SOME TRENDS IN NON-NATIVE ADAPTATION IN VILLAGES ALONG THE KOBUK AND KOYUKUK RIVERS IN NORTHWEST ALASKA

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SOME TRENDS IN NON-NATIVE ADAPTATION IN VILLAGES ALONG THE KOBUK AND KOYUKUK RIVERS IN NORTHWEST ALASKA

A

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the University of Alaska in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF ARTS

By
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May, 1973
ABSTRACT

Non-Natives living in isolated village settings in Alaska have traditionally been ignored in anthropological investigations. These non-Natives are the subject of this thesis. It is a preliminary treatment of the adjustments they must make as newcomers to a cultural environment that is at first unfamiliar to them. As a result of these adjustments, the newcomers develop a different approach to life, one which includes a blend of elements from both their own culture and that in which they find themselves as strangers.

The thesis also briefly discusses these non-Natives as change agents in the modification of the life patterns of the Native people among whom they live.

Finally, the thesis suggests tentative guidelines for the recruitment of bush personnel in Alaska.
DEDICATION

It is somewhat less than customary to dedicate a Masters thesis to anyone. However, under the circumstances I feel it is only fitting that this thesis be dedicated to Wilfred Zibell, an important informant of mine who met his death in an airplane crash in Kotzebue on November 21, 1971. Wilfred Zibell had worked in the Kobuk River area for almost ten years as a Wycliffe linguist studying the Northwest Eskimo dialect and translating the Bible into that language. He was on his way back to his home in Noorvik, a large Eskimo village located on the lower Kobuk River, when the accident occurred. He is survived by his wife, Donna, and four children.
PREFACE

Such a great deal has been written about our Indian and Eskimo brothers in Alaska over the past forty or fifty years that it seems the non-Natives who live among them have been allowed to be forgotten or simply shrugged off as "spoilers" or "exploiters" or some other spurious type.

It is for this reason, therefore, and also because of a desire to be original about my undertaking, that I have chosen these nebulous subjects in their backwoods setting as a topic for my thesis. In addition, I believe that a study even as preliminary as this one may reveal a few interesting theoretical possibilities relating to the adaptation process where those who suddenly find themselves in an alien cultural environment are forced to adjust in order to continue to live within it. This process is usually called "acculturation" and always implies an adoption of some of the material characteristics of the new culture as well as a partial shift in one's value emphasis. As a result of this adjustment in the form of cultural borrowing, the newcomer develops a different approach to life, one which includes a blend of elements from both his culture of orientation and the society in which he is a stranger. It is this novel life pattern or gestalt that is the main inter-
While the non-Native resident is adjusting and conforming more to the Native pattern of life, he may at the same time become an influential factor in the continued change of the Natives among whom he is living. Although I had originally planned to do more with this hypothesis when I was in the field, I found that my time was just too limited to do it justice, so that for the purposes of the present paper I have relegated it mostly to discussion. Perhaps at a later date I shall pursue further this other process of "mutual change."

Finally, one of the uses to which this thesis might be put is in the recruitment of bush personnel. Not much is understood about the types of personalities that make the "happiest," best adjusted," and "most effective" teachers and administrators in Alaskan rural communities. Perhaps this paper will be at least a minor contribution to that end.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As those who have written one know, a thesis is never solely the work of its author. It is the product of much consultation with his advisor and teachers, a lot of more or less directed discussion with his informants, and finally a great deal of casual conversation with his wife and friends. In addition, there is the typing and proofing and then the editing and seemingly interminable retyping and proofing again.

I would therefore like to extend my thanks to all of those who have aided me in any way in the realization of this project. Especially, I thank Dr. William Loyens from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alaska for the long hours he spent reviewing the thesis and for his many helpful suggestions and corrections. My wife, Gay Ann, helped in the typing and in the development of some of the theoretical aspects of the work, and, most important, she also gave me the encouragement I needed when the going began to get rough. I should like to thank Cydney Fossman too for typing the final draft of the thesis. And last but certainly not least, I thank all of my many informants along the Kobuk and Koyukuk Rivers for both their help in answering my questions and in particular for the very special kind of northern hospitality they showed me while I was traveling the rivers. Without these there would not have been a thesis.
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Part I: Literature Review

There is not a lot of material available concerning Caucasians in this northern Alaska setting. Robert Marshall, in his books *Arctic Village* and *Arctic Wilderness*, discusses at great length the non-Natives living along the Koyukuk and Alatna Rivers during his visits there in the early 1930's; and Stoney, Cantwell, and Mendenhall talk of the rigors experienced by their men during their various exploratory expeditions through those parts in the late nineteenth century. And Giddings, in his numerous recent works on the Kobuk gives us an idea of some of the personal hardships he underwent while working along that river. But I have found nothing at all treating of the non-Natives who have become resident on the Kobuk.

An excellent book that deals with a special breed of non-Native, the trader, is one by William Adams called *A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community*. I found it a highly relevant source even though the subjects of its pages were so spatially removed from Alaska.

For a general understanding of the psychological foundations of human motivation, I have drawn from Abraham Maslow's two books, *Toward a Psychology of Being* and *Moti-
vation and Personality. Robert Ardrey's three books, African Genesis, Territorial Imperative, and Social Contract were also used for the purpose of gaining additional insights into man's motivational foundations.

Several works describing the adjustment problems of the stranger to his novel cultural environment, including the condition of "anomie"* that he experiences during the first part of his stay in that setting. Among these are Stonequist's Marginal Man, Textor's Cultural Frontiers of the Peace Corps, Laura Bohannan's delightful Return to Laughter, Morris Freilich's Marginal Natives: Anthropologists at Work, The Silent Language by E. T. Hall, The Stranger by Scheutz, and The Fate of Americans in a Spanish Setting by Dennison Nash. As a supplement to these I have also looked into field accounts by Oswalt (Napaskiak), Jenness (People of the Twilight and Dawn in Arctic Alaska), Hughes (An Eskimo Village in the Modern World), and Chance (The Eskimo of North Alaska) for any relevant remarks regarding their own experiences.

In addition to many of the above works that were used to gain a better understanding of the processes of acculturation, I also used Bernard Siegel's Acculturation, and Spicer's Human Problems in Technological Change. Both

* A term first used by Emile Durkheim to denote "meaninglessness," i.e. a condition in an individual commonly characterized by personal disorientation, anxiety, and social isolation.
of Seymour Parker's papers relating to the Kotzebue area were reviewed, as was Hippler's more recent study.

Bandi's *Eskimo Prehistory*, and Oswalt's *Alaskan Eskimos* were read to further familiarize myself with Eskimo culture during precontact times.

And finally, I have also drawn from a new book on the popular press by Alvin Toffler called *Future Shock* for his comments relating to a general theory of adaptation. Although Toffler treats primarily of the problem of adaptation in a highly technologized superindustrial environment, I feel the theory is also applicable to those human byproducts of western life who have migrated to a village setting.
Part II: Introduction

Chapter I
GENESIS

While I was living and working in Kotzebue in 1968 and 1969 I often became very frustrated with many of the attitudes and actions of those of my own pale skin color. My task was to set up a Parent-Child Center pilot project there, and constantly, it seemed, I was at loggerheads with the non-Native power structure of the town. I felt they just did not understand the goals of either the Poverty Program or, more specifically, the needs and desires of the Eskimo community of Kotzebue. In fact, very often I was unpleasantly surprised by the unusual degree of ignorance on the part of the non-Natives in Kotzebue concerning their Native neighbors. In many cases, it was as though the Eskimo people did not exist except perhaps as customers to buy groceries or services at inflated prices. With the exception of some teachers and missionaries and social workers, it seemed that the non-Natives paid little heed to the human welfare of the Eskimo majority in that town. What were the reasons for this, I asked? What is it that causes this state of mind on the part of many non-Native people in Alaska Native villages and towns? And then, what of the
change process—how does this attitude affect the assimilation of the Native people to the way of the larger society outside? And what of those few non-Natives who are truly sympathetic and empathetic with the "travail" of the Native—how do they influence the acculturation process? These were some of the questions I had in my mind as the time grew near for me to leave Kotzebue.

Then, working as a research assistant for Dorothy Jones in Unalaska during the months of December and January of 1970-71, I had the opportunity to study this problem with somewhat more freedom than I had had in Kotzebue as Director of a Parent-Child Center project. In Unalaska I helped research the patterns of group alliance among the non-Natives in that Aleut town. However, individual adaptation was also an important concern of mine there, so I was provided with further insights into the problem I had been considering in Kotzebue. At this stage I was interested mostly in role identification and the resultant motivational attributes among non-Natives in Native villages and how these contributed to a hypothetical differential assimilation process among Natives where there was contact between them and non-Natives. Another phenomenon which began to interest me, especially because it seemed to be even more empirically observable in the field, was the unique adjustment the non-Native had to make to be able to live in his new surroundings for any prolonged length of time—so that in his life
style he often became very much like the Native people he was living among. And then, what sort of influence was this adaptation going to have on the already changing Native? Just what of this "mutual change process"?

I determined that it would be a good idea to do some additional research into this question of mutual adaptation and change. And I felt that, although I probably would not be able to gather sufficient data to make any kind of gross generalization, or even entirely substantiate an hypothesis, at least I could gain a few additional insights into the problem and so have a better understanding of its multidimensional character. I also felt that because of the time factor—I would only be spending an average of one week in each community I visited—and because of a superficial familiarity I had already developed with the area, I decided that the Eskimo villages along the Kobuk River would be the places of my investigations. In addition, these communities fulfilled the most important requirement since there were non-Natives residing in all of them. However, because a part of the plan would be to start at Allakaket and Alatna (an Athapaskan-Eskimo community on the Koyukuk River), I would also interview non-Natives there. So the villages visited would be Allakaket-Alatna, Kobuk, Shungnak, Ambler, Kiana, Noorvik, and Kotzebue. Although Kotzebue was not a true village, a number of interviews from that rather large town would help round out my investigations in this area.
Chapter II

METHODS

Using the phenomenological approach as a starting
point, I was, of course, interested primarily in how the
non-Natives under consideration viewed themselves and their
world. My method of interview was entirely open-ended,
and I did not use a notebook until returning to my tent
after each conversation. In most cases my questions were
not direct but rather were presented as an integral part
of as casual a conversation as could be managed under the
circumstances. I believed that in this way my informants
would tell me more about themselves, especially since I
was posing in the role of an anthropologist. In addition
to conversations with these individuals, I also became ac-
quainted with as many Native people as I could in order
to find out more about their non-Native neighbors, especial-
ly about the quality of interaction that took place between
them and the Natives. Also, within my time limitation, I
tried to be the typical "participant-observer" in order
to absorb as much as possible of the total situation in each
one of the communities. For example, in Kiana I worked
for Lorenz Scheurch, one of the non-Native traders in that
village, as a way of paying for my meals and room at his

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house. In Ambler I worked for the B.L.M. fighting fires for a week, and thus came into intimate contact with many of the residents, both Native and non-Native, of the Kobuk River villages. In addition, in each community visited I tried to stay with one or more of the non-Native families in residence there. In Shungnak, Kiana, Ambler, and Kotzebue, therefore, I lived with some of my informants in those villages. And in Kobuk and Ambler I stayed in both a cabin and a sod hut respectively which were adjacent to the living quarters of other of my informants. So, in most cases I was able to establish myself in a relationship which enabled me to observe very closely the daily rhythm of a good number of the non-Natives who were the subjects of my research. The fact that I was already familiar with some of the area and had already come to know many of the people, both Native and non-Native, who lived there also aided me in my purposes. Another "door opener" for me in the villages was the fact that I had just completed a rather exciting trip with a friend by log raft from the headwaters of the Kobuk River to the village of Kobuk, and during its course had accidently been swept through the dangerous Lower Kobuk Gorge and had come out of the ordeal alive and in comparatively good health. According to the residents along the Lower river, this had never been done before and was a source of awe for the duration of our visit with them. In fact, word of this "success" travelled downriver faster than we
did and proved to be an immense advantage to us in making preliminary contacts with the people of the area.

During my previous research in Unalaska I found that my role as investigator proved an unfortunate source of anxiety for me. Because of unusual circumstances, I felt I could not identify as a researcher but rather as a travelling student interested only in the area for unacademic reasons. In my summer field trip, however, I had no cause to be other than what I really was, an Anthropology student gathering data for a thesis. As a result of this, I personally felt no onus of duplicity and I am certain, therefore, that I did not represent a threat to my informants. Especially after I informed them that the manuscript would probably only eventually find itself in some outback on the shelves of the university library, those who gave me information about themselves felt that their sense of privacy would be left uncompromised.

In addition to interviews with people "in situ," since returning to Fairbanks I have also spoken with several other non-Native residents of the Kobuk River area who were not at home when I was visiting their villages.

In Kotzebue I was not able to interview a great number of non-Natives both because of the circumstances that surrounded the portion of my field trip from the headwaters of the Kobuk by raft down to the village of Kobuk—frankly, I was exhausted by the time I reached Kotzebue—and because
the number of non-Natives in that town was such that I could not possibly have seen and interviewed them all in even a full summer. So, there I limited my contacts to those I felt would serve as a complement to the others I had interviewed in the smaller villages.

In my conversations with informants I relied on a variable combination of the following general format of questions:

1. General background--who they were, including
   age
   marital status (wife Native or non-Native?)
   number of children
   education
   residence (where, how long)
   origins and former style of life, including former occupations and residences
   present occupation

2. Migration to Alaska and the north country--including
   date
   reasons why
   future plans--to stay, to leave (why, how)

3. Contemporary life styles--including
   general characteristics
   organizational activities
   new activities
   work orientations
4. How they perceive problems, especially Native problems, both in the village and in the State generally.

5. Attitudes including
   Land Claims
   trans-Alaska pipeline
   religion
   Native language and culture
   racial

6. Perception of their status and roles (self-image) within the community, including organizational and other goals.

7. Non-Native-Native interaction.

8. Interaction with other non-Natives.
Chapter III
DESCRIPTION OF FIELD TRIP

Before I proceed any further, a brief recapitulation of the entire field trip is perhaps in order to round things into better perspective.

Towards the end of May a friend and I flew from Fairbanks over to Allakaket, an Athapaskan village located at the confluence of the Koyukuk and Alatna Rivers. We remained there and in Alatna (a smaller Eskimo community across the river) for six days gathering information about the non-Natives in those two communities. Then we contracted an Alatna man, Jimmy Edwards, to take us up the Alatna River by motorboat about 130 miles to a point near the Continental Divide. From there we hiked the 25 miles or so across the Divide until we reached the headwaters of the Kobuk River. At a point along Kichoiyakaka Creek we set in our rubber raft, hoping by this means to be able to float to Kobuk village about 250 miles downriver. However, the rapids caught us and tore the bottom of our raft out and thereby changed our plans somewhat. So, downriver another ten miles we built a log raft out of some spare twine and shoe laces we had on hand and then proceeded by this rude means. We managed to negotiate the Upper Gorge of the
Kobuk successfully, but further along we were unmercifully sucked into and rammed through the Kobuk's Lower Gorge, almost becoming gull bait in the process. And then downriver we were turned topsy turvy several times by large sweepers hanging from the river banks, having therefore each time to swim for our life and our raft lest we lose it and everything we had lashed to it. Finally, about sixty miles by river from Kobuk village (and only twelve the way the crow flies) we were able to flag down a helicopter and have him ferry us into Kobuk.

In Kobuk we stayed three days in the non-Native post master's cabin and recuperated some from our ordeal. At the same time, I gathered information about his life and about the village. Then we headed downriver by motorboat for Shungnak where we stayed for two days with William Kinnik. His Caucasian wife, Kay, who had been a teacher there, had just left town, so I was able only to gather second hand data from her husband. Then we contracted another motorboat to take us much further downriver to Ambler where my partner left for Fairbanks, and I remained for a week and a half interviewing the large number of non-Native residents there. After that, I flew down to Kiana where I lived and worked with Charles Hunter and his family in their trading post. After spending five days in Kiana, a B.L.M. recruiter flew in looking for firefighters to fly up to Ambler and give them a hand with a bad fire that was
threatening the village. So I signed on and flew back up with them to fight the fire, and was thus in Ambler for another week when I had to fly out to Kotzebue to have a metal splinter removed from my eye. In this way I missed Noorvik, but I was informed meanwhile that the only non-Native family living permanently in the village was in Fairbanks anyway, so I would catch them there after I returned. I stayed in Kotzebue for five days with the Episcopal priest and his family, gathering data on some of the non-Natives in this community, and then I flew home to Fairbanks.
Chapter IV

THEORY

Certainly, as Alvin Toffler states in his recent book (1970) *Future Shock*, there is a need for a greater understanding of the adaptive mechanisms which men use to cope with novel experiences. This is especially true today in our superindustrial societies of the West because of the accelerated tempo of life that has become implicit within them, a situation which means the average individual has a much increased through-flow of these kinds of experiences. And yet, Toffler (1970: 2-3) complains, "In the most rapidly changing environment to which man has ever been exposed, we remain pitifully ignorant of how the human animal copes."

In a paper about adaptation one should probably include a discussion of the motivational foundations for man’s actions. For this purpose I have relied upon a combination of the explanations offered by Abraham Maslow and Robert Ardrey.

Maslow (1970: 24) states in *Motivation and Personality* that,

Man is a wanting animal and rarely reaches a state of complete satisfaction except for a short time. As one desire is satisfied, an-
other pops up to take its place... It is a characteristic of the human being throughout his whole life that he is practically always desiring something.

And, elsewhere in the same book (1970: preface XV), he adds,

Apparently we function best when we are striving for something that we lack, when we wish for something that we do not have, and when we organize our powers in the service of striving toward the gratification of that wish.

However, he explains, the state of gratification is not a guarantee of enduring contentment. It is instead "a moot state," one that not only solves problems but also raises them and is thereby succeeded by another "higher discontent." Thus another need has arisen to be satisfied and we strive once again towards that end. These needs of ours, Maslow says, are basic within all of us and,

...are related to each other in a hierarchical order such that gratification of one need and its consequent removal from the center of the stage brings about not a state of rest or Stoic apathy, but rather the emergence into consciousness of another "higher" need; wanting and desiring continues but at a "higher" level (Maslow 1968: 28).

This theory of "need (growth) motivation" is based upon the assumption that in men there is a positive striving to grow, and that growth takes place in stages, according to the hierarchy of needs mentioned above. In his discussion of this hierarchy in Chapter four of Motivation and Personality (1970), Maslow starts with physiological
needs at the bottom and works up through safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, the need for self-actualization, then the desires to know and to understand, and culminates in the esthetic needs. From this level of reckoning, Maslow also says (1968: 45) that growth occurs:

When the next step forward is subjectively more delightful, more joyous, more intrinsically satisfying than the previous gratification with which we have become familiar and even bored;...the only way we can ever know what is right for us is that it feels better than any alternative. The new experience validates "itself" rather than by any outside criterion. It is self-justifying, self-validating.

Therefore activity can be enjoyed intrinsically, for its own sake, or it may have value because it is instrumental in bringing about a desired gratification.

Robert Ardrey, in his inquiries into what he calls the evolutionary foundations for man's behavior, agrees with Maslow about the innate quality of the hierarchy of needs. Ardrey, in fact, has formulated his own system of needs, and although somewhat more basic than Maslow's, it is in any case equally as relevant in terms of explaining man's various propensities.

Ardrey's three categories are security, stimulation, and identity. In his own words:

There are three innate needs which demand satisfaction. The first is identity, the opposite of anonymity, and it is highest. The second is stimulation, the opposite of boredom. The low-
'est is security, the opposite of anxiety (Ardrey 1970: 289).

The above scheme may seem overly simplistic, but it nonetheless corresponds precisely with the system devised by Maslow. That is, each of the categories in Maslow's hierarchy has a counterpart in Ardrey's, and vice versa. Additionally, it must be mentioned that all of man's drives relate in one way or another to these categories of needs.

These two systems of need motivation then, at least offer a starting point in the explanation of human activity.* I believe also that they will provide some orientation in my later discussion of the non-Natives living along the banks of two rivers in Alaska's northwest.

Before a consideration of the Alaskan scene, however, I will discuss what might be called the "adjustment syndrome" that every stranger must experience on entering a cultural ambience foreign to his own.

Surprisingly, there has been a fair amount written about what happens to a person when he goes to live among alien peoples. Only since the inception of the Peace Corps in 1961, however, has this research been more than just an

* Malinowski also discussed these ideas in great length as they were connected with the organization of culture. As Harris (1968: 549) states, "Malinowski came up with a list of seven basic individual biopsychological needs for the satisfaction of which the social organism or culture was a 'vast instrumental reality.'"
academic exercise. With the deep involvement that the Peace Corps philosophy implied volunteers would have to have with host country nationals of a different cultural background, there was a need to know more about the processes of individual adaptation. The idea was that if a volunteer knew what he was getting into in terms of what might happen to his psyche, then he could either opt out during the preliminary training session, or when he was finally in the field and funny things began grabbing at his brain, he would at least have some idea of what was happening to him and of the universality of his predicament. In this manner he would also have a much better chance of coming through the crisis period--called "culture shock"* by the Peace Corps--with relatively greater ease than if he had never known of the phenomenon.**

Perhaps one of the earliest accounts of psychological problems encountered by newcomers in a foreign setting was Everett Stonequist's The Marginal Man (1937). The author admits, however, that credit for the original concept must

* Alvin Toffler describes his "future shock" as being closely related to culture shock. It is "the distress, both physical and psychological, that arises from an overload of the human organism's physical adaptive systems and its decision-making processes." And its symptoms range all the way from anxiety, hostility to helpful authority, and seemingly senseless violence, to physical illness, depression and apathy." (326)

** See Cultural Frontiers of the Peace Corps by Robert B. Textor for a thorough coverage of the various role and other conflicts experienced by Peace Corps Volunteers.
be given to Robert E. Park from whom he learned it.

Stonequist (1937: 121-122) hypothesizes that there is a three phase developmental pattern typical of the outsider adjusting to new surroundings. There is (1) a phase when he is not aware that the racial or nationality conflict embraces his own career; (2) a period when he consciously experiences this conflict; and (3) the more permanent adjustments, or lack of adjustments, which he makes or attempts to make to his new situation.

According to Stonequist (1937: 122-123), it is during the second stage in his evolution that the stranger begins to become "marginal." It is then that he runs into a crisis situation in which his usual habits and attitudes begin to break down and an important change takes place in his self-concept (including role identity), although as the author suggests, the total transformation may come only after a prolonged and painful process.

Another author (Scheutz 1944: 507) in his essay, "The Stranger," talks of the same problem and the temporal element involved:

The adaptation of the newcomer to the in-group which at first seemed to be strange and unfamiliar to him is a continuous process of inquiry into the cultural pattern of the approached group. If this process of inquiry succeeds, then this pattern and its elements will become to the newcomer a matter of course, an unquestionable way of life, a shelter, and a protection. But then the stranger is no stranger, and his specific problems have been solved.
Scheutz describes this process of inquiry and assimilation as being analogous to the incorporation of a new and extraordinary fact into our already existent system of knowledge. That is, by first defining it, then by slowly transforming "our general scheme of interpretation of the world in such a way that the strange fact and its meaning becomes compatible and consistent with all the other facts of our experience and their meanings" (Scheutz: 507).*

This process of inquiry and assimilation that Scheutz describes is mainly Stonequist's third stage during which the individual makes his adjustments to the situation. Sometimes these are successful and the outsider becomes more at ease again. At other times, however, the person may fluctuate from a position of relative adjustment to that of revisited conflict. Or, the situation may be so overwhelming, relative to the individual's resources, that he is unable to adjust himself and so becomes disoriented (Stonequist: 123).

This disorientation—or "anomie," as many refer to it—is, in any case, experienced to at least some degree by everyone attempting to change his cultural surroundings. Dennison Nash (1967: 158) in an article in Human Organization, writes at length about the phenomenon. He says

* In a theory of acculturation which she calls "pattern-ing," Cora DuBois (in Siegel 1955: 41-45) speaks of something similar on a cultural level.
of it that:

The degree of "anomie" experienced by these strangers would be dependent on situational and personal factors. Such an experience would be threatening or anxiety-provoking and would continue until the Americans found "homes" or reorganized their subjective worlds to feel "at home" in the city. Until that happy resolution these people would feel strange; their unconfirmed or disconfirmed subjective worlds would be out of balance. Their problems of adaptation, therefore, would be to locate confirming circles in the foreign scene or reorganize their frames of reference to obtain confirmation. The more profound their "anomie" the more would they be preoccupied with this problem.

Still, according to Nash (1967: 161) it is during this period of extreme strangerhood that a kind of "situational neurosis" develops--the newcomer displays a "typical constrictive reaction: he draws back from the new situation. He loses freedom and spontaneity and becomes obsessive about certain features of his home self."

A happy resolution of this problem for the "ideal-typical" stranger, states Nash, would see him:

...passing from a stage of acute "anomie" (in which there is much confusion) through simple "anomie" (in which host and home values conflict) to a condition in which a new equilibrium has been established. This process involves a continual formulation and reformulation of conceptions of the world and self (1967: 158).

In some cases, however, the confusion and conflict never disappear, and the unfortunate individual becomes disorganized to the extent that he either must leave the unconfirming foreign scene or face the possibility, accord-
ing to Stonequist (1937: 202), of despair and occasional suicide.

In my experience in the Peace Corps this last alternative was not often resorted to because staff or other volunteers were usually able to spot an individual experiencing an extreme form of this cultural "malaise" and refer him to appropriate sources for psychiatric help. Most of these volunteers were ultimately sent home. Many others who didn't adjust opted to resign and return home on their own initiative. Some though, as David Szanton (1966: 53) points out in his contribution to Cultural Frontiers of the Peace Corps, were too proud to quit and spent their entire tours "at war" with the local culture. He also indicates, however, that the majority eventually did work out some kind of adjustment usually after about a year in the field. This adjustment, he says, seemed to generally follow two modes, (1) withdrawal from the culture, and (2) accepting the culture in the sense of learning to live with it. And it is his "rough impressionistic conclusion" that, if extreme withdrawal and extreme acceptance are conceived of as ends of a continuum, then "as time passed, most Volunteers moved discernibly toward one or the other pole of the continuum, while relatively few remained close to the midpoint" (Szanton 1966: 53). The same conclusion might be extrapolated for other strangers living in similar circumstances.
A recent account of the experiences of anthropologists in this regard while doing their field studies in exotic communities is Morris Freilich's *Marginal Natives: Anthropologists at Work* (1970). It seems that since the inception of the Peace Corps, anthropologists have also been getting into the act with more candid descriptions of their own field problems. True, there were a few earlier pioneer accounts by such anthropologists as Cornelius Osgood (1955) and Laura Bohannan (1964), but by and large there was such a stigma attached to this sort of thing that it was not often done. Even Laura Bohannan felt this stigma to such a degree that she preferred to publish her book, *Return to Laughter* (1964), under the pseudonym, Elenore Smith Bowen.

In his introduction, Freilich (1970: 19) describes the ambivalences and conflicts of anthropologists during their initial period in the field. It is then that the anthropologist learns that he must restructure his view of social and cultural reality according to the community's definitions of that reality. And, Freilich (1970: 19) adds:

As the anthropologist attempts to develop a set of norms that integrates his culture of orientation with the native culture, he discovers that successful field work frequently requires "replacing" old cultural rules rather than integrating them with new ones, and this discovery often results in considerable internal conflicts.

One of the dilemmas mentioned by Freilich (1970: 22) which applies to anthropologists in the field arises when they
"must decide whether to continue acting in the role of anthropologist—marginal native—or whether to temporarily assume the role of 'real native'—an individual who can behave in ways he thinks 'right,' 'just,' and 'human'" (a condition commonly referred to as "going Native"). Laura Bohannan also illustrates many of these mental conflicts in her anthropological novel, Return to Laughter (1964).

So it is then that if an outsider plans to remain for awhile in a novel setting, he must be prepared to make compromises with his own value system. He does not have to change it entirely, but he must adapt it at least somewhat to the new circumstances. And although this process of adaptation involves a great deal of mental turmoil, if in the end it is relatively successful, then the individual is the stronger for it in as far as his adaptive potential in similar future situations is concerned.

For the non-Natives who have migrated to Alaskan Native rural communities, it would seem that the above descriptions are also applicable. The Koyukuk and Kobuk River villages are alien settings both geographically and culturally for all of the non-Natives living in them, so it goes without saying that under such circumstances any stranger would be forced to modify his life style, at least to some extent.
The process of this adjustment might be likened on a cultural level to Cora DuBois' idea of "patterning" (1939: 137), already mentioned above. It seems that when members of one culture accept an element from another, they do so in the manner that the element is redefined according to local cultural forms. The borrowed idea is thus screened through a cultural filter and becomes something quite different from what it had been originally. DuBois labels this process, "patterning." In a study of the Shasta, Yurok, and Hupa Indians she goes a step further in her explanation and suggests (1939: 138) that patterning may be in proportion to the relative stability of the culture. That is, "the greater the stability of a group, the more pronouncedly it will pattern foreign traits to established institutions."

In a similar manner, the alien non-Native living in an Alaskan village would adapt his own life style to that of the Native people living around him. The degree to which he would actually change this life style would depend upon the strength of his cultural identity, something which involves internalized acceptance or partial rejection of the world view of his own culture. If his cultural identity were firm, then he probably would not make much of a compromise in terms of values. On the other hand, if he has partially rejected this identity as so many younger people have done today in the U.S., then it seems that the adjustment process would be so much the easier for him.
It must be remembered though that the situational factors are somewhat different for the American alien adapting along the Kobuk River than for the same individual in, let us say, Bolivia. In the Kobuk villages there are many more confirming circles for these aliens than there are in Bolivia. The Kobuk is a part of the United States, and although the culture and geography may be different, still U.S. institutions are present and the alien American can depend upon them in a pinch. This was especially true in the past from a legal viewpoint where the nonegalitarian attitudes of outsiders were abetted by the equally nonegalitarian views of other outsiders who enforced the American law. So although his environment was new, the stranger on the Kobuk always had ultimate recourse to U.S. authority, and in this protected status he could thus realistically get away with not having to make the same number of cultural concessions as the American living in Bolivia. Additionally, today in larger Native communities where there are many non-Native teachers these persons usually stay in an apartment compound which is removed from the rest of the town and therefore only allows a minimum of interaction with the townspeople. In this manner, it reduces the necessity to adapt to a new cultural surrounding and thus greatly diminishes the possibility of "culture shock." Where there are hospitals and large commercial and other operations, including the military, an identical situation exists for
their personnel. One finds little of this along the Kobuk and Koyukuk Rivers, however. Most of the villages are too small for such a living arrangement. In any case, this does not mean that non-Natives living in the Alaskan north country have it easy in their new circumstances. The climate of the Arctic is one of the harshest in the world, and that alone would be enough of an adaptive challenge for anyone. In the past this was undoubtedly even more true.

An earlier point should be amplified here. And that is the apparent rejection by many American youth today of their affluent Middle Class backgrounds. It would seem for this type of individual that the potential for cultural compromise would be at a maximum and the possibility of "culture malaise" at a minimum. Also, their extensive travel, and sometimes intensive living experiences, in foreign countries would probably tend to facilitate their adjustment to the unique conditions of life in northern Alaskan villages.

And then, of course, there is the question of why certain non-Natives remain in such communities. Do they stay because of its experiential value? Is it, according to Ardrey (1966, 1970) man's need for stimulation that is satisfied by life on the Kobuk? And would not such an experience also fulfill the quest for an identity, and for security? Or in Maslow's terms (1968, 1970) if all of the needs of his hierarchy are gratified by this form of liv-
ing, then perhaps the query as to why some people remain up there, or constantly return, is answered, at least in a general way.

There are numerous other possible routes of explanation such as the territorial (spatial) one, also advanced by Ardrey (1966), and the ecological or Thoreauian (1948) argument which states that man must be in harmony with nature, and then the idea of disengagement suggested by Toffler (1970) as an alternative necessary for some persons to escape the pressures of the "rat-race." Or perhaps there is an economic reason, the promise of an easy money bonanza. As I see it, however, all of these are only peripheral to the more central explanation offered by Maslow (1968, 1970) and Ardrey (1966, 1970) of need gratification.

I have discussed the adjustments people must make and the conflicts they must have when they expose themselves to new cultural environments, and I have indicated that the non-Native Americans living along two of Alaska's northern rivers are no exception to this rule. But there is still another question to which we should address ourselves here, and that is the differential affect these non-Natives can have as individuals on the lives of the Native people of the area.

With regard to this potential influence, it could be hypothesized that the more these non-Natives have adjust-
ed and compromised their previous patterns of life to fit that of their hosts, the better the chance of their being influential in the change of the local Native culture. One might even speculate that this process of "mutual adaptation" occurs on a one-for-one basis, at least until a certain point is reached. This may be especially true for small isolated villages such as those along the upper Kobuk and Koyukuk Rivers.

If, for example, the non-Native trader's adaptation is only a superficial one with a deep feeling of superiority toward the Native people and with little attempt to interact on a more intense level than his store, then it is very possible that his influence as a change agent will be mutually shallow and probably only on a technical or material level, and certainly not in any profound way on an ideological level. The same could be said for the rare non-Native who has completely "gone Native." Very little affect on the people in the way of their adoption of western habits is to be expected from him because there won't be anything significant to transmit to the Native people, or perhaps even more important, no motivation to transmit it. If, on the other hand, he has made a number of real cultural compromises and has become an integral part of the community--and perhaps has even married a member of the community--(but still has retained his basic identity, let us say, as an Anglo-American), then the influence
he will have on the people of the village regarding their adjustment to Western life will very likely be nearly as great as their affect on him.

An important aspect of this relationship and the consequent cultural compromises that derive from it is what appears to me to be a mutual attraction of those who have made the compromises within each culture. That is, the non-Native who has doffed certain attributes of his own way of life in an attempt to be more accepted by the people of the village in which he lives seems to associate with the Native who, although still basically traditional in his self-identity, has opted to also make the necessary changes in his social style in order to be able to deal with the world of the Westerner. This seems to be true in a converse sense too (given similar "intelligence" levels). Indeed, one might hypothesize that each of the actors becomes the behavioristic model of the other, and a more or less permanent communicative arrangement develops so that both individuals receive mutual positive reinforcement for their respective cultural compromises and the behavior modifications that result. This need for reinforcement may especially be important for the acculturating Native who feels the pressures of the encroaching Western culture even more intensely than does the transient, or at most semi-permanent, non-Native.
The foregoing is far from an exhaustive coverage of all of the variables which might affect this relationship of change. There are other considerations, such as the personality of the individuals concerned (including that of the Natives), which would not only be important in the non-Native's ability to adapt in the first place, but would also continue to determine the quality of his interaction with Natives later on and therefore of his influence on them.

The above hypothesis of differential influence* by non-Natives must await further testing, however, since I was unable to do this during my trip last summer. Nonetheless, there is some evidence from other studies that this phenomenon does indeed occur. William Adams' study of the role of the trader in Navaho society demonstrates that even individuals in different occupational capacities can affect the rate of assimilation of a Native group. He says of traders on the Navaho reservation, for example, that it has not been shown that they have deliberately fostered cultural change in areas other than subsistence and material culture. In fact, he states (1963: 305) that:

...the trader appears as a conservative force by comparison to his White neighbors....Once his chartered objective of promoting maximum economic exploitation and consumption of man-

* An interesting variation of this idea is discussed by Kenneth Barger and Daphne Earl in their article "Differential Adaptation to Northern Townlife by the Eskimo and Indians of Great Whale River" (1971: 25-30).
ufactured goods is attained, he often becomes a force not for change but for stability and the preservation of native social integrity.

And Kluckholn and Leighton in Siegel (1955: 86) comment on the influence of missionaries on the same reservation:

There are many Mission stations on the reservations which serve as centers for religious activities; in addition, the missionaries operate schools and hospitals and various other social services. Apart from these activities, the influence of the missionaries would seem to be restricted to rather small clique groups. In general, the effect of any given missionary is chiefly dependent upon his personal qualities;....

In Adams (1963: 10) the theoretical basis for this differential relationship is discussed:

Cultures do not meet, but people who are their carriers do. As carriers of traditions such contacting individuals never know their entire cultures and never convey all they know of them to one another. That part of their cultural inventory which they do transmit is conditioned primarily by their reasons for making the contact, that is, by the cultural concomitants of the role that they assume in dealing with an alien group.

And:

The patterns of conjunctive relations may be conceptualized as intercultural role networks that not only establish the framework of contact but also provide the channels through which the content of one cultural system must be communicated and transmitted to another.

Perhaps one day this theory will be put to the test in Alaska. With the increasing number of Westerners being
sent for various reasons to live in bush communities in this State, there is certainly a need to understand which kinds of personalities would be the most adaptive and least disruptive in such settings.
Part III: Biographies

With the foregoing considerations in mind, I will now proceed with a presentation and analysis of my field data, according to the limited research design that I utilized. This research plan, as I have mentioned earlier, included questions pertaining to the general background of the informants, their contemporary life styles, perception of village problems, attitudinal stance, role and status perceptions, goal motivation, interaction with Natives, and interaction with other Whites.

In conversations with my informants I attempted to elicit responses for all of these considerations. However, in certain cases I was unable to accomplish this, for various reasons. With some of those interviewed I simply felt that the defensive stance of the interviewee was such as not to allow for the question to be asked; it might have alienated him entirely and have made him inaccessible for further interview. On other occasions there was just not enough time. In any case, I feel that the cumulative result of my work includes sufficient data under each heading, and is therefore representative enough, to generate a few tentative statements regarding the subjects under investigation (temporal and spatial consideration remaining the same).
Allakaket-Alatna (pop. 174)

In these Koyukuk River villages I interviewed four couples. In addition, however, I also talked to another family presently living in Fairbanks who had recently returned from a four year sojourn in Allakaket.

I will describe my informants according to the categories of my research plan.

Grant and Gladys Trustram*

1. Grant is 29, married to a Caucasian, and has been (they are now gone**) the Episcopal priest in Allakaket for two years. He and Gladys are originally from New Orleans. He is a graduate from Berkeley (M.A. in history, B. Divinity). Gladys is 26, a homemaker, has had some university training, and has no children. Grant's family is apparently well-off but his wife has supported a good deal of his education. Before coming to Alaska he had worked as a missionary for a short period among the Dakota Indians.

2. He says there was no particular reason for his coming to Alaska: "It just happened,"--as the result of a need for missionaries in Alaska. He, however, did have

* The names of the informants have been substituted for purposes of anonymity.

** This account is written mostly in the ethnographic present and therefore may or may not indicate whether those interviewed are still in the village.
a choice in the matter, and other evidence suggests that he selected Allakaket because it would not put unnecessary demands on his time so that he might spend more of it on his intellectual pursuits such as reading and writing, although the possibility exists that this has been his manner of coping with an extremely unpleasant situation.

Two years has been enough for them in Allakaket (three years is the usual term of duty), and for the next two years they will be in Moscow as representatives (pastor) of the American Protestants there. If they return to Alaska--and they were rather indifferent about this prospect--they would prefer an assignment in a much larger Native town, one that was therefore more stimulating and more challenging than Allakaket.

3. Besides his duties as priest, Grant also works with the Boy Scouts in Allakaket as their Scoutmaster and occasionally has taken them on field trips upriver. He is a scholarly man and reads widely and writes a great deal. While I was in Allakaket he was revising his Master's manuscript for purposes of having it published later on. He said if he had $5000.00 he would take a year off and write; and that if it were not for his scholarly pursuits, he could not have made it this long in Allakaket. He has a tremendous amount of mental energy and constantly seeks intellectual stimulation. His wife mostly remains at home and does the housework. She says she likes to read
but somehow has not been able to find the time to pursue this interest very often. She is, however, taking a correspondence course in French Literature. It was her job to feed the dogs (they had had a dog team the last winter), she said, because Grant didn't like this task and always burned the food. During the fall and winter Gladys belonged to a women's sewing circle.

4. Grant describes the major problems in Allakaket as those of drinking, wife beating, and unattached men from ages 25 to 30. He says he has made it quite clear to the people that drunks are not welcome in the rectory or the church, but it is curious that the church bell was rung regularly while I was there by townspeople who were a little "under the weather." He says wife beating is something that occurs often in Allakaket, especially after the men return from a hunting or fishing trip. The reason for there being so many unattached men, he stated, was because a lot of the available women have married Whites and have remained away from the village.

5. Grant is extremely pro-Native, almost unrealistically so. He supports a Land Claims settlement favorable to the Native people and he sees approval of the pipeline as the beginning of the end for the Koyukuk River. However, he believes the Episcopal Church in Allakaket (and elsewhere in Alaska) is a positive social force because it provides an institutional substitute for those traditional parts of
the culture that are very quickly vanishing.

6. Although he believes the Church to be a vital social alternative for the people, he also feels it is time for the Church to train a Native priest to take over the mission there. In fact, he sees his own role as one of a transition-al agent in this sense, that is, to be as "low profile" as possible and thus begin the quiet and gradual process of disengagement as a white priest from the village. He admits, however, that he doesn't know how effective he has been in this role. He has apparently not always been of this mind, however, for, according to other sources, when he first arrived on the scene two years ago he immediately assumed the attitude of "great white father" and ordered emergency relief to the "starving" village. In addition, he used to follow the postman back from the mail plane to his house and insist upon helping him sort the mail, that is, until finally the postman put up a door around the postal area in his house and closed it and locked it so that Grant could no longer "help him out." Grant continues to be the first person to meet the plane when it comes in and to chat with the pilot and meet with and host any vis-itors who may be along. Gladys never came to the airplane while I was there and in fact remained inconspicuously inside her house for the duration of my stay in Allakaket. She is very submissive and says she is a "follower."
7. Grant is in constant interaction with the Native people of the village, but though the quantity is there, it seems that even after two years there is a certain quality that is missing in these contacts. Somehow, the interactions I observed appeared superficial and artificial. And conversations with others, both White and Native, substantiated these observations. Many Natives refer to him only as "that priest," and all of the Whites told me he was forever in conflict with the village people--most recently during a Boy Scout trip upriver when Grant apparently had put some of the better food aside for himself, and the guide found out about it.

8. Grant felt that he and Gladys got along fairly well with the other White people in the village and in the area. But the feeling proved to be unilateral, because from all of the Whites I received negative feedback about, and a great deal of antipathy towards, Grant. Only one person had something good to say about him, and this was that he was much better now than when he first arrived on the scene.

Pete and Barbara McIntyre

1. Pete is 26 and is married to a girl from Alatna, Oscar Koyuk's granddaughter, Barbara, who is 22. He has been teaching these past several years in Huslia and Hughes and is presently one of the teachers at the Allakaket grade
school. He is a graduate (B.A.) from Washington State University.

2. Pete is from a small town in the Okinagan Valley in Northeast Washington and says that he came to Alaska back in 1965 to get away from the ratrace down below. He does not like urban living at all and plans to settle in Alaska, preferably in the Koyukuk River area near Allakaket where they have built their cabin.

3. Pete is a very soft-spoken and easy going, although skeptical, person—-a personality diametrically the opposite from that of Grant Trustram. He and Barbara only recently returned from a Ford Foundation sponsored sojourn in England where they observed some of the newer experiments in education; and from a course of study at the University of Kentucky where they learned more about similar innovations in America. Pete really loves the Koyukuk country, and every opportunity they get, he and his wife take off in their little Piper to scout it out. At the time of my stay in Allakaket he and Scott Hall, a good friend of his, were getting ready to go into Fairbanks to attend a couple of short summer courses at the University of Alaska. They had just received a private grant of $16,000 to set up an adult learning center in Allakaket and they wanted to learn more about the concept under the guidance of Dr. Frank Darnell. They also wanted to learn more about the new S.O.S. Advisory School Board program that was brewing so
that they would be able to return to Allakaket with some fairly concrete ideas as to when to start.

4. He sees the Bettles bar as one of Allakaket's major problems. Too many people go up there and buy hooch and come back much the worse for wear. He does not favor the construction of the pipeline. And he is especially critical of the way oil company personnel, and others indirectly in their employ such as the helicopter pilots, have slaughtered the game animals in the area.

5. Pete identifies very closely with the Native people of the Koyukuk River. One might almost say that he has somewhat "gone Native," even to the point of learning the Koyukuk Athapaskan English dialect,* although he has still retained the basic material advantages of being from the outside world, such as his airplane. He states, however, that he wants to become more like the people and to know better their customs. His wife is still teaching him about the value system of her people (Alatna Eskimo) and he is eager to learn more.

6. Pete views himself not only as a bush teacher but

* A very clipped and broken form of English spoken in one way or another throughout the northern coastal and interior parts of Alaska. Linguistically, it is the result of the feedback (interference) from the Native language still spoken by the older people in those areas. The Native language thus affects the syntactic structure and the tonal qualities of the English that is spoken by the younger generations. The Koyukuk (Allakaket) dialect is particularly distinct in its clippedness.
one who has made a living commitment to the area. He feels that as a school teacher in Allakaket he must be available to the people 24 hours a day and should be willing to help out in any circumstance of urgency. He also believes that the bush school, and teacher, should conform to the life pattern of the village and not vice versa (including taking the school to the fish camp in spring, etc.). Therefore, he has determined to do all in his power to accomplish this task for the people in the years to come.

7. Needless to say, Pete's interactions with the Native people of both Allakaket and Alatna are highly qualitative in a positive sense. Everyone speaks well of him.

8. Pete is friends with all of the White people in town with the exception of Grant Trustram whom he despises both as a person and especially as a missionary. He always spoke harshly of him, and once during a potlach dinner while I was there openly affronted him. He makes no bones about his disagreements with Grant. His best friend is Scott Hall.

Scott and Mary Hall

1. Scott is 29, and is one of the school teachers who will be teaching in Allakaket during the coming year. He was married in Kotzebue only a year ago to one of Oscar Koyuk's daughters, Mary, who has two children from a previous marriage. He is a farm boy from the Okinagan Valley
in northeast Washington and has a B.A. degree in Education.

2. Scott came to Alaska in 1965, the same year Pete did, because he too was dissatisfied with urban life in the lower states. He has been teaching since that year in Huslia and Hughes and has really become enchanted with the Koyukuk country, enough so, in fact, to have made a commitment to live in the area permanently. His first step toward this end was his marriage to Mary, and he feels that his rural background has very definitely contributed to his being able to adapt to this new style of life.

3. At the time of my visit in Allakaket, Scott and Mary were living on the Alatna side of the river in one of her father's cabins. Scott has a dog team which he runs during the winter and he has devoted a great amount of energy to making it a good one. He also owns a small airplane which he uses regularly to travel to Fairbanks in or to fly back into the hinter country with Mary who almost always accompanies him.

He is an easy-going person like his friend Pete, but he is also a person who is completely dedicated to his teaching profession. In fact, he and Mary spent all of last year on a Ford Foundation Grant (the same one Pete and Barbara were on), studying innovative approaches to education in both England and Hawaii. And this summer he has been studying at the University of Alaska in order to learn more about how to set up the Adult Learning Center that he
and Pete had received funding for. He is very excited about the possibilities of such a center.

4. Scott and Pete both feel that the educational system in Alaska, and especially in the villages, is not what it should be. And they have decided to try to do something about it. Their first try is the Allakaket Learning Center which has as its premise the need for Native parents to be involved in the educational process so that they better understand its potentials for their children and for themselves. At the same time, it is hoped that by participating in its adult-oriented activities, they would become a part of the realization of these potentials. Some of the activities would be in the realm of arts and crafts so that these traditional skills might be preserved.

5. Scott identifies very closely with the Native people of the Koyukuk and has become friends with a large number of them. He is concerned about the future welfare of the people and would like to see some of the old customs re-invigorated.

6. Scott is an honest man and perceives his role as an innovative bush teacher. In addition, however, he considers himself a part of the village and has modified his role accordingly.

7. Scott interacts with the people in a very easy manner, and as a result, there is a good feeling about him around town.
8. The only White individual Scott did not like in the community was Grant Trustram. However, he said that Grant had improved a good deal from when he had first come to Allakaket.

Les and Vita Black

1. Les and Vita are in their late twenties and have one small baby. They have been in Alaska for five years, taught their first year in Tanana, and have been teaching for the last four years in Allakaket. They are both from the suburbs of central New Jersey, and Les is a graduate (B.A. in History) of Goddard College.

2. Les and Vita came to Alaska five years ago for a break from school. He had been enrolled at Stanford in a doctoral program in European History, but after viewing a slide show on the Alaskan north country, he became so enchanted by the adventure of it all that he applied for a teaching position in the bush with the State of Alaska, was accepted, dropped out of the doctoral program and traveled up to Tanana to teach on the staff of the school there. They had originally planned on remaining for only one year, but after their transfer to Allakaket, they grew so excited about the possibilities of bush teaching that they opted to stay for the absolute teaching limit in a village of four years. He admits that at first their very high joint salary was an important factor in their remaining, and the
fine fishing opportunities that existed in Allakaket, but after awhile they began to grow closer to the children and to the people and found that when it came time for them to leave after their preliminary two year term, they could not do it. They were particularly turned on to developing a creative approach to education. One of the reasons they had found the Tanana school so stifling was because of the pressures put on them for conformity to the system.

Les is presently enrolled at Harvard in a Ph.D. program in Education Administration, and they plan to be there for the next four years, that is, if they can take the "merry-go-round" back there. Before they left, Les was extremely nervous about going back to school and referred to his plight as a "predoctoral anxiety syndrome." He constantly commented that he would probably be back to Alaska within a year. In any case, he stated that they would return to Alaska after his graduation and probably take an administrative position with State Operated Schools. He says that they would not be leaving Alaska if they thought they might not return. Although when they do come back, they would prefer living in a somewhat warmer part of Alaska, such as the Anchorage area.

3. Aside from their present anxiety about returning to the East, Les and Vita are both relaxed individuals with a casual attitude toward life. They live in a fairly comfortable apartment adjoining the school, but the door
is always open for visiting at all hours. During weekends they often drink in their home with some of the townspeople and are not fastidious about the appearance of the apartment after a party. They have volunteered advice to some of the young fellows in the town government concerning political matters, but they have never actively intervened in the political process itself. Les likes to fish—he ties his own flies which he keeps in a gigantic feather box that he refers to as his "feather collection" to strangers—and they only recently sold their airplane which they regularly used to fly into the hinter country for fishing and other adventures. Les has a lively wit and I am sure would be appreciated around anyone's campfire.

4. They both feel very strongly that the concept of "self-image" must play an important part in any explanation of the acculturation crisis of the Alaskan Native. That is, in a changing social environment such as the one Natives are experiencing more and more regularly, the young people have no clear self-identity as to who they are and likewise as to how they should act in any given situation. Drinking offers a quick solution to the problem and this is what almost inevitably happens. It makes a person who is down "feel good."

5. Although skeptical about most things, Les is very optimistic about the ultimate effects of the Native Land Claims settlement. He feels that land proprietorship will
enormously contribute to a resolution of the image crisis.

6. For a variety of reasons, the Blacks believe they have effected a number of changes in Allakaket:

1. The school children no longer think of themselves as only "dumb Natives," and now have more self-confidence with their school work. In addition, of those who have gone out to highschool only one has dropped out.

2. Through their advice and encouragement of some of the men in town, these fellows now have a better understanding of political processes.

3. They feel that the villagers now have a much more realistic attitude toward White people. Whereas most had thought previously that only Natives got drunk, now they know Caucasians are susceptible too, even their women. The people also discovered that not all Whites actually held them in scorn for their drinking habits. However, this last accomplishment has taken a tremendous amount of forbearance, and Les admits that they were able to sustain this style of life only because they had not made the same lifetime commitment to live in the area as had Pete and Scott.

So it is that Les and Vita were much more than just teachers, but also patient and responsive human beings who admittedly had no intention of making the Koyukuk their home, but while they were in Allakaket did their best with the human problems that came their way.
7. Les and Vita interacted freely with the Native people of Allakaket. They attended drinking parties and in turn had parties of their own which sometimes lasted all weekend, (they did not, however, drink during weekdays as this would have affected their teaching capabilities). In addition, they participated in community festivities such as potlach dinners and in local ceremonials such as wakes and funerals. In fact, they participated in a fence erection ceremony around a dead baby's grave in the cemetery while I was there. They both speak the local English dialect pretty well, they say, a fact that has contributed to the high quality of their relationship with the people—"communication is easier that way." As I mentioned before, their door is always open for visiting, and many of the townspeople visit them on a daily basis.

8. Again, as with Pete and Scott, Les did not particularly get along with Grant Trustram. Grant knew a lot about the people because he read a great deal, Les stated, but he did not know the people on a personal level because he had never really made a personal commitment to them. He was on a real authority trip when he first came to Allakaket but has for the last six months completely withdrawn from the authority scene, with no consideration of a transitional period of adjustment for the townspeople even in church affairs. Les admits that the gossip about Grant was very harsh throughout the village and that it became even worse during winter.
Dean and Judy Hale

1. Dean and Judy are both in their middle thirties and have four children. They were born in large mid-western cities, but from an early age moved to small rural communities, and so mostly grew up in them. Dean says this might be a partial explanation for his having been able to adjust well to village life—because he didn't need the high level of stimulation and convenience that city people are so accustomed to and seemingly must continue to have. They are graduates of Brian University, a bible school in Tennessee (B.A.'s in Bible, his in Biblical Greek). They worked along the Koyukuk as Wycliffe missionaries with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Bible Translators from 1959 to 1968. The last four of those years they lived in Allakaket. Presently they are staying at the mission complex located outside of Fairbanks on Chena Hot Springs Road. There they have been working since 1968 on religious and other booklets written in the Koyukon Athapaskan dialect.

2. After graduating from Brian University in Tennessee, their interest in languages attracted them to Wycliffe Bible Translators, and they came up to Alaska with them in 1958 to work on the transcription of the Koyukon Athapaskan language. They have since then worked in Koyukuk, Kokrines and Allakaket on this project. They will be working for only two more years with the group in Fairbanks
and during this time they also hope to be able to return
for one more summer trip along the Koyukuk and Yukon Rivers
to try to teach their reading materials to the people in
those areas. After this period they do not know where
they will go.

3. Dean and Judy are very friendly people and are easy
going in their manner. While they were in Allakaket they
lived in an old trading post once owned by Wilfred Evans
who now resides in Bettles. They restored it for more
comfortable living, but it was never anything extremely
luxurious, they say, a factor which encouraged better com-
munication with the townspeople. Dean liked boating and
fishing and did take several long trips upriver with the
Alatna people.

4.-5. Dean feels that it is unfortunate that the people
are forgetting their language and culture, and it is part-
ly for this reason that he and Judy are working on its tran-
scription. However, he is still somewhat pessimistic about
the results of his work leading to a reinstatement of the
language. With the recent rapid acculturation in Allakaket
(this, because the village had previously been comparatively
isolated), he believes the language does not have much of
a chance of surviving—not like Eskimo does, he said.

6. Dean saw his purpose in Allakaket as one of not
changing the people, but only of transcribing their lan-
guage in order to eventually translate the Bible and other
materials into the Koyukon dialect of Athapaskan. And so he did not venture into local politics or other Native affairs.

7. The Hales established good rapport with the people while they were there, and this was in part because of their easy going nature with no presumptions of superiority, and in part because of the structure of their purpose in Allakaket as linguists. They did have some trouble with certain of the Natives in the area, especially some of the older people during linguistic sessions who felt Dean was trying to teach them their own language; a few others, he said, thought they were going to write a book and make a lot of money from it. Dean states that the people he was able to grow closest to were the Eskimo residents of the Alatna community across the river.

Kobuk (pop. 56)

Kobuk is the first village one encounters on the way down the Kobuk River. Here I interviewed Steve Hend and his Eskimo wife, Winifred, and I also spoke to Frank Brewer, who is of mixed background from Nome, and his wife, Faith who is the daughter of Harry Brun, an old trapper who had lived in Kobuk until his death two years ago, and his Eskimo wife. Steve and Winifred will be highlighted.
Steve and Winifred Hend

1. Steve is sixty-eight years old and is married to Winifred Wood (Black), an Eskimo woman originally from Kiana. They have been married for fifteen years and have three children, two of them married who were Winifred's from a previous marriage, and one a younger adopted daughter. Steve is the Post Master in Kobuk and also runs a small store operation in competition with the larger trading post in the village which is owned by the Brewers. He is originally from Pottsville, Pennsylvania, a small coal town, and he has a seventh grade education.

2. Steve had been "on the bum" during the 1920's and early 1930's as a migrant wheat harvester when the Depression finally made it impossible for him to find any work. So, being too old to qualify for the Civilian Conservation Corps in the lower states, he migrated to Alaska in 1934 where age did not make any difference. In 1938, however, he and three other fellows determined that they had had enough of the C.C.C. and headed north to the Kobuk country to prospect and trap. They had the pilot land at Norutak Lake (located between the Alatna and Kobuk drainages), figuring they would be much better off in those parts than outside in the mad world of the Depression. After a number of years of hard luck, Steve's partners finally picked up stakes and went back to civilization, leaving him alone with his dogs and the cold loneliness of the Kobuk tundra.
Even Steve could not endure this, and fifteen years ago decided to move down to Kobuk with Winifred. He never did make any money at prospecting or trapping anyway, he says, only enough to get by on.

He likes it in Kobuk, he confided, and he certainly does not like it in the lower states. He visited home twice, but that was enough for him because, as he told me, "there are just too many people crammed in too tight down there." He says he does not understand why things are done the way they are outside; there are too many inconsistencies and incongruities. Life is a lot simpler in Kobuk. He prefers a less complicated way of life, so he will remain here. Besides, Kobuk is all he knows, he stated, and he is too old to get used to anyplace new.

3. His job as Post Master keeps Steve pretty active on the days the mail plane comes in—about two or three times a week—and then he has his little store to occupy some of his energies, and finally he is also the representative for the Weather Bureau in the village. He says he reads magazines quite a lot and to take up any slack during the warm weather he is building a small guest lodge. In the winter he visits periodically with the schoolteachers and sometimes attends educational movies shown at the school. He has not involved himself in local politics because for a village so small there is no such thing. About the closest he has ever gotten to politics was a few years back when
he helped oust a teacher he thought undesirable. He and Winifred live in a log house which, though certainly not luxurious, is very comfortable for them.

4. Steve believes that the welfare program is the biggest problem in Kobuk. Where the people used to be industrious, now they have become lazy for the most part and drink and gamble too much, especially in Shungnak, the next town downriver. Another problem, as he sees it, is the fighting between family groups, factionalism, in the area, again especially in Shungnak. "You've got to watch yourself, that you don't take sides around here."

Also, he mentions that it is hard for anyone to get ahead materially in town because of the social pressures against it, sometimes in the form of physical damage inflicted upon the item under contention, such as in Steve's case, the punctured tires of a new motorbike, or his daughter's new boots similarly ruined.

5. There are two subjects that are completely anathema to Steve and upon which he constantly discourses. These are "missionaries" and "civilization." Nothing could be worse than dogmatic religion or superorganized society. He does not understand the new interest the Natives have in land ownership. Where in the past there was no such concern, nowadays even where there is no future use intended for the land the people are staking it as their own. He does feel that if anyone should have rights to the land
it should be the Natives, but says that, in any case, they will probably be "screwed" by their own leaders. It is interesting that although Steve abhors "civilization," he is in favor of the pipeline project. He states that "it would benefit the State of Alaska monetarily," and that the oil companies are to be trusted because "why else would they be spending two billion dollars--not to lose the oil, certainly." Steve does not in any way feel "superior" to the people because they are Natives, and if there are certain things about them that are distasteful to him, they are so on a very personal level. That is, he does not like how many of the people have lost the old ways which were better and have adopted certain of the vices from "civilization," in particular, welfare and drinking.

6. Steve regards himself as very much a part of the community, or as much as any White man could become in the time he has been here. The people sometimes speak of him as an Eskimo, he says, because he lives like they do, and because he is married to one. However, he is still very much a product of the Western world in his identifications and his motivations. He talks a great deal about Harry Brun, the old trader who used to live in Kobuk, and how he used to visit him regularly each night to talk with him and listen to his radio. In many ways, Steve seems to model himself after this old man. He never learned the Eskimo language because he felt it would never have been
any use to him away from the villages, and because he just
did not have a knack at learning languages generally. It
was the same with Harry Brun, he says. He is also still
very Western in his work ethic, and especially the one he
was familiar with in the past. Welfare and Social Security
are undesirable to him, and even though he be past the re-
tirement age he continues to work in various official and
unofficial capacities. One might extrapolate a little and
say that these are means by which he continues to assure
his identity as an Anglo-American, and by which he satisfies
his need to feel significant, this being an important at-
tribute of the Western psyche.
7. Steve gets along fairly well with a large number of
the townspeople, with the notable exception of the Brewer
family who have been a social thorn in his side for a long
time. The dispute originated over competition for the
limited number of available jobs in the town. And it was
intensified after Harry Brun's death when Steve and Winifred opened up a small store operation in their house and
began to undercut the Brewers' prices. Since then the
altercation has factionalized the town into mutually anta-
gonistic family groupings similar to the state of affairs
that exists in both the Kiana and Shungnak communities lo-
cated downriver from Kobuk. Steve is a part of the problem
now only by virtue of his marriage to Winifred, and there-
fore to her family.
Steve's feeling then is that he has to be careful of whom he "favors." So he chooses not to visit very often and pretty well sticks to the company of his own family.

In any case, a great deal of interaction occurs in his own home. This is both because the store and Post Office are located there, and because of the many relatives his wife has who are constantly visiting with them.

8. As has already been mentioned, until Harry Brun's death a couple of years back, Steve used to go over regularly for evening visits at his place to chat and to listen to the radio. Nowadays, the teachers are the only Whites in the neighborhood; and he liked them a lot, he said, and visited them periodically. He often watched educational movies in their apartment.

**Shungnak (pop. 165)**

**William and Kay Kinnik**

1. Kay is a Caucasian from Detroit who came up to north-west Alaska in the mid '60s to work with the Head Start project. While she was in Shungnak with the project she met William, and after a proposal of marriage decided to accept. They returned to Detroit in 1968 and tied the nuptial knot there. Since then they have lived in Shungnak and Kobuk. She has taught school in both villages for the past two years, one year in each location. Presently
they are living in Point Hope and she is teaching there. She is in her middle thirties, and William is sixty-two and is a Native of Shungnak. He is an exceptionally well acculturated person for his age; and he owns several jade claims in the mountains to the north of town.

2. Kay, as has been mentioned, came to northwest Alaska from Detroit to help set up the Head Start program in that area during the mid 1960's. After working with the project for awhile, she grew to like the country so that she determined to stay. Then came William's offer of marriage, and her way was paved for her. And although she and William have felt it necessary to move to Point Hope, they are both so fond of the Kobuk area that they will probably return to those parts to live again within the next two or three years.

3. Although Kay is a slight woman, she has energy enough to run any normal woman to her death. She goes everywhere with William and helps him with all of his many enterprises. William at 62 still has some extremely ambitious plans for developing his jade operations, talks about having staked a lot of land due him under the Native Allotment Act and building in the future on those properties. They have just built a cabin up near one of his jade claims and plan to use it as a means of escaping the tension and dissension of the village when they return. She has recently purchased a small airplane, and only last summer took flight training
so she could enjoy it. They would both like to travel in the future also.

4. William and Kay's major preoccupation is the factionalism in Shungnak, a state of affairs that has evidently made their own position in the community a tenuous one, to say the least. It has, in fact, led to their decision to leave Shungnak for Point Hope where they will teach during the next year or two. Other evidence suggests, however, that William has been isolated from village life for sometime now. Even his house, which flies an American flag, is located on the flood side of the river where there are no others. He says himself that people have not liked him very much since early days when he was influential in saving Shungnak from reservation status. His marriage to Kay has only fanned the flames, he says, because Kay's teaching position brings in a lot of money that had not been in his household before. Now even many of his own family have become at odds with them. "People are just jealous," he stated, "jealous of the money we make from both Kay's teaching and from my jade claims, and of the things we have bought with that money."

5.-7. It is evident that Kay perceives her primary roles in the community as being a wife to William and as a schoolteacher. However, she seems to have run into trouble on both of these counts. Her opinions at city council meetings have invited the hostility of her husband's many en-
emies. Some helpful suggestions she has offered, although well meaning, have backfired on her. And other opinions she has offered in the classroom among her students have likewise done her more harm than good. This apparently was also the situation in Kobuk when she taught there.

**Ambler (pop. 169)**

Dave and Jean Christy

1. Dave and Jean are in their late forties and have seven children, four of whom were still living with them in Ambler during my visit there last summer. Their three oldest daughters are married and live in the lower states. Dave and his family lived for many years in California where he was an officer in the United States Army. He had been a fighter pilot during the second World War; and he speaks of his sudden conversion to "God" after the war when he was visiting Las Vegas. He then entered pastoral school where he received a degree in Theology; and several years later, in 1963 he and his family came up to Kotzebue as missionaries for the Southern Baptist Convention. After a year there they moved to Fairbanks where they spent the next four years also doing missionary work for the same organization. After that period they left the Southern Baptist Convention and joined the Independent Baptist Missions from whom they had gained financial support for a missionary venture in
Ambler.

2. After traveling to the Lower 48 and finding some backing for their plan to missionize the Eskimos along the Kobuk River, the Christys moved up to Ambler in August, 1970. It is said that the real reason Dave made the move was to get away from all of the nefarious influences of the outside world that might have been exerted on his children. Ambler would be good for the kids. In any case, they were able to purchase a three acre plot of land on the fringe of town from a Caucasian individual who had been living there, and they renovated the interior of one of the two sod "iglus" he had built on that property and settled in for the long winter ahead. Apparently, however, the winter season was too long for them and too cold, because they all felt they had had enough of Ambler and expressed the desire to leave before the next snows began to fly. They would, Dave said, remain as missionaries for the area but on an itinerant basis out of Fairbanks or Anchorage. He also expressed his hope to one day be able to missionize in the same way in Mexico or Siberia or China.

They are gone from Ambler now and have, in fact, left Alaska altogether. The McGuires, another Caucasian family living in Ambler, bought the Christy's land and buildings for $3,000.00.

3. At the time of my stay in Ambler, the Christys were living in an extremely commodious sod house originally con-
structured by a man named Howard Kenworthy and remodeled by
Dave himself to resemble the interior of a Sears-furnished
suburban home in Fairbanks or Anchorage.

Dave is to a large extent an activity-oriented per-
son but with very little activity which is meaningful for
him to engage in. He is an Independent Baptist missionary
and in that sense has neither church nor congregation, but
it seems that he has never really explained the purpose
of his mission to the people among whom he lives. In fact,
he and his family never really became involved in community
life until the forest fire occurred, and then everyone
with the exception of the little boy was involved in the
various routine (and highly paying) activities necessary
for a typical Bureau of Land Management fire operation. In
fact, I had never seen Jean Christy happier, and less neu-
rotic, than when she was working in the B.L.M. kitchen pre-
paring food for the fire fighters. Before the fire, the
big event in the day of their two teenage girls was to go
to the Post Office for the mail. Other than that they amused
themselves by thumbing through merchandise catalogs and fam-
ily pictures sent to them from outside. Dave has a plane,
one-half owned by the mission, which he often flies, but
mostly he uses it to travel back and forth from Fairbanks.

4. On a personal level the Christys complained mostly
about the isolation they felt during the winter in Ambler
(eespecially without their plane which Dave had damaged dur-
ing a takeoff from the river ice) and about the harshness of the winter. "Just living," Dave said, "took all of my time last year. We were always cutting wood, it seemed, because of the extreme cold. It's too hard with so many kids." And then Jean was continually sick and had to fly out to Fairbanks to recuperate. Altogether, Jean admits, she only spent a total of seven weeks with her family in Ambler during the winter months. She says she appreciates what Dave and her oldest son, Jim, have done to the house to make her feel at home, but the life in Ambler is too hard and too isolated for her, and she just can't do it. In addition, there is no highschool for their three older children to attend, and even though they are taking correspondence courses, they have still fallen behind their age-mates on the outside.

In regard to the village, they complain of the recurrent drinking problem among the village people. And this, they say, is because the people will not accept God. And the style of the other mission in the community (Friends) only abets this pattern.

5. Dave and Jean keep a very tight rein on their children. They permit only a minimum of interaction by their younger children with the townspeople. Neither the two adolescent girls nor the little boy are allowed to swim in the river. As I mentioned before, the girls only go into town for one reason, to pick up the mail. And Jacky, the
youngest, is constantly being threatened by his mother with
the doctor in Fairbanks. Only Jim, who is eighteen, can do
what he pleases.

Dave's views on religion are that the Christian Church
is not only a White man's church but rather one that belongs
to every man regardless of his skin, color, or race.

Concerning the village people, he does not believe
in the uniqueness of the Eskimo culture and language or
that they should be preserved simply because they are dif-
ferent. "We're all Americans," he says, "and the blending
is what has made us what we are--and the Eskimo will change
as others have changed before them to become hybrid Ameri-
cans."

The inevitability of this process of Americanization
makes it a fruitless endeavor then to even try to preserve
the culture, according to Mr. Christy.

He is a man who believes in the American way--free
enterprise, rugged individualism, capitalism, the works.
However, he also feels that America's greatness is being
slowly undermined by the Godless and by those who refuse
to accept Christ as their standard. Dave is a zealously
religious person who believes God is the only way for man
and that man should orient his life by him. If this were
so, he maintains, the U.S. would be a better country. He
feels it would also be a more democratic country because,
according to his philosophy, God would stimulate every
individual to demand much more from the government in the form of just laws. (The tone of this part of the conversation was extremely self-righteous, and I almost feel he was trying to convince himself of his argument more than he was me.)

In addition, he was against the use of stimulants, including alcohol and drugs, because these were unnatural substances. Jean's view on the Eskimo people is that "they just don't help themselves enough, and that's why they're as poor as they are." She has had a very hard time relating to them, both in Kotzebue and now here in Ambler.

6. Dave Christy views himself as an Independent Baptist missionary who has come to Ambler to bring the people "the gospel of a living God." He is doing this, he says, not by means of an organized church (which to him represents materialistic religion, or religion as a business, something he withdrew from several years ago) but in a more personal way through day-to-day living relationships, as a family with the people--by example, in other words. In spite of this relationship, however, even Dave himself admits that they have not made any progress in their missionary purpose--"not even a dent," he remarks.

He feels though, that his own lack of success should not disenchant other missionaries of his own persuasion from trying their hand. "The villages are an open market for missionary activity," he says, "because the people are
still searching." And although he recognizes that missionary activity only adds to the further cleavage and factionalism of the small villages, this is a natural phenomenon anyway during a time of change and should likewise not be a discouraging note for persons involved in missionary work in those villages.

7. It has already been noted that Dave and Jean Christy do not mix a great deal with the townspeople. This has been in part a function of both the hard circumstances of their life during the winter and also of Dave's view that one should try to have the most natural relationship possible with the people whom one is attempting to missionize, one of the premises of unorganized religion. I did, however, observe one superficial instance of interaction after their little boy returned from a boat ride with the family of one of his Eskimo friends in town. Both of the boys mix freely with those their own age in the village.

8. Dave and Jean have had an equally difficult time making friends with the other Whites in town, of whom there are a great many. Only with Howard Kenworthy have they managed to establish even a minimal friendship, and this is partly because he sold them the land, and because he believed in the potential of the independent mission in Ambler. The rest of the White population in town ignores the family. They all remark that the Christys just have never made it with the community.
Jim and Jan Kent

1. Jim and Jan are both in their early thirties and have a little girl four. They are from Brooklyn, New York and are well educated and widely traveled. Jim has an M.S. in Geophysics from the University of Colorado and she a B.A. Jan has worked and traveled in Europe for a period, and Jim did the same in Sweden for a year. After returning to the United States he worked with the Kennicott Corporation for awhile; and then in 1963, having grown tired of the limitations imposed by the urban life down below, they migrated to Alaska and to Ambler to teach school for a year. After this time they built a sod "iglu" upriver from town a ways and lived there for two years. And then after that period they went back down to the University of Colorado where Jim began work on his Ph.D. in Astrophysics, a project which he dropped within two months because he felt first of all, that this kind of life was not his bag, and second, that he had been away from his subject too long and he was way behind the other students and only with an herculean effort would he survive. Meanwhile, however, he had hunted down a part-time job with his old employer, Kennicott, and this provided him with both the sustenance and the time to pursue another interest of his, studying for a commercial flying license. So he attended aviation school in Salt Lake City for several months, and after receiving his commercial rating there, returned with his
family to Kenai and Anchorage where he flew commercially and instructed for two years. In 1969 the three of them returned to Ambler where after a lot of hassle from flying outfits in Kotzebue and Nome, he was finally awarded a license to establish his own air service out of that village in the Autumn of 1970. Now that they have their own charter company the Kents have an income for the future—and quite a lucrative one too—and thus a means whereby they can remain in Ambler for as long as they choose. They both really like it here, regardless of the mosquitoes and the cold, they say, and plan to stay indefinitely.

3. Jan enjoys the rigorous life they lead in Ambler, and is willing to put up with the little comfort they have for the other obvious benefits that accrue to living in a village. "The material comforts of life in the cities are not worth it with all of the other things that go along." she says.

Jim appears to be a Jack-of-all-trades, for around their sod iglu one finds a small sawmill and machine shop, including a gas welding outfit he uses to repair snow machines for people in town. He is presently also in the middle of building another larger log and plank house for later more ample living. This will include a windmill to supply them with well water and, hopefully, electricity. Jim is a man then who seemingly needs a great deal of stimulation and has provided himself with every opportunity to receive
it. And although he has forsworn the comforts of civilization, he continues to utilize its technology to fulfill some of his needs. He is time-oriented but this may in part be on account of his flying service.

Both Jim and Jan are health food enthusiasts and eat high protein foods.

The Kents do not generally like to involve themselves in the affairs of the community of Ambler, and partly for that reason they located somewhat upriver from the main village. However, Jim involved himself on a personal level several years ago when Nick Francis needed some help with his store accounts, and recently also he has given some advice to John Francis in the organization of an arts and crafts-cooperative which the men of town are interested in to be able to cut and market their jade. But other than this, Jim and Jan would prefer the people handled their own affairs. For that reason they have never mixed in village politics.

4. Very insightful people. Jim feels that the Native needs alternatives similar to those of Western man. And since machines have recently become a way-of-life for the Eskimo and have made more free time available and have also forced him into a money economy, he must now be given the opportunity to earn the money necessary to finance his machines and to buy better ones and to also afford the other comforts that are a part of the new money economy. And
he says that the people are opportunistic enough and would take advantage of these alternatives if they were offered. An example is the new Alaska State Housing Authority housing project that was to be started towards mid-summer.

Jim and Jan were very anxious about both the trans-Alaska pipeline and about the Kennicott Copper mining operations upriver. They felt that more time was needed to research the pipeline; and they were fearful of water pollution from Kennicott. Jim was only too well acquainted with the style of his old employer.

5. The Kents consider the Eskimo people to be equal to them in every respect, and they are extremely interested in the unique interpretations of life found in the Eskimo culture both past and present. This is evident in their discussions of the archeological findings of Giddings and others downriver, and by their participation in the arts and crafts co-op in the village.

6. Jim identifies very closely with his role as a commercial air pilot, and approaches the village people mostly on that basis. He has at times been challenged by certain Ambler persons concerning his air rates, but each time this was the result of a misunderstanding. According to everyone I spoke with, he flies the fairest charter service in the area. Lyle and Chris Knudson added their feeling that Jim thought of himself as a type of frontier entrepreneur, but in a non-exploitive sense—in the image of a
benevolent trader. Jan is a homemaker and sticks pretty much to that role.

7. Both really like the people and enjoy visiting with them, especially with the older people because they find them very relaxing. Jan says, however, that recently she hasn't been able to do as much visiting as she would have liked because of things to do at home and because of the many visits they have been payed of late by both their Caucasian neighbors and by people from town. Her husband visits much more often, she admits, both because he is "more sociable" and because of the nature of his job. In addition, Jim likes visiting because he feels he learns something new from the people every time he does so.

8. The Kents seem on pretty good terms with most of the other Caucasions in town with the exception of the Christys. By the same token, however, Jim appears to remain aloof from many of them. Their closest friends seem to be the Knudsons, the Coxes, and the Powers.

Dan and Agnes Powers

1.-2. Dan is thirty-five and is originally from a small town in Ohio—he considers himself a country boy. After a tour of duty in Germany with the United States Army and some time working at Teton National Park (Jackson's Hole) with the Forest Service, he came up to Fairbanks in 1962. Here he worked for a year with the University of Alaska
ice fog study and at Barrow with another University of Alaska research project. In the Autumn of 1963 he migrated over to Ambler at the invitation of his old friend, Lyle Knudson, whom he had befriended while they were both working at Jackson's Hole, Wyoming. And at a point located approximately seventeen miles downriver from Ambler--Giddings' Onion Portage archeological site--he and Lyle and Chris Knudson built a semi-subterranean sod "iglu" and lived in it together for the duration of the winter of 1963-64.

Dan describes his decision to live in this manner as a part of a search for adventure. His original "adventure," however, has turned out to be a permanent one, for he has been in the Ambler area ever since, with the exception of some summers spent out working for the National Park Service. In 1967 he married a Native girl from Ambler, Agnes Lincoln, and presently has two children from her. She is somewhat younger than he, in her late twenties. As of 1970 they have moved up to the village from their old house site located a few miles downriver from Ambler because they are tired of the hassle given them by the Bureau of Land Management for living on Public Lands.

Dan has a highschool education, and he works seasonally every year for as long as he can. During the summer of 1971 he worked for the State School construction project in Ambler, helped fight a local fire for the B.L.M., and at the time I left him he was looking forward to being able
to work on the A.S.H.A. low-cost housing project that was going into Ambler the same summer. He says he can usually make it easily through the winter on the money he earns from this kind of seasonal employment, but some years are leaner than others and then he must augment his summer income by other means. 1970-71 was such a year and he had to sell firewood and accept Food Stamps in addition to his regular winter hunting and fishing subsistence activities.

Dan really loves it in Ambler and plans to remain there. He considers it his home. He is presently finishing his sod house which he began the previous Autumn using lumber he had cut himself.

3. He is another Jack-of-all-trades, it seems, but one not so dependent upon machine technology as Jim Kent. He is an extremely independent man and was reluctant to take the Food Stamps that were urged on him by the Food Stamp representative from Kotzebue. He also has not applied for unemployment compensation because he feels that "if I can't make it without unemployment compensation, then I shouldn't be here in the first place." He is also a person who identifies very closely with the old Eskimo way-of-life, more so in some instances than the Eskimo people themselves. He has, in a manner of speaking, "gone Native" more than perhaps any of the Caucasians in the Ambler area. He has his own dog team, and he not only speaks to his family and relatives in the clipped Kobuk English dialect (although
He reverts to normal English when conversing with Whites), he also speaks the Eskimo language itself with a fair degree of fluency.

He is an easy going person who says he had a hard time at first adapting to the summer working schedule of regular hours. And he prefers to live outside the main part of the town, although still within its limits, because he does not want to both seem intrusive or become involved in community problems. He especially does not wish to participate in local politics because, first of all, he does not know enough about the issues, and second, he feels this sort of action would not truly benefit the people. Only by doing things themselves, he believes, are the people going to learn the responsibilities of self-government. Too many Whites have made that mistake in the past. He does admit an interest, however, in the new arts and crafts cooperative the men of Ambler would like to organize.

4.-5. Dan is in no hurry for the trans Alaska pipeline, and as with Jim Kent does not look with favor upon the Kennicott operations upriver for fear of water pollution. He feels in regard to the Land Claims issue that the Native people have every right to the land and money they will be awarded by the Federal Government. He has a vigorous respect for the Eskimo culture and language, but feels nevertheless that the possibility exists that within the next half century these will disappear as a way of life. "It
all depends on the young children, on what happens to them in school," he says.
6.-7. It was quite evident that Dan considers himself a "bona fide" member of the village, qualified only by his conscientious non-involvement as a Caucasian. His good relationship with the people of Ambler was amply demonstrated when they allowed him to build his house within the town limits. He believes his marriage to a Native of Ambler is a contributing factor to this acceptance by the townspeople, but he also feels that he had been accepted by them before he was married. He does have an especially close relationship with his wife, however, and this undoubtedly gives the larger relationship with his wife's family and with the town generally a great deal more substance.
8. Dan and Agnes are friendly with all of the Caucasians in town but are particularly close to the McGuires, the Knudsons, the Coxes, and Howard Kenworthy.

Howard Kenworthy
1.-2. Howard is fifty years old, has a highschool education from Idaho where he worked for many years as a self-employed logger. He has been separated from his wife for two and a half years and only recently divorced her. He has children, but they are presently living in the lower states. For a part of last winter, however, his daughter lived with him in Ambler.
He and his family first came to Fairbanks in 1951, and three years later they moved to Kotzebue. During this time he worked as a carpenter, a skill he had learned from his father back in Idaho. Among his carpentered accomplishments in Kotzebue are the Episcopal Church and rectory and the final remodeling of Hanson's Trading Post. In 1957 he went upriver to Shungnak and lived and worked there for a year; and a year later he and his family returned to the States where they remained for two years until 1960 when they came back up to the Kotzebue area. Between that year and 1963 Howard worked as a carpenter in Kotzebue, Shungnak and in Ambler. His first stay at Ambler in 1961 impressed him so that he returned there with his family in 1963, planning on making it a permanent home.

It is said that Howard's reason for migrating to this part of the country is a religious one, for back in the early '50s an arrow mysteriously appeared on a map he was looking at, indicating to him that he must go to Kotzebue and the Kobuk country to do "missionary" work there.

Howard likes it in Ambler very much, and in spite of the fact that his wife has left him and his children live in the lower states, he plans to stay here for good. He presently lives in a tiny, sod-insulated house on the remaining two acres of the original five he had owned before the Christys came to Ambler, although there is rumor he wants to build another house closer to the center of town--
a possibility that apparently worries and irritates some of the Natives in town.*

3. Howard is a curiously reserved person who is at the same time doggedly steady at whatever he undertakes. Even since his stroke last winter he is active, a little slower than usual perhaps, but nevertheless still very much involved in life. He is an extremely talented man with his hands and in the past has built a great many boats of different types, including kayaks and longboats. He built Nick Francis' original store in Ambler and several of the sod iglus in Ambler, one of which I occupied during my stay there. As I have already mentioned, he has also helped in the construction of many a structure in Shungnak and Kotzebue. On his smaller projects such as his boats and iglus he uses mostly hand tools. In this sense he is somewhat of a paradox and an anachronism of the Western culture. Howard is also a paradox in that he is a completely unmaterialistic person, and has given away a lot of his personal property to his friends. While I was in Ambler he made a gift of his out-board motor to Jim and Christy. This is apparently a part of his outlook that disturbed his wife greatly, for it is

* Howard apparently sold three acres of his property to the Christys because he had hopes that this would help the family in their adjustment to their new life in Ambler. He also identified with their more independent approach to missionism and wanted to facilitate their potential as much as possible.
said that she was his opposite in this respect.

In the past he has been a member of the City Councils of both Kotzebue and Ambler. And besides constructing Nick Francis' first store, he also organized it and kept the books for him to the extent that Nick did not learn these skills himself and was relegated to doing only the physical jobs around the store.

4.-6. In addition to his many other talents, Howard is quite the religious philosopher. He regards himself as an independent missionary; and he says that he lives the "primitive" life he does mainly for three reasons. The first is for his own personal growth, so that the message he is to impart may more readily unfold to him. Second, it puts him in a position where he can better emotionally understand the way the people go about life here. And third, so that the people in turn may not consider the message he carries to be too distant a possibility for them.

His mission at this stage in his life, he says, is helping people both White and Native--although especially Native because the majority of the people along the river are Native--satisfy their needs associated with the development of a "sense of being" (self-identity). He feels that these needs are now oriented more towards the White man's system of values and include the need to be competitive. He believes that God and Christ are standards toward which everyone must strive and that man may do this in steps
according to his own volitional attributes until he reaches the same level as God. The development of a competitive spirit, associated with the attainment of a "sense of being," would be part of this process of self growth that Howard felt was his purpose to help the people here realize.

He does not feel, however, that he has much influenced the villagers on this score, something he is not overly concerned about doing consciously, in any case. Any influence he hopes to have he believes should come about as naturally as possible. Besides, he feels he still needs additional time to grow himself.

7. It appears that although Howard has been in Ambler for many years and that he has become involved very directly in many aspects of the life of Ambler, he has not achieved much more than a superficial level of communication with most of the Native people in the village. One reason for this may be his quiet reserve, another his far out religious views. In any case, he seems not to have an abundance of Native friends.

8. Among many of the Caucasians in Ambler, however, he appears to command the highest respect. The McGuires and Powers seem particularly close to him as do the Coxes and Knudsons. Although Howard still visits with the Christys it is felt by some of the others that he is disappointed with Dave and Jean because they have not met his expectations.
Bill and Donna McGuire

1.-2. Bill and Donna are thirty-six and thirty-three respectively, are originally urban Minnesota people, and were married in that state after Donna's graduation from the University of Minnesota with a B.A. in Recreation. Subsequently Bill was drafted, and after two years in the Army they moved to Seattle where he obtained employment with Boeing (1959); and there they immediately had two children. Bill was fearful of becoming involved in the Middle Class suburban rat-race, however, and four years later in 1963 he came up to Fairbanks without his family, entered the University of Alaska, and graduated with a B.A. in 1965. After a short period spent working with the Rural Development Agency in the Bethel area where he was again with his family (Donna taught second grade at the State school), his job was terminated and he accepted a teaching position at the University of Beppu in Japan for a year. Donna and the kids did not accompany him there, however, and they went back down to Seattle where she worked for the next three years as a Recreation Director of some of the city's parks. In 1967 Bill returned from Japan only to accept a Fulbright Grant to study (Maori child rearing practices) and teach for a year in New Zealand. There he again was without his family.

After rejoining his family in Seattle a year later, he worked for Boeing again while also attending graduate
school in Education at the University of Washington. But he very shortly grew tired of that routine, and after making some extra money at commercial fishing, he packed up his family and headed for Ambler toward the end of the summer of 1969. He had apparently become acquainted with Lyle and Chris Knudson at the University of Alaska, and had since heard from them about the unique beauty of the Ambler area. So they decided to try it out. This is their third winter there.

For the first two winters they lived in a large split-level iglu Bill built for them downriver from Ambler about twenty miles at a location known as Panagaktaugruq. Last summer, however, they set up a camp only a mile from town, next to Dan Powers' place, in fact, hoping they might be able to make it a permanent site come Autumn. They have not had to do this though, because on leaving, the Christys sold them the three acres they had purchased from Howard Kenworthy.

During the summer Bill worked for the State School construction project, and at the time I left the village was still employed by the B.L.M. as an expeditor for the Ambler fire crews; Donna was also working for them as a cook. The previous summer he had worked for Charles Hoit in Kiana as a general handyman. Food Stamps have helped them out during the jobless winters. He was hoping he would be able to teach school at Ambler this winter, but it appears that
he was not successful with this hope, for the Department of Education hired a teacher from out-of-state. In trying to get the job he had enlisted the written aid of the townsmen, but it proved in vain because it is apparently the Department's policy not to hire local people.

In any case, they were not entirely discouraged by this bad luck for they are still in Ambler on their new site and plan to remain there until they again have the urge to travel. Bill says he would like to take his family to both Japan and New Zealand someday. But they like Ambler and the Kobuk River so much that they will probably always return.

3. Bill is a man of extremes who seems to take life easy and yet at the same time does not. He wants a quiet life free from the everyday humdrum of worries that one encounters on the outside world, and yet he appears to require them in a vicarious way for mental stimulation. He reads a lot about controversial issues, especially environmental ones, on the outside (newspapers, books, etc.), and is concerned about them to the degree that he writes regularly to his congressmen and to other influential people.

He has a dog team which he came in second with during the Shungnak race last winter. And he likes hunting, something his wife does not approve of because it means destruction of animal life. She tends their nets during the summer and uses the fish for both their own meals and the dogs.
Donna is an avid birdwatcher and also has an enthusiastic interest in photography. Bill writes some and most recently has commented on the effects of the modern age on the Eskimo and his ecology. The kids love the outdoor life that is available to them in Ambler, and only this Fall Bill Jr. shot his first caribou.

Bill Sr. is easy going and steady at work, and a very hard worker at home, although at times he becomes extremely impatient and unreasonable with his family, especially with his children. Donna is a very relaxed person and takes these bouts in stride. She is somewhat submissive and a dedicated mother and homemaker. Partly because of this she and Bill have a generally good relationship. She does admit to feeling she has aged a lot though since she has lived on the river and had to adapt to a much more rigorous form of life than the one she was previously accustomed to in Seattle. (In fact, she does not look her age and appears still very young.)

4.-6. Bill says of his entry into the community that it was only bit by bit, and that he did not barge his way in like so many other Whites do. He feels very strongly on this score, and for that reason they have remained away from the village until now. They continue to try to keep as low a profile as possible in town. Although he believes that in regard to the possibility of teaching here, his experience in the area would have been of positive value in
his relationship to the kids and their parents. After the teaching position looked as though it were going to fall through, however, Bill began to explore the possibilities of guiding conservationists on wilderness trips along the Kobuk River, including short visits to the villages. This he believed to be necessary if the wilderness value of the area were to be maintained. That is, the exposure of many conservation-minded people to the beauty of the region was important so that when it came time in the future to protect it from exploiters there would be a group with first hand experience in the area ready to write their congressmen in its defense.

Another interest of Bill's is to go into partnership with John Francis on a fuel sales franchise in Ambler. This would only be a temporary project for Bill though, because he says he would later turn it over entirely to John.

As was mentioned earlier, Donna is a mild and rather submissive woman, almost Eskimo-like, in fact, in the enactment of her role as a wife and mother. "Bill has always had a very definite idea of what is women's work and what is men's," she says, however, so this is not the result of her change in ambience. In any case, her easy manner has been a definite advantage to her in her relationship to the village women, and she gets along with them very well.
7. Even though they do not wish to be known in too overt a manner in town, the McGuires have visited a great deal with a number of Native families there. They have especially visited a lot with Sam Pete (whom Bill regards as a genius) and with John Francis who is the President of the City Council. Donna visited a lot with Mary Hunter while I was there, and they were natural friends with Dan Powers' parents-in-law, the Lincolns.

8. Their closest Caucasian friends in Ambler were the Powers, the Coxes, the Knudsons, and Howard Kenworthy. They admitted to a rather strained relationship with the Weyburns and with some of the more transient people who have on occasions in the past come to live in the Ambler area.

(Little) Bob Wolfe

1. Bob is forty-one, single, and originally from Akron, Ohio. He came to Alaska first in 1958 with the Weather Division of the United States Air Force. He had always wanted to come up to this part of the country, he said, so when the Air Force gave him the chance he took it. Since then he has been assigned to Nome and other more isolated Air Force stations such as Tin City and Shemya. Later he was placed on T.D.Y. and traveled throughout the Alaskan Arctic checking books, etc. He was even sent on a special mission to South Vietnam, a trip that finally convinced him that he had had enough of the Air Force.
2. So he quit the Service, and in 1965 after learning about the attractions of Ambler from an old prospector in a Nome bar, he headed straight that-a-way. He maintains that he is here "vacationing" and just simply passing his life. He says he did not want to wait and "retire" from the Air Force because "when a person retires he's dead," so he left after only twelve years of service and went to Ambler where he feels he is happiest. He believes a person should remain where he is happiest, and because he experiences more of that rare state of mind in Ambler he plans to stick around for good. He says he also lives here because he is interested in the way the people survive in such a hostile environment.

3. In fact, however, Bob is considered by both the Natives and Whites in town as possibly one of the laziest people north of the Arctic Circle. He rarely cooks for himself, his "iglu" is a garbage dump, he does not cut his own wood, he is not mechanically-minded, nor is he a very good hunter. He is still alive, it appears, only through the good graces of some of the Native people in the village. He eats most of his meals with his neighbor, Sam Pete, and "borrows" his wood from him too, and the rest of the time he depends upon Joshua Frank for his sustenance. Bob helped Joshua start his store a few years back by investing some $300.00 of seed money in it and by keeping his books for him (something he says he still does). He has never realized
much profit from his initial investment, he maintains, and recently it has been Joshua's two daughters who are the main reason for Bob's visits. He badly wants to marry one of them, but neither will have him because of his low quality style of living.

Bob is also quite the spendthrift. By his own admission, the original $7000.00 of his savings with which he had come to Ambler in 1965 were gone in three years, and another $4,000.00 he received from the sale of a farm he had inherited lasted only proportionately as long. And he claims he just doesn't seem to know where all the money went. So that for the past two summers he has had to go to work again, fighting fires for the B.L.M., and this past summer working on the new addition to the State School in Ambler. He has also had to apply for Food Stamps which he said he never needed before.

Last year he ran for Secretary of the new Fourth Class City Council and won. His reason for running, he states, was his feeling that he could help introduce the new ideas of change to the community in a way that would be to their best advantage. His previous contacts with the government he felt would be most helpful to this end. And it was because of his experience with government and his ability to read and write, that he claims the people voted for him. Although he likes his freedom, he says, and prefers an uncomplicated life, he still realizes that change
is coming and feels that the people should be introduced to the new ideas so that later they aren't caught by surprise. Specifically, he states, there is an abundance of small grants available to Fourth Class Cities now, and he believes he can help Ambler both take full advantage of them and then spend them wisely so that the community may the following year qualify for them again. Bob admits that "I may have made a mistake running for office because of all of the little headaches it means for me, but at least it gives me something to do."

Little Bob is a very easy going type then who takes everything very slowly and always, it seems, with a grin.

4.-5. One of Bob's major concerns is that the people are becoming more and more materialistic and possession-conscious. And the resolution of the Native Land Claims Issue, by providing the Native people with large tracts of private property, will only make this situation worse yet. And besides, after this occurs a person won't be able to just plop a cabin wherever he fancies. The same thing applies to the Wilderness classifications, he complains. He also does not approve of some of the welfare programs for the same reason that it leads to a more materialistic outlook, although he is on the A.S.H.A. list for a new house himself! He says of the Eskimo language that although the people speak it and love it, there's no future for it because there are only 25,000 Eskimos in a quickly changing
world of three billion others.

6. Bob is a most incongruous person. His actions do not jibe with his statements, and his life generally has no logical consistency. However, he does seem to feel sincerely that his activities will help the Native people of Ambler enter the modern world. Whether this is a conscious rationalization or an unconscious one is difficult to say though.

7. He admits he does not visit much except with Sam Pete and Joshua Frank—for reasons already mentioned—partly because some people feel uneasy with him, and partly because they speak their own language anyway which he does not understand. However, he is visited on occasion at his iglu by some of the village men when his homebrew is ripe—and even sometimes when it is still green. Bob does not seem to mind either way.

8. Bob seems not to be very close friends with any of the Caucasians in Ambler. One of them described him as a "funny guy whom most of the Native people don't understand." "But," he added, "it's probably a good thing for them to come into contact with his type, too."

Clyde Trist

1.-2. Clyde is twenty-eight, from Seattle, has a B.A. from the University of Washington in Russian, and is a "confirmed bachelor," he says of himself. He came to Alaska in 1969, and until last January (1971) he lived in various places,
including Kantishna, Talkeetna and College. Then in that month he went up to Ambler both as an escape from the deadly Fairbanks ice fog and because his sister, Chris Knudson, had lived in the area for many years and he had heard plenty of good about it from her. "So, it seemed the only logical place to come to," he said. In order to finance such an undertaking he had worked the previous summer fighting fires for the B.L.M.

He says he has no definite plans about staying or leaving. If things work out though and he has a place to stay, he'll most probably stick around Ambler at least until midwinter. During the summer he was living in a sod iglu built the previous year by Jody and Kirsten Lewis. The last I had heard they were not returning to Ambler this winter, so Clyde probably still lives in their house. Last winter he stayed in Lyle and Chris' iglu downriver at Panagaktaugrug until it burned in the spring.

3. Clyde is rather "hip" in his life style, although this could probably be said also of many of the other Caucasians who live in and around Ambler. He is very much into Zen Buddhism and health diets (including macrobiotics), although he is not entirely convinced by any of these systems and he makes his own compromises with them. He does not work, but nevertheless keeps himself quite busy by tanning and sewing skins, and reading. He receives food stamps, and said that if he needed money would claim unemployment com-
pensation which he apparently qualifies for.

4.-8. Clyde is a very quiet and unobtrusive person, even somewhat timid perhaps, who keeps his thoughts pretty much to himself. He says he is interested in the Eskimo people and culture in Ambler, but it is an interest he has developed since he has come here, and it is one he has essentially because he is here now. He visits with the people often, he says, and enjoys it very much. He also visits some with the Whites in town, but because he is a newcomer his friends are not many.

Lyle and Chris Knudson

1.-2. Lyle is in his middle thirties and is originally from a small town in Eastern Oregon. Chris is thirty and from a farm community on the San Juan Islands in Washington. She first came to Alaska in 1958 to study Botany at the University of Alaska in College. Lyle came up a year later to Fairbanks with the Army. After his discharge in 1961 he too enrolled in the Botany Department at the University of Alaska and met Chris there that year. During the same year, Chris went over to Cape Thompson on the Northwest coast near Point Hope to do some research for Project Chariot. In 1962 they climbed Mount McKinley together, and also that year both went back to Cape Thompson. In the spring of 1963 they again returned to that part of Alaska but this time to do a caribou survey in the Noatak, Ambler and Kobuk
valleys. This was their introduction to Ambler. During the summer of the same year they lived in Kotzebue where Lyle worked as a longshoreman and made enough money to spend the winter on the Kobuk. Their first sod house they located on Giddings' Onion Portage archeological site, a fact which rather angered the archeologist when he discovered it the next year. However, they spent the winter there in relative calm with their friend Dan Powers whom Lyle had known while working at Jackson's Hole, Wyoming, with the Forest Service. After their encounter with Giddings the following summer, they decided to move a few miles downriver to Panagaktaugruq where their iglu has been ever since, that is, until it burned down last spring. Mike and Sue Coxe's iglu is located on the same site. And with the exception of the summers when they have gone out to work in Kotzebue and Fairbanks, and the previous two years when they have been doing other things, Lyle and Chris have lived at Panagaktaugruq since 1964. Only this winter did they decide to locate closer to the village of Ambler, in fact, just outside its boundaries and slightly upriver from the Kents who will be their nearest neighbors. They are doing this, Lyle says, so that they won't have to take things so far from now on to get set up for the winter; before, things were too spread out and it was just too much of a hassle.

Lyle says that they came to the Kobuk because he had always been attracted, like his friend Dan, to the life of
the frontier. He is a "romantic" in this respect, he admits, and was always interested in the lives of the mountain men of the old west. Their much less complicated way of life appealed to him. Additionally, from his parents he had developed an interest in the Eskimo people, and he felt that perhaps by living as they did, this would lead to a better understanding of them.

Chris states, on the other hand, that there was no reason in particular for their going to live on the river, that "it just happened, as everything happens in life; it just seemed at the time the cheapest and easiest way to live for the next year." And they never went up there to stay permanently, she said. Again, "it just sort of happened that we continually returned."

Lyle commented in regard to returning to Ambler this time that "it is a way to put a stop to everything we have been doing in the outside world." They were so overextended and involved in the fast life outside, he said, that going to the Kobuk acted as a kind of safety valve for them which stopped all of that abruptly and arbitrarily and gave them some time to recuperate.

Lyle is a year short of graduating in Botany, but he says that he isn't interested in finishing up now because Botany doesn't have what he wants from life. Chris lacks only six credits for her degree.
Chris has recently worked for the Juneau State Museum and also as an assistant researcher for a sociologist studying Native-White interaction patterns in Sand Point in the Aleutians.

Lyle is an excellent carpenter who not only has built their own houses and kayaks but also has worked during the summers at that trade both in Fairbanks and Kotzebue, and also in Kobuk village during the summer of 1967 as the straw-boss for the State Elementary School construction project there. At the time of my visit with them in the Autumn he was building a small geodesic dome on his brother Jack's property outside of Fairbanks, a project he has been working on for two years now.

3. Lyle and Chris are both very easy going people with a relatively uncomplicated life style. They like adventure, however, and have become commensurately mobile. They have climbed Mt. McKinley, taken a skiff trip up the west coast of Canada and Alaska, and kayaked down the Kobuk, among other things, and move around the state from the Aleutians to Ambler quite a great deal. They also indicate an interest to do more extensive traveling, possibly to South America in the future. But although they lead this highly transitory kind of life, they are also extremely conscientious in their level of commitment to the things they do—Lyle with his carpentry, and Chris with her museum and research and crafts work.
During the long dark winters they read a lot--they are very up on all of the latest books--Lyle hunts (he owned a dog team during their first years on the Kobuk), and Chris likes to sew and to work with crafts such as birch bark baskets.

They have not been involved in community organizations or politics in Ambler because first, they lived too far downriver from the village, and second, they weren't interested--one of the reasons why they chose to live so far away in the first place. And finally, they are very frugal people.

Lyle says that during the first year of their life on the Kobuk they felt they were regarded as inferiors by the Ambler people, especially because with all of their education they were living at a lower level of subsistence than the people. They were also dependent upon them for both their technology and how to make use of it. They were a true minority group with all of the attendant problems of a minority. Natives along the river called them "beatnicks," and some still refer to them as "hippies."

At first the village people did not know how to relate to them because of their untraditional Caucasian role, that is, until they got to know them better and their sincerity about living as they did at a subsistence level. Then they began to treat them more as equals until finally, Lyle said, he felt as though they considered him as one of them. Mean-
while, however, a rift developed between him and Sam Pete when Lyle was made strawboss of the Kobuk State School project in 1967. Sam took it sort of badly, knowing Lyle had learned most of what he knew about carpentry from him; and it has taken some time to resolve the difficulty, although things are much better now.

Chris commented that Eskimo people are very reserved, "stand offish," with you at first and don't immediately offer you the hand of friendship.

Lyle and Chris evidently regard themselves as relatively impartial "visitors" to Ambler who nevertheless over the years have become involved with many Native personalities, and have done so to the point where they feel welcome enough to continue coming back there again and again for their "escape."

7. Besides Sam Pete, they have also gotten to know several other Native families in the village quite well, including Robert and Alice Tsuuk. They are, in fact, known and respected by many of the Eskimo people in the several villages along the river.

8. Their closest White friends in town are the Coxes, Weyburns, Powers, the Kents, and Howard Kenworthy. They say they really don't know the McGuires very well yet because they've been away from Ambler for the past two winters.
Mike and Sue Cox

1.-2. Mike and Sue are in their mid thirties, have two children, and are originally from urban Ohio. Mike came to Alaska in 1953 to attend the University of Alaska, and she came somewhat later for the same purpose. They both have their B.S. degrees in Biology from the University of Alaska and met while they were in attendance there. Their reason for coming to Alaska and the University was in part because this school replied the soonest to their letters of application, and partly because of the frontier atmosphere they expected from the place. Mike in particular said that he was attracted to the University because of the self expression--beards, long hair, casual dress--he'd seen exhibited in several photographs of students at that campus.

After spending the winter of 1962-63 doing some research at Cape Thompson, they came down to Kotzebue to be married, and then they were off to Europe for a year to do some traveling. Meanwhile, after returning to Alaska in 1964, they heard beautiful things about the Kobuk from Lyle and Chris Knudson whom they had known at the University and from their winter at Cape Thompson together. It didn't take much to convince them, and after working the summer at the University of Alaska they headed for Panagaktaugruq on the Kobuk where they built their sod iglu and jointly made preparations with Lyle and Chris to stay the winter.
Today, eight years later, the Coxes still live in Panagaktaugruq. They continue to come down to Fairbanks, where they also have a home, to work during the summer, but when the golden Autumn leaves begin to fall from the birches and aspen it is a sign for them to start thinking about moving north again to their iglu along the Kobuk. Mike says they do this for many reasons, among them because they can hunt and fish and do the things they like without anyone bothering them, and because life is a challenge for them there—living off the land and as simply as possible with only the most basic material necessities.

In the past when they returned for the summer, Mike worked as a Field Assistant in Biology at the University of Alaska. After ten years of this, however, he grew tired of the routine, and realizing that if he wished to qualify for more interesting work in Biology he would have to go back to school again,* he chose instead to work in construction. And so for the past four years this is what he has been doing to earn the necessary money to pull them through their winters on the Kobuk.

3. In Panagaktaugruq and in Fairbanks the Coxes live an easy and frugal life. Their house in Fairbanks is a

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* In fact, Mike and Sue say they have drifted away almost entirely from their old friends at the University, and very seldom even go over there anymore. They are disappointed in the new directions the University is taking, and say of it that "it is just like any University in the Lower "48" now."
rather isolated, psychedelically painted geodesic dome which Mike built for its practical value, especially in regard to heating. Says Mike, "You could heat it with a candle if necessary." And on the Kobuk they continue to live in their old sod iglu. It is a little bigger than it was back in 1964—perhaps, but still located on the same windy hill with the good view of the migrating caribou herds. They have an old snow machine they use to travel with now—in the past they used dogs—and a kayak he and Howard built. In Fairbanks they own an older model Volkswagen "bug."

Living in Panagaktauugruq they are removed from the temptations of becoming involved in any of the organizational activities in Ambler. Indeed, that is why they live so far from town—so they would not have to be a part of a more complex way of life with all of the attendant problems, political and social. "Town living is the same anywhere," Mike states, "we might as well stay permanently in Fairbanks as live in Ambler."

At Panagaktauugruq during the winters they are outdoors a lot hunting and trapping and skiing, but when it is too cold for these activities they remain inside and read (they borrow books through the State Library Loan system), play the guitar (Mike learned how to play one winter), and teach their kids by means of a correspondence program. Mike also draws a lot—but not for commercial reasons, he says, because that would detract him from the satisfaction it
gives him—and he knows midwifery (he delivered Sue's first baby there). In Fairbanks during the summer Sue stays home with the kids and tends a very large garden.

4. Although they don't live in Ambler village they feel that a major problem there is community factionalism, as it is in so many of the other communities along the river. They do not, however, feel that drinking is much of a real problem in the village. "The people drink heavily," they stated, "only after their B.L.M. firefighting checks arrive and during special occasions."

5. Their feeling toward the Land Claims Issue is that, unless they are going to become farmers the Eskimo people don't really need large acreages of personally owned property. They believe that the push for land has been partially an A.F.N. engineered phenomenon, in part also the consequence of a new Eskimo attitude toward material property. The Eskimo people have become more Western in this respect, say the Coxes, and the acquirement of titled land has now become desirable for them. Additionally, they note that the Eskimo has an amazing ability to adapt things and systems to his own needs, and his renewed interest in land may be viewed partly in this light also. The Coxes respect the Eskimo people and their way of life a very great deal.

6. As I mentioned previously, the Coxes have no organizational goals either in the community of Ambler or in the area generally. They prefer to live outside of town and
likewise outside of any of the structure that accompanies town life—where they won't be bothered by anyone and where, in turn, they won't bother others.

7. Although they don't reside in Ambler, Mike and Sue still have many Native friends and acquaintances there. At first the people were distrustful of their intentions because they couldn't understand why such highly educated people would want to live the way they did, but through time this distrust has diminished and many Eskimos now have high regard for them. Sam Pete is apparently one of these because the Coxes speak very familiarly of him. And according to other Whites in town, there are a lot of Ambler Natives who have equal respect for them.

8. The Coxes speak well of all of the Whites in the Ambler community, even of Bob Wolfe whom they say is at least a friendly man with always a smile on his face. They especially speak highly of Howard Kenworthy who apparently often stays with them when he is in Fairbanks during the summer. Their other close friends are the Knudsons, the Powers, the McGuires and the Kents.

Holly and Jo Weyburn

Although I was unable to interview the Weyburns, I feel that I should at least include them to round out my discussion of Ambler's White community, at least to the extent of the information I was able to gather about them.
Holly is thirty-one and his wife Jo, twenty-six. They came to Ambler (Panagaktauq) for the first time in 1964, and in 1967 they left for travel in Australia. Shortly afterwards, Holly took an M.S. degree in Population Demography from the University of Hawaii, and then they returned to Panagaktauq to continue the pattern of life they had previously established there. This included living in a sod iglu like the others, for Holly, working on his books (he already has one published, and is presently writing another on the birds of Glacier Bay), and for Jo, weaving and photography and short story writing. Holly and Jo both enjoy outdoor activities, especially cross-country skiing. They spend their summers "outside" working for the Park Service in such areas as McKinley and Glacier Bay National Parks.

Holly is an academic person, conservative in his views—against Marijuana, opposed to the use of Food Stamps by educated people with degrees—and an avid conservationist. He is constantly writing letters concerning environmental issues, but his conservationist convictions seem to also have gotten him into trouble with a few of the Native people in Ambler and caused a certain amount of hard feelings on the part of some of the White community there.

They do not like city life, and this is one reason why they continue to live on the Kobuk during most of the year. In fact, they would like to work it so that they
The Kobuk Valley
Ambler and the Kobuk River
Allakaket and the Koyukuk River
New housing--Ambler
Salmon drying—Ambler
Drying caribou meat—Ambler
Episcopal Mission church--Allakaket
Episcopal Mission house—Allakaket
Elementary school—Allakaket
Playing volleyball—Allakaket
River transport—Koyukuk River
Living on the Alatna River
wouldn't have to go out even for the summer, something they are apparently going to be able to manage this year.

According to an informant who lives in Fairbanks, Holly and Jo returned to Ambler at Christmas time and during the first two months lived with their White and Native friends in town (their Native friends include Sam Pete and Robert Tevuk), and Holly helped Joshua Frank straighten out the books for his store at this time. It seems Bob Wolfe does not do this for Joshua anymore. The Weyburns are now, however, back at Panagaktaugrug in their iglu.

**Kiana (pop. 278)**

Charles and Rita Hunter

1.-2. Chuck Hunter is fifty-three, and he and his Native wife Rita (50ish) have three grown boys, one of whom is presently Mayor of Kiana. Chuck is an old timer in Alaska and has been in the state for thirty-eight years. After graduating from highschool in 1933, he said, he left his rural background in Oregon and first came to Iditarod, a village in the Lower Yukon area, to stay with relatives who were teaching there with the B.I.A. Then in 1937, he moved to Noorvik with the same people when they changed teaching assignments. He had always wanted to come up to Alaska, he stated, and his relatives provided him with such an opportunity as well as also the chance to stay awhile and establish himself.
Although, he did speak of some frustrations in this regard, especially in his efforts to trap fox and tend reindeer (the latter while in the employ of the C.C.C.) during his first winter on the Noorvik Reservation. However, the following summer he managed to get on with a placer mining operation over at Candle, a little later worked on the gold dredge there, and then after making a small grubstake set off with another fellow to do some prospecting for four years around Kiana. His partner had to leave when the Second War started, but Chuck remained, married Rita, and settled in the village of Kiana. During the 1940's he earned enough working summers from the various small mining operations in the area to hold them through the winters. At that time they also began their small trading post, at first only selling extra clothing and food to people who needed it in the community. This they continued in a much bigger way through the 1950's until finally by the mid 1960's they had increased their inventory and their credit rating to the point where they had become a fair sized operation and a healthy source of competition for the other trading post in town. However, this circumstance did not bring the Hunters much peace, for according to their accounts, their competitor has offered them nothing but threats and trouble ever since their business began to grow--and it continues to this very day.
He and Rita will remain here for the rest of their lives, he says. He has been back to the Lower 48 several times (although when he returned in the early 1960's, it was the first time in twenty-nine years), but he doesn't like it down there at all. "There are just too many people and too much hustle and bustle for me," he complained. He never had wanted to go back anyway, he added.

3. Chuck and Rita live in a comfortable house adjoining the trading post, both structures of which he built himself. They have all of the material comforts of the outside world with the exception of running water. And they have an old model Scout pick-up (a new GMC has been ordered) in addition to a high-powered speed boat.

He had never until recent years mixed in local politics, Chuck says of himself, but then he decided to run for the Advisory School Board, and he has now been a part of that body on three different occasions, each time as its Chairman. This task has kept him very busy, he said, especially since the Regional Highschool issue and the B.I.A.-State controversy as to who was going to administer the grade school in the community. In addition to these extra duties, he also keeps himself well occupied with the routine operation of his trading post, sometimes having to start as early in the morning as 4:00 A.M. with his correspondence and books. Other of his everyday tasks include waiting on customers, cleaning oil drums (he has an oil and gas franchise),
loading and unloading supplies from the mail plane, doing the same in a much bigger way when the summer barges come in, and occasionally taking his own barge (which he built himself) down to Kotzebue to pick up additional supplies. In addition, he and his son, Tod, have a fishing service and spend some of their energies at that. Anymore, he says, he doesn't have much time for fishing himself, or even hunting during the winter months. In the past he used to run his own dog team, but that too is something he can now only reminisce about. He reads little, except for the occasional paper and U.S. News and World Report, because, as he complains, he never really learned how.

In spite of Chuck's busy summer schedule, I found him an exceptionally friendly, polite, and mild mannered individual. He always took time to make conversation with me and was an extremely hospitable host. He is a straight person and doesn't swear or drink, and apparently often attends the Sunday Bible classes over at the Baptist Church. He mentions he has also been fairly active in that church, although during the summers he hasn't as much time for this. And they are both very conscientious about their actions in the community as they relate to the success of their business.

4.-6. The Hunters complain bitterly about one problem in particular they have in the village, and that is their relationship with their competitor, Sand's Trading Post.
Bill Sand is no trouble, they claim, but his cousin, Carole Aloya (who owns a share in the trading post), is described as a ceaseless and negatively careless gossip who directs a good deal of her talk against the Hunters. However, they have learned by now to ignore her gossip during her summer stay in the community and patiently wait for her departure in September back to her home in Chicago—when it is said that everyone in Kiana breathes a deep sigh of relief.

Chuck also mentions the drinking problem which he believes the Native people in town have, and which he neither likes nor respects them for. But aside from this, he seems to get along with them quite well, at least with Rita's family and friends.

In regard to issues of wider concern, the Hunters are Democrats, are favorable to the trans Alaska pipeline ("the State needs the money"), and are also agreeable to the Native Land Claims Issue—this is natural though because under its terms Rita will qualify for a lot of land.

All of the evidence suggests that Chuck by now thinks of himself as an integral part of the Kiana community, and he participates in its political and social life accordingly.

7. Although he may not visit many of the Native people in their homes, Chuck does come into contact with a great number of them on a daily basis in his dealings at the store. Since his kitchen opens directly into the store, some of the people who shop drop in for coffee and gossip. And
although most of these are women and relatives of Rita's, still he interacts with a few of them. During the occasions I observed him he was jocular with the ladies, especially in regard to their speaking in Eskimo which they usually did. He said he never did learn the Eskimo language himself because he always felt it was too hard for him, but he does admire other Whites who have learned it such as Wilhelm Klein in Noorvik.

Chuck's wife, Rita, was a friendly enough person, but she is rather a "driver" and no doubt is partially responsible for the success of their enterprise in the community.

There is some negative feeling in the village about this "success," however. Some especially believe that the Hunters have too much power in town, what with Chuck being Chairman of the School Board and his son, Tod, being Mayor.

8. Chuck does not have many Caucasian friends in town, partly because of circumstances, partly because there is not a superabundance of them around. His best friend appears to be Joe Bilders, the maintenance man over at the B.I.A. school; the preacheress of the Baptist Church, Wini Bevan seems to be the only other White person whom Chuck has any sustained interaction with.
Joe and Sandra Bilders

1.-2. Joe is head of the maintenance crew at the B.I.A. grade school in Kiana. He is in his fifties, married to a Kiana girl much younger than himself (40ish), and has three children. He is a farm boy originally from Minnesota who left home at sixteen, after some highschool, because he wanted a life other than that of his father. However, it was the time of the Great Depression and there was not much work of any kind available anywhere. So in 1938 he took a chance on Alaska and went over to Russian Mission where he worked at gold mining for a few years. After that, he hired on as a part of the Alcan Highway construction crew during the Second World War, and when that project was finally completed he accepted other highway jobs in other parts of the State, including the Seward Peninsula and the Fairbanks area. In 1955 he went up to Kotzebue to work for the B. & R. Tug and Barge Line building airfields in that area, including the one at Kiana in 1957 where he met his wife. After marrying her and settling there, he worked during the summers at the various mining operations around Kiana. In 1964 he began his employment with the B.I.A. in Kiana as their maintenance man, was promoted and later went down to Nome to supervise the construction of B.I.A. buildings there, and finally in 1968 returned to Kiana to take back his old job because his wife did not like it in Nome.
Joe claims he likes it a lot in Alaska and in Kiana, says he really can't complain, and is, in fact, very grateful to Alaska for always having provided him with work. "There's always been work for me here," he repeated. For this reason, and the obvious one that his family is here, he plans to stay in Kiana for the rest of his days. He has been back to the lower states a few times, he says, and admits there are a few nice places, but he generally does not like it and would not live down there.

3. Joe is a rather easy going sort who lives with his family (his wife is quiet and submissive) in a very comfortable apartment (with all of the Western creature comforts, including even running water) in the B.I.A. school complex.

He has been Mayor of Kiana for two terms after it became a Fourth Class City (in 1962), then its Treasurer for a part of a term until the B.I.A. intervened and prohibited his involvement in politics. This action also applied to his School Board membership.

4.-6. Joe articulated A.S.H.A.'s low-cost housing plan as perhaps Kiana's presently most pressing problem. The houses are of good quality, he states, with all of the basic facilities of a modern home eventually being provided (including running water). But, he adds, the people have no means for paying for them, most especially because there just aren't enough available jobs to go around. And then when
they do have the money from fire fighting and other seasonal work, he says, they spend it on the wrong things, such as booze—which is another of Kiana's problems according to Mr. Bilders. Additionally, he was somewhat averse to the welfare program in the area.

In regard to the trans Alaska pipeline, he trusts in the oil companies and in their technology for the construction of a safe line. "They wouldn't build it if they were going to have trouble with it," Said Joe. In addition, he stated, Alaska needs the pipeline to provide jobs for its people. "Alaska would remain a welfare State without it," he added, "and would have to continue depending upon the Federal Government for handouts." This last statement somewhat conflicts with at least the spirit of what he had said previously about there always having been employment in the State for those who wished to work.

Other of his opinions were that missionaries don't do the people any harm; long hair is undesirable on men, especially on teachers and Natives; the U.S. needs "law and order" to keep riots and Marijuana under control in the Lower 48; and, change, as with other underdeveloped peoples of the world, is likewise coming to the Eskimo, and for this reason their language and culture won't last long here. Joe is a conservative and, perhaps, a realist. He is favorable to the Land Claims Issue since his wife stands to profit from it.
7. Joe claims he likes older Eskimo people, but also admits that he does not associate around much. This is verified by some of the Native people in town. It appears that the B.I.A. residence compound at the school is an insulating factor in Joe's case. Only the few Native employees of the school ever seem to have contact with that area. Additionally, according to one Native informant, in the fairly recent past there was a falling-out between him and the community over an issue while he was Treasurer of the City Council.

8. About Joe's only close friend in the village is Chuck Hunter. As one other Caucasian who had direct dealings with him as a teacher a few years ago said, "Joe is respected for his meticulousness and organization with regard to mechanical items, but the respect stops there because he is the type of person who would like it if there were no students around at all to mess up this precision machine of a school operation of his."

Bill Sand

1.-2. Bill is forty-eight, a confirmed bachelor, and a North Carolina farm boy with grade eleven education. He first came to Alaska when he was eighteen years old. In 1940 he and a friend paddled a canoe down from Whitehorse to visit with his paternal uncle at Sand's Trading Post in Kiana. Bill decided to remain and for the next two
years worked for a mining outfit near the village. Then he joined the service and spent four years in it until after the War when he returned to Kiana. And he has been here ever since with the exception of one winter month each year which he has spent Stateside. Nowadays his cousin, Carole Aloya, also comes up to Kiana during Christmas to allow him to do this—in addition to her three month summer stay in Kiana.

Bill says that he will continue here because of the business he owns a one-half share in, and although he admitted there are still some empty pockets of land in the lower states, he does not prefer to return there for any length of time.

3. Bill has run for City Council once but was unsuccessful and has not attempted further involvement in any way in the political life of the community. He mainly keeps himself very busy with the business of the trading post, sometimes working as much as seventeen hours a day at it during the summer months. He has very little help, he declares, because the townspeople don't want to work for the lower wages he pays them—lower, that is, in relation to the money they make fighting fires, etc. This is why he must work so long and hard at it. Bill is also the Post Master in town—in fact, has been so for the past fifteen years—and this responsibility brings him in five hundred extra dollars each month. And in addition to the
store and Post Office, he runs a hunting and fishing lodge
a quarter of a mile downriver from Kiana. At the time, there
were oilmen involved in exploration activities staying there.
Carole's older girls were cooking for them.

They have a powerful speed boat with a 110 h.p. en-
gine on it. As I mentioned above, the Hunters also have a
highspeed powerboat, and the similar horse/of the motor seems
to indicate something of a village-style, "keep up with
the Jones" syndrome.

Bill and Carole have a somewhat larger and fancier
operation in Kiana than the Hunters, but there does not
seem to be any more activity associated with it.

Bill is a very timid person, quiet and easy going,
almost withdrawn. He is a steady worker and, as indicated
above, keeps himself constantly busy with the affairs of
the Sand's enterprise in the community. He is regarded as
a relatively fair man by the people, but this "fairness"
is redefined by his cousin to represent cowardliness. Carole
calls him a "coward" because he won't say "no" to the people
when they want credit. To this claim Bill offers no re-
sistance, and he freely admits to having not only this
weakness but the many others that Carole accused him of
having during one of our three-way conversations. It seems
by this that he has somewhat subordinated himself to her
demands, although it may also be his mode of coping with a
very unpleasant situation during the summer months. He
really likes Carole's seven kids though, in spite of her accusatory statements.

4.-7. Bill appears to be a very conservative, and a very disgusted, man--one who understands very little about the processes of cultural change in a village, but one who also has some valid criticisms.

He is disgusted with relief "hand-outs" such as Food Stamps ("people don't tell the truth"), B.I.A. welfare grants, Unemployment Compensation, etc., etc. And he is likewise disgusted with the Native Land Claims situation, complaining that the people have been dishonest in this too. He is less opinionated about the pipeline, saying only that it will probably come and that it's hard not to support it when you know some of the people who are pushing for it. He does not like long hair or the drug scene.

He holds the Eskimo people in very low regard for the welfare they receive, including university grants, and for the way in which they spend the money they do earn fighting forest fires, etc. during the summers--such as on expensive trips and on boóze. "And then they don't pay their bills except with their welfare checks and Food Stamps."

He is not much interested in the Eskimo people as representatives of a different culture, and apparently, as a result of this and his other attitudes cited above, he does not mingle much with the townspeople except in his role as village entrepreneur.
8. Bill seems not to have any Caucasian friends either. He gets along with most of them, but that apparently is as far as it goes.

Kay and Ted Samson

1.-2. Kay is twenty-five, comes from an Oregon farm family, has a high school education (as does her husband), is married to a Kiana man, and has two small children. She originally came up in 1967 as a babysitter for the Jayes who were at the time both teaching for the B.I.A. in Kiana. During this period she met Ted, fell in love with him, married and stayed. She does not want to go back to her previous life in the States, she says, because of all of the pressures there, and especially because Ted likes it in Kiana. She had thought about the possibility of returning, but on thinking it over again she realized how much better she liked it here in the village. And then her parents were supportive of her, telling her she was a real pioneer type being able to live as she did.

3.-6. She and Ted live in a simple frame house that he built himself. It has not much more than the bare essentials in furnishings, but they have managed to make it comfortable enough, at least for the present.

At the time of my interview with her last summer, Kay had been serving as the Chairman of the Head Start Parent Advisory Committee since the first of the year. But in
April, she said, she had a run-in of some sort with the P.A.C. and it came out that the other committee members represented her being Chairman because she was White. This hurt her very much, she complained, because she had never thought of things in those terms before, and, in fact, for several nights thereafter she cried herself to sleep over it. She still feels somewhat shaken by the experience, she says.

In response to her friend, Anne Jaye's, remark that she really loved the people in Kiana, she could only say that with herself the people had just begun to show their true colors with regard to their prejudice against her being Caucasian and in a position of leadership in the community.

However, in spite of this setback, Kay seems to have adapted quite well to village life in Kiana. She has even picked up the Kobuk English dialect which she speaks to all of her Eskimo friends and to the children. She has asked her husband to teach her Eskimo, but so far he has not complied on this score. "You'll learn it," he tells her.

She is a sensitive, relaxed, and homey woman who keeps herself busy with her household and motherly responsibilities because she likes them. Having been a farm girl, they give her meaning, she says; and besides, she doesn't really have to work that hard at them, and she enjoys their physical and social setting.

During the summers it is necessary for her to manage the household alone because her husband goes out to work
as a carpenter for several months with the B.I.A. in different parts of Alaska. So she has learned to be self-sufficient also. When he is home during the winters, she says, he hunts and traps a lot by snow machine, and periodically she convinces him to take her along when he goes out to check the traps.

7.-8. She especially likes, and is apparently supported by, the older Eskimo women in town. She also has younger Eskimo friends, however, with whom she interacts frequently in the form of reciprocal visits.

It does not appear that she has many Caucasian friends in town, though Bob and Anne Jaye were visiting them for the summer from Washington as were her uncle and aunt, Hank and Virginia Lentine, from Oregon. Both couples drove up the Alcan Highway together and then came over to Kiana. And although Mrs. Lentine is thoroughly homesick and unhappy in the village, they are afraid to drive back to Oregon alone and so feel compelled to remain until the Jayes are ready to leave.

Bob and Anne Jaye

Although Bob and Anne no longer live in Kiana, I include them because they did live here from 1967-68 when they taught over at the B.I.A. gradeschool, and they have returned since then to spend two of three previous summers here.
1.8. Bob and Anne are both in their thirties, have four children, two of whom are adopted (one Eskimo and one African), and presently live and teach junior highschool in Aberdeen, Washington. When they come to Kiana they stay with Ted and Kay Samson. They both have B.A. degrees in Education and Sociology and have done summer work at the University of Alaska.

They are both very likeable, very outgoing people, and are liberal in their philosophical stance. Back in Aberdeen they are involved in a seventh grade cross-cultural program which includes Eskimo culture study in workshop form. This has been made possible for them through a Title II Grant of $17,000.

Not only have they returned to Kiana during the past two summers, but they also are planning on eventually building a summer residence in the village in the name of their adopted Eskimo son. They would prefer to live and teach here permanently, they declare, but an unfortunate altercation with the B.I.A. during their last teaching experience in Kiana presently precludes this possibility. The dispute involved a general difference in philosophical views which later was manifested in an open disagreement with the B.I.A. over the amount of mingling the Jayes did with the Native people both in their own apartment and out in the community. This included the presence of Eskimo children in their apartment who played with their own children, in addition to
Bob and Anne's drinking with the people both at home and in the homes of their Eskimo friends. It also included the Jaye's nonrecognition of the strict B.I.A. rules relating to bathroom time for the kids at school. In short, Bob and Anne did not buy the B.I.A. line of "distance and discipline" and were forced out of their teaching positions as a consequence. They have been trying to find other teaching jobs in the Alaskan bush but so far have been unsuccessful because of the B.I.A.'s far reaching influence.

They are liked a great deal by the people of Kiana, however, a fact which was especially evident to me when I worked with Bob during the Ambler fire and observed his interactions with the Kiana crew of which we were both a part. Also, Anne was always visiting with the women of town and, in turn, was visited by some of them at Kay's house.

Wini Bevan

Wini was not in the community at the time of my stay there, but I did have one brief meeting with her on the plane, and some of the local people contributed additional information, so that I feel I can include her in my paper.

She is a single woman in her early forties, and is an "old died in the wool" Southern Baptist from Mississippi. She has been in Kiana since 1955 as a missionary for the Baptist Church, and she apparently intends to remain in the
area for some time to come. In addition to Kiana, she also is responsible for Baptist missionary activity in Selawik and in the other Kobuk River villages with the exception of Ambler. According to one of my informants, she does not preach because as a woman she is not apparently allowed to do this in the Baptist Church. Mostly she keeps herself busy with other church activities such as providing bible classes for adults and children. According to another informant, she holds a lot of parties to attract the children to her classes especially. This does not seem to have a permanent affect on them, however, for when they grow older the kids change back to the much longer established Friends Church in the village. She is busiest in the summer-time when she does most of her visiting to the other villages and also oversees a number of temporary student volunteer missionaries in these communities.

She apparently lives a very "ascetic" life without much more than just the bare essentials. She does not have a radio or a sewing machine, according to informants.

It is said she does not visit around much with the people except when she delivers a monthly church paper to some. However, the local people hold her in respect both because she works with the children and because she has been here for so long.

About the only Caucasian in the community she comes into frequent contact with is Chuck Hunter, but it is pos-
sible that Joe Bilders also interacts with her somewhat less often.

Mike Lande

Mike was not in town at the time either, so all I've got on him is hearsay. But in order to round things out in Kiana, I will include what I have on Mr. Lande.

Mike is in his forties and came to Kiana five years ago as a supervisor of B.I.A. construction projects in the area, that is, until a couple of years back when he was apparently fired for incompetence. It is said that he rationalizes this by blaming his Eskimo crews and specifically Ted Samson for the same incompetence that he was accused of. He is married to a Kuskokwim Eskimo girl and has been able to file and build on a Kiana homesite in her name. And he plans on doing the same thing on another one just as soon as he can, in addition to also filing on land outside of the village which he hopes will be granted to his wife once the Land Claims Issue is resolved.

A few of the local residents feel that he must have "a screw loose somewhere," because of some of his rather bizarre behavioural idiosyncracies. For example, he apparently advertises that he will carry water by snow machine for seven cents per gallon (rather expensive). He also recently jumped into the ice cold Kobuk River in order to retrieve a duck he had shot.
During summers he has worked at times in Kotzebue, and at others in Kiana for Chuck Hunter. Last season he piloted Chuck's river boat and helped him build a new warehouse.

Selawik (pop. 429)

Ed Bemis

Although I was not in Selawik, I ran into Ed when we were both fighting the Ambler forest fire. I had a chance to talk to him for awhile, so I feel I have enough information to include him in this study.

Ed is in his late fifties and is originally from rural Alabama. He left home when he was fourteen, came up to Alaska at sixteen, and he has been in the State ever since with the exception of only two trips outside which he felt were sort of useless after he had made them because he found he did not know anybody down there anymore.

He has an Eskimo wife whom he has been married to for twenty-five years now, and they have four children. He came to Selawik in 1957, and before that had lived in Fairbanks for ten years.

As he declares, "During the summer I fish and fuck, and during the winter I don't fish."—a statement which just about sums him up.
Presently in Selawik he owns a small store (among three others) and is planning on building another one with two stories so that they might live on top. He also plans on building a houseboat so that he might eventually be able to take ten fishermen out at a time and house them right there on board. Now he is only able to take a riverboat load of them out at $100.00 for the load. The other way he figures he will make more money at it.

On the Ambler fire he was the crew boss for the Selawik men, a position he had also held the previous summer. He seems to identify with the Selawik men quite a bit and to represent them in a positive sense. He does say, however, that "when they drink there's no stopping them at just a few beers. They'll bring home the hard stuff and have it all night long until it's gone."

It is evident that because he's been around for so long, Ed feels himself a part of the north country, and a part of the village scene at Selawik.

Noorvik (pop. 462)

Wilhelm and Kay Klein

I did not visit Noorvik because at that time the Kleins were not at home. I did, however, speak to them several times in their residence over at the Wycliffe head-quarters on the Chena Highway. During these conversations
I learned a great deal about them.

1.-2. Wilhelm was forty-four when I interviewed him, and his wife's age was, according to him, a state secret. They had four children, two boys and two girls.

Wilhelm was originally from what was once Northeast Germany and now is a part of Poland. He went to school under the Nazis, and he turned to the "way of Christ" during that period (1942-43) as a result of a debate he attended on the Bible between an Evangelist and a Nazi. He said the Nazi had turned him off completely because he had spoken so bitterly against the Christian way, and he became even more convinced than ever of the rightness of Jesus Christ and the Bible.

Shortly afterwards (1944), he joined the Air Force so that he would not be drafted into the infantry. He was later captured by the British and sent to England where he remained for three years as a Prisoner of War—and where he incidentally also learned English. In 1947 he was repatriated to Germany where he then worked with the Y.M.C.A. and studied Christianity some more. That is, until 1952 when he traveled to the United States to study at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago for three years. There he also met Kay and married her, and then they both returned to Germany where he worked with youth groups until 1958 when they came back to the States again to study at the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Grand Forks, North Dakota. In
1958 they came up to Alaska with the Institute and established themselves first in Kotzebue in 1959. Then they returned to the States in 1960 for a degree from an Oklahoma school in Classics; and after graduation in 1963 and a brief trip to Germany, they went back up to the Kobuk to live, this time in Ambler. There they remained for four years studying the dialect differences of the various Eskimo peoples living in that village.* Finally in 1967 they moved to Noorvik to study the similar situation that apparently exists there and to help put the finishing touches on a translation of the Bible into the Northern Alaskan Eskimo dialect. At the time of my interview with Wilhelm he was seeking American citizenship so that he might remain in the U.S. and be able to continue his work on the Kobuk for at least a few more years. Beyond that period, he declares, he has no definite plans. Their future he leaves for Christ to determine. As for his stated reason for having done all that he has, he says it is to bring the word of Christ to the Eskimo people through the medium of their own language, and also to contribute to the preservation of that language.

3. Wilhelm is a serious and devout person, serious in

* Ambler was founded in 1958 when five families of Shungnakers moved downriver to the site because of its better location with regard to the caribou migratory route. Since then, Eskimo people have moved there from the four winds—that is, from Noatak, Kiana, Noorvik, Selawik, and Shungnak and Kobuk—so that the village contains representatives of almost every dialectical variation in the area.
his work as a linguist and Bible translator, and a very devout fundamentalist Christian who believes in the fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies, perhaps even within his lifetime. It is interesting that although he is profoundly interested in and performs his work as a scientist, his main motivation is a religious one with the Bible at its foundation. The Biblical message he tries to carry to the Native people, he states, in the most basic and objective way possible. And he is proud of his part in the translation of the Bible.

He tries to keep out of town politics unless he is asked to help with a specific task, he says, such as the spending of Title II monies. He attends Parent-Teacher and School Board meetings in the village because he has children in school there, and he speaks up during those.

He works very hard at his linguistic and translation project (most recently including religious songs and old stories) and his traveling literacy Bible classes in Eskimo. He and his wife periodically entertain, and are in turn entertained by, the teachers in Noorvik.

Kay picks berries in the summer and Autumn with the other women in town and makes them into jam. She also reads and knits, in addition to her normal household responsibilities as a wife and mother of four children. And when she has time during the day she visits with the Native women in the village. Wilhelm says she likes it in Noorvik now,
although at first she had had reservations about Noorvik being a "choice" community to live in.

4.-5. Wilhelm is concerned about the sporadically excessive drinking that goes on in Native communities everywhere in Alaska—"firewater from firefighting," as he puts it—but he is even more deeply troubled by the broader problem of change in those communities. That is why he is so enthusiastic about the current trend in education towards language and culture renewal. He feels that Native peoples desperately need this in order to maintain their identity as human beings. And he feels that in his work he is contributing to this renewal, although in the end, he states, "the outcome really depends upon both the changing attitude of the Eskimo people themselves, and on the changing attitude of the educational system and the educators who are a part of it." He feels that these attitude changes are now beginning to take place quickly, however, but the issue could still go one way or the other.

6. Wilhelm very much conceives of himself as the stereotypically objective linguist scientist; and, in fact, when he describes his work he becomes so verbally detailed and technically abstruse that one tends to lose track of the conversation after awhile. He gets a little carried away at times, and the people at Wycliffe kid him about it.

7. Although Wilhelm is interested in the Eskimo people primarily as a source of intellectual stimulation and self-
satisfaction (through his language study), it is evident that he has made many friends and acquired many more admirers who constantly marvel at his ability to speak their language so well. As in any "normal" living arrangement, however, the Kleins also have their ration of unfriends in the community who would like to see them leave. "The Eskimo is not one who becomes your friend quickly," says Wilhelm.

8. Because of the reservation status of the town,* the only other Westerners in Noorvik were seven teachers with whom, as has already been pointed out, the Kleins occasionally interacted. He admitted that "it was good to talk with people of your own kind." Although, it was interesting to note Wilhelm's social reserve even with those of his own Western culture; but this can probably be explained by his Northeast German background.

Kotzebue (pop. approx. 1700)

Since there were too many Westerners in Kotzebue (about 300) for me to have interviewed all of them in the limited period that I had, I decided to settle for a cross section of only five families, plus one additional family that was about to move to Kotzebue from Fairbanks.

* Noorvik is located on a small Eskimo reservation and the people are very strict in their enforcement of the provision which disallows the presence of "foreign" entrepreneurs."
Lee and Beth Stricker

1.-2. Lee and Beth are both in their late forties, have six children, and are originally from California. Lee first came to Alaska in 1942, but he was drafted in 1944 and sent to India shortly thereafter. When the war ended he decided to return to California where he married Beth and went back to school for a B.A. in Education. Then they taught on the Hupa Indian Reservation for six years where, he stated, they "accepted Christ" while attending a Presbyterian Church there. In 1955 he went up to Bible School in Portland, Oregon for a year. Then they spent two additional years teaching on the Hupa Reservation again. Meanwhile he had determined he would become a minister, and in 1958 he entered a Baptist seminary where he remained until 1961. After that period they returned once again to the Hupa Reservation, this time as missionaries, and then in 1966, more than twenty years later, Lee found himself back in Alaska. The Southern Baptist Convention and Language Missions had needed a missionary in Kotzebue, so he and his family chose to be assigned there. And there they have remained and will continue to remain even though they recently have become disassociated with the Mission. Lee explains that "we'll stay where the Lord wants us to stay, and that's here in Kotzebue."

3. He had been pastor at the church in Kotzebue for five years, occasionally also visiting the other Baptist missions in the surrounding villages, when just last year
the Southern Baptist Convention accused him of pentecostal practices such as "speaking in tongues"—that is, speaking as though inspired by the holy spirit in English or other "foreign" tongues. For this the Convention has refused to finance them, which means that they will have to find local means of support. But Lee and his family are even moving out of the church apartment so that they will be entirely independent of the Southern Convention. He will still do missionary work and preach he declares, but he feels that if he is to make a break from the organized Church, it must be a total one. And he believes this is a necessary move for him to make if he is to be more effective in the community as a missionary. So they plan on moving into a trailer in town and on his working three or four days a week at something. In addition to being a source for their financial support, he feels that working and living in this manner will be more conducive to an increased participation in the normal life activities of the people.

Lee is a somewhat nervous individual who nevertheless keeps himself well occupied with a number of his special interests, such as his boat and his plane and his snow machine. Every opportunity he has he uses one of these conveyances to visit the missions in neighboring villages.

He has been involved in the Parent-Child Center Policy Advisory Committee, is a member of the Chamber of Commerce and the City Council's Council on Alcoholism, and
belongs to the Parent-Teacher Organization in town. Beth is also active in the P.T.O. and is on the local School Board.

4.-8. Lee is an extremely friendly person who within recent years has come to the realization that the way to bring the Eskimo people into "the way of the Lord" is not through any organized relationship with the people. Christianity is compatible with the Eskimo way of life, he claims, but not the Western cultural trappings that go along with it—as represented in this case by the organized Church. "We don't want to make the Eskimo people carbon copies of those in the Lower 48," he says, "but most people do need this power of the Lord, this inspiration from the Holy Spirit, and it is my task to help them find it." And he feels he has had some success in this regard, more or less completely with two families, and only partially with two others, having convinced the latter that, at the very least, the way of the bottle is not a good one. He admits that the other Baptist missions in the area including Wini Bevan's in Kiana, have not had this kind of success.

Unlike many fundamentalist missionaries, Lee is interested in the preservation of certain of the unique and traditional ways of the Eskimo culture. He is concerned especially about the language, and in the past has held Eskimo language workshops with Wilhelm Klein.
Although most of Lee's interaction in the past has been in terms of his role as a missionary, his very "un-missionary" attitude towards the Kotzebue people seems to have gained for him both the respect and the friendship of a great number of them.

This observation also applies to the Caucasian population of Kotzebue. Lee's open and friendly manner has attracted to his family a large share of their support too, especially now in their moment of need.

Randy and Judy Trent

1.-2. Randy and Judy are in their early thirties and have two children. Randy is originally from a rural town in South Dakota, but he went to highschool in Sioux City where he first met Judy. Randy then attended the University of South Dakota, and Judy went over to Colorado to school, but they met again when they both decided to go to Augustana College in Sioux City to finish up. Randy graduated with a degree in Political Science, and Judy was short. only two credits (of Physical Education) for a degree in Education. After Randy's graduation they decided they wanted to do something different, so they applied for teaching positions in Alaska and were assigned by the State in 1960 to the grade school in Fort Yukon. During their three years there they had become associated with the Episcopal Church and its activities through the persons of Richard and Gail
Walters and Randy determined he would enter the ministry. So they went south to an Episcopal Seminary in Berkeley, California for three years (with a summer in Tanana in between). While Randy studied, Judy taught school in the city. In 1966 they finally returned to Alaska, and in January 1967 they came up to the mission in Kotzebue.

In August (1971) they left for Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where Randy is presently studying at the University of Wisconsin for a M.S.W. degree. After one and a half years there they plan to return to Kotzebue. When I was speaking to them in July they were really looking forward to this experience as a chance to renew themselves and gain a new perspective on things. Meanwhile, their old friends, Richard and Gail Walters, are going to fill in for them. It is interesting to note, however, that Randy still does not call Alaska home, partly, he says, because he has no family here.

3. Randy and Judy live a very comfortable life in the Episcopal "mansion" (as it is referred to) here, that is, except for their lack of privacy because of their "open house" policy.

For the past eight months Judy has been working for the Municipal Utilities System (and says she really enjoys it) while Randy performs the various tasks associated with the church. A Native babysitter takes care of the kids, but Randy also helps in this respect.
The mission owns a new Scout which Randy uses daily on his mission errands.

While they have been in Kotzebue Randy has participated in the Council on Alcoholism, has been a member of the Parent-Child Center's Parent Advisory Committee, and also has been part of the Advisory Committee of the Senior Citizens Center. Both of them have also been very involved in Eskimo dancing as well as in the promotion of other cultural traditions. During their last months in Kotzebue, however, they chose to present a much lower profile than in the past regarding their community activities because they knew they were going to be absent for awhile and wished to provide a transitional conditioning period for their parishioners and others so that there would not be such a large void left in the wake of their leaving.

They are both easy going people, very open and very friendly with everyone both Eskimo and Westerner alike, and therefore, it seems, have been the right types for working in the very difficult Native-White situation that exists in Kotzebue.

4.-6. Randy enumerates the various problems he feels Kotzebue is confronted with: (1) The problem of cultural identity among the Eskimo people, especially among the young. In an attempt to help out, he says, he has worked hard in support of the Senior Citizens Center as a vehicle not only for the promotion of traditional activities among the old-
er people, but also among the young people in town. He is happy to see that the B.I.A. School now teaches both Eskimo dancing and ivory carving. (2) The problem of disunity. Factionalism along the lines of village derivation is an endemic problem in Kotzebue, he says. (3) Alcoholism. A serious problem, he believes; and he has been an active member of the Council on Alcoholism and equally active in this regard in the Episcopal Church. He feels that with alcoholism, "there are never answers on a general level, only on an individual one."

Randy's "low profile" stance is also something that the Church is encouraging all over Alaska, especially among its White priests in the villages. The idea is to have the Native peoples absorb as many of the Church responsibilities as possible, and includes sending them to seminary school for the priesthood, and also the construction of new village church buildings only if the people are willing to do it themselves. The mission in Kotzebue under this novel approach would then be used as a training center. And so Randy is doing his earnest best to conform to the new guidelines.

7. Randy and Judy's interaction with the Native people has in the past been both intense and of high quality, even though most of it has taken place in their own house and in the church buildings. Lately it has been less intense because of their busy preparations to leave.
8. The Trents have a good relationship with most other Westerners in town too. This is in part because of Randy's position as a priest and also because of their friendly dispositions. In fact, it seems that the congregation of the Episcopal Church, although mixed, does more together than any of the others in town.

Pat and Nina Ernst

1.-2. Pat and Nina are both in their late twenties and have two small children. Pat grew up in Chicago but during highschool moved to a small town outside of Chicago where he finished highschool and attended college. While in university he also met Nina and married her. Since Nina graduated first, she worked for a year as a teacher until Pat received his degree in History. Then they both taught in Elgin, Illinois, for the next three years, until a summer trip to Alaska in 1967 convinced them that they would like to teach in Alaska somewhere. They were really impressed, they said, with the friendliness of the people in the State. So they applied for teaching positions with the B.I.A. in Kotzebue because they had heard it was pretty over there. They were accepted, and by last summer (1971) had been teaching in that town for three years.

Presently Pat is teaching again in Elgin, Illinois. Their stated reason for leaving Kotzebue is that the B.I.A. School there "has no vitality, is dead, and nothing pro-
gressive in education is happening." In Elgin, they claimed, things were different. "There were people around who were really interested in progressive education, and if you wanted to try something innovative they would let you do your own thing." It was not so in Kotzebue, they said, where progressive ideas were stifled. He did admit, however, that there were a few more progressively-minded teachers at that school than there were when they first came.

They are planning on coming back to Alaska in a year or so, but this time as a part of the State school system. They might teach in a small village, but they would prefer to be around the Anchorage area. They really felt that they had been in Kotzebue long enough, and admitted that they were not long-term bush teachers. A year outside would do them a lot of good, they said,--give them a new outlook, restore their perspective, and provide them with some intellectual stimulation which they needed and didn't get in Kotzebue.

3.-8. Pat and Nina live a relatively luxurious life from the point of view of the quarters they occupy. The B.I.A. provides apartment housing for all of its teachers, and although it is rather close living and completely isolated from the rest of town, it is cheap and comfortable (only $100.00 per month for a two level, two bedroom apartment). They also bring home a healthy salary, both earning more than $22,000 a year.
During their three years in Kotzebue they have been involved in learning Eskimo dancing and have taken an interest in learning the Eskimo language, and generally have been very much into the Eskimo culture. They read a great deal about it, and they also visit around among the people a lot. As teachers they are especially concerned about their pupils, and visiting their homes helps them get to know the students much better.

Beyond their very busy lives as schoolteachers they do not involve themselves in any other organizational activities in town, although during the summer Pat was acting chief administrator for the school while the others were absent.

For pleasure the Ernsts occasionally party with the other teachers and with the Public Health Service people and friends from the military base (where they go periodically to drink). They own a snow machine which gives them a lot of enjoyment, as do their airplane and motorboat which they use often for both pleasure and hunting and fishing trips. They also now have their car which they had brought in the previous year.

Pat is a much more easy going person than Nina who seems to have calmed down substantially though since their first baby was born. His conscientiousness as a teacher, however, has gotten him into a number of anxiety-provoking situations which, he admits, have left him somewhat bitter.
The hassles they have had with the B.I.A. administration over the past three years are mostly the cause of this, he says, although the insular environment of their apartment living plus the isolation of Kotzebue itself have been contributing factors. But they are both fully aware of what has happened to them and for that reason are leaving Kotzebue for a change of scene which they know will do them a world of good.

As has already been mentioned, Pat and Nina are immensely concerned for the self-development of their pupils, and it is because of this they believe in a condition of more total involvement by teachers in the lives of their students. To them this means visiting homes and speaking with and getting to know students and parents there. Additionally, for there to be an optimum learning situation at the Kotzebue school the teaching materials used there must be culturally relevant. A start has been made in this direction, they admit, but much remains to be done.

Dennis and Louise Hansom

1.-2. In their late twenties, Dennis and Louise have one child, and are very recent arrivals to Kotzebue. He is the new State Trooper there.

Dennis is originally from Minnesota but lived in Brewster, Washington, during his highschool years. From there he joined the Army and spent three years in Germany,
came back and was with the Forest Service in Washington for awhile, and then in 1964 went up to Alaska for the first time to fight fires with the B.L.M. After oscillating back and forth between Alaska and other parts farther afield (such as Mexico City where he received his B.A. degree in Spanish), he finally came back up to Alaska again in 1969 to work for the B.L.M. However, after he married Louise the same year he felt the B.L.M. did not offer them enough security for the future (or possibility for advancement) and he determined in 1970 to go to Trooper School and become a State Trooper. His request for assignment to Kotzebue was granted after he graduated in the Spring of 1971. He had asked for Kotzebue because it was "something different, out-of-the ordinary."

His wife is from a military family, was born in Hawaii, spent some time when she was young in the Philippines, went East to Massachusetts for highschool, then entered nurse's training in Washington where she met Dennis. After graduating in 1964 she went North to Alaska, and for the past seven years has been working as a private nurse in Anchorage. As she says it, "I finally caught up to Dennis in 1969."

Dennis feels that he will enjoy his two years here both because of his travel into the villages and because the crime problem is nothing like it is in the cities. He says he will probably even extend for a third year. His wife, however, seems doubtful about this and feels that two years
will probably be enough for her, especially since she had
grown rather fond of Anchorage during her seven years there
and would like to go back.

3. They live in a comfortable and capacious two-story
house in the middle of Kotzebue which is provided for them
by the State.

Dennis is a very friendly and easy going person, and
although he is sensitive and understanding in his dealings
with people, he is also decisive and firm. He says he hopes
he does not have to deal as much with Kotzebue problems,
but rather to be able to spend most of his time in the
villages—as he did during his first three weeks in Kotzebue.
He really looks forward to that part of his job, he says.

His wife, however, seems a much more nervous person
and perhaps even somewhat fastidious. She says that she
likes it in Kotzebue so far though, and she was quite pleas-
antly surprised at how nice their quarters were. She thinks
the baby will keep her sufficiently busy while she is here.

4.-8. The Eskimo people remind Louise of the people in
Hawaii, especially with respect to their concept of time.
She cannot, however, understand their concept of privacy
as it relates to visiting—and she cited a number of visits
by little girls who apparently just wanted to see the baby.
While I was interviewing them I also watched her rather
baffled reactions to an after dinner visit by one of the
local women who had quite obviously been doing some drink-
ing before she came. There is still a lot of time for her to adapt to the new ambience, but the lure of the big city is strong in her and it will undoubtedly be a source of conflict in the family.

Dennis, on the other hand, is making a real attempt to get to know the Eskimo people, especially those in the villages, by visiting with them as often as possible. Only in this way, he believes, will he ever really be able to work with them. In fact, when he visited Ambler in June (1971) I noticed that the first thing he did was shed his uniform and change into civilian clothes.

Dennis' casual and friendly approach to life will probably also lend itself well to an agreeable situation with the Westerners in town.

Richard and Betty Jacobs

1.-2. Dick and Betty are in their middle thirties and have two children. He was born and raised in Kentucky and attended university in Kentucky, graduating in 1959 with a degree in History and Social Studies. In 1960 he came up to Fairbanks for some Master's work at the University of Alaska where he met and married his wife, Betty, who is from an old Fairbanks family and who before she met Dick had lived in the village of Unalakleet for two years. In 1962 they both went over to Kotzebue to teach at the B.I.A. school there for a couple of years. Then in 1964 they trans-
ferred to Elim and taught there for three years, after which they returned to the school in Kotzebue. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1968 he finished up his Master's in Education Administration at the University of Alaska. Presently he is the Supervisor for the Kotzebue Highschool, and his wife continues to teach elementary school there. They plan to remain in Kotzebue, they say, because "it is home for us."

3.-6. As with the Ernsts, Dick and Betty also live in a B.I.A. teacher condominium. In addition to luxurious living, they have their own pick-up truck, a motorboat, and a snow machine, and, since Dick is a radio ham, a radio set (which he says he lets the Ham Club at school use periodically).

Besides keeping very busy as Supervisor of the high-school, he also works with the School Board which he declares he has a lot of hope for in regard to its gaining autonomous status in decisions relating to personnel and curriculum, etc.*

Dick is the President of the local Chamber of Commerce (last year he was the Secretary of the same organization), and, in addition, sits in on the meetings of the Council

* He pointed out, however, that this status would still only empower the Board to "recommend" actions to the B.I.A. administration of the highschool, that is, unless it opted for a situation in which the City of Kotzebue itself would be obligated to the financial support of the school.
on Alcoholism and other similar organizations. His wife keeps herself busy with her teaching and her responsibilities as a wife and mother.

The Jacobs also participate in weekly social evenings for the teachers where everyone visits everyone else by taking a different course meal in each of their apartments. In this way, he says, the 40 teachers at the school have a better opportunity to get to know each other.

Dick is a rather low key, easy going man who identifies very closely with his school and his office. He is a man who finds a certain challenge in his work at the school and has largely for that reason (plus the money and housing arrangement) chosen to make Kotzebue home. He seems enthusiastic about the new directions the B.I.A. is taking,* and is confident that even more change might be brought about from the local level. He now feels these innovations are necessary (he did not feel this way two years ago when I was speaking with him), and although there have been a few setbacks, he is still working confidently for their future realization.

Dick perceives Kotzebue's biggest problem to be the drinking, especially among the younger people of highschool age. His response to this has been an attempt to reach

* These are the culturally oriented courses that are now being funded by the B.I.A. and taught at the school by local people, such as Eskimo dancing and ivory carving.
the kids at the school level by presenting them with as complete a picture as possible of what drinking and alcoholism are all about and by hopefully providing them with some realistic alternatives. At the same time, it is emphasized that in the end the responsibility does not lie with the school to make the students' personal decisions for them or even to discipline them concerning something that took place at home. This responsibility, he says, belongs to the student and his parents; and it is a principle that he extends to every phase of student-school relations.

He states that there is still no drug problem in Kotzebue, and therefore he has not inaugurated a drug education program similar to the one he has for alcoholism. He would probably not approach it in this way anyway, he says, because it might only fan the flames. Instead, he would prefer an individual counseling approach. His personal feelings about drugs are liberal, concerned mostly with moderation.

He has recognized the need for the new teen center in town which presently is being organized by the Parent-Child Center program, and he has pledged the B.I.A.'s support in the form of foundation materials for that project.

In regard to the pipeline, he does not believe it will have too much of an effect on Kotzebue, that is, unless there are any offshore oil rigs placed near the town. If this happened, the school would have to be expanded even
more rapidly than it has over the past few years (75 students per year).

7.-8. It is evident that Dick identifies closely with the White power structure in Kotzebue, a situation which is perhaps normal for him, given the amount of public relations that is necessary in circumstances such as his with those who have money and influence in town.

However, according to informants, his personal contact with the Eskimo people in their homes is absolutely minimal,—this, although he verbalizes the need for more total participation on the part of his teachers in the lives of their students, including extra-school involvement.

Richard and Gail Walters

1.-2. Richard and Gail are in their late forties and have no children. Richard is originally from a Dutch Reform family in Southeastern Pennsylvania, and his early life was permeated with the religious, including an experience in the third grade when "God" spoke to him and told him not to worry about his inability to spell, that there were more important things in life.

When he was a youth working in a factory he had determined that manual labor of that kind was not for him. So after two and a half years in the Navy during the Second War, he went to Teacher's College for four years in Phila-
delphia, then to Philadelphia Divinity School for three more, then to Alaska for his first year of deaconship as an intern in Tanana. After that, he was assigned to Fort Yukon—nine years as the Episcopal missionary and became very involved there in a great many diverse projects both religious and political. Meanwhile, he met and married Gail while she was teaching kindergarten in Fort Yukon, and then a few years later they transferred over to Point Hope where they worked for three years. Then they were back in Fairbanks for two years, and recently they have been filling in for the Trents during their absence from the Episcopal Mission in Kotzebue. Richard and Gail have made a firm commitment to Alaska and plan to be around the State for many years to come.

3.-6. While he was in Fort Yukon, Richard kept himself well occupied in a number of ways. He was the President of the first City Council there and became embroiled in several issues, including one with the military over its soldiers drinking and carousing in the town, and another over taxation for city revenue. And as the representative of the Church in Fort Yukon, he closed down the church hospital there because he felt it was not needed, and he also trained four men to take over the Episcopal ministry in that town—something he says he had to fight the Church to do. He declares that although he made some enemies in Fort Yukon, he is still liked by many there and has fond mem-
ories of it.

Richard says his primary purpose in the bush has been, and is, to train interested village men for both the ministry and the governance of their local Episcopal churches. He believes that the strongest Native communities in Alaska are those who had early contact with Whites who were deeply interested in the social, economic and spiritual welfare of the people and who accordingly taught them of the ways of the White world and how to cope with them in a beneficial manner. This especially included the training of local governments by these Whites. He therefore very early set for himself the task of training Natives to take over their own affairs both inside and outside the Church. He has done this in Fort Yukon and Point Hope, he says, and he will use the same approach in Kotzebue. In Point Hope, however, he did not participate in local politics because his activities with the Church took so much of his time, especially his preparation of two Eskimo men from the area to assume full control of Church responsibilities in their respective villages, and also the training of the local Church Council to similarly take control of their part in Church government.

In Kotzebue he especially hopes to influence at least a few people to become aware of, and involved in, the pleasant aspects of life—so that they may experience the "heaven on earth" that Richard believes is achievable dur-
ing life. Man should not strive for "escape" to heaven but rather for the realization of a better life here on earth. This is all a part of man's religious experience, he argues. And as a priest, Richard feels it is his task to help people reach this religious goal.

He is somewhat anxious about life in Kotzebue, however, and interested in suggestions as to how to go about his ministry there. Although he is very knowledgeable of the ways of northern Alaskan peoples, he admits he does not have all of the answers. He is also a warm man, and one who is deeply concerned about not only the spiritual but also the social and economic welfare of the Alaskan Native peoples. He feels especially that our own very unstable Western society does not help in the acculturation of the Alaska Native. In fact, he declares, it makes his search for self-identity even more difficult because of the diversity of identities to choose from in the White man's world. Even when the Indian or Eskimo returns to his village he has trouble because his own society has changed so much on him in the meantime. So, in effect, he is in a kind of double bind that is very hard for him to escape.

7. Richard stated that although he was not an outdoors hunter-fisher type, still he enjoyed visiting people on their trap lines or at their fish nets and participating as much as he could in the daily activities of the people. He said that out in the woods hunting or fishing the people
are entirely different—"much more sure of themselves than in town, and talk a lot more about things that are important to them." He visited often in their homes also, including many long nights just sitting and waiting for the death or recovery of a sick person—something which establishes a silent and ineffable bond between people of whatever race or skin color.
Part IV: Conclusions

As I mentioned in my Introduction, I feel unable to say a great deal about some of the theoretical possibilities touched upon there because of the lack of enough supportive data. Perhaps at a later date with more time, additional funds, and more expertise, I might achieve this purpose, but presently I am afraid I must confine myself to only one of the areas mentioned, that is, the adaptation of the resident non-Natives to their isolated living circumstances in the Kobuk and Koyukuk River regions of Northwest Alaska. And even in this more limited treatment my findings are admittedly tentative and subject to further retesting both specifically on a regional basis and generally as they relate to the development of an overall theory of adaptation in isolated Alaskan village settings—and in "isolated" environments anywhere, for that matter. This especially applies in regard to my treatment of any hypothetical adaptive "process" which the Kobuk and Koyukuk non-Natives might experience up there. Not only was it impossible for me at the time to do a longitudinal study of the non-Natives adapting in their respective niches, but also a research design with an examination of this
adaptive "process" as its explicit purpose was not utilized, at least not in the same manner as it was employed in Spain by Dennison Nash (1967). In consequence, I cannot comment as convincingly as he on this phenomenon and must limit myself to generalizations based upon the research scheme I used and upon other supplementary data.

I will therefore present my concluding statements in the same order as the subjects they deal with were organized in the Introduction. In order to facilitate this I have also included a number of tables wherein I have enumerated the more objectively describeable portions of my research data. These I provide in the next few pages, then I follow with a summary of the tables and some comments on them, and finally I proceed with a consideration of the responses to the other questions which were a part of the design format.
TABLES

Adult Non-Natives Interviewed*

1. SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-Native males outnumber females here, so that the traditional idea of the north being a man's country still holds true to some extent. However, there is a significant number of women living in the area and most of these, it seemed, were quite happy. In fact, there are two women who have married Native fellows and who

* Only indicates how many in each community I interviewed, not the actual number of non-Natives in the communities.
continue to live in the north because they like it. Additionally, there is a single missionary woman who has lived in one of the communities since she originally came there in 1955. So, it could be said that the accepted notion that the North country is an exclusive reserve for men is only partly true.

2. **AGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Under 20 (# children)</th>
<th>20-40</th>
<th>Above 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are not a lot of small non-Native children in the area. Even if I add the fourteen other part Native children, who are the product of the mixed marriages, this does not amount to an extremely signifi-
cant number. In fact, some of the couples do not have any children.

Most of the adults, as is indicated, fall in the 20-40 year old range. This would seem natural since during these years a person is in his prime and would best be able to take the rigors of such a harsh climate as is found in that region of Alaska.

3. MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of non-Natives are married. Four of the five single people are men. One of these men has been divorced. Eight of the married men have Native
wives, and two of the women are married to Native men so that it seems there is more of a value placed on the non-Native male/Native female marriage than the converse. It is interesting also that three of the five trader/entrepreneurs have Native wives.

4. EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Below High-school</th>
<th>Some High-school</th>
<th>Some College</th>
<th>College Graduate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the people I interviewed were exceptionally well-educated, with some individuals even having advanced degrees. Of course, this would be expected of teachers and administrators, but I found it also to be
true of the majority of the other non-Natives living in the community of Ambler. Younger individuals generally had more education than older people as might also be expected.

5. PRESENT OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Teacher/Administrator</th>
<th>Trader/Entrepreneur</th>
<th>Missionary</th>
<th>Housewife</th>
<th>Seasonal &amp; Other Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most non-Natives interviewed were in either a teaching or administrative capacity, but there was also a large grouping of individuals who had no definite work role—the majority of these lived in the Ambler area. There was an unusually high number of missionaries for
a region so limited in population. The trader/entrepreneur category was the least numerous because, at least in the villages, many of these roles are being filled by Natives. And finally, there was a substantial number of women who were primarily housewives.*

6. ORIGINS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Rural**</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This was actually the most numerous group, and although the Women's Liberation Movement may be angry with the final rank I have given housewives, nevertheless, because they do not fill a formal "work" niche, I have considered them thus. This, of course, does not imply that their work is any less important than that of the so called, formal occupational categories.

** The chief criterion used here was whether they said they were from a "rural" or "small" or "farm" town or "rural" or "farm" background generally.
This category is a rather difficult one because, especially in the case of those with "rural" backgrounds, there is no doubt that they have also been exposed through the mass media and other means to many urban influences. Thus, the "rural" person today is different from his counterpart in years past. The category "rural" should therefore be viewed with this in mind. Additionally, there is the problem of some individuals being a product of both ways of life. A number have moved from the country to the city during the course of their early lives, as certainly some have moved in the opposite direction from the city to the country. In categorizing these people I have simply had to use my best judgement, according to what I know about them, as to whether they are "more" rural or "more" urban in their backgrounds.

As would be expected, almost twice as many of those interviewed fall into the urban niche. However, this proportion does not compare with the situation nationally where urbanites outnumber those from rural areas almost nine to one. This may indeed indicate, along with other criteria, that rurally oriented individuals adapt somewhat better to village life in northwestern Alaska than do their city cousins.

Additionally, all adult non-Natives in the area were born outside of Alaska in the Lower 48, a fact which serves as a good index of the relatively recent settle-
ment of this part of Alaska by "outsiders."

### 7. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN VILLAGES AND SURROUNDING AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>0-2 yrs.</th>
<th>2-4 yrs.</th>
<th>4-8 yrs.</th>
<th>8-12 yrs.</th>
<th>12+ yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the people I interviewed have been in their respective areas between four and twelve years, a circumstance which may suggest that the first four years are crucial ones in the adaptation process. Those who do not adjust sufficiently to their new environment within this time period are simply selected out. The fact that there are only seven people who have been in the area for more than twelve years might in part be due to another psychological "attrition point" at that stage in one's bush life. It could also be due to other reasons such as the number of
original settlers, the ability of the area to support them, and their mortality rate.

8. FUTURE PLANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>To Stay</th>
<th>To Leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allakaket</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobuk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shungnak</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambler</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noorvik-Selawik</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probably it need not be mentioned that most of those who said they were leaving were happy to be on their way, and almost everyone who told me they were planning to stay indefinitely were likewise happy. It seems that there is no middle ground when it comes to liking or disliking the north country. Either you despise it and get out, or you love it and remain.
This is another one of those "marginal" categories because the definitions for "liberalism" and "conservatism" are so elusive; they vary for every individual. What I confess to have done, then, is formulate my own definition of these symbols, put them on a continuum, and then arbitrarily place each of my informants on either side of the middle of that continuum where they are either ideologically "more" liberal than conservative or "more" conservative than liberal. I did not feel any of the non-Natives I interviewed were radically liberal or con-
servative.

The criteria listed in my research design were, of course, some of those used in determining the liberalness or conservativeness of my informants, but I must emphasize that it was much more than this; indeed, in large part it was an intuitive situation where one came to know an individual well enough to be able to "feel" that he or she was either "more liberal" or "more conservative." It helped to have known many of these people before in other circumstances.

Nonetheless, with the above in mind I have classed the majority of the people in this study as being more liberal than conservative. However, there was also a large number of more conservative types who were both generally older than the liberal grouping and derived mostly from the trader-missionary occupational categories. It is interesting that almost all of those who remain of the Ambler non-Native community are of the liberal category.

Before going any further it should be said that the people I have interviewed fall generally into three categories: those few who have lived in the areas under discussion for a very long period of time and might be regarded as "sourdoughs;" a large group of "new pioneers" who have been there for shorter periods, are younger, and are highly mobile in the sense that they travel in and out (to larger cities in Alaska and the lower states) of
the north country rather often; and finally, those who come to the Kobuk-Koyukuk-Kotzebue area and leave very soon thereafter. Where the first two groups have made a living commitment to these areas, the third group never does make this commitment and must in that light be considered as typically "transient."

There are a number of other things which might also be mentioned about these three groupings in terms of correlations with the tables just presented. Besides the age differential that divides the first two groups--age did not seem to correlate significantly with the transient group--the second and third groups had more formal education than the sourdoughs; and those of the new pioneer group are more widely traveled (especially in terms of foreign travel) than either the transients or sourdoughs. Almost all of the old timers have a rural background, something which is to be expected; the transients

* In actuality, these three groupings are only conceptual categorizations and have no reality. The majority of the individuals in this study fall into one of the three groups because they match most of the respective criteria that were used to devise them. But it must be remembered that none fit any of the categories as neatly as might be indicated. At most, they very closely resembled the conceptual model for the grouping; at the least, they only approximated it and were included in a particular category because they matched one set of criteria better than another. Finally, the three categories have been devised for purposes of more efficient communication, and hopefully for better resynthesis with additional findings by other students later on.
generally had an urban orientation; but among the new pioneers there is a diversity of background, that is, both rural and urban, so that no correlation can be made on this score. Occupationally, the sourdoughs mostly fall in either the trader or missionary categories; the new pioneers generally depend upon seasonal work, although some are also teachers; and the transients were mostly teachers and missionaries. In the case of teachers, it must be added that the restriction on the amount of time they may teach in any one village prejudices their chances of remaining for a long period in that village. Lastly, with only a few exceptions, those of the new pioneer grouping are liberal in their world view; all of the sourdoughs, as expected, are conservative in their inclinations; and although most of the transients were liberals, there were also a number of conservatives in their ranks.

The remainder of my comments will cover the other points included in my research scheme and will also be oriented mostly around the three categories mentioned above of sourdoughs, new pioneers, and transients.

Migration North:

In regard to why these persons migrated to Alaska—and all of them did—and to the bush communities of the northwest, it appears that most of them came up to escape from the pressures of the "rat-race" outside. Alvin
Toffler (1970: 39) seems to sum up their desire to escape when he says:

...if some people thrive on the new, rapid pace, others are fiercely repelled by it and go to extreme lengths to "get off the merry-go-round," as they put it. To engage at all with the emergent super-industrial society means to engage with a faster moving world than ever before. They prefer to disengage, to idle at their own speed. It is not by chance that a musical entitled "Stop the World--I Want to Get Off" was a smash hit in London and New York a few seasons ago.

The quietism and search for new ways to "opt out" or "cop out" that characterizes certain (though not all) hippies may be less motivated by their loudly expressed aversion for the values of a technological civilization than by an unconscious effort to escape from a pace of life that many find intolerable. It is no coincidence that they describe society as a "rat-race"--a term that refers quite specifically to pacing.

Many of them also chose to come up here to do something different, as a change of routine from their ordinary, everyday, hum-drum activities in the lower urban states--in short, for adventure.

A few either stated or implied that money was a consideration, because salaries are indeed higher, and there is more of an opportunity to save the money earned because of their isolated living circumstances.

For the older sourdough group, however, the reasons were different. They migrated to these parts and remained because it seemed at the time to be the best employment alternative for them, better, in any case, than the usual alternatives offered by an economic depression.

As for why most of them continue to stay here, it
seems that they have genuinely come to like it because of the challenge it represents to them.

Contemporary Life Styles:

Most of the people whom I interviewed had a much simpler life style than one generally finds on the outside. This was more the case among the new pioneers and some of the sourdoughs than it was for the transients—although, all of the teachers and government personnel and many of the missionaries and traders lived very comfortably, even luxuriously, in their new settings. It should be added, however, that the majority of these individuals had little control over their housing situation and could only accept what they were provided with.

In any case, even if some did live more affluent than others, still everyone had to shift his life style at least somewhat under the new conditions. For those living in institutional housing there was less of a need for this, but even these individuals found they had to change many of the more superficial aspects of their old lives. Some of the new orientations in their lives were, increased reading of books and magazines, more fishing and hunting, and especially for those who could afford it such as teachers and other government personnel, an increment in the purchase and use of luxury items like airplanes, snow machines, and boats. For others less affluent,
there were dogs and dog teams, cross-country skiing, creative writing, and arts and crafts. These last items were particularly important to the Ambler community of non-Natives.

For most, there was relatively little involvement in local political affairs, although there was more of this on the part of the sourdoughs and by some of the people who had been around for a few years and were more or less established in their respective communities. If there was involvement at all for the others, it was of a non-political nature and more on a person-to-person basis. And much of this was the result of a lively interest these individuals had developed in the culture and language of the Native people of the region. Most of the persons of this category, however, had a more liberal outlook, including one of the concomitants of this outlook, a higher level of formal education. The interest in Native culture was so keen on the part of many of these people that they eventually incorporated some of the local forms into their own life styles.

In respect to work orientations, it can be said that there was generally a more casual approach taken towards work of all descriptions than one finds on the outside. The pace was much slower and more friendly.
Problem Perception:

Most people regarded drinking and drunkenness as the most pressing problem in the villages. Missionaries were most emphatic about the problem status of this phenomenon; and while many of the old timers were also critical of the Native people for their drinking, they were at the same time less condemning than most of the missionaries. Time had apparently made the sourdoughs more acceptant.

"Acculturation" in a general sense was felt to be a problem by most of the more highly educated of the non-Native residents of the region. Indeed, many of these same individuals were so concerned about the disappearance of the Native language and culture that they had involved themselves in different ways in projects which they felt might lead to cultural and linguistic renewal.

The new pioneer group unanimously expressed a deep concern for the exploitive activities of certain large corporate interests in the area. They felt that in a number of ways these companies represented a threat to the freshness of Alaska's northern wilderness. The sourdoughs, on the other hand, held a different view, one more in line with their conservative thinking. Among the transients both views were found according to their philosophical outlook.

Most of the old timers, and some others of a more conservative bent, complained of the way the welfare pro-
gram was handled and especially of the open-handedness with which funds were distributed to Natives.

Another problem of lesser magnitude was felt to be the land issue which a few of the more conservative types considered as being overly favorable to the Natives.

The presence of certain Whites in Native communities was regarded by a number of the liberal new pioneer group as being a problem because of the negative influence they often exerted in those settings. Examples of these "undesirables" were some of the missionaries and entrepreneurs.

Many of the transients expressed the isolation of the region and the lack of intellectual stimulation to be important problems.

And finally, Native prejudice was felt to represent somewhat of a problem by a few people of all categories. The form of the prejudice and its duration, however, varied with each individual.

Attitudes:

In regard to the land claims issue, most everyone for different reasons felt that the Native people deserved the land they were going to receive, although some could not understand the rationale behind it. One person thought the government must be trying to make farmers out of Alaska's Natives.
The majority of those interviewed were against the pipeline, even some of the more conservative of their number. Generally, those who favored the project were older and a part of the sourdough category, while those among the new pioneers and transients, because they were mostly of a younger generation, and perhaps also somewhat better informed of the ecological consequences, held the opposite view about the pipeline. The chief argument for the project was that the State needed the money, and the argument against it was that the line was unnecessary and an environmental hazard. Many of these same eco-oriented individuals were also extremely uneasy about the presence of the Kennicott copper mining operation in Bornite.

Concerning religion, only missionaries were verbally religious, although it must be admitted that some of the missionaries were worse than others on this score. Most of the others quietly believed in their own diverse ways and very rarely mentioned the subject.

The majority of my non-Native informants were at least somewhat interested in the culture and language of the people surrounding them. Many of them, especially the new pioneers, had even become involved in some attempts at cultural renewal. The sourdoughs, it seemed, were only interested in the more superficial aspects of their new cultural medium. Somehow, these individuals were too practical for anything more. Among the transients, if
they manifested interest at all, it was usually of a fleeting nature and rather less than profound. It should be mentioned that, although the new pioneers were hopeful of cultural renewal, they were still realistic enough to admit of the possibility of eventual extinction for the Native languages and cultures in the State.

Finally, while there were comparatively few conscious, and verbal, manifestations of racial prejudice among the non-Natives interviewed, there was much more of what might be called a "residual," or unconscious, racial bias which was a part of the relationship that a great many of the individuals from all categories had with the Native people. Only certain of those among the new pioneers could be regarded as having a truly egalitarian relationship with the Native people in their communities. In fact, the Native people contributed their own fair share of racial prejudice.

Status-Role Perception:

Most of non-Natives in the study occupied already pre-defined statuses, that is, statuses which were formally recognized by the larger Western society on the outside because they were remunerated by that society. As was indicated in Table Five, most individuals identified themselves as teachers or administrators, entrepreneurs of some sort, missionaries, or housewives. Since
these are "formal" statuses, then it could be expected that the accompanying roles would be at least similar to those played by people with the same statuses on the outside. This was so, in fact, except that in most cases the roles were adapted to fit their new physical and human context. Indeed, it can be said that the more these individuals had adapted their roles to fit the new environment, the more successful and happier they seemed to be. And by no means was this an easy task. For the most part those who managed it did so without benefit of models to make the process easier. They had to draw upon their own personal resources, namely their past experience. Where this experience was highly varied there was generally less difficulty making the necessary adjustments; where it was constricted there was a great deal more pain encountered in making even superficial changes.

There was a small group of people, however, almost all of them living in or near Ambler, who did not have formal statuses and therefore played none of the traditionally Western roles in their community. At least this was so for most of the year until they received seasonal employment which then gave them limited status and role definition. But because of the nature of their work these individuals never did gain a formal status and for a long time remained in a state of status limbo. For want of anything better, they were at first assigned by Natives
and other non-Natives to the category of "beatnicks," and more recently to that of "hippies." In terms of acceptance by the Native people, it was more difficult for the first individuals of this new breed, but gradually their opprobrious names of "beatnicks" and "hippies" were dropped and they gained the sympathy and respect of the Natives in the area, and presently they live rather well accepted lives there. For those joining this non-Native community somewhat later the way was, of course, much easier because of the earlier efforts made by their pioneering companions. By their actions and interactions, they had achieved a new status for themselves, especially in the minds of the Native people, so that they were now better understood and could therefore be related to more easily by the Native community. Traditional statuses from the outside world had been with the Native people for some time and they knew about those, but these new amorphous ones took some getting used to—although undoubtedly the same difficult situation was encountered in the early days by Westerners who entered Native villages bearing even their formal statuses.

It was mentioned at the end of my Introduction that roles (and implicitly, statuses, since these go hand-in-hand) are important factors to be considered in the acculturation process. Adams (1963:10) states that inter-cultural relationships may be viewed in terms of "role
networks that not only establish the framework of contact but also provide the channels through which the content of one cultural system must be communicated and transmitted to another." Since roles are so important as cultural models then, an interesting question is the possible implications of these new personalities with such unorthodox statuses and roles for the Native people in Ambler? Will the Native community begin to model their life styles after these newcomers, as they did after the more traditional ones of the past, the missionaries, traders, and teachers? Or will they ignore them in this respect? It is my feeling that the chances are actually fairly good the Native people will indeed begin to internalize and reproduce the life styles of the members of this group of non-Natives. The reason I believe this to be true is that these individuals, all whom I would include in the category of "new pioneers," were among the most sensitive of the non-Natives I encountered to the needs and hopes of the Native people in the area. Not only did they have an understanding of the acculturation trauma of the Native community, but they also held a deep respect for the people of Ambler as human beings equal to themselves in every way. Because of this respectful attitude, they have been able to make friends very quickly with the Native people. And because they have been so well accepted by the community in which they are living, it seems that if
modeling has not already taken place, especially by the young people, then it will only be a matter of time until it does. There are other things that are happening meanwhile that will probably tend to reinforce this process. For one, the Native people have been becoming increasingly disenchanted with the old formal roles of non-Natives, and it seems they are searching for new ones to identify with and model after. And this more humanistically sensitive one may well be the new identity they are looking for. Additionally, many young Natives are modeling themselves after the alienated youth on the outside. A lot of these youth place a high value on human warmth and sensitivity, so there might be an equation made in this respect also, and as a result, a further modeling after the new pioneers of the Ambler community.

In terms of organizational goals also, it may be said that members of the new pioneer group, both in Ambler and in the other villages, were also sensitive in another way. That is, their economic activities in the villages very rarely went beyond the level of simple subsistence and never were carried to the point of exploitive self-benefit. A large number, in fact, have, with some sacrifice to themselves, genuinely helped the Native people in the operation of some of their own economic enterprises. This is a position almost diametrically opposed to that taken by the sourdough and transient groups. In
different ways, most everything these two groups did was directed towards their own self-benefit with very little effort made to really help the Natives manage their own affairs.

A similar relationship existed in terms of political involvement in village life. Whereas the new pioneers mostly opted to remain politically disinterested, the sourdoughs were of an opposite inclination and felt that their having been so long in the community entitled them to participate in local politics. The transient group, as might be expected, was largely indifferent to this kind of involvement and generally remained aloof from it.

Non-Native-Native Interaction:

As might be expected in this situation where non-Natives were in the minority, interaction with Natives was impossible to avoid. So that everyone I interviewed had at least had some contact with the Native community of the village in which they were living. Some individuals, however, interacted more than others, and at a much more empathic level. And again we can generally use our three categories to describe this phenomenon.

Certainly the most sensitive and therefore, to my way of thinking, the highest quality of interaction with Native people was found among the new pioneers. These individuals, as has already been pointed out, really sincerely involved
themselves in the everyday lives of their Native neighbors. This may be in part explained as a combination of their desire to remain the area, plus a very real interest in the way of life of the Native people—and the attendant ultraliberal and somewhat alienated world view which placed them in this situation in the first place. In addition, the fact of their having to develop new statuses and roles acceptable to the Native people (if they were indeed going to feel at ease enough to stay) undoubtedly also encouraged their active involvement in village life.

Perhaps the least empathic of intercultural contact, that is, in a comparative sense, was exhibited by non-Natives of the transient category. These individuals had made less of a living commitment to the area and to the Native people, so this would be a partial explanation for their behavior. Also, it must be recognized that their traditional roles allowed them the opportunity to maintain an impersonal distance in their village relations.

In all three of these groupings, personality was another variable that came into play to affect both the quantity and quality of individual cross-cultural interactions.

Non-Native Interaction:

In those communities where there was a significant
number of non-Natives in residence, I also observed certain patterns of interaction and friendship among them. As in a previous study of this phenomenon, I found that ideological similarities were the most important determinants in the formation of friendship groups. However, in situations where there were a great many non-Natives having similar outlooks, there was a further breakdown according to other variables such as personality and mutual interests.

In summary then, it can be said that there are relatively few non-Natives living in the Kobuk-Koyukuk-Kotzebue area in comparison to the total population of the communities, but on the other hand, this number is larger (especially in Ambler) than normally would be expected because of the limited means available for making a livelihood in those parts. There are more men than women among the non-Natives in the area; most of them are rather young, married, and highly educated; they are teachers, missionaries and seasonal workers (although in Kotzebue there is a large number of administrative personnel, including doctors and nurses, and of entrepreneurs); and they mostly have urban or semi-urban origins. The majority have lived in the region for a moderate number of years and plan to stay for a longer period. In regard to ideology, there are probably just about as many conservatively-minded non-Natives as there are liberals in the
area. Most came up here to avoid the pressures of the lower states and for the adventure of it. For the majority, their life style has changed rather dramatically from what it was in the past. Acculturation, especially drinking, seems to be the problem that most concerned these non-Natives. Most of them occupied traditional statuses, although in Ambler there were many who had no formal work status; and the majority did not consciously desire economic power or political influence in the villages in which they were living. Everyone interacted to some extent with the Native people, but most of the sensitive interaction occurred among those with ultra liberal ideological propensities who had made a living commitment to the area. Finally, non-Natives generally associated with those other non-Natives who shared similar ideological views.

So the picture we have of the non-Native strangers in this region is one that is far from the stereotypical image of the spurious and ethnocentric "spoiler." And certainly, with the exception of a few of the sourdoughs, they are not the "failures" that Robert Marshall (1933: 47) is talking about when he says: "Always, after any stampede, it's not the successes who build up the country. They go home with the stakes they made. It's the failures who stay on, decade after decade, and establish homes." Times have changed, and most of fortune seeking failures
are now dead. There are some who still seek their fortunes in other ways, and many of those who have applied their entrepreneurial talents at something in the area have indeed made a success of it where they probably would have failed in the same enterprise on the outside. But this concept of "failure" is something almost entirely different. Where the old sourdough never did strike his bonanza and was thus forced by his economic plight to remain in the area and try his hand at something else more lucrative such as trading, the new entrepreneur had begun his business because he felt from the very first that he could make a go of it. And it is this type more often than not, unfortunately, who has become the "spurious and ethnocentric exploiter" of the liberal reform literature because he has turned the ignorance of many of the Native people to his own economic advantage. However, it must be said that most of the men and women of that ilk reside and conduct their vulturous affairs in Kotzebue and not in the bush area proper. They are known both in Kotzebue and in the literature as the "local White power structure."

There are also other sorts of "failures" found in the Kobuk-Koyukuk-Kotzebue areas, however, that is, if such an individual as a "misfit" missionary or administrator or teacher can be regarded as a failure. Some members of these occupational categories have been forced to withdraw into this backwoods medium because they might have been
undesirable types for one reason or another in the same occupations on the outside--of course, this is undoubtedly an explanation for the presence of many of the opposite type in the bush areas as well, that is, of the extremely empathic ultra liberals who found life on the outside distasteful and unchallenging. I must admit, however, that in 1971 I did not meet a significant number of the former kind of failure in the north--although this is probably more a function of contemporary trends and not representative of past reality. It seems that with Native political influence growing as it has, this sort of individual would not last very long in the bush today; their personalities and value frames would probably disallow it. One of the only reasons the exploiter-entrepreneurs continue to thrive is because they wield an economic stick. Also, where they are most found in abundance is in large population centers such as Kotzebue, and there they have the advantage of numbers. The "White power structure" in Kotzebue represents a kind of mutual aid society, and a collective benefit derives from this. In addition, of course, they have a product that is in great demand and the know-how to obtain it for their customers, which is also something in their favor. However, my feeling is that even with this type of traditional American rugged individual the writing is on the wall and it won't be long until the Native population takes matters into its own hands.
This brings us to the next question of adaptation and the adjustment problems the non-Natives who live in the area have in adapting to their new Arctic environments. Much of this has already been implicitly indicated in the above discussion, especially as to how these strangers have adapted. So I will only cover the modes of adaptation briefly and then go on to other considerations.

Most of the non-Natives in this study have adjusted rather successfully to their new homes in the north, that is, in the sense that they have accepted the local culture on its own merits and emotionally are capable of living with it rather comfortably, and have even developed a real appreciation for many of its elements. A significant number of these individuals, in fact, have become so involved in the life of the Native people that they have even incorporated some of the indigenous customs into their own life styles.

There are also among the non-Natives in the area a few who have retreated from the local cultural milieu behind a barricade of familiar Americanisms, as David Szanton (1966: 53-54) pointed out likewise happened to many Peace Corps Volunteers in the Philippines. But these people, unless they are involved in an especially lucrative economic enterprise, do not endure in this situation for very long in the Alaskan Arctic. It is too easy for them to leave, and there is not the same stigma attached to
being a "quitter" in the American northern lands as there is abroad in the Peace Corps. So those among the ranks of teachers, administrators, missionaries, and medical personnel who don't like their new circumstances usually pick up and leave very soon after they come.

It is among this group of potential "quitters," however, that one finds the more acute form of "anomie" most frequently manifested. Probably today it does not often become really extreme because, as I mentioned above, exit from the unhospitable scene into the more familiar and reassuring outside world is so readily accessible to them. Nevertheless, in special cases chronic "anomie" is still found to be a serious and unfortunate psychological disorder among a small number of the non-Natives living in the area. In fact, I observed a couple of these instances during my field trip in the summer of 1971, and they were not pleasant. The individuals were women, and they were terribly neurotic—the "situational neurosis" that Dennison Nash talks of in his paper about Americans adapting in Spain (1967: 161)—and even somewhat paranoid. It is interesting that most of the extreme anxiety and discontent experienced by individuals in this area of Alaska has occurred among women. I believe this observation to be generally applicable to non-Native American women throughout Alaska, and also in other parts of the world.
As far as additional stages in the process of adjusting to the local culture, it can be said that, based upon conversation and observation, most of the non-Natives under discussion followed the same general pattern outlined in the Introduction. That is, beyond the condition of mild "anomie," they compromised their value system more and more until finally they achieved a point of equilibrium in which conflict with the host culture became at a minimum.

Why certain individuals were able to reach this point and others were not is yet another question, and it is one that I believe strongly relates to their prior experience. Given that the Native people of the area were predisposed favorably to non-Natives from the beginning, then it appears that a broad backlog of experience has been the most significant determinant in the ability of these outsiders to make a successful and empathic adjustment to their new village milieus. The following types of previous experience seem to be especially helpful for those having to adapt to the bush scene in Alaska:

1. Travel, or living, or work in an alien culture would provide an individual with an adaptive experience which he could later draw on in his adjustment to yet another foreign situation. This would undoubtedly make his second adaptation an easier one.

2. A rural background would certainly make the transition
to the new way of life a much less traumatic experience, most especially because the rurally oriented individual would have already been accustomed to the lower stimulation level found in Alaskan villages, a level which often becomes unbearable for urbanites.

3. A relatively high educational level seems to aid significantly in the adaptation of an individual to an alien environment. This was not so in every case, but most of those interviewed who had adjusted well had a great deal of formal educational experience. There are probably several related reasons for this situation. First, regardless of its many inadequacies, the educational system does seem to be a selective mechanism favoring generally more intelligent and more resilient persons. Then their exposure to other ways of life and tongues during this educational period probably whets their appetites for foreign travel provides them at the same time with at least a minimum of skill in a foreign language to help them realize this desire. And then such travel would increase their adaptive potential for other foreign living experiences in the future, and on and on in a kind of upward and outward spiraling motion with each subsequent phase making the following ones easier and easier and better and better.

4. A higher formal education and a wide travel experience seem to relate to yet another important variable, that is,
a dissatisfaction with, and partial rejection of, American 
cultural values, which was also a characteristic of those 
who had made the most successful adjustments to life in 
their new village environments. In fact, if one were to 
place those with the best adaptive potential in northern 
bush communities along an ideological continuum, he would 
have to put them far on the left in an ultraliberal cate-
gory.

This brings us to our final point, that is, the 
differential influence exerted on Natives by non-Natives. 
It appears that the above four considerations relating 
to favorable adaptation in northern Alaskan villages are 
also important parameters in the potentially positive in-
fluence persons who have these traits might exert on the 
Native people in a given area. This indeed seemed to have 
been the case with a number of my informants, especially 
among the non-Natives in Ambler, who possessed exactly 
those characteristics—although this observation would 
have to be subjected to further testing. Based upon what 
the literature says about this phenomenon, however, I 
feel it is safe to at least include it as a generally 
applicable principle to the patterns of intercultural re-
lationships and the acculturation problem in those parts 
of Arctic Alaska discussed in this paper.
Recommendations

As I mentioned in my preface, it is hoped that this thesis might contribute to the recruitment of the numerous types of personnel who are sent to work, teach, administer, missionize, or medicate in Alaska's bush communities. With the exception of some work that has been done with teachers in the State Operated Schools System, still not enough is understood about the kinds of personalities that are the most adaptive and least disruptive and therefore the happiest and most productive in such rural settings.

Before determining the desirable personality type, however, one must have an idea of the ultimate objective the various agencies have in sending personnel into the villages in the first place. Therefore, if it is given that the desired outcome is a relatively painless acculturation of the Native people to a point where friendly communication and thus real mutual understanding occurs on an equal intercultural level, then the choice of appropriate personnel would have to be guided at the very least by criteria based upon a synthesis of the determinants mentioned in the previous section. So that if a teacher or administrator or missionary were going to be most effective in the above purpose, then he would have to possess a combination of a number of the following: a high level
of formal education; probably a partly rural background; some travel or other foreign experience; a dissatisfaction with normative Euro-American cultural values, and, related to this, an ultraliberal ideology or value system.

With such a combination the stranger would most probably have a high degree of success according to his desired objectives in an Alaskan bush setting. Without any of them he would probably not have any success at all. And with some of them he would probably be only proportionately successful. In any case, this is still somewhat speculative and suggestive and must therefore be subjected to further testing.
Limitations of the Study

As a concluding remark, I do not pretend that this thesis is in any way a final product heavily substantiated by statistics which are the result of a rigorously applied methodology. At the very most, it is the consequence of a relaxed and open-ended investigative technique based upon a highly flexible research design. At the very least, it is the product of a great deal of intuitive thinking which is in turn the direct result of all of the experience I have had in different crosscultural settings, including those specific to the Alaskan village scene.

In this light then, if the same study were undertaken by another researcher somewhat different interpretations might be gathered from the data. In any case, the investigation has only been conducted in a limited area of northern Alaska and so any conclusions drawn must by this fact alone be held to be no more than tentatively applicable to other regions of Alaska. I am planning more research in the near future in the hope of finding additional evidence that would be supportive of the conclusions offered in this thesis. However, I would also encourage other students of the Behavioural Sciences to do likewise in either the same or in different parts of Alaska so that we may have the completest possible image of the phenomenon of adaptation as it relates to non-Natives in Alaskan village environments.
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