more aggressive in their trading practices than the former owner and have alienated some of the villagers, who in turn have begun trading in Bethel.

Law. We have seen that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables have been the official government representatives at Eskimo Point since 1937 and that their duties transcend those of a purely police nature. Their virtually complete control over all aspects of village life involving contact with outsiders has effectively destroyed whatever semblance of the aboriginal leadership patterns might have remained. There has been no incentive to

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develop new leadership patterns that would have meaning in terms of the changing culture and society. Up to the present time, no encouragement for the people to assume some responsibility for the management of community affairs has been forthcoming from the Canadian government.

We have also seen that the people of Point Hope were encouraged to handle their own administration and legal affairs from a relatively early date. The pressure of public opinion and the prestige of the village council members are important factors in encouraging compliance with village laws and regulations. Crimes against the American legal system are handled by the U. S. Marshal at Nome, but such occurrences are rare. The village council system gives the villagers a sense of responsibility for their own affairs and is a factor in promoting community cohesion.

Legal action at Napaskiak may be taken either through invoking the village law code formulated at the time the village council was organized or else by appealing to the American legal system through the U. S. Deputy Marshal at Bethel. Situations arising which require either course of action are comparatively rare. The villagers prefer to settle differences informally, and they can usually do so except for instances of repeated drunkenness. In cases of this nature they first attempt to resolve the problem through informal pressures, then through council action, and if the latter is not successful, they appeal to the Deputy Marshal.

Welfare. The residents of all three communities benefit in a similar fashion from the welfare programs of the countries of which they are citizens. At Eskimo Point the bulk of the unearned income received by the villagers is derived from family allowance. This is an important source of income and is doubtless one of the factors that is responsible for a greater number of families remaining permanently near the trading post. With a guaranteed monthly income, however inadequate, the tendency appears to be to try and make a living without traveling inland. The aged, destitute and physically handicapped also draw special support from the government, but the amount of money coming to the village for such purposes is not great.

At Point Hope in 1956 the amount of welfare assistance received by villagers amounted to approximately $1,300 a month in the form of Old Age Assistance and Aid to Dependent Children, but, as has been previously mentioned, the number of families depending entirely on such assistance is small.

The welfare aid received by Napaskiak Eskimos is regarded by them as a strange but welcome gift from the government through the school. The basic principles of the welfare program and its purposes are not understood and the schedules for spending such funds are ignored. It is incomprehensible to the people that a widow with many close relatives will receive Aid to Dependent Children while a poor family with both parents living receives nothing.

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A significant contrast exists between the influence of the Old Age Assistance program at Point Hope and at Napaskiak. In the former settlement the tendency has been noted for younger relatives of an assisted person to use the money for their own benefit. In Napaskiak the distinct tendency is for older men and women to free themselves from financial dependency on or responsibility for their younger relatives and set up their own independent households.

Health services. The center for medical care at Point Hope and Napaskiak is the clinic located at the school. The teacher reports to the area hospital of the U. S. Public Health Service by radio for consultations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs supplies the school with a limited amount of medical equipment that permits the treatment of minor ailments and also the administering of emergency drugs and first aid. At Point Hope the teachers also keep a record of those individuals suspected of being tubercular, and these individuals are X-rayed when a Coast Guard vessel or the Bureau of Indian Affairs ship, *North Star*, visits the settlement. At Napaskiak the villagers are X-rayed by a technical team of the U. S. Public Health Service each year. An attempt is made to get the people with active tuberculosis into sanitariums in southern Alaska or the continental United States, but frequently there have been long delays and confusion in having persons hospitalized. The teachers and an occasional visiting nurse are aided in their medical work at Point Hope by the women's health council. This group was formed at the suggestion of the teachers, and its duties include checking upon people who are sick, distributing medicine from the school clinic, weighing school children and acting as assistants to public health teams that come to the village. There is no comparable organization active in Napaskiak.

Point Hope and Napaskiak people are becoming increasingly health conscious, and although good health practices are by no means universally observed, especially in Napaskiak, there is a growing tendency to carry out the suggestions made by visiting nurses. Nevertheless there is much room for improvement in sanitary conditions and general village health. Present programs do not stress education, and as a result the people are largely ignorant of basic concepts of hygiene. Public health improvement will be a difficult task, and money spent for the purpose will not be profitable until an effective program of health education is instituted.

The general health situation at Eskimo Point is superior to conditions in the two Alaskan communities. The Eskimos at Eskimo Point have far less tuberculosis in spite of their inferior housing and sanitation conditions. The Canadian government has a more effective medical program whereby tubercular and other individuals are hospitalized as soon as an illness is recognized. Eskimo Point people, at the time of the study, also profited by the fact that there was a registered nurse in the village to care for the health needs. This individual was a temporary resident, but there were then plans to have a nurse stationed in the community permanently.

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Concluding Comments. It should be clear from the preceding section that the acculturative differences between the three communities under discussion are a matter of degree rather than of kind and reflect, to a large extent, the span and intensity of contact. However, other important factors are also involved, and it is clear that a basic difference between Eskimo Point on the one hand, and Point Hope and Napaskiak on the other concerns the fact that the two Alaskan villages have been established for a long time with relatively stable populations that feel close ties with the area where they live and with their way of life. As far as basic subsistence patterns are concerned, the residents of these villages are living today much as they have lived in the past, and this also has helped to develop a sense of community cohesiveness which, together with emerging leadership and formal community organization, has been an excellent protection against the uncertainties of the contact situation. Eskimo Point, on the other hand, has had a permanent Padlimiut population only in very recent years. In the thirty-five years since the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company post, the Padlimiut have changed from being Restricted Wanderers to Central-Based Wanderers, and at the present they are in the process of becoming Semi-Permanent Sedentary (Beardsley, 1956, pp. 135-47). The change to Central-Based Wandering was brought about by a partial change in the economy involving the trapping of foxes. The further change to a Semi-Permanent Sedentary form of community patterning appears to be developing as a result of such factors as the payment of family allowance and other forms of unearned income together with the recent construction of a federal school in the village. This current process of change stresses the necessity for the development of some kind of formal community organization that will transcend individual families and encourage the development of the kind of community cohesiveness that is already well developed at Point Hope and Napaskiak.

A notable aspect of differential acculturation is the manner in which the residents of each village are equipped to operate within a money economy. Point Hope, as we have seen, has achieved a successful combination of traditional subsistence and wage economies that allows them to maintain their aboriginal methods of obtaining food and at the same time to satisfy the wants that have been created by contact with the outside world. This favorable situation has been achieved largely through the English speaking ability of the Point Hope Eskimos and their willingness to grasp the economic opportunities that have come their way. Although at present employment away from the village can be worked into the seasonal cycle of subsistence activities, it is only fair to point out that an increased dependence on wage labor would not be compatible with village life as it is now known. At Napaskiak summer employment, although limited, is an important source of cash income, and like the Point Hope Eskimos, the people of Napaskiak have been able to fit wage labor into the seasonal cycle during the summer months when it causes a minimum of disruption to the aboriginal subsistence patterns.

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The Padlimiut, on the other hand, are little prepared to win jobs and hold their own in a heterogeneous Canadian society. The concentration of all political and economic power in the hands of outsiders has retarded the development of community cohesion and new leadership forms that would be adequate to deal with the changing cultural setting. Uncertainty concerning the continuance of a much changed subsistence economy makes it seem likely that there will be an increased dependence on various forms of unearned income.

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