Approximately 200 items published between 1831 and 1967 are cited in this annotated bibliography on cultural change among Alaskan Eskimos. The bibliography was compiled primarily as a research tool for students and as an aid to more mature scholars and to administrators of programs directed toward Alaskan natives. Selection was based on (1) the need to fill gaps on a given group for a given period of time and (2) the contribution of the materials toward an understanding of the processes and details of cultural change. An alphabetical author index and a time period index are provided. (JH)
ESKIMO ACCULTURATION

A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Alaskan and Other Eskimo Acculturation Studies

by

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ISECR No. 28

August 1970

Price: $5.00
CONTENTS

Introduction

SECTION I: (Listing alphabetically by author, date and title, reference to abstract number and page where cited)
Description of Location of Northwest Alaska Eskimo Groups

SECTION II: (Complete bibliographic information including abstract alphabetically by author)

1. Alaska Eskimos
2. Northwest Eskimo Groups
3. Works Dealing With Specific Northwest Eskimo Groups
   A. Kauwerak
   B. Kingikmiut
   C. Kovagmiut
   D. Malemiut
   E. Noatagamiut
   F. Nunamiut
   G. Selawikmiut
   H. Taremiut
4. Southwest Alaskan Eskimo
5. Asiatic Eskimos and Other Siberian Aborigines
6. Canadian Eskimos and Indians
   "Eskimos (works dealing with aspects of ALL or Most of the Four Major Divisions: Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Asia)"
7. Alaska Natives (works dealing generally with Alaska Native population)
8. Miscellaneous
   A. Greenland Eskimos
   B. Aleut
   C. Alaskan Indians
CONTENTS (cont.)

SECTION III. (Listed by author, date and reference to abstract number and page where cited.)

A. Pre-Contact and Earliest White Contact thru 1866 .......... 184
B. Middle Contact 1867-1914 ................. 189
C. Late Contact 1915 thru 1940 ................. 193
D. Contemporary 1941 to Present ................. 198
INTRODUCTION

This annotated bibliography of cultural change among Alaskan Eskimos was compiled primarily as a research tool for students and also as an aid to more mature scholars who might wish to use such a bibliography for specific reference purposes and to administrators of programs directed toward Alaskan natives.

This annotated bibliography of cultural change among Alaska and other Eskimos is by no means exhaustive in depth. This is deliberate. First of all there has been an attempt to add a diachronic dimension. Early materials are included to give the student some sense of a "base line" from which his observations can be made. There is a preponderance of entries from northwest Alaska, which simply reflects the availability of adequate sources. There are many materials included from Canada, and some few materials on Siberia, primarily for comparison. Some of the Canadian work is of extraordinary quality and it is hoped such inclusions will give the student a sense of the continuities and discontinuities both in aboriginal Eskimo culture and in its changes.

Finally the inclusions are only about one-fifth of the possible number. This is so since the process of selection stressed first the need to fill logical lacunae such as materials on a given group from a given period in time. Often this meant sources that were less than professionally brilliant had to be selected. The forewarned student will keep this in mind. Secondly, sources were selected on the basis of their contribution toward understanding the processes and details of cultural change. Some very excellent materials have been left out because they did not fill either of the above two section categories. The long term serious student will no doubt find these for himself, those whose interest are more peripheral would be unlikely to be interested in them in any event.
The annotation itself is somewhat different than that usually found in such bibliographies, in that in some cases value judgements are made about the work. Our purposes which are in part to guide the student to some of the best work, but to make clear the shortcomings in other entries make such an approach more legitimate than would be the case in preparing a single exhaustive annotated bibliography.

An important part of any such bibliography is its indexing system. The reader will note that we have cross indexed the entries in many ways, though annotation appears only once for each work.
### SECTION I: (Listing alphabetically by author, date and title, reference to abstract number and page where cited.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Abstract Number</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anchorage Daily News</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>The Village People.</td>
<td>#45, p. 49.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balikci, Asen</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Two Attempts at Community Organization among Eastern Hudson Bay Eskimos.</td>
<td>#115, p. 108.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balikci, Asen</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Shamanistic Behavior among the Netsilik Eskimos.</td>
<td>#118, p. 110.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beechey, F.S.</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering Strait.</td>
<td>#46, p. 49.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berroman, Gerald</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Alienation, Mobility and Acculturation: The Aleut Reference Group.</td>
<td>#199, p. 182.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birket-Smith, Kaj</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Eskimo Cultures and their Bearing upon the Prehistoric Cultures of North America and Eurasia.</td>
<td>#166, p. 158.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birket-Smith, Kaj</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>The Eskimos.</td>
<td>#167, p. 158.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boas, Franz</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Property Marks of the Alaskan Eskimos.</td>
<td>#1, p. 17.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogoras, Vladimir</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Ethnographic Problems of the Eurasian Arctic.</td>
<td>#100, p. 96.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brill, A.A.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Pibloktoq or Hysteria among Peary's Eskimos.</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Malcolm</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Cold Acclimatization in Eskimo.</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, Edmond S.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Eternal Life and Self-Definition among the Aivilik Eskimos.</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance, Norman A.</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Culture Change and Integration: An Eskimo Example.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance, Norman A.</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Investigation of the Adjustment of the Eskimo at Barter Island, Alaska to Rapid Cultural Changes.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance, Norman A.</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>The Changing World of Government among the North Alaskan Eskimos.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance, Norman A.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Acculturation, Self-Identification and Personality Adjustment.</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance, Norman A.</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>The Eskimo of North Alaska.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance, Norman A.</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Implications of Environmental Stress for Strategies of Developmental Change in the North.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance, Norman A. and Dorothy Foster</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Symptom Formation and Patterns of Psychopathology in a Rapidly Changing Alaskan Eskimo Society.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Social Organization, Acculturation and Integration among the Eskimo and the Cree.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Modernization, Value Identification and Mental Health: A Cross-Cultural Study.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clairmont, Donald H.J.</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Notes on the Drinking Behavior of the Eskimos and Indians in the Aklavik Area.</td>
<td>114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clairmont, Donald H.J.</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Deviance among Indians and Eskimos in Aklavik, N.W.T.</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohen, Ronald</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>An Anthropological Survey of Communities in the Mackenzie-Slave Lake Region of Canada.</td>
<td>#123</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumming, John R.</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Metaphysical Implications of the Folktales of the Eskimos of Alaska.</td>
<td>#2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dailey, Robert G. and Lois</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>The Eskimo of Rankin Inlet.</td>
<td>#124</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fejes, Claire</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>People of the Noatak.</td>
<td>#59</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, Frances N.</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Eskimo Personality in the Light of Nine Rorschachs from the Great Whale River Eskimo.</td>
<td>#125</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, J.D.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>The Human Ecology and Social Economic Change in the Community of Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T.</td>
<td>#126</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foote, Don Charles</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>American Whalermen in Northwest Arctic Alaska.</td>
<td>#3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foote, Don Charles</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Human Geographical Studies in Northwestern Arctic Alaska.</td>
<td>#53</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>A Selected Regional Bibliography for Human Geographical Studies of Native Populations in Central Alaska.</td>
<td>#93</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>A Human Geographical Study.</td>
<td>#60</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forrest, E.C.</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Daylight Moon.</td>
<td>#62</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeman, Milton R.</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>An Ecological Study of Mobility and Settlement Patterns among the Belcher Island Eskimos.</td>
<td>#127</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>Marriage and Sex Customs of the Western Eskimos.</td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garber, Clark M.</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Eskimo Infanticide.</td>
<td>#169</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giddings, James S.</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>The Arctic Woodland Culture of the Kobuk River.</td>
<td>#54</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giddings, James S.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Kobuk River People.</td>
<td>#55</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Journal/Volume, Page Numbers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giffen, Naomi M.</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>The Roles of Men and Women in Eskimo Culture</td>
<td>#170, p. 160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon, George B.</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Notes on the Western Eskimo</td>
<td>#5, p. 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gsovski, Vladimir</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Russian Administration of Alaska and the Status of the Alaskan Natives</td>
<td>#187, p. 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gubser, Nicholas J.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>The Nunamiut Eskimos, Hunters of Caribou</td>
<td>#63, p. 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guusow, Zachary</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Pibloktoq, Hysteria, among the Polar Eskimo</td>
<td>#198, p. 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haldeman, J.C.</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Problems of Alaskan Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts</td>
<td>#188, p. 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkes, Ernest W.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>The &quot;Inviting In&quot; Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo</td>
<td>#57, p. 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawthorne, H.B.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Problems of Cultural Adjustment in Relation to Northern Resources Development</td>
<td>#131, p. 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healy, M.A., Cantwell, McLenagan and Townsend</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Report of the Cruise of the Revenue Marine Steamer Corwin in the Arctic Ocean in the Year 1885</td>
<td>#56, p. 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heinrich, Albert</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Some Present Day Acculturative Innovations in a Non-Literate Society</td>
<td>#50, p. 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heinrich, Albert</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>An Outline of the Kinship System of the Bering Strait's Eskimos</td>
<td>#37, p. 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heinrich, Albert</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Structural Features of Northwestern Eskimo Kinship</td>
<td>#38, p. 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hewes, Gordon W.</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Aboriginal Use of Fishery Resources in Northwestern North America</td>
<td>#189, p. 174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Volume</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobart, C.W. and C.S. Brant</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Eskimo Education, Danish and Canadian: A Comparison.</td>
<td>#132</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoebel, E. Adamson</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Law-Ways of the Primitive Eskimos.</td>
<td>#171</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoffman, Hans</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Culture Change and Personality Modification among James Bay Cree.</td>
<td>#133</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J.</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Intercultural Relations at Great Whale River.</td>
<td>#134</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J.</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>People of the Muskeg: A Multivalence Ethnographic Study.</td>
<td>#135</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J.</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>The Great Whale River Eskimo: A Focused Social System.</td>
<td>#136</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J.</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Social Networks in Great Whale River.</td>
<td>#137</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J.</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Community Organization and Patterns of Change among North Canadian and Alaskan Indians and Eskimos.</td>
<td>#138</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J.</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Child Rearing Patterns among the Great Whale River Eskimos.</td>
<td>#139</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J. and Irma</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Notes on Great Whale River Ethos.</td>
<td>#140</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honigmann, John J. and Irma</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Eskimo Townsmen.</td>
<td>#6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hrdlicka, Ales</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Fecundity of Eskimo Women.</td>
<td>#7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Charles C.</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>The Patterning of Recent Cultural Change in a Siberian Eskimo Village.</td>
<td>#103</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Charles C.</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>An Eskimo Village in the Modern World.</td>
<td>#104</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Charles C.</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Observations on Community Change in the North: An Attempt at Summary.</td>
<td>#8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Charles C.</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>&quot;The Eskimos&quot; From The People of Siberia.</td>
<td>#105, p. 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Charles C.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Under Four Flags: Recent Culture Change among the Eskimos.</td>
<td>#9, p. 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Charles C.</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>From Contest to Council: Social Change among the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos.</td>
<td>#106, p. 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingstad, Helge</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Nunamiut: Among Alaska's Inland Eskimos.</td>
<td>#64, p. 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenness, Diamond</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>The Eskimos of Northern Alaska: A Study in the Effect of Civilization.</td>
<td>#107, p. 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenness, Diamond</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>A Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918.</td>
<td>#39, p. 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenness, Diamond</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Little Diomede Island, Bering Strait.</td>
<td>#51, p. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenness, Diamond</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Stray Notes on the Eskimo of Arctic Alaska.</td>
<td>#11, p. 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenness, Diamond</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Dawn in Arctic Alaska.</td>
<td>#65, p. 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenness, Diamond</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Eskimo Administration: 1, Alaska.</td>
<td>#12, p. 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenness, Diamond</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Eskimo Administration: 2, Canada.</td>
<td>#141, p. 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, William D.</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>An Exploratory Study of Ethnic Relations.</td>
<td>#147, p. 135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juel, Eric</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Notes on Seal Hunting Ceremonialism in the Arctics.</td>
<td>#172, p. 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kroeber, Alfred L.</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Animal Tales of the Eskimo.</td>
<td>#173, p. 163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lantis, Margaret</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>The Alaskan Whale Cult and Its Affinities.</td>
<td>#13, p. 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lantis, Margaret 1946  The Social Culture of the Nunivak.  #94, p. 89.


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<td>1932</td>
<td>The Eskimos.</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>An Arctic Hunting People.</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Towards a Classification of West Alaskan Social Structure.</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>The Eskimo Community at Port Harrison, P.Q.</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>154</td>
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<tr>
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<td>The Acculturation of Alaskan Natives in the Public School at Nome, Alaska.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatsushiro, Tashi</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Frobisher Bay, 1958.</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NORTHWEST ALASKA ESKIMO GROUPS

Based on maps and information given in Wendell Oswalt's *Alaska Eskimos*, Chandler Publishing Company, 1967, pp. 2-10. Oswalt counts 21 "tribes" of Alaska Eskimos, 8 of which are Inupik speaking or "Northern" Eskimos. He bases his divisions mainly on a tribal map compiled by Petroff in 1884, but his decisions about culture areas are supplemented from other sources as well.

Northern Eskimo (Inupik) "tribal" divisions and boundaries:

**Kauwerak (Kaviaqmiut):** occupy most of Seward Peninsula
- Population estimated at about 900 around 1880
- Included within boundaries are Solomon, Nome, Sledge Island, King Island, Cape Douglas, Teller, Shishmaref, and Deering

**Kingikmiut (Kaviaqmiut):** occupy N.W. tip of Seward Peninsula and Diomede Island
- Population estimated at about 650 around 1886
- Included within boundaries is Wales at Cape Prince of Wales, which at one time had a population of 500 and which may have been (according to Oswalt) the largest Eskimo village in Alaska

**Kovagmiut:** occupy area from mouth of Kobuk River inland to about Walker L.
- Population estimated at about 500 around 1880
- Included within boundaries are Noorvik, Kiana and Ambler

**Malemjut:** occupy area from Kotzebue Sound S to upper reaches of the Buckland River, including NE portion of Seward Peninsula as far W as Deering
- Population estimated at about 600 around 1880
- Included within boundaries are Buckland, Candle and Kotzebue
Northwest Alaska Eskimo Groups

Noatagamiut: occupy area inland from Noatak River
population estimated at about 400 around 1880
included within boundaries are Sheshalik, Cape
Krusenstern and Noatak
two "sub-tribes" are distinguished by Oswalt:

a) the Noatagmiut who lived above Noatak and
were inland caribou hunters, and

b) the Napakcumiut who lived in the coniferous
forest and coastal areas

Nunamiut (Nuoatarmiut): occupy area North of Brooks Range, all inland
except for a corridor to the Arctic Ocean South of
Wainwright, along the Utukok River
Population estimated at about 1500 around 1890
Included within boundaries are Howard Pass and
Anaktuvuk Pass

Selawikmiut: occupy area inland from Selawik Lake, along the Selawik River
Population estimated at about 300 around 1880
Included within boundaries are Selawik, Selawik River and
Selawik Lake

Taremiut: occupy area along Arctic coast from South of the Kukpuk River
to East of the mouth of the Colville River, except for region
around Utukok River
Population estimated at about 1500 around 1850
Included within boundaries are Point Hope, Wainwright, Barrow
and Negalik
Oswalt states that the people were clustered at certain points
along the coast, with major settlements at Barrow and Point
Hope. He also says that there was no permanent Taremiut settle-
ment East of Point Barrow originally.
ALASKAN ESKIMOS
Works Dealing Generally with the Alaskan Eskimo

1. BOAS, Franz. 1899
   PROPERTY MARKS OF ALASKAN ESKIMOS.
   In American Anthropologist. 1, 4: 601-613.

   This is essentially a description of private ownership of property among Eskimos, a concept Boas feels is often distorted in other works.

   Alaskan Eskimos employ property marks to a higher degree than any other North American Eskimo group. As an instance of this, Boas states that all Alaskan Eskimo weapons were marked with property marks in order to indicate whose a given dead animal was. Taken in connection with the form and occurrence of such marks among the Northeastern tribes of Asia, Boas suggests that Alaskan Eskimos may have been influenced in this respect by the proximity of Asiatic groups.

2. CUMMING, John R. 1954
   METAPHYSICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE FOLKTALES OF THE ESKIMOS OF ALASKA.

   This is a comparison of various Eskimo myths and folktales according to basic concepts of cosmology, origin of the universe, separate origin myths, nature of man, nature of self, freedom and determination, spiritualism, supernatural abodes and spirit activities. The setting of storytelling, including time, place and conditions, is also given.

   The author concludes that Eskimo folktales suggest that the Eskimo universe is an ordered one. In this cosmos "self would comprise spirits, two or three

in number, a consciousness or mind, and a physical structure. Eskimo man related his reality to the supernatural or natural world about him, and tended toward determinism." (p. 62.)

Eskimo folktales indicate a polytheistic concept of the supernatural. A creator god exists along with other deities that deal with man. There is no Sedna myth in Alaska. The theme of sun and moon as incestuous brother and sister is common. The raven is characterized as a trickster as he is elsewhere.

3. FOOTE, Don Charles. 1964

AMERICAN WHALEMEN IN NORTHERN ARCTIC ALASKA. In Arctic Anthropology. 2, 2: 16-20.

This is a short, general statement of the impact of white whalers on the northwest Arctic coast of Alaska. White whalers apparently first came into this area about 1819-1820. Until the period between 1848-1854 very few ships sailed any great distance north of the Bering Straits. Contact between Arctic Alaskan Eskimos and American whalemen did not begin until after the middle of the 19th Century. Around this time firearms and liquor began to be introduced, and widespread epidemics of venereal disease, whooping cough, influenza, and pulmonary infections were reported.

Contacts in the period of 1850-1880 came about as a result of whalers landing, sailors deserting, or through Eskimos hired as crew members or visiting on board whaling ships.

The late contact period, 1880-1912, saw the establishment of shore stations by whalers. Missionary groups and government agencies quickly followed, making a distinct change in the history of Eskimo-white contact.

Culture change came about slowly in northwestern Arctic Alaska. Acceptance of new ideas through face to face contact with whalers did little to change traditional Eskimo beliefs. The effect of whites, however, was great in other ways. The white whalers hunted bowhead whales and Pacific walrus in such numbers that even now these mammals have not returned to their pre-1850 population level. This falling sea mammal population probably had no massive effect upon the Eskimos since when sea mammals became too scarce, the Eskimo turned to caribou. However, Eskimo population was declining at the same time through disease.


General observations on basic values in Eskimo communities emphasizing sexual mores. Eskimo children were aware of sexual functions at an early age, partly because of crowded home conditions and partly because of cultural forthrightness concerning sex. It was considered ideal to marry a child off at puberty. Child betrothals were common.

A man approached the father of a woman to arrange a marriage. A year's bride service was usually exacted, and the couple entered into a trial marriage. If the woman became pregnant, the marriage was considered to be consummated. A childless woman could be returned to her father. Rich men could practice polygyny, but monogamy was the rule. Polyandry was sometimes practiced by elderly people. By 1935 female infanticide was still practiced, but was not as common as formerly. Unwanted children were often adopted by other Eskimos to

help insure future security. Divorce was easy to obtain. Incest occurred occasionally, but celibacy was unknown. Wife exchange was traditional and ritualized usually among trading partners.

Garber states that white contact resulted in severe problems since value systems were so different. White contact encouraged the development of sexual promiscuity among Eskimos in that a part white child became a desirable thing to Eskimo women, thus many part white children resulted. Among Eskimos prior to this promiscuous sexual intercourse seldom became a licentious matter to the extent of producing prostitutes. The birth of a child out of wedlock was considered improper but did not disqualify a woman from marriage. In fact, by so proving her fecundity she might become a more desirable mate.

5. GORDON, George B.  
1906 


Gordon notes that many changes had occurred among the Western Eskimo since Nelson's observations. White contact had introduced diseases to which the Eskimos had no natural immunity, and had at the same time brought about depletion of food animals. Beaches were stripped of driftwood, making difficult the construction of sweat baths helpful to the promotion of Eskimo cleanliness and health. Schools and missions had been established for the Eskimos benefit, but these did not always seem up to the job required of them. Doubt is also expressed on the ultimate success of the introduction of reindeer herding to the region.
5. Gordon, 1906, cont.

A tax in the form of a license on out-business in Alaska was approved by Congress in 1900. Gordon remarks that one-half of the license money was earmarked for the treasuries of Alaskan towns, to be used for education. By 1897, four government schools had been established in Alaska. By 1904, fourteen were maintained in the region at government expense. Gordon thinks that the law supporting the schools might be considered biased, as the schools were devoted to the education of white and mixed-blood children, with the aim of teaching them to lead a "civilized life." Eskimos were not true objects of broad educational attempts.

6. HONIGMANN, John and Irma. ESKIMO TOWNSMEN. Ottawa, University of Ottawa, Canadian Research Center for Anthropology. 278 pp.

This is an important attempt to elucidate the acculturative experience of Eskimos in urban centers. Statistical materials are backed up by anecdotal information concerning this community of Lake Harbour.

The Honigmanns distinguish three levels of acculturation and integration, the most acculturated who use time pieces and alcohol, play baseball and bingo and go to movies and dances. These men hunt in their free time but are very little dependent upon the land economically.

A less acculturated group is described as wearing frontier type clothing, ill-matched coats and trousers and driving snow machines rather than autos or sleds. These men who do not emulate Western homemaking standards are steady and church going, self employed carvers, steady jobbers or hunters and are the power elite of the community. They are rarely seen at movies or bingo and their

children have the best school records. They tend to refrain from alcohol and are more land oriented.

A residual category is a group of poorly acculturated individuals who cannot cope well in either group. Strongly attracted to Euro-Canadian material culture they will hunt when the weather is good, use English but are poor job risks, will attend movies and try anything. Those of this group who drink do so heavily. More laissez faire in their attitudes toward their children's school attendance, they are generally at loose ends.

The Honigmanns describe Eskimos' social organizations—young men especially those good in the use of English take leadership roles in the community. Older men lead in the churches. Women have few leadership roles. Financial ability seems adequate for most and businesses are well run.

Discrimination and white-Eskimo interaction and drinking are discussed. Honigmann feels little drinking is personality deficiency motivated.

A large section is devoted to interpersonal relations, child rearing, values and personality. The basically oral optimistic character is noted, the idealization of hunting, withdrawal as defense, the general inability to lie or bluff, the difficulty in handling Western culture due to the permissive child rearing, growing nativism, the willingness of Eskimos to let each man to his own way, high rates of suicide and the interrelationships of these phenomena are all discussed.

7. HRDLICKA, Ales. 1936


Hrdlicka points out that the live birth rate of the Eskimo population in

1928 was 47.1 per thousand, compared to 19.7 per thousand in the United States that same year. He suggests that articles reporting a low fecundity for Alaskan natives are clearly wrong. The fact that there are small families among Alaskan Eskimos is attributable to high infant mortality rather than to a low number of births. This is important in understanding present population expansion.

8. HUGHES, Charles C.

OBSERVATIONS ON COMMUNITY CHANGE IN THE NORTH: AN ATTEMPT AT SUMMARY. In Anthropologica. 5, 1:69-79.

This is a general comparison of Arctic communities both Indian and Eskimo in the Canadian and U.S. geopolitical context.

Hughes suggests present communities are much more stable than those of 20 years ago. The impact of military defense spending has meant an increase in cash. This has led to changes toward more modern means of transportation, which reduce isolation and to increased use of repeating rifles which have changed the manner of hunting game (in some cases leading to overkill).

The attraction of these new communities has in part been the result of new institutions and services primarily in the area of health and education, but most importantly, the concept of a steady job.

Money has thus become an instrument of internal (individual and societal) control. The natives of the north have learned the difference between reactive control of the environment, which they had traditionally practiced and the creative control exercised by such Euro-American social units as air force installations. These lessons he suggests, have made people in such communities more capable of adaptation in the widest sense.
This is perhaps the single most important compendium article on the subject of Eskimo acculturation. It attempts to broadly describe some of the socio-cultural and economic changes and continued trends in Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Siberia among native (primarily Eskimo) peoples.

Greenland, Hughes notes, is unique in that the 400 or so years of white-Eskimo contact have produced Greenlanders (as they call themselves) rather than Eskimos. Man induced changes in the ecologic cycles and cultural changes through contact have been self-consciously ameliorated by a policy of gradual autonomous integration by the Danish government. In part this has been accomplished by government monopoly, stabilization of prices for subsistence commodities (i.e., furs) and the introduction of total literacy. Intensive community studies of this "benevolent apartheid" have unfortunately not been done.

The Canadian experience has been less sanguine. The operation of free enterprise fur buying, unregulated culture contact and massive destruction of local ecological cycles have created much greater hardship and personal disorientation than in Greenland. This, combined with a more pervasive racism than whites have exhibited either in Alaska or Greenland, has created situations of great social destruction.

The Alaskan situation though more similar to Canada than Greenland has seen a longer contact period and greater developed competence on the part of Eskimos in dealing both with economic and cultural change. Such change has not been benign, but the most destructive aspects have been bypassed here.

The Siberian experience, Hughes feels to have been the most benign though he notes that this depends on how one views the goals of programmed change in the Soviet Union.

This series gives an annual running account of the domestication of reindeer and the development of the program over the years. It should be viewed as a journal rather than a scholarly enterprise.


Although not a research tool as such, this is an interesting collection of minutiae concerning life's habits and customs of Eskimos.


Dividing government administration of Alaska into three periods, 1867-96, 1896-39, and 1935-60, he notes the movement from assimilation to a racist kind of separatism to a "return to the old ways" movement to a complete confusion in ends exacerbated by clumsy means, back finally to an assimilationist goal.

This is the best single work concerning the broad sweep of planned change for Alaskan natives available.


Lantis briefly lists 32 beliefs, customs and taboos connected with whaling activities from the Pacific Northwest to Point Barrow. She indicates the
variations of these practices and the people that observe them.

People in some areas, such as the Tlingit in southeast Alaska, were not whalers and probably did not use whale meat. In the southern regions, women could have nothing to do with whaling, but farther north they took an active part. In some areas, the family owned the whale rites. There were strong beliefs in taboos connected with whaling. Violation of taboos would affect the numbers of whales secured. In some places, human remains, applied to the tips of harpoons, were used as "poison" for whales.

Lantis concludes that rites connected with whaling, while not exactly similar in all regions, overlap each other to such an extent that they can be considered a continuous chain of a whale cult extending along the entire coast.


This is an attempt to detail some of the ceremonial aspects of Eskimo culture in Alaska. Lantis is attempting what she claims is an entirely new approach to the material, gathering data from many sources and assembling it in terms of culture complexes and culture areas.

After examining much material, Lantis suggests that a ceremonial pattern existed for Eskimo Alaska. The greatest ritual emphasis was on hunting ceremonies. The coastal Eskimo emphasized sea mammal hunting; the interior Eskimo focused on the fox, wolf, and wolverine. Gift giving was also important ceremonially, but it was not true potlatching. The Messenger Feast, with its gift exchange and masked dances often representing the spirits which controlled
animals, was more characteristic of Alaskan Eskimo ceremonialism than any other festival.

Lantis feels that a study of ceremonialism reveals a considerable difference between Eskimos of west Alaska and the Point Barrow Eskimos.

The Barrow Eskimo more closely resemble the Canadian Eskimo. She notes that Collins claimed this indicated that the Thule culture returned westward after its early spread east from northern Alaska. On the other hand, portions of Aleut ceremonialism seemed to indicate relationships with both northeast Siberia and the northwest coast of North America.

The author also concludes that southwest Alaska has been a distinct culture for a long time and that, exclusive of the Aleut and the Point Barrow people, the Alaskan Eskimo had an integrated, highly developed ceremonial complex which is both old and thoroughly Eskimo.

15. LANTIS, Margaret. THE REINDEER INDUSTRY IN ALASKA. In Arctic. 3, 1:27-44.

She traces the history of the introduction and use of reindeer into Alaska, noting the connection to religions and educational institutions, lists some difficulties which natives faced in dealing with this new development and specifies three major problems which prevented success in the industry so far as Eskimos were concerned.

1. Reindeer associations formed to own the deer meant ownership was so diluted that no individual felt specific responsibility for caring for the animals.

2. The open herding policy meant losses to wolves and straying.
15. Lantis, 1950, cont.

3. The impingement of white-owned herds, i.e., Lomen Co. squeezed out Eskimos.

She lists some general and specific recommendations but is not sanguine about the possibilities of reindeer herding.

16. LANTIS, Margaret. SECURITY FOR ALASKAN ESKIMOS. In The American Indian. 4:32-40.

This is a review of the problems of acculturation and economic change among the Eskimo. Among the recommendations made are recognition of native occupancy and use rights in regard to the land, preferential treatment of the indigenous people in the granting of leases and permits and land zoning according to desired use rather than by type of user or occupant. Also suggested are the establishment of an inter-agency review board to settle controversies and the encouragement of community enterprises by loans from a revolving loan fund.

17. LANTIS, Margaret. WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE ESKIMO? First Alaska Science Conference. In Science in Alaska. 1:45.

Lantis maintained that, more than the Indian, the Eskimo possesses a certain mechanical aptness and a willingness to imitate. But rapidly increasing welfare cases (in 1950) indicated that something was socially amiss. She felt that the loss of game animals, sickness and the bad effects of liquor provided only a partial answer. The true cause should be sought in the decay and undermining of Eskimo social organization, leadership, prestige, and lack of opportunities for steady employment.
This is a fairly brief article on the problems of social change connected with the introduction of reindeer herding among Alaskan Eskimo.

Lantis gives a historical summary of the problems involved in herding. These include intermingling of herds, differences of opinion over whether the reindeer should be consumed locally or exported for cash income, pooling of organized reindeer associations, and inadequate tally of actual reindeer populations. Part of the difficulty in the introduction of herding among Eskimo may have resulted from the fact that Eskimo culture was not accustomed to working with large organizations over a long time on a formal basis. Also, prestige was accorded the hunter, not the herder.

Lantis lists factors favorable as well as unfavorable to the successful introduction of the reindeer industry among the Eskimo. The article provides a good resume of the situation in the early 1950's.

This article, though 18 years old, contains some observations which are still fully pertinent.

Lantis briefly covers the history of Alaskan Eskimo. He finds them to be "friendly, observant, adaptable people who imitate new ways freely, admire ingenuity and self-reliance, and are moderately competitive." He remarks that factors other than economic exploitation or loss of a subsistence economy should be sought to account for growing Eskimo dependency.

She suggests examining "the more subtle factors of prestige, leadership, opportunity for social advance, and economic self-direction" for clues to the root of this problem.

20. LANTIS, Margaret. 1954

PROBLEMS OF HUMAN ECOLOGY IN THE NORTH AMERICAN ARCTIC. In Arctic. 7, 3-4: 307-320.

Following an introduction discussing the place of the anthropologist in the study of Eskimo archaeology and culture, Lantis discusses the need for the future study of population size, trends in vital statistics, and the investigation of social, emotional, and other factors affecting the Eskimo way of life. She also suggests the study of current technological change, economic change, resettlement, modern health service, Christianity, and other elements of white culture on the Eskimo.

21. LANTIS, Margaret. 1959

ALASKAN ESKIMO CULTURAL VALUES. In Polar Notes. 1:35-48. (Also in Occasional publication of the Stefansson Collection. 1:35-48.)

Aboriginally, Alaskan Eskimos set the highest value on being a good hunter. Also, valued were honesty, hospitality, generosity, patient acceptance of suffering, and self-reliance. Skill and ingenuity were esteemed. Survival of the group was regarded as the highest social morality. In interpersonal relations, a high value was put on good socialization and passivity of personality.

Intra-group aggression was tabooed. Aggression against other members of a group was mainly dealt with by witchcraft. The most common techniques for dealing with violent intra-group aggression, such as murder, was flight and avoidance of the aggressor. Eventually, after a long delay, there was usually group revenge of the original aggression. Abberant individuals were usually eventually eliminated, thus the individually desired was often the same, or nearly the same, as the socially desired.

Fantasy was used as a defense against feelings of aggression and the way in which aggression was repressed. Fantasy in folklore and mythology included a great deal of aggression and thus served as an outlet for it.

22. LANTIS, Margaret. 1960


An attempt to relate the data of life histories and the results of Rorschach Tests. It explores Nunivak Eskimo personality dynamics. In the conclusions, she suggests some general comments.

1. Arranged marriages which were the first marriages were very likely to be unhappy.

2. The aboriginal brittle marriage had a negative effect on children.

3. She doubts that the children were treated nearly as well as is commonly believed. However, much individual advantage as well as damage was done because of the widespread system of adoption.
22. Lantis, 1960, cont.

4. Leaders tended to be petty tyrants. There was no recourse such as the Canadian song dance to defeat a tyrant. The only recourse one had was to leave the community.

5. There was much submissiveness to elders but a great deal of rebellion of subtle kinds. One had to be careful or be socially ostracized.

6. Shamans in this sample seem to have had unhappy childhoods, to have been rejected lonely children who were frightened by spirits and then learned to handle them. There also seem to be some covert homosexuality.

7. There was wide variation in individual reactions to the beliefs in religion.

8. Suspicion of whites was rampant but Eskimos had no difficulty in picking out individual whites who were "good" and those who were "bad" without generalizing too much.

9. The young were more open about their religion and their spirit helpers than the old.

23. LOMEN, Carl.  
1954  
FIFTY YEARS IN ALASKA. New York, D. McKay Co. 302 pp.

Lomen, the "reindeer king" covers the years 1900-1950 in this autobiography. Primarily the work deals with the reindeer industry and its closure. He maintains that the U.S. government took over from him a viable industry and unfairly attacked him. It provides information from the opposite point of view of most observers on this controversial era in Alaskan history.
This article compares the forms of social organization among the Alaskan Eskimo and Aleuts. The nuclear family was everywhere the most important unit though it was rarely accompanied by separate residence. Polygamy was rare and seems to have been limited to the wealthy. Divorce and wife-lending did occur but in a context stressing inter-group dependence.

This report is based on Murdoch's stay in Point Barrow in 1881. At the time of his visit the Eskimos of northwest Alaska were still almost entirely dependent upon a subsistence hunting economy. The rifle had been introduced, but had not yet had widespread effect.

East of Point Barrow, Murdoch found the land to be uninhabited as far as Herschel Island, except for the summer forays of caribou hunters or trading parties. Point Belcher (Wainwright) was the next village to the west, but the Barrow Eskimo had little to do with this village and almost nothing to do with more distant Eskimo settlements. The Barrow Eskimo had little knowledge of the area inland from their village, beyond the 75 to 100 mile upriver stretches customarily hunted over.

The ringed seal was their main source of food, supplemented by other seals, walrus and whale. They dressed entirely in caribou skins, and caribou meat was highly prized.
Psychiatrists at Cornell and at Cornell Medical College have been conducting a series of studies concerning the relationship between socio-cultural factors and the prevalence of psychiatric disorders. Among other peoples, Eskimos are compared with Mexican Indians. The emphasis is on the prevalence of symptoms rather than on intensive studies of the dynamics of symptom formation.

Murphy argues that while cultural relativism is relevant, still there are some valid standards of normal behavior. However, it is necessary to determine what is conceived as psychiatric disorders and pathological deviance by a given group, and to determine how indigenous concepts and criteria relate to Western psychiatry. She notes one of the most powerful disruptive factors to Eskimo ammunitions has been the increased availability of potential white husbands for Eskimo women.

This is a general study touching on various aspects of Eskimo life. Nelson focuses on the Eskimos of the lower Yukon and Kuskokwim and looks in less detail at other Eskimos in the Bering Straits region.

Nelson gives information on Eskimo physical characteristics and the distribution of dialects. He describes clothing and personal adornment and devotes an extended section to material culture. Many hunting techniques are cited. The Eskimo life cycle, social customs, disease, mortuery
practices, inheritance patterns and shamanism are all discussed. The existence of blood feuds and blood revenge is commented on, and Nelson notes that prior to the arrival of the Russians the Eskimos waged almost constant warfare with the Athapaskan tribes of the Interior.

In his discussion of guiding culture change Oswalt draws his examples mainly from among the Kuskokwim Eskimos. Oswalt notes that a willingness to adapt to change is an almost universal characteristic among Eskimos. He remarks that many successful projects are not the result of good planning on the part of administrators, but rather a result of the Eskimos' desire to move into new ways.

Administrators should know their people. In order to know the Eskimo a familiarity with his native language is required. He notes the necessity of good communications and the value of working through already existing social groups.

The key factor in social change is usually the family. Oswalt suggests that administrators of change concentrate on this unit, dealing with larger social organizations only when the problem is too large for the individual nuclear or extended family unit.

There are many natural leaders among the Eskimos. Older men with control over large, extended families are influential whether or not they are on the village council.

Oswalt lists a series of useful techniques and hints for how to go about introducing culture change into a given village. He offers suggestions on how to pick villages conductive to culture change, how to integrate the individual who is to affect change into the village and so forth. He emphasizes the importance of individual Eskimos as agents of change.

He gives some historical background for the development of the Kuskokwim region and discusses specific problems of relocation, reindeer herding and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service relationships.


Oswalt describes the introduction of a cash economy in an Eskimo hunting community in an unnamed typical village on the Bering Sea Coast. He points out that while the Eskimo still depend on subsistence hunting and fishing, they are quickly moving into a money economy. The old Eskimo way of life has gone forever. While in many respects this is saddening, at the same time the introduction of new ways has taken some of the harshness out of living in the Arctic.

Oswalt notes a basic misunderstanding and sometimes mistrust of administration lies behind many of the problems of acculturation. As an example, he discusses the problem of hunting wild fowl and clashes with U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and suggests that the major difficulty is that government agencies are essentially inflexible in their policy statements and show little awareness of village needs.
This is a general study of aboriginal culturation techniques throughout North America. The Eskimo area is not dealt with in great detail.

Pettitt notes that Eskimo children learned adult skills not merely through imitative play, but through directed practice with models. For example, the first toy given a boy may be a miniature sled or a bow and arrows. He is encouraged at playing at the hunting of animals, but only those animals the elders say are in season.

Learning is reinforced by praise and the accomplishments of youths are gradually rewarded with the privileges of maturity.

In general, there is no specifically recognized course of training for the role of shaman. Candidates sometimes study in secret under many tutors for five to ten years before ever trying their power. Success is judged in terms of acquired skills and abilities.

This is a work rich in accounts of folklore but uneven as a source for other types of material.

Rasmussen discusses the life cycle, religion, festivals, hunting and some aspects of Eskimo material culture. All these topics are dealt with in varying degrees of thoroughness.
SIMPSON, John.
1875

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WESTERN ESKIMO AND
THE COUNTRY THEY INHABIT. In Arctic

Simpson came to point Barrow on the British ship the Clover. His is
the first account of the Point Barrow Eskimos.

The Barrow Eskimos were mainly sea mammal hunters, living on walrus
and four kinds of seals. They also hunted polar bear and land animals and
fished. When Simpson met them they had already been depleted by famine
and influenza. He describes their physical appearance, mentioning labrets
and tattooing, and goes into detail describing clothing.

Simpson describes something of the social structure of the Eskimos,
remarking on marriage customs and the relations between the sexes. He also
speaks of child care. He remarks on travel by dogsled and notes that Barter
Island and Point Hope are visited by groups of Barrow Eskimos in the winter,
and that the Eskimos have a fairly good idea of the stars as a guide.

33. VAN STONE, James W.
1958
COMMERCIAL WHALING IN THE ARCTIC OCEAN.
In Pacific Northwest Quarterly. 49, 1: 1-10.

This is a concise history of the whaling industry in the Arctic and a
discussion of the results of contact between white commercial whalers and
Eskimos.

Whalers began coming into the Arctic in sizable numbers about 1850.
Initially they were in search of both whale oil and baleen. Later, as the
price of oil decreased, the main interest became baleen. After 1880 baleen
prices began to drop off, and by 1908 the whaling fleet entering Arctic waters
was down to eight ships. By 1916 the northern whaling trade was essentially dead.

There was extensive contact between whalers and Eskimos during the height of commercial whaling. Point Hope, for example, became a whaling center and Eskimos from the Noatak and Kobuk Rivers joined the Eskimos at Point Hope to work on the whaling crews. The Eskimos were quick to see the advantages of the white man's whaling equipment over their own. The Eskimos through working on the whaling ships and coming to know whalers who wintered ashore picked up many new ideas. The Eskimos also acquired Western material goods through trade and from wrecked ships.

However, the impact of the whalers was mainly detrimental to the Eskimos. They succeeded in depopulating the entire area as the direct or indirect result of the introduction of liquor and European diseases among the natives. Many northern villages lost half their population in a few years. Point Hope lost 12 per cent of its population in the autumn of 1902 as the result of measles.

Today, the Eskimos are once again the main whalers in the Arctic Ocean, though the once valuable baleen is either discarded or used locally in the manufacture of curios.


This article deals with the lack of sanitary conditions and the prevalence of disease in Eskimo villages along the Arctic coast. Watkins was attached as a medical officer to the U.S Bear in 1913 and 1914, and visited Eskimo villages on St. Lawrence, King and Diomede Islands with the ship.
Early reports indicate that the Eskimos were a healthy and robust group, with little disease. European contagious diseases were introduced among the Eskimos by white whalers, traders, and miners. The customary modes of Eskimo living, in small, crowded subterranean dwellings, made for rapid spread of contagious diseases once these were introduced. Shamanistic doctoring could do nothing to prevent or ameliorate such illnesses. Parasite infected reindeer and dogs also contribute to Eskimo ill health, as do difficulties in fully preserving meat and unsanitary disposal of accumulated garbage and sewage.
NORTHWEST ESKIMO GROUPS

Works Dealing Generally with Northwest Eskimo Groups

35. CHANCE, Norman A. 1964 THE CHANGING WORLD OF GOVERNMENT AMONG THE NORTH ALASKAN ESKIMOS. In Arctic Anthropology. 2, 2:41-44.

Chance traces the transition of the north Alaskan Eskimo from a subsistence economy to a largely wage and welfare existence. He notes that the first significant Eskimo-white contact in the area took place in the 1860's when white whalers began to come north. Soon after contact new diseases were introduced among the Eskimos with disastrous results. Disease is still rampant among Alaskan Eskimo. The impact of the Public Health Service as an acculturative agent should not be underestimated. Chance notes, as this agency sends a sizable number of Eskimos south for prolonged periods of extended treatment every year.

The first federal schools were established in northern Alaska in the 1890's. The purpose of these schools was to provide education to help integrate the Eskimo into Western culture and an industrialized society. For various reasons the schools mainly failed in this purpose.

Prior to World War II, with few whites in the north, the Alaskan Eskimo had a large measure of autonomy in village affairs. After the war, increased governmental and military interest in the north brought new funds and an increased population to the area. Better economic opportunities and health facilities encouraged migration of the Eskimo to larger population centers. As a result of migration, kinship groups have become less cohesive, traditional leaders less influential and kin group based mechanisms of social control have broken down.

Chance concludes by suggesting three alternate orientations for governmental programs in the north in which he suggests varying levels of local involvement depending upon the kind of changes desired.


Chance outlines a general history of Eskimo-white contact in northern Alaska. He notes the change from a hunting economy involving cooperative group effort and participating in a social life centered in the karigi to an economy based on trapping emphasizing the individual and de-emphasizing the importance of the group. He comments on the increasing acceptance of a cash economy and the effects the necessity for cash has on the Eskimos.

Chance touches on Eskimo family life, methods of child rearing, the problems of youth, the breakdown of certain traditional methods of social control, religion and health. He speaks of the fatalism of the Eskimo world view and says that the Eskimo value system suggests nature is to be lived with, not controlled. In discussing Eskimo adjustment to Western culture, he feels that women have a more difficult time adjusting than men, as the women have less contact with whites than the men and not knowing the new values have a more difficult time of validating themselves in terms of Western culture.

The general tone of the work indicates that cultural change will create some difficulties and that northern Eskimos are at some "halfway" stage between traditional and modern culture.
This is a study of Alaskan Eskimo villages on Little Diomede and King Island, and of Wales, on the Seward Peninsula. Heinrich's attempt to organize kinship terminology is scattered, and kinship behavior observations and recommendations are offered as guidelines for teachers rather than as an academic exercise.

In general, Heinrich found that the Eskimo has a strong feeling of kinship arising not from an abstract concept but from actual, person-to-person relationships. Eskimo kin relations are on a one-to-one basis, and the whole series of Eskimo interpersonal relationships and interpersonal reactions are colored by that pattern. The idea of majority rule does not operate. The idea that several people have a right to impose their collective will on one or several others is interpreted as sheer authoritarianism. Eskimo culture tends to be non-coercive and non-censorious.

Heinrich comments on the importance and function of the kasigi, men's house, the status of women, the treatment of children, adoption and wife exchange. He remarks that it is just as easy now for an Eskimo to marry, but divorce is much more difficult to obtain than in the old days.

It is suggested that the good willed humor of the Eskimo covers strong, repressed desires, aggressive tendencies and unchanneled hostilities. Thus, trivial affronts may trigger emotional expressions of hostility when Eskimos are drinking.
This is a schematic summary of northwestern Alaskan Eskimo kinship structure, based on 1945-55 investigations among the Inupik speaking Eskimos north and east of Norton Sound.

It was found that each individual is surrounded by a close network of kinfolk with whom he has clearly defined and unavoidable relationships. Outside this narrow range, he has a circle of known relatives with whom he may choose to interact in a variety of ways. Beyond this circle are the individuals comprising the remainder of society. People with whom one has no known genealogical connections make up this group. The possibility always exists, however, of setting up defined relationships with them.

This is a collection of translated Alaskan and MacKenzie Eskimo myths. The Alaskan texts are usually longer and more involved. Jenness also lists and describes string figures for both groups. This is a good basic reference for the mythology of the area.

The author spent about a year in the mining town of Wiseman, Alaska, around 1929. He administered Stanford-Binet tests to both whites and Eskimo, and gave Goodenough's "Draw-a-person" test to the native children. The results of these tests are given, along with a collection of statistical tables and photographs.

This is an interesting resume of the sociology and economics of a mining camp, and of native settlements in the early 1930's in northern Alaska.


This is the second detailed report of the culture of the Point Barrow Eskimo. The first was by Dr. Simpson.

At the time of their stay in Point Barrow, Murdoch and the rest of the staff found the Barrow people living at a subsistence level based on maritime hunting supplemented by some inland hunting and by extensive trade with the Nunamiut Eskimo to the south and east.

The Point Barrow Eskimo already had obtained some metal products, tobacco and tea through trade. The items were primarily procured through Siberian sources, but also came indirectly from American and English (Canadian) sources. However, the bulk of the items of their material culture came directly from the sea, or from inland trade with other Eskimo. The Barrow people provided the inland Eskimo with seal oil, seal skins, and other sea shore products. In return, they received caribou meat and skins, wood products, fossil ivory, and so forth.
The author summarizes the aboriginal culture of the present Kotzebue Eskimos, drawing on Giddings, Van Stone and others for background information. She then concentrates on modern Kotzebue.

Kotzebue had two thousand residents in the mid-1960's, and an estimated five thousand tourists per year. The cost of living was about twice that of the lower states. No Eskimo family was entirely dependent on a subsistence economy. Smith reviews the number of jobs available and the number of Kotzebue Eskimos holding these jobs.

From 1960 through 1965, seventy Eskimo families from outlying areas moved into Kotzebue. About sixty per cent of the Eskimos in Kotzebue are from non-Kotzebue families which creates some tensions. These families were primarily attracted by medical facilities she says.

Most Kotzebue families consider themselves an independent unit and attempt neo-local residence. Kinship ties are weakened. Kinship is remembered mainly when an Eskimo is looking for a place in town to visit. Thirty-five per cent of the children are adopted, fifteen per cent are born out of wedlock, with no social stigma attached.

There is much factionalism in the town, and no one man has enough support to act as representative leader for all the Eskimos in Kotzebue. The Kotzebue Eskimos are suspicious of outsiders and unsure of the functions of all of the various government agencies. There is much contrast between Eskimo and white ways of life, and few intermarriages. English is largely spoken in place of Innupiat.
42. Smith, 1966, cont.

Nearly fifty per cent of the Kotzebue Eskimos are under twenty. Most of them have a low level of education. Few young people attend church or participate in community activities. Many go "outside," but for various reasons the majority return. Old people are not highly respected.

Essentially, she finds serious social problems present or incipient.

43. WHITTEN, Norman A. 1964

TOWARDS A CLASSIFICATION OF WEST ALASKA SOCIAL STRUCTURE. College, University of Alaska, Anthropological Papers. 12, 2: 79-91.

This is an attempt to make clear the fact that most Alaskan Eskimos do not have an "Eskimo kinship system." The Nunivak Eskimos tend toward the Iroquois system. Most remaining Alaskan Eskimos have a patrilinial Dakota system, which is surprising in view of the usual conception of unilineal and bilateral systems being mutually exclusive. Whitten sees the whole situation as being an evolution from Eskimo to Dakota toward Eskimo systems. His implication is that the stage of social development varies concomitantly with the ecological situation.

44. WILSON, Alice S. 1958


The author describes features of a general Bering Sea Eskimo culture. This culture had no chiefs, but a man could achieve power and prestige...
through possessions or unusual abilities. The skillful whaler and the shaman were both influential individuals. There were many taboos. Broken rules resulted in public reprimand, and a persistent rule-breaker might be killed. On the other hand, punishment for some offenses were left to the offended. Children were reared permissively and easily passed into adulthood.

Wilson mentions the villages of Wales, King Island, Diomede, Elim, Noatak, Noorvik, Teller, and White Mountain in terms of past history and relationship to Nome.

In terms of schooling, Eskimo children were retarded on the average of one year. They were good in spelling and arithmetic and poor in reading. A high drop out rate existed for natives at age 16 or between grades nine and ten. Schooling did not meet their needs.

Among her suggestions, Wilson proposes using trained Eskimos as teachers.
Works Dealing with Specific Northwest Eskimo Groups

KAUWERAK (Kaviagmiut):

45. ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS. THE VILLAGE PEOPLE. Anchorage, 1966

The Village People is a short, readable and rather superficial survey of conditions and attitudes existing among Alaska's Eskimos and Indians in the mid-1960's. Native villages are examined and in the main found wanting. Native education, or lack of it, is touched on and problems arising from the attempt of the native to adjust to an urban environment are discussed. The various opinions of individual Alaska natives are quoted where thought pertinent.

46. BEECHEY, F.S. 1831


Beechey's narrative is the first substantial account of contact between Alaskan Eskimos and Englishmen. Except for the Point Barrow people, whom he refers to as "overbearing in behavior," Beechey describes the Eskimos he met as generally friendly, cheerful and avid traders. He says little of Eskimo social customs or organization, or of religion, but describes their appearance and clothing in detail. He also comments on their housing, weapons, food and personal habits. He notes that they possessed some Russian tradegoods (iron knives, kettles and beads) and he presumes that they therefore must have had some contact with the Russians. He says that they had no firearms.
HEINRICH, Albert. 1955
See #37, p. 43.

LANTIS, Margaret. 1950
See #15, p. 27.

LANTIS, Margaret. 1952
See #18, p. 29.

LOMEN, CARL. 1954
See #23, p. 32.

47. MEYERS, Walter. 1957

This is a diary and narrative of the author’s sojourn on the south coast of the Seward Peninsula from August 1947 to February 1949. Meyers was the Alaska Native Service representative among the Eskimo.

Difficulties in acculturation are noted, from problems caused by the illiteracy of the village postman to more severe troubles caused by the shift from a hunting to a money economy. Many observations, though useful, are marred by ethnocentrism on the part of the author.

This is a history of ivory carving among the Eskimos of Nome and southwestern Alaska. The author reviews carving techniques, fashions in carving and varieties of ivory used by Eskimo carvers from early, pre-contact times to the present.

Ray notes that a major change in style and purpose of carving occurred following white contact. The Euro-American sought to purchase carved ivory for souvenirs. The Eskimo carver soon learned that, for the Euro-American, the functional aspects of carved objects were often secondary to their artistic aspects.

Ray also remarks on certain social changes which affected Eskimo life. For instance, during World War II many jobs suddenly were opened to Eskimo labor. In Nome, as more Eskimos joined the work force there was a simultaneous lessening of prejudice toward them and a greater feeling on the part of whites that Eskimos should be treated with fairness and justice. Racial equality was further aided by territorial legislation enacted in February 1945, which forbade discriminatory treatment of any citizen within public facilities in the Territory.

SMITH, Valene. See #42, p. 46.
49. THOMPSON, Dorothy.
1951

THE ESKIMO WOMAN OF Nome, Alaska, AND HER CHANGING ROLE AND STATUS. 1951
251-255.

One of the very few accounts of native life in this area at the time.
It contains an account of the slowly changing situation of the Eskimo woman,
formerly wife, keeper of the household and sewer of skins, then waitress,
clerk, and secretary. Though not a theoretical article its information is
difficult to find elsewhere.

WILSON, Alice S.
1958

See #44, p. 47.
KINGIKMUIT (Kaviagmiut):

BEECHEY, F.S. 1831
See #46, p. 49.

50. HEINRICH, Albert. 1950
SOME PRESENT DAY ACCULTURATIVE
INNOVATIONS IN A NON-LITERATE
SOCIETY. In American Anthropologist.

This is an article on the ivory carving of the Eskimos of Little Diomede Island, based on studies made during the years 1944-1948. Diomede Island does not produce any cash crop that can be sold to the outside world in a relatively unfinished form. However, an abundance of ivory does exist. With the encouragement of profit-minded middle men, the Diomeders have developed ivory carving into the principal source of cash income for the island.

Basically, the Diomeders have kept much of their old style but have adapted and altered designs to satisfy the requests of curio dealers and tourists. Heinrich states that the industry at the time of his writing was much more highly developed than 25 years previously. Under stimulus provided by the prestige value of money, gradual refinements of technique and innovations in style had been made. He notes inventions were accepted or rejected not on the basis of intrinsic value, but on the basis of public approval and market demand.

HEINRICH, Albert. 1955
See #37, p. 43.
This article was based on a month's stay at Little Diomede, in 1926. The Little Diomeders lived in houses built of stones with earth for mortar. Two families lived in each house. In all North America only Greenland Eskimos lived in houses similar to these. Jenness suggests that the Diomeders had a separate culture for a long period of time; perhaps of greater antiquity than the widespread Thule culture.

Prior to European contact, the Diomede Eskimo were closer to the Asians than the Americans. In 1925, the people were still going to Nome for the summer months.

SMITH, Valene. 1966

The author discusses the climate and gives a physical description of the area around Wales. He cites census data (from 1890) giving the population of the village at 539-135 adult males, 172 adult females, 149 male children and 83 female children.

The work contains much general information on the Eskimo life cycle, but the material given is often difficult to evaluate because of the extremely ethnocentric manner in which it is presented.
KOVAGMIUT:

53. FOOTE, Don Charles. 1966

The report begins with a geological and geographical study of the area. Foote then cites ethnographic studies of the Kobuk River people by Cantwell, 1887, 1889; Stoney, 1910; and Giddings, 1952, 1956, 1961.

The late 19th Century population of the Kobuk was divided into Athapascan and Eskimo speakers who referred to themselves as Kobukmiut. The annual cycle of upriver Kobukmiut was divided into two major seasons, summer and winter. At breakup some families went downriver to Sheshalik on Kotzebue Sound to trade with Siberian and coastal Alaskan people. Most families remained inland, however, the women staying along the river to fish while the men walked north to the Noatak Valley to hunt. In autumn, the men returned, winter houses were built and the family settled down for the winter. Caribou wintering in the Kobuk Valley provided an important food source.

Foote outlines a history of Kobukmiut-white contact beginning with infiltration of the area by gold miners in the 1880's. He summarizes population center shifts and economic developments in the area from the 1880's to the present and comments on social and technological acculturation. The Kobuk people had some difficulty after World War I since they were not used to living in fairly large permanent settlements. This adjustment was made. Post-World War II saw the introduction of motors for boats and radios and flat-bottomed boats, but the basic hunting, fishing, trapping pattern has changed little.
Based essentially on archeological reconstructions, Giddings does not attempt to relate his historical findings to the present directly, but they are meaningful by inference.

His major ecological-cultural development conclusion is on p. 118:

"The Arctic Woodland Culture appears to be more than a phenomenon resulting from the meeting of two distinct forms of culture. It is, rather, the predictable combination of sea, river and forest hunting wherever it is possible for a single ethnic group to practice these together under the special conditions of the Arctic. It is a material culture that will be practiced by whatever linguistic group happens to live in the particular environment, a culture that will outlive the physical appearance, the speech, and many of the social practices of its participants."

This work discusses the culture background of the Eskimo living in the Kobuk River region of Alaska. These Eskimo speak the Malimiut dialect and are currently centered in three main villages along the Kobuk: Shungnak, Kiana and Noorvik. The present day villagers of the Kobuk are descendants of loosely organized, compatible neighbor groups held together by intermarriage and social obligations. The villages of today had no reason for existence earlier than the arrival of white traders, missionaries and teachers whose benefactions could best be dispersed in a closely knit community.

Referring to an ethnographic present covering the period between 1870 and 1890, Giddings talks about the subsistence economy of the Kobuk people, their
seasoned cycle and hunting techniques. Fish and caribou were the basis of Kobuk life. He mentions Kobuk dress and remarks that it differed little from the style of dress found on the coast. Information is given on Kobuk social organization, marriage customs, family life, childbirth, puberty restrictions and death and burial practices. Giddings deals at length with Kobuk religious concepts discussing Shamanism, taboos and mythology.

This report is of the cruise of the Corwin in 1885. The ship spent only one summer in the north, mainly patrolling and assisting whaling ships. Two exploring expeditions were sent out. One went up the Kowak (Kobuk) River, the other up the Noatak.

In his account of the journey up the Kobuk, J.C. Cantwell briefly mentions a few meetings with inland Eskimos. Charles H. Townsend, also on the Kobuk trip, mentions that he met a few of the natives living in fish camps along the river. These were mostly women and young children. The men had gone inland to hunt. He notes there was an abundance of fish.

S. B. McLenegan went up the Noatak. He met only a few natives whom he described as taller, thinner and healthier looking than the coastal people. He estimates the entire population along the Noatak at 225.

These reports are some of the first accounts of inland Eskimos. The few mentions they make of natives and native practices can be assumed to be...

observations of the aboriginal culture modified only by the introduction of trade items probably originating from across the Bering Strait.

SMITH, Valene. 1966

See #42, p. 46.
MALEMIUT:

ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS. 
1966

See #45, p. 49.

57. HAWKES, Ernest W. 
1913

THE "INVITING IN" FEAST OF THE 
ALASKAN ESKIMO. Ottawa, Memoirs 
of the Canadian Department of 

Hawkes was in St. Michael in 1911-1912, at the time an Eskimo festival 
was celebrated in conjunction with the neighboring Unalakleet, Malemiut from 
Norton Sound. This was the "Inviting In" feast.

Hawkes explains the meaning of the feast and its significance to hunters. 
He notes that there was some missionary objection to it, but that the military 
attitude was much more liberal. The "Inviting In" feast somewhat resembles 
a potlatch. The giver of the feast, known as a Naskuk, must save for years 
in order to be able to feed all the visitors. Although he may be a beggar 
himself, he gains great prestige.

A young man is chosen messenger for the feast. He is dressed in new 
clothes and carries the invitation to the expected guests, following certain 
traditional behavior. During the feast, dances were held in the Karigi. 
Hawkes recorded comic dances the first day, group dances the second and animal 
dances the third. Masks were used and there was competition among the dancers 
to see who could give the best performance.

This is a collection of some twenty-five stories from the Kotzebue Sound region. There is no information given besides the raw stories, with the exception of some general information on the Buckland Eskimos.

The Buckland Eskimo, the Kangyagmiut, were seasonal migrants between the inland and coastal areas. Their semi-nomadic existence was changed by the introduction of the domestic reindeer into Alaska in the late 19th Century. The collapse of the reindeer industry in the 1930's and 1940's meant economic disaster. The gold rush passed Buckland by and the Friends (not Quakers) Church eliminated the native Eskimo religion with its ceremonial complexes.

SMITH, Valene. See #42, p. 46.
NOATAGAMIUT:


An impressionistic statement of the people of the Noatak region—Point Hope, Noatak and Kivalina.

Information is given on the importance of sea mammal hunting and the religious rites associated with it. She also notes the permanence of the traditional open and supportive Eskimo child rearing pattern, the viability of native language, importance of festivals and some of the complications ensuing from acculturation.

She discusses the interrelationship of old and new life ways stressing the importance of cash and the services provided by health and educational institutions.


This is a description of three groups of Eskimos, the Tigaragmiut at Point Hope, the Nautaktomiut and the Noatagmiut at Noatak. The authors give a general history of these Eskimos from pre-contact times to the present. Earliest Eskimo-white contact in this area occurred about 1850 when American whalermen came into the region. The whalers disrupted the basic ecological systems of the region and introduced diseases which reduced the Eskimo population by about half. After 1885, when Americans began settling on the land, native economy became increasingly bound to the continental American market.
60. FOOTE and Williamson, 1966, cont.

and the federal government. Eventually, the three Eskimo groups discussed centered their activities in the villages of Point Hope and Noatak. Today, the seasonal activities of the two villages represent a balance between traditional hunting patterns and a wage economy.

In discussing change the authors state that the introduction of the rifle was significant mainly in changing patterns of hunting. An Eskimo with a rifle could hunt as an individual anywhere and any time game was available. The impact of Americans settling on the land was also great. Such settlements soon encouraged the development of interdependence between Eskimo and white groups.

The authors look at Point Hope and Noatak primarily in terms of hunting patterns and food: the amount of food, how it is gathered and how it is prepared. In discussing Noatak the authors discuss the major developments during the period 1940-1950 which attend traditional living patterns.

The impact of increased transportation and communication are discussed, as are the territorial guard, state welfare agencies, Public Health Service and Bureau of Indian Affairs. The authors note that increased summer employment has meant increased consumption of outboard motors, radios, etc.

It is a good general work on change during the period of time for this area.

61. LUCIER, Charles. 1958 NOATAGMIUT ESKIMO MYTHS, College, University of Alaska, Anthropological Papers. 6, 2:89-117.

Noatak is an Eskimo community near the coast formerly the Noatagmiut, were very dependent on caribou for a living, although they went down river to hunt sea mammals on the coast each spring.

In this collection Lucier relates eleven Noatagmiut myths.

SMITH, Valene. 1966 See #42, p. 45.
NUNAMIUT (NUNATAMIUT):


This work covers the author's three year study in Wainwright during the late 1920's and early 1930's where they acted as teachers. They were also forced into the role of missionary by the Eskimos who did not have any other traditional way of relating to them.

They discuss many details of life of this (at this time) relatively unacculturated group, concentrating on material culture, the daily round of life and the problem of confusion for Eskimos over religious values instilled by various missionaries.

63. GUBSER, Nicholas J. THE NUNAMIUT ESKIMOS, HUNTERS OF CARIBOU. New Haven, Yale University Press. 384 pp.

This book is based on a fourteen month stay at Anaktuvuk Pass. The Nunamiut were inland Eskimos until the advent of the whites and subsequent disruption of the Eskimo economy and balance of trade encouraged them to move to the Arctic Coast. By 1920 the last Nunamiut had moved to the coast. In 1938, three families returned inland and were later followed by others. In 1951, a trading post was established in Anaktuvuk Pass, and the Nunamiut began to settle around it. When a school was opened there in 1960 the remaining inland Nunamiut moved to Anaktuvuk. By 1961 the inland Eskimo population had reached 100.

The author traces the transition of the Nunamiut from a semi-nomadic, hunting and trapping economy to an economy based on centralization, sporadic hunting and trapping and occasional wage work. He emphasized the importance
of caribou to the people. He also discusses increasing health problems resulting from the new way of life.

There is a substantial section on folklore, as well as a section on values both of which stress individualism within a cooperative but sometimes competitive context and a rejection of searches for primordial cause in favor of interests in interpersonal relations.

This is seen in the family as well where spouse exchange still occurs, but attempts are made to reduce the attendant jealousy. In the family children are desired and loved and treated in the open and permissive fashion characteristic of Eskimos. There is a matrilocality marriage pattern and bride fee, and though looks are important, hunting skill in men and industry in women are crucial attributes in mates.

Some of Gubser's anecdotal notes and observations provide great insight into the workings of this last caribou Eskimo community.

64. INGSTAD, Helge. NUNAMIUT: AMONG ALASKA'S INLAND ESKIMOS. 1954

This is an account of a year the author spent living with the Nunamiut Eskimo in the vicinity of Anaktuvuk Pass, probably about 1919.

The author records the day by day routine of following and hunting caribou. She notes the difficulties of living in a remote area even in the middle of the Twentieth Century, especially remarking the inaccessibility of medical treatment and the occasional unobtainability of food. She mentions former trading relations the inland Nunamiut had with the coastal Eskimos, and the importance that traveling along the Colville and Utokuk Rivers had for them.
65. JENNESS, Diamond. DAWN IN ARCTIC ALASKA. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press. 222 pp.

An account of his own stay in Barrow-Barter Island-MacKenzie River area in 1913-14. Some ethnographic information of life and time of the area. In two places, he indicates that the Nunamiut were looked down upon by the coastal people. Moreover, it was these inland people who had to move to the seacoast as soon as the whalers came. Some of them went to Barrow, some to Aklavik, and the rest to the Noatak area. Some of the effects of whaling crews and of the effect of the trapping cra are apparent in the book.


Milan collected the material for this work while living at Wainwright in the summer of 1955. This is a good basic work for research on the northwest coast of Alaska, and includes a brief history of the area and many references to the problems of acculturation.

Milan found a differential proportion of the sexes at Wainwright and suggests that this might be the result of the old social sanction favoring the survival of one sex over the other. The people were still dependent upon natural resources for subsistence, somewhat augmented by welfare payments and cash wages. Population size continued to be affected by food resources. Wage work on the Arctic coast was sporadic, and short-term projects paid high wages which gave exaggerated ideas of the actual worth of the labor obtained.
Disintegrative factors were identified. The traditional virtue of generosity was still valued, which caused difficulty between poor relatives and rich. Wainwright was becoming more culturally heterogeneous because of long periods of contact with whites by children forced to go away to school.

Social control was still maintained through traditional means and through the village council. Politeness and lack of aggression in interpersonal relations was not noticeable.

It could be concluded that the Wainwright Eskimo, pressured into accepting new modes of life, adapted through subtle techniques. Change was also limited to some extent by environmental resources. Milan found the Wainwright Eskimos were not assimilated, but possessed a distinctive blend of items from both Eskimo and white culture.


The Nunamiut were nomadic, caribou hunting Eskimos numbering about 15,000 and inhabiting the Brooks Range at time of contact. By the turn of the 20th Century the caribou had declined in number to such an extent that most of the Nunamiut were forced to move to the Arctic coast. Later, some Nunamiut returned inland and a small band now lives at Anaktuvuk Pass.

The authors note that Nunamiut social structure was characterized by bilateral descent, extended family households, exogamous personal kindreds and a virtual absence of any unilineal kinship group. Polygyny was a mark of

status, but monogamous marriage was the most prevalent form. Social polygyny, the sororate and levirate were disapproved. A newly married couple usually established residence for a while the bride’s family, and then took up neolocal residence.

Some information is given on community leadership. Detailed examples of kinship terminology are provided along with comments on the composition and function of the kindred among the Nunamiut.

68. RAUSCH, Robert. 1951

Rausch, a wildlife biologist, spent some time during the years 1949-1951 living and hunting with the Nunamiut Eskimo. This article emphasizes the relationship of ecology and culture.

The author notes that there were formerly three groups of Nunamiut: the Tulugak Lake people, the Chonder Lake people and the Killik River people. He gives population data on Anaktuvuk Pass and remarks that in 1949 the Killik River Nunamiut joined the others at Tulugak Lake because of better trade and hopes of better educational opportunities for Nunamiut children.

No community organization existed when Rausch lived among the Nunamiut. Large families were the rule, and the family unit was strong. Each man was on a level with every other, and the women appeared to have a position equal to that of the men. The author remarks that, except for the possession of rifles, the Nunamiut seemed to have been living as they had for centuries. Diet, hunting and trade patterns among the Nunamiut are also discussed.
69. **RODAHL, Kaare.**

1963


This is a collection of stories and observations which Rodahl made while living in Alaska. He was a researcher at the Arctic Aero-Medical Laboratory at Fort Wainwright, Alaska, from 1950 to 1952, and headed the Lab from 1954 to 1957. He makes few ethnographic or historical comments on the pre-contact culture, but concentrates on the present.

Villages in northwestern Alaska mentioned by Rodahl includes Kaktovik, Kotzebue, Gambell and Savoonga. The observations he makes are various and include comments on Eskimo health, social structure, and degrees of acculturation.

SMITH, Valene.

1966

See #42, p. 46.

70. **SOLECKI, Ralph S.**

1950


This work is based on information gathered during the course of a geological survey made in the Brooks Range in the summer of 1949. It is mainly an archeological report, but also contains some material on the Nunamiut, especially those around Naval Petroleum Reserve #4. These Eskimos were the middlemen for trade between the Kobuk-Noatak people and the Eskimos at Barrow and along the Colville River. The author notes there were six major trails through the Brooks Range, at Howard, Survey, and Anaktuvuk Passes in the east and at three other spots in the west.
70. Solecki, 1950, cont.

The inland Eskimos were large people. Many were over six feet tall, and physically were more similar to the Indians than to the Eskimos living on the coast.

Solecki describes some aspects of material culture and also discussed change. In speaking of change he says, among other things, that the Eskimo has specialized in meeting the demands of his environment and is thus unable to adapt quickly to sudden changes. The Eskimo is unable to compete with the white man in part because he doesn't understand white laws and the government and prospectors often use these same laws against him.

Solecki feels that there should be minimal interference with the old culture because of its importance to the individual.
SMITH, Valene. 1966

See #42, p. 46.
In his discussion of acculturation in the northern Alaskan Eskimo village of Kaktovik, Chance suggests that rapid and complete culture change may be more desirable than slow or partial change. He argues that if culture change is slow, the discrepancies and discordances between old culture and new will disrupt the lives of individuals much more than rapid and complete change.

Kaktovik made a very successful transition into the white world. Chance attributes part of the success of this transition to a quick and complete change in the economic and educational systems, while family structure, methods of social control and religion remained stable. Another factor in the successful change might be the fact that Kaktovik was a small community of people sharing a common traditional emphasis on adaptability to new situations.

Chance comments on the Cornell Medical Index Questionnaire, given in March and April of 1960 to the Eskimos of Barter Island, Alaska. The questionnaire attempted to survey Eskimo mental and physical health as an index.
of their adjustment to cultural change. Chance suggests that some revisions be made in the questionnaire to reconcile certain discrepancies between Eskimo and white cultural concepts. For example, he suggests that when an Eskimo woman suggests she has difficulties in making decisions, she is not expressing inadequacy since in Eskimo society, a resolute woman would be deviant.

Chance is essentially carrying forward the basic argument about deviance and pathology as culturally determined.

An investigation of north Alaskan Eskimos problems in acculturation and identity. Chance studied the relationship between self-identification and personality adjustment in a cross-cultural contact situation. He found that if new goals are desired, clearly seen and permit easy incorporation into existing social and cultural patterns, "rapid acculturation may be more conductive to socio-cultural integration than slow or moderate change." He also notes that the more an individual Eskimo accepted and identified with white culture, the fewer personality adjustment problems he was likely to experience.

The measurement of disturbance or health was made with the Cornell Medical Health Index Questionnaire.
The authors did a study of the northeastern Alaska coastal village of Barter Island using the Cornell Medical Index Health Questionnaire.

Most studies using the CMIH questionnaire with both sexes report higher scores for women than for men. This is also the case among Eskimos, but greater differences in score categories were reported between Barter Island men and women than between men and women elsewhere. A likely explanation is found in the differential psychological stress placed on community residents by rapid acculturation to Western technological and cultural life with consequent loss of traditional Eskimo procedures for gaining status and recognition. This problem is becoming steadily more acute for women than for men. While male Eskimos still have numerous opportunities to gain recognition and prestige, traditional ways for women to gain prestige such as skin sewing, meat butchering and making traditional clothing, have to a large extent been lost with little introduced to take their place.

This is a comparative study of Kaktovik, an Eskimo village about 400 miles northeast of Fairbanks, and the village of Musan near Taipei, Formosa. The authors give a cultural profile and history of the economic development of Kaktovik. They cite the findings of a mental health index taken to determine the extent of Eskimo-Western identification and Eskimo-white contact. The
findings suggest that the combination of lower contact and higher identification rank produces a situation conducive to emotional difficulties in the individual. Education is associated positively with both contact and identification ranks, yet this association is not sufficiently defined to produce significant differences in emotional states among Eskimos with different educational achievements. Eskimos who have had considerable contact with Western culture and freely choose to identify with their traditional way of life have had an opportunity to select one of two alternatives. It is unlikely that such a free choice would encourage emotional disturbances.

As a final finding, the authors suggest that it is extremely difficult to compile adequate data on this kind of comparative research because of difficulties with methods of diagnosis, statistical rates and epidemiological problems.

The authors compare the north Alaskan Eskimo village of Kaktovik and the northern Ontario Cree settlement of Winisk in terms of social organization, acculturation and integration. They found that the Kaktovik Eskimos had made a fairly successful adjustment to cultural change while the Canadian Cree had not.

The explanation for this difference in adjustment was sought in the traditional forms of social interaction and organization present in the two groups.
prior to the introduction of nearby radar sites, and in the type and extent of inter-cultural contact that took place between the site personnel and the local resident population after contact.

It was found that the Eskimo had a tradition of intra-group cooperation and that, although socially control usually rested in the family, occasionally the community as a whole would deal with matters of personal deviance. The Cree possessed an ethic of individualism and had little intra-group contr

Eskimos were hired at good wages for construction and maintenance work at the site. The relations between white and Eskimo groups were kept high since the Eskimo workers were valued and respected for their ability. The Eskimos were encouraged to set up and enforce rules regarding behavior in their village. As a result, morale and enthusiasm for the new way of life was high. The Cree were hired at low wages for unskilled tasks. No one seriously attempted to train them for anything. They were socially discriminated against. As a result of their introduction to a wage economy, few long term jobs resulted, trapping was almost abandoned and a decrease in Indian marriages and an increase in promiscuity was experienced.

FOOTE, and Williamson. 1966

FORREST, E.C. 1937
The field work for this study was done in 1940. Rainey seldom refers to anything in the aboriginal culture earlier than the Nineteenth Century, and makes no real attempt to reconstruct the culture prior to that time.

Rainey gives a concise summary of Point Hope, its physical setting, traditional outlook, and the values and influences undergoing changes in 1940. He describes the yearly hunting cycle and emphasizes the importance of sea mammals to the Eskimos of Point Hope. Rainey records some myths and discusses ceremonies in detail.

This is a basic work on Point Hope and gives a certain balance to the more recent studies of the village by James Van Stone.
This article is perhaps the second work written on the inhabitants of Point Barrow. The first work dealing with the Barrow Eskimos was written by Dr. Simpson twenty years earlier. Many of Ray's and Simpson's observations coincide.

In 1885 the people of Barrow were still subsistence hunters and fishers. However, following contact with whaling trade with the inland Eskimos had declined and hence some of the aboriginal travel and trade patterns had been disturbed.

Roberts notes that the U.S. Navy began hiring Eskimos at Point Barrow in the spring of 1946. In June 1946, thirty-five Eskimos were hired. Later in the summer, pressed by the need for help in unloading construction material, the number of natives hired rose to eighty, then dropped down to forty-six in the autumn of 1946.

The use of native labor proved so successful that it was decided to hire Eskimos for more highly skilled jobs, such as operating equipment. The Navy also decided to permit Eskimos to use Navy equipment to improve health and sanitary conditions in the village. Any improvements, it was reasoned, would help maintain employee health. A number of houses were shipped in. The Eskimos put these up and lived in them.
Recommendations for improving the health and housing of the Point Barrow Eskimos were made. It was also suggested that the Eskimos be given time off without pay in order to hunt or fish. Subsistence hunting was to be encouraged in recognition that the people of Barrow would have to fall back upon this way of life when the navy left.

RODAHL, Kaare. See #69, p. 69.

This work resulted from the Cape Thompson Project Chariot study. The objects of the investigations were to determine the human ecological balance and the extent to which the local population depended upon natural resources. To determine the species of plants and animals utilized and the manner and extent of their utilization and to summarize the values attached to native subsistence economy and the manner in which these values may affect present and future ecological balance were also part of the aims of the study.

The authors describe the physical location and the general environment of Kivalina. They discuss village social structure and the subsistence cycle. Hunting feeds the people, but money is a necessary adjunct to their present mode of life. Cash is obtained sporadically, either through occasional jobs or welfare assistance.
Two churches, the school and government agencies are major factors in furthering acculturation in Kivalina. In general, many of the traditional values were upheld, but the authors noted a growing impingement of the white world on the Eskimo and a subsequent eroding away of old ways with resultant confusion, especially among younger, more educated Eskimos.

SMITH, Valene. See #42, p. 46.

81. SONNENFELD, Joseph. AN ARCTIC REINDEER INDUSTRY: GROWTH AND DECLINE. In Geographical Review. 49, 1:76-94.

This is a summary of the history of the reindeer industry on the north coast of Alaska, around Barrow and Wainwright. Sonnenfeld traces the introduction of the reindeer, the rise of the herds and then their decline through poor herding practices.

Reindeer herding among Alaskan Eskimos failed for several reasons. In part, failure was due to the reluctance of coastal Eskimos to leave their settlements to follow the herds. When herding was first introduced, the lowering prices of furs and the novelty and prestige of reindeer ownership promoted some enthusiasm for herding among the Eskimos. When the novelty wore off and other sources of income became available, the Eskimo gave up herding. Also, there was no real market for the deer, and the Eskimos wanted white man's food and goods. They were not content to live entirely off the herds.
Among the Barrow Eskimos children were raised to be useful members of the family and functioning members of the economic unit. Child rearing tended to be mild, with lenient weaning practices, loose sleeping schedules and easy attitudes toward eating and toilet habits.

Spencer found that the young people were not learning the skills of the old culture, except for boys who still spent a great deal of time hunting. The submissiveness valued by the older culture was being de-emphasized to a certain extent, and parents were advising their children to be aggressive in some circumstances. Older people were still respected.

Familial bonds and the kin system were still strong in Barrow. Spencer felt that as long as these endured the people would be able to adapt to the new culture without too much harm being done, but when kin bonds were disrupted the culture would probably undergo radical change.

Kinship, the extended family, reciprocal obligations and cooperation between kin cutting across village lines formed the basis of Barrow society. Spencer found that the old concept of the whaling crew member and whaling crew obligations still carried over in extra-kin obligations. She surmised that, as long as the kinship bonds held, the Barrow Eskimos would not fall into the disorganization characterizing other peoples who have undergone radical acculturation.

Stefansson feels that most of the population of Barrow in the first decade of the 20th Century was immigrant. He states that only three individuals in Barrow and Cape Smythe were from the original Cape Smythe tribe, and that the rest were descendents of inland Eskimos.

He states that the introduction of civilization, whether by missionaries or by whalers, is disruptive of aboriginal culture. Diseases are brought in and alien forms of housing and diet help encourage and contribute to poor health. He fears that if whites give things to Eskimos they will encourage the Eskimos to become completely dependent and unable to do things for themselves.


Stefansson suggests that longevity was common among north Alaskan Eskimos, and that statistics to the contrary since contact indicates the results of European introduced diseases such as measles and tuberculosis. He feels the people were much larger and stronger than they were usually said to be and concludes that a diet of much raw and slightly cooked meat helped keep individuals in good physical health over long periods of time.

He includes selected other miscellaneous information on north Alaskan Eskimos in this article.
86. VAN STONE, James W. 1956
REPORT ON AIR FORCE-ESKIMO CONTACTS.
Ladd Air Force Base, Alaska, U.S. Air
Force. Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory.

From a year's residence at Point Hope, Alaska, the seasonal round of
activities and its economic and social value are described in detail. Air
force-Eskimo contacts, the process of determining village leadership and
its pattern are outlined. Consideration is given to the avoidance of con-
flicts, value of the Eskimo information, cooperation and participation in
military projects, etc.

87. VAN STONE, James W., ed. 1957
AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN ALASKAN ESKIMO.

This is the very colorful autobiography of a Point Hope Eskimo. It
covers, in his own words, events in his life from childhood through his
first jobs and travels in Fairbanks and Anchorage to his return to Point
Hope.

The autobiography points up this particular Eskimo's adaptability and
determination to get whatever kind of job that was available. It also illus-
trates problems arising from being taught a moral code which is irrelevant
to the Eskimo cultural tradition, and which forces internalization of a
feeling of wickedness for the performance of relatively minor acts.
This is a comparison of the interaction of Eskimo and white cultures at Point Hope, Alaska. Van Stone evaluates the significance of this interaction on three levels: the level of intra-village relationships; the level of extra-village relationships with agencies outside the village viewing Point Hope as a distinct unit; and the level of extra-village relationships between individuals and groups in Point Hope and individuals and groups elsewhere who do not view Point Hope as a single unit.

Van Stone lists a series of trends in these areas over a 56 year period and concludes that the most important aspects of change at Point Hope were introduced at the third level of interaction. In the old days this involved contact between Point Hope Eskimos and traders and commercial whalers. Now it includes the influences of summer jobs outside the village, extra-village contacts through exogamy, the availability of newspapers, magazines and so forth.

In conclusion, Van Stone suggests that change at the community level cannot really be understood without understanding the role played by agencies outside the community. Purely internal change, unrelated to outside factors, is a relatively rare phenomena. The author feels that the impact of the outside world is more significant to Point Hope in terms of change than any internal happening within the village.
This is a description of cultural change in Point Hope. In the mid-1950's Point Hope had a population of 250 and still pursued many traditional hunting and fishing practices. Whales, seals and walrus provided the basic village food supply. However, traditional Eskimo material culture had been almost entirely abandoned, and almost all weapons and tools were purchased rather than made by hand. The increase in village purchasing power which permitted the buying of American goods could be attributed mainly to cash obtained through increasingly available summer employment opportunities.

One result of summer employment was to bring unemployment compensation to the village. The amount of welfare assistance coming to the village was not great, but the existence of aid to dependent children programs made it possible for young widows to set up and maintain independent homes.

Most of the men in Point Hope were not oriented toward the outside world. They were not overtly concerned with their relationship to an alien structure. Their primary orientation is to the village, and they return to Point Hope after they earn their money.

Aside from a shift in economic emphasis, Van Stone felt that the most important factor influencing the future of the village was the increasing number of young people who were leaving the community to attend high school. Most young people who graduate from high school will not want to return home to a village routine without hope of employment, and a life devoid of the refinements they've become familiar with while away at school.
90. VAN STONE, James W.  
1962  
POINT HOPE: AN ESKIMO VILLAGE IN TRANSITION. Seattle, University of Washington Press. 177 pp.

This is an acculturation study dealing with the impact of American culture and technology on the Eskimo society of Point Hope, Alaska. This book is based on material gathered during the author's stay at Point Hope, from September 1955 to August 1956. Van Stone provides a good historical background, but concentrates mainly on the village of Point Hope in the mid-1950's. He is concerned both with the influences and inroads of Western culture and technology on the culture of the Point Hope Eskimo, and the continued importance of the traditional Eskimo culture and values in modern Point Hope society.

At the time of Van Stone's study, the Point Hope Eskimo still depended largely on a subsistence level hunting and fishing economy. However, working for wages was not uncommon. And though their economic base had changed but little, Eskimo attitudes were undergoing rapid change. American technology was recognized as superior, and Eskimo ways were considered old fashioned. Among Eskimos becoming aware of the wider world, there was a feeling of being isolated and by-passed. They felt concerned about this, but helpless.

Van Stone reviews Point Hope social structure and the individual life cycle, and discusses problems pertinent to the future of the village.

91. VAN STONE, James W. and Wendell H. Oswalt.  
1960  
THREE ESKIMO COMMUNITIES. College, University of Alaska Anthropological Papers. 9, 1:17-56.

The authors compare the degree of acculturation of three Eskimo villages: Napaskiak, Point Hope and Eskimo Point.

Napaskiak is a fishing village on the Kuskokwim River. At the time of this study it numbered 180 people and had experienced about fifty years of moderate white contact. The material culture was largely non-Eskimo. Items were purchased mainly through a local trader. A subsistence economy was supplemented by cash men earned working at canneries. Some welfare funds came into the village. Eskimo authorities exercised some jurisdiction in local government. The religion was mainly Russian Orthodox.

Point Hope is on the northwest coast of Alaska. It had a population of 265 and had experienced about seventy years of intimate contact with whites. Almost all the old material culture had been replaced by Western goods purchased either through local stores or by mail. Seasonal subs outside the village provided cash to supplement a hunting economy. Welfare checks contributed to the village's cash resources. The village council had a fair amount of authority in local matters. The Episcopal mission was an integral part of the village.

Eskimo Point is on the west shore of Hudson Bay. It had a total population of 195 Eskimos and 13 Westerners and had undergone a slight amount of white contact for about thirty-five years. The material culture was still greatly Eskimo, but clothing was obtained from the south. Some cash purchases were made at the local Hudson Bay Company store. There was little cash to supplement a subsistence economy, but foxes were trapped and their pelts traded for store goods. Eskimo Point obtained little welfare money. The Eskimos there had little or no single leadership. Whites administered the laws. Religious competition between the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches divided the village.

Point Hope was most aware of the outside world—mainly because of an ability to handle English—and Eskimo Point the least aware of external events.

92. VAN VALIN, William B. \( 1941 \) 


The author describes himself on the title page as "explorer and lecturer." This gives some indication of the journalistic style of the book. Van Valin spent many years with the Eskimos on both the west and north coasts of Alaska. He was a government teacher for four years and later returned to collect archaeological specimen for the University of Pennsylvania. Van Valin spent a great deal of time hunting with the Eskimo and his accounts of the adventures and dangers involved in hunting on the ice are very informative.
93. FOOTE, Don Charles and Sheila K. MacBain. 1964

A SELECTED REGIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR HUMAN GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES OF NATIVE POPULATIONS IN CENTRAL ALASKA. Montreal, McGill University, Department of Geography, Publication No. 12. 62 pp.

Contains a number of works at varying levels of relevance to cultural change in the area defined as that "bounded by a line five miles north of, and parallel to, the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers from the Canadian boundary to Holy Cross, south to the Kuskokwim River and southern coast of Kuskokwim Bay, and then eastward across the Alaska Peninsula and the south shore of the Kenai Peninsula and Gulf of Alaska to the Canadian boarder near Yukutat."

94. LANTIS, Margaret. 1946


This ethnological report is based on Lantis' visit to Nunivak Island in 1939-40. Since the report was compiled she has returned to the island several times, verifying her opinions and views by on-the-spot observations. More recent material is to be found in her latest writings on the Eskimo and Nunivak.

The work thoroughly covers the entire non-material culture of the Nunivak Island Eskimo. It is a basic source for the study and understanding of the aboriginal culture and its present affect on the Nunivak-Nelson Island-Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta area.
Lantis examines Nunivak mythology for evidence of psychological processes within the Nunivak Eskimo. Among other things, she finds that mythological characters are persistent, cautious, and judicious observers, act rationally, and are willing to admit defeat while at the same time trying to overcome it. They tend to be responsible and methodological. All these traits bring out what Lantis feels is the Eskimo's good orientation to reality.

Lantis also briefly analyzes 32 Rorschach records and finds the subjects of high average intelligence. The results of this analysis confirms many of the characteristics extracted from the mythology, i.e., a good reality orientation, passive coping with problems, the need to blunt hostility for fear of its results, significant body destruction concerns, and obsessive compulsive (taboo) practices. Separation anxieties are also explored in light of the cultural attitudes toward marriage, etc.

However, she states that she is not attempting to determine the basic personality structure of the Eskimo from their mythology, but is trying to find some major central tendencies in emotion, attitude, and behavior, and to give a personality construct.
Lantis discusses the traditional approach of southwest Alaska Eskimos to the concept of disease and notes this practical, pharmaceutical and shamanistic treatments of illness and injury.

There were no specialized practitioners of Eskimo medicine. Any older person of either sex could develop a reputation as a herbalist or curer. In some instances, a combination of medical and spiritual techniques might be employed to effect a cure. There was no highly developed system of diagnosis and treatment.

After white contact, many Eskimo died from epidemics or were taken from their villages for TB treatment. Such deaths and isolation resulted in cultural breaks and culminated in situations where, unable to learn the old culture in whole, children learned a haphazard combination of both old ways and new.

Eskimo generally accept white medical techniques. If a technique or treatment works, an Eskimo will use it even though he may not like it. In the past, Eskimo were not hypochondriacs, but there is evidence that some are becoming so.
Lantis investigates the entire range of medical practices of the past and their continuation to the present. She found no formal medical practitioners. In general, these Eskimo turned to shamanistic techniques and the spirit world only where strong, generalized, and well adjusted fear was aroused without any practical means of dealing with the disease of its attendant anxiety.

Before white settlement, this area had both soul loss and intrusion theories of disease. The concept of intrusive agents best fits the germ theory. Lantis suggests that the aboriginal pharmacopoeia was not very adequate. Shamanism was an important means of extracting disease agents, but appears to be almost dead now.

Rites and practices designed to insure healthy growth and reproduction are discussed. Lantis notes that various advertant and inadvertant attempts to avoid disease were made.

There seemed to have often been strong feelings of guilt attached to ill health aboriginally—a feeling of being punished. There is extensive discussion of neonate care and child rearing practices.

In regards to modern health, Lantis says that the new medicine has been accepted very well, and she suggests several reasons why this may be so.

(The information in this report was obtained in the southwest part of the Bthel triangle and in two villages on the tundra between the Yukon and Kuskokwim which have been culturally and personally linkei—Kasigluk, Nunapitchuk and Eek, Kwinhagak, Tununak (Nelson Island) and Mekoryuk (Nunivak
97. Lantis, 1959, cont.
Island) were also visited, and some information was obtained from Tuntutuliak on the lower Kuskokwim.)

98. OSWALT, Wendell H. and James W. Van Stone. 1963
PARTIALLY ACCULTURATED COMMUNITIES: CANADIAN ATHAPASKANS AND WEST ALASKAN ESKIMOS. In Anthropologica. 5, 1: 23-32.

This is a comparison of Snowdrift, an Acipewayen community on the eastern edge of the Great Slave Lake, and the Eskimo village of Napaskiak on the Kuskokwim River in western Alaska.

Snowdrift is a village formed about twenty years ago as the result of population concentration around a center providing a school and such federal services as medical treatment, etc. People also came to Snowdrift to take advantage of possibilities for wage labor. Fishing, trapping and hunting are still subsistence activities for the Snowdrift Acipewayen. Band organization is loose and the chief is essentially a liaison between the government and the people. The people are strongly individualistic and the chiefs are seen as having more power than they possess by the government agents. Agents are viewed as having full power to hand out largess.

Napaskiak is a village older than Snowdrift. Fishing, hunting and trapping are subsistence activities, but some wage labor is available in the Bristol Bay fish canneries or in Bethel. The Napaskiak Eskimo have nuclear or nuclear core families, and kin ties are important. Until it burned down in 1950, the Kashgee, or men's house, provided a gathering place for the villagers. The increased influence of the Orthodox Brotherhood, the National Guard and the village council has lessened the importance of the role of the village

chief. Young men are now getting status and village leadership power from the newer organizations.

99. PARKER, Seymour.  

Parker studies two Eskimo villages in different stages of acculturation, Kotzebue and Alakanuk, in hopes of discovering something about the motivational structure of those who accept acculturation most easily. He notes and discusses a variety of writers who have commented on various manners in which different villages have approached acculturation, and he stages that he is proposing a more sophisticated scheme for getting at this phenomena.

Parker suggests that the individual is more likely to develop antagonistic responses to his own group and the dominant ethnic group when he perceives barriers to his newly acquired aspirations. A devalued ethnic self image and hostility toward Western society emerges from a situation where individuals set goals which they cannot reach. In such situations people are often equally prone to accept all values and goals of Western society indiscriminately or to reject them violently as in some nativistic movements.

In comparing Kotzebue and Alakanuk it was discovered that Kotzebue is higher on all kinds of indices indicative of intra and inter ethnic hostility, and that this seems to correlate with higher education. Those most attached toward Western standards are most socially distant from their own groups and from whites as well.
VAN STONE, James W. and Wendell H. Oswalt
1960
See #91, p. 86.
ASIATIC ESKIMOS AND OTHER SIBERIAN ABORIGINES
Includes St. Lawrence Islanders


Bogoras discusses the influence of the Russians on the aboriginal population of Siberia and the acculturation of the Siberian Eskimo to Russian ways. He also notes adaptation of the Russian population to northern living.

The Russians brought many new articles of material culture to the north, the axe probably being their most important contribution. They also brought food items such as tea and flour. The Greek Orthodox religion was introduced and was apparently successful in wiping out aboriginal shamanistic practices to the point where the author could find only one shaman in the late 1920's.

Bogoras points out important differences in the backgrounds of Alaskan and Siberian native populations. Siberian aboriginals had contact, intermarried and developed trade with Europeans long before the first white contact with Alaska. This fact must be kept in mind when attempting to compare the two groups and their problems.


Sternberg's 19th Century writings on the Bilyak of the Amur River in Siberia are translated into English.
Sternberg notes (with some distaste), that the Gilyak do not have enough warfare nor do they seem to hunt enough to take up their time and thus they engage in more sexual activity than he feels appropriate.

He discusses sexual behavior frequency, taboos, romantic love, and the dangers of even unaware incestuous sexual relations which when discovered can lead to suicide by the parties concerned. He also notes the stated advantages of hermaphroditism among the Gilyak.

In this study of the St. Lawrence Island Eskimo village of Gambell, Hughes presents ideas about concepts of possible use in the study of acculturation. He suggests that the reference group theory might be a valuable concept. Reference groups can be seen as anchoring groups. People must find such a group with which to identify. Hughes notes that military service for Eskimo men and maid work with American families for Eskimo women may have provided the Gambell people contact with Western reference groups with which they can identify. This identity is often personally destructive. This work is important in understanding Berreman's later study of Aleuts.
The initiation of culture change comes when the impact of one culture is felt on another. The process of identification follows. As a result of his study of Eskimo acculturation, Hughes suggests that there are certain definable factors which alter an individual's system of belief. He refers to A.H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton University Press, 1946).

Some of the factors influencing alteration include contrast with other systems of belief, observation and reasoned thinking about new facts, new opportunities for achieving security and satisfying aspirations, and all kinds of stress. Hughes remarks that all of these may have been in effect at one time or another, but that their conjunction in time was the thing which caused rapid acculturation among the Eskimos.

**104. HUGHES, Charles C.**


A sociocultural study of Gambell on St. Lawrence Island done as follow-up on the 1940 Leighton study.

Primarily concerned with acculturation he notes: the uncertainty over weather today and economic possibilities of tomorrow, the progressive adoption of white mainland institutional forms and how this creates new role models; the enlarging of the personal self identity and shifting of "figure and ground" (the mainland now serving as the ground against which Eskimos judge themselves, the rapid out-migration especially of young girls).
104. Hughes, 1960, cont.

Instead of increased secularization, there is increased religiousness, expectably in white religions. The changes have shattered kin relations especially in the area of adolescent rebellion, and sexual promiscuity and the desertion of the Gambell men by young women bent on marrying white exacerbates the disintegrative tendencies. These are only partly balanced by the continued emphasis on hunting as a manly skill.

He sees little likelihood of the situation improving.

105. HUGHES, Charles C.


The total Eskimo population on the Chukchi Peninsula is about 35,000. The most prominent Eskimo settlements in the area are Naukan, Chaplin, and Sireniki. Most Eskimo adults in these settlements speak Chukchi as well as Eskimo.

After Russian annexation, both Eskimos and Chukchi came under the administrative system of the Russian state and the influence of Russian trading centers. They did not pay a national tax, and Russian cultural influence was restrained in order to permit them to continue in their own way of life.

Whale hunting declined in the second half of the 19th Century as a result of the depredations of American whalers. Firearms were introduced and there was an increase in walrus and seal hunting. Returns from sea hunting satisfied all the needs of the old Eskimo economy. Today, the main occupation is still sea hunting.
This article is based on field work done during 1954-55. It was originally given as an address at the 1964 meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Detroit.

In earlier times the Eskimos of St. Lawrence recognized charismatic leaders who owed their great influence in village life to physical prowess, hunting ability or shamanistic powers. These leaders operated within the three clan system. They attempted to keep peace on the intra-village level by persuading individuals to assert and wrestle for their claims and by promoting amiable relations among the clans.

When the American arrived, the missionary or teacher assumed a certain amount of control and in some instances called in the captain of the revenue cutter to meditate and maintain order.

Soon after 1925, a village council was formed. The Wheeler-Howard Act gave it a legal basis. The council worked outside of and overlapped the former control of the clans. The villagers readily accepted the new form of control, which operated by public sanctions and shaming.

Hughes attributes part of the success of the council to the personality of its first and long time chiefs, and to the fact that all clans were represented by it. Also a welfare committee was in effect the actual operational arm of the council.

By 1955, the council was accused of favoritism and was somewhat divisive in inter-clan relationships. The clans had begun to resume some social control separate from that of the council.
Jenness feels that a harsh environment and relative cultural isolation were the prime reasons for the failure of the north Alaskan Eskimo to progress far on a technological basis before white contact.

After the establishment of trade with white whalers in the 1880's, the Eskimos began to depend heavily on firearms, tea, sugar, and other white man's goods. Firearms brought about a change in hunting patterns and revolutionized the Eskimo economic system. The availability of good cloth caused a decline in the use of skins for the construction of houses. The introduction of the trapping industry and the isolation required by trapping helped weaken kinship bonds while the influx of interior Eskimo to the coast weakened the unity of coastal Eskimo.

Jenness noticed repercussions of acculturation in the rise of anomie, but found that old Eskimo social organizations were still somewhat influential. The missionaries helped overthrow old principles and replaced them with new guidelines for behavior.

Jenness remarked that the beginnings of education among the Eskimo of north Alaska were good, and that he was somewhat hopeful that the people would survive.
NOTES ON ESKIMO PATTERNS OF SUICIDE.
In Southwestern Journal of Anthropology.
11, 4:327-338.

This is a description of suicide among the Eskimo of Gambell, on St. Lawrence Island. The authors have also attempted to make a broad comparison of suicide in Gambell with Eskimo suicide in general.

An important characteristic of Eskimo suicide patterns is that they are relatively non-ritualized. Usual motives were suffering and feelings of being no longer a successful and useful member of the group. Inclinations toward suicide were reinforced by a feeling that the souls of the suicides went to the best of the afterworlds, along with those who had been murdered or who had met other forms of violent death.

The data from St. Lawrence is based on fifteen fairly complete specific episodes and at least 29 fragmented accounts of suicides. The last suicide noted occurred around 1902. Considerable variation in method was found. It was usual that an Eskimo contemplating suicide inform his relatives of his intent, and sometimes he required their assistance. Once made, a suicide vow was difficult to back out of, although sometimes dogs might be killed in an attempted substitute.

The authors found some indication that suicides were sometimes committed in the belief that self-killing would prevent a death from occurring to someone else in the family.
Moore's study is based on material gathered in 1912. Although the author makes some disparaging ethnocentric remarks, for the most part his work is quite good and throws some light on aboriginal customs and values.

In 1912, St. Lawrence Island had one village called Seevuookok, now known as Gambell. Nineteen people lived at Southwest Cape. Forty miles east of Gambell was a reindeer camp whose summer population was forty. Gambell itself had a population of two hundred.

Moore describes the social system of St. Lawrence, noting that the population had been divided into five clans, and that tribal lines no longer had much significance among them. The Eskimo in Gambell were a loose confederation of patriarchally governed families. The old men had influence but little actual authority, other than the ability to exert strong social pressure.

The author describes St. Lawrence clothing, house types, food, occupations, marriage patterns, mental, moral, and personality characteristics, as well as many other aspects of Eskimo culture too numerous to summarize.

Murphy's analysis is based on data on shamanism collected by Leighton, Alexander, Herby and Charles Hughes.

Pibloqtok occurs among St. Lawrence Eskimos, as well as excessive seizures of the berdache and Siberian shaman type. She notes that there has been a revival of shamanism through the Christianization of shamanistic practices.
Shamanistic techniques include a great deal of magic and perhaps legerdemain. The role of shaman is connected with curing and healing.

After a discussion of the kinds of people who become shamans, Murphy notes the goals of psychotherapy and discusses how well fulfillment of the role of shaman in Eskimo society satisfies these goals. Primarily, the shamanistic role provides relief of mental tension and its consequences. It also integrates the deviant individual into the society with which he is involved. Other results are noted and remarked on.

Some forms of screening instrument becomes necessary in epidemiological research investigating the distribution of psychiatric symptoms in large, non-hospitalized populations. Thus, for the Sterling County Study, a questionnaire of twenty questions was devised called the Health Opinion Survey (HOS).

The HOS questions are devised mainly to distinguish psychophysiological symptoms. Correlations have been found between high frequency of positive responses to the questionnaire and what psychiatrists in a clinical context discovered to be psychiatric disorder, especially psychoneurosis.

This article summarized an attempt to determine whether the HOS questionnaire could be applied to St. Lawrence Island Eskimos as a general test of its usefulness for surveying psychoneurotic symptoms in a non-Western population.
111. Murphy, and Hughes, 1965, cont.

The twenty questions were analyzed from the authors' knowledge of Eskimo culture. As a result of this scrutiny, ten questions were found to be appropriate for the Eskimo, eight were considered to have different meaning for the Eskimo, and two questions were undecided.

Using probit analysis, it was found that the Eskimo sample as a whole was more like the Sterling Community than the Sterling hospitalized group. When compared from the point of view of individual HOS questions, the Eskimo responses showed a unique pattern.

The correlation coefficient of the HOS scores with the psychiatric scores was .68 at the .001 level of confidence. It was found that with the Eskimo, as with the Sterling County groups, the HOS questionnaire does not identify disorders other than psychoneurotic and psychophysiological. Data on personality disorders, brain syndrome, fainting, and mental deficiency could not be obtained.

112. MURPHY, Jane M. and Alexander H. Leighton. 1965


In attempting to identify disorders among peoples of diverse cultural background it is necessary first to obtain the various native viewpoint or range of viewpoints.

Murphy and Leighton study 45 Siberian Eskimos in Sivokak, a village on St. Lawrence Island, in contact with Western medicine for over a century.
One-hundred-thirteen of these Eskimos were found to have symptoms identified as falling in the category of psychiatric problems. Using these symptoms, the authors attempt to determine how they are viewed and classified by the Eskimos, and how Eskimo classification compares with Western classification and identification of given symptoms.

This is a popularized account of Rasmussen's trip across the northern limits of habitation during the years 1921-1924. This trip was the Fifth Thule Expedition.
Rasmussen's work is of value in understanding the northern Eskimos. The general, descriptive account of his travels is interspersed with sections on shamans, songs, legends and so forth. The last seventy-five pages deal with the Alaskan Eskimos and with Russian Eskimos under Bolshevik control in the early 1920's.

RODAHL, Kaare. See #69, p. 69.
1963
This work considers various aspects of marriage and sexuality on St. Lawrence Island. St. Lawrence has two permanent villages, Gambell and Savoonga, numbering approximately 375 and 350 people, respectively. In 1963 only two white families were living on the island.

Shinen found most young people are permitted to choose their own mate. However, the consent of the parents and of the oldest living member of the clan is sought. Following the consent of the elders, a gift giving ceremony is performed to solemnize the betrothal. Betrothal is considered as binding as is marriage.

After he is betrothed, the boy must begin his period of groomwork for the girl’s family. By resolution of the village council this must not exceed one year. Immediately after marriage residence is matri-local. Eventually the couple takes up neo-local residence, but their new home is usually quite close to the boy's home.

Some problems with sexual promiscuity and illegitimate children were noted. They resulted partly from the influence of army personnel and partly as an expression of defiance against the wishes of the older people.
The decrease of useful fauna in many parts of the Arctic has created new problems in the acculturative processes of the Canadian Eskimo. In areas where Euro-Canadian establishments were developed, interethnic tension and various disfunctional processes have appeared.

Many solutions to the Eskimo problems have been suggested. These include relocating the native populations of the Canadian Arctic somewhere in the south of Canada, concentrating around a few mining centers, or rapidly developing various cottage industries among them.

More conservative observers feel the Eskimo, with the help of some Euro-Canadian agencies, may develop new forms of ecological adaptation and establish satisfactory sympathetic relations with the Euro-Canadians.

In the Povungnituk case the reduction of income through hunting, trapping and carving and the corresponding increased welfare loads forced a collective solution to income problems through group accounts at trading posts. This increased the power of group leaders residing near trading posts and created conflicts with traditional informal leaders who were good hunters. This inevitably led to group splitting, and to tensions in the system of sea hunters --carver trading. However, native semi-autonomy of control retained some of the best aspects of traditional symbiotic trading.

In Great Whale River, however, increased cash work decreased power of traditional hunting exchange, and led to almost total breakdown of symbiotic (and necessary) relationships since administrators were almost totally unaware...
of the importance of native social structure. It appears that agency objectives can be realized only if new and superior forms of social organization are established among the Eskimo.

Eskimos tend to be viewed by whites as undifferentiated members of an amorphous group rather than as individuals of varying status within a well-defined social structure. He argues that status differences within both native and non-native communities affect the perceptions of individuals in cultural change contact. Traditionally, Eskimo culture accorded much prestige to the successful hunter. In modern Canadian Eskimo settlements this prestige is given to the successful trapper. He is admired not only because of his ability to acquire pelts but also because he enjoys the economic rewards of successful trapping. The Eskimo employed as trader's assistant and the Eskimo catechist may also hold positions of prestige and power in a village.

Eskimos recognize different statuses among whites as well as among themselves. They differentiate between the "little" trader and the trader, the casual visitor and the influential agent, the white man with power and the white man without. In any Eskimo-white interaction the Eskimo reacts according to his status and the status he surmisingly assigns the white as well as in terms of his individual idiosyncrasies.
Balikci compares three eastern Canadian Eskimo groups: the Arviligjmut of Pelly Bay, the Povernitormiut and the Great Whale River people, both of eastern Hudson Bay. His interest is in the impact of white contact on the traditional socio-economic organizations of these groups and the changes in them brought about through acculturation.

Certain trends could be traced through all three groups. In all cases Balikci found that subsistence hunting was no longer able to provide an adequate standard of living. Some cash was considered necessary. The shift from a subsistence toward a wage economy had influences on kinship and social systems, as had the tendency to settle in semi-permanent villages about a store, school or mission. The introduction of Christianity usually resulted in a syncretism of old and new beliefs. Shamanistic practices continued to some degree, but it was common to seek Euro-Canadian medical assistance.

He also notes that his findings support the Murphy and Steward hypothesis that the movement toward nuclear families as basic unit accompanies the economic orientation which stresses the bartering of wild products found in extensive distribution.

Balikci discusses one of the other strong elements of aboriginal culture which has not disappeared through time. The Netsilik Eskimos believe all
illness is due to evil spirits and ghosts, thus curing demands a spiritually knowledgeable and potent specialist, the shamen.

He also stresses the theoretical point that there is a parallel in the relationship between men and gods and the shaman and his clients. In both instances a man faces forces essentially indifferent or benevolent but also possessing the power to do him great harm if annoyed or offended. The shaman is needed, but because of his superhuman powers he is also feared.

Balikci suggests that the true function of the shaman among the Netsilik lies in controlling interpersonal relations and reducing the need for physical aggression within a community. If the Netsilik conceptualized the shaman as a purely benevolent character, his control over community relations might not be as effective.

119. CARPENTER, Edmond S. 1954


This work helps outline the conceptual base from which Eskimo acculturation proceeds. Carpenter discusses some of the concepts of the Aivilik Eskimos of Canada who are similar to Alaskan Eskimos. He notes that the Aivilik do not make the same distinction between illusion and reality that Westerners are accustomed to make. The Aivilik do distinguish between self and non-self, but their view of the precise limits of self may vary, sometimes overflowing into a sphere external to the body in both time and space.
The Aivilik believe in Tungnik, a concept close to Western notions of the human soul. Tungnik is immortal and is identified with a person's formal name. Tungnik takes possession of an individual when he is named. If a child is given the name of a person recently deceased, he is generally considered to be the reincarnation of that person. Tungnik is diffused throughout the body. It survives death.

The Aivilik feel that death is not the end, but the beginning of a new phase in an unending cycle. They do not fear death, but they do fear the ghosts of the dead, who may bring calamity to the living. Therefore, a corpse is usually quickly buried.

120. CHANCE, Norman A. 1967

IMPLICATIONS OF ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS FOR STRATEGIES OF DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE IN THE NORTH. College, University of Alaska, 1967 Symposium on Circumpolar Health-Related Problems.

Chance focuses on the stresses produced by unfamiliar social and cultural systems on northern native groups in contact with Western society.

When natives living in isolated settlements go into urban areas they are required to act in terms of a far more complex set of social arrangements. Their cultural cognitions, however, undergo little immediate change. Chance analyzes the disjunction between the behavioral requirements of northern urban life and the cognitive orientation of the new migrant, in order to gain insight into the factors that generate change in the social and cultural environment and stresses in the individual.

Urban life has stresses associated with high rates of social interaction. Greater social complexity makes demands for social conformity and group oriented
action. These demands increase intra-group tension while at the same time discrimination increases inter-group conflict. Both result in increased personal stress.

Culturally induced stresses commonly found include problems of self-identity and cognitive conflict brought on by contact with Western society. Technologically less well equipped people are prone to feelings of inferiority and self-disparagement. Cognitive divergence exists, quickly promoting conflict and cognitive dissonance. If the various major social and cultural adaptive mechanisms are not at least partially successful in reducing stress, the individual may suffer loss of cognitive control--that is, experience psychotic forms of mental illness.

Chance discusses this situation as it pertains to groups of Canadian Cree. These people, traditionally hunters and trappers, had a social organization which was fairly loose, which stressed interpersonal restraint and control and dependence on overwhelming supernatural power. This was not an achievement society but fatalistic, with deep internal controls. These quite distinct attitudes help create anti-Cree bias among whites and this racism in turn results in considerable Cree psychopathology. They have adapted with rejection and synthesis but as yet not the millenarian kind of movement, and feel more comfortable in paternalistic white company.

Since the Cree reject any cognitive orientations which stress complexity, they are unable to adapt to government training programs. Chance rejects force to "bring them in" and suggests maintenance incomes without stigma, curriculum changes in their schools to give a sense of self-esteem, total retraining of teachers and a broad attack on Canadian racism which develops paternalistic Indian-white relations.
121. CLAIRMONT, Donald H.J. 1962

Based on field research in 1961, this report describes drinking patterns and attitudes toward the use of alcohol at Aklavik and examines some relationships between excessive drinking and other forms of deviance in the community.

Two principle drinking patterns were distinguished: the "splurge" pattern and the "one-night bout" pattern. The "splurge" pattern generally involved young native males in casual employment who traveled to Inuvik to spend substantial sums of money in prolonged drinking sprees. The "one-night bout" usually involved men in steady employment with family responsibilities and sometimes included women.

While men drank with other men as often as they drank with women, it was rare for women to drink without men. Younger women tended to have strong guilt feelings about drinking, probably because alcohol consumption was likely to involve sexual deviance.

Eskimo groups were more often arrested for intoxication than Indian groups, partly because legislation gave Eskimos easier access to alcohol than Indians. Whites tended to drink with Eskimos more than with Indians, and there was evidence that Indian-Eskimo drinking occurred much more among younger than older people. There was a good deal of drinking in groups whose members belonged to different generations. Drinking in family groups was perhaps more common among Eskimos than Indians.
Attitudes toward drinking varied with socio-economic status and religious affiliation. Native people of lower status and weak religious ties regarded heavy drinking as manly behavior. The more economically successful thought controlled drinking was acceptable. Members of the Pentecostal Church favored total abstinence and supported the belief, also held by many others in the community, that native people were unable to control their drinking.

Offences involving drinking accounted for most of the charges against members of both ethnic groups. Many Indians and Eskimos exhibited considerable hostility toward the police.

This is an analysis of deviant behavior in the context of the social structure of Aklavik using data gathered during field research in the summer of 1961. Demographic structure, family organization, ethnic relations and the mechanisms of social control are described.

Excessive drinking and crime are the chief forms of deviance examined with some attention given to work instability and sexual promiscuity. Deviance was more common among young natives in the settlement who were beginning to form gangs than among the older people and those following traditional pursuits.

It was found that both whites and natives shared the opinion that Indians and Eskimos were unable to control their behavior while under the influence of alcohol. This, combined with the belief that the natives have a democratic
right to use liquor, functioned to absolve everyone of blame for the community's social problems.

Employing a theory formulated by R.K. Merton, the author contends that deviant behavior among young native adults is largely an adaptation to stress caused by an acceptance of white middle class values and goals on the one hand and lack of access to legitimate means for achieving these goals on the other.

Based on field work in the summer of 1960, this report examines Fort Providence, Fort Simpson, Fort Norman, Fort Good Hope and Fort McPherson in terms of geographic setting, population and settlement patterns, economy, services and facilities, social organization and acculturation. The larger centers of Yellowknife, Hay River, Aklavik and Inuvik are more briefly described.

Four categories of settlement pattern are distinguished on the basis of size, number of white inhabitants, degree of reliance on hunting and trapping, variety and extent of facilities and services and other related criteria. These categories include urban centers, settlement towns, local groupings and camps. Factors facilitating change were studied and found to include the establishment of new schools, government development programs and increasing urbanization. Factors inhibiting change included lack of employment opportunities and the persistence of values and attitudes which perpetuated traditional patterns of living.
Relations within and between white and non-white (Indian and Metis) groups were analyzed. Generally, interaction between the groups was characterized by formality and social distance and superior-subordinate roles. It was found that whites in the region could be divided into three main factions: the paternalistic traditionalists, the progressive reformers and the basically liberal but inactive apathetics.

The author concludes by recommending that future research include detailed studies of selected communities falling within the four category settlement pattern. Studies of the school hostel system and of labor relations are also recommended. A number of suggestions for administrative action are given.

Based on field research in 1958, this study examines social change among Eskimo miners and their families at Rankin Inlet. The history of the mine and the structure of the community are discussed, together with demographic features of the Eskimo population. Eskimo kinship, marriage patterns, living standards, and working conditions are described in detail.

As a result of mine employment, the traditional annual cycle of hunting and trapping had all but disappeared. However, the Eskimo had not yet acquired new attitudes or a new self-image appropriate to the industrial milieu. He had not adopted the goal of "success" as a wage earner, but instead was
adjusting passively and "marking time." His difficulty in adjusting to work routines was the chief complaint of white supervisors.

In general, the Eskimo culture as a system of attitudes and ideas remained unchanged. Marriage patterns, family relationships, health practices, and living arrangements were little affected by intensified exposure to white influence and standards. However, a social class system was developing among the Eskimo, on the basis of such criteria as occupational prestige and differences in regional origins. People from Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay looked down on those from Eskimo Point who were the last to arrive in Rankin Inlet and had experienced the most difficulty in adjusting to the new environment.

Relations between Eskimo and whites had the features of a caste system. There were "no real Eskimo-white social interaction of any kind," and even in the work situation the language barrier kept interaction to a minimum. Eskimos and whites ate in separate dining halls at the mine, and attended movies separately. With a few exceptions, whites were forbidden to visit the Eskimo settlement area and Eskimos almost never visited white homes. The Eskimos were not realizing social equality.

The mine management dominated and effectively controlled the community and the Eskimos were not consulted or given an opportunity to participate in community life. Eskimos were being trained to be laborers, but not citizens. The authors offer a number of recommendations for improving conditions, including the stimulation of Eskimo involvement in community affairs, the identification of more specific educational and administrative goals, and the provision of better health facilities and programs.
This is a psychological analysis of Eskimo covert behavior as revealed by the results of tests given in 1950 by J.J. Honigmann to four children and five adults (four males, one female). The results suggest that representativeness, compulsiveness and perfectionism of thinking is stereotyped and concrete. Eskimo perceptual ability is good, but their range of interest is narrow. There is no concern with causative factors of an abstract nature nor orientation toward the future. The contradictions between the affable exterior and hidden characteristics of the Eskimo are discussed. Personality traits revealed in the Rorschach records are considered vital for polar environments.

This study examines the social organization of the Tuktoyaktuk Eskimos in relation to the resources of the area, using data gathered in the field in 1957. Population characteristics and health conditions are described, and the history of culture contact and change outlined. The Eskimo community structure consisted of little more than a collection of extended families, each pursuing its own interests. There was no individual or group to provide leadership of the kind needed for economic cooperation across kinship lines. Effective leadership rested with the whites, who directed the religious organizations and the educational and economic systems.
The Eskimos recognized differences in occupational status within their own group; skilled trappers enjoyed high prestige, while casual laborers occupied a low level. Thus there were signs of an emerging social class structure, and a potential for the development of leadership along occupational lines.

There was a conflict between the demands of wage employment on the one hand, and of hunting and trapping on the other. In summer, jobs kept people in the settlement and diverted them from fishing and whaling.

The author predicts little increase in the number of permanent jobs available to Eskimos in the area, and a decrease in part-time summer employment as freight-handling becomes more mechanized. At the same time, the number of employable males would increase by about five per cent yearly. The fur market was unlikely to rise because many synthetic materials were replacing natural fur. Furthermore, Tuktoyaktuk was not a good trapping area.

Recommendations include the introduction of warmer winter clothing for the Eskimos, as there were not enough skins for clothing and this limited winter activities, and the provision of a mobile refrigerator to increase the efficiency of the local fishing and whaling industries. The author advises against a proposal to move the settlement, arguing that relocation would bring hardship to the Eskimos; their houses would not withstand the move, and the proposed site was unsuitable for fishing and beaching boats.
Settlements on the Belcher Islands are composed of a number of interacting households. Ideally, a household corresponds to a nuclear family. Households can be considered as potentially stable in time. The formation or reconstruction of an autonomous economic unit is the rational behind changes in household composition.

Patrilocal residence of male siblings after marriage is the basis of settlement composition. Seasonal or annual changes in settlement composition result mainly from economic pressures, although personality factors may also be important. Fragmentation of settlements occurs across the weakest kin linkages in relationship to the leader and illustrates the importance of kinship as a solidarity mechanism in settlement structure.

The household functions as the basic economic unit in the hunting economy. Distribution of game usually occurs on a settlement-wide basis, though sharing practices depend on a number of variables. Trapping is a marginal economic activity.

The endpoint of increasing acculturation among several Arctic and sub-Arctic hunter-trapper societies appears to be the formation of large, sedentary villages situated at points of trade and subsidy. Before reaching this state there is a stage of increased nomadism that seems to vary in intensity according to the level of acculturation reached or the degree of alien culture aspiration possessed. The seasonal distribution of income in the Belcher Islands results in extended migration: in the winter to the west, for trapping, and in the summer to the east, for wage employment. The movements of households
or settlements with few aspirations toward a cash economy are irregular and small-scaled compared to the regular east-west migrations of more acculturated members of the community.

128. GRABURN, Nelson H.H. 1963

LAKE HARBOUR, BAFFIN ISLAND: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF A SMALL ESKIMO COMMUNITY. Ottawa, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. 63-2. 34 pp.

Based on research in 1960, this study describes the culture, social organization and economy of the Eskimos of Lake Harbour. The history of white contact is sketched, and general population characteristics described. An outline is given of marriage practices, family organization and patterns of authority and leadership.

Good game resources permitted the continuation of traditional patterns of hunting camp organization and of the cycle of economic and social activities at Lake Harbour. Social control and decisions on economic and religious activities were exercised by leaders of several camps, who co-operated among themselves and with whites in matters affecting the entire community. Few Eskimos lived permanently in the settlement, and relief was rarely given.

Between 1956 and 1960 large-scale emigration to nearby Frobisher Bay brought about a drastic decline in Lake Harbour's population. Eskimos remaining behind feared for the future of their community, especially if the local trading post and government establishments were threatened with closure.

Graburn's study found Lake Harbour to be one of the few places in the Arctic with abundant food resources. This made the prospect of total
abandonment of the area especially undesirable. Recommendations for the rejuvenation of the community included provision of incentives for Eskimos to return, including assurances from white agencies that they intended to remain. If the trading post closed, it was suggested that the Eskimos consider founding a co-operative store. The local boat-building project could be expanded to employ more men and to build new types of boats. The promotion of tourism, arts and crafts and the possible establishment of a rehabilitation center and nursing station were also suggested.

129. GRABURN, Nelson H.H. TAKAGMIUT ESKIMO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY. 1964
Ottawa, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. 64-1. 222 pp.

This study is based on field research conducted in the Sugluk area in 1959. It investigates relationships between the system of kinship terminology and other aspects of social organization among the Takagmiut Eskimos of northern Ungave. Regularities and irregularities in kinship terminologies are examined to show why they occur, and to relate them to behavior patterns in the society. Kinship terminology is seen to reflect certain basic patterns in the organization of households, camps and sibling groups.

Recognition of a broad network of kinship by marriage, and the application of kin terms to a wide range of persons in the speaker's own and adjacent generations facilitated and reinforced patterns of co-operation within and between camps. The proliferation of kinship links could be seen as a highly adaptive feature in a harsh environment where individuals or groups might become dependent on the generosity of those in other camps. Similarly, the
129. GRABURN, 1964, cont.

many terms indicating distinctions of age and generation serve to reinforce a weak system of largely age-based authority.

130. GRABURN, Nelson H.H.

THE ESKIMOS AND "AIRPORT ART." In Trans-action. 4, 10:28-33.

Graburn here discusses a recent acculturation phenomenon, soapstone carving. He notes a boom-bust cycle in carving which has made it an unreliable income producer from the Eskimo point of view.

Of interest, Graburn notes that Eskimos who carve what they wish (modern things such as autos) have these carvings destroyed by officials on the grounds that they are not authentic. Graburn discusses the merits of this move and its implications for the local population.

131. HAWTHORN, H.B.


Hawthorn notes that it is usually the hope of employment, or of a steadier or better paying job, that brings natives to a city. Once employed in the city, the native may find it easier to prosper than at home as he is no longer surrounded by kin folk to whose support he is expected to contribute. Hawthorn adds that "community development programs require at least a minimum basis in resources, in residential stability and in population size which is now generally lacking among indigenous people in the north."
This is a comparison of the systems of education in Greenland and the Canadian Arctic in terms of history and cultural dynamics. The data is derived from six months of field work in the MacKenzie district, in the western Canadian Arctic in 1963-64, and six weeks in Greenland in 1965. An extensive survey of the literature dealing with education in both regions was also made.

From the beginning, the Danish attitude toward Greenland has been protective and non-exploitive. The type of people and the type of goods permitted into Greenland were both restricted. The Greenland education system has traditionally been aimed at cultural continuity, although recently there has been a shift toward cultural synthesis. The language of instruction was and is Eskimo. Residential schools are close to the parents' homes and the food, language and discipline are all native. The content of the curriculum has local relevance, and book learning is supplemented by practical training in traditional crafts and skills. Despite various problems, Greenland education remains integrative and synthetic.

The Canadian government's attitude toward the development or exploitation of Arctic people has been largely one of indifference. The aim of the Canadian education system has been and is mainly one of cultural replacement. The language of instruction has always been English. The establishment and heavy utilization of residential schools following Euro-Canadian patterns has been emphasized. The curriculum content has little relevance to native life. The frequent result of this system is the production of unhappy, maladjusted children who develop into adults fit for full participation in neither Eskimo nor white communities.
This paper is an attempt to relate cultural processes such as residence rules and economic activities to personality processes such as ego defenses and tendencies toward introversion or extroversion whose genesis may be in the history of a particular individual. Hoffman notes the importance of developing a formal technique of grouping people to resolve the antecedent conditions of a hypothesis into a concrete form. In this way, an individual idiosyncratic behavior can be more easily interpreted.

Hoffman's hypothesis was drawn from his initial observation of differences between Eskimo and Cree Indians. He hypothesizes that there is a correlation between wide cultural "experiences" and a decrease in suspicion, and that where two or more groups are characterized by having experienced different cultural processes, there will be differential distribution of emotional reactions.

In his investigation, Hoffman used a set of twelve plates (Thematic Apperception Test), developed by William Henry for research on American Indians. He collected protocol from forty subjects in the summer of 1955.

At the .01 level of probability, he discovered a statistically significant relationship between isolation and homogenous personality and responses in group contrasted to a wider variety of expressed personality and attitudes in groups which had greater exposure.
Honigmann suggests that inter-ethnic relations in the north generally seem to have three aspects. These include a sympathetic side, tied to the official functions of agents such as traders or teachers; a cultural and group action aspect implicit in the interactions of two or more cultural groups, and a personal aspect reflecting individual idiosyncrasies.

In relationships between native groups there exist few opportunities for conflict over limited goals like women, land or other resources. Cross-cultural research might show that such a negative condition is significantly related to the even tenor of relationships between contiguous groups.

Native-white relations are more complex. The whites are the most powerful of the three groups and think of themselves as benefactors, administrators and teachers. The natives appear ready to respond as recipients, subjects or pupils. Although the natives have assimilated many Christian teachings, this does not mean that they are any more able to appreciate all Western values than whites are able to accept native standards or customs. As a result, whites are frequently blocked in exercising effective leadership or instruction, while natives resent advice and orders whose rationale they fail to comprehend.
This is a multilateral ethnographic study of cultural changes in the Attawapiskat Indian society of James Bay. The study, based on observation, interviews and psychological tests in the period between 1947 and 1955, discusses the motivation and functional relationships between the groups living here.

Honigmann found pessimistic orientations toward the past and future among natives. There was preoccupation with working for white man and distrust of government wardship, though many remained government wards.

This paper is concerned only with events prior to 1950 and though not about Alaskan Eskimos describes a way of life very similar to theirs. Honigmann describes how one social system maintains itself through dependence on a larger society. He draws his example from the Great Whale River Eskimos.

An Arctic hunting and gathering society does not usually have a permanent settlement. When an outside force focuses social interaction on such a new settlement, a new system appears.

The Great Whale River Eskimos have had contact with Western culture for 200 years. Unlike the Indians, they have abandoned all of their old religious practices and beliefs. These Eskimos are dependent on a larger system, the
Honigmann, 1960, cont.

Canadian government, for their actual survival. However, they do not get tools, guns or food from the government. They must trade for these items, but the Eskimos themselves have little that the larger system desires.

Actual transactions with the outside world are handled by whites who have come to live in the north. These include the store manager and the missionary. The store manager is unable and unwilling to risk large investments on grubstaking, which causes resentment in the Eskimo and tension in store manager-Eskimo relationships. The missionary preaches generosity toward the poor. The Eskimo see themselves as poor, but the missionary fails to share all he has with them. The situation is distressing to both sides, and results in more tension.


This is an ethnographic study of Great Whale River, an Eskimo, Naskapi and Euro-Canadian community in northern Canada. The study was made in the summer of 1949 and 1950.

Honigmann describes the general milieu, noting that the area is on the borderline of the tundra and the boreal forest. He gives an outline of the history, and cites the numbers and composition of each of the three major ethnic groups. Daily routines, the family, social systems, religious beliefs and group-held values are discussed and compared. The limitations of inter-ethnic relationships and the hampering effect of linguistic barriers are noted.
137. Honigmann, 1962, cont.

Members of each of the major ethnic groups, Indians, Eskimos and Euro-
Canadians are internally solidified but cut off from the other two. Dress
is a basis of social distinction with Indian clothing considered less aesth-
etic than Eskimo. Surprisingly here, however, Indians are dominant over
Eskimos in personal fights and general aggressiveness.

Eskimos are very cooperative with other Eskimos lacking structural
goals for which men might compete. This accords with a training against
aggression and a high regard for others' property. Lacking developed leader-
ship they also tend to rely on police for social control. Indians, much more
individualistic, exhibitionistic and emotionally high strung, also have a
developed leadership. On the other hand, Eskimos lean toward explosive
millenarian types of religion, Indians toward more controlled expression.
Eskimo personality--though Rorschach protocols--seems to be typified by
shallow affect due to poor structural institutional controls and the conse-
quent need for deep repressive personal controls. Thus any loosening is
explosive.

Nonetheless neither Eskimo nor Indian seems to understand anything about
the meaning of the white world.

138. HONIGMANN, John J.
1963
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PATTERNS
OF CHANCE AMONG NORTH CANADIAN AND
ALASKAN INDIANS AND ESKIMOS. In
Anthropologica. 5, 1:3-8.

There is a significant difference between Eskimo and Indian response
to changing cultural conditions in the Arctic and sub-Arctic. Eskimo social
structure appears to be far more adaptable than Indian to white pressures and community organization. To explain this difference, Honigmann suggests a comparison of two communities, one Eskimo and one Indian, in search of specific differences between their histories, cultures or parts of cultures such as social structure. Findings should be tested in two more communities.

An approach already tried has been to develop typologies of northern community organization. Contact-traditional is the term applied to traditional communities in which social life continues to be cut off from daily contact with persons of European descent. In a trading post community, the native population during at least one part of the year engages in daily interaction with an intrusive ethnic group. Such a community focuses on institutions like church and store, which gives it a large measure of unity and solidarity.

Honigmann suggests that mechanisms creating trading post bands integrated into pluralistic trading posts or military communities are not purely ecological. He remarks that the Hughes 1963 Cultural Evolutionary Treatment is an important way of looking at such developments.

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This article, covering the rearing of children from birth through puberty, is based on research done in 1949-50.
There was reluctance to speak about pregnancy and birth. The new baby is swaddled, kept clean and frequently changed. Most children are breast fed for at least one year and perhaps for four. Much attention is given to young children.

They are seldom scolded, but usually distracted from undesirable behavior. Toilet training is not traumatic, and the child is commended when it follows good habits.

Non-aggression and sharing are two social skills strongly stressed. Laughter serves to release any strong emotion. For young children, discipline usually consists of appeasing, distracting or suggesting alternate activities to the child. As children get older scolding becomes more common, but there is seldom any physical punishment.

Younger children are given attention over older siblings; and older siblings often take care of a younger child. Orphans and illegitimate children do not get the same attention or love that legitimate children or children with parents do, and often suffer a bit more.

Ethos, as Honigmann defines it, is a term covering emotional aspects abstracted from artifacts and behavior, together with the inferred motivational states through which those aspects are assumed to be routed. An attempt is made to explain the emotional quality of an activity, though or artifact in terms of psychological drive theory. The drives themselves are
acquired in childhood and through later learning. The authors prefer, however, to eliminate motivation from an analysis of these goals. A subsequent observer may therefore have difficulty in ascertaining that the particular quality previously designated is present, but in order to complete the test of reliability he does not have to make an inference to the same psychological drive. Socialization routines are one of the aspects of life examined.

It is suggested that there are six more-or-less overlapping stylistic features of Eskimo culture. These are friendliness, confidence, narcissism, touchiness, deference and flexibility. Each of these features is discussed separately and in detail.

Eskimo friendliness tends to link sexes, where the Indian community at Great Whale River sees sex relations as marked with tension. The great ease of interpersonal contact for Eskimos and their fearlessness about sex makes them easily sexually exploited. Accustomed to appeasement, the Eskimo child becomes an adult easy to appease.

The optimism of Eskimos sometimes masks ambivalent attitudes, but trust in luck may have been instrumental in the lack of development of therapeutics in Eskimo culture. This is also related to the supportive open generous orality of Eskimos. This in turn develops an intense narcissism and facilitates sibling rivalry and touchiness.

Always expecting the best from people, and getting it when little, ill prepares a child for rejection or hurt. Strength is not learned in the face of trial. In the absence of ready aggressive responses, tension is revealed by forced smiles and the quality of deference is expressed to avoid conflict.
140. Honigmann and Honigmann, 1959, cont.

All this permissiveness leads to a flexibility without rigidity and an acceptance of what is.

HONIGMANN, John and Irma. 1965

See #6, p. 21.

HUGHES, Charles C. 1963

See #8, p. 23.

JENNESS, Diamond. 1918

See #107, p. 101.

JENNESS, Diamond. 1924

See #39, p. 44.

141. JENNESS, Diamond 1964


This is a more complex work than "Alaska" as Jenness uses 16 time period to describe change. Significant differences from Alaska are noted. The Canada did not really become aware of Eskimos till after 1903. Where many problems in Alaska can be traced to confused and confusing government policies, in Canada almost total neglect was the dominant policy for a long time.
Great Whale River is a community on the east shore of Hudson Bay in the Province of Quebec. In the summer of 1960 it numbered 375 Eskimo, 202 Indians, and 23 whites. Eskimo, Indians and whites live in three entirely separate, contiguous, but non-overlapping areas within the community. In view of the geographic proximity of the three ethnic groups, one might expect there would be a considerable amount of fraternization. In fact, the Indians almost never engage in relationships other than those of expediency with either Eskimo or whites.

The Indian community is structured along family lines and reinforced by religious (Anglican) organization. A chief and counselors were accepted by the Indians as spokesmen for the Indian community. The Indians did not mix with Eskimo in church or at dances. In school, the Indian children, who tended to be retiring and mild, feared and were teased by the more aggressive Eskimo children. In general, the Indians held a divided attitude toward attending school, often feeling that school was more disruptive of traditional values than it was to any extent educative. They also felt that the school was an Eskimo school, a sentiment which reflected both the greater number of Eskimo children in attendance and the feeling that the white community was identified with the Eskimo to the neglect of the Indians.

The Indians felt a deep resentment at what they considered the white man's unjust preference for the Eskimos, shown through such practices as a willingness to hire more Eskimo than Indians. On the other hand, Indian group solidarity vis-à-vis whites tended to break down because of the direct economic dependence of individual Indians upon white authorities.
143. OSWALT, Wendell H.  
1961  
CARIBOU ESKIMO WITHOUT CARIBOU.  
Beaver, Outfit. 291:12-17.

This study is based on observations made during the summer of 1959 at Eskimo Point and Padlei, west of Hudson Bay. Oswalt gives many recommendations for the future administration of Eskimos on such topics as the type and level of education, housing problems and health measures. The findings of the study are applicable in many instances to conditions currently existing in Alaska.

144. OSWALT, Wendell H.  
1961  
ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES UPON THE CARIBOU ESKIMOS.  
In Southwestern Lore. 27, 2: 17-22.

This is a general description of some brief ethnographic notes which don't appear in other writings by the author. The Caribou Eskimo lives in the relative isolation of the barren grounds in northcentral Canada. These people are still essentially unacculturated to Western ways. The majority of the field data was collected at the settlement of Eskimo Point.

In 1961 the Caribou Eskimo population consisted of about 400 persons. One hundred and sixty-five lived at Eskimo Point. One hundred lived at Rankin Inlet and worked at the nickel mine, while another fifty were settled nearby. The Caribou Eskimo have tended to move from the barren grounds to the coast because of the tremendous decrease in caribou in the starvation years of 1942, 1943, '46 and 1957.

In terms of acculturation, Oswalt suggests the Caribou Eskimo do recognize the superiority of Western technology. They exchange fox pelts to obtain things they have come to view as essentials. They also accomodate Roman Catholic missionaries, but these missionaries would be the first to acknowledge how superficial their influences have been.
The authors note that in the past the Caribou Eskimos of Canada have been so isolated that their traditional way of life has maintained itself. However, recent changes in Canadian governmental attitudes will have important effects on the Caribou Eskimos. This paper seeks to define the current Canadian governmental policies toward Eskimos, to interpret these policies in light of possible means for changing Eskimo life, and to consider how such changes could be implemented among Caribou Eskimos at Eskimo Point.

Previously, the Canadian Eskimos were subjected to a form of authoritative paternalism administered by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Hudson Bay Company, and, to some extent, by the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions. Now, largely through the efforts of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, there is a conscious attempt to make the Eskimo a fully participating Canadian citizen. This means importing Canadian values while at the same time encouraging Eskimo cultural identity.

The most obvious device for enculturating Eskimos with Canadian values is formal schooling. Linguistic barriers must be broken down and, hopefully, a bi-lingual population created.

Oswalt and Van Stone discuss several educative and integrative schemes that could be introduced on the village level and present each with reference to the Eskimo Point settlement, the largest concentration of Caribou Eskimos.
OSWALT, Wendell H. and James W. Van Stone. 1963

See #98, p. 93.

146. PARKER, Seymour. 1962

MOTIVES IN ESKIMO AND OJIBWA MYTHOLOGY. In Ethnology. 1, 4: 516-523.

Parker compares Eskimo and Ojibwa myths and considers the nature of the function of myth telling. He notes that most earlier writers felt the use of myths was cathartic and provided expression for suppressed and repressed motives and needs.

Parker finds that achievement, power and affiliation are motives in myth telling; and exist as values in the culture studied. Therefore, he suggests that myth telling may also be at least in part a reflection of consciously desired goals and may act as a manner of model behavior.

The author found that the Ojibwa strive for individual achievement and power and were highly competitive, independent and suspicious of one another. The Eskimos were much more co-operative and put less emphasis on individual achievement and the acquisition of power. On this basis he predicted that in comparable samples of fantasy from the two groups, the Ojibwa would show more of the affiliation motive. He took 29 myths at random and scored for achievement. The findings were in striking accordance with the prediction.

PETTITT, George A. 1956

See #30, p. 37.
Rubel notes that much of the literature suggests that the cultural phenomena of exchanging wives for a short time functioned to cement ties between two men. He agrees with this theory, remarking that a great deal of wife exchange occurred between men not consanguines, in order to extend the cooperation and help provided by kin groups by establishing fictive kin relationships through the medium of wife exchange.

The author mentions that wife exchange in connection with the Asking Ceremony was recorded by Nelson in 1897 and notes that Boas found wife exchange connected with a similar festival among the Hudson Bay Eskimos. Lantis suggested that wife exchange resulted in a solid tie between two men, and that men engaging in such exchanges were mutually dependent to a large extent. In 1960, Hughes described a ceremony known as Kaezivas, involving formal wife exchange.

The partners engaging in wife exchange often bore special names, and the children of such partners had a special relationship to each other. The ties arising from such relationships were used extensively, even to help prevent and stop bloodshed and feuds.
Slobodin defines the Metis as non-treaty Indians and unlisted Eskimos; that is, persons of Indian and Eskimo ancestry who are not in a legal position Indians or Eskimos. The Metis belong to a group whose members are neither Eskimo, Indian nor white. There are between two thousand and three thousand Metis in the MacKenzie District of northern Canada.

He differentiates between the Northern Metis and the Red River Metis. The Red River Metis have a tremendous passion for passion itself: romantic love, a sudden and violent attraction, is a feature of the Red River Metis life.

In discussing relationships within the nuclear family, Slobodin indicates the possibility of an absent father tradition. Because their husbands are frequently absent, the women find themselves making more decisions and exercising more authority. However, by and large masculine and feminine dominance seem to be about equal. There is almost no significant evidence of mother-centered families.

Child care is permissive and haphazard. Sibling relationships are characterized by solidarity. Kinship is based on an extended family group. In an area such as Fort Resolution these extended family groups make up five or six local kin groups. The result is that most disagreements or disputes between individuals are rapidly converted into inter-kin group quarrels. The Metis keeps track of each other through a communication system infinitely more complicated and thorough than the systems of Eskimos, Indians or whites.

Slobodin provides much more information on the Metis too diverse to summarize briefly.
149. STEWART, Don. 1962

NOTES ON DRINKING PROBLEMS. Ottawa, Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Welfare. pp. 29-30.

Stewart describes two kinds of alcoholism he observed among the Indians and Metis around Yellowknife; the addictive, or "bender" type, and non-addictive or psychological or emotional dependence on alcohol. He notes the effects of alcoholism on the drinker's family, its damage to interpersonal relations, depletion of sources of livelihood and so forth. Betterment in living standards and job opportunities are discussed as a means of reducing the psychological stresses which lead to alcoholism.

150. USHER, Peter J. 1965


Using data gathered in 1963, this study investigates the Eskimo economy of the Coppermine-Holman region in the western Canadian Arctic. This history of economic change in the area is outlined, from the period of European contact to the mid 1960's. The geography, natural resources, settlement patterns, and populations of the area are described.

Income from all sources, including hunting, trapping, fishing, DEW line employment and government assistance, is analyzed and compared with the economic potential of the region and with the needs of the people. The study attempts to isolate and analyze the important problems and trends in the economic life of the area, and to outline possible future courses of action.

Usher found that game resources had been depleted by overhunting, and that the land could no longer support the growing population. Although the
transition to a wage economy had begun, there were not enough jobs available. There was no basis for a viable economy, and the lack of known mineral resources in the area suggested that there was little hope of improvement in the future. Better methods of hunting and traveling might increase the food supply, but would do little to increase the source of cash income. There was a danger that relief would become a major and continuous source of income for all.

The author recommended a serious investigation of the possibility of moving part of the population out of this and similar regions, possibly to southern Canada.

VALLEE, Frank G.


This report is based on the author's fieldwork among the Great Whale River Eskimos. He studied the settlements of Port Harrison, Povungnituk, Sugluk, Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet, Baker Lake and Tuktoyaktuk.

Vallee distinguishes between settlement Eskimos and land Eskimos. For the purposes of this report, land Eskimos (Nunamiut) are defined as those who prefer to live on the land rather than in the settlements. They depend heavily on the land for their subsistence and choose to follow those traditional conventions that still exist in Eskimo culture. The settlement Eskimos are called Kabloonamiut, or whiteman's Eskimos. These Eskimos live in the settlements, are usually employed by the white man, reject an acute dependence
on the land and choose to follow certain white customs in instances where they could just as easily follow traditional Eskimo customs.

Kabloonamiut have not given up the skills associated with the land, although they are not dependent upon it. To the contrary, some of the men and women most excelling in traditional Eskimo crafts and skills are Kabloonamiut. Vallee found that the majority of the Kabloonamiut household heads were either born outside the Baker Lake region (his area of concentration) or had lived for long periods outside this district. This made them deviant.

The Kabloonamiut form a distinct stratum in the community. They are more linked with one another by kinship ties than they are concerned with the Nunamiut in the surrounding hinterland. They tend to marry among themselves.

Vallee feels this hints at the emergence of a socio-economic class system. At Baker Lake, almost half of the cash income flowing into the eighty households goes to the households of fifteen settlement families, ten of whom could be classified as Kabloonamiut. These people are relatively wealthy by Eskimo standards, and are accorded prestige, deference and respect. This is probably related to the traditional prestige and esteem given to those who mastered skills and thus acquired material possessions.

In spite of differentiating factors, the Kabloonamiut still identify themselves as Eskimos, although culturally they may be much closer to the whiteman than to traditional Eskimo.
This publication consists of two papers delivered at meetings of the Canadian Political Science Association in 1961 and 1962. "A Comparative Study in the Organization of Work in the Arctic," outlines a particular social science approach for use in the study of production organizations, particularly co-operatives. The paper discusses certain key concepts for the investigation of organizations, of observable differences between organizations, and of social relations and work roles within them. The point is made that social research in the north need not be confined to ethnographic studies and that conventional anthropological concepts and methods can be blended usefully with concepts and methods from other fields of social science.

"Differentiation Among the Eskimo in Some Canadian Arctic Settlements," is based on fieldwork at Baker Lake, with supplementary and comparative data from seven other Arctic communities. This paper discusses new forms of social differentiation and social groupings, and offers some hypotheses concerning the conditions under which new forms arise. In doing so, the report treats in condensed form some of the major findings discussed in the author's Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin.

Traditionally, the main forms of social grouping were according to band, extended family, and household. With the increasing activity of white agencies, many Eskimos assumed new work roles and adjusted to new social relationships. Differences emerged between settlement Eskimos (the Kabloonamiut) and Eskimos on the land (the Nunamiut). The settlement people were linked together by kinship and social bonds, and tended to intermarry more than they married land Eskimos. At the same time, new groups were forming within the settlements,
and a socio-economic class system was emerging, based on differences in income, occupational prestige, regional origins, and other factors. It is suggested that the emerging classes soon may cut across community boundaries, linking people in a pan-Eskimo grouping.

153. VALLEE, Frank G.
ESKIMO THEORIES OF MENTAL ILLNESS IN THE HUDSON BAY REGION. In Anthropologica. 8, 1:53-84.

Vallee feels that it is generally agreed that our understanding of mental illness is superficial unless we describe its incidences in a cultural context and take into account the ways in which different social groups define, explain and treat mental disorders. He intends to discuss mental disorders which have not yet been described in published reports on Eskimos. His subjects are the Eskimos around Hudson Bay.

He notes that anthropological and psychiatric literature suggests that the classical form of mental illness prevalent among Eskimos is pibloktoq. Only one of the Eskimos he worked with had ever heard of pibloktoq. That one learned the term from a white nurse.

For the purpose of his survey, mental breakdown was defined as the incapacity of a person to perform in some or all of his normal roles accompanied by behavioral oddity as defined by informants, and cases where individual incapacity or oddity were attributed to the head or some other part of the body.

He found four patterns of symptoms. These were epilepsy, simple hysteria, compulsive and acute melancholy, and manic depression with paranoia. There is

one other disorder which he found which would be regarded as delusional by psychiatrists, but which is regarded as a benign although not particularly credible condition by the Eskimos. This is communication from the spirit world, audible and visible only to the individual.

Vallee discusses these forms of mental disorders, the native terms for them, the manifestations they most often take among afflicted Eskimos and common ideas about the treatment of them.

154. VALLEE, Frank G. 1967

KABLOONA AND ESKIMO IN THE CENTRAL KEEWATIN. Ottawa, St. Paul University, The Canadian Research Center for Anthropology.

This study was done in the summers of 1959 and 1960 in the Baker Lake region of the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories. This is part of the Barren Lands region. The people who live here are mainly Caribou Eskimos.

Two main categories are distinguished in the Eskimo population: the Nunamiut, who choose to remain on the land and retain traditional living patterns, and the Kabloonamiut, who wish to live in the settlements, avoid dependence on the land, and adopt certain customs of the whites. There are no really sharp divisions between these categories.

The Kabloona is the whiteman. Relations between Kabloona and Eskimo were marked by diffuse friendliness, informal segregation, considerable restraint and the absence of overt conflict. Some of the features of a caste system were evident in these relations, while others were absent.
Increasing specialization of function among several white agencies was accompanied by increasingly impersonal relations with the Eskimos. Paternalistic treatment tended to produce childish reactions on the part of the Eskimos, who were anxious to become hard-working, thrifty, mindful of the future and generally committed to middle class values. However, the Eskimos were not much concerned about the future. This attitude made it unlikely that they would identify with or conform to the ideal image that had been constructed for them. This was a source of despair to many whites.

The author notes a trend toward the emergence of an Eskimo social system transcending local communities and linking widely separated people in a consciousness of kind. Government sponsored radio programs and publications in the Eskimo language were contributing to this trend. Vallee feels that the assimilation of the Eskimos into Canadian society is less likely than their integration into that society as an ethnic group.

Field research for this study was conducted at Pelly Bay in August and September 1957. Social and economic conditions among the Netsilik are described, and patterns of leadership and authority are examined. There was no recognized formal authority outside the family among the Netsilik; although individuals of unusual ability and prestige might exercise informal and often temporary leadership across kinship lines. The most common level of authority rested with the head of the nuclear family, the
ihumatar, or husband. He in turn looked up to his father or, if his father was dead, to his paternal uncle or oldest brother. Thus the authority structure consisted typically of a small number of nuclear families closely related through the father's line, and cooperating under recognized common leadership.

Common causes of interpersonal conflict (derision, destruction of caches, wife-stealing, murder, etc.) are described, and typical reactions, both individual and collective, are analyzed on the basis of case histories. Patterns of reaction were not sufficiently clear to allow predictions about the form of punishment, if any, which might follow a particular kind of injury or offense. Sometimes the injury appeared to be ignored. Only rarely did the entire community react to conflict in an active manner, and then gossip, ridicule, and derision (including song duels) were the principal means of social control. Where deviance was not viewed as a threat to the community as a whole, control rested primarily within the family. Traditionally, blood vengeance might follow the murder of a relative.

Only in the manner whereby individuals dangerous to the community were executed was there evidence that law existed as a social phenomenon among the Netsilik Eskimos. Even then the decision to execute the deviant rested essentially with his family. In less critical matters, the norms governing conduct were customary rather than legal. The situation was similar to that found by the author in his earlier examination of law among the Caribou Eskimos, although the Netsilik were more aggressive in reacting to conflict, and showed more evidence of employing rudimentary legal concepts.

A serious problem in applying the Canadian penal code to Eskimos is seen in the fact that Eskimo definitions of acceptable behavior may differ
widely from the definitions employed in Canadian law. An argument is made for the appointment of Eskimo juries to hear cases against Eskimos.

156. VAN STONE, James W. 1960


This report is based on research done in 1959. Van Stone sketches the history of European contact with Southampton Island and describes the geographic distribution of its Eskimo inhabitants. Many of these Eskimos came from adjacent areas earlier in the century.

The Hudson Bay Company established a post at Coral Harbor in 1924. An airfield was constructed a few miles from the settlement during the Second World War, and continued operations after the war. Later, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources established a school and other facilities at Coral Harbor. The Eskimos tended increasingly to group themselves in the vicinity of the settlement and airfield, in order to be near sources of possible wage employment. Most of the jobs available were seasonal and temporary.

This concentration of the population resulted in incomplete exploitation of the comparatively rich game resource of Southampton Island, which was capable of supporting a much larger number of people. The shift to a partial wage economy was beginning to erode the aboriginal economy, but the new wage base did not seem sufficiently stable to meet the needs of the people.
157. VAN STONE, James W.  
1960  
THE FUTURE OF THE CARIBOU ESKIMOS.  
In Anthropologica. 2:1-23.  
This article is a description of a Canadian Eskimo group. It summarizes their former way of life, their present condition, and presents a long list of recommendations for administrative changes.  
Van Stone suggests that land now under the control of churches and the government be given over to the control and occupancy of residents of the community. More social control should be given to the village council. Welfare should be taken out of the hands of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and representatives of the Hudson Bay Company. Government personnel should be of non-authoritarian type, and willing to encourage Eskimo leadership. The school year should be adapted to the subsistence hunting economy, and teacher aides capable of working in both English and Eskimo should be hired. There should be an avenue of relocation provided for those Eskimos who wish to move to an area with a more secure economic base. Mail service should be increased.

158. VAN STONE, James W.  
1964  
He notes that Christianity was chiefly represented in the Nushagak and Kuskokwim River regions of Alaska by the Russian Orthodox and Moravian Churches north of the Seward Peninsula, along the Arctic coast, the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches were important. The Roman Catholic Church is found in the Great Slave Lake region of the Mackenzie District in Canada's Northwest Territories.
The Russian Orthodox Church is still a significant part of the culture of the Eskimos of southwest Alaska. In accepting the Orthodox faith the Eskimo had to adapt to many unfamiliar cultural forms, such as rigid ceremonial calendar. The range of the church was limited in area but significant in depth.

Moravian successes in Southwest Alaska might be traced to their unwavering belief that only through Moravian Christianity could the Eskimo be saved from eternal damnation. Once convinced of the truth of this premise, the Eskimo could hardly afford to risk damnation when salvation seemed so readily available.

The Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches were introduced among the Eskimos of northern Alaska by missionaries who were also teachers and medical practitioners. Schools and medical services were offered first, and no attempt to preach was made until the people were ready. This tactic helped to firmly establish these churches.

Among the Chipewyan Indians of the area around Great Slave Lake there are few outward signs of the acceptance of religion but there are also few sceptics. Roman Catholicism is not really a part of their way of life. They regard the church as a large, wealthy and impersonal organization, like the Hudson Bay Company, imposed on them from the outside. The church has not concerned itself with Chipewayan social problems.
Using data gathered in 1959, this study examines social conditions among the Eskimos of Eskimo Point, in the west coast of Hudson Bay. The history of the settlement is sketched and aspects of the social structure and material culture of the Eskimo Point Eskimos are outlined.

The Caribou Eskimos at Eskimo Point were the most primitive of all Eskimos, but the authors found them undergoing rapid change. Native leadership, traditionally based on hunting skill, had given away to the leadership of the traders and police. Representatives of Canadian agencies generally viewed the Eskimos as child-like people, and treated them paternalistically. The Eskimo Point community lacked unity. The most important divisions were along religious lines.

The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was attempting to involve the Eskimos in management of their own affairs. It was endeavoring to stabilize the economy, introduce new welfare measures and to provide educational facilities. The general goal was to assist the Eskimos to adjust to new social conditions while preserving their culture.

Van Stone and Oswalt offer several recommendations. In order to help preserve Eskimo culture, they suggest the encouragement of Eskimo leadership and the promotion of greater community integration and solidarity. This could be done at Eskimo Point by establishing a village council having some measure of local power. The provision of a community meeting place, the establishment of a co-operative store, the introduction of programs to promote adult education and the instigation of more efficient methods for harvesting marine
159. Van Stone and Oswalt, 1959, cont.

resources are also recommended. They suggest that serious consideration be
given to relocating selected Eskimos in the more urban areas of Canada.

VAN STONE, James W.
and Wendell Oswalt.
1960

160. WELFARE DIVISION, NAB.
See #91, p. 86.
1964

QUAJIVAALIRUTISSAT--"Q" BOOK. Ottawa,
Department of Northern Affairs and
National Resources.

This book has the contents of each page printed in three forms: syllabic
Eskimo, modern Eskimo spelling, and English. It is prepared for the Eskimos
of Canada, many of whom have not experienced the extensive contact with whites
that Alaskan Eskimos have. Its aim is to give Canadian Eskimos some explana-
tion, in their own language, of what to expect and how to deal with new
situations. It is written in a very frank and simple manner.

161. WILLMOTT, W.E.
1960

THE FLEXIBILITY OF ESKIMO SOCIAL ORGAN-
IZATION. In Anthropologica. 2, 1:
48-59.

Willmott suggests that flexibility prevades Eskimo social structure.
Eskimo marriage is flexibly monogamous in that while monogamy is the preferred
form, there is no need for the same monogamous couple to continue through time.
Household size and family membership is rendered flexible through the mechanism
of adoption, which distributes children rather uniformly throughout the group.

Kinship terms are employed with little regard for their recognized literal meanings, but rather flexibly, as seems appropriate to the nature of the personal relationship involved.

Traditional Eskimo community organization was based on a small, nomadic band without clearly defined leadership roles, whose members varied from year to year. This organization has changed variously under different kinds of contact situations. It is probably due to Eskimo flexibility that Eskimo-white relations have been relatively free of conflict.

162. WILLMOTT, W.E.
THE ESKIMO COMMUNITY AT PORT HARRISON, P.Q. Ottawa, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. 61-1. 197 pp.

This report is based on field research in the summer of 1958. Willmott investigates social change among Eskimos living in the area of Port Harrison. He outlines the historical setting, demographic features and economic activities, and describes Eskimo kinship structure, family and community organization.

Two categories are identified and compared: Eskimos living in camps by hunting and fishing and Eskimos recently moved to the settlement, subsisting on wage labor for white employers. Traditional forms of co-operation and sharing persisted in the camps, but wage employment in the settlements meant the acceptance of Euro-Canadian patterns of private property, and the idea of money as a means for accumulating and storing wealth. These changes were having profound effect on Eskimo social organization and were resulting in a shift toward patterns common to the larger Canadian society.
162. Willmott, 1960, cont.

Willmott found that the highly adaptable Eskimo was well equipped for change, but that his tendency to fatalistic acquiescence had led to white domination. This pattern needed to be broken.

There were signs of a caste boundary between Eskimos and whites at Port Harrison. Evidence from other parts of the world shows that caste lines are barriers to the assimilation of indigenous peoples, and that these boundaries tend to become firmly fixed when the indigenous group forms the labor pool for the economy. Willmott feels that if the Eskimos are to provide the labor and the whites the supervision, the industrialization of the north could strengthen caste lines and perpetuate the Eskimos' inferior economic position. However, by creating Eskimo owned enterprises, the co-operative movement could help reduce economic dependence and break down tendencies toward a caste system.

Recommendations for further study include consideration of the emergences of new values and of the role of fatalistic attitudes in social change, and research into the acculturative effects of co-operatives.


This report is based on field work in the summer of 1958 and 1959, and discusses the material culture of the Frobisher Bay Eskimo at that time. The author presents the results of an extensive, detailed survey of Eskimo material possessions, including housing, furniture, clothing, food, luxury articles, musical instruments, tobacco and smoking equipment, hunting tools, and Western items of transportation. He observes that the Eskimo owns some items of Western
technology, but come into contact with many others that they neither own nor control.

The author feels that the willingness of the Eskimo to adopt Western technology does not necessarily mean that they will be rapidly assimilated into Canadian culture. He notes that the material aspects of any culture are generally more subject to change than the non-material cultural categories. However, he suggests that in time, continued exposure to Western technology may influence the non-material aspects of Eskimo culture in important ways.
ESKIMOS

Works Dealing with Aspects of All or Most of the Four Major Eskimo National Divisions: Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Asia

164. ACKERKNECHT, E.H. 1948

THE ESKIMO. Symposium, 10, 1: 894-921.

A succinct description of the Eskimo's food, types of shelter, styles of clothing, methods of hunting and means of travel. Social organization is discussed, and Eskimo religious beliefs are touched upon. Eskimo disease and medicine are also discussed and a history of the Eskimo is given.

165. ACKERKNECHT, E.H. 1948

MEDICINE AND DISEASE AMONG ESKIMOS. CIBA Symposium, July - August. 10:916-921.

Part of a long term discussion of Arctic peoples in which various authors have attempted to sort out the physiological, psychological and socio-cultural aspects of this "disease" type adaptation.

"Pibloctoq" or "Arctic hysteria" refers to bizarre acts or unusual behavior possibly triggered among Eskimos and other Arctic peoples by close confinement in cramped quarters for a long period during the cold, dark winter months. Tension arising from interpersonal irritations or worry over a shortage of food or other necessities may help bring on or exacerbate the condition.
After making note of the difficulties arising when dealing with the concept of race, Birket-Smith cites certain physical characteristics of the Eskimo population including large brain size, epicanthial fold and mongol spot. He gives some very general information on aboriginal Eskimo hunting patterns and also discusses the concept of welfare programs such as Aid to Dependent Children and how native co-operatives have operated.

This is a narrative of the author's journeys across the coast of the northern part of North America. While on these journeys, Birket-Smith lived among Eskimo groups from Greenland to northwestern Alaska. The Eskimo he met are described, with varying amounts of thoroughness and various degrees of ethnocentrism, in terms of their environments, physical traits, psychological characteristics, language, material culture, social organization and religious beliefs. Information is also given on the history of Eskimo-white contact and on the relationship of the Eskimo with the white.

Birket-Smith feels that Eskimo logic differs from white logic, and that the Eskimo mentality typifies Levy-Bruhl's "pre-logical" mind. He feels that Eskimos have a marked lack of self control and a consequent absence of a sense of responsibility for their actions. The influence of the old and the emphasis on traditional behavior is very strong. Birket-Smith also notes that it is
very difficult for an Eskimo to bring himself to stand against the crowd or against common opinion.

While descriptively adequate, Birket-Smith's adherence to Levy-Bruhl's ideas about primitive thought and to neo-evolutionist theories of culture levels must be accounted for in his analytic statements.

BOGORAS, Vladimir. See #100, p. 96.

168. BROWN, Malcolm. COLD ACCLIMATIZATION IN ESKIMO. In Arctic. 7, 3-4:343-353.

Having little to do with cultural or social states it is essentially a work concerned with certain aspects of physical adaptation.

Brown describes experiments run on Eskimos in the Arctic and compares the results of those experiments with the results of similar experiments run on Caucasians. The object was to test both for acclimatization over a period of time and to check reactions to exposure to short, acute experiences of cold.
Garber adduces a great variety of evidence to indicate that the Eskimos practiced infanticide especially for infant girls and for the female in a set of twins. This would seem to be very clear in that twin births are seldom reported. Infanticide might be one of the reasons accounting for reports of small Eskimo families in early ethnographies. Garber also notes that there was little, if any, abortion.

This work was based on the writings of anthropologists or anyone who had written on the Eskimos inhabiting the areas from Greenland to Kotzebue. The book is limited in that it is only a compilation and comparison of the works of others, and was written in 1930. However, Giffen does supply about 19 pages of bibliography, probably the most complete bibliography on the Eskimos up to 1930.

Giffen lists the various tasks of men and women in Eskimo culture and discusses the differences in men's and women's work along such lines as determination by degree of strength needed. She notes that husband and wife owned most possessions jointly, as traditionally few items were felt to be private property. Clothing differences tended to be small, but the women's parka was shorter and had a larger hood than the man's for carrying babies.

Children seemed to have been named after a recently deceased person of either sex. The child wore the clothing of the sex named, regardless of the child's sex.

He further notes equality of the sexes in decision making by older people and the apparent exchangeability of sex roles in ceremonial and entertainment dancing.


Hoebel discusses the Eskimos as if they composed a general group, although he indicates there was nothing larger in terms of effective Eskimo social organization than the village, community or local band. He notes that using the culture area concept to discuss law causes a partial blurring of the picture, but the scarcity of adequate information on any single group makes the procedure a necessity.

Ideologically, each married male was a pater-familias, having complete power over his wife and children. However, participation in a limited social world in which sharing and economic co-operation were the supreme virtues made all normal individuals extremely sensitive to social pressure.

Crimes against property were practically unknown, because little property was privately owned. Homicide was not a legal absolute. Infanticide, invalidicide, senilicide and suicide were accepted forms of homicide. Homicide arising from sexual competition was relatively frequent and not sanctioned, but no group action was initiated against the killer. Blood revenge taken by kinsmen of a murdered man was expected by almost all Eskimos. A homicidal recidivist was considered a social menace and was liable to be killed as a
171. Hoebel, 1941, cont.

Public enemy, as was a criminal sorcerer or, in Alaska, a too-wealthy man. Fighting, wrestling or song contests were engaged in to help settle disputes.

The paucity of legal rules was compensated for in part by an all-embracing religious norm which controlled and directed Eskimo social and economic life with a variety of taboos, the violation of which was sinful. Public confession often followed by an act of penance ordered by a shaman removed the taint of sin under normal circumstances.


172. JUEL, Eric. 1945

NOTES ON SEAL HUNTING CEREMONALISM IN THE ARCTICS. In Ethnos. 10, 2-3: 143-164.

The author traces the various ceremonies accompanying the seal hunt from eastern Canada to southern Alaska. Various rites occur before, during and after the hunt.

Seal killing rituals are not nearly as complex or involved as those attached to the whale hunt. The killing of a seal is an almost daily event, while the securing of a whale, with its attendant elaborate ceremonialism, is usually at best a once a year occurrence.
Kroeber draws a basic distinction between North American Indian and Eskimo tales. Indian tales possess a considerable animal element; Eskimo tales do not.

In Indian tales, animals nearly always seem to be regarded as almost human. They speak and think like man. The tales seem to indicate a general North American Indian concept that there was a time when men and animals were not different, but alike.

In Eskimo tales, animals are almost absent. Two types of animal tales do exist. In one, the central incident is marriage between a human being and an animal. The contrast between man and beast seems to be uppermost in the mind of the Eskimo narrator. The second type of animal tale resembles the ordinary European beast fable, and is remarkable for its brevity. Eskimo mythology, compared to Indian, is very strongly human.

Lantis excludes the Aleuts from this discussion of Eskimo religion. She describes shamanism and the function and techniques of the shaman (Anagkok), Eskimo cosmology, the concept of soul, and the concept of illness as soul loss.

Eskimo religion was evidently strong and satisfying. Symbolism of fluidity, changeability of life, and lack of symbolism indicating attachment to the land are noticeable. Much individualism was apparent in Eskimo religion. Shamanistic power was personal power and man's relation to the supernatural a personal matter. Some aggression could be found in Eskimo religious
174. Lantis, 1950, cont.

experience, but not as much as might be expected in such an individualized community. In religion, as in many other things, the Eskimo was mainly passive.

Eskimo religion was oriented toward the here and now. It functioned in terms of daily needs and taboos. Most common were temporary food and use taboos. There was no conceptualization of a divine or natural law. Eskimos believed in human soul spirits which survived death. They were not personally afraid of death but did fear the soul spirits of the recently deceased.

Eskimos believed in a variety of supernatural beings. These beings were held to be as personal and individualistic as people. Eskimo religion was not intellectualized; life was viewed as a very personal struggle.

175. MARSH, Gordon H. 1954


Marsh compares aboriginal beliefs of the Aleuts and the northern Eskimo from Nunivak to Greenland. He analyzes the aboriginal religions, determines five categories of supernatural power and hazards a reconstruction of proto-Eskimo-Aleut religious beliefs.

Marsh concludes that primarily the Eskimo-Aleut religion was a pragmatic way of dealing with the forces of nature. Only secondly was it a means of explaining causes and origins. Rules of life were traditional, and were handed down by ancestors who discovered them to be effective.

Oswalt discusses the superior inventive ability attributes to Eskimos. He cites as examples of this reputed ability, the making of skin incubators for premature babies in Siberia, unusual hunting techniques in Greenland and Canada, soapstone carving in Canada, and mechanical toys, ivory carving and the manufacture of caribou skin masks in Alaska. Oswalt remarks that ingenious devices are originated of necessity in marginal environments, and that the Eskimos are not considered above average in inventiveness for peoples in such areas.


Parker's attempts to relate child rearing techniques among the Eskimo to the appearance of convulsive hysterical attacks in adult life is reminiscent of swaddling hypothesis studies. Scotch, in the Biennial Review 1963, says Parker's effort is a sophisticated attempt to pull the literature together. With the intent of building up a representative picture of Eskimo model, he discusses Eskimo personality on the one hand and their mental illnesses on the other. He attempts to explain why particular psychopathological symptoms are exhibited when Eskimos get sick.

The hysteria considered is non-aggressive, weepy and dependent. Parker finds the roots of adult hysteria in social relations such as basically nurturant child rearing providing poor preparation for enduring crises situations and institutionalized religious practices which provide socially
sanctioned outlets for hostility and role models for hysterical behavior. He also traces the causes of hysteria to high expectations of mutual aid and, for women, greater dependency needs and psychological deprivation.

PARKER, Seymour. 1962

RASMUSSEN, Kund. 1927

178. RASMUSSEN, Kund. 1933

ADJUSTMENT OF THE ESKIMOS TO EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE ALASKAN ESKIMOS. Proceedings of 5th Pacific Science Congress. 4:2889-2896. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Rasmussen gives a general history of white contact in Alaska. He remarks that both Russian and American governments showed little sense of responsibility toward the native populations. White traders generally got the Eskimo drunk and cheated them, while white whaling fleets introduced disease, depleted marine mammals and were in many other ways disruptive to Eskimo society.

The author felt the Bureau of Indian Affairs had been an important acculturative agent among native peoples. He felt that Sheldon Jackson's attempt to Americanize the Eskimo was beneficial and successful.
178. Rasmussen, 1933, cont.

By and large, Rasmussen approved the passing of the older Eskimo culture and the introduction of American culture to take its place. In retrospect it might be remarked that he was a competent ethnographer but understood little of the acculturation situation in the United States.

179. SPENCER, R.F. 1958


This is mainly a classification of the concept of polyandry and a discussion of the lack of information on it in the available writings.

Spencer also mentions wife exchange. He comments that the exchange of wives by two men helped cement good relations between the men, and that such exchange might be viewed as mechanisms to extend kin-like ties to non-kin. The children of men who had shared the sexual favors of one woman stood in a special relationship to one another, called "qatangun."

180. STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. 1913


This book is based primarily on Stefansson's travels with the Eskimos in 1908 and 1911. It is one of the most useful, informative works of all the basic research materials available on the Alaskan Eskimo. Stefansson clearly understood the Eskimo and was able to relate to them. He lived their lives, all the while attempting to demonstrate that a whiteman could live in the Arctic wastes if he would learn and follow the Eskimo rules. At the same time, he was quick to note that Western civilization sometimes provided
180. Stefansson, 1913, cont.

him with specific advantages over the Eskimos in technique or material. For instance, his possession and use of a compass enabled him to find his way across the tundra more capably than the most experienced Eskimo hunter.

Stefansson's comments on the Eskimos are many and varied. He touches on material culture, language, legends and religion, as well as many of the aspects of early Twentieth Century north Alaskan Eskimo life.


They note that the Eskimo drum dance is a most graphic example of the displacement of aggressive and destructive feelings, similar to another form of ritualized quarrel, that of the Santa Mata Indians in Columbia, who when quarrelling strike a large tree or rock to displace aggression. The drum dance permits clever insult to take the place of aggression.

VAN STONE, James W. See #158, p. 150. 1964
182. WACHTMEISTER, Arvid. NAMING AND REINCARNATION AMONG THE
ESKIMOS. In Ethnos. 21, 1-2:130-142.
This is a comparative description of the meaning of names and reincarnation among Eskimos from east Greenland to southwest Alaska.

As conceived by the Eskimo, a name is a mystical and somewhat independent part of a person. The name itself is credited with such attributes as wisdom, skill, and power, and is regarded as a kind of extra soul, or "name soul." When a person dies, his "name soul" wanders about restlessly until it is given to a newborn infant.

Among all Eskimos a newborn child is named after a recently deceased person, usually a relative. It is attested by several authorities that the Eskimos use mild treatment of children, may in part be due to fear of offending an ancestral "name soul" reincarnated in the child. Generally, Eskimo names are not differentiated with regard to sex.

183. WEYER, Edward. THE ESKIMOS: THEIR ENVIRONMENT AND
FOLKWAYS. New Haven, Yale University Press. 491 pp.
This is a general survey of Eskimos throughout the world. Weyer discusses the Eskimo habitat and gives maps of the Arctic showing annual near temperatures for various areas. He describes and discusses seals, whales, walrus, polar bear, and caribou and notes beliefs and ceremonies connected with animals and with hunting.

In terms of Eskimo social structure, he notes that the term "tribe" really doesn't apply to them. The Eskimo conception of population group is based on locality. The Eskimo village usually numbers a few hundred
183. Weyer, 1932, cont.

people customarily living in very crowded quarters. Eskimos had no social classes, although slaves were kept by some of the southernmost Alaskan Eskimos. There is also less centralization of authority than among many other peoples.

Weyer deals at length with Eskimo social and religious concepts. He also touches on apparent physical and cultural adaptations of the Eskimo to their environment.

184. WEYER, Edward. 1959


This article appears as one of several in a book giving culture and culture trait descriptions of a variety of peoples. Weyer suggests that the Eskimos provide our best clue to what life was like in the ice ages, since the climate they live in and the situations they must cope with are probably the same as those man faced in the Pleistocene. He also notes the Eskimos' ingenuity in the use of their environment.
A discussion of the physical (disease) results of culture contact, and an attempt to act as a guide of health workers in the context of Alaskan culture change.

In the past, the Eskimo fell victim to several common diseases soon after contact. Among Eskimo these diseases were often fatal. Susceptibility to white diseases was further increased by adoption by the Eskimo of white styles of housing, heating, dressing and eating that were impractical or dangerous in cold climates.

Aboriginally, sickness and misfortune had been explained as the result of broken taboos. The problem was solved when the shaman determined the cause of the trouble and the transgressor confessed.

Eskimo children were and are treated gently and taught a realistic and pragmatic outlook through the telling of folktales. Although the Eskimo appears to be a self-reliant extrovert, repression of group disapproved qualities begins at an early age. This, it is suggested, creates an individual prone to certain types of emotional illnesses, but with special personal strengths. Both, it is suggested, must be taken into account in medical practice.

A broad general survey of pre-1935 social and material culture of Alaskan natives in the ethnographic present of ca. 1900.

The authors discuss the size and composition of a typical Eskimo household (small) and the social and political make-up of an Eskimo village (highly informal). A number of Eskimo psychosocial characteristics are noted, among which he classes hospitality, honesty, joyfulness and intelligence, and the remark is made that from the time of first contact Eskimo-white interaction has not been bound by the same conventions which govern the interaction of Eskimo with Eskimo.

Some information is given on Eskimo religious beliefs, and the function and influence of shamans is commented on. He especially notes the overwhelming power of taboos and the influence of the spirit world. The importance of the Kashgi is stressed, as is the importance of infanticide. Mention is made of the almost continuous state of warfare existing between Eskimo and Indian groups and the authors speculate on the Eskimo's conception of these hostilities.
This is a technical work dealing with Russian laws, their acceptance and implications following the United States' purchase of Alaska from Russia. It points out that both half-breeds and full-blooded Russians were considered to be full citizens having the rights of citizens. The status of "uncivilized tribes" not accepting Christianity and not under the control of the Russian American Trading Company was considered somewhat questionable.

Only a few short sections, mostly quotes from early explorers of the Russian era, give ethnographic material.

This is a general review of public health problems in Alaska in 1950. At this time tuberculosis was the major killer of Alaska natives. Whooping cough and measles also killed off large proportions of adults. Poliomyelitis, meningococcus meningitis, and typhoid fever were present and dangerous.

These diseases could, in part, be associated with overcrowding because Eskimos live in very small houses in order to conserve heat. Gastroenteric diseases are frequent in the spring when the melting ice and snow expose and redistribute the well preserved refuse of the long winter months. Syphilis is relatively rare, but once introduced into a village it achieves epidemic proportions rapidly.
Haldeman suggests that studies are needed to determine whether the pathology exhibited by Eskimos in certain areas is related to their specific adaptation to low temperature environments and cold.

Hewes, Gordon W. 1947

The author covers the use of fishery resources from the California coast to the north coast of Alaska. Drawing upon ethnographies, he indicates the use of fish and emphasizes the technical aspects of fishing. He then traces the development of commercial fishing.

He estimates the consumption of salmon and other aquatic foods by the aboriginal population and remarks the extent to which they relied on seafood. Western Alaska natives averaged about 396 pounds per person per year. South-central peoples averaged about 416 pounds of seafood per person per year. Northern interior Indians averaged about 445 pounds, but this includes the amount used for dog food. There is some confusion as to just how much dogs are fed and how this contributes to an "average" consumption of fish.
In studying environmental stresses on human behavior, Lantis found that the physical environment, though it has to be reckoned with in its indirect effects such as isolation and crowding, is not nearly so important in terms of stress as the social environment in the Arctic.

In the social sense, persecution, physical dislocation, loss of identity in language and ethnic segregation are some of the factors contributing stresses to native populations. A great many other sources of stress are also identified.

Lantis investigates the many forms that reactions to stresses may take, and discusses the problem of poverty as a definable concept and its relationship to stress. She notes for future study the problems of alcoholism and dependency, ascertaining of incidence of psychosis and the investigation of methods for the introduction and acceptance of birth control into Arctic communities.

This dissertation offers a good history of education in Alaska up to the early 1930's.

Some attempts were made at the education of Alaska natives during the Russian period, but after American purchase there was a lapse in almost any kind of financial support or direction for education. When Sheldon Jackson

was given control over Alaska education, he gave support to the educational programs of missions and other agencies.

With the passage of time federal support of mission schools was withdrawn and federal and territorial schools were set up. The education of Alaska natives was almost entirely under the direction of the Bureau of Education and later the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Lavirscheff includes interesting statistical listings of the number of teachers, students, attendance, and expenses involved with education in Alaska up to 1935.


This is a generally non-academic work. It includes some interesting anecdotal descriptions of the importance of shamanism, the impact of the Christian religion, and the difficulties that a priest had in establishing himself in the area. Mention is made of the great influence of outside events on affairs of religion. For example, the advent of disease or of a good run of salmon made all the difference as to whether or not the missionary was accepted in a given area.
This report is based on published accounts by men such as Dall and by the Russian explorers. In addition, Petrov spent some time just prior to the report journeying through the Yukon-Kuskokwim region. The report contains most of the basic knowledge of the natives of Alaska available in 1880.

Petrov divided Alaska into six districts: Arctic, Yukon, Kuskokwim, Aleutian, Kodiak and Southeastern. He discusses each district, gives population figures and ethnographic information. Scattered throughout the work are interesting observations and evaluations.

This study is the result of combined research in education and anthropology. The view of education taken here is essentially anthropological in that it assumes education to be the process by which a growing individual is inducted into his cultural inheritance. This inclusive point of view tends to involve itself into discussions of early socialization experience and so forth.

Ray, Ryan and Parker attempt to determine some of the underlying cultural differences which contribute to uneven educational achievements by white and Alaskan native students. The category "Alaskan natives" is broken down into Eskimos and Indians. Eskimos from Alakanuk and Kotzebue, and Tlingit Indians from Hoonah are the primary subjects of investigation. The
authors present a resume of life in each of these villages, discusses differences in native value systems and levels of acculturation, and evaluate all their findings in terms of effect on the formal education of school-aged Eskimo and Indian children.

RUBEL, Arthur J.
1961


This is the official record of the explorations of Lt. Stoney between 1884 and 1886 in the Kobuk River region of Alaska. Much of the work is given over to physical descriptions of the land and the living conditions of the navy men. There was evidently not a great deal of contact with natives, but some accounts of the Inland Eskimos are given.

Stoney found that by 1885 the northern Eskimos that he came in contact with had either traded extensively with the whitemen or else had obtained trade goods through the Russians. Groups of natives lived in small, isolated bands on the Kobuk, Noatak, Selawik and Colville Rivers, and came together for feasts and trading purposes.

For future research, Stoney mentions native trade trails, coal outcroppings, a jade-bearing mountain and mammoth remains which the natives found along the Ikpikpuk River.
This is a fairly good, but elementary, historical description of education in Alaska from the Russian era to the present. Tiffany includes excerpts from letters sent from various schools in the early days, and concludes with a fairly extensive, but non-selective bibliography on Alaska and education.
One of the early discussions of ethno-differences in basic psychological disorder states, of some relevance in understanding the personality base from which present adaptation is being made.

Brill views Piblikotq as a variation of the Western clinical syndrome known as dissociative reaction. The form of the disorder varies markedly from person to person. It is always associated with women, never with children. Generally, the onset is marked by singing that increases in intensity until loss of consciousness ensues. Often patients will tear off their clothing and run out of the house, throw around objects and imitate the calls of birds. The victim may show congestion of the head, bloodshot eyes and foam at the mouth. Any opposition he encounters will be resisted violently.

Brill believes that these seizures stem from a lack of love. He maintains that women who are treated badly by their husbands or who suffer from jealousy show the greatest likelihood of being victims.
This is an evaluation of one of the most exotic instances of culturally patterned native psychoses, the type of hysterical seizure found among the Polar Eskimo. The symptoms of pibliktoq are loss or disturbance of consciousness during the seizure and amnesia following it. Behavior features include tearing off of clothing, imitating the cries of animals, fleeing, wandering off and eating feces. During the attack victims may perform remarkable feats of strength. Prior to the attack they may be fatigued and depressed.

One of the things that Gussow finds interesting is that the attack is actually composed of elements which appear regularly in Eskimo culture, such as nudity followed by sweat baths and rolling in the snow, imitating animals, etc. He suggests that the pibloktoq attack is an attempt to restore the ego balance when it is threatened by a severe, culturally typical stress. Pibloktoq is a defense against panic, against the dread of the threat of starvation and against fear of being lost.

HOBART, C.W. and C.S. Brant
1966
See #132, p. 125.
Berreman's description of certain aspects of the acculturative process among Aleuts living in Nikolski is a significant theoretical contribution to Alaska native acculturation studies. Berreman suggests that acculturating Aleuts come to have two kinds of reference groups, the "valuation" group (white) and the "identification" group (native). Thus, because one's life is lived with other natives, regardless of personal feelings about white culture, natives tend to denigrate whites and white ways when in the company of both whites and natives.

This defensiveness permits the native to prove to other natives that he has not "sold out."
Alaskan Indians

ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS.
1966
See #45, p. 49.

FOOTE, Don Charles and Sheila K. MacBain.
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KROEBER, Alfred L.
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LANTIS, Margaret.
1938
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<th>Title</th>
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<td>1913</td>
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</table>
Pre-Contact and Earliest White Contact thru 1866 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
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<tr>
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<td>1962</td>
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</tr>
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Pre-Contact and Earliest White Contact thru 1866 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page, Volume</th>
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<td>1954</td>
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<th>Page</th>
</tr>
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<td>Bogoras, Vladimir</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Ethnographic Problems of the Eurasian Arctic. #100, p. 96.</td>
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<td>1913</td>
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<td>Kobuk River People. #55, p. 56.</td>
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<td>Notes on the Western Eskimo. #5, p. 20.</td>
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<td>The &quot;Inviting In&quot; Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo. #57, p. 59.</td>
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</table>
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<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lantis, Margaret</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>The Reindeer Industry in Alaska.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>Eskimo Herdsmen.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>Buckland Eskimo Myths.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moore, Riley D.</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Social Life of the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdoch, John</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1898</td>
<td>The Animals Known to the Eskimos of Northwestern Alaska.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson, Edward William</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>The Eskimo about Bering Strait.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>The Whale Hunters of Tigara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasmussen, Kund</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>The Alaskan Eskimos.</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ray, P.H. and John Murdoch</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Ethnographic Sketch of the Natives of Point Barrow. #78, p. 78.</td>
</tr>
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<td>1875</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>An Arctic Reindeer Industry: Growth and Decline. #81, p. 80.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1913</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>1958</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1933</td>
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<td>The Whale Hunters of Tigara. #77, p. 77.</td>
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Contemporary 1941 to Present (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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