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THE ACCULTURATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY ESKIMO OF WAINWRIGHT, ALASKA

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to describe the mode of life of the contemporary Eskimo villagers of Wainwright on the north coast of Alaska and to assess the acculturation of these people that has resulted from contact with the American bearers of Western civilization and ethic. The field observations contained in this dissertation are based upon data gathered incidental to a survey of cardiovascular disorders among native peoples of Alaska sponsored by the Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory of Fairbanks, Alaska. During the summer of 1955, ten weeks were spent in this village.

Through the spade work of archaeologists, and the field work of ethnographers who have reconstructed "memory cultures," more is known of Eskimo culture prior to the contact period than is known of the attitudes, values, and social behavior of the present day people who are claimant to an Eskimo heritage. To one familiar with both archaeological materials and historical sources dealing with the Eskimo of this area, it is apparent that their mode of life has changed considerably since first white contact with the crew members of *H.M.S. Blossom* in 1826. Along with this change, however, there has been considerable retention of many of the pre-contact culture patterns. This retention of older patterns cannot be simply explained as due entirely to the influence of ecology, though, as shall be discussed later, ecological determinants are possibly more obtrusive in the Arctic than elsewhere, or as due to innate conservatism in a marginal people, but is more likely part of the over-all adjustment made by a reputedly pragmatic people to a perceived reality.

Acculturation of the Alaskan Eskimo has proceeded at different rates in different villages owing to geographical isolation, historical accident, ecological considerations, and to the operation of the mechanisms governing cultural change. Margaret Lantis, who compiled population figures for the Eskimo based on the 1939 census, stated that there were approximately 15,500 Eskimo in Alaska (mimeo., n.d.) They are settled in some 200 Eskimo villages and in the large cities of Fairbanks and Anchorage as urban wage workers. Most of these Eskimo villages have a population less than 200 persons. Point Barrow, with 1750 inhabitants, and Nome, which is actually a "White man's town," are exceptions to this general rule. These villages are found from Kodiak Island and the Alaska Peninsula in the south to Barter Island in the north-east and are located along the coast, up some of the rivers, and in rare exceptions, in the interior of Alaska.

The term acculturation was first systematically defined by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits in a Social Science Research Council Memorandum

ecology; the second discusses the history of northern Alaska. The third section is a description of the present day culture. The pre-contact aboriginal culture where pertinent to the subject under discussion, is mentioned here. This was reconstructed by library research and from the memories of the older people. The last section consists of a summary and conclusions.

The Eskimo words appearing in this study are phonemicized in a tentatively proposed orthography which follows, in a general way, the notation used by the authors of the papers which appeared in the *Festschrift* for Samuel Kleinschmidt in Volume 17 of the *International Journal of American Linguistics*. The segmental phonemes include three vowels, one semi-vowel, and fifteen consonants. This phonemic transcription is discussed at greater length in the section on language and the reader is advised to consult this section before proceeding.

Wainwright village consists of some 56 weathered frame houses, sod-covered iglus, warehouses, and Alaska Native Service buildings (now called Bureau of Indian Affairs) on the north coast of Alaska. The population numbers 232 people and it is essentially an Eskimo settlement. The resident school teacher and family are usually the only non-Eskimo in the community. Except for occasional trips away from the village to seek wage work, as conscripts in the Armed Forces, or as boarding school students at Mt. Edgecumbe in southern Alaska, the villagers seem more than content to continue living here.

The *uluRunikamiut* is the Eskimo name for the people of Wainwright. The place name *uluRunik* when translated means "something upright that has fallen." The suffix /-miut/, when applied to the Wainwright Eskimo, appears to signify "dwellers at" in an emotional as well as a linguistic sense, for these people distinguish between their *nunaqatagiC*, or "fellow villagers," and the rest of the *iNNupiat* on the north coast. This latter word means "genuine people" in an ethnocentric way and refers to the Alaskan Eskimo in general. The Eskimo at Point Barrow call the *uluRunikamiut, kuungmiut,* or "people along a river." It seems that previous to the construction of the Wainwright schoolhouse in 1904, groups of Eskimo were found in this area with winter houses in villages along the Kuk River (*kuuk* itself means river), and some of the Wainwright people believe them to be their ancestors. The greater part of the villagers, however, claim *utaqqaRmiut* ancestry. The *utaqqaRmiut* were inland Eskimo who hunted caribou along the upper reaches of the Utukok River, came to the coast for trading and sea mammal hunting, and have settled on the coast in the past several generations. Many of the oldest people in Wainwright were born in inland camps. During the archaeological excavations of the Ipiutak site at Point Hope, Helge Larsen wished to reconstruct the extinct inland Eskimo culture as an aid to interpreting

the archaeological record and he visited Wainwright where he spoke with some of the older inhabitants.

> "Larsen's informant Qamaq, who lived most of his life on the Utorqaq River said that when all the Utorqarmiut congregated at Tulareaq, the mouth of the Utorqaq River, there were two rows of tents, with 80 tents in each. According to Qamaq there were approximately 10 persons in each tent, making a possible total of 1600. Even if the Utorqarmiut were said to be the most numerous group, this figure is undoubtedly too high; 800 is closer to the truth (Larsen and Rainey, 1948, p. 31)"

Physically, the Wainwright villagers appear as two distinct types set off by differences in stature, cranial, facial, and nasal indices. The inland Eskimo were, according to tradition, long and linear in contrast to the shorter Eskimo settled along the coast. The inter-breeding of Eskimo women and Old Americans, Polynesians, and Portuguese whalers has had some effect on the present population, but a dichotomy of the people into putatively "pure blood" or "mixed blood," and a division of their ancestors into *nunamiut* or *taRiumiut*, that is "inland Eskimo" or "Coastal Eskimo," is probably pointless for our purpose and requires a study utilizing genetically determined characteristics as sorting criteria.

The *uluRunikamiut* may be considered as *iNNupiat* originally settled here because of the establishment in 1904 of the Alaska Native Service school and available medical and welfare services. They consider themselves as an "in-group," in contrast to the other Eskimo villagers along the Arctic Coast, because of co-residence and familial relationships. In their genealogies, they trace these relationships both through the former practices of formalized wife exchange and the more stable marital unions of longer duration.

Chapter II

THE ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The people of this study are Alaskan Arctic Coast Eskimo. Their geographical location, and their name of "Alaskan Arctic Coast Eskimo" in contradistinction to "Greenland Eskimo" or "Kodiak Island Eskimo," requires a discussion of the geography, climate, and resources of this area. This discussion is placed under the rubric of ecology. Any adjustment the Wainwright Eskimo makes in response to culture contact with Whites will be in part ecologically limited unless they move elsewhere, or until there is a complete shift in subsistence economy from hunting to wage work. Based on past trends, this shift will not occur in the near future.

Almost all students of Eskimo culture from Steensby (1917) to Larsen and Rainey (1948) have recognized the priority of ecological considerations in determining the particular regional variant under discussion. This was often reflected in the choice of title for the monograph and we have, *Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture*, (Larsen and Rainey, 1948) or *The Eskimos: Their Environment and Folkways,* (Weyer, 1932) or *"Material Responses of the Polar Eskimo to their Far Arctic Environment,"* (Ekblaw, 1928.) Kroeber termed Eskimo culture the most differentiated of lower grade cultures in America and enumerated twenty-five regional variants. "These are direct ecological adaptations (Kroeber, 1939, p. 23.)" In this classification of Kroeber's, the inhabitants of Wainwright, for example, would be grouped with the Point Barrow regional variant. Here, aboriginally whaling was of primary importance, seals were caught by a number of methods, including netting, reindeer hunting was left to inland groups of Eskimo, and snow houses were never constructed.

> "Investigators of Arctic peoples have consistently stressed environmental conditions not because they determine these cultures any more exclusively than elsewhere but because they are so obtrusive as co-determinants. Eskimo life is a constant interplay of geographical and cultural factors. Obscure and mooted as the origins of Eskimo economy and its relations to that of the Indian remain, no sane theory will ever dispense with thoroughgoing ecological considerations (Lowie, 1937, p. 260.)"

Before we are accused of complete ecological determinism, it might be well to advocate a moderate stand regarding the uses of ecology, and to give instances of its treatment by contemporary anthropologists. This moderate stand toward ecology was stated most succinctly in a recent monograph by a student of the Coast Lapp Society in Finnmark.

> "Matters touching upon ecology are of a simple enough nature, but great care must be taken when they are woven into the pattern of sociological argument. It is most necessary to delimit the realm of the ecological, in order to avoid the error of ecological determinism (Paine, 1957, p. 13.)"

The ecological approach in ethnology was brilliantly exemplified by the work of Julian Steward in *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-Political Groups* (1938) and Evans-Pritchard in his study *The Nuer* (1940). Here, however, on taking a statement out of *The Nuer* one wonders on reading:

> "Technology from one point of view, is an ecological process: an adaptation of human behavior to natural circumstances (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 89.)"

Barnett's recent statement would apply to this very situation:

> "It is not surprising that those who have passed the case for environmental determinism of culture . . . have strong personal biases for simplistic structuralization of the tangle of forces in which they find themselves (Barnett, 1953, p. 121.)"

In this particular instance, Evans-Pritchard could be accused of ignoring what has been called the "middle term."

> "Between the physical environment and human activity there is always a *middle term*, a collection of specific objectives and values, a body of knowledge and belief: in other words a cultural pattern. That the culture itself is not static, that it is adaptable and modifiable in relation to physical conditions, must not be allowed to obscure the fact that adaptation proceeds by discoveries and inventions which are themselves in no sense inevitable and which are, in any individual community, nearly all of them acquisitions or impositions from without. Equally important are the restrictions placed by social patterns and religious concepts on the utilization of certain resources or on adaptations to physical conditions. It is necessary to distinguish negative conditions that are limiting factors at all stages of culture, and which demand special efforts and unusual costs if they are to be overcome (such are, for instance, difficulties of terrain, climatic restrictions on particular plants and animals), from those which acquire positive significance only in connection with special cultural achievements. This distinction may be expressed by saying that physical conditions have both restrictive and permissive relations to human activities. (C. Daryll Forde, 1950, p. 463)"

Julian Steward (1938) has demonstrated how the institutional simplicity of the Western Shoshoni Indians was dependent on the scarcity of

water and the notorious failure of the pinon trees to bear regular annual crops. He favors a view that there is a high correlation between types of social organization and certain ecological situations.

> The word "ecology" was coined by Ernst Haeckel in 1870 to mean, "the study of the economy, of the household, of animal organisms. This includes the relationships of animals with both the inorganic and organic environments, above all the beneficial and inimical relations with other animals and plants, whether direct or indirect, all of the intricate interrelations that Darwin referred to as the conditions of the struggle for existence." (Bates, 1953, p. 700).

Bates, in an article in *Anthropology Today*, refused to define ecology at all and felt that it should be left with a rather vague and general meaning.

> "It might be useful to regard ecology as a pervasive point of view rather than as a special subject matter. The ecological point of view—whereby the organism is regarded as a whole unit functioning in its environmental context—would carry over from the biological to the social sciences and might thus be especially helpful in relating the concepts of the one field to those of the other." (Bates, 1953, p. 701.)

The ecological point of view adopted for this thesis is that the organism, man, is regarded as a whole unit functioning in his environmental context, and consideration is given to the buffering action of culture, the so-called "middle term" of Daryll Forde. The starting point for this pervasive point of view of ecology is exemplified in the following quotation:

> "Human biology sets limits, supplies potentialities and drives, provides clues which cultures neglect or elaborate. This is standard anthropological doctrine at present, and it may turn out that this is about all that there is to it (Kluckhohn, 1953, pp. 513-514.)"

With this point of view in mind we turn now to a description of the ecology of northern Alaska.

The Arctic Coastal Plain of Alaska is a vast gently rolling expanse of grass, sedge, lichen, and small flowering plants dotted by innumerable small lakes, and drained by small streams and larger rivers. It is everywhere underlain by permanently frozen ground and is snow covered from early September until May. This plain is bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean and on the south by the Brooks Range, the northern extension of the Rocky Mountain Cordillera. The rocks of the Brooks Range are folded and deformed Paleozoic sediments with granite intrusions. Altitudes average from 6,000 to 7,000 feet with the highest peaks reaching

9,000 feet. There are several low passes through these mountains that were used in historic times as trading routes to the country south of the Brooks Range. Anaktuvuk Pass is one such route and Howard Pass was another.

> "Joe (an Eskimo at Kivalina) told me of the tribe (from the Noatak River) taking their *oomiaks* through the pass, discovered by the white man, Ensign Howard of Stoney's party, in 1886, under the guidance of the trading party of Eskimos (Andrews, 1939, p. 49)"

The eastern boundary of the region under discussion can be arbitrarily placed at Demarcation Point on the Canadian-Alaska boundary. The foothills of the De Long Mountains reach the Arctic Ocean between Cape Beaufort and the mouth of the Pitmegea River and this makes a convenient geographical boundary in the west. This entire region is almost completely north of 69° 30′ North latitude and represents an area of some 100,000 square miles.

Wainwright village is one of the four settled villages in this vast area. It is situated on the coast some three miles east of the Kuk River, this name is redundant since *kuuk* means river, at 70° 40′ N. and 159° 50′ W. This, it should be pointed out, is the approximate latitude of Umanak Fiord in Greenland, Hammerfest in Norway, and the mouth of the Yenesei River in the USSR. The nearest villages, Point Barrow and Point Lay, are a little over 100 miles equidistant in opposite directions along the coast. The nearest settlement of western Eskimo is at Point Hope outside the arbitrary western boundary of the Arctic Coastal Plain. The population of this area is today (1958) about 2000 people and this includes Whites as well as Eskimo. Barter Island has about 150 inhabitants, Point Barrow has approximately 1750 inhabitants (*Fairbanks News Miner*, December 3, 1958), Wainwright about 232 inhabitants, and Point Lay about 29 inhabitants.

It is interesting to note what appears to be a general demographic trend observable on the Arctic Coast today toward centralization of the Eskimo people in places where they can obtain wage work, as at Point Barrow, or a dispersion though sometimes only temporarily, into the cities of Interior Alaska for the same purpose. At Point Lay the population numbered 29 in the summer of 1958 and these people all were either employed at a nearby government installation or were related to those that were. This village has over 25 houses, both frame houses and turf covered old type dwellings, that are nearly all uninhabited. The depopulation occurred in the past five years. Point Lay was founded in 1930 by people from Point Hope. It is indeed doubtful that the entire coast will become depopulated since the Eskimo people living there have strong emotional attachments to their villages and to the surrounding area, which they know

intimately, and consider it to be the best place in the entire world to live, despite the harsh climate and enticements of wage paying jobs elsewhere.

The main characteristics of the climate of northern Alaska are year-round aridity, low temperatures, and high winds with drifting snow in winter; cool temperatures and a high incidence of fog in summer. The annual amount of measured precipitation is between 6 and 10 inches and is that typical of both arctic and desert regions. In 1954 Wainwright reported 5.79 inches of precipitation for the entire year. Point Barrow reported 5.22 inches for the same period. Nearly one half of this figure fell as rain during the summer months of June, July, and August. Here cognizance must be made of the U.S. Weather Bureau's reckoning of one inch of precipitation equalling 10 inches of snow and the difficulty of obtaining a sample of the snowfall during a storm owing to the wind blowing over the mouth of the snow collecting gauge. Nevertheless, the precipitation is small despite the difficulties in measuring it accurately. The temperature ranges from 72°F. to —46°F., and the annual mean temperature is about 10°F. The Arctic Ocean is frozen for about eight months of the year, and the sea ice attains a thickness of between six and nine feet. During the summer the ocean is covered with progressively disintegrating floe ice of present and past years. The floe ice is, as a rule, not far from shore during the entire summer. After river breakup in late June or early July, the larger floes become broken by a combination of wind, waves, and rising temperatures, and by late summer those readily accessible from shore are merely small pans.

The ice drift along the Arctic Coast conforms with the general North Polar circulation, but it is affected locally by currents and tides, for ice seems to move north with high water and south with low water. The tides here are not large since the daily rise and fall is only some six or seven inches. In the summer, if on-shore winds occur with high water and strong northeasterly currents, the ice will move slowly and majestically past the village at a distance of several miles to eventually come aground on points and spits farther along the coast. At Point Belcher north of the village by about 20 miles the ice is frequently rafted ashore and is impassible, as the Yankee whalers found to their dismay. A number of whaling ships have been caught in the press of the pack and have been beached by the ice. Usually the captain sought refuge behind the many reefs and shoals on this coast. Strong off-shore winds will blow the ice out of sight, and its presence at the village is then only betrayed by the "ice blink" on the low lying stratus clouds over the ocean. The presence or absence of sea ice has a direct effect on the availability of sea mammals in summer, and is an important ecological factor. These sea mammals are the walrus, seals, and whales; herds of walrus are found hauled-up on the

ice and seals are always found either sleeping on the ice or in the water adjacent to it. Whales are only found in the leads when they rise to the surface to "blow."

The Pacific walrus (*Odobenus divergens*) is distributed from Saint Matthew Island in the south to Point Barrow, or slightly beyond, in the east. The western distribution reaches Cape Shelagskiy at 170° E. longitude. The Atlantic walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*) lives in the northern Atlantic and Arctic Oceans as far east as Katangski Bay. The walrus moves in local groups both during breeding migrations and in a more casual manner, and are always found with the floe ice along the north coast. They are inshore bottom feeders eating bivalved mollusks and occasionally seal. (Dunbar, 1955, p. 133). There appear to be fewer walrus now than in the past though they are again increasing in number, and there were comments on this fact as early as 1885.

> "The whalemen complain very much of the increasing scarcity of walrus on their usual walrus hunting grounds, the ice field just north of Bering Strait. Where they were formerly accustomed to get a hundred walrus a day by shooting on the ice, they now consider eighteen a good day's work. (Ray, 1885, p. 98)"

An example of walrus killing was given by one of the old whaling captains in his autobiography.

> "Finding no whales, we started to hunt walrus (east of Point Barrow at the turn of the century), a regular feature of this kind of voyage when whales were scarce. Hundreds of walrus would haul out on a ice flow, and many smaller groups. It was the custom to row or paddle up to the flow with a whaleboat, and the officer in charge, or some good shot, would start shooting those nearest the ice edge. A Sharps 45-70, the regular buffalo gun, was used as a weapon. Each boat carried two when walrus hunting. When one got too hot to handle it was dropped overboard on a lanyard to cool. I believe that Captain Owen killed 250 walrus on the first cake of ice. An average walrus made only about three-quarters of a barrel of oil. We took 600 of them that season." (Bodfish, 1936, p. 21)

An Alaskan historian stated:

> "It was the custom to kill walrus to fill the oil tanks and also to get ivory tusks, weighing about five pounds to the pair. The ship *Onward* took one thousand in 1874; the *Mercury* killed two thousand in 1877. The whole kill from 1870 to 1880 is estimated at one hundred thousand animals. The result was almost to exterminate the animals in the Pacific, causing suffering and death among the Eskimos because of the taking of their food supplies in whale and walrus, thus

throwing them onto the caribou and seal, which were insufficient." (Andrews, 1938, p. 143)

However, in the summer of 1955 the village of Wainwright killed about 200 walrus during the months of July and August.

The bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) is circumpolar in distribution. This seal eats bivalved mollusks, benthonic fishes, and prawns and is usually found swimming along among the broken floe ice or asleep on an ice cake. A bearded seal weighs almost 1000 pounds. Shot while swimming in the water they invariably sink. On two hunting trips during the summer of 1955 Taqalaq shot six bearded seals with a rifle but recovered only two. AviuRana shot three and recovered only one. The skin of the bearded seal is used as a cover for the umiak, for the soles of boots, and for lines and lashings.

The commonest seal found in circumpolar waters is the ringed seal (*Phoca hispida* or *Phoca foetida.*) It is largely a plankton eater, though small fish such as sculpin are eaten as well. This seal is one of the permanent species found along the Arctic Coast and can be found anywhere in the ice where there are sufficient cracks for breathing. The harbor seal (*Phoca vitulina*) is also found in these regions. There are some six subspecies recognized. These seals are today trapped in nets placed under the ice or are harpooned at breathing holes in winter. They are shot when swimming or when sleeping on the surface of the ice in spring and summer.

Along the Arctic Coast are to be found whales that are placed in three genera. These are the bowheads, grey whales, and white or beluga whales. Only rarely will killer whales be seen this far north. The bowhead (*Balaena sieboldii*) is an immense mammal measuring 45 to 60 feet in length. This North Pacific whale is sufficiently different from the bowhead, Greenland, or Arctic right whale (*Balaena mysticetus*) found in North Atlantic waters, though both are baleen whales, to receive a different specific name. In summer it is found in the Siberian, Wrangell, Beaufort Seas, and in winter it migrates through the Kurile Islands to the Sea of Okhotsk. Here the young are born. The single offspring is from 14 to 16 feet in length at birth and remains with the mother for about one year.

It is reckoned, based on the published measured weights of two whales, that the larger whales weigh about one and one half tons per foot of length. A blue whale (*Balaenoptera musculus*) some 89 feet in length was weighed in sections at Stromness in South Georgia in 1926. The total weight was 134 tons and this included 56 tons of meat, 24 tons of bones, 26 tons of blubber, 8 tons of blood, and one ton of baleen. The uterus weighed over one half ton and this female whale had 25 pound ovaries.

(Robertson, 1954.) A 45 foot bowhead caught along the Arctic Coast would weigh about one half this value or approximately 67 tons.

One of the early school teachers in Wainwright village reported on a whale caught in 1924.

> "It was a female whale and measured 67 feet. The embryo, perfectly formed, and but for its pale grey skin, an exact miniature of its mother, was 17 feet long." (Richards, 1949, p. 203)

Captain Hartson Bodfish, who sailed after whales for many years in arctic waters, has discussed the bowhead whales in his autobiography.

> "There has been a great deal of information about whales compiled in print, but though it is fundamentally correct, I have found that varying circumstances frequently capsize all known rules, and it may be that some of my own experiences and observations relating to whales will be new.
>
> These arctic whales, or bowheads as they are commonly known, have the name of being unusually large. This is not strictly true. The fact is that they carry a much greater weight of blubber than other whales and not that they are longer or larger in the frame.
>
> The bowhead, if of average size, will remain under water from 18 to 22 minutes, rising about three times an hour, when he will remain on the surface from one and a half to two minutes. Very large whales will remain under water for half an hour. Old time whalers never carried a watch, but in my time (1880-1911) all good whalemen carried them and timed the whales when they sounded. After watching a whale sound once or twice, they could figure to the minute when he would rise, and even if they couldn't see him, they knew he was on the surface somewhere.
>
> I have seen plenty of whale's calves in the north, the smallest being from 10 to 12 feet long. The bark *Northern Light* took one (bowhead whale) that produced 3131 pounds of bone (baleen) after it was washed and dried. The blubber of the bowhead is 18 inches thick as compared to five or six inches for the sperm whale. There are 780 slabs of bone (baleen) in each mouth, secured to the skull by muscles two or three inches thick (Bodfish, 1936, pp. 90-95.)"

Charles Brower, the first white resident of Point Barrow who lived there for fifty years mentioned that in 1892 he and his whaling partner caught five bowhead whales with a gross bone value of slightly over 40,000 dollars. (Brower, 1948, p. 155.)

Since baleen is of such commercial importance we shall discuss it here.

> "Baleen is a horny substance growing from the roof of the mouth and is, in fact, an exaggerated development of the ridges that we

can feel on the roofs of our own mouths. These horny plates are triangular in shape with the hypotenuse facing inward and downward into the mouth, and this edge is frayed out into a fringe of hairs. The short sides of the plates are joined to the roof of the mouth along the curves of the upper jaws in a continuous series an inch or so apart, like the plates of a storage battery. They extend from the point of the upper jaw, where the two sets meet, to the back of the mouth on either side. Baleen is known chemically as keratin, and is thus the same material as our own fingernails. Baleen was used for a variety of things, from the plumes on knight's helmets, for which it was shredded and artificially colored, to the stays in women's corsets, hoops in skirts, springs for chairs, bristles for hairbrushes, and even the springs in the first typewriters. Today it still goes to the textile industry, being shredded and woven into certain fabrics to give them resilience. At one time it had the extraordinary value of 3500 dollars per ton, and that at the rate of exchange prevailing in 1750." (Sanderson, 1956, p. 135)

Bowhead whaling as practiced today by the Wainwright Eskimo will be discussed later in this thesis.

Presently grey whales are occasionally seen along the north coast. The grey whale (*Rachianectes glaucus*) is the most primitive of the baleen whales and reaches the length of 45 feet. These animals used to live in great numbers in the North Pacific. It is estimated that about 11,000 were killed between 1846 and 1875 and during the following years all the rest were taken. (Sanderson, 1956, p. 256).

The white whale (*Delphinapterus leucas*), or beluga whale, is a common summer visitor along this coast. It is closely related to the narwhal but not having the distinctive long horn, actually a canine tooth, it has only ten small teeth in the forepart of the lower jaw. Belugas are circumpolar in distribution and are said to ascend the Yukon River as far as six hundred miles above salt water. When young they are very dark grey or black, but as they mature, the hide becomes mottled with gray on dirty yellow, then turns all yellow, and finally, absolutely white. Sailors call them "sea canaries" as they twitter, whistle, scream, gurgle, hoot, and make strange popping and puffing noises. (Sanderson, 1956, p. 193)

Ray reported their presence at Point Barrow.

"White whales were never very plenty near the station, but large schools occasionally passed up within sight of the shore during the season of open water. A school of a hundred or more passed up within two hundred yards of the beach September 28, 1881." (Ray, 1885, p. 99)

The resident schoolteacher at Wainwright in 1924 mentioned beluga hunting.

> "When it was over we counted 33 belugas on the beach. A beluga weighs between 1500 and 1700 pounds." (Richards, 1949, p. 260)

The polar bear (*Thalarctos maritimus maritimus*) is usually found on the sea ice where it lives on seals. A full grown bear will weigh from 1500 to 1600 pounds. In the twenty year period ending in 1946 over 1300 polar bear were reported killed to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. (Dufresne, 1946, p. 76) Polar bear skins sell for ten dollars a lineal foot and an average adult bear skin will bring about 100 dollars.

The arctic fox (*Alopex lagopus lagopus*) is usually found trotting along behind the polar bear gleaning its leavings of killed seals. The fox is a beachcomber by trade and while on land lives on lemmings. This white color phase occupies a narrow coastal belt from the Kuskokwim River north to Point Barrow then eastward to Canada and Greenland along the Arctic Ocean shoreline. The winter coat is white and silky, though the tail is often tipped with black. In summer the fox has a dark brown and slate colored coat, whitish and yellowish on the underparts and around the neck and ears. The fox was trapped extensively in the past when white fox wraps were in vogue.

On the tundra are found the Stone caribou (*Rangifer stonei*), a large form of the Barren Ground group, and the wolf (*Canis lupus tundrarum*), the lightest colored of all wolves. The Eskimo people of Wainwright kill at least 600 caribou each year. The arctic wolf weighs between 80 to 100, or 120 pounds. Nearly 10,000 wolves were reported killed in all of Alaska in a twenty year period ending in 1946. (Dufresne, 1946, p. 76)

The wolverine (*Gulo luscus*), the so-called "skunk bear," the largest member of the weasel family, weighing between 25 and 30 pounds, is fairly numerous, as is the tundra weasel (*Mustela erminea arctica.*) Wolverine fur is used as parka hood trimmings, for practical as well as decorative reasons, since frost from the condensed moisture in the breath is rapidly brushed off as compared to frost in wolf or dog fur.

Here is found the largest of all hares, the arctic hare (*Lepus othus.*) It is white in winter and gray in summer. The Eskimo believed that the collared lemming (*Dicrostonyx* sp.), the only member of the mouse family to have white pelage in winter, came from the sky during a snow storm. The ground squirrel (*Citellus sp.*), measuring some 15 to 18 inches in length, is a hibernator. Its skin is used for inner parka linings. The Canadian lynx (*Lynx canadensis*) is occasionally seen on the north coast.

Though water fowl migrate into the arctic each summer, only the arctic owls, hawks, ravens, and ptarmigan remain in the north during the winter. These migratory fowl include king ducks, Pacific eiders, spectacled eiders, old squaw ducks, brant, and geese.

The fishes of the marine arctic zone are few in number of species though numerous. These fishes are almost all circumpolar in distribution. They are mainly benthonic. The most important fish is probably the arctic char (*Salevinus alpinus*). It is an anadromous migrant (going upstream to spawn after doing most of its feeding in salt water.) The char may reach 20 pounds in weight. The cottid family is represented by several species, the most abundant being the four-horned sculpin (*Oniottus quadricornis.*) Polar cod, grayling, and whitefish are also found.

Two other resources important to the people of this area are bituminous coal and driftwood. Coal veins outcrop about 25 miles up the Kuk River and here coal is easily mined at open faces.

Generally speaking, the Eskimo utilize almost all the natural resources to be found along the Arctic Coast of Alaska with the possible exception of the scarce natural plant foods.

Chapter III

HISTORY OF THE ARCTIC COAST

The north coast of Alaska was first visited by the British vessel *H.M.S. Blossom*, under the command of Captain Beechey, in 1826 while attempting to force a passage through the frozen seas north of the North American continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. This was to be the route of the north-west passage to the Indies. Because of heavy pack ice in the summer of that year, *H.M.S. Blossom* was forced to anchor and Mr. Elson, master of the vessel, worked the ship's long boat along the shore leads from a point south of Point Lay to Point Barrow. In his narrative report, Elson remarked upon the hostility of the Point Barrow Eskimo toward them and that owing to this attitude he spent little time in the vicinity. (Beechey, 1831.) Though by this time Arctic Coast Eskimo were already in possession of tobacco and articles of Russian manufacture, such as copper kettles, examples of diffused traits which were received by trading with the Inland Eskimo, this was the first meeting of Europeans and Eskimo in this area. (Murdock, 1888, p. 53.) Beechey's party named many of the prominent geographical features along the coast and Wainwright was named after the first lieutenant and navigator of *H.M.S. Blossom.*

Captains Dease and Simpson, while in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, reached Point Barrow in 1837 by sailing down the Mackenzie River and walking along the shore of the Arctic Ocean (Simpson, 1843). The ship *H.M.S. Plover*, commanded by Captain Maguire, wintered at Point Barrow in 1852, 1853, and 1854. According to Murdock (1888) this contact was first marked by several skirmishes between the crew and the natives, caused, Murdock states, by "misunderstandings," but that later friendly and sociable relations were established. The first whaling ships came to Point Barrow in 1854, and by 1888 was begun the practice of wintering frozen in the ice at Herschel Island in order to be ready for the whaling season in the spring, and to save the cost of coal for the 4,000 mile journey from San Francisco. After 1888, whaling ships regularly visited the Arctic Coast, traded with the Eskimo, took men aboard as guides and deck hands, and the whalers freely consorted with the Eskimo women.

Although American whaling persisted until 1916, the so-called "golden age," which began in 1835, was over by the end of the Civil War, and whaling in the western arctic played a relatively minor role in the whaling industry at large. As early as 1791, American east coast whaling ships began to round the Horn to enter the Pacific. In the years following the War of 1812 there were few whaling ships in commission. In 1818

there were only 40. By 1821 there were 84 ships and thereafter the buildup of the whaling fleet in America proceeded at a rapid pace. In 1829 there were 203 vessels, in 1835 there were 421, and in 1846 there were 736 whaling ships registered. Most of these vessels carried east coast registry, for example, 254 were out of New Bedford and 75 out of New London. At this time there were more than 70,000 men employed in the whaling fleet. Sperm oil was worth 80 cents to $1.62 per gallon, and baleen 35 to 58 cents per pound. The total value of whale products for that year was $70,000,000. The discovery of petroleum in 1857 dealt a serious blow to the whale oil industry as did the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. The *Shenendoah*, a Confederacy vessel, pursued the whalers up as far as Bering Strait. At the end of the war, the price of baleen and whale oil rose up to high, and unstable values, and the whaling fleet was nearly all concentrated in the Pacific sailing out of San Francisco. Though most of the ships pursued sperm whales in mid-Pacific, baleen commanded the price of four dollars per pound, though baleen whale oil was worth only 30 cents per gallon, and many vessels sailed into the Sea of Okhotsk and the Arctic Ocean close on the trail of the retreating baleen whales. Since one bowhead would yield a ton of baleen, valued at 8,000 dollars, whales were killed for bone rather than oil. One whale would pay for the cost of the voyage. By 1893 most whalers had converted to steam and they wintered around the mouth of the Mackenzie River to save on the cost of fuel for the voyage though coal deposits along the Arctic Coast at Cape Lisburne and in Wainwright Inlet were frequently utilized. During the decade 1895 to 1905 there were 51 registered American whalers sailing out of San Francisco and they produced an annual income estimated at one million dollars. Payment of the crews was on a lay system with the captain of the vessel receiving one eleventh and the crew members one one hundred and fiftieth. The crew got one dollar apiece if the ship returned empty. Whaler crews were a polyglot outfit with every West European racial and national type represented and included Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Hindus, Kanakas, and Negro Africans. For this reason, the whaling winter settlement at Point Hope was named "Jabber Town." These whalers left an ample progeny but neither their language nor very much of the rest of their culture remained after them. The Arctic whaling industry died an economic death owing to the increasing costs of outfitting and the dropping of baleen values on the open market.*

Whaling, and the search for a North-West passage, did stimulate exploration and travel in an otherwise unattractive region, and led to the first contact between Eskimo and Europeans. The whaling industry brought about the annual cruises of U.S. Revenue Service cutters to

* (Information on Whaling From Sanderson, 1956.)

northern waters in order to protect American venture capital, and later to watch over the interests and health of the aboriginal populations. In general, it seems that the relationship between the early whalers and the Eskimo were friendly. Occasional incidents, such as the one in about 1884 when 16 Eskimo were killed by the crew of Captain Gilley at Cape Prince of Wales (Brower, 1948, p. 77) did occur, however, and later led to the killing of the first missionary, Rev. Thornton, in retaliation. Whiskey, guns, and other trade goods were exchanged for baleen, skin clothing, and the favors of the women.

In 1881 the U.S. War Department had sent a ten man detachment under Lieutenant Ray to Point Barrow. They were to establish a permanent station, undertake meteorological, astronomical, magnetic, and tidal observations, to explore and map the regions close by, and to collect ethnological specimens. This party arrived in September of 1881 and departed after two years. This was about a generation after Captain Maguire had wintered at Point Barrow and Lieutenant Ray had the following interesting comment to make:

> "The natives, who at first appeared bewildered at the idea of our coming to stay, showed every disposition to be friendly now, and rendered us valuable assistance with their large skin boats, and also in carrying stores up from the beach. After one or two attempts at petty thieving had been firmly and quietly checked, they showed no disposition to commit any depredations on our property (Ray, 1885, p. 26)"

John Murdock has written a monograph on the Point Barrow Eskimo based on his two years with this expedition that is particularly valuable for it discusses the culture of these people before very much change had occurred. The monograph is especially good in the description of the material culture; social relations were not covered as well. Captain Ned Herendeen, who had been a member of the previous expedition, established a whaling station at Point Barrow, and except for occasional trips "Outside," he lived there as a trader until his death in 1945. The first government schoolhouses along this coast were erected at Point Hope, Cape Prince of Whales, and Point Barrow in 1890 according to Richards (1949, p. 88.) Charles Brower has mentioned the erection of the schoolhouse at Point Barrow in his autobiography.

> "Mr. Stevenson erected the schoolhouse in 1896 (*sic.*) Stevenson, a Christian gentleman with his feet on the ground, was one of the most successful of them all when you consider that every devil-driver (angakuk) in Utkiavie worked against him from the start (Brower, 1943, p. 180.)"

This is an interesting comment for it demonstrates that in the very beginning the Eskimo here did not passively accept many of the new ideas that were taught to them.

One immediate effect of contact between the Eskimo and Europeans in this area was an increase in Eskimo mortality due to new diseases against which they had no immunity. Charles Brower had described the events leading up to the death of about 200 Inland Eskimo about 1900 caused by a flu epidemic which occurred when they were visiting Point Barrow on a summer trading visit. And in 1902, 126 Point Barrow residents died in a measles epidemic (Brower, 1943, p. 233.) Diamond Jenness is of the opinion that most of the original *taRiumiut*, or Coastal Eskimo, died about the end of the 19th Century.

> "Most of the original inhabitants of the Mackenzie River Delta and of Barrow were destroyed by diseases at the end of the 19th Century, and the majority of the present population (1913 to 1916) are immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, from the coast and hinterland between the two places (Jenness, 1928, p. 3.)"

Froelich Rainey believes that the aboriginal Eskimo population in the Alaskan Arctic about 1850 was approximately 10,000 inhabitants. By 1900 the population had been reduced to 3,000 owing to diseases on the coast and a shortage of caribou in the interior. The Alaskan Arctic, in this case, comprises the area from Kotzebue Sound north to Demarcation Point. Many of the former Inland Eskimo settled along the Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawick Rivers and became fishermen. The population at Point Hope, for example, decreased from over 1,000 to 250 by 1900 (Rainey, 1941, p. 10.)

In 1882 Lieutenant Ray counted the Eskimo population of the Arctic Coast between Wainwright Inlet and Point Barrow and these are his figures:

Kunmeun	Wainwright Inlet	10 families	80 people
Sidaru (sinaRu)	SW of Pt. Belcher	8 families	50 people
Uglaamie	Cape Smythe	23 families	130 people
Nuwuk	Point Barrow	31 families	150 people
		Total	410 people

There were undoubtedly Inland Eskimo still living along the upper reaches of the Kuk, Utokok and other rivers at this time. This is borne out by the census of today where many of the oldest people in Wainwright list inland camps in some indefinite location away from the coast as birth places. This is further attested to by the information related to Helge Larsen, mentioned before, by his informant Qamaq.

The schoolhouse at Wainwright was constructed in 1904. Apparently before the construction of the schoolhouse, there was no village here though people lived nearby. According to Mr. Pete Hahn, who was the schoolteacher at Wainwright in 1955, the selection of the site for the schoolhouse, and the village, was dictated by ice conditions and convenience. The vessel's captain unloaded at a favorable looking site.

The Bureau of Education assumed responsibility for the welfare of the indigenous population. Concern over the dwindling native food resources, and the uncertainty of the food supply at any time, led to the development of a scheme to introduce domesticated reindeer. The first reindeer were purchased from Chukchi owners and were brought across Bering Strait by the U.S. Coast Guard in 1892. Herds were eventually established at all the schools and church missions in western and northwestern Alaska. At first Chukchi herders were employed to teach reindeer herding to Eskimo apprentices. Later 70 Lapp families were imported from Kautokeino in Norway to instruct the Eskimo herders in training and handling deer. Based on Lappish information it was estimated that the 400,000 square miles of northern Alaska could support 9 million animals and a population of 280,000 people (Rainey, 1941, p. 11.) After serving an apprenticeship, an Eskimo herdsman received a loan of a certain number of reindeer, which were to be repaid to the school or the mission, and he established his own herd. Reindeer multiplied rapidly.

Rainey, in the work mentioned above, has stated that reindeer owning was accepted into the aboriginal pattern of Western Eskimo's theory of property and wealth. In a short time most of the reindeer were owned by a few wealthy individuals who hired relatives to herd them. For example, in 1918 it was reported that "There are some 2,300 reindeer attached to the village of Wainwright which are divided into three herds with 26 herders (Stuck, 1919.)" Six years later this herd had increased nearly four-fold. "In 1924 the natives of Wainwright owned about 8,000 deer apportioned to four herds (Richards, 1949, p. 92.)" Ten years later these reindeer had increased to 22,000 animals.

> "About 1934 there were about 22,000 reindeer in the Wainwright herd and about 40,000 in the Barrow herd. The animals were formerly scattered in herds up to 4,000 to 6,000 from below Wainwright to Barter Island. Overgrazing was evident by 1916 and reindeer camps in the vicinity of Barrow were often as much as 70 miles inland across the Meade River (Rausch, 1953, p. ....)"

In Swedish Lappland it is considered that each reindeer requires about thirty acres of pasture a year (Person, 1957, p. 5.)

About 1926 the Bureau of Education introduced a new system of reindeer ownership, for Native Stock Companies were organized in each

village and a native owner received one share of stock for each reindeer. In Wainwright this was called the Wainwright Reindeer and Trading Company. The resident teacher supervised the operation of the company and herders were hired, and paid, by the company. Presumably this new system of reindeer ownership was to insure a more equitable division of the reindeer among the villagers. In view of Rainey's remark on the Western Eskimo pattern of property and wealth one should note that today the Wainwright Reindeer and Trading Company owns no deer but all the inventory of the native store and six people own more than one half of the shares of stock.

In 1933 open herding was introduced by government reindeer officials and the herders were no longer maintained with the company herds. An annual round-up was undertaken for counting, marking young deer, and slaughtering. By 1937 it was observed that the number of reindeer had undergone a phenomenal decrease and the old method of close herding was resumed. This information is based on Rainey's work cited above.

Today there are no domesticated reindeer on the Arctic Coast though there are still herds in southern Alaska. In fact, there are no reindeer from Kotzebue Sound east to the mouth of the Mackenzie River. According to former Eskimo herdsmen, the domesticated reindeer mixed with migratory caribou in the past twenty years and this was extremely rapid during the open herding period after 1933. The overgrazing of reindeer pasturage, which was evident by 1918, necessitated the moving of herds, and temporary reindeer herder's camps, a considerable distance from the village. When reindeer no longer belonged to individual Eskimo families, but belonged to a governmentally directed company in which shares represented reindeer, it appears that the whole attitude of the Eskimo herders toward the reindeer underwent considerable change and they no longer closely guarded the herds. It is of interest that the Eskimo took over all aspects of reindeer domestication as practiced in the Old World, and as taught to them by both Lapp and Chukchi instructors, excepting the migratory way of life. Except for Swedish Forest Lapps, who are also agriculturalists and fishermen, reindeer husbandry in northern Asia is characterized by transhumance. Rainey claims that some of the former Inland Eskimo, who had moved out to the coast and had there acquired, and built up large herds, were detained from moving back in to the interior of northern Alaska by the Bureau of Education who wanted them in a central location. This would, of course, simplify administrative work, and according to hearsay evidence this seems to be the present day attitude of the Bureau of Indian Affairs toward the few remaining Inland Eskimo living near Anaktuvuk Pass. The failure of the reindeer industry in northern Alaska appears due to a number of interrelated, and complex, factors. Suffice it to say, domesticated reindeer play no part in

the economy of Wainwright today though they might be reintroduced with some success if attention were paid to past experience.

The establishment of the schoolhouses were important in accelerating the acculturation process. The schoolteachers were salesmen of their own social practices and on occasion doubled as lay missionaries. By a friendly agreement between the Christian churches in Alaska at the time of the first missionary activities, the region north of the Brooks Range was Presbyterian territory.

> "At the time when the original Presbyterian missions had been launched in Wrangell, Sheldon Jackson had approached the other denominations with a view to dividing the territory. The Roman Catholics were at Holy Cross Mission in the lower Yukon, the Episcopal Church at St. Michael's and Anvik in the delta, the Methodists in the Aleutian Islands, the Baptists on Wood Island, the Swedish Evangelical Church at Yakutat Bay, the Friends on Douglas Island and at Kake, and the Moravians on the Kuskokwim. From these beginnings, almost all of the churches branched out, for the most part into contiguous areas; but, as newer fields opened, these, too, were apportioned in a manner that made missions somewhat of a patchwork on the map but which effectively prevented overlapping (Tompkins, 1945, p. 198.)"

The missionary at Point Barrow was usually a physician as well. Wainwright was assigned to the Point Barrow Presbyterian Mission territory. The first small church was erected here in 1936. Previous to that time the schoolhouse served as a church. Eva Richards has written about her experience as a teacher in 1924 at Wainwright and the passage quoted below shows that the teachers had some insight into the problems of their charges.

> "The wise teacher will keep in mind the needs of the people. Hunting for their food must take precedence over every schoolhouse activity or programme. A few years ago a zealous missionary insisted on the natives keeping the Sabbath in his orthodox way and forbade them to hunt on Sunday. They came in obediently but sadly from the whaling camps, leaving one man to watch the camp gear. The second Sunday three whales were sighted, swimming leisurely up the open lead, and not a hunter there to harpoon them. There was great suffering in the village the following winter, for a late season coupled with adverse winds closed the leads and no more whales showed up that spring. Present rules have made it optional with us government teachers whether we take up this Sunday church work or not. It affords an excellent opportunity to teach the older natives who never fail to attend these services (Richards, 1949, p. 191 ff.)"

It is interesting to note that whaling is not done on Sunday today, and, in fact, very rarely is any type of hunting carried out on the Sabbath.

Shortly after the end of World War II, the U.S. Navy sponsored a search for petroleum in the region north of the Brooks Range, for earlier travellers, and the Eskimo, had reported finding oil seepage on the lakes on the tundra. A large camp was established at Point Barrow and at one time several hundred construction workers lived here year round. A number of Wainwright families, and others from all along the coast, went to Point Barrow in search of a wage paying job. Other U.S. governmental agencies concerned with geological and topographical surveying commenced intensive work in this area about the same time. Eskimo helpers easily found wage paying jobs and they were employed as tractor drivers, mechanics, boat skippers, and laborers and received standard wages.

It can be seen that the agents of acculturation in this area have been many and varied. Most were frontier men of mature age either unmarried or temporarily without their families.

Their aims were various. The aims of the traders and whalers were to become rich by exploiting the natural resources, and incidentally, the local populace. They were salesmen of material objects and seemed little concerned with selling their own social practices. They usually adopted Eskimo clothing, frequently married, or lived with Eskimo women, learned a "pidgin" jargon for talking with the people, and left after either becoming richer, or poorer and discontented. The aims of the missionaries were to enlighten pagans about the true religion, suppress heathen forms of worship, and to discourage social practices repugnant to the Europeans. The difference in patterns of ideal sexual behavior between Europeans and Eskimo were immediately apparent to the missionaries. The lack of sexual morality, practices of infanticide, and senilicide, all functionally meaningful in the pre-contact culture, were attacked by the missionaries. In addition, they provided medical services and their cures were usually more efficacious than those of the angatkut. In the introduction of law and order, and the discouraging of earlier social practices, the missionaries, and later the school teachers, were always supported by the visible authority and power of the Revenue Service Captains who were a law unto themselves in this remote area.

Chapter IV

WAINWRIGHT TODAY

1. DEMOGRAPHY

The present population (1955) numbers 136 males and 96 females. An examination of the census figures shows a decrease in village population after 1947 and a marked imbalance in sex distribution today. This decrease in population, as mentioned earlier, was due to the moving away of several families to Point Barrow to seek wage paying jobs. The difference in sex ratio is of interest in view of past methods of population control which prevailed among the Eskimo people. Table I gives a breakdown of the relative number of females to males in nine arbitrary age divisions. In a recent economic survey of Fort Yukon, Alaska, the author states that the sex ratio is 240 males to 183 females, and that this ratio is precisely the same as that at contact and in 1940. He concludes that, "Clearly, some cultural habits die hard, even in the face of medical advances and social aid (Shimkin, 1955.)"

> "Sex ratio is not primarily a function of a difference in numbers of the two sexes born in a given area, but rather the selective influences of sociocultural factors in attracting through migration the sexes in different proportions, and of such customs as female infanticide, and of a high accident rate among the sex most exposed to occupational hazards, and of other factors inherent in human society (Landis, 1943.)"

The sex ratio at birth for the United States is taken as 105 or 106 males to 100 females (Thompson, 1953.) These figures are generally taken by students of demography as a norm for mankind. Excepting for China, India, and the United States the number of females in the total population for each 1,000 males is equal to or slightly greater than 1,000. It has been suggested that birth control in the United States may be slightly selective in that after the birth of a male child, the family may stop having children (Stanford, 1932.) The sex ratio of females to males in India is in rather sharp contrast with European countries. Indian census figures show that in 1881 there were 950 females to each 1,000 males, 1891—960 females, 1901—960 females, 1911—950 females, 1921—940 females, 1931—940 females, and in 1941—934 females (*India's Population*, 1946). In a discussion of India's census, one author concluded that though the female infant is better equipped to face survival than the male, the advantages she has at birth are probably neutralized in infancy by comparative neglect (Hutton, 1931.) Some Indian authors believe that plague and malaria exercise a selective lethal influence on

women (Chandrasekhar, 1946.) The census of India shows, however, that among groups where there was a tradition of infanticide, the proportion of females is much smaller than in groups where there is no such tradition. These groups show differences amounting to 15 percent.

> "There is reason to believe that some infanticide exists in parts of China where there is a differential sex ratio since it cannot be assumed that the ratio of male to female births is significantly higher in China than in western countries (Thompson, 1953.)"

One Chinese author believes that relatively more female infants are born than males, but that the male babies gradually catch up with them, indicating a proportionately higher mortality among female children. He concludes, "This may be due to the fact that in the Far East generally, and in China particularly, parents usually put higher values on male children for the perpetuation of the family line and for the observance of filial piety. Thus, female children are unconsciously neglected thereby leading to a higher death rate among them (Ta Chen, 1946.)"

One might provisionally say that where there is or has been a socially sanctioned tradition favoring male infants, there is presently a fairly large proportion of males to females in the population at large. The Eskimo in the past recognized in their law-ways certain types of homicide as legally or socially sanctioned. This included not only infanticide, but also invalidicide, senilicide, suicide, and the killing of people whose behavior was a threat to the peace of the community. Female infants were the most frequent victims of infanticide because the males were considered as "food getters" (Hoebel, 1941.)

Weyer made a survey of Eskimo population figures with especial attention paid to the sex ratio and stated, "The preponderance of adult women is generally explained by a higher death rate among the men due to natural hazards in hunting. The table showing the proportions between the sexes (including all ages), indicate but little informity, except for a general scarcity of females in the western regions, and a preponderance of them in Greenland. The preponderance of females in Greenland can be explained by the fact that there the rareness of infanticide, with its selective tendency, allows the survival of approximately equal numbers of males and females of youthful age, so that the risk of death to which the adult men are exposed in hunting causes a majority of females in the population at large (Weyer, 1932.)"

If the reason for the discrepancy in the proportion of the sexes in the population of Wainwright today is due to the socially sanctioned tradition of infanticide which existed in the past in this area we have an example of the all pervasiveness of ecology in making this sphere of Eskimo culture

resistive to change. Before this explanation may be accepted, better birth-death statistics must be obtained than are available at the present. It is unfortunate that earlier demographic data are not available.

TABLE I

RATIO MALE TO FEMALE IN NINE AGE GROUPS, 1955

Age Group	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
1-10	40	27	67
11-20	33	27	60
21-30	20	17	37
31-40	9	5	14
41-50	10	11	21
51-60	9	1	10
61-70	6	5	11
71-80	2	3	5
81-90	1	1	2

TABLE II

POPULATION FIGURES FOR WAINWRIGHT

Year	*Source*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
1890	11th Census	38	34	72
1940	ANS school records	x	x	392
1941	ANS school records	x	x	343
1949	ANS school records	158	137	295
1950	ANS school records	x	x	227
1954	ANS school records	130	97	227

The Alaska Native Service schoolhouse and buildings form sort of a nucleus around which are clustered the houses of Wainwright. There are 35 permanent frame houses and four sod-covered iglus. The census for 1955 gave 41 separate families. The frame houses range in size from simple one-room houses of about 14 feet square to fairly elaborate affairs. Several of the larger houses were built some 20 years previous by white traders and were sold upon their departure. Most of the frame houses use sod blocks banked about the bottom as additional insulation. All of the sod houses have a framework of sawed lumber that came in at one time with the cargo ship that visits this coast once each summer. Most of the houses are low ceilinged and have a long enclosed entrance passage in which are kept skin clothing, outboard motors, and hunting equipment. The iglus usually have a window in the roof in the fashion of the older

Eskimo dwellings. Since the frame houses were built directly upon the earth with hardly any foundation, many have a pronounced lean owing to the differential thawing of the permafrost beneath. The semi-subterranean winter iglu, called *iglupiaq*, that was once typical of this area, and is illustrated by Murdoch, is no longer constructed. These iglus had the entrance in the floor and ruins of them are to be found along the coast in some of the older abandoned villages close by Wainwright.

Coal or wood burning stoves serve as sources of heat and are used for cooking. When the coal supply in the village becomes exhausted, blubber or fat may be burned for a short time. Coal is easily obtainable from exposed veins both along the Kuk River and in the sea. Coal is washed up on the beach after and during a storm and is then collected. This coal differs from the mined coal in having a higher ash content. Driftwood coming from the Yukon, Noatak, and other southern rivers, is also used for fuel.

Commencing in June the villagers move from their houses into canvas wall-tents and generally remain in them until late autumn. These tents are erected upon tent frames and have a wood floor and a wood door.

Most houses are furnished with chairs, a table, and a number of bunk-type beds. The walls are frequently adorned with the photographs of friends and relatives, and religious calendars. Alarm clocks, showing the concern of the villagers with an ordered time-concept since school always starts at a specific time and the airplanes come on schedule, are common. Portable battery-operated radios, and sewing machines, are to be found in nearly every house. Although kerosene or gas burning pressure lamps are used for illumination, three households own their own electrical generating equipment.

Adjacent to each house is found a pole cache for placing skins, skin boats, or sled harnesses out of reach of the dogs. Each family has an underground meat cache excavated into the frozen ground.

Apart from a few purchased items like tea, coffee, tinned milk and fruit, and flour for making bread and biscuits, the bulk of the present-day diet seems to consist of meat from whale, seal, walrus, and caribou. Meat is usually prepared by boiling, but a large amount of raw and dried meat, especially caribou, is eaten. Caribou is preferred as a food above all others, and with walrus meat must make up more than 75 percent of the food eaten. Whale meat is enjoyed but is comparatively rare, and seal meat is considered more suitable for dog food than for humans.

With a few individual exceptions, the *uluRunikamiut* wear aboriginal type footgear and a cloth *atigi*, or snow shirt, trimmed with a wolverine fur ruff. This *atigi* is worn over a blanket or skin inner liner. The woman's

atigi is made sufficiently large to accommodate a child in the back. The small child straddles the woman's hips and is held in place by means of a scarf encircling it and the woman's waist. Summer clothing is mainly of the mail-order-house variety. Seal skin pants may be worn by the men for hunting trips in the summer. Owing to its suitability for the climate, more native clothing is worn in the winter than in the summer. Emulation of White dress and adornment is carried to extremes by the younger people.

Six of the older women are tattooed. This consists of a straight blue line running from under the mouth to the mental eminence on the chin. One man from Wainwright, now living at Point Barrow, has holes for labrets in the flesh just over the lower canines. Needless to say, tattooing is no longer practiced and the custom of wearing labrets went out of fashion some time ago.

2. THE ANNUAL CYCLE

Aboriginally, the life of the *uluRunikamiut* was governed by the cycling seasons, for sustenance was entirely dependent upon the resources of nature. The introduction of a money economy altered this direct dependence on the environment in that money obtained from wage work, through the sale of animal pelts, or from governmental subsidies, such as Old Age Pensions or Aid to Dependent Children, could be exchanged in the store for food and clothing. Still, excepting wage work and governmental subsidies that have only been recently available to a few, trapping foxes for furs or hunting polar bears for skins remain as seasonal activities. Despite the present intermittent employment of many of the men on a nearby construction project, exploitative activities such as hunting, fishing, and even mining coal continue unabated; and land and sea mammals, as mentioned before, supplemented by fish and birds, provide almost all the food and the bulk of materials used for covering boats and for making some clothing and almost all footgear. For most of the villagers, the annual cycle of activities is not too unlike that carried out in the past. The aboriginal calendar is indicative of the way in which the changing seasons are categorized.

ABORIGINAL CALENDAR

January:

siqinaiCaq taatqiq . . . . . "the moon of the coming sun"
izRaaCiaq taatqiq . . . . . "the cold moon"

February:

siqinaaSugRuk taatqiq . . . "the moon with a higher sun"
izRaasugRuk taatqiq . . . . "the coldest moon"

March:

paniksiqsiivik taatqiq . . . "the moon for hanging up seal and caribou skins to bleach them"

April:

agaviksiuuvik taatqiq . . . "the moon for beginning whaling"
qaRigiiliguvik taatqiq . . . "the moon for finding ptarmigan"

May:

iRniivik taatqiq . . . . . "the moon when birds and fawns are born"
quaquiRivik taatqiq . . . . . "the moon when eider ducks have returned to the north"

June:

supplauavik taatqiq . . . . . "the moon when rivers commence to flow"

July:

iNNauguvik taatqiq . . . . . "the moon when birds are being formed in eggs"

August is included with July or September

September:

tinNiuvik taatqiq . . . . . "the moon when young geese and brant fly south"

October:

nuliaavik taatqiq . . . . . "the moon when caribou rut"

November:

uvluilaq taatqiq . . . . . "the moon of short days"

December:

siqiNRilaq taatqiq . . . . . "the moon with no sun"

Spring whaling is still one of the more important activities, not only for the meat obtained but also because it is a traditional and enjoyable pursuit for the hunters. Many years whaling is carried on without success; in fact, in 1955 the first whale in three seasons was finally caught. The whales, mainly bowheads, run north past the village in April, May, and June. Whaling crews were encamped on the ice by the 21st of April in 1955, and they returned to land in early June.

In June and July, seals sleeping on the ice are shot. Migratory birds are hunted along the coast away from the village and especially on the spits where they fly over land on the way farther north. July and August

are devoted mainly to walrus hunting. Bearded seals are shot when found asleep on the ice or swimming in the ocean, but unfortunately many shot while swimming sink, as do the other seals owing to less fat and the lowered salinity of the surface water of the sea in summer. Caribou are hunted for meat on warm days in June, July, and August; at this time they are easily killed and are found close to the village seeking refuge from the mosquitoes by standing in shallow water. Caribou have only a moderately thick layer of back fat in late summer, but the meat is considered excellent. The skins are discarded since the hair is being shed. During fall and winter, skins are obtained for clothing and sleeping rugs.

Although harbor seals are more frequent in September and are hunted then, this month is almost entirely devoted to hunting ducks and brant along the coast. Ptarmigan are also hunted. They begin to turn white in September and offer good targets against the brown tundra.

By late September the weather is wet and nasty and the villagers have finished with summer sealing and walrus hunting. They go up the Kuk River in skin boats to mine and sack coal which will be hauled down by sled after snowfall. Frequently, as is the case of several families, coaling, up-river fishing, and hunting are combined, and a temporary camp is established out of the village. Return is made after the river freezes. Just after the first freeze-up in late October, ice is harvested on a nearby fresh water lake and is hauled to the village. This serves as a source of cooking and drinking water for the rest of the year. It is stored in ice cellars excavated underground along with frozen meat.

According to governmental ordinance, the trapping season opens on the first of December and closes on March 15. These laws seem to be closely adhered to, and these months are devoted to trapping by the younger men. These men trap along on distant trap lines several score of miles from the village. Since the fox prices have fallen, this form of activity is not as extensive as formerly. In winter, polar bears are occasionally encountered and they are hunted for skin and meat. Those who remain in the village, especially the women, fish through the ice on the inlet in winter either with nets or line and lure. Seals are hunted at breathing holes and with nets during the dark days of winter. There seems to be a tendency toward confining most hunting to summer and spring. An attempt is made to live on stored meat which was obtained during the summer and cached in the meat cellars. With the return of the sun in spring, seal hunting is again commenced with renewed vigor.

This seems to be the yearly round of activities for most of the people in the village today, and it appears not too different from that of the recent past.

The introduction of firearms has simplified hunting and it is probably one of the reasons for abandoning cooperative caribou drives and for simplifying hunting implements.

3. LAND HUNTING

Caribou are the only land animals extensively hunted. No attempts are made at driving caribou into a *kangik*, or corral, or into a lake where they can be speared from a *qayaq*, as was formerly done, and this hunting seems to be a family or individual affair. Many caribou are killed in summer, for on warm days they can be found on the beach seeking relief from the mosquitoes. At this time they are easily stalked and killed. A family of six people needs at least 24 caribou each year. The annual kill of caribou by the villagers must be at least 800.

Foxes are still trapped for fur, but not nearly as much as previously. The price for a prime pelt is about $15. Wolves are hunted. A wolf pelt is worth about $50, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service pays a bounty of $50 for each dead wolf.

There are still a few customary practices concerning the treatment of killed land animals that are continued. They are by no means universal but appear confined to the older men. Foxes and caribou must have the head severed from the body, otherwise they are not considered completely dead. It is claimed that the caribou, as well as almost all other animals, have an *ilitqusik*, or "soul" and this must be released in order to take up its abode in another caribou. A fox must have its throat cut, for the fox "wants the feel of the knife of a good hunter at his throat." Brower mentioned that a Point Barrow man told him, "Whenever a fox was skinned the head must be cut off at once, since what all foxes wanted most was a knife (Brower, 1943, p. 96.)"

The old hunter *Iqaaq*, claimed that he frequently asked *tuluaq*, the raven, where the caribou herds were to be found and he reported success in several instances. In each case, the raven would indicate by some means while flying through the air in the direction of the herds.

4. SEA MAMMAL HUNTING

Hunting in the ocean is a cooperative affair. Whaling, hunting for walrus and bearded seal, and much of the seal hunting, is done in small groups. A recognized system of sharing the catch exists. Whales, walrus, and seals which are taken while on an organized hunt, and even coal mined in groups and transported by boat to the village, are all shared according to definite rules. Co-operative hunting in summer is done from a skin boat or wooden whaleboat. The *umailik*, literally "the one with an umiaq," is an individual who has acquired an *umiaq*, considerable

hunting gear, and sufficient cash, or good credit with the store, to support and outfit his crew. An *umailik* has considerable prestige and voice in decision making in problems concerning village affairs.

Sea mammal hunting is done from an *umiaq* covered with bearded seal skin. A seven skin umiaq is valued at $300 and when driven by a $200 outboard motor, this represents considerable initial cash outlay. The *umailik* provides his hunters with food while hunting, ammunition, and the opportunities for hunting in return for a slightly larger share in the catch and an enhanced social position. Several *umailiks* confided that it was expensive to be an *umailik*, in fact it was cheaper to buy skins or meat from others. Rainey reported that at Point Hope, "The position of umelik was acquired through skill, intelligence, and energy. Acquisition of property and wealth is a measure of a man's ability (Rainey, 1947.)" Presently, the accumulation of money and the exchange for goods, what the Eskimo consider as capital goods, is a recognized means of acquiring *umailik* status. In Wainwright today, the manager of the Native Store, another small trader, and the janitor in the schoolhouse are all recognized *umailit*. They have a small but reliable source of income, necessary to support their achieved statuses.

5. THE SPRING WHALE HUNT

In 1955 three crews participated in the whale hunt. The Native Store outfitted one crew, *Taqalaq*, the school janitor, outfitted another crew, and a third crew used the skin boat and gear of Robert James, an Eskimo trader who was in the tuberculosis sanitorium at the time. The personal names used here are the ones that are used by the people themselves. Robert James, for example, prefers his English name since he deals with large wholesale houses by letter when ordering goods and he feels that he will not be discriminated against if he has an English name. In one way or another almost all the people of the village participated in whaling. Those not in the crews helped haul the boats out to the water and afterwards assisted in the flensing of the whale and the transporting of the meat to the village.

A whaling crew is made up of a "boat-steerer," a "shoulder-gun man," a harpooner, or "striker," and about four paddlers. This terminology was adopted from that used by the White whalers. After a whale is sighted, and this usually occurs in the open water of a "lead," the boat is launched and paddled forward under the direction of the "boat-steerer" in an attempt to place the bow of the boat upon the whale's back. The harpooner in the bow then drives his "iron" down into the whale. The floats attached to the harpoon line are then cast over the side and a bomb is shot into the whale by the man with the shoulder-gun. The whale usually sounds, but if it was well-struck, and not subsequently lost under the ice, will soon die. Vigorous use of hand lances assists the damage caused by the

bomb. Other crews then come to assist in towing the whale back to the ice edge. A message dispatched to the village will bring the so-called "helpers" who flense the whale and carry the meat ashore.

The former magical practices pertaining to whaling, such as the use of amulets, abstaining from cooking while in the whaling camp, or hammering in the village are no longer practiced. It appears that after conversion to Christianity, amulets, which formerly were such things as small chipped obsidian whales or dried loon skins, became pages torn from the Bible placed in the bow of the whaling *umiaq*, or even pieces of pilot bread. These new *anRaaq* had considerable inherent power but they are no longer used today. Brower has mentioned a change in whaling customs 60 odd years ago. "The spring of 1888 marked the last season in which many of them kept to their old whaling customs. After that the younger crowd began generally to adopt our whaling gear, tackles, guns, bombs and all. They even insisted on hard bread and tea out on the ice (Brower, 1948, p. 124.)" While awaiting the whale today, however, no unnecessary loud noises may be made. Ray mentioned that at Point Barrow, "No work is done during the whaling season that will necessitate hewing or pounding (Ray, 1885)" Brower stated that while making preparations for whaling at Point Barrow, the villagers objected to pounding of any nature, but that when he went whaling with a native crew he must bring his axe, for they never took theirs on the ice for fear someone would pound with it. Hammering was occasionally necessary and if this restrictive tabu were broken by somebody else fate was not tempted. The bowhead whale is an excessively timid mammal and it is said that slight sounds or a small bird alighting on its back will send it rushing off in a frenzy. It is also the slowest swimmer of all whales wallowing along at about four knots and being able to raise nine knots *in extremis*.

To an observer it appears that an inordinate amount of recitation of Christian prayer marks the whaling season. Group prayer is immediately said before placing the *umiaq* in the water for the first time. After the whale is struck by the harpooner, a short group prayer is said. Both *Iqaaq* and *Taqalaq* said that in the past the *umailik* would always drum and sing a magical song at this time to insure success. Taqalaq said, "We say prayers because whaling is dangerous. A whale can upset the whaling canoe. A shoulder gun can blow up. A storm can come up and break up the ice where the camp is located." Hallowell has mentioned that verbal techniques, or prayers, used to influence the supernatural may become identified with verbal magic since most may be used for similar ends (Hallowell, 1945.) Possibly there has been an identification of Christian prayer with formulaeic magic of earlier times.

Hunting on Sunday is considered ill-advised by almost all the *uluRunikamiut* and breaking of what is almost a tabu gives rise to con-

siderable anxiety. The *uluRunikamiut* are members of the Presbyterian church, and Sunday is a day of obligatory abstinence from work and play. Indeed, the Eskimo name for Sunday, *savainik*, translates as "no work." The other days of the week have names taken from the Eskimo numerals for one to six. During this whaling season *Taqalaq* said that he left his crew out at the open lead to watch for whales, but that he was ashore by midnight Saturday in order to attend church on the following day. He told his crew to be friendly with one another and to remain in a happy state of mind. They were free to strike a whale on Sunday if they wished, but should not do so merely on his account. On Sunday a whale rose nearby but they refused to give chase. The Native Store crew, however, chased the whale and harpooned it. They lost the whale, their harpoon, floats, and at one time nearly swamped in the battle. The consensus among *Taqalaq's* crew was that this disaster was partly caused by hunting on Sunday. At any event, *Taqalaq's* crew was later successful and took the only whale caught that year.

The division of the whale meat was of considerable interest since it was governed by rules. This whale was first divided at the navel and all the rear portion and one flipper belonged to the *umailik*. This was *Taqalaq's* first whale and it was subject to customs governing the first catch of any animal which must be shared with one's fellow villagers. *Taqalaq's* second whale will be divided one foot forward from the navel and he will receive more meat. He received, in addition, the eyes and the meat in the region of the eyes, and the nostril or blow-hole. He also received the bone or baleen. This is used for lashings in constructing an *umiaq*, and for making model boats for sale as curios. The tail of the whale is the *umailik's* property but he is required to distribute one half of the meat at the *naluqataq*, or Whale Festival, and the remaining portions at Thanksgiving and Christmas. The second flipper became the property of the "shoulder-gun man."

Traditionally, the other three boats were to receive an equal share of the remainder of the whale, as they assisted in the towing to the ice edge. In a similar manner, the people from the village, the so-called "helpers," were also to receive portions. There were 13 men in Taqalaq's crew, 10 in the Native Store Boat, and six in the crew of Robert James. Owing to the disproportionate number of people involved, Taqalaq was slightly innovative in his sharing as he apportioned the meat individually rather than by boats. Not only do the hunters receive a share, but the *umiaq* also receives a share so that a whaling *umailik* receives, in effect, two shares.

About a quarter of the meat from the fore part of the whale belonged to the "helpers." Some of this meat was entrusted to the church deacons

who would dole it out to the needy during the short cold days of winter. Portions were set aside for the old people like bedridden *NaNinaq* and old *Patiq* and her husband *AulazRuaq*. Excepting for two people and their families, everybody in the village received a certain amount of whale meat. These two were *Aiyaq* and *NaRiaq*. They had been in *Taqalaq's* crew but despairing of ever catching a whale that season, had gone off seal hunting. "Lazy people and those who go off to hunt for seals for themselves instead of helping the whole village do not receive any whale meat," said *Taqalaq*. This is an interesting example of the solidarity of village opinion concerning the common food supply for this arbitrary decision of *Taqalaq's* was accepted without question. Indeed, the Eskimo minister, busy with other tasks and unable to participate in the whale hunt, had given $50 worth of food to one crew and received a proportionate amount of meat in exchange.

6. WALRUS HUNTING

In late June and early July, walrus having drifted north with the ice, are to be found immediately in front of the village. A herd is called collectively *nunavait*, from the word *nuna* for "land." This term is used presumably because the herds number between 50 and 100 animals and they are visible as dark masses on the sea ice from 3 or 4 miles distance. One butchered animal will load an *umiaq* to its gunwales, and they are presently hunted with power launches and *umiaqs*. The crew rides out to the hunting area in the launch and then transfers to the *umiaq* for the actual hunt. Walrus, which seem notoriously difficult to kill, are shot with .306 caliber rifles. They are then butchered on the ice. The early summer hunts for walrus take the form of a great slaughter. However, no more are killed than can be carried ashore. Hunts in late summer after most of the animals have gone are made from skin boats, and the return to the village with an overloaded boat is somewhat more dangerous. While butchering, the crew may drift as much as 20 miles from the village owing to the strong currents. About 200 walrus are killed each year.

In these hunts, Christian prayer is frequently said. Immediately after the crew transfers into the *umiaq* group prayer is said. Immediately before shooting, one is supposed to say a short prayer. On one hunt in which I participated, *Iqaaq* confided afterwards that he was upset because no prayer had been said and, as he pointed out, the animal, even after being shot numerous times, threatened to roll into the sea. *Iqaaq* claimed that he said a short prayer to himself, since it wouldn't be seemingly to say it aloud as that was the *umailik's* duty and it was well known that this *umailik* was an agnostic. On this same hunt I observed *Iqaaq* cast a small piece of meat into the ocean with a muttered invocation. Later he said that he had muttered "*qunnikun*" which would insure a safe

voyage home. *Qunnik* translates as "smooth water." He also left a small piece of meat on the ice "for the sea gulls," as he explained afterwards. Upon approaching the village with a load of walrus, the crew always sing "uuq uuq!" "uuq uuq!" *Iqaaq* said that this shows we are happy to have walrus meat.

The traditional methods of sharing the catch have been subjected to change owing to the introduction of modern refinements in hunting. For example, if an *umailik* has an outboard motor attached to his boat, he receives both walrus tusks and the penis bone and a share of meat for himself and one for the boat. The penis bone is presently a curiosity highly valued by male tourists who will pay exorbitant prices for it, and since it is of hard consistency, it still is made into ice chisels. A mounted pair of walrus tusks sells for between $50 and $70. If the hunting is done from a launch, the launch also gets a share. If the hunting is done from a motorless *umiaq* the tusks are sold and the proceeds are divided among the crew.

7. SEALING

The bearded seal is shot either while swimming or sleeping on the ice. The unfortunate result of their being shot in the water is that they quickly sink. If hunted from a motor driven *umiaq*, the *umailik* receives the skin; in a paddled *umiaq* the skin is either cut up for boot soles and divided or is sold. The money is then divided among the hunters.

Common seals are hunted in spring and summer and are shot while sleeping on the ice. The hunter dons a white *atigi*, or snow shirt, and stalks the sleeping seal. Breathing hole hunting is also practiced; nets are placed under the ice in order to entrap the seal. An alternative method is for the hunter to sit at a breathing hole and shoot the seal when he appears. In this method, two people join forces and find a breathing hole. A dog is not used for this purpose. The first to find the hole is the "owner" of the hole, and he erects a wind break of snow blocks. He places a small piece of caribou skin on another block and sits awaiting the seal. One old man uses the three-legged sealing stool. The partner by walking around brings the curious seal to the hole. He receives a piece of meat for his work; "enough for the cook pot" is the colloquial designation for the size.

The two types of seal netting are called *igaalik* and *pigaasiutik*. In the former method a net is placed under the ice at the bottom of the breathing hole and is secured to four stout posts called *qayasiuvat* on the ice surface. The other method, *pigaasiutik*, is done in the following manner: 10 or 20 feet from the edge of the ice adjacent to an open lead in winter a large hole is chopped through. Two nets are pushed through this hole and are set parallel to the ice edge with the ends tied by long

lines to the posts. These nets must be placed close to the rough ice which is formed at right angles to the lead. After the net is set, the hunter walks back and forth, or thumps on the ice with a heavy stick. This attracts the seals who are curious. This method can be quite productive for *Iqaaq* claimed that he caught 15 seals in two hours last winter.

8. FISHING

Fish form rather an important item in the diet. In January, February, and March, smelts are caught through a hole in the ice in the lagoon. It is possible to catch from 100 to 200 fish in one day, and in former times it is claimed that fish often alleviated periods of starvation. For smelt fishing, a short stick acts as a fishing rod and another stick held in the other hand is used to make the lure move up and down in the water. Fish lures are made of ivory or of walrus teeth and bear a steel hook. A modern type lure is made from a can opener key, and a piece of red calico is used for bait. Grayling can be caught, but only in October when they can be taken on a hook. Nets are used in rivers and streams in late summer and are used in the ocean in early fall as soon as the nights become dark; otherwise, the fish see the nets and swim around them.

9. HUNTING IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS

The Alaskan Eskimo, in general, had a highly developed material culture and had devised, copied, or brought with them into the arctic regions many different weapons, hunting implements, and articles of clothing which enabled them to exist in a rigorous environment. Today, with rifles, outboard motors, a money economy, and shops standing between them and their environment, the material culture inventory is somewhat simpler. Over the past 50 years, there have been substitutions made by the Eskimo in the materials from which were constructed many hunting implements and tools. In general, this substitution has reflected the availability of new and more easily worked materials, and points up the pragmatic characterization of Eskimo ethos and the eclecticism of the individual members of the society.

Formerly the harpoon, in conjunction with the lance, was used for retrieving and killing marine mammals. Today, the animal is first shot and, if not having sunk, is secured with the harpoon. The harpoon (*unaqpaq*) consisted of a wooden shaft (*unaq*), a bone socket piece (*qaatiq*), a bone foreshaft (*igimaq*), and a bone or ivory head (*naulaq* or *tuuqaq*). Harpoon heads have been found with both flint and later telluric iron points. Presently the entire head is made of brass with a steel blade and the *igimaq* is a carpenter's iron spike. The brass head bears a *naluanutaq*, or "owner's mark." Brass is used in preference to iron because it is easily worked and it does not rust.

Connecting the harpoon head to the line is a short length of bearded seal line called *tuqaaqti*. The line (*aaliq*) is made of manila rope. The float may be an *avataqpaq* made from a complete seal skin, which is inflated, or it may be an empty 5-gallon gas tin. Large 55-gallon gas drums were used at one time for whaling floats, but were given up as they became easily crushed and leaked if thumped against the ice. On the other end of the harpoon shaft is a chisel-shaped point made of walrus mandible called *unnam avataa*, or "the harpoon's end." One of its uses, among many, is to kill seals after they are caught in a net by striking them in the ear. Copper wire is utilized to lash the various parts of the harpoon, and brass screws secure the bone *tigaaRun*, or "fore-finger rest," to the shaft.

Another instrument called *unaqpauRaq* is used for pulling in a *qayaq*, or retrieving a seal shot at a breathing hole, and has a wooden shaft and an iron point (*tunga*) on one end and an iron hook (*niksiaaq*) on the other. The main use of *tunga* is for testing the thickness of thin ice. An implement named *niqsigsaq*, a short piece of wood with a hook-shaped bent iron nail, is used for towing a seal behind a *qavaq*. A small wooden float studded with sharpened nails and attached to a line is used to retrieve seals from the water of an open lead.

For winter hunting, an iron chisel lashed to a long wooden shaft is for cutting holes in the ice. The ice scoop (*mitinNiut*) is constructed from galvanized iron screening. Other old implements in use are wooden seal claws, used to simulate seals scratching on the ice, and wooden wound pins. One man, *Kisiisuk*, still uses a three-legged sealing stool. With the addition of a rifle in a seal skin case, this fairly well represents the entire stock of hunting implements.

Nails and screws are used in boat and sled construction. Formerly sled runners were coated with a mixture of mud and water in order to reduce the coefficient of sliding friction enabling them to slide more easily. Today, a mixture of flour and water is used for the same purpose. Dental floss is purchased in case lots and is used by the women for sewing skin clothing and boots. Sinew is still used for seams that must be waterproof. The semilunar-shaped knife, the *ulu*, is still used. The blade is made of steel, usually from a wood saw, and the handle is of bone or ivory. A knife used for butchering walrus, called *uluRaqpaq*, is made from a steel saw, but the saw handle itself is left on a shortened and sharpened section of blade.

This past summer, *Nayaqiq* was building an *umiaq* frame and among his tools were included steel hand saws, files, wood planes, a hammer, and an adze. The hammer had been altered by cutting several inches from the handle and by deep finger grooves carved in the wooden handle. The adze, called *ulimaun*, an old type Eskimo tool, utilized a steel plane blade

backed by bone for the head, and the handle was an archaeological specimen having been found in old house ruins.

The contents of *AviuRana's* tool bag are of interest, for modern tools for repairing outboard motors and building houses are included among the tools for working ivory and bone. The tool bag, called *itqilikivit*, was of wolverine skin and had a reinforced seal skin bottom and an ivory carrying handle. Among the steel tools was a steel punch with a horn handle, called *qapukgaun*, a screw driver with a horn handle, a bow drill, and a crooked knife. The crooked knife, *milik*, had a steel blade and a caribou horn handle with a skin sheath.

Today, the harpoon head is made of brass, the foreshaft is an iron nail, the line may be of manila rope, and the float may be an empty 5-gallon gas tin. The adze used today differs from an archaeological adze merely by the substitution of an iron blade for one made of jade. In the case of the harpoon and the adze, all the component parts still bear their old Eskimo names and have the same name as formerly. A wealth of anecdotal detail can be supplied by those in daily contact with Alaskan Eskimos, and will document their seemingly innate mechanical ability, and their estimation of any assertion or incident solely by its practical bearing upon their interests. This latter is the true mark of a pragmatist.

10. THE CEREMONIAL CALENDAR

Festivals are defined here as merely those formalities proper to certain occasions which are carried out at public gatherings of all the villagers. The nationally declared American holidays and the Spring Whale Festival are included in the ceremonial calendar. First catch observances, though publicly recognized, are not marked by a gathering of the entire village. The observances of the Spring Whale Festival, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year are included in the ceremonial calendar. The method of observance, in most cases, consists of the blending of aboriginal practices with those introduced since contact with the Whites. American holidays falling on predetermined dates according to a calendar served to regularize the midwinter festivals. The celebration of the Messenger Festival now occurs during the week between Christmas and New Year's day. The Spring Whale festival only follows the termination of a successful whaling season.

a. Naluqataq

After the completion of a successful whaling season, a public gathering is held which originally seemed to function as a propitiation of the spirit owners of the killed whales and a magical means for insuring good hunting for the following season. This is the function of the festival today in the

thinking of many of the older people. *Iqaaq,* who is 54 years old, started after a great deal of thought and considerable discussion with other people, that everybody must be happy at this time so that the same whale could be killed next year. It is of interest that he said the same whale and not a different whale. The captain of the whaling crew, *Taqalaq,* stated that the *umailik* who caught a whale must give a *naluqataq* because that showed that he was a generous person and it made his fellow villagers happy. Mythological sanction for generosity, happiness, and circumspect treatment of the whale *ilitqusik*, or soul, is to be found in several of the old folk tales that are still currently related.

It appears that there is a general dichotomy of folk tales into two categories according to subject content. Jenness asserted that, "No distinctions are made by the Eskimos, (of the Mackenzie River and North Alaska) as far as I am aware, in the types of stories that are current among them; all alike bear the name *onipkat* (Jenness, 1924, p. 2A.)" This assertation is not quite true. Old stories which are mainly explicatory of the origin of the world, of mankind, and of animals are termed *unipqaaq*, whereas *ukalaqtuaq* tell of events which have occurred in the fairly recent past. In Greenlandic these were called *oqaluqtuaq*, "traditional tales," and *oqalualarutit*, "legends" (Rink, 1877.) Rainey has mentioned the same dichotomy of folktales at Point Hope.

Among the *unipqaat* at Wainwright is a tale which relates the story of a whale that was caught by various villagers. The gist of the tale is that this whale preferred being caught by the villagers who were most appreciative of their good fortune. This appreciation was shown by generosity to their fellow villagers by sharing the whale meat. In addition, work done by the villagers in making a smooth roadway from the shore over the sea ice to the open leads made a whale anxious to be caught. Today generosity is a highly esteemed virtue in a rich and successful Eskimo and his wealth must be used for the common good. The recipients must be "happy" at receiving gifts. *Naluqataq* must be given by the *umailik* after the whale hunt. Myth has rationalized custom.

At this year's *naluqataq* the preparation for the festival were carried out by the crew and family of *Taqalaq*. The term *naluqataq* applies to the entire festival though its meaning is the act of jumping or being thrown in the sewn together sections of bearded seal skin called the "blanket." An *umiaq* was carried to a level place in the village overlooking the ocean and it was upended so that it rested on one gunwale supported by crutch-shaped sticks. Sleds and tent canvas were then utilized so as to construct a semicircular wind break extending out from the *umiaq*. A mast was erected alongside and from it flew *Taqalaq's* ownership flag, a red triangle, and an additional streamer signifying that one whale had

been caught. In front of this wind break were implanted two stout posts which served to support the rope net upon which rested the *naluqataq* skin.

The festivities commenced in the morning with jumping in the *naluqataq* blanket. Everybody participated at one time or another at taking their places among those holding the rope handles which snapped the skin; and everybody, except the very old and decrepit, took a turn at jumping. The object of the game is to keep one's feet after being thrown 20 or 30 feet into the air. After a fall another gets into the skin. The girls and young women are the most skilful. *Taqalaq* then got into the blanket and distributed paper bags of candy and bubble gum to the villagers as he was bounced aloft. Later in the afternoon he and his crew distributed whale meat and *maktak*, or whale skin, coffee, tea, and bread. Cigars were given to all the men, and chewing tobacco was given to the older men and women. The distribution of food and gifts was marked by much hilarity and merriment.

This was *Taqalaq's* first whale, his first *naluqataq*, and his bid for the achieved social status of *umailik*. In order to be an *umailik* one must be not only rich and powerful, but also generous. The elected president of the village council, a man named *Patqutaq*, was scoffed at because he had called himself *umailik* merely because of his political office. Robert James had said, "That *Patqutaq* is no *umailik*. An *umailik* is a boat captain. He has a big crew who hunt together and the *umailik* takes care of them in bad times." In Wainwright there is some political factionalism and considerable repressed hostility that is usually expressed only in bantering or deprecating sardonic remarks about the person when he is not present.

In the afternoon dances were held. A wooden tent floor was carried into place to serve as the platform and wooden seats were erected for the five drummers. A chorus of women knelt behind the drummers who were all men. The first dance was called *umailigit*. *Taqalaq*, his wife, and crew took their place on the dance platform after the men had all donned cotton gloves. Considerable embarrassment was evidenced by some of the younger men for the last *naluqataq* had been three years previously and they couldn't remember either the dance tune or the movements that went with it, and they found themselves frequently thumping with their feet just after the tempo had suddenly changed. During this dance the wife of *Taqalaq* stood in one place with downcast eyes and with the hood of her atigi over her head. She moved slowly and rhythmically. The men, led by *Taqalaq*, stood on one foot and stamped the other meanwhile posturing with contorted faces and raised and extended arms. Some pantomimed what appeared to be a whale hunt from the sighting of the whale to the harpoon thrust. There was considerable individual variation in the dancing behavior of the men. Those who expended the greatest effort and who

showed the greatest concentration, received the greatest acclamation from the audience. This dance was so well received, in fact, that it was repeated and it went off better the second time owing to practice. The reason for the *umailigit* is also to be found among the *unipqat* stories. This tale relates the various adventures of a man who went to live with the whales. Whales live in settled villages just like anybody else, and on his return he brought back a listing of things necessary to do in order to catch whales, and tabued things one should never do under any circumstance. One of the things to be done was the *umailigit*.

Following the dancing of the *umailigit* anyone was free to dance and the dance lasted through the night until the next day. Nearly everyone danced including the very old people, the tattooed old ladies and the bent hobbling old men, and the younger children. The good time at *naluqataq* was the topic of conversation in the village for a long time afterward.

b. The Fourth of July

The Fourth of July is a nationally declared holiday in the United States and, as such, was celebrated. Foot races, target shooting with rifles, and a baseball game with men from a nearby construction camp were held. Previous to the contests, money and gifts in the form of canned goods and candy were solicited. These were distributed to the winners of the various competitions.

c. Thanksgiving

Thanksgiving is called *quyaavik* which seems to translate as "place with thanks," and takes place with a communal feast in the church which is followed by a series of drum dances. These dances take place in the schoolhouse, the only building sufficiently large to accommodate the entire populace. One of the dances performed at this time is called *saauyun*. These are songs of an insulting nature especially composed for the occasion and sung about people in the audience. They are similar to the "song duels" of Greenland but I do not know if they arise out of competitive situations or are sung to taunt a man with incompetence or accuse him of laziness.

d. Christmas and the Messenger Festival

At Christmas there are various services in the church and a feast afterwards. At this feast is eaten the *maktak* saved from the second half of the whale's tail, *aqutaq*, "a mixture," in this case caribou fat and meat, and other foods. This feast also seems to be one of the times when a family head will present meat from his son's first catch to the assembled people. This is done in order to insure good hunting "luck" in the future. One of Iqaaq's sons had killed a caribou that year and meat was eaten at

Christmas. The adopted son of *Taqalaq* killed an arctic owl and this was given to the oldest woman in the village. In one talon was tied a dollar bill, and in the other talon was lashed a can of fruit juice. Previous to the dance, which is held in the schoolhouse, the men indulge in competitive high-kicking, finger pulling, foot racing, and other feats of strength.

The dance which follows is called *qivyaaginik*, "with messengers," and the name of the most important part is the *aaniRauanik*, "the going out," or "the exit." This is one of the old dances that took place at the Messenger Festival and was described by Rasmussen (1924) as the Great Trade Festival. The last Messenger Festival between Point Barrow village and Wainwright took place about 1910. This was seen by *Iqaaq* when he was a boy about 10 years old and this is his description of it.

The *uluRunikamiut* would send two messengers, or *qivqak*, by sled to *utkiavik*, Barrow Village. The messengers would arrive under the cover of darkness and would slip into the house of their trading partners. Upon hearing of the arrival of the messengers, a *qazRigi* was constructed of snow, and the men of Barrow would enter and wait. A curtain was hung over the entrance passage, and the two *qivgak* would stand outside this curtain with their two *qivyigsuat*. These latter were marked sticks or wands which served as mnemonic devices and were used to remind the messengers of the gifts requested by the Wainwright people from their *niuvit*, or trading partners, at Barrow. A messenger would show the first mark on the stick over the top of the curtain and he would say, for example, "*Iqaaq aquviCuqtuq siagavikniagtlamun!*" This translates as "*Iqaaq* wants a wolverine skin!" This was repeated for each mark on the stick and in each case the people were named. After this performance in the *qazRigi*, the people from Barrow would travel with the messengers toward Wainwright, bringing the requested gifts. While still one day's journey from Wainwright, a foot race was held between two champions from each village. The winner not only won the race, but also the right for his village to be the guests at the Messenger Festival for the following year. Wife exchange took place between the *niuvik* and his partner. This woman was called *aipaRik* "one or the other of two." The children of women who were exchanged called each other *qatang* and had mutual obligations and rights. This undoubtedly served to better inter-village relations at one time.

The *aaniRauanik*, was danced at this festival in the past and is done thusly today: a man and wife, called *nuqattaqti* and *nuqattaqtim nulianga*, are selected to lead the dancers because of their ability. *Taqalaq* and wife were selected for the last dance. A loon skin brow band is worn by the man and his *nulianga* carries a staff to which are attached feathers and bells. All the women in this particular dance carry similar staffs. The other

male participants wear duck tail brow bands and all wear mittens adorned with empty cartridge shells which clack together when they are shaken. A square wooden box decorated with bells and duck wings is suspended from the ceiling. This box has a handle and is held and is beaten by a man known as *qatluqaqtim inua*, literally "the box's owner." A group of drummers beating on skin drums stand in a line and follow the beat of the *qatluqaqtim inua*. He holds the box by the handle and moves it into various positions which are mimicked by the other drummers. The chief dancer, *nuqattaqti*, and his *nulianga*, lead the dancers and this culminates in the passing out through the row of drummers. This passing out serves to give the dance its name.

Lieutenant Ray has given a description of a similar performance that occurred at Point Barrow on 3 December 1881 but he was unable to determine its function or meaning (Murdoch, 1885, p. 374.) In Wainwright the dance today doesn't seem to have any meaning except that it is traditionally done at this time of year.

11. PRESENT DAY ECONOMY

In view of the increasing importance of money in the economy of the Wainwright Eskimo, an attempt was made to discover the annual village income and the sources of this income for 1955. This is shown in the following table.

TABLE III

ESTIMATED INCOME FOR 1955

Government subsidies	$12,000
Government salaries	5,000
Other salaries	6,600
Carving and curios sold	1,000
Proceeds from sale of skins	1,000
Construction work	40,000
Total	$ 65,600

Government subsidies include money paid as Aid for Dependent Children, Old Age Pensions, and General Relief. Aid for Dependent Children commenced about 1940. Old Age Pensions started about 1935 or so when a retired white whaler living in the village told the older people that they could receive money, as did he, from the government by merely applying for it. Difficulties were at first encountered as many people lacked birth certificates and could not prove their age. Presently there are seven old age pensioners, four families receiving ADC, and three on general relief. Government salaries are those paid to the postmaster, weather

observers, and the janitor in the school. Other salaries are those paid to the Presbyterian minister and to the Native Store employees. A construction project, which commenced in 1954 and terminated in 1957, was a productive, though short lived, source of income for about ten men.

The village supports three stores; two of them are small independent stores individually owned and stocked with only a few staple items. The third store, the Native Store, is a co-operative enterprise and is of considerable interest. In 1950 there were 49 Native Stores in the Territory of Alaska. Thirty-six were owned and operated by Eskimos, eight by Indians, and five by Aleuts. Thirty-two of these stores were co-operative enterprises, thirteen were stock companies, three were community owned by all the members of the community, and only one was individually owned. Resident school teachers are connected with these stores as advisors, and most of the stores commenced with a Government loan (Alaska Native Service Circular Letter No. 432, August 17, 1950).

The Wainwright Native Store was started about 1918 when a group of the villagers pooled a sum of money earned through fox trapping in order to purchase a supply of goods. This is now called the Wainwright Reindeer and Trading Company, and today the assets are valued at $68,000. Accounts receivable, *id est*, credit given to the villagers amounts to $17,000. According to the store inventory and statement for the period July 1954 to July 1955, the sale of merchandise brought in $60,000 and a net profit of $14,000 was shown. The figures for the gross sales must be somewhat in excess of the actual sales, for it is doubtful if that much money was available in the village during that period. This store is a stock corporation with 1,203 shares. Each share is valued at $10. The Wainwright Reindeer and Trading Company owns 631 shares and the balance of 544 shares are owned by 60 individuals. Six people, however, own more than one-half of the entire stock.

In general, prices for goods purchased in the Native Store are considerably over prices for the similar item in Seattle. Table IV presents the costs of some of the native type foods.

Successful hunters frequently sell their catch to the Native Store, and it is later purchased by others who are working and who have no time for hunting. During the time at Point Barrow when the men were working for the U.S. Navy Petroleum Project, a seal brought $13 in the Barrow store. The price has subsequently fallen to $7 after a cessation in the work, but this is indicative of economic trends on the coast where the store prices seem to reflect the relative prosperity of the Eskimo villagers.

A survey was made of the number of sleds, boats and boat frames, and dogs in the village. The results are presented in Table V.

TABLE IV

STORE PRICES

white fish	$ .25/lb.
grayling	.25/lb.
whale meat	.50/lb.
maktak	.50/lb.
caribou (hind quarters)	.25/lb.
caribou (body meat)	.20/lb.
walrus meat	.05/lb.
brant	.35/lb.
Canadian goose	1.00 each
eider duck	.25 each
large seal	5.00 each
polar bear skin	10.00 linear foot
coal from the mine	1.00/100 lbs.
coal washed up on the beach	.75/100 lbs.

TABLE V

ECONOMIC SURVEY

46	*qamutiquRaq*, sleds with upstanders
5	*qamutiq*, long sleds minus upstanders
10	*qamutiqpiaq*, or *qilliRiq*, so called basket sled or hardwood sled
3	*qayac* with good covers
1	*qayac* frame
4	*umiaq*, two skin
2	*umiaq* frames, uncovered, two skin
5	*umiaq*, five and seven skin
1	*umiaq*, seven skin covered with canvas
4	launches, power driven used daily, actually old life boats from whaling ships
3	launches, power driven not used
243	full grown dogs
21	puppies
10	outboard motors

An idea of the value of the sleds and boats may be obtained from the prices they bring when newly made. A *qamutiquRaq* is worth $50, a *qamutiqpiaq* $150, a two skin *umiaq* about $80, a five or seven skin *umiaq* $300. A full grown dog will bring $35 and a puppy between $10 and $15.

Of interest are the only comparable data which were obtained from two villages at Cape Prince of Wales in 1890 or 1893. These villages had populations of 231 and 308 people. The data are that of Thornton.

TABLE VI

ECONOMIC SURVEY OF TWO VILLAGES AT WALES IN 1890 OR 1893

15	*qayaq*
15	*umiaq* about 35 to 40 feet long and eight feet wide. Valued at $15, the same price as a good rifle
47	hunting sleds
56	freighting sleds
175	dogs
67	breech loading rifles
46	muzzle loading rifles
5	breech loading shotguns
34	muzzle loading shotguns
27	revolvers

In addition to the boats and sleds in Wainwright listed in Table V, the Presbyterian Mission owns a Fordson "Farmall" tractor and, despite the absence of roads, a Ford "Ranch Wagon." Two snow tractors, military M/7's, are owned by *Taqalaq*. They were purchased from the Naval Petroleum Reserve. The Alaska Native Service teacher is the custodian of a "weasel" M/29C tracked over-snow vehicle, two LCM's landing craft, and a hoisting boom mounted on a tractor.

All this mechanical equipment is used extensively for hauling sleds of walrus meat, for moving launches from the beach into the water, for hauling coal from the beaches to the houses, and many other purposes. The LCM's were used at one time in summer whaling.

12. TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

In summer, boats are the main means of traveling from one place to another. The power launches are used for long journeys. The skin boats are used for most traveling and hunting. With the exception of iron nails and the placing of a motor mount on the stern, the *umiaq* is constructed as formerly, for many of the parts are lashed together with baleen strips and the cover is made from the sewn-together skins of the bearded seal. A double row of stitching insures a waterproof seam and the entire cover is treated with a solution of rendered seal fat. One *umiaq* is covered with canvas. Canvas is not as satisfactory as skin, for it is easily torn when encountering the sharp spicules of new ice.

Traditional measurements were aboriginally used in constructing the *umiaq*, for example, the length is maintained by the number of bearded seal skins required, and the distance from the gunwale to the bottom of the boat should be the measure of a man's arm from axilla to outstretched fingers. Today, a tape measure is used. Motive power for the *umiaq* is generally an outboard motor or paddles, but one *umiaq* is sailed along the coast. When the wind fails, the boat is pulled along by a dog team walking on the beach.

A *qayaq* is occasionally used for spring hunting but a two skin *umiaq* appears more useful. This *umiaq* is propelled by oars which are lashed to the thwarts.

Summer hunting trips are frequently made 10 to 15 miles offshore, and a knowledge of weather and ocean currents are necessary in order to return safely to shore, especially when the shore can no longer be seen. Winter travel is by dog sled, and occasionally trips as far as Point Barrow or Point Lay may be made.

Along with the aboriginal means of transport, there are twice-weekly airplane flights into the village bringing mail and passengers.

13. THE LANGUAGE OF THE *uluRunikamiut*

Before discussing the language of the *uluRunikamiut*, it would seem desirable that a few remarks be made about Eskimo language, in general, in order that *iNNupiaq* may be seen in correct perspective. The Eskimo language is distinctive in having an extreme lateral, and littoral distribution; its speakers are to be found on the east and west coasts of Greenland, in Arctic Canada and Alaska, on the East Cape of Siberia and the islands of the Bering Sea, and in southwest Alaska and the Aleutians. The fact that these people speak the same language is in strong contrast to the situation existing among the inhabitants of the arctic in the Old World. Despite attempts at postulating earlier affiliations with, for example, Indo-European by the Dutch linguist, Uelenbeck, and the Danish linguist, Hammerich, and even Yaghan spoken on Tierra del Fuego by Jenness, none of these attempts were especially convincing and Eskimo today stands alone with no present-day relatives. The nineteenth century linguists classified Eskimo as hyperpolysynthetic; that is, on a higher level of complexity than agglutinating Turkish, analytical Teutonic, or isolating Chinese, for it could be shown that Eskimo operated with radicals to which were added a number of suffixes, which in turn modified the meaning of the stem. Indeed, Eskimo is unique among the languages of North America in that it employs suffixation as its only morphological process.

Historical precedence was given to the eastern dialects, for the Greenlanders and their language were the first to be studied in a systematic

fashion. The first grammatical works on Greenlandic were published in 1760 by Paul Egede, in 1791 by Otto Fabricius, and in 1851 by Samuel Kleinschmidt. Kleinschmidt's "*Grammatik der Gronlandischen Sprache*" is undoubtedly the classical work on Greenlandic. Professor W. Thalbitzer, in a series of papers and his "*A Phonetical Study of the Eskimo Language*," which appeared in 1904; and the grammar and dictionary of Schultz-Lorentzen, published in 1927, continued this tradition. The latest work by Knut Bergsland, which utilizes phonemic analysis, is a "*Grammatical Outline of the Eskimo Language of West Greenland.*"

This early attention to Greenlandic by early linguists provided both an orthography and a grammatical outline. This served to retard linguistic change by imparting the idea of correctness in language to its speakers. As a result of the satisfactory system of writing, one which was taught in the schools, a considerable body of literature has been written in Greenlandic dealing with both secular and sacred matters.

Apart from numerous word lists, E. Petitot's "*Vocabulaire Francais-Esquimau . . . de notes grammaticales*" in 1876 was the first serious treatment of the Mackenzie River and Central Eskimo dialects. August Schultze's "*Grammar and Vocabulary of North Western Alaska*" (Kuskokwim District) in 1891 and Francis Barnum's "*Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuit Language*" of 1901 were similar definitive works on Alaska.

The Aleuts, and later the Konyags of Kodiak Island, received a similarly useful orthography as that of the Greenlanders through the efforts of Bishop Ian Veniaminov in about 1824. This orthography was based on the Cyrillic alphabet and its users became, and remain to this day, sufficiently literate to read translated ecclesiastical works and to write personal letters in their own language.

By drawing upon considerable source material, some of which has been mentioned here, Eskimo was divided by early linguists into Western and Eastern groups and a separate, though related, language—Aleut. A recent method called lexico-statistic dating in linguistics has served to delimit more precisely the various dialects. This method is based upon the fact that "the everyday noncultural vocabulary tends to be replaced at an approximate constant rate and this retention rate works out to be 66 percent per thousand years (Swadesh, 1953.)" A flexibly used scale classifies languages into phyla if differences greater than 5,000 years can be shown since their separation from a common protolanguage, into stocks for periods of 2,000 to 5,000 years, and into family groupings for periods up to 2,000 years. By utilizing this methodology, a proposed classification of Eskimo was devised by Swadesh.

Classification of Eskimo Based on Separation from Common Proto-language

Esk-Aleut Stock	(Eskimo and Aleut)	3,000 years
Eskimoan Family	(Yukon and Greenland)	1,000 years
Yupik	(To include Siberian Eskimo and dialects from Norton Sound in Alaska to the south.)	
Inyupik	(More northerly dialects including Wales, Barrow, Mackenzie, Coronation Gulf, and Greenland.)	

The terms Yupik and Inyupik meant "genuine man" in the two respective languages; today, only on St. Lawrence Island, so far as I am aware, is the word Yupik used. This consists of the word "man" and a suffix /-pik/ meaning "genuine." In northern Alaska an Eskimo, and the language also, is termed *iNNupiaq*. The word *iNNupiaq* denotes a "genuine man" or "genuine language" in the manner similar to which *iglupiaq*, means a sod-covered dwelling, in the sense of a genuine house. The language spoken in northern Alaska was investigated by Jenness, and he has published a grammar and a comparative vocabulary. The Wainwright people say that their language is slightly different from that spoken at Point Hope or at Point Barrow. This is due to some lexical differences as well as differences in speech patterns. Each village on the Arctic Coast probably speaks a sub-dialect of *iNNupiaq*.

A tentatively proposed orthography based upon a limited material was worked out for the segmental phonemes of *iNNupiaq* as spoken in Wainwright. This orthography is used in this thesis.

A Tentative Orthography for iNNupiaq
The Segmental Phonemes

	BILABIAL	PRELINGUAL	POSTLINGUAL
Stops	/p/	/t/	/k/ /q/
Continuants	/v/	/C/	/g/ /R/
Voiceless/ Voiced Pairs		/s/ /z/	
Nasals	/m/	/N/ /n/	/ng/
Vowels	/u/	/i/	/a/
Semivowel		/y/	
Lateral		/l/	

The following comments on *iNNupiaq* are probably well known to serious students of Eskimo linguistics and are merely mentioned in passing in defense of the phonemic orthography used in this thesis. In *iNNupiaq* there are three vowel phonemes, one semi-vowel phoneme, and

15 consonantal phonemes. There is a full nasal series. Quite possibly /N/ and /n/ are allophonic pairs. Gordon Marsh had this to say about nasality in Eskimo. "There is also no nasal to go with this series (it would have to be ny) which in the Eskimo dialects where it does exist (around Point Barrow) is said to be no more than a phonetic variant of n due to the palatizing influence of a preceding i (Laughlin, 1952, p. 29.)" However, the Reverend Roy Ahmaugak, originally from Point Barrow, distinguishes between these two sounds in his transcription, and bearing in mind Sapir's comments on the psychological reality of the phoneme to the native speaker (Sapir, 1949, p. 46-60.), I have treated /N/ and /n/ as phonemes. The phoneme /l/ is voiced except when appearing postconsonantally. In this position it always appears to be unvoiced. The phoneme /C/, capital C was selected rather than c and caret for simplicity in orthography, may prove, upon closer scrutiny, to be a mere variant of /t/, for /t/ became /C/ in many word final positions as a sign of the plural. "Skin boats," for example, should be correctly written *umiaC* rather than *umiat*. Aspiration, noticed and commented upon by Jenness, seems to have progressed considerably in recent years. Perhaps /z/ can be demonstrated as voiced /s/ in postconsonantal positions and thereby reducing it to allophonic rank.

The quantity of vowels and consonants is of phonemic importance and, in general, stress is attracted by, among other things, quantity. Stress, however, appears not of phonemic importance. Consonant clusters in the "word" are commonly encountered in contrast to the situation existing further to the east and in Greenland.

It is presently of some interest to note the word lists in Ray's monograph on the Point Barrow Eskimo, for many word final consonant plural signs are given as tilde n and this was presumably pronounced as a /N/ in the orthography used in this thesis. "Inhabitants," for example, was given as *-miun*, rather than *-miut* or *miuC* as it is today. Assuming that Ray made this simple phonetic distinction, simple in contrast with other phonetic distinctions in Eskimo which didn't strike his ear, we have an example of a documented linguistic change. Other documented linguistic changes are to be found, for example, between the lack of correspondence between the spoken and written language of West Greenland of today. The latter was written phonetically a number of years past.

An investigation of these linguistic changes would clearly be of value in the study of process in language.

Excepting for preschool children and several old people, the *uluRunikamiut* are bilingual speaking *iNNupiaq* and English. This suggests that the Alaska Native Service schools are instrumental in teaching English, despite the inability of a majority of the teachers to converse

in *iNNupiaq*. This situation is analogous to that which exists in the schools for nomadic Lapp children in Sweden, for older students in both schools serve as interpreters for the younger ones until they are able to carry on for themselves. This usually necessitates an extra preschool year for the beginning students. In Wainwright, the facility with which English is spoken depends, apart from schooling, upon the amount of contact with English speakers, either in work situations, or as part-time members of an English speaking community. This was the case either when young people were in the Armed Forces and at the boarding high school, or when families lived and worked temporarily in Alaskan cities.

Value is attached to learning good English, for it is, among other things, a prerequisite for obtaining a job. However, *iNNupiaq* is spoken almost exclusively in the village both at home and in community activities. In speaking English, words are frequently recast in the *iNNupiaq* phonemic system and grammatical distinctions, especially those of gender absent in *iNNupiaq*, may be ignored. Service in the Presbyterian church is largely conducted in *iNNupiaq*; scriptures are read in English and then translated and explained by the Eskimo speaking native minister. The minister has prepared a booklet entitled "An Eskimo Primer," and has devised a satisfactory means of writing with the assistance of the staff of the Summer School in Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Children are taught reading and writing of *iNNupiaq* in Sunday school, and a printed translation of Mark has been circulated. One or two people have commenced writing letters using this orthography, but it is actually used little outside of the Sunday school. Some people earlier attempted to write letters in Eskimo using standard English characters, as were once used for translating the scriptures by the early missionaries, but they recognized that these characters were inadequate.

As an example of forced cultural change, it should be noted that many school teachers absolutely forbid the speaking of Eskimo by the children while in the school.

14. GOVERNMENT, LAW, AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Today, the village is governed by an elective village council. Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (the Wheeler-Howard Act) was made applicable to Alaska in 1936. By this act Native communities could be incorporated under a charter from the Department of the Interior and function as a corporate unit in the transaction of business, borrowing money, loaning money to individuals in the village, organizing of cooperative stores, and in preparation and enforcement of local law codes. A village constitution and by-laws were submitted to the Secretary of the Interior and were later ratified by a majority vote in the village. (Union Calendar No. 790.) These constitutions and by-laws

seem similar for each village and they were written with the assistance of the village school teachers. The village council in Wainwright is presided over by an elective council president and vice-president. There is one woman on the council. The council president frequently plays an *ad hoc* role for he is a designated go-between, or buffering agent for the village against White authority and is a specialist in dealing with any aspects of Eskimo culture that are in conflict with White culture. Decision making power in more traditional aspects of the culture still seems to rest in the hands of some of the older and prosperous hunters. The last two council presidents have been young married men in their thirties who were also employed at the nearby construction project. They were veterans of the U.S. Army, present members of the National Guard, and were skilled in English, bookkeeping and other skills necessary to deal with the increasing complexity of the modern world. The president before these young men was the father of one of them and was the only member of an evangelical church in the village. He had lived for about ten years in Portland, Oregon, and here he had studied bookkeeping and had become a member of a fundamental religious Christian sect. The older men in the village refused to call him *umailik*. *Patqutaq,* however, was able to convene the council and was able to have some legal norms enforced. The council president is sensitive to the pressures exerted by the resident school teacher. These rules are posted in the village store and are periodically amended or changed. These rules in the summer of 1955 were as follows:

1. No intoxicating beverages allowed in this village.
2. No gambling with dice or cards.
3. The placing of lighted matches in empty gas drums for the pleasure of the explosion is forbidden.
4. Forbidden to damage windows of buildings of other people's houses. The person damaging it will be liable to a fine and to pay damages.
5. Obey the laws of the United States.

Some of the amended rules dealt with the keeping of dogs tied up when not in use and the forbidding of dog teams to drive across the drinking water lake.

The council attempts to punish the infraction of most of these rules locally. In difficult cases the resident U.S. Marshal at Point Barrow may be called in.

In 1955 one of the villagers, who had been working at the local construction project, brought intoxicants into the village. The council was convened and the man was told to stop bringing in beer. He persisted and after several more times the council told the schoolteacher who

informed the foreman of the construction camp. The policy of the company doing the construction was to avoid trouble with the local populace at any cost and the foreman fired the Eskimo. This man then left the village with his wife and family and moved to Fairbanks. It is difficult to say if he were ostracized or moved of his own free will.

Young people who break village rules may be fined or made to work for the church by hauling wood and coal to the church or to the old people. In 1955 *Patqutaq* called an unwed mother with two children before the council. She was asked to name the father of her children and the Marshal came from Point Barrow to marry them. One old man was accused of sexual intercourse with two young girls, to which all cheerfully confessed before the council, and he was sentenced to six months in the Nome Jail for the breaking of a U.S. law dealing with contribution toward the delinquency of a minor person. People who indulge in extramarital sexual intercourse are frequently called before the council. The mere confession of guilt to one's neighbors sitting in council seems to function as the expiation of the crime in similar fashion as did confession of tabu infraction in the immediate past. Rule breaking seems to be considered more as a sin and disturbance of the peace of the community than as a crime *per se.*

At times it would appear that the council is enforcing a Christian morality rather than a legal code. Many of the cases deal with the problem of changing sexual morality for there are few cases dealing with theft, murder, etc. This is reflected in the comments of some of the villagers. *Qusik* said, "Forty years ago in this village there was an informal sort of council. That was when I first came to this village with my parents. (His father was a white whaler). In this council was the heads of four families in the village. These families were the most influential and the richest. They would talk about other people and could tell them what to do. They did not care about sexual intercourse like the council is concerned with today." Robert James said when questioned about law and order previous to the establishment of the village council, "When I was young, about 40 years ago, this village had sort of a council made up of old men, all the leading men in the village. The power of this council was partly the fear they could cause in others. They could exile a man from the village. Today, we have many young people on the council and the reason is that they can understand English better than the old people. Sometimes that council worries too much about sex problems." Here, possibly both informants are formalizing the so-called informal "councils" of earlier times.

Among the Eskimo, ways and means of enforcing some social norms, and the problems of government and leadership were of some importance in the past. Most writers are unanimous in stating that the Eskimo were singularly lacking in government (dwelling in anarchy) and in specifically

designated headmen or chiefs. Nevertheless, there were a few people in the village whose commands or decisions were implemented. In a recent theoretical discussion of law it is said that decisions form the base of the legal field, and a decision to affect social control has to be accepted by the parties concerned as a solution to their problem that was originally caused by a clash of their interests. Repetitive behavior that does not form the subject of the authority's decision is simply custom (Pospisil, 1956, p. 746-755.) A political community may be said to consist of a group of people occupying a well-defined territory and organized into a single unit managing their own affairs independent of external control. The community maintains internal law and order, bands together for the common defense, and looks after the welfare of its members. In all societies there are some forms of leadership, for there are a few people who are in a position with some authority and their decisions or commands are carried out. Informal leadership is a general characteristic of food gathering and hunting peoples. The affairs of the community are conducted by "older" people, though "older" is not specifically defined, there are specific forms of *ad hoc* temporary leadership, and from time to time there emerges a "big man" who combines in himself all the qualities of warrior, hunter, and solon. This would seem to be the situation among the *uluRunikamiut* prior to the establishment of the village councils. The *umailiks*, and older people in general, especially if they were famous hunters, acted as informal, though recognized, community leaders. The foremost man and the leader in village affairs was called *atanik*, or "boss," as it is translated today. There is an old abandoned village some 15 miles north of Wainwright called *atanik*. The word *atanik* is also used in the translation of "lord" or "prince" that appears in the Bible. The last *atanik* in Wainwright was named *Kuutuk*, and he died about 1940. He was a physically powerful individual, was expert in the skills and crafts that were deemed of value by the *uluRunikamiut*, and was capable, through his determination, of influencing decisions. It was he who decided when whaling would start in the spring, or when the people would go inland to hunt caribou.

15. THE LIFE CYCLE

a. Conception and Birth

Until recently no means of contraception was practiced. Infanticide served as a control of the excess population. In 1953 a population research institute gave a number of different contraceptive materials to the schoolteacher who in turn made them available to the married women. One woman has had 20 pregnancies. Most of these women who participated in this population research scheme became pregnant soon afterwards owing to either carelessness, ineffectual measures, or lack of adequate instruction.

Children are usually born at home and the birth is attended by one or two of the local midwives who have been trained by U.S. Public Health Service nurses. Children and other members of the family are frequently present at a birth in a house. A difficult labor may require that the mother be flown by airplane from the village to the hospital at Point Barrow. Several years past a woman went into difficult labor and the unsuccessful midwives called in a 70 year old man named *Mattu* to assist. Witnesses say that he placed a pillow on the woman's abdomen and pressed until a distinctive cracking noise was heard. A dead child was delivered but the woman subsequently recovered. A physician who has witnessed several births as a by-stander has commented that the women usually adopt a squatting position and that to him it appeared that birth trauma must be frequent owing to the pulling and tugging of the midwives. (Kaare Rodahl, M.D., personal communication.)

Children born out of wedlock seem as enthusiastically received as those that are born in marriage and, as a rule, they remain with their mothers. The child will be adopted by someone else in the village if the mother for some reason doesn't want it. One schoolteacher has mentioned that one child born out of wedlock was neglected by its young mother and eventually died. In 1955 there were two unmarried mothers in the village. One mother had two children and the oldest was six. In 1956 there were two more unmarried mothers. Children born out of wedlock seem to cause little comment though occasionally a schoolteacher will notify the resident U.S. Marshal at Point Barrow who will then enforce a law which prohibits illegal cohabitation. The woman will usually be required to marry.

Today there is no prescribed behavior for pregnant women, or seclusion for the postparous woman, though the women talk of such things occurring in the past. They jokingly say that one isn't supposed to look out of a doorway, for this will cause a difficult birth.

b. Childhood

Breast feeding may continue until the child is about two years old. Weaning is gradually done and, so far as I could ascertain, seems to cause little disturbance to the child. This is also true of the teaching of bladder and sphincter control. Florence James said she nursed her children until they were between 2 and 3 years old. Children are rarely slapped, or punished, but a child's outward expression of aggressive tendencies towards siblings or other children is discouraged. Mothers, and older people in the household, can be frequently heard admonishing children not to fight. A quarreling child may be temporarily restrained between his father's legs while the parent attempts to distract the child's attention. This lack of

expression of outward aggression in inter-personal relations seems to be a highly pursued value among adults and is internalized at an early age. Many Eskimo have pointed out to me that they do not fight as do we Whites.

Young children are carried around on the backs of their older sisters or mothers. They are placed in under the *atigi* and secured in place with a belt. A 12 or 14 year old girl can often be seen playing hopscotch with a small child on her back. These children seem most often to be asleep, but if they cry they are either soothed by a rhythmic motion on the part of the person carrying them, or are nursed by the mother. Older children have an affectionate, and protective regard for younger children and they may be seen stopping fights, consoling crying children, or deterring them from dangerous play. Older girls of 12 or 14 assume almost complete responsibility for watching after their younger siblings. Children between 2 and 6 are pampered, held and caressed, and may have their most extravagant demands gratified.

At about age 5 or 6 all children start school. Here they learn English and the type of behavior permissible in the schoolhouse and in the White world in general. Since many children don't speak English at home, and the schoolteachers rarely speak Eskimo, the older children in the school act as whispering interpreters for the beginners. Teachers sometimes complain that Eskimo children in school are quiet and passive in learning situations and never volunteer information. Many children between 2 and 5 will cry if approached by a White person, especially if this person is a stranger. Mothers will tell disobedient children that they will be given away to a *tannik*, or White man, if they do not behave, so possibly the children require some time to get over this early training. After school hours children play like children almost anywhere by sliding down snow drifts or dragging along model boats or sleds. Boys delight in stalking small birds along the ocean's shore and killing them with thrown stones or with slingshots. At an early age they can imitate bird calls and animal cries. They seem to delight in torturing young puppies by pulling their tails or ears to make them squeal and will throw stones at tethered dog teams. Their attitude toward the dogs, and that of the adults, is one of matter of fact acceptance and little affection is ever shown. They are frightened of particularly ferocious dogs. One small boy who had a number of deep cicatrices on his face replied, "Dog eat me!" when asked how he got them. The first kill of any bird or animal is recognized publicly and requires a gift giving by the parents of the young hunter. Children eat when hungry and except during the time when school is in session, sleep when tired. During the summer when there is constant daylight and the weather is fair children will stay up for several days especially if there are activities in the village.

c. Naming

Every person in Wainwright has, in addition to a patrilineally inherited surname and an European first name, an Eskimo personal name or a series of personal names. Patrilineally inherited surnames have been adopted at the insistence of census enumerators, missionaries, and others, to conform with standard European practice. The recency of this practice is immediately brought out by an examination of these surnames. Of the 37 family surnames in Wainwright, 17 are the Eskimo personal names of the family heads, and 15 are the Eskimo names of the fathers of the family heads. Five names are European names adopted because the present-day holders had a previous friendly relationship with the European bearers.

In 1928, Schultz-Lorentzen reported on naming among the Greenlanders. "The name is another important factor of the man. When a man dies, his name becomes homeless and the very mention of it is fraught with danger. As the names of the Greenlanders are frequently names of household implements, of animals and quite ordinary objects, this taboo of names necessitates a reshaping and transcription of their daily speech. The giving of names rests with the old woman of the family, a child may be called by all of them, each person using the name in which he or she takes a special interest. Also, a nick-name to which no special interest is attached, is thought sufficient for everyday use. Even at present, the original belief attaching to names lives undisturbed in most places."

Twenty-four years after the observations of Schultz-Lorentzen appeared Dean Bugge's written comment on the modern Greenlander. "An example of one such survival of old traditions is the belief, still held in many places, in the power of name giving through which a dead person returns in a newly named child. A strong campaign has been waged against this belief in the Greenland newspaper *Atuagagdliutit*, yet recently I came across an instance of it. Coming back from a funeral, I met a man who said happily, as he pulled along a little boy at his side, 'Don't mourn over our dear friend, he is here in front of you; we have just got him back again.'" (Bugge, 1952.) This shows that naming among the Greenlanders is a strongly rooted tradition, and upon surveying the literature on other areas we find other comments.

Honigmann (1953) has reported on naming among the Great Whale River Eskimos who inhabit the southeast corner of Hudson Bay. He states that here every person has both an Eskimo and a Christian name, plus his patrilineally inherited family name. The children are named after relatives in order to commemorate an oldster. Kinship terms may be extended to children named after older relatives and gifts may be given

by an older person to his younger namesake. This naming custom at Great Whale River was explained nonmagically. On Nunivak Island (Lantis, 1946) and presently on St. Lawrence Island, a magical essence appears to have been transferred from namesake to child.

In Wainwright, the Eskimo personal names are bestowed upon the child by the parents, and are usually names of relatives and always names of the deceased. These names are in many cases common words in daily use, but they are no more considered descriptive terms than our thinking Mr. Cameron to be "the long nosed one." It frequently happens that two people have the same name; they were not necessarily named after the same relative, but after different people with the same name. They call each other *atigaa*, "my name," and evidence a special regard for one another. A person is obligated to speak to his *atigaa* if he is engaged in a censorious action, for he is bringing disrepute upon their mutual name. A person will frequently apply a kinship term to a younger child, who, only by virtue of the acquired name from a deceased person, now stands as an older relative so that it frequently happens that an old man addresses a small boy as "father."

People claim to be able to see certain distinguishing personal characteristics in small children which are truly reminiscent of those possessed by the deceased. The namesake relationship has some bearing on the custom of adoption. A Wainwright man named *Taqalaq*, "vein," adopted a young girl, *AquCuk*, "stirring dough to make biscuits," because she bore the same name as his wife. A fellow named *AtaRanauRaq*, "sober-faced," was adopted by *Kuutaq*, "sea ice coming together." Later *Kuutaq* died and his name was transferred to a small boy, and this boy was adopted in turn by *AtaRanauRaq* out of respect for the old man.

This present-day method of bestowing personal names in Wainwright is in accordance with the former belief that humans and dogs had both a breath soul and a name soul; that the breath soul was immortal and that the name soul, when transferred, carried with it the bodily and mental characteristics of all its former owners. These characteristics are embodied in the *ilitqusik*, "soul," and it is this essence which the small child receives from his deceased namesake.

d. Puberty

By age 14 or 15 a boy is surprisingly proficient in hunting, firing a rifle, driving dogs, butchering animals, running an outboard motor, cooking, and looking out for himself. By this time he has witnessed death, birth, and cohabitation, and has probably experimented with the latter. Menarche is not marked by any observance so far as I could ascertain, but after menarche the girls are termed *uiligaSuk*, or "nubile

women," rather than *niviaasiaRak*, or "girls." Adolescents are concupiscent and indulge in considerable erotic play. The girls are as aggressive, if not more so, than the boys in seeking sexual partners. Except for gossip among adolescents themselves, there is little discussion among the villagers about premarital affairs. The consensus, however, seems to be that moderation is a good thing, for several people have stated that the barrenness of two married women in the village is due to their having had numerous sexual partners during their youth.

The village school takes children through the eighth grade. Bright students may elect to go to the boarding high schools located at Mt. Edgecumbe (near Sitka in S.E. Alaska) and formerly at White Mountain (near Nome.) Mr. Dale, the Director of Education for the Alaska Native Service, has discussed the relations between boys and girls in these schools.

> "In these schools elaborate precautions are taken to prevent promiscuity. Many recreational activities are provided, such as athletics, dances, movies, parties, hikes, picnics, swimming, and summer camps. There are numerous opportunities for church going. Advisors assist the young people in acquiring the approved dating techniques (Dale, 1953, p. 176.)"

In addition to learning basic high school subjects, the girls at these schools learn home economics, nursing, or allied practical skills whereas boys may learn carpentry or some similarly useful trade. One Wainwright graduate has attended the University of Alaska. Usually the graduates return home to the village. There is probably a vast difference between the way of life at the boarding school and the life in the village. Some returned students have been heard complaining that life in Wainwright is too dull. "Nothing goes on here!" said one girl, "Besides, people in this village always talk about me." Nevertheless, students complain of being homesick when away at school. The girls can expect to marry after their return. The boys, though having been away from the village for three or four years, must quickly start hunting again as a means of seeking a livelihood. These boys are noticeably attentive to what older hunters tell them, especially when out on the sea ice, and they seem to feel slightly disadvantaged by the time lost in the boarding school.

e. Marriage

The age at which girls marry has probably been raised by their long absence at school. Fanny, for example, married at age 16 shortly after finishing the 8th grade in the local village school. Most marriage partners are of equal age though Morris married Esther Mae, some 6 years his

senior. She was a widow with 3 children and had received considerable insurance money after the death of her husband in an airplane accident while he was en route to the annual National Guard encampment. Esther Mae was the most sought after woman in the village by all the eligible males, even including 60 year old widowers like *Iqaaq* and *Patqutaq*, until her marriage.

In the five most recent marriages matrilocality was practiced. This is partly a concomitant of difficulty in setting up a new household owing to expense. In one fairly recent marriage the newly wedded pair went to live with the bridegroom's parents. Residence after marriage is of importance economically, for the male contributes his share of the catch to the household. In many cases, however, he will also contribute to his own parent's household.

Of the 41 households in Wainwright, 16 have other kin than husband, wife, and own sons and daughters living in them. There are 4 of these households with old unrelated people living there. These old people are all receiving some form of monthly check from the government and possibly this makes them welcome guests. *Taqalaq* said, "We help the poor and aged people with the hope that perhaps their children will help us when we become old. My wife remembers that when she was small *Nayaqiq* would bring gifts of meat to her house when the kids were hungry. *Nayaqiq* was a good hunter as a young man. For that reason she brings him special foods and presents today. If I help *Alaluk* now, perhaps his kids will remember and will bring me some meat when I am an old man. This old man *Tukumik* who lives in my house (an old man over 75 who spends most of his time sitting in a corner of the kitchen singing songs to himself) was one of the best hunters in this village and many years ago he was the strongest man on the north coast." Children today are taught to be respectful toward elderly people and are told not to make fun of them. In fact, children are told not to laugh when near elderly people, for the old people might think that they were being made fun of.

An adopted child is called *tigualuga*, from *tiguigaa*, "I take him, her or it." 7 of the 41 households have 11 adopted children living in them. In 3 of these households the parents had no children of their own. 2 of the adopted children were born out of wedlock, 2 children had living parents in the village, and the parents of the other 7 children were dead. The namesake relationship has some connection with customs governing adoption, for many of these adopted children had the same name as deceased relatives of the foster parents, or the same name as someone previously liked by the foster parents. It is also true that children adopted into a family will bring a source of money, for the U.S. Government sends a monthly check toward the support of minor children.

In the past, spouse exchange was done according to certain conventions but it appears not done today. Adultery does occur. Partners in spouse exchange termed each other *aipaRik*, "the second one." The children of women who exchanged husbands call each other *qatang*. This is a reciprocal term. Those who are related in this way have certain mutual obligations similar to those between siblings. Several of the older people are related in this way. One old man is married to his *qatang*. The youngest person in this *qatangiik* relationship is about 30. The Wainwright people, who are now sensitive to the White attitude toward spouse exchange, seem to equate it with adultery when discussing it. Children of known adulterous unions are not called *qatangiik*.

f. Senescence

In the village there are five men ranging in age between 63 and 75 who could be called "old." They are no longer active hunters, they receive government aid, and most of their time is spent hobbling about the village or sitting in the home of a relative. There are also 13 men ranging in age from 50 to 75 who are still vigorous hunters and it is this group that includes the *umailit*, the rich and influential boat owners. Of the 7 women between 65 and 80 only one is still active.

In general, one might say that old men have more prestige than old women. Treatment of the old women has changed in the last 50 years, for Charles Brower reported rescuing an old woman at Point Barrow, about the turn of the century, after she had been shut up in a snow house to freeze. (Brower, 1943, p. 98.) While old men act in a dignified manner, old women seem to have considerable license in actions and speech. They deprecate the importance of others, and themselves, and delight in their own salacious witticisms. Many of the old people are arthritic, rheumatoid, and so forth, and complain of numerous pains.

Beside the shaman who cured through magical and suggestive means, there were formerly, and are today, medical practitioners. The shaman, for example, would suck out disease or lick frozen fingers or toes with his tongue. He would treat snow blindness by sucking strongly on the eyeballs. A medical practitioner was termed *saptaktit qatigaaun* and could be either a man or a woman. They learned their art from an older practitioner through an informal apprenticeship. Their techniques included bloodletting and manipulation of the internal organs of the abdomen for relief of pain or to assist difficult birth. Old *Mattu,* as mentioned earlier, was still called to assist the midwives. *Patqutaq* claimed that they could cure appendicitis by massaging the vermiform appendix through the overlying muscle and tissue. Fecal retention, especially that caused by swallowing caribou hair along with the meat, a common happening, was alleviated through massage. This presumed an

anatomical knowledge. Their pharmacopoeia was simple. Boiled seal oil and human urine were used as emetics. For bloodletting, a short-bladed knife of flint was used. *Patqutaq's* father made incisions over *Patqutaq's* eyes to cure snow blindness, and pains in the lower back were treated by similar incisions.

The brother of *Patqutaq,* who is 61 and now lives in the village at Barter Island is a *saptaktit.* Both *Patqutaq* and his brother were born near the Alaska-Canadian boundary.

g. Death

All bodies are buried with Christian rites in shallow graves excavated in the permafrost in the cemetery. This cemetery is situated on a slight rise about 500 yards north of the village. A number of older burials are found farther inland. These were all surface burials; the corpse was placed in a wooden box and sledded out over the tundra. No deaths occurred during my stay in Wainwright.

16. KINSHIP

Incorporated in the language are a number of specific terms for kin that are part of a system whereby the rights and duties of relatives are partly related to the terms used in addressing, or referring to one another. A younger person, for example, has respect for those older than he and this is reflected in the kinship system, for siblings are differentiated according to relative age. The reciprocal term *qatang* used by persons related through spouse exchange extends the nuclear family and implies mutual obligation. "A *qatang* is just like a brother," said *Patqutaq,* "you have to help him if he needs it." Clearly, "There is a correspondence between social phenomena and the designation of relatives. (Lowie, 1949, p. 67.)"

Morgan (1871, pp. 267-277) introduced the category "Eskimo Type" for systems of kinship reckoning. In Spier's survey of kinship terminology, 8 systems were recognized and the "Eskimo Type" was distinguished by the lumping of cross cousins and parallel cousins under the same term (Spier, 1925, p. 79.) Siblings were differentiated according to relative age with terms for older, younger, and youngest. In this tripartite division of siblings the Western Eskimo resembled the Chukchi and Koryak.

Giddings (1952, p. 5-10) utilizing the Nunavagamiut terminology collected by Lantis and those of the Malemiut and Unalit collected by himself, has shown how Eskimo kinship terminologies are not easily classified into an over-all, inclusive "Eskimo" pattern. Among the yupik speaking people of St. Lawrence Island, for example, a distinction is

made between mother's sister's children, *aRanaluin*, and father's brother's children, *ataluin*, and one cousin, *iluak*, is one toward whom a person acts with licensed familiarity, and the joking relative may not take umbrage.

Included below is the kinship terminology of the *UluRunikamiut*. Kinship terms are given with first person singular possessive suffixes attached. I note that I do not have the term for "youngest sibling," and do not know if this is due to an oversight on my part, or if the term is lacking. It is of interest to note that uncle's wife, son's wife, and brother's wife are given the same term. Neither nephew and niece, or granddaughter and grandson, or younger sister and younger brother are distinguished according to sex. In speaking English, *Iqaaq*, for one, called his nephews "nieces" when requested for the genealogical relationship.

Kinship Terminology

F.	aapaga
M.	aanaga
F. F., M. F. (grandfather)	ataaga
F. M., M. M. (grandmother)	anaaga
Great-grandparent (either sex)	amauuga or amauuSluga
F. B., M. B. (uncle)	aangnaga
F. Sis., M. Sis. (aunt)	aaCaga
Older brother	apiaga
Older sister	atauRaga
Younger Sis., younger brother	nukaluaga
Cousin, female	aaNNiga
Cousin, male	aRanaqatiga
Uncle's wife Son's wife Brother's wife	uukuaga
Aunt's husband Sister's husband Cousin's husband	ningauga
Nephew Niece	uyaRauga
Wife	nuliaga
Husband	uiNaga
Wife's mother	aanaRuaga
Grandson Granddaughter	tutaluaga or tutiCiaga
Son	iRiniga
Daughter	panniga

17. THE SUPERNATURAL

By synthesizing a number of reliable sources, Gordon Marsh (1954) has prepared a most complete analysis of aboriginal Eskimo-Aleut supernaturalism. A condensed version is presented here:

> "Eskimo religion is basically an animistic system in which the controlling powers are spirit beings of an anthropomorphic character. The basic assumptions of the religion are that the structure of the universe is essentially harmonious and neutrally, or even well-disposed, toward men unless irritated or angered by thoughtless negligence or willful disobedience. The religion provides the practitioner with a pragmatic system for treating with the forces of nature so as to control the weather and food supply, and insure protection against harm and disease, provide means of curing sickness and disorders, and prognosticating coming events. The nonanimistic, or manistic, features of the religion are the powers connected with amulets, magic spells, and practices of sorcery. There are five categories of these powers:
>
> 1.) The use of charms, amulets, talismans, and magical formulae.
> 2.) The belief in immortal and perpetually reincarnated souls of men and animals.
> 3.) The "persons" of creatures, which to our point of view, are the psychic projections of an object's existence.
> 4.) Demonic spirits who inhabit all parts of the world away from human habitation; many are thought to be maltreated human and animal souls. The shaman's helping spirit, *tunRaq*, is recruited from among their ranks.
> 5.) Spirit powers which control the universe and the forces of nature. They are the persons of the wind, of the universe, and the animals. In Alaska the principal power was masculine with a female consort.
>
> Individual control of events is through private ritual; that is, the observation of traditional prescriptions and injunctions, and the use of amulets and incantations. Communal control is through public ritual in ceremonies held for the common good."

As far as I could ascertain, the supernatural beliefs of the present day *uluRunikamiut* are based upon the Christian teachings of the Presbyterian Church superimposed upon a substratum of aboriginal belief. Concepts, pagan in the sense of not being part of Presbyterian teaching, deal with the immortality and perpetuation of animal "souls," belief and fear of demons and demonic spirits apart from Satan, a tendency toward regarding prayer as a new, and effective, form of formulaeic magic, the continued belief in the immortality and perpetuation of the human

"name soul," and a general lack of conformation to the ideal behavioral patterns in the sexual sphere that are advocated by the Christian Church. Upon being converted to Christianity, there was apparently an identification of Christian concepts with the Eskimo beliefs of the supernatural. This has been a common occurrence in many other parts of the world, for Herskovits has shown how New World Negroes, originally from West Africa where religion was a predominant cultural interest, have taken over the names of Christian saints and deities for African gods.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson travelled with the Inland Eskimo as an ethnographer about the turn of the century and he has written on their acceptance of Christianity and their attitudes toward the Christian missionaries. In addition, he claims that Christianity was first brought to the Inland Eskimo of Alaska by other Eskimo, not White missionaries, from the Kotzebue Sound region.

> "When Christianity came to Rome the temples of the gods became the churches of God, but there was still the atmosphere of the temple about them. The feasts of the heathen became the feasts of the church. Yule became Christmas, and in German countries the gods Thor and Odin became devils, snarers of souls and the enemies of the Kingdom. Just so among the Eskimos, the missionary becomes in the minds of the people a shaman. His prohibitions became taboos, and as miracles could be wrought under the old system of formulae and charms, so the Christian religion among them becomes not one of "works" but of ritual and prayers are expected to have their immediate and material effect as the charms did formerly (Stefannson, 1913, p. 673.)"

The Eskimo shaman's tutelary, *tunRaq*, for example, who was recruited from the ranks of the demonic spirits, became known as the Christian devil. Christian God may be either called "God," or *agaiyun*. Today the Reverend Ahmaugak encourages the use of the former word though he is called *agaiyuliksi*. The present day word for God on Kodiak Island is *agaiyun* and interestingly, the old word for mask was *agaiyuq*. After some 50 years of Christianity, no one in Wainwright seems to be able to completely clarify the aboriginal theories of the supernatural. Rainey has mentioned a similar situation among the Point Hope Eskimo as early as 1939. Here, at Point Hope, it seems that Alignuk, the Moon-Man, the incestuous brother who appears in folk tales that are widely distributed in the Eskimo-speaking region (his guilt-ridden sister was Sugunnuq, the Sun) became identified with God as a Supreme Being. In addition Alignuk was like Sedna of the eastern Eskimo area (Sedna appears to be a variant of *sana*, a positional adverb meaning "he, she or it down there," F. Milan) in that he controlled the sea mammals (Rainey, 1947, p. 271.)

The shaman being a competitor by virtue of his position in the pre-contact social order, was one of the first to suffer at the hands of the early missionaries. His works were discredited. The shaman's familiar has not been completely exorcised today for it is synonymous with Satan and the numerous disembodied and harmful spirits to be found away from the village. One of these spirits resides in the old coastal village of Atanik and he cries out to lonely sled drivers as they pass in the darkness of the winter night.

On the basis of his work at Point Hope, Rainey has determined that, "Humans and animals have two qualities called *inyusaq*, translated as soul or life, and *ilitkosaq*, spirit or character. I believe that the native idea is that *inyusak* was the life quality which disappeared at death (actually four days after death for a man, five days for a woman); that *ilitkosaq* was the character, personality, individuality, or spirit of a person or animal, which could be transferred from one individual to another (with the name, F. Milan) and which could remain at the grave, the village or place of death. Forty years of Christian teaching has confused even the old people's ideas as to the original meanings (Rainey, 1947, p. 271.)"

At Wainwright, *Taqalaq* said that each person has a soul, translated as "*ilitqusik*" and that after death it went to Heaven or hell depending on the actions of its owner while on earth. "My real Eskimo name is *Taqalaq* and I have the *ilitqusik* of another man named *Taqalaq* who died before I was born. This *ilitqusik* I received with my name," he said. When the inconsistency in his explanation was pointed out to him, he seemed to think that the soul was divided and denied the existence of two souls though he was aware of the traditional dichotomy of the past. One may also receive a *tunRaq* (or a *tunRaq* may take up its abode in one in similar fashion as mentioned in many of the old traditional tales) and one must fight against this. "You can tell a good person by the way he acts and that way tell if he has a good *ilitqusik*," said *Taqalaq*. "A good person will help old ladies like Myra, feeds needy and hungry people, and save people if they fall in the ocean. This he does without pay."

Taqalaq continued his discussion of souls by relating the experience of his grandfather. Many years past *Taqalaq's* grandfather followed the tracks of a polar bear in fresh snow. After a long and tiresome walk he came upon a man sitting on a snow drift. This man told *Taqalaq's* grandfather that he had a polar bear for an *ilitqusik* (actually it must have been a *tunRaq*) that took possession of him.

Both *Iqaaq* and *Taqalaq* claimed that animals have souls that must be well treated. *Iqaaq* stated, "My father told me that you are not supposed to 'fool' with dead animals or you will have bad hunting luck. God sent all those animals down here for the people and God didn't

make them to play with. Always cut the heads off dead animals because until then they are not dead and can hear everything that is going on around them. Always cut off the heads of dead animals so that they can come to life again. Cut off the heads of all foxes and caribou. If you find the small baby walrus inside the mother you must cut off his head." *Taqalaq* mentioned that he had "had to" sink the head of his whale back in the ocean last spring. And at Point Hope Rainey reported, "The skull of the whale was returned to the sea, some said, 'to give the crabs their share'; others, because the skull contained the whale's *inyua* (life or soul) (Rainey, 1947, p. 261.)" Murdock felt that the soul, in so far as the Point Barrow Eskimo were concerned, was located in the skull:

> "We observed some traces of the superstition concerning the heads of seals and other marine animals taken in the chase, which have been noticed elsewhere. Crantz says, 'The heads of seals must not be fractured, nor must they be thrown into the sea, but be piled in a heap before the door, that the souls of the seals may not be enraged and scare their brethren from the coast.'
>
> "I tried very hard to get a full series of skulls from the seals taken at Utkiavwin in the winter of 1882-83, but though I frequently asked the natives to bring them over for sale, they never did so, till at last one young woman promised to bring me all I wanted at the price of half a pound of gunpowder a skull. Nevertheless, she brought over only two or three at that price. We had comparatively little difficulty in obtaining the skulls of the walrus, but I observed that the bottom of Tuseraru, the little pond at the edge of the village, was covered with all old walrus skulls, as if they had been deposited there for years (Murdock, 1885, p. 434.)"

The country surrounding Wainwright is populated by many little people who are still glimpsed by the villagers. Tracks were seen in the village in the newly fallen snow last winter, and several years past a Wainwright man saw these people. They were dressed in clothing made of caribou skin and the children were clad in complete caribou ears. *Taqalaq's* grandfather had engaged in mortal combat with one of these little people many years ago that ensued after *Taqalaq's* grandfather won a foot race around the shore of an inland lake.

Iqaaq told me about the demons in the area. First there was the *tunRaq* of a dead shaman who resides near the village of Atanik who cries out to people when they drive past in winter. He is *izRigi*, or dangerous. Then there is a large stone at Tutulivik some three miles from the village that was once a famous shaman. People from Wainwright used to bring offerings of meat and blubber to this stone in order to have good fortune in hunting.

According to Marsh's analysis, mentioned before, the aboriginal religion provided a pragmatic system for controlling the food supply. Today this appears to be attempted through prayer recitation by individuals as mentioned earlier. This is still attempted at one public ceremony, the spring whale festival.

As mentioned before, no work or hunting is carried out on Sunday and the Eskimo name for Sunday was translated as "no work" whereas the other days of the week were merely given names taken from the Eskimo numerals from one to six. Stefansson commented on the origin of this practice in reporting a conversation he had with an inland Eskimo.

> "Our wise men have taboos on food and drink, they have taboos on clothing and methods of travel, on words and thoughts but until the White man came did we ever hear of Sunday? Did the wisest of us ever think that a day might be taboo? (Stefansson, 1913, p. 674.)"

The elders of the Presbyterian church have prestigeful positions in the community. An aboriginal cultural pattern is re-enforced by the new culture. "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." James V:14.

The present state of affairs is that with the exception of three people: Sheldon, Robert James, and Waldo Bodfish, who claim to be agnostic, all of the people in Wainwright are Christians and, excepting *Patqutaq,* who is a member of a fundamentalist Christian sect, all are members of the Presbyterian Church. The minister claims that his flock accept all of Christianity except the part dealing with sexual morality. (My Greenlandic language teacher in Copenhagen, Pastor Hertling, made the same comment in 1954.) The minister in Wainwright is an Eskimo born at Point Barrow. The above mentioned agnostics and the minister are separated by unexpressed animosities and jealousies. The agnostics occasionally speak with retroflective sentiment of the past. Robert James, for example, said that he couldn't accept the biblical tale of creation of woman from Adam's rib. Yet he mentioned hearing of shamanistic performances during which the *angatkuq* had sawed through solid wood planks with merely a walrus skin harpoon line or had stabbed himself with a special knife until the ground had reddened with his own blood and these happenings he believed had occurred. He had also seen a frightening creature called *qinyiq* swimming beneath the sea ice. This is the ten-legged polar bear that is seen several times each winter by hunters far out on the sea ice. Robert seemed culturally disposed to credulity in some things and not others. According to Robert, the shaman was able to perform these feats only because of the assistance of his helping spirit.

The church today is an important social cohesive force. Its members enjoy church service, where they sing hymns with fervor and traces of the aboriginal musical tradition still seen in the singing of the women at the drum dances and which leads to dissonance in hymn singing (indeed old Fred Angashugak will sing on occasion some old Christian songs composed to be sung with a drum like, "*ivaaq taa vyaa vyaa*," which refers to "washing in the blood of the lamb"), and all the outward precepts of Christianity, such as not hunting on Sunday or the saying of grace before meals are rigidly observed.

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the survey article on acculturation which appeared in *Anthropology Today*, Beals states: "Although the identification of processes is perhaps the ultimate theoretical objective of acculturation studies, relatively little empirical investigation which permits of adequate generalization has taken place (Beals, 1953, p. 635.)" However, Herskovits and his students have utilized an ethnohistorical method to determine processes and results of acculturation from a study of the contemporary New World Negroes who were originally brought as slaves from Ghana, Dahomey, and other West African kingdoms, whose cultures are today different, though they were originally similar, owing to the various cultural influences of the peoples as diverse as West Indians, Brazilians, and American southern plantation owners, to whom they were indentured. As evidenced by the following quotation, a similarly useful ethnohistorical laboratory may be found among the Eskimo. "Along the coast of northern North America, Greenland and a small area in Siberia, there exists a genetically, linguistically and culturally related population which provides one of the most outstanding examples in human history of the linear distribution of a population. By virtue of its unusual contiguous linear extension this stock offers a number of basic problems concerning the processes of racial, linguistic and cultural change (Laughlin, 1952, p. 25.)" The aboriginal Eskimo culture has been influenced by contact with Danes, Canadians, Americans, Tsarist Russians, and Soviet citizens. By analyzing the results of these contacts, since as pointed out the Eskimo are culturally related, it may be possible to determine some of the factors behind the acceptance, rejection, or reworking of the cultural traits offered, forced upon, or withheld by the Danes, Canadians, Americans, and others, who are politically dominant *vis-a-vis* the Eskimo.

Although cultures are functionally interrelated wholes, fragmentation seems necessary when discussing cultural change owing to the methodological difficulty in conceptualizing a culture as an entity influencing or being influenced by other entities. This was recognized by the participants in the 1953 Social Science Research Council's summer seminar on acculturation who defined acculturation as change initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous systems, but stated that its dynamics were seen as selective adaptation of value systems, processes of integration and differentiation, generation of developmental sequences, operation of role determinations, and personality factors (Barnett, Broom, Siegel, Vogt, Watson, 1954.) Nevertheless, it may be useful to consider the overall configuration of the culture under discussion. This has been best summarized by Laughlin quoted below:

"The briefest characterization of the Aleut-Eskimo culture is given by Kroeber where he states, 'The Eskimo, again, are very sensory, immediate, concrete and discreet in their ethos (Kroeber, 1948, p. 606.)' In contrasting Eskimos with Indians he states, '. . . but their primary and dominant orientation is realistic,' and 'The cause for this orientation can perhaps be sought in the extraordinary trying circumstances of survival in the Arctic. The Eskimo must be mechanically minded, able-bodied, manually skillful, and practical (*Ibid.*, p. 308.)' In contrasting the use of magic between Eskimos and Melanesians he says of the Eskimo, 'They are far more practical, competent with tools, and self reliant (*Ibid.*, p. 308)' . . . 'Their culture is directed toward the development of self-sufficient individuals within the framework of a highly co-operative group (Laughlin and Marsh, 1951, p. 84.)' It is possible to recognize a considerable body of evidence of a pragmatic orientation to the environment, a concentration on technical details of practical importance, and the development of self-sufficiency or self reliance. . . . These are structural regularities. (Laughlin, 1952, p. 39-40.)"

This highly developed pragmatic attitude may be observed influencing the acculturation of the Alaskan Eskimo in situations where they can exercise their option of acceptance or rejection.

In addition to considering the configuration of the culture, an assessment must be made of non-cultural and non-social phenomena that provide the contact setting and establish certain limits of cultural adaptation. The ecology, as mentioned before, is limiting, and possibly here in the arctic, as well as on barren coral atolls of Oceania or deserts of North Africa, the ecological limits are narrower than elsewhere. Owing to the sex imbalance on the frontier, the fact that mature males are the culture bearers, a demographic factor of considerable importance, must be considered.

European effects were felt long before actual contact occurred. The Point Barrow Eskimo were using copper cooking kettles of Russian manufacture when first visited by Beechey's crew according to John Murdock. They were smoking tobacco in small Siberian style pipes. According to Stefansson, the early proselytizers of Christianity were not White missionaries, but were other Eskimo from the region of Kotzebue Sound, and the Eskimo north of the Brooks Range adopted some of the Christian prayers, and the practice of washing the hands before meals, as more effectual forms of a formulaeic magic with which they were already familiar.

Cultural borrowing is not a one way process. Early whalers and local Whites had considerable respect for Eskimo material culture and

techniques for dealing with a harsh environment. Charlie Brower at Point Barrow, and Jim Allen at Wainwright, adopted the local methods of floe whaling and used skin-covered boats, harpoons, harpoon floats, and the rest of the Eskimo whaling gear in preference to their own heavy wood whaling boats. In fact, they even accepted the restrictive tabus governing whaling and allowed their crews to engage in traditional magical practices designed to insure success. Local Whites adopted Eskimo clothing and footgear, most of the food items, a number of hunting methods, and the use of the dog and dog sled. In contrast to the missionaries, local Whites and early whalers considered Eskimo social practices as odd rather than repugnant and some, such as the temporary lending of a wife or the general sexual freedom, seemed to work to their advantage as witness the number of offspring remaining.

There still exists feelings of mutual respect. In point of fact, the Eskimo consider themselves superior to local Whites in a number of ways. Both Americans and the Eskimo have a culturally sanctioned tradition of individualistic striving for material success. Taqalaq, for example, owned only a rifle and a blanket when first married. Today, he is a recognized *umailik* with considerable goods and a wage paying job. An Eskimo becomes successful largely through his own efforts. "His position was achieved through skill, intelligence, energy, and shrewdness rather than through inheritance of property or prestige (Rainey, 1947, p. 241.)" This is the philosophy of Horatio Alger.

Let us, then, attempt to summarize contemporary Wainwright Eskimo culture. There is, first of all, a differential in the proportion of the sexes in the population at large. This seems explicable, with the meager evidence at hand, of the continuing of an old social sanction favoring the survival of one sex over another. The annual cycle of subsistence activities is essentially the same as that of contact. The people are dependent upon the resources of nature for subsistence. Social welfare payments, and wage payments to some families, serve to ameliorate somewhat the pressing demands of mere survival. Nevertheless, as shown by several nutritional surveys undertaken by the Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory, families without governmental subsidies or a steady source of money income, undergo short term cycles of feast and famine depending directly on the day-to-day success in hunting. Thus, population size will continue to be affected by the food resources. The world economic situation has its effects on the little village of Wainwright. Whaling, at one time a profitable venture, declined with the fall in baleen prices and the whale oil market after the discovery of substitutes. The market for furs underwent a similar rise and fall. The attempts to introduce domesticated reindeer failed after a number of years owing to the factors mentioned earlier. Presently wage work on the Arctic coast is sporadic and depends on

the strategic importance of this area to the military. Short term projects pay high wages and give exaggerated ideas of the actual worth of the labor obtained.

The material culture inventory, including hunting implements, boats, outboard motors, rifles, clothing, and so forth, consists of a careful selection of items that were indigenous combined with a number of foreign items that have been introduced since contact. Skin boats, for example, are driven by outboard motors. For the most part, the criterion of acceptance was utility. In some cases, however, a 50 H.P. outboard motor was utilized in preference to a 20 H.P. motor, or a frame house was constructed rather than an "old-fashioned sod iglu," for reasons of prestige.

Different meanings have been ascribed to events in the ceremonial round that was regularized on the basis of a calendrical year. Form, function, and meaning may be treated as independent variables in the non-material aspects of the culture. Margaret Lantis has discussed the social meaning of Christmas to the Eskimo in general. This celebration seems to be a local reinterpretation of a new form, and transfer of a function from an old to a new form of ceremonial (Lantis, 1954.) Thus, at Wainwright some of the dances performed at the old Messenger Festival, and the exchanging of gifts between "partners," a former essential part of this festival, occurs at Christmas time.

There are a few socially disintegrative factors at work. The concept of generosity is still highly valued. A rich man has definite obligations toward the poorer and less fortunate members of his hunting crew and their families. *Iqaaq*, for example, maintains a separate household, but he and his young son eat at the house of *Taqalaq*. In exchange, he seems obligated to do some household tasks, such as: lighting the stove in the early morning, fetching in ice for water, feeding the dog team, and so forth. *Taqalaq's* obligations are greater than those of *Iqaaq's*, however. The younger men who are part time wage workers do not all subscribe to this code of behavior. A small *umiaq* is called a "stingy man's boat," for the simple reason that only a few people can hunt together in common and thus share in the benefits of the *umailik's* generosity. Village members are becoming culturally heterogeneous since one can find old people who can remember back to the time of white contact and young people who have spent much of their life away at a boarding school followed by several years in the army.

Social control is maintained partly through traditional means and partly through the new village council. Approval may be withheld for overt acts that disturb the peace. Rule breakers may be ridiculed. The concept of punishment does not seem to be too well understood. This

may be seen during the council meetings where mere confession of guilt to the mutely disproving council members serves more as the expiation of guilt than does any formal punishment. Politeness and the lack of aggression in interpersonal relations is noticeable. The obligations of kinsmen toward one another, the obligations of the rich toward the poor, and the fact that homeless children will always be wanted by some family gives a certain sense of security.

As we have seen, most of the *uluRunikamiut* are bilingual. In general, bilinguals have their own conception of the phonemics of both the languages they speak. According to Swadesh, a bilingual is, as it were, two phonetic personalities which make use of the same set of speech organs. When speaking language A, he conceives language B with the prejudices of language A, and *vice-versa* (Swadesh, 1941.) Thus, in speaking English the Eskimo phonemic system is used and a number of Eskimo grammatical or structural concepts are carried over into English. Local Whites, none of whom know more than four or five words of Eskimo, call this "broken English."

In attempting to explain the religion of the present day *uluRunikamiut*, two extremely useful terms are reinterpretation and substitution. In their behavior toward the supernatural they show not only a blending of Christian concepts with aboriginal beliefs, and a residuum of aboriginal ideas, but also a complete substitution of some Christian practice for aboriginal practice. There are new concepts of wrongdoing which seem to be an extension of the old tabu system. This is noted most frequently in hunting, upon which depends a somewhat precarious existence. This shows that religious behavior cannot be separated from the cultural matrix. The belief in the duality of souls still survives, as demonstrated by the practice of naming young children after deceased relatives in order to transfer the name soul essence from an older and experienced person to a young, inexperienced, and vulnerable child.

In conclusion, then, on the one hand, the Wainwright Eskimo were pressured into accepting new modes of life through subtle means. On the other hand, change was limited to a certain extent by the environmental resources. The type of frontier contact which occurred here meant that only certain aspects of White culture were presented. What was the end result? It would appear that despite pressures of all kinds, the Eskimo are by no means assimilated, for assimilation occurs when . . . "people of diverse racial and cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity to achieve a national unity (Parks, 1930)," but possess a distinctive blend of items from both cultures.

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CENSUS

This census was taken in the summer of 1955. The name of the head of the household appears first, followed by the names of the people in his household and their relationship to him. Christian names are written as the people spell them. Many of the Christian surnames are former Eskimo personal names which have been adopted to conform with European practice with the encouragement of census enumerators, school teachers, and missionaries. Some of the household heads have supplied their own personal names for the family surname, so that it is clear that this is a recent phenomenon. The personal names, and their translations, are given when known. Many of these personal names are common words in daily use, but they are not considered as descriptive terms. These personal names are written phonemically.

HOUSE 1

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Tagarook, Gregg avuuRaq "sugar" nikqaqtuaq "meat getter"	9-3-20	M	Wainwright	
Tagarook, Dorcas saqalaq "hair left on when caribou molt in spring"	12-10-24	F	Wainwright	wife
Tagarook, Gregg, Jr. putuilyaq "no hole"	4-18-43	M	Wainwright	son
Tagarook, Gladys iSigaq "foot"	12-16-46	F	Wainwright	daughter
Tagarook, Evelyn	11-9-48	F	Wainwright	daughter
Tagarook, Herbert James	9-15-50	M	Wainwright	son
Tagarook, Nellie Kayanna	7-23-53	F	Wainwright	daughter
Matoo, Martin matu "cover"	7-11-80	M	Noataq River	uncle(?)

HOUSE 2

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Nashoa!ook, Alva naSaualuk	12-22-98	M	Pt. Franklin	
Nashoalock, Billy	7-9-38	M	Wainwright	son
Nashoalock, Merril	5-3-41	M	Wainwright	son
Nashoalock, Clara Mae	4-11-44	F	Wainwright	daughter
Nashoalock, Anna qabluCiaq "new eyebrows"	11-11-36	F	Wainwright	daughter
Bodfish, Wayne	5-7-35	M	Wainwright	daughter's husband
Bodfish, Mabel aRiNyaq "make blood"	1-16-35	F	Wainwright	daughter, wife of Wayne
Bodfish, Daisey	1-22-53	F	Wainwright	daughter of Mabel

HOUSE 3

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Anashugak, Fred anaSuRaq "piece of excrement"	4-17-85	M	Pt. Hope	
Anashugak, Ward taakpaq "very dark"	7-7-22	M	Wainwright	son
Anashugak, Grace aaviq "half and half" anakkiulik	4-17-36	F	Wainwright	son's wife
Anashugak, Hannah auuqilaq "not very fast"	2-9-33	F	Wainwright	daughter
Anashugak, Myrna pausaNNA "soot on a pot"	1-15-38	F	Wainwright	daughter
Anashugak, Roy Ross auvalaqaRuaq "one who goes away"	8-1-42	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 4

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Tagarook, Peter auRvaiyaq	5-2-24	M	Wainwright	
Tagarook, Bernice ataRanauRaq "sober in appearance"	7-19-29	F	?	wife
Tagarook, Terry Lee	8-24-48	M	Wainwright	son
Tagarook, Billy Curtis qalayuaq "that which rusts quickly"	8-23-51	M	Wainwright	son
Tagarook, Madeline aapikSRauRaq "the questioner"	12-13-53	F	Wainwright	daughter
Tagarook, Bessie anguyaq "warrior"	5-5-90	F	Wainwright	Peter's mother

HOUSE 5

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Driggs, Albert iqaiyuaq "helper"	5-17-18	M	Pt. Hope	
Driggs, Flora analik "one with an uncle"	4-26-15	F	Wainwright	wife
Driggs, Angeline natmaq "a pack or burden"	6-10-42	F	Wainwright	daughter
Driggs, Albert, Jr. aqivigauluRaq(?)	7-19-45	M	Wainwright	son
Driggs, Jersey niaqaq "head"	4-3-49	M	Wainwright	son
Driggs, Lorene	3-20-52	F	Wainwright	daughter

HOUSE 6

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Nayakik, Walter atunanaa (?)	11-9-22	M	Icy Cape	
Nayakik, Della	4-1-25	F	Wrangell Is.	wife
Nayakik, Jimmy	7-6-44	M	Wainwright	son
Nayakik, Riley aaluk "one who laps water like a dog"	5-4-47	M	Wainwright	son
Nayakik, Daisey (naSaualuk wife's name)	4-13-51	F	Wainwright	daughter
.....	age ca. 30	F	Wainwright	sister
.....	age ca. 5	F	Wainwright	sister's daughter
Nayakik, Walter	10-16-52	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 7

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Kiessik, Abraham kisiisuk "grounded ice berg"	1-22-72	M	Kilimantavik	

HOUSE 8

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Ogeaktuk, Martha naNinaq "always sick" (husband—ugiaktaq "bitten by dog"—now divorced)	9-14-14	F	Wainwright	
Ogeaktuk, John	8-1-43	M	Wainwright	son
Segevan, Yvonne	ca. 30	F	Wainwright	daughter
.....	ca. 5	F	Wainwright	daughter

HOUSE 9

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Audlaksroak, Peter aulazRauq "one who has gone" isauRaulik "stand with outstretched arms"	7-19-90	M	Wainwright	
Audlaksroak, Mary patiq "slap or blow"	3-11-87	F	Wainwright	wife
Segevan, Arthur utuktauRaq "a piece of walrus hide with blubber and meat laid upon another piece"	1-2-40	M	Wainwright	adopted son

HOUSE 10

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Avioganna, Joe aviuRana "the losers who shout when playing football"	4-22-92	M	Icy Cape	
Avioganna, Jane qutuk "clavicle"	9-9-90	F	Pt. Hope	wife (died 1957)
Avioganna, Jim Allen ataRanauRaq "sober faced"	10-10-25	M	Wainwright	son
Avioganna, Beverly aaRaluaq "always looking up"	4-23-35	F	Wainwright	son's wife
Nashoalook, Alva, Jr. quutuq "ice coming together" aijaqaq(?)	8-11-45	M	Wainwright	adopted son
Avioganna, ...	ca. 1	M	Wainwright	sister's son

HOUSE 11

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Tazruk, Paul pauluRanna "one with a bear-skin mitten"	3-25-03	M	Pt. Hope	
Tazruk, Dorothy naSauyaq(?)	11-2-13	F	Wainwright	wife
Tazruk, Ira taliaq "shadow"	11-2-42	M	Wainwright	son
Tazruk, Ruth	8-30-44	F	Wainwright	daughter
Tazruk, Alice agalaRaq "mandible"	9-2-49	F	Barrow	daughter
Tazruk, Daisey	10-11-50	F	Barrow	daughter
Tazruk, Bertha	2-14-52	F	Barrow	daughter
Tazruk, Hugh Richard	10-12-53	M	Barrow	son
Peetok, Rossman itiyaq "swallowed"	8-30-32	M	Wainwright	nephew(?)
Okresuak, Annie qiiRaq "bite"	9-4-75	F	Noataq	aunt(?)

HOUSE 12

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Ahlalook, Ralph aalaluk "a rotten boot sole"	7-22-02	M	Pt. Hope	
Ahlalook, Margaret qutmiRau	9-10-08	F	Pt. Hope	wife
Ahlalook, David nagaRuk "caribou horn"		M	Pt. Hope	son
Ahlalook, Billy	4-6-37	M	Pt. Hope	son
Ahlalook, Allen inyauuvik "a place where a man was killed"	9-13-42	M	Wainwright	son
Ahlalook, James	8-6-44	M	Wainwright	son
Ahlalook, Sarah Martina	12-13-47	F	Wainwright	daughter
Ahlalook, Timothy Charlie agavlaq "to hurt another by pressing hard"	3-16-51	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 13

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Panik, David alyaq "bad"(?)	9-14-14	M	Icy Cape	
Panik, Nellie ulimaun "adze"	6-17-17	F	Icy Cape	wife
Panik, Leo annayuk "always a piece of excrement"	5-21-36	M	Wainwright	son
Panik, Adina	2-1-40	F	Wainwright	daughter
Panik, Peter pannik "daughter" (father's father's name)	1-5-44	M	Wainwright	son
Panik, Jerry	8-17-46	M	Wainwright	son
Panik, Jack qannayaq "bull head fish"	11-4-47	M	Wainwright	son
Philips, Samantha naSaualuk(?)	1-3-51	F	Wainwright	niece
Philips, Ernie taugiNyaa(?) (nayaakiq's uncle's name)	10-13-52	M	Wainwright	nephew

HOUSE 14

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Grouse, Claire saRauRaq "noise of breaking waves"	1-10-14	M	Wainwright	

HOUSE 15

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Nayakik, McRidge nayaaqiq(?)	12-1-89	M	Pt. Lay	
Philips, Wilma qinyauviaq "dregs in pot or cup"	8-20-30	F	Wainwright	daughter
Nayakik, Charles tukaq "to push something with one's legs"	10-19-27	M	Wainwright	son
Nayakik, Betty	3-18-33	F	Wainwright	daughter
Nayakik, Moses saviqpaligauRaq "one with a big knife" (paligauRaq used)	3-28-39	M	Wainwright	son
Ahyoovik, Frank aSagaq "big sleeve"	1-15-12	M	Icy Cape	wife's brother

HOUSE 16

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Panikpaq, Lindy qilipsaq "sling shot"	2-14-32	M	Wainwright	

HOUSE 17

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Kagak, James qaRaq "a broken bag"	10-15-05	M	Pt. Lay	
Kagak, Nannie nannauvaq "smitten with force"	1-12-12	F	Wainwright	wife
Kagak, Gene	3-27-33	M	Wainwright	son
Kagak, Mildred niuqsik "a snuffle"	3-7-37	F	Wainwright	daughter
Kagak, Richard pannigavaluk "big daughter"	1-14-39	M	Wainwright	son
Kagak, Lillian tigausina (?)	3-10-41	F	Wainwright	daughter
Kagak, Jacob aaCuvik 'he who leads in a departing group"	10-1-44	M	Wainwright	son
Kagak, Abraham ilaanik "something already patched"	7-7-46	M	Wainwright	son
Kagak, Luke agavlaq "to hurt another by pressing hard"	8-13-47	M	Wainwright	son
Kagak, John Peter aalaq (?)	12-23-53	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 18

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Kagak, David utuatluRaq (?)	12-23-25	M	Wainwright (?)	
Kagak, Kay Francis anataq "old grandmother"	8-28-33	F	Wainwright	wife
Toorak, Chalmer ualuk (?)	7-25-38	M	Wainwright	wife's brother
Toorak, Julia	10-30-41	F	Wainwright	wife's sister
(?), Roger tigausina (?)	9-15-51	M	Wainwright	adopted son

HOUSE 19

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Bodfish, David asiaRina "sweet fruit"	1-26-27	M	Wainwright	
Bodfish, Emily	11-15-29	F	Wainwright	wife (hosp.)
Bodfish, Larry	6-14-47	M	Wainwright	son
Bodfish, Lester	10-3-50	M	Wainwright	son
Bodfish, David sanaRuraq "always working"	8-25-52	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 20

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Nageak, Stephen naRiaq "fox bait"	9-28-08	M	Pt. Lay	
Nageak, Josephine mayuina "the one ascending or going up"	10-5-07	F	Wainwright	wife
Nageak, Marchee aulasuRaq	3-19-31	M	Wainwright	stepson (?)
Nageak, Jamie aquCuk "something baking"	8-25-35	M	Wainwright	son
Nageak, Lucy naSaualuk (?)	12-31-38	F	Wainwright	daughter
Nageak, Helen F. siSaualik "place with beluga"	11-19-40	F	Wainwright	daughter
Nageak, Charles M. anaqauRaq "there is excrement on it"	3-20-44	M	Wainwright	son
Nageak, John	8-26-46	M	Fairbanks	son
Nageak, Vera	11-11-49	F	Fairbanks	daughter
Nageak, Esther	8-25-52	F	Fairbanks	daughter

HOUSE 21

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Driggs, Samuel qutasina (?)	4-7-08	M	Pt. Hope (hosp.)	
Driggs, Edith tauRumaq (?)	7-22-36	F	Wainwright	daughter
Driggs, Polly imaqtaq "he is drinking" (?)	8-11-41	F	Wainwright	daughter
Driggs, Bobbie	2-6-46	M	Wainwright	son
Driggs, Sheldon qautaaluk "hammer" (Edith's mother's name)	11-20-53	M	Wainwright	daughter's son

HOUSE 22

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Ahmaokag, Roy aamaugaq "wolf"(?)	4-30-98	M	Barrow	
Ahmaokag, Isabel manuluRaq "dirt on shirt or atigi"	1-23-03	F	Barrow	wife
Ahmaogak, Benjamin qutanna(?)	2-16-34	M	Barrow	son
Ahmaogak, Frederick apayauq(?)	11-24-40	M	Beechey Pt.	son
Ahmaogak, Georgiana atanauRaq(?)	4-6-36	F	Barrow	daughter
Ahmaogak, William annik "patch on boot sole"	9-18-42	M	Barrow	son
Ahmaogak, Jeannette	11-24-45	F	Barrow	daughter
Anayah, Arnold aaRvaaluq "the round one"	ca. 5	M	Wainwright	

HOUSE 23

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Kayutak, Michael aiyaRuq "a small tent inside another used for a bedroom"	4-7-98	M	Utaqaq River	
Kayutak, Bertha qutnanna(?)	4-14-05	F	Pt. Hope	wife
Kayutak, Arnold	2-5-32	M	Wainwright	son
Kayutak, Leo agalaRaq "mandible"	5-23-35	M	Wainwright	son
Kayutak, Mary Jane	12-20-53	F	Wainwright	daughter
Kayutak, Byrd qaiyaluk "an old Qajaq"	2-26-37	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 24

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Kagak, William Penn qaRaq	8-5-98	M	Icy Cape	
Kagak, Mae tutaq "labret"	5-4-13	F	Pt. Hope	wife
Kagak, Roseanne iSigaq "foot" (Willliam Penn's mother's name)	4-15-48	F	Wainwright	daughter
Segevan, Wyman quqik "toenail"	5-10-40	M	Wainwright	stepson

HOUSE 25

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Agubalaq, Raymond pikquRaq "ice which is forming and cracking in a pot"	11-25-21	M	Wainwright	
Agubalaq, Lizzie aquRlaq "sound of bells" or "bottom of atigi"	11-17-27	F	Wainwright	wife
Agubalaq, William Penn aguvalaq(?) (father's father's name)	2-8-51	M	Wainwright	adopted son
Kagak, morris aqivigaRluRaq(?)	3-29-29	M	Wainwright	wife's brother
Agubalaq, ... igayuk "one who has already passed over"	ca. 2	F	Wainwright	daughter

HOUSE 26

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Bester, Frank qinuRanna(?)	4-6-16	M	Barrow	
Bester, Mary Ann	12-13-30	F	Wainwright	
Bester, Billy tumaiCaq "no track"	ca. 4	M	Barrow	adopted son
Bester, Frank, Jr.	ca. 2	M	Barrow	adopted son

HOUSE 27

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Oseogiak, Warner asuRiaq "one who cohabits with another woman in the house"	9-1-12	M	Pt. Hope (hosp.)	
Oseogiak, Sally munguyaq "something sticking in the ground"	9-13-17	F	Pt. Hope	wife
Killbear, Lilly	ca. 80	F	Pt. Hope	wife's mother
Okumailuk, Nora	8-25-41	F	Wainwright	stepdaughter
Okumailuk, John Harry	1-29-44	M	Wainwright	stepson

HOUSE 28

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Negovanna, Wier taqalaq "vien"	4-3-07	M	East of Barrow	
Negovanna, Rosanne qinRinaq(?) aRanauRaq "little woman" sikiaRuk	4-15-12	F	Icy Cape	wife
Taleak, Irving aaRalu "a killer fish in the ocean"	3-2-34	M	Wainwright	adopted son
Negovanna, Fannie aaquCuk "stirring dough to make biscuits"(?) paniNRuuRaq "little girl"	8-9-39	F	Wainwright	adopted daughter
Negovanna, Burrill saudlaq(?)	4-25-43	M	Wainwright	adopted son
Tazruk, Esther Mae miluk "teat"	5-1-24	F	Wainwright	sister
Tazruk, Thomas tazRuq "old deerskin pants"	5-14-46	M	Wainwright	sister's son
Tazruk, Joel agalaRuq "mandible" or "jaw"	8-15-48	M	Wainwright	sister's son
Tazruk, Harry, Jr. nauviNya(?) siadluk(?) (Pt. Hope names)	5-2-51	M	Wainwright	sister's son
Tokomik, Frank tukumik "points with finger"	ca. 70	M	UtuQaq River	wife's cousin

HOUSE 29

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Bodfish, Waldo quSik "dripping water"	4-1-04	M	Teller	
Bodfish, Mattie aannavaq "big old grandmother"	5-29-05	F	Wainwright	wife
Bodfish, Nimrod qaqsau(?)	12-20-28	M	Wainwright	son (at Barrow)
Bodfish, Dempsey utqusik "cook pot"	11-3-30	M	Wainwright	son (at Fairbanks)
Bodfish, Barry	5-11-34	M	Wainwright	son
Bodfish, Betty ..... (Pt. Hope name)	9-15-35	F	Wainwright	daughter (school)
Bodfish, Marietta iqilaluk(?)	8-28-37	F	Wainwright	daughter
Bodfish, Homer qaiyaluk "old qajaq"	1-27-39	M	Wainwright	son
Bodfish, Eddie Saudlaq "covered with snow"	5-17-41	M	Wainwright	son
Bodfish, Waldo, Jr. uuiNiq "ice with open water"(?)	9-17-42	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 30

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
James, Robert iquq "hind quarter"	5-15-01	M	Barrow	
James, Mary qaRzagiuluk "place with many ptarmigan"	12-23-11	F	Barrow	wife
Ahmaogak, Florence qannaq "leg"	4-29-28	F	Wainwright	daughter
Ahmaogak, Margaret	6-12-51	F	Wainwright	daughter's daughter
Ahmaogak, Muriel	8-31-52	F	Wainwright	daughter's daughter
Negovanna, Alice	8-8-41	F	Wainwright	adopted daughter

HOUSE 31

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Annaqaq, Myra alaalik "over-boots placed over kamik in cold weather"	11-12-90	F	Barrow	

HOUSE 32

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Kitick, Arctic qitiq "middle"	.....	M	Wainwright (hosp.)	

HOUSE 33

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Segevan, Sheldon qiasik "shoulder blade"	1-30-05	M	Wainwright	
Segevan, Susy ammiqaq "new skin"	4-29-25	F	Wainwright	wife
Segevan, Cyrus	9-12-43	M	Wainwright	son
Segevan, Kate Mary naluNiaq "the swimmer" or "something thrown in the water"	2-13-46	F	Wainwright	daughter
Segevan, Ethel Faye nigiRun "wolverine skin trim on parka"	4-1-48	F	Wainwright	daughter
Segevan, Stephen Segevann "wolf skin or wolverine skin ruff"	12-20-51	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 34

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Angashuk, Oliver nulautaq "supper"	12-25-06	M	Wainwright	
Angashuk, Helen qavisaq "fish scale"	6-26-40	F	Wainwright	daughter
Angashuk, Rebecca qilaganik "knot"	7-6-43	F	Wainwright	daughter

HOUSE 35

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Ekak, Wesley iqaaq "across a river" (mother's brother's name)	4-2-97	M	East of Barrow	
Ekak, Bob qadlu "cup" (father's mother's name)	10-12-29	M	Atanik	son
Ekak, Andrew aniuvak "big snow drift" (wife's father's name)	8-8-31	M	Atanik	son
Ekak, Thomas tazRuq "old deerskin pants" (wife's uncle's name)	12-25-34	M	Wainwright	son
Ekak, Jack annaqaq "a stepped on excrement"	9-20-38	M	Wainwright	son
Ekak, Charles agalaRaq "jaw" (wife's aunt's name)	9-11-43	M	Wainwright	son
Ekak, David tikqaiyuq "a forefinger with a thimble" (Wesley's deceased wife qimmiCaq)	1-27-46	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 36

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Matoomailuk, Andrew aRanik(?)	2-24-19	M	Wainwright	
Matoomailik, Lena Mae suaqpaq "soothing words"(?)	9-12-32	F	Wainwright	wife
Matoomailik, Norman qulaq(?)	11-16-50	M	Wainwright	son
Matoomailuk, Hannah taganauRaq(?) qimmiCaq(?)	5-16-52	F	Wainwright	daughter
Matoomailuk, Jane auqasaniq "always talking" iqaluk "fish"	10-26-53	F	Wainwright	daughter
Kayalook, Kitty aCuviRaq "a place where others go first"	6-15-81	F	Inland camp	aunt(?)

HOUSE 37

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Matoomailuk, Mark matumailuk "a cover"	6-24-89	M	Wainwright	
Matoomailuk, Jennie aguvalaq	7-2-94	F	Inland camp	wife

HOUSE 38

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Schoulda, Edna Suaqpaq(?)	12-23-06	F	Wainwright	
Schoulda, Glenn nagaRuq "horn" niguvanna(?)	2-15-34	M	Wainwright	son
Schoulda, Anne qulaluk(?)	8-4-37	F	Wainwright	daughter
Schoulda, Lydia pauRaq "with many doors"	2-28-43	F	Wainwright	daughter
Schoulda, Helen	6-22-46	F	Wainwright	daughter

HOUSE 39

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Patkutak, Paul patqutaq "fan" utqusik "pot"	11-24-92	M	Utaqaq River	
Patkutak, Elizabeth	12-13-29	F	Brownlow Pt.	daughter

HOUSE 40

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Patkutak, Billy niviqaaluk or nivikqanna "something hanging"	4-20-25	M	Ahnalak	
Patkutak, Amy atqilauRaq "no name"	12-30-31	F	Wainwright	wife
Patkutak, George aalaSuRaq "fur on boot sole"	3-4-53	M	Wainwright	son

HOUSE 41

Name	*Birth Date*	*Sex*	*Birthplace*	*Relationship*
Ungudruk, Stephen aimaq "a hornless caribou"	9-28-23	M	Barrow	
Ungudruk, Emily	4-24-31	F	Wainwright	wife
Ungudruk, Loretta	11-9-50	F	Wainwright	daughter
Ungudruk, Ida Mae	7-25-52	F	Wainwright	daughter
Ungudruk, Edward tuuRaq "roof beam in sod house"	11-28-53	M	Wainwright	son