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INGALIK CONTACT ECOLOGY: AN ETHNOHISTORY OF THE LOWER-MIDDLE YUKON, 1790—1935

JAMES W. VANSTONE

March 29, 1979

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In Memory Of My Friend
Thomas B. Hinton

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Heaven and earth conspire that everything which has been, be rooted out and reduced to dust. Only the dreamers, who dream while awake, call back the shadows of the past and braid from unspun threads—unwoven nets.

Isaac Bashevis Singer

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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agement. Drafts of the manuscript were typed by Ms. Kathleen Fine, Ms. Janet Wojniki, and Mrs. Sylvia Schueppert. The maps were drawn by Mr. Zbigniew Jastrzebski. The quotation which follows the dedication is from *The Spinoza of Market Street* by Isaac Bashevis Singer, copyright 1958, 1960, 1961, and published by Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Russian words have been transliterated according to a modified form of the Library of Congress system except where translations have been used, in which case the original transliterations have been retained. The reader should remember that all dates during the period of Russian sovereignty in Alaska are according to the Julian calendar which was 12 days behind the Gregorian calendar in the 19th century.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARCA/KM	Alaska Russian Church Archives, Kvikhpak Mission
DRHA	Documents Relative to the History of Alaska
ECA	Archives and Historical Collections, the Episcopal Church
HCM	Holy Cross Mission
LC	Library of Congress
NA	National Archives
OPA	Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus
RACR/CS	Russian-American Company Records, Communications Sent
UA	Archives and Manuscript Collections, University of Alaska, Fairbanks

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze changes in the lifeways of the Ingalik Indians of the lower-middle Yukon River in west-central Alaska during the period of Euro-American contact from 1790 to 1935. This is not only a book about changing Indian culture, however. It is also an account of the white men and women who traveled through Indian land and occasionally lived among the native peoples, sometimes for many years. In fact, it is the agents of contact who are the focus of attention, and in the final chapter data concerning their impact are synthesized to provide an understanding of the processes of Ingalik culture change.

Although the primary sources for a study of this kind are to be found in libraries and archives, in this case the research perimeters were extended to include two seasons of field work (1972, 1974) in the Ingalik villages on the Yukon and Innoko rivers. This phase of the research took place after I had already familiarized myself to some extent with the history of the region. It was thus possible to focus data gathering more narrowly and obtain from informants a different perspective on some events as well as to gather peripheral data of a kind not likely to have been recorded by outsiders during their frequently brief encounters with Indians. Considerable information concerning subsistence patterns and resource utilization in the early 20th century was also obtained in the field and has been incorporated into several chapters. An archaeological survey of a section of the lower-middle Yukon and its tributaries yielded useful data on settlement patterns in the 19th and early 20th centuries which will form the basis for a separate study.

Quite apart from the information obtained from informants, field work was also valuable for the opportunity it afforded to make personal observations on the geography and environment of the lower-middle Yukon. During the two field seasons and in earlier research trips to western Alaska I traveled extensively throughout most of the area occupied both historically and at the present time by the

Ingalik, thus acquiring a feeling for the country that could not have been obtained in any other way. I hope that the benefits derived from these experiences are evident in the pages to follow.

Field work may have provided an opportunity to become familiar with the contemporary Ingalik, but the substance of an ethnohistorical study must come from accounts written by those who observed and interacted with the Indians at a time when there were no anthropologists on the scene to record the changing lifeways of an indigenous culture. The history of contact is recorded principally in explorers' and travelers' accounts, government reports, the published writings of missionaries and school teachers, and the personal reminiscences of miners. These printed accounts do not, of course, present anything approaching a complete picture of the complex processes of culture change and they are frequently marred by the writers' value judgements and personal prejudices. They are all that we have, however, and it is encouraging to realize that although virtually all writers, and particularly missionaries, possessed uncompromising standards of what they considered to be Christian civilization, most of them did try to be as objective as possible. As the ethnohistorian gains familiarity with his sources, it becomes increasingly possible to recognize individual idiosyncrasies and discount personal or professional prejudices. Most of the early observers were capable of disinterested reporting and, often in spite of themselves, frequently found Indian culture and reactions to change fascinating. During the period covered by this study anthropologists have also studied the Indians of the lower-middle Yukon; results of this research have been summarized in Chapter I.

In addition to the published source material, usually written from a specific point of view and with a particular audience in mind, there is also a large body of archival data related to the history of Indian-white relations on the lower-middle Yukon. In unpublished diaries, letters and personal accounts, the early observers are often less inhibited and can record their experiences, hopes, and fears in a manner free from the strictures imposed by publication. It is fascinating to compare published and unpublished accounts of the same subject or concerning the same event; often there is little resemblance between them. In such cases, of course, it becomes the job of the ethnohistorian to determine an approximation of the truth that lies somewhere in between.

By far the largest amount of archival material relates to the

establishment and operation of Christian missions in the area. There is no other part of Alaska for which the records of missionary activity are so complete. An account of the impact of Christianity on the Ingalik is, inevitably, a major focus of this study.

The manner of presentation of the material to follow is largely chronological and topical. Occasionally, the chronology is extended beyond the rather arbitrary date chosen to terminate the time period covered in this study so that particular sequences of events can be followed through to their conclusion. In most cases, the events described in these pages had run their course well before the beginning of World War II ushered in the modern era in west-central Alaska.

INTRODUCTION

Geography and the Natural Environment

The region of west-central Alaska with which this study is concerned includes a section of the lower Yukon River between the mouth of Shageluk Slough on the north to the confluence of the Yukon and Innoko rivers on the south. Also included are the drainage systems of the Anvik River, an important western tributary of the Yukon in this region, and the Innoko River, the only important Yukon tributary entering on the left or east bank.

The Yukon River, fourth longest on the North American continent, heads in Marsh Lake in the Yukon Territory of Canada and flows nearly 1,500 miles to the Bering Sea at Norton Sound. Throughout much of its great length, the Yukon flows generally in a northwesterly direction, but soon after it enters Alaska, in the vicinity of Fort Yukon, it turns to the southwest. Near the point where it most closely approaches the Bering Sea, the river flows virtually due south, turning west again near the mouth of the Innoko (fig. 1).

Below the village of Kaltag, the Yukon enters a physiographic region characterized by one geologist as the Innoko Lowlands, consisting, for the most part, of flat river flood plains.[1] The right or west bank forms the western boundary of the Innoko Lowlands. Wider here than anywhere else along its great length, the current of the Yukon virtually never exceeds 2 or 3 miles an hour. High waves which can be a hazard to navigation are sometimes raised by strong south winds in summer. The steep right bank of the river is the eastern extremity of a range of low and rolling hills, rising in places to heights in excess of 2,000 ft., which separate the Yukon Valley from the coastal region of Norton Sound. Where spurs of these hills run out to the river bank, their bluffs, which occasionally rise 50 or 60 ft. above the river, serve as convenient landmarks for the river traveler.

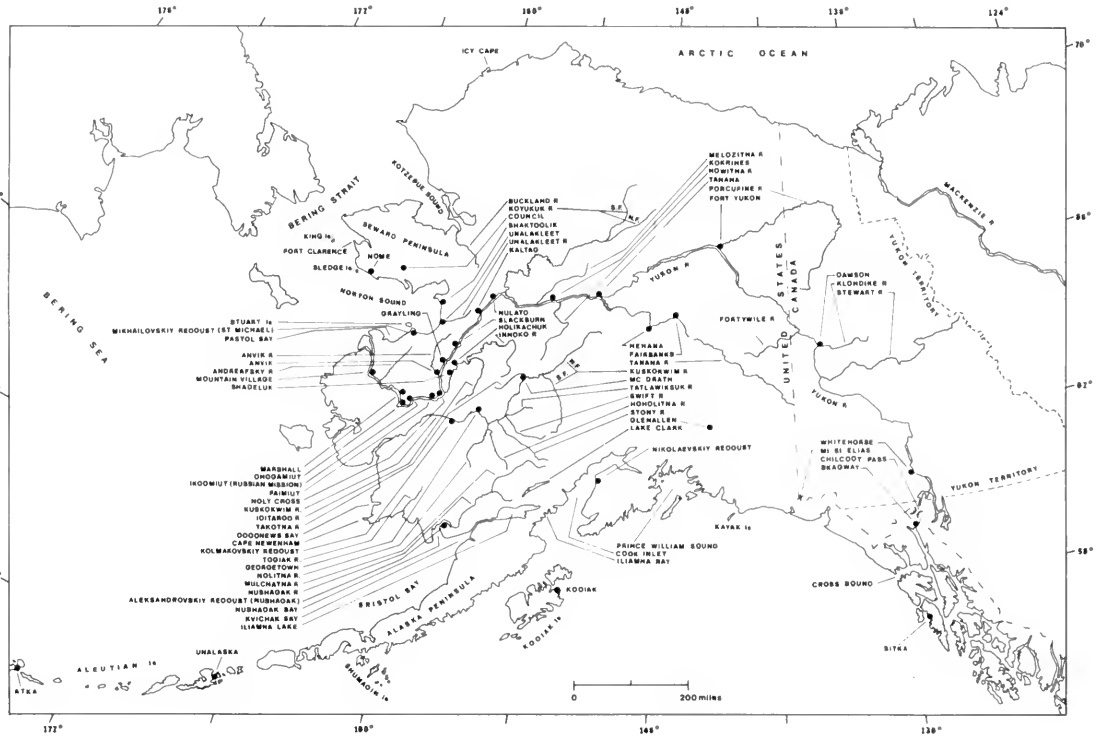

FIG. 1. Map of Alaska.

The major Yukon tributary in this area is the Anvik River which heads near latitude 64° north, not far from Norton Sound, and flows southeast 140 miles, paralleling the Yukon for much of that distance. Approximately 50 miles from its mouth the river turns abruptly eastward and enters the Yukon a mile and a half north of Anvik village. The upper Anvik is pretty well confined to a single channel flowing in a broad valley and is consequently characterized by abundant sloughs and split channels. The ends of many of these sloughs have been sealed off and exist only as ox-bow lakes. After the river turns eastward, the banks are generally low and bordered by an abundant growth of willows and alders interspersed with a few clumps of spruce and birch in the higher places.

Below the village of Anvik the banks of the Yukon are low on both sides except in two places where small ranges of hills with peaks that rise to heights of approximately 1,000 ft. reach the river. In this general area along the east bank of the Yukon are many meandering sloughs and streams and one important river, the Bonasila. This tributary heads near latitude 62° north and flows in a generally southeast direction 125 miles to Bonasila Slough which in turn empties into the Yukon. Like the banks of the lower Anvik, those of the lower Bonasila are bordered primarily by willows and alders. There is also a heavy growth of willows along both sides of the Yukon in this area.

In many places throughout its length the banks of the Yukon River are known to change rapidly, and this is nowhere truer than in the area under consideration. Extensive sand bars can grow up in just a few years and large areas of river bank may be cut away just as rapidly. During the years of heavy steamboat traffic on the river, charts had to be redrawn almost yearly in order to take into account extensive changes in the channel. Informants at Anvik believe that as much as 300 ft. have been cut away from the island in front of their village in recent years. The island itself was formed in 1934 when the Anvik River cut through a narrow peninsula 1½ miles above its former mouth to form a new confluence with the Yukon. In 1898 at Holy Cross, Roman Catholic mission personnel estimated that 200 ft. had been cut from the bank in front of the mission during the 10 years since it was established in 1888.[2] Photographs of Holy Cross taken as late as the early 1920's show no sand bar in front of the village, but there is an extensive one at the present time and the village today is accessible to the Yukon only through a narrow, shallow slough. As can easily be imagined, this rapid cut-

ting and equally rapid building has had a profound effect on human settlement patterns.

Just below the village of Holy Cross and on the opposite bank is the mouth of the Innoko River, the fourth longest tributary of the Yukon. The Innoko is approximately 500 miles in length and, together with its numerous tributaries, drains a vast area in excess of 10,000 sq. miles that lies between the central and lower portions of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers.

The Innoko Valley, a major feature of the Innoko Lowlands physiographic unit, consists of two types of drainage patterns which divide it into two distinct sections corresponding approximately with the lower and upper halves of the valley. The upper half is characterized by hills and low mountains, the average height of which is from 800 to 1,000 ft. above the stream beds. Isolated mountain masses rise above the general level of these ridges, particularly in the headwaters region; this area is drained by clear streams. The upper Innoko Valley, a distinctly peripheral area in this study, is separated from the Yukon Basin to the northwest by the Kaiyuh Mountains which extend from the south side of the Yukon, opposite the mouth of the Melozitna River, in a southwesterly direction to the lower course of the Innoko near the point where it is joined by the Holikachuk-Shageluk Slough, a distance of approximately 175 miles. These mountains are comparatively low, being little more than high hills at their northeast and southwest extremities. The higher sections of the Kaiyuh range between these low passes resemble the range separating the Yukon Valley from Norton Sound, in rising to a maximum height of approximately 2,000 ft. To the southeast, the valley of the upper Innoko is separated from that of the Kuskokwim River by a range of the Kuskokwim Mountains. These mountains are higher and more rugged than the Kaiyuh, in some places rising to a height of 4,000 ft.[3]

In the lower half of the Innoko Valley, the river and its principal tributaries meander widely over a considerable extent of low, flat country consisting primarily of silt and clay deposits. These low, flat, swampy plains occupy virtually the entire area between the Kaiyuh and Kuskokwim ranges and have been described as "a tongue-like extension inland of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta."[4] A glance at a relief map of southwestern Alaska reveals the truth of this comparison. The low tundra plains of the delta, characterized by innumerable sloughs and small lakes, penetrates the interior almost to latitude 64° north. The Innoko Lowlands must be con-

sidered one of the most distinctive and well-defined physiographic regions in west-central Alaska.

Where the Innoko emerges from the upper valley at approximately the mouth of the Holikachuk-Shageluk Slough, the banks are about 10 to 15 ft. above the normal level of the river. Here and there, as it makes its way toward confluence with the Yukon, the river cuts banks of silt that are from 20 to 35 ft. high and even higher hills approach the east bank below the village of Shageluk. Generally speaking, however, the banks tend to decrease in height downstream and toward the mouth they are sometimes no more than 3 or 4 ft. above the water level. During spring floods, the entire lower valley is sometimes inundated with only an occasional hillock rising above the water level and only tall river bank vegetation to indicate the normal channel. In the early summer of 1972, it was impossible for me and my guide to locate the mouth of the Iditarod River, a major tributary of the Innoko, because of this extensive flooding. Informants at Shageluk told of "overland" trips by canoe and motorboat in the past at times of exceptionally high water, and they described to me a nearly "direct" route between Shageluk and the abandoned mining town of Iditarod.

About 75 miles above its confluence with the Yukon, the Innoko is joined to the latter by Shageluk Slough, an anabranch which runs in a meandering north-south direction generally parallel to the two rivers for a distance of some 40 miles and joins the Innoko approximately 15 river miles above the village of Shageluk. A branch of Shageluk Slough, Holikachuk Slough, flows into the Innoko near the former village of Holikachuk. In late summer, water is sometimes low in this branch and it is not navigable even for small boats.

A glance at the map (fig. 2) will show that Shageluk Slough, together with the lower Innoko River creates a huge island in the shape of an inverted triangle with Fox Point Island in the northwest corner, Holikachuk in the northeast corner, and Holy Cross at the apex. This arrangement has created confusion in geographical naming and identification by early explorers, traders, and missionaries. In some written accounts, Shageluk Slough is considered to include not only the slough but the lower Innoko as well. For these writers the name Innoko is applied only to the river above the mouth of Holikachuk Slough. It is easy to see why some observers considered the entire complex of sloughs and a section of the lower Innoko to be simply a large anabranch of the Yukon because it is

certainly true that both sloughs deliver a considerable amount of Yukon water to the Innoko in the spring. Indian inhabitants of the Innoko Lowlands had different names for specific sections of the Innoko, its tributaries, and for the sloughs which connect it to the Yukon. The name Shágeluk, however, is Eskimo and has been variously noted as meaning "filth, dirt"[5] and "willow."[6] According to one source, Innoko is an Ingalik Indian word meaning "in the woods,"[7] but there is no general agreement concerning either the origin of the word or its meaning.

In considering the physiography of the Innoko Lowlands as a whole, the most important thing to remember, perhaps, is that there are no really high mountains or large lakes, but rather numerous navigable rivers which have played a dominant role in the culture of the native inhabitants. Such rivers have provided a considerable proportion of the food and have also served as lines of communication between the villages built along their banks. Similarly, they have provided easy access to the interior of central Alaska, first for Russian explorers and traders and later for their American counterparts as well as for the gold seekers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The climate of the Innoko Lowlands varies considerably, being extremely cold in the eastern and northern mountains, while in the lowland areas it is as warm as anywhere in interior Alaska and there is considerable precipitation. The mean annual rainfall at Holy Cross, for example, is 19½ in., the wettest months being July and August. Over half the year's precipitation occurs during the summer months. Summer temperatures in the 80's are not uncommon. Late June and early July are likely to be clear and warm with consistent rainy weather usually not beginning until late July or early August. The ground is generally covered with snow from the middle of October until early in May. Records of the time of opening and closing of the Yukon at Holy Cross were kept for a considerable number of years. Between 1889 and 1922 the river usually broke up sometime between May 15 and 30. It was completely clear of ice sometime between May 21 and June 3. Ice began to form in the fall between October 5 and 16, and the river was generally closed during the last week of October or the first week of November.[8] When the dramatic spring break up occurs, the Yukon ice is likely to jam, particularly just above Holy Cross where the river narrows considerably. When this occurs, flood levels of 10, 20, and 30 ft. above normal are not uncommon and villages along both the Innoko and

the Yukon suffer considerable damage. During these floods the Yukon water presses back up the sloughs and spreads across the meander belt, sometimes cutting new channels and silting up others. When the water subsides, the patterns of sloughs, lakes, and little tributaries are often dramatically changed. Killing frosts usually occur early in September, well before ice begins to form in the rivers. Holy Cross has an average of 93 days a year of sub-zero temperature and between 1889 and 1922 the lowest recorded temperature was -62°F in January of 1902.[9]

The country as a whole is well wooded. Timber grows in the valleys and on the upland slopes to about 2,000 ft. above sea level. The trees are not large, most of them failing to exceed 12 in. in diameter. Sphagnum mosses cover the valley floors and the lower slopes of mountains. The ridges are generally covered with mosses, heathers, stunted bushes, and grasses. The most common species of trees are spruce and birch. White and black spruce are common throughout the larger valleys and well up the slopes of the lower ridges. Birch was formerly of considerable importance to the native inhabitants as its bark was used for covering boats, for the roofs of houses and other shelters, and for dishes and storage vessels. In swampy areas and along the banks of rivers and streams there are groves of larch and extensive stands of willows and cottonwoods. Willows and alders are found above the timber line in many areas. Birch trees are particularly extensive along the higher banks of the Yukon and the lower Innoko. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries they were cut extensively as cord wood for river steamboats. In summer there are many kinds of edible berries on the hillsides including blueberries, raspberries, high and low bush cranberries, and currants.

Animal life in the Innoko Lowlands is typical of the interior of Alaska, although the variety and abundance of large game and fur-bearing animals has varied considerably over the past 150 years. The larger land animals native to the region are the moose (*Alces alces*), caribou (*Rangifer arcticus*), black bear (*Ursus americanus*), and brown bear (*Ursus arctos*), but only the first is plentiful today. The more common smaller animals are the beaver (*Castor canadensis*), mink (*Mustela vision*), lynx (*Lynx canadensis*), fox (*Volpes fulva* and *Alopex lagopus*), porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum*), river otter (*Lutra canadensis*), muskrat (*Ondatra zibethica*), hare (*Lepus americanus*), wolf (*Canis lupus*), wolverine (*Gulo luscus*), marten (*Martes americana*), squirrel (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*), and weasel

(*Mustela erminea*). Most of these animals also vary in abundance from year to year.

Three of the five species of Pacific salmon enter the Yukon basin in sufficient numbers to constitute distinct runs. These are the king or chinook (*Oncorhynchus tschawytscha*), the chum or dog (*Oncorhynchus keta*), and the coho or silver (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*). Salmon ascend the Innoko only in very small numbers and in the past, the inhabitants of villages along that river have spent all or part of the summer months in Yukon River fish camps. There are numerous species of whitefish (*Coregonus*), particularly abundant in the Innoko and its tributaries. In the shallow ponds and lakes, pike (*Esox lucius*), ling (*Lota maculosa*), and blackfish (*Dallia pectoralis*) are common. Grayling (*Thymallus signifer*) and salmon trout (*Salvelinus parkeii*) are found in the clear streams at higher elevations. Lamprey eels (*Entosphenus tridentatus*) make a massive migration up the river each winter, but do not extend much above Anvik. An occasional beluga (*Delphinapterus leucas*) and a few seals (*Phoca richardii richardii*) sometimes make their way up the river even as far as Nulato, but the occurrence of these sea mammals is exceedingly rare.

The upper valley of the Innoko, and indeed the entire Innoko Lowlands, is a nesting ground for many varieties of migratory birds, particularly ducks and geese, but also swans (*Olor columbianus*), cranes (*Grus canadensis*), loons (*Gavia*), and many others. Of the northern birds that remain through the winter, only the grouse (*Canachites canadensis*) and rock and willow ptarmigan (*Lagopus lagopus, Lagopus mutus*) are of economic importance to the inhabitants.

A characteristic and unpleasant feature of much of interior Alaska, but along the lower Yukon and its tributaries in particular, is the clouds of mosquitos and other insects that appear as soon as the snow begins to melt in the spring and remain active until late in October. Many of the observers whose writings have been consulted in preparing the following pages make note of the fact that the summer insect life of the Innoko Lowlands is a far greater source of unpleasantness than the cold, deep snow and long nights of winter.

The People

The geographical area and environment just described is occupied by the Ingalik Indians, an Athapaskan-speaking people who, at the time of their first direct contact with Europeans in the late 18th and

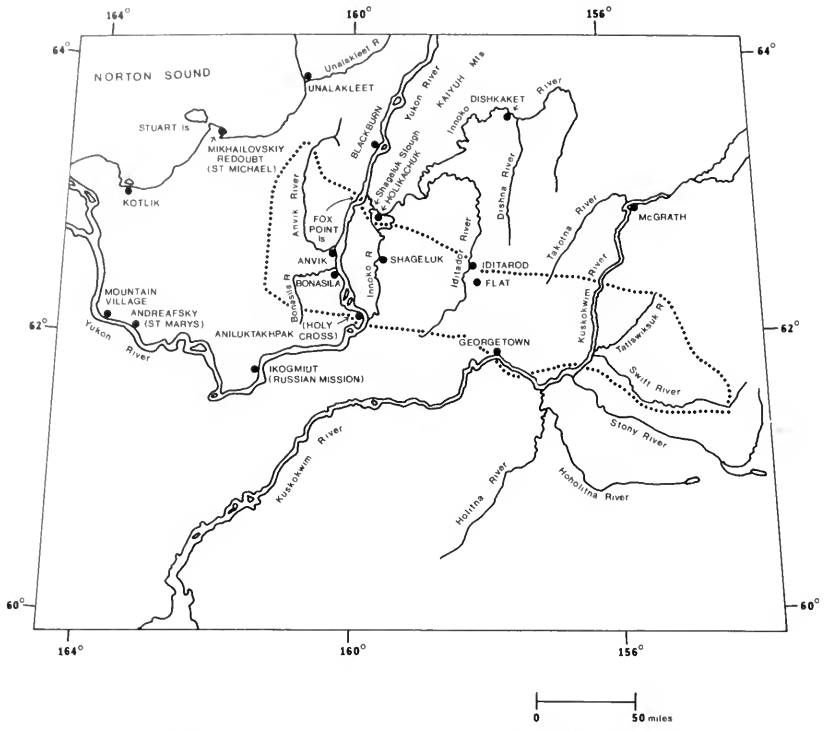

FIG. 2. Regional map with dotted line showing Ingalik boundaries.

early 19th century, also inhabited a small portion of the Kuskokwim River drainage. The name Ingalik is Eskimo and means "having louse's eggs." It was bestowed on the people in question by their Eskimo neighbors on the lower Yukon because the Indians were not known to cut their hair.[10]

Cornelius Osgood, whose field work in the 1930's has provided most of the ethnographic information available concerning the Ingalik, believed that, at the time of his studies, these Athapaskan speakers comprised four units or subdivisions based on subtle linguistic and cultural differences. The first was the Anvik-Shageluk group which centered around the village of Anvik on the Yukon and in settlements on the lower Innoko River, particularly Shageluk. The second grouping was identified with the now-abandoned village of Bonasila on the Yukon River approximately 22 miles above the confluence of the Innoko. A third grouping inhabited the villages of Holy Cross and Georgetown. Osgood is less

certain about a fourth subdivision, the McGrath group, occupying the drainage of the upper Kuskokwim River.[11] More recent research suggests that the Ingalik occupied only a small section of the Kuskokwim Valley above the village of Stony River as well as the drainages of the Swift and Tatlawiksuk rivers, Kuskokwim tributaries (fig. 2).[12]

These subdivisions as delineated by Osgood are not valid at the present time. In addition to the new information concerning Ingalik occupation of the Kuskokwim Valley, the formerly important settlement of Bonasila has been abandoned since the late 1930's shortly after Osgood completed his research in the area. Since Osgood's subdivisions are not particularly relevant from the standpoint of the history of European contact, and since this study includes only those people living in the drainages of the Yukon and Innoko rivers, primarily the Anvik-Shageluk people, the entire area will be referred to as the Anvik-Shageluk area. For the purposes of this study, therefore, we will equate the Innoko Lowlands, a geographical unit, with the Anvik-Shageluk area, a cultural unit. One settlement of Holikachuk Athapaskans who inhabited the recently abandoned village of that name is also included within the Anvik-Shageluk area.[13]

The earliest reliable population figures for the Anvik-Shageluk area are those of the Russian explorer, Andrey Glazunov, who estimated that there were approximately 1,000 people inhabiting the villages he visited or was told about during his explorations in 1833-1834.[14] In 1843 another Russian explorer, Lavrentiy Alekseevich Zagoskin, enumerated 699 individuals indicating that the population of the area had been seriously depleted by a smallpox epidemic that swept southwestern Alaska in 1838 and 1839.[15] Population estimates for the rest of the 19th century are not particularly reliable. The 10th federal census in 1880 reported an approximate figure of 413, and 10 years later the 11th census recorded 476.[16]

During the first 30 years of the present century, more accurate census data were gathered by John Wight Chapman, pioneer Episcopalian missionary who served at Anvik for more than 40 years. In 1898 he enumerated 652 in the Anvik-Shageluk area, while in 1900 the figure was 565. A decline to 452 in 1914 was attributed to a severe influenza epidemic which swept the lower Yukon and adjoining areas in the summer of 1900.[17] Official United States census records are reasonably complete for the area beginning in

1930 when 504 were enumerated. Populations for the following 10 year intervals were as follows:[18]

Year	Population
1939	505
1950	454
1960	653
1970	588

It should be remembered, however, that even the most official census figures were never more than an approximation of the population of an area like the Innoko Lowlands. Seasonal movements of people have always been characteristic, and the number of inhabitants in any village always varied greatly depending on the time of year that a count was made. A long-time, year-around resident like John Chapman was in a better position to make accurate population estimates than a federal enumerator whose visits to the area at widely separated intervals were, of necessity, brief. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Osgood was correct when he noted that the population of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik and their closest neighbors has, since the 1840's always been "nearer five hundred than a thousand."[19]

The neighbors of the Anvik-Shageluk people include Eskimos as well as other Athapaskan speakers. West of the Anvik River and its tributaries is the territory of the Unaligmiut Eskimos who inhabit the coast of Norton Sound and the banks of the short rivers which flow into it. Contact and trade between the Ingalik and Eskimos was important in this area.

The Kwikpagmiut Eskimos live along the Yukon River south of Holy Cross and all the way to the river mouth. Holy Cross is a mixed village of Eskimos and Indians now as it was in the past. However, Osgood considered this settlement to be "truly Athapaskan," and noted that Paimiut, about 20 miles downriver, is the first Kwikpagmiut settlement.[20] For reasons which may relate to the more efficient use of environmental resources, Eskimos gradually expanded up the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers prior to European contact. The Ingalik were already strongly influenced by these people at the time Europeans first arrived in the area.[21]

The only Athapaskan peoples directly in contact with the Anvik-Shageluk area are the Holikachuk who formerly inhabited the Innoko River above Holikachuk Slough and today live along the Yukon River in the village of Grayling.[22] Because of frequent

interaction with the Ingalik, the inhabitants of the village of Holikachuk were culturally aligned to the Anvik-Shageluk people. In 1963, the residents moved to the Yukon and established a new settlement at Grayling. These people are included in this study as is the area which they previously occupied.

Previous Anthropological Research

Although the Anvik-Shageluk area has never been a focus of long-term anthropological research, it has been the location of some of the most intensive ethnographic studies carried out anywhere in the subarctic regions. Oddly enough, when one considers the increased numbers of anthropological investigators working in Alaska in recent years, all of the published research in the area, both ethnographic and archaeological, is based on field work carried out in the 1930's and earlier.

In the summer of 1926, Aleš Hrdlička descended the Tanana and Yukon rivers from Nenana to the coast.[23] The primary purpose of his trip was to collect skeletal material for the United States National Museum, but he also interviewed local inhabitants along the rivers and located and described a large number of archaeological sites including many within the area of this study. In addition, he included some data on the contemporary Indians and their settlements. Hrdlička made a second trip in 1929, this time beginning his survey at Dawson.[24] He included the Shageluk Slough and lower Innoko River in this excursion, and there is some additional information related to settlement patterns, both past and present. At their best, Hrdlička's accounts are superficial and his locations of archaeological sites are often exasperatingly vague. Many could not be located or accurately identified during my surveys in the summers of 1972 and 1974.

At the suggestion of Hrdlička, Herbert W. Krieger of the Smithsonian Institution carried out archaeological excavations on the lower Yukon and Innoko rivers in the summer of 1927. Hrdlička had been impressed with what he considered to be the "primitiveness" of the inhabitants of the lower Innoko, and he had discovered stone artifacts on the beach in front of the old Bonasila site that seemed to him to be of particular interest because of their crudity.[25] Krieger excavated at Holikachuk and Shageluk on the Innoko, and at Anvik and Bonasila on the Yukon, but only the Bonasila excavations are described briefly in the single publication on his work.[26] There is a small collection of artifacts from these excavations in the United States National Museum.

Of far greater significance than the work of either Hrdlička or Krieger was the archaeological reconnaissance of the Tanana and Yukon valleys between Nenana and Holy Cross, including the lower Innoko, carried out by Frederica deLaguna in the summer of 1935. Her party, which included geologists, investigated a large number of archaeological sites throughout the area, testing many of them. In her report she attempts to locate and identify all the villages visited by early Russian and American explorers on the Yukon, one of the first attempts to integrate Alaskan archaeological and historical data. In dealing with recovered artifacts, deLaguna ranges widely in her analysis, comparing all types found on the Yukon and lower Innoko with similar or corresponding types found archaeologically and ethnographically throughout North America and Asia. Her interpretations are, of necessity, highly speculative and later research has rendered many of her conclusions obsolete. Nevertheless, her study is a monumental contribution to cultural-historical research and provides future students of Athapaskan archaeology and ethnology with an abundance of problems worth investigating.[27]

Although deLaguna, and to a lesser extent Hrdlička, included some basic ethnographic data and speculations in their accounts, the first intensive ethnographic research among Alaskan Athapaskan-speaking peoples was undertaken by Cornelius Osgood. Following work among the Tanaina in 1931 and Kutchin the following year, Osgood turned his attention to the Ingalik, working at Anvik in the summers of 1934 and 1937. Intensive efforts on the part of the investigator, together with the wholehearted co-operation of village residents, combined to create what appears to have been an almost ideal field research situation. One informant in particular, Billy Williams, who lived until the spring of 1974, provided Osgood with much of his data on material culture as well as relevant information on other aspects of Ingalik life. Rarely in the history of North American ethnographic research, it would appear, has there been such complete rapport between informant and investigator.

Osgood first published an exhaustive study of Ingalik material culture which has continued to be a classic among studies of its kind.[28] This important report was followed by equally thorough investigations of mental and social culture.[29] Together the three studies constitute the most comprehensive account of any northern Athapaskan peoples. In addition to his valuable and exhaustive

studies of Ingalik life, Osgood was one of the first investigators, together with deLaguna, to call attention to the importance of the literature on Russian exploration in western Alaska. His ethnographic reconstructions, summarized here in Chapter I, and his vivid descriptions of the earliest Russian explorations on the lower Yukon and its tributaries first stimulated my interest in Ingalik ethnohistory.

Notes

1. Wahrhaftig, 1965, p. 30.
2. HCM diary, Jan. 1-Oct. 31, 1898. OPA/HCM, box 2.
3. Maddren, 1909, pp. 242-244.
4. Ibid., p. 244.
5. Jetté, On the geographical names of the Tena. OPA/Jetté.
6. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 348.
7. Osgood, 1958, p. 27.
8. Koserefsky records. OPA/HCM, box 5; Harrington, 1918b, p. 336.
9. Koserefsky records. OPA/HCM, box 5.
10. Osgood, 1940, p. 31; Zagoskin, 1967, p. 105.
11. Osgood, 1940, p. 31.
12. Kraus, 1974.
13. Ibid.
14. VanStone, 1959.
15. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 307.
16. Petroff, 1884, p. 12; Porter, 1893, p. 7.
17. Chapman, 1898b, p. 167; 1931a, pp. 398-400.
18. United States census of population, vol. 1, population, 1931; 1952, pp. 51-56, 51-57, 51-58; 1963, pp. 3-10, 3-11; 1973, table 6.
19. Osgood, 1958, p. 30.
20. Osgood, 1940, p. 33.
21. Oswalt, 1962, pp. 2-4; 1967, p. 241; Zagoskin, 1967, p. 244.
22. Krauss, 1974.
23. Hrdlička, 1944.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., pp. 51, 209-210, 215.
26. Krieger, 1928.
27. deLaguna, 1947.
28. Osgood, 1940.
29. Osgood, 1958, 1959.

I
THE ANVIK-SHAGELUK INGALIK: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

The Ingalik experienced direct contact with Europeans for nearly 100 years before their way of life was documented by an anthropologist and indirect contact for an even longer period. The disastrous smallpox epidemic of 1838-1839 must have had a serious disruptive effect on Ingalik culture, although the precise nature of its impact cannot be demonstrated. At the very least, ecological arrangements, group structure and size, and other aspects of social organization would have been severely undermined. In addition, trade networks between Siberia and Alaska, to be described in Chapter III, necessitated changes in subsistence emphasis even before initial direct contacts with Russian traders. In fact, given the known extent of this trade early in the 19th century, it is likely that for the Ingalik the aboriginal period came to an end not long after 1750.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that the ethnographic summary which follows does not apply to the aboriginal period but rather to the period between 1850 and about 1890. As such, therefore, it cannot constitute a base line for the study of culture change, but it is, nevertheless, a more complete account of a modified-traditional Indian way of life than can be documented for any other northern Athapaskan group.[1]

The Subsistence Base

The Ingalik inhabitants of the lower-middle Yukon taiga environment in the 19th century practiced all three of the basic gathering activities—hunting, fishing, and collecting. Fishing, however, was more important than either hunting or collecting, although both had significant places in the yearly cycle of subsistence activities. Hunting supplemented the primary food supply of fish and provided skins for clothing. Plant products, primarily berries, were, at certain

times of the year, a significant supplement to the fish and meat diet. Although many different fish are present in the Ingalik environment, salmon were, and are, the most important and predictable food item. To a very large degree, the yearly subsistence cycle focused on the seasonal migrations of fish and a considerable amount of Ingalik technology centered on the taking of fish.

Spring—Each subsistence year for the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik ended with the coming of spring. By late February or early March, winter food supplies were likely to be very low and almost yearly there were threatened famines if not actual starvation, at this time.[2] Families which had expended most of their stored food surpluses in lavish winter entertainments were often particularly bad off. Hunting and fishing in the immediate vicinity of the villages was seldom adequate at this time and, therefore, the arrival of spring not infrequently terminated a period of hunger that may have lasted for several weeks.

After the middle of February the days began to lengthen appreciably and the population of the winter villages along the lower-middle Yukon and Innoko rivers began to anticipate the warmer, brighter weather to come and the return of fish and game animals that may have been scarce during the long, dark winter months. Toward the end of February small hunting parties left the villages at intervals of a few days to hunt caribou and other large game in the high country to the east and west of the river communities. These early spring hunts were looked forward to with the greatest interest by all members of the community even though women, children, and old people sometimes did not accompany the hunters.[3]

Caribou-hunting parties from Koserefsky, a village long located opposite Holy Cross, frequented the Shageluk Mountains at this time of the year, while those from Shageluk might travel to the headwaters of the Yetna River.[4] At Anvik the hunting parties ascended the Anvik River to the vicinity of Otter Creek and hunted along the divide between the Yukon and Norton Sound drainages where, in the 19th century and earlier, there were many herds of caribou.[5] For the most part the animals were driven into surrounds and caught in snares, but sometimes they were stalked by individual hunters.[6] In addition to caribou, other large game was hunted in early spring, including moose which are reported by Zagoskin to have been abundant in the area at the time of his travels.[7] Zagoskin also reported that black and brown bear were plentiful, particularly

in the vicinity of Anvik, and these animals were hunted with bone pointed lances as they came out of hibernation in the early spring.[8] At that time of the year, however, the animals were lean from their long winter's sleep.

Beaver and muskrat were trapped in March and April along the tributaries of the upper Anvik and Yetna rivers, in the lakes east of Shageluk, and in the Iditarod area. Beaver sometimes left their houses in early April and descended the small streams to the larger rivers where they remained without having a house until fall. When this occurred, the animals could be shot with bow and arrow from canoes as were muskrats and land otters.[9] This type of hunting was particularly effective when lowland areas were flooded and the animals could easily be seen swimming.

At the first appearance of open water in the small lakes and ponds which dot the lowlands of the river valleys, usually by mid-May, large numbers of ducks and geese begin to arrive on their annual migration. At this time, most Ingalik devoted less attention to the hunting of large game and trapping and descended to the river valleys to hunt waterfowl with snares and to gather eggs. Some families, however, remained in the higher country until the snow had completely disappeared and it was impossible to travel by sled back to the river. Under these circumstances they could construct a boat by covering a roughly made frame with the skins of the animals they had killed. These precarious vessels were launched in streams tributary to major tributaries of the Yukon and in that way the villages along the river were reached.[10] For those who preferred to hunt ducks and geese, these fowl were found in abundance in the lowland area near the mouth of the Iditarod River. Shageluk and Holikachuk people hunted in this area. Koserefsky and Anvik bird hunters frequented the broad lowland between the Yukon and Innoko rivers.

Spring fishing was an important activity in the vicinity of the river villages as soon as the ice began to go out. Whitefish were particularly abundant in the Innoko, but also in the smaller streams of the area. Anvik people set gill nets for these fish as well as for pike in the sloughs of the Yukon as soon as they were open. Wicker traps were sometimes set in early spring but when the high water of late spring arrived they were taken up and replaced with gill nets. These were kept set until the water fell and the traps could be put in once again. Dip nets with babiche mesh were also used when the water

PLATE 1. Making a fish trap at Anvik about 1925 (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

was high. Whitefish, sheefish, grayling, and pickerel were caught, but whitefish were the most important. At Shageluk and in other Innoko River communities these fish were taken in huge numbers and were especially welcome after a long winter with limited supplies of food. Each April or May, the inhabitants of Koserefsky made a special trip to the lower reaches of the Innoko River to fish for whitefish.[11]

When Ingalik families returned to their villages in late spring, they often discovered that their winter houses were uninhabitable because of dampness and mold. Since the Yukon frequently floods in spring, sometimes severely, there might be a layer of silt covering everything in the houses. Even under the best of circumstances, however, the people were glad to be able to move into temporary shelters located in some dry and elevated place near the river bank for a few weeks before moving to fish camps along the river. The time before the arrival of the first king salmon could be spent hunting muskrats in the open water of small streams and lakes near the villages and in preparing boats, nets, and traps for the coming fishing season.[12]

Late spring was the time of trading expeditions in the early contact period and presumably much earlier as well. Trading parties of Eskimos from Norton Sound came to the Yukon and the Ingalik traveled to the coast by way of the Anvik River. Late spring, before the salmon began to run, was the ideal time for these trips since a supply of coastal products was greatly needed. Sea mammal hides in particular were useful in spring for the construction of salmon nets and caribou snares.[13]

Summer—The first king salmon appear almost as soon as the river is clear of ice and by that time the Indians had moved to their summer fish camps. Most of the camps of the Anvik people were located between the village and the entrance to Shageluk Slough on the right bank of the river. Some families preferred camps on the Anvik River itself, choosing locations where the water was shallow and a fence or weir could be constructed so as to obstruct the entire channel. Traps were set at intervals in these weirs. Anvik River salmon were said to be less fat than those taken in the Yukon and were preferred by some people.

Fish camps of Indians from Koserefsky and Anilukhtakpak, a community formerly located near Holy Cross, were, for the most part, situated on the right bank of the Yukon between the mouth of

the Bonasila River and the Eskimo village of Paimiut. Although families were likely to return to the same fish camps year after year, the location of camps could change during the fishing season. Silver salmon, the last species to ascend the river in late summer, moved along close to the left bank and camps sometimes were moved across the river to take full advantage of the run.

Since only a few dog salmon and no kings or silvers ascend the Innoko River, inhabitants of Shageluk, Holikachuk, and other Innoko communities moved to the Yukon each summer during the fishing season. Most of their camps were located between Grayling Creek and the mouth of Simon Creek approximately 12 miles above the Yukon entrance to Shageluk Slough. However, Innoko families also maintained a number of camps below Anvik.

The king salmon was the most important food fish obtained by the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik. These fish were taken most effectively in large basket traps similar to the type described in detail by Osgood for dog salmon.[14] Traps were more effective than gill nets since these fish do not travel as close to shore as do other species of salmon. Another common means of taking them was by means of a dip net. The fisherman, in his river canoe, drifted down river with the current while holding the net in the water. When an ascending salmon was caught, it was lifted out, killed, and placed in the canoe; then the operation was repeated.[15] Just below Anvik there is a straight stretch of the river that is reported to have been an excellent location for this method of salmon fishing.

By the middle of June dog salmon are running at Anvik and these were caught with gill nets and large wicker fish traps, the latter being more important in the 19th century. Traps were set at the outer end of long fences of stakes set in the water extending from shore. From this time until nearly the end of August everyone was busy catching and preparing salmon. The men attended to the traps, while women cut and cleaned the fish and hung them to dry on long frameworks of poles; sometimes they were smoked at the same time. After the fish were dry, they were stored in caches for use during the winter. During a heavy run of salmon, the nets were no sooner set out then they were full and running over. Occasionally, they had to be taken out of the water for a period of time until the cutters and cleaners could catch up.[16] Dog and silver salmon furnished by far the largest amount of dried fish and the former in particular were the staple dog food.

PLATE 2. A fish camp on the Yukon near Anvik, 1919 (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

PLATE 3. Bundling dried dog salmon at Anvik, 1918 (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

Although the annual salmon runs provided a generally predictable supply of food, there were occasions when the runs were greatly reduced and there were times when they failed completely. Such a failure occurred in the summer of 1893 and the following winter starvation threatened. However, since fishing was also an integral part of winter subsistence activities, it was only in consequence of an unusual combination of the failure of both fish and game in winter with a failure of the summer salmon run that famine occurred.[17] Even when the summer runs were good, however, there were other factors which influenced the size and usefulness of the catch. If there were many summer storms and the river remained muddy and high, fish were caught only in small numbers. Also if there were long periods of wet weather, fish caught could not dry properly and were likely to spoil. This latter problem could be alleviated to some extent by the construction of smoke houses which protected the drying fish from the rain and dampness.

Although fishing was the most important subsistence activity during the summer months, it was by no means the only one in which people were engaged. Ducks and geese remained plentiful and were hunted throughout the summer in sloughs near the fish camps. In August geese are moulting and cannot fly; thus they were particularly easy targets. Salmonberries, blueberries, and cranberries ripen during the late summer and early fall. Shageluk women and children gathered them on the hills along the river bank above the village. Anvik gatherers went up the Anvik River to the vicinity of Beaver Creek or down the Yukon to Cement Hill or Hawk Bluff. Berry gathering and hunting for moulting geese were often combined as the birds were frequently found where the blueberries were ripe. Black bears were taken in snares or with deadfalls during the summer.

Fall—Fishing for silver salmon frequently continued into September and trips to the coast with dried fish to trade were sometimes made in early fall. However, shortly before the close of navigation on the rivers, usually during early October, the Indians returned to their winter villages and began the work of preparation for late fall and winter hunting and trapping. Sledges, toboggans, snowshoes, and dog harnesses were taken from the caches where they had been stored during the summer months and necessary repairs made so that they could be placed in use. Before the river finally froze over, all boats were hauled up on the bank and placed in a position where they could not be damaged by running ice during

spring floods. Steps were cut leading down the steep banks of the river in front of the villages for convenience in winter traveling, and the roofs and walls of houses were given a general overhauling so that they would be fit for occupancy when cold weather set in.[18]

As soon as the rivers and sloughs were completely frozen over, usually by late October, fish traps were set in the channels. Their locations were visited frequently to keep the holes in the ice open so that the traps could be lifted out and their contents removed. Whitefish, which run for about a month in the Yukon in late October and early November, were the most abundant variety taken. These fish were also trapped in large numbers at this time by Innoko River people in the sloughs of that stream. Willow fences were sometimes built by Shageluk people at the mouths of sloughs and small tributaries and fish collected at these obstructions were removed with dip nets. Gill nets were also used to take whitefish from sloughs and small lakes near the winter villages just before freeze-up and just after while the ice was still thin. In addition to whitefish, pike, jackfish, and loche were taken at this time of year.[19]

Toward the end of November the annual run of lampreys occurs in the Yukon. These fish move slowly up the river and word was passed from village to village as they approached swimming just beneath the surface of the ice. The Ingalik had a series of holes ready for instant use and kept a sharp lookout for the eels. As soon as they were seen in the hole furthest down river, the fishermen began scooping these fish out with small nets or hooking them with a barb fastened to a long pole. The creatures froze instantly on exposure to the cold air. When the lampreys had passed one hole, the fishermen would, of course, move to the next. The run would last only a couple of days, but because the fish move slowly in a compact mass close to the surface, many hundreds of pounds were taken if the run was good. They were eaten raw and their oil used for light and for cooking.[20]

Hunting was also an important fall activity. By early November the country is well covered with snow and the Ingalik hunters were ready and anxious to start off for the high country to hunt moose, caribou, and other large game. Caribou were particularly plentiful in fall and were herded into surrounds where they were caught in snares. They were also snared by means of strong nooses set among bushes so that the animals became entangled around the neck or antlers.[21] Moose, the largest game animal of the area, were hunted

PLATE 4. Fishing with traps through the Yukon River ice; date not recorded (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

PLATE 5. Spearing lampreys through the Yukon River ice; date not recorded (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

by the Ingalik on snowshoes, preferably when the snow was deep or there was a hard crust through which the animal would break at every step. The hunter, stripped to the least possible amount of clothing, followed the animal until it was exhausted and he moved close enough for the kill. Caribou were sometimes stalked in this manner, although less successfully because these animals were lighter and faster.[22] The fall hunt was of short duration and women seldom participated. They remained at home with the children and old people spending most of their time making clothing. They also set snares for hares as soon as trails were visible in the snow and hunted grouse and ptarmigan in the vicinity of the villages.[23]

By the end of November, or somewhat earlier, the hunters had returned from the high country. Those who had been successful in killing moose, bear, and caribou, after a short rest to recuperate from the effects of the hardships of fall travel with heavy loads, set out again with their dog teams to bring in the meat which had been left cached in the woods. Sometimes a successful hunter was accompanied by his family on the return trip for game and if there was a large quantity cached, the family might make a temporary camp at the cache and spend a week or more resting and feasting. So delightful was this interval, that some families did not return to the river until driven to do so by the cold weather of approaching winter.[24]

The fall hunt was also the time when trapping of small fur-bearing animals began. Traps were put out for fox, lynx, land otter, beaver, squirrel, ermine, marten, and mink. The most common method of trapping was by means of the friction trigger or samson post deadfall.[25]

Winter—Trapping continued into the winter months at least until the end of December. E. W. Nelson, a 19th century traveler in the Ingalik country, mentions that in early December, 1880 he encountered two men in a *kashim*, or ceremonial house, at an Innoko River village skinning four land otters that they had recently taken. These animals had been tracked to their holes in a snow bank along the river and then clubbed to death as they were driven out. The men told Nelson that in winter the land otter plunges through the snow by short leaps and is easily run down by a hunter on showshoes. The hunters followed a fresh trail and either overtook the animal and killed it or drove the creature into its hole and then forced it out to be killed. Land otters were also taken by placing

steel traps at the bottoms of their holes leading under the ice at the banks of streams. Marten trapping was also particularly good in mid-winter. Like the land otter, these animals could be tracked until forced to climb a tree and then shot. There was, however, considerable risk to the pelt by taking them in this manner.[26]

Often during the fall, hunters noted the location of good beaver houses and then when winter came, nets were placed under the ice in front of the exits. According to Zagoskin, beaver frequently were unable to prepare a food supply that would last them through the entire winter and therefore left a willow grove near their house untouched. When an unseasonable thaw occurred, the animals would come out to forage and could be killed easily by waiting hunters with clubs.[27]

By the end of December and sometimes earlier, the fall hunters and trappers were back in their villages; extensive cold and short days made both activities virtually impossible. These short, dark mid-winter days of December and January were the time of feasting and ceremonies involving all the villages of the Anvik-Shageluk area and some from neighboring areas. The Ingalik, however, could not afford to withdraw completely from the pursuit of subsistence activities. Snowshoe trips were made even on the shortest, coldest days to hunt for grouse, ptarmigan, and hares. Snares were set for hares along their runways and grouse and ptarmigan were snared with nooses set among the bushes. These birds were also taken by means of small brush fences with openings at intervals into which snares were set. Traps and deadfalls for fur-bearing animals were set near the villages in mid-winter and could be checked at the same time small game was being hunted and wood gathered for fuel.[28]

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of small game to the Ingalik as it often provided virtually the only food available when supplies of dried fish were running low. In many years, serious starvation was avoided by the availability of these birds and animals.[29] The quantity of small game apparently varied considerably from year to year and when they were not plentiful, starvation or near starvation could result.[30] Bad floods in the spring frequently killed many small animals, a fact of which the Ingalik would be very much aware the following winter.[31]

Fishing also continued throughout the winter with traps being set in favorable locations along the main rivers and smaller streams for ling, whitefish, and pike. Occasionally such traps were located

where the ice was 4 or 5 ft. thick and to chisel a hole large enough to receive a trap could be very hard work indeed. These traps were usually taken up once or twice a week and might contain anywhere from 20 to 200 lb. of fish; the usual harvest appears to have been about 50 lb. a week. Lure-hook fishing for pike and blackfish in nearby lakes was also a common winter activity.[32]

With the end of February and noticeably lengthening days, the seasonal subsistence cycle of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik was ready to begin again. A pleasurable winter season of festivals had brought excitement to the villages along with visitors who might otherwise be seen only at infrequent intervals. However, such pleasures had to be paid for and many Ingalik anticipated the spring hunting and trapping with some urgency as a welcome opportunity to fill empty caches and replenish diminished food supplies.

Settlement Patterns and Band Territory

The 19th-century Ingalik utilized three types of settlements depending on the season of the year: winter villages which were the permanent homes of their inhabitants, spring fishing and trapping camps sometimes referred to as "canoe villages" to which people sledged their canoes in spring before the ice broke up, and summer fish camps. These latter were sometimes located directly in front of the winter villages, but they were always smaller because some families preferred to move to various locations along the river in order to take advantage of good fishing sites.[33]

A typical winter village consisted of a large *kashim,* which served as a ceremonial house, men's social center, and workshop, and a row of semi-subterranean residences. Behind the houses were numerous caches for storing dried fish and other food, while elevated racks for sledges and boats were situated between and in front of the residences. The *kashim* was the most impressive structure in every Ingalik winter village. In 1843 Zagoskin described the one at Anilukhtakpak as being "a remarkable building, 12 *sazhens* square and over 6 *sazhens* high, with three tiers of benches made of pine [spruce] planks that are 3¼ feet wide and have obviously been split and hewn with stone axes."[34] Houses in the winter villages were usually between 16 and 20 ft. square. When Glazunov visited Anvik in 1834, he counted 10 large houses and 25 caches in addition to the *kashim.*[35]

In 1843-1844 when Zagoskin explored the Ingalik country he visited the nine winter villages listed below. The first five of these

were situated along the lower Innoko River and the remainder on the Yukon (see figs. 4, 5).[36]

Settlement	Houses	Population
Inselnostlende	2	33
Khuingitetakhten	3	37
Iltenleyden	6	100
Tlëgozhitno (Shageluk)	3	45
Khuligichagat (Holikachuk)	5	70
Vazhichagat	5	80
Anvig (Anvik)	5	120
Makki (Bonasila)	3	44
Anilukhtakpak	8	170
Total	40	699

These figures indicate an average occupancy of a little more than 17 persons per house and suggest that a winter village with eight or more houses should be considered very large indeed. Later observers agree that anywhere from 15 to 20 individuals, usually members of at least two nuclear families, lived in a traditional semi-subterranean winter house.[37]

The most common form of summer dwelling in the fishing camps was above ground, of frame construction, and with walls made of sheets of spruce or birch bark. Temporary shelters of spruce poles and boughs were used during briefer stays in the "canoe villages."

The availability of predictable runs of salmon each summer made it possible for the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik to enjoy a comparatively sedentary way of life at least when compared to northern Athapaskan groups depending mainly on big game. For these specialized fishermen, winter could thus be a time of relative leisure when, as will presently be described, a series of elaborate ceremonies were held in village *kashims.*

Among a relatively settled people like the Ingalik, the central base or winter village played an important part in social organization and as a center for exploiting the resources of the environment. As noted in the Introduction, in the 1930's the Ingalik were divided into four subgroups each of which can be considered roughly equivalent to the regional band as defined by June Helm for the Mackenzie drainage Athapaskans.[38] There were apparently more at the time of Zagoskin's explorations. A regional band exploited the total range of the band as identified by tradition and use. It utilized all the resources within this range, and this territory provided sufficient food and other resources to sustain life except during periodic

famines. The Ingalik regional band was physically dispersed at various periods throughout the year, but the families who belonged to it came together at the central base to exploit a major resource, namely fish, which, by the nature of its occurrence, allowed a large number of persons to congregate. Regional band members were related through a network of primary affinal and consanguinal ties and the various bands, each of which could be equated with a major winter village and its satellite camps, were bound together through a series of elaborate winter feasts and ceremonies in which, at one time or another, all residents participated.

Social Relations

Throughout much of the Athapaskan area extended kinship was characterized by unilinear consanguineal kin groups which acknowledged a traditional bond of common descent in the maternal line. Among the Ingalik, however, extended kinship reckoning was bilateral, both the maternal and paternal lines being relevant for purposes of tracing descent. This type of kinship structure is generally considered to be a consequence of contact between these Indians and their Eskimo neighbors, the Ingalik having been formerly matrilineal.

Small hunting and gathering aggregates like the Ingalik regional bands emphasized immediate kinship concerns and there were few mechanisms by which the responsibilities of kinship could be extended to non-kin. Polygyny was occasionally practiced by a wealthy individual who obtained the permission of his first wife before inviting his second to join the household. The levirate, whereby a widow marries her deceased husband's brother, was said to be fairly common, but the sororate which sanctions the marriage of a widower with the sister of his deceased wife, was rare. Both customs are designed to insure the continuance of the nuclear family with its responsibilities and obligations after the death of a spouse.

Marriage was usually endogamous within the village and there were prohibitions against marrying within the range of first cousins. A modified form of bride service before marriage is reported by Parsons[39] and Osgood's informants noted that it was the mother who determined the marriage partner of a son or daughter. Post-nuptial residence is not clearly defined by Osgood or other sources and it is probable that, as among other Athapaskan groups where bilaterality was characteristic, residence patterns

were flexible and individual choice played a significant role. Thus Parsons notes that for the first two or three years after marriage a woman lived with her husband in her parents' home, the man then building his own house in the immediate vicinity.[40] Osgood's informants, on the other hand, reported that a young married man brought his wife to his parents' home for a period of time and then built his own house wherever he chose to do so.

Kinship terminology of the Ingalik can be identified as Eskimoan since the terms for parallel cousins and for mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's daughter are identical and differentiated from the terms for sisters; cross cousins are also referred to by the same term. Ingalik terms consistently imply a distinction in generation and lineal relatives are always distinguished from collaterals. Typically Athapaskan is the terminological distinction between elder and younger brother and between elder and younger sister. There are also man-speaking and woman-speaking terms for son and daughter. A mild form of avoidance relationship existed traditionally between a man and his mother, his brother's wife, and his grandmother, but these circumstances apparently applied only to the young. Joking relationships occurred among all first cousins and occasionally between close friends.

Those aspects of the life cycle which are significant for the purposes of this study include behavioral taboos following the birth of a child that were observed equally by the father and mother. For approximately two weeks the mother was confined to the bench in the house where she had given birth; the father did no work for 20 days nor was he permitted to eat fresh meat or fish. During this period he wore old clothes and when outside had to wear his parka with the covering over his head. There were also restrictions that applied to sexual intercourse. The child's health and good fortune were believed dependent on the strict observance of these taboos and restrictions.

There was no isolation for boys at puberty, but at her menarche a girl was segregated from the community for one year. The corner of the house which she occupied was partitioned by grass mats and she wore a beaded headband to which bear claws were attached. During this year of seclusion the young woman mastered the skills she would need as a married woman, including sewing, cooking, and the making of beadwork, baskets, and fish nets. Her father observed taboos similar to those following the birth of a child for a similar period of 20 days. At the end of the year of seclusion, a young girl

was considered eligible for courtship and marriage. However, any menstruating woman was believed to be dangerous to men. If she looked them in the eye, they were in danger of losing their subsistence skills.[41]

Ingalik burial practices were more elaborate than similar observances among other northern Athapaskan groups, with the type of burial frequently depending on the wealth of the deceased. Coffin burial was the most desirable, the coffin being placed on a rack at the edge of the cemetery until either the spring or fall burial season and then deposited in an above-ground coffin house. For those whose relatives could not afford a coffin burial, disposal usually consisted of simple interment in the ground. A coffin burial usually involved an elaborate funeral in the *kashim* during which men for whom great respect was felt were accorded as many as four nights of ceremony. During this time the deceased was symbolically fed by his relatives and food was distributed among elderly villagers. The Death Potlatch, one of the great ceremonies of the Ingalik which took place in mid-winter, also commemorated the death of an individual. After burial, close relatives observed taboos for a variable period of time. Status and the community's attitude toward the deceased were major factors in ceremonies related to death and they also determined the period of mourning.

Shamanism and the Supernatural

The relationship between the Ingalik and the world of nature was very close. To get along successfully, the Indians believed that it was necessary to have a good relationship with other forms of life, most notably the various "animal people" on whom human beings were dependent for food. The principal means of influencing the behavior of animals was through the use of songs which were owned by individuals. Songs could also bring wealth, technological skill, and good health. People frequently wore amulets which were often associated with songs and could be made by an individual, purchased, or inherited. Together songs and amulets must be considered as the magical instruments which ordinary people used to achieve a desired end. Personal power was thus a vital element in the belief system.

Those individuals with the most personal power, the shamans, were the only professional religious practitioners. Among the Ingalik, a shaman was usually a man, but it was possible for a woman to have shamanistic power. Much of the shaman's power was deriv-

ed through dreaming of animals, but like ordinary people, he also acquired songs.

The primary duties of any shaman were to prevent and cure disease. Curing usually involved the removal of a tangible object or an invisible spirit from the patient's body. Prevention of disease involved frightening away the spirit through a shamanistic performance. The shaman was paid for curing by the patient or his family. In addition to curing the sick and preventing illness by exorcising evil spirits, a particularly powerful shaman could influence the movement of game animals and fish runs.

Ceremonialism

Dramatic group ceremonies were rare among northern Athapaskans, but extremely elaborate ones were performed by the Ingalik in their village *kashims*. Seven major ceremonies were observed in traditional times, four of which involved invitations to neighboring villages for feasting, ceremonial exchange, gift giving, and dancing. These were the Partner's Potlatch, the Mask Dance, the Death Potlatch, and the Hot Dance. The Animal's Ceremony was more of an entertainment accompanied by feasting and residents of neighboring villages could attend without a special invitation. The two remaining major ceremonies, the Bladder Ceremony, held to propitiate the spirits of game animals, and the Doll's Ceremony, which foretold the future and was the first festival of the winter series, involved only the residents of a single village.

Of greatest importance were the Partner's Potlatch and the Death Potlatch, both of which honored the dead and brought status and prestige to the host through a ceremonial exchange of goods. The former could be held at any time of the year, but the latter, a particularly solemn occasion, was always held in mid-winter. In both ceremonies an exchange relationship existed on two levels. There was a guest-host relationship between two villages as well as an exchange between individuals.

The Partner's Potlatch, perhaps the most important Ingalik social event, involved an invitation from one village to another. Usually the nearest village of equivalent size was invited; the residents of Anvik, for example, usually performed this ceremony with the Indians of Shageluk. However, either of these villages could invite others and all communities in the Anvik-Shageluk area were likely to be involved at one time or another. Only specific individuals from one village invited an equivalent number from the

guest village, but all residents of both were likely to become involved to a greater or lesser extent.

Acceptance of the invitation by the guest village conveyed the obligation to provide gifts to the host village and individuals in the latter had "parka partners" in the former with whom they had an exchange relationship by mutual agreement. During the potlatch the dead were honored through songs and the display of gifts to their relations. When the guests arrived at the host village, each one also had a "feeding partner" who provided food during the ceremonies.

The Death Potlatch was the most serious ceremonial event of the Ingalik year and invitations were extended to particular individuals. A couple might decide that they had acquired sufficient goods to hold a potlatch in honor of the man's father. Invitations were sent by the host in honor of the deceased to other men from his own and neighboring villages. Guests were selected on the basis of their ability to reciprocate, because of past obligations, or to help friends. Even though the invitations were to certain individuals, it was understood that all the men and women of the guests' village were invited to participate. The host acquired prestige both for sponsoring the event and through the quality of the gifts he distributed. If he was sufficiently wealthy, he also gave gifts to those persons who had performed duties at the time of his father's death. Food was, of course, provided for all participants. The Hot Dance, a performance which theoretically served to increase the supply of food animals, was held for one night in conjunction with the Death Potlatch. It was performed primarily for amusement and served to compensate for the austerity of the Death Potlatch.

The Animal's Ceremony was quite different from the potlatches and was considered a social highlight of the ceremonial year. Although it had a serious purpose of increasing the number of game animals, it also provided a great deal of pleasure through its songs, dances, costumes, and masks. The Animal's Ceremony lasted from 14 to 21 days and either immediately preceded or followed the Death Potlatch. The ceremony, which was really more of a pageant, was directed by a song leader who made certain that the order of events did not vary from year to year. As always, the dances and skits were accompanied by lavish feasting. The Mask Dance was similar to the Animal's Ceremony in that it combined propitiation of various animal species with social amusement.

In addition to the seven major festivals, the Ingalik held a series of lesser ceremonies, involving the distribution of food in the *kashim,* which were concerned primarily with achieving individual prestige. These celebrations included public recognition of a boy's first kill, a girl's first menstruation, and a marriage. Feasts were also held when the salmon first began to run, when a man killed a wolf or a wolverine, and at the time of an eclipse of the moon or sun.

The descriptions provide only a modest indication of the richness of Ingalik ceremonial life, much of which can hardly be called religious. Of particular significance is the reciprocal relationship between man and animals, a concept that forms the basis of the most important Ingalik ceremonies. It should also be emphasized that the ceremonies included not only the concepts embodied in their performances, but an extremely rich heritage of songs, dances, and material culture.

Although this highly compressed summary of 19th-century Ingalik life cannot provide a base line against which to measure the impact of Euro-American contact, the information is nevertheless relevant to the processes of culture change described in the following pages. Each of the chapters to come deals with segments of time which were of particular social, economic, and religious significance to Indian culture.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise indicated, the information in this chapter is summarized from Osgood (1940, 1958, 1959), an outline of Ingalik culture prepared by Jeanne Snow for volume 6 of the forthcoming *Handbook of North American Indians,* and my own field research. Other sources utilized are footnoted individually.
2. DRHA, vol. 2, pp. 114-115; Petroff, 1884, p. 5; VanStone, 1978, pp. 34-35.
3. Cantwell, 1902, pp. 221-224.
4. HCM diary, June 19, 1892-Nov. 27, 1896. OPA/HCM, box 2.
5. VanStone, 1959, pp. 41-42.
6. VanStone, 1978, p. 34.
7. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 238.
8. Ibid., p. 198.
9. Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 220-221; VanStone, 1978, p. 34.
10. Cantwell, 1902, pp. 221-224.
11. Diary of Holy Cross Industrial School for Boys, Sept. 5-May 23, 1898. OPA/HCM, box 2.
12. Cantwell, 1902, pp. 221-224.
13. Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 197, 239.

14. Osgood, 1940, pp. 226-227.
15. VanStone, 1978, p. 36.
16. Ibid.; Stuck, 1917b, p. 179.
17. VanStone, 1978, p. 36.
18. Cantwell, 1902, pp. 221-224.
19. Pilcher diaries. UA; VanStone, 1978, p. 37.
20. Ibid.; Chapman, 1904, pp. 262-263.
21. VanStone, 1978, pp. 34-35.
22. Ibid.
23. Cantwell, 1902, pp. 221-224.
24. Ibid.
25. VanStone, 1978, pp. 34-35.
26. Ibid.
27. Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 220-221.
28. VanStone, 1978, pp. 34-35.
29. Chapman to Emmons, July 20, 1904. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers; Chapman, 1898a, p. 573.
30. Mertie and Harrington, 1924, p. 86.
31. Lucas to Wood, April 27, 1926. ECA/Alaska papers, box 42.
32. Chapman, 1904, pp. 262-263.
33. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 219.
34. Ibid., p. 193. A *sazhen* equals 2.3 yd.
35. VanStone, 1959, p. 43.
36. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 307.
37. Chapman, 1900, p. 6.
38. Helm, 1968, pp. 118-120.
39. Parsons, 1921-1922, p. 63.
40. Ibid., p. 61.
41. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

II

RUSSIAN EXPLORATION AND THE EARLY FUR TRADE: 1790-1840

Russian Expansion into Western Alaska

In June, 1741 a Russian expedition under the command of Vitus Bering and Aleksey Chirikov, in two vessels, sailed from Kamchatka to explore the shores of the American continent. The ships soon separated and in mid-July, Bering sighted the Alaskan coast in the vicinity of Mt. St. Elias and made a landing on Kayak Island. Sailing northwest he sighted the Shumagin Islands and continued westward along the Aleutian chain. His ship was eventually wrecked on Bering Island in the Commander group off the coast of Kamchatka and many died during the winter, including Bering. The next summer the survivors built a small vessel from the wreckage and returned to Kamchatka.

After becoming separated from Bering, Chirikov sailed eastward and in mid-July sighted the Alaskan coast near Cross Sound. An attempt to land resulted in the loss of two boats and the death of nearly a third of his crew, probably as a result of treacherous tides or at the hands of the Tlingit Indians. Chirikov hastily returned to Kamchatka sighting a few of the Aleutian Islands during his voyage.

Following the explorations of Bering and Chirikov, Russian fur hunters began to exploit those areas of the North Pacific where fabulous riches in furs had been reported. These hardy Siberians reached the Commander Islands within two years after the return of Bering's party. Subsequently, in crude, ill-equipped, and poorly provisioned ships manned by crews who knew little of seamanship, these roving hunters and traders were successful in pushing their way eastward along the Aleutian chain to the mainland of Alaska.

Some of these fur hunters reached Kodiak Island as early as 1762 and by that time it was already apparent that foxes, sea otters, and other fur-bearers were becoming scarce in the Aleutians. Because

the hunting and trading voyages were growing less profitable, it was necessary to look for new areas to exploit. Up to this time, fur gathering had been in the hands of individual entrepreneurs or a few small companies. However, in 1781 a well-organized company of eastern Siberian merchants was formed to exploit the American fur trade. The leader of this new organization was Gregoriy Ivanovich Shelikov, an Irkutsk merchant who, in 1783, supervised the establishment of a small colony at Three Saints Bay near the southwestern end of Kodiak Island. From there the Shelikov Company extended its trapping and trading operations to the neighboring islands and mainland.

In 1792 Aleksandr Andreevich Baranov was appointed chief director of the company's American interests, a post which he was to hold for 25 years. Virtually alone he developed the company to the point where it was able to overcome its rivals for control of the fur trade and become established, under the name of the Russian-American Company, as a state monopoly by imperial decree in 1799.

One of Shelikov's chief rivals for control of the fur trade was the Lebedev-Lashtochkin Company. The latter firm established a number of permanent settlements on Cook Inlet between 1787 and 1791, and penetrated the interior to the shores of Iliamna Lake. The two companies harrassed each other in pursuit of the fur trade and hostilities became so intense that employees of both even plundered posts belonging to their own firms. As a result, a virtual reign of terror prevailed in the Cook Inlet region although the area was dominated by the Lebedev-Lashtochkin Company. The settlements and trading patterns of the Tanaina Indians, residents of this area, were greatly disturbed by this state of warfare, and many coastal peoples fled to the interior.

Sometime in the early 1790's, after the Lebedev-Lashtochkin Company had consolidated its hold on the shore of Iliamna Lake, an expedition consisting of a number of Russian traders headed by Vasiliy Ivanov and accompanied by several Indians, was sent further into the interior in a northerly direction. Russian trading companies had long been attracted by accounts of the supposed richness of the Kuskokwim and Yukon river valleys, but virtually nothing was known of this area. It was hoped that Ivanov could obtain accurate information concerning this vast region and its potential for the expanding fur trade.

Ivanov's journey is said to have taken place between Christmas and Easter and he is reported to have seen many large settlements

and an abundance of fish and fur-bearing animals. Russian historians believe that Ivanov's route led from Iliamna Lake across Lake Clark to the upper Mulchatna River valley, and from there to either the Holitna or Stony rivers, tributaries of the middle Kuskokwim. In his report, Ivanov mentioned two large rivers, the Tutna and the Balsanda. The former is identified as the Kuskokwim, and Ivanov's party is believed to have traveled down it as far as the Eskimo village of Ohagamiut. According to Ivanov's account, it was at this point that he crossed over to the Balsanda which is identified as the Yukon River.

All of this is highly conjectural and based on very flimsy and unsubstantiated evidence, namely a manuscript in the Kodiak office of the Russian-American Company seen by the explorer G. I. Davydov, together with conversations with Ivanov which the Russian historian V. N. Berkh reportedly recorded at Kodiak in the winter of 1804-1805. Nevertheless, some Russian scholars who have studied the matter in considerable detail believe that Ivanov not only reached the Yukon, but that he descended that great waterway to its mouth. If this part of Ivanov's trip did take place, it means that the Russians had first-hand knowledge of the lower Yukon at least 40 years earlier than had previously been supposed.[1]

Although there is no definite evidence that Ivanov actually reached the Yukon, let alone explored any part of that river, it is nevertheless possible that he was the first Russian explorer to penetrate the interior of Alaska and thus the European discoverer of the Kuskokwim River, a waterway that was to play such a significant role in the Russian fur trade in southwestern Alaska. The village of Ohagamiut which Ivanov is said to have reached would have been a logical place on that river from which to launch an exploration to the Yukon. It is located near the point where the two rivers are closest together and is one end of a portage that has been used by both Indians and Eskimos since prehistoric times. In addition, the time of year during which Ivanov made his journey—late winter and early spring—would have been ideal for easy and rapid overland sledge travel throughout the region. Ivanov and his party almost certainly contacted the Eskimos of the lower Kuskokwim on their journey and, if they reached the Yukon, may also have had some interaction with the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik. These are mere suppositions, however, since the accounts supposedly seen by Davydov and the conversations recorded by Berkh provide no details concerning the country through which the party passed or its inhabitants.

The Lebedev-Lashtochkin Company continued to trade in the Cook Inlet area until 1800, but all trading firms other than the Russian-American Company were suppressed by imperial decree and we hear nothing further concerning explorations inland from Cook Inlet. Baranov moved the latter company's headquarters from Kodiak Island to Sitka in 1800 and this small settlement became the capital of Russian Alaska. The Russians were familiar with coastal regions of southeastern Alaska and with the Aleutian Islands, but virtually nothing was known of the coast to the north, although Ivanov's explorations may have been known to Baranov and his associates in Sitka. In any event, he was anxious to obtain more information concerning his interior domain, but continual preoccupation with organizational problems, British and American competition, and difficulties with the Indians and Aleuts left little time for exploration.

Early in the 19th century, as the number of fur-bearing animals continued to decline in traditionally exploited areas, the Russian-American Company was forced to turn its attention to the vast area of southwestern Alaska north of the Alaska Peninsula. This was a virtually unknown region in which, if he was familiar with Ivanov's account in the files at Kodiak, Baranov had definite reasons for believing that new profits could be reaped through trade with the Indian and Eskimo inhabitants for beaver pelts and other furs. It was undoubtedly also true that in response to pressures exerted by other nations conducting explorations and trade in northern waters, particularly Great Britain and the United States, the Russians felt compelled to extend their influence into areas of the country with which they had not been traditionally associated.

In 1818 an expedition under the direction of Petr Korsakovskiy was dispatched from Kodiak Island to explore the country to the north of Bristol Bay. This expedition, which was intended to open new areas to the fur trade, explored part of the Alaska Peninsula and the coast from Kvichak Bay to Cape Newenham. In August of that year Korsakovskiy, leaving some members of his party at the mouth of the Nushagak River, led a detachment which ascended the Kvichak River to Iliamna Lake and from there to Lake Clark and the upper reaches of the Mulchatna River, a Nushagak tributary. On Iliamna Lake he met Eremy Rodionov, a local trader, who offered to lead a small party north into the interior. The route followed by Rodionov is uncertain, but he may have descended either the Holitna or the Hoholitna to the Kuskokwim, proceeding, as did

Ivanov, as far down river as Ohagamiut. By early September, the party had returned to the upper Mulchatna and from there Korsakovskiy and his men returned to Kodiak Island by way of Iliamna Lake and lower Cook Inlet.[2]

Rodionov's and Ivanov's journeys were remarkably similar and it is even possible that the former knew something of the activities of the latter. Even if, as seems likely, neither reached the Yukon, it certainly must have been about this time, if not earlier, that the Indians and Eskimos of the lower Yukon began to learn about Russians to the south and Russian trade, just as the Tanaina Indians, occupants of the Iliamna Lake and Lake Clark areas, were thoroughly familiar with Russian trade goods long before the arrival of the Korsakovskiy party. It is even probable that goods traded on the Kuskokwim by Ivanov and Rodionov had reached the lower Yukon in considerable numbers.

In the summer of 1819 Korsakovskiy led another exploring party to Bristol Bay, this time by way of the upper Alaska Peninsula, Iliamna Lake, and the Kvichak River. From there the expedition proceeded to the mouth of the Togiak River where they picked up supplies brought by sea from Kodiak. An exploration of the Kuskokwim was planned, but Korsakovskiy proceeded no further than Goodnews Bay. The Eskimos he met advised against an attempt to ascend the river, maintaining that many hardships would be encountered and that the Russians would have difficulty obtaining food. So the expedition turned back, but it is possible that Korsakovskiy heard of the Yukon at that time even if he had not learned of it from those who accompanied Rodionov the previous year. An important accomplishment of the 1819 explorations was the establishment of a trading post, Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt, at the mouth of the Nushagak River. It was placed in the charge of Fedor Kolmakov, an energetic trader who had accompanied Korsakovskiy the previous year and who was destined to play a major role in the development of the fur trade in southwestern Alaska.[3]

So ended the first systematic and well-documented Russian explorations in southwestern Alaska. As a result of Korsakovskiy's efforts, the company learned a number of important things about the interior regions. Beaver and other fur-bearers were plentiful, the Eskimo and Indian inhabitants were friendly and receptive to trade, and, most important of all, the country was apparently drained by a number of navigable rivers which would make penetration relatively easy. At the same time, residents of the interior had easy access to

the coast. Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt seemed ideally situated to attract Eskimos with furs and, equally important, to serve as a point of departure for further explorations into the interior.

Following the interior explorations of Korsakovskiy, both the Russian navy and the Russian-American Company turned their attentions to coastal explorations north of the Alaska Peninsula. In 1819 and 1820 captains M. N. Vasilev and G. S. Shishmarev explored the Alaskan coast north to the vicinity of Icy Cape for the imperial navy, while in 1821 and 1822 V. S. Khromchenko and A. K. Etolin, naval officers in the service of the Russian-American Company, conducted surveys of the coast between Bristol Bay and Norton Sound.[4] They were able to provide some information on an area of coast that had been avoided by earlier navigators because of its treacherous shoals and currents. Coastal exploration in this area, together with the inland journeys of Korsakovskiy and others yet to come were necessary before southwestern Alaska could be opened to the fur trade.

The coastal investigations just described were followed, between 1829 and 1832, by the interior explorations of Ivan Yakovlevich Vasilev and Fedor Kolmakov for the Russian-American Company. In 1830 Vasilev, using Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt as a base of operations, ascended the Nushagak River, crossed over into the Kuskokwim drainage and descended that river to the coast. These explorations effectively brought the Eskimos inhabiting the Nushagak and Kuskokwim drainages within the sphere of influence of Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt.[5] In 1832 Kolmakov and another creole trader important in the annals of interior Alaskan exploration, Semen Lukin, established the redoubt on the middle Kuskokwim that was later to bear Kolmakov's name. Kolmakovskiy Redoubt remained an important trading center until abandoned by the Russian-American Company in 1866.[6]

Among the instructions given Vasilev with reference to his explorations in 1829 and 1830 was one requiring him to verify the existence of an abundant beaver population in the Yukon river country as had been reported by Ivanov and, presumably, Rodionov; with this verification, the company could then move to establish new redoubts in favorable locations. Vasilev did not reach the Yukon, but the company was apparently satisfied that beavers were abundant in the general area and consideration was given to the possibility of establishing a post that would allow for more direct access to this rich country than was afforded by Aleksandrovskiy

Redoubt. Vasilev had recommended the establishment of a post in the vicinity of Stuart Island about 100 miles north of the Yukon Delta and company officials concurred.[7] As a result, in 1833 Mikhailovskiy Redoubt was established on a low island at the southern end of Norton Sound and the way was open for Russian penetration of the Yukon River.[8]

Russian Exploration of the Yukon

It is significant that Mikhailovskiy Redoubt was built in the vicinity of Stuart Island rather than closer to the mouths of the Yukon River, a location that presumably would have been more convenient to the needs and conditions of the fur trade. The selection of the Stuart Island area emphasizes the barren, inhospitable nature of the coast in this area, the main feature of which is the complex Yukon mouth with its bewildering number of sloughs that frequently appear to lead nowhere. Khromchenko and Etolin can hardly be blamed for their failure to survey accurately this flat wasteland where significant tidal variations and mud flats add to the dangers created by shoals and shallow water. Even Captain James Cook, in the summer of 1778, was glad to be able to stand well off shore in this unknown but obviously treacherous area. Much of the Yukon Delta remained unvisited by outsiders until well into the period when Americans rather than Russians were responsible for coastal and interior exploration.

In the same year that Mikhailovskiy Redoubt was founded, however, the Russians had hopes of ascending the Yukon River from one of its many mouths. The Russian-American Company instructed an employee, a Lieutenant Rozenberg, to explore all the mouths of the river; apparently he was unable to do so. Perhaps also in the same year, Assistant Navigator Andrey Glazunov, stationed at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, was sent by the company with a detachment of baidarkas to explore the lower reaches of the river. He entered the Yukon Delta region from Pastol Bay through the Aphrewm mouth and succeeded in penetrating several of the innumerable sloughs which flow through the delta. His journey, although inconclusive from a geographical standpoint, was profitable for the company. During his travels he established trade relations with the Eskimos of the Yukon Delta who later came to Mikhailovskiy Redoubt to trade. These tentative and preliminary attempts to explore the mouth of the river at least served the purpose of verifying the wisdom of having a trading post in the immediate vicinity of the Yukon Delta.[9]

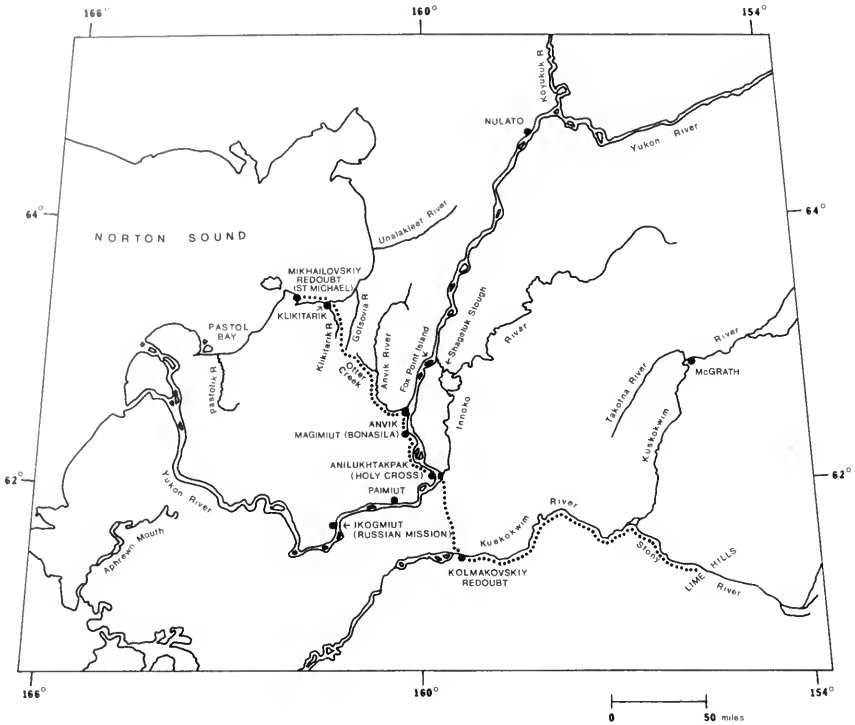

FIG. 3. Russian exploration of the lower-middle Yukon and its tributaries. Dotted line indicates Andrey Glazunov's route from Mikhailovskiy Redoubt to the Stony River.

The name of Andrey Glazunov must forever loom large in the history of interior Alaskan exploration. A creole like his notable contemporaries, Semen Lukin and Fedor Kolmakov, Glazunov was born in Alaska and presumably had been trained by the Russians in simple methods of navigation. It has been suggested that his knowledge of surveying was probably limited to the taking of compass bearings and the use of the sextant.[10] Like other creoles who made contributions to Alaskan exploration, Glazunov was probably knowledgeable concerning conditions of travel in interior Alaska and may have had some familiarity with the language of the inhabitants through whose territory he expected to travel, a definite advantage over his Russian colleagues. It would probably be a mistake, however, to credit Glazunov and other creoles in the service of the Russian-American Company with vast amounts of specialized information concerning Alaska and its inhabitants.

More likely, it was adaptability to the variety of situations in which they found themselves that made them valuable as explorers and fur traders.

The relatively ineffectual explorations of Rozenberg and Glazunov in the Yukon Delta in 1833 doubtless led the Russian-American Company to believe that this was probably not the direction in which major Yukon discoveries would be made. The flat, desolate land and the previously mentioned network of sloughs hindered an approach to the main valley of the river.

In 1830 Baron Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangel had become general manager of the company and although, like his predecessors, his major interest was in finding new fields for the fur trade, he was also keenly interested in scientific exploration that would add to ethnographic and geographical knowledge. Wrangel, who had already achieved distinction for his explorations in Siberia, was primarily responsible for the establishment of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt and was quick to realize its advantages as a base of operations from which to explore the Yukon. Glazunov was chosen to lead a small expedition in the winter of 1833-1834. For him it was the first of several trips into the interior of west-central Alaska. If we discount the doubtful accomplishments of Ivanov and Rodionov nearly 40 years earlier, he was the first of the Russian explorers to see the valley of the Yukon River.

Glazunov had originally intended to proceed to the Yukon by way of the Pastolik River which flows into Norton Sound south of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt. However, a rumor current at the redoubt that Eskimos of that area intended to attack the expedition made it impossible for him to persuade natives at Mikhailovskiy to accompany the party if he insisted on taking that route.

The expedition, which consisted of Glazunov, Vasily Deriabin, Ivan Balashev, Vasiliy Donskoy, and Yakov Knaga, probably all creoles, as well as three natives, probably Eskimos, left the redoubt on December 30, 1833 with two sledges, each pulled by three dogs. Rather than going south, they proceeded to the coastal community of Klikitarik almost due east of Mikhailovskiy where they learned that Ingalik Indians came there annually to trade beaver skins with Eskimo traders from Sledge Island who stopped at the community each year on the way to the village of Pastolik. Leaving Klikitarik on January 1, 1834, the party ascended either the Klikitarik or the Golsovia river and crossed over to one of the tributaries of the upper

Anvik River, probably Otter Creek (fig. 3). They arrived at the juncture of Otter Creek and the Anvik "on the fourth day" where they found a small fish camp inhabited by an Indian forced to remain there during the winter because of the sickness of his wife.

Glazunov's route from this point is not completely clear. He may have ascended the Anvik River for a while, perhaps looking for an Indian winter camp at which to obtain supplies. In any event, the party must have already begun to suffer from the shortages of food that would plague them throughout the entire journey. At this point the problem was aggravated because the upper Anvik was virtually uninhabited during the winter months, and three of the company employees, which three we do not know, were sent back to the redoubt. On January 13 the remaining members of the party started downriver. Along the way they were able to obtain fish at caches left by Ingalik Indians from the village of Anvik who maintained fish camps on the lower half of the river during the summer months. On the 17th, having abandoned their sledges and all but two or three of their dogs, Glazunov's reduced party reached a house occupied by a family of trappers who provided them with much needed food. According to the head of this family, the inhabitants of Anvik were at that time expecting an attack from Eskimos living on the Unalakleet River.

The closer Glazunov and his small party came to the mouth of the Anvik River, the more frequently they encountered summer fish camps with houses in which they could rest and caches from which they could obtain fish. At last, late in the day on January 25 they saw Anvik situated on the low left bank at the point where, at that time, the river entered the Yukon. Glazunov considered it prudent to stop for the night so that they might enter the village the next morning. This was probably a wise move since the Anvik Ingalik were expecting an attack from the very direction from which the Russian party had come. The appearance of the explorer's party, small as it was, certainly agitated the Indians who swarmed onto the roofs of their semi-subterranean houses waving bows and arrows. As Glazunov and his companions approached the village, they prudently stopped out of range of the arrows and the explorer sent one of his companions into the community to show the Indians that they could not possibly have anything to fear from such a small number of strangers. Indeed, if the Indians preferred not to deal with them the Russian party would gladly move on without even attempting to enter. This reasonable discussion appears to have

quieted the nervous Ingalik who laid aside their weapons and sent 10 old men to the newcomers to invite them to come and rest in the village.

In Anvik, Glazunov was permitted to choose the house which he and his companions would occupy and he wisely selected one so located that it could be easily defended. The dwelling was cleaned out and the exploring party, taking care to keep their firearms handy, moved in. Glazunov then left his companions and went to the *kashim,* the place where visitors from other villages were normally accomodated. Like other distinguished visitors, the explorer was offered a seat of honor and he counted 240 persons in the structure, also noting that this number included neither women nor children. According to Zagoskin, Yukon River *kashims* could, on occasion, accomodate as many as 500 people.[11]

In the *kashim* Glazunov talked to the men at length. Since no interpreter is mentioned, he may have possessed some knowledge of the Ingalik language. It is also possible that, living close to the Yupik-speaking Eskimo of the lower Yukon, the Anvik people could have understood Glazunov if addressed in that language. In any event, it is hardly likely that the Indians, at this time, knew much Russian since they had had virtually no opportunity to interact directly with the traders at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt. Indeed, Glazunov declared to the assembled men that he had been ordered by his superiors to invite the Indians to come without fear to the Russian post and bring their furs. In exchange they would receive tobacco and many other useful items. The Indians appeared grateful for this discourse and were especially pleased at the prospect of obtaining tobacco to which they were already greatly addicted. Glazunov obligingly distributed some, part to smoke and part in the form of snuff with which the Indians apparently were not familiar. Thus he cemented his relationship with the hitherto suspicious Ingalik and he and his companions experienced no difficulty in obtaining everything they needed in the way of supplies.

Thus occurred the first documented contact between the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik and the Russians. Glazunov describes the village of Anvik as consisting of 10 large houses, 25 caches and other storage structures, and one large *kashim.*

It is clear that Glazunov and the Anvik residents made a strong impression on each other. The explorer was impressed by the *kashim* and the large number of people he believed had crowded into

it to hear his talk. The Indians, in their turn, appear to have been no less impressed by what was almost certainly their first direct contact with representatives, even marginally, of a European cultural tradition. Exactly 100 years later, when Cornelius Osgood was conducting his field work at Anvik, he was told that the Ingalik observed among their first Russian visitors, men who closely resembled their grandparents. They believed the explorers to be reincarnated Indians who had returned speaking a different language. Since Glazunov and many other early representatives of the Russian-American Company were creoles, it is probable that they did bear a physical resemblance to the Indians with whom they traded. In any event, the adaptable Anvik people quickly made dance masks of these people which were called "water end" masks because the Russians were considered to have come from the "ends [i.e., headwaters] of the rivers."[12]

Bad weather kept Glazunov and his party at Anvik until January 30. During this time he attempted to learn as much as possible concerning portages to the Kuskokwim. Beginning their descent of the Yukon, the explorers continued to be plagued by bad weather and did not reach the next village, Magimiut (Bonasila), until February 3, slow progress since that community, abandoned in the 1930's, was less than 20 miles below Anvik. Glazunov described this settlement as consisting of five large dwellings, 40 caches, and a large *kashim.* The inhabitants of Magimiut, having been forewarned of the impending arrival of the exploring party, greeted Glazunov and his companions in a friendly manner. As at Anvik, Glazunov talked to the men in the *kashim* concerning the purpose of his expedition and received the same indications of approval. It was during his stay in Magimiut that he learned of the existence of the Innoko River together with information concerning the inhabitants of that region and prospects for the fur trade.

Setting out on February 7, Glazunov's party reached the village of Anilukhtakpak the following day. Once again, Glazunov visited the *kashim* which he described as the largest he had ever seen, and counted 300 men. In describing the village he noted 16 dwellings, and approximately 65 additional structures that he called dwellings located about 2 miles from Anilukhtakpak "on the banks of the river." Glazunov estimated the population of the Anilukhtakpak area as 700. Since the settlement was an important center for the exchange of furs and other local products, he felt that it was important

to convince the inhabitants of the desirability of trading with the Russians.

In his journal, Glazunov noted that the inhabitants of Anilukhtakpak were linguistically related to those at Anvik and Magimiut, but that at this geographic point the language of the Ingalik terminated. Visiting Anilukhtakpak at the time were five Eskimos from the Kuskokwim River who had been baptized by Fedor Kolmakov in 1832,[13] and after a stay of five days, Glazunov and his party set out toward that river themselves. The remainder of his trip, though arduous and a significant achievement in exploration, is not of specific interest to us here and can be briefly summarized. With guides, he proceeded over the portage to the Kuskokwim River, reaching Kolmakovskiy Redoubt on February 21. There he encountered Semen Lukin who attempted to persuade him against attempting to reach Cook Inlet. Nevertheless, Glazunov set out, ascending the Stony River as far as the Lime Hills, and experiencing extreme hardship and starvation. He and his party might have perished had they not again encountered Lukin on March 24. The return route is uncertain but was probably by way of the Kuskokwim. In any event, Glazunov and his party arrived at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt on April 15, 1834.[14]

From the standpoint of exploration alone, Glazunov's journey of approximately 1,400 miles in 104 days in the dead of winter is a remarkable achievement. Its true significance, however, can most clearly be understood when it is considered together with the interior explorations of Vasilev, Lukin, and Kolmakov in the Nushagak and Kuskokwim drainages. Together, these explorations opened up all of southwestern Alaska to the fur trade. They led to the establishment of trading stations at strategic locations that, potentially at least, would place control of the fur trade in the hands of the Russian-American Company. Southwestern and west-central Alaska were areas simply waiting to be exploited and by 1835, the procedures for exploitation seemed well on their way to being worked out. Glazunov had played an important role in this achievement and it is little wonder that Wrangel was sufficiently pleased to reward him with an annual salary of 200 rubles and to remove 600 rubles from his debt to the company.[15]

Wrangel's term as general manager of the Russian-American Company ended in 1835 and he was succeeded by I. A. Kuprianov who was determined to follow up the advantages which accrued to

the company as a result of Glazunov's explorations in the winter of 1833-1834. Although he believed that the number of furs brought to Mikhailovskiy Redoubt would increase as a result of Glazunov's trip, it nevertheless seemed advisable to establish a post within the area explored by Glazunov so that a closer control over the fur trade could be maintained. In February, 1835, with this goal in mind, Glazunov, with four Russian employees of the company and a native guide, was sent to explore the lower Yukon once again and to select a site for an *odinochka* or small trading post in that country. As in the previous year, he arrived at the Yukon over the Anvik portage and then proceeded to become more thoroughly acquainted with the settlements and people along the lower river. He returned to Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, presumably that summer, by way of the Aphrewm mouth of the Yukon.[16] It is unfortunate that no published journal exists for this expedition, the first to explore, to any extent, the great delta of the Yukon River.

During this trip, Glazunov experienced a particularly friendly reception at the village of Ikogmiut, an Eskimo settlement below Paimiut, and he noted that the inhabitants appeared to have a great many beaver pelts. As a result, he was instrumental in having the *odinochka* established there in 1836, in spite of the fact that Anvik had already been tentatively decided upon.[17] Although it is not perfectly certain, Glazunov appears to have descended the Yukon again in 1836 to establish the post at Ikogmiut, but he did not take personal charge of the post at that time. Rather the first manager appears to have been Vasiliy Donskoy, one of Glazunov's companions in 1833-1834. Glazunov did become manager in 1842.[18]

Having ascertained with some degree of completeness the possibilities for the fur trade on the lower Yukon River between Anvik and its mouth, the Russian-American Company began to consider what might be accomplished further up the river. Almost from the time that Mikhailovskiy Redoubt was established, the nearby Unalakleet River was known to afford an easy route into the interior, one that would provide access to the middle Yukon without the arduous trip down the coast and through the intricate channels of the delta. Glazunov was therefore ordered to make a third journey, this time up the Unalakleet River in order to ascertain its suitability as a route to the upper Yukon. If he met obstacles in achieving these ends, he was to descend the Yukon and explore the Innoko River which, as he had learned at Anilukhtakpak in 1834, was heavily populated and drained an area reported to be rich in

furs. We know little about this third expedition of Glazunov's except that it was apparently unsuccessful and resulted in his being relieved of his post at Mikhailovskiy.[19] Presumably, he did not reach the Yukon by way of the Unalakleet River nor did he explore the Innoko. But the continued importance to the company of explorations in both these directions was obvious and knowledge of the upper Yukon in particular appeared vital to the success of the fur trade.

In the spring of 1837 Glazunov was replaced at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt by Assistant Navigator Petr Vasilevich Malakhov, also a creole. Since the former had been unsuccessful in determining the feasibility of establishing an *odinochka* on the upper Yukon, Malakhov was directed to continue the explorations and obtain information concerning the possibility of extending the fur trade in that direction.[20] His explorations, though of considerable importance to the company, are peripheral to the area of this study and we can summarize them briefly.

Malakhov left Mikhailovskiy in February, 1838 and reached the Yukon by way of the Unalakleet River portage. He ascended as far as the mouth of the Koyukuk and must be considered the European discoverer of that river. During the following spring, he descended the Yukon to its mouth by boat and was thus the first Russian to navigate a significant portion of its great length. His journal, never published, was apparently known to Zagoskin and in it Malakhov states that during his descent of the Yukon, he entered Shageluk Slough and, presumably, continued down the lower Innoko River to its confluence with the Yukon. Thus he was probably the first European to navigate that important Yukon tributary.[21]

Just below the mouth of the Koyukuk, Malakhov built a log hut and bathhouse near an Indian village. This small complex became the Nulato *odinochka*, the furthest inland post of the Russian-American Company. In 1840 Malakhov repeated his journey and was successful in establishing trade relations between Mikhailovskiy Redoubt and the Indians of the middle Yukon.[22]

Being reasonably familiar with the Unalakleet River, the Anvik, and the Yukon between its mouth and Nulato, as well as large portions of the Kuskokwim and Nushagak drainages, the Russian-American Company now wished to fill gaps in its knowledge of the interior of west-central Alaska by obtaining more information concerning the area between these two great drainage systems. It will be recalled that Glazunov had hoped to bridge this particular

geographical gap by reaching Cook Inlet by means of the Stony River, a Kuskokwim tributary, but was prevented from doing so through difficulty in obtaining supplies in winter. So it was still necessary to explore a route from the Kuskokwim to the Yukon well above the usual portages and at the same time obtain first-hand information concerning the potentially rich fur-bearing area of the Innoko River and its tributaries. As a result of interest in this intermediate area, we come to one of the least known but most intriguing explorations sponsored by the company in western Alaska.

In the fall of 1839 Petr Fedorovich Kolmakov, son of Fedor Kolmakov, manager of Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt and pioneer explorer of the Kuskokwim and Nushagak rivers, crossed over from the Takotna, a tributary of the Kuskokwim below the present village of McGrath, to the upper reaches of the Innoko which he called the Tlëgon. His journal, never published but, like Malakhov's, known to Zagoskin, indicates that he collected a large number of beaver pelts and descended the Innoko, probably at least as far as the confluence of Shageluk Slough, in search of a short route to the Yukon. At some point during his journey, Kolmakov learned that the post at Ikogmiut had been attacked, destroyed, and the occupants massacred in the spring of 1839. He was therefore obliged to turn back. It is not clear whether this attack was perpetrated by natives of the Kuskokwim or the lower Yukon, but it seems likely that Kuskokwim Eskimos from near the present village of Bethel were the culprits.[23] Destruction of the post at Ikogmiut may have been in retaliation for the disastrous smallpox epidemic of 1838-1839 for which the Indians and Eskimos of western Alaska held the Russians responsible. It would be extremely useful to have the first-hand observations of Kolmakov during his trip on the Innoko. The area remained virtually unknown until the discovery of gold on the upper river in the first decade of the 20th century.

The Smallpox Epidemic of 1838-1839

An early legacy from the Russians to the Eskimo and Indian population of western Alaska was the introduction of communicable diseases which spread rapidly and decimated a population which had never had an opportunity to build up an immunity to them. In 1838-1839 smallpox swept the Nushagak, Kuskokwim, and Yukon river regions, but the figures on fatalities are conflicting. According to Tikhmenev, more than 500 people were infected of which 200 died.[24] I. A. Kuprianov, in his report to the Russian-American Company's St. Petersburg headquarters, listed 522 deaths as having

been reported to him by Fedor Kolmakov at Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt and his son, Petr.[25]

In February, 1838 vaccinations were administered for the first time to the residents of Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt and native settlements in the Bristol Bay area, more people being vaccinated the following year. Mikhailovskiy Redoubt was supplied with vaccine at least as early as 1844 and probably several years earlier. It is not clear what effect vaccination had on the spread of smallpox, particularly in the Yukon Valley where the disease was well established before people could be innoculated. In any event, the disease was still raging as late as September, 1839 and the effects of it continued to be noticed the following year.[26]

The Russian-American Company was, of course, greatly concerned about the smallpox epidemic and the effects it would have on the fur trade. At the Sitka office instructions were given to post managers and other company officials to report the conditions of the natives and the difficulties which various communities had experienced as a result of the epidemic. On the lower Yukon in 1838 Petr Malakhov apparently supplied his superiors with some information concerning the conditions of the people in the country through which he traveled. Unfortunately, however, there is no record of what his report contained.[27]

Considered in terms of its impact on Ingalik culture, there is no doubt that the smallpox epidemic was the most significant event to occur during the time span covered in this chapter. Before 1840, face to face contacts with Russian traders were minimal even though the Indians were obtaining trade goods from this source and had been involved in the fur trade, at least marginally, for some time. Quite apart from its impact on the fur trade, however, the smallpox epidemic must have had a very direct and extremely serious effect on Ingalik social organization, settlement patterns, and resource utilization. As noted previously, however, the historical record provides very little precise evidence to support this assumption.

Some idea of the effect on Ingalik population can be achieved by comparing the population figures obtained by Glazunov and Zagoskin. At Anvik Glazunov counted 10 houses which, based on his population figures for other villages, may have been inhabited by as many as 240 persons. Eight years later at the time of Zagoskin's visit there was a population of 120 living in half as many

houses. Similarly, for Bonasila Glazunov noted 120 persons living in five houses, while Zagoskin enumerated 44 people inhabiting three structures. Glazunov's figure of 700 for the Anilukhtakpak area seems large and may include visitors from other settlements on the lower Yukon who were present to trade or participate in one of the winter ceremonies. It should be kept in mind, however, that Glazunov was apparently referring to at least two communities. Nineteenth-century settlement patterns along this stretch of the lower-middle Yukon are complicated, but a population of 700 in this general area is at least possible if not entirely probable. In any event, Zagoskin, in 1843, estimated a population of 170 for Anilukhtakpak alone.[28]

Two interesting facts emerge from a comparison of the information collected by Glazunov and Zagoskin with respect to settlement location, size, and population. First of all, it is apparent that Ingalik settlements on the Yukon inhabited during the early fur trade period have, except for relatively minor shifts, continued to be important into the modern period. Secondly, Glazunov's data indicate prosperous communities in an area where natural resources are capable of supporting a sizeable population. It must be remembered that Glazunov, unlike Zagoskin, did not visit the Innoko River villages. If he had, and if the settlements there were larger in 1834 than in 1843 in the same proportion as those on the Yukon, then it is conceivable that the entire Anvik-Shageluk area might have supported a population as high as 2,000 persons at the beginning of direct contact with Russian traders.

The most dramatic information revealed by these figures, however, is the devastating effect of the smallpox epidemic. If the population estimates of the two explorers have any validity at all, they clearly show that the Yukon Ingalik villages lost fully two-thirds of their inhabitants, a much higher mortality rate than is apparent from the meager information available for other areas of western Alaska. The effects of such a population loss can only be surmised, but we can assume that sickness was accompanied by starvation and serious social and economic disruption. The reduced population was forced to re-orient itself with reference to its modified-traditional lifeways at the very time when significant changes were being introduced from without. Ingalik population never recovered from the effects of this epidemic, although it is significant that none of the major Yukon winter villages were abandoned at this time. Altogether, the early fur trade period brought

little more than uncertainty and discouragement to the Indian inhabitants of the lower Yukon. It was not an auspicious beginning to the era of direct European contact.

The great smallpox epidemic of 1838-1839 may have been unique in the early years of European contact. There is every indication, however, that once European diseases had been introduced, they took a yearly toll that was not only great in terms of the number of dead, but greatly weakened the resistance of the survivors. In the many discouraging years of sickness that lay ahead for the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik as the tempo of culture contact increased, few may stand out as epidemic years, but the specter of ill health and death was continually present among the inhabitants of the lower Yukon Valley and indeed throughout all of western Alaska.

Notes

1. Berkh, 1823, pt. 1, pp. 129-130; Chernenko, 1967, pp. 9-10, 29-30; Fedorova, 1973b, p. 6; Davydov, 1977, pp. 200-202.
2. Fedorova, 1973b, pp. 64-68.
3. Fedorova, 1973a, p. 8; 1973b, pp. 68-69.
4. Berkh, 1823, pt. 2, pp. 1-20, 45-49; Fedorova, 1973b, pp. 70-75, 256-257; VanStone, 1973.
5. Two naval officers named Ivan Vasilev served the Russian-American Company in the early 19th century. Ivan Filipovich Vasilev, a noted cartographer who arrived in Sitka in 1807, later commanded company ships and was drowned in an accident at Okhotsk, Siberia in 1812. Ivan Yakovlevich Vasilev entered the service of the Russian-American Company in 1821 and in 1829-1830 carried out extensive explorations in southwestern Alaska. In previous publications (VanStone, 1967, pp. 9-10; 1968, pp. 223-224; 1970, p. 13; 1971, p. 21) I have confused the names of these two individuals. For a detailed discussion on the explorations of I. Ya. Vasilev, see Fedorova (1973b, pp. 253-256).
6. VanStone, 1967, pp. 10-11.
7. RACR/CS, vol. 8, nos. 191-192, folios 139-142, April 30, 1831. NA.
8. The Yukon was known to the Russians as Kvikhpak (*kwigpak*-"big river"), the Eskimo name for the lower portion which they occupy. The Athapaskan name is now applied to the entire river.
9. Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pt. 1, p. 345.
10. Brooks, 1953, p. 229.
11. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 219.
12. Osgood, 1940, p. 77.
13. In 1829 Ivan Veniaminov, pioneer Russian Orthodox priest in Alaska and later Bishop of Kamchatka, the Aleutians, and Kurile Islands, visited Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt where Fedor Kolmakov was manager. During his visit he

baptized 13 Eskimos and on his departure, authorized Kolmakov to baptize those who might come to the post in the future to inquire about Christianity. In 1832 Veniaminov again visited the redoubt and learned that in the intervening years Kolmakov had baptized 70 Eskimos. Some of these were probably residents of Kuskokwim villages who came to Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt to trade or were encountered by Kolmakov on his trips to the interior. Between 1832 and 1838 Kolmakov and his son baptized at least 62 persons and probably more (Barsukov, 1886-1888, vol. 2, pp. 37-38; VanStone, 1967, pp. 22, 24).

14. Glazunov's original journal, formerly among the papers of Kirill T. Khlebnikov at Kunger and now in the Molotov Regional State Archive of Perm oblast, has never been published (Fedorova, 1973b, p. 31). An extract appeared in Russian and was translated into German (von Baer, 1839) and French (Ternaux-Compans, 1841). It is from an English translation of the latter (VanStone, 1959) that the information in this chapter is taken.
15. RACR/CS, vol. 11, no. 391, folio 370, Oct. 30, 1834.
16. RACR/CS, vol. 12, no. 328, folios 312-315, Oct. 5, 1835; Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 275-276.
17. Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 275-276.
18. RACR/CS, vol. 12, no. 238, folios 312-315, Oct. 5, 1835; Chernenko, 1967, p. 10; Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 81-82, 275.
19. RACR/CS, vol. 12, no. 328, folios 312-315, Oct. 5, 1835; no. 87, folios 177-178, April 12, 1838.
20. RACR/CS, vol. 14, no. 268, folios 305-307, May 25, 1837; Chernenko, 1967, p. 10.
21. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 298.
22. Chernenko, 1967, p. 10.
23. RACR/CS, vol. 20, no. 486, folios 403-404, Oct. 15, 1841; Chernenko, 1967, p. 10; Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 81, 275, 300.
24. Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pt. 1, p. 368.
25. RACR/CS, vol. 16, no. 479, folio 187, Nov. 4, 1838.
26. RACR/CS, vol. 15, no. 244, folios 314-315, May 1, 1838; vol. 17, no. 444, folio 425, Sept. 6, 1839; Browning, 1962, p. 37.
27. RACR/CS, vol. 17, no. 320, folio 319, May 27, 1839.
28. VanStone, 1959, pp. 43-45; Zagoskin, 1967, p. 307.

III

THE RUSSIAN FUR TRADE AND MISSION PERIOD: 1841-1867

Early Contact Trade and Eskimo-Indian Relations

When the Russian-American Company established Mikhailovskiy Redoubt in 1833, Eskimos living in the immediate vicinity of the post were already using tobacco and a variety of metal implements including pots of various sizes, knives, lances, and steel flints. Upon investigation it was learned that some of these trade items had managed to make their way north from Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt at the mouth of the Nushagak River in the relatively short span of 14 years. Most of them, however, came from Russian posts on the Kolyma River in Siberia by way of the Chukchi. Further investigation revealed that the middlemen for this elaborate trade between northeast Asia and northwestern North America were the Eskimo inhabitants of Sledge and King islands, both strategically located in the north Bering Sea not far off the coast of Seward Peninsula.

Trade relations between the inhabitants of these islands and Eskimos living in the coastal villages of Norton and Kotzebue sounds, although rooted in the prehistoric past, had grown considerably in the early 19th century after Russian trade goods became available in quantity following establishment of a large trading market on the Anyui tributary of the Kolyma River in 1789. Local markets on both sides of Bering Strait developed into large international markets once tobacco and other European trade goods began to be available.[1]

Several communities in the southern Norton Sound area were important centers for this trade, notably Pastolik at the mouth of the Pastolik River, Stebbins northwest of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, and Unalakleet at the mouth of the Unalakleet River. Every summer, usually in July after the run of king salmon had ascended the rivers, the inhabitants of these communities eagerly awaited the arrival of

skin boats from Sledge and King islands. These coastal villages, with the inland inhabitants of the Unalakleet River sometimes acting as middlemen, supplied the Ingalik with a variety of necessary coastal products, including sea mammal fats, caribou skins or clothing made from them, walrus and seal skins to cover umiaks and kayaks, dressed sea mammal skins, and caribou sinew, as well as trade goods which included tobacco, copper and iron utensils, and Siberian reindeer skins. In return for these products, the Eskimos received wooden utensils made by the Indians, as well as many different kinds of furs, most notably beaver, otter, marten, wolf, wolverine, and several species of fox.[2]

Traders from Kotzebue Sound and the Buckland River were crossing over to the Yukon drainage to collect furs. These Inupik-speaking Eskimos who came from the north into Indian and Yupik-speaking Eskimo territory in response to developing trade opportunities were known as the Malemiut. They first came solely as traders, but later as permanent settlers and by the 1880's lived with the indigenous Unalit Eskimos as far south as the villages of Shaktolik and Unalakleet on Norton Sound.[3]

When the Russians established Mikhailovskiy Redoubt they hoped to achieve the same kind of control over the fur trade in west-central Alaska that they enjoyed earlier in southeastern Alaska as the result of strategically located and well-stocked trading posts. At first the explorations sponsored by the Russian-American Company and the resultant harvest of furs served to establish productive relations with the Eskimos and Indians of the lower and middle Yukon. However, in spite of the fact that a post was established on the lower Yukon at Ikogmiut in 1836, at the mouth of the Unalakleet River in 1837, and at Nulato on the middle river in 1839, the number of furs began to diminish year by year. It was obvious that even as late as 1840 the Russians had insufficient knowledge about the country that they confidently expected to exploit. In particular they underestimated the efforts necessary to develop new patterns of trade that would divert the flow of furs to the posts of the Russian-American Company.

By the time Lieutenant L. A. Zagoskin began his interior explorations in 1842, however, the Russian-American Company had realized the absolute necessity of fitting out permanent trading posts at which native peoples would be able to obtain, on a regular basis throughout the year, an adequate supply of the trade goods upon

which they were rapidly becoming dependent. Since the economic potential of the Yukon country was as yet only partially known to the company, it was hoped that Zagoskin's explorations would provide the geographical and environmental data on which to base a firm commitment to the development of the trade. Company officials needed to know the most strategic locations at which to establish posts so that these stations would not compete with one another as they carried out trade with the Indians and Eskimos. The most urgent task assigned to Zagoskin, however, was to advise the company concerning practical measures that could be taken so that trade from west-central Alaska could be channeled to the company and not to peoples living on the coast of Asia.[4]

Zagoskin believed that an annual average of 1,000 Siberian reindeer skins, originating from the Chukchi, reached the Yukon from the villages of Unalakleet, Klikitarik, and Pastolik. He quoted some of the prices paid by the Malemiut for Yukon furs exchanged for both deer skins and products of European manufacture: for a pure black fox, 12 winter deer skins, and the skins of 10 fawns, or approximately 3 lbs. of tobacco and the skin cover for an umiak; for an "arctic red fox," six winter deer skins and eight fawn skins; for a wolf or wolverine pelt, from 10 to 15 winter deer skins and two fall skins from one or two year old animals; for 22 marten (a standard measure), 11 deer skins; for a prime beaver pelt, two reindeer skins; for a prime otter pelt, three or four skins; for a kettle, depending on its size, five to 15 skins; and for two matched greenish blue beads, three or four skins.

Of considerable importance in this exchange of Siberian reindeer skins for furs was the condition of the skin as well as the age of the deer and the time of year in which it was killed. The winter skin of a doe or buck, for example, could bring as much as two prime beaver pelts while two fall skins of young animals were worth six. The degree of whiteness of the feet was also taken into consideration, and even old skins previously used by the Chukchi had their value in fox pelts. Prices on the Kuskokwim River were slightly higher than those paid by Yukon natives, and the extension of this trade as far south as the Kuskokwim suggests the extent to which it interferred with the activities of the Russian-American Company. Not only was the influence of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt threatened, but also that of Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt which had jurisdiction over the Kuskokwim and its tributaries.[5]

In addition to reindeer skins and items of European manufacture, the Ingalik were also eager to obtain products from the sea coast, especially beluga and seal oil, most of which was rendered on the coast and traded into the interior from the village of Pastolik. Indians who came to the coast through the Anvik River pass or along the Unalakleet River could obtain oil at the villages of Klikitarik, Unalakleet, or Shaktolik. Zagoskin believed that the amount of beluga oil prepared at Pastolik averaged about 1,000 *puds* a year (approximately 36,000 lbs). The oil was sold in seal bladders which cost from five to 15 prime beaver pelts each depending on size. Beluga oil was much preferred to the oil of other sea mammals because it was clear and tasteless. Apparently the value of coastal products in the coast-interior exchange was determined primarily in terms of beaver pelts which were the preferred unit of exchange just as they were to be for the Russian-American Company. For example, the Malemiut accepted two or three beaver pelts in exchange for a large, tanned bearded sealskin.[6]

Zagoskin was aware both of the potential richness of the Yukon region in terms of fur-bearing animals and of the extent to which the Russian-American Company was failing to divert native trade. In 1842-1843 he noted that a total of 3,125 beaver pelts was obtained by the company at its Nulato post, but that native traders had obtained at least 1,000 such pelts plus 3,000 marten skins and as many as 500 fox skins, all of which were destined to be traded to the Kolyma.[7] He also knew that a considerable amount of Yukon fur reached Kotzebue Sound by way of the upper Koyukuk and Buckland rivers, but he abandoned his explorations in that direction and the company never established a post on the Koyukuk to counter this trade.

The existence of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt and the posts at Unalakleet, Ikogmiut, and Nulato had little effect on the trading patterns of the Indians and Eskimos of west-central Alaska. However, the Ingalik began coming to Mikhailovskiy and Unalakleet to trade, thus increasing their direct contacts with both whites and Eskimos.[8] Unalakleet was particularly important because of its strategic location with reference to travel between the coast and interior. Eskimos and Indians came from the lower Yukon River over the Anvik portage or along the coast from St. Michael. Koyukon Indians from Kaltag and Nulato also came to the coastal community frequently. In fact, according to one source, there was more immediate contact between Eskimos and Indians at

Unalakleet than at any other trading center in west-central Alaska.[9]

Although the establishment of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt and other posts may have altered trading patterns slightly, the Russian-American Company was unable to divert the Siberian trade up to the time Alaska was sold to the United States in 1867. In fact, the Siberian trade continued to increase even during the early American period in spite of competition from commercial whaling ships and the better stocked trading posts of the Alaska Commerical Company, successor to the Russian-American Company.

The flourishing trade between coastal Eskimos and interior Athapaskans resulted in the development of well-established routes of travel and communication. These trade networks were apparent to the early explorers like Glazunov and Malakhov even before effects of resultant commercial dealings were fully understood by company officials.

Because of the importance of Unalakleet as a trading center and the Unalakleet River as a route to the interior, the inhabitants of this region frequently served as middlemen in the trade between coastal Malemiut and the Ingalik. In this capacity Unalakleet River Eskimos occasionally made trips to the lower-middle Yukon. Although seldom descending the river further than the entrance to Shageluk Slough, they frequently used that waterway to reach the middle Innoko River, thus penetrating to the heart of the area occupied by the Ingalik. The importance of these middlemen began to decline, however, as soon as the Russians learned of easy routes to the interior.[10]

The inhabitants of strategically located interior communities also served as middlemen. While traveling on the Yukon River above Nulato in the spring of 1843, Zagoskin met some Holikachuk Indians from the upper Innoko who informed him that in addition to trips to the Russian-American Company post at Nulato to trade, they also occasionally traveled down the Innoko to a community at the confluence of the Innoko and Yukon, probably the mixed Eskimo-Ingalik village of Anilukhtakpak. There they traded furs for beads, tobacco, and other items of European manufacture. The inhabitants of Anilukhtakpak also carried on extensive trade with the Kuskokwim River people, particularly in dried and frozen fish.[11]

On the other hand, Zagoskin believed that Ingalik living on the lower Innoko traveled to the coast in both summer and winter, either by way of the Anvik River or one of the streams flowing into

the Yukon opposite the entrance to Shageluk Slough. From these latter streams there were easy portages to the upper Anvik and thence to Norton Sound. The crossing to Klikitarik from Vazhichagat, a village located on the left bank of the Yukon just above the entrance to Shageluk Slough, was said to take three days in winter under normal conditions.[12]

The most important route from the lower Yukon to Norton Sound, however, was by way of the Anvik River itself. This route was used almost exclusively by those Ingalik living between Shageluk Slough and the Yukon-Innoko confluence, and occasionally by inhabitants of the lower Innoko River. According to Osgood, a single Indian in a canoe could travel from Anvik village to a camp near the mouth of Theodore Creek, an Anvik River tributary, in about 10 hr., although this required hard paddling and a considerable amount of difficult poling, particularly in mid to late summer when water in the Anvik is likely to be very low. Another two days of combined paddling and poling would bring the traveler to the mouth of Otter Creek, which was part of the established route to both Mikhailovskiy Redoubt and Unalakleet. The trip would certainly have been much easier, if not noticeably faster, by dog team in winter.[13]

The Ingalik were noted throughout the Yukon country for their skill in manufacturing wooden tubs, bowls, and dishes which they traded, along with dried fish, to coastal peoples.[14] The wooden items were not only very much in demand among the Eskimos of Norton Sound, but were important items in the Siberia-Alaska trade. The settlement of Klikitarik may have been the center for this trade and by traveling there the Ingalik would presumably have been able to avoid dealing with middlemen from the Unalakleet River or anywhere else since the Sledge Island traders stopped at the settlement every year on their way to Pastolik.[15]

Trade journeys were made just after freeze-up in the fall or, more frequently perhaps, after break-up in the spring to take advantage of high water in the Anvik and its tributaries before the beginning of the fishing season. The entire trip would take about eight days at both times of the year, particularly if the traders set traps on the way north to Norton Sound to be checked and picked up on the return journey. According to Osgood, enthusiastic Ingalik traders sometimes made several trips to the coast in a year.[16]

Although the Anvik River route to Norton Sound may have been the most important avenue of contact with their Eskimo neighbors,

the Ingalik also met them in other areas. Direct contact with Eskimos took place on the lower Yukon and in the delta area, where seal oil for lamps and sealskins for boots and boat coverings were the principal trade commodities. This trade, involving local items, may not always have been directly related to the Siberia-Alaska trade carried out primarily through Norton Sound, although Sledge Island traders did range as far south as the Yukon delta. Much of the trade between the Ingalik and lower Yukon Eskimos may have taken place at or near the mouth of the Innoko River.

In early June, 1868 the American explorer and scientist William Healy Dall encountered a party of about 30 Malemiut near Anvik as he was descending the Yukon from Nulato. Earlier that spring these Eskimos had traveled over the Anvik portage carrying their umiaks on sledges, but at the time he met them they were floating down the Yukon trading skin clothing, needles, guns, and ammunition for furs and wooden dishes. Later they expected to return to St. Michael in time to meet American trading ships. Dall noted that the Eskimos considered trips like this one to be particularly profitable because they could dispose of their old guns and surplus ammunition at prices higher than they paid traders for new ones.[17]

A few days after this encounter, Dall and his party entered the mouth of the Innoko and, after ascending the river a little way, reached a settlement which he identified as "the Leather Village of the Russians," a large Ingalik summer camp. There were a sizeable number of Eskimos from the lower Yukon camped nearby. Dall observed a huge quantity of dried fish and meat collected by the Ingalik, and he was informed that this camp was a center for trade with "natives from other places," particularly for these commodities. Dall further noted that relations between the Eskimos and Ingalik were strained, and that some of the Indian houses appeared to be constructed with loopholes for guns.[18]

In spite of the hint of possible violence in Dall's account, relations between the Ingalik and Eskimos were usually peaceful. However, trading sometimes took place in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and distrust. Traveling war parties are said to have been common on the lower Yukon and nearby areas at one time, but constant communication between the two peoples and their mutual dependence on each other's products made continual warfare impractical.[19] Rumors of attacks and advancing war parties were much more common than actual violence. When Glazunov approached Anvik in late January, 1834 he was told, it will be recalled, that the residents of

that community were expecting an attack from people living along the Unalakleet River.[20] Doubtless such attacks did occasionally take place, but one suspects that such expectations usually turned out to be the result of rumors, and the attacks never materialized.

According to early observers, both Eskimos and Indians tended to exhibit great jealousy with regard to boundaries of their territories and hostile encounters would occur when these were violated without the "credentials" associated with formal trade relations. For example, Nelson noted that the strip of country inland from Norton Sound was regarded as a sort of no-man's land, or buffer zone, by both Malemiut and Ingalik.[21] Similar zones, comprising territory on the frontiers between tribes which was normally unoccupied, have been described for other areas of North America.[22] For both Eskimos and Indians, this country was an important caribou hunting area and violence sometimes occurred when hunters unexpectedly encountered one another. Similarly, Dall believed that Eskimo-Indian boundary lines were formed by the watershed between small rivers and streams flowing into Norton Sound and those which flow toward the Yukon. Individuals from either group within these areas ran the risk of being surprised and killed. Therefore, everyone proceeded with great caution while in "foreign" territory.[23]

A major tribal move beginning in the 1840's brought Koyukon Indians onto the upper Unalakleet River into territory that had formerly been occupied exclusively by Eskimos.[24] These Indians, who occupied the village of Ulukuk, were among the first to trade with the Russians at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt and this may have been a source of conflict with the indigenous Unalakleet Eskimos.[25] An anthropologist working at Unalakleet in the 1960's discovered reports of conflict and hostile relations between Unalakleet Eskimos and all their neighbors, but particularly the Ingalik.[26]

There is less information in historical accounts concerning relations between the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik and their Indian neighbors. Natives from the Kuskokwim, whether Indian or Eskimo, apparently were able to come in peace to Anilukhtakpak to trade, and certainly the relations between the Ingalik and those Koyukon living closest to their borders must have been cordial most of the time. As previously noted, the Holikachuk community of that name on the Innoko always maintained the closest relations with the Ingalik villages on the Yukon and lower Innoko. However,

Zagoskin reported that when he was camped near Vazhichagat in August, 1843 the inhabitants of that settlement told him that although game was plentiful in the Innoko drainage, the Koyukon Indians were unfriendly and had, in fact, killed 32 of their young men the previous year during attacks on fish camps.[27] This strongly suggests that the Koyukon Indians of the upper Innoko and upper Yukon represented potential enemies to the Anvik-Shageluk people just as did Eskimos of the lower Yukon, Norton Sound, and the Unalakleet River.

Early observers almost certainly exaggerated the enmity existing between Eskimos and Indians in this area. They may have been influenced in this respect more by casual conversations revealing ethnic prejudice than by actual evidence of warfare and violence which they could confirm from reliable sources. Indians and Eskimos are "traditional enemies" both in their own minds and in the minds of outsiders, yet it is obvious that profitable trade relations existed between them. The disruption of such relations for any length of time by bloody conflicts would seem unlikely. Nevertheless, there are traditional accounts of such conflicts, and even today Ingalik can speak of specific encounters and show the visitor where important "battles" are said to have been fought in the past. It is probable that hostilities between the Yukon Athapaskans and their Eskimo neighbors were occasionally reinforced by the Russian presence in the area and the pressures of trade.

The legacy of mutual suspicion between Eskimos and Indians lingered on for many years, even well into the American period. In fact, rumors of attacks and invasions occurred almost annually into the present century. Dall noted that during his absence from Unalakleet in 1867-1868 the annual rumor of a proposed invasion by the Ingalik from the Innoko River reached the community and caused a good deal of excitement for several days before being forgotten.[28]. Father Jules Jetté, pioneer Jesuit missionary at Nulato, wrote about 1905 that the "natives [of Nulato and vicinity] live in constant dread of a new attack and every now and then some old squaw creates excitement by starting a rumor of a coming invasion. Men polish guns, women bewail in advance impending calamities, and the young see enemies in ambush behind every shrub, and all talk of war for a few days." Jetté further recounted that one time at Unalakleet a trader lost his mittens, which had been made by Yukon Indians, while hunting. They were picked up by a local Eskimo and formed the basis of a rumored attack from the Yukon.[29]

It is significant that such rumors nearly always concerned attacks on Norton Sound settlements by Yukon Indians or visa versa. There are few references to rumored or actual warfare between the Ingalik and the Eskimos of the lower Yukon. This suggests the possibility that relations were the most cordial and peaceful in areas where communities of Eskimos and Ingalik existed close together as they do on the lower Yukon. It will be remembered that Anilukhtakpak was a mixed community including both Indians and Eskimos. Farther up the Yukon, and on the Innoko, on the other hand, considerable distances separated the river settlements of Bonasila, Anvik, and Shageluk from the coastal communities of southern Norton Sound and villages along the Unalakleet River.

Dorothy Jean Ray contrasts the numerous stories concerning Eskimo-Indian hostility which she heard from her Norton Sound Eskimo informants[30] with the absence of such tales concerning relations between Eskimos and the Georgetown Ingalik on the Kuskokwim.[31] She suggests that this may be the result of a different type of population spread in the two areas. Along the middle Kuskokwim, population spread in historic times was on an individual basis through Eskimo-Indian marriage. In the Norton Sound area, on the other hand, it was characterized by a jockeying for position with reference to the lucrative trade and involved entire families and groups of families rather than individuals. In some cases, as we have seen, Indians displaced Eskimos, as along the upper Unalakleet River and possibly on the Yukon as well. Confrontations, therefore, frequently took place when a group of Eskimos faced a group of Indians while hunting, or, as Dall noted on the lower Innoko in 1868, while preparing to trade. Marriages between Eskimos and Indians appear to have occurred rarely at Unalakleet and St. Michael, but were much more common at Anilukhtakpak and Anvik.[32]

Unfortunately, the historical sources provide only limited information concerning the mechanisms of exchange between Eskimos and Indians in this area, but it seems clear that a formalized system of trading partners who offered protection to one another existed here as it did when Eskimos and Indians traded together elsewhere in Alaska.[33]

Exchange relationships also existed between villages in the form of festivals or "potlatches" which appear to have been a particularly important mechanism of exchange in west-central Alaska and a framework within which partnerships functioned. Jetté has describ-

ed a trade fair, which was held annually by an Athapaskan and an Eskimo village to exchange articles of trade which were called "presents." This custom, once widespread, was apparently maintained by the Koyukon at Nulato and the Eskimos at Unalakleet until about 1910. Jetté's description of this ceremony follows:

> The fair was held about midwinter, alternately at the seat of each tribe. The summons, or invitation, is conveyed by means of a stick, some 10-15 in. long, and 1-1½ in. in diameter. On this stick every one who has goods to exchange cuts a notch or a mark, as a reminder of his participation. There may be from ten to twenty of these signs, each with a complex signification. Two unmarried young men, professedly among the best qualified to represent the tribe with honor, are selected as stick-bearers. At a solemn meeting they are seated apart from the crowd, on a blanket, and. . . .are harangued by some of the elder men. Then they listen to the explanation of the various marks on the stick, each one who has made his mark stepping forward and declaring the meaning, which the messengers then and there commit to memory. Additional marks may be made at this time, by those who have not yet notched the stick, but none can be added after this ceremony. The stick is then sewed up in a piece of cloth or hide, and the messengers take it and depart for the invited village. . . .They approach the term of their voyage stealthily, and must time their traveling to arrive at night, unexpectedly, that their coming may be a surprise to all, and consequently a source of excitement. The people thus warned, gather together; the stick is produced and all the marks explained. Exchangers are then selected, i.e. people who will bring goods to exchange with those of the inviting tribe. To each man who has made a notch on the stick an exchanger is assigned, and upon his accepting the duty, this exchanger generally mentions the particular dish, or food, with which he wishes to be welcomed upon his arrival. These requests are also committed to the memory of the two messengers. . . .Each of the invited [exchangers] is to receive hospitality in the cabin of [the one with whom he is to exchange]. When the invited guests have completed their preparations, which generally require two to three weeks, they all start together, the two messengers preceding them. These must time their traveling so as to arrive stealthily, and about 24 hours ahead of the invited party. They announce the names of the people who have responded to the invitation, notify the hosts of the exchangers assigned to them, and of the food which these shall expect to find, ready cooked, at their arrival. The guests are greeted, upon their coming, with great demonstrations of joy, and, for some days, feasting, banqueting, and merrymaking are the only occupation. When the appointed day comes, the trading, or exchanging takes place. The two [exchangers] place their articles in a pile one along side of the other, so that the piles are about equal in value, according to their estimate. Appraisers, selected by common agreement, inspect the piles, and make the exchangers add to them, or withdraw from them, as the case may require, until they judge the equivalence in worth to be established. Then each [exchanger] takes possession of the pile of his co-exchanger, and the fair is over. After this, one more entertainment is given at night, and the guests start back for their home.[34]

This messenger-type ceremony can easily be recognized as resembling the Partner's Potlatch of the Ingalik as described by Osgood, except that the latter, as will be recalled, most frequently involved Ingalik villages of equivalent size.[35] It seems clear that the Koyukon, and probably the Ingalik, adapted an important festival of their own as a means of formalizing relations with neighboring Eskimos and establishing a means by which useful trade contacts could be initiated and maintained. Burch and Correll, however, suggest that the trading which took place at messenger feasts was of more symbolic than practical significance. Their evidence indicates that such festivals, at which a good deal of dancing, feasting, athletic competition, and story-telling took place, functioned more to affirm and revitalize inter-regional solidarity than they did to distribute goods.[36]

Language differences apparently had little effect on the incidence or distribution of messenger feasts involving Athapaskans and Eskimos,[37] although information concerning the existence of a lingua franca on the lower Yukon is contradictory. The American explorer Captain Charles Raymond believed that the Ingalik did not use any foreign words when trading,[38] but Dall refers to a trading jargon consisting of a large number of Eskimo and Ingalik words. This jargon was also said to have been used by the latter when dealing with Russian traders since they were more likely to be familiar with Eskimo than Ingalik.[39] According to Jetté, the trade fair previously mentioned was conducted primarily through interpreters although after about 1904 both Eskimos and Indians were sufficiently familiar with English to be mutually understood in that language.[40]

In conclusion, it has been shown that successful interaction for purposes of trade involving the Ingalik and Eskimos of Norton Sound, Kotzebue Sound, and the Unalakleet River was an outgrowth of the development of international markets on both sides of Bering Strait following the establishment of a major trading center on the Kolyma in eastern Siberia at the end of the 18th century. In spite of the potential for conflict inherent in these cross-cultural relationships, the formalized procedures under which most trade was carried out served to minimize hostilities. It seems clear that the continual flow of useful goods exchanged according to the principle of balanced, or near balanced, reciprocity[41] assured the continuance of the trade and prevented its diversion by the Russian-

American Company or, during the early years of the American period, the Alaska Commercial Company.

Explorations of Lieutenant L. A. Zagoskin

We now come to a consideration of the most extensive and significant interior explorations during the Russian period; those of naval lieutenant Lavrentiy A. Zagoskin for the Russian-American Company from 1842-1844. In the administration's orders to Zagoskin he was directed to explore the Yukon, Kuskokwim, and Innoko rivers, to ascertain the most practical portages between these rivers, and to explore the drainage of the Buckland River which was known to flow into Kotzebue Sound. Zagoskin's expedition left Mikhailovskiy Redoubt on December 4, 1842 and proceeded to the Yukon by way of the Unalakleet River, the route pioneered by Malakhov. Arriving at Nulato in mid-January, 1843, his party, during the winter, explored the lower Koyukuk searching for a short route to the Buckland River and Kotzebue Sound. Zagoskin eventually abandoned this part of his planned explorations (fig. 4).

After spending the spring at Nulato collecting natural history specimens, data on the fur trade, and on the operation of the post, Zagoskin's party started to ascend the Yukon on June 4, exploring as far as the mouth of the Nowitna River just above the present village of Kokrines. Somewhere near Kokrines they met an encampment of Indians from the upper Innoko and Zagoskin obtained useful information concerning that area which supplemented data he had already obtained from Petr Kolmakov's journal and map.

On August 2, 1843 Zagoskin and his companions left Nulato after a stay of some seven months, this time going down the Yukon. On August 13 the party arrived at a settlement Zagoskin called Vazhichagat near the entrance to Shageluk Slough. He wished to enter the slough to explore the lower Innoko River, but was prevented from doing so by shallow bars at the entrance. The following day he reached the mouth of the Anvik River where he remained for two days. After leaving Anvik, the party stopped, apparently for two days, at Anilukhtakpak, which he, like Glazunov, noted as the last Athapaskan village on the Yukon. On August 23 the party reached Ikogmiut, which became Zagoskin's headquarters for the winter of 1843-1844. Thus far he had explored and described in some detail more than 500 miles of the Yukon River.

For our purposes, Zagoskin's most important explorations during that winter were along the lower reaches of the Innoko, although he

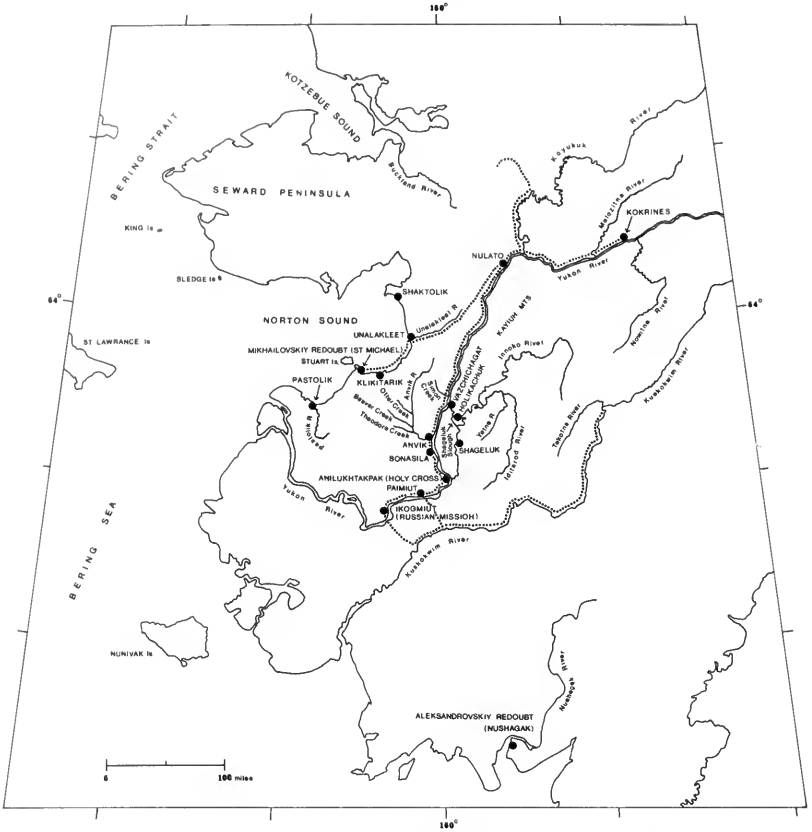

FIG. 4. Map of west-central Alaska. The dotted line shows Zagoskin's route in 1842-1844.

also traveled to the Kuskokwim twice and, during the spring of 1844, ascended that important river as far as the mouth of the Takotna. Part of this time he was in the company of that ubiquitous Kuskokwim trader, Semen Lukin. Zagoskin's explorations of the lower Innoko took place between February 10 and March 10. Although he carefully describes and names a number of settlements on the river and gives detailed information concerning the environment, it is not possible to determine his route with complete accuracy. He apparently reached a point near the mouth of the Iditarod River, one of the largest Innoko tributaries, and believed that he had ascended the river to at least the point which Petr Kolmakov had reached proceeding from the opposite direction. Having accomplished this, Zagoskin then knew that it was feasible to travel from the upper Kuskokwim to the lower Yukon by way of the

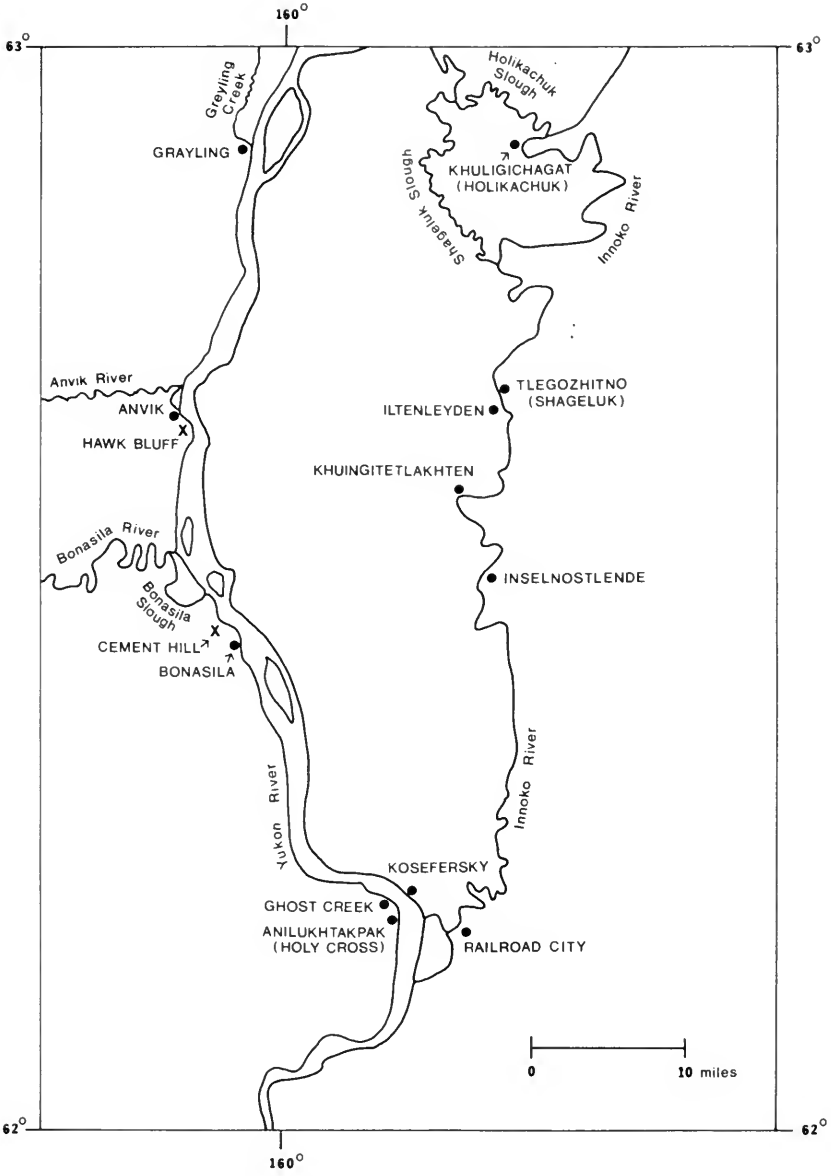

FIG. 5. Map of the lower-middle Yukon and lower Innoko rivers.

Innoko, although this route was obviously longer and more difficult than the short, generally used portages opposite the settlements of Paimiut and Ikogmiut, with both of which the explorer was familiar.

Zagoskin and his party were back in Ikogmiut for the last time on June 10, 1844 having completed their Kuskokwim explorations, and then left that community on the 13th. They descended the Yukon to its mouth, making their way along the coast to Mikhailovskiy Redoubt where they arrived on June 21, having been away from the post for more than a year and a half.

Lieutenant Zagoskin's travels, clearly an outstanding achievement in every way, were a fitting culmination to the efforts of Wrangel to foster the pursuit of scientific interests in Russia's American possession. Zagoskin's report, first published in 1847-1848 and republished in a carefully edited edition in 1956[42] and an English translation in 1967,[43] is the primary source for information on the history, geography, and ethnography of west-central Alaska during the Russian period. As far as ethnography is concerned, his descriptions of the Indians and Eskimos of the Yukon, lower Innoko, and central Kuskokwim rivers are still of basic importance to students of the area, all the more important since he was observing these people at a time when their way of life had only just begun to be changed by direct contact with Russian traders. Zagoskin seems never to have failed to record to the best of his ability the name of every settlement he visited or that was reported to him during his long journey. Often, too, he records population figures and sometimes a few impressions of his own. Since Zagoskin was primarily concerned with the present condition and probable future of the fur trade, he made a particular effort to learn all he could concerning the mechanics of the trade. It is safe to say that his report is the single outstanding source on the Russian fur trade throughout west-central Alaska. His map[44] clearly shows the extent to which Russians were familiar with the geography of all interior Alaska in the middle of the 19th century. In short, Zagoskin's report is an indispensible source and the remainder of this chapter depends heavily on it.

Oddly enough, the Russian-American Company made no further attempt at comprehensive interior exploration following the accomplishments of Lieutenant Zagoskin. Traders stationed at Mikhailovskiy and Ikogmiut visited the Indian villages periodically to collect furs and although they experienced intensive contacts

with village inhabitants, it is doubtful whether, in the course of their travels, they added greatly to the knowledge which the company already possessed of the country and its environment. At the close of the Russian period, therefore, the Yukon from the mouth of the Tanana to the delta had been fairly thoroughly explored, together with the lower Koyukuk, the Anvik River, Shageluk Slough, and the lower Innoko. In broad outline, if not in detail, the environment of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik was well known to the Russians.

The Russian-American Company

Previously we have discussed the extent to which the Russians found themselves in the midst of a flourishing and widespread trade network when they established their trading posts in west-central Alaska.

The post at Ikogmiut was a success during the first three years of its existence, but this success was checked when natives attacked and killed the Russians stationed there in 1839. Ikogmiut was occupied for the second time in the fall of 1840 and 500 beaver and other pelts were collected in the course of the winter. This relatively poor harvest was believed to have been due to fear of revenge on the part of the natives of the area,[45] but it is more likely that the Siberia-Alaska trade was responsible. The perpetrators of the killings, however, were probably Eskimos from the Kuskokwim who, presumably, were in the habit of trading at Kolmakovskiy Redoubt. The company declined to pursue the matter of retribution for the attack in order not to disturb the good relations that then existed between the natives and Semen Lukin, manager at Kolmakovskiy.[46]

In the winter of 1842 Andrey Glazunov was sent out as manager of the Ikogmiut *odinochka*, but before he reached the post by way of the Yukon mouth he was forced by circumstances to exchange a large proportion of his trade goods for fish to feed his men and, later, for various services performed at the post. Thus he was able to collect only 360 beaver and 67 otter that year. The following winter was only slightly more successful with a harvest of 495 beaver and 114 otter, but by 1844 Glazunov had established firm and friendly relations with the Eskimos below the post and was able to acquire 875 beavers and 132 otter pelts during that winter. It is interesting that most of the trade at Ikogmiut during those years was conducted with Eskimos of the lower Yukon and very little with the Ingalik up the river.[47]

At the time Ikogmiut was established, company officials were aware that the location of the new post was fairly close to that of Kolmakovskiy Redoubt on the middle Kuskokwim, and that there would inevitably be a certain overlap in the area of influence of the two trading establishments. However, Kolmakovskiy Redoubt was under the jurisdiction of Aleksandrovskiy, while Ikogmiut was similarly associated with Mikhailovskiy Redoubt. In 1846 Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt was reduced to an *odinochka* and made subordinate to Nikolaevskiy Redoubt on Cook Inlet. This move was made with a view to reducing the company's expenditures and because the approach to the Nushagak Bay post was difficult for sailing vessels.[48] As a result of this consolidation, Kolmakovskiy was detached from the jurisdiction of Aleksandrovskiy in 1845 and, like Mikhailovskiy, placed under the full jurisdiction of the company's main office in Sitka. Supplies for the Kuskokwim station were henceforth sent to Mikhailovskiy where Semen Lukin was to pick them up and also to deliver his furs.[49]

Following the reorganization with respect to Kolmakovskiy Redoubt, a decision was made to abolish the *odinochka* at Ikogmiut and establish a new one further down river at the mouth of the Nygyklikh (now Andreafsky) River; this post was called Andreavskiy.[50] Ikogmiut regained some of its importance when the Russian Orthodox Church established a mission there in 1845, but it is apparent that the decision to abandon the trading post was made in recognition of the fact that Ikogmiut and Kolmakovskiy were close together and that from the establishment of the former in 1836 there had been considerable rivalry between them.[51] In fact, that rivalry continued with Andreavskiy to such an extent that in July, 1852 the manager of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt complained to the Sitka office and recommended that Andreavskiy be abandoned because Lukin was buying most of the furs that would normally have been acquired by the Yukon River post. In his reply, the general manager praised Lukin and suggested that it did not matter which post harvested the furs as long as they were obtained by the company and not by "foreigners," presumably a reference not to the Siberian trade, but to British and American whaling ships which frequented Norton Sound and points north after 1850. The general manager also took the opportunity to encourage his subordinate at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt to emulate Lukin and to discourage idleness on the part of the managers at Andreavskiy and other stations under the jurisdiction of the redoubt.[52] At the same time, however,

he also wrote Lukin warning him against paying high prices for furs and dealing with the resourceful Malemiut who had established trading relationships with the American whaling ships.[53]

It is significant that in 1845, only a year after Zagoskin completed his explorations and 12 years after the establishment of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, there were, or had recently been, five redoubts and *odinotchki* that exerted their influence to a greater or lesser degree on the inhabitants of the Anvik-Shageluk area: Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, Ikogmiut *odinotchka* (closed temporarily in 1845), Andreavskiy *odinochka*, Kolmakovskiy Redoubt, and, peripherally, the post at Nulato.

It is now necessary to examine in more detail the nature of these posts, the difficulties under which they operated, the mechanics of the fur trade, and, most important of all, their effect on the life of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik.

The redoubts and *odinochki* in west-central Alaska were nothing more than trading stores for bartering with the Indians and Eskimos. The store and associated dwelling was usually enclosed for security by a four-sided palisade and in the two diagonally opposite corners formed by the palisade there might be log towers armed with small-caliber cannon. There were, of course, no military garrisons and in case of real or supposed danger of attack, the people living in the establishments depended on rifles and side arms for their defense. The exact number of residents in the various Yukon posts is unknown, but even at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt it is doubtful if there were ever more than 25 company employees. The Andreavskiy *odinochka* had seven permanent residents in 1861,[54] but occasionally there might be four or five additional individuals, usually Indians who had been hired on a temporary basis to transport cargo.[55]

Brief eye-witness descriptions exist for Andreavskiy as it appeared in June, 1868, and again in August, 1882. Dall describes the post in 1868 as having been built in the form of a square, the buildings forming two of the sides and a stockade the other two. Inside the square were a barracks, magazine, cook house and bath house, the latter always present everywhere in Alaska where Russians and creoles were quartered. The post was, of course, abandoned at the time of Dall's visit, the Russians having withdrawn the previous year.[56] The Norwegian traveler J. A. Jacobson described the station in much the same way in 1882, noting that the high

wooden stockade had fallen into decay.[57] At that time it was occupied by representatives of the Alaska Commercial Company.

Unfortunately, the historical sources give little explicit or detailed information on the manner in which the Russian traders dealt with the Ingalik for furs. However, from the records of the Russian-American Company it is possible to extract some information concerning methods used in other areas of western Alaska and it is likely that these were also employed at the various Yukon River posts. When contacts were established with remote villages such as those on the Innoko River, an attempt was made to determine community leaders, or *toyons* as the Russians called them. These individuals were presented with silver medals called "United Russia," with the Tsar's picture on one side, a certificate designating the leader as a person of authority recognized by the company, and occasional incentive gifts. Post managers were expected to keep a careful account of the medals that they distributed and even to try to retrieve them from the families of *toyons* who died so that they might be awarded again. The *toyons* were supposed to be individuals who were held in respect by their fellow villagers and whose friendly relations with the Russians would be of definite benefit to the company. They encouraged their fellow villagers to trap and bring their furs to the post. It is doubtful whether the *toyons* ever actually had as much power and authority in their communities as company officials thought they had. Nevertheless, in one way or another, a faithful *toyon* could encourage the trappers in his village to expend more energy in the company's behalf than they might otherwise have been inclined to do.[58]

This was the usual manner of dealing for furs with the inhabitants of southwestern Alaska, particularly those Eskimos within the sphere of Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt on Nushagak Bay. It is probable that this method was even more important on the Yukon where the Russians were attempting to break down the traditional trade networks that had developed as a result of the flourishing Siberia-Alaska trade. Nevertheless, the company did not hesitate to try other methods if they gave promise of success; and, of course, Indians frequently came to the posts of their own accord to trade their furs.[59] However, it is doubtful if trappers were ever hired and paid a specific wage with all fur taken belonging to the company, a method that was utilized at a number of Russian-American Company posts, particularly in the Aleutians, on Kodiak Island and in southeastern Alaska.

Traders at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt made annual trips into the interior to keep in touch with the *toyons* and to collect the furs that had been harvested. This was a procedure that carried over into the American period and will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The diary of Henry M. Bannister, a member of the Western Union Telegraph Company Expedition, mentions that in March, 1866 three Russians left Mikhailovskiy for the Ingalik country and that they expected to be away about one month.[60]

Although specific information is lacking, it is probable that the Indians of the lower-middle Yukon, as in other parts of Alaska, were permitted to become indebted to the company in order to increase the likelihood that they would trade at company posts. This policy might have been a factor in the competition between posts discussed earlier, and would also have had at least the potential to disrupt the Siberia-Alaska trade. Also, of course, the more closely the Indians were bound to the company and the more they relied on the trader for supplies and items of European manufacture, the less likely they were to pursue traditional subsistence activities at no profit to the company. The company assumed a paternal role, not only controlling the goods which the Indians could obtain, but also regulating how much they were to receive for them. Certain aspects of this arrangement were severely criticized by Zagoskin as he became familiar with the company's operations in west-central Alaska.

In discussing trade goods, Zagoskin noted that between 1838 and 1844 the most important exports to the Indians of the lower and middle Yukon were red and white beads, (copper?) pots and copper jugs, and a variety of iron articles. Beads were distributed in strings 1 *sazhen* in length, 1 lb. of beads usually producing about 12 *sazhens.* The yearly quantity of beads issued in 1843 was approximately 7 *puds,*[61] amounting to 3,360 strings of beads 1 *sazhen* long. Trade goods taken by Zagoskin on his expedition included these same red and white beads as well as blue, black, and steel blue beads, needles, dentalium shells, horn combs, copper and iron bracelets, Yakut long-stemmed pipes, bronze earrings, copper rings, blue tubular and round beads, Yakut knives, earrings with enamel covered glass pendants, copper tinker bells, small mirrors, flints, scrapers, Aleut hatchets, tin pipes, hollow and naval uniform buttons, and tobacco.[62]

The Ingalik were, according to Zagoskin, extremely fond of beads

and shells and would invest all their wealth in them. He noted that an Indian might hang as many as 10 lbs. of beads over his shoulder and tie them like a scarf. "In this way there may be hanging on a rich man, if you count what is twisted into his hair and all the decoration on his clothing and weapons, beads and shells to a value of 150 beaver pelts, or a 1000 or more silver rubles."[63]

During his travels, Zagoskin discovered, rather to his surprise, that there were more iron and copper utensils in use among the Indians of the interior than among the coastal Eskimos. Some of the former even had teapots, spoons, and other relatively exotic items. He attributed this situation to the fact that the Indians were primarily occupied in trapping fur bearers and thus had a greater means of satisfying their wants and needs. This certainly suggests that, at this period, the Indians were more vigorously involved in the fur trade than their Eskimo neighbors, a fact that is related, of course, to the greater abundance of valuable fur-bearing animals in Indian territory. Zagoskin further noted that Athapaskans would acquire those items which they considered most valuable, namely beads and shells, first and then, when these had been obtained, were likely to exchange for their furs anything that was offered to them, often without any conception of what the articles were for or how they were used.[64]

Information concerning the rates of exchange for furs is difficult to obtain as this subject is not treated in detail in the available records of the Russian-American Company. We do know, however, that the prices of trade goods were not fixed, but left to the discretion of the individual trader who was considered to be in the best position to judge the local situation, particularly with reference to forms of competition such as the Siberia-Alaska trade and, later, trade with American whaling ships. It is also known that trade was carried on entirely by barter. According to Dall, unfortunately not always a reliable source, between 42 per cent and 75 per cent was invariably added to the original cost of trade goods originating in St. Petersburg or elsewhere to cover "expenses," presumably those associated with packing and shipping. The goods were delivered to post managers and had to be bartered at a rate that would enable the managers to cover the expenses of winter trading journeys, native employees at the post, and, in fact, all expenses except the cost of constructing buildings and wages paid to Russian employees.

> Hence, while the Company's price for a pound of . . . tobacco was thirty cents and the [post manager] was expected to balance his account with [the district manager at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt] by returning, say three mink [each worth 10¢] for the tobacco; yet the native received nothing like a pound for three mink skins. The tobacco comes done up in small bundles. . . .There may be from two to six of these in a pound; yet for each one, large or small, the native must give a marten skin [worth 20¢] or two mink skins. Again, the Company's price for lead was twenty cents a pound. Their bullets were about 36 to the pound. Yet the native only received 10 balls for his marten or five for a mink skin.[65]

If this account is correct, it is apparent that the Yukon Indians were forced to absorb most of the costs that the company incurred in doing business in the country. Such costs, of course, are commonly passed along to the consumer, but the procedures are of interest here because they were obviously effective in limiting the number and variety of trade goods which the Ingalik and other Indians of the interior were able to obtain.

Zagoskin's criticisms of company operations were, of course, not specifically oriented toward improving the lot of the Yukon Indians. In fact, as might be expected, they were directly related to the problem of company profits. He particularly objected to the point of view, held by some company officials, that simply establishing a trading outpost in the wilderness was a reasonable end in itself, and that such an establishment would then automatically attract trade. He stressed that "vigilence and activity" on the part of the manager was necessary. The trader was much more likely to be successful if he allowed the *toyons* to bring their furs to the post for trade rather than if he himself went to the various villages to collect the harvest of furs. Under the latter circumstances, the trader placed himself in an unfavorable position that made it difficult to reject anything that was offered. Therefore, he was more likely to be forced to accept poor quality furs and to be the unfortunate target of sharp trading practices perpetrated in an unfamiliar environment where his self-confidence and sense of security were apt to be low.[66]

Zagoskin also believed that it was a serious mistake for the trader to barter trade goods in exchange for food as Glazunov had been forced to do when he went to Ikogmiut in 1842. This practice was common in Zagoskin's day because the posts were often poorly supplied from headquarters and the residents were limited in their ability to lay in a supply of dried fish, the most important local food, because there were not enough of them at any post to construct and set traps, the usual Indian method of taking fish.[67] Zagoskin was

strongly of the opinion, however, that when the Indians received European goods in exchange for food, work, or other services, they were less likely to exert themselves in the quest for furs. In fact, under these circumstances the Indians were more likely to exchange those furs which they did obtain with the Malemiut so that they could receive native products from the coast as well as trade items that, as likely as not, they were unable to obtain at the poorly supplied Russian-American Compamy posts. By way of illustrating the effects of poorly provisioned posts on the trade as a whole, Zagoskin noted that

> if biscuits were spoiled,. . .it affected the welfare of our trade in the whole area. Without biscuits we should be obliged to release tobacco and other wares out of proportion to the needs of the inhabitants and thus unavoidably raise the price of furs. To understand this situation one must remember that on the Yukon 40 lbs. of tobacco are worth not 17 rubles in silver but 50 beaver [which are worth] in silver, 250 rubles, reckoning the river beaver at an average price of 5 rubles a piece.[68]

Although the Ingalik and other Yukon Indians may have, in the early years of contact, obtained many trade items the intent and use of which they did not understand, they eventually became highly adaptable in learning how to use whatever came their way. Nevertheless, there were many things which they could profitably have used that were not available to them at Ikogmiut and Nulato or, for that matter, Mikhailovskiy Redoubt. Also, as the Indians became increasingly dependent on the post for trade goods that were rapidly replacing their traditional material culture and on which they were becoming increasingly dependent, they pursued their traditional subsistence activities with less vigor. Therefore, they required food and clothing in ever larger amounts and Zagoskin feared that when they were unable to obtain these necessities from the company, they would turn elsewhere for them.[69] Although there were no other trading companies, there was still the Siberia-Alaskan trade and, in the immediate future, the newest threat to the company's trade monopoly, American whaling ships which would begin to operate off the Alaska coast within a few years.

During his stay at Nulato and elsewhere on the Yukon, Zagoskin noted that some of the *toyons* who visited the trading stations began to observe the definite advantages of the summer clothing worn by members of the expedition. They therefore began to ask the managers for calico shirts, blankets, cloth dresses and caps, and some even wanted shoes. Zagoskin considered this a promising development since it meant that in the future the Indians would in-

creasingly be demanding useful articles rather than the beads, trinkets, and other baubles with which they previously had been satisfied.[70] Obviously, the company should anticipate these increased and more sophisticated needs of its clientele.

This growing complexity of the trade relationship between the Yukon Indians and the company was a situation of which the latter was only partly aware. In the past, the emphasis had been on collecting the maximum amount of furs and company officials had paid very little attention to improving the living conditions of those who were rapidly becoming dependent on the trading posts. Zagoskin did not believe that the managers at Ikogmiut and Nulato were to blame for this situation, since they were required to barter the goods which were sent to them each year, in the selection of which they had relatively little to say. Also, the trade items that were sent had frequently been in storage for a long time in Sitka or represented materials rejected by the principal stations in the Aleutians and southeastern Alaska. It is probable, however, that the managers were at least partly to blame for the situation since they often placed orders that failed to specify the particular items required by the natives that visited their posts, and simply asked for "trade goods for the savages."[71] This kind of request encouraged the Sitka office to send anything that happened to be lying around in company warehouses.

Inevitably, the one trade item that was most desired by Indians of the Yukon and by native peoples elsewhere in Alaska was firearms. The company, however, was reluctant to permit their introduction on the grounds that many fur-bearing animals and other game might be exterminated, and that the people would quickly learn to use them against one another. To Zagoskin, this company policy, like so many others, appeared to have been handed down by individuals who had no knowledge of local circumstances. He believed that if the company was reorganized so that all the trading stations were operated identically, and the various native settlements were allotted specific trapping territories, then firearms might be profitably permitted.

Zagoskin appears to have been overly optimistic about the ability of the company to cope with the variety of local conditions within the vast territory in which it operated. Obviously, the kind of reorganization he recommended would have represented a staggering effort on the part of the company even if their control of and influence over the natives of coastal and interior west-central Alaska

had been greater than it was. With limited personnel, widely separated posts, and long lines of communication with the Sitka office and company headquarters in St. Petersburg, it was impossible.

Even under the current situation at the Yukon River posts, Zagoskin doubted whether the Indians would shoot beaver and other fur-bearing animals since traditional trapping and snaring were so much more effective. As far as beaver were concerned, other hunting methods, such as hooking the animals from their houses, or destroying the houses to get at the animals, both used frequently, seemed much more likely to decimate the population. One might also add that the possibility of damage to the pelts of animals killed with firearms is considerable with, of course, a corresponding reduction in their value.

As for the possibility that Indians and Eskimos might use firearms against each other or against members of their own people, Zagoskin did not believe that the nature of their interpersonal relations, even under circumstances of suspicion and hostility, would lead to destructive open warfare.[72] In any event, regardless of the view of Zagoskin and company officials concerning such matters, firearms were soon to be available to the people from other sources. While the eventual effect of improved weapons on fur-bearing animals and particularly game is an open question, it was certainly true that they had relatively little effect on modified-traditional patterns of interpersonal relations.

With reference to the well-established trade between northeastern Siberia and Alaska, Zagoskin was quick to point out that the Russians were themselves responsible for undermining their own efforts in west-central Alaska. Large shipments of tobacco were sent to the Chukchi Peninsula where the commodity was exchanged for walrus ivory and eventually made its way to the American coast. In addition, the price paid for furs along the Kolyma River was four to six times what was given for the same furs at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt. These factors encouraged the Siberia-Alaska trade even in the face of efforts made by the company in west-central Alaska to divert as many furs as possible to its own establishments. Even as far inland as the Koyukuk River, Zagoskin found that the people were well supplied with goods from the Kolyma River posts, particularly the so-called Cherkass tobacco which the Chukchi received from Russian ships. At Anvik, where Glazunov found the Ingalik wearing fur clothing in 1834, Zagoskin noted that the Indians were rich in fur which they desired to trade

for tobacco, reindeer skins, sealskin thongs, and sealskins. Instead of obtaining these items from the company, however, the Anvik people did most of their trading with the Unalakleet middlemen or Sledge Island traders who stopped at Klikitarik.[73]

Certain company practices at Mikhailovskiy added to the difficulties of controlling the fur trade in the Yukon Valley. Because the district managers were primarily concerned with their own advancement, which could be most readily obtained by acquiring the greatest number of furs at the lowest possible price, they frequently either held back trade goods of superior quality or paid higher prices than were prescribed for the post. Even the best intentioned managers, however, were often unable to provide the native population within their sphere of influence with the goods which they badly needed. Boats bringing trade goods from Sitka were frequently delayed and opportunities for the company to increase its share of the trade were thus lost.[74]

Zagoskin's solution to these problems, as we might expect from the general nature of his observations, essentially involved the standardization and regularization of the trade. The natives must be encouraged to trade all varieties of pelts, not just those of highest value, and the posts must have on hand all the goods considered necessary for the well-being of their customers. In addition, he recommended that the Russians themselves assume the role of middlemen in the trade between the Alaska coast and the interior, thus eliminating a vital aspect of the competition from native traders. And, finally, he believed that Russian influence over the natives must be increased. This could be accomplished by strengthening the *toyon* system as had been done among the Eskimos of the Nushagak and Kuskokwim rivers. Even though the Eskimos and Indians of west-central Alaska did not recognize a system of rank which the Russians could equate with their own social system, the natives nevertheless frequently looked to the post managers for advice and were inclined to show these individuals a good deal of respect. The position of the latter as controllers of desired trade goods gave them a special status in the eyes of the local inhabitants. Thus the post managers, with a little effort in sizing up the local situation, could come to exercise a good deal of influence over their customers.[75]

Zagoskin left Alaska in the summer of 1844, too soon to have been aware of another form of competition for the Russian-American

Company that was soon to make its presence felt in west-central Alaska. Beginning in 1850, American whaling ships passed through Bering Strait to hunt baleen whales in the Arctic Ocean. The commercial hunting of these great animals was profitable not so much for their oil, used in the manufacture of soap and candles, as for baleen, a strong, flexible material in the mouths of whales through which is sifted the small plankton that constitutes their food. During the last half of the 19th century, baleen was used in the manufacture of buggy whips, women's corset stays, as stuffing for furniture, and for other items requiring a strong, flexible material prior to the development of celuloid and plastics. Before the introduction of steam whaling vessels which enabled the whalers to remain in arctic waters all year round, the ships wintered along the California coast or in the Hawaiian Islands and returned north each spring. At this time each year they visited Port Clarence on Seward Peninsula where Eskimos were sometimes hired to assist in the summer's whaling, and extensive trading was carried out. Each year many Eskimos and some Indians, bringing with them furs, walrus ivory, and items of local manufacture to trade gathered at Port Clarence to await the arrival of the whaling fleet. The ships loaded at Honolulu or San Francisco with firearms and ammunition, usually double-barreled shotguns made in Belgium, hardware of various kinds, and alcoholic beverages or ingredients for their manufacture.[76]

Needless to say, the enterprising coastal Eskimos were delighted to see these richly laden vessels each spring, particularly since the items of trade which they offered frequently could not be obtained at posts of the Russian-American Company. These new and more varied trade goods rapidly reached the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik and other interior peoples. In the early years of this trade, the Ingalik became familiar with alcoholic beverages which previously must have been virtually unknown to them since Zagoskin makes no reference to drinking or its effects. In any event, alcohol seems to have had little fascination for them. According to an observer in the early American period, the Ingalik did not use alcohol to an excess. Rather, with admirable singleness of purpose, they resold it to the Russians.[77]

It is probably also true that the first firearms to enter the Anvik-Shageluk area in any number were obtained from the whaling vessels at this time. The Ingalik had received a few long-barrelled flintlock rifles from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Yukon

after 1847, but the Belgian-made shotguns and ammunition were more readily available. They were also cheaper, being obtainable for 20 marten skins whereas 40 skins were required to purchase a flintlock from the Hudson's Bay Company. The latter may have been preferred, however, since caps for the percussion shotguns were not always available but adequate flints could be picked up on any beach.[78]

More significant, perhaps, than the importation of alcohol or firearms at this time were native trade routes to the lower Yukon that included a stop at Port Clarence to meet the whaling ships each spring. In late May, 1866 a party of men attached to the Western Union Telegraph Company Expedition, traveling down the Yukon from Nulato, encountered a group of some 50 Malemiut Eskimos near the mouth of the Anvik River. This party was on an annual trading expedition from Norton Sound, where they had traded with the whaling vessels, down the Anvik River to the Yukon, down the Yukon to the mouth of the Innoko, up that river to Shageluk Slough and back to the Yukon down which they traveled to the coast and back up to Norton Sound again. These enterprising traders brought their umiaks across to the upper Anvik or one of its tributaries in late winter so that they would be in position for the trip as soon as the ice broke. An early start on their circular route was necessary if they wished to reach Port Clarence before the whaling ships headed north. The furs which were obtained from the Ingalik were then traded to the whaling ships for trade goods which, in turn, were used to obtain more furs in the interior.[79] Earlier in this chapter reference was made to a similar party of Malemiut encountered by Dall on the Yukon almost exactly two years later.

Here was a pattern of trade, utilizing previously established trade connections resulting from the Siberia-Alaska trade, that completely bypassed the posts of the Russian-American Company. Neither the company, nor American traders, were able to take effective measures against the whaling ships which continued to visit Port Clarence until commercial whaling ceased to be profitable early in the present century.

Although it is difficult to sort out the complex trading patterns prevalent in western Alaska during the Russian period, it should be clear that many different external influences were operating to change the way of life of the coastal Eskimos, and, of particular interest to us, the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik of the lower-middle Yukon.

The Russian-American Company may have been continually frustrated by the necessity of coping with competitive trading patterns, but the Indians were the willing recipients of European manufactures from four sources: the company, whaling ships, the Chukchi, and the coastal Eskimos of Norton Sound and the lower Yukon. Zagoskin believed that the Yukon Indians adapted readily to the changes going on around them and that in spite of some of the questionable trading practices of his countrymen that he pointed out, their living conditions had improved appreciably. They readily learned to accept European substitutes for their traditional material culture and had no difficulty in appreciating the steadily increasing number of luxury items that were available to them at the posts, particularly tobacco.

We have already noted how pleased Zagoskin was to find the Indians willing to barter for items of European clothing, thus freeing valuable furs for the trade. But he lamented the fact that the fur trade had declined even in the face of an increased demand on the part of the natives for trade goods. This decline, of course, was due to the inability of the company to stem the various forms of competition that have been mentioned. Nevertheless, what formerly went exclusively to the Chukchi began gradually to be diverted to the Russian-American Company. But to accomplish this, furs which formerly had been paid for with a few leaves of tobacco, came to require a pound of the commodity. Of course, Zagoskin does not dwell upon the fact that it was the Indians and Eskimos who benefited from all the competition. He only wished that in addition to combating the competitive effects of native trade, efforts were also being made to increase the total number of furs being harvested in the interests of the company. Nevertheless, Zagoskin was not above being impressed with the affluence of some of the *toyons* with whom he traveled. One of his companions on the Innoko was a *toyon* who normally traded at Kolmakovskiy Redoubt on the Kuskokwim. The explorer marveled at his spacious, clean house with its benches and European-style chairs, homemade, of course, and the man himself resplendent in full European dress, and at the plates, cutlery, teapot, cups, and saucers that accompanied an invitation to the Russian party to drink tea.[80]

It is not the purpose of this study to document the decline of the Russian-American Company, but it can be noted that problems pointed out by Zagoskin were never solved satisfactorily. As the Russian government re-evaluated its position with regard to its

North American possession and began to consider seriously the extent to which its colonial empire might be over-extended, there was little opportunity for a fresh and vigorous approach to management of the fur trade in western Alaska.[81]

Between 1842 and 1860 the export of furs from Mikhailovskiy Redoubt to Sitka included 49,398 beaver, 4,934 otter, 10,216 red fox, 1,403 white fox, 183 bears, 8,253 marten, 4,668 muskrat, 330 mink, 52 wolverine, 2 *puds* of walrus ivory, and 3,315 pairs of beaver castors. By far the most important fur, of course, was that of the beaver. The yearly breakdown for the pelts of that animal is as follows:[82]

1842	2,073	1852	1,720
1843	2,996	1853	3,134
1844	3,169	1854	3,855
1845	2,607	1855	1,594
1846	3,613	1856	1,207
1847	3,401	1857	2,683
1848	2,749	1858	1,449
1849	2,543	1859	1,982
1850	2,505	1860	1,947
1851	3,169		

It is apparent from these figures that little attempt was made in the 1850's to improve the beaver harvest on a regular basis. The size of the company's beaver export from the Mikhailovskiy district would seem to have been largely affected by outside factors over which the local posts had little or no control rather than due to a vigorous policy along the lines recommended by Zagoskin.

By 1860-1861 there were, in addition to Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, only two posts on the Yukon River, Nulato and Andreavskiy, the company having again withdrawn temporarily from Ikogmiut. The influence of company officials among the Indians had declined considerably and the posts themselves continued to be poorly supplied, even more so than in Zagoskin's time. Observers at the beginning of the American period optimistically predicted that the remedy needed to return the fur trade to vigorous and profitable growth was simply a good dose of American free enterprise.[83]

The Russian Orthodox Church

In 1842 a chapel was built by the inhabitants of Mikhailovskiy Redoubt under the supervision of the post manager and during the summer of the following year, Bishop Innokentiy (Ivan Veniaminov) sent one of the priests stationed at Unalaska, Grigoriy

Golovin, to minister to the people of the settlement. Golovin was successful in baptizing 163 natives, probably mostly Eskimos and doubtless including a number from other villages who had come to meet the annual company supply ship. He encountered some difficulties, however, since the natives were fearful that baptism might somehow be associated with smallpox. In his report to the bishop, Golovin recommended that a priest be appointed to the Yukon region. At that time the only church in the whole of western Alaska was at Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt and the priest stationed there attempted to visit communities on the Nushagak and Kuskokwim rivers as well as those along the shore of Bristol Bay. He could not possibly extend his area to include any part of the Yukon Valley.[84]

In March, 1844 Veniaminov ordered Golovin to return to Mikhailovskiy Redoubt and make all necessary arrangements for the establishment of a permanent mission. In December the bishop wrote to the general manager of the Russian-American Company, Adolph K. Etolin, seeking his advice concerning the most suitable location for such a mission. Etolin replied that cramped living quarters and shortages of supplies would make Mikhailovskiy itself unsatisfactory and he recommended that the new mission be established at the Eskimo village of Ikogmiut on the lower Yukon; Veniaminov apparently agreed with this recommendation.[85]

In the same month, the bishop then ordered the founding of the Mikhailovskiy-Kvikhpak mission and a creole priest, Yakov Netsvetov from Atka, was given charge with two assistants. The territory of the newly formed Kvikhpak mission was to include, in addition to the lower and middle Yukon Valley, the Kuskokwim River and its tributaries formerly served by the mission at Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt. Netsvetov, the first Orthodox priest of Aleut blood, arrived at Mikhailovskiy in July, 1845 and apparently went almost immediately to Ikogmiut where he and one, rather than the previously agreed upon two, assistant spent the first winter in a semi-subterranean Eskimo house. Since company officials could not guarantee the provisioning and safety of missionaries on the Yukon, the mission at Ikogmiut was established without company patronage and the missionaries were paid out of church funds rather than with contributions from the company. The next year the priest and his aide built themselves a house and began to visit nearby villages. In two years of travel on the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers as well as along the seacoast, Netsvetov baptized 437 individuals, a

remarkable accomplishment that testifies to his efforts and dedication.[86]

A major obstacle which Netsvetov had to overcome in the early days of the Ikogmiut mission was the smallpox epidemic still vividly recalled by all the people with whom the priest came in contact. The epidemic had begun to spread just at the time the company was urging vaccination on the Yukon River natives. At some posts elsewhere in Alaska, missionaries had administered the vaccinations, perhaps because company employees wished to avoid responsibility for doing so, and Netsvetov's would-be parishoners believed that baptism and vaccination were the same thing. The missionary may have tried to suggest that baptism was a protection against illness, thus reinforcing their fears if they became ill.[87]

In blaming the Russians for their distress, the natives correctly noted that they did not fall victim to this mysterious disease against which the powers of their shamans were useless until after the arrival of the Europeans. Thus the association of religious and medical work in western Alaska, for better or worse in the minds of the inhabitants, was established very early in the contact period. Shamans and missionaries competed for the welfare of men's bodies as well as their souls.

In spite of resistence to his efforts, the enthusiastic and dedicated Netsvetov achieved considerable success among the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik. An elderly man from Anilukhtakpak was baptized at Ikogmiut in 1847 and immediately became instrumental in persuading the inhabitants of that Yukon River community to invite the priest to visit them. He did so in the summer of 1849 and 93 persons expressed a desire for baptism. While the missionary was in that settlement, a party of Ingalik from further up the river arrived and 36 men from that group were also baptized. This certainly must have been one of Netsvetov's most successful journeys away from his headquarters at Ikogmiut.[88]

In 1848 Netsvetov was raised to the rank of archpriest and on February 22, 1849 Bishop Innokentiy reported to the Ecclesiastical Consistory that he had given his permission for the missionary to build a church at Ikogmiut dedicated to the Holy Life-giving Cross. The structure was actually completed during the following summer and on December 27, 1851 Netsvetov reported to the bishop that it had been consecrated on the 22nd.[89]

When Netsvetov was at Anilukhtakpak in the summer of 1849, he

was urged by Ingalik visitors from upriver to visit their village, possibly Anvik or an Innoko River settlement. At that time he was unable to accept their invitation and it may not have been until the spring of 1851 that he had an opportunity to visit a number of Ingalik villages. During that summer he ascended the Innoko at least as far as the entrance to Shageluk Slough and also visited the Yukon communities of Anilukhtakpak, Bonasila, possibly Anvik, and ascended the river as far as Kaltag. A total of 137 persons were accepted into the Orthodox Church in 1851. Thereafter, Innoko and Yukon villages were visited regularly during the 1850's and 1860's. Netsvetov also visited Kuskokwim River settlements in 1850 and 1851 and 203 persons from that area accepted Christianity.[90]

Not all of Netsvetov's efforts met with success, however. In one Yukon village which he visited the inhabitants promised to accept baptism, but when he returned the following summer they had changed their minds. In another settlement an old man bluntly told him that "we did not know god before, and we do not want to know him now." Very early during his years at Ikogmiut, Netsvetov must have realized that he could not possibly cover his huge area satisfactorily or even visit all his parishoners at least once a year. Like the priest at Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt, he considered himself fortunate if he could visit the outlying communities in his district once every two years. Settlements closest to Ikogmiut were, of course, visited more frequently and, as a result, the influence of the church was strongest in those communities.[91]

Yakov Netsvetov served his church at Ikogmiut from 1845 until 1862. In 1861 Hieromonk Illarion was transferred to Ikogmiut from Cook Inlet to assist Netsvetov and then replaced him the following year, remaining until 1868.[92] In February and March, 1863 Illarion traveled on the lower Yukon and in late May of that year he ascended the Innoko and the Yukon as far as Nulato. At the village of Holikachuk 60 men and women from various settlements had gathered "to fulfill their Christian obligations." This number included individuals from far up the Innoko, some of whom may have been baptized by Illarion on his trip from Cook Inlet to the Yukon or on the Kuskokwim by the visiting priest from Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt many years before. From Holikachuk Illarion descended the Innoko to its mouth and at Anilukhtakpak met a large number of Malemiut Eskimos who were buying furs from the Yukon and Innoko as part of their trading activities with American whaling ships

at Port Clarence. They had been waiting for the priest for four days. From there, Illarion proceeded up the Yukon to Nulato.[93]

With the transfer of Alaska to the United States in 1868, the Orthodox Church immediately acted to reduce the number of clergymen and parishes in the new American territory. This move seems to have been prompted by a fear that, following the removal of Russian-American posts and their Russian employees, it would be impossible to supply the Yukon and Nushagak parishes, the most remote missionary districts. Illarion and his assistants were therefore asked to come to Sitka bringing all moveable church property, leaving the church buildings at Ikogmiut in the care of a creole reader, Zachary Belkhov. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1876 and served at Ikogmiut, a community which the Americans called Russian Mission, until 1895.[94]

The Russian Orthodox Church affected the lives of the Yukon Indians in other ways than through church services and the ritual of baptism. A parish school was established at the Ikogmiut mission in 1850. In that year there were 13 students and the following year 17. Classes were presumably taught by Netsvetov or his assistant and the pupils were probably natives from nearby communities together with the children of company employees. In the early years, Netsvetov reported success with the school, but it is likely that classes were held only sporadically and the subject matter taught very limited, probably consisting of little more than religious instruction. By the early 1860's a school house had been constructed at Ikogmiut but the pupils are reported as being almost exclusively the children of company employees.[95]

Like schools started in the area during the American period by the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches, the educational efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church were an integral part of their attempts to introduce the concepts of Christianity to the Eskimos and Indians. Unlike the Roman Catholic and Episcopal schools, however, the Orthodox effort was sporadic and inconsistent. It, therefore, contributed little to the development of secular education in the area.

Some Effects of Contact: A Summary

In bringing to a close this discussion of the Russian period in west-central Alaska, it is necessary to consider the impact of direct and indirect contact on certain aspects of Ingalik culture described in Chapter I. The effects of contact on subsistence, settlement pat-

terns, and, with less confidence, social relations and religion can profitably be discussed on the basis of historical material presented in the previous two chapters.

In Chapter I reference was made to the fact that the Siberia-Alaska trade had brought about changes in Ingalik subsistence emphasis long before initial direct contacts between the Indians and Russian traders. The demand for furs created by this international trading network was so fully developed by the time the Russians penetrated the interior of west-central Alaska that these traders were confronted not with the problem of developing incentives for the taking of fur-bearing animals, but of diverting an already flourishing trade to the posts of the Russian-American Company. That they were never able to accomplish this task is an indication of the extent to which the Ingalik were already involved in the fur trade.

With both the Russian-American Company and the Malemiut traders from Norton Sound competing for Yukon River furs, there is little doubt that the Ingalik, after 1840, devoted an ever-increasing amount of time and effort to trapping. Although under any circumstances, fur production in the arctic and subarctic is a highly labor intensive activity, it is probable that throughout much of the Russian period fur production by the Ingalik was, to some extent at least, still a by-product of modified-traditional subsistence activities. It should be noted, too, that beaver pelts, the accepted standard of value among the Yukon Indians, as well as the pelts of other fur-bearing animals, were of relatively little intrinsic value to the people. Under circumstances of modified-traditional subsistence, most clothing was made from imported reindeer or local caribou skins. Beaver were killed only for meat, the hides being used occasionally for socks or thongs for caribou nooses if no better material was available. The pelts of most other fur bearers were used primarily for decoration and trim.[96]

As noted in Chapter I, small game was always important to the Ingalik. In the rapidly accelerating quest for fur-bearing animals, particularly beaver, the Ingalik ran the risk of depleting a food source which could be of considerable importance when large game animals such as moose and caribou were scarce. Also, the diversion of effort from large game hunting to trapping resulted in a substantial loss of subsistence productivity since, obviously, fur bearers produce considerably less meat per animal than do caribou or

moose. Thus the Indians were forced to become increasingly dependent on the traders for food supplies that might otherwise have been obtained from the environment. Other significant factors, of course, were the low prices paid for furs which, when combined with the high cost of trade goods, served to increase the labor time necessary for the Indians to obtain the commodities they desired.

With reference to the effect of the Russian presence on settlement patterns, it is likely that the most significant shifts took place before the Russians entered the Yukon Valley and were the result of adjustments made necessary by participation in the Siberia-Alaska trade. Even an important settlement like Anvik may owe its present location to the strategic necessity of having a settlement at one end of the most important route to Norton Sound. Anilukhtakpak was ideally situated to involve inhabitants of the Kuskokwim and Innoko rivers in the coast-interior trade. It will be recalled that Eskimos from the Kuskokwim were at Anilukhtakpak at the time of Glazunov's visit in the winter of 1834.[97] Similarly, Zagoskin mentions the strategic location of Vazhichagat with reference to creeks tributary to the upper Anvik River.[98] Although definite proof is lacking, it may not be an exaggeration to suggest that the late precontact and early contact settlement pattern in the Anvik-Shageluk area reflected almost entirely the requirements of the coast-interior trade. If this were indeed the case, it could mean that the major settlements in the area do not predate the beginning of the 19th century by many years and thus may have been occupied for only a short time before they were visited by Glazunov and Zagoskin.

Whatever may be the accuracy of the preceding speculations, it is clear that the distribution of Ingalik settlements along the lower Yukon and its tributaries was relatively little affected by the advent of direct contact with Russian traders. The Russians established no trading posts in Ingalik territory and, as previously noted, the profitable trade relations which the Indians enjoyed with the Eskimos of Norton Sound was more important than their relations with the Russian-American Company posts at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, Unalakleet, and Ikogmiut. There was little incentive to relocate settlements in order to participate in trade with the Russians since both Russian traders and Norton Sound Eskimos traveled extensively throughout the Ingalik area to obtain furs.

To assess accurately and in any detail the significance of indirect and direct contact on Ingalik social relations before 1867 would re-

quire considerably more information than is available in the historical sources. It is logical to assume, however, that the accelerating importance of trapping, where the emphasis is on individual effort and initiative, undoubtedly served to weaken subsistence aggregates based upon the leadership of skilled hunters that were characteristic of Ingalik regional bands. As for behavioral practices related to aspects of the life cycle that may have incurred the displeasure of Christian missionaries, it is unlikely that the Russian Orthodox Church was in a position to bring about significant changes in the relatively brief period covered in this chapter.

It is, in fact, difficult to evaluate the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Indians of the lower Yukon between 1845 and 1868. The priests appear to have set considerable store by the rite of baptism, believing baptized individuals to be automatically Christians and members of the church even though they might have received very little or no instruction concerning the meaning of Christianity and the responsibilities of a Christian life. By these standards, it is impossible to question the success of the Kvikhpak mission. In 1858 the total number of parishoners was "as many as" 1900 and of the nine Orthodox missions in Alaska at that time, only Kodiak was larger. Two years later 475 Ingalik were listed as church members, a sizeable proportion of the total population of the Anvik-Shageluk area.[99]

It must be doubted, however, whether the Orthodox priests during this period were ever successful in imparting more than a superficial understanding of Christianity in general and the specific beliefs of their church in particular. Similarly, it is likely that they made only the most superficial inroads on the traditional belief system. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that a Yukon visitor in 1869, having seen the mission at Ikogmiut and been aware of the church's activities along the river, could detect no traces of Christian influence in the people.[100] Within 20 years, however, organized Christianity was to play a much greater role in the lives of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik and their neighbors.

Notes

1. Ray, 1975, pp. 97-98.
2. Wrangell, 1840, pp. 114-119; Ray, 1964, p. 86; 1975, pp. 128-129; Zagoskin, 1967, p. 101.
3. Ray, 1975, pp. 121, 130, 136-137.
4. Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 81-82.

5. Ibid., p. 101.
6. Ibid., p. 102.
7. Ibid., p. 183.
8. Ray, 1975, p. 140.
9. Correll, 1972, p. 174.
10. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 137.
11. Ibid., pp. 168, 197.
12. Ibid., p. 191.
13. Osgood, 1958, p. 28.
14. Ibid., p. 62; VanStone, 1978, p. 46.
15. Osgood, 1958, p. 62; VanStone, 1959, p. 40; Zagoskin, 1967, p. 197.
16. Osgood, 1958, p. 62.
17. Dall, 1870, pp. 215-216
18. Ibid., pp. 219-222.
19. VanStone, 1978, p. 41.
20. VanStone, 1959, p. 42.
21. VanStone, 1978, pp. 40-41.
22. Hickerson, 1965.
23. Dall, 1870, pp. 143-144.
24. Porter, 1893, p. 119; Ray, 1975, p. 171.
25. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 136.
26. Correll, 1972, pp. 162-163.
27. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 190.
28. Dall, 1870, p. 161.
29. Jetté, Jottings of an Alaskan missionary. OPA/Jetté, box 3.
30. Ray, 1975, p. 172.
31. Oswalt, 1962, p. 11.
32. Correll, 1972, pp. 178-179; Ray, 1975, p. 172.
33. Burch and Correll, 1972, p. 26; Correll, 1972, p. 173; Clark and Clark, 1976, pp. 196-198.
34. Jetté, Ethnological dictionary of the Tena language. OPA/Jetté.
35. Osgood, 1958, pp. 73-81.
36. Burch and Correll, 1972, p. 29.
37. Ibid.
38. Raymond, 1873, pp. 171-172.
39. Dall, 1870, p. 217.
40. Jetté, Ethnological dictionary of the Tena language. OPA/Jetté.
41. Sahlins, 1965, pp. 147-148.
42. Zagoskin, 1956.
43. Zagoskin, 1967.
44. Ibid., opp. p. 358.
45. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 275.

46. RACR/CS, vol. 20, no. 486, folios 403-404, Oct. 5, 1841.
47. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 275.
48. VanStone, 1967, pp. 26, 53-54.
49. RACR/CS, vol. 24, no. 271, folios 316-318, May 14, 1845.
50. RACR/CS, vol. 24, no. 308, folios 362-364, May 15, 1845.
51. RACR/CS, vol. 14, no. 268, folio 307, May 27, 1837.
52. RACR/CS, vol. 34, no. 474, folios 163-164, June 19, 1853.
53. RACR/CS, vol. 34, no. 489, folio 169, June 19, 1853.
54. Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pt. 2, p. 400.
55. *Doklad* . . ., 1863, vol. 2, pp. 331-332; Fedorova, 1937b, pp. 225-226.
56. Dall, 1870, p. 231.
57. Woldt, 1884, pp. 172-174.
58. RACR/CS, vol. 8, no. 322, folio 247, May 23, 1831; vol. 9, no. 460, folio 350, Oct. 31, 1832; vol. 16, no. 467, folios 178-179, Oct. 31, 1838; vol. 17, no. 387, folios 370-371, June 4, 1839.
59. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 168.
60. James, 1942, p. 189.
61. A *pud* is equal to slightly more than 36 lbs.
62. Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 148, 161-162, 184-185.
63. Ibid., p. 246.
64. Ibid.
65. Dall, 1870, pp. 500-501.
66. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 184.
67. Ibid., p. 257.
68. Ibid., p. 200.
69. Ibid., p. 137.
70. Ibid., p. 185.
71. Ibid., pp. 246-247.
72. Ibid., p. 270.
73. Ibid., pp. 191-192.
74. Ibid., pp. 183-184.
75. Ibid., pp. 102, 223.
76. Dall, 1870, p. 502; VanStone, 1958.
77. Raymond, 1873, p. 167.
78. Dall, 1870, pp. 107, 200.
79. Diaries of P. M. Smith, Aug. 26, 1865-March 22, 1867, and Lieutenant George R. Adams, April 28-June 11, 1866. Typewritten copies, UA.
80. Zagoskin, 1967, pp. 196, 223.
81. See Gibson, 1976, pp. 23-29.
82. *Doklad* . . ., 1863, vol. 2, supplement to report; Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pt. 2, p. 400.

83. *Doklad* . . ., 1863, vol. 2, p. 11; Whymper, 1869, p. 179; Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pt. 2, p. 400.
84. DRHA, vol. 1, p. 179; vol. 2, p. 5. UA.
85. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 362-364.
86. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 369, 372; Barsukov, 1883, p. 241; Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pt. 2, pp. 298-303; Smith, 1974, pp. 10-11.
87. Barsukov, 1883, p. 241; Tikhmenev, 1939-1940, pt. 2, pp. 298-303.
88. Barsukov, 1883, pp. 250-252.
89. DRHA, vol. 1, pp. 374-376.
90. ARCA/KM, vital statistics. LC; Barsukov, 1883, pp. 313-314.
91. Ibid.
92. DRHA, vol. 1, pp. 218, 246.
93. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 107, 114-115.
94. DRHA, vol. 1, p. 185; Smith, 1974, p. 131.
95. DRHA, vol. 1, p. 377; *Doklad* . . ., 1863, vol. 2, p. 377; Barsukov, 1883, p. 241.
96. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 269.
97. VanStone, 1959, p. 45.
98. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 191.
99. *Doklad* . . ., 1863, vol. 2, p. 377; Croskey, 1975, pp. 27, 29.
100. Raymond, 1873, p. 173.

IV

THE EARLY AMERICAN FUR TRADE: 1868-1883

American Exploration of the Yukon

At the time of the transfer of Alaska from Russia to the United States in 1867, American explorers were already in the newly acquired territory. Members of the Western Union Telegraph Company Expedition, an elaborate undertaking to survey a route for a telegraph line that would cross the Bering Sea to Siberia and connect America with Europe, were at Mikhailovskiy Redoubt in the winter of 1865 and at Nulato in spring of the following year. The expedition's scientific leader, Robert Kennicott, died in May, 1866 and relatively little was accomplished other than a reconnaissance from Nulato to the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Yukon. Kennicott was succeeded by William Healy Dall, a natural historian who was to have a lifetime interest in all aspects of science in Alaska. Dall, along with the English artist Frederick Whymper and Frank Ketchum and Michael Lebarge, members of the expedition who were later closely associated with trade on the Yukon, explored and collected natural history specimens in the region between Nulato and Fort Yukon. In mid-July while at Nulato, the party received orders to proceed to Mikhailovskiy as, with the successful laying of the Atlantic cable, the Western Union project had been terminated.[1]

On their descent of the Yukon, Whymper, Dall, and other members of the expedition may have entered Shageluk Slough and traveled along the lower Innoko River. In any event, they refer to the village of Shageluk and to Anvik which was reached on July 18. If the party did navigate the lower Innoko, they would, of course, have had to ascend the Yukon to reach Anvik.[2] Following termination of the Western Union endeavor, Dall decided to remain in Alaska and he was at Nulato in early February, 1868 when word was received of the sale to the United States. On June 9, 1868, while

descending the river from Nulato to St. Michael, as Mikhailovskiy Redoubt was called after the purchase, Dall entered the mouth of the Innoko and visited a large Ingalik summer camp located there. Although his party left the slough after an overnight stay, his account, to which reference was made in the previous chapter, provides us with useful information concerning Indian subsistence, the fur trade, and relations with Eskimos.[3]

Although the Anvik-Shageluk region was explored by several members of the Telegraph Expedition, these explorations were incidental to the work of the expedition further up the Yukon. The various parties really did little more than pass through the area and they seem to have been largely unaware of previous Russian explorations. Nevertheless, they could not help noticing that the Indians with whom they came in contact were quite familiar with white men and already had established procedures for dealing with them. Whymper, Dall, and others make frequent reference to the fur trade and they sometimes provide useful information concerning the size and location of specific settlements and camps in the Anvik-Shageluk area. Although it cannot be said that they added very much to our knowledge of geography, environment, or ethnography of that area, there is much useful information concerning the early stages of culture change in their writings.

Members of the Western Union Telegraph Company Expedition had been in the employ of a private company. The first inland expedition in Alaska to be sponsored by the United States government was designed to settle an old problem concerning the location of the Hudson's Bay Company post established by Alexander Murray in 1847 at the confluence of the Porcupine and Yukon rivers, considerably west of the 141 meridian that separates Canada and Alaska. Murray apparently was aware that he had located his post in Russian territory and, after the sale of Alaska, his successors took the position that they should remain where they were until ordered to move. Unlike the Russians, American traders objected strenuously to what they considered to be poaching by British traders based at Fort Yukon.

To ascertain the amount of trade carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company in American territory, and to determine the latitude and longitude of Fort Yukon were the instructions given by the army to Captain Charles W. Raymond, U.S. Corps of Engineers. Raymond left St. Michael on July 4, 1869 aboard a small steamer, the *Yukon*, which had been brought north from San Francisco by the Alaska

Commercial Company, successor to the Russian-American Company, to service its posts. The *Yukon* was the first vessel propelled by steam to travel on the inland waters of northern Alaska. The Telegraph Expedition had brought a small steamer to Mikhailovskiy Redoubt, but it had never been placed in service. The use of the little steamboat *Yukon* was certainly an important landmark in the history of Yukon exploration and an accurate forecast of things to come. It made a considerable impression on the Indians and Eskimos living along the river who were impressed by the toot of the whistle and, at first, frightened by the great clouds of black smoke belched forth by the wood burning vessel.[4] More than 40 years later the Rev. John W. Chapman noted that the Indians frequently cited the first arrival of the *Yukon*, along with the smallpox epidemic of 1838-1839, as noteworthy events by which their ages might be determined.[5]

On the 12th of July, Raymond's party reached Anvik where they remained for two days and established a small trading post for the Alaska Commercial Company. Raymond describes the village, noting "a fleet of bark and skin canoes" drawn up on the beach, the fish drying racks in front, the houses and caches behind, and the large *kashim*.[6] Proceeding on up the river, the *Yukon* reached Fort Yukon at the end of the month, computed latitude and longitude, and informed the Hudson's Bay Company that its post was within United States territory.

For the return trip, Captain Raymond and two companions constructed a small wooden skiff since the *Yukon* was to remain up river. At Anvik, which the party reached on September 12, the skiff was abandoned and a decision made to try and reach St. Michael by way of the Anvik River with a portage to the Golsovia or some other river flowing into Norton Sound. The party left Anvik on September 14 and two days later estimated themselves to be 50 miles from the river's mouth and about 20 miles from the portage. They stopped at three "villages" observed many herds of caribou, and eventually reached St. Michael on the 26th.[7]

As Sherwood has noted, the goal of Captain Raymond's expedition—to settle officially the nationality of Fort Yukon—seems a trivial reason for so long a voyage, particularly when much of interior Alaska remained unexplored.[8] From our standpoint, however, Raymond's travels are of some significance even though there were no original contributions to science or discovery. Like Dall and

Whymper, Raymond makes valuable contributions to our knowledge of the fur trade at the very beginning of the American period. His trip to St. Michael by way of the Anvik River, the first official American journey by this route for which we have a published account, is disappointingly lacking in details, but nevertheless provides rudimentary information concerning human occupation and the environment. Raymond noted the existence of Shageluk Slough, but made no attempt to explore in that direction and only commented that the Innoko Valley was reported to be the richest fur country on the lower Yukon.[9] It must be added that Raymond's chart, which includes the location of a number of settlements on the lower Yukon, is a distinct improvement over earlier maps.

St. Michael was one of the early stations of the Signal Service of the United States Army in Alaska. This program, established in 1874, was initiated largely through the efforts of Spencer Baird, at that time Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The observers selected for these stations were young men interested in all aspects of natural history and thus qualified to make profitable use of their time when not performing their meteorological duties. In June, 1877 Private Edward William Nelson was assigned to St. Michael and directed by the Chief Signal Officer to obtain, in addition to weather observations, data on the geography, ethnology, and zoology of the area. During his term of duty Nelson traveled extensively and, in addition to bird and mammal collecting, made the superb collection of ethnological specimens, now in the U.S. National Museum, which has made his name well known to later generations of arctic anthropologists.

Nelson remained at St. Michael until 1881 and his last journey, during the winter prior to his departure, was to the country of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik. This was one of the few interior journeys that Nelson made. Leaving St. Michael on November 16, 1880 in the company of S. A. Fredericks, a fur trader stationed at Anvik, he crossed the mountains to the upper Anvik River, down which he traveled to its confluence with the Yukon. After remaining at Anvik for several days, the two men traveled up the Yukon a short distance before crossing overland to the Innoko River and exploring the upper reaches of that stream. The exact route traveled by Nelson and his companion is uncertain since his accounts are sketchy and vague on this subject. However, after traveling upriver an unknown distance, he appears to have returned to Anvik by the

same route and thence down the Yukon to its mouth and around to St. Michael. The entire trip was made with dogs and sledges.

Nelson's sledge journey would have been a truly remarkable accomplishment for anyone else, but for this indefatigable man, it was simply one of many such trips, all equally long and arduous. Although lacking in specific geographical information, Nelson's account of his journey is rich in ethnographic detail and is a basic source for our understanding of Ingalik subsistence and resource utilization in the late 19th century.[10]

We will pass over with only brief comment the travels of Ivan Petroff in connection with the 10th federal census in 1880 and the 11th 10 years later. Petroff's census itineraries are vague and, although he claimed to have ascended the Yukon in both years, he covered no ground not already familiar to Russian and American explorers and traders, and his ethnographic data on the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik is sketchy. Petroff relied heavily on missionaries for his enumerations and since, at the time of his travels in 1880, there were none situated permanently in the Anvik-Shageluk area, his enumerations for the 10th census are untrustworthy.[11] In 1890 the Yukon census enumeration was carried out by William C. Greenfield and is more reliable and therefore useful.[12]

The only extensive travels to be discussed here that were not carried out by officials of the United States government were the ethnological investigations of Captain J. Adrian Jacobsen, a Norwegian collector working for the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin. Jacobsen traveled and collected extensively throughout southwestern Alaska. In the summer of 1882, in company with a party of prospectors, he ascended the Yukon as far as the Tanana and then drifted downriver collecting specimens and making ethnographic observations along the way.[13] Jacobsen's observations on the fur trade are useful, but it is unfortunate that his ethnographic data on the Ingalik is neither as extensive nor as detailed as the data he collected on the Tanaina Indians while he was working in Cook Inlet.[14]

The Yukon travels of First Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka in 1883 must also be mentioned here even though they hardly qualify as explorations in the true sense. In response to vague and unsubstantiated rumors of Indian discontent in Alaska, real in the southeastern region but with very little foundation in the northern interior, Lieutenant Schwatka was ordered by the army to deter-

mine the disposition of native peoples in the interior, their relationships with each other, and their attitude toward the encroachment of whites. Schwatka, with six companions, reached the upper Yukon by way of Chilcoot Pass, providing, in the process, the first survey of what would eventually be a main route to the Klondike gold fields. At Lake Lindemann a raft was constructed and on it the party descended to the mouth of the Tanana where they secured a small schooner to take them to Anvik. From there they were taken in tow to St. Michael by the Alaska Commercial Company steamer *Yukon.*[15]

The ethnographic information in Schwatka's book, a popular account, contains no new data on the Indians of the Anvik-Shageluk area, but he does describe the trading post at Anvik and, like many of his predecessors, discusses some mechanics of the fur trade and results of culture contact. In addition, his notes on settlement patterns in the area are occasionally illuminating.[16] On the whole, we cannot consider Schwatka a major source for data on 19th century culture change on the lower Yukon. In a much wider sense, however, his many articles in newspapers and magazines and his popular book "brought publicity to Alaska and its resources, and advertised the need for exploration."[17]

Throughout the late 19th century, Russian Orthodox priests continued to travel in the Anvik-Shageluk area in the course of performing their religious duties. There are indications, however, that such trips were increasingly infrequent after 1870. In 1888 the Protestant Episcopal Church founded a mission and school at Anvik while the Roman Catholic Church, in the same year, established themselves at Holy Cross near the native village of Koserefsky. Missionaries of both denominations traveled extensively and their published and archival reports provide the first useful information concerning the lower Innoko River and its inhabitants since the days of Russian exploration. American traders also made frequent visits to Ingalik villages during this period, sometimes compiling useful data of a cultural or demographic nature.

After 1885, the number of Euro-Americans entering the Anvik-Shageluk region increased steadily, as did trips up and down the river. Prospectors on the upper Yukon were beginning to make discoveries that focused attention on the possible mineral wealth of that area and led to the great Klondike gold rush. Documented interior exploration began in the late 1820's in the Nushagak drainage to the south and within a few years interest and attention focused

on the Yukon, one of the great waterways of the world. Once the Anvik and Unalakleet portages had been revealed to the Russians by Eskimos and Indians, a virtual roadway to the interior of an unknown country was open to restless adventurers seeking a new frontier.

Such roadways notwithstanding, much of the interior exploration by both Russians and Americans was highly superficial and not accompanied by the accurate mapping and surveying that characterized many of the coastal explorations being carried out at the same time. Writing as late as 1886, Henry W. Elliot, a noted authority on Alaska and former member of the Western Union Telegraph Company Expedition, noted that although the Yukon flows through some of the most unexplored country in the north, the river itself was one of the best known waterways in Alaska.

> An almost uninterrupted annual march had been made up and down its dreary banks since 1865, by men well qualified to describe its varying moods and endless shoals - every turn in its flood, every shelving bank of alluvium or rocky bluff that lines the margin of its turbid current, has been minutely examined, named and renamed to suit the occasion and character of the traveller.[18]

Although this statement is somewhat exaggerated for literary effect, we have noted a good many explorers during the American period alone, and have not included the many traders, prospectors, missionaries, and ordinary travellers who ascended and, more often, descended the river with regularity. But with the exception of the Tanana and Koyukuk rivers, explored by Lieutenant Henry T. Allen in the summer of 1885,[19] the tributaries of the Yukon and their adjacent drainages were hardly better known in 1895 than in 1865. In fact, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that except for the work of Allen, there were no truly comprehensive explorations of the Yukon River country after those of Lieutenant Zagoskin in 1842-1844.

The Alaska Commercial Company and Its Competitors

The advent of American jurisdiction heralded no immediate innovations in west-central Alaska and if the transfer of authority received only passing notice from the few whites along the lower Yukon, it can easily be understood that the native population was totally unaffected. In fact, as late as 1908 when an official of the Bureau of Education was making his annual tour of inspection of federally supported schools in the Territory and visited Bristol Bay, he was shocked to discover that many Eskimos in that area had no knowledge of the United States government and still believed

themselves to be under the rule of Russia.[20] If this was true along the coast in the vicinity of an important regional trading center at that late date, then it is certain that the impact of American ownership was negligible along the lower-middle Yukon for a good many years following the purchase. As late as 1887, the Russian language was still used extensively for trading on the Yukon as far inland as the mouth of the Tanana River.[21]

Trade networks involving the Chuckchi of Siberia and whaling ships at Port Clarence which were the despair of the Russian-American Company continued to function well into the American period. During the summer of 1879 when Nelson was at St. Michael, Ingalik Indians from Anvik descended the Yukon in umiaks to exchange their wooden bowls and dishes for seal oil and other coastal products.[22] In Nelson's day, in fact, the people of Anvik and the lower Innoko River continued to be noted throughout the area for their fine wooden tubs and dishes and every summer they carried on an extensive trade with coastal Eskimos. Although birch bark canoes were generally used by the Yukon Indians, Nelson observed that the Anvik and Innoko people had adopted the Eskimo umiak as a more suitable means of travel on their long summer trading voyages. Such trading trips, sometimes involving lone individuals, also took place during the winter months. In November, 1880 Nelson descended the Anvik River in the company of a young man from Anvik who was bringing a bag of seal oil from the coast. The previous winter this same Indian had made a large number of wooden vessels and transported them by boat to St. Michael, a round trip of more than 500 miles. He left the vessels at the trading center in payment for the bag of oil which was to be delivered to him in the early winter.[23]

The whaling ships which continued to visit the Norton Sound and Kotzebue Sound areas now traded with the people much more openly since they were operating in American waters. However, continued dealing in alcoholic beverages, or the ingredients for their manufacture, and firearms brought them under the observation of the United States Revenue Marine which, beginning in 1880, annually sent a vessel into northern waters to prevent smuggling and the distribution of illicit products. In 1878, as many as 13 vessels had brought rum and breech-loading weapons to Kotzebue Sound and some of both doubtless reached the lower-middle Yukon.[24] The sale of breech-loading firearms to the natives of

Alaska was prohibited by law in 1875, ostensibly to discourage warfare, and they rapidly became valuable items of contraband.

The Alaska Commercial Company and its competitors in the early days of the American period appear to have been less concerned about these alternative forms of trade than the Russians had been, although it is difficult to believe that this draining away of valuable furs went completely unnoticed. It is more likely that American traders simply lacked someone as articulate as Zagoskin to discuss their problems in print. The Siberian trade did, of course, decline, particularly as larger and more varied amounts of trade goods became available through local sources as they did in the American period. Ships combining whaling and trading abandoned their activities as the price of baleen declined toward the end of the 19th century. By that time they were having difficulty competing with the monopoly enjoyed by the well-organized and, at least at St. Michael, well-supplied Alaska Commercial Company. Nevertheless, the diversion of trade to Siberia is mentioned in an assessment of Yukon trade at the time data was gathered for the 11th federal census in 1890.[25]

In 1868 Hutchinson, Kohl and Company of San Francisco purchased the assets of the Russian-American Company. Two years later the firm was reorganized to form the Alaska Commercial Company which dominated trade in western Alaska throughout the rest of the 19th century and well into the 20th. When the transfer of Alaska to the United States was an accomplished fact, the company hired former Russian subjects and former Hudson's Bay Company employees for the Yukon Valley operations, as well as pioneer traders, like Michael Lebarge, who had formerly been associated with the Telegraph Expedition.[26]

In the summer of 1869 the brig *Commodore* landed off St. Michael bringing on its decks a small steamer, the *Yukon,* with which the Alaska Commerical Company intended to establish its trading stations on the Yukon River. On this vessel, it will be recalled, Captain Raymond traveled to Fort Yukon. During this trip, a company trading station was established at Anvik in the charge of two traders, as were similar posts at other locations further up the river.[27] The first trader at Anvik was John Clark who later served the company at Nushagak from 1880 until his death in 1897.[28]

In the early years of the American period the Alaska Commercial Company had to deal with competition in its operations in west-central Alaska and there may have been as many as six commercial

companies operating in the St. Michael district at various times between 1867 and 1885. Of these, only the Alaska Commercial Company and the Western Fur and Trading Company were of any importance. The latter firm was organized in 1877 and functioned as an independent commercial enterprise until 1883 when, after a prolonged struggle to maintain posts along the Yukon, it was forced to dispose of its assets to its arch rival. As might be imagined, competition between the two companies was intense during this period. Traders on the Yukon during these early years of the American period were often not permanently linked to any company, but accepted employment in any one that seemed to offer satisfactory conditions. Eventually, however, virtually all of them drifted into the service of the Alaska Commercial Company.[29]

For a number of years, the little steamer *Yukon* was the only power boat on the river, but gradually other small steamers were launched by prospectors and resident traders. The *St. Michael* was built in 1879 and eventually purchased by the Roman Catholic mission at Holy Cross; another pioneer steamer, the *New Racket*, was built in 1882. These vessels, none of which exceeded 30 tons, were constructed for the purpose of towing loaded barges up the river and they were the precursors of the great fleet of stern-wheelers that were to ply the Yukon after the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1896.[30]

Trading Procedures in the Yukon District

The organization of the Alaska Commercial Company in western Alaska was broadly similar to that of its predecessor, the Russian-American Company. Company headquarters were at Unalaska from which goods were supplied to the trading districts of Nushagak, the Kuskokwim, and the Yukon as well as subordinate stations in the Aleutian chain. About 1880 there were seven trading stations in the Yukon district including posts at St. Michael, Anvik, Russian Mission (Ikogmiut), Andreavskiy, and Kotlik in the delta.[31] The principal station was, of course, St. Michael. The Anvik post was the major trade outlet for the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik, but there was also a trader at Shageluk and a second one at Anvik who may have been associated with the Western Fur and Trading Company.[32]

In the early years of the American period each trader along the lower Yukon owned a barge of from 5 to 10 tons which he had constructed of lumber laboriously whipsawed from spruce trees growing along the banks of the Yukon or purchased already cut from the

company. In these barges, the traders drifted down the river and made their way along the sea coast, sometimes with great difficulty and at considerable risk to themselves and their cargoes, to St. Michael where they waited for the arrival of the company's supply ship from San Francisco. Such trips were events of prime importance in their lives.[33]

When the vessel arrived, the traders selected their stock of trade goods from the material being offered and loaded their barges. This selection process was important and each trader would know the particular items most in demand by his clients. In the years when the Alaska Commerical Company had competition on the Yukon, the traders were forced by economic circumstance to be particularly sensitive to the needs and requirements of the natives trading at their posts. Selection completed and their barges loaded, the traders were then towed up the river to their respective stations by a small steamer, either one of those previously mentioned as belonging to the company, or to another trader. After passing a year of trading with the natives, they returned to St. Michael, their barges laden with furs and other native products. Sometimes they brought with them a crew of Indians from their stations, all dressed in their best clothes and ready for a holiday on the coast while awaiting the arrival of the supply ship.[34]

St. Michael had, of course, been the center of trade in western Alaska during the Russian period, but it is clear that, beginning in the early 1880's, its role as a cosmopolitan center increased considerably. Several factors appear to have been responsible. Eskimo middlemen involved in the Siberia-Alaska trade considered St. Michael to be their headquarters as they traded with the coastal Eskimos of Norton Sound and received visitors from the Ingalik and Koyukon communities along the Yukon. At the same time, the more intensive trade of the Alaska Commercial Company and, beginning in the mid-1880's, the presence of a few miners from the upper Yukon, gave St. Michael an atmosphere of excitement and affluence that it had not enjoyed under the Russians.

A visitor to the settlement in late June would observe many Indians from lower and middle Yukon communities, Eskimos from coastal Norton Sound communities, and Yukon Delta villages, as well as a few miners coming from or on their way to the upper Yukon where gold in paying quantities was just beginning to be discovered. Most of these visitors were in St. Michael for the pur-

pose of trading furs, dried fish, ivory, and many other products. Some of the white men hoped to obtain transportation south on any vessel that happened to stop at the trading center. The Eskimos and Indians concentrated there hoped to do most of their trading with the traders who had come down the river to meet the supply ship. Therefore, they tried very hard to hold on to their furs, ivory, and other goods until the ship arrived and the traders had a new supply of trade goods. Natives who traded at St. Michael thus had an opportunity to choose from the trader's goods at a time when his stock was largest and most diverse. While waiting for the ship, however, the Indians and Eskimos traded with each other for native products and took part in games, dancing, wrestling matches, and other amusements. At these times, St. Michael truly became the center of an extremely picturesque and animated gathering that usually reached its height toward the end of June or early in July.[35]

Four or five traders' barges were usually hitched to one of the small steamers for the long, slow trip into the interior. As the steamer, belching black smoke and with its tow of barges, proceeded upriver, it would be sure to attract attention at every village and fish camp along the way. The Episcopal missionaries John W. Chapman and Octavius Parker accompanied such a steamer in the summer of 1887 on their way to establish a mission at Anvik. Nearing that settlement, Chapman wrote that

> occasionally a native would be seen paddling his canoe with all his might in the slack water close to the shore, in the effort to get ahead of the steamboat. When the canoe was far enough ahead, it would dart out into the stream. Still paddling furiously, the owner would bring his craft alongside the steamer. Then a friendly hand would reach out and steady the canoe while the native who had salmon or eggs to sell in exchange for tea or powder made his bargains. At intervals the boat stopped to take on wood for fuel. If this were near a native village, bargaining began at once.[36]

In 1887 the steamboat was still a novelty to the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik and other Yukon River natives, but patterns of interaction between residents of the Ingalik villages and the rapidly increasing number of whites coming into the area were already taking shape.

Mechanisms of the Fur Trade

When the Alaska Commercial Company and its competitors first began trading in the Yukon Valley, they attempted to cover as much territory as possible thus reaching trappers who seldom visited the posts and who might not be inclined to trap vigorously without encouragement. A trader might leave his station in mid-

winter and travel to several villages with a supply of trade goods. Upon reaching a settlement, he inquired of the inhabitants if they had any furs and if so, pitched his tent and unpacked his goods. Then he would seat himself near the tent opening and display his collection in such a manner that potential customers might look in and appraise the assortment. They could then, if they were so inclined, pass in their skins and indicate which items were desired from the trader's stock. The trader would examine the skins, toss them into a common heap, and tear off a piece of cloth or pass out tobacco or other items needed to complete the transaction.[37] Following the elimination of competition in the Yukon district, the traders ceased to travel in winter, realizing that the Indians would have to come to them if they wished to obtain trade goods no matter how remote their communities might be from the trading station.[38]

According to Lieutenant Allen, the Alaska Commercial Company furnished the traders with their merchandise at 25 per cent above San Francisco prices and, in addition, charged a fixed amount for the transportation of these goods up the river. The traders in their turn agreed to transfer to the company all the furs they obtained at prices which Allen believed probably did not exceed one-half their value on the San Francisco market.[39] When Parker and Chapman arrived in Anvik in July, 1887 they quickly learned which items were the staples of the trade even though there was no trader in the community at the time. The Anvik Ingalik expressed a strong preference for the following: heavy, white cotton drilling out of which to make summer clothing; unbleached muslin and calico; powder, shot, small lead bars, and percussion caps; heavy blue and white ticking for tents and clothing; tea and cube sugar; tobacco in "heads"; flour; plain, inexpensive butcher knives and pocket knives; pilot bread or ship's biscuit; large, fine-toothed combs; soap; fine beads; and files.[40]

The missionaries believed that although all these items were in great demand, tobacco, tea and cube sugar, and pilot bread were most desired. Tea, of course, had become a household necessity to the Ingalik during the Russian period and was used at every meal. In Russian times it was prepared in the Russian style as a strong infusion diluted with hot water. By Chapman's time, it was probably prepared as Americans do, but for the Ingalik "to drink tea" has always implied some kind of light meal to accompany the drink.[41]

The importance attached by the Ingalik to cotton drilling and other fabrics suggests that by the mid-1880's, traditional clothing,

at least during the summer months, had largely been replaced by an approximation of American dress. The importance of ammunition for muzzle-loading firearms would seem to indicate that the Ingalik were receiving relatively few breech-loading weapons. For those that they did have, they probably experienced difficulty in obtaining shells. As for flour, another popular item, its consumption was increasing rapidly. Petroff noted that in 1880 all along the lower Yukon flour was being consumed at a rate of 25 lbs. per person each year.[42]

Statements concerning the value of specific furs on the lower Yukon are conflicting and, for the most part, unreliable. At the very beginning of the American period, Dall noted that beaver pelts were the traders' standard of value as they had been during the Russian period, and that one pelt was worth 20 lead balls or 2 fathoms of strung beads. Four mink pelts, two marten, or two white foxes were equal in value to a beaver. A good otter or lynx pelt was valued at three beavers and a red fox pelt in good condition was equal to a beaver and a half.[43]

One trade item as greatly valued by the Indians in the early years of the American period as it had been during the Russian era was firearms. As noted previously, flintlocks obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Yukon, some of which certainly must have reached the lower river, were preferred to double-barrelled percussion shotguns, the type of weapon generally supplied by the whaling ships. In 1867-1868, a flintlock had a value of 20 beaver pelts while a percussion weapon brought only 10.[44] It is probable that at this time the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik, far removed from Ft. Yukon, seldom had an opportunity to acquire flintlock weapons.

The executive order of July, 1875 which prohibited the importation of breech-loading arms and ammunition into Alaska was, in fact, a renewal of an order that dated back to the early years of the American period. It was enacted by the Treasury Department, under the jurisdiction of which Alaska was, at that time, because of complaints reaching the army at Sitka that such weapons were being supplied to natives at the posts of the Alaska Commercial Company. The company defended its practices in a letter to the Collector of Customs in San Francisco dated November 18, 1875. It noted that any shipments of the forbidden weapons that had been made, were shipped prior to July, 1875 and further maintained that between 1872 and 1875, 167 such weapons had been shipped to St.

Michael, all but 24 of them in the last two years. The company also implied that it was the whaling ships which were responsible for bringing in both liquor and firearms.[45]

Unlike most trading companies throughout the world that traded with small-scale societies, the Alaska Commercial Company did not, as a matter of policy, encourage indebtedness to hold its trade. Nevertheless, competition in the early years of the American period forced the traders to adopt the credit system at least to a limited extent. Each trader in the relatively loose organization of the early Alaska Commercial Company had his own clientele and it was in his interest to tide these individuals over periods of scarcity in the expectation that when the client was again successful in obtaining furs, the skins would be brought to him. Many Indians, of course, wished to go as deeply into debt as the trader would allow and frequently the latter suffered a heavy loss if his client died in an influenza epidemic or was otherwise incapacitated. If the trader refused further credit to a client already deeply in debt, however, the Indian might be inclined to conceal his successes and trade elsewhere in secret.[46] When there were several competing companies, this could easily be done or the successful trapper could divert his furs to coastal middlemen for eventual disposal to whaling ships or the Siberian trade.

It is clear, therefore, that competition created the need for flexibility both with regard to prices paid for furs and the freedom with which credit was advanced. A trader was forced to know his clients and their habits well, and be prepared to change his judgement concerning their credit risk, their trapping skills, and their ability to rise above economic setbacks. Frequently a trader would be forced to reduce the indebtedness of a client in order to offer encouragement toward greater effort, thus making it possible to collect at least part of a large outstanding debt. Indians, lacking the Protestant Ethic that frequently sustains many white Americans under such circumstances, might become totally discouraged under the pressure of heavy debts and abandon efforts to make repayments.

The loose organization of the Alaska Commercial Company which acted as supplier for a number of otherwise independent traders, encouraged the kind of competition among trading stations that Zagoskin, in the 1840's, found so harmful to the best interests of the Russian-American Company. Although exact information is lacking, it is clear that the spheres of influence of the posts at Nulato, Anvik, and Andreavskiy overlapped considerably and that the pric-

ing and credit practices of the individual posts could greatly affect their share of the market.

As noted previously, the most serious competition for the Alaska Commercial Company was offered by the Western Fur and Trading Company established in 1877. This competition was intense and while it lasted, the Indians of the lower Yukon and elsewhere in the Yukon district were encouraged to go deeply into debt so that one company or the other would have a hold over them. In addition, as part of the competitive situation, prices paid for furs were high and trade goods were sold or exchanged at bargain rates. This ideal situation, from the standpoint of the Indians, came to an end in the spring of 1883 when the Western Fur and Trading Company withdrew after a loss of a quarter of a million dollars and their successful rivals took over or closed the defunct posts.[47]

Intensive Trapping-Trading and Culture Change

It is apparent that the years between 1868 and 1883 represented the most intensive fur trade period for the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik. At no time before or after were the Indians as heavily or successfully involved in a trapping-trading economy. By the 1880's steel traps appear to have been used fairly extensively, although in Zagoskin's time the Russians had difficulty introducing them. The Indians preferred their traditional trapping methods and the iron parts of those traps which they did obtain were quickly converted into knives, hatchets, rings, and other useful items.[48]

Ingalik trap lines are said to have been extensive, sometimes as much as 40 miles in length. Deadfalls or traps were placed at intervals along the route which might require two days to cover and all sets were examined about once a week during the trapping season. According to Nelson, there were, in the mid-1880's, well-defined trapping territories which were passed from father to son.[49] Unfortunately, this tantalizing piece of information cannot be verified in any other source.

Traditional subsistence activities had, as previously noted, been modified during the period of direct Russian contact and earlier. Now, however, trapping began to interfere seriously with the yearly cycle and was almost certainly pursued to the detriment of the hunting of large game animals during the fall and winter months. As a result, subsistence productivity and the supply of meat available would have been further reduced with a corresponding increase in dependence on fish and on supplies obtained from the traders. By

the end of the early American fur trade period, the Indians were, in fact, dependent on American commodities and as a result the trading post was no longer simply a source of exotic, luxury goods, but a necessity for survival.

The intensive trading activity that characterized this period, together with the presence of resident traders at Anvik, Shageluk, and possibly other Ingalik settlements, reinforced the importance of these established centers and may have reduced the mobility of the population. Fur traders, although important agents of change, apparently did not have a significant effect on the distribution of settlements, but it is likely that there was an increased use of trapping camps and the canoe villages referred to in Chapter I.

Our earlier account of the modified-traditional subsistence cycle revealed that the pursuit of fish and game animals involved to a large degree the co-operative effort of a number of individuals. Although moose were tracked by individual hunters, the usual method of taking caribou was to drive them into surrounds where they were caught in snares. This type of hunting obviously requires some organization and a high degree of co-operative effort. Traditional fishing methods at all times of the year, whether involving gill nets, wicker traps, or weirs, also require, to a greater or lesser degree, the co-operation of a number of persons to insure effective use. Trapping, on the other hand, is an individual activity and success rewards the individual rather than the kin group or the community. Thus increased opportunities for one person to achieve a measure of economic security without reference to the welfare of the community or even, perhaps, of his immediate kinsmen is certain to have had an even greater effect on some aspects of Ingalik social relations than was suggested in the previous chapter.

Intensive and successful involvement in a trapping-trading economy during the early American period created for the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik needs that could not be met and expectations that could not be sustained during the years of rapid change to come. This brief period of 15 years was perhaps the only time during the entire history of contact on the lower Yukon that Euro-Americans and native peoples co-existed in a non-coercive relationship that was beneficial to both.

Notes

1. Sherwood, 1965, pp. 22-30.

2. Whymper, 1896b, pp. 264-265.
3. Dall, 1870, pp. 219-222.
4. Raymond, 1873, p. 168.
5. Chapman, 1914, p. 3.
6. Raymond, 1873, pp. 170-171; 1900, p. 19.
7. Raymond, 1871, pp. 17-18.
8. Sherwood, 1965, p. 93.
9. Raymond, 1871, p. 24.
10. Nelson, 1887, p. 16; 1899, p. 20; VanStone, 1978.
11. Petroff, 1884, pp. 11-12.
12. Porter, 1893, pp. 117-128.
13. Woldt, 1884.
14. Osgood, 1937, p. 20.
15. Sherwood, 1965, pp. 100-101.
16. Schwatka, 1892.
17. Sherwood, 1965, p. 103.
18. Elliott, 1886, pp. 412-413.
19. Allen, 1887.
20. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1908, vol. 2, p. 1,045.
21. Chapman to Langford, July 27, 1887. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
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23. VanStone, 1978, pp. 38-39.
24. *The Alaska Appeal*, vol. 1, no. 10, August 18, 1879, pp. 1-2.
25. Porter, 1893, pp. 119, 253-254.
26. Sherwood, 1965, p. 45.
27. Raymond, 1871, pp. 14, 17-18.
28. VanStone, 1967, p. 151.
29. Jetté, Jottings of an Alaskan missionary; Notes on the history of Alaska. OPA/Jetté, box 3; Oswalt, 1963, pp. 111-112.
30. Porter, 1893, pp. 253-254; Curtin, 1938, pp. 275-277.
31. Nelson, 1887, p. 13; Sloss, 1888, p. 33; Wickersham, 1938, p. 152.
32. Jetté, Notes on the history of Alaska. OPA/Jetté, box 3.
33. Chapman, 1930, p. 94; 1948, p. 4.
34. Nelson, 1887, p. 13.
35. Elliott, 1886, pp. 413-414; Nelson, 1887, pp. 12-13; Porter, 1893, pp. 253-254.
36. Chapman, 1931a, p. 79.
37. Elliott, 1875, pp. 41-42.
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39. Allen, 1900, p. 453.
40. Chapman to Langford, July 27, 1887. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.

41. Jetté, Ethnological dictionary of the Tena language. OPA/Jetté.
42. Petroff, 1884, p. 12.
43. Dall, 1870, p. 499.
44. Ibid.
45. Bristow, 1876, no. 135, pp. 134-135; no. 137, pp. 138-139; no. 141, pp. 182-187.
46. Chapman, 1948, pp. 71-72.
47. Woldt, 1884, pp. 185-186.
48. Nelson, 1887, pp. 247-248, 279; Zagoskin, 1967, p. 221.
49. VanStone, 1978, pp. 35-36.

V

THE LATER AMERICAN FUR TRADE AND MISSION PERIOD: 1883-1895

Shifting Resources and the Decline of the Fur Trade

At St. Michael, in the late 1880's, the Alaska Commercial Company maintained a store, an agent, and assistant agent. Company staff also included a captain and an engineer for each of two small river steamers, a carpenter, and a laborer. In the face of criticism concerning its operations in the Yukon Valley and elsewhere in Alaska, the company always maintained that its business was with a number of independent traders rather than with Eskimos or Indians. In fact, it maintained that it never came in contact with native peoples directly, but obtained furs and other commodities from the traders at agreed upon prices, and in turn sold trade goods and other supplies directly to the traders. The company thus considered itself a kind of wholesale house dealing with the traders who were its independent clients. Emphasis on this interpretation of its activities appears to have been primarily a device to insulate the company from criticism of its operations which, from 1883 on, were not hindered in any way by competition. The company could then maintain that any ill treatment or unfair dealings which Indians and Eskimos received at the hands of particular traders, were none of its concern. Considerable criticism was leveled at the company during this period, particularly by Alaska Governor Alfred P. Swineford, and the Yukon district was one of the areas where the governor and others repeatedly questioned the company's policies and practices.[1]

The two small steamers which the company maintained at St. Michael during this period made runs up the river in summer to carry supplies to the various trading posts and to bring down for shipment the furs which were purchased during the preceding winter. Traders on the Yukon also maintained two steamers for similar purposes, thus assuring themselves of a greater degree of in-

dependence and freedom of movement. These two independent boats also permitted their owners, as well as other traders along the river, to order supplies from other sources than the annual supply ship of the Alaska Commercial Company which made one trip to St. Michael each summer.[2]

By 1885, according to one source,[3] the unit of trade, in the Yukon district, called a "skin," was no longer the pelt of a beaver but of a red fox or marten and its cash value was $1.25. According to these rates, a prime beaver pelt was worth two skins; a black bear, four; a lynx, one; and a land otter two or three skins depending on condition. Items of trade that could be obtained with one skin included 5 yd. of drilling, 1 lb. of tea or gun powder, half a pound of powder and a box of caps, 1 lb. of shot, and 5 lb. of sugar. A 50 lb. sack of flour could be obtained for four skins. There were some who believed, doubtless with justification, that the Indians received as little as 30¢ worth of merchandise for their skin with a cash value of $1.25 and that this merchandise may have cost the Alaska Commercial Company less than 15¢. However, the 11th federal census reported that the Indians received approximately $1.00 worth of goods from the trader for one skin.[4]

There is some question as to how long trade was carried out strictly on a barter basis. Indications are that by the mid-1880's, and perhaps earlier, the Anvik-Shageluk Indians were beginning to be familiar with handling money and to demand cash payment rather than payment in trade goods, doubtless believing that there was less opportunity for them to be cheated under that arrangement. This trend increased with the number of whites in the Yukon Valley and, to some extent at least, it did make it more difficult for traders to take advantage of their customers. An Indian might receive only $1.50 or $2.00 for a beaver pelt with a market value of from $5.00 to $12.00, but at least this was better than getting merchandise which he suspected might be worth only a few pennies.[5] In hiring Indians to work on mission buildings at Anvik, Parker and Chapman first used barter, but this proved a considerable hindrance both to the Indians and the missionaries, and by spring, 1889, a system of cash payments was adopted that satisfied everybody.[6]

In the summer of 1885, Henry Allen noted that the Indians of the Koyukuk River were well supplied with .44 caliber, rimfire, Winchester magazine rifles, although they were seldom able to obtain cartridges for them. These weapons were believed by Allen to have been obtained through Eskimo middlemen from whaling and

trading vessels.[7] It is just as likely, however, that they could have been acquired at the nearest Alaska Commercial Company post where such weapons were available all along the middle and lower Yukon throughout the period before the order forbidding importation was withdrawn in 1896. Governor Swineford, a continuing thorn in the side of the Alaska Commercial Company, believed that Alaska natives were charged the equivalent of $40 to $90 in cash for rifles that could be purchased wholesale for not more than $15 each.[8]

Following the elimination of competition, the Alaska Commercial Company, predictably, tightened considerably their dealings with the Indians. Fur prices fell drastically and credit was reduced. Governor Swineford toured Alaska in the summer of 1887 and in an unnamed Yukon village, a local man of influence told how he believed that he and his people were being robbed by company traders. When the two companies were competing, he reported, six boxes of matches were given for one marten skin, but after the competition collapsed, the skin was worth only two boxes. Similarly, a good black bear skin formerly was worth the equivalent of $10 in trade, but now only $4. For a silver-gray fox skin with a retail value of $35 to $75, $2.50 in goods was given. A black fox valued at $100 now brought only $12 in goods. The Alaska Commercial Company gave eight heads of natural leaf tobacco for one marten skin and Swineford noted that marten were worth from $3 to $5 apiece, while eight heads of tobacco could be purchased in Sitka for 30¢. Other exchanges of which the governor was informed were: 60 lb. of flour, 6¼ lb. of powder, or a blanket for four marten skins, a sack of shot for seven marten skins, four small boxes of percussion caps for one marten skin, and for a double-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun, 20 marten skins. Swineford appeared to be horrified by this account, but there is little indication that he was able to do anything about it and, in fact, it is doubtful if many customers of the company were aware of the full extent to which they were being victimized by the absence of competition.[9]

Although most Indians may have originally been naive about prices and values, within a few years miners and other resident whites made them aware of the advantage that was being taken of them. When Lieutenant Allen was at Nulato in the summer of 1885, the trading station there was about to be abandoned. The Indians had become so hostile to the trader because of low prices paid for furs that he was frightened and unwilling to remain another year. The Indians, however, did not seem to realize that their antagonism

might lead to the loss of the station. Elsewhere the natives were frequently afraid to make trouble simply because they feared that the traders would leave the country and they would starve. Allen believed that rebellion on the part of the Yukon natives was inevitable as more outsiders entered the country unless more favorable terms were offered at the stations. More sophisticated creoles, he noted, were already beginning to cause trouble by informing the Indians of the exorbitant prices they were being charged for goods. Doubtless there was much exaggeration in this information that was passed from village to village along the Yukon, but it would only have further served to inflame the Indians.[10]

At Nulato the Indians grumbled and complained, but at the Anvik post a more serious situation developed. In the summer of 1883 a number of Indians from the upper Innoko, probably Koyukon and not Ingalik, arrived at Anvik to meet the Russian Orthodox priest from Russian Mission in order to receive baptism. They apparently arrived considerably in advance of the priest and, as John Chapman wrote of the incident several years later, being "a hardy lot of hunters and full of energy," the delay became irksome and they laid plans to loot the Alaska Commercial Company post which at that time was in the charge of Mr. S. A. Fredericks. Between the trader's cabin and the store, there was a sealskin-covered umiak stored on a scaffold. The Indians decided to destroy the boat cover in the expectation that they would be blamed by Fredericks, thus providing an excuse for a quarrel. This would give the Innoko visitors an opportunity to seize the trader, loot his store, and possibly kill him.

Events reached a culmination rapidly. The boat cover was slashed, but the Anvik Indians unexpectedly intervened to protect their trader. At that precise moment, as luck would have it, the United States Army in the person of Lieutenant Schwatka and his party came floating around the bend and a tense, potentially dangerous situation was averted. The Innoko Indians returned to their villages filled with frustration and apparently without waiting for the priest. They did return two years later and, in Fredericks' absence, looted his store. At that time his wife and children were forced to ask the Anvik villagers for protection.[11]

Fredericks was convinced, probably with good reason, that Schwatka's timely arrival had saved him from certain death and he wished to close his store and move to St. Michael. He apparently did so shortly thereafter as there was no trader at Anvik in 1887 when

Parker and Chapman arrived. In fact, they had purchased the cabins in which they expected to live from Fredericks.[12] The Anvik Indians, normally on good terms with the Indians of the upper Innoko, had come to his defense presumably because they feared to lose their trader and the supply of trade goods available to them. Schwatka believed that the incident was directly related to the fact that the Western Fur and Trading Company had recently withdrawn from Anvik and fur prices had been immediately lowered.[13] In the summer of 1885 on his trip down the Yukon, Allen was told of the actual looting of the Anvik store earlier that summer and he noted that there was a good deal of sympathy along the river for the men who had perpetrated the deed. Again he suspected that creoles living along the Yukon were encouraging rebellion against the traders.[14]

Although this Anvik incident is better documented than most of its kind, it must have been representative of feeling in the Yukon district after 1883. The Indians were dissatisfied and rebellious at both Nulato and Anvik and, at the same time, were witnessing the depletion of fur-bearing animals and a consequent reduction in the amount of trade goods available to them. Relations between whites and Indians was also complicated by the fact that the number of the former in the country was slowly increasing and yet the expectations that might normally be associated with this situation, increased trade, continued to be unfulfilled. In fact, trade goods were sufficiently meager so that Chapman could note in 1887 that a broken saw blade discarded by the trader was seized as a prize by the natives and fashioned into knife blades.[15]

Traditional beliefs also hampered relations between the Indians and their traders. Nelson noted that at Anvik the people would not sell fish to white men in winter until three or four days after they were caught, fearing that the bones might be given to the dogs before that time, thus giving offense to the fish spirits. In the summer they would sell fish on the day they were caught providing the buyer agreed not to eat them until the following day. Similarly, if the flesh of a lynx was sold to a trader, the Indian seller would insist that all the bones be preserved and returned to him, thus preventing the spirit of the lynx from being offended and not allowing any more animals to be caught in the snares.[16] Restrictions such as these, poorly understood, if at all, by the traders, are certain to have hindered the relationship between trader and Indians and were possibly a contributing factor in the decline of the fur trade.

Statements evaluating the condition of the fur trade on the lower Yukon during the period covered in this chapter are few in number, very generalized and, consequently, difficult to interpret. It is apparent, however, that the trade which was vigorous until the mid-1880's began to decline dramatically after that date. The enumerator for the 11th federal census noted that the entire Yukon trade decreased in volume between 1880 and 1890 from 75,000 skins of all kinds to approximately 20,000 per year. This may have been due, in part at least, to a decrease in the number of fur-bearing animals, particularly beaver, that had been heavily trapped in earlier periods and to the whaling ships and Siberia-Alaska trade which continued to divert a sizable percentage of the annual fur harvest.

Another factor, however, must also be taken into consideration. It will be recalled that following the elimination of competition in the Yukon district, traders ceased to travel in winter knowing that the Indians would be forced to come to the posts no matter how great the distance. This may have seemed like a comfortable arrangement to the traders, but for the Indians it greatly increased the labor time required to obtain trade goods because of the long journeys necessary to reach the posts. A considerable amount of labor time was thus expended in transporting furs and trade goods, thereby reducing the time available for trapping. Under these circumstances, alternative forms of employment which were beginning to be available had considerable attraction. Even at this early date, some of the best Ingalik trappers had found employment with a few miners already in the area.[17] Money had begun to circulate among the Indians and, as previously noted, trade items could be purchased for cash rather than acquired by barter for furs. It was obvious that changes were occurring which would have far-reaching effect on the Ingalik in the years to come. The height of the fur trade in west-central Alaska had passed and in the late 1880's the entire fur business of the Alaska Commercial Company amounted to only about $30,000 a year. In the immediate future the fur trade would be of secondary importance to mining and the attendant influence of a sizable white population.

In further assessing the significance of the fur trade and culture change over the short period of 12 years from 1883 to 1895 it is useful to consider some of the factors influencing the abundance of certain species of fur-bearers and game animals. It is clear from a number of sources that beaver and other fur-bearers, plentiful dur-

ing the Russian period, had declined drastically by the late 1880's and 1890's.[18] Excessive trapping has usually been blamed for this decline. Thus Nelson believed that vigorous trapping combined with the use of steel traps had greatly diminished the beaver population since the beginning of the American occupation.[19]

With reference to large game animals, Zagoskin described both caribou and moose as being "numberless" in the 1840's due to a plentiful food supply throughout the Anvik-Shageluk area.[20] In 1869, Captain Raymond's party, on its way from Anvik to St. Michael, observed many large herds of caribou in the high country of the upper Anvik River, an area where they were extensively hunted by the Ingalik in the early contact period.[21] By the mid-1880's, however, the number of these animals in this area and elsewhere in the region were apparently beginning to decline. Both Allen and Nelson noted this and Allen, in fact, believed that big game of any kind was scarce throughout the entire interior of Alaska; during his extensive travels in the summer of 1885 he did not see a single moose or caribou.[22] Only Petroff among observers at that time did not believe that caribou were declining in the Yukon district.[23]

The moose population of the lower Yukon appears to have fluctuated to an even greater extent than did caribou. In addition to Zagoskin's comments just mentioned, Raymond reported these animals as rare on the Yukon below Nulato, but noted their occurrence on the Anvik River and mentioned that they were hunted by the Ingalik.[24] By 1880, according to Petroff, moose were increasing in numbers, moving down the river, and spreading into the area between the lower Yukon and the Kuskokwim.[25] Similar evidence for the spread of these animals to the lower Yukon in the decade between 1870 and 1880 is offered by Nelson who was told that prior to this time virtually no moose were killed below Anvik.[26] The consensus would appear to be, therefore, that these huge game animals were at least known to the Ingalik in the 1840's, but almost disappeared during the next three decades and then gradually reappeared in considerable numbers beginning about 1870. This is quite a different pattern of fluctuation than the one noted for caribou.

The only other significant game animal for which there exists impressionistic information concerning fluctuating populations over an appreciable length of time is the black bear. Zagoskin noted that these animals were extremely abundant below Anvik and he believed that the Ingalik could profitably devote more attention to

hunting and trapping them.[27] By 1880, however, bear skins were insignificant items of trade and later observers make no special comments concerning their abundance.[28]

Just as reduced populations of fur-bearing animals were thought by 19th century observers to be the result of excessive trapping, so a decline in the number of moose and caribou was usually attributed to the increased use of firearms, particularly the breech-loading rifle. The Ingalik themselves spoke of the abundance of game in former times before the introduction of firearms.[29] Although both over-trapping and the use of firearms undoubtedly played a role at specific times, this explanation does not account for the reappearance of these animals in large numbers at later times and in different patterns. Obviously, other factors were involved and these are usually grouped under the general heading of habitat changes. With reference to moose and caribou, both are particularly subject to changes in their range; population shifts involve movement from old to new ranges or the reappearance, in time, in regions abandoned earlier. The habitat changes involved are not well understood, but the replacement of late successional-stage plant communities by early stage communities are believed to be a major cause of movement.[30] The moose is a member of a sub-climax biota whereas caribou belong to the climax. Certain regions of Alaska have produced great numbers of moose because of some disrupting influence that has removed the original spruce-birch forest and allowed willow, aspen, and second-growth birch to become abundant. Influences bringing about changes favorable to the increase of moose have been fire, land clearing by man, and flooding.[31]

Of the influences just mentioned, fire has doubtless been by far the most significant factor effecting habitat change in west-central Alaska. Fires caused by lightening have always been common throughout Alaska and it has been estimated that with the exception of a few isolated stands, virtually all of the interior has been burned over within the last 200 to 250 years. Man-caused fires became a factor during and after the gold rush when fires set for land clearing or by accident were added to those occurring from natural causes. The increased number of fires has, in general, opened forest areas and permitted the regeneration of willow, birch, and aspen on which moose browse and which develops in a few years following fires. At the same time, fire destroys stands of lichen, an important food for caribou, which burns easily but recovers slowly, often requiring more than 100 years to reach pre-burn levels.[32]

Fires also have considerable affect on the adaptation of fur-bearing animals and waterfowl. Beaver, like moose, are adapted to early stages of post-fire forest succession which includes aspen, cottonwood, and willow. Beaver, however, prefer young trees 3 or 4 in. in diameter and thus do not compete with moose for food even though both animals feed on the same species.[33] Marten, on the other hand, are found in areas dominated by climax spruce forest and fire thus eliminates or greatly reduces their range. Forest ecologists believe that fires repeated at long intervals can be beneficial to most species of wildlife by causing reversion of vegetation into several successive stages providing food for the greatest variety and number of species. Thus older burns produce excellent crops of blueberries on which black bear depend, and hares can only be abundant in northern coniferous forests during the very early successional forest stages not long after an area has been burned. Fire, by removing insulation, lowering permafrost depths, and modifying the surface-subsurface drainage, frequently results in the lowering of the water table thereby reducing the amount of waterfowl habitat with a consequent reduction in the total population. On the other hand, the renewal of woody vegetation as a result of fires increases the attractiveness of an area to many species of waterfowl.[34]

Having determined that fires, either natural or man-made, are perhaps the most significant factor in the fluctuation of wildlife populations throughout interior Alaska, it is, however, considerably less easy to document the occurrence of extensive fires in the Anvik-Shageluk area. Nevertheless, they doubtless occurred frequently and examples which are known are certain to have been typical of those that were never reported. It also seems clear that man was the cause of many of them. Prehistoric tree felling by the Ingalik as reported by Osgood involved use of both stone axes and fire.[35] It seems more than likely that fire used in this manner frequently burned out of control. According to Lutz, Osgood was told by his Ingalik informants that the country was sometimes burned for fun, but not as a means of killing game.[36] Zagoskin mentions fires near Kaltag which he observed on his way to the Unalakleet River and Hudson Stuck, Episcopal priest at Fort Yukon, also makes references to forest fires on the lower-middle Yukon.[37] In May, 1888 when Father A. Robaut and Brother C. Giordano were clearing land to construct the first mission buildings at Holy Cross, the latter started a fire to keep down the mosquitos. It burned out of control

as far downriver as Paimiut and was not extinguished until a heavy rain came in mid-July.[38] Lutz has documented the extensive use of fires for a variety of purposes in Alaska by both whites and natives; it is clear from his data that both groups were extremely careless.[39]

The only extensive fire that residents of the lower Yukon remember and talk about today occurred in 1967 when large areas along the upper Anvik River and the Yukon between Bonasila and Grayling were burned over. This fire is believed to have killed many beaver, but the animals are now making a rapid come-back. Marten are also said to have been adversely affected and because, as we have noted, they thrive in a climax forest, it will be some time before they are again plentiful in the area.

It is difficult to assess the significance of the evidence that has been presented concerning resource abundance in the Anvik-Shageluk area. However, the data suggest that large game animals may not have played a major role in the subsistence activities of the Ingalik in the late 19th century. Most observers emphasize the importance of small game during the winter months augmented by occasional successful caribou hunts. Although an important source of meat when available, there is no reason to believe as Allen did that a decline in the caribou population reduced the Ingalik to a "poverty-stricken, humiliated" condition where they were forced to subsist almost entirely on fish and berries.[40] Because they occupy different ecological niches, fluctuation patterns of large game animal populations were never identical; caribou, it appears, were most abundant when moose were scarce. It is probable, therefore, that there was always at least one game animal on which the Indians could depend and be reasonably sure of taking in significant numbers.

With reference to fur-bearing animals, excessive trapping, combined with ecological variations and a changing economic environment, appears to have been responsible for the decline in the fur trade apparent in the last decade of the 19th century. It is little wonder, therefore, that the alternative sources of income brought by whites entering the Yukon country were welcomed by Indians all along the lower and middle river even though most of these newcomers were simply passing through the Ingalik country on their way to the gold fields of the Klondike. Their presence in the area even briefly, however, signaled the beginning of a new phase of Ingalik culture change.

The Russian Orthodox Church: A Period of Adjustment

The termination of Russian sovereignty over Alaska created a situation of uncertainty for the Orthodox Church. The number of clergymen and parishes in the new American territory were reduced immediately because, as noted previously, church officials feared that the removal of Russian-American Company posts would make it difficult to supply the mission stations. By the mid-1870's these fears and uncertainties appear to have been largely overcome and the church continued to function much as before, although without any notable increase in the number of clergymen.

In 1868 Hieromonk Illarion left Ikogmiut, or Russian Mission, to return to Russia; Zachary Belkhov, a creole reader, took charge. As previously noted, he served the church on the Yukon until 1895.[41]

Innokentiy Shavashnikov, a priest at Unalaska, made a tour of the Nushagak and Yukon districts in 1878 and was enthusiastically greeted in the coastal communities where he visited. Everywhere, however, the Eskimos complained of the infrequent visits of a priest and the deteriorating condition of church buildings. Shavashnikov recommended, apparently without effect, the appointment of three additional missionaries for the Nushagak and Yukon districts. It was also apparent to the priest that church personnel were able to trade successfully with the Americans and also ship and receive supplies through them while maintaining relations that were, for the most part, friendly.[42]

Shavashnikov did not ascend the Yukon to Russian Mission, but if he had, he would doubtless have been pleased to note that Father Belkhov was traveling throughout his district more extensively than either of his predecessors since the 1850's, particularly on the Innoko River. On the Yukon, however, he seldom went upriver further than Anvik and, in the mid-1880's, was visiting that community only once a year. John Chapman met Belkhov at Anvik in the spring of 1888 and noted that although the latter had been at Russian Mission for many years, he did not understand the Ingalik language. According to Chapman, at that time the Russian Orthodox Church claimed jurisdiction over the Yukon River from St. Michael to more than 300 miles above Anvik.[43] It was the priest's yearly visit to Anvik in 1883 that precipitated the previously mentioned incident concerning the Fredericks trading post. The fact that the Innoko Indians expected to meet the priest at Anvik suggests that he may no longer have been making regular visits to villages on that river.

In 1884 there was some discussion about transferring mission headquarters from Russian Mission to St. Michael because of the expense of maintaining the Yukon River station. Also, Belkhov was suspected of engaging in trade to the detriment of his pastoral duties. This move was recommended in 1885 and apparently Belkhov transferred to St. Michael the following year. It is clear, however, that Russian Mission continued to be prominent after that date.[44] Perhaps the appearance of other religious denominations on the river within the next three years made a total withdrawal to the coast untimely.

Arrival of the Episcopalians

Early in 1886 the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church established a mission station at St. Michael and appointed the Rev. Octavius Parker of California to take charge of the work. Parker's instructions were to begin a mission at some point on the Yukon with St. Michael serving as his headquarters. He sailed for Alaska in May, 1886 and the Missionary Society entered into an agreement with the Commissioner of Education for the establishment of a school at St. Michael, the government paying Parker a stipend and providing him with a residence.[45]

In April, 1887 a party of Indians from Anvik came to St. Michael to trade and there met Mr. Parker who was dissatisfied with the accomodations for himself and his family, and the response to his educational and pastoral efforts, due in part to unexpected competition from the Russian Orthodox Church. The Indians invited him to return to Anvik with them to look the place over and consider settling. Parker made the trip, liked the looks of the village, and purchased two log cabins from Mr. Fredericks for $400. Fredericks, at that time living in St. Michael, may have been more than usually willing to sell his buildings in Anvik because of his unsettling experience four years earlier when his life and possessions were threatened by an abortive attack at the hands of visiting Indians from the upper Innoko.[46]

Also in 1887 John W. Chapman, a young deacon of the diocese of New York and a native of Vermont, was appointed a second missionary. He arrived at St. Michael in June and Parker informed him of the decision to shift the mission station to Anvik. On the way from Unalaska to St. Michael Chapman had met an official of the Russian Orthodox Church who informed him that it was not the policy of his church to extend their missions, but simply to

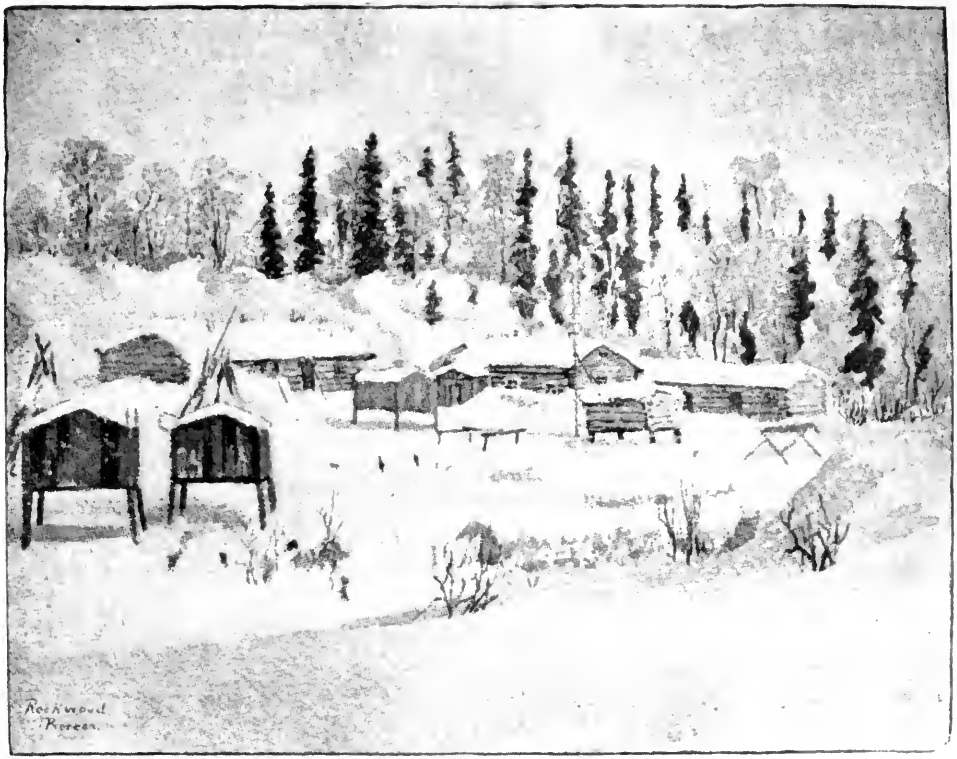

PLATE 6. Christ Church Mission, Anvik, in 1889. From a sketch made by John Chapman (Anonymous, 1928).

strengthen those they already had. Chapman also heard rumors that the Roman Catholics intended to establish themselves on the Yukon in the near future.[47]

With Chapman's arrival at St. Michael, Parker's family sailed south and the two men prepared to depart for Anvik which they reached by way of the mouth of the Yukon on July 22, 1887. With them on the same boat was Father Aloysius Robaut, a Roman Catholic priest who apparently stayed at Anvik less than a month and then went on upriver. The cabins built by Fredericks which Parker had purchased were situated at the upper end of a narrow peninsula separating the Yukon and Anvik rivers. The village of Anvik was located at the lower end of this peninsula at a distance of about a mile and a half. Since both rivers were rapidly cutting away the sandy banks on either side, this may have been another factor in Frederick's decision to dispose of the buildings.[48]

The departure of Fredericks for St. Michael not long before Chapman and Parker arrived left the village temporarily without a trader which must have caused the Indians considerable hardship. It is therefore probable that when the party of Anvik Indians met Parker at St. Michael the preceding spring, they misunderstood his reasons for wishing to come to Anvik and believed him to be a trader. This would account for their enthusiastic invitation to him to settle in their community. Their mistaken impression would have been strengthened by his purchase of the buildings belonging to Fredericks.

Chapman and Parker began teaching school in August after having been in the village less than one month. Parker noted that "the natives are not altogether untaught in Christianity, though to most of them I think it is more a name than a principle."[49] In June, 1888 Parker sailed from St. Michael to San Francisco to attend to personal business with the intention of returning in the fall. Chapman carried on alone and was able to report by the following month that the school was doing well and attendance at Sunday church services was good.[50]

In August or September, 1887 Father Belkhov arrived at Anvik and forbad the village children to attend the newly opened government school operated by the Episcopal church. The Protestant missionaries do not record first impressions of their colleague from Russian Mission, but apparently it was not a particularly cordial meeting. In any event, the children continued to attend the school.

On October 3 Father Robaut returned with a Jesuit brother, Carmelo Giordano, and two children of Mr. Fredericks to stay, occupying a dwelling belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company and located near those housing Chapman and Parker. Doubtless, the Episcopalians had hoped not to see their Jesuit colleague again, and the relationship between the three missionaries must have been an uncomfortable one. However, active competition was prevented by the severe illness of Father Robaut which, together with the presence of the Protestants, persuaded the Jesuits that Anvik was not a suitable location for their missionary effort. In February, 1888 Robaut was sufficiently recovered so that he and Brother Giordano could leave for the village of Koserefsky 40 miles further down the river, in the vicinity of which they established the Holy Cross mission.[51]

Chapman and Parker were dissatisfied with the location of their first school and mission. In addition to future difficulties anticipated as a result of rapid cutting of the river banks, they believed that the distance from the village hindered attendance at the school and church services. Therefore, on March 16, 1888 a new site was purchased from the Indians for 20 "skins" and the promise of a feast. The 20 skins amounted to 30 yards of ticking, 20 cups of tea, 5 cups of sugar, and 50 lb. of flour. The Indians apparently understood that they were giving up the rights to approximately 172 acres on the right bank of the Anvik River opposite their village, and that they would not be able to build houses or other structures on this land without permission from the mission.[52]

During Parker's absence, Chapman constructed a house at the new mission site and when the former returned in October, 1888 the two missionaries lived there and taught school just as they had the preceding first winter. In January, 1889 both traveled to the Innoko river country for the first time "to visit the people and see what the prospect might be for work among them."[53] In the fall of 1888 Mr. Fredericks had again taken up residence in Anvik and there was also a "Russian" trader, probably a creole, who spent the winter there. Fredericks' two boys, left behind by Father Robaut and his colleague, continued their education with Chapman and Parker. In the early summer of 1889 work continued on the buildings at the new site and a sailboat was purchased from Fredericks so that the mission might be more independent in obtaining supplies from St. Michael.[54]

The Rev. Octavius Parker resigned and departed from Anvik in July, 1889 leaving Chapman to maintain the mission station that was to be his home for 42 years. Teaching and religious instruction continued, but there are few comments from Chapman concerning the progress he was making during these early years. It is significant that his evaluation of his work does not really begin until after he has been at the mission for almost 10 years, and even then such evaluations are frequently contradictory. Not surprisingly, at times he was confident and felt that he was making progress, while at other times his confidence wavered and evaluation of his own work is discouraging.

During the first decade, Chapman was slowly but steadily developing the mission's physical plant and concentrating on secular education. From the beginning, however, progress in converting Anvik residents into good Episcopalians was slow. The celebration of Christmas, for example, was always equated with feasting and thus the Indians inevitably came to the mission to be fed. In December, 1890, however, Chapman fed only the children and held a prayer service for the others, thus hoping to impress them with the sacredness of the day. This procedure seems to have resulted in nothing but unhappy Indians.[55]

In July, 1889 Mr. Marcus O. Cherry, a layman, came to Anvik and remained nearly three years. Although he and Chapman seem to have been personally incompatible, he was useful as a carpenter and in operating a newly-acquired sawmill during construction of the earliest buildings at the mission site. He also assisted in moving the original buildings from the old site to the new in the summer of 1890. A severe flood occurred at Anvik in the spring of 1890 with water rising more than 40 ft. above the low water level. The Indian village on the point across from the mission was completely covered with water, but the mission buildings, located on a steep bank, suffered little damage. Cherry was succeeded by Mr. Maurice Johnson who served the mission for many years. A church was begun in 1893 under his direction and completed the following year. Although moved from its original position in 1926, it still stands and is the oldest Episcopal church in Alaska. The Rev. John Chapman thus left the mission with a sense of solid, if not spectacular, accomplishment when he returned to the states on his first furlough in the summer of 1893.[56]

The Roman Catholics at Holy Cross

Toward the end of June, 1872 Right Rev. Isidore Clut, OMI,

titular Bishop of Arindele and coadjuter to the Vicar Apostolic of Athabasca left Fort Providence on Great Slave Lake in the Northwest Territories of Canada with Father August Lecorre and an Indian guide. They traveled down the Mackenzie to the mouth of the Peel River, then up the Peel to Fort MacPherson where they portaged over the Rocky Mountains to La Pierre House at the head of the Porcupine River. From there they proceeded down the Porcupine to its confluence with the Yukon, then down that river to Fort Yukon which they reached on October 13 and where they wintered. The party resumed their trip on May 15, 1873 reaching the mouth of the Tanana five days later. After a two week delay, the bishop and his two companions were taken to St. Michael by boat. On the way, they are reported to have stopped at every village, doubtless including Anvik and other Ingalik communities, baptizing many children.

The party reached St. Michael on June 20 and Bishop Clut remained three weeks before beginning the long return trip to the Mackenzie. Father Lecorre, however, stayed at St. Michael for the winter and apparently also visited Anvik, Nulato, Unalakleet, and communities in the Yukon Delta. Thus he was the first to bring Christianity other than the Orthodox variety to the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik, but no details concerning his travels on the Yukon during that winter are known. In the summer of 1874 he received letters advising him that Alaska had been assigned to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Vancouver Island, Charles J. Seghers, and directing him to choose between placing himself at the disposal of Seghers or returning to his own mission. At the first opportunity, he sailed for San Francisco.[57]

In 1877 Bishop Seghers, accompanied by the Rev. J. Mandant, made a preliminary visit to Alaska with a view to establishing a mission in the vast territory that had just been assigned to his jurisdiction. He arrived at Nulato by way of the Unalakleet River in August and spent the winter, assuring the natives that he would return the following year to establish a permanent mission. Circumstances prevented him from doing so, however, and it was nine years later, in 1886, before Bishop Seghers could return to Alaska. This time he was accompanied by Jesuit fathers Pascal Tosi and Aloysius Robaut.

Late in the summer the party, which had come into Alaska over the Chilcoot Pass, reached Harper's trading post at the junction of the Lewes and Stewart rivers. Here Seghers received the partly

erroneous news that Octavius Parker was at St. Michael and intended to go to Nulato to establish an Episcopal mission. Desiring to reach Nulato as quickly as possible in order to arrive before the Protestant intruder, Seghers left Tosi and Robaut at the Harper post and, with a layman who had accompanied the party, pushed on to Nuklakayet, the trading post at the mouth of the Tanana River. Between there and Nulato, not far from the mouth of the Koyukuk River, Bishop Seghers was murdered by his companion.[58]

Following the death of Bishop Seghers, Father Tosi returned to Victoria to give the details of the tragedy, while Father Robaut accompanied the bishop's body to St. Michael where it was buried temporarily pending shipment south. Robaut then started up the Yukon with Chapman and Parker as previously noted, remaining at Anvik for about a month. Traveling slowly upriver, he reached Nuklakayet on September 21, 1887 where he met fathers Tosi and A. Ragaru, and Brother Giordano who had recently arrived from Victoria. The three men decided that Ragaru would remain at Nuklakayet while Tosi returned to Nulato to carry on the work begun by Bishop Seghers. Father Robaut and Brother Giordano returned to Anvik with the two sons of Mr. Fredericks where almost immediately, as we have seen, Robaut became seriously ill with typhoid fever and pneumonia.

Robaut apparently did not get on well with the two Fredericks boys, both of whom spoke the Ingalik language and, presumably, had many friends at Anvik. Nor were his relations with Chapman and Parker particularly cordial, not surprising under the circumstances. In addition, the Jesuits appear to have had few supplies and neither money nor trade goods to obtain more. As a result, Anvik, where the Episcopalians were already well established, seemed an unfavorable location for a mission. Thus in February, 1888 when Father Robaut's health permitted travel, they departed downriver to seek a better location.[59] In spite of their difficulties, however, Brother Giordano managed a brief trip to the Innoko River in early December, 1887, the first churchman other than those of the Russian Orthodox Church to do so.[60]

While the Jesuits were at Anvik, Indians from the village of Koserefsky at the mouth of the Innoko River arrived and, according to Robaut, invited them to establish themselves in that community. Since a decision had already been made to leave Anvik, this seemed like a logical place to go. Indeed the inhabitants of Koserefsky sent a dog team to bring the Jesuits to their village where they first set

up residence in the village *kashim*. After only a few days, however, the "foul atmosphere" and lack of privacy in the ceremonial house made such accomodations unacceptable; so the father and his assistant moved into a cabin across the river that belonged to an Indian from Anvik, probably near the present settlement known as Ghost Creek. From there, Father Robaut crossed the river each day on the ice to mingle with the people, picking up as much of their language as he could and giving them such verbal instruction in Catholic Christianity as his limited command of the language would allow.[61]

During the winter of 1887-1888, Father Robaut inquired among the Indians concerning a possible location for the mission that he proposed to establish and was told of a place 3 or 4 miles below his cabin where there once had been an old village and where a clear creek flowed into the Yukon at the foot of a large hill. The priest examined this suggested site and found it to be a very satisfactory location, being level, protected on the north by a bluff, and on the west by a range of low, wooded hills. This location may have been the site of the former village of Anilukhtakpak, mentioned by Zagoskin and other sources during the Russian period, but not referred to by later visitors to the area. In any event, the site was chosen and in May, 1888 Father Robaut and Brother Giordano began to clear land for construction of the first buildings constituting the mission that was to be called Holy Cross. There is no indication that the Indians of Koserefsky were paid anything for the mission site, nor was there a formal agreement of any kind with them at this time.[62]

Like the Episcopalians at Anvik, the Roman Catholics believed that they could achieve success in their mission most readily and easily by teaching school. Thus in September, 1888 three nuns of the Sisters of St. Ann at Lachine, Quebec arrived at Holy Cross to assist Father Robaut. With them came Father Tosi who had met the party of nuns at St. Michael and was to remain at the mission for 10 years. The school opened in 1888 and three more sisters arrived in the summer of 1891. Almost from the beginning the educational efforts of the sisters met with success and the school quickly became the most important activity at the mission.[63]

In September, 1889 another priest, Father William H. Judge, arrived at Holy Cross and he has left an interesting account of the mission as it appeared at that time. There were three buildings including a church 30 ft. by 20 ft., a log house for the sisters which also doubled as a school house, and another for the men. Until the

preceding March, however, the church and school had been the only structures and served for everything. The church was divided into six rooms including a chapel, dining room, room for the Indians when they came to visit or trade, two rooms for the fathers, and a kitchen. The second story of this structure served as a dormitory for the school boys and two brothers as well as a storage room for provisions.[64] These crowded conditions doubtless provided their own incentive for expansion and by 1893, to accomodate the rapidly growing staff, the mission consisted of seven log structures.[65]

Although the success of the school at Holy Cross seemed assured within a few years, the Jesuits, like their Episcopalian counterparts at Anvik, found that persuading the Indians to accept their particular form of Christianity was considerably more difficult. The same Indians who had urged Father Robaut to settle among them were not eager to be converted to Catholicism and did nothing beyond attending church occasionally. They considered themselves adherents to the Russian Orthodox faith and their priest came once a year to baptize children and to give communion to all, as he did at Anvik. The Jesuits, on the other hand, required that the Indians not only abandon their traditional religious beliefs, but alter their way of life in many ways. At least at the beginning, most of the inhabitants of Koserefsky were unwilling to do this. Nevertheless, the first children to receive Holy Communion did so in March, 1890.[66]

The Jesuits, like the Orthodox priest, placed a good deal of emphasis on infant baptism and usually were willing to make baptismal gifts to the families of the children at the same time the rite took place. This practice led to one of the earliest manifestations of competition between the three missions located in the area. Indian families, sensing a good thing when they saw it, frequently had their children baptized several times in order to obtain several baptismal gifts. Brother Giordano mentions, almost admiringly, one enterprising family who presented their infant for baptism on nine different occasions. For several Roman Catholic baptisms, since the fathers at this early period apparently could not always distinguish their parishoners individually, the family received gifts of calico; from Chapman at Anvik they received flour, and additional gifts were extracted from Father Belkhov. The Roman Catholic and Episcopalian clergymen might be excused for not recognizing an infant or his parents even if they presented themselves for the baptismal ceremony on several separate occasions. Belkhov, however, had been in the country for many years and did not have the same

excuse for failing to recognize specific individuals. At Koserefsky, the Jesuits found that Indians would demand tobacco and tea before allowing their babies to be baptized and more often than not, the priests were willing to accede to these requests, particularly if the child was ill and appeared to be near death.[67]

In February, 1891 Father Judge made his first trip up the Innoko River to visit the several villages located along the lower reaches of that stream. Almost immediately he found himself in conflict with the shamans, traditional religious practitioners, who, he believed, held the people in their power and knew all kinds of tricks to maintain that hold. This is the first of many recorded instances of conflict between village religious leaders and the missionaries, both at Holy Cross and Anvik. It is not surprising, therefore, that both Chapman and the Jesuits at Holy Cross became almost obsessed with the idea of overcoming the power of the shamans and, at every opportunity, exposing them to the ridicule of their fellow villagers. In the years to come, the missionaries frequently measured the success or failure of their efforts directly in terms of the extent to which they triumphed at the expense of the shamans. It was a great event indeed when, as occasionally happened at both Holy Cross and Anvik, a shaman was converted to Christianity.

In the Innoko villages, Father Judge was particularly annoyed by the presence of "spirit sticks" which were frequently installed in the *kashims* where he was invited to stay while on his journey. In one village he noted that four sticks had been placed upright in the *kashim* and that "while they are there, no one can speak loud or do any work. The Indians firmly believe that these sticks have the power to kill them or to do them good." Judge, somewhat rashly it would seem, attempted to convince the people that the sticks should be destroyed, but while some young people seemed receptive to the idea, the older people objected.[68] The use of poles, or sticks, is characteristic of several of the most important Ingalik social and religious ceremonies including the Partner's Potlatch, the Animal's Ceremony, and the Hot Dance.[69] It is interesting to note that traditional religious beliefs had already begun to decline among the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik, a process due in part, perhaps, to efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church over the preceding 50 years, but primarily to various secularizing influences that were already making themselves felt in the Yukon Valley.

In the second Innoko village where Judge visited, there was no shaman and the inhabitants were more receptive to his teaching.

Here he baptized 29 persons, adults as well as children, and married seven couples. Although marriages had doubtless been performed earlier at Holy Cross, these are the first to be mentioned in published or archival accounts of mission activities. Also, in this village, Father Judge taught people the days of the week so that they would be able to keep track of Fridays and Sundays. This was done with the aid of a rectangular board into which a hole was cut at the top with a triangle around it to indicate Sunday. Below it were two holes for Monday, three for Tuesday, and so on except for a picture of a fish to indicate Friday. A wooden peg which fitted the holes was to be moved down the board each day.[70]

On this first trip to the Innoko, Judge believed that he had made some impression on the younger people, but none at all on older ones who seemed determined to hold on to their traditional beliefs; or at least to those beliefs which had not previously interfered with their relationship with the Orthodox priest. Judge returned to Holy Cross by way of Anvik where he encountered Chapman, a meeting which was cool but polite. The Jesuit believed that he would have no trouble "in making the Anvik people Catholics" and promised himself to visit the village often.[71]

Judge made another trip to the Innoko in November, 1891 and on the way home he again stopped at Anvik where an important ceremony in the *kashim* was in progress. He believed these feasts, which consumed much of the people's time during the winter months, to be harmless, but noted that the Indians were so pre-occupied with them, or with preparations for them, that they had no time to listen to priests talk about Jesus and the Christian life. In July, 1892 Judge built a log house to serve as both a church and a residence on the Innoko in the village, probably Shageluk, where he had baptized 29 persons the previous year. The first chapel on the river, it was 30 by 24 ft. and two stories high. Later in that same summer, the priest was transferred to Nulato.

In the summer of 1893 the Holy Cross Mission was completing its sixth year of existence. It was firmly established, and exercising its influence both in terms of religion and education. The mission staff included two or three priests, and at least one lay brother. There were, on the level bank of the river below the bluff, numerous well-constructed log buildings and the agricultural work for which the mission was later to become famous had already begun. The Jesuit

PLATE 7. Mission buildings at Anvik in 1893 (Spirit of Missions, 58, opp. p. 359).

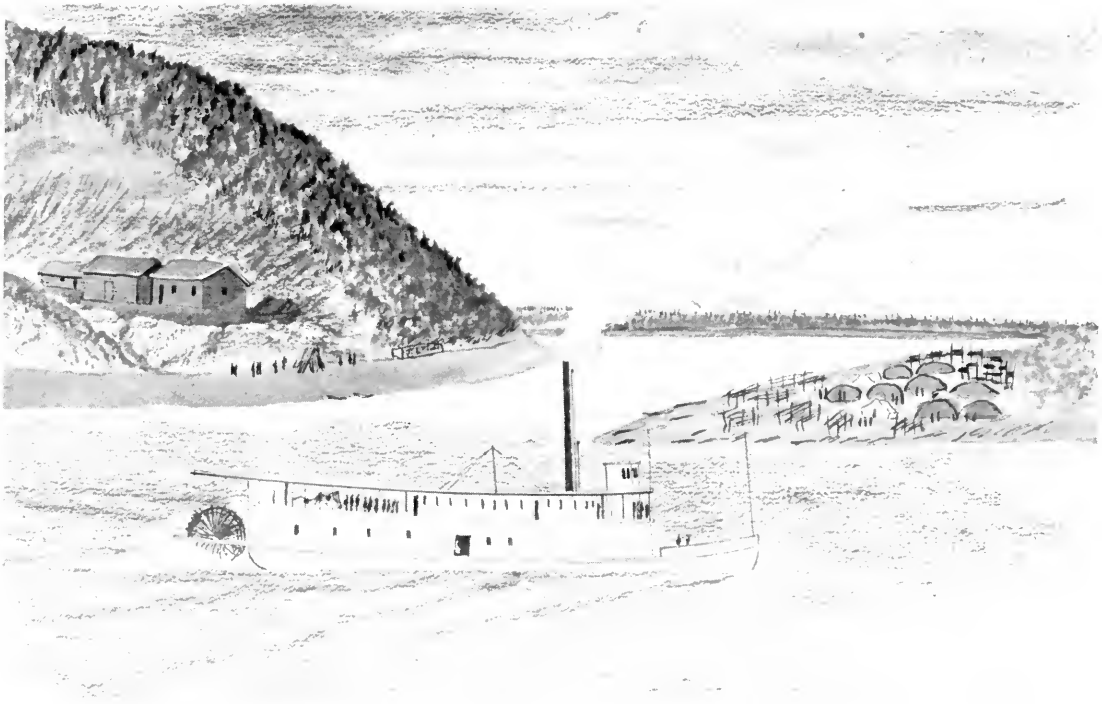

PLATE 8. The mission and Indian settlement at Anvik. Drawing by Guy Kakarook about 1895 (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

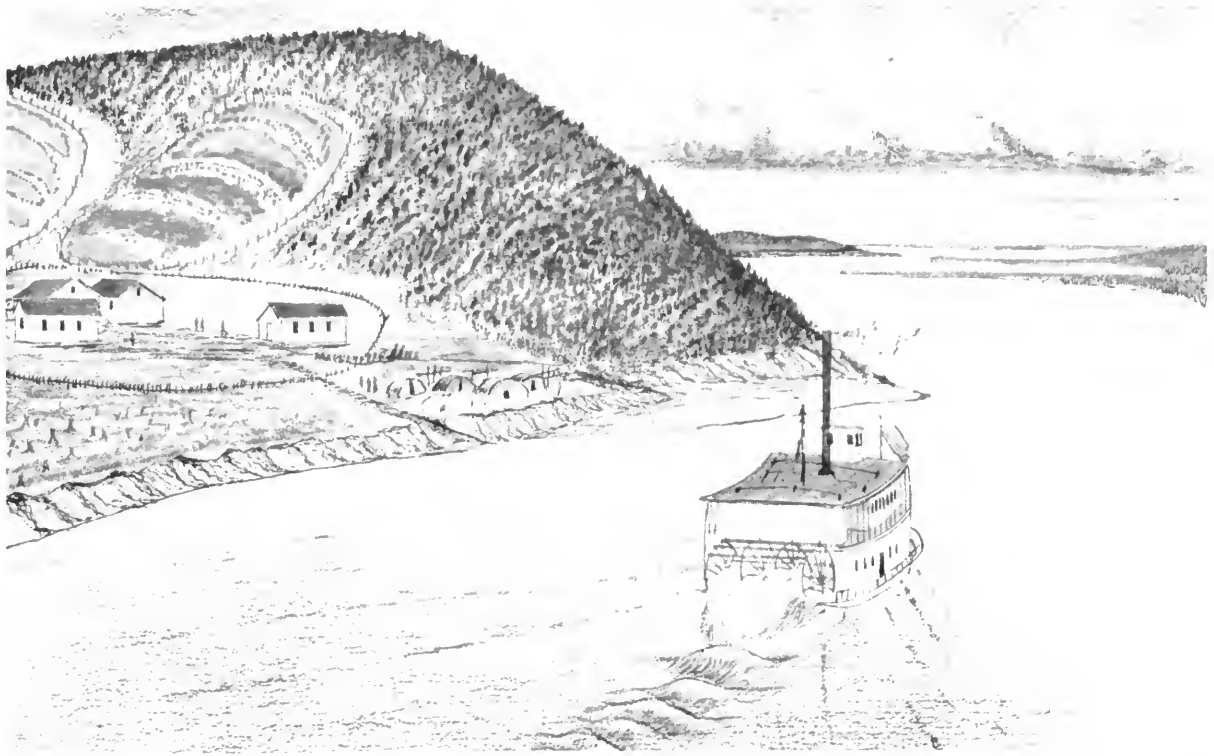

PLATE 9. The mission at Holy Cross. Drawing by Guy Kakarook about 1895 (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

effort, which received sustained support in terms of staff and finances from church officials, was certainly carried out on a more elaborate scale than that of the Episcopalians at Anvik, largely because of the willingness of the Roman Catholic Church to commit a larger number of individuals to the endeavor. By 1893, both missions can be said to have become fixtures in their areas and the influence they were beginning to have on the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik was to be a lasting one. Within the next two years, the religious work of both missions was accelerated considerably and influenced the lives of even the most traditional Indians.

The Growth of Mission Influence

When Mr. Chapman returned from his first furlough in the fall of 1894, he brought with him a wife and two additional church workers: Miss Bertha W. Sabine, who was to teach the girls in the new school, and Dr. Mary V. Glenton, the first medical missionary on the Yukon.[72] The added personnel were particularly helpful to the struggling mission and, of course, Dr. Glenton's presence, although she was to remain only three years, made it possible for the people of Anvik and the surrounding area to receive prompt professional medical care for the first time. Thus mission influence increased but, as earlier, Chapman's measurable success seems to have been associated more with the growth of the school than with the actual acceptance of the Episcopalian form of Christianity. It is little wonder, therefore, that the missionary so strongly pinned his hopes on the coming generation of young people.

Among the aboriginal practices which disturbed Parker and Chapman at the time of their arrival in Anvik was polygyny. Although it appears to have disappeared within a relatively short period of time, in 1895 there were still two or three influential men with plural wives. Chapman, of course, deplored the practice but decided, probably wisely, to take no overt action. He surmised that polygyny would eventually disappear without any effort on his part and he could then avoid antagonizing some of the most important leaders in the community.[73]

The Innoko appears to have developed into something of a battleground between the Episcopalians at Anvik and the Jesuits at Holy Cross. Both missions attempted to baptize as many Indians in the river villages as possible. In spite of the early visits of Father Judge and the construction of a chapel on the river in 1892, Chapman continued to exert some influence in the area where, as we have noted,

he visited at some length prior to his departure on furlough in 1893. In fact, the rather unseemly competition for the souls of the lower Innoko people led, not surprisingly, to ill feelings between the missionaries which are evident in their writings concerning their efforts. The Jesuits nearly always over-emphasized their successes and predicted the complete rout of Protestantism when, in fact, there was no indication that such thoughts were anything but wishful thinking on their part. There were moments of sober assessment, however, when both missions realized that their progress in the area was slow and that in spite of baptisms and exhortations at the time of visits, "heathen" practices were still in effect.[74]

One change at Anvik for which Chapman could claim much credit and which pleased him greatly was the gradual abandonment of the traditional semi-subterranean house and acceptance of above-ground log structures. At the time of Chapman's and Parker's arrival in the village, the only log houses to be seen in the area were those belonging to Fredericks and purchased by Parker, as well as the single log cabin belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company. In fact, Chapman suggested that the Anvik Indians may have seen their first log houses when these structures were built, and that they had learned the rudiments of such construction from Fredericks. Although it is certain that at least some Anvik men were familiar with log construction before this time, the fact remains that such familiarity must have had little impact, since as late as 1892 all the inhabitants of Anvik lived in traditional semi-subterranean houses of the type described in considerable detail by Osgood;[75] it was only in the fall of that year that the first two log cabins were built in the village on the point.

Within three years, however, nearly one-third of the villagers lived in log structures and many of the Indians, as they adopted Episcopalian Christianity, at least superficially, moved across the Anvik River and built their cabins on or near mission land. Chapman, of course, believed that above-ground cabins were much more healthy than the traditional houses, although on more than one occasion he could not help noting the extent to which the traditional house was suitable to a subarctic environment. Nevertheless, he believed that health statistics with reference to the new form of housing were impressive. In 1895, 12 out of a total of 22 baptized children died and all of these deaths occurred in semi-subterranean houses. The site of the Anvik village on the point opposite the mission was low and floods, particularly at the time of ice break-up in

the spring, were frequent. Writing in the spring of 1896, Chapman reported that "I took a kind of pleasure in seeing a great cake of ice scrape the entire village of underground houses off the point of land where it was located, last spring, while the log houses, being on our side of the river, escaped unharmed."[76]

In addition to the health factor, there is an obvious association here in Chapman's mind between Christianity and log houses and, in truth, the relationship was probably a close one. The Indians did not readily observe the advantages of the new type of house, most of which, although well built, were still drafty and difficult to heat in winter. Those who did build them doubtless did so primarily because they had been influenced by Chapman. If they built their new houses on the mission's side of the river, they became, at least in theory, members of the mission's little flock. It is small wonder, therefore, that in his more exhuberant moments Chapman equated the construction of log cabins with the success of his religious teaching.[77]

From the very beginning of his work at Anvik, Chapman was convinced that the only way he could reach the Indians was by means of their own language and early in his efforts he set himself the goal of eventually being able to conduct services in Ingalik. Since no English was spoken in the village when he and Parker arrived, his efforts to learn the language were enhanced and he was aided to a considerable extent by the school children to whom, in turn, he was endeavoring to teach English. Chapman was persistent and made sufficient progress so that by 1895 he had translated all but the Litany and Psalter of the Morning Service into Ingalik. As the school progressed and became a permanent feature of village life, school work was conducted entirely in English, but the children learned the Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer in their own language. Whatever may have been the lasting effect of this approach on the introduction of Episcopalian Christianity, it did, in the early days of the mission, encourage a greater participation in church services by the Indians than would otherwise have been possible.[78]

The Roman Catholic mission at Holy Cross, as we have seen, also stressed education in its early years and progressed only slowly in converting the Indians to the Catholic faith. In July, 1894 the Territory of Alaska was raised to a Prefecture Apostolic, thus achieving ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its own right; Father Tosi received

the appointment as Prefect Apostolic. In the following year, in addition to Tosi, the mission staff consisted of three priests, the same number of lay brothers, and 10 nuns, quite a contrast to the three staff members at Anvik.[79] In contrast to Chapman, however, the Jesuits do not appear to have made any sustained effort to learn the native language, although some of the staff, particularly the lay brothers, became fluent after many years of residence at the mission.

The fathers constantly complained that their parishioners stayed away from mass unless bread and tea were distributed afterwards. Consequently, the distribution of food became a regular feature of church services, particularly on special holidays. On Easter Sunday, 1894, for example, attendance was high because many Indians had come for the "feast." After mass the brothers distributed soup, bread, and tea, and one leaf of tobacco to each communicant.[80]

The Jesuits continued their efforts to baptize newly born babies in the village of Koserefsky across the river and also to secure the bodies of those who died, particularly children, for burial in the mission cemetery. This latter effort was vigorously resisted by the Indians who believed that the transfer of a corpse across the river would have a detrimental effect on future salmon runs.[81]

As the mission complex expanded, the staff wished to hire Indians to assist in the work. This was certainly one mission procedure that met with immediate approval in Koserefsky. However, like most relations between mission staff and the villagers, this one did not always run smoothly. At times, the shamans tried, usually unsuccessfully, to persuade village men not to work since they correctly viewed such hiring practices as potentially weakening their position of leadership. In an effort to help the people, the mission usually paid for labor in goods such as flour and tea, and they also traded goods for the dried and fresh fish which they needed. However, as at Anvik, this type of payment frequently led to disagreements and dissatisfaction so the Jesuits soon shifted to a money wage. In summer, Indians were paid $1.00 a day for rafting wood and dried fish was purchased at 5¢ per pound.

The mission also carried on a certain amount of trade with the natives but gave no credit and always insisted that their trading efforts were not for profit. Nevertheless, the relative affluence of the church, at least from the Indian standpoint, was an important factor in the relationship between mission and village. Gradually, the

villagers became dependent on the mission, particularly in times of food scarcity. Obviously, this type of close relationship was unrelated to the extent to which the mission was successful in converting the Indians. It was also a relationship which carried within it the potential for stress and discord.

Each summer, the Indians living in Innoko villages came down to Holy Cross to seek employment and their presence was often resented by the Koserefsky people. It sometimes seemed to the Jesuits that every Indian on the lower Yukon and its tributaries was intent on using the mission for his or her own purposes without, in any way, submitting to or being influenced by the exhortations of the priests and sisters. In the beginning, it had been fondly hoped that Indians would work for the mission freely out of a feeling of brotherhood and belief in the truth of the Christian message. Of this hope the Jesuits were quickly disabused. The Indians, in fact, would do nothing for the missionaries without payment and, to make matters worse, they frequently stole vegetables from the mission gardens.

It is thus apparent that the efforts of the Roman Catholic missionaries met with only partial success during the early years of the mission. Like the Episcopalians, they were alternately encouraged and discouraged. The two big problems for both missions seem to have been coping with the opposition of the shamans and assessing the significance and possible dangers in the winter cycle of ceremonies. In December, 1895 when Father Robaut returned from a trip up the Innoko River, he reported that the church had been vandalized and that the people showed no interest in indicating to him which children should be baptized. Robaut had picked a poor time for his visit as the Indians were busily engaged in their winter ceremonies. It was, he noted sadly, "the time of feasting and superstitious performances."[82]

In reading about the religious efforts of the Jesuits at Holy Cross in the early years of the mission, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that relations between the mission and the people of Koserefsky were most frequently carried out in an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion. The Jesuits came to believe that their efforts were being thwarted at every turn, and the natives, distrusting the motives of the missionaries, were nevertheless determined to take advantage of every economic opportunity offered by their presence. Indeed, there was much in the behavior of the missionaries that

must have puzzled the Indians. Supposedly secret baptisms of those about to die must surely have been detected and viewed with both alarm and suspicion by watching relatives. The insistence on recording a newly born child's name for purposes of mission records when a name had not yet been given must also have seemed strange, particularly to a people among whom the practice of teknonomy was common. Efforts to obtain a corpse for Christian burial must have amazed and possibly frightened the survivors particularly since, as previously noted, it involved moving the body across the river to the church and then to the cemetery on the hill behind the mission buildings. Like the Episcopalians, therefore, the Jesuits looked to their school for signs of progress and to the future for the eventual success of their efforts.

In the face of this concentrated effort by the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians, the Russian Orthodox Church was able to do little to maintain the advantage which it once had in the Anvik-Shageluk area. After 1885 the priest at Russian Mission appears to have had little interaction with the Ingalik and his visits to Anvik and Koserefsky became increasingly infrequent. Although he may have managed to visit these important Yukon population centers once a year, vital statistics in the church records indicate that the Innoko villages were not visited at all in the 1890's. It is likely that during this period the Orthodox Church was making few, if any converts and simply concentrating on providing services for those individuals who clearly considered themselves church members. Chapman believed that the Russian priests had, at one time, been held in reverence by the Ingalik, but that they failed to follow up their initial advantage. As a result, their influence steadily declined and their place was taken by representatives of other churches, just as English eventually supplanted Russian as a medium of communication.[83]

Doubtless other factors were also responsible for the decline in influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. Government officials and agents of the trading Company were, of course, no longer members of the church nor did they attend services or concern themselves with the authority of the church as they had during the Russian period. It is possible too that creole clergymen like Belkhov were not able to command continued respect as the white population of the Yukon Valley grew, even though Indians may have felt more comfortable in their dealings with them. These factors, combined with the presence of active Protestant and Catholic missions and a

growing number of sectarian government schools all served to reduce the influence of a church that, at one time, had had the entire area to itself.

In the mid-1890's, both the Jesuits and the Episcopalians recognized that there were definite obstacles to the conversion of the Ingalik and, although there was some agreement as to the nature of those obstacles, emphasis concerning their importance tended to vary. Both missions viewed with alarm and distrust the coming of whites into the area, believing that at best they constituted a strong secular influence, and at worst lacked respect for any religion, thus setting a bad example for the Indians. The Jesuits believed that the early Russians in Alaska had been "brigands" and that the Russian church compounded the problem by failing to teach the children and baptizing without giving instruction.[84] By all accounts, the Jesuits seem to have been guilty of the latter fault themselves. A second major obstacle was the customs of the people, particularly the ceremonies and the power which shamans enjoyed. If anything, Chapman seems to have pictured himself as doing battle against the shamans more than did any of his Catholic colleagues at Holy Cross, but both missions frequently inveighed against shamanism and it was to be a good many years before this obstacle to their teaching was completely removed, if indeed it ever was.

Education

If it is possible to pick out one successful, or at least vigorous, innovation during the first 25 years of the American period along the lower Yukon, it would have to be formal education. We have seen that both the Episcopal and Roman Catholic missions firmly believed that the education of the young was the key to future success in the area. In fact, the history of formal education on the lower Yukon is so intimately connected with the history of the missions that discussing the two aspects of culture change separately introduces a definite distortion to any analysis of the process of change. This distortion can be minimized, however, if it is kept in mind that the distinction between education and religious teaching was not a strong one in the minds of those who conducted the schools. These schools were, for the most part, an integral aspect of their efforts to introduce the concepts of Christianity and the fact that the schools were, in their early years, supported by government grants, in no way alters this situation. Nevertheless, they also were the base on which secular education in the area was to develop.

There is little indication that the school at Russian Mission, begun in 1850, exerted any more influence in the American period than it had earlier. Although specific information is lacking, it must be considered that the educational program at Russian Mission, like that at other Orthodox church centers in Alaska, was considered peripheral to other mission activities and may have depended to a large extent on the enthusiasm of the priest and the extent to which children could be persuaded to attend. The Russian and English languages were taught along with religion, calligraphy, geography, and arithmetic.[85] Certainly the influence of the school could not have extended much beyond Russian Mission itself.

However, the Orthodox church did make some attempt to extend its educational effort and from their standpoint, it is unfortunate that this effort coincided almost exactly with the arrival of the Roman Catholics at Koserefsky. In fact, the same vessel that brought the first Sisters of St. Ann to Holy Cross in the summer of 1888 also brought a Russian deacon who constructed a school and began immediately to hold classes, much to the consternation of the newly arrived nuns. Little is known concerning this school, its reception by the villagers, or the subjects that were taught. The sisters and their Jesuit colleagues maintain a stern silence concerning its activities except to note that it "soon failed." However, there are indications that it may have continued until 1891 and perhaps even a year or two longer.[86] Aside from this single attempt to provide educational services in the Ingalik area, certainly not a notable success, the Orthodox priests appear to have been content to continue with their school at Russian Mission, leaving the field further up the river open to the other religious denominations. In 1891, however, they did establish a modest boarding school at Russian Mission which, in its first year, had 15 students.[87]

It has been noted that in 1886 the Bureau of Education signed contracts with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal churches for educational services on the Yukon and that Chapman and Parker opened a school at Anvik shortly after their arrival in late July, 1887. The first year of teaching ended on May 18, 1888 and the clergymen expressed themselves as well satisfied both with the average daily attendance, which was 8.5, and the progress made by their pupils. In fact, the teachers may have benefited as much as their charges since teaching presented a fine opportunity for making a start at learning the Ingalik language.[88] Both Chapman and Parker believed, however, that for long term achievement, a board-

ing school was necessary since children could not be educated successfully or converted to practicing Christianity unless they were separated from their parents.[89] In 1887-1888 the U.S. Government expended $500 on the contract school at Anvik and $1,000 in each of the following fiscal years until 1895 when the subsidizing of contract schools in Alaska was discontinued.[90]

The school at Anvik continued primarily as a one man effort after Parker left in 1889, although presumably Marcus Cherry assisted in certain aspects of the educational work between 1890 and his departure in the summer of 1892. Chapman was anxious to start a boarding school and had an opportunity to begin almost immediately when Father Robaut departed in February, 1888 leaving behind the two young sons of Mr. Fredericks who had been placed in his charge at Nulato. In January, 1891 Cherry visited three villages on the lower Innoko River and returned with three boys for the boarding school. Because of the lack of facilities, Chapman could hardly handle more than three or four boarders and he lamented the fact that he did not have a fully equipped boarding school, particularly since such a school was already in existence at Holy Cross and flourishing with more than 50 students.[91] In operating his small boarding school himself, Chapman would take several boys to live with him, giving them food, clothing, and whatever else they needed while teaching them to read and write. In return, the boys were expected to help him with the housework, two doing the cooking, baking, and kitchen work while others hauled water from the river and cut wood. At one week intervals, these jobs were exchanged.[92]

In the summer of 1891 came the first direct confrontation between the mission school at Holy Cross, already large and flourishing, and Anvik, just managing to struggle along with an average daily attendance of 15 pupils and no more than five or six boarding students. The Holy Cross Mission sent a steamer up the river to obtain students from the various Yukon villages for their boarding school. This momentous event, the most concerted attempt on the part of the Jesuits to extend the influence of their school, is reported with some enthusiasm by Father F. Barnum, a priest at Holy Cross:

> Last year [1891] Sisters Mary Prudence and Mary Anguilbert made an excursion up the Yukon as far as Nulato with the object of collecting children. Three of the oldest girls were taken along somewhat after the manner of samples. This embassy created an immense sensation all along the river. In every village the sisters were objects of the greatest interest, while the 'samples' displayed their knowledge of English, civilized deportment and magnificent costumes with the most admirable complacency. The result of

> this expedition was very satisfactory. Twenty children were collected, and these poor little creatures full of vermin and half-naked, were delighted at the prospect of going down to Holy Cross.[93]

Poor little creatures indeed! It is not to be wondered that this floating entourage did, in fact, create an "immense sensation" in the Yukon villages and one can very well imagine John Chapman's state of mind as he recognized the Holy Cross steamer approaching the mouth of the Anvik River. One wonders what the sisters and Chapman had to say to one another. Presumably the amenities were maintained, at least on the surface, but a few days following the visit the good reverend could hardly contain himself in a letter to the Secretary of the Board of Missions:

> I have the happiest news to report, as to the failure of the Jesuit missionaries with our people. They came two days since, with their steamboat, a priest, and two sisters, and a number of nicely dressed pupils as samples of their care [and tried], with the best appearance they could make, to get children from this place but succeeded in getting only two, whose parents had already determined to send them. . . .[94]

This may have been the first confrontation between the two missions with reference to their schools, but it was not to be the last. The competitive spirit was strong and Chapman was always ready to point out to his superiors on the Board of Missions the difference between his struggling, financially hard-pressed operation and the large, well-staffed school being run by the competition 40 miles to the south.

With the arrival of Miss Sabine, Dr. Glenton, and Mrs. Chapman at Anvik in 1894, the educational effort took on a new dimension. Miss Sabine had come as a teacher and a residence-schoolhouse was immediately built in the fall of 1894 for her and the three girl boarding students who were received during the winter.[95] The girls learned what was termed "home life" and took their turns at household chores. Miss Sabine also taught the smaller day school children and her description of this activity is worth quoting.

> We have school hours only from nine to twelve. Mr. Chapman comes down, and opens with a short service at which they always sing one of their hymns, and again at noon he comes and closes with prayers for missions. Then they have their lunch of tea and crackers or boiled rice, and go; but in less than an hour from half a dozen to twenty are back again, to enjoy drawing on slates, looking over the pile of scrapbooks, reading from the wall-charts, or looking at the many pictures tacked up all over the walls. It is the one place of pleasure and brightness, and they learn a good deal, and practice English even more than in regular school hours, for they are ambitious to learn the language, and

> there are always one or two at the kitchen door to show me slates or ask something. The boys have to stay away sometimes to go for wood or to the fish traps, otherwise they are wonderfully regular in attendance.[96]

A somewhat idyllic picture, perhaps, written to excite the interest of the ladies' auxiliaries back east, but probably not far from the truth. The Indian children, naturally excited and fascinated by all that was new and by the opportunity for a view of the outside world, however selectively presented, certainly regarded the mission personnel as their friends. This was the beginning of the mission's period of greatest influence at Anvik and neighboring areas. The small children of whom Miss Sabine writes were to grow into a generation of responsible church members, the only one, as it turned out, that the mission would have.

The school year of 1894-1895, the last for which government support could be obtained, included an expanded program at Anvik for both day and boarding pupils. A total of 173 days were taught with an average daily attendance of 16. Emphasis was on instruction in the English language but with frequent translation exercises of Ingalik words into English and English into Ingalik. Chapman's own interest in the native language must have been responsible for this emphasis in the school curriculum. Thus a generation of school children were becoming literate in their own language, something very rare in Alaska schools whether secular or religious.

Visual aids in the Anvik school included a "first reader" and reading charts. In addition to the translation exercises, there were blackboard exercises and each child had a slate on which he could practice writing the new words as they were taught to him. During the winter months, Chapman worked particularly hard with some of the older boys outside school hours, giving them extra instruction in English. As a result they could read simple English at sight, write clearly, and express themselves reasonably well in writing and conversation. In fact, Chapman noted that a few of the boys were beginning to speak considerable English and that psalms and hymns were memorized in school. He did not draw any particular distinction between the progress made by day school boys as opposed to those in the boarding school, but did note that the day pupils among the girls did not do so well nor take the same interest as the boys.[97]

Even allowing for the fact that much of the above information was obtained from official government reports and that Chapman quite obviously wished to show the Bureau of Education that their

money was well spent, it is nevertheless clear that the Episcopal mission had made much progress since the first tentative efforts in 1887-1888. In just six years, it had come to exercise considerable influence on Anvik young people. Where, in the past, no English was spoken, it was now coming to be the most important language other than their own for young people. It could be argued that whatever the eventual effect of a mission education, and in spite of what must have seemed its almost total irrelevance to native life, young people at both Anvik and Holy Cross were learning skills that would be useful to them in the years of rapid culture change which lay just ahead.

Although the Sisters of St. Ann who came to Holy Cross in September, 1888 were momentarily disconcerted by the presence of an Orthodox deacon who had come to Koserefsky for the same purpose, they began a day school almost at once. This school, partly supported by the U.S. Government, attracted children only slowly. It was, of course, located across the river at Holy Cross and one can imagine that during the first year or two, children were shy about attending. Gradually, the number of pupils increased, however, possibly because the nuns provided a meal for their young scholars.[98] At both Holy Cross and Anvik, food, particularly exotic white man's food, was a powerful incentive to both education and church attendance.

Even more than Chapman, the Jesuits placed little confidence in the favorable effects of a day school, but believed that impressive success could be achieved with boarding students. In a letter to Governor Swineford written in the fall of 1888, Father Tosi stressed the favorable location of Holy Cross for a boarding school and noted that 100 pupils could be obtained for such a school without any difficulty at all. He then went on to express his views concerning a boarding school, views that can safely be said to reflect the philosophy of education at Holy Cross mission until it closed in 1957.

> In my opinion the only plan by which these people can be raised to some degree of civilization is through the establishment of good industrial boarding-schools, where the children can be taught, besides English speaking, reading and writing, some kind of work calculated to promote their welfare and home comfort. The children should be removed as far as possible from contact and association with the older ones of their race, and at a proper age legally married, and helped to make comfortable homes for themselves; then we can expect them to continue to improve, and bring their children up to an

> even higher degree of usefulness. Those who imagine that a few years of teaching and preaching in day schools will suffice to civilize and Christianize wild native tribes are, in my opinion, greatly mistaken. Of course, the day school is, perhaps, better than none at all as a means of making them Christians, but how it will do much in the way of advancing them toward a true civilization, I cannot see.[99]

The first boarding students arrived at Holy Cross from Nulato late in the summer of 1889 and within a few months there were 27 Eskimo and Indian boarders in the school from various villages along the river as well as a number of traders' children whose parents availed themselves of this opportunity to obtain a reasonably good education for their offspring. Unlike the Episcopalians at Anvik, who depended primarily on local children for their school, the Jesuits drew their students from along the entire lower-middle Yukon from Nulato to the coast. A day school was taught in a separate building and, in the early years at least, only a few of its students were admitted to the boarding school.[100]

Throughout its history, the majority of the students in the Holy Cross boarding school were always from other villages whereas the day school, of course, was for local pupils. Given the special significance which the Jesuits attached to their efforts in the former, it is not surprising to note that their interest in the latter was always secondary. This situation, although it may have had some advantages in terms of the mission's goals, definitely retarded acceptance of the mission by local residents and certainly must have contributed to the failure of the Roman Catholics to integrate successfully their educational and religious efforts into the lives of local area people. The church and its activities always remained foreign and intrusive to the local Indians, an outside organization for which they felt little, if any, responsibility.

By 1891 there were already 80 boarding students, 38 boys and 42 girls, resident at the mission, indicating that Father Tosi had not been far wrong, three years earlier, in his estimation of the potential for such a school.[101] Father Judge voiced the general belief when he noted that "these children are our greatest hope for the future. As they are taken from all parts, we hope that when they return to their homes they will sow the good seed everywhere." During the winter of 1890 he had taught day students from Koserefsky, the number of which varied from 20 to 30 throughout the year. Instruction included the catechism and prayers together with some spelling and reading for about three hours each day. He devoted most time to the

catechism but felt that his pupils were doing reasonably well in English. Unfortunately, however, in spring all the students departed for fish camps where he believed they would soon forget all they had learned.[102]

We know that in the summer of 1891 the boarding school had made sufficient progress so that it was deemed worthwhile to send a boat up the river to recruit additional students. The previous summer the school had been visited by the enumerator of the 11th federal census who wrote enthusiastically and breathlessly of how well behaved and civilized the children appeared and how well they spoke English.

> The examination witnessed by the census agent in 1890 would have done credit to any primary school of the United States, and at its conclusion the scholars united in a dramatic presentation which probably could not be equaled by any body of school children in the country of less than two years' standing, without regard to the fact that in this case the children were acting in a strange language but just acquired and representing scenes entirely foreign to their own experience and surroundings.[103]

High praise indeed for the efforts of the Sisters of St. Ann! One would like to have more details concerning the "dramatic presentation."

Showing off the boarding students before visiting whites became a regular event at the Holy Cross boarding school, and in the early years at least, always took place soon after break up when the Alaska Commercial Company sent the first steamer of the year up the river to collect furs and bring the traders to St. Michael. The vessel invariably stopped at Holy Cross where all on board visited the school and were entertained much as the census enumerator had been. Since many of the traders' children were enrolled in the school, they had a special interest in the proceedings.[104] After 1897 there were too many steamers on the Yukon for all of them to stop at the mission to view this spectacle, but the program still took place on occasion, particularly when important personages or groups were on board.

The curriculum at the Holy Cross boarding school in the mid-1890's was a mixture of traditional academic subjects and what might be called practical courses or trades. In addition to English, mathematics, reading and the like, the boys were taught carpentry, blacksmithing, and gardening. Almost from the very beginning of the mission, the Jesuits maintained extensive gardens in the fertile flats along the river bank. In 1895, for example, over an acre of

potatoes was planted and timothy was successfully introduced. The garden work was carried on entirely by the boys under the supervision of the brothers. The ability to speak English was already proving to be a practical skill for the school boys. In 1891 six of them found employment during the summer months on river steamers where they served in a number of capacities, but most often as pilots.

As for girls, they also learned English and reading along with washing, ironing, sewing, and cooking. Older native women instructed the girls in skin sewing. The sisters also maintained a garden which produced potatoes, turnips, cabbage, cauliflower, radishes, and carrots. Experiments were continually being made with other vegetables and a large variety of hardy flowers were raised successfully. The girls did most of the work in the sisters' garden. Needless to say, English was the only language spoken in and around the boarding school.[105]

The day school continued to be held throughout the period under consideration, but in a separate building, and, as we have noted, with only a limited amount of enthusiasm on the part of the mission staff. In later years the Bureau of Education would supply its own teachers for this school, but it continued to be held in a mission building. The average daily attendance in the early 1890's was about 30 and a number of older people, usually women, also attended regularly. The day students received a lunch of bread and tea in the middle of the day.[106]

It is difficult not to judge the educational efforts of the Jesuits as far more extensive and influential than those of the Episcopalians at Anvik. Certainly, the students of the Holy Cross boarding school carried the fame of the institution up and down the Yukon River and even farther afield through the letters and reports of traveling visitors. In terms of lasting influence on the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik, however, the educational efforts of the two missions were more nearly equal. The emphasis which the Anvik mission placed on educating and converting the local population, in contrast to the more dispersed effort at Holy Cross, may be one reason why the Episcopalians were able to maintain themselves with moderate success just 40 miles from the larger and more spectacular Jesuit mission.

Illness and Medical Care

Epidemics and other periods of illness, some severe and others of

short duration, not only continued in west-central Alaska but increased with greater contact between the native population and outsiders. Although true epidemics may have occurred fairly infrequently, the general health of the people deteriorated steadily and there was no medical treatment of any kind available until the Protestant and Catholic missionaries came into the area. Even then the treatment was, until well into the present century, far from professional in quality and there were only a few individuals with even a rudimentary knowledge of medicine to care for a widely dispersed and, for the most part, apathetic population resigned to the ravages of disease.

During their first year at Anvik, Parker and Chapman noted that the people suffered considerably from pulmonary diseases and the missionaries were frequently called upon to give what treatment they could with their meager supply of medicines. They were puzzled because their patients gave no thought to a return or payment for treatment and medicine, but instead expected the missionaries to give them a little tea, sugar, and bread.[107] Since Chapman usually made a practice of bringing food for the sick, he began to suspect that villagers suffering from illness were often not fed by their relatives in the expectation that he would continue to supply them with food.[108]

Infant mortality at Anvik and other Yukon communities was extremely high in the early 1890's, even in years that could not otherwise be characterized as epidemic years. More than half the baptized babies born at Anvik in 1895 died within a year and this figure may only approximate the true level of infant mortality.[109] Although the Jesuits have little to say about the deaths of small children or the presence of illness in the early years at Holy Cross, it is obvious from their continued special concern with infant baptism that they were constantly making an effort to baptize newly born infants knowing that the odds against their survival were great.

When Dr. Mary Glenton came to Anvik in the summer of 1894, professional medical assistance was available in the area for the first time. Church publications, letters, and unpublished reports have little to say, however, about her activities and it is doubtful if her presence for only three years had much effect on the progress of illness or on hygiene and health education. She did, however, treat the sick and some attention was paid to teaching sanitation and hygiene to the school children. The number of individuals influenced

by her presence must have been quite small. It is doubtful if, at that time, many people at Anvik were sufficiently proficient in English to benefit from what teachings the doctor could find time to impart.[110]

It seems reasonable to assume that by 1895 neither Chapman nor his Jesuit neighbors were fully aware of the medical problems that faced their parishioners or the extent to which these problems would increase as more whites moved into the Yukon Valley. Within the next 15 years, severe epidemics of influenza and diphtheria were to sweep through the area, drastically reducing the population, complicating the lives of the survivors, and severely taxing the mission staffs. As the people's faith in traditional healers declined, they turned more frequently to the missions for help which the missionaries, in spite of heroic efforts, were frequently ill-prepared to give.

Notes

1. Sloss, 1888, p. 33; Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1891, vol. 3, p. 485.
2. Sloss, 1888, p. 22.
3. Porter, 1893, p. 120.
4. Ibid.; Anonymous, An account of the reception of the first missionary of the Episcopal Church to the Alaska mission field. ECA/Alaska papers, box 90.
5. Porter, 1893, p. 210.
6. Chapman to Langford, May 7, 1889. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
7. Allen, 1887, p. 141.
8. Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1888, vol. 3, p. 994.
9. Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1887, vol. 1, pp. 734-736.
10. Allen, 1887, p. 91.
11. Chapman, 1948, pp. 19-21.
12. Ibid.
13. Schwatka, 1892, pp. 328-329.
14. Allen, 1887, p. 110.
15. Chapman, 1948, p. 195.
16. VanStone, 1978, p. 43.
17. Nelson, 1887, p. 279; Porter, 1893, p. 120.
18. Nelson, 1887, p. 279; Porter, 1893, p. 119; Wilson, 1895, p. 50; Osgood, 1900, pp. 21, 32.
19. Nelson, 1887, p. 279.
20. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 238.
21. Raymond, 1871, p. 27.

22. Allen, 1887, p. 142; Nelson, 1887, pp. 237-238.
23. Petroff, 1884, p. 5.
24. Raymond, 1873, p. 171.
25. Petroff, 1884, p. 5.
26. Nelson, 1887, p. 287.
27. Zagoskin, 1967, p. 198.
28. Petroff, 1884, p. 5.
29. Raymond, 1871, p. 27; Petroff, 1884, p. 5; Nelson, 1887, pp. 237-238, 288; Chapman, 1914, p. 3; VanStone, 1978, p. 34.
30. Lutz, 1960, p. 119.
31. Chatelain, 1954, p. 135; Lutz, 1960, p. 19.
32. Leopold and Darling, 1953, p. 554; Lutz, 1955, p. 86; Viereck, 1973, pp. 470, 481, 484.
33. Murray, 1961, p. 31.
34. Viereck, 1973, pp. 486-487.
35. Osgood, 1940, p. 97.
36. Lutz, 1959, p. 22.
37. Stuck, 1917b, p. 131; Zagoskin, 1967, p. 141.
38. Giordano, memoirs. OPA/Giordano, box 2.
39. Lutz, 1959.
40. Allen, 1887, pp. 142-143; 1900, p. 480.
41. Smith, 1974, p. 131.
42. DRHA, vol. 1, p. 155; VanStone, 1967, p. 35.
43. ARCA/KM, vital statistics; Chapman to Langford, June 1, 1888. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
44. DRHA, vol. 1, pp. 382-384.
45. Anonymous, 1886, p. 245; Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1888-1889, p. 1,294; Anonymous, 1905, p. 259.
46. Anonymous, 1887c, p. 492; Chapman, 1948, pp. 19-21.
47. Anonymous, 1887a, p. 309; 1887b, p. 343; 1887c, p. 492; 1905, p. 259.
48. Anonymous, 1887c, p. 492; Chapman, 1948, p. 28. As noted previously, the rivers broke through in 1934. The original site of the mission and trading station has disappeared.
49. Chapman and Parker, 1888a, pp. 18-19.
50. Chapman and Parker, 1888b, pp. 346-348; 1889, pp. 345-346.
51. Chapman to Langford, June 1, 1888. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters; Chapman, 1931a, pp. 189-190.
52. Chapman to Langford, June 1, 1888. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters; Chapman, 1943, p. 12.
53. Chapman, 1931a, pp. 191, 243.
54. Chapman and Parker, 1889, pp. 345-346.
55. Chapman to his parents, December 25, 1890. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers; Chapman, 1931, p. 244.

56. Chapman, 1891, pp. 345-351; Anonymous, 1905, p. 259; Rowe, 1920, p. 1; Chapman, 1931a, pp. 245, 335.
57. Jetté, Notes on missionaries in Alaska, 2 vols. OPA/Jetté, box 3; Crimont, Catholicism in Alaska. OPA/Crimont, box 5.
58. Barnum, 1893, pp. 19-23.
59. Anonymous, History of Alaska missions. OPA/Alaska missions collection, box 3.
60. Giordano, memoirs. OPA/Giordano, box 2.
61. Anonymous, History of Alaska missions. OPA/Alaska missions collection, box 3; Giordano, memoirs. OPA/Giordano, box 2; Perron, 1922, p. 5.
62. Giordano, memoirs. OPA/Giordano, box 2; Perron, 1922, p. 5.
63. Barnum, 1893, pp. 31-34; Calasanctius, 1935, pp. 56-57, 77.
64. Judge, 1907, p. 49.
65. Barnum, 1893, p. 34.
66. Ibid.
67. Giordano, memoirs. OPA/Giordano, box 2; Savage, 1942, p. 79.
68. Judge, 1907, pp. 54-55.
69. Osgood, 1958, pp. 73-81, 96-134, 143-146.
70. Judge, 1907, p. 57.
71. Ibid., pp. 58-61.
72. Chapman, 1931a, pp. 336-337.
73. Chapman, 1896b, p. 523.
74. Tosi to Cataldo, May 24, 1892. OPA/Tosi; Chapman, 1892, pp. 342-344.
75. Osgood, 1940, pp. 302-312.
76. Chapman, 1896b, p. 523.
77. Chapman, 1893, pp. 383-387; Sabine, 1896, pp. 493-497.
78. Sabine, 1896, p. 496; Chapman, 1900, pp. 14-15.
79. Crimont, Catholicism in Alaska. OPA/Crimont, box 5; Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1895-1896, vol. 2, p. 1,460.
80. Negro to Tosi. OPA/Tosi; HCM diary, June 19, 1892 - Nov. 27, 1896. OPA/HCM, box 2.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. ARCA/KM, vital statistics; Chapman, 1919b, pp. 496-497.
84. Jetté, 1893, pp. 293-294.
85. Smith, 1974, p. 26.
86. Calasanctius, 1935, pp. 98, 230-231.
87. Chapman to Board of Missions, July 25, 1891. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
88. Chapman to Langford, June 1, 1888. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
89. Chapman, 1888, pp. 346-348.

90. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1892-1893, vol. 2, p. 1,747; for 1907, vol. 1, p. 375.
91. Chapman, 1891, pp. 349-351.
92. Chapman, 1894, p. 13.
93. Barnum, 1893, p. 36.
94. Chapman to Langford, August 26, 1891. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
95. Chapman, 1895, pp. 378-380.
96. Sabine, 1895, p. 400.
97. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1894-1895, vol. 2, pp. 1,428-1,429.
98. Calasanctius, 1935, p. 98.
99. Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1888, vol. 3, pp. 1,010-1,012.
100. Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1895, vol. 3, p. 326; Calasanctius, 1935, pp. 225-226.
101. Ibid., p. 146.
102. Judge, 1907, pp. 68, 83.
103. Porter, 1893, p. 124.
104. Barnum, 1893, p. 37.
105. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1891-1892, p. 875; for 1894-1895, vol. 2, p. 1,429.
106. Ibid.
107. Chapman to Langford, June 1, 1888. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
108. Chapman to his parents, Dec. 25, 1890. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers.
109. Sabine, 1896, p. 493.
110. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1894-1895, vol. 2, pp. 1,428-1,429.

VI

THE GOLD RUSH PERIOD: 1897-1920

Discovery of Gold on the Upper Yukon and Innoko Rivers

The first prospectors on the Yukon arrived by way of the Mackenzie and Porcupine rivers in 1873, among them Arthur Harper, Al Mayo, and L. N. McQuesten, names that were later to become famous on the upper river. Between 1873 and 1882, these pioneers enjoyed little success but nevertheless their numbers increased every year.[1] A larger number of hopeful miners entered the country after 1886 following the discovery of gold in paying quantities in the Stewart River country and near Fortymile River, both important tributaries of the upper Yukon east of the Alaska border.

In the summer of 1887 supplies were being brought up the Yukon by three river steamers capable of towing loaded barges with a capacity of 70 tons. This was also the first year that steamboats ascended the Yukon above the trading posts on the lower river; three vessels ascended as far as Fortymile that year. None of the ships on the river exceeded 40 ft. in length. In the summer of 1889, however, travel began to increase somewhat and the first large river steamboat, the *Arctic* of 200 tons capacity and with accomodations for passengers, was put into commission by the Alaska Commercial Company.[2]

The period between 1894 and 1897 witnessed the beginning of rapid change on the Yukon. A new company, the North American Trading and Transportation Company (N.A.T. and T.) was organized in 1891 with Alaskan headquarters at St. Michael. Both the new firm and the Alaska Commercial Company built larger, faster vessels that made more frequent trips up the river. As a result, by 1894 there were seven steamboats on the Yukon: one belonging to the N.A.T. and T. Co., two to the Alaska Commercial Company, two belonging to traders, one to the Roman Catholic mission at Holy Cross, and one to the Russian Orthodox Church at Russian Mission.[3]

On July 26, 1896 gold was discovered in the Klondike district of the Yukon Territory, vindicating the search begun on the upper Yukon and its tributaries nearly 15 years earlier. As a result, for a period of almost 25 years the Yukon was transformed from an extremely remote frontier area into one of frenzied activity on which the eyes of much of the world were focused. This activity was highlighted by a large influx of population and by the kind of excitement that inevitably occurs wherever gold is discovered. Although the center of excitement was on the upper Yukon over 1,500 miles from Anvik and other Ingalik communities, the Anvik-Shageluk region nevertheless experienced, in some degree, almost all the benefits as well as most of the problems that characterized the discovery area itself.

The Klondike River empties into the Yukon at Dawson and that town became the magnet which, in 1897 and 1898, drew adventurers from all over the world in the quest for gold. Although many of these miners, or potential miners, reached the upper Yukon by means of the difficult mountain passes near Skagway, an even larger number preferred the considerably longer but less arduous route from Seattle to St. Michael and then up the Yukon River on the large river steamboats which were rapidly built and put in service. In addition to these large steamers, many travelers chose a weird assortment of steam-driven craft, or, in fact, any means of transportation which they could obtain and which promised to transport them in the general direction of the far away Eldorado which they so avidly sought. Some, with more enthusiasm, perhaps, than sense, even embarked in polling boats, hoping against some impossible odds to propel themselves more then two-thirds the length of the fourth longest river in North America. Few succeeded in ascending the Yukon more than a few hundred miles, and it was these parties that were frequently compelled to winter at various places along the river bank, frequently in the vicinity of Anvik and other Ingalik villages.[4]

The discovery of gold on the Klondike and the resultant publicity and rush by expectant miners to the upper Yukon also served to focus attention on the entire length of the river and virtually all of its tributaries as potential locations for fabulous gold strikes. As a result, nearly every major tributary and their minor creeks were thoroughly prospected in the hope of spectacular success. Miners moved around interior Alaska and even to the coast at Nome in response to rumored strikes, the wealth of which generally failed to

measure up to the hopes and expectations that their first announcement invariably generated.

Some potential miners, like the earlier explorers and fur traders, reached the Yukon from St. Michael by way of the Anvik River. Others, disappointed by their failure to find wealth on the upper river, descended the Yukon to St. Michael on their way home, prospecting as many tributaries as could be conveniently reached, including the Anvik. Gold was long known to occur along the Anvik in amounts sufficient to stimulate prospecting, but no rich deposits were ever located. Nevertheless, until well into the 1920's there was, almost every year, someone prospecting on the Anvik, particularly in the vicinity of McDonald Creek, an upper tributary.[5]

One area of the lower Yukon that received the attention of prospectors with more tangible results was the Innoko River and its tributaries. Prospectors may have visited the Innoko as early as 1898, but the real discovery of placer gold in commercial quantities did not take place until the summer of 1906 when a party of prospectors came into the headwaters country of the Innoko Valley from the Kuskokwim. They found a few colors on the bars of the main Innoko a short distance below the mouth of its principal headwater tributary now known as Gaines Creek. Later in the season of 1906 they ascended Gaines Creek in the hope of finding the source from which these colors were derived and located discovery claim about 10 miles above its mouth. As news of this discovery spread, miners began to arrive in the upper Innoko area from diggings in other parts of Alaska. In 1907, between 800 and 900 people went to the Innoko from Fairbanks, and several hundred others from Nome. During that summer all the streams which drain into the Innoko northwest of Gaines Creek were prospected, but without notable success, although Ophir Creek was to attract considerable attention within the next few years.[6]

In July, 1908 W. A. Dikeman and John Beaton were in Anvik to purchase supplies and outfits in preparation for prospecting the Iditarod, a lower tributary of the Innoko where Dikeman had been the previous year. They purchased a small stern-wheeler and started up the Innoko and Iditarod. On Christmas Day, 1908 they discovered gold on Otter Creek, an Iditarod tributary and by the summer of 1909 several hundred prospectors were on the Iditarod. Some gold was found during that season and exaggerated reports reached other mining camps around Alaska. As a result, when navigation opened on the Yukon in May, 1910 more than 2,000 peo-

ple, together with considerable supplies and machinery, were bound for the Iditarod. For a while, the movement threatened to reach the proportion of a stampede.[7]

When the first rush of prospectors entered the Innoko Valley in 1907, those who came up the river by boat or across from Kaltag by winter trail made the Koyukon village of Dishkaket their stopping point. Dried salmon for dog food and the services of Indian guides could be obtained there and several white traders located there during the winter of 1907. In the summer of 1908 after the river had subsided following the spring break up, it was discovered that Dishkaket was the upper limit of navigation for steamboats drawing 22 in. of water and that even this point could be reached only with difficulty when the river was low during July and August. Consequently, steamboats made this village their upriver landing place where cargoes were discharged. Horse-drawn scows, small boats, and pack trains provided the chief means of transportation beyond that point. Dishkaket also became the wintering place for those miners prospecting on the lower Innoko and was the halfway station between the diggings on the upper river along Gaines Creek and Ophir, and the Yukon communities of Anvik, Kaltag, and Holy Cross. In the gold producing area itself, Ophir with a population of 150 whites in 1908 became the central settlement from which supplies were distributed to the creeks.[8]

When the rush to the Iditarod began in the summer of 1909, hundreds of people ascended that previously unknown and uninhabited river and wintered at several points along its banks. The town of Iditarod, established in June, 1910, was located at the head of navigation during the greater part of the open season. During low water, the larger steamboats ascended only as far as Dikeman, another mining camp with a population of about 100 in 1910, established about 80 miles below Iditarod (fig. 6). Iditarod, situated on the left bank of the river, rapidly became the commercial center for the district. During the summer of 1910 there were approximately 2,500 people in the Iditarod region, including a population of about 400 in the mining town of Flat on Otter Creek. Of this sizeable number, however, not more than 1,000 were actually engaged in work directly related to mining development, the rest being employed in the providing of services and in speculative enterprises of various kinds.[9]

In spite of the excitement and influx of population, neither the upper Innoko nor the Iditarod produced gold in sufficient quantites to

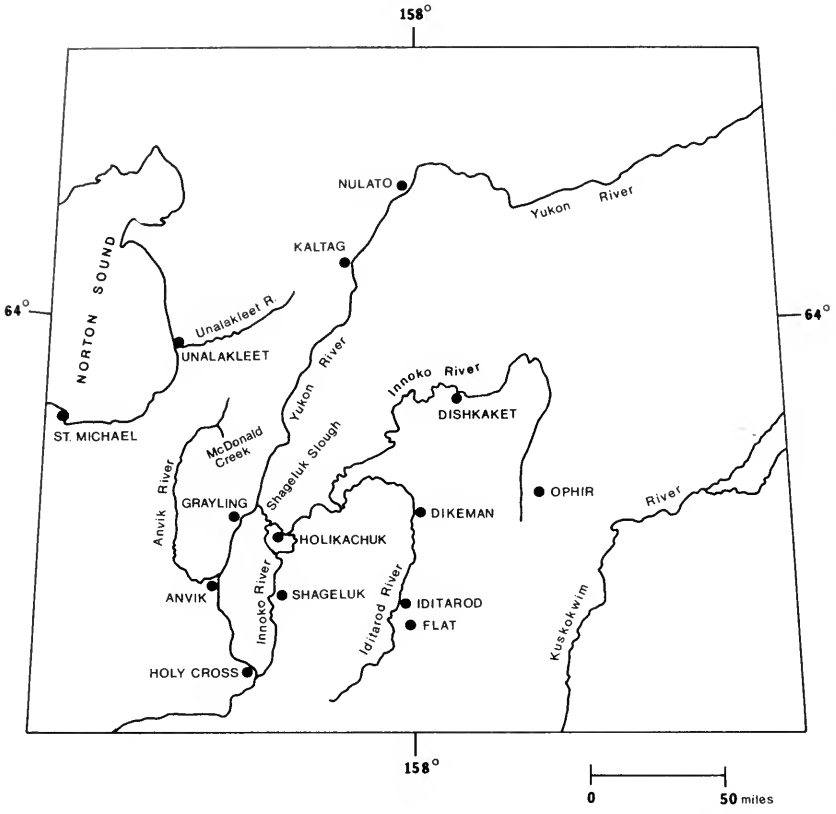

FIG. 6. Map of the lower-middle Yukon and Innoko rivers showing locations associated with the Innoko gold rush.

justify the amount of interest that had been generated a few years earlier by the Klondike. For one thing, the area was extremely inaccessible and the mines had to be rich in order to be worked profitably. Board alone for most miners cost more than $5 per day and the lack of transportation facilities not only forced up the price of staple foods, but also prevented the shipment and subsequent use of necessary prospecting and mining machinery that would have reduced the cost of taking out the gold. From the mouth of the Innoko to Gaines Creek is more than 700 miles and the nearest Yukon River supply posts for the upper Innoko were Kaltag and Nulato, although later when mining in the area was considerably reduced, Holy Cross also served in that capacity.

The Iditarod region was equally inaccessible, much of the area being flooded in spring. By mid-July or early August the torturously twisting river is very low and difficult to navigate.[10] Nevertheless, in 1910, the first year for which records were kept, gold and silver with a value of $500,000 were taken out of the Iditarod district alone, and this figure rose to $2,500,000 in 1911 and $3,500,000 in 1912. The total production of gold dust in the Innoko district during and prior to 1910 was valued at approximately $750,000 with the annual production for the next couple of years averaging about $250,000.[11]

In spite of these initial encouraging results, eventually the only mining in the Iditarod district was done by dredges and by 1920 even this work was decreasing rapidly. Much of the richer placer ground was quickly worked out and the previously mentioned isolation of the district, with consequent high freight rates and difficulty in obtaining skilled labor, prevented the exploitation of placers of lower yield. By that time, both Iditarod and Dikeman had become ghost towns and only Flat and Ophir were maintained as mining communities. As late as 1938, however, the Innoko district produced, by modern mining methods, nearly $750,000 worth of gold and silver, and in 1942 the village of Flat, virtually abandoned during the winter months, had a summer population of 300-400 miners and their families.[12]

The Indians of the Anvik-Shageluk area greeted the discovery of gold on the Iditarod and upper Innoko rivers with considerable interest and enthusiasm, hoping that the favorable economic conditions remembered from the Klondike days would return. Elderly residents of the area today clearly recall the many steamboats and other vessels ascending the narrow Innoko and the disappointed miners, many of them on rafts or in rowboats, who made their way down the river each fall. Traders along the Yukon were equally hopeful that the strike signaled a new era of prosperity, but mission personnel were more dubious. They had always viewed the sudden influx of whites into the area as a mixed blessing if not actually detrimental to their work. For the most part, they were unimpressed with the new strikes. Hudson Stuck, Episcopal archdeacon of the Yukon stationed at Fort Yukon, visited Iditarod City in March, 1911 and disparagingly described it as being "overbuilt and overdone."[13] John Chapman made a trip to various mining camps on the Innoko and Iditarod in December, 1909 and January, 1910. He was unimpressed with the amount of gold that was being taken out and

considered significant the fact that in the mining camp at the mouth of Otter Creek there was not even one saloon.[14]

Indians and the Gold Rush

Following the discovery of gold in the Klondike, the increase in river traffic on the Yukon was dramatic. Episcopal Bishop Peter Trimble Rowe, describing his travels during the summer of 1897, noted that between Anvik and St. Michael he passed 30 steamers ascending the river. Beyond Anvik, ascending or descending, he counted between 30 and 40 more. The largest of these steamers, built by the Alaska Commercial Company and said to cost approximately $95,000 each, were capable of pushing two immense barges loaded with 900 tons of freight and yet able to travel at 7½ miles per hour.[15] At Holy Cross in the summer of 1898 there were 195 passages of steamers recorded.[16]

By 1906 the tonnage moved up the Yukon was estimated at more than 30,000, 30 steamers and 40 barges being required to move this amount of freight. The Alaska Commercial Company, which after 1901 became two companies, the Northern Navigation Company for transportation operations and the Northern Commercial Company for mercantile operations, maintained 17 steamers and 25 barges; independent lines operated three steamers and four barges. Most of these vessels were involved in the trade between St. Michael and Tanana or between St. Michael and Dawson.[17]

Four years later there were more than 100 registered steam vessels on the Yukon and its tributaries varying in size from 5 to 700 tons net burden. These vessels were of all kinds, varying from small gasoline-powered launches, many of which were used on the upper Innoko and its tributaries, to the large packets modeled after Mississippi River boats in the days of Mark Twain.[18] Near Andreafskiy the Northern Commercial Company, as early as 1899, maintained extensive winter quarters with a machine shop and a large hotel for steamer crews laid up during the winter.[19]

Because of the sudden influx of people into west-central Alaska and the Klondike region of the Yukon Territory, it was deemed desirable for the Treasury Department to have a revenue cutter and patrol boat on the river. This vessel, the *Nunivak,* patrolled the river for three summers beginning in 1899 and wintered twice on the upper Yukon. The official report of this government operation provides much useful information concerning Indian life along the

river, settlement patterns, and the effects of white contact on the native population.[20]

In the early days of increased river traffic on the Yukon, the crews of the steamers, with the exception of the officers, were made up almost exclusively of Indians, frequently students from the mission schools at Anvik and Holy Cross who were valued because of their ability to speak and understand English. Individuals so employed were often able to earn enough during the season of navigation to provide their winter provisions and were thus removed almost totally from the subsistence economy. However, whites were soon able to compete successfully with the Indians for these jobs and as early as 1899 Cantwell reported that virtually no natives were employed on the river steamers except in the capacity of pilots where their knowledge of the river, its currents, shifting channels, and bars, was far superior to that of even the most experienced outsiders.[21] Nevertheless, even in this area whites eventually competed successfully and as time progressed there were many ex-miners and other who, through experience, acquired a thorough knowledge of the river and its channels. As late as 1906, though, Indian pilots were in considerable demand and are said to have received a salary of $5.00 per day.[22] Earlier, pilots earned no more than $2.00 per day while firemen and roustabouts, other jobs frequently held by Indians, received $1.50 for the same period.[23] One particular advantage of these jobs, from the Indian standpoint, was that the transportation companies usually paid in cash.

Until around 1903, all Yukon River steamboats stoked their own fires with wood, but after that date some began to change to oil. The larger boats consumed from 1 to 2 cords of wood per running hour depending, of course, on the swiftness of the current and whether they were proceeding up or down the river. Much of the wood was cut by Indians and this proved to be the most reliable form of income, both in cash and trade goods, for the Ingalik throughout the period of heavy river traffic and even later, following the Innoko gold rush, when that traffic was reduced considerably. In the early years wood yards, known localities where cut and stacked wood could be obtained, were few and far between. The larger steamers carried their own axmen, many of whom were Indians but including some whites who frequently were paying their passage by acting in this capacity. Sometimes, when wood supplies on board were low, the steamboats were forced to tie up along shore while the axmen cut a new supply. Often these stops were made at night when the

long summer twilight was too uncertain for navigation, but sufficient to allow the wood choppers to work.[24]

According to one source, the Indians began by charging $1.50 per cord for the wood they cut, attempting to assemble a sizeable pile in full view along the river bank in order to attract the attention of passing steamers thus, hopefully, persuading them to stop. The wood was frequently paid for in trading flour at $1.50 per sack of 50 lb. or in other commodities in like proportion. As the Indians gradually increased their price in response to demand and to their increasing knowledge concerning the value of money, the companies reacted by raising the price of flour and other trade items. Thus if wood was selling for $2.50, $3.00, or even $4.00 per cord, the woodcutters continually found themselves receiving the same amount of goods in exchange and the companies or independent steamboat operators continued to receive wood for what it had always cost them; something less than $1.00 per cord. In many cases, as the last sticks of wood were being carried on board at an Indian wood camp, the steamer's whistle was blown and as the lines were being cast off, the purser thrust into the hands of one or two Indians sacks of flour, tea, tobacco, and other trade items. The crowd of wood choppers was then hustled down the gangplank and left to divide their pittance on shore as best they could.[25] Under these circumstances, it is little wonder that Indian axmen preferred to be paid in cash whenever possible.

This relatively unstructured means of obtaining wood for fuel gradually changed as river traffic increased. Firms like the Northern Commercial Company with a large fleet of vessels maintained their own wood yards and contracted with local traders to supply specified amounts of wood. Other wood yards were independently owned by traders who hired both Indians and whites as axmen. One such yard, operated by an independent trader, was located for many years at the site of the present village of Grayling about 15 miles above Anvik. It employed as many as 75 Indians from time to time and even today the area around Grayling is completely cleared of trees and presents a considerable contrast to the surrounding countryside.

Enterprising prospectors frequently turned to wood contracting and hired Indians and other prospectors to cut wood, paying them a certain amount per cord, a price that was then raised when the logs were sold to the steamers. The cutting of steamboat wood often began as early as February since the traders and wood contractors

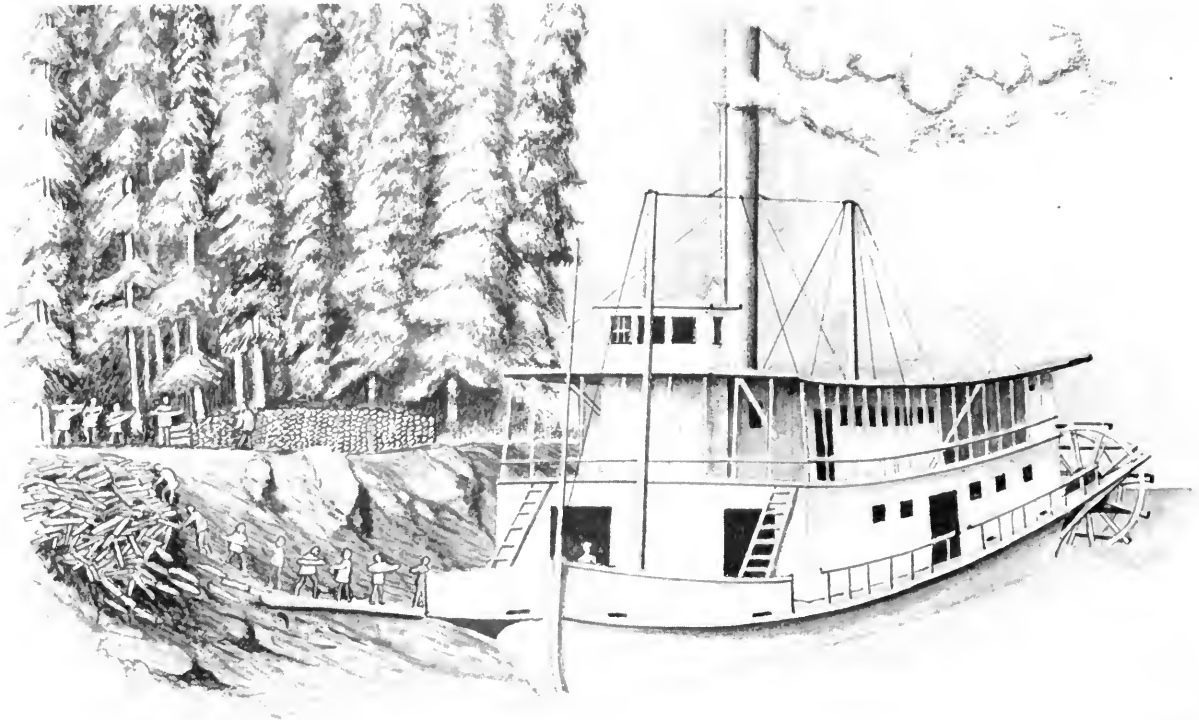

PLATE 10. A Yukon steamer loading wood for fuel. Drawing by Guy Kakarook about 1895 (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

received their contracts for the next season during the winter months. In March, 1899, wood choppers, both white and Indian, were reported every 15 miles along the river between Holy Cross and Nulato.[26]

As river traffic increased, so did the prices paid for wood and the Indians of the lower Yukon were not always as gullible and unsophisticated as they may have been when steamers and their fuel requirements were a relatively novel experience. Indians understood the use of money and in disposing of wood and other products of the environment usually demanded and received at least part of the purchase price in cash. In describing a trip made on a non-company boat in the late 1890's, one observer noted that at the missions and trading posts the Indians were more likely to demand cash for their wood, while in remote wood camps or summer fish camps they could be paid in trade goods. At these camps, sugar and tea were always in great demand and could be traded at the rate of four cups of one or the other for $1.00. Calico was also accepted by the Indians at 25¢ per yard.[27]

The prices actually paid for wood during the early years of the century seem to have varied considerably and may have been determined by the time of the year, as well as many strictly local factors. It stands to reason that the large transportation companies would make sure, by means of contracts, their own wood yards, and other previous arrangements, that they did not get caught short or be forced to pay what they may have considered to be exorbitant prices. Independent operators, on the other hand, probably found it virtually impossible to avoid emergencies.

By 1900 the price paid per cord usually averaged no less than $4.00 to $5.00 if the Indians sold direct to the steamers. However, in the winter and spring of that year, Anvik villagers cut more than 500 cords and at times during the following summer they received as much as $10 per cord. The missions themselves frequently obtained contracts with the major transportation companies and thus competed with the local traders in purchasing wood from Indian and white axmen. In 1903 the Roman Catholic mission at Holy Cross held a contract with the N.A.T. and T. Co. to supply 100 cords of wood at $6.00 per cord. Most, if not all, of this wood was cut by students in the mission boarding school.[28]

Elderly Ingalik Indians today recall vividly their years as woodchoppers during the first two decades of the century, primarily

PLATE 11. Rafting wood for steamboat fuel on the Innoko River in 1919 (University of Alaska Archives).

because it usually constituted their first sustained contact with white men and provided virtually the only means of obtaining a cash income. Since, as we have seen, fur trapping declined seriously even before the turn of the century, the exchange of wood for cash and/or trade goods became increasingly important to all Ingalik family heads and their older male children. One old man, a resident of Shageluk on the Innoko until his death in 1973, remembered going to Dikeman as a young man to cut wood. He usually was paid $6.00 per cord and if he worked hard, he could cut one cord in a day. As an old man in 1972, however, he paid $30 a cord for wood cut and brought to his cabin by younger villagers.

About 1903 many steamers converted to oil which was brought from California and stored in huge tanks at various points along the Yukon. The Northern Commercial Company, for example, imported 50,000 barrels annually to St. Michael from which point it was conveyed by barge to the various river stations. One of these, after 1911, was located at the mouth of the Innoko across the river from Holy Cross. However, wood burning steamboats were never completely replaced by those that burned oil and as late as 1941 vessels belonging to the Alaska Railroad used wood for fuel. Just as in the days of the gold rush, it was cut primarily by Indians and purchased from traders who were given contracts to deliver it at various stops along the river.[29]

Although alternative forms of employment and income were available to the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik following the discovery of gold in the Klondike region, the local trading posts still maintained their position of importance in the Indian communities, irrespective of whether the traders held wood-cutting contracts. Trapping continued to occupy the men during much of the winter and spring. As with earlier periods, exact figures concerning the extent of the fur trade are lacking, but indications are that the decline which began in the 1880's and 1890's continued. As early as 1918 government restrictions were placed on the taking of certain fur-bearing animals, particularly beaver and marten, two of the most important animals trapped along the lower Yukon and its tributaries. At Anvik in 1918 there were two traders, but both carried very small stocks and one left the village after losing 300 cords of wood and his buildings in a flood.[30] Of course, by that time river traffic had declined and the Indians were forced once again to rely primarily on income derived from trapping.

Shortly after the turn of the century, the Alaska Commercial Company withdrew its post from Anvik and from then on that community, as well as others in the Anvik-Shageluk area, was served exclusively by independent traders. Many of these were former miners who settled in the country permanently. Although there was always at least one trader at Anvik and Holy Cross, other communities, particularly on the lower Innoko River, were occasionally without a resident trader. One such independent trader, George Pilcher, settled first at Paimiut on the Yukon below Holy Cross in 1900 and then moved to Shageluk in 1910 because there was no trader there. He remained in that community until 1913 when he sold out to James Walker of Holy Cross.

Pilcher's relationship with the Indians at Shageluk was characterized by a minimum of communication and good will. In fact, he did not appear to feel that his relations with the Indians were of much consequence even though his living depended on them. He had little comprehension of their motivations and never could understand why at times they were willing to cut wood for him, but at other times refused and demanded credit instead. Pilcher's major complaint, a classic one for traders in Indian communities, was that his customers often took their furs elsewhere in search of higher prices, but always came to him when they were in want. The amount of furs which Pilcher took in varied greatly. When he first came to the village, he obtained a sizeable number because there had been no trader in the community for a while. Later he considered it fortunate if he took in as much as $20 or $30 worth of fur in a day's trading. Most of his cash business was done in mid-winter during the season of ceremonial dances and feasts. At that time, the Indians were anxious to cut wood so that they could earn money and credit enabling them to invite residents of other villages for important social and religious events.[31]

Pilcher's experiences at Shageluk were probably typical for the area in the early years of the century. At all posts on the lower Yukon the Indians were coming to demand a cash price for their furs, game, and other items offered to the traders. However, it is equally true that they seldom received full payment in money for their goods. Cantwell gives as an example an Indian with a bearskin to sell. He took it to the trader stating he wished to receive $10 for the skin. The trader agreed to the price, took the skin, and then asked the seller "what he will have." A list of trade goods was made up with the assistance of the trader and when filled, there was seldom any

change coming to the Indian for his $10. As Cantwell pointed out, this method of trading satisfied the Indian's desire to transact business on a cash basis, but at the same time by placing a fictitious money value on the production of his labor, sometimes effectively prevented the purchase of his goods by outsiders, say miners or visiting steamboat passengers, for cash.

Cantwell believed that of the articles offered for trade, those most in demand by the Indians of the lower Yukon were staple groceries, particularly flour, tea, sugar, lard, baking powder, and bacon. Also greatly desired were calico, drilling, and cheap clothing, including shoes, hats, and stockings. Around the white settlements he noted a rapidly increasing trade for bright colored skirts for the women, shirts and neckties for the men, and any kind of cheap jewelry for both sexes. The men greatly desired watches and, of course, such useful items as repeating rifles and shotguns, canvas to make tents, sheet-iron stoves, cooking utensils, cross-cut saws, and soap. For the women, scissors, needles, and thread were in demand, as were cooking utensils. At Anvik, the latter replaced pottery which was no longer made after about 1910.

In late spring at the beginning of the fishing season, there was considerable demand for twine out of which to make gill nets, and for mosquito netting. One can well imagine that the latter was a particularly welcome innovation on the lower Yukon. Straw hats were one of the novelties that appeared to be gaining favor in Cantwell's time.[32] Around the missions, dark-hued fabrics were much preferred to the brighter colors for clothing and small beads for embroidery were also extremely popular. At least one observer in the first decade of the century believed that most of the manufactured clothing offered for sale to the Indians was cheap and shoddy, and that other trade items consisted primarily of "glittering and noisy trash" specifically manufactured for the native trade.[33] Tobacco was used by both sexes, the kind known to the trade as Indian leaf being the most popular. By the early 1920's most families at Anvik owned phonographs and purchased as many records as they could afford.[34]

In exchange for these trade goods, Ingalik men offered for sale furs, moose, caribou, and bear meat, as well as spruce hens, ptarmigan, dried salmon and other fish. They also made snowshoes, sledges, toboggans, and, very infrequently, birch bark canoes. In fact, the sale of caribou and moose meat to individual miners, the crews of steamers, as well as to the trading posts was without doubt a particularly important source of income for the Ingalik. As

we have noted, caribou were scarce in the Anvik-Shageluk area at the end of the 19th century, but it is possible that they then began a modest comeback. Holy Cross Mission diaries refer frequently to successful hunts between 1902 and 1904, but there are far fewer references to such hunts between 1904 and 1908.[35] Brief comments concerning the scarcity of caribou between 1908 and 1917 also occur in other sources.[36] Moose, abundant in the late 19th century, may have remained so until about 1915 when they again became scarce.[37] The sale of meat to whites on a large scale may have been a significant factor in the population reduction of both species between 1910 and 1920.

Ingalik women made moose hide moccasins and gloves and mittens decorated with beadwork for exchange or sale. Also offered were fur caps and socks, greatly valued by whites spending the winter in the area, as well as a variety of small articles such as beaded watch fobs and purses which were valuable only as curios.[38] Demand for these articles, of course, varied from year to year and at different times of the year, but throughout the gold rush period, which in the Anvik-Shageluk area extended almost until 1920, there was a considerable and steady market for all kinds of objects of native manufacture.

A fishing innovation that was widely accepted by the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik during this period, and that had important implications for trade, was the fish wheel, introduced in Alaska on the Tanana River in 1904.[39] This fishing device consists of two wire mesh dippers attached opposite each other on a single axle which, in turn, is mounted on a log raft. The raft is anchored in the river channel and the current propels the dippers. Fish swimming upstream within reach of the dippers are lifted out of the water and slide down a chute into an open box at the side of the raft. Fish wheels operate satisfactorily only in areas where the fish swim near the surface, the current is strong enough to propel the dippers, and the water sufficiently muddy so that the dippers cannot be seen by the fish. Under these favorable circumstances, a fish wheel can operate continuously without attention except that driftwood and other debris must be cleared away from the dippers occasionally. Fishwheels were in general use by the Ingalik by 1913 or 1914, but they apparently did not replace traps immediately.[40] Residents of Anvik today recall that wicker traps were still in use during summers into the early 1920's.

The introduction of the fish wheel changed summer settlement patterns to some extent as the families sought good locations for their wheels, locations that often were not suitable for traps and nets. Also changed, of course, was the amount of labor required to fish for salmon. More important than either of these changes, perhaps, were alterations brought about in the division of labor. With the fish wheel, men could catch many more fish than previously with less effort and in far less time. Women, on the other hand, had to work harder because there were more fish to prepare at one time. The wheels occasionally had to be stopped to give the women an opportunity to catch up.

At the close of the fishing season most of the Indians sold at least a portion of their salmon catch to the traders, sometimes to the extent of leaving their families and dogs without provisions. As a result, they were occasionally forced to re-purchase dried salmon late in the year and at a high price, paying for them with the proceeds from their winter trapping or other sources. The sale of salmon in the late summer frequently served to liquidate a man's debt to the trader who had extended him credit earlier in the year. During the gold rush period and later, there was always a wide demand for dried salmon for dog food in winter and traders could dispose of the commodity without any difficulty.[41]

When some river steamers first began to use oil for fuel, many Indians and whites on the Yukon believed that leakage caused a decline in the salmon run.[42] In the summer of 1919, at the height of a severe influenza epidemic, the salmon run was one of the poorest on record and in many villages the Indians were forced to kill their dogs. Supplies of dried fish were scarce the following winter and the price rose as high as 35¢ a pound, a considerable amount for those days. This failure was attributed by some to the presence of a floating cannery which was in operation throughout the fishing season at the Aphrewm mouth of the Yukon.[43]

Besides fish wheels, another significant innovation which affected summer subsistence activities was the gasoline-powered outboard motor. These useful machines began to be used about 1918 and, of course, greatly affected the mobility of the Indians throughout the entire season that the Yukon and its tributaries were free of ice.[44] It would be difficult to imagine a more highly successful and practical technological innovation than the outboard motor. All summer subsistence activities were facilitated and the arduous efforts associated with river transportation were eliminated.

In spite of their growing sophistication, however, the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik could still fall victim to sharp trading practices and were particularly vulnerable, as we have noted, when products of the environment were exchanged for trade goods rather than for cash. An example of this is cited by "Tex" Rickard, the boxing promoter and *bon vivant*, who traveled extensively in Alaska and the Yukon during the gold rush days. He describes the activities of Max Simel, a trader at Anvik in the early years of the century, who competed with a rival trader for the purchase of local products. Simel's rival bought dried fish from the Indians at the rate of 30 fish for $1.00, even though the going rate at the time was 20 for the same price. Simel held back until the end of the fishing season and then offered to buy at 20 fish for $1.00. The Indians responded quickly to this offer, although payment was not in cash but in staples, usually tea. So Simel, in paying, measured half a pound of tea rather than a pound and when the Indians objected to the smallness of the package, he explained that the tea equaled a "fish dollar" which should be regarded as of lesser value than the ordinary dollar. Simel is said to have worked the same game when selling reindeer skins, asking three marten rather than the usual two for his "reindeer dollar."[45]

Although local traders may occasionally have been unscrupulous or, more charitably, devious, and the Indians gullible, the fact remains that the spending power of the Ingalik villages grew steadily during the first two decades of the present century. The following table indicates the cash value of goods shipped to Anvik and Koserefsky beginning in 1906. Some of these figures obviously

	Anvik	Koserefsky
1910	$11,348	$110,135
1911	10,711	14,482
1912	12,968	43,748
1913	12,297	20,859
1914	17,287	23,426
1915	6,208	25,697
1916	12,248	45,256
1917	7,854	90,674
1918	5,786	28,754
1919	2,654	61,636

reflect the buying power of mission personnel and miners passing through or living in the area. Nevertheless, they indicate the amount of merchandise that was, theoretically at least, available to the Indian inhabitants. The trapping of fur-bearing animals may

have been in decline, but the buying power of the villages indicates a modest prosperity closely related to economic developments throughout the area.[46]

It is difficult to interpret these figures or to judge their accuracy. They are seldom broken down for any given year and then only into such broad divisions as "hardware," "lumber," "provisions," and "other." They appear to fluctuate wildly from year to year, a fact that may reflect the demands of the missions and the gold rush, particularly in 1910-1912, but more likely are related to accuracy and detail of reporting. In any event, they would seem to indicate that purchasing power in the Anvik-Shageluk area was considerable throughout this period.

Trading posts were not the only source of trade goods nor were they the only place where native products could be sold or exchanged. The steamboats, filled with miners and other travelers, stopped at most villages and at least some of the manufactures mentioned earlier that the Indians might have disposed of to the trading posts were sold to passing travelers who generally paid in cash and were likely to offer a more favorable price. Anvik ladies belonging to the Christ Church branch of the Women's Auxiliary made skin mittens, caps, and cloth socks under the direction of Miss Sabine which found a ready sale among miners headed for the upper Yukon.[47] In fact, according to one observer in 1897, Anvik rapidly achieved a reputation as being "the best place on the river for curios," although he lamented the fact that the Indians there were beginning to charge high prices, particularly since a San Francisco florist had sent out an order the previous summer for 1,000 birch bark baskets![48] Travelers on the steamboats were not averse to engaging in a little trade themselves. One man who made a boat trip from Whitehorse to St. Michael in the summer of 1898 purchased moose hides on the upper Yukon and discovered that they were in great demand and thus could be traded profitably on the lower river.[49]

As for Indian living quarters on the lower Yukon, by the turn of the century the traditional underground house had virtually disappeared, at least from the larger villages. Cantwell noted that throughout the area families lived in well-constructed log houses with "glazed" windows, heated by sheet-iron stoves, and lighted with coal oil lamps. These houses did not differ materially from those occupied by the white population of the country. A typical cabin had a single room occupied by the entire family as both a liv-

ing and a work area, the furniture usually consisting of one or more roughly made platforms on which fur robes and blankets were placed to serve as bedding, home-made benches, chairs, and tables.[50]

As previously noted, the missions had much to do with encouraging the Indians to abandon their traditional semi-subterranean houses. Examples set by miners and other whites in the area provided an additional impetus so that not long after 1900 traditional houses had virtually ceased to exist. There were only two remaining at Anvik in that year.[51] Most communities still had *kashims*, and sometimes these approximated the traditional structure of the past.[52] Increasingly, however, they came to be simply large cabins, sometimes occupied by larger families, which were used at designated times for dances and ceremonies.[53] The *kashim* at Anvik stood until about 20 years ago, and the structure at the old Shageluk village site, abandoned in 1970, is still standing.

Ingalik men were frequently able to find employment with the local traders or in connection with mining activities on the upper Innoko, particularly after about 1907. As early as 1910 Indians from Holy Cross and Shageluk were working at the Otter Creek diggings and in the 1920's residents of the same communities frequently found summer jobs at Flat. An elderly Shageluk resident today remembers steady summer employment as a sawmill operator for a trader at Holikachuk about 1915, as well as work assisting the trader in the purchase of dried fish at 15¢ a pound. In winter he drove a dog team for the same trader, transporting freight and mail up the Innoko and Iditarod rivers to the mining camps. From Shageluk it was a two-day trip to Iditarod City and three days to Flat. Of course, not all Indians could be thus employed on a steady basis, but some form of short term employment was frequently available to supplement income received from trapping and wood chopping.

An important consequence of the gold rush period for the Ingalik was the increased opportunity for face-to-face contacts with whites; not just the familiar traders, but men, and some women, from all walks of life who ascended the river to look for gold. In the winter of 1889 four miners lived at Anvik, the first of many to do so during the next two decades.[54] The wide lower reaches of the Anvik River was a suitable location for steamboats to wash out their boilers and also for winter quarters. When the larger steamers wintered in the vicinity of a village like Anvik, which they sometimes were forced to

PLATE 12. Houses at Anvik about 1923. The structure at right is a modified-traditional form (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

PLATE 13. Log houses and caches near Anvik; date not recorded (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

do if they got a late start upriver from St. Michael, the passengers and crew visited in the community and interacted with Indians and mission personnel. One suspects, however, that they interacted more frequently with the mission than with the Indians.

In 1898, at the height of the gold rush, three or four parties of gold seekers, attempting to ascend the Yukon in small boats, wintered at Anvik and many also stopped for extended periods near the Holy Cross mission. In the diary of the latter institution for January 1 to October 31, 1898 there are frequent references to miners passing through the area. Many of these were ill-equipped for the long trip to the Klondike and were sometimes destitute by the time they reached the villages of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik, still a long way from the gold fields. Both the Anvik and Holy Cross missions often cared for destitute and ill miners and, as a result, Chapman believed he should have extra personnel and supplies simply to deal with the problem. The winter of 1901-1902 was a particularly cold one with a recorded low of -62°F at Holy Cross in January. Mission records report that some miners perished from the cold that winter, while others arrived at the mission suffering from frostbite and malnutrition. Obviously, these needy individuals could not be turned away and there is no record that any ever were.[55]

During the Innoko and Iditarod gold rush, a greater number of whites remained more or less permanently in the area. As in earlier years, many miners passed through the villages and as many probably came down the river from Fairbanks and other interior communities as came up from St. Michael. An elderly present-day inhabitant of Anvik, who spent most of his youth in a fish camp south of the mouth of the Grayling River, remembers, as a small boy during the summers of 1908 and 1909, watching from the river bank in fascination as boat after boat, usually drifting or propelled only by oars, passed his camp on the way downriver. Most of these potential miners were looking for the entrance to Shageluk Slough, but many of them missed it and thus had to continue to the mouth of the Innoko and make their way upriver as best they could.

At Anvik new settlers arrived in the neighborhood from time to time, some of them staying for several years. Men with families in particular preferred to settle in the vicinity of the mission where their children could attend school.[56] Indian interaction with these white visitors and residents, however transitory, continued to be an important acculturative factor and, in fact, Anvik residents practic-

ed some sharp trading on their own. Chapman lamented the fact that his parishoners were often able to secure equipment and supplies from destitute Innoko miners at bargain prices because of the latter's desire to obtain some money and get out of the country as quickly as possible.[57]

The presence of miners and other whites in the vicinity of Indian villages was, however, sometimes viewed with alarm by mission personnel. At Anvik, Chapman seemed to welcome them and believed that his parishoners had successfully resisted most of the bad habits that were introduced, particularly the buying or making of alcoholic beverages, even though both liquor and the ingredients for its manufacture were available from visitors and occasionally from traders. In 1914, however, Hudson Stuck noted that the decline in mining had detached a number of the less energetic men from the search for gold and had led them to attempt to make a living by trapping. He believed that the already depleted number of fur-bearing animals was thereby further reduced to the detriment of Indians attempting to make a living from the same resources. As for the illegal sale of liquor to the Indians, he felt that little could be done to prevent it as long as there were only six deputy United States marshals on the entire American Yukon and a minimum of local interest in the enforcing of laws of any kind. Reputable whites in the various villages could not be persuaded to accept the low-paid office of justice of the peace, even though by doing so they might be able to prevent traders from allowing the back rooms of their stores to be used for drinking and gambling. This type of activity eventually developed into a serious problem for the Holy Cross Mission.[58]

Concerning relations of a personal nature between the miners and Ingalik women, there is little reliable information. Presumably few transient whites took wives in the Ingalik area, although it would be surprising if they did not leave at least a few mixed-blood offspring. It is significant, however, that the mission records make no mention of mixed marriages or relationships outside of marriage. There are, of course, obvious mixed-bloods in the present day Ingalik population, but for the most part they are the descendants of traders or lay mission employees who were resident in the area for many years.

By 1920 most of the gold mining activity adjacent to the Anvik-Shageluk area had subsided completely. Seasonal mining by highly mechanical methods was still carried out along the tributaries of the Innoko River, but for all practical purposes the effect of these ac-

tivities on the local inhabitants was minimal. Following the gold rush, the many steamboats that had formerly plied the river were left on marine ways at St. Michael, Nenana, Dawson, and Whitehorse, or simply abandoned in sloughs where they last wintered. Demand for river transportation all but disappeared. The Alaska Railroad, running from Seward to Fairbanks, was officially completed in July, 1923 and the line took over the remaining few boats. Completion of the railroad caused the traditional flow of river traffic to be reversed. River boat service by the railroad was inaugurated in 1924 with freight being transferred to the vessels at Nenana and transported to various Yukon communities as far down the river as Marshall in the delta area.[59]

Although this new combination rail and river route to the lower Yukon had the potential for providing better service to the area than existed at any time in the past except for the very height of the gold rush, the lower sections of the Yukon were considered to be among the most isolated in all Alaska. In a government report published in 1924, the vast stretch of country contiguous to the Yukon between Tanana and St. Michael was described as an unpeopled area with abandoned mining camps and without "immediate promise." Except for the boat service from Nenana to Holy Cross and Marshall, provided by the Alaska Railroad, this report continued, the Yukon country would be "wholly cut off from settled Alaska and the outside world."[60]

As noted earlier, the steamboats operated by the Alaska Railroad burned wood and continued to do so until the Second World War, although there were seldom more than two boats in service at one time. In 1933 a new steamer, the *Nenana,* was put in service and made eight trips each season to villages along the river. This meant, for most communities, a boat every two weeks. During the war, the railroad put two more steamers in service making a total of four operating out of Nenana each year. All vessels were converted to crude oil to save fueling time and the boats mainly served the various military establishments along the river. This meant that the Indian villages did not benefit from the increased service and the cutting of wood for fuel for the vessels came to an end. In 1953 two diesel-powered tow boats were put in service to replace the old sternwheelers, and by this time bush air fields had been built in most villages; the mail and light freight was carried by air.[61] Only heavy freight for the trading posts continued to be brought down the river by boats. At the present time, the villages of the lower Yukon

receive two visits each year from the river boats; in early summer and early fall. Air service, bringing both freight and passengers, is available to most villages two to four times a week.

Notes

1. Jetté, Notes on the history of Alaska. OPA/Jetté, box 3; Osgood, 1971, pp. 8-10.
2. Redmond, 1891, p. 625; Dunham, 1898, pp. 396-397; Chapman, 1931a, p. 244; Wickersham, 1938, p. 469.
3. Chapman, 1948, p. 113.
4. Chapman, 1931a, p. 395.
5. Harrington, 1918a, p. 56; 1918b, p. 340.
6. King, 1908, p. 110; Maddren, 1909, pp. 238-239.
7. Sleem, 1910, pp. 376-377; Maddren, 1911, pp. 237-238.
8. Maddren, 1910, pp. 24-26.
9. Sleem, 1910, pp. 376-377; Maddren, 1911, pp. 240-241, 266-267.
10. King, 1908, pp. 111-112.
11. Maddren, 1911, pp. 240-241; Eakin, 1914, pp. 34, 39.
12. Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1920, vol. 2, p. 26; Caughrean, 1942, p. 7.
13. Stuck, 1911, pp. 488-489.
14. Chapman to Wood, Feb. 3, 1910. ECA/Alaska papers, box 16, Chapman letters.
15. Rowe, 1899, pp. 355-360.
16. Koserefsky Records. OPA/HCM, box 5.
17. Harrison, 1907, p. 217; Kitchner, 1954, p. 217.
18. Andrews, 1911, p. 7.
19. Cantwell, 1902, p. 141.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., p. 134.
22. Harrison, 1907, pp. 222-223.
23. Dunham, 1898, p. 399.
24. Porter, 1893, p. 123; Russell, 1895, p. 148; Dunham, 1898, p. 399; Kitchner, 1954, p. 99.
25. Dunham, 1898, p. 404.
26. HCM diary, Feb. 2-Dec. 31, 1897. OPA/HCM, box 2; Diary of Holy Cross Industrial School for Boys, Sept. 5, 1898-May 23, 1899. OPA/HCM, box 2; Cantwell, 1902, pp. 70, 144; Kitchner, 1954, p. 99.
27. Dunham, 1898, p. 70.
28. Lucchesi to Provincial, Sept. 13, 1903. OPA/Lucchesi; Chapman, 1900, p. 8; Richardson, 1900, p. 745.
29. Harrison, 1907, p. 217; Andrews, 1911, p. 7; Kitchner, 1954, pp. 112-113; Adams, [1968?].
30. Chapman to Wood, July 29, 1918. ECA/Alaska papers, box 17, Chapman letters.

31. Pilcher diaries. UA.
32. Cantwell, 1902, pp. 153-154.
33. Stuck, 1917a, p. 361.
34. M. S. Chapman to Condick, Dec. 3, 1923. ECA/Alaska papers, box 19, Chapman letters; Herron, 1901, p. 70.
35. HCM diaries, May 13, 1902-July 16, 1904; July 17, 1904-July 26, 1908. OPA/HCM, boxes 2-3.
36. Maddren, 1910, pp. 29-30; Harrington, 1918b, p. 338; Mertie and Harrington, 1924, p. 86.
37. Harrington, 1918b, p. 338; Mertie and Harrington, 1924, p. 86.
38. Cantwell, 1902, pp. 153-154, 224.
39. Gilbert and O'Malley, 1921, pp. 143-144.
40. Chapman, 1913, p. 50.
41. Gilbert and O'Malley, 1921, pp. 143-144.
42. Chapman to Emmons, July 29, 1904. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers.
43. Stuck, 1920, p. 320; Gilbert and O'Malley, 1921, p. 147.
44. Chapman to Pierson, Nov. 22, 1918. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers. HCM diary, Jan. 1, 1913-Jan. 30, 1919. OPA/HCM, box 3.
45. Rickard, 1909, p. 296.
46. Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1911, vol. 2, p. 513; 1912, vol. 2, pp. 567-568; 1913, vol. 2, p. 579; 1914, vol. 2, p. 413; 1915, vol. 2, p. 532; 1916, vol. 2, p. 465; 1917, vol. 2, p. 472; 1918 vol. 2, p. 597; 1919, vol. 2, p. 506.
47. Sabine, 1898, p. 459.
48. Henderson, 1898, p. 132.
49. Priestly, 1912, p. 248.
50. Cantwell, 1902, p. 212.
51. Chapman and Sabine, 1900, p. 543.
52. Osgood, 1940, pp. 290-302.
53. Cantwell, 1902, p. 214.
54. Chapman to Langford, July 18, 1890. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
55. Koserefsky Records,OPA/HCM, box 5; HCM diary, Jan. 1-Oct. 31, 1898; Diary of the Holy Cross Industrial School for Boys, Sept. 5, 1898-May 23, 1899. OPA/HCM, box 2; Chapman, 1899a, pp. 460-461; 1931a, p. 395; 1948, p. 120; Hickman, 1960, p. 35.
56. Chapman to Wood, Oct. 3, 1910. ECA/Alaska papers, box 16, Chapman letters.
57. Chapman to Kimber, June 16, 1902. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
58. Chapman, 1911a, p. 447; Stuck, 1914a, pp. 2, 4, 6; 1914b, pp. 188-189, 191.
59. Adams, [1968?].
60. Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1924, pp. 111-113.
61. Adams, [1968?].

VII

THE MISSIONS, GOVERNMENT, AND RAPID CULTURE CHANGE: 1896-1935

Decline of the Russian Orthodox Church On the Yukon

As the 19th century came to an end, neither the Roman Catholics nor the Episcopalians experienced much competition from the Russian Orthodox Church. Zachary Belkhov served at Russian Mission and St. Michael until 1895 and, two years later, was replaced by Jacob Korchinsky who remained until 1901. In that same year, the chapel at St. Michael was consecrated as a church and, although it became increasingly important as the center of Orthodox activity, Russian Mission was not entirely eclipsed. The significant factor seems to have been the presence of Hieromonk Amfilokhii whose residence served as the administrative center of the mission. He was assigned to Russian Mission in 1901 but after 1909 lived most of the time at St. Michael, serving the church there until 1924. Nikifor Amkan, an Eskimo, was assigned to Russian Mission in 1906 and seems to have concentrated his activity on the lower river, seldom venturing upriver farther than Holy Cross except for occasional visits to Innoko River communites.[1]

The Changing Role of the Missions—Episcopal

In the summer of 1896 Bishop Peter Trimble Rowe made his first tour of the missions under his jurisdiction, which at that time numbered four. On August 1 he arrived at Anvik and in his annual report for that year he presented a vivid description of the mission, its activities and problems:

> Christ Church, Anvik is beautifully situated; more so than any other mission on the Yukon (of any church). It nestles on the side of a hill and on the bank of the beautiful Anvik River just where it empties into the Yukon . . . . The buildings are neat and comfortable. They consist of the chapel, schoolhouse, mission house, saw-mill, store-house, shop, cache, and a new building in the course of erection intended as a boarding school for boys. On the same side of the river as the mission, and just across the slough, are the log cabins of the

> Christian Indians. Mr. Chapman does not allow any to build and live here unless they become Christians. Their cabins are clean and comfortable compared with those of the pagan Indians. They dress very well and are industrious. Just across the Anvik, on a point, are the subterranean huts of some Indians still pagans. Here polygamy still lingers. These Indians are as filthy as their mud underground huts. They are but scantily clothed. The shamans still lord it over these people, and their influence is so great that the missionary finds it difficult and hard to overcome . . . . The contrast between these Indians and the Christian ones is very striking. Could he who questions the benefits of missionary work among such a people but see this contrast at Anvik, he would behold an object-lesson that would dispel his doubts and fire his humanity with resolution to support and propagate the missionary cause.[2]

Bishop Rowe, who served his church in Alaska for 47 years, was new to the work in 1896 and he certainly over-simplified the situation at Anvik at that time. Even John Chapman would not have seen the contrast between "Christian" and "pagan" Indians in quite such black and white terms. Although most Anvik residents had moved to the mission side of the river by 1896 and Chapman doubtless hoped that mission influence had played some role in their decision to do so, the fact is that very few individuals had, at that time, wholeheartedly accepted Christianity and abandoned what remained of their traditional beliefs.

The original mission land, purchased by Parker and Chapman in 1888 and amounting to approximately 172 acres, was officially surveyed in 1906. For a number of years the mission charged a rent of $1.00 per year for each person or family owning a cabin on mission ground. The main purpose of this charge, apparently, was to establish the fact that the mission owned the land and had the legal right to exclude undesirable tenants if the need to do so should ever occur. There is no indication, however, that this was ever done nor have Indians ever questioned the mission's legal purchase of the land. Charging rent also prevented families from acquiring legally recognized squatter's rights.[3]

The mission always derived a certain amount of satisfaction from the fact that not long after 1900, the entire village of Anvik was on land belonging to the church. At various times in the past, people moved off church land in an attempt to escape the ravages of epidemics, but they always moved back again. The fact that the trading posts were always on mission land doubtless contributed to the desire of the villagers to return. In recent years at least, the fact that the mission in a sense "owned" the village, definitely hindered the development of a sense of village cohesiveness and a willingness

to be responsible for the institution and maintenance of community services.

Like the mission at Holy Cross, the Episcopalians at Anvik attempted gardening on a large scale. In the fall of 1911 the mission stored 2,200 lb. of turnips, 200 lb. of rutabagas, 550 lb. of potatoes, 50 lb. of beets, 25 lb. of carrots, and 150 lb. of cabbage. In addition, Chapman encouraged the Indians to plant their own gardens and gave them seeds each spring. Four head of cattle were acquired about 1905 and dried grass was collected for their feed during the winter. Although the yield of milk was considerable at first and a valuable addition to the diet of the children at the mission school, the Indians could not be persuaded to assist in giving the animals adequate care, and mission personnel could not effectively combine animal husbandry with their other duties. However, the mission garden continued to be productive for many years even though there was never as much ground under cultivation as at Holy Cross.[4]

The influence of the church, as distinct from general mission influence, developed slowly in the community. Attendance at services was erratic and the number of individuals who could be counted on as regular communicants was almost always, to Chapman's way of thinking, disappointingly small; in 1903 there were only 10.[5] But the challenge remained and throughout his many years of service, John Chapman was almost always equal to the efforts that the challenge required. Marriages, baptisms, and burials were part of the regular duties of the clergymen. Frequently, when serious family disagreements occurred, a couple would return their marriage certificate and ask to be unmarried. In making an offering at Christmas for the work of the church elsewhere, the Indians were not able to give much cash, but frequently offered skins and items of native manufacture, such as beaded slippers and bags, and miniature dog sleds for which the mission could usually find a ready sale.[6]

A visitor to Anvik at Easter in 1911 heard Chapman preach about the death of Jesus and the love of the Father. The missionary described the death of the two thieves and how Christ promised eternal life to the one who believed in him, a reward that was denied to the other thief. Chapman related this teaching to the so-called "parka feast," the Ingalik potlatch for the dead.[7] He pointed out how love for their dead relatives and anxiety concerning the soul's health and comfort led to the custom of clothing and feeding the

dead through the medium of gifts to their surviving kinsmen. Chapman explained how their own fear of cold and hunger gave rise to the concepts and noted that if his parishoners lived in a hot country where cold and hunger would not be dreaded, they would protect the souls of the dead from some other peril.

This sermon, which Chapman preached in English with the assistance of an Ingalik interpreter, was apparently typical of his efforts to relate the teachings of Christianity to familiar aspects of Indian traditions and life. At the end of this particular sermon, Chapman asked all those who accepted Christianity to stand up. The mission children and workers stood together as did a large number of Indian women. A fewer number of men stood and those not standing were asked to move to the back of the church. This seemingly unnecessary reaction on the part of Chapman caused several individuals to leave in apparent anger. It would appear that at this time, when the mission had been established at Anvik for 24 years, there was a small core of believers, but still some suspicion and hostility on the part of many villagers.[8] Nevertheless, by 1918 virtually all village parents sought baptism for their children whether or not they themselves were communicants.[9]

The initial success of gardening and stock raising at Anvik led Chapman, in 1906, to consider the possibility of moving the entire mission to the mouth of Grayling Creek because of the better water and fuel supply there. At Anvik, he noted, all the best land was occupied by mission buildings and there were few remaining places where Indians could build their cabins except on the flat river bank where there was the possibility of flooding every spring. Chapman believed that Grayling was the only place between Holy Cross and Blackburn that was really suitable for an agricultural community. He also apparently believed that most of the village would move with the mission and that this would cause the people no particular hardship as they had moved their village several times in the past, although always in the general area of its present location. In any event, all thoughts of such a move were abandoned the following year when gold was discovered on the upper Innoko and all whites, with the exception of the storekeeper, moved from the area.[10] Chapman decided that the move would be difficult if not impossible without the support and assistance of the small white population in his area.

As might be expected, from the beginning of his work at Anvik Chapman experienced the most active opposition to his teachings

from the shamans who correctly perceived his efforts as a threat to their authority and prestige in the community. Although in the beginning the villagers found Christian teaching strange and were even amused by the church services, the main resistence was created by fear that if they appeared to follow Christian teaching, the shamans would find some way to hurt them. It is not surprising, therefore, that Chapman sometimes saw his problems in the village almost completely in terms of obstacles placed in his way by shamans and perceived himself as constantly in a virtual state of war with these traditional practitioners.[11]

In 1901, after a visit to Anvik, Bishop Rowe wrote to the Board of Missions that the people were "still hardened in their superstitions" and that he was studying the situation in order to evolve some new methods and approaches by which he could break through their old ways.[12] In 1904 those Indians living near the mission voted in favor of a plan whereby they would become tenants of the mission with the understanding that "when any one of them should have demonstrated his intention and ability to clean up and care for sufficient land to keep a cow" Mr. Chapman would do his best to secure a clear title for him. This plan, which was clearly impractical and was never put into effect, was strongly opposed by the shamans and Chapman believed that the issue was really over the question "whether the shamans shall interfere with the people who wish to settle near us."[13] This event increased the polarization of the community with the adherents of one particularly strong shaman, Nikolai Doctor, setting up a separate village about a mile from the mission. Thereafter, for several years mission personnel spoke of "our village" and "theirs."[14] For a while, the simplified factionalism seen by Bishop Rowe in 1896 seemed to have come true.

Within a few years, however, Chapman had apparently achieved sufficient success to encourage his belief that he was gradually gaining the upper hand in his battle with shamanism. Just the following year, 1905, an event occurred that caused him much pleasure and encouragement. One of the mission's communicants was present in the *kashim* when a shaman mentioned that he had seen in a bowl that a calamity of some kind was impending. Those present urged him to try to interpret the nature of this event, but he answered that he could not divine as successfully as he had in the past because of the changes that the school and mission had brought about in the beliefs of the people. When these comments were repeated to Chapman he was, of course, ecstatic and predicted that the shamans

PLATE 14. Nikolai Doctor (right), an Anvik shaman, with his wife and friends; date not recorded (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives).

were in danger of becoming a laughing stock and would no longer have the power "even to frighten our school girls."[15] Indeed, in 1906 two shamans were said to have publically renounced their practice and acknowledged that they had deceived the people. However, the missionary was forced to admit that there had been an upsurge of shamanistic activity at the time of an eclipse of the moon in the fall of that year.[16]

Chapman's successes and failures in the battle against shamanism alternately encouraged and discouraged him and although he occasionally enjoyed a major triumph, it is clear that mission influence, even as it was growing, did not result in the complete decline of the shamans' influence. In the summer of 1912 Hudson Stuck visited Anvik to attend a celebration honoring Chapman on the completion of 25 years at the mission. He noted that the shamans retained more authority and influence at Anvik than at any of the other Episcopal missions in Alaska. This observation was doubtless partly a response to the disquiet and uncertainty created in the settlement by the eruption of Mt. Katmai which had taken place just prior to his visit.[17]

In 1919 Nikolai Doctor renounced shamanism and accepted Christianity, an event which caused great rejoicing at the mission. He was presumed to be the last of five shamans who had hindered the work of the missionaries for many years.[18] Nikolai Doctor may have been one of the last shamans to openly defy the mission. Shamanism continued, of course, its practitioners being more circumspect in their activities and less willing to acknowledge their role to outsiders. In 1920 Elsie Clews Parsons interviewed an Ingalik Indian from Anvik who was a student at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. This student had suffered from a severe case of influenza the previous year and, through a friend, sent $15 to an Anvik shaman "to have him visit me through his fox, the one who carries his messages." Earlier, when the same informant had volunteered to go into the army, a shaman wanted to tattoo crossed guns on his back but the informant did not want army doctors to see it. Finally, the shaman agreed to perform secretly to protect him.[19]

As late as 1931, not long before Chapman's retirement, a reputed shaman died during an influenza outbreak and the villagers, after holding an "old time wake" for him, brought his body to the mission. Some of the older people also wanted an "old time" funeral meaning that they wished to leave the coffin on the surface of the

ground. Chapman refused to officiate at a church service if this were done. As a result, the mourners decided in favor of Christian burial, including interment, and the deceased was buried from the church.[20] church.[20]

The cycle of masked dances and ceremonies continued to be the focal point of Ingalik religious and social life and to create ambivalent feelings in the minds of mission personnel. On the one hand, such ceremonies were considered wasteful in terms of food consumed and gifts distributed and, of course, generally inconsistent with Christian beliefs. On the other hand, the missionaries were impressed with the solemnity and sincerity of the Indian participants and felt that in some ways, the ceremonies brought out much that was good in the Indian character. In commenting on one such gathering, Mrs. Chapman noted that

> It is an impressive sight when the little fleet of visiting canoes comes silently up the river and stops within a few rods of the bank, the people waiting with bowed heads while the bereaved relatives and friends—or the important ones of the village—standing on the bank, go through fantastic ceremonies and motions to the sound of drums and sticks of wood beaten together.[21]

The villages of Holikachuk, Anvik, and Shageluk were closely bound together by the series of annual ceremonies held in each community to which residents of the other two were always invited. Other communities on the Innoko as far upriver as Dishkaket, and the Yukon villages of Holy Cross and Bonasila were also included. According to one source, some ceremonies were not held at Anvik as early as 1905 and it is clear that mission influence was the reason.[22] Writing in 1919 Chapman noted that ceremonies "propitiating the spirits of animals, etc." were being observed with less regularity. He believed that this was due primarily to resistance on the part of the younger generation who, as wage earners, bore the burden of support for the ceremonies.[23] As late as 1926, however, the Anvik people are described as "dancing their lives away" each winter and constantly turning to the mission for assistance when their supplies of food ran out.[24]

Parsons' informant told her that the missionaries were informed that ceremonies for the dead were merely social feasts carried out for the amusement of the people and it is certainly true that neither Chapman nor anyone else on the mission staff appeared to understand their religious significance. Nevertheless, at Anvik, at least, the old ceremonies did wither away and those that remained lost at least some of their religious connotations. Some were dropped

because they could no longer be performed fully and properly. At Shageluk and Holikachuk, however, a reasonably complete cycle of festivals persisted into the 1930's.[25]

Along with the ceremonial cycle, other traditional beliefs and practices began to disappear rapidly around 1920. In 1919 Chapman wrote about the annual run of lampreys which takes place in the late fall and, because the catch is unpredictable, was surrounded with restrictions concerning the means employed to take them. No one who had lost a relative during the previous year was allowed on the ice, and iron implements could not be used for taking the eel-like creatures. Older women were also prohibited from participating and it was forbidden to make shavings on the ice in the probable direction of the run. By 1919, according to Chapman, all these restrictions were disregarded, although old people occasionally murmured when the young men opened the fishing holes with a miner's pick.[26]

Parsons' informant mentioned a number of traditional practices that were apparently still carried out in the early 1920's. An ax-head was placed on the body of a new born baby boy for a certain number of days, but it was quickly removed if a white person came into the house. Like other northern Athapaskans, the Ingalik appear to have practiced a limited form of the couvade. The father stayed indoors during the first 20 days after the birth of a child and did not touch any objects made by white people, particularly items made of iron or steel. As in the early days of the mission, birds were plucked and animals skinned and disemboweled before they were sold to the mission, and the meat of bears and lynx was not sold to white people.[27]

It will be recalled that both the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics became interested in the inhabitants of the Innoko River early in the history of their respective missions and, in fact, were actively competitive in that area. A priest of the Russian Orthodox Church also visited the Innoko villages more regularly than he did those on the Yukon. As early as 1896 Chapman directed one of the pupils from the mission school to visit the Innoko villages and try to stir up some interest in a school.[28] In 1899 a church was built on the river at the request of the residents who volunteered their labor and were assisted by some Indians from Anvik. Chapman believed that his efforts to missionize in this area were successful except in the community where, as we have noted, the Roman Catholics built a small chapel.[29]

About 1907 the Russian Orthodox priest visited the several small

villages and camps on the Innoko above Shageluk Slough and Chapman went there in the summer of 1910 at the request of the inhabitants who numbered 12 families and 52 individuals. Prior to that time, neither the Episcopalians nor the Roman Catholics had contacted Indians living above the slough. In one of these small communities Chapman was surprised to discover that the people had built themselves a house of worship.

> The room is plain but neat and clean. At the end opposite the door there is a table, covered by a cloth, upon which a white cross is embroidered. Above the table, stretched across the end of the room, is a brightly colored strip of calico on which many devotional pictures are hung. These had been the possessions of those now dead and had been placed in the church as memorials. The people crossed themselves when they entered and when they left.[30]

Chapman informed his new parishoners that he visited them with the understanding that such acts as he might perform for them "should be considered as done for their own priest until they could see him and come to some understanding with him."[31]

Those Ingalik living on the Innoko below Shageluk Slough continued to receive regular visits from the personnel of the Anvik mission at least once a year and between 1905 and 1910 Chapman performed 27 baptisms and 16 marriages in this area. Gradually, the Episcopalians began to consider the Innoko as within their jurisdiction and although Roman Catholic missionaries continued to visit the river for many years, they do not appear to have enjoyed great success. As early as 1911, Chapman estimated, perhaps optimistically, that of the 381 individuals living at Anvik and in the lower Innoko villages only 14 persons comprising four families were Roman Catholics, while two or three families acknowledged "doubtful allegiance" to the Russian Orthodox Church.[32]

As we know, the Episcopalians maintained high hopes for their boarding school which had begun when Chapman took a few boarders into his home in the early days of the mission and was placed on a firmer basis with the arrival of Miss Sabine in 1894. Almost from the beginning, however, they worried that the Holy Cross boarding school would attract students from Anvik. In 1896 Bishop Rowe expressed these fears to the chairman of the Alaska Committee and noted that the school should be increased to "80 or 100 pupils" with a scholarship of $125 for each pupil. He also advocated that the policy of the Roman Catholics of obtaining boarding students anywhere along the river where they could get them should be followed at Anvik.[33]

Maintaining and expanding the boarding school as well as a day school was a constant struggle for the Anvik mission. In 1900 there were 18 boarders, 13 of which were girls. Chapman simply did not have time to work with a larger number of boys.[34] The contrast between the struggling Anvik school and the flourishing establishment at Holy Cross was a constant source of concern to Chapman and his colleagues. Not surprisingly, interaction between the two missions was frequently unfriendly. Writing in 1906, Chapman complained that the Catholic missionaries "deny the validity of our orders, and assert to me that we have no authority to perform priestly acts."[35] He contrasted the small Anvik school, which in that year had only nine students and a staff of four, with the thriving establishment downriver. Chapman accused the Catholics of spreading the word that his mission did not want boarding students. Some of the boys and girls at Anvik had been to the Holy Cross school and when they returned, their influence on other village children was noticeable. Chapman was also disturbed because little success had been achieved in attracting boarding students from the Innoko villages where he believed that mission influence was strong.[36] Between 1903 and 1911 the average number of boarding pupils was about 12 and even in later years, that number was never greatly exceeded. Unlike the Holy Cross school, the Anvik boarding school continued to consist primarily of students from the village and nearby communities. The day school sometimes had as many as 25 students in more or less regular attendance.[37]

At Anvik the boarding school had to be operated out of the annual mission budget, and although Chapman received official approval and encouragement for his educational efforts, annual appropriations seldom permitted the expansion of staff that was necessary to increase the effectiveness of the school. As late as 1918 Hudson Stuck, frequently a critic of his own church, wrote that the educational effort at Anvik was neglected and the mission itself overshadowed by the far more extensive Roman Catholic establishment. "Holy Cross and Anvik are about the same age. One has been fostered, cherished, and extended whenever opportunity presented. The other has been neglected, skimped and starved."[38] Nevertheless, it appeared to Chapman that the school gradually gained acceptance in the village and in 1918 he informed a correspondent that "the desirability of school is generally recognized."[39]

Whatever may have been the degree of recognition of the importance of education at Anvik, there were aspects of mission boarding

PLATE 15. Anvik Indians operating a concrete mixer for the mission, 1917 (Anonymous, 1928).

PLATE 16. Anvik on January 1, 1918. In the background are the houses of Indians who moved onto mission land (University of Alaska Archives).

PLATE 17. Christ Church Mission, Anvik, in 1920 (Anonymous, 1928).

PLATE 18. The Anvik fish camp about 1920 (University of Alaska Archives).

PLATE 19. Christ Church Mission children at Christmas about 1920 (Anonymous, 1928).

school life that puzzled the Indians and conflicted with traditional beliefs and practices. Parsons' informant noted that mission boys were generally careless concerning the old rules. Elderly villagers were concerned, for example, when they saw boys go into the basement of the girls' dormitory since this was a violation of a strict rule, "for until a woman is old, she is, as we say, in an unfavorable state and she should never be above the head of a man."[40] There also was a general feeling in the village that mission boys must be awkward in achieving secret sexual relations with young women. At the same time, the mission girls, according to this informant, were not generally desired as wives by the young men of the community. It was felt that such girls had lost their pride and since they were well taken care of by the mission, did not need to look ahead or concern themselves with the future. Also, of course, they could not be expected to conform to the old customs.[41] The good Miss Sabine would doubtless have agreed concerning the matter of the old customs, but she would certainly have been shocked to know that her girls were not valued for their diligence and self-reliance.

In 1927, following a severe epidemic of influenza at Anvik in the spring of that year, the Episcopal Church raised $11,000 for the mission. This made possible the reinforcement of the staff with an additional priest, a teacher, and a nurse.[42] By 1930 there were eight on the mission staff, more than at any other of the 27 Episcopal mis-

sion stations and churches in Alaska.[43] This was the high point of the mission in terms of village influence. John Wight Chapman retired in 1931 and was replaced by his son Henry who served at Anvik until 1948. The Depression reduced the mission staff to one man and his wife and throughout most of his tenure at Anvik, Henry Chapman had to maintain the school, minister to the villagers, visit neighboring communities, as well as maintain the post office which had been established in 1898 and take care of the medical work. In 1935 the boarding school, which had been operated more or less continuously for 48 years, was closed for lack of funds and the children returned to their homes or were placed in the homes of friends and neighbors.[44]

As a result of his anthropological investigations in 1934 and 1937, Cornelius Osgood believed that the impact of the Episcopal mission had been considerable at first, but had weakened when expected changes for a better life did not take place. Some of his informants claimed that belief in the old ideas were weakened by the Christian church but without any effective replacement of faith. Osgood also believed that there was a certain nostalgia for the Russian Orthodox Church even though its priests had not visited Anvik for many years. The strength of the Roman Catholic Church at Holy Cross was recognized and people appreciated the care for the children by both missions.[45]

In 1903, John Chapman wrote as follows: "Regarding church membership, all these people are claimed as adherents either by the Greek (Russian Orthodox), the Roman Catholic or the Episcopalian Church. Their own recognition of their status is a different thing, and the prevailing tone at present can hardly be called Christian, although it is becoming more and more distinctly receptive to Christianity."[46] Twenty-two years later, not long before his retirement, his evaluation was not greatly different, only more resigned. "They (the Indians) still remain at heart very much heathens. I think, however, that it is true that they look upon us as their friends."[47]

As early as 1934 the mission attempted to convey to the Indians that they would have to take a larger share of responsibility for the church at Anvik. Otherwise they might not even have a clergyman,[48] a warning that was to become a reality, but not until 1967. However, the role of the mission had been paternalistic for too many years. Anvik residents failed to see the church as their church and, therefore, at a time when diminishing financial resources made it

impossible for the mission to maintain itself as it had for so many years, were unwilling to support it either with money or by assuming leadership roles.

Throughout the United States, attitudes toward missionaries and missionary work have changed since the zealous days of Christian expansion in the 1880's. The decline and eventual collapse of the mission at Anvik made it clear to the Episcopal Church that mission work should not be started or continued unless it can be taken over and carried on by local leadership within a reasonable length of time. Otherwise, there is unending support from outside and consequent dependency.

The Changing Role of the Missions—Roman Catholic

In 1896 the Roman Catholic mission at Holy Cross was nine years old and had a staff of four priests, three lay brothers, and 10 sisters.[49] Although much larger than the Episcopal mission at Anivk and with a well-established boarding school, the Roman Catholics nevertheless experienced many of the same problems in their relations with the inhabitants of Koserefsky and, like Chapman and his colleagues, frequently became discouraged and tended to view their progress as very slow indeed. The priests continued to complain that attendance at mass was low and that those who came did so only to obtain the food distributed; yet these "feasts" continued to be an integral part of church services, particularly on religious holidays. At a service with instructions on Christmas day, 1898 those in attendance received a barrel of soup, cooked rice and beans, five sacks of bread, 20 heads of tobacco, 2 lb. of tea, and some candy.[50] It is little wonder, therefore, that some Indians became highly opportunistic in their dealings with the mission. About this time the fathers refer ironically to a girl who was raised at Anvik by the Protestants, but later became a Catholic. She is described as "an infidel among the whites, a Protestant at Anvik, a Catholic at Holy Cross, a petty shaman at Paimiut, and a Russian at Russian Mission."[51]

The fathers continued to cross the Yukon almost daily to minister to the inhabitants of Koserefsky. Sometimes they were encouraged by small triumphs such as one that occurred in April, 1910 when several young women were allowed to leave their homes and attend mass even though they had just experienced their first menses and would normally have been expected to remain in seclusion.[52] At other times when the priest went across to instruct the people, only

women and children would attend while the men remained in the *kashim.*[53] The diaries for the first decade of the present century are full of references to small defeats and triumphs like these. The fathers could also be vindictive, as when they refused food to a needy family because their children were not in school, or allowed a small girl to be buried "without solemnity" to teach her relatives a lesson since they "sang and danced" for the dead child.[54]

As at Anvik, those Indians who were converted to Christianity moved onto mission property and gradually a small village of log cabins grew up around the expanding mission buildings. Many of those living in the mission village were former pupils of the boarding school. When they married, the mission frequently provided the young couple with a cabin and some supplies, and took a great deal of pride in these "practicing Christians." Boarding school girls were encouraged to marry mission boys and settle on mission land so they would not be exposed to temptations of life in the village across the river.[55] Some of the so-called good results which mission personnel saw in the new Christian native village were believed due to the fact that the mission owned the village and the Koserefsky Indians always had to ask permission to build there. Thus it was possible for the mission to keep out "undesirables."[56]

In July, 1903 a special subcommittee of the Senate committee on territories visited Holy Cross during a fact-finding tour of Alaska. Like other visitors, the senators were highly impressed with the gardens, the substantial log structures constituting the mission, and the behavior of the school children. They also contrasted the neatness and affluence of the mission with the "squalor and filth" of the Indian village.[57] However flattering such a comparison might be to those who had worked so hard to establish and build the mission, there were some who had already begun to worry. In 1902 Father Lucchesi had written that "the Indians are more and more separating into two moral and material camps. The good ones stay around the mission, the bad went to the other side to be out of our control. It is plain that there is in them a kind of opposition and dislike to us."[58]

The Roman Catholics, like their Episcopalian colleagues, were ambivalent about the feasts and dances that took place so frequently every winter. These ceremonies seem for the most part to have been regarded as non-religious and were seldom objected to by mission personnel unless they took place during Lent.[59] Although failing to

comprehend the religious or social significance of these ceremonies, the Jesuits did appreciate the excitement and pagentry that accompanied an invitation from one village to another. This appreciation is apparent in a description of such a ceremony by Father Lucchesi:

> The Indians have feasts during winter as often as their means permit. They chop wood for the traders and when they have enough grub, an invitation is sent to the village they wish to invite. The messenger sent carries requests for certain presents which the invited party must bring with them, and these presents asked must be presented to the one demanding them. If they fail to do so, they are ridiculed in song. When the messenger arrives, all gather to hear what he has to say. In the inviting village, for several weeks everyone lives on dry fish, all meat being saved for the feast, and the money is spent on canned fruits and other delicacies; women busily engaged in making doughnuts, pancakes and bread. If one would sell meat to the traders, he would be considered stingy. In some parts of the country, the feasts begin in a very solemn manner. When the guests are coming they stop at a short distance from the village. It if is not too cold, the men leave the sleds in care of the women, and in single file, enter the village dancing and singing. There the receiving party forms two groups in front of the chief's house; the men stand on one side singing and the women on the other dancing. As soon as guests arrive in the village, the singing and dancing stop. The chief or one of the leaders comes forward to welcome them. In his speech he recalls the glories of days gone by, reminding them how the rivers and streams gave them fish in great abundance, the forests their deer and the air their birds. Then they lived in the midst of plenty and there were no troubles. Joy fills his heart for this feast will be for him and his people a sweet remembrance of the past. The leader of the guests responds. A general hand shaking then takes place and the young men rush to bring the sleds to town, turning loose the dogs and carrying sleds on shoulders, for these contain the gifts.[60]

Father Lucchesi missed the significance of the gift-giving and he apparently failed to see any special meaning in the Indians' longing for the past. Although he occasionally was more perceptive than some missionaries in the Anvik-Shageluk area, he never would have associated such a longing with the presence of his thriving mission establishment.

Although the Jesuits may have been tolerant concerning ceremonies and festivals, they nevertheless experienced considerable difficulty in dealing with the shamans. A shaman living at Bonasila is first mentioned in the mission diaries in 1902 and frequently referred to thereafter as giving "trouble" to the mission. On occasion he is ordered to stay away from mission property. Finally, however, in August 1927 he was received into the church, certainly a major triumph for the Jesuits.[61] A Koserefsky shaman, known as "Big Doctor," was a continual thorn in the mission's side,

sometimes appearing about to be converted, and other times in violent opposition. The priests were continually warning him not to pray for good weather at ceremonies, something he apparently was fond of doing. He died in April, 1907 but refused to see a priest at the end.[62]

The mission diaries are generally not explicit concerning the opposition of shamans to the church, nor did mission personnel seem to see themselves as locked in a personal battle with them as did John Chapman. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were fully aware of the extent to which shamans could influence their fellow villagers and thus hinder the work of the mission. One such instance was the shamans' encouragement of the general discomfort which the people felt concerning the church custom of underground burial. There are many references throughout the diaries to the difficulties which the priests experienced in attempting to persuade the people to dig graves. Finally, the mission refused to provide lumber for a coffin unless relatives first dug a grave.[63]

As Father Lucchesi had anticipated in 1902, relations between the mission and the village deteriorated even as the former became more firmly established and influential. The diaries show that mission personnel tended to draw an ever greater distinction between "our people" and "the other side." At first, "our people" meant only those in the school and, even in later times of stress, the mission tended to fall back on that definition. As an increasing number of villagers became Catholics, it was then possible to draw a distinction between the "good" Catholics, those over whom the mission could exert control (i.e., the school) and "others" or "the village," even though after about 1915 Koserefsky had ceased to exist and virtually everyone lived on mission property and was at least nominally Catholic.

One of the earliest sources of conflict between the mission and the inhabitants of Koserefsky concerned the handling of mission supplies after the arrival of the annual Alaska Commercial Company supply steamer. The "village Indians" usually carried the supplies from the beach to warehouses, but occasionally they refused to do so if they considered their remuneration insufficient and the work had to be performed by the mission staff and school children.[64] These occurrences, which were apparently fairly frequent after 1900, must have caused considerable friction between the village and the mission.

At first the mission was extremely apprehensive about the coming of whites into the area and strenuously resisted what they considered to be an intrusion on their private preserve. The earliest expression of this feeling manifested itself with reference to the question of allowing a white trader to settle and do business on mission land. In September, 1903 the mission leased buildings to a creole trader even though the priests did not like him and suspected him of scheming to bring a white trader to the area, something which the Indians apparently wanted very badly. The mission vowed that they would never allow whites to settle on mission land and the Indians were angry because of this attitude. Later in the same year a white trader (unidentified in the diaries, but probably George Pilcher of Paimiut) came to Holy Cross to look the situation over. He had his goods with him and when he was treated in an unfriendly fashion by the Jesuits, he threatened to settle on the other side of the river. The mission, in turn, threatened to help "their" trader to undersell him. As a result, he prudently decided to return to Paimiut.[65] Later, in 1908, the mission thwarted an attempt by some villagers to bring in a white trader. This goal was achieved by ordering a large supply of goods and starting a local man in business. Father Lucchesi, as usual more perceptive than his colleagues, remarked that "the Indians were crazy for a white trader, and to tell the truth, it seems to me, that they feel too hard our dominion, and their affection for us is diminishing every day."[66]

The mission may have been able to resist, for a while at least, the settlement of a white trader on their land, but events were about to begin that would bring large numbers of whites to live in the area and which the mission could not hope to resist successfully. The first of these challenges to the exclusive position of the Holy Cross Mission was the proposed construction, in 1901, of a railroad from Iliamna Bay to the Yukon. The Alaska Shortline Railway, as it was known, was to run from a port on Iliamna Bay to Iliamna Lake and Lake Clark, then up the valley of the Chulitna River. Although topographic data beyond this point was never clearly worked out, the line was to travel generally in a northeasterly direction to a crossing of the Mulchatna River near its headwaters. From there it was to proceed to the head of a Kuskokwim tributary, possibly the Holitna, and then down that stream. From this point it was expected to reach the Yukon near Holy Cross, traveling through the southern part of the Iditarod district. Although the route was projected only as far as the Yukon, the promoters apparently envisaged

continuing up the Anvik River, across the portage to Norton Sound and thence to Council and Port Clarence.[67]

This ambitious project was intended to open the great inland region served only by circuitous water routes. The promoters, and many others at that time, considered the Yukon Valley to have great agricultural potential, but believed that development would be impossible without a rail connection to the coast. In October, 1901 a party of 20 men and a number of horses arrived at Holy Cross and set up a camp inside the mouth of the Innoko River at a place later to be referred to as Railroad City, but which was known at the mission and at Koserefsky as "the horse camp." Needless to say, the mission was very dubious about the camp and about the railroad itself. The entire development was viewed as a threat to missionary work primarily because of the increased exposure of the Indians to gambling, drinking, and the general moral laxity that was assumed to be characteristic of the camp and its inhabitants. Doubtless it did attract a great deal of attention and the Indians could be expected to pay frequent visits there. One suspects, however, that the horses and surveyors were as much an attraction as any evidence of easy living, since it is probable that both were still an exotic sight for most Indians even in those terminal days of the 1897 gold rush.[68]

The railroad survey party stayed through the winter, but the threat they seemed to represent never materialized. The proposed route, along with a number of others, was considered by the Alaska Railroad Commission, but was dismissed as being too far to the southwest to permit its use as a trunk line into the interior of the territory. A crude exploratory survey was carried out from Iliamna Bay nearly to the Mulchatna River, but there is no record of surveys having been accomplished at the other end of the proposed route. In any event, the surveyors and their horses had departed from the camp at the mouth of the Innoko by the following winter.[69]

The discovery of gold on the upper Innoko brought many visitors to Holy Cross with requests for lodging and supplies. In September, 1909 the Northern Navigation Company frightened the mission by requesting permission to build a large store on mission property the following spring. "What will become of our school, and of our mission with so much fuss?" fretted the diarist. Some kind of compromise appears to have been reached and in July, 1910 the company stationed a barge above the mission to be used as a store and a

hotel. In October of the same year an enterprising entrepreneur approached the mission with plans for a "future town" at the mouth of the Innoko near the site of the former horse camp. He explained to mission personnel that he wished to draw a population of Indians from Holy Cross and offered as inducement a verbal contract for 1,500 cords of wood. The proposed town would have sidewalks, gardens, a big fishery, well-built houses, curio store, hotel, station for the Northern Navigation Company, and, best of all, regular contracts with the Indians. Needless to say, the mission strongly objected to this offer "to civilize our Indians in a commercial way" and even reacted coolly to his conciliatory promise to build a Catholic church at the new site. "In conclusion, he is told plainly that we don't like such things."[70]

These grandiose plans apparently fell through rapidly and by July, 1911 the anxieties of the mission were sufficiently relieved so that they raised no objection when the Northern Commercial Company requested permission to put an office and tent hotel on mission property. True, permission was granted for one year only, but by the following year pressure for such concessions had pretty well disappeared with the collapse of the boom on the Iditarod River.[71]

As apprehensive as mission personnel were about the coming of whites into the area, they were in no position to resist the gold rushes, particularly the stampede to the upper Innoko when Holy Cross became a transportation and communications center for the entire area. Although the Jesuits attempted to stake out their own private preserve, they gradually were forced to give way to "progress" and many secularizing influences which they feared would overwhelm them.

Although the mission felt threatened by outside influences in the early years of the century, by 1920 they appear to have gained control of virtually the entire area. By then, of course, Koserefsky had been abandoned and all householders living in the vicinity of the mission had to sign a paper acknowledging mission ownership of the land on which they lived.[72] But all was not well nor was mission authority as absolute as the Jesuits perhaps hoped. In the previous year, a mixed-blood trader and his family had been "exiled" to Ghost Creek where a store and pool hall were soon opened that became a center of rebellion against the mission.[73]

Dances were held at Ghost Creek and this disturbed mission personnel almost as much as the gambling and pool. Writing in the mis-

sion diary for January, 1921, a priest noted that

> as the present wave of 'gambling spirit' coupled with the craze for the white man's dance is working a lot of mischief among our people, we think it proper to give a severe admonition on the subject, with the warning that no unwilling residents are wanted here in our Holy Cross Village; furthermore . . . we strictly enjoin to stop all playing for money, and anyone obstinately refusing to comply, will do well to go and build somewhere else, and is not worthy to receive the sacraments.[74]

Indeed, it was reported to the Jesuits that some young men were being encouraged to spend all their time at Ghost Creek and to disobey their parents. Young couples were spending entire nights there playing pool and cards. At a meeting of all the women of the village, the mission urged them to take a pledge before the Blessed Sacrament to refrain from dancing and nearly all those present subscribed to the pledge. The priests and sisters were all agreed that Christian women should not participate in such dances and when the men of the village emphatically disagreed, there was much consternation among all concerned.

Unable to take any really effective steps to establish their authority at Ghost Creek, mission personnel eventually chose to ignore the proceedings there and the furor died down. Nevertheless, the mission's influence with the people was eroded and, inevitably, secularism scored another triumph. Whether because of these events or not, the Jesuits softened their stand against the presence of a white trader on mission land and in August, 1922 rented a building to a trader from Paimiut.[75] Possibly they wished to undermine the influence of the Ghost Creek trader by offering support to a competitor over whose activities they would at least have some control.

Although relations between the mission and the villagers may frequently have been difficult, the Jesuits could always take pride in their school which continued to thrive and grow. In 1902, under the direction of two priests, five brothers, and six sisters, there were 42 boys and 46 girls from many different Yukon communities in the boarding school, each group divided into two classes. In the first were older students who had already made progress in the "ordinary branches of an elementary English book education." The boys in this group received, for the most part, manual, industrial, and farm work training, while the girls were primarily involved in housework and light gardening. The younger pupils made up a second class concentrating on English, mathematics, and other sub-

PLATE 20. Holy Cross about 1925 (University of Alaska Archives).

PLATE 21. School girls from Holy Cross Mission, 1922 (University of Alaska Archives).

jects as well as light housework.[76] The official report of the Commissioner of Education for 1902 had noted glowingly that "The school at Holy Cross with its flourishing gardens in summer is a veritable oasis in the wild desert of the Yukon, and few travelers pass without visiting it, and expressing surprise at finding such a progressive institution in such a inhospitable country."[77]

In 1909 the boarding school had an enrollment of 90 and in 1914, 120.[78] In addition to Indians from the Yukon villages as far upriver as Tanana, many Eskimo students from various villages throughout western Alaska were also enrolled. Although visitors to Holy Cross continued to be impressed by the orderly, highly trained, and well-disciplined school children, and enchanted with the pageants and recitations organized whenever outsiders arrived, there were, even at the time, critics of the Jesuits' educational efforts. Among these was a priest, Father Sifton, a member of the mission staff for about four years beginning in 1913. In an unpublished report on the state of the mission he criticized the school quarters as being inadequate and noted a distinct lack of discipline among both boys and girls, a large percentage of whom moved away after finishing school and seldom saw a priest. Students suffering from tuberculosis were "herded together" with the healthy and the boys were poorly clad in clothes that were washed infrequently. The report goes on to criticize farming at Holy Cross as being poorly managed by incompetent people. The land had been worked too long and new and improved farming equipment was badly needed.[79]

Whatever may have been the validity of the severe criticisms contained in this report, the boarding school continued to flourish, at least in the minds of most staff members, church officials, and visitors. In 1927 there were 170 children enrolled and additional construction of buildings was necessary; throughout the 1930's and 1940's the mission with its church, school, convent, and gardens was still a showplace.[80] However, eventually the Catholic Church began to feel the financial pressure of maintaining such an operation without local support. Old wooden buildings needed to be replaced just at a time when the cost of operations increased greatly. To make matters worse, the Yukon River began to cut into the mission gardens and a large sand bar which had formed upriver from the mission extended further down each year, eventually cutting off Holy Cross from the main channel and making it difficult to bring in supplies. As a result of these and other factors, the mission was

closed in 1957 and the school children transferred to the new Copper Valley school near Glenallen which had opened the previous year.[81]

It is difficult to evaluate the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the Indians of the Anvik-Shageluk area. At various times the Jesuits complained that although all Holy Cross people were baptized, the attitude of many was one of indifference. In 1924 Father Julius Jetté, stationed at Nulato but familiar with the entire lower Yukon, wrote that "years of Christian teaching have not yet eradicated the all pervading superstitions which influence the native's life in its minutest detail. . . ."[82] As at Anvik, however, the real problem was the mission's relations with the village and its failure to secure the support of its parishoners. Even nominal Christians could see many advantages for themselves and their community in the mission and mission school. The "our village" and "theirs" distinction drawn by mission personnel throughout most of its existence inevitably resulted in a lack of effective support by the community when it was most needed.

Illness and Medical Care

The end of the 19th century, with its influx of miners and other whites, brought a pronounced increase in periods of severe illnesses in the Indian communities. The Holy Cross and Anvik mission staffs, together with others interested in Indian health and welfare, did their best to cope with the steadily increasing medical problems, but they were ill equipped to provide more than temporary alleviation. John Chapman received some medical training during a leave of absence in 1901, but, aside from Dr. Mary Glenton's three years at Anvik beginning in 1894, there were no professional medical practitioners on the lower Yukon until 1909 or 1910 when a doctor appointed by the Commissioner of Education was stationed at Nulato. However, he was seldom able to visit Anvik, Shageluk, or other lower Yukon villages.[83]

As for the Ingalik, they were baffled by the onset of a serious illness that failed to respond to the traditional ministrations of the shaman. The missionaries, even those without formal medical training, would treat the sick unless they found the shaman in attendance. Sometimes at Anvik, the patients would consult with the shaman and village elders before deciding whether to accept the missionary's treatment. Once acceptance had been decided upon, there was a tendency to believe that a single dose of any medicine ought to cure any illness immediately. When medicine failed to

achieve an instant cure, the patient frequently stopped following instructions with regard to its use and either became totally apathetic or turned back to reliance on the traditional medical practitioners.[84]

The years 1898 through 1901 constituted a period of almost continuous severe illness on the lower Yukon. There were two minor epidemics of measles and one of mumps during the winter of 1898-1899 and then severe epidemics of measles, whooping cough, and particularly influenza in 1900-1901.[85] At Anvik, where 20 persons died in 1900, the mortality was less than in other villages, although 27 more died in the summer of 1901. There were no deaths in the school, but all the children were ill.[86] In August, 1900 the steamer *Nunivak* stopped at Grayling where 65 Indians were camped, most of whom were suffering either from measles or influenza, or both.[87]

These epidemics of combined illnesses were far more serious at Holy Cross where 65 persons, nearly 50 per cent of the population, died. During the summer of 1900 there were some days when five or six persons died and so many were sick that few were strong enough to dig individual graves. Instead, long trenches were dug and the bodies placed on top of each other with only a board in between as there was no one to make coffins. Entire families were found dead in their houses.[88] One priest wrote that "you enter a tent and you see a man and his wife and three or four children and some infant lying on a mat, all half naked, coughing up bile with blood, moaning, vomiting, passing blood with stools and urine, with purulent eruptions from the eyes and nose, covered with oily and dirty rags, all helpless, and wet and damp day and night."[89] Between burying the dead and caring for sick school children, the fathers and brothers brought food and medicine across the river three times a day. In October when a mission vessel was sent up the Innoko with relief supplies, 26 persons were found to have died at Shageluk and the other lower river communities.[90]

The mission boarding school was particularly hard hit by serious illness and at one point in the summer of 1900, only the fathers and one or two sisters were capable of caring for the sick. As for the children, the teachings of the mission seem to have been effective in an emergency. Some had an almost fanatical belief in heaven and were anxious to go there. "When a child noticed a companion nearing the end, the stronger one would slip out of bed, come to the dying one and say, 'You come for me next.'"[91] Although pleased at

the strength of the children's belief, the fathers and sisters were somewhat taken back by this fanaticism and eventually decided it was not healthy and that there should be no more verbal anticipation of death.

The epidemics of 1898-1900 were said to have moved from village to village on the steamboats and the few attempts to impose a quarantine were almost completely unsuccessful. Since the Indians did not understand the nature of contagion, they were unwilling to curtail their normal traveling and visiting and this was probably as much a factor in the spread of disease as any other. Although the number of dead in the lower Yukon villages was considerable, of equal significance was the weakened condition of those who survived. In the summers of 1899 and 1900 very little fishing was done and as a result famine threatened for two winters. Relief supplies promptly distributed by the military authorities at St. Michael were largely responsible for preventing widespread famine from taking place.[92]

A serious epidemic of diphtheria which occurred in the area between July, 1904 and March, 1905 provided another opportunity for mission personnel at Anvik and Holy Cross to encourage the establishment of an effective quarantine. At Anvik the Indians were sufficiently frightened by the number of deaths to move away from the main village and settle in camps during the winter of 1904-1905. However, they were not concerned enough to adhere to a quarantine which Chapman attempted to establish or to follow his suggestion that residents from other villages not be invited for the traditional festivals and ceremonies. For a while they agreed to limit the number of visitors to the village, but when the disease seemed to die down, more invitations were issued and received.[93]

At Holy Cross the mission attempted to quarantine "the other side" and to discourage Innoko people, from which direction the epidemic was believed to have come, from traveling to Holy Cross. Mission personnel seemed to fear more than anything else that the Indians would accuse them of bringing the disease.[94]

Obviously, as Chapman noted, what was needed was a health officer in the area to establish and enforce a quarantine.[95] Otherwise, there was nothing to prevent natives from the most infected houses from visiting other houses and villages, or, during summer, from mixing with the crowds that invariably assembled along the river bank in all the villages when a steamboat landed. By the time of the

diphtheria epidemic, however, the Anvik Indians were more inclined to apply to Chapman for treatment of their ills rather than to rely on traditional remedies and even the shamans, although still strong in many villages, sought help from western medicine when it was available. At Holy Cross the Jesuits believed, or wished to believe, that the epidemics of 1898-1900 had brought about something of a religious revival. They attributed this to the fact that the shamans could not protect themselves, let alone their clients, against infection. At both Holy Cross and Anvik the people appeared to want a "genuine" doctor to visit them and in the latter settlement even promised to provide the lumber and labor necessary to build a hospital. A small hospital was constructed at Holy Cross in 1911.[96]

As previously noted, a government doctor was stationed in Nulato about 1909 or 1910 and beginning in the latter year, nursing services were provided as well. The nurses were able to visit a number of lower Yukon villages, whereas the doctors were seldom able to do so.[97] In 1911 a doctor was appointed for Russian Mission and the lower Yukon. He made an extended visit to villages in the Anvik-Shageluk area that summer, the first time that residents of these villages had really received adequate professional medical attention. At Anvik during a stay of five days the doctor discovered four cases of syphilis and 20 of tuberculosis. Eye diseases were also very common.[98] That same summer a smallpox outbreak was reported in Dawson and Fort Yukon and the missions at Holy Cross and Anvik were provided with vaccine. Apparently, the disease was prevented from spreading to the lower Yukon.[99]

Epidemics and other periods of severe illness at Anvik and on the lower Innoko between 1900 and 1914 caused a decline of 20 per cent in the population.[100] During this period a good deal had been learned about preventive medicine by both Indians and mission personnel. In particular, the Indians' attitude toward the treatment of disease had modified considerably. When the shamans themselves came to the missionaries and school teachers for treatment, they could hardly expect to maintain their influence over the people, at least in this area. Thus when a severe influenza epidemic began in December, 1918 the villages were, to some extent, prepared for it. During that winter strict quarantines were observed and except for the monthly trips of the mail carrier, there was no travel between villages in the Anvik-Shageluk area. Toward spring the epidemic had decreased to the point where wood choppers could leave the villages for their

camps. Because of these precautions, the death toll from influenza was much less in this area than elsewhere in western Alaska.[101]

Although quarantines similar to the one in effect in 1918-1919 helped to reduce loss of life, epidemics continued to occur at frequent intervals. In the spring of 1925 a destructive flood was followed by an epidemic of influenza at both Anvik and Holy Cross, and in 1927 another outbreak of the same disease killed 27 adults in the Anvik area alone. The villagers were so frightened by this second outbreak in less than three years that many fled the parent settlement and established a new community called Lower Anvik about 2 miles downriver. This satellite community was occupied until about 1935.[102]

Of less immediate concern than those epidemics that have been described, but perhaps a more serious long term medical problem, was the continuing presence of tuberculosis from which large numbers of Indians suffered throughout the period under discussion. In fact, it was not until after the Second World War that effective chemotherapy programs were introduced to bring the disease under control. In the 1920's and 1930's reference to the presence of tuberculosis on a large scale in all the villages commonly occur in published and archival source material. The debilitating nature of this progressive illness weakened the Indians' ability to pursue modified-traditional subsistence activities and to cope with the problems created by a rapidly changing cultural environment.

In the summer of 1924 a nurse was assigned to Anvik by the Episcopal Church and, although she stayed for only one year, there were nurses stationed at the mission more or less regularly thereafter into the 1940's.[103] The federal government also began to accept some responsibility for providing medical care to the people of the lower Yukon. In his annual report for 1925, the governor of Alaska recommended purchase and equipment of a boat to be used as a floating clinic for summer work on the Yukon and its tributaries. This vessel, which was placed in service the following year, had a doctor and two nurses aboard and in the first summer more than 3,000 Indians were examined in many Yukon River communities. In addition to supplying medical aid, the crew also attempted rudimentary instruction in sanitation and hygiene. In 1928 a dentist was added to the crew. The floating clinic continued to operate annually into the 1930's at which time air transportation, at least on an emergency basis, was available to the inhabitants of most villages.[104]

Also in his report for 1925 the governor recommended the rehabilitation of an abandoned military hospital at Tanana. This hospital, operated by the Bureau of Education primarily for tubercular patients, was opened in 1926 and brought a resident medical staff closer to the Anvik-Shageluk area than at any time in the past.[105] These efforts by the federal government to provide medical services, together with increased efforts on the part of the missions, were remarkably effective. It will be recalled that between 1900 and 1914 there was a decline of 20 per cent in the population of the Anvik-Shageluk area. During the period from 1914 to 1930 the decrease was less than 3 per cent in spite of influenza epidemics in 1925, 1927, and 1930.[106]

Government Services and Programs in the Anvik-Shageluk Area

Although both the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics began their educational efforts with the financial assistance of the U.S. Bureau of Education, it will be recalled that all federal assistance to church schools in Alaska was discontinued in 1895. Thereafter, the missions continued to provide day schools, but the real effort was directed toward boarding schools through which they hoped to increase their influence along the river. With such an emphasis, the day schools sometimes received little attention from the missions and occasionally were not held at all. This meant that some inhabitants of Koserefsky and Anvik received less educational benefits from the missions in their immediate vicinity than did individuals from other villages who happened to attend the boarding schools.

The Bureau of Education, on the other hand, was primarily interested in day schools that would serve the residents of isolated Indian and Eskimo villages in the same way as cities in urban areas are served by their public schools. Through the efforts of Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Alaska's first General Agent of Education, many day schools were started in native villages following the termination of federal aid to contract schools. Public school teachers were sent to Koserefsky in 1901 or 1902 and conducted school in mission buildings. At Anvik, a public school was established in 1906 or 1907 and also utilized a building provided by the mission. The teacher during the first year was Miss Sabine and by November, 1908 there was another government teacher who was also a member of the mission staff. It would appear that at least at Anvik, the concept of contract schools had been reintroduced by the simple expedient of making a member of the mission staff a federal employee during the

school year. In 1909 a school building was erected at Shageluk and classes began in the fall of the following year.[107]

Although federal- and, later, state-supported education through the eighth grade has been a more or less regular feature of these Anvik-Shageluk area villages since the dates just mentioned, the schools themselves have enjoyed varying degrees of success. In the early days attendance was likely to be poor since there was no way that parents could be forced to keep their children in school. Although the teachers were frequently mission personnel, the missions themselves seem to have taken their responsibility for the day schools lightly, preferring, as we have seen, to concentrate their efforts on the boarding schools that were firmly under their control. When federal school teachers were appointed, the success of their schools depended largely on their skills and willingness to devote many long hours to teaching and other work related to the school. When the teacher was highly professional, hard working, and anxious to maintain good relations with the community, the school was likely to be a success. Too often, however, the teachers, fresh from their own education or with experience only in urban areas of the United States, were ill-equipped to take over and run a bush school successfully. Under these circumstances, a school would languish to the detriment of the students and the community until, quite by chance, a more energetic and skilled teacher appeared on the scene.

The lower-middle Yukon region participated marginally in another government program in Alaska, the reindeer industry. This program, operated by the Bureau of Education and begun in 1892 among the Eskimos of Seward Peninsula and more northerly regions, was one of Sheldon Jackson's innovations undertaken with the idea of helping to place the economy of the Eskimos on a sounder footing. It was designed to help those people along the northwest coast of Alaska who depended heavily on sea mammals for subsistence and whose food supply had been seriously depleted by commercial whaling activities during the last half of the 19th century. As early as 1897 John Chapman expressed hope that the new reindeer program would be extended to the Anvik area.[108] His interest was apparently generated by a "trial trip" undertaken by personnel from the reindeer station on Seward Peninsula to the Kuskokwim and Yukon valleys in late 1896 and 1897 in order to demonstrate the versatility of reindeer for travel in Alaska. The party, which passed through Holy Cross and Anvik in March, 1897 before

returning to the shores of Norton Sound by way of the Anvik River, experienced great difficulty in locating suitable food for the deer.[109]

In any event, on January 1, 1901 the Bureau of Education signed an agreement with the Roman Catholic missions in Alaska whereby 100 deer were to be loaned to the mission station at Nulato. As payment, the mission would return 100 deer corresponding in age and sex at the end of five years.[110] The first deer to arrive at Holy Cross came from the Nulato herd in late 1904 or early 1905. By 1907 the Holy Cross herd consisted of 335 animals, all but 100 of them being owned outright by the mission.[111]

In spite of this seemingly successful introduction of reindeer herding to the Holy Cross area, the program was not viewed as a success by either the government or the mission and in 1908 plans were made to return the herd to the supervision of the Bureau of Education. The mission hoped to be reimbursed, but the Bureau refused to buy the animals and the mission retained ownership. The herd, however, was taken over by the government and managed by the government station at Mountain Village.[112]

The cause of the failure at Holy Cross was apparently the inability of the superintendent of the herd to secure a single permanent Indian apprentice to learn the exacting routines of close herding. This fact raised serious doubts in the minds of Bureau of Education officials whether Indians would ever take to the reindeer industry even to the limited extent that Eskimos eventually did. Suggestions were made that attempts to extend the reindeer service to the interior should be abandoned so that efforts and funds could be concentrated on establishing herds among the coastal Eskimos where a certain amount of success was being achieved.[113]

At some time between 1909 and 1914 the mission reindeer herd was returned to the Holy Cross area (if indeed it ever actually went to Mountain Village), and a reindeer camp was maintained on the lower Innoko. The herd consisted of 370 deer in the latter year, but the mission complained constantly about the cost of maintenance and about the danger to the morality of the Indians who were away from the mission for long periods and consequently not effectively under its supervision. The mission greatly desired to get out of the reindeer business and, if possible, retrieve their entire investment or at least persuade the government to pay the herders and provide supplies. However, the government would not agree to assume the financial responsibility. Although the mission wanted and needed

PLATE 22. Interior of a reindeer herder's tent near Shageluk on the Innoko River, 1918 (University of Alaska Archives).

the meat for their students and parishoners, they would have much preferred to buy it directly from the government.[114]

The Holy Cross herd continued to plague the mission for many years. At various times decisions were made to return it to government management or to lease it to private individuals. Some of these leasing arrangements were reasonably successful, but more often than not, neither party to the arrangement was satisfied.[115] The critical Sifton report previously referred to attributed the difficulties entirely to poor management and noted in particular that the Jesuits opposed the herd because it took the herders away from the influence of the mission.[116] In the spring of 1930 many mission deer disappeared because of the negligence of the herder and could not be located. The herd lingered on until the late 1930's before the last animals either wandered away or were killed by predators.[117]

In spite of John Chapman's early enthusiasm for the reindeer program, the Anvik mission, for unknown reasons, did not receive a herd. However, in the winter of 1917-1918 a government herd was introduced at Shageluk largely through the efforts of Walter E. Cochran, the Bureau of Education teacher in that village. He not only succeeded in interesting the Indians in the reindeer industry, but when the herd arrived from the lower Yukon he gave his personal attention to the training of apprentices and to every detail in caring for the herd. Thus the Shageluk herd must be considered the first truly successful attempt to introduce the reindeer industry among the Indians of the interior. Unfortunately, Cochran died of influenza within a few months of the arrival of the herd and for a year after his death the deer were in the hands of imperfectly trained apprentices.[118]

Mr. Cochran appears to have won the confidence of the Shageluk Ingalik to a remarkable degree. He brought Eskimos from the lower Yukon to instruct his apprentice herders who worked with an original herd of 300 animals. Within a year of Cochran's death, Mr. W. O. Tate took over as school teacher and he found that many deer had strayed away from the herd. He immediately took steps to gather them in and by 1922 the herd numbered about 800 deer. Through sales of meat to the Anvik mission and to Indians of several villages in the area at 30¢ per lb., the herd was gradually placed on a self-supporting basis. Live deer were also sold to various Indians who wished to start herds of their own.[119]

By 1931 the Shageluk herd had increased to over 1,000 animals

and Indians today remember that there were three full-time herders. The deer were allowed to roam at will during the summer with a round up and butchering in August. There was a winter herder's camp a few miles east of Shageluk in an area where there was good forage and from which the herders watched the herd and attempted to keep the animals together. Deer meat continued to be sold to the mission, and to mining camps on the upper Innoko.[120] Considering the documented success of the herd up to that time, it is difficult to account for the fact that virtually all the animals had disappeared by the mid-1930's. For some reason, a marked decline in interest and possibly in a market for the meat, active herding was discontinued.[121] This meant that the animals were free to wander off. Some were doubtless killed by predators, while others joined and were absorbed into caribou herds. As a result, the Shageluk herd, in spite of its impressive accomplishments in the early years, failed to survive longer than the one managed by the Holy Cross mission and thus neither were of any lasting benefit to the Indians of the area.

It is also possible that the reindeer program may have adversely affected the already considerably reduced caribou population in the Anvik-Shageluk region. Heavy grazing by reindeer in a relatively restricted area can damage the range and make such locations unsuitable for both reindeer and caribou.[122]

The reindeer program, government schools, and government-supported medical services were, of course, the result of and dependent on improved communications with the outside world that had begun on the lower Yukon even before the gold rush of 1897. A post office was established at Anvik in 1898 and at Koserefsky the following year. The name of the latter was changed to Holy Cross in 1912 because by that time many Indians had moved across the river.[123] For almost 30 years there was winter mail service by dog team twice a month between Koserefsky and Kaltag with a stop at Anvik. In summer, of course, delivery was much more frequent, sometimes as often as once a week in the years when steamboat traffic on the river was heavy.[124]

In the summer of 1916 a wireless station was constructed at Holy Cross on mission land and by 1923 Chapman was operating his own receiving and sending equipment. These valuable services facilitated communications in cases of emergency and contributed significantly to the reduced effects of epidemics in the late 1920's and 1930's. For many years, mission personnel at both Holy Cross

and Anvik served as postmasters and operated communications equipment. At times, this was considered a burden, but it was also a significant factor in mission control of the villages. In 1923 it appeared that the wireless station at Holy Cross might be moved to Ghost Creek and mission feelings were outraged. The Jesuits regretted the amount of time it was necessary to spend operating the wireless and post office, but were reluctant to lose control of these means of communication with the outside world. Both, of course, were also a source of income to the mission, particularly the post office.[125]

The first airplane to land at Anvik did so in February, 1929 with a consignment of vaccine with which to combat an outbreak of smallpox.[126] Although the appearance of an occasional aircraft continued to be a novelty for a few years, the isolation of the lower Yukon which had terminated so abruptly with the discovery of gold, and returned following the collapse of mining activity, was once more at an end.

Notes

1. Smith, 1974, pp. 28-29, 132.
2. Rowe, 1897, pp. 23-24
3. This information was obtained from a photostatic copy of the original land survey in the files of Christ Church Mission, Anvik.
4. Chapman, 1910a, pp. 669-670; Chapman, 1911c, pp.1,025-1,026; 1913, pp. 49-50.
5. Chapman to Witten, Aug. 29, 1903. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers.
6. Chapman, 1906, pp. 572-575; Chapman, 1932, p. 636.
7. See Osgood, 1958, pp. 138-143.
8. Graves, 1911, pp. 13-14.
9. Chapman to Pierson, Nov. 22, 1918. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers.
10. Chapman to Rowe, Oct. 31, 1906, May 22, 1907. ECA/Alaska papers, box 16, Chapman letters.
11. Fisher, 1912, p. 124.
12. Rowe to Kimber, June 21, 1901. ECA/Alaska papers, box 51, Bishop Rowe letters.
13. Chapman and Sabine, 1904, p. 684.
14. Chapman et al., 1904, pp. 916-917.
15. Chapman, Spiritual wickedness in high places. Undated ms., but apparently about 1905. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers.

16. Chapman to Rowe, Sept. 13, Oct. 30, 1906. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters.
17. Stuck, 1912, pp. 653-656.
18. Sabine to Wood, Nov. 18, 1919. ECA/Alaska papers, box 68, Sabine letters.
19. Parsons, 1921-1922, pp. 63-64.
20. Chapman, 1931b, p. 485.
21. M. S. Chapman, 1911, p. 17.
22. deLaguna, 1936, p. 569.
23. Chapman, 1919b, p. 493.
24. Lucas to Wood, April 27, 1926. ECA/Alaska papers, box 42.
25. Parsons, 1921-1922, p. 71; deLaguna, 1936, p. 569.
26. Chapman, 1919b, pp. 494-495; for a description of lamprey fishing, see Osgood, 1958, p. 40.
27. Parsons, 1921-1922, pp. 52, 54.
28. Chapman to Langford, Nov. 18, 1896. ECA/Alaska papers, box 15, Chapman letters; Chapman, 1897, pp. 544-546.
29. Chapman, 1899b, pp. 11-14.
30. Chapman, 1910b, p. 66.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid; Chapman, 1911a, p. 11.
33. Rowe to the chairman of the Alaska Committee, Nov. 17, 1896. ECA/Alaska papers, box 51, Bishop Rowe letters; Rowe, 1897, p. 24.
34. Chapman, 1900, p. 16.
35. Chapman, 1906, p. 572.
36. Ibid., pp. 572-575.
37. Chapman to Witten, Aug. 29, 1903. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers; Chapman to parishoners in Summit, N.J., Feb. 15, 1908. ECA/Alaska papers, box 16, Chapman letters.
38. Stuck, 1918, pp. 28-29.
39. Chapman to Pierson, Nov. 22, 1918. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers.
40. Parsons, 1921-1922, pp. 58-59.
41. Ibid., p. 63.
42. Wood, A reply to Anvik's SOS. ECA/Alaska papers, box 20, Chapman letters.
43. *The Alaskan Churchman,* vol. 21, 1930, p. 115 (Directory of Alaska workers).
44. *Newsletter,* Missionary District of Alaska, no. 21, July-August, 1935. ECA/Alaska papers, box 91.
45. Osgood, 1959, p. 77.
46. Chapman to Witten, Aug. 29, 1903. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman letters.
47. Chapman to Wade, June 13, 1925. ECA/Alaska papers, box 19, Chapman letters.
48. Chandler to Wood, Nov. 6, 1934. ECA/Alaska papers, box 13.

49. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1895-1896, vol. 2, p. 1,460.
50. HCM diary, Sept., 1898 - Feb., 1900. OPA/HCM, box 2.
51. HCM diary, 1898-1900 (no specific dates). OPA/HCM, box 2.
52. HCM diary, Oct. 1, 1900 - May 12, 1902. OPA/HCM, box 2.
53. HCM diary, May 13, 1902 - July 16, 1904. OPA/HCM, box 2.
54. HCM diary, July 19, 1892 - Nov. 27, 1896; Oct. 1, 1900 - May 12, 1902. OPA/HCM, box 2.
55. Lucchesi to an unknown priest, Aug. 2, 1925. OPA/Lucchesi.
56. Perron, J. Origin and progress of Holy Cross Mission, Alaska. Undated ms. OPA/HCM, box 5.
57. McLain, 1905, pp. 120-124.
58. Lucchesi to Van Gorp, Nov. 1, 1902, OPA/Lucchesi.
59. HCM diary, July 17, 1904 - July 26, 1908. OPA/HCM, box 3.
60. Lucchesi, 1907, pp. 448-449.
61. HCM diary, May 13, 1902 - July 16, 1904; Jan. 1, 1913 - June 30, 1919; Jan. 1, 1924 - Aug. 31, 1936. OPA/HCM, boxes 2-4.
62. HCM diary, May 13, 1902 - July 16, 1904; July 17, 1904 - July 26, 1908. OPA/HCM, boxes 2-3.
63. Ibid.
64. Calasanctius, 1935, p. 207.
65. HCM diary, May 13, 1902 - July 16, 1904. OPA/HCM, box 2.
66. Lucchesi to Provincial, Oct. 4 (about 1908). OPA/Lucchesi.
67. The Alaska Shortline Railway and Navigation Co., 1903, p. 8; Railroad routes in Alaska, 1913, pp. 90-91.
68. HCM diary, Oct. 1, 1900 - May 12, 1902. OPA/HCM, box 2.
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73. HCM diary, Jan. 1, 1913 - June 30, 1919. OPA/HCM, box 3.
74. HCM diary, July 1, 1919 - Dec. 31, 1923. OPA/HCM, box 3.
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78. Stuck, 1910, p. 734; Sniffen and Carrington, 1914, p. 20.
79. Report on mission of Father Sifton (no date). OPA/HCM, box 5.
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92. Chapman to Witten, Aug. 29, 1903; to Emmons, July 29, 1904. ECA/John W. and Henry H. Chapman papers; Savage, 1942, p. 91.
93. Chapman to Wood, Sept. 22, 1904; Feb. 2, 1905. ECA/Alaska papers, box 16, Chapman letters; Chapman, 1905, p. 641.
94. HCM diary, July 17, 1904 - July 26, 1908. OPA/HCM, box 3.
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100. Chapman, 1931a, pp. 398-400.
101. Chapman, 1919a, p. 452; 1919b, pp. 492-493.
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105. Ibid.
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107. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1903, vol. 2, p. 2,340.
108. Jackson, 1898, pp. 57-60.
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111. Ibid.; HCM diary, July 17, 1904 - July 26, 1908. OPA/HCM, box 3.
112. HCM diary, July 27, 1908 - Dec. 31, 1912. OPA/HCM, box 3; Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1909, vol. 2, p. 1,321.
113. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1908, vol. 2, p. 1,047.
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116. Report on mission of Father Sifton (no date). OPA/HCM, box 5.
117. HCM diary, Jan. 1, 1924 - Aug. 31, 1936. OPA/HCM, box 4. Lucchesi to McLaughlin, May 15, 1930. OPA/Lucchesi.
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123. Perron, Origin and progress of Holy Cross Mission, Alaska. Undated ms. OPA/HCM, box 5; Chapman, 1948, p. 94; Orth, 1967, p. 426.
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VIII

CONCLUSION: PROCESSES OF INGALIK CULTURE CHANGE

Introduction: Agents of Change

In the preceding pages we have identified four agents of culture change which affected the modified-traditional way of life of the Ingalik Indians of the lower-middle Yukon River over a period of approximately 100 years: 1) the explorers and fur traders who can be considered a single agent since exploration was inseparable from the development of the Russian fur trade in western Alaska; 2) the missions, whose activity began early in the Russian period but accelerated greatly with the establishment of Episcopal and Roman Catholic mission stations at Anvik and Holy Cross, respectively, in the late 1880's; 3) the Yukon and Innoko gold rushes spanning the period between 1897 and approximately 1920 which brought a flood of Euro-Americans into the Yukon Valley; 4) government services in the fields of health, education, and economic development which became available to the Ingalik at the beginning of the present century and gradually increased throughout the remaining period covered by this study. Although these agents of change overlapped in time to some extent, the explorers and fur traders came first, followed by the missionaries, gold miners, and government services. As a result, acculturative effects became increasingly intensified as time passed. Unique sets of influences were produced and the processes of change redirected to a considerable degree. It is the nature of these processes that I wish to examine in this concluding chapter.

The result of the acculturation process is generally assumed to be some form of cultural integration whereby there is an adjustment of beliefs and customs from the differing traditions that have made up the contact situation. There is, of course, a wide variation in what become more or less stabilized situations and regarding the Ingalik, such stabilization can hardly be said to have occurred at all at any time during the first 100 years of contact.

Recent students of culture change have invariably emphasized the importance of Ralph Linton's distinction between directed and non-directed change, a concept which is considered to be basic in developing generalizations in the field of acculturation and also to understanding specific contact situations.[1] According to Edward Spicer, directed change can be said to have taken place when one or both of the following criteria can be distinguished:

> (1) If definite sanctions, whether political, economic, supernatural, or even moral, are regularly brought to bear by members of one society on members of another, one condition for directed contact is met. (2) If, in addition, members of the society applying the sanctions are interested in bringing about changes in the cultural behavior of members of the other society, then both necessary conditions for directed contact exist.[2]

Among North American Indians instances of directed culture change have, of course, been much more common than those that were non-directed. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the kinds of changes in traditional Indian life that are necessary before a condition of directed change can be said to exist. The crucial point would appear to come when the Indians have grown so dependent on European goods that they can no longer survive without them. Thus the first conditions leading to directed change are technological and economic. Aboriginal technology gives way to European substitutes and, as a result, the knowledge and ability to produce the older forms is lost. Among the Ingalik, as among other arctic and subarctic peoples, trapping as a means of obtaining European commodities inevitably reduced the time available for subsistence hunting and fishing, thus increasing dependence on foods purchased from the trader.

With these concepts and definitions in mind, an analysis of the processes of Ingalik culture change with specific reference to the previously delineated agents of change is possible. Our ultimate goal will be to define Ingalik "contact communities,"[3] thus dividing the sequence of contact into meaningful periods or phases.

The Fur Trade

The Russian fur trade on the lower Yukon must be considered essentially non-directed. Fur traders were certainly members of the superordinate culture, but their interests in changing the way of life of the Ingalik were very narrowly defined and, at best, only moderately effective. Authority is generally considered an important aspect of directed change, but the early fur traders, for the most part, lacked the means of imposing sanctions. They were few

in number, widely dispersed, and usually creoles whose way of life did not differ greatly from that of the Indians. Zagoskin stressed the importance of trader authority, it will be recalled, when he recommended that Indians be encouraged to come to the post where the trader's confidence was likely to be higher than when he traveled to Indian villages.

The mobility of the Ingalik with reference to the various posts encouraged destructive competition and thus hindered efforts to direct the trapping efforts of the Indians. The most specifically directed aspects of the Russian fur trade concerned efforts by the Russian-American Company not only to effect changes in traditional subsistence patterns, but also to eliminate or re-direct the thriving Siberian trade that diverted furs from company posts. This latter, as we have seen, was a continued but largely ineffective effort throughout the Russian period.

An excellent example of the non-directed nature of change during the Russian period was the failure of the Russian-American Company to put into effect the reforms recommended by Zagoskin. As we have noted, he essentially desired the company to exert a degree of control over the trade that was beyond its ability to achieve. Thus the Russians could be said to have lacked the power and authority to effect the changes that would have enabled them to achieve their goals. Even under these circumstances, however, the Ingalik were rapidly becoming dependent on European commodities. Thus with reference to the nature of culture change, the greater part of the Russian fur trade period might be designated as dependent, non-directed.

The fur trade during the early American period can also be considered dependent, non-directed. The loose organization of the early Alaska Commercial Company mitigated against a tightly controlled and directed situation, and although the trading posts were not necessarily better stocked, there were more of them and the Indians were able to demand and receive a greater number and variety of the commodities they wanted and needed. As a result of competition between the Alaska Commercial Company and the Western Fur and Trading Company, the Indians found themselves in the enviable situation of being able to manipulate the traders. Following the collapse of competition in 1883, however, the situation changed dramatically. Indians' greater dependence on European goods together with a decline in fur-bearing and large game animals gave

traders the power and authority lacking earlier, thus creating the necessary conditions for dependent, directed change.

In summing up the effects of the fur trade on Ingalik culture, we can note certain changes that were introduced without any difficulty at all and with a minimum of disruption to the traditional Ingalik way of life. The Indians were delighted to obtain new items of European material culture to supplement those which they had been receiving through the Siberian trade. It is safe to say that throughout the Ingalik area, and indeed in all Alaska, material changes were accepted without serious conflict over substitutions. To obtain these new tools, weapons, and other trade items, pelts were exchanged, a form of barter that was well established in the aboriginal Ingalik economic system.

More significant and potentially disruptive were changes in the subsistence cycle brought about by the fur trade. Many fur-bearing animals of considerable economic value, but particularly the beaver, inhabited areas not previously utilized to any great extent by an essentially riverine people. The river ecology was such that beaver were more plentiful along the upper reaches of Yukon tributaries. To exploit this unexpectedly valuable resource, the traditional hunting and trapping range of the Indians had to be extended considerably. At the same time, as we have seen, the amount of effort devoted to hunting and winter fishing was reduced as the Indians became more heavily involved in the quest for furs. In fact, only the important summer fishing season was completely unaffected by the demands of the fur trade, a fact that doubtless insulated the Ingalik from some of the hazards of an economy based primarily on trapping.

We have noted previously that the all-important beaver pelts, the accepted standard of value among Yukon Indians throughout much of the early contact period, were of little intrinsic value to the people and the pelts of most other fur bearers were of even less value. The Indians, in exchanging furs for trade goods, often received little in terms of the effort expended. During the Russian period, when the Ingalik were just beginning to become dependent on European commodities, the quality and variety of goods offered at the posts was poor and the Indians were forced to absorb virtually all the costs incurred by the company while doing business in the country. The result was the beginning of a slow but steady impoverishment that became more severe when the monopoly eventually secured by the Alaska Commercial Company forced down the prices paid for furs.

At about the same time this monopoly was achieved, the number of fur-bearing animals began to decrease, thus emphasizing the problems inherent in the relationship between traders and Indians. The fur trade period thus emerges as one in which progress toward complete dependence on the traders and consequent directed change was slow, but inevitable. The relative lack of coercive power on the part of the early Russian and American traders that restricted their ability to manipulate and control Indian life did not prevent the fur trade from having a long-lasting, disruptive effect on Ingalik culture.

The Missions

Although the integrated traditional religious life of the precontact Ingalik is not well known, it would appear, by Athapaskan standards at least, to have been highly developed. It was characterized by elaborate rituals organized into a ceremonial round, by part-time religious specialists, and by a physical structure, the *kashim*, devoted in part to religious activities. In these respects, their religious life resembled more closely that of the Eskimos of southwestern Alaska than that of other Athapaskan groups. Beginning in 1845, traditional Ingalik religion was confronted by a small but highly dedicated group of church workers, agents of change whose influences were to be pervasive, to a greater or lesser degree, throughout the period of this study.

The first religious denomination with which the Ingalik became acquainted was the Russian-Orthodox Church which clearly represented the official state religion that was adhered to, at least in theory, by all secular Russians and creoles with whom the Indians came in contact. This might at first glance appear to have given the early priests considerable prestige as well as the added advantage of unanimity with traders in the area that would be effective in persuading people of the value of Christianity. To the Ingalik, however, it was not apparent that the early priests were backed by any organization worthy of the name. On the lower Yukon, the first Orthodox priest, a creole, was forced at the beginning to live like his parishoners and he achieved his initial successes almost solely as the result of hard work and the force of his personality. He had a definite program for change, but was able to apply few sanctions to assist him in carrying out his program. The fact that he could make only infrequent visits to most of the villages in his area further weakened his prestige and authority.

Unlike the Episcopal and Roman Catholic missions that were to follow, the Orthodox Church did not have its headquarters in an Ingalik village and thus remained outside the mainstream of religious change in the area. Isolated by the departure of the Russian-American Company and poorly supported by the larger church organization in Russia, the Orthodox Church, although maintaining its influence in other areas of Alaska, was poorly equipped to withstand the determined intrusion of the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics on the lower Yukon. Like all missions, of course, it was an imported force for directed culture change and traditional Ingalik religion had already begun to disintegrate under its influences. Nevertheless, it lacked some of the attributes frequently associated with the introduction of Christianity to small-scale societies, including high prestige and dominant authority.

The Episcopalians and Roman Catholics began their work in the territory of the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik at approximately the same time. Their local representatives were backed by established organizations that maintained effective missionary outposts throughout the world. The first missionaries, several of whom remained associated with their churches in the area for many years, were intelligent, energetic, highly motivated men and women who, unlike their Russian Orthodox counterparts, were from a vastly different cultural background than the Indians and from the beginning of their work possessed at least the rudiments of authority. Although never abundantly supplied with money, both missions soon came to appear affluent to their Ingalik neighbors and gained prestige less because they were the possessors of new and powerful ritual techniques than because they had access to outside sources of food and other supplies which they frequently dispensed to their adherents.

In a paper dealing with religious change among American Indians during the century between 1760 and 1860, R. F. Berkhofer noted that it was possible to divide Protestant mission activities among these Indians into a number of sequences.[4] To a considerable extent one of these, the "fragmented community sequence,"[5] parallels events at the Episcopal and Roman Catholic missions on the lower Yukon between 1888 and 1935. For these missions it is possible to delineate five chronologically ordered phases, the major characteristics of which were as follows:

Phase 1: Arrival of the missionaries (1887-1888). Berkhofer noted that among the Indians of the eastern United States the arrival of

missionaries invariably caused a division into two groups, one native oriented and the other white oriented.[6] This process, which also occurred among the Ingalik, had its beginning in phase 1. During this phase, the missionaries were well received at both Anvik and Koserefsky and there was some initial expression of interest on the part of the Indians who, it should be remembered, already had some familiarity with the Orthodox brand of Christianity. Schools were established as a means of winning converts and children, for the first time, began to be aware of the great world outside.

Phase 2: Construction of the mission complexes (1888-1895). According to Berkhofer, after the initial cultural divisions caused by the arrival of the missionaries, the cleavage sometimes worsens and the community breaks into two physically separate groups, each one living in its own enclave.[7] At Anvik and Holy Cross, this cleavage was brought about through the building of mission structures separate from but adjacent to the Indian villages. Christian adherents moved onto mission land and there was a gradual abandonment of traditional houses in favor of log cabins.

Phase 3: Value positions become clearly established (1895-1915). The cleavage which developed in phase 2 hardened and there was a tendency to verbalize it in such terms as "the village" or "the other side," and "our people." The authority, if not the prestige, of the missionaries increased because they presided over the community that was associated with the church. The missions came to feel that they "owned" the village which was inhabited primarily by nominal or enthusiastic converts. At Holy Cross Father Lucchesi recognized the danger inherent in this situation when he noted as early as 1902 that the Indians were divided into separate "moral and material camps." At both Anvik and Holy Cross, phases 2 and 3 were characterized by continuing battles with the shamans who came to epitomize opposition to the missions and assumed greater roles of leadership among the so-called non-Christian Indians.

Phase 4: The mission village became the only village (1915-). At both Anvik and Holy Cross, the Indian villages were largely abandoned by about 1915 and virtually everyone was at least a nominal member of the two churches, although there continued to be a few adherents to the Russian Orthodox faith. In spite of these consolidations, however, attitudes and prejudices that had their roots in the past continued to flourish and there was a continued emphasis by the missionaries on "our people." By this time, opposition

to or lack of interest in Christianity was expressed by increased secularization through the acceptance of new ideas introduced as a result of the influx of Euro-Americans into the area. Most of these new ideas and practices, such as dancing, gambling, and drinking, were strongly opposed by the churches. At Holy Cross, and to a lesser extent, Anvik, the boarding schools flourished during this period. Intermarriages between church and non-church persons were frowned upon, particularly at Holy Cross, because they were considered to weaken the solidarity of the church and its faithful flock. The idea of the beleaguered church was much in favor during this phase.

Phase 5: Period of relative stabilization (1920-). In earlier phases the authority of the missionaries was virtually complete as they controlled education, medical services, communications, and many other areas of access to the outside world. As the government took over a greater responsibility for services in the community, the missionaries eventually became less significant as an acculturative force. It is not surprising that at both Anvik and Holy Cross the coming of Euro-Americans into the area during the gold rushes had been viewed with alarm. Their secularizing influence was certain to weaken the authority of the churches. The government, although it took over some services considered onerous by the missions, represented a similar danger. As noted previously, these incursions on church authority and control at both Anvik and Holy Cross were particularly serious because neither church had integrated their educational and religious efforts into the lives of local people. Both churches continued to function in their communities beyond the period with which this study is concerned, but both were eventually forced to withdraw because they were unable to become self-sustaining. Having always been viewed by the Ingalik as organizations imposed from without, they could not be accepted and supported as community institutions when the need to do so arose.

Through these five phases it is possible to follow the process of Ingalik response to the presence of two vigorous mission organizations in their area. It is obvious that although the missions emphasized programs aimed at changing the religious views of the people, their efforts affected virtually every other aspect of culture as well. The educational programs opened up a new world to village young people and helped them to learn the English language, a valuable asset as face-to-face contact with Euro-Americans steadily increased. Traditional concepts of proper social behavior were

undermined and new concepts introduced since both Episcopalians and Roman Catholics stressed the necessity of living a Christian life, not just adhering to a new set of religious beliefs. Thus premarital sexual activity was denounced, marriage became a formal contractual arrangement, divorce was almost impossible to obtain, and the sinful nature of adultery was stressed. In addition to the basic concepts of Christianity, the churches attempted to introduce middle-class American values to the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik.

Missionaries resident on the lower-middle Yukon thus presented the Ingalik with alternative life styles and belief systems. The Indians chose whether or not to accept such changes and their decisions, although impossible to reconstruct in individual cases, can, as a whole, be considered in terms of the processes of culture change that are the subject of this study. Thus positive values in the Indians' choice to accept Christianity certainly included the desire to possess material comforts such as the food distributed by both Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, particularly the latter. Opportunities presented by the mission schools to acquire Euro-American skills such as reading and writing were also significant.

Another positive value in the acceptance of Christianity was the emotional impact of the new religion at a time when the traditional belief system was disintegrating. That this impact was minimal in the early contact period is illustrated by the indifference shown by some Yukon Indians to the teachings of Father Netsvetov in the 1840's and 1850's. Fifty years later a decline in the number of game animals, increased indebtedness to the traders, the high incidence of illness and death from diseases brought by an ever-increasing white population, and the failure of traditional religious leaders to cope successfully with these problems created an emotional climate more acceptable to the concept of individual salvation.

A consideration of Christianity as a social phenomonon should not obscure the importance of the missionary as an agent of social change or his influence on particular individuals. Obviously, many factors contributed to this aspect of a missionary's success, not the least of which were his personality, his adaptability and willingness to learn, and, on a more concrete level, his ability to speak the native language. A missionary's performance of a number of roles such as doctor, teacher, and postmaster gave him authority in a number of spheres of the social system and had the potential, at least, to enhance his stature in the eyes of potential adherents to his faith.

The Gold Rushes

From the first influx of miners into the Yukon Valley at the beginning of the Klondike gold rush in 1897 until the decline of the upper Innoko diggings prior to 1920, new and abundant opportunities for interaction with Euro-Americans were presented to the Ingalik. For the first time, the Indians had an opportunity to observe Euro-Americans other than traders and missionaries and they found the experience very instructive. The gold miners had only one real end in view: to reach the gold fields of the Klondike or the upper Innoko or, failing that, to find gold elsewhere in the area. Their interest in the Indian population existed only insofar as the latter could be of assistance to them in achieving this goal. Thus in the early years of the Klondike stampede, Indians worked on the river boats as deck hands and pilots. Although they were soon forced out of these jobs by more ambitious whites, they continued to find employment as wood choppers and the cash income they earned effectively changed their relationship to the traders. The Indians could still be victimized by unscrupulous traders, but the likelihood that this would happen was greatly reduced when the natives had money in their pockets and slowly began to understand the true value of the goods stocked by the traders.

Although a non-directed aspect of culture change, in this context, the innovation represented by employment for a cash wage is a momentous one in the history of any contact situation involving small-scale societies. For the Ingalik in aboriginal times, each man, ideally, supported his family by his hunting and gathering skills. When the first Russian, and later American, traders came to the area, a few individuals, usually one or two men and their families, were clothed, housed, and fed by the trader in exchange for work around the post. This introduced a new means of family support which the Episcopal and Roman Catholic missions also adopted when they arrived on the scene. The Indians, as we have noted, adjusted quickly to this new arrangement not only expecting to be paid for the work which they performed for the missions, but actively soliciting such work whenever it seemed likely to be available. At this time, the arrangement of exchanging labor for subsistence, or sometimes cash, affected a relatively few individuals and then for only short periods of time. But it introduced the significant concept of working for others in a clearly subordinate capacity and thus determined the relationship that was to exist between Indians who came increasingly to want and need a cash income, and the Euro-

American newcomers who, to an increasing degree, were in a position to provide it.

The concept of working for cash wages rather than subsistence, or wages in kind, may have been introduced on a small scale as early as the 1880's, but it became an established pattern when prospectors began to arrive in the Yukon Valley. Chopping wood for fuel for the river boats, either independently in the early days of river traffic, or later as employees of established wood yards, was for most Indians virtually the only means of earning a cash income. The demand for wood was such, however, that most adult males could be employed in this manner if they so wished. Since wood chopping began as early in the year as February, it impinged to some extent on late winter and spring subsistence and trapping activities. Since trapping was depressed at this time, however, it is doubtful whether most woodsmen had difficulty in deciding how their time could be most profitably spent. The conversion of river boats from wood to oil began as early as 1903 and following the collapse of the Iditarod stampede, the volume of river traffic declined drastically. This meant that the Ingalik were forced to rely once more primarily on income derived from trapping.

In summary, the gold rush period, lasting from 1897 to about 1920, was a period of rapid and intensive change which set the pattern for relationships between Indians and Euro-Americans that have lasted up to the present time. Euro-Americans came into the area for their own gain and to exploit resources different from those exploited by the indigenous inhabitants. The Indians had no active role in this development except to the extent that they could provide services useful to the newcomers. Their subordinate role as second-class citizens in their own environment was clearly established at this time. The missionaries, traders, and Indians needed each other. The prospectors and their followers did not really need the Indians except peripherally and the latter were shunted aside by western technology in the company of western greed. This pattern is a familiar one that has been faced by small-scale societies all over the world. For the Ingalik, however, it came to an abrupt end with the collapse of the Innoko gold rush. The lower Yukon once more became an isolated backwater, but the impact of this period of intensive change and the associated relationship between Indians and Euro-Americans persisted. It is little wonder that the missions believed their private preserves to have been invaded and cherished values threatened.

Government Services

As in most areas of Alaska, the services that eventually came to be offered to the Ingalik by the United States government were first offered by the missions. Education and health care were both important to the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians because they offered an opportunity to increase their influence with the Ingalik. Schools were the means by which both missions established themselves in their villages and secured their earliest and most loyal converts. The Indians, in their turn, came to rely on mission personnel for assistance during epidemics, even when the missionaries were ill-equipped to provide it. Here were classic examples of directed culture change aimed at undermining traditional value systems and teaching new ones. Without a doubt, medical care and education were the means by which the missions successfully established themselves among the Ingalik. The effects of mission influence in these areas was far-reaching even though mission efforts did not result in the creation of a middle-class Christian value system as the missionaries had hoped.

As we have noted, government-sponsored medical services on the lower Yukon began about 1910 at a time when faith in the power of traditional healers was already beginning to decline. By the time of the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, the missions appear to have won the confidence of the Indians as far as medical matters were concerned and were able to institute effective quarantines and take other appropriate measures. Public education began at Anvik about 1906 and at Shageluk and Holy Cross shortly thereafter. Although the public day schools remained in the shadow of the thriving boarding schools, the ground work for secular education was successfully laid. The steadily increasing importance of the federal schools gave the government control over the Indians to an increased extent. Families were strongly encouraged to keep their children in school from September through May and these sanctions applied to everyone, whereas the influence of the boarding schools was strong only among those who chose to enroll their children. Families who complied with government pressure were frequently hampered in making a living. If they withdrew their children from school to go to trapping or fish camps, they risked the official disapproval of a powerful force for change in the community. As the Indians increasingly came to recognize the advantages of having their children learn English, their mobility was correspondingly reduced. This in turn affected subsistence, since the areas near the villages were

more extensively exploited by a larger number of hunters and trappers who were harvesting game and fur from a reduced animal population in a greatly restricted area.

The federal government's attempt to exert direct influence on the economic life of the Ingalik through the reindeer program was considerably less successful in spite of the active support of the Episcopalians and the grudging acceptance of the mission at Holy Cross. As we have noted, the reasons for this failure were multiple and perhaps due as much to biological and environmental causes as to any active resistance on the part of the intended beneficiaries. It is also true that the reindeer program was presented to the Ingalik at a difficult time when alternative opportunities for subsistence were sporadically available and many disruptive influences not conducive to an entirely new approach to resource utilization were prevalent. It is apparent, however, that the failure of the reindeer herding program on the lower Yukon, as elsewhere in Alaska, can be attributed to basic miscalculations on the part of the government and the missions concerning the nature of Ingalik society. Like the neighboring Eskimos, the Ingalik were accustomed to a relatively stable village life. They were gregarious and found the isolation of reindeer camps difficult to accept. Also, of course, the difference between exploiting animal resources and tending them is considerable. Some Indians were willing to become involved for a while when they were young, but in spite of government and mission encouragement, few looked upon herding as a reasonable lifetime occupation in spite of the potential rewards it appeared to offer.

Types of Contact Communities

Spicer has noted that under conditions of directed contact over a given time period there are usually a number of degrees and kinds of "interference" in the action of cultural systems.[8] To understand this situation, which depends on the form of linkage between the two social systems, it is necessary to develop some type of classification of directed contact situations. Spicer discussed these variables in terms of what he refers to as "contact communities" and defines as "the social relations (in the widest sense) obtaining among members of the societies in contact at any given time."[9] Recognizing that in any contact situation there are often profound changes in the nature of successive contact communities, attention is directed to variation in the following factors:

(1) the nature of the structural linkage with the dominant society, whether ecclesiastical, political, economic, or other, and the nature of the combination of

> these different institutional linkages . . .; (2) the kinds of roles, with their accompanying sanctions, assumed by members of the superordinate society in the contact communities; and (3) the nature of the subordinate society's social structure in terms of stability, whether new types of communities were in process of formation or not.[10]

Although devised for the purpose of comparing contact among a wide variety of North American peoples, this classification is also useful to emphasize the diverse aspects of contact among a single people over time. It can also be applied to contact situations that we have defined as being dependent, non-directed.

For the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik it is possible to define five contact communities. They overlap in time, of course, but each outlines a pattern of emphasis and response that varied from the preceding and following ones.

1. *Russian fur trade and mission.* Characterized by indirect and direct market linkages, ecclesiastical linkages, non-coercive roles, and structural instability. The significant agents of contact here were a state trading company and a state church, neither of which were able to apply strong sanctions or achieve the goals of directed change which they had set for themselves. The ratio of Russians to the Indian population was small, but the smallpox epidemic of 1838-1839 seriously disrupted modified-traditional Ingalik life. The extent of the Siberia-Alaska trade at the beginning of the 19th century suggests, as previously noted, that the aboriginal period came to an end not long after 1750. Structural instability, therefore, is characteristic of all the contact communities.

2. *American fur trade.* Characterized by market linkage, both non-coercive and coercive roles, and structural instability. Sale of Alaska to the United States and the consequent departure of the Russian-American Company left the Orthodox Church in a precarious position. Competitive American trading companies before 1883 placed the Ingalik, for the first time, in a favorable situation with reference to the fur trade. Monopoly conditions after that date together with a decline in populations of fur-bearing animals and increased dependence on American goods created the conditions necessary for directed culture change.

3. *American mission.* Characterized by market and ecclesiastical linkages, intimate face-to-face roles with moderately strong coercive sanctions, structural instability. Since the ratio of Euro-Americans to the Indian population increased hardly at all, the considerable in-

fluence of the members of the dominant society must be explained in terms of other factors, such as the religious zeal of the Episcopalians and Roman Catholic missionaries, and the effective sanctions which they could apply in the communities where they were located. New elements of structural instability resulted from social and ideological cleavages within the communities created by the presence of the missions.

4. *Gold rush.* Characterized by economic and other linkages, non-coercive roles, and structural instability. It is noteworthy that the economic linkages created by the gold rushes overshadowed all others. Structural instability was aggravated by continuing mission-induced cleavages and also by the presence of large numbers of Euro-Americans in the area. The ratio of outsiders to the Indian population was, of course, greatly increased. Influence of the dominant society was considerable, but not consistent or coercive.

5. *Government ascendency.* There were economic and political linkages as well as others, but without administrative centralization; also coercive roles and structural instability. The ratio of Euro-Americans to the Indian population was reduced and the period as a whole is distinguished from the gold rush period on the basis of quite different kinds of linkages with the superordinate society. With the growing emphasis on secular education, mission influence began to decline. The government's role in education, medical care, and other services made the Indians aware for the first time of the importance of the national state of which they had, unknowingly, become a part.

Contact communities defined for the Anvik-Shageluk Ingalik help us to understand the processes of culture change in the area and the main outlines of Indian response to contact up to about 1935 seem clear enough. During the Russian fur trade and mission period and the American fur trade period the Indians were, for the most part, receptive to a number of European introductions in various aspects of culture. Items of material culture obtained from traders were at first welcome additions to or replacements for aboriginal technology, but later became the necessities of life. The Russian Orthodox missionaries' conception of their role tended to inhibit the growth of antagonisms since they did not stress the prohibition of existing customs. The Indians were considerably less receptive during the American mission period simply because the Episcopalian

and Roman Catholic missions were interested in changing existing customs and beliefs. During the gold rush and government ascendency periods, acceptance of introductions occurred slowly and with some resistance as the Indians came to recognize their subordinate status and the threat to their traditional values that acceptance implied.

It is generally recognized that the elements of a given cultural system like that of the Ingalik may, under the conditions of contact, be augmented, replaced, or combined in numerous ways with elements of another cultural system. It is clear that in some cases the Ingalik were able to replace a trait of their own culture with an equivalent from the superordinate Euro-American culture, and in other cases traits from the intrusive cultural system could be added to that of the Ingalik without causing any disruption. For the most part, however, this replacement or augmentation could not be accomplished successfully and the eventual result was deculturative rather than acculturative, the Indians experiencing a net cultural loss as a result of their contact experiences. The implications of this situation for the future of the Ingalik were perceived by a few farsighted individuals as early as the turn of the century. It is a legacy that has shaped modern Indian life on the lower-middle Yukon.

Notes

1. Linton, 1940, p. 5.
2. Spicer, 1961, p. 521.
3. Ibid., p. 525.
4. Berkhofer, 1963, p. 203.
5. Ibid., p. 209.
6. Ibid., p. 207.
7. Ibid., p. 209.
8. Spicer, 1961, p. 524.
9. Ibid., p. 525.
10. Ibid.

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