REVIEW

STORIES FIND YOU, PLACES KNOW: YUP’IK NARRATIVES OF A SENTIENT WORLD


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Stories Find You is a book about agency, narrative, and the Yup’ik people of Hooper Bay, Alaska. Cultural anthropologist Holly Cusack-McVeigh began her dissertation fieldwork in the village of Hooper Bay in 1996 with the visual repatriation of photographs from the Milotte Collection donated to the University of Alaska in Fairbanks. Grounded in narrative, oral history, and folklore perspectives, this volume makes a fresh contribution to the field in both its preference for stories “told and alluded to spontaneously in the course of ordinary interactions” (p. 2) instead of elicited by interview and for its engagement with ideas of agency to tie known places with particular kinds of narrative elements. Cusack-McVeigh sticks mainly to the twentieth-century sources used in her 2004 doctoral dissertation, upon which this book is based, and is influenced heavily by the work of Phyllis Morrow, William Schneider, and Keith Basso.

In the first few chapters, Cusack-McVeigh uses alerqutet or inerqutet (teachings) such as the Giant Footprints to illustrate how features of the landscape such as mountains and volcanoes connect to Yup’ik history and belief. The idea of stories instructing humans how to be safe in dangerous situations is introduced. Place names, for example, can help a lost person or instruct how to behave in a dangerous location to prevent harm. The middle chapters explore stories about unoccupied places, such as graves, abandoned villages, and unused campsites. Boundaries between the spiritual world and the human world are a common theme, and narratives are interpreted as advice for how to behave in dangerous situations involving not only the land but also its nonhuman occupants, such as ghosts and supernatural beings. The “stories find you” of the title indicates the way stories are told to those who need to hear them in order to help the listener act in appropriate ways. Often the Yup’ik narrative is a warning, and occasionally the intended listener is not the human audience but other nonhuman beings such as spirits, supernatural creatures, the weather, or the land itself. When Cusack-McVeigh asks, “How are listeners co-participants in the construction of meaning?” (p. 177) she is including these nonhuman listeners as well. They are respected as sentient participants in the Yup’ik world. “Individuals don’t always have to act or intervene because things are often taken care of by a universe that is watching and aware of human interaction” (p. 42).

Variations in oral narratives are not interpreted as inconsistencies, or the loss of cultural knowledge about the narrative over time, but rather the way a story must be told in a specific context to achieve a targeted result. A story changes when it is told based on the teller’s intentions, or how s/he wants to influence the actions of the audience in a given situation. “Listeners—including anthropologists and folklorists—need to consider how a narrative is being used before they can begin to comprehend what the story means” (p. 192).

Cusack-McVeigh also explores the role of narrative in the insider/outside dynamic between Yup’ik and kask’aq (non-Yup’ik, white) people. Stories often are told to outsiders to instruct them of proper behavior, or told about outsiders to demonstrate incorrect behavior. For example,
the Tale of the Teakettle Ghost sometimes involves a white man taking a kettle from a grave so he and his Yup’ik companion can make tea, despite warnings from his companion. Most tellings include instruction about how the Yup’ik person successfully confronted the angry ghost summoned by the transgression. Communication style correlates with a belief and value system. If a world is sentient and responsive to human action, words have power to cause events to happen and speaking of things inappropriately can have negative consequences for people beyond just the speaker who makes a poor choice. According to Cusack-McVeigh, one reason aggressive questioning by clueless outsiders (a dynamic often mentioned by anthropologists doing fieldwork among the Yup’ik) is problematic is because it can trigger unintended actions by nonhuman actors that may affect Yup’ik people.

The final chapters of the book explore haunted village structures, both social and physical, through public buildings such as churches and schools. These contested spaces with complicated colonial histories are the settings for many contemporary stories, particularly ghost stories. Cusack-McVeigh analyzes these tales through a lens of engaged resistance. For example, one tale tells of the deceased body of Brother Oscar, stored in the church basement until the tundra thawed for burial. His body was found in the sitting posture of traditional Yup’ik burials after a series of haunted footsteps and strange occurrences in the basement. The events in the tale reflect social tensions during a period of religious transition. Familiarity with the oft-told tale in the community indicates those tensions remain today.

Folklorists and those who study oral narratives will appreciate Cusack-McVeigh’s efforts to capture the context of stories told spontaneously in authentic settings, as opposed to narratives elicited by academics in formal research or interview settings. While terms such as “dialectic,” “personhood,” “ontology,” and “practice” are not explicitly referenced, scholars working on those topics will find this volume insightful. Readers interested in anthropological questions of agency and place in western Alaska will find that Cusack-McVeigh’s text complements A Tale of Three Villages: Indigenous-Colonial Interaction in Southwestern Alaska 1740–1950 (2016) by archaeologist Liam Frink. Another relevant recent volume is Qanemcit Amillertut/Many Stories to Tell: Tales of Humans and Animals from Southwest Alaska (2017) by Ann Fienup-Riordan [see review, this volume], translated by Marie Meade. Yup’ik scholar Dr. Theresa Arevgaq John has asserted that the traditional Yup’ik knowledge system is embedded in stories. Cusack-McVeigh’s Stories Find You is a timely and relevant contribution to scholarship that integrates appropriate indigenous conceptual frameworks and research methodologies with anthropological research.
Qanemcit Amllertut: Many Stories To Tell, edited by Ann Fienup-Riordan, is a welcome bilingual collection of Yup’ik folktales and the product of a cooperative effort among an anthropologist and Yup’ik transcribers and translators, Alice Rearden and Marie Meade.

The collection consists of forty folktales told by thirty-six Yup’ik storytellers and assembled from four sources. Half of the stories in the collection derive from the 1980 Nelson Island Oral History Project where Fienup-Riordan recorded the stories. The second source is Eliza Orr’s 1976 personal collection in Tununak. The last two sources are Marie Meade’s collection and the culture camps of Calista Elders Council. The cultural setting of these folktales is the Yukon–Kuskokwim area. Within this region, the Yup’ik language used by these storytellers is currently understood only by the older generation. Yup’ik children in only seventeen of the Lower Kuskokwim and coastal communities grow up speaking Yup’ik as their first language. Even among these children, old vocabularies are beyond their understanding. This linguistic fact makes the existence of the Yup’ik versions of the stories precious since it assists in the preservation of the group’s oral narrative tradition.

Each storyteller is listed with personal data on his or her English and Yup’ik names, birthplace, birth year, and current place of residence. This list is complemented in the middle section of the book by pictures of some storytellers spending time with their families, making fish traps, on boat trips, dancing, and interacting with each other in social settings. In the introduction, Fienup-Riordan provides helpful cultural contexts for readers to understand and appreciate Yup’ik storytelling more fully. Known as an evening activity after dinner for both adults and children at home and in the qasgi, storytelling outside of the home was accompanied by storyknifing, which rendered the stories more visual to the audience. The storyknifing component, now disappeared, is currently being replaced by new contexts where stories are commonly told in the community hall, the classrooms, and at regional gatherings.

Yup’ik folktales, according to Fienup-Riordan, have been built on two categories of Yup’ik oral narratives: gulirat, guli’ir, qulirer, univkar or univkaraq (legends), and qanemcit (experiences of individuals in historic time or about individuals known to have lived in historic times). Unlike the Inupiaq storytelling tradition in Northwest Alaska, Yup’ik stories are not owned. They are meant to be given away; that is, told and retold as they pass from mouth to mouth. Their lively existence in the past is epitomized by a fascinating, stylized ending “it is going forward on its path, getting better and better.” Comparative scholars of Inuit and Yup’ik folklore will be intrigued by the stories of the wily Raven and will find analogs of this trickster character in other cultural traditions, as is apparent in the Yup’ik version of the Raven and the Squirrel, a story appearing in an Inupiaq version as the Raven and the Ground Squirrel. Stories about grandmother and grandchild form another interesting group of stories. Other discussion sections include information on how the stories were told and why they were told. In Yup’ik cosmology,
the stories tell about the mythic, legendary Yup’ik other world. The dead can journey back and forth from the land of dead, Pamalirugmiut, to the land of the living, separated only by four steps for a man and five steps for a woman, making “4” and “5” magic numbers.

Scholars of Yup’ik culture have attributed a unique cultural distinction to the group’s ritualized feasts. Here one can see how the link between the legends of the Feast for the Dead and the Bladder Festival has been articulated and verbally sanctified through the narrated legends, thereby exemplifying an anthropological perspective on the interconnection between various elements within Yup’ik culture. Likewise discussed are the concept of the first ancestors, the view of how Nunivak came to be inhabited, extraordinary beings, and man and animal relationships. Fienup-Riordan did not explain the basis for her organization of the story sequence as presented in this collection. But judging from its headings—first ancestors, human and animal stories, grandmother and grandchild stories, when extraordinary beings were present, spirit helpers, other worlds, and animals reciprocate stories—it appears that perhaps the discussion topics in the introductory chapter became the basis for the organization of the story sequence rather than the two narrative categories (legends and historical tales) as spelled out as the folk narrative categories.

Qanemcit Amlertut/Many Stories to Tell is indeed a valuable contribution to the understanding of Yup’ik oral narrative culture. As a bilingual publication, it makes the Yup’ik folktales more accessible to a wider audience while ensuring the survival and continuity of the treasured Yup’ik ancestral past: a modern, technological means through the publishing milieu for each narrative to “go forward on its path.”
REVIEW

THE LAST HOUSE AT BRIDGE RIVER: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AN ABORIGINAL HOUSEHOLD IN BRITISH COLUMBIA DURING THE FUR TRADE PERIOD


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The contact period, lasting from the earliest indirect interactions between indigenous peoples and colonialist societies to the beginning of direct and sustained contact, is critically important to both local and global histories. However, its examination by archaeologists has been uneven. The Last House at Bridge River, edited and based on a project directed by Anna Marie Prentiss, offers the first wide-ranging description and interpretation of a well-preserved contact-period context in the Middle Fraser Canyon region in southern interior British Columbia. This region, marked by a remarkably productive salmon fishery as well as a range of additional resources, is home to the St’át’imc First Nation and also to an archaeological sequence of global importance vis-à-vis hunter-gatherer complexity, social organization, and economic systems.

The research is centered on the uppermost cultural level of a multicomponent house at Bridge River, a large and well-studied site with 80 pit houses, first occupied around 1800 BP. Most of the site was abandoned in the pre-contact period, making the contact period component covered in this volume unique. The dating of the occupation’s terminus is well defined, based on the presence of a variety of mid-nineteenth-century artifact types, combined with their relatively low overall frequency (only 51 European trade goods, in total, were recovered from an otherwise rich occupation). Thus, the house is reasonably interpreted as having been abandoned just before the local gold rush in 1858. The date of the beginning of the occupation is less clear, though two radiocarbon dates are consistent with a nineteenth-century occupation.

The book opens with three introductory chapters that usefully set the stage for what follows. An overall introduction (chapter 1, Prentiss) situates the research in space, time, and theory; a more specific background chapter (chapter 2, Walsh) provides a comprehensive review of the region’s environment, resources, and fur trade/gold rush history; and an overview of the excavations (chapter 3, Prentiss) defines the contexts and sub-features that produced the data described in the remainder of the book. The core of the book consists of six chapters describing and interpreting specific data classes, including formal lithic tools (chapter 4, Prentiss et al.), lithic technology and debitage (chapter 5, French), European trade goods (chapter 6, Augé et al.), faunal remains (chapter 7, Williams-Larson), botanical remains (chapter 8, Lyons et al.), and geochemical analyses of floor sediments (chapter 9, Goodale et al.). The final four chapters provide broader analyses and syntheses. Chapter 10 (Williams-Larson et al.) presents a spatial analysis of major data categories such as faunal remains, lithics, and trade goods, convincingly making the case that the house was organized around communalist principles, lacking intrahousehold ranking. Chapter 11 (Barnett and Frank) attempts, with substantial success, to get at more nuanced aspects of past social lives, such as gender- and age-differentiated activities, largely through further spatial analysis. Chapter 12 (Smith) compares the Bridge River contact period assemblage to a late precontact assemblage from a neighboring site, in order to evaluate changes in regional lifeways that may have resulted from participation in the fur trade. Finally, in Chapter 13,
Prentiss provides a nuanced summary of the research and its significance to broader regional and theoretical themes.

Taken as a whole, this book is more than the sum of its parts. The amalgamation of many separate studies succeeds in giving the reader a very high-resolution picture of the contact-period occupation at Bridge River. Subject matter is well chosen and diverse, there is minimal overlap between chapters, and interpretations for the most part flow clearly from the data. The book breathes life into St’át’imc society during a critical period in its history.

Despite the many positive qualities of the book, not all is perfect. Several chapters lack thorough descriptions of raw data or aggregated tabular data. In some cases, this makes it difficult for the reader to adequately judge the validity of particular interpretations; it also means that other researchers cannot easily compare their own data to those in this book. Similarly, in some cases results of statistical analyses are given without clear definition of the data they are based on. For example, in Chapter 12, many aspects of the precontact and contact period assemblages are compared statistically without detailed description, quantification, or even mention of sample sizes for the precontact assemblage. Another, lesser issue is the deployment in several instances of lengthy theoretical chapter introductions which, while valid, don’t add much to the otherwise worthy analysis and interpretation. Finally, a small point: maps lack detail and generally consist simply of low-resolution satellite images with few place names indicated; scales are sometimes difficult to read and alternate between kilometers and, anachronistically, miles. This stands in opposition to the care taken with the text—the entire book is well-edited and admirably clearly written.

Ultimately, this book is an important contribution for two main reasons. First, it fills in a major lacuna in the culture history of this highly significant region. In the process, it bridges the gap between the relatively well-studied precontact sequence and the oral historical and ethnographic records. Second, it is a comprehensive case study of one instance of indigenous lifeways during the contact period, which means it contributes to the understanding of indigenous culture change and resilience, as well as European colonial expansion, on multiple levels. In so doing, it emphatically reinforces the current dominant narrative for understanding this period, which situates indigenous societies worldwide as active agents (not passive recipients) in the process of interaction, deploying many mechanisms to maintain their traditional lifeways while selectively incorporating material culture and ideas from European newcomers.
This beautifully arranged book provides an excellent look at the plant traditions of the Kodiak Alutiiq people. It is based on ethnographic fieldwork by the author, Priscilla Russell, in 1990, and supplemented with earlier accounts that provide further context. Together this gives a sense of familiarity and depth to the presentation of the material. This also comes through in the photographs showing plant gathering and uses in action and in the supplemental information, such as the section on local classification of the biotic communities (pp. 19–22) and table of local plant vocabulary (pp. 170–173).

The chapters are organized by categories based on form, e.g., “Grasses,” and use categories such as “Medicinal Plants.” This makes it fairly easy to find each species, although some could logically be in more than one category. Variations in dialect are also included where appropriate, for example, the names amarsaq and amaryag for high-bush cranberry in the northern and southern dialects respectively (p. 80). For each individual plant listing, the local Alutiiq name comes first, as is proper with such a book on cultural knowledge. English common names and scientific names are listed as well. The inclusion of indices at the end, organized by scientific names and local Alutiiq names, is very useful. A general subject index would also have been beneficial.

An important aspect of this book is the sense the reader will get for how ethnobotanical systems change with time due to cultural contact and other factors. The current medicinal uses of apparently non-native species such as pineapple weed (Matricaria discoidea) (p. 130) and common plantain (Plantago major) (p. 142) illustrate this point. Russell also discusses the importance of Russian contact, starting in the mid-eighteenth century. Examples of this influence include adopting gardening as part of subsistence and the replacement of the subterranean ciqluat houses with log houses. Some Alutiiq plant names are also clearly derived from Russian, including, for example, shmi-piishniik (Rosa nuthana) and pitruul’kaak (Ligusticum scoticum). In the preface (p. 5), editor Amy Steffian mentions that some current plant uses, for example, scrubbing and cleaning with rough stems of Equisetum species, are not included since they were not mentioned to the author at the time of her work. Although this is quite understandable, perhaps some of these more recent uses could be added to future editions of the book.

A particular strength of this book is the detail it provides on medicinal uses of local plants, not only in the section on this topic (pp. 117–143) but also where these come up in individual entries in other sections, such as using salmonberry (Rubus spectabilis) leaves as a poultice to treat skin infections (p. 71). Under these entries, we also see some interesting aspects of explanatory models of illness from the traditional Alutiiq ethnomedical system. For example, Russell describes how the flowers of Pacific red elder (Sambucus racemosa) are used to induce sweating for fevers, flu, and similar ailments with the aim to remove cold and toxins from the body (p. 87). In another notable example, an elder from the village of Akhiok said that people who drink tea made from the roots and leaves of stinging nettle (Urtica dioica) to cure tuberculosis must...
follow a special diet, avoiding oily foods. Readers can find a listing of medicinal plant uses conveniently organized by illness in Table 4 (p. 118).

One challenge for academics writing this kind of book on local traditions is to address the spiritual aspect of the knowledge they are presenting. Here, Gayla Pederson’s introductory section on “Harvesting Carefully” deals with issues such as gratitude and respect for the plants one collects. There are also some notes of spiritual uses under appropriate species such as an older reference to using Sitka spruce (Picea sitchensis) cones to smoke a bundle of straw as part of a ceremony to ask for a good catch of animals in hunting (p. 37). It is interesting that some species such as *Rhododendron tomentosum* and *Angelica lucida* do not have recorded spiritual uses among the Kodiak Alutiiit, as they do among the Central Alaskan Yup’iit and other neighboring peoples. The author does list many medicinal uses for both species and notes that Labrador tea is given special respect (p. 129). Russell also states (p. 75) that crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*) stems used to be burned for spiritual purification in some villages, providing an interesting parallel with current Central Alaskan Yup’iik use of Labrador tea.

There has been a recent surge of scholarly interest in cross-cultural comparative ethnobotanical studies in Alaska and other regions. I would like to point out some specific subjects in this book that I believe show particular potential in this area. The first is the cultural significance of mushrooms. Russell notes that mushrooms are gathered very sparingly among the Kodiak Alutiiit and that many people did not know which are edible. This strongly resembles the current situation among the Central Alaskan Yup’iit and the former situation among the Naukan, before Russian influence. The author hints that past generations in Kodiak may have known more about edible mushrooms, raising the possibility that this knowledge was stronger during the period of Russian contact. Another parallel is the use of spore powder from *Lycoperdon* species to treat cuts and skin infections, a use which is also known among the Central Yup’iik and Naukan people.

Another topic of interest for cross-cultural comparisons is the traditional storage of edible plants for the winter. Russell mentions drying (as with beach lovage, *Ligusticum scoticum*, p. 106), storage in seal oil (as with sour dock, *Rumex arcticus*, p. 111) and pickling (as with bull kelp, *Nereocystis luetkeana*). Similar storage techniques are employed among the Central Alaskan Yup’iik and Naukan people, although not always for the same species. A more detailed cross-cultural comparison of how particular species are stored would be valuable. In any case, such comparative work relies on solid primary sources such as this valuable book by Priscilla Russell.
Eileen Norbert is the granddaughter of Charles Menadelook, the subject of her book. Menadelook was born in 1892 in the Inupiat community of Kingigin (Wales). Norbert traces his life through stories passed down in her family supplemented with archival and written materials about the people of the northwest Alaska region. Through a selection of the hundreds of photographs Menadelook took starting in 1907 until his death at age 41 in Nome in 1933, we see a young man growing up, marrying, traveling, and blessed with many children and grandchildren. The book’s three chapters describe Menadelook’s family, his growing up and the prevailing marriage customs, Western influences, and the Reindeer Fairs of the early 1900s. The longest chapter describes his teaching career, a journey working for the underfunded, dysfunctional, and Anglo-centric Bureau of Education in Diomede, Kotzebue, Noatak, Gambell, Unalaska, Shishmaref, Shaktoolik, Sinuk, and Nome.

At each community, Menadelook took photographs as well as taught the school, administered medications and first aid (a task he disliked), served as the reindeer superintendent, and dispersed “destitution supplies” from the school stocks at his discretion. He hunted, fished, and traveled in the traditional ways, skills that endeared him to the Inupiat in each village where he taught. He was also a strong man, and a skilled athlete, characteristics admired in Inupiat men. We learn how he faced and overcame the various difficulties in each community, and how his growing family was a vital part of his own life and well-being. While Menadelook himself was fluent in both Inupiaq and English, he spoke only English in his classroom so that students of all ages would be immersed in English for at least part of the day. Upon returning home, his students were surrounded by Inupiaq speakers until the next school day.

Norbert interviewed his children, sister, other relatives, and former students. They remembered Menadelook as a strict but very fair teacher, always holding students to high standards because he knew that they were smart, not like most White men of the time saw them: “…and above all, he demanded excellence from his students. He had the vision to see that his people’s world was changing and that they needed new skills” (p. 39).

The photographs are all black and white images. They depict the daily lives of the northwestern Alaska Inupiat in the first decades of the twentieth century. Culture change had occurred rapidly in the nineteenth century, with introduced diseases and alcohol taking a human toll at the same time that bowhead whale, caribou, and walrus were depleted. Nonetheless, the Inupiat people persevered, continuing the subsistence life, augmented with Euro-American technologies. One photo shows a crew of fourteen men salvaging a whale using pulleys and rope to haul large pieces of maktaq onshore. Housing in various photos includes wood frame schools, houses, and churches, but most people’s housing continued to be traditional: stone-walled shelters on Diomede, driftwood walled and walrus-hide roofed traditional houses on St. Lawrence Island, sod-insulated igloos in Shishmaref, and a smattering of wood-framed sheds and canvas wall tents.
Clothing shows the integration of Western materials and products into traditional clothing styles. A woman jigging for flounder wears a long, wolf-ruffed parka, with rubber boots instead of waterproof mukluks. Wales women in a Fourth of July tug-of-war contest are wearing dressy parkas made from Western cloth. In Menadelook’s self-portraits he dressed differently; in one, he posed rigidly in dark suit wearing a white shirt with cufflinks. In another he is wearing a fur-trimmed white parka (probably reindeer) and traditional mukluks. Women in Nome carrying their babies on their backs inside their parkas are wearing either traditional mukluks or tall lace-up leather boots. One is using a wide belt with a large metal belt buckle to help her carry her baby on her back.

The last section of the book is about photo restoration. Norbert writes that she and others struggled with the question of whether to restore the nearly hundred-year-old images or present them as is. Their decision to use restored images was a good decision in this reviewer’s opinion, “because our goal was to show Menadelook’s world as close as possible to the way it looked through his lens” (p. 107). Interestingly, Norbert presents 40 pages at the end of the book showing before and after restoration images. The photo restorations by Brian Wallace are wonderful to compare side-by-side with the old originals.

Only one photograph of Menadelook with his camera is known, and it is only his camera case that is visible with a strap over his left shoulder. It would be interesting to know something about his photography craft—the type of camera used, how he obtained his film, where and how negatives were developed and photographs printed. There were photography studios and services in Nome during his lifetime; perhaps he used those businesses for his photographs.

A few typographical errors crept into the final printing. Several communities or geographic features mentioned in the text are not depicted on the map. A general index and a name index would add a nice feature for future researchers and current readers. These minor quibbles do nothing to detract from Norbert’s fine book, sharing her grandfather’s life for all of us to read. We must admire this remarkable man who stood at the crossroads of culture change and recorded it for posterity. Our collective thanks go to Eileen Norbert for persevering for three decades to gather the photographs and information for her book, and to Rosita Worl and Sealaska Heritage Institute for supporting the book’s publication.