

## Indigenous Trade and Social Change of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos in the Bering Strait Region during the 18–20th Centuries

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# Indigenous Trade and Social Change of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos in the Bering Strait Region during the 18-20th Centuries

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## 1 Introduction

It has been suggested that people living in the arctic regions ranging from the northeastern coast of the Chukotka Peninsula to the coasts of Alaska, Canada and Greenland have been hunters and fishermen and that they enjoyed relatively simple social organizations and technologies. However, it is also known that several groups in the Bearing Sea region had a clan system before the 19th century (Menovshchikov 1964; Hughes 1958, 1984a, b, c) and that the Inupiaq Eskimos in Northwest Alaska had complex social forms for whaling (Sheehan 1997).

In this paper, I argue that emergence, decline and disappearance of the Siberian Yupik Eskimo clan system were caused not only by historical changes in indigenous subsistence activities, but also by another factor. Specifically I suggest that indigenous trading activities and the resulting accumulation of wealth were also factors in the formation and reproduction of the clan system among the pre-19<sup>th</sup>-century Siberian Yupik Eskimos. Furthermore, the historical decline in Eskimo trade activities as well as changes in hunting and fishing practices resulted in their adopting of a far-simpler social organization. In this paper, I will delineate the social organization and trading activities of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> - Siberian Yupik Eskimos and propose a hypothesis of historical reproduction and decline of the clan system among them.

This paper also concerns a re-evaluation of works of Bogoras (1904-5) and Johelson (1908) of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Although Bogoras conducted research among the Siberian Yupik Eskimos, he did not produce a general ethnography; instead, his research was limited to compiling their folk tales and songs (Bogoras 1913). In fact, the ethnological study of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos is a blind spot in the research of the Jesup Project (Schweitzer 2003). This paper aims to fill the lacuna. Whereas both Bogoras (1904-9) and Johelson (1908) paid careful attention to indigenous and Euro-American trades

among the Chukchi and Koryak and left descriptions on them. It seems likely that they are the first scholars to point out the correlation between trading activities and social stratification among the North Pacific natives. This point is a main theme of my paper and I owe my idea on trade and social change among the Siberian Yupik Eskimos to those two scholars.

## 2 Social Structure of Siberian Yupik Eskimos

### 2.1 General Background on Siberian Yupik Eskimos

Traditionally, the Siberian Yupik Eskimos lived along the Bering Strait coast of the Chukotka Peninsula and on the islands near it. They used the *umiak* (a large skin boat) to hunt large sea mammals such as whales and walrus and fished for salmon, arctic char and trout.

The Siberian Yupik Eskimos call themselves "Yupigyt". From 1931 to 1938, the Soviet government employed "Yuit" as an official ethnic name but changed it to "Eskimo" in 1938 (Wixman 1984: 64).

Some Siberian Yupik Eskimos inter-married with Chukchis, were Chukchinized, and began to speak Chukchi languages. The total population of Siberian Yupik Eskimos was approximately 1,300 in the late 1800s (Krupnik 1993: 29), 1,293 in 1926, 1,118 in 1959, 1,308 in 1970 and 1,510 in 1979 (Wixman 1984: 64).

As there are few extant studies on the social organization of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos, many of its particulars are unknown or speculative. In this paper, I will describe what is known about their social organization, relying heavily on the studies of Menovshchikov (1964) and Hughes (1958, 1984a, b, c)(note 1).

### 2.2 Familial Organization

There is no clear information about the household composition of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos, but it can be inferred that their social and economic unit was a patrilineal extended family, despite the fact that a majority of households were composed of nuclear families. Until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, several families occupied one winter semisubterranean house. This house type was replaced by the Chukchi type winter tent in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century which was used until modern housing became available about 1950 (Hughes 1984b: 251).

### 2.3 Residential Rules

The Siberian Yupik Eskimos practiced clan exogamy and patrilocal residence rules, that is, there was a marriage prohibition against anyone of Ego's patrilineal clan. However, a man might move to his fathers' house after a certain period of bride service in his parents-in-law's house (Menovshchikov 1964: 843). Also, contrary to some reports, only rich men practiced polygamy (Hughes 1984b: 255).

### 2.4 Kin Group

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, descent among the Siberian Yupik Eskimos was patrilineal and the existence of clans among them is well-documented (Feiberg 1967; Hughes 1958, 1984a, b; Menovshchikov 1964: 843). Such a clan might also be interpreted as a lineage. A village was made up of one or more clans, which occupied particular locations within its perimeters (Hughes 1984b: 254). In Sireniki and Chaplino on the Chuktoka Peninsula, for example, there were several clan names and fixed family names.

Until the 1930s, boat crews were recruited on the basis of clan membership (Hughes 1984b: 254). In most cases, *umiak* crew members for whaling were composed of the boat owner's brothers, sons and nephews among the Siberian Yupik Eskimos as was also the case among the Chukchi. A kin group whose core was made up of the *umiak* crew members used to live in a single residence.

At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, crew members began to occupy separate houses and cooperated only in the hunting itself (Menovschikov 1964: 843). The recruitment system declined later.

### 2.5 The Village Leader

When a village was made up of several clans, a clan elder of the most powerful and respected clan became the head man. Succession to the position of head man was handed down patrilineally among the Siberian Yupik Eskimos (Hughes 1984b: 254).

Once the Siberian Yupik Eskimos began to trade baleen and furs with American whalers and traders, however, they gained economic power and some of the wealthiest began to be called "rulers of the land". They controlled village economic life. For example, they decided when the hunting started and ended

(Menovschikov 1964: 845).

## 2.6 Inheritance of Mobile Property and Stratification

Inheritance was patrilineal among the Siberian Yupik Eskimo (Menovschikov 1964: 843). Once there used to be considerable differences of economic power between boat owners and others, but the differences were usually evened out by their sharing of portions of large animals with the rest of the village (Krupnik 1993: 54). The owner of a big boat had the right to the best parts of the game, however, which created the potential to produce economic inequality among them (Menovshchikov 1964: 843).

## 2.7 Clan System of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos

The clan system of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos was unique among Eskimo societies. Clans were the essential social units in community structure of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos. Membership in a clan influenced marriage patterns (clan exogamy), hunting patterns (boat crews were composed traditionally only of clansmen), settlement patterns (each clan occupied its particular location within the village), burial patterns (clansmen were all buried together in particular sites), religious activities (each clan had its distinctive rituals), folklore (unique tales of origin, inter-group relations and cosmology) and sub-dialectical differences (Hughes 1984a: 244).

## 3 Trade and Its Influences on Siberian Yupik Eskimos in the Bering Strait Regions

### 3.1 Bering Strait Trade

The coastal dwellers of Alaska obtained a variety of goods through native trade networks from indigenous people in northern Asia and from the inland people of Alaska before their contact with Russians and Euro-Americans (Bogoras 1904-1909: 53-58; Hickey 1979: 420-421; Michael 1967: 100-101; Nelson 1983: 228-232; Pierce 1980: 30-31; Ray, D. 1975: 97-98; Vanstone 1979: 63-64, 88-89; also see Burch 2005: note 75 of pp.310.). It is believed that this Bering Strait trade between the two continents was probably established by approximately the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Hickey 1979: 411, 430).

By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Russians intruded into the north-eastern

Siberia. Around that time, European goods began to reach the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik Eskimos. Those goods were traded to indigenous people in Alaska through villages on the Diomed Islands and Seward Peninsula. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, Sledge Islanders, Diomed Islanders, and people at Cape Prince of Wales played the most important role as middlemen in the trade across Bering Strait. Hotham Inlet near the current village of Kotzebue became one of the main trading centers in Alaska (Vanstone 1984: 154).

On the Siberian side, the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik Eskimos played major roles in the Bering Strait trade. The reindeer Chukchi offered stubborn resistance to the Russian Empire (the Cossacks) from 1700s (Forsyth 1992: 143-151). They “were aware of the material benefits to be derived from trade with the Russians, especially ironware and firearms, and they themselves initiated contacts with the Russians after 1764, some groups even being willing to give *yasak* (fur tax) on condition that no hostages were taken. To facilitate trade, the Yakutsk authorities organized an annual market on the river Anyui near Lower Kolymsk”, some 800 miles west of Bering Strait from 1788 onward (Forsyth 1992: 149-150). In 1789, an annual trade fair was organized at the Anyui post (Bogoras 1904-1905: 700-705). The Anyui fair created a greater demand for furs than the Chukchi alone could not satisfy. Thus, the fair intensified and accelerated already established trading networks between the Siberian and Alaskan natives as far north as Point Barrow (Ray, D. 1983: 83; Burch 1988: 234). Russian goods increased dramatically in quantity, entering into the North America through trading mediators of the Chukchis, Siberian Yupik Eskimos and Inupiaq Eskimos. During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, trade between Siberian and Alaskan natives reached a peak, with the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik Eskimos acting as middlemen between the Russians and Alaskans (Burch 1988: 234-235)(note 2). The role of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Alaska trade was far more significant than that of the Chukchi. They traveled often to St. Lawrence Island and the mainland of Alaska for trading purposes (Hughes 1964: 9).

The main trade goods from the Russian to the Alaskan side were tobacco, glass beads, metal buttons, iron, articles of adornment, needles, pots, kettles, knives, spears, bells, and tea (Burch 1988: 235-236; Morrison 1991: 242). In return, furs of sable, beaver, arctic fox, muskrat, sea otter, lynx, wolverine, and seals, various sea mammal oils, walrus tusks, wooden carvings, baleen and so on traveled from Alaska to Siberia (Burch 1988: 235; Morrison 1991: 242).

Through this trading network, other indigenous resources and materials were also exchanged between Siberian and Alaskan natives. Reindeer skins were traded from Siberia to Alaska. Wood, masks, pipes, bowls, dolls and clothing were traded in the opposite direction (Burch 1988: 235).

Alaska became a territory of the United States in 1867. Even after that time, however, trade between Inupiaq Eskimos in Alaska, and Siberian Yupik Eskimos and Chukchi in Siberia was continued. The character of the trade changed from basic commodities to that of luxuries. For example, Siberians traded spotted-tame reindeer skins, a raw material for winter clothing, for goods from Alaska (Ray, D. 1983: 89).

Schweitzer and Golovko, who studied contacts across Bering Strait during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, describe exchange items across the Strait. From the Siberian side to Alaskan side came: arctic fox skins, reindeer-leg fur, reindeer skins, old walrus ivory, wolverine skins, walrus tusks, bear skins, seal skins, leather belts, native boots and mittens, and tobacco (Schweitzer and Golovko 1995: 113). Items brought from the Alaskan side to Siberian side included: American rifles, cartridges, small-bore rifles, drills for ivory work, canned food, tea, pilot biscuits, chewing gum, tobacco for chewing and smoking, alcohol, prefabricated houses, wolverine skins, beaver skins, sweets, honey, ready-made clothes, and fruit (Schweitzer and Golovko 1995: 113-114).

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Siberian Yupik Eskimos and Chukchi on Chuktoka Peninsula had been accustomed to Euro-American goods for several decades. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, native trade intermediaries of the Bering Sea region obtained outboard motors for their *umiaks* and engaged in visiting and trading in Nome, Alaska. Madsen describes:

“... I was able to barter quite a few outboards to natives along the Arctic Coast, and at the Diomedes and King islands, and Cape Prince Wales to load their families, dogs, cooking utensils and food into *umiak* equipped with outboards had sail to Nome for summer, where they set up shelters outside the town” (Madsen 1957: 142-143).

The Soviet government banned American traders from Chuktoka. In the 1920s, the demand for these goods did not disappear (Schweitzer and Golovko 1995: 114). Characteristic of the Bering Strait trade after 1900 was the exchange of raw material and native products from Siberia to Alaska and Euro-American goods

that were carried to Siberia from Alaska (Schweitzer and Golovko 1995: 114). With initiation of the Cold War, the governments of the USA and Soviet Union prohibited any inter-continental native trade.

### 3.2 Trade with Whaling Ships and American Traders

After 1848, when the first Yankee whale ship entered Bering Strait, numerous whales (bowhead whale and Pacific right whale) were discovered in northern parts of Bering Sea. American whaling ships came into Bering Strait (Bockstoce 1995). While the American whalers hunted whales, they also traded with Coastal Chukchi, Siberian Yupik Eskimos and Inupiaq Eskimos on the coasts of the Bering Sea, where they began wintering over in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Whalers exchanged rum, firearms, cartridges, iron knives, axes, ceramics, needles, tobacco, clothing and wheat flour for baleen and walrus tusks (Bockstoce 1995; Foote 1964; Hopper 1953; Madsen 1957; Swenson 1944, etc). These Euro-American goods were spread to other regions by indigenous middlemen (Burch 1988: 236; Krupnik 1993: 69; Znamenski 1999: 26-37).

In the region from Anadyr to Point Barrow from 1848 to 1885, Euro-American whalers took about 10,000 whales (Foote 1964: 18). Between 1865 and 1885, they harvested more than 100,000 walrus in the same area (Foote 1964: 18). According to a second estimate, commercial whalers killed more than 18,000 bowhead whales and 150,000 walrus in the arctic region of the North Pacific (Krupnik 1993: 80). About 1880, when the number of whales and walrus started to decrease, some whalers began to engage in a second business of fur trading with Bering Sea natives. This continued until the early 1900s, when the whales became too rare to be profitable.

Soon after the appearance of American whalers, small trading vessels from southern ports visited the Bering Sea regions on both continents for trading purposes (note 3). “[B]y the summer of 1851 at least 6 small vessels were operating in Bering strait”. These included “the Lady Franklin and one other schooner from Australia, the Eliza and the Rena whose ports are not recorded, the brig Juno of Honolulu, and the Koh-I-noor of Hong Kong” (Bockstoce 1995: 182). The traders obtained walrus ivory, baleen and furs, in exchange for large amount of rum, whisky, and firearms (Burch 1988: 236). For example, in 1854, a small German-owned schooner from Honolulu, brought home 4,000 pounds of walrus tusks, 3,000 pounds of baleen, and several hundred marten, sable and other skins (Bockstoce 1995: 184)(note 4). Rum and other liquor became a



disruptive factor among indigenous people across Bering Strait (Bockstoe 1995: 188-191).

Into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, several American traders from Nome, Alaska traded ivory (note 5) and furs for Euro-American goods with the Siberian natives. C. Madsen who worked as a trader in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, writes:

“When I began trading with Siberian natives, every skipper bartered for furs, ivory and whalebone with the same sized sacks of flour, boxes of sugar, packages of tea and boxes of chewing tobacco”(Madsen 1957: 134).

Also, the Northeastern Siberian Company Limited, a mixed group financed by English, French, American, and Russian capital, mined and traded in the northeastern part of Siberia, from the Anadir River to Cape North in the Arctic. It was known that the company's managing director, John Rosene in Seattle sent a group of fifty American prospectors from Nome, Alaska to Siberia on a grub-stake basis in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Swenson 1944: 8).

#### 4 The Role of Siberian Yupik Eskimos in Bering Strait Trade and Its Change

Siberian Yupik Eskimos and Coastal Chukchis were trading intermediators between the Siberia and Alaska sides of Bering Strait. Recent studies show that Eskimos on St. Lawrence Island, Little Diomedé Island and King Island were also very active traders (e.x. Bogojavlensky 1969; Kingston 2000; VanStone 1980: 10).

After a fort was established by the Russians in Anadyr on the Chuktoka Peninsula in 1649, Russian metal goods as well as reindeer skins spread into Alaska by native people in the Bering Strait regions (Rainey 1947: 267-268). Until the early 1850s, Siberian Yupik Eskimos and Coastal Chukchis visited Alaska with four or five umiaks every year (Spencer 1959: 198-209; Oswalt 1967: 132). In 1789, after the Anyui fair was established, their role as trading middlemen increased in significance due to the emerging demand for furs.

One trade route was from East Cape on Chuktoka Peninsula, through Diomedé Islands to Wales and later Hotham Inlet in Alaska. Trade goods were then spread to various regions of Alaska through native trading networks (Burch 2005: 207-219). It is inferred that metal goods, reindeer skins, glass beads, tobacco and pipes entering Alaska from Siberia across the Strait stimulated

development of native trade fairs at Port Clarence and Kotzebue Sound in Alaska and of trading partnerships among the Alaskan natives (Spencer 1959: 210-228; Burch 1970; Rubel 1961).

In the 1850s, when the American whaling ships started to visit the Bering Sea, Siberian Yupik Eskimos started to play a critical role in the trading of baleen, walrus tusks, and later furs, with the whalers. Also, the Eskimos obtained rum and firearms through trading with small trading vessels from Seattle, Hawaii and San Francisco, and gained profits as a middleman. Several Chukchis, Siberian Yupik Eskimos and Inupiaq Eskimos in the Bering Sea region accumulated a considerable amount of wealth through their trade with other natives, Euro-Americans and Russians (Burch 1975: 222; Bockstoce 1995: 195). For example, one Indian Point Siberian Yupik was so rich that he bought a sixty-foot schooner from Captain Benjamin Dexter in 1886 (Bockstoce 1995: 197-198).

Bockstoce reports that there was an Inupiaq man who became very rich as a trading middleman in Point Hope on the Alaskan side (Bockstoce 1995: 199). According to Burch,

“In this huge tract of country, extending from Cape Espenberg to Point Hope, and including the entire Selawik, Kobuk, and Noatak drainages, there were apparently only four men who qualified for the designation “wealthy” by 1885. These men were Surluq, on the Uper Kobuk River, Kapurina in the Selawik district, Kilagzaq at Kotzebue, and Aata(ng)auzak at Point Hope. All of these men were traders first, hunters second” (Burch 1975: 222).

Furthermore, as the trading activities developed around the Bering Strait, a trade language was created on the basis of the Eskimo, Chukchi, English, Russian, Hawaiian languages and was used for a trading purpose (Stafansson 1909; Rouse 1994: 319-329).

Thus far, I have described what constituted wealth to the Inupiat Eskimos and its change over time. As the sharing system was well developed in Inuit society generally, the accumulation of wealth was regarded as almost impossible. Historically, however, the Inupiaq whaling societies in Northwest Alaska differed from other Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit in regards to individual accumulation of wealth because Inupiaq *umialit* (boat captains) were richer than others in terms of material wealth (Sheehan 1997).

As Burch points out, accumulation of wealth was a goal of traditional Northwest Alaskan Eskimos. It was reckoned primarily in terms of inventories of food, clothing, and skins. Houses, boats, and other items of equipment or property were also important, both as a means for obtaining food, and for their intrinsic value (Burch 1975: 209). A wealthy man's storehouses, meat cellars, and caches would be full of furs, and caribou and seal skins and Russian tobacco, etc. (Burch 1975: 209). Another visible indicator of wealth was the beads, which decorated his clothing, his laborites and headband (Spencer 1959: 154). While the wealthy man had to assist his whaling crews and relatives in times of economic need (Sheehan 1997: 202; Spencer 1959: 154), he was still able to accumulate wealth by his own efforts and assistance of his crews and relatives.

According to Burch, a shift from the accumulation of food reserves as the primary source of wealth to trade in skins, furs, and baleen was observed among the Inupiaq whaling societies in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Burch 1975: 222). In that society, wealth was conceived as the expendable surplus of any and all goods. This includes extra food, a full cellar, extra clothing, skins and furs of all kinds, pokes of oil, weapons, utensils, tools, boats, sleds, dogs, etc. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, tobacco and trade beads also came to be regarded as a form of wealth (Spencer 1959: 156). Only a man of great wealth could own the green and white beads (Spencer 1959: 156-157).

The Siberian Yupik Eskimos were experienced in bartering with the Reindeer Chukchi and Alaskan Eskimos. This made them successful traders with American and other traders, and made some of them very rich (Menovshchikov 1964: 844). In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, economic stratification became common among Siberian Yupik Eskimos due to a change in the character and distribution patterns of the collective hunting activities, with the advent of commodity values that resulted from trading with Americans and Russians (Menovshchikov 1964: 843; Hughes 1984: 255). From the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, 14 Eskimos had their own shops, where they dealt in whaling boats, engines, whaling guns, ammunition and other commodities (Hughes 1964: 9; Menovschikov 1964: 843-845). As a result Siberian Eskimo society differentiated into "haves" and "have-nots". Good hunters accumulated more baleen than others. Boat owners became much richer, and poorer Eskimos became dependent on the richer. The boat owners and/or middlemen thus held both economic and political power.

By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Siberian Yupik Eskimos acquired most of

their hunting equipment, raw materials for clothing and housing, and main household items through trade, with either of Chukchis, American or Russian traders or Eskimos from Alaska and Saint Lawrence Island. They almost exclusively depended on commercial and barter trade. Furthermore, they had to produce an enormous annual surplus to support such as a substantial volume of trade (Krupnik 1993: 51-52).

By the early 1880s, indigenous people around both sides of Bering Strait became dependent on the foreign trading items : firearms, ammunition, drills for wooden carving, wood-hulled hunting boats with sails, iron harpoon points and spear heads, hand-held grenades of killing whales, needles, clothing, and knives supplied by whaling ships and trading vessels from southern ports (Krupnik 1993: 50). As whales became scarce in the 1880s and walruses dramatically decreased in the 1890s, Siberian Yupik Eskimos could no longer obtain sufficient baleen and walrus tusks for trading. As a result, they became ceased playing an important role as middleman in the American and Russian trade (Foote 1964: 19). Furthermore, between 1819 and 1880, the native population in Bering Strait decreased drastically due to the spread of epidemic diseases. After the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the Eskimos rarely caught whales and walruses, which had been over hunted by American whalers. They often suffered from starvation through to the 1880s (Krupnik 1993: 200)(note 6). They had to hunt primarily small sea mammals and to engage in individual arctic fox trapping as a substitute for hunting large sea mammals with *umiaks* (Hughes 1964: 5). This brought about their transformation from active traders and large sea mammal hunters into hunters and fishermen who often lacked economic stability (Krupnik 1993: 66). Also, the role of Siberian native middleman was substantially finished and this role taken over by American and Russian traders by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

As outlined above, the decline in clan system of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos historically corresponded to diminished indigenous trading and trading with Russians and Americans.

## 5 Conclusion

In this paper, I propose the following hypothesis concerning reproduction and decline of the clan system among the Siberian Yupik Eskimos.

- (1) Before contact with Russians and Americans, Siberian Yupik

Eskimos had functioned as middleman between the Siberian and Alaskan natives, and had accumulated considerable wealth as a result. Furthermore, as large as they were able to catch whales and walrus that were abundant in the Bering Sea, they had ample subsistence resources.

(2) From 1789 through the Anyui trade and trade with whaling and trading vessels in the 1850s, the Siberian Yupik Eskimo's role as middleman greatly escalated.

(3) Economic conditions relating to (1) and (2) resulted in economic stratification and reproduction of the clan system.

(4) At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, due to over-hunting of whales and walrus primarily by American whalers, Siberian Yupik Eskimos experienced difficulties in obtaining baleen and walrus tusks for exporting trade goods as well as whale skins, whale meat and blubber, walrus meat and blubber for their food. Because the Siberian Yupik Eskimos could not maintain the once-profitable trading and hunting activities under these conditions, they had to resort to trading of the much less valuable arctic fox furs and hunting of small sea mammals such as ringed seals. As a result, their economic activities changed from group hunting and trading activities with *umiaks* or wooden whaling vessels to individual hunting and trading. To adjust to new economic conditions, the Eskimos began to employ a smaller and more flexible form of social organization than the clan system (cf. Sheehan 1997: 171; Krupnik 1993: 199).

(5) By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Siberian Natives' role as trading middleman was practically taken over by American traders.

(6) The Siberian Yupik Eskimos in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were ethnographically recorded to be hunting and fishing people. But in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, they were active traders as well as hunting and fishing people (note 7).

This hypothesis offers an explanation for the disappearance of the clan system among the Siberian Yupik Eskimos, which the Alaskan whaling Eskimos did not have (note 8). The crucial difference between the two was due to the differing positions in trade with other native groups, American whalers, and Russian traders. If my hypothesis is correct, there should be a strong correlation

between historical development of trading activities and temporal change in settlement patterns of the Siberian Yupik Eskimos. The hypothesis can be tested by determining when and how the settlement patterns changed on the coastal regions of the Chuktoka Peninsula, St. Lawrence Island, King Island and Diomed Island.

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Notes

(note 1) There are two unpublished papers on the social organizations of Siberian Yupik Eskimos on St. Lawrence Island. One is written by Bogojavlensky (1969) and another by Ross (1958).

(note 2) Trade networks between the reindeer Chukchi and Siberian Yupik Eskimos also existed. According to Krupnik: "Eskimos frequently visited the nearest reindeer herders' came to exchange goods with them, traveling upstream by skinboat when the rivers were free of ice, and by dogsled in winter. In addition, permanent rendezvous places for meetings between coastal hunters and reindeer herders existed until the early to mid-twentieth century" (Krupnik 1993: 40). Also, see Krupnik (1993: 67).

(note 3) In the 1820s, small schooners from Seattle, San Francisco, Hawaii and Hong Kong began to visit the Bering Sea Regions in the search for baleen, walrus tusks and furs of sea mammals (Foote 1964: 19). See also Hooper (1853).

(note 4) As to the Siberian Yupik Eskimos' trade, see Krupnik (1993: 57). At the early of 20<sup>th</sup> century, bowhead-whale baleen was sold for \$1.5 to \$4.00 a pound, so that the trade value from a single whale would have been from \$2,000 to \$6,000 (Krupnik 1993: 57).

(note 5) Ivory was exported to China and Japan as raw material to make ornaments. Madsen writes: "The tusks discovered in the Lena River delta were shipped to China and Japan, to be made into beautiful ornaments"(Madsen 1957: 139). Concerning fur trade between Reindeer Chukchi and American

traders, see also Ikeya (2002) and Znamenski (1999).

(note 6) Whales and walrus were very important to the Siberian Yupik Eskimos both for food and other products. Oil from whales and walruses served as fuel and as trade goods for the natives themselves. The coastal natives traded whale skins (*muktak*) and baleen to inland people. They ate whale and walrus and traded baleen and walrus tusks to Russians and Americans.

(note 7) The impact of spreading epidemics on the Siberian Yupik Eskimos is beyond the scope of this paper. To elucidate long-term processes of social change among them, we should include the demographic factors in this study. See Krupnik (1983; 1990)

(note 8) Archaeological evidence suggests that the Siberian natives killed baleen whales as long as 2,000 years ago (Whitridge 1999). Concerning development of indigenous whaling, see Savelle (2005).

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