FROM SHAMANS TO HEALERS: THE SURVIVAL OF AN INUPIAQ ESKIMO SKILL[1]

Edith Turner
University of Virginia

Abstract: This paper is based on eleven months' fieldwork among the Inupiat Eskimos of Point Hope, Alaska. The effects of missionization on Inupiaq life are discussed in the first part of the paper. The Inupiat have been fully Christianized but have retained much of their pre-Christian symbolic culture. The second and focal part of the paper, an essay in the "anthropology of experience," describes the author's observation of and participation in contemporary tribal healing as practiced in Point Hope.

Résumé: Cet article fait suite à une recherche de onze mois sur le terrain parmi les Esquimaux Inupiats de Point Hope en Alaska. La première partie traite de l'influence missionnaire sur les modes de vie Inupiats. Bien que ce groupe soit aujourd'hui chrétien, il a néanmoins préservé une bonne partie de son patrimoine symbolique préchrétien. La deuxième partie de ce travail, qui est la plus importante, se veut une « anthropologie de l'expérience ». A cette fin, l'auteur présente ses observations personelles et décrit les rites médicaux pratiqués aujourd'hui par les Inupiats de Point Hope.

Introduction

In Alaska of recent years the vast majority of work in the social sciences has been on various branches of history, archaeology, economics, and the medical pole of medical anthropology. It is now time to make studies of contemporary social life in Native northern Alaska. In the present study I go beyond economics or Western medical concerns to present-day healing which includes an element of "Eskimo spirituality." The Inupiat have been fully Christianized but have retained much of their pre-Christian symbolic culture. My paper focuses on contemporary tribal healing as practiced in Point Hope—a craft that combines the practical and spiritual in a unique fashion. Although the area was new to me,[2] I made a full-length study of eleven months among the Inupiat Eskimos of Point Hope.

Anthropologica XXXI (1989) 3-24

Point Hope is a very ancient whaling settlement on the northwest tip of Alaska, with a population of about 600 of whom about 30 are White, the rest being Inupiat Eskimos. The people are U.S. citizens and at the same time members of a village Native Corporation that is near bankruptcy. An air pervades the village that is a mixture of prosperity and economic collapse. Ups and downs of mood are prevalent, the supreme *up* occurring at the climax of the whaling season.

In order to join in the life of the village I rented a house next door to a whaling captain and helped his wife with her daily work. Because charges for tape recording were exceedingly high, and because general rapport could not easily be gained when using a tape recorder or even in the presence of a pen and notepad, I reserved taped documentation for language learning only. Fieldnotes were completed from memory every night, the facts being checked and rechecked as the year went on. My language teacher, Dorcus Rock, was herself a traditional healer, which facilitated the study of healing.[3] Dorcus and the other healers regarded me as an encouraging friend, and later as a pupil in healing. I felt myself to be their advocate, lending myself to the duty of "advocacy anthropology" (E. Turner 1987:x).

In addition, in July 1988 I was able to spend a month on St. Lawrence Island, comparing the way of life of the Siberian Yupik with that of the Inupiaq. In August I made a five day trip to the Siberian Yupik in the Chukotka Province of the U.S.S.R., which provided more comparative material.

To understand how the Inupiat developed, we have to go back to the years from 1912 to the 1930s when a drastic change took place in the lives of the Inupiat at Point Hope. They had been living in underground sod houses and were becoming interested in Christianity. Then, during this period, the missionaries moved them from their sod houses into frame houses surrounding a school. The new site constituted the first mission settlement of Tigara (different from the present site of modern Point Hope which is further up the spit). From the accounts of Mollie Oktollik, Tigluk Oviok, and other elders it was clear that this mission-induced event constituted a threshold of change, a *limen*, in their history. Details of the history will make clear the context of the change, and we will find that a somewhat different type of healing developed which contstituted a marker of the new kind of Inupiaq Eskimo.

My paper will be divided into two main sections. The first will give the historical events, in the course of which it is possible to identify the stages through which the culture passed and to trace the effect of the coming of the Whites on that once populous coastline. The second section will unfold present day healing in the mode of the anthropology of experience, giving close-up cases to convey a sense of a healing that is different from our own. General features of healing will be illustrated and discussed to show how a hybrid form of healing works in a modern context.

The Historical Context of Inupiaq Healing

Phase 1: Before Contact

Archaeology shows that "at least 1000 persons lived [at Point Hope] during the early part of the nineteenth century, before diseases were communicated to the natives by American whalers" (Rainey 1947:236). The people's own traditions give a figure of 5,000. My own viewing of the twelve mile beach remains and scattered up-river sites extending for some twenty miles would support the Eskimo claim. Larsen and Rainey (1948) suggest that around 400 A.D. at the time of the Inupiaq culture there were 800 houses at Point Hope. Seven or eight people to a house was normal in sod dwellings (Shinkwin 1978:29), so the possibility of a high population—at least among the earlier Inupiaq peoples—appears to be substantiated. Work on the U.S. Navy Research ship *Thomas* has determined that Bering sea water is the richest in nutrients in the world, further supporting the claim.

The religion before contact, according to old people's reports given to Rainey (1947), Spencer (1959), and Rasmussen (1952), consisted of various spirit elements: the knowledge, experience, and use of a shaman's animal spirit helper, the shaman's awareness of her or his own spirit and its power to go forth in trance, and the consciousness of the exigencies and wanderings of a lay person's spirit at times of sickness and danger.

The shaman was of great assistance to her or his community. (It is possible that in precontact days shamans were often women, one in each family. Hints of this are found in the accounts I have received in which a shaman might be a close woman relative). She or he could heal—sometimes by sucking out harmful intrusions, find lost objects, predict and change the weather, bring animals for the hunters, and revive and speak with the dead. Drumming at that time often bespoke ritual performance on the occasion of some crisis, that is, in "contingency" ritual, stimulated by the need to cope with sickness, bad weather, being lost, hunting needs, and so on. A classic healing ritual consisted of a public shamanic séance with the sick person in the circle, drummers playing and some of the people attending, a number of whom went into trance themselves. The shaman danced and sang his personal spirit song until he became dissociated, would fall beside his patient, and allow his spirit to leave to follow the fleeing soul of the sick person. With the aid of his own helping spirit—one gained at his initiation—he would seize the fleeing soul and return with it to the living scene of the séance, where he would restore the missing soul to the patient and, along with it, the patient's health. Here it should be noted that psychological benefits were a by-product, and that the spirit action and healing were primary and direct.

In addition, the religion was expressed at calendrical festivals: the Clan Food Exchange, the First Full Moon Rites, the Messenger Feast, the Early Spring Whale Distribution, the Whaling Festival, the Fall Whale Distribution, and the Bladder Festival, all of which had the effect of communicating with the animals and bringing them near to the hunters.

As with competing religions throughout the world, competing shamans became a danger to the community, using their powers to kill. It was the corruption of the old religion that appeared to the missionaries as the typical characteristic of the shamanic era, and affects attitudes to this day.

Phase 2: From Contact to the Missions

My material is drawn fron Burch (1981), Rasmussen (1930, 1952) and from the archaeologist Rainey (1947) who wrote a study of the pre-mission culture based on accounts of old people given during his fieldwork from 1940 to 1941. Rainey stated that during his time with the Point Hope Inupiat the people obviously still believed in the old religion and its powers.

The earliest known white contact with Point Hope probably took place when the Russian Shishmarev landed there in 1820 (Shinkwin 1978:24). White commercial whaling became intense from 1850 onwards. A commercial whaling depot known as Jabbertown, named for the various languages spoken there (Portuguese, Russian, and many others) was set up five miles east along the spit. These contacts brought measles, venereal disease, influenza, tuberculosis, and alcohol to the village. The Frankson family and others in Point Hope have a tradition that whalemen and Revenue Marine persecuted and killed shamans. Traders drummed up a lively business in whiskey and rum which, in the view of the missionary Hoare who arrived later, was the principal reason for the disastrous drop in population (King 1951:86-87).

Scholars whose work deals with Inupiaq healing in the commercial whaling era include Fortuine (1985) who held that two types of healing existed with different roots: shamanistic healing and empirical healing. Lantis (1947:87-88, 107-109; 1950; 1959) and Murphy (1964) also documented southern Eskimo healing. Shamanistic healing as described above continued in this era.

Phase 3: The Era of the White Episcopal Mission, 1890-1961

At this time, as far as the practical aspects of Inupiaq life were concerned, the daily work of sea and land hunting went on much as it had done in precontact days on the long narrow spit of gravel facing the Arctic ocean—with the addition of firearms and of supplies of store food to supplement their diet. The basic patrilateral kinship system remained, retaining adoption, namesake, and clan links,[4] with their benefits in social cohesion (see Burch 1975; Foote

1966; Giddings 1977; *Puiguitkaat* 1978; Pulu 1980; also VanStone published the one full length social anthropological account of subsistence and economics, *Point Hope: An Eskimo Village in Transition* 1962, dealing with his on-the-spot fieldwork from 1955 to 1956). The population at Point Hope was now very small. In the depth of the people's trouble, the missionaries arrived with some sort of good message.

Written material on the mission itself is limited. John W. Marshall (1954) wrote a Masters thesis for Pasadena College entitled *The History of the Protestant Missions in Alaska*, in which he describes the arrival and work of the first missionary at Point Hope, Dr. John B. Driggs, who was both a clergyman and a medical doctor. Driggs published a short account of his experiences entitled *Mission Life at Point Hope*. It was written in a cheerful tone but contained the passage: "My earliest experience on Point Hope had not been very agreeable" (1906:12). He set up what was to become the Episcopal Mission of St. Thomas at Tigara Village (derived from the Inupiaq word for Point Hope, Tikigaq, "the pointing finger"). Driggs also started a school. He had an empiricist tendency and was known as a strong character who was foremost in persuading the people to espouse the Western medical system. At the time of his arrival in 1890 the population had dropped to 250 because of tuberculosis and measles.[5] By 1908 it had fallen further to 179.

A further piece partly in the setting of Point Hope is a 146 page manuscript on the life of the next missionary, the Rev. Reginald Hoare, written by Basil King and entitled *An Apostle of the Stone Age* (1951). Hoare was a man whose fervent aim was to change the ways of the Eskimos and bring them into a modern Christian world. In 1920 he was murdered by a white village schoolteacher who was in love with a Point Hope woman. A later missionary, Archdeacon F. W. Goodman, wrote "The Jubilee of St. Thomas Mission" (1940). Letters by Rowland Cox and other Point Hope missionaries exist in the Rasmussen Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks. Further scattered references to the present-day church exist in the records of the Episcopal Central Chapter meetings which are held in Kotzebue.

Although the Church and its mission house had been built two miles from the village for fear of unfriendly Eskimos, it was well attended, and by 1916 the people could sing like "the best-trained congregation in the States" (King 1951:100). Elders report that life was very happy in Tigara Village. Sometime before 1907, the Tigara Villagers voluntarily imposed an embargo on rum, causing the traders to complain to the missionaries (King 1951:88-89). A word should be said about the missionaries themselves. As Episcopalians they taught a straight non-folk and strictly biblical brand of Christianity. "Strength" is the quality the mission writers praise in these men, along with their devotion to the tasks of missionizing, improving the lives of the people, and saving them from exploitation by the whalers. "Young men and women

looked upon Dr. Driggs as a father" (Marshall 1954:26). But according to Spencer in 1952 the people did not consider that the missionaries possessed spiritual power (1959:314). This has been corroborated recently by a Point Hope Inupiaq whaling captain: "They just did a job."

The missionaries opposed all manifestations of the old Inupiaq religion and all aspects of the culture that had reference to it. They established the celebrations of the Whites, and at these celebrations Inupiat dances were performed, but only those of a social and secular nature. Shamanic performances were everywhere abolished. The Inupiaq language was forbidden in the school. Inupiat adults remember the post by the entrance to the school, beyond which any child that spoke Inupiat would be punished with a ruler on his knuckles or with sticking plaster across his mouth. This training coloured and re-educated the minds of Inupiat about their own culture. However, recently there has been a reversal: now the speaking of the language constitutes a statement in favor of Eskimo nationalism.

The mission was eminently successful: the new village was built and an American Episcopalian culture was established which the people took deeply to themselves. Curiously this turnabout set the healers off in a powerful new direction, for Inupiaq healing had always had profound roots in religion; and now that a new religion was provided, itself with deep supernatural elements—whatever the prosaic tone of its White expounders—new nourishment was supplied to those sources of healing.

Meanwhile sickness was prevalent, partly owing to the chilly above-ground homes of the new village. The growing tuberculosis epidemic reached its peak in Point Hope during World War II, thereafter coming under Public Health control. Inupiaq healing continued, having quietly changed its spirit helpers from shamanic ones to the Christian God—an almost painless turning point. At this stage it appears that the techniques of healing were more varied than they were later, in 1988, and included the use of a number of herbs, manipulations, surgery such as "poking" (minor operation involving bloodletting at the seat of pain), and midwifery (DeLapp and Ward 1981; Lucier, VanStone, and Keats 1971). Two Eskimo midwives, Beatrice Vincent and Daisy Oomittuk who had had some instruction at the White hospital in Kotzebue, served the village. These women also possessed the old gift of healing, in contrast to the "health aides"[6] of today. James VanStone well remembers the two midwives sweeping through the village on their way to a confinement (personal communication), and such was their reputation that the new clinic of 1989 was dedicated to their memory. In the 1960s and 1970s came the era of a great healer of another village, Della Keats of Noatak, who was renowned throughout indigenous Alaska for her "healing hands," and who taught many of the present day healers of northern Alaska, including Rosella Stone of Point Hope. Here also we see the turning point in

Inupiaq healing, with more emphasis on the hands. Della was also a Christian, though not an Episcopalian, Noatak being a Quaker village (Juul 1971; Lucier and VanStone 1987, 1987). During her lifetime a system of "tribal doctor" services was set up, beginning in Kotzebue under the Maniilaq Association. The "tribal doctors" were traditional healers first and foremost, although they were paid on a contract basis and were under instruction from hospital authorities not to give treatments such as "poking" and seal oil about which the medical authorities had expressed concern. Unpaid healers in Point Hope prefer to be termed "healers," not "doctors," to distinguish their craft from the work of Western doctors (Dorcus Rock, personal communication). I have accordingly adopted the term myself.

Once the tuberculosis epidemic decreased, the population began to rise. Western health care improved. Because of the hospitalization of maternity cases the infant mortality rate dropped to something near the normal U.S. figures. The number of health aides was increased from two to four, and in the 1980s the pay, which was poor at the start of the health aide system, was raised. In the era of North Slope oil alcoholism and its attendant hazards became a serious threat. Owing to the nucleated layout of the village, the many contacts with outside, and the school policy of winter indoor exercise only, minor epidemics spread easily—conditions that remain to this day.

Healing was still flourishing. When asked about healing, Lilly Oktollik, aged eighty, prefaced what she had to say about healers with the subject of shamans: "A medicine woman was under the house, she was going to kill us. I saw the door handle turn, but there was no one there." Lilly demonstrated graphically. "The medicine woman came in to kill us, but I held out my cross." She held out the large cross hanging from her neck. "The person ran away." I asked her if she had aches and pains in her back. Lilly smiled and groaned. "Much." "Did people work on your back for you?" "The hands," she exclaimed. "When they put their hands on me, I felt the pain go right away. Many people have the good hands."

Today among older Point Hope people the initial reaction to any reference to shamans is horror: "They were bad, they killed people. It was devil worship." As had Lilly, Dinah Frankson, aged 78, then went on to recall with gratitude and pride a healing act performed in the style of the old healers by her aunt. This ambivalence was explained by an Inupiaq discussant who preferred to withhold his name. He said "Bad shamanism [killing sorcery] was got rid of and good shamanism remained and became what you call tribal healing." Aspects of the old culture were carried through and are now responsible for a type of healing that has strong elements of the old gift of clairvoyance, a gift vouchsafed to shamans through a spirit helper. The present Eskimo healers are indeed helped by a spirit, but it is the spirit of "The Good Lord." A pair of accounts illustrate the two types of spirit:

Spencer describes the shaman of pre-Christian days: "He would have himself bound. The group, seated in the darkened house, would hear him fly up through the skylight of the house, hear his voice on the roof, and after a period of silence, hear him return" (1959:304). My friend Annie said in 1988: "I had a dream. I dreamed about Martin Luther King. I dreamed we were in the old townsite, and his face was in the skylight. I could see it. Saying something—something—and then his face turned into God's face." Annie's eyes squeezed with the memory, her voice softened and became gravelly, like brown sugar.

A substitution has occurred between the two accounts, one spirit for another. In the second story a transformation takes place as Martin Luther King's face becomes God's face. And we see the tendency toward ethnic nationalism, shown in the appearance of the ethnic martyr, Martin Luther King.

Such readiness for transformation can be inferred for the early misssion times. Spirit transformation was already deep in pre-Christian Inupiaq culture, as evinced in art, where whale/person, walrus/person, seal/person were often depicted in some stage of transformation; as they are still in contemporary carving. One first sees the outward form of the being, then the inner soul or *inua*, emerging from its flesh, its "parka." Annie saw a human being, Martin Luther King; then she saw his inner soul, God. The skylight was present in both accounts, representing the light from above; also conceived as the door of the soul, framing its usual path. It can be seen how a new conception of spirit, alive and using modern Western symbols, has taken over in this generation.

Phase 4: After Oil-Induced Inflation

Before going into detail about healing as it exists today, a brief picture of contemporary social conditions at Point Hope must be drawn in order to highlight what tribal healing means to the people now. The community still derives approximately 60% of its food from subsistence sources, that is, from whales, seals, walruses, belugas (or white whales), caribou, polar bears, ducks, fish, crabs, eggs, tundra greens, and berries (see also Lowenstein 1981). Since contact, the original culture has been swamped by outside influences, and one cannot help but see the present huge American school as an almost invincible weapon of assimilation. Four of the teachers predict the abandonment of subsistence activities in the near future. The distributive industry encourages the demand for sugar and candy, sweetened drinks, tobacco, and store food. Alcohol, marijuana, and other drugs find their way into the village and the results of addiction are violence and crime.

Indeed, since Rainey's lament in 1940 that Inupiaq culture was doomed, many researchers have expressed the same despair. They see education as the only hope for obtaining jobs either inside or outside the village—jobs which are not numerous enough to absorb the workers in the 1980s. But Eskimo culture has not died. Younger people, from about thirty years onward, are speaking the Inupiaq language since they are no longer afraid of being laughed at by their schoolmates. Subsistence activities have continued; the excitement and interest in whaling could be said to be even greater than it was earlier (see Zumwalt 1987). Skin sewing and the making of colourful Eskimo parkas are gaining in popularity. The Christian festival of Christmas has been "Eskimoized," incorporating the Qalgi feast exchange, Qaqumisaq. In January 1988, the Messenger Feast, a trading and socializing event, was revived on the North Slope and was attended by 52 people from Point Hope. This was the first real performance for 97 years. On December 31, 1988, at the first full moon after the winter solstice, "Utuqtaktag" or "Immigluk Tinman" (Full Moon) was performed for the first time for many years, ending the Christmas festivities. This is a complex dance with several episodes. A spinning device which cast feathers into the air was used to divine the coming of whales: headdresses were worn featuring two ear-like projecting feathers and an animal-ornamented frontlet. There was a kaveatchaq "wolverine" puppet which was made to move back and forth on strings. Beside it was suspended a "bladder," now an inflated object like an American football. (Originally in this rite the bladders of seals were hung in the qalgi meeting chambers to honour the seals and to bring them plentifully in the coming season. The spirit residing in the bladder could grow its body again if the bladder were finally taken and cast into the sea.)

Thus Inupiaq nationalism is alive and well in its own field—that is: in the middle adults' use of the language, in subsistence, in skin sewing and the making of fine parkas, in festivals, in dancing, and in the telling of history, and most centrally in healing, which represents the epitome of what it is to be Inupiaq. In the June whaling festival of 1988 it was the healers who were honoured first with gifts of whale's flipper; and we see in this the conscious acknowledgement of healers as markers of Inupiaq patriotism.

During the 1960s and 1970s the character of the church was changing. In 1961 the first Inupiaq preacher, Donald Oktollik, was ordained. From then on, the church was "Inupiaq Episcopalian," still run straight by the book with regard to the liturgy, but soon there was an influence from a different quarter. In the mid-seventies the fundamentalist church known as the Assembly of God established itself in the village. When, in 1976, the village was moved to a site two miles further along the beach, the Episcopal church was set up in one sector of the new village, while the Assembly of God meeting room, though small, dominated the opposite one. At first there was resent-

ment among the Episcopalians because some of their congregation were leaving them for the new church—a more democratically organized group. The Inupiaq discovered that anyone in the Assembly might testify and "speak with tongues" if the spirit was within her—and the spirit had been waiting for this. The emotional life of the village, already rich, found further expression; hymns of the Sankey-Moody kind took over the souls of the people and ran over in their eyes. The Inupiaq propensity for connectedness, appearing in their kinship system, in subsistence activities, in the dance gestures, in language, and in healing, came to the fore. Virtually all of the Assembly of God features were welcomed and found their way into the Episcopal services—and along with the Anglican lines "Take out our sin and enter in" promoted an active view of salvation as a cure, just as the healer takes out the bad disease and adds energy to the body.

Episcopal attendance varies at present from 30 to 70, with a full church of 180 at Christmas and Easter. The steady congregation comprises the heads of the core families, the elders, and the religious younger families. The congregation's participation and the preacher's style convey much warmth and emotion. This small inner community, the congregation, acts as an anchor to the larger, the village community. From within the church community one gets a clearer view of the outer village as a community that goes through many bad experiences: crime, men lost in the tundra, serious illness, frightening weather conditions—the same hazards that were formerly dealt with by shamans. These troubles are always the subject of special prayers. The finding of Jimmy Nashanik who was lost on the tundra for three days in January was attributed to God, to whom the whole city, including myself, had been praying during the time of the young hunter's danger. On February 14, 1988, seven whaling captains went forward into the sanctuary to say prayers, to sing and to receive a special blessing for the coming whaling season.

The healers are another kind of inner core for the village. They have a strong "Blessing" of their own, as Titkiaq, a friend, put it, using a fundamentalist term. The healer Dorcus Rock said that the Inupiat believed in the One God long ago, before the Whites came. She said that they then fell away from goodness (in the age of the "evil shamans"). When the missionaries came, she said, everyone recognized the teaching; it was their old religion. She described how signs of this old religion were to be found in the Inupiat's moral code of sharing. For Ernest Frankson and the other Point Hope people the creator God was Tulungigraq, the Raven-Man, who drew the land out of the sea with his harpoon. Ernest Frankson, Dorcus Rock, Jack Shaeffer, Rachel Craig (from outside Point Hope), and others, believe in the goodness of their own past and are beginning to question the way in which the Whites framed their writings. If they are right there may be less inconsistency between early and modern forms of spiritual healing than first appeared.

Healers in the Contemporary Village

With regard to contemporary healing, several writings exist. The most detailed is by DeLapp and Ward, *Traditional Inupiat Health Practices* (1981). In this handbook numerous treatment methods are evaluated, but the work does not attempt to go beyond the empirical effects of techniques. Other short articles have appeared, such as Book, Dixon, and Kirchner (1983); Dixon and Kirchner (1982); Juul (1979); Katz and Craig (1987); Kirchner (1982); and Lucier, VanStone, and Keats (1971). These have more sympathy with nonempirical means of healing. Barry and Roderick describe the gifts of the late Della Keats of Noatak—her healing hands, her Christian prayers before healing, and her knowledge of the patient's sickness before seeing him "I'm not a secret old lady, not a superstitious person."she said. "I just pray to my Good Lord. I pray all night, and before I arrive in sick person's village, my Good Lord tells me what's wrong" (1982:24)—which reminds Barry and Roderick of the Eskimos' link with the spirit world.

In Point Hope nine adults practice the craft of healing—six frequently. Of the nine, five are between forty and seventy, and four are over seventy. Two more between twenty-eight and thirty are aspiring healers. Seven juniors, aged from seven to twenty-seven, are learning the craft.

Healers cure mainly headaches, stomach complaints, backaches, injuries, sprains, arthritis, bone dislocations and fractures, severe loss of breath, pneumonia, boils, snow blindness, gallstones, and faulty presentation in childbirth along with normal midwifery—these last when the mother gives birth before she can be taken by plane to hospital, the regular practice. The majority of ailments are cured by inner manipulations combined with prayer and by taking out of the body whatever is troubling the person; this I will describe below. "Poking," that is, minimal bloodletting in the area of the pain, is now rarely practiced. Herbal potions of "stinkweed" *Artemesia tilesii*, a variety of wormwood and sagebrush, which might be better named "salvation plant," since the word "sage" derives from "salvia"—Webster), and seal and beluga oils are used as medicines. In the Kotzebue area patients from all over the north are taken to Serpentine Hot Springs twice yearly by a tribal doctor.

In Point Hope, between September 8, 1987, and August 24, 1988, I gathered accounts of 151 healings. I was participant-observer in 46 of these. Five of the total were unsuccessful. Of the 6 people, who said that they had never been to a healer, all were between the ages of 15 and 30. The majority of cases—57%—were injuries, including 18% back and 9% leg injuries. Another 23% concerned stomach ailments, 11% were gynecological, 7% concerned respiratory troubles and included a cure of pneumonia, 1% was liver trouble, and 1% skin rash.

In describing the healings I have witnessed and experienced, I adopt a narrative style in keeping with the style of the events. If I were to attempt a medical and strictly objective academic tone it would be impossible to convey the typical Inupiaq intimacy of the scenes. To pretend that the anthropologist was not there, or not involved, would be false, as would the assumption that I was without religion myself. Victor Turner taught that lived experience in anthropology is primary; thought is its interpreter (following Dilthey; Turner 1985:208-213). This concern with experience underlies my method in the cases given below.

Personal Experience of Eskimo Healing

Let us look at a typical minor Eskimo healing that demonstrates its style and context. I will follow with an account of my own attempt at healing, then my experience of being healed myself.

Healing Observed

Pamela, herself a healer, came to see the old healer, Dinah Frankson, in her living room. "My finger hurts," she said. "See, it's all swollen on the joint." It was her right forefinger, swollen on the knuckle of the second joint. Dinah took it into her hand. I got my glasses. Dinah attended, her fingers feeling into the sore spot, exploring, then focusing. "That's the place," said Pamela. Dinah tried to bend the finger. It was stiff. "Relax." said Dinah. Pamela put her head up and back a little and let things go. Dinah's two fingers doubled over, pressing onto the sore joint. "The muscle. It's wrong," she said. The old fingers crooked themselves in powerful pressure. "You have strong hands," said Pamela. Dinah's face was entirely blanked into what was going on in her hands. Her face was tilted up toward Pamela, blanked, intent. Pamela suddenly said, "That's it." Now Dinah took the finger and moved it. It moved beautifully, fast and easily. There was no more swelling to be seen. Dinah worked on the tendons between the forefinger and thumb, turning her fingers into the muscle. "That's done it," said Pamela. "It feels OK." I talked to Pamela afterwards. "Can you learn this from Dinah?" "I *am* a healer. Dinah taught me, she taught Dorcus. She's the one." I had previously heard from the schoolchildren that "healers take the bad spirit into their own bodies." I said to Pamela, "It's not just manipulation, is it?" "No. You take out the illness. You take it into your own body, then *you* have the pain, pain in the foot or wherever it was in the person." "How do you get rid of it?" "Dinah taught me. Wash your hands. Then there's another way. Blow." Pamela blew from her hands upward as if up and out through the chimney. "Blow it out."

Here I had actually seen a simple cure, seen the swelling disappear and the finger move properly once more. I was learning to look at what was going on in detail. Dinah's "blanking out" struck me forcibly. And I heard how the trouble comes out into the healer.

A Personal Attempt at Healing

When my friend Annie had a headache I tried the healing on her, wanting to know what happens. I touched her brow, then put my hand fully on it and the other hand at the back of her neck. At that I began to feel sorry for Annie, I was feeling a kind of soul-love. There was a clear sensation of something being released out to me; Annie was happy to let it go. "That's better," she said. I was somewhat surprised. Annie and I played cards for a time; then I was aware that I had a headache. I blew my hands upwards and went to wash, after which I felt better.

This process is consistent with the old shamanic removal of a harmful substance from the body—which was sometimes an actual object such as a little wooden spear put there by an enemy (Spencer 1959:321). However, the shamanic extraction of material objects was not mentioned to me in Point Hope.

Once I had begun this technique and felt with my hands what was inside, it seemed obvious, simple, and yet previously I had no notion that it could be done.

Experience of Being Healed

It was also necessary for me to experience being healed myself. Another healer, Jane, told me, "I know from the way a person walks, or sits down—I just look into their faces and I know what's wrong with them. You," she said to me. "Your stomach's up. When you walk you use short breaths." I indeed had a stomach ache. Jane said "Shall I work on you?" "Yes," I said immediately.

She made me lie down, and she quite strongly attacked the area just below where my ribs part, my midriff (the location of the diaphragm). That area was hard and tense, sure enough. After a time she worked on my lower abdomen. She hauled up from the right side, strongly, and at once located an area of pain that was, I think, in the large intestine. What was it in there? Was it full of slowed-down food, or what? It was inflamed. I could recognize what she was doing by feeling. She pressed the Y-midriff junction again keeping her other hand on the center side. At this point I realized that her hands were *good*; they were busy doing good, and my abdomen was obeying. The communication—which I began to call the conversation of bodies—was tak-

ing place. She shifted my side up a little more, also the midriff. I myself felt the midriff. It was quite soft and inwardly comfortable. She had done what was needed.

These cases, all involving experience, show an immediacy, a closeness, an intimacy in the healing act. The hands are touching the body, feeling into it, and they do a "work." The Inupiaq term for healing, in its common English translation, is "working on the body." It is a one-on-one process in this modern era, compared with the pre-Christian social healings where in important cases there was community involvement along with drums and a shamanic séance.

In the cases I have studied general elements can be traced:

1. A different level of perception ("clairvoyance").
2. The existence and help of a healing spirit (here it is always "the Good Lord," Jesus); the life entity of the sufferer.
3. The concept of disease as a thing, a substance, that can be drawn out.
4. The hands as the instruments of cure, their special faculty.
5. The connectedness of healer and sufferer, the "conversation of bodies."
6. Correct positioning of the bodily organ—a fundamental concern of Inupiaq healing.
7. Therapeutic readiness, "healability."

The Elements of Healing

Perception, Clairvoyance

Inupiaq healing operates under Lévy-Bruhl's law of "mystical participation" (1985 [1910]). Lévy-Bruhl posited a "prelogical" era of humankind when all things were felt to have a mystical participation with each other; here the primary perception of the healer Jane—"I know . . ."—has its place, a sphere which is not prelogical in time, but nonlogical here-and-now. There is an immediacy of diagnosis, based on perception in that sphere.

Primary perception is illustrated by the following description in the context of a healing. Dorcus Rock related, "When I saw the old injury on the back of the young man I passed my hand along his back and prayed. I *saw* that kid fall off his snowmobile and get caught because he couldn't get the gun off his back. You know what it's like—it's like fantasy. I might write a book." The patient corroborated what Dorcus had seen by means of her hands. It had indeed happened ten years before.

This aspect, primary perception, clairvoyance, highlights the distinction between Inupiaq healing skills and those of White doctors. Primary perception is often experienced in Point Hope, both in healing and saving endangered people; it is a direct kind of knowledge. The healers are aware of their immediate knowledge. Dorcus illustrated it like this:

"A lady came to see me. When I saw her I knew that she was pregnant, two weeks pregnant. I was right, the baby was born eight and a half months later. I *know* without touching the lady. You can't put it into words."

This awareness is based on a multitude of senses—body language among them—along with "clairvoyance," a gift which Dorcus says scares some people. It is nonverbal, not concerned with left-hemisphere brain logic.

On one occasion an official with a pain in his side at the back came to see Dorcus. She related that before he arrived she had a pain in her own side at the back, so she knew exactly what part hurt the patient. This awareness at a distance belies the dependence on body language alone as a clue. The Inupiaq healer, Della Keats from the village of Noatak, had the same gift of knowing the sufferer's condition at a distance.

The corresponding early shamanic faculty was similar, given him by an animal or ghost spirit.

Spirit, Life Entity

I have tried manipulation without supplying the feeling of concrete sympathy and the following up of fellow feeling, communitas, into the body of the sufferer; and beyond a simple friction warming of the area, nothing happens. As we have seen, Dorcus prays before and during a healing; Della Keats was aware that when she healed, the hands she used were not her own, but were "God's hands." Inupiaq healers always ascribe their ability to God: thus we have the concept of some spiritual force beyond the human, enabling the work.

Inupiat have a vivid awareness of the life-entity itself, exemplified during the serious illness of Dinah Frankson, aged 78. I attended in the sick person's room. Dorcus was there with Dinah, using her hands to alleviate something that was badly amiss in Dinah's stomach, a large cyst, as it appeared later. We were greatly concerned to see that the old lady flopped back lifelessly after each spasm of pain, totally blanked out. She seemed to have left us. We were scared. Dorcus told me later that Dinah's spirit kept escaping out of the fontanelle at the top of her head. Dorcus had the task of drawing it back. Dorcus put her own head on Dinah's abdomen, and some warmth returned to the old lady's face. Dinah's life principle was in the balance, but after a time she rallied and with the help of surgery made a good recovery. Dinah recounted to me her near-death experiences which were very similar to those described by Raymond Moody (1975).

During this early experience I was learning my first lesson in perception, the sense of Dinah's life principle, her life entity. Eskimologists trace the existence of at least three types of soul or spirit among the Eskimos: the spirit that helps healing, corresponding to the shaman's spirit helper; the life-entity

of the person which leaves the body at death; and the spirit that can be reborn in a person if the same name is given to a newborn child.

Disease as a Substance

This is shown in a discussion with Dinah Frankson. When confronted with the subject of shamanism, Dinah at first showed revulsion. "A shaman killed my babies," she said, but immediately went on to relate how she was healed when she was a little child by a shaman, her aunt. Dinah was wasted away by disease. The shaman lady felt Dinah's stomach and found that it had shifted its position: it was up. She returned the stomach to its proper position, then took the trouble in her hands (Dinah cupped her hands half an inch apart and demonstrated), raised her hands, blew into them, and blew the trouble up through the smoke hole. Dinah learned this method and used it herself, later teaching it to Pamela as a way of getting rid of the sickness drawn out of the patient.

Here is the idea that sickness has the character of a substance, as mentioned already. When the substances are such objects as small wooden points we find ourselves in an ambiguous area of belief and disbelief. The extraction of harmful intrusions is familiar to anthropologists who have observed it in various places elsewhere. It is an element that has persisted in Inupiaq healing throughout the changes. To me when I feel a painful area of the body, it seems odd how diseased tissue seems to be at war with the body—hostile and sulky—yet the condition is only too willing to migrate if the hands can give it passage through. The consciousness of the hands can follow into the spirit of the sufferer and pray for her; it is the hands that understand the matter, and the body of the sufferer knows. This simultaneous consciousness is the moment of cure.

The Hands

Dorcus told me. "Sometimes when I'm working on people my hands get red, and I'm plain red along here." She indicated her arms. "My bones will move like their bones move inside. Just *move*. If a person has a bad stomach I gather all of whatever it is and it gradually disappears. If it's really bad the pain will go to me. I know that if I keep my hand on there it gradually goes into my hand. It travels all the way up to my heart and so I always block it on my arms up to here." She showed her hands halfway up the wrists. "With some people my hands get really *hot* like an oven, burning hot, and I can burn the trouble away. Once when I worked on a woman with a lump in her stomach I prayed to the good Lord for it to move to me, and then I got sick and had to have an operation. I took her pain." This capacity of the hands has been developed more sensitively since shamanic times.

Connectedness, Conversation of Bodies

At one time the healer Dorcus allowed me to feel her own side where there was a nagging pain from an injury. I felt a tense hot miserable lump on one rib, mushy, not like normal firm flesh. I felt pity on it, and caressed around it. I felt it soften as my hands rounded over it. Dorcus said, "Yes, that's getting better." I had to continue patiently until the lump had dissolved into a sliver of hardness and finally disappeared altogether. Dorcus warned me to wash my hands. She told me later that the pain had not recurred.

Now it can be seen that the perception of the trouble is not "extrasensory perception," *outside* the senses, but an actual fine sense—existing contrary to expectations—in the fingers, somehow resulting in the transferability of an ailment. The sense perception of the fingers exists, and there is a knowledge, a certain awareness in the human consciousness of a link between oneself and the sufferer empowered by a kind of rushing of one's own consciousness into that of the other, very like "love" or "sympathy" but following a palpable path, through the fingers' understanding. In my experience it has something to do with the cast of feelings. When they are open (they cannot be forced) the channels to the other person are open. For myself, again, nothing happens if a person is not sick; it is the hand's concrete sympathy with the person's sick organ that opens the way. What passes is not merely energy, it is too personal for that. Whatever it is, it is the cause of the opening at the hands' contact with the sickness. In Dorcus's examples of knowledge and also healing at a distance there is no bodily touch, but perception may still take place in a bodily way, as when Dorcus felt the pain of someone outside the house. The sense that does the perceiving appears to be on a single continuum with the fine bodily sense and extends along to the visionary *seeing* from afar, to the seeing of spirit beings, or the sensing of disease as a substance.

Dorcus and Rosella Stone emphasize, "This is a different kind of doctoring. There is much to learn." One has to learn in detail, in particulars. The Inupiat have developed sensitivity to another body, a phenomenon not described in detail in early writings on shamanism.

Position

In Inupiaq healing, an important principle is that of repositioning the shifted or dislocated organ. Dinah in her description of her shaman aunt's healing described how the shaman repositioned Dinah's stomach. The healer Jane also took care that my uptightness was corrected by repositioning the various organs of my own abdomen, for all is connected with all.

Therapeutic Readiness or "Healability"

I had noticed when I helped Annie with her headache how ready she was to let the pain out to me. I began to think about a concept of "healability" or therapeutic readiness. The healer Rosella said that when a sufferer walked into her room she could tell whether he would allow himself to be healed or would put up a barrier against it—for the healing takes place *between* tribal doctor and patient. When I asked Rosella how she knew his disposition she said, "I just *know*. If they're like that you can't heal them."

I have referred, then, to primary perception; the help of a spirit; disease as a thing; the hands; connectedness—the conversation of bodies; position; and therapeutic readiness. These are all survivals from the ancient era. No one has to take a drum and fall into a trance: the hands have learned supersensitivity by themselves; they are a *seeing* organ. The healing is primary healing, done directly through the body, different from a psychological cure.

What is the general picture here? It is of Dorcus easily and smoothly curing people by a method involving primary perception. Usually there are no frights, no fuss; only in the cases that appear the most bizarre does her "vision," "seeing," fill one with wonder. Here an anthropologist may literally move close and herself experience the sense of that level. What do we conclude? What is the theory?

We have seen an indigenous people—marginal in that they live on the margins of the Arctic Ocean, conscious of the forces of assimilation, vigorous, led by continually overlapping generations of elders. Those who were VanStone's modern young men in the 1950s are now Inupiat traditionalists themselves, busy organizing Eskimo revivals. The young, too, are coming forward, alive to the sense of direct perception—young dancers in the stomping ecstasy of Inupiaq dancing, young healers. Nested in this moving mass are the adult healers, active, using that sense as a matter of course. From the outside it is easy to say that this is a broken society, that many of the old values have gone. However, overlapping from behind, there is always the influence of the elders and of the environment itself bringing them the richest sea water in the world, and there is the pride in the subsistence hunting. Healing provides the reinforcement of connectedness, which gathers webbed strength from all its sources: The long inwardly-connected Inupiaq words, the meat sharing, the unison dance-drum-song rite, the clan system with its ludic competitiveness and the kinship network which includes "your bosom friend," *umma*, the spouse of your namesake whom you can kiss, and your adoptive siblings who are your divorced parents' children. Connectedness is even increased by the CB radio which nearly everyone possesses, so that all can speak to all—and do; and by Bingo, which is a wordless tense ritual of redistribution of money according to chance. It is a continual redemocratization in a world where modern bureaucracy has spawned a com-

petitive meritocracy, where it is only too obvious who are the bright ones or who are in the right family—they get the jobs—and who are not. Then there is the healing, concerned with bodies which get sick in a truly democratic manner. We all have the body, and in healing, bodies connect; they converse in a direct way; the bad is taken out by the other body.

This churning movement of a community is an effect (as inside a food mixer) going on in a society which has two forces playing, one upon, and one within it. This is another version of the "social field," and in this version the field is viewed as being in rapid motion.[7] The result is a heady whip (like Eskimo ice cream made with an electric beater.) At Point Hope the effect is unique, and in each village it is different. All aspects of life are continually in touch with earlier traditional forces on the one hand and with modern forces on the other—as in the case of "Little Al," the big old white teacher who was treated by Dorcus and instantaneously healed, while at the same time grumbling about the students playing hookey, and predicting the early downfall of subsistence culture. The people live both integrated homogeneous lives and at the same time non-integrated piecemeal lives. It is this continual churning, the face-to-face relationships, the movement, process itself, that gives unity.

We come back finally to Eskimo spirituality which rises as a flourishing outgrowth from an old stock whose power cannot be easily predicted. Many other events in Point Hope life have been informed by Eskimo spirituality. The people are conscious, like the healers of the past, that they have been helped, that the healing is not their doing. It is likely that if they are not opposed by the churches, the Inupiat will continue to regain their old culture.

Notes

1. My thanks are due to my sponsors, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the University of Virginia. The help given by James and Mary McConnell is warmly acknowledged. I am particularly grateful to Dorcus Rock for her patient instruction of a pupil who found the language, if not the healing she taught, extremely difficult. I also thank Rosella Stone, Dinah and Ernest Frankson, many friends in Point Hope including Molly Oktollik, also Dr. Theodore Mala, Lori Krumm, Karlene Leeper, Ann Riordan, and others, who have instructed me or made my way easier.
2. Previous fieldwork was conducted in traditional healing in Zambia, about which I wrote in *The Spirit and the Drum* (1987), and also in *The Tooth: Addressing the Spirit in Ndembu Ritual* (forthcoming). I briefly researched healing in Brazil, healing shrines in Europe and Central America (1978), Israel (in press), India, and Japan, also shamanic trance in Korea. The study of Arctic healing is proving a valuable comparative case.
3. Where named persons are mentioned they have either given permission for their names to be used or pseudonyms have been adopted.
4. Point Hope at present is divided among two clans or "qalgis": Ungasiksikaq and Qagmaktuuq. Their members enact competitive games and make mutual food presentations at the winter solstice and at the Whaling Festival. Membership tends to follow a patri-

lineal pattern, with some exceptions in that a woman might keep her father's clan affiliation at marriage.

5. In the 1930s there was a nurse on the "North Star," the Bureau of Indian Affairs supply ship that stopped at each village. Later there were public health nurses, each situated regionally, who trained village health aides and midwives; and in the 1950s there were specially trained local tuberculosis control aides. In 1955, the health service was transferred from Indian Affairs to the U.S. Public Health Service. Today state and federal governments combine in health work.
6. Health Aides are the women paramedical staff of the clinics in the small villages in northern Alaska, qualified by brief training in Native Health Service hospitals. In 1987-88 none of those at Point Hope were at the same time traditional healers, nor were they regarded as similar to the latter. In the eyes of the villagers they acted as an extension of the hospital system. It should be noted that no doctors practice in the small villages.
7. See V. Turner (1985:54): "Kurt Lewin (1951) found it possible to link in a definite manner, by means of his 'field theoretical' approach, a variety of facts of individual and social psychology, which, from a classificatory point of view, seem to have little in common. He was able to do so by regarding the barrier between individual and environment as indefinite and unstable. His approach requires the consideration of an organism-environment field whose properties are studied as field properties, and not as the properties of either organism or environment, taken separately. The flow of events within the field always is directed to some extent by the relations between the outer and inner structures." In Point Hope the barrier between organism and environment becomes unstable at every turn, owing to the effects of connectedness already mentioned.

References Cited

Barry, Doug, and Libby Roderick
1982 Della Keats: The Hands of a Healer. Alaska Woman, August:24-28.

Book, Patricia A., Mim Dixon, and Scott Kirchner
1983 Native Healing in Alaska: Report from Serpentine Hot Springs. *In* Crosscultural Medicine. Western Medicine Journal 139:923-927.

Burch, E.S., Jr.
1975 Eskimo Kinsmen. St. Paul: West.
1981 The Traditional Eskimo Hunters of Point Hope, Alaska, 1800-1875. Barrow Alaska: North Slope Borough.

DeLapp, T., and E. Ward
1981 Traditional Inupiat Health Practices. Barrow, Alaska: Health and Social Service Agency, North Slope Borough.

Dixon, Mim, and S. Kirchner
1982 "Poking," an Eskimo Medical Practice from Northwest Alaska. Etudes Inuit Studies 6(2):109-126.

Driggs, John B.
1906 Mission Life at Point Hope. Hartford, Connecticut: Church Missions Publishing Company, Publication No. 37.

Foote, Donald
1966 A Human Geographical Study. *In* Environment of the Cape Thompson Region, Alaska, edited by Norman Wilimovsky and John Wolfe. Oak Ridge, Tennesee: U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

Fortuine, Robert
1985 Lancets of Stone: Traditional Methods of Surgery Among the Alaska Natives. Arctic Anthropology 22(1): 23-46.
Giddings, James Louis, Jr.
1977 Ancient Men of the Arctic. New York: Knopf.
Goodman, F.W.
1940 The Jubilee of St. Thomas Mission. The Alaskan Churchman 35(3).
Juul, Sandra
1979 Portrait of an Eskimo Tribal Health Doctor. Alaska Medicine 21(6):66-71.
Katz, Richard, and Rachel Craig
1986 Interviews With Tribal Doctors, Kotzebue, Alaska. Kotzebue: Archives of Manilaq Association.
King, Basil
1951 An Apostle of the Stone Age: Life of Reginald Hoare. Manuscript in Rasmussen Library, Fairbanks.
Kirchner, S.
1982 Andrew Skin, Sr.: Eskimo Doctor. Alaska Medicine 24:101-105.
Larsen, Helge, and Froelich Rainey
1948 Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunter Culture. New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 42.
Lantis, Margaret
1947 Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
1950 The Religion of the Eskimos. *In* Forgotten Religions, edited by V. Ferm, pp. 311-339. New York: Philosophical Library
1959 Folk Medicine and Hygiene, Lower Kuskokwim and Nunivak-Nelson Island Areas. Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska 8(1):1-76.
Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien
1985 How Natives Think [1910], translated by Lillian A. Clare. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Lewin, Kurt
1951 Field Theory in Social Science. New York: Harper.
Lowenstein, Tom
1977 Some Aspects of Sea Ice Subsistence Hunting in Point Hope, Alaska. Barrow: North Slope Borough Coast and Zone Management.
Lucier, Charles V., James VanStone and Della Keats
1971 Medical Practices and Human Anatomical Knowledge Among the Noatak Eskimos. Ethnology 10(3):251-264.
Lucier, Charles V., and James VanStone
1987 An Inupiaq Autobiography. Etudes Inuit Studies 11(1):149-172.
Marshall, John W.
1954 The History of the Protestant Missions in Alaska. M.A. Thesis No. 48366, Pasadena College.
Moody, Raymond A.
1975 Life After Life. New York: Bantam.

Murphy, Jane
1964 Psychotherapeutic Aspects of Shamanism on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. *In* Magic, Faith, and Healing, edited by Ari Kiev, pp. 53-83. New York: Free Press.

Puiguitkaat: 1978 Elders Conference
1978 Edited by Gary Kean, Barrow: North Slope Borough Commission on History and Culture.

Pulu, Tupou L. (Qipuk), Ruth Ramoth-Sampson and Angeline Newlin
1980 Whaling: A Way of Life. Anchorage: National Bilingual Materials Development Center, Rural Education, University of Alaska.

Rainey, Froelich
1947 The Whale Hunters of Tigara. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 41(2). New York.

Rasmussen, Knud
1930 The Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimo. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
1952 The Alaskan Eskimos. Copenhagen: Glydendal

Shinkwin, Anne
1978 A Preservation Plan for Tigara Village. North Slope Borough Planning Department for the City of Point Hope and the North Slope Borough Commission on History and Culture.

Spencer, R.F.
1959 The North Alaskan Eskimo: A Study in Ecology and Society. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 171.

Turner, Edith
Forthcoming The Tooth: Addressing the Spirit in Ndembu Ritual. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
In press Rabbi Shimon Bar Yohai: The Creative Persona and his Pilgrimage. *In* Creative Persona and the Problem of Authenticity, edited by Smader Lavie et al. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor
1968 The Drums of Affliction. Oxford: Clarendon.
1985 On the Edge of the Bush. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
In press Blazing the Trail, edited by Edith Turner. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

VanStone, James
1962 Point Hope: An Eskimo Village in Transition. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Zumwalt, Rosemary Levy
1987 The Return of the Whale: Nalukataq, the Point Hope Whale Festival. *In* Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival. Essays in memory of Victor Turner, edited by Alessandro Falassi, pp. 261-275. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.