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Alaskan Indigenous Peoples

Julie Manville and Ross Maller*

Centre for Mathematics and its Applications,
and School of Finance and Applied Statistics,
Australian National University
Canberra, Australia

*Ross.Maller@anu.edu.au

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Abstract

The relationship between Christian missionaries and dominant Western society is a little-explored aspect of the cultural negotiation between Christian missionaries and indigenous communities. The hypothesis underlying this article is that the influence of Christian missionaries on the indigenous peoples of Alaska, as manifested by the maintenance of indigenous languages, for example, should vary according to the level of sectarian tension (using Stark and Bainbridge's terminology) that exists between the missionaries' religious denomination and the dominant American society. We postulate that missionaries from low-tension denominations will encourage indigenous communities to resemble American communities, whereas missionaries from denominations with high levels of tension with Western society will have less motivation to press for the assimilation of indigenous peoples into the dominant culture. To test our proposition, we collected data on social and economic indicators such as maintenance of indigenous language, household composition, income, village political structure, and public works for 164 Alaska Native villages. Using historical and anthropological sources, we classified the villages into nine groups representing denominational missionary influence in the villages. We further subclassified these denominational groups into three groups (Church, Catholic, and Sect) that indicate each denomination's level of sectarian tension. When all variables were used together, the multivariate technique of correspondence analysis produced an ordination of the villages that correlated well with the sectarian tension classification, and this association was further confirmed by single-variable analysis of variance and log-linear (chi-square) analyses.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

Julie Manville was one of my very favorite students—I chaired her M.A. Committee at the University of Washington in 1986. Her master's thesis was a fine study based on excellent fieldwork in the native villages of Alaska, the state where Julie grew up. I urged her to send the thesis off for publication. Thus began an endless series of revisions, resubmissions, and rejections.

The sad fact is that far too often, when social scientists dislike the findings, they become methodological extremists, although when the findings suit their preconceptions, they often will blithely overlook any number of elementary methodological sins. In the case of Julie's thesis, two sets of prejudices were activated. One is that nothing done by any missionaries could possibly be enlightened, let alone beneficial. The second is that if some missionaries were less disruptive of native cultures, it could not be that it was the Bible-thumping evangelicals who outdid the liberals. I read many of the reviews from the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, the *Review of Religious Research*, and *Sociological Analysis* (soon to become *Sociology of Religion*). They were appallingly biased and often gratuitously nasty.

Soon after completing her M.A., Julie moved to Australia, where she earned her Ph.D. in anthropology and married a mathematician. With her husband's sophisticated help, she again revised her thesis to meet the methodological objections and again tried to get it published—again without success.

In October 2009, I learned of Julie's untimely death. Shortly thereafter, I was informed that she had left behind a version of her thesis, revised in 1999, which remained unpublished. No longer!

In memory of a fine woman and a gifted scholar, the *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* is delighted to publish this article.

Rodney Stark

The anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan conceptualizes the encounters between Christian missionaries and indigenous or colonized peoples as a dialogue, in which the “deliberate and unintentional negotiation” (1991: 368) among the parties may result in an altered social organization for the colonized people. An unexplored aspect of this cultural negotiation is the attitudes of missionaries toward the dominant Western society and the missionaries' relationships with that society. With respect to the effects of Christian missionaries' influence on indigenous peoples, this article proposes that the extent and nature of the encapsulation of these peoples into the dominant American society are inversely related to the level of “sectarian tension” (Stark and Bainbridge 1985) that is

prevalent between the missionaries' religious denomination or organization and the wider society.¹

In their presentation of a general theory of religion, Stark and Bainbridge suggest that "the lower the tension of a religious group (with the wider society), the greater and more valuable the supply of rewards it can earn from the outside and provide to members" (1996: 144). Ethnographic and historical examples can be used to illustrate the existence of this tension—or lack of it—for denominations that have been active in the Alaskan mission field and represent various points in the sectarian tension continuum, but "[w]hile studies of the textual strategy of colonial representation have significantly advanced our understanding of its grass roots operation, they insufficiently grasp the contradictions and paradoxes of specific micro-physics of colonial struggle" (Pels 1997: 169). According to Pels, the study of colonialism is increasingly returning to earlier anthropological methodologies with analyses that stress the material dimensions of social practices. He cites, among other things, kinship, the use of tools in agricultural practices, and the construction of landscape. In a similar vein, we operationalize the effects of sectarian tension by measuring material cultural artifacts—in our case, socioeconomic factors—that indicate the influence of the cultural negotiation among Alaskan indigenous peoples and missionaries. When related to the denominational classification of Alaskan villages, this provides an objective test of Stark and Bainbridge's (1985) hypothesis for a regional system, namely, Alaska Native² villages.

In the last thirty years or so, anthropologists and historians have turned their attention to the ambiguous and contradictory role of missionaries and the varying responses of colonized peoples to Christianity in the process of colonization and neocolonization (Beaver 1966; Berkhofer 1965; Bowden 1981; Burridge 1991, Orta 1998; Whitehouse 1998). Comaroff and Comaroff (1991: 313) argue, "The European colonization of Africa was often less a directly coercive conquest than a persuasive attempt to colonize consciousness, to remake people by redefining the taken-for-granted surfaces of their everyday worlds." Christian missionaries and their families are major actors in "colonizing" the consciousness of colonized and indigenous peoples. Elmer S. Miller (1970) recognized that missionaries and their families introduce and interpret for colonized peoples the institutions of Western society, which are exemplified by the buildings in a typical mission compound: a chapel, a school, a store, and a hospital.

Subsequently, Beidelman pointed out that missionaries are "actors in an intercultural exchange" (1982: 212) who become incorporated into the colonial

¹ Stark and Bainbridge define the term *sectarian tension* as the mutual rejection of a religious movement and the wider cultural environment that is marked by "antagonism, difference and separation" (1985: 49). This tension is a continuum.

² *Alaska Native* is a legal and emic term for the indigenous peoples of Alaska.

institution (cf. Beidelman 1974, 1981). In Africa, he observed great variation in the missionary enterprise both between and within Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations, noting that “[w]ith closer study other variations may appear which may prove more complex and significant” (Beidelman 1982: 16). The variation that Beidelman observed may be explained by our proposition if the relationships between the various missions and sponsoring missionary societies and the various colonial powers differed along the sectarian tension continuum.

We suggest that the missionaries' introductions and interpretations of Western culture and practice reflect the level of sectarian tension of their Protestant or Roman Catholic affiliation. While missionaries from all denominations will attempt to prevent the practice of magic and such marriage customs as infant bestowal of brides to grown men or polygamy, missionaries from high-tension denominations are more likely to have a contested relationship with governmental officials, governmental policy, and employees of companies involved in the local economy regarding the nature of colonized peoples' entrance into the wage economy. We suggest that these missionaries will have less motivation to compel the assimilation or integration of third or fourth world peoples into the dominant culture. Missionaries from religious denominations that exhibit low levels of tension with the wider society may be expected to encourage indigenous communities to change to resemble communities of the dominant society.

Alaska provides a unique opportunity to test for the differential effects of sectarian tension on indigenous peoples. When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, U.S. government policy toward Indians was shifting in the direction of assimilation. As the annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1869 stated, “The religion of our blessed Saviour is believed to be the most effective agent for the civilisation of any people” (1975: 133–134). During a relatively short period of fifteen years, starting in 1880, Alaska was fairly indiscriminately divided into spheres of influence for nine religious denominations: Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, Baptists, Swedish Evangelicals, Society of Friends, Moravians, and Roman Catholics.³ Missionary societies in the 19th century commonly entered into such comity agreements to prevent disagreements among the mission personnel and to reduce confusion among converts and potential converts by a duplication of effort in the mission field. The Russian Orthodox Church was not included in this comity agreement; however, Orthodoxy became the “traditional church” of many Yup'ik, Aleut, and Indian peoples (Klein 1996; McCollough 1988; Oswalt 1990), as we discuss further in the last section of the article.

³ We have not included the Congregationalists in this analysis, despite their inclusion in the comity agreement, because their mission on Cape Prince of Wales was transferred to the Presbyterian Church in 1920 (Marshall 1954: 237).

It was U.S. colonial policy in Alaska that indigenous people should “be brought under Christian influences by the missionaries” (Harris 1898: i). For ten years starting in 1885, education was provided to indigenous children by the various missions through land grants and government subsidies that were made available by the U.S. Bureau of Education. Following this, some mission schools were assigned government teachers, and even secular schools had a tendency to select devout teachers who were acceptable to the nearest mission (*Education in Alaska* 1885–1909). Therefore the government-sponsored schoolteachers and the missions often had the same worldview when they entered into a dialogue or negotiation with the villagers. After World War I, nonmissionary Europeans and Americans began to occupy village teaching and government positions; however, these individuals tended to work in villages for very short periods of time and had very limited social interactions with indigenous people (cf. Brody 1975; Chance 1990; Hensel 1996). Oswalt (1990) attributes this partially to the teachers’ fear of contracting tuberculosis, which was epidemic throughout Alaska until the late 1950s. In contrast, missionaries lived in villages for years, and some became fluent in indigenous languages.

The “Bureau of Education regarded [the teachers] as social workers and the schoolhouse[s] in which they were to live and work as social centers” (Updegraff 1910: 1300). Except for two small hospitals, mission staff provided all Western medical services in Alaska until 1936 (Shepard and Kelsey 1979: 55). Mission staff also held a diverse range of official positions, such as postmaster, court clerk, and census enumerator. A few denominations, such as the Moravians, operated trading stores in deliberate competition with and opposition to commercial trading stores.⁴ It is reasonable to assume that the missionaries, in their role of cultural gatekeepers between the wider Western society and the indigenous community, influenced the interactions of the villagers with the nonindigenous society. In the next section, we will examine several specific cases.

All aspects of Alaskan society were profoundly affected by two related events. First, the discovery of massive oil fields in Prudhoe Bay during the 1960s, together with the inability of oil companies to utilize them because of unresolved indigenous land claims, was a political and economic factor leading to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971). Under the terms of the act, the indigenous peoples of Alaska, through native corporations created by the Congress, would be granted 962.5 million dollars and forty million acres of land (“Public Law 92-203” 1978) over a period of years. Second, the royalties from Prudhoe Bay and other oil and mineral royalties greatly boosted Alaska state revenues from the late

⁴ Village traders in general had enormous power because they dictated the prices of Western goods and payment rates to indigenous trappers for their pelts (Oswalt 1990: 116). Older people have told the first author of traders who, as postmasters, failed to deliver mail-order goods or punished people for ordering goods from mail-order catalogues.

1970s on. In his policy paper on the State of Alaska budgets during the 1980s, Goldsmith (1991) estimates that of the 48 billion dollars expended by the State of Alaska during this decade, almost 25 billion dollars were spent on new and expanded programs. He proposes that the "allocation of spending was largely done on the basis not of need but rather of equity—each citizen, group, and region should get its fair share of the wealth being distributed" (Goldsmith 1991: 32). These programs included direct income transfers such as a negative head tax (Permanent Fund Dividend) to every state resident, including children, and an old age pension (Longevity Bonus) that proportionately increased the per capita wealth of the villages compared to the wealthier urban centers. In addition, the State of Alaska's 1978 decision (in response to a legal challenge) to fund rural high schools brought a decade of massive capital spending and operating funds into the villages. To illustrate, in 1978, the State of Alaska transferred 152 million dollars to local governments for schools, and by 1986, this figure had risen to 620 million dollars (Goldsmith 1991: 28).

The partitioning of the Alaskan mission field by denomination in the 19th century allows us to test for differences among indigenous villages that could reflect contrasting outcomes of the cultural negotiation between indigenous peoples and missionaries over the subsequent 100 years. We propose that as a result of sectarian tension, villages that were served by missionaries from churches will more closely reflect the social practices of the dominant Western society than will villages that were served by missionaries from sects. Furthermore, we hypothesize that the long-term presence of a Christian mission affects not just individual converts, but the whole population. Consequently, our unit of analysis is the village rather than individual persons.

To test the proposition, we used data from the 1980 Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1982, 1983) and the State of Alaska sanitation survey (Village Safe Water Program 1983). The sanitation survey provides evidence for a village's ability and willingness, or otherwise, to access and utilize various funds from foundations and government sources to purchase and maintain water, sewerage, and garbage facilities.⁵ As was discussed above, Alaskan society altered radically after the 1970s. We have chosen not to analyze recent data because of the extreme difficulty of controlling for the effects of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and for the efforts of the State of Alaska to provide public services to all rural Alaskans, as funded by oil revenues (Lane, Nebesky, and Hull 1982), and because of the involvement of Alaskan indigenous peoples in the international politics of fourth world peoples, which has become increasingly important from the 1980s onward.

⁵ Sparck (1978, 1980) provides an indigenous perspective of this process in a series of articles in the *Tundra Times*, an Alaska Native newspaper.

LOW AND HIGH SECTARIAN TENSION IN ALASKA

The precise nature of the relationship between Alaskan indigenous peoples and the U.S. government has always been a contentious issue, subject to the latest court rulings, administrative rulings by the executive branch, and Congressional legislation. After the 1884 Organic Act, there was an “unspoken implication . . . that Alaska Natives, unlike other Native Americans, did not have claims of aboriginal title to vast tracts of tribal property [and] . . . Alaska did not constitute ‘Indian country’ for purposes of the Indian trade laws” (Case 1984: 6). American Indian policy after the 1887 General Allotment Act was to disband reservations in a policy of assimilation, not to create new trust reservations. Despite this, the Anglican missionary William Duncan, as a representative of the low-tension Episcopalian church, obtained permission from President Grover Cleveland for a British Columbian Tsimshian Indian community, which was having disputes with the Canadian government over land rights, to migrate to Alaska in 1887. This community, the Annette Island (Metlakatla) Reserve, was recognized by the U.S. Congress in 1891. As a result of his social and political contacts, Duncan was able to generate powerful support to lobby for the creation of this new trust reservation (Case 1984).

Indigenous people in what we will call *Church areas* (Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist, Swedish Evangelical, and Lutheran designated mission areas, as described in the next section) were able to obtain legal protection from the encroachment of American and European economic interests by securing executive order reserves. Duncan’s success in obtaining land for his converts was repeated by another missionary, Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Jackson, the General Agent for Education in Alaska (appointed in 1884), a former superintendent of Presbyterian missions in Alaska, and the instigator of the comity agreement mentioned above, set a precedent for the securing of executive order reserves of varying sizes for specific purposes such as schools and reindeer herding. Villagers, missionaries, and other nonindigenous individuals used these reserves (not always successfully) to protect hunting, trapping, fishing, and water rights of indigenous peoples against activities of Americans and Europeans. According to the figures provided by Case (1984), twelve of the fourteen executive order reserves established by the U.S. Office of Education in Alaska from 1905 to 1919 were in the areas that we have designated Church areas.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (the New Deal’s partial reversal of the American Indian Policy of assimilation) was amended in 1936 to include Alaska Natives. Episcopalian Archdeacon Hudson Stuck, serving in the Fort Yukon Athapaskan region, raised money from his book royalties and lecture tours throughout the continental United States to pay for the education of Alaska Native students (MacKenzie 1985: 94). Stuck sponsored John Fredson, for example, who

was awarded a B.S. degree from the University of the South (Sewanee) in 1930. Fredson became a teacher and was involved in one of the few successful applications under the Indian Reorganization Act for the creation of the Venetie Reserve (1,408,000 acres), whose purpose was to preserve indigenous economic rights that were being threatened by white trappers (Case 1984; MacKenzie 1985).

An article that appeared in the February 14, 1914, issue of the *New York Evening Post* (Stuck 1914) illustrates the acceptance by church missionaries of legal governmental positions, such as that of magistrate, and the missionaries' willingness to work within the American judicial system. The article depicts the "heroic and lonely" efforts of an Episcopalian medical missionary to stop the illegal trade in alcohol to Fort Yukon Indians by becoming a justice of the peace.

Ellen Hayes, a Tlingit woman, describes the Alaska Native Brotherhood as a Tlingit political and social organization "based on Christianity," which fought for "justice for the Alaska Natives: citizenship, education, health care, fair labor relationships, land claims (for the taking of the Tongass National Forest) and other issues" (1979: 117). She suggests that the 1912 founding of the Alaska Native Brotherhood was "a very significant by-product of the Presbyterian Church education programs in Southeast Alaska." With its insistence on the use of "Robert's Rules of Order; proper dress and behavior; record keeping; 'the good of the order' speeches of challenge; rituals with traditional banners and caps; memorial ceremonies" (E. Hayes 1979: 117–118), the Alaska Native Brotherhood educated and prepared Tlingits to be effective political actors on the local, state, and national levels. It is not surprising that the first Native Alaskan elected to the territorial legislature was William L. Paul, a Tlingit attorney, in 1925 (Arnold et al. 1978).

For an example of a sect that came into conflict with the wider American society, we consider the mission of the Society of Friends (Quakers) to Kotzebue, which was begun in 1897. For the first thirty years of the mission, Quakers, as was common for all missionaries throughout Alaska and in accordance with U.S. government policy, held government positions such as schoolteacher, postal officer, census taker, and magistrate. However, these practices changed in the 1920s because of a theological shift among Quakers toward a separatist and millenarian doctrine, in which secular activities and positions were considered undesirable. During the same period, the fur trade and the commercial reindeer trade attracted a group of nonindigenous people to Kotzebue; these industries required indigenous labor for the collection of the raw product. The newcomers argued that the Quakers were delaying the assimilation process by opposing government-sponsored village councils, by requiring villagers to attend worship services for many hours per week, by forbidding Sunday work, and by preaching that material goods hindered one's entrance into heaven. The cultural negotiation among the

Society of Friends, converts, and other villagers regarding the wage economy had the potential to seriously reduce the profits of the fur trade and reindeer industry. A 1931 petition to the government, allegedly signed by all non-Quaker whites in the village, asked that the Quakers be removed from the area (Flanders 1991; Roberts 1978).

Roman Catholics occupy an intermediate position on the sectarian tension continuum, sometimes exhibiting churchlike features and other times exhibiting sectlike features. In an ethnographic study of bicultural education in Alaska, Kleinfeld (1979) attempts to explain the success of a Roman Catholic secondary boarding school whose students had a statewide reputation for achieving a high school standard of education, “strong personal integration,” and community leadership, compared to the dismal performance of non-Catholic schools in these respects in educating Alaskan indigenous teenagers. She attributes the school’s success to being located in a Yup’ik village and, most important, to the school administration’s and teachers’ conscious emphasis on the unity of Eskimo (some Inuit students also attended) and Roman Catholic values of leadership, cooperation, and one’s responsibility to others, which differ from “the individualistic achievement values of modern life” (Kleinfeld 1979: 133). This blend of Eskimo egalitarianism and the primary concern in Roman Catholic educational philosophy for students’ character, instead of academic attainment, is antagonistic to the individualistic achievement ethos of the Western educational institutions.

We began this article with Stark and Bainbridge’s (1996) proposal that individuals have the potential to receive a wider range of rewards from the wider society if they belong to a religious group that has a lower level of sectarian tension. The gaining of rights to land and the protection of fishing, hunting, and gathering rights, as we discussed above, were crucial rewards that were supplied to villagers in Church areas. Two extreme cases dramatically illustrate the proposition. The Pribilof Aleuts endured servitude conditions in harvesting fur seals for the U.S. government from the 1870s to the 1960s (D. K. Jones 1980). The Pribilof Aleuts were predominantly Russian Orthodox and had no effective allies in the wider American society. Contrast this experience with that of the Point Hope villagers in the 1950s and 1960s. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, urged by Edward Teller and scientists from the Lawrence Livermore Radiation Laboratory, began plans in the late 1950s to detonate a nuclear bomb 31 miles southeast of the village of Point Hope, in the Episcopalian area, to create a new harbor (O’Neill 1994: 41). A coalition of scientists, Indian rights organizations, conservationists, villagers, and—of particular relevance to our argument—church groups lobbied President Kennedy and his cabinet and eventually defeated this proposal in 1962.

These examples provide supporting evidence for our thesis, but for an objective test of our hypothesis and a quantitative approach to the question, we turn to the analytical techniques described in the next section.

ANALYTICAL METHODOLOGY

The U.S. Census of 1980 identifies 201 Alaska Native villages. Of these, we removed, for the present study, 37 villages for which the only available data were the population size and the percentage native component of the population and for which the village population consisted of fewer than ten people or Alaska Natives made up less than 15 percent of the village population. This left 164 villages for the analysis.

In the remainder of this section, we describe the procedures that we used to classify these villages into the nine denominations defined by the comity agreement of the 1880s: Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, Baptists, Swedish Evangelicals, Society of Friends, Moravians, and Roman Catholics. Following this, we list the information (explanatory variables) available on each village, and we describe the statistical methodology that we used to test for and display the association between denominations and the explanatory variables that tend to measure the impact of colonization on the villages. Additionally, we briefly describe the statistical technique of correspondence analysis, which provides a robust descriptive method for the analysis of multivariate data containing both discrete and continuous variables for which many values are missing.

Religious Classification

A preliminary religious classification for each village was made with the help of an article by Sheldon Jackson (1903b), a prominent Presbyterian missionary, in *The Missionary View of the World*, which outlined the geographical boundaries of the comity agreement, and by reference to Marshall's (1954) unpublished thesis on the history of Alaskan Protestant missions.

These two sources alone were not, however, sufficient to assign each Alaska Native village to a denomination. The final compilation that we used in this article was assembled by collating a master list from various sources. A list of mission schools was compiled from the yearly reports of the General Agent for Education in Alaska to the U.S. Bureau of Education until 1909 (*Education in Alaska 1885–1909*). Former Lutheran missionary James A. Almquist's (1978) thesis "Eskimo Acculturation and the Inupiaq Church" was crucial in differentiating the boundaries of Norton Sound, the Seward Peninsula, and Kotzebue Sound in the areas

allocated to the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, California Yearly Meeting of Friends, Lutheran, Swedish Evangelical, and Roman Catholic denominations.⁶

The nine denominational lists of villages that resulted from this classification form the basis of our analysis. For some purposes, the villages were further grouped, according to their sectarian tension status, into the broader categories of Church, Catholic, or Sect. The Church classification consists of eighty-one villages from the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Lutheran, Swedish Evangelical, and Baptist mission territories. The Catholic group comprises thirty-seven villages. (Roman Catholics were separated out from the Church group in this classification to conform with common usage in other studies of American religion.) The forty-six villages in the areas of the Society of Friends and the Moravian missions were classified as Sect. For brevity, we refer to this as the Church-Catholic-Sect (CCS) classification of the villages.

Explanatory Variables

A dataset for analysis was made up by listing, for each of the 164 villages, the values of a number of variables. The primary piece of information was the denomination to which the village was allocated, as described above. Apart from this, a first set of covariables was obtained from a State of Alaska report concerning living conditions in native and nonnative rural communities entitled *Village Sanitation in Alaska* (Village Safe Water Program 1983). Basic sanitation services cannot be taken for granted in areas where the ground is frozen year round, there are no roads, the rivers are navigable for only a few months of the year, there is little topsoil or firewood, and electricity is provided by generators. *Village Sanitation in Alaska* lists for each village the type of water supply to the village (treated or untreated), the method of village garbage disposal (dumping or landfills), sewage facilities (treated or untreated), and the type of local government (unorganized or organized borough). These variables provide a direct measure of each

⁶ We also consulted missionary biographies (Drebert 1959; Hinckley 1969; Renner 1979, 1985) and mission histories for each denomination to discover the areas covered by each (*The Alaskan Churchman* 1906–1980; Gregory 1979; F. Hayes 1940; Hinckley 1972; Hulley 1958; Jackson 1903a; Johnshoy 1944; Llorente 1969; Lund 1974; Marshall 1954; Roberts 1978; Shepard and Kelsey 1979; Stuck 1920; Thomas 1967). Major anthropological studies of the various regions were consulted as unbiased secondary sources (Burch 1975; Chance 1966; Fienup-Riordan 1991; Gualtieri 1980; Hippler and Wood 1977; D. K. Jones 1980; D. M. Jones 1976; Kleinfeld 1979; Lantis 1970; Loyens 1966; E. W. Nelson 1983 [1899]; R. K. Nelson 1983; Oswalt 1963a, 1963b, 1990; Ray 1992; Simeone 1982; Spencer 1959; Von Elling 1965). After we combed all these documents, a few villages that remained unclassified were allocated to a denomination on a geographical basis of predominant river systems and proximity to known classified villages. Villages that were difficult to classify because they had been transferred from one denomination to another at some time were classified into the second denomination.

village's political ability to gain financial funding for village services through government and nonprofit sources, of intervillage cooperation to maintain such services, and of a village's desire for, and political skills at gaining, local government as opposed to being governed by the State of Alaska.

The second set of socioeconomic variables was obtained from the 1980 U.S. Census. We recorded measures such as household size, economic status, and maintenance of indigenous languages. Many of these variables had missing values because of suppression by the Bureau of Census of data for small villages.

Stratifying Variables

Finally, for each village, we derived three stratifying variables, which we term *Remoteness*, *Population Size*, and *Percentage of Alaska Native Peoples*, defined as follows. Villages of Remoteness Class 1 were the six villages with more than 1000 people that serve as regional centers for government, education, medicine, and trade and have airports serviced by jet airplanes. Remoteness Class 2 consists of five villages that enjoy year-round highway access to Alaskan urban communities, thus allowing individuals access to urban community services, more numerous employment opportunities, and lower freight and fuel charges. The remaining 153 villages were classified as being in Remoteness Class 3; they ranged in size from 11 to 1,000 individuals. Population Size was a variable consisting of three categories: fewer than 300 people (114 villages), 300 to 600 people (40 villages), and more than 600 people (10 villages). The third stratifying variable was Percentage Native. Villages with less than 75 percent of the population Alaska Native made up the first level of this variable, and the remaining villages were classified into the second level. The divisions for Population Size and Percent Native were made after examination of the relevant histograms. The stratifying variables are not independent of each other, but together they control for various overall aspects (not related to religious classification) of the integration of the villages into the global system.

Statistical Methods

Associations of religious classifications with discrete variables, such as type of local government, and differences due to religious classification in continuous variables, such as household income, were tested by means of log-linear analysis, which provides a chi-square value, closely related to the usual contingency table chi-square value, as the deviance, or minus twice log-likelihood ratio, statistic, and by analysis of variance (ANOVA), which provides an *F*-value. We used the GLIM software package (Baker and Nelder 1978), which easily handles the missing values that are prevalent in the data. These univariate methods produced

significant associations and differences due to religious classification, as we describe below, but to provide an overall description of the data so that the effects of all variables could be considered jointly, we employed a multivariate method.

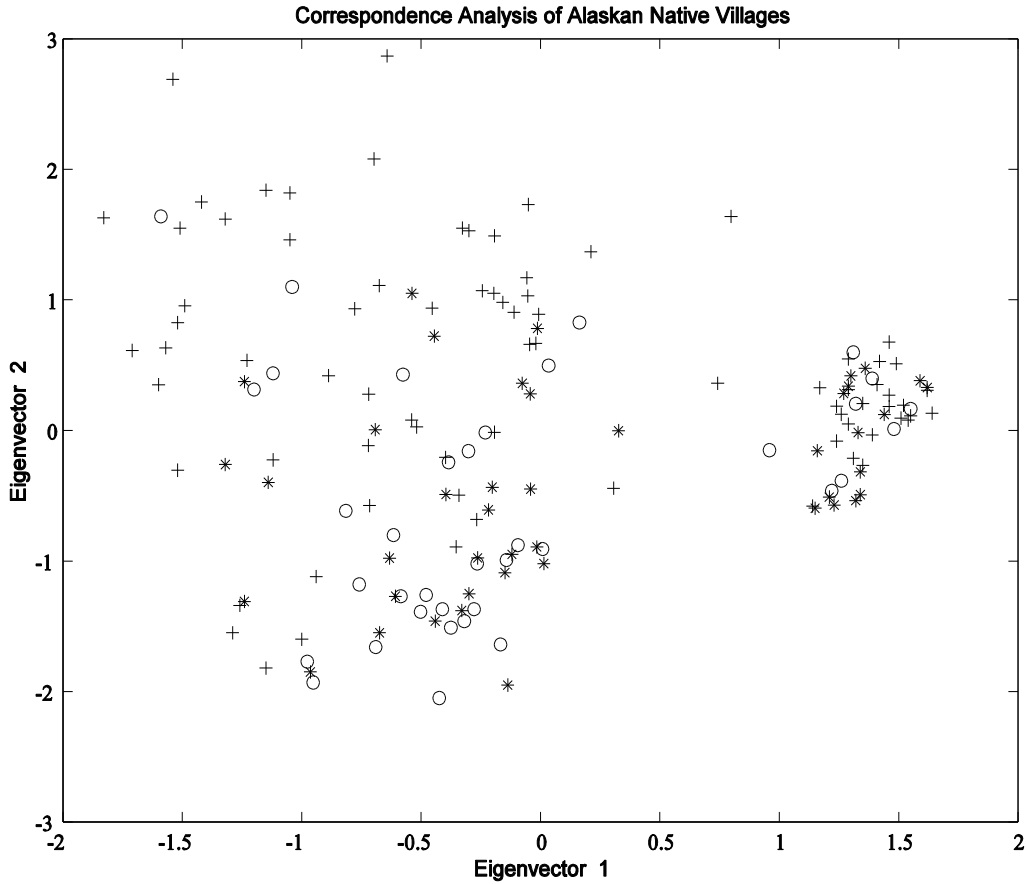
For the multivariate analysis, we followed a suggestion of Greenacre (1984, 1993) for the correspondence analysis of datasets consisting of both discrete and continuous variables, possibly with many missing values. In an initial analysis, the six large villages of over 1,000 people were clearly distinct from the rest, merely reflecting the contrast between large and small villages. Consequently, we restricted consideration to the 158 villages of Remoteness Classes 2 and 3 for this analysis. The value of each continuous variable for a village was coded into one of five categories according to whether the value fell below the first quartile, between the first and second quartiles, between the second and third quartiles, or above the third quartile of the distribution of that variable over all 158 villages; the fifth category was a dummy category indicating whether the value of that variable was missing for that village. Similarly, the value of each discrete variable for a village was coded into the appropriate number of categories for that variable, again with an extra category for a missing value. In this way, the entire dataset was reduced to a matrix of 0s and 1s on which a correspondence analysis could be performed.

A correspondence analysis is a singular value or eigenvector decomposition of a discrete data matrix that produces the directions of maximum variation (in a chi-square sense) in the data. As in some other multivariate techniques, a plot of the two most important eigenvectors against each other provides a display of the relationship between the explanatory variables, taken all together, on the denominational (or CCS) classification, which can be thought of the dependent variable in the analysis. An overall chi-square test can be made for the significance of the total amount of variation accounted for by the explanatory variables. The information about a village's religious status is not used in the correspondence analysis; only the social and economic variables play a role. The influence, if any, of religion on the cultural negotiation of the villages will be observed as a tendency for villages of like religious classification to be clustered together in the eigenvector plot.

RESULTS

Our analyses of the data described above reveal that there were significant differences among the religious denominations and among the categories of the CCS classification of the villages in accordance, for the most part, with our predictions. This conclusion was supported both by the correspondence analysis of all the explanatory variables taken together and by the separate univariate analyses that we performed.

Figure 1: Plot of Eigenvector 2 Versus Eigenvector 1 from the Correspondence Analysis



Correspondence Analysis

The matrix of 0s and 1s that was created according to Greenacre's suggestion was of size 109 columns times 158 rows (villages). Figure 1 shows a plot of the second eigenvector against the first eigenvector from the correspondence analysis. It is important to recall that the information about a village's religious classification is not used in the correspondence analysis; a village's CCS status is identified only at the time of plotting the eigenvectors. Nevertheless, a clear ordination is apparent in the figure, from top left to bottom center. Church villages (denoted by plus signs) predominate in the top left, while Sect villages (denoted by asterisks) and Catholic villages (denoted by open circles) predominate in the bottom right. The well-defined group in the middle right, containing villages of all denominations, consists of villages with mainly missing values. The

units on the axes are in standard deviations (based on the within-classification variation), and the Church, Catholic, and Sect classifications are significantly separated at the 1 percent level. The first two eigenvectors accounted for $1,496.7 + 779.6 = 17.0\%$ of the total chi-square of 13,430.1 in the matrix.

Univariate Analyses

The correspondence analysis, while giving an overall view of the effect of sectarian tension, gives no indication of the importance of individual variables in the discrimination. We now consider the most important of those variables separately.

Sanitation Services. Obtaining funding for the purchase and maintenance of village services, such as a water or primary sewage treatment plant, requires village representatives to have access to and knowledge of the bureaucratic workings of private and public funding agencies. In our data, the indicators of community water supply (chi-square = 8.10, degrees of freedom (df) = 2, $p < 0.01$), garbage disposal (chi-square = 15.66, df = 2, $p < 0.001$), and sewage treatment (chi-square = 9.16, df = 2, $p < 0.025$) were significantly associated with religious classifications. Villages in Church areas were more likely to have treated water, landfills, and treated sewage than were villages in Catholic and Sect areas. These patterns persisted even after we controlled for Remoteness, Percent Native, and Population Size. From our data, it appears that villages in Church areas were the most successful at “working the system,” whereas villages in Sect and Catholic areas were unwilling or unable to do so.

Type of Local Government. Alaskan communities have the option of being either an organized borough, of which there are various types related to the level of provision of a service, or an unorganized borough. (Boroughs are similar to counties in other parts of the United States.) All organized boroughs have taxing powers and an elected assembly and provide services such as schools, roads, sanitation services, libraries, and dog control. Organized boroughs receive money from the State of Alaska’s revenue-sharing program to help fund borough services. Unorganized boroughs have no taxing powers, and the state legislature exercises the powers and functions of a borough assembly in these communities. Small communities therefore have a choice between taxing themselves to provide locally controlled services and accepting the decisions of the state legislature in this respect. (The State of Alaska does not collect personal income tax, sales tax, or state land tax.) Ninety percent of villages in Catholic areas chose to have organized boroughs compared to 58 percent of the villages in Church areas and 63 percent of the Sect area villages. There is no significant difference between

Church and Sect areas in this regard, but Catholics areas differ greatly from them (chi-square = 9.43, $df = 2$, $p < 0.01$).⁷

Demographics. The histogram of the average number of persons per household in each village (mean: 4.28, $N = 107$) is reasonably bell-shaped, similar to the normal distribution. Our hypothesis predicts that villages in the Church areas will have a lower average number of persons per household than villages in the Sect areas. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) controlling for Remoteness, Percentage Native, and Population Size showed a significant difference among the nine denominations ($F = 3.65$, $df = 8.83$, $p < 0.01$) in this variable and an enormous difference for the contrast between Church, Catholic, and Sect areas ($F = 21.25$, $df = 2.83$, $p < 0.001$). Households in Church areas (mean: 3.82, $N = 50$) were significantly smaller than households in Sect areas (mean: 4.81, $N = 29$) by the large amount of one person per household, on average, and the direction of the difference is as predicted. The villages in the Catholic (mean: 4.55, $N = 28$) and Sect (mean: 4.81, $N = 29$) areas are not significantly different from one another. Note that the total N in these analyses (and similarly below) is not 164, owing to missing values.

In an ANOVA controlling for Remoteness, Percentage Native, and Population Size, we found that women in Catholic areas have a significantly higher fertility rate (mean: 6.02, $N = 11$) than women in Church areas (mean: 3.95, $N = 32$) or women in Sect areas (mean of 4.36, $N = 13$). The highly significant CCS contrast for fertility ($F = 9.74$, $df = 2.24$, $p < 0.001$) in this analysis combined with the household size data suggests that villagers in Sect areas are more likely to have an extended family household than are villagers in Church and Catholic areas.

The Census information includes for each village the percentage of individuals over five years of age who speak a language other than English at home. The U-shaped distribution of these percentages made the use of ANOVA inappropriate for them. So for analysis, the percentages were grouped into two categories (0–50 percent and 51–100 percent) and were analyzed in a contingency table. Table 1 illustrates that the significant association between the CCS contrast (chi-square = 7.82, $df = 2$, $p < 0.025$) and the proportion of non-English speakers is in the predicted direction. People in Church villages are less likely to speak a language other than English at home than are individuals in Catholic and Sect villages. Because of a possible bias in the numbers of missing values in the percentage of people speaking non-English languages (data were reported for only 65 of 164 villages), a chi-square test of the numbers missing was also done. This was insignificant, though missing villages tended to come from the Sect areas.

⁷ Father Louis Renner, the foremost authority on Alaskan Roman Catholic missions, in a personal communication, was unable to account for this finding except to suggest the historical practice of American Catholics being involved in local government and politics.

Since these villages had a higher percentage speaking non-English languages, this tends to make the results for this variable conservative in terms of our hypothesis.

Table 1: Language Other Than English*

	0–50%	51–100%	Total
Church	27 (71%)	11 (29%)	38
Catholic	4 (31%)	9 (69%)	13
Sect	6 (43%)	8 (57%)	14
Total	37 (57%)	28 (43%)	65

*Percentage of villagers speaking a language other than English at home, by religious classification (chi-square = 7.82).

Income. The U.S. Census published three different measures of personal income (in 1979 dollars) for each village: median household income, median family income, and per capita income. An ANOVA test for per capita income revealed significant differences between the denominations when we controlled for Remoteness, Percentage Native, and Population Size ($F = 2.32$, $df = 8.65$, $p < 0.05$), but the CCS contrast was not significant ($F = 0.8$, $df = 2.33$, $p > 0.05$). The per capita income means for the denominations ranged from \$2,367 for Lutherans to \$7,863 for Methodists; furthermore, the second highest mean per capita income of \$4,656, for Presbyterians, was substantially less than the mean per capita income of villages in the Methodist area. We attribute the economic well-being of some villages in the Methodist area to Aleut ownership of commercial crab and salmon boats (D. M. Jones 1976).⁸

Median household and median family income did not differ significantly among denominations when we controlled for Remoteness, Percentage Native, and Population Size. The median family income and household income for the villages were highly variable and with a low number of cases; however, their income pattern was very similar to the per capita income pattern. Economic measures of income, unemployment, and poverty did not differ significantly among the denominations or among the Church, Catholic, and Sect areas. This might be due to the low numbers of reporting villages or to difficulties in applying Census questions, which were designed to measure American urban and rural farm poverty and unemployment, not the economic status of a people supported by a

⁸ Methodist missionaries staffed government schools, but according to D. M. Jones (1976), the majority of Aleuts remain Russian Orthodox.

combination of the cash economy and subsistence. An important point regarding the economic variables is that with few exceptions, individuals living in Alaska Native villages are poor, and only limited variation is possible at the bottom of the social structure.

The following variables from the Census material were found not to be significant among the denominations or among the Church, Catholic, and Sect areas: the age distribution of a village's population, the proportion of married couples in a village, the percentage of people under eighteen years of age living with two parents, the proportion of female-headed households, the percentage of families with children under six years of age, and education levels. Although there were no significant differences among the denominations for these variables, the information was included in the correspondence analysis.

Summary of Results

Analysis of the data showed the following:

1. Villages in Church areas have the most modern sanitation systems; therefore, we assume that these villages were the most successful in obtaining funding for them. There were no significant differences in the villages assigned to the Sect and Catholic areas in regard to sanitation systems.
2. Fertility rates were almost 50 percent higher for women in the Catholic areas than for women in the Church and Sect areas.
3. Ninety percent of villages in the Catholic areas have an organized borough, compared with 58 percent of villages in the Church areas and 63 percent of villages in the Sect areas.
4. The average number of persons per household was larger for villages in the Sect areas, despite the high fertility rate for Catholics, which implies a higher proportion of extended family households in the Sect areas than in the other areas.
5. Villages in Sect and Catholic areas were more likely than villages in Church areas to maintain indigenous languages. This can be a marker or boundary of cultural identity.
6. Villages in Catholic areas significantly differed from all other villages on two variables: fertility and local government.

DISCUSSION

In a paper on missionary organizations, Jon Miller (1993: 47) stated, "Sociologists have been lamentably behind the curve" in studying the effects of missionary actions on social change. This article addresses that issue, presenting evidence in favor of the proposition that the level of sectarian tension held by missionaries toward the dominant Western culture affects their contributions to their cultural

negotiation with indigenous peoples. The univariate analyses discussed in the preceding section and the clear ordination of the Church, Catholic, and Sect villages obtained in the correspondence analysis of all the variables, displayed in Figure 1, present strong support for our proposition.

We recognize that there is variability among the attitudes held toward indigenous cultures by missionaries of a particular denomination, just as there is great variability in the responses of villagers to the beliefs and practices espoused by the missionaries. Missionaries had idiosyncratic personalities and practices. For example, the Roman Catholic Father William Judge referred to the Yup'ik men's house in a village as "the casino" in voicing his disapproval of all activities such as dancing and religious rituals conducted in the house (Judge 1907: 53). On the other hand, Father Patrick Cunningham, the Roman Catholic priest at Diomedes Island, encouraged and participated in traditional dances (Renner 1985: 34). We do not claim a perfect correlation between our CCS classification and the socioeconomic variables that we have investigated, and the variability that is inherent in the data is well reflected in the scatter of villages within the church-sect groupings shown in Figure 1. There are factors other than sectarian tension that relate to the socioeconomic variables that we have analyzed, and we will now discuss other possible explanations for the observed differentiation among the three groups. Although no explanations have been found that account for the distribution displayed in Figure 1, some are helpful in explaining individual villages' anomalous positions in the figure.

One factor that might have influenced adaption to the dominant Western culture of a village is its history of colonization, particularly the involvement of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian Orthodox Church was not included in the comity agreement among the American denominations because the Americans viewed the Orthodox Church as foreign and even non-Christian, but it remains a strong presence even today in some Yup'ik, Tlingit, and Aleut villages (D. M. Jones 1976; Kan 1996; McCollough 1988; Oswalt 1990; Smith 1980). Unlike most American missionaries, 18th century Russian Orthodox missionaries found no inherent contradiction between Christianity and the hunting and gathering life (Smith 1980). Many of the "heathens" that the American missionaries attempted to "save" had already been baptized as Russian Orthodox Christians (Fienup-Riordan 1991). In addition, after the Russian revolution, the Orthodox Church sent few missionaries Alaska; it was missionaries from Western denominations who negotiated the colonization dialogue even in villages that had a large proportion of Orthodox adherents. Consequently, Russian Orthodox Christianity has not been a force for (or against) assimilation or integration into the dominant American culture. For these reasons, we did not list the Russian Orthodox Church as a denomination to be studied. Furthermore the villages that were and remain predominantly Russian Orthodox display in our analysis the characteristics that

are prevalent within the CCS category to which they were assigned and therefore do not contribute further information to the ordination shown in Figure 1.

U.S. government policy toward indigenous peoples is a second factor that has influenced the encapsulation of Alaskan indigenous peoples into American society. U.S. Indian policy, except for the period of the Indian Reorganization Act in the 1930s and early 1940s, may be summarized as assimilation. Unlike the experience of most Indian tribes and bands in the continental United States under this assimilation policy, the traditional resource base of Alaska Natives in many cases has not been completely destroyed or lost by white settlement, removal policies, and commercial use. However, one result of this policy in Alaska has been a decline in the use of indigenous languages. These languages were not part of the educational curriculum until the 1970s, and students who used them, even on the playground, might have been subjected to corporal punishment (Hensley 2009; Krauss 1988). Despite the overall thrust of government programs toward assimilation, some early American missionaries, most commonly Moravian and Roman Catholic, did construct texts in indigenous languages and encouraged their use. The areas that contained the overwhelming majority of villages where some or most children spoke a language other than English (based on Krauss 1982) were part of the Moravian, Quaker, and Roman Catholic mission fields and therefore are included in the groups that we have classified as being under Catholic and Sect influence. In the majority of Yup'ik villages, for example, at least some of the children speak the indigenous language.

The historical context that was current when an Alaskan village entered the cash economy provides a third possible explanatory factor for social and economic variation among the villages. The various regions of the Central Yup'ik shifted from a barter economy to a cash economy at vastly different times: the Ingalik by 1900, the Nushagak by the early 1900s, and the Kuskokwim after World War II (Oswalt 1990). We cannot ignore the possibility that some of the variation among Alaskan villages can be explained by the later dates of the Yup'ik villagers' and especially the Kuskokwim villagers' entrances into the cash economy. The overwhelming majority of Church villagers had entered the cash economy by 1850. By contrast, the Inupiat in the Quaker area of Kotzebue Sound had begun working for the commercial whalers and selling meat and fur clothing to them in the 1840s (Chance 1990), whereas the Catholic villages of the Yukon River area entered the cash economy by 1900, and the villages in the Moravian Kuskokwim area did not enter the cash economy in any significant manner until after World War II (Oswalt 1990). This great disparity in timing among the Catholic and Sect areas argues against this factor as an explanation of the significant effects we have observed.

There was also a disparity of over 100 years in various villages' first contact with Western society. The first contact ranged from the mid-18th century for the

Aleuts under Russian colonization to the mid-19th century for Inupiat and some Athapaskans. Increasing participation by Aleuts in hunting and processing sea otters for the Russian traders culminated in the early 19th century impressment of Aleuts and Kodiak people (Fitzhugh 1988; D. M. Jones 1976). The first Russian contact for the Tanaina Athapaskan peoples occurred in 1784, when the fur trader Shelikov took “some one hundred hostages to be used as guarantees for peaceable behavior and insure that the Tanaina would hunt for the Russians” (Simeone 1982: 39). British explorers in 1826 sailed to Barrow, and in the next decade, commercial bowhead whaling began in the Chukchi Sea (Chance 1990). The first contact areas are well distributed among the Church, Sect, and Catholic areas and consequently show no correlation with the CCS classification that we have developed.

Pels (1997: 163) emphasizes that the current revival of the anthropological practice of including material along with textual representations is leading to a richer understanding of the “struggle and negotiation” of colonialism. Our analysis demonstrates that combining the anthropological concept that colonized peoples and missionaries participate in a cultural dialogue (due to Fienup-Riordan 1991) with the sociological concept of sectarian tension (due to Bainbridge and Stark 1980) may provide strong predictive power for determining the manner in which indigenous or colonized peoples integrate into the world system. Missionaries’ attitudes toward the dominant society color their performance as mediators and interpreters between indigenous peoples and that society. Missionaries who link Western cultural patterns and behaviors with Christianity and regard indigenous lifestyles as inimical to Christianity will tend to advocate assimilation in the cultural negotiation; missionaries who have sectarian conflict with the dominant society will tolerate, and on some occasions encourage, indigenous cultural practices.

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