ALASKA
Aboriginal Culture

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings
The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme XVI

Indigenous Peoples and Cultures

Special Study

ALASKA ABORIGINAL CULTURE

1962

United States Department of the Interior
Stewart L. Udall, Secretary

National Park Service
Conrad L. Wirth, Director
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## Appendix I - Criteria for Classification

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Diagram of Cultural Sequences 97A

### Map

Map of Archeological Sites in Alaska 171

(\textit{Map prepared by Division of Recreation Resource Planning, Region Four Office, San Francisco.})
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Cover Design prepared by Mrs. Marietta C. Schumacher
FOREWORD

This study has been produced by the National Park Service field staff assigned to the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The proposals of the field staff in this theme study, "Alaska Aboriginal Culture," have been evaluated and screened by the Consulting Committee for the Survey and by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments. The Board endorsed the following of the fifteen sites recommended by the field staff for classification as being of exceptional value and meeting the criteria for the Registry of National Historic Landmarks:

1. Palugvik 5. Gambell
2. Yukon Island Main Site 6. Wales
3. Chaluka 7. Ipiutak
4. Iyatayet 8. Birnirk

The following were not recommended for classification:

1. Kugusugaruk 4. Totem Bight Park
2. Barrow Village 5. Shakes Island
3. Saxman Totem Park 6. Point Hope Village

The Board recommended that Anaktuvuk Pass be given further study to determine whether it merits classification.

When the studies are published for wider distribution they will be revised to reflect these recommendations.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director
Preface

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey begun in 1937, under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II, and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed as part of the National Park Service Mission 66 Program.

The purpose of the Survey, as outlined in the Historic Sites Act, is to "make a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." In carrying out this basic directive, each site and building considered in the Survey is evaluated in terms of the Criteria for Classification, which are listed in the appendix of this report.

When completed the Survey will make recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of "exceptional value." This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological representation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by state and local agencies.
This study was prepared by Dr. J. Louis Giddings, Director of the Hoffenreffer Museum of the American Indian, at Mount Hope Grant, Brown University, at Bristol, Rhode Island, under contract, for the National Park Service. Assistance in preparing the inventory of sites was also given by Mr. Paul J. F. Schumacher, Region Four Office, and the study was processed through to publication by Mr. Charles W. Snell, Historian, Region Four Office, San Francisco.

After completion, the study was presented to the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee consists of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies; Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Dr. Louis B. Wright, Folger-Shakespearean Library; Mr. Earl H. Read, American Institute of Architects; Dr. Richard H. Howland, Head Curator, Civil History, Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Eric Gugler, American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society; Dr. J. O. Brew, Committee for the Recovery of Archeological Remains; Mr. Frederick Johnson, Robert S. Peabody Foundation for American Archeology; Mr. Robert Garvey, Jr., Executive Director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and Dr. Ralph H. Gabriel, Sterling Professor of History Emeritus, Yale University, and Professor of American Studies, American University.
The over-all Survey, as well as the theme study which follows, is under the general direction of John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, who works under the general supervision of Herbert E. Kahler, Chief, Division of History and Archeology, of the National Park Service.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director
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INTRODUCTION

Alaska's Natives*

The Indians and Eskimos of Alaska are as variable in culture, in the several distinct environments of the state, as the food resources upon which they depend. Eskimos of the Arctic coast near Point Barrow, for example, would find the life of the ice-hunting Greenland Eskimos far more understandable than that of the Tlingit and Haida fishermen of the Pacific rain forest of southern Alaska. The Tlingit, on the other hand, are culturally linked with other coastal Indians far to the south in Canada and the states of Washington, Oregon, and California. The inland Alaskan Indians who speak Athapascan dialects, though intermediate in space between Eskimos and southern Indians, are more akin in

*General treatments of the Indians and Eskimos of Alaska are included in Bancroft, 1884 and 1886; Birket-Smith, 1959; Collins, 1954; Jochelson, 1933; Morice, 1892-93; Nelson, 1899; Niblack, 1888; Petroff, 1884; Stefansson, 1913 and 1921; Swanton, 1909; and Weyer, 1932.

The following are more localized ethnographies and acculturation studies: Birket-Smith, 1953 (Pacific Eskimo); Birket-Smith and de Laguna, 1938 (South Alaska Indians); Bogoras, 1910 (Asian Eskimo); Huges, 1960 (Asian Eskimo); Krause, 1956 (Tlingit); Lantis, 1946 (Bering Sea Eskimo); McKennan, 1959 (Central Athapascan); Murdoch, 1892 (Point Barrow Eskimo); Osgood, 1936a, 1937, 1940, 1958, 1959 (Athapascans); and Spencer, 1959 (Point Barrow Eskimo).
language, physical appearance, and culture to the whole block of inland Canadian Indians inhabiting the forest and muskegs eastward as far as Hudson Bay.

The vastness of Alaska, with its coastline three times that of the other United States and a land area one-fifth as large, can be mapped to stress the difference between the three or four broad ethnic groupings; yet the ethnographer who settles down to study a band or tribe intermediate between these zones finds no sharp boundary but a degree of blending in all except language. The native population in 1940— it has been increasing somewhat since— was 32,458. Of these, 15,500 spoke Eskimo; 5,600 Aleut (an Eskimo-related language); and the remaining 11,000, the various Indian tongues (Stanton, 1953, p. 40).

Political, or tribal, organization has always been strongest among the coastal Indians of southeastern Alaska. When the first Europeans arrived, in 1741, the Tlingit were well enough organized, it appears, to discourage their landing. At any rate, two boatloads of men, sent ashore by Chirikov on Bering's second expedition, failed to come back to the ship and were left behind, presumably killed or captured by the unseen Indians. The Tlingit and Haida were at that time bold seafarers, travelling in immense dugout canoes and living through the winter months in grand, square, plank houses adorned with artistic furnishings. They wove and dyed soft basketry, reduced tree trunks to an impressive variety of forms.
with stone tools, and made a rich living from the unending supply of sea mammals and fish ingeniously taken from the inlets and channels on which they lived. This was a region of elaborate ceremonials involving even the calculated destruction of property as a means of gaining prestige and spiritual well being. Their chiefs were proud, and lines of kinship were reckoned with care. While the modern Tlingit and Haida use power boats and engage in competitive enterprise with their Indian and white townsmen or neighbors, they still band together—now in a non-sectarian, pan-Indian, Alaska Brotherhood (Drucker, 1958).

Westward along the coast from the Tlingit lived the Eskimo speakers of Prince William Sound, Kodiak Island, and neighboring shores. These southern Eskimos, early exploited for their fur resources by the Russians, are separated in one coastal locality by a small tribe called the "Eyak" (Birket-Smith and de Laguna, 1938) and are backed by the Athapascan speakers of Cook Inlet and the interior.

Westward along the Alaska Peninsula the language and culture of the southern Eskimos becomes Aleut. The Aleutian language is Eskimoan, but it is distinguished from dialects of the adjacent Eskimo area by what appears to be the result of long isolation. Even though the Prince William Sound Eskimos were exploited by Europeans, they nevertheless managed to maintain their culture and independence until as late as 1860 (Birket-Smith, 1953, p.10)--
perhaps because of the protection offered by their labyrinthine water passages and dense forest. The Aleuts, who could not hide on their treeless islands, were dominated from the time of first Russian contact. It seems remarkable that the Aleuts maintained as much as they did of the old culture, even with most of its ceremony suppressed, until the present century. The Aleuts, unlike other native populations of Alaska, have been quite recently uprooted. During the Second World War they were removed either to the Alaska mainland or to Japan, and now, with their numbers down to less than 1,000 (Bank, 1958, p. 120) and with their relocation since the war in places sometimes far from the original home island (Laughlin, 1961), they are hardly representative of the dense population and rich sea-hunting culture that the Russians found thriving in the early 1700's.

The Eskimos of western mainland Alaska were first discovered by Captain James Cook in 1778. Those south of Bering Strait speak several distinct and mutually almost exclusive dialects of the Eskimo language, while those north of the Strait understand each other more easily the farther north they live, giving the impression of forming a continuity distinct from that of the other Eskimos. The people of both regions combine sealing with caribou hunting (in more recent times, reindeer herding) and, where locally possible, add intensive fishing or whaling. Their special adaptations to harbor ice and sea ice set them apart in many ways from the inhabitants of the milder Pacific shores.
The recent tendency in western Alaska has been to gather together in villages or large towns, leaving along stretches of coastline uninhabited. This movement began with the building of missions, then trading posts, then government schools along these coasts in the 1890's. The trend has been exaggerated since the war by the establishing of military centers in or near the native villages, where they create a local labor market. The shift to village life, and dependence on the federal government in one way or another, has extended even to Saint Lawrence Island, where an Asian dialect of Eskimo is spoken. The former complete dependence of the Islanders upon sea mammals, fish, and migratory birds for their livelihood is now giving way to reliance on ships, airplanes, and military installation as sources of supply. These coastal groups nevertheless have held fast to their home ground, even in the face of repeated exploitation or interference by fur seekers, traders, whalers, and gold hunters, and the ethnic boundaries recognized by the first explorers have remained essentially the same. Thus, the stability of 200 years brings up the question of when, if ever, the migration of groups, rather than the drift of ideas, played a part in cultural change.

Away from the coast, the peoples of the mountains and river valleys of the interior are nearly all speakers of the Athapascan language, broken only by differences in dialect from the western forest edge in Alaska to central Canada (Osgood, 1936). More strongly organized than their Eskimo neighbors into family lines and
matrilineal clans, these Athapascans have special devices, including elegant snowshoes, for getting about in the powdery snows of the calm, cold, forested interior. They are stalkers of individual game animals as well as interceptors of herds, and their fishing practices exploit both the migrating summer schools of salmon and the permanent winter fish that live beneath the ice of lakes and streams. This old Athapascan culture of Alaska is perhaps the most rapidly disappearing of all, for the fur trade has declined in recent years and the call of rich towns growing throughout the interior is rapidly becoming greater than that of river and trail.

The Search for Earliest Alaskans

This first people of Alaska, scholars agree, were also the first Americans. If they lived no earlier than the twenty or thirty thousand years usually allowed man in America, their physical appearance and reasoning power were completely modern, and they possessed --at least those in the more northerly regions--the inventiveness that would enable them to take advantage of extremes of climate. A people who have become adjusted to living at the Arctic Circle in Asia are ready as well as for Arctic America. They have the means of housing and clothing themselves against the extremes of wind and cold--that is, to tailor skin clothing to the contours of the body and to control fire within insulated shelters--hence it is not too much to suppose that they also have the ability to devise means of crossing over limited bodies of water.
The separation of Asia from America by only 56 miles at Bering Strait—really two 25-mile waterways when we count the two substantial islands half-way across—is of less consequence than one might think. Eskimos, with their boats made of sealskins stretched on a frame, have had no difficulty in going back and forth. Of more importance is the ability to obtain food and rear families in extremes of wind and calm, snow and sunshine. The suggestion has often been made that early man could have come to America only when it was possible to do so over a land bridge. This unnecessarily implies slow wits and cultural ineptitude on the part of one who had already solved the greater problem of living in the region. But while the man of the late Pleistocene may not have needed a land bridge, he almost certainly had one: a broad, grassy plain, now the sea bottom, connecting the continents is a band 600 miles wide (Hopkins, 1959). Although continental glaciers periodically covered much of the land to the east, most of Alaska remained ice-free and continuous with Asia.

The enormity of time during which human beings most likely exploited Alaska allows nearly unlimited possibilities for their descendants to have spread into every corner of the New World, or into North Asia, even without purposeful migrations. The ultimate ancestry of the American Indians seems to lie in early populations whose cultures were first adapted to arctic food and arctic cold. Since the presence of man in Alaska during the late Pleistocene is
postulated in part on archeological findings far to the south that show him to have been associated with horses, elephants, bison, camels, sloths, and other creatures now extinct, it is worth remarking that these prime sources of human food existed throughout the same time period in Alaska and neighboring Siberia. Just as the spread of the American Stipa grasses into boreal Asia paved the way for the various Pleistocene herds, grass and herds alike afforded the inducement to man to control his personal environment after the fashion of the glacier-edge hunters of Europe (Eiseley, 1955). The theorist is able to see his early men either as following a one-directional trail out of Asia into the warm parts of America or as increasing at random with no particular motivations. He can hardly avoid, however, exposing his subjects, in their earlier American stages at least, to the refining processes of the arctic environment.

The archeological search for predecessors of the Eskimos and Alaskan Indians began late and has only recently begun to produce more than hypothetical evidence of the earlier occupations. Alaska, unlike the other states, has been subjected to very little of the close scrutiny that results from farming, road building, and imaginative explorations of children. Mining operations have uncovered vast deposits of buried wood and the bones of extinct mammals, but no sure signs of glacier-age man. Coastal Eskimos usually know of grass-covered mounds in which to grub for ancient
ivory deposited by their ancestors. The exploring archeologist cannot be satisfied, however, with asking local residents where to dig. In Alaska, perhaps more than elsewhere, he is obliged to cover the ground for himself and isolate sites through a deductive process.

The first excavations in Alaska were hasty because they were performed by amateurs or those impatient to get on with other things. The Aleutian Islands were the scene of the earliest professional archeology. W. H. Dall, in the last century, sampled the deep and obvious middens and the burial caves of the Aleutian Islands and propounded hypotheses (Dall, 1877) that led to vast and more careful excavations by Waldemar Jochelson in 1909 and 1910 (Jochelson, 1925). The explorations by Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1914) on the northern fringe of the continent and then the Danish discoveries in the Hudson Bay region (Birket-Smith, 1929; Mathiassen, 1927) led scholars to turn their efforts more towards interpretive excavations in Alaska. A serious-minded amateur, W. B. Van Valin, exposed the frozen skeletons and belongings of an aggregate of early Eskimos near Point Barrow (Mason, 1930) to which has been given the cultural name of "Birnirk." Then Ales Hrdlicka, the noted physical anthropologist of the Smithsonian Institution, began to open mounds in southern Alaska, primarily in search of skeletal remains (Hrdlicka, 1944; 1945). He further recorded sites around the entire coast of western Alaska (Hrdlicka, 1930). One result of
Hrdlicka's survey was the stimulating disclosure that Alaska held not only varied cultural items underground, but artistic riches as well.

For the triple purpose of locating the point of entry of Asian man into America, identifying the ancient carvers of ivory, and searching for Eskimo origins, intensive and scientific excavations began to be made in the region of Bering Strait. Midden deposits on the American side, at Cape Prince of Wales, were explored in 1926 by the Canadian anthropologist, Diamond Jenness, who even more significantly found on the Little Diomede Island in the center of the Strait ivory objects decorated in an elaborate curvilinear style of etching that pointed up an unexpected complexity in the ways of early Eskimos (Jenness, 1928). Henry Collins began intensive work in 1928 for the Smithsonian Institution, which resulted in a definitive archeology of St. Lawrence Island (Collins, 1937). He was supported in his conclusions about the development of Eskimo culture by the work of Otto William Geist and Froelich Rainey in the huge Kukulik site of the same island (Geist and Rainey, 1936; Rainey, 1941). In the meantime, Frederica de Laguna (1934; 1956) searched out and excavated sites of the coastal region of south central Alaska, showing that Eskimo-like cultures had preceded those of present-day Indians in that Pacific rainbelt region.
By the middle 1930's archeology was soundly established on a scientific basis in Alaska, and in a broad and general way one might rough in the sequences and backgrounds of Eskimo prehistory for at least 2,000 years. Beyond the Eskimo and Aleut coastal fringes, however, little was known of the remainder of Alaska. The origins and spread of inland Athapascan Indian tribes and of the Haida and Tlingit of the Pacific coast were nearly as obscure as ever, although a few flints were turning up in mining operations of the interior (Rainey, 1939; 1940). These flints might be either very old or quite recent, since none were indisputably in place. The archeology of a century or two in the past was discerned for Indians of the upper Tanana and Yukon drainage system by Rainey (1939, pp. 358-80), and for the lower Yukon by de Laguna (1947). One puzzling site near Fairbanks, discovered by students on the campus of the University of Alaska, indicated an early relationship of some kind between this part of the country and the Gobi desert of Mongolia (Rainey, 1939, pp. 381-89; Nelson, 1937). The Mesolithic technique of striking razor-like microblades from prepared flint cores, however, similar in those two distant regions, nevertheless offered little help just then to the archeologists of temperate America who were searching for sources in Asia of other products of flint work—specifically, the bifaced projectile points of kinds found buried with the bones of extinct animals in the southwestern states (Roberts, 1940; Howard, 1936; Wormington, 1957).
culture had originated in the central regions of Canada (Birket-Smith, 1929), did not seriously impede the search for First Thule culture in the West.

The expectation of Froelich Rainey and Helge Larsen in planning an expedition to Point Hope in 1939 (Larsen and Rainey, 1948) was that they should find, at that locality midway between Bering Strait and Point Barrow, in a large midden already known to exist, the stages of culture that would either clarify or deny the emergence of Birnirk and Thule cultures out of Old Bering Sea. While the Point Hope mound proved to be too recent to throw much light on the question of cultural origins, a different kind of site was discovered during the season that changed the pattern of mound excavations. A buried settlement of vast proportions was found on a series of old beach crests remote from the present edge of the sea. It received the name "Ipiutak." During three seasons, 72 of an estimated 600 or 700 houses (Larsen and Rainey, 1948, pp. 46-47) and 137 burials were exposed in a band stretching more than five miles.

The discovery of Ipiutak, with its content of house remains buried in gravel and almost unmarked on the surface, opened the way toward the acknowledgment of generations of people whose archeology could not be anticipated from studies of deep village mounds. Had this site proven to be one of Old Bering culture, the archeology of St. Lawrence Island might well have served as
At this stage of the development of Alaskan archeology, one might turn to the now classic excavations of Mathiassen in the central regions of Canada for an interpretation of Eskimo archeology in general. The practical but inelegant objects of Thule culture could be shown to stretch from Alaska to Greenland. Differences between the prehistoric Canadian and Alaskan Eskimos seemed to be emphasized, on the other hand, in the long sequence of cultures on St. Lawrence Island on the Asian side of Bering Sea. Here the Thule-like forms had been preceded by the more artistically elaborate Old Bering Sea culture which lacked the specific ice-hunting character of eastern Thule. The St. Lawrence Island sequence, together with that of the Diomede Islands in Bering Strait, seemed to say that Thule culture had originated on the Asian side of Bering Strait, passing through a Birnirk phase in northern Alaska, and continuing eastward to the regions where Thule was incontestably basic. The excavations up to this time were interpreted as showing directional movements of culture, and perhaps even of people, across the Strait from Asia. A southerly movement could have seeded the Aleutian sequence and those of the Pacific areas of Cook Inlet and Kodiak Island (de Laguna, 1934, pp. 219-20). A northerly one, best seen in the Birnirk culture of northern Alaska, might have changed to Thule and streamed rapidly eastward as whale hunters opened up new resources across all of north Canada and the coast of Greenland (Mathiassen, 1927, Pt. 2, p. 184). An alternative view, that Eskimo
the archeology of coastal Alaska. Ipiutak, however, was in the main unlike anything on St. Lawrence Island, although it shared some traits with Okvik and Old Bering Sea cultures, including the elaborate decorative etching of ivory. The ancient Ipiutak people subsisted on sea mammals as well as caribou while they lived at Point Hope, but unlike the early St. Lawrence islanders, they show no signs of having hunted the great baleen whales. They differed also in possessing an elaborate art in flint chipping that more nearly recalled the later stone age of Europe than did anything else in the Eskimo area. The old dwellers at Ipiutak are further set apart from the known Eskimo continuum by the absence in their sites of stone lamps, implements of ground slate, and pottery. Ipiutak was too large a site either to incorporate in the theory of the evolution of Old Bering Sea into Thule culture or to ignore. If it were later than Old Bering Sea, yet between the known sites of Old Bering Sea and those of Birnack, it could hardly have failed to leave its stamp on the latter culture. If it were earlier, the problems of origin of Thule and recent Eskimo culture were no longer primarily centered on the Asian side of Bering Strait, but in Alaska itself.

Shortly after the discovery at Point Hope, sites of Ipiutak and related cultures were found at Cape Prince of Wales of Bering Strait, far to the south in Bristol Bay of the Bering Sea, and in Norton Sound of the northern Bering Sea. It began to look as if Ipiutak and Ipiutak-like manifestations were related to the mainland
of Alaska as Okvik and Old Bering Sea were to St. Lawrence Island
and the mainland of northeastern Siberia.

After the discovery of Ipiutak, recent Eskimo culture was
shown to have an inland counterpart along the Kobuk River Valley
of western Alaska (Giddings, 1952). A considerable time depth
in this forested region indicated that coastal and inland adapta­
tions of the Eskimos and their predecessors in Alaska had long
been closely coupled in a fashion not known in neighboring Asia.
Similar continuities were shown to exist in certain aspects of
culture--especially the material ones--between Eskimos of the wes­
tern Bering Sea coast and Athapascan Indians who were their
immediate neighbors in the forests bordering west-flowing rivers.
The archeology of continental Alaska, far from having been anti­
cipated by the findings on St. Lawrence Island, was clearly just
beginning to emerge.

With the end of the Second World War, archeologists entered
the field in earnest, and while little more was learned of the
archeology of the Asian side of Bering Strait, significant new
findings came to light in western Alaska. A site of flint chip­
ping far older than any previously known from this part of the
world was described at Cape Denbigh on the northern coast of the
Bering Sea (Giddings, 1951). The Denbigh Flint complex, lying
in isolation beneath deposits of both paleo-Eskimo and neo-Eskimo
leavings, offered in one old campsite a combination of forms and
techniques reminiscent of some of those of Europe, but unfamiliar
elsewhere on the American scene. There were present in this complex, as at the University of Alaska Campus site, microblades in profusion. New to the American archeology, however, were implements including a variety of burins comparable in form and technology, if not in size, to those of the Upper Paleolithic of Europe.

As other sites containing some combination of the Denbigh elements were found across Arctic America in the years following the initial discovery, Alaska began to take its place in a circum-polar continum of archeology. Denbigh flints have been discovered far enough inland to show the competence of their makers to live in forests and mountains as well as on the treeless coast. The early campers at Cape Denbigh preferred delicate and very small flints for their hafted and composite tools and weapons, and a like diminutiveness is to be seen wherever else Denbigh-related techniques were employed in the American Arctic.

Post-war attention to the middens of the Aleutians has resulted in a new interpretation of Aleutian archeology. A microblade technology existed there in some undetermined association earlier than 3,000 years ago, when the village mounds began to take shape—and may have continued for a time—and then microblades disappeared, as settled villagers turned to the grinding and polishing of stone and bone (Laughlin and Marsh, 1954). While the Aleuts have changed somewhat physically from early to late, and their culture has undergone alteration, nevertheless
continuity is stressed (Bank, 1953; Quimby, 1948; Spaulding, 1953) in place of the abrupt changes early hypothecated—at most there have been two waves of people and culture, the latter quite late (Laughlin and Marsh, 1951).

Far to the north, mounds at Point Barrow have been pared away to expose the Eskimo background of that area. The intensive occupation of this part of the coast appears to begin with the time of Birnirk culture. A few excavated pieces are decorated in the Old Bering Sea style, but neither mounds nor house pits of these or Ipiutak-related people have been identified (Ford, 1959).

Blank spaces in the archeological record, such as at Point Barrow before 500 A. D. and most of southern Alaska earlier than 3,000 years ago, are sometimes taken as signs that the population of Alaska was spotty or non-existent at certain times in the past. On the other hand, there is growing evidence that a determined search of a specific local area can produce new aspects of culture almost in proportion to the amount of exploration done. After his first work in Kotzebue Sound in the early 1940's, the author felt that he had sampled essentially all of the archeology that the region had to offer. Closer study of the collections revealed, however, that earlier archeology should exist along the shifting shores of these rivers and bays. Through the process of "beach ridge dating," (Giddings, 1960a) in which series of ancient sea beach ridges are sought out for the archeological and other data preserved in them, slowly the fact has emerged that beaches have
succeeded one another in this area at somewhat regular intervals ever since the sea reached its greatest post-glacial height some 5,000 or 6,000 years ago. While few complete series of fossil beaches have escaped obliteration by coastal currents, long series have been preserved almost without change in at least three areas. On the innermost beaches (that is, those farthest from the present sea coast) at Cape Prince of Wales, at Cape Espenberg, on the south side of Kotzebue Sound, and at Cape Krusenstern on the north shore, flints and hearths of the Denbigh Flint complex are found isolated from later cultural material. The beaches between these oldest ones and the sea preserve the remains of intervening cultures right to the present day. Other long series of beaches containing archeological successions, such as those at Point Hope, also exist, but they appear to be limited to the later formations of the possible beach-ridge span.

The beach ridges in this part of the world seem to be limited backward in time by the greatest height reached by sea level after the last glaciation, but the neighboring slopes at Cape Krusenstern were safe from encroachment by post-Pleistocene seas, and it is here that we are able to pick up the earlier archeological record. Notched points and other stone artifacts at the Palisades site on one of the slopes are almost certainly older than the Denbigh flints and separable from them by appearance and evidence of chemical change. Among them is a body of cruder
artifacts that may be extremely old.

Nothing earlier than the Denbigh Flint complex and the Palisades flints has yet been recognized in the coastal fringe of Alaska. Sizeable collections of interrelated flints are appearing, however, in two localities of the Brooks range: one at Anaktuvuk Pass, 200 miles away from Cape Krusenstern, and the other along the Firth River, 600 miles away.* The earliest finds at each of these places relate to cultural periods earlier than the Denbigh Flint complex. While the correspondence of the Kogruk and British Mountain flints of these regions only vaguely suggests through relative crudeness a relationship to the older of the Palisades flints, we are beginning to discern a widespread early flint technology entirely outside the microblade and "small tool" tradition. Notched points and associated artifacts from glacial kames in southern Alaska very closely resemble the later ones of the Palisades. Other possible crossties with the interior are with parts of Canada so distant from Kotzebue Sound that comparisons in that direction seem highly tenuous at our present state of knowledge.

One caution must be made. The cultural inference to be drawn from coastal sites of houses, villages, and burials is much greater than that from the limited flint deposits of the interior.

*Some of these discoveries by William Irving, Ralph Solecki, John M. Campbell, R. S. MacNeish, and others are described on pages 83 and 89.
The middens and houses that have been excavated from Prince William Sound westward and northward around the entire coast of Alaska shed a great deal of light on the subsistence patterns, technology and even, to a high degree, the ceremonial and social practices of people whose skeletal form may also be known. It is not always easy to compare the flints from these well known coastal sites in such a way as to assure ourselves that we could place the sites in their proper relationship to each other on the basis of flint technology alone. In the absence of the particular kinds of cultural detail afforded by the presence of organic artifacts and the associations of house and fireside, one is often tempted to treat the flints alone as though they were generically related and to propose cultural connections on this thinnest of evidence. Conclusions as to language, cultural form, and cultural origins may have no more validity when based only upon the resemblance of one or two flint forms than if they were dependent upon intuitions like those of Nineteenth Century theorists about the migrations of primitive man.

The interpretation of cultural material from Alaskan sites has far outstripped that of skeletal material, largely because physical remains are seldom recovered in quantity or in the earlier deposits. Notable exceptions are the skeletons from deep in Aleutian and Kodiak Island middens, obtained by nearly all who excavated there, the Birnirk-age remains at Point Barrow, and those of the vast Ipiutak cemetery at Point Hope. A series of
old "Igloo" crania from Point Barrow were found by Hrdlicka to be more closely related to a Greenland series than to most of the modern crania from western Alaska (Hrdlicka, 1930, p. 326). This conclusion lent strength to a western origin of eastern Eskimos and Thule culture. The Ipiutak series, together with a remarkable group of skeletons of modern Eskimos of Point Hope, and some of intermediate age, has not been described in full. However, the Ipiutak and the modern series are said to belong to "one racial branch," though they are not identical, and to resemble the remains of some northeast Siberians more than they do those of either the old Point Barrow collection or eastern Eskimo (Debets, 1959). The earlier occupants of the Aleutians were longer-headed than their recent successors, but they and the moderns alike are to be equated with western Eskimos rather than with Indians (Laughlin, 1951). Thus far, no archeological collections of great significance are known for prehistoric Indian sites, nor is there a clear indication, either cultural or in the skeletal remains, of prehistoric shifts in Eskimo-Indian boundaries. Collins has succinctly stated the distinction between Eskimo and Indian physique, however, as follows:

Except where there has been intermixture, the living Eskimos differ from Indians in the following respects: They have shorter arms and legs and therefore generally shorter stature; smaller hands and feet; lighter skin color, narrower and more lowbridged nose, higher frequency of the epicanthic or Mongolian eye fold. The Eskimo skull possesses several other distinctive features: The depression at the root of the nose is shallow and the nasal bones are very narrow, usually
having a "pinched up" appearance; the tympanic plate—the bony ledge bordering the ear opening—is very thick; and there are frequently bony swellings, known respectively as palatine, maxillary, and mandibular tori, on the palate and along the alveolar borders of upper and lower jaws. The most highly specialized form of Eskimo skull—that found in northern Alaska, parts of Canada, and Greenland—possesses a further number of special features which combine to make it one of the most distinctive and easily recognized of all human types. The skull vault is extremely long, narrow and high, with a longitudinal ridge—the sagittal crest—extending from front to back; the forehead is rather narrow and sloping and there is a marked protrusion of the back of the skull; the face is often wider than the skull and has a squarish shape due to the outward flare of the ascending ramus, the upper part of the mandible; the nose is extremely narrow and the orbits are high; the cheek bones are high and prominent, with a downward slope toward the maxillary region. (Collins, Arctic Area, 1954, pp. 38-39.)

The Americans sprang ultimately from stocks of northeast Asia, perhaps by slow and random spread. This we may infer from several lines of reasoning. As to the purposeful migration to America of any groups, however, there is as yet no clear indication in the skeletal remains or other lines of archeological evidence.

SAINT LAWRENCE ISLAND--ALASKA IN ASIA

Alaska includes, through a quirk of the international date line, the long island of St. Lawrence in the northern Bering Sea. This island, though it belongs to the United States, is both culturally and geographically nearer to Asia than to America. Vitus Bering saw the island in 1728, and nearly all explorers of
note after the early Eighteenth Century stopped off there and
visited, however briefly, with its Eskimo-speaking natives. Even
so, all but one Eskimo whaling crew practiced pagan rites until
the 1930's, thus carrying forward almost to the present day a way
of life that is archeologically indicated with little basic
change over a period of 2,000 or more years.

The island, which is 100 miles long and 20 or more wide, is,
in a sense, one vast archeological site. Hardly a slope, pro­
montory, or rivulet mouth does not have its deposit, in some
form, of the objects left by generations of hunters and campers.
While most of the large, expansive mounds are known and at least
somewhat tested, a few hold virtually intact their wealth of
solidly frozen organic and other remains. Pits thawed and la­
boriously excavated through great depths of the larger sites
reveal the floors and walls of houses and masses of debris piled
up on one-time roofs, in dooryards, and along paths of an accumu­
lating mound. Soft objects such as skin clothing, wooden ves­
sels, arrow feathering, and sinew lashing are preserved where
frost is most persistent. Even though each level is disturbed
where early occupants dug foundations and storage pits into the
older deposits, it is possible to discern broad and general
changes in art and fashion that correspond to depths in the
ground. Here and there a house foundation has been prepared by
partially excavating the filled-in pit of an earlier house.
Thus, at Kukulik mound a recent house known to have been last occupied when the site was decimated by disease in 1880 was found, in excavation, to have been aligned with walls and floors of three other houses nearly equally spaced beneath it, the earliest perhaps 1,000 years old (Geist and Rainey, 1936, pp. 59-62).

The time and expense required for the excavation of a deep midden is prohibitive to most institutions, especially in view of the short thawing season. It is no mere coincidence that the two areas of most intensive excavation, Northwest Cape and Savoonga, are near the two modern villages of Gambell and Savoonga. Labor is available at these two settlements and supply is relatively easy. Several thick, stratified mounds in these localities, and in one other, in the Punuk Islands, have been excavated by two groups of archeologists to furnish the material for an unusually full interpretation of 2,000 years or more of culture history.

Northwest Cape

On approaching the modern village of Gambell by boat from the north or west, one sees a broad foreground of successive gravel beaches in back of which is a precipitous slope leading to the flattened plateau of Cape Chibukak, or Northwest Cape. It has not been practical here to live for many generations in one site and at the same time hunt the seals that form the basis
of St. Lawrence Island living. Archeology shows that as gravel beaches have built outward from the base of the headland, people have moved with the beach front in order to live at the edge of the water. While the Northwest Cape site may be regarded as a single one comprising no more than two square miles, it is made up of a series of dwelling places including three large mounds.

The oldest site is that designated by Collins the Hillside. This is a portion of the foreland slope, somewhat gentler and less rocky than that adjoining. The buried floors of three houses contain the oldest materials yet isolated at Northwest Cape. One house floor, that of a partially destroyed, but apparently large, round structure lacking an entrance tunnel, contained a high proportion of work in flinty materials as compared with polished slate (Rainey, 1941, pp. 469-472) and ivory artifacts engraved in a style designated Okvik II (Giddings, 1960, p.123). Two smaller, square houses, approximately 100 yards to the south, both had long entrance passages and were last occupied by people whose engravings and other artifacts identify them with Old Bering Sea II. Under the floorstones of one of these houses were found a few artifacts more like those of the Okvik II house than those from other Old Bering Sea sites. The engraving style of these objects defines Old Bering Sea Style, or Period, I. The Hillside people were all skilled seal and walrus hunters, to judge from harpoon parts and other weapons of the sea hunt. Whaling is somewhat implied by the presence of baleen objects in these houses but is not confirmed by large harpoon parts.
At the base of the Hillside site, and directly in front of the Old Bering Sea house excavations, lies a sizeable frozen mound called Miyowagh ("The climbing-up place") (Collins, 1937, p. 33). This mound has been partly excavated. Its content of houses, cache pits, and midden deposits ranges through several cultural phases. Old Bering Sea Periods II and III, as defined in part by an elaborate curvilinear art in ivory, are represented in the lower levels. Then come Birnirk-style harpoon heads and a vast number of Early Punuk artifacts which mark a long, slow transition to Punuk culture. While Miyowagh was thus growing into a thick mound, whaling like that of recent times became well established. Metal tools were employed in engraving, and new practices in archery, warfare, and hunting were slowly added to the Old Bering Sea base.

Since objects decorated in the true, or classic, Punuk style are scarce, and present only at the top of Miyowagh, it is presumed that a move was made by the occupants of the site, about 1,000 years ago, to a point nearer to the receding sea edge, where the neighboring mound of Ievoghiyog began to accumulate. After Ievoghiyog had grown to a considerable depth, incorporating in it the remains of several house floors and foundations, another move appears to have been made to Seklowaghyaget, which has, at its base, artifacts decorated in Punuk style and, at its top, undecorated ivory objects of recent prehistoric times. From Seklowaghyaget, the mound
grew forward as the sea moved into what is now the Old Section of Gambell, and within historic times Gambell has formed as a series of surface houses extending along the existing ocean front beach (Collins, 1937, pp. 31-40).

As to the physical nature of the older inhabitants of these sites, skeletons from the Punuk levels show a similarity of these earlier people to the mesocephalic (or moderately broad-headed) moderns of St. Lawrence Island. On the other hand, one skull from Miyowagh was mesocephalic while two others were "extremely dolichocephalic (longheaded), falling in this respect beyond the range of normal variation for modern St. Lawrence Island crania," (Collins, 1937, pp. 246-47). There is thus an indication that the late Old Bering Sea people of St. Lawrence Island were physically somewhat different from their successors.

Kukulik

While Collins and his associates from the Smithsonian Institution were excavating the sites at Northwest Cape (Collins, 1932, 1934, 1937), Otto William Geist began intensive work at Kukulik for the University of Alaska, which lasted from 1931 through 1935 (Geist and Rainey, 1936) and was continued in 1937 by Froelich Rainey. The mound is huge, stretching 900 feet along the sea edge, reaching a width of more than 100 feet and a greatest depth of 14 feet. The site represents
a village which may have persisted without a lengthy break in occupation from 1,500-2,000 years ago to 1880 A.D.

While the sites at Gambell were tied together through seriation of cultural forms and styles, and interpretations were supported by the location of the younger sites on advancing shore lines, the Kukuliak mound offered a direct, vertical stratigraphy. Though the digging of generations of occupants of the mound has broken the stratigraphic order in places, the succession is clear to see. Old Bering Sea culture families were the first to camp here at the water's edge. Their descendants (or successors) gave up the curvilinear engraving styles for the more rigid ones of Birnirk and Early Punuk, then took up intensive whaling in Punuk and later times. The first residents of Kukuliak were not the first of St. Lawrence Island, however. The latter were Old Bering Sea people who engraved in the Style II manner as had the earliest inhabitants of Miyowagh site. No trace has yet been found at Kukuliak of either the earlier Old Bering Sea I or the Okvik engraving styles.

Punuk Islands

The polyglot site or sites on the Punuk Islands need not be considered of first importance so much for their inclusions of the Punuk and later cultures as for a collection of artifacts, decorated in a distinctive style, from midden remnants which seem to be the oldest yet found on St. Lawrence Island (Rainey, 1941). The Okvik I people worked in flint as
much as in slate, and they engraved ivory in a style or styles easily distinguished from all the others on the island. The Okvik I design is plainer, in general, than that of Old Bering Sea. It lacks the curves and bosses of the latter, and it runs to a heavy-handed treatment known elsewhere only from sites on the mainland of neighboring Asia.

The archeology of St. Lawrence Island thus seems to span two milleniums or more and to represent sedentary villages of seal and walrus hunters who, with increasing skill, ceremony and team play, engaged in the springtime hunting of baleen whales. In the absence of deer and other land game of significance on the island, sea mammals, fish, and birds furnished most of the food and raw materials needed to support large Eskimo populations.

SITES NEAR BERING STRAIT

Several sites on the Asian side of Bering Strait, from Uelen and East Cape to Indian Point, opposite St. Lawrence Island, have been tested by S. I. Rodenko, M. G. Levin, and R. V. Chubarova, among other Russian archeologists. While the archeology of Asia proper does not concern us here, it is interesting to learn that these excavations show the same Okvik-to-modern cultural phases as those of St. Lawrence Island, and no new ones. The stratigraphy in the tested Siberian sites
appears either to bear out the St. Lawrence Island sequences or to be so poor as to offer little positive information aside from the artifacts recovered (Chard, 1955).

The present Eskimo village of Inalit on Little Diomede Island faces the larger Asian Diomede, only two miles away, and contains in crevices of the boulders among which it is built traces of archeological sites both recent and very old. This was learned by Diamond Jenness in his excavation of 1926. The three abandoned houses and the second and earlier floor which proved to exist under each of them appear to be of recent date, yet a few artifacts obtained from unstratified spaces between rocks included elaborately decorated specimens that Jenness recognized as belonging to the oldest culture (the "Archaic Bering Sea") that had as yet turned up in the western American Arctic (Jenness, 1928). Collins describes decorated objects that he and others later obtained from the site on Little Diomede Island, some of which were excavated by Eskimos at considerable depth. He recognized some of these as being closely similar in style of decoration to Old Bering Sea Style I from the Hillside site (Collins, 1937, pp. 53-56). It is worthy of note that two of the harpoon heads he illustrated (Ibid., Pl. 27; Figs. A-5, A-6) are identical in form with heads from the Okvik II house on the Gambell Hillside and that at least one harpoon head is in the Okvik Style I (Collins, 1941, Fig. 4).

If these signs mean that people of the Okvik culture of St. Lawrence Island and the adjacent coast of Asia also lived
on the Diomedes, one might be encouraged to search for houses and villages of the same culture at Cape Prince of Wales and elsewhere on the shores of continental Alaska. Excavations at Cape Prince of Wales and vicinity and farther south at Teller fail to show, however, that any pure site of Old Bering Sea or Punuk culture has been established on the American side.

Large deposits exist on the north side of Wales Mountain at the edges of the present Eskimo village of Wales. Jenness, in 1926, excavated in both the "Upper Village" on a slope of the mountain and the detached mound called Kurigitavik. He discerned three periods, none as early as the Old Bering Sea (Jenness, 1928). Collins later excavated in the same two sites, where he presumably found nothing earlier than what we now call Western Thule culture, but he located a single burial mound of pure Birnirk culture two miles north of Wales village (Collins, 1937a).

Port Clarence, to the south of Wales, is known to have several sites, none excavated or properly tested, in the vicinity of Tuksuk Channel and inland around the Imuruk Basin. The only excavations in this region have been limited ones carried out by Helge Larsen at the edge of a military landing strip on a series of old beach ridges opposite Teller on Point Spencer. Here, in two sites indicated by their position on sequential beach ridges to be separable in time as well as in cultural phase, were found objects decorated in the Ipiutak style of
Point Hope and in a new aspect of Ipiutak art somewhat Okvik-like in execution. The sites were, unfortunately, very small and quickly exhausted (Larsen, 1951, pp. 67-70; 1953, p. 604).

New light was cast on the age of sites near Cape Prince of Wales in 1958 when the present author and party searched out the most ancient ocean beaches that could be found and isolated on them the remnants of sites or small whole sites of cultures earlier than any of those reported from Wales village. One of these (Kugzruk I) on Kugzruk Island, a segment of old beach ridges lying between the ocean and Lopp Lagoon some fifteen miles north of Wales, divulged a new form of harpoon head and other organic implements together with flints and crudely flaked points closely resembling some of those of Norton culture (p. 63). A still earlier aspect of Norton or Choris-like culture (pp. 37-38) turned up in a series of small sites on neighboring Agulaak Island. The earliest fossil beach, nearly a mile from the present sea shore, yielded typical tools and flakes of the Denbigh Flint complex in two isolated hearth areas.

It now appears that occupations earlier than those at Wales village must be looked for on former ocean beaches the ridges of which lie far behind the deposits represented near the present village of Wales. Doubtless many sites will be discovered when sufficient testing is done beneath the obscuring sod of these old stranded beaches. The most recent
of the sites on intermediate beach ridges of Kugzruk Island appears to associate in one site curvilinear-stamped pottery previously thought to have originated with Birnirk culture, flints like those of Norton culture, and a whaling harpoon head decorated in Old Bering Sea Style II. These objects were picked up near, and excavated from, what appears to be a single house floor in an eroding sand bank; hence, we can only await further developments to learn whether or not these buried elements indicate a meeting of several cultural threads. In the meantime, there appears to be a line of cultural division between the Old and the New World on all known mutual time levels. Strong crossties exist; yet the differences are so great as to demand a new set of designations for the American sites and phases (Giddings, 1960).

KOTZEBUE SOUND

A sharp distinction should be made between those archaeological sites in the form of middens or sizeable villages that occur at prominent points of land and on islands next to the deep channels of baleen whale and walrus migration and the fishing and sealing sites around the inner margins of bays, where river mouths create shoal water. Kotzebue Sound is a large bay with shallow edges. Its silt and sand floors afford low-water shelves upon which the small white whales may lie in safety against the patrols of large killer whales and where
harbor seal and fish of several kinds find ample small food before and after the ice has formed. Four large rivers and several smaller ones flow into the Sound. The Kobuk, Selawik, and Buckland Rivers are forested their full extent; spruce forests grow in the lower reaches of the Noatak River, extending to the edge of the sea. The shores of Kotzebue Sound are thus more attractive than neighboring coastlines in that they offer a possibility of securing the fish, animals, and birds of several habitats including that of the mountains of the Brooks Range.

The sites in the area are composed of house pits, more or less isolated from one another, and the remains of underground food caches and burials. There was little reason at any time for people to build repeatedly on the same site, making of it a village mound. Instead, the house pits usually have been dug down into virgin beach crests which, at the time of building, commanded a clear view of a stretch of coastline or river mouth bank. The entire present shoreline is dotted with the large or small grassy tufts that signify native camping either in tents or winter houses. While modern sites are thus easy to find, the older ones are invariably more obscure. Where ocean beaches have multiplied seaward, as at Capes Espenberg and Krusenstern among other localities, the earlier sites are on the beaches farther removed from the sea. Changes in vegetation offer clues to sites that do not otherwise clearly show as pits or mounds, but these signs decrease with age and the disappearance
of nourishing organic matter under the ground.

Cape Espenberg

Cape Espenberg is at the inner edge of the long, sandy coast stretching from Cape Prince of Wales to Kotzebue Sound. Here a series of wide beach ridges, each made up of successions of dunes like those currently forming, seems to represent the 5,000 or more years since the time of greatest postglacial warming. Village sites have not been found. The archeology of this succession of ridges has been sampled, however, by examining artifacts exposed by the wind in "blow-outs" of various dimensions. In moving back from the present shoreline, where recent house pits are found, one next finds the flints of an Ipiutak phase of culture; then the pottery and flints of Choris culture; and, finally, on the innermost ridge, as much as two miles from the present shore, the flints and hearths of the Denbigh Flint complex. While the later people found it possible to walk all of the earlier beaches, they appear to have dropped so few objects in proportion to those left by residents of the early beaches that there is no appreciable confusion of typology. Now and then, however, one finds a piece of late pottery or a rifle shell on the earliest beach.*

*A preliminary account of this and other "beach-ridge archeology" is in Giddings, 1960a.
The only professionally excavated site thus far reported in print between Cape Prince of Wales and Choris Peninsula is an Ipiutak culture house excavation at the town of Deering. This house contained artifacts closely related in style and form to those of Point Hope Ipiutak; yet the house itself was unlike those exposed at the Point Hope site, being rectangular, with walls formed by substantial logs laid horizontally and measuring 8 x 12 meters, or roughly six times the size of the average Point Hope Ipiutak house (Larsen, 1951, p. 83). A large, rectangular fireplace at the center and a wall setting off one end of the structure, presumably to form a kind of shed, further differentiates this house from those at Point Hope. The great size of the house and the presence in it of artifacts such as men would use in a workshop, including, surprisingly enough for Ipiutak culture, snowshoe and sled parts, led Larsen to believe that the house was the equivalent of a recent Eskimo kasigí, or men's ceremonial house. A radiocarbon date for a segment of a foundation log of this house (Johnson, 1951, sample No. 260) is surprisingly late, and improbable, in view of other local cultural developments on the same time level (Rainey and Ralph, 1959). This site was located on a broad gravel beach which is currently at the ocean edge. The sea appears to be encroaching on the shoreline at this point, however. Other known sites in the vicinity
of Deering, including one at the mouth of the neighboring Kugruk River, are quite recent.

Farther around the southern shore of Kotzebue Sound, Charles Lucier, of the University of Alaska, has excavated a few house pits on a series of beach ridges near the mouth of the Kiwalik River, others on Chamisso Island, and still more near the mouth of the Buckland River. An impression gained from talking with Mr. Lucier and examining the artifacts is that some of the house pits at Kiwalik were of Western Thule age, while most were considerably later, ranging through the Kotzebue phases of culture.

**Trail Creek**

The Trail Creek caves investigated by Larsen in 1949 and 1950 lie about twenty miles inland from Deering. Fissures and small caves in a limestone deposit on a steep hillside here divulged several phases of culture, though relatively few artifacts. The objects recovered from the caves are mainly those associated with the inland hunting of caribou, the bones of which were also preserved. The sequence of cultures, as indicated from preliminary reports of these excavations, shows Kotzebue or Western Thule types of arrowheads on the surface; beneath them, at depths not always sharply divided stratigraphically, are Ipiutak arrowheads and flints, larger bifaced blades, thick arrowheads suggesting somewhat those of Choris culture, and other objects not yet identified with known cultures; at the bottom are microblades like those of the Derbigh Flint complex.
together with a few longitudinally grooved arrowheads into which might have been fitted segments of microblades. The Trail Creek caves thus give evidence that many generations of hunters crept into these cramped quarters to escape winds and rain while hunting in the highlands.

Choris

Choris Peninsula is a small, rocky extension of the Baldwin Peninsula. Toward its southern end, and facing west, lies a series of gravel beach ridges, the innermost of which is 600 feet from the sea. Here, in 1956, the author's party found pits of three very large, oval houses. These, together with cache pits and somewhat later surface camp sites located two beaches forward, define the Choris culture, which has been only partly described (Giddings, 1957).

The Choris people, who lived in houses with vast floors (by Eskimo standards), subsisted mainly on caribou smaller than those of today. The proportions of caribou to sea mammals are far out of line with those of later Eskimo sites of the region and suggest some kind of inland affinities. The houses were heated and illuminated by stone lamps as well as by small central fireplaces. Sherds of small clay pots of a hard, linear-stamped variety are perhaps the earliest known in the region. Small-eyed bone needles show that the women were expert skin sewers. Scapula divining is strongly indicated by the presence of cracked caribou scapulae, some of which have been purposefully
scratched on fire-cracked surfaces, others decorated with etched designs. The Choris people do not seem to have kept dogs, nor did they fish with nets in the fashion of later Norton culture fishermen. Their oval house form is thus far unique. Excellent diagonal flaking suggests some kind of descendance of techniques from the Denbigh Flint people, but most of the stone work, especially the scratched slate, is crude by comparison.

Flints of an intermediate cultural affinity were found on the beaches between the Choris site and the sea, while the ample beach crest which is now at the sea edge is the site of both modern pit houses and the remains of those dating back to, perhaps, 500 years ago.

Kotzebue

The town of Kotzebue, with a largely Eskimo population of around 1,000, lies at the north end of Baldwin Peninsula. Kotzebue extends for two or more miles along the current beach crests which front Hotham Inlet, the discharge basin for three large rivers. The town spreads in places to cover segments of three or four prominent beach crests. It is not unusual, then, for residents, in excavating for house basements, to turn up deposits of artifacts from earlier house floors.

Two aspects of culture and smaller sites of later age were defined from segments of the beach ridges west of the town limits between 1940 and 1951 (Giddings, 1952; VanStone, 1955). Considered
a coastal aspect of the Arctic Woodland culture of the Kobuk River (Giddings, 1952), the Intermediate and Old Kotzebue sites date around 1550 and 1400 A.D. respectively. The sites were dated by the range of bark dates of driftwood logs, of which the houses were built, in a precise calendar of tree-ring dates derived from living trees and archeological wood on the Noatak and Kobuk Rivers.

The house and cache pit remains represent small villages of seal-hunting and salmon-fishing Eskimos who spent a part of the winter season inland along the forested streams. Their houses, heated by a central fireplace, were rectangular, with long, low entrance tunnels. A large kazigi excavated in the Intermediate Kotzebue site, and smaller residences around it, show a persistence for at least these few centuries of a recent ceremonial and social pattern of western Eskimos.

A search of the substantial series of older beach ridges at Kotzebue has failed to turn up earlier sites, perhaps because lower elevation made these beaches less attractive to campers at the time of their formation.

Sheshalik

Across Hotham Inlet from Kotzebue lies a sand and gravel spit at the tip of which is the present summer village of Sheshalik. A succession of beach ridges here forms the northern mouth of Hotham Inlet, as the beaches of Kotzebue form the southern. Sheshalik, in contrast to Kotzebue, appears to have been mainly a summer camping place, for house pits are extremely scarce on both the recent and the earlier beach ridges. Cache pits and burials exist
in great numbers, however, further supporting the idea that Sheshalik, for as long as it has been building out as a gravel spit, has been the seasonal camping place of hunters of seals and white whales, water birds, and salmon. Today a row of canvas tents housing several hundred families is to be seen from June to August at the southern edge of Sheshalik spit. A similar camp was reported in 1880 (Nelson, 1899, pp. 261-62; Figs. 88, 90), its residents living in conical, skin-covered tepees. Still earlier references, back to the time of first exploration of the Sound, indicate that the village has been continuously occupied every summer for at least 200 years (Beechey, 1831, Vol. 1, pp. 356-57; Vol. 2, p. 261). Collections from the beach ridges and excavated houses lend further support to Sheshalik as a gathering place for inland families for as long a time as the spit has existed.

Tests made in various features on earlier beach ridges, and the excavation of one large house of Western Thule culture, indicate that no more than 1,000 years have passed since the bulk of the Sheshalik spit has built to its present dimensions. The artifacts of Western Thule culture found at Sheshalik in 1958 are nearly identical with those of Cape Krusenstern.

Cape Krusenstern

Before the Sheshalik spit had grown to a point where it fully diverted the mouth of the Noatak River, a series of substantial beach ridges had been forming for many centuries at the northern corner of Kotzebue Sound. Cape Krusenstern is a locality, rather
than a site in the usual sense, for it contains the settlements or camp sites of perhaps all of the different groups of people who ever, from the earliest times, walked and hunted the beaches of Kotzebue Sound. More than 100 distinct beach crests, one formed in front of the other and each containing archeological remains, characterize this remarkable stretch of coast line (Giddings, 1960a). While the beaches are erased in places, they emerge and may be identified farther along.

In walking the 8 miles of length of the beach ridge sequence and across its 1\frac{1}{2}- to 3-mile width, one finds the remains of individual houses, caches, and burials, and even small villages, representing several time periods. Excavations thus far have shown that immediately behind the ridges inhabited by recent Eskimos lie house pits of the pre-metal periods. Starting at one point, the observer who moves at right angles to the beach ridges from the present ocean shore arrives in some 600 feet at a site of Western Thule culture 1,000 years old. At three-quarters of a mile he comes to beaches inhabited by the old Ipiutak people like those of Point Hope; a few hundred yards farther, to a village of the Old Whaling culture, which had not been suspected to exist before 1959. At a mile and a half are the beach ridges containing flints and hearths of the Denbigh Flint complex. These innermost beaches at Cape Krusenstern seem to have been formed at a time when sea level reached its greatest height following Pleistocene glaciation. The people responsible for the Denbigh Flint complex thus were on the scene
shortly after the time of the "thermal maximum," or the period of
greatest recent thawing of the world's ice.

Denbigh people also walked the shores at Cape Krusenstern
before beach ridges began to form, however, as we may judge from
a hillside deposit of Denbigh-like materials across the present
lagoon. Since this site is likely to have been occupied only
when the sea lay at the foot of the cliff, we assume that the
Denbigh flints were also being made during, or before, the thermal
maximum.

Another ancient camp site, called "the Palisades," exists on
a bench, or terrace, still higher and farther from the sea. Since
it is too remote from the base of the mountain to have served
effectively as a sea hunting campsite, we may entertain the idea
that this is the extensive camping place of peoples of at least
two general cultural periods who remained 500 feet above present
sea level in order to see afar in their search for land game.

The Palisades site lacks the microblades and small bifaces
of the Denbigh Flint complex. The better-preserved flints of the
site include side-notched points, most of them small and stubby in
outline. They are considerably patinated and encrusted with lime,
but their substance is unaltered. A large number of worked stones
are separable from the others, however, because they have changed
chemically from their original chert or chalcedony. The imple-
ments fashioned of these materials are coarser than those of the
notched points and include some that might have been used effectively
as hand axes or choppers. One can reason that at the time when these older objects were dropped, the ocean level had not reached a great height, and grassy lands, attractive to herds of now extinct animals, stretched many miles—perhaps all the way to Asia.

The cultural phases at Cape Krusenstern deserve a somewhat detailed description, for the sites that represent them lie in a serial order of beach ridges that offers an unparalleled opportunity for dating. The sites on the outer beaches show a cultural continuity with those of Kotzebue. A major difference between the two neighboring sites is seen in the presence of numbers of whale bones in the construction of the Cape Krusenstern houses of these periods. Whales apparently were obtained in considerable numbers at this point for several hundred years. Whales are not commonly seen off Cape Krusenstern at the present time, and they appear to have been equally rare, judging from the scarcity of whale bones in archeological sites, during other periods of the past.

The people of Western Thule culture at Cape Krusenstern, like their Kotzebue-phase successors, were also whalers, though whale bones were seldom used in house construction. The houses of Western Thule period were often composite, made up of a large, rectangular room with a long tunnel together with a small, rectangular kitchen and, perhaps, a smaller rectangular living room joining the tunnel. Western Thule people inhabited their houses for long periods of time, as we see from the breakage of their coarse but generously proportioned pottery, the immense accumulations of mammal bones in
and about house floors, and the accumulations of ash from their cooking fires. They engraved tastefully in ivory in a style usually geometric, employing small, metal-tipped tools. They made many knife blades of slate including broad, semilunar knives and polished them to a high finish. Unlike their contemporaries in the Asian and Bering Sea sites, however, they continued to do excellent work in flints, selecting chert and chalcedony with an eye to excellence like that of their predecessors of Ipiutak culture.

A period still in question is that of the transition—for there seems to have been one—between Ipiutak and Western Thule culture. The Ipiutak culture, lasting through several phases at Cape Krusenstern, shows continuity with Point Hope Ipiutak while at the same time manifesting continuous culture change. The earlier houses seem to have had rounded corners and to have been as small as those at Point Hope, while most of the later houses were large and sharply rectangular, resembling in these respects the Ipiutak house at Deering (p. 35). No trace of entrance at or below the ground level has been identified for the several house excavations. Rather, there is strong evidence for roof entry.

One Ipiutak house at Cape Krusenstern had caught fire, trapping its occupants inside. Three persons, whose somewhat disintegrated skeletons were found, apparently dug holes beneath floor levels in futile attempts to escape under the foundation logs of their house. Two of the skeletons were equipped with adzes that were apparently held in the hand at the time of death. These adzes, with stone
tips, antler heads, and wooden handles, had been inadequate tools, however, with which to escape the suffocating effects of smoke. One might conjecture that the fire, which was built in these houses in a large, rectangular central fireplace, had gone out of control, closing the only means of exit and firing the roof timbers. An arrow point found in the pelvic region of one of the skeletons allows the possibility, on the other hand, that attackers fired the house and prevented exit through the roof.

With respect to both workmanship (forms and excellence) and absences (pottery, lamps, and polished slate), Cape Krusenstern Ipiutak closely resembles that of Point Hope. While these Krusenstern people disdained the use of soft slate for implements, they did polish hard, silicified slate into elegant adze heads and blades, ground burin-like instruments, and several other forms not prevalent at Point Hope. Whaling does not characterize Ipiutak people in any of the known sites, although a single whaling harpoon head was found in one of the Cape Krusenstern houses.

Ipiutak culture appears here, as elsewhere, to form a cultural break with what precedes and follows, even though a long period of time was concerned and the transitions were gradual. A Norton-like phase precedes Ipiutak, and a Birnirk-like phase follows. Two skeletons recovered from burials, apparently of Ipiutak age, appear to differ in some respects from skeletons both earlier and later in the same region. However, we shall have to wait for careful analyses of the skeletal materials from Cape Krusenstern before making conclusions.
The Old Whaling culture is so named because the village from which it is defined lies in the heart of a series of ridges on which were found buried many bones of baleen whales, usually with hearths or other cultural remains in association, and because of the presence in house floors of what appear to be flaked whaling harpoon blades. Until the first house of this settlement was excavated in 1959, no trace of this type of culture had appeared on the archeological scene. The presence of side-notched, bifaced projectile points was, in itself, enough to create conjecture, for only one or two specimens of notched points had been localized in coastal western Alaska—nor were notched points like these known in associations similar to this anywhere in the Arctic. Five house floors and lower walls have been exposed in a compact community that may have been occupied all at the same time.

Nearby, on the same beach ridge, are the remains of log houses or tents erected on the original surface of the ground. While the outlines of the latter cannot be defined closely, they appear to have been capacious, each with its broad central fireplace full of fire-cracked stones. The outlines of these lodges appear to have been circular or oval. The remains in house pits, on the other hand, are relatively well preserved because of their considerable depth. These were multiple-roomed houses, each consisting of a large room and from one to three smaller ones together with a short entrance tunnel. The walls are strongly rounded,
although some of the rooms appear to have been built around a central, four-post structure. The walls were constructed of generally small spruce poles placed vertically in the ground or angling somewhat inward. Few pieces of this kind of driftwood are found on the beaches today. This suggests that the wood may have been rafted from the neighboring Noatak River. The lateral rooms, most of them considerably smaller than the central room, show no signs of fire-building, though their floors contain flint chips and bones and other artifacts in such quantity as to suggest that they were used in ordinary processes of living and not simply for storage.

The flint work is in sharp contrast to either that of the Ipiutak culture or the Denbigh Flint complex. It is thick and coarse relative to these, but elegant in its own way. The notched projectile points range from very small unifaced ones to large, bifaced, parallel-edged examples, 40 cm. or more in length. Side notched end and side scrapers also occur in quantity. Large, bifaced, dagger-like blades and wide, straight-based, large blades are thought to be the parts of whaling equipment—the latter, the blades for toggle harpoon heads. Other large points are broadly oblong, with straight bases, some showing diagonal flaking. Semilunar knives are made of exceptionally large flakes, taking the form and dimensions of the Eskimo ulu. Although bones are found in some numbers, showing that these people lived almost wholly on sea mammals while at the site, very few objects of the hard organic materials exist. A few pieces of worked ivory show
familiarity with this material, but antler is nearly lacking. Signs are that flints, especially the notched ones, were hafted direct to wooden shafts and thus a shortage of antler may have led to greater emphasis on hafting in wood and this, in part, may account for the side-notching of points.

The beaches intermediate between those of the Old Whaling culture and Ipiutak in one direction and between those of Old Whaling and Denbigh Flint in the other are known to have been inhabited by people whose artifacts promise phases of culture not yet found through excavation. Both Choris and Norton cultures are indicated in several limited sites on beach ridges intermediate between the Old Whaling culture and Ipiutak.

The Denbigh Flint complex at Cape Krusenstern contains microblades, burins, burin spalls, and burin spall artifacts, side blades, and end blades of the same types as those found at Cape Denbigh. Some of them are associated with hearth areas containing large numbers of burned and fire-cracked beach pebbles. The aspect of Denbigh workmanship which is found on the slope across the lagoon from the beach ridges, on a lower terrace distinct from the Palisades, includes, however, a few forms not precisely like those of either the beach ridges or Cape Denbigh, including broader and larger microblades. The notched points of the Palisades are distinct from those of the Old Whaling culture, yet in some specific points of technique, those of the Old Whaling culture seem to have a continuity with those of the culture represented by the notched points of the Palisades.
The coast northward from Cape Krusenstern has been the scene of major excavation only at Points Hope and Barrow. However, it seems likely that when careful searches are made of the whole coast line between Cape Krusenstern and Point Barrow, a great many other important, though perhaps not equally vast, sites will come into view. An indication is to be seen at a small limestone promontory about fifteen miles north of Cape Krusenstern.

**Battle Rock Site (Point Hope)**

On top of this sod-covered dome of rock, some 40 or 50 feet above sea level, were found, in 1960, a number of shallow deposits of Ipiutak-period burial goods. These covered, presumably, several aspects of Ipiutak culture, most of them closely similar in styles of workmanship to the main Ipiutak site at Point Hope. One burial, minus the cranium, was not of Ipiutak or other defined aspects of culture however. This one contained more than 300 antler arrowheads, dart heads, and other objects, all of antler or stone, manifesting a new phase of culture which we may call "Battle Rock."

The pottery included is linear-stamped, and this suggests an age comparable to that of Choris or early Norton culture. The engraving on large pieces of antler, on the other hand, consists of bold, deeply engraved series of interrelated lenticular elements in a style distinct from others of the Arctic. While the arrowheads and flints indicate a possible stage in the development of Ipiutak
culture, the absence of ivory and the wholly new design form tend to stress the archeological richness of this part of Alaska and the long time spans for which little archeology is known.

Halfway between Cape Krusenstern and Point Hope is the village of Kivalina. This Eskimo village, like some others, is built over earlier deposits, and there are signs that old house pits and other inclusions extend from it several miles northward along the gravel spit. Some flints recovered from the lagoon shore of the spit appear to fall within the Ipiutak or earlier range of culture.

**Tigara (Point Hope)**

Point Hope is one of the three or four best places in Alaska at which to intercept whales and walruses. The present village of Tigara spans several beach ridges near the tip of the point where spring whaling is practiced. The modern houses are no longer built upon a mound which formerly rimmed a good part of the shore edge of the point. Tigara mound was built up during, perhaps 500 years, to judge from the artifacts in its lower levels. Tigara culture, named mainly for the earlier aspects of this site together with a large series of burials nearby, corresponds, with local modifications, to the later Kotzebue phases to the south and the later Point Barrow phases to the north. While no pure Rimalkirk houses or segments of mounds are preserved, possibly because of the steady erosion along the north shore, a few burial sites contained grave goods showing the one-time presence of this aspect of culture.
Jabbertown (Point Hope)

Another site, Jabbertown, lies about seven miles along the shore southward from Tigara. Here, in 1939, a large composite house was excavated. Its contents, together with manifestations from elsewhere, defined the Western Thule culture (Larsen and Rainey, 1948, pp. 170-75). The Jabbertown house had been built in a radial pattern of rectangular rooms and passages (Ibid., p. 171). While no radiocarbon dating is available, it would appear from the sparsity of decoration that this is of a slightly later period than the Cape Krusenstern and Sheshalik aspects of Western Thule culture.

Ipiutak (Point Hope)

The site of Ipiutak (Rainey, 1941a; 1941b; Larsen and Rainey, 1948) lies along some of the oldest beach ridges to have formed at Point Hope. More than 575 well defined house pits are mapped (Larsen and Rainey, 1948, p. 16), but in view of the difficult recognition of these very shallow depressions, even more probably exist, and there is reason to believe that a sizeable section has been washed away by the sea at the north end. 72 of the recognized pits, located on each of the major beach ridges, were excavated. 137 burials of Ipiutak (or uncertain, but related) type were excavated, even though surface signs usually did not exist for these burials which had to be searched out by test trenching.

The Ipiutak people seem to have lived during part of the year--
certainly through the early spring months--at Point Hope and to have travelled inland periodically in search of caribou and other resources of the interior. Their houses at Point Hope were uniformly square or rectangular in floor plan. While the construction shows no elaborate use of timbers, the depths of house floors implies a strong superstructure of some kind. The roof was supported by a central, four-post construction, and the fireplace lay on the floor between the four posts. Sleeping areas were on the sides, very much in the fashion of inland house builders of recent times.

Caribou antler and walrus ivory are the materials most often preserved in the houses. Artifacts of wood are sometimes indicated but have usually rotted away. Birch bark was fashioned into vessels. Since no pottery was found in the site, it seems possible that baskets or tubs of bark were used in the process of hot rock boiling similar to that done until recent times in the neighboring Kobuk River valley.

Sea mammals, especially walruses and seals, were hunted with harpoon assemblages like those of nearly all Eskimos. The great abundance of arrowheads in a variety of types shows great emphasis on shooting caribou, presumably inland from Point Hope. Yet neither boat parts nor signs of snowshoes, dog harnesses, or sledges were found at Point Hope to show how sea mammals were waylaid and retrieved or how groups managed to travel far inland.

The absences in Ipiutak culture are almost in intriguing as are the inclusions. Besides pottery, other absences are the bow
drill, lamps for heating, cooking and illumination, artifacts of polished slate like those widespread in Eskimo culture, and evidence of whaling.

Perhaps the most distinctive trait of Ipiutak is the excellence of its flint technology. Thin, delicate bifaced points and side blades for insetting take a variety of forms and are often diagonally flaked. Blades of this kind were inset into the sides of harpoon heads, arrow heads, swords, knives, and hatchet-like implements. Many of these Ipiutak forms were previously unknown in American archeology. Elaborate engraving in ivory is more comparable to that of the earliest-known Saint Lawrence Island cultures than to that of other parts of the Eskimo area. The styles of Ipiutak engraving are distinct from those of the Asian sites, however. A few pieces of ivory engraved in Okvik style are easily recognized as intrusive among Ipiutak engravings. Ipiutak designs are made up of broadly integrated circles, curves, ticked lines, wedge-shaped and lenticular elements; stylized "faces" sometimes appear on carved objects, though realistic figures are less often encountered. Those carvings that represent seals, foxes, and bears are less numerous than animal carvings that represent fantastic figures. Representations of human heads tend to be grotesque. The greatest application of art to artifacts is seen in the preparation of bizarre, open-work carvings presumed to have been designed especially for burials, though possibly worn as decorations on shamans' costumes.
The burials contained not only utilitarian objects, but models of unworkable weapons, such as an arrowhead broken half-way by a series of chain links. The burials were variously placed in shallow excavations or in log "tombs," the latter sometimes provided with composite ivory panels elaborately carved in a mask-like fashion. Body openings were apparently closed by such devices as sewed-on lip covers of ivory, inserted ivory eyeballs with jet pupils, and bird-shaped nose plugs. The burial cult of Ipiutak offers unique insight into the ceremonial life of an ancient Arctic people.

Physically, the Ipiutak hunters were Eskimoid, but perhaps more like certain Northeast Asians of today, or ancient Aleuts, than like modern Eskimos of either Point Hope or the central regions of Canada (Debets, 1959).

Most of these distinctive features of Ipiutak culture indicate an origin earlier than that of Old Bering Sea or other Eskimo cultures, yet the presence of telluric iron in an Ipiutak knife blade and the presence of Okvik artifacts in the site show this culture or phase to be contemporary with neighboring ones that it resembles only in part.

Another series of houses, house pits, small middens and burials represented a phase of culture that the excavators recognized as out of line with that of Ipiutak. Fragments of linear-stamped pottery, stone lamps, parts of whaling harpoons, and many other features were unlike those of Ipiutak proper. It has since become almost certain that these materials, lying in part on beaches
earlier than those of Ipiutak and showing strong continuity with Norton culture of the Bering Sea region, are earlier than Ipiutak. As of this writing, the old-fashioned and elaborate Ipiutak culture appears to have held out against widespread innovations which had been present earlier even at Point Hope itself and were to continue when the last Ipiutak house at that place had been abandoned.

Northward from Point Hope only one area has received intensive archeological attention. This is the coast from Point Barrow southward to Point Belcher and Wainwright. The region is one of many sites, ranging from domed house mounds of considerable size to burial mounds and isolated small features. Collections are available for study from several of the Point Barrow sites (Mathiasen, 1930; Murdock, 1892; Stefansson, 1914; Wissler, 1916), and one excavation has provided a body of material representative of one cultural period in apparent isolation from all others (Mason, 1930). Yet it was not until 1959 that an analysis of Point Barrow archeology based on methodical and modern excavations was published (Ford, 1959).

Point Barrow is located strategically with respect to Eskimo archeology. Connections between the east and the west should logically be found at this turn of the coastline where sea currents from the south meet those from the east, providing driftwood and clear lanes for sea mammals such as would be enticing
to coastal hunters of any period. The earliest archeology yet identified here is young, however, as compared with that of other regions. A few pieces decorated in Old Bering Sea or a derivative style have been reported from several sites, yet neither Ford’s extensive excavation nor that of Wilbert Carter for Harvard University has uncovered deposits earlier than that of the Birnirk culture (Ford, 1959, pp. 31-32). A possible reason for the absence of earlier sites is suggested by Ford’s detailed analysis of old beaches and their archeological inclusions. The earlier sites at Point Barrow are located on ground so close to the present sea level as to signify that the surface has lowered since the time of their building. Earlier sites, if they have been similarly built on old beach crests, are probably beneath the surfaces of lakes and lagoons (Ford, 1959, pp. 34-36, 58).

**Kugusugaruk (Point Barrow)**

Kugusugaruk is a group of small mounds excavated by W. B. VanValin, a school teacher at Point Barrow between 1917 and 1919. It contains a body of well preserved materials, including many skeletons, and will remain a definitive site of Birnirk culture even though the excavations were poorly controlled. Birnirk culture, as defined by Ford in his excellent and meticulous report on Point Barrow excavations, includes parts of sites and traits which overlap with what has been called Western Thule at Point Hope, Cape Krusenstern, and elsewhere on the Chukchi Sea coast. Since the Kugusugaruk combination of traits is found only in certain
earlier levels of the Birnirk site proper at Point Barrow, it seems advisible to retain a description of the Kugusugaruk phase whether or not it is finally used to define Birnirk culture.

The remains of 83 people together with their clothing, tools, weapons, and containers, preserved almost intact by frost, were unearthed at Kugusugaruk and thought by VanValin to represent people lying in their beds in houses, though J. Alden Mason presented a good case for charnel houses (Mason, 1930, p. 384). A more recent interpretation based on a closer study of VanValin's notes and subsequent excavations of Birnirk period houses and graves is that VanValin's site did indeed consist of houses and the people who had died inside (Ford, 1959, pp. 19-21).

Among the features that distinguish Birnirk from other aspects of Western Thule are variations on an open-socketed antler toggle harpoon head of multiple spurs and one or two side blades; an adze handle of wood of particular form; a throwing board with two segments cut out of the shaft of the finger holds; an arrowhead of antler, the stem of which is a plain cylinder nearly to the tip, which is pointed; and perhaps the earliest curvilinear-stamped pottery. If ever an aspect of culture deserves to be called a "phase," this is one, for Birnirk appears to be simply the earliest clear-cut aspect that we know of Western Thule culture. The dating of horizons called "Birnirk" are consistently early at Cape Prince of Wales and Point Barrow, showing that the basic pattern of whale and sea-hunting coastal
Eskimo culture was well established along the entire coast of Alaska while Funuk culture was developing on St. Lawrence Island. Although Ford and others see a strong continuity between Old Bering Sea culture on St. Lawrence Island and Birnirk of Point Barrow, it is significant that one Birnirk form, "...the Oopik Type of harpoon head and the Ipiutak Type 1 heads are more similar to each other than either is to the related Old Bering Sea Type" (Ford, 1959, p. 79). This near duplication of Birnirk harpoon heads and those of Ipiutak culture at Point Hope (Larsen and Rainey, 1948, p. 69), and also at Deering and Cape Krusenstern, indicates to this author that Birnirk culture may have emerged from both Old Bering Sea and Ipiutak simultaneously on both sides of Bering Strait.

**Birnirk (Point Barrow)**

Where Kugusugaruk is some miles south of the village of Point Barrow, other sites nearer to the village designate the same as well as later periods. The Birnirk site of several isolated mounds contains the material of Birnirk culture and also that classed elsewhere as Western Thule. The recently abandoned village of Nuwuk and houses at Utkiavi furnish the materials for evaluation of recent Point Barrow culture.

Most authors find the Thule culture of the east, as defined by Mathiassen, originating directly out of a post-Birnirk phase in western Alaska. Certain it is that, with the exception of pottery and the undergroundhouse forms based upon heavy driftwood
construction, Western and Eastern Thule cultures look strongly alike. An eastward movement of Thule people out of the Point Barrow area has been postulated for the period of around 1000 A.D., and a return migration is similarly postulated on a late time level, accounting for similarities between the recent north Alaskan Eskimo and the Thule culture people of the east (Collins, 1937; Ford, 1959). It has been thus far impossible to show conclusively that the apparently rapid parallel development of Eastern and Western Thule culture has resulted from the movement of people. One might interpret the phenomena, at this stage of our knowledge, as indicating no more than a continuity of population across the shores of the Arctic Sea with the rapid communication of ideas in no particular direction (Giddings, 1960, including remarks by Henry Collins and Helge Larsen). No important excavations have been carried out along the coast between Point Barrow and the Canadian border, although recent sites and one or two Thule-like and Birnirk-like sites are known to exist. In the main, this coastline appears to be retreating as a result of land subsidence; hence, it seems unlikely that early sites comparable to the Point Hope and Kotzebue Sound region's sites will be found.

BERING SEA SITES

The Bering Sea coast of the American continent is largely unexplored. Hrdlicka (1930), Collins (1954, p. 118; 1946, p. 51), and others have noted the presence of middens and other sites of undetermined extent at many points along this shoreline, yet excavations
have been made in only a few localities. It is hardly surprising that the cultural phases thus far detected along this 2,000-mile stretch of coastline are as numerous as the sites tested.

At the southern end of this range, a deep midden trenched by Weyer (1930) at Port Möller was shown to relate closely both to Aleutian sites and those of southern Alaska, especially the third period of Kachemak Bay culture (Collins, 1934; p. 67; de Laguna, 1934, pp. 214, 218). Stratigraphy in this eleven-foot deep midden disclosed evidence of fire at the bottom and successive layers defined by varying amounts of fish bones, shells, and other kinds of organic debris. Masks made of whale bone, large labrets, decorated nose ornaments, stone lamps, and even one potsherd of clay give the site a special character, while harpoon dart heads, slate blades, and items of fishing equipment are of the widespread South Alaska forms.

Bristol Bay

Helge Larsen, working around the devious shores of Bristol Bay in 1948, located several sites that show affinity with the earlier (paleo-Eskimo) sites farther north. House pits excavated at Chagvan Bay and Nanvak Bay revealed chipped stone implements reminiscent of Ipiutak culture, but with them were found net sinkers and check-stamped potsherds which, at that time, were thought to indicate a later age than that of Ipiutak culture.

An old house pit at Platinum Village, on the other hand, yielded flints more like those of Point Hope Ipiutak along with
many other artifacts in a state of excellent preservation. Broad flints were included in their hafts and, surprisingly enough, both coiled and twined fragments of baskets were preserved because they had been charred by a fire which had burned the house. Also, a stone lamp with a human face on the base of it and bow drill parts were found, and Larsen concluded that, in the absence of pottery, this site was earlier than the other two, and more nearly related to Point Hope Ipiutak. Since that time, much evidence has led to a reversal of the idea that Near Ipiutak and other sites containing check-stamped or linear-stamped pottery are later than Ipiutak culture. It appears quite certain that these combinations are in most, if not all, cases earlier than those of Ipiutak. The Bristol Bay site thus suggests a long period of occupation by peoples whose ways of life were more closely like those of the ancient dwellers at Point Hope and other villagers around Bering Strait than like their contemporaries in the Aleutian Islands or southern Alaska.

Moving northward, one finds only negative results thus far on Nunivak Island where James VanStone, in 1952, carried out a survey and reported that "...no middens of great depth or evidences of early flint-working cultures resembling those from Bristol Bay, Norton Sound and northwest Alaska were discovered...." (VanStone, 1957, p.111).

Farther north, at Hooper Bay, Wendell Oswalt, in 1951, undertook the sampling of a large, frozen mound at Hooper Bay Village.
By the end of the field season, however, the slow rate of thaw had allowed removal of only the upper part of a cut across a large midden. The materials recovered date from only about 1600 A.D. They show connections with late North Alaskan culture and also with the neighboring culture of Ingalik Indians, suggesting the exchange of traits with the inland area (Oswalt, 1952, p. 76).

Large sites of house pits, estimated to run into the hundreds, are known to exist near Unalakleet and elsewhere from this point northward to the vicinity of Nome. The only concerted excavations, however, are those made by this author for the University of Alaska and the University of Pennsylvania at Cape Denbigh and neighboring parts of Norton Bay and at a site on Golovnin Bay.

**Cape Denbigh**

Excavations at Cape Denbigh between 1948 and 1952 were carried out extensively at Nuklit on the south side of the rocky Cape and Iyatayet on the north side. A trench seven feet deep to the bottom of the Nuklit house site and midden deposit revealed a continuity of fishing, sealing, and caribou-hunting culture which can be analyzed into three phases, but which probably represents a continuous occupation of the site from 1000-1700 A.D. The proportions of animal bones found in Nuklit sites are strikingly like those of the Ipiutak site in proportions of sea mammals to caribou and other land game. However, where the Ipiutak people had accumulated walrus bones, those of Nuklit had amassed the bones of the small white whales. There is nothing in the workmanship at Nuklit to suggest ties with Ipiutak, however. Nuklit.
residents were slate-polishing, pottery-making seal hunters who, nevertheless, whittled with beaver tooth knives and made containers of folded birch bark. Living as they did at the top of an excellent seal-hunting lookout rock, they show a strong cultural affinity with the Kobuk River people to the north who would have been obliged to travel at least 100 or more miles to reach the nearest salt water.

Iyatayet is another midden like Nuklit on a bench 40 feet and more above the edge of the sea and on the slopes of two sides of a small creek. All of the Nuklit periods are represented at Iyatayet, but beneath them are the cultural leavings of two earlier people between which there appears at this site no cultural transition.

Below the Nuklit cultural levels were the thick deposits of muddy soil containing the stones and disintegrating wood and bone of what was here named "Norton" culture. The Norton people made a few objects of ground slate, but their grinding was poor and the resulting irregular knife edges show little relationship to the polished slate of the Nuklit and other late Eskimo periods. They excelled in flint work, but made no particular effort to obtain fine materials, being content to pick up the local pebbles of basalt as well as chert from which to flake their knives, scrapers, and projectile points. Arrow points, harpoon heads, and other organic artifacts show the Norton people to have been closely related in culture to those of Near Ipiutak at Point Hope. While these artifacts together with check-stamped and linear-stamped
pottery and net sinkers show an affinity with Chagvan and Nanvak Bay sites as described by Larsen, a house floor of Norton culture in the midden at Iyatayet dates by carbon-14 at around 300 B.C. (Rainey and Ralph, 1959, p. 370, Sample P-13). This house had been rectangular in outline, with a short entrance passage into which one stepped down a few inches from the house floor. The walls of the house had been made of upright poles of driftwood.

Beneath the Norton culture levels at Iyatayet which were on the bench more than 40 feet above sea level was a sterile, sandy layer which remains firm and unadulterated by either artifacts or other foreign material where it lies in place. Under this sterile deposit was the culture layer which contains artifacts of the Denbigh Flint complex. The layer itself is paper-thin, and is defined by a coating of fine, clay-like particles representing the end of a period of podsol development. All of the flints and chips left by the Denbigh people lie flat upon the top of this clay layer. None protrude into the sandy material above, nor do any drift downward into the clay or bedrock beneath. However, at some time in the past folds have formed in the Denbigh Flint layer of such magnitude as to encompass the sandy material. These fossil solifluction lobes offer interesting dating criteria to show that all of the organic matter had disappeared from the Denbigh Flint complex and all of it had become spread on the clay layer before the climatic change which encouraged the folding process. Radiocarbon dates are thus far somewhat unsatisfactory, for the samples representing the Denbigh Flint complex could only be made by scraping
up earth with all of its carbon inclusions from the thin layer.

The Denbigh Flint complex is made up of objects of chert, chalcedony, and obsidian (and a very few specimens made of the local basalt). These materials have been reduced to the kinds of artifacts that relate broadly to other parts of the world. Microblades, or prismatic flakes, removed from small, prepared cores, were referable, at the time of discovery of the site, first to inland Alaska (the Campus site), then to sites in central Siberia. Burins and thin burin spalls, some of which are artifacts in their own right, had not yet been recognized in America, though together they make up one-quarter of the complex. Their closest parallels were at that time to be found in the Upper Paleolithic sites of Europe.

Incredibly small bifaced arrow points and side blades were either unique at the site or shaped like the somewhat coarser ones at Ipiutak. Along with these commoner artifacts were a few large projectile points, in form like some of those in Early Man hearths and camping places of the American southwest. Several were diagonally flaked and one was a fluted point. The high proportion of burins to other artifacts, the absence in the Flint complex of pottery, implements of ground slate, and large stone artifacts—in short, the distinctiveness of this material in comparison with all other known cultural horizons of the region—proclaimed it very old. Denbigh-like combinations of artifacts were later discovered at several points in the Brooks Range of
northern Alaska, and microblades may have persisted locally almost to modern times in the interior (see pp. 90, 93, 96). However, microblades do not appear to have been fashioned around the entire coast of western Alaska, from Bristol Bay to Canada, after the disappearance on these coasts of the Denbigh Flint complex, an estimated 4,555 years ago.

In summarizing for the coasts of western Alaska, exclusive of the Aleutians, we see a probable succession of the following kind:

During the last glacial period, people lived on the plains of the Bering land bridge and occasionally camped on lookout sites, such as at the Palisades on what is now Kotzebue Sound, leaving behind them coarse flakes and axe-like flints together with an occasional biface. Following glaciation, makers of small notched points and other bifaces camped on the Palisades, perhaps also because of its advantages as a lookout, and at other localities yet to be discovered. Later, however, as the sea rose to the foot of the mountain, people who made microblades and used the bow and arrow camped on a lower terrace and, perhaps generally, to the edge of the water--now for the main purpose of scanning the sea mammal lanes at the foot of the mountain. As soon as beaches began to form, when sea level had stabilized at its all-time high, these Denbigh Flint makers of the hillside moved out on to the beaches, where their flint-working art slowly declined with the passing centuries.
While the descendants of the Denbigh people were still modifying their culture toward an Ipiutak-like form, an intrusive group of notched-point makers who hunted whales dominated the accumulating beaches for a relatively short period of time. Then came the pottery makers with their sea-hunting propensities, to be replaced by the burgeoning Ipiutak population, flourishing on an abundance of seal in the water and caribou on land. With a decline in these food sources, Ipiutak culture slowly changed into Birnirk, and then Western Thule, as emphasis changed again to the taking of baleen whales from the deepening sea channels.

This is the emerging picture of developments, yet many facets are missing, and the sequences, though most complete for Kotzebue Sound and Norton Bay, are presumed to be closely comparable both northward and to the south as far, at least, as the Aleutian chain.

THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS

The peoples of the Aleutian Islands differ somewhat in physique and language, and even more in culture, from their Eskimo neighbors of the mainland. These differences may have been growing slowly for at least 3,000 years, or as long as the span of known Aleutian archeology. Indications from the outermost as well as the inner islands are that human life has been exceedingly uniform throughout. This, in turn, speaks for unbroken communication, rather than isolation, between ethnic groups on individual islands. The absence of signs of prehistoric people on the
Commander Islands (Hrdlicka, 1945, pp. 277-87, 381-97), halfway from Attu to Kamchatka, shows that few, if any, early contacts were made in that direction, although some late cultural innovations may have come directly from Asia (Heizer, 1943).

It is not surprising that the ethnology and archeology of the Aleutians differs somewhat from that of the mainland of America, especially in the northern Eskimo region. The Aleutian and other southern shores of Alaska lack heavy sea ice of the kind on which people may hunt and fish. Boating is essential throughout the year. The climate is also unlike that of the northern Bering Sea. With respect to temperature, it is relatively mild, although the wind blows continuously and fogs and mists are so frequent as to afflict the vegetation with a tundra-like absence of trees. Despite its outwardly bleak appearance, however, the Aleutian landscape is not hindered by ground ice and it bears a rich carpet of grasses, bushes, and willow thickets along with various mosses and lichens.

Aleutian Island sites occur in three main forms. Village sites of house pits exist apart from deep middens. They have been neglected by archeologists. Burial caves exist on many of the islands and range in size from small cavities in volcanic rock to great caverns in which a more or less constant temperature prevails. Burial caves on Amaknak and Unga Islands furnished the first views of Aleutian archeology when Pinart (1875) and Dall (1878) separately removed a large number of mummified burials to museums in Paris and Washington. The incredibly large kitchen middens have attracted
the most archeological attention, however. These mounds, or hillside middens, covering as much as ten or twenty acres and ranging in depth to twenty or more feet, may be seen everywhere on the easternmost large islands and at intervals throughout the Aleutians. The rich organic content encourages plant growth, which forms a dense carpet on the surface. Grasses grow luxuriantly, sometimes to the height of a man, along with wild barley, wild peas, and a number of flowering plants. Depressions which occur at intervals in these mounds are those of the last half-underground dwellings and caches, most of them dating to earliest Russian times. Many of the mounds appear to record continuous occupation down through hundreds and even thousands of years.

It is interesting to note that eighty years before the radiocarbon dating of sites became possible, W. H. Dall, a government hydrographer and geologist, estimated the age of a large midden at Amchitka to be over 2,200 years old on the basis of calculations as to what had been eaten by the occupants of the mound. Modern dating affirms the lower level age of certain deep mounds to range as early as this, and indeed, to 1000 B.C. (Crane, 1956, p. 670; Laughlin and Marsh, 1951, p. 81). Dall's estimate, in all fairness to him, was not intended to prove anything absolutely, since it was based on the numbers of sea urchins from which the edible ova might be eaten and an estimate of the number of sea urchin tests that had been accumulated in the midden (Dall, 1877, p. 52).
The field methods of the 1870's left something to be desired, however, even in this area where hasty exploitation of the rich deposits has been all too frequent. Dall colorfully describes his field methods:

When stormy weather prevented surveying work, we would muster six or eight men with picks and shovels, clad in storm-proof rubber-coats, boots and sou'westers, and attack a shell-heap. Having, if possible, detected the kashim (ceremonial house), one party would enter the pit which represented it, and dig away the embankments from the inside, having first cleared away the superficial covering of vegetable mold, often a foot deep, and the rank herbage upon it. This gave them a good "face" to work on, and was the easier part of the work. The others would start near the edge of the shell-heap, if possible taking a steep bank bordering on the sea or on some adjacent rivulet, and run a ditch into the deposit, going down until the primeval clay or stony soil was reached, and this was steadily pushed, even when quite barren results in the shape of implements, until the day's work was done. (Dall, 1877, pp. 46-47.)

Dall felt that he was able to obtain, in this way, a clear picture of the strata and their contents, which he checked visually in one place and another until he felt that he understood the order of events. Unfortunately, Dall's reconstruction of Aleutian Island cultures followed more closely the evolutionary ideas of his time than the facts of distribution which have been shown by more scientific expeditions. He saw a littoral period, the earliest, during which the first Aleutian Islanders ate practically nothing but sea urchins and shellfish; a second fishing period, during which they were learning how to exploit the water; and a final hunting period in which mammal bones show new food tastes and hunting capabilities.

However antiquated Dall's methods may appear to us, he sampled the Aleutian Islands and the Alaska Peninsula from Attu to Chignik
Bay and laid a groundwork of keen observation upon which later findings are in some degree based. The peopling of the Aleutians, Dall concluded (he rejected direct sailings from Asia), had taken place slowly from the mainland of Alaska as part of the spread of Eskimos from the Bering Strait southward (Dall, 1877, pp. 93-106).

The findings of Waldemar Jochelson early in this century, based upon stratigraphic analysis of middens together with a methodical evaluation of the artifacts, tended to bear out at least one aspect of Dall's conclusion. The human and cultural succession in the island chain had been highly local and uniform. Where Dall had proposed "the incursion of more advanced people," at the end of his littoral period (Ibid., p. 91), Jochelson saw an essentially neolithic continuity throughout the layers of the mound (Jochelson, 1925, pp. 119-123).

Hrdlicka's earlier excavations left much to be desired in archeological recording and interpretation. Yet in the skeletal material with which he was primarily concerned he found evidence that two distinct physical types had existed in the Aleutians. The long-headed "pre-Aleuts" had been succeeded by later migrants—the Aleuts proper—who replaced the older population except in the farther islands (Hrdlicka, 1945, pp. 555-84). Two groups excavating in various parts of the Aleutians in recent years—one led by W. S. Laughlin and the other led by T. P. Bank—have issued only preliminary reports to date. Laughlin, in modification of Hrdlicka's finding, sees physical differences between the eastern and western
Aleut which he interprets as representing two Eskimo breeding isolates, an earlier paleo-Aleut and a later neo-Aleut (Laughlin and Marsh, 1951, pp. 79-80). He considers the later physical type to be associated with a degree of cultural change (Laughlin, 1958). On the other hand, Bank (1953) and Spaulding (1953) have questioned the division of Aleutian culture into periods of any kind on the basis of information acquired to date.

The sites of the Aleutians and the Alaska Peninsula are far too numerous—even those tested in one way or another—to include in this summary. However, a few sites have produced information crucial to interpretations of Aleutian culture. These are considered in the following paragraphs:

**Attu and Agattu Islands**

Most of those archeologists working in the Aleutian Islands have sampled the rich and deep middens of the two large islands at the extremity of the chain. Two named sites on Attu, called Sin (Dall, 1877, pp. 43-44) and Nanikax (Jochelson, 1925, pp. 24-26), are located at the eastern end. The most recent excavations were made by Laughlin's party at Murder Point (Laughlin and Marsh, 1951, p. 80). Sites on Agattu were reported by Dall (1877, p. 44) and Jochelson (1925, p. 122), but extensive excavations were first made by Hrdlicka (1945, pp. 288-312) in two adjacent sites on the north side of the island, which he called the "Hill" site and the "Low" site. An immense cut was made in the Hill site. A. C. Spaulding has recently completed the excavation of a site at
Krugloi Point at the northeastern tip of Agattu from which we may expect the first large-scale and adequate treatment of stratigraphy and cultural change on the outer island. Dates for lower levels of this site at depths of from 7 to 10\frac{1}{2} feet fall between approximately 2,500 and 2,630 years ago (Bank, 1953, p. 42; Crane, 1956, p. 670).

The significance of sites on Attu and Agattu is twofold. First, there appears to be no archeology on the Commander Islands halfway between here and the mainland of Kamchatka (Hrdlicka, 1945, pp. 394-95). The importance of possible contacts between mainland Asia and the Aleutian chain is thus minimized for all periods of known Aleutian archeology. Second, the sites on both Attu and Agattu are deep and very extensive, resembling in this respect sites of islands near the mainland, and they appear to be as old or nearly as old as any of the other deep middens. This suggests an almost simultaneous beginning for midden-building village life in the Aleutian chain.

Kagamil

The caves of Kagamil, in the Islands of the Four Mountains, have yielded to several investigators mummified and other burial remains in a remarkable state of preservation. Originally thought quite recent, many of the burials are now known to have been remarkably preserved for hundreds of years, thus furnishing invaluable ethnographic information to go with the less-well-preserved archeology of the middens. Some of the earlier mummies removed from these caves went to the California Academy of Sciences and others
to the Smithsonian Institution (Dall, 1878, p. 8). On a hasty trip to the island in 1936, Hrdlicka removed from a dry, warm cave 15 mummies in an excellent state of preservation (Hrdlicka, 1945, p. 242), and from a cold cave, 24 sacks of skeletons and artifacts (Ibid., pp. 237-51).

While the mummified remains of Aleuts and their predecessors had been preserved by the warm cave, there was evidence that some, at least, had had the internal organs removed in an effort to aid mummification. Buried in a flexed position, sometimes in bundles made of sewn-together skins or mats, the bodies were accompanied by a rich variety of burial goods. These included a multiplicity of skin bags and woven receptacles, carved wooden vessels, and other utilitarian objects. Infants and small children were buried in special forms of cradle bags (Hrdlicka, 1945, pp. 419-20).

Theodore P. Bank has recently revisited the Kagamil caves, securing material from which to date certain aspects of the burials. Uncharred wood from the Kagamil "Mask Cave," which contained painted wooden masks, yielded a date of 1660 ±300 before present, while cordage, wood, bird skin, feathers, and matting from two other caves give dates of from 980 to 900 years ago (Crane, 1956, pp. 670-71). This evidence from Kagamil suggests that mummification is by no means a recent innovation of the Aleuts but a long-persisting practice in keeping with the uniformity of culture and slow cultural change to be seen throughout the islands. In this connection, perhaps the most carefully excavated and documented burial from the Aleutians is that excavated in 1928 by Weyer's party.
on top of Fortress Rock in Kashega Bay of Unalaska Island. Four somewhat mummified bodies were found in a single wooden sarcophagus together with an abundance of matting and other grave goods (Weyer, 1929).

**Umnak Island**

The large island of Umnak is important for the great depth and expanse of its middens and the emphasis placed upon them in the analysis of Aleutian culture. Jochelson excavated in several Umnak sites and Hrdlicka, and then Laughlin, carried out vast projects in the Chaluka mound on the edge of the present village of Nikolai (Hrdlicka, 1945, pp. 364-81; Laughlin and Marsh, 1951, p. 80). The sites excavated by Jochelson were all at the southwest end of the island—two on the north side (Ukix and Nutxakax), one at the tip (Aglagax), and one on the south side (Ugludax). Each of these appears to have been a village site, the last houses of which showed on the surface as deep, grass-lined pits. Ugludax is remarkable for its depth of deposits, which reached 21 feet in places (Jochelson, 1925, p. 105).

The Chaluka site promises to be one of the most definitive sites in the Aleutians. It is vast—700 feet by 200 feet, and up to 21 feet deep. It appears to represent all periods of culture in the islands, and its bottom levels date by radiocarbon to more than 3,750 years ago (Johnson, 1951, p. 11, sample No. 409). More importantly, it was the subject of methodical excavation such as will offer modern controls of a kind achieved in the Aleutians only
during the past few decades. A preliminary report (Laughlin and Marsh, 1951) indicates that we may look forward to a quantitative treatment of artifacts. This will show that such types as harpoon dart heads occur in many styles, which persist differently through time, and cross-date with other changing styles such as those in decoration and stone work.

While cultural changes are indicated as gradual, Laughlin sees evidence of a later replacement of the original Eskimo physical type by "a new Eskimo population having a somewhat different morphology" (Ibid., p. 82). The broader-headed neo-Aleut skeletons are attended by certain changes in artifacts at Chaluka such as may have been introduced by the new people. Shallow stone lamps thus appear, as do long, single-piece sockets and ground ulus (Laughlin, 1958, p. 529).

Anangula

The site on Anangula Island of Nikolski Bay must be considered along with Chaluka. Here Laughlin's party found flaking stations where polyhedral cores and prismatic blades had been made in blowouts high on the island (Laughlin, 1951). No large polyhedral cores, nor irregular cores, were found. Laughlin and Marsh raised the question of whether the larger blade-like flakes had been struck from polyhedral cores or from ordinary cores (Laughlin and Marsh, 1956, p. 9). This writer believes that the Anangula industry includes two separable entities, a true microblade and polyhedral core assemblage, and a larger
assemblage which did not use evenly prepared cores. Laughlin and Marsh have noted the typological resemblance of the larger blade-like flakes to those found in other sites but have not suggested a close genetic relationship. There can be no doubt that the small microblade and core assemblage does exist at Anangula, and presumably at Chaluka as well, in a form comparable to those of sites in the Eskimo area to the north, though no polyhedral cores have been recovered. This fact argues for a considerably earlier archeology for the Aleutians than has as yet been found in cultural contexts.

Amaknak Island

A stone's throw from the village of Unalaska on Unalaska Island is the island of Amaknak which encloses Dutch Harbor and provides remarkable shelter from the Bering Sea storms for ships of any draft. Many sites are known to exist on Unalaska, Amaknak, and Hog Island, but the most important collections and excavations have been made on Amaknak. Dall excavated on the island and Jochelson carried out extensive excavations at Tanataxax on the east end and Xatacxan and Amaknax on the west side (Jochelson, 1925, pp. 37-40). During the Second World War, when military installations destroyed some of the Aleutian middens, a naval officer, Lt. Alvin R. Kahn, watched the bulldozers operating in a midden called Site D. Both by salvaging and excavating, he collected a large number of artifacts from the midden, separating them into two lots: the older and the younger. Basing his
analysis on this rough stratigraphy, George I. Quimby has analyzed the Site D materials in a series of articles (Quimby, 1945, 1946, 1948), concluding, among other things, that the Aleutians had seen three distinct styles of engraving art. One of the few carefully controlled stratigraphic studies in the Aleutians was made by Helge Larsen, who dug in Site D in 1945 (Larsen, 1953, pp. 601-02). Larsen has not yet reported in detail on these excavations, however.

The slow unfolding of Aleutian archeology thus falls into two periods of scientific investigation. In the earlier period, Dall, Jochelson, and Hrdlicka attacked the mounds vigorously and amassed great quantities of artifacts and skeletal material which they proceeded to analyze without too great regard for cultural change. Then, after the Second World War, came several investigators who were prepared to concentrate on one site at a time in an effort to work out in as much detail as possible the local stratigraphy with its succession of artifactual styles and human skeletons. Special emphasis has been given to the total environment in which the site has accumulated. We may look forward to a series of thoughtful studies of Aleutian archeology within the next few years. Until then, it appears impractical to try to relate Aleutian archeology within the next few years.

THE PACIFIC FORESTED RIM

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The North Pacific shore line in the rain forest belt of southern Alaska is even more extensive than that of the Aleutian or the Bering Sea coast. Yet archeological sites of age and significance appear to be greatly restricted in range.

**Katmai National Monument**

Sites of villages abandoned in 1912 upon the eruption of Mount Katmai have been described at the western end of the forest where Aleutian archeology may be considered to end (Davis, 1960; Oswalt, 1955). Only a few hundred years of occupation are indicated. A paucity of artifacts characterizes the old villages of Kukak and Kaflia as contrasted with the nearest archeology sampled in any direction.

Elsewhere, to the south on Kodiak Island and northward around the shores of Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, large and old middens have been investigated along with many smaller sites including burial caves reminiscent of those of the Aleutians. Still farther east, excavations have been made in Yakutat Bay, but almost nothing is known of the archeology of the vast Tlingit and Haida shorelines of southeastern Alaska.

Historic site excavations at the old Russian capital of Sitka have recently produced contact-period archeology of considerable importance (Hadleigh-West, 1959). It is difficult to explain, however, the dearth of sites showing what has happened for hundreds or thousands of years in this part of the world, for we know it to have been exceptionally hospitable to Indian fishermen and sea
hunters, who were as firmly established here as farther to the south at the time of first European contact.

The most widely experienced archeologist in the Pacific area, Frederica de Laguna, entered into a determined search for archeological sites in the region between Sitka and Juneau. She found at Angoon and on neighboring shores the sites of summer villages, forts on high points or islands, and rocks containing petroglyphs and pictographs. Yet the sites were invariably small and recent, hardly extending beyond contact times. A reasonable explanation for the absence of recent middens appears in the compulsion of recent Tlingit Indians to clean their houses of debris by throwing it all onto the beach where it is washed away by the sea (de Laguna, 1960, pp. 30-35).

Farther north, in Yakutat Bay, de Laguna's party excavated part of the Old Town site of house pits, caches, and trash mounds, finding this to be a protohistoric site reminiscent of those excavated at Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound (Riddell and de Laguna, 1953).

The author learns, in a recent letter from E. L. Keithahn of the Alaska Museum at Juneau, that flints are sometimes found on what appear to be ancient ocean beach deposits high on the slopes of that area. This indicates the possibility that the rising of land at some periods of the past may have lifted occupation sites and preserved them on the now forested slopes.

The three regions in which extensive archeology has reached back into the earlier periods of time are Kodiak Island, Cook Inlet, and Prince William Sound.
Kodiak Island

Many archeological sites on Kodiak and the neighboring islands were located by Hrdlicka in surveys made between the years 1926 and 1932. While there is little doubt that many of these are potentially valuable to Alaskan archeology, Hrdlicka chose a large midden on Uyak Bay for the extensive excavation that formed the principal subject matter for his "The Anthropology of Kodiak Island" (1944) and for Robert F. Heizer's "Archeology of the Uyak Site, Kodiak Island, Alaska" (1956). Located on the slopes of fjord-like Uyak Bay, the site was 270 or more feet long and nearly as wide. It reached a depth of 19 feet at center. Unfortunately, the method of excavation during the five years of attack on this site allowed no accurate sorting of the materials except on the very dubious basis of marking artifacts in three pencil colors to designate what Hrdlicka felt were the Koniag, or upper, layers; the middle, or pre-Koniag; and the oldest, or deep layer.

In spite of these handicaps, Heizer has recently managed to describe the Uyak Bay materials on the basis of "Upper" and "Lower" materials, thus offering the possibility of cross comparison with other Alaskan sites. The midden was rich in all manner of inclusions. Lower level houses were rectangular and equipped with fireplaces, although their excavation was unsatisfactory. The many house pits discerned on the surface of the mound were not exposed in excavation in such a way as to show them as units. Euman skeletons, frequently encountered in the debris, had been carefully
buried, with elaborate grave goods, and were provided in some cases with Ipiutak-like inset false eyes. Human skeletons were sometimes accompanied by fox skeletons. Bone, ivory, and antler were worked into a variety of weapons and ornaments. Labrets occur in many sizes and include those designed to be worn both in the lower lip, parallel to the mouth, and at the sides of the mouth. Chain lengths, engraved discs, animal figures, and grotesque human figures, in particular, appear to crosstie in time with Ipiutak and Old Bering Sea forms in the northern Eskimo area. Woodworking tools—wedges, adzes, and the like—occur in great numbers, and subsistence is shown to have been about equally divided between fishing and sea mammal hunting. Toggle harpoon heads as well as flat sealing dart heads occur in a variety of forms, some of them closely comparable to those of the northern Eskimo sites. Stone work includes many pecked adze and pick heads, fish sinkers, and other objects. The semilunar knife was present as were polished slate blades of many forms, including the bayonet-like, basally barbed flakes widely distributed in neighboring regions. The most remarkable work of the Uyak Bay Eskimos was, however, their production of stone lamps, usually triangular or oval in outline, upon many of which appear elaborate, pecked-out designs both on the base and in the bowl. Incised pebbles (Heizer, 1956, p. 52) resemble those from other Pacific sites (de Laguna, 1956, pp. 201-204; 1960, pp. 127-28, Fig. 15) and Ipiutak period specimens recently discovered in the Kotzebue Sound region.
Although there is reason to question Hrdlicka's interpretation of the skeletons as divisible into a "pre-Koniag" and a "Koniag" type, each accompanied by its distinctive cultural forms and implying the influx of a later migrating group, Heizer has demonstrated that the earlier Kodiak culture does change considerably through time (Heizer, 1956). It remains to be seen whether or not the changes are comparable to those of the cultural successions of the northern Bering Sea and Chukchi Sea sections of Alaska.

**Cook Inlet**

The multiplicity of sites found on the shores of Cook Inlet by Frederica de Laguna in 1930 and 1931 form together the most complete chronologically related archeology for southern Alaska. While the Athapascan Indians have recently occupied most of Cook Inlet (Osgood, 1937), the archeology seems to be related throughout to the Eskimo continuum. The large sites on which the interpretation of Cook Inlet rests were discovered along the shores of Kachemak Bay and are most concentrated on Yukon Island and at Cottonwood Creek.

**Yukon Island.** On this heavily wooded island, more than a mile long, a number of middens were identified at intervals between the precipitous cliffs. Some were modern, others contained prehistoric material, and a large old midden on the west beach contained a rare form of stratigraphy. Five cultural layers, one over the other and broken by differences of texture, proclaimed the advent of this number of sets of occupants of the site. The material from the earliest level, called Yukon Island I, is known only here. Yukon
Island periods II, sub-III, and IV are represented elsewhere, the latter two periods widely within the region. Kachemak Bay culture in general corresponds to that of Yukon Island with the exception that Yukon Island periods III and IV are subsumed under "Kachemak Bay III."

**Cottonwood Creek.** This is another combination of stratified sites on the north shore of Kachemak Bay containing materials mainly of Yukon Island periods III and IV.

Some points of differentiation between periods are the following: Net sinkers appear in numbers in period II but apparently are absent earlier. Chipped stone tools were more frequent and better made in the earlier periods even though polished slate was present. Crude open socket toggle harpoon heads appear in the earliest period, while barbed forms appear later. Wedges for woodwork are present early, but the large splitting adze comes in period III. Bones of the Eskimo type of dog, common enough in the first period, decline and are replaced in the final period by those of another type of dog like that kept by certain Indians. Where period I includes materials that bear strong points of similarity to Arctic Eskimo culture, the third period shows "a development away from the more typical 'Eskimo' pattern towards a more specialized local complex" (de Laguna, 1934, pp. 130-31).

On the evidence of the Kachemak Bay sites, the earliest people known in the forested north Pacific region were more like northern Eskimos than were any of their successors in the same region. Yet figurines from periods II and III, along with other examples of
carving, bear a close resemblance to Okvik-Old Bering Sea and Ipiutak forms from farther north. The dates of two posts of Kachemak Bay III affinity are 205 and 231 A.D., respectively, by radiocarbon analysis (Rainey and Ralph, 1959, p. 368, Samples P-175 and P-192). The simpler and more "Eskimo-like" artifacts of period I may date to 748 B.C. or even earlier, for this is the radiocarbon date for eight pieces of caribou antler from Kachemak Bay period I (Ibid., p. 371, Sample P-139).

**Prince William Sound**

The larger sites excavated by de Laguna in Prince William Sound are the farthest north of any bordering on the Pacific Ocean. In view of their location 400 miles north of most of the Aleutian sites and about the same distance south of the Arctic Circle, it appears predictable that the archeology should be classed as Eskimo. Yet, even though the winter days are short, the climate is a temperate, rainy one like that of southeastern Alaska. Annual precipitation ranges up to 145 inches, and dark, luxuriant forests cover most of the soil and rocks. If it were not for the slopes, most of the archeology would now be lost at the shore line, for the land appears to be settling at a rather rapid rate. The edges of midden are found in some places to dip under the present sea level (de Laguna, 1956, pp. 32-33). Fortunately, however, village and camp deposits had often been localized on benches or behind rock walls at the higher elevations. Most of the more than 65 sites investigated in Prince William Sound proved to be either small or disintegrated for one reason or another. Two large sites containing a respectable depth
of midden, and dating from several hundred years in the past, were chosen for determined excavation.

**Palugvik.** A village site on Hawkins Island called Palugvik consists of two middens, the larger of which, "The Main Site," attains a depth of 11 feet and a greatest length of 70 feet. Four irregular layers were discerned. The slowly changing culture of generations of dwellers at the village offers little opportunity to distinguish sharply between art styles and the like, yet the earlier two layers represent an "older prehistoric, characterized by incised slate plaques, by the absence or relative scarcity of types characteristic of later periods and by considerably decomposed middens," and a "later prehistoric, marked especially by native copper, by a relative abundance of fire-cracked rocks, splitting adzes, and barbed slate blades, and by an absence of foreign manufactures" (de Laguna, 1956, p. 64). The site had evidently been abandoned before first European contact. Bone counts show the people of Palugvik to have been hunters of birds and small mammals rather than large land game. Of the land animals, bear bones were most prevalent. It is worthy of note that dogs were kept in considerable numbers during the earlier periods of the occupation of Palugvik, as they were in correspondingly early periods at Cook Inlet.

**Palutat Cave.** On a small island in the northwestern part of Prince William Sound was found a rich site protected by an overhanging rock wall forming a 70-foot-long shelf which people have
visited for a considerable length of time, mainly as a burial cave. A sizeable depth of midden attests to its earlier use as a hunting camp, however. The older material at Palutat appears to be comparable to that of the prehistoric layers of Palugvik, but the remainder defines a proto-historic period of culture for the area which was characterized by beads of the kind used during the time of Captain Cook's visit, and other artifact types.

Completing the picture of Prince William Sound archeology is the fourth, or historic, period which is represented by European trade goods and Christian burials. While the older prehistoric culture appeared only at Palugvik and Palutat Cave, many sites contained goods of the younger prehistoric period as well as those of the two historic periods.

THE INTERIOR

The vast interior of Alaska, in sharp contrast to the thousands of miles of long, inhabited coast, is an archeologically almost unknown land. It is even today impossible to identify the culture of any of the Athapascan groups who inhabit the forested interior earlier than the time of first European contact. The flint sites that have been turning up in recent years with encouraging frequency may or may not be those of Athapascan speakers. They contain, as a rule, little evidence of permanent housing or camping and few artifacts in cultural context. There is little encouragement, from our present state of knowledge, to expect
sites of whole villages of permanent populations to be found anywhere in the interior.

Disregarding chronology for the moment, it is possible to see interior archeology in four segments which offer as many different environmental backgrounds. These are, from north to south, 1) the Arctic slope and the Brooks Range, 2) the Kobuk River valley, 3) the Yukon River drainage system, and 4) the southern mountains.

**Brooks Range**

The discovery in the summer of 1947 of a fluted point in the headwaters of the Utukok River, on the north slope of the Brooks Range, because of its similarity in form to Folsom points of the Southwestern United States created a stir of "early man" interest in this largely unsearched part of the Arctic (Thompson, 1948). Two years later, Ralph Solecki spent the summer of 1949 with a geological survey crew and searched a part of the north slope for further traces of early hunters. Among his many surface finds of that season were two small sites in which occurred microblades and cores to be compared to those of the University of Alaska Campus site and the newly discovered Cape Denbigh site of Iyatayet (Solecki, 1950; 1951).

Further collaboration between geologists and archeologists in 1950 brought to light at **Natvakruak Lake** microblades, burins, and bifaces similar to those of the Denbigh Flint complex (Solecki, 1951). During the same season William Irving (1951) found Denbigh-like materials eight miles away in **Anaktuvuk Pass**. His site
contained bifaced side blades as well as microblades, burins, and burin spalls. Returning to the site of Imaigenik in 1951, Irving found more of the old flints in association with hearths; across the Anaktuvuk River another site called Tuluak produced flints later and less Denbigh-like than those from Imaigenik, but which were outside the range of forms for cultures previously defined (Irving, 1953, pp. 66-74).

Pursuing these leads and working westward from Anaktuvuk Pass into the Itivlik region, Irving again found a site of Denbigh-related flints, which he called Funyik, located on a stream draining a small lake into the large Itivlik Lake. In what appeared to be the floor of the lower of two superimposed houses were found burins and other Denbigh flints in connection with a hearth. If the shallow floor truly represents a house, it was somewhat rectangular in outline and provided with a short entrance passage. This is the only dwelling outline as yet associated with the Denbigh Flint complex (Irving, n. d.).

More recently, John M. Campbell has spent three seasons between 1956 and 1959 in the vicinity of Anaktuvuk Pass. While his results are not yet published in full, Campbell has added several phases of culture to those previously reported. The Kayuk site yielded a large number of long, thick projectile points, most of which are either flaked diagonally or in the transverse-parallel fashion best known from "Eden" and related points of the Great Plains. Burins and microblades are scarce, or nearly absent, among the Kayuk flints.
Typologically Kayuk is distinctive rather than closely related to other known phases on the basis of its flint work. However, organic artifacts found in association with the flints somewhat resemble Norton and Ipiutak types. If the organic and inorganic materials were deposited at the same time, the complex appears to fall somewhere between the Denbigh Flint and Ipiutak culture (Campbell, 1959).

The far end of the Brooks Range, where the mountains reach a most northern latitude at the Canadian-Alaskan border, has been the source of archeology that may span most of the time since the end of last glaciation. R. S. MacNeish in 1954 located the site called Engistciak in the Yukon Territory of Canada (MacNeish, 1956). Of nine recognized cultural phases, the third (New Mountain) is most like the Denbigh Flint complex. Two earlier aspects of culture are the Flint Creek and the British Mountain, the latter characterized by relatively coarse flaking and heavy, crude tools such as might have been used in some chopping processes. Engistciak, like Anaktuvuk Pass in Alaska, appears to have been a caribou crossing which was visited often by successive groups in post-glacial times (MacNeish, 1956; 1959). While the site is in Canada, a recent survey by MacNeish is reported to have turned up flint sites on the Alaskan side in the headwaters of the Firth River which will overlap culturally to some degree with Engistciak.

Kobuk River

The archeology of the Kobuk River has already been dealt with
in part (pp. 14, 39, 40). Among the many sites discovered along its banks between 1940 and 1946 are three that have been dated by dendrochronology, and another that deserves special mention. The Ambler Island site, in the upper waters of this wooded river valley flowing along the south edge of the Brooks Range, shows a people who built rectangular houses with narrow, entrance passages, even though their area was largely free of winds, and who made artifacts designed chiefly for hunting land animals and fishing in the river and lakes. The site was occupied mainly between 1730 and 1750 A. D.

In the middle river zone only 100 miles from salt water, the people of the Ekseavik site were also exploiters of the forest, but they lived in houses deeper than those of Ambler Island and they kept in their houses harpoons and other sea hunting devices. In many ways, the Ekseavik phase of culture shows affinity with eastern Thule, even though it crossties more directly with the earliest Point Hope Tigara. The site was occupied about 1400 A. D.

The other middle river site, Ahteut, was occupied around 1200 to 1250 A. D. It was the home of people whose coastal affinities were even more strongly defined by their use of ivory and weapons for sea mammal hunting. Their houses were deeply excavated and had, in some cases, an additional room, perhaps for storage, and a long entrance passage. The stage of culture is close to that of Western Thule on the coast.

The Onion Portage site is an undated one in the upper river which seems to fall culturally between Ekseavik and Ahteut, but which lacks the materials for sea hunting and contains excellent
work in flinty materials. Noteworthy here are three prepared flint cores and a microblade recovered from house floors. The cores are identical in form with those of the far-inland Campus site and seem to indicate a long persistence of this highly special technique in the interior after it had disappeared on the adjacent coast.

Analysis of the 700 or more years of archeology continuous from the present occupation of the river led to the definition of an "Arctic Woodland culture" as a continuity which is identical with neither the Eskimo nor the Athapascan neighboring cultures, even though it incorporates elements of both (Giddings, 1952).

Yukon - Kushokwim Valleys

Professional archeology in this region consists partly in accepting and describing single specimens or small collections of flints that individuals have found under diverse circumstances. The hope is that they will some day become significant. Among the interior sites are some that are undoubtedly thousands of years old, and thus in the category of Early Man. Rainey (1939, pp. 371-80) once reported on a number of accidental finds in the Tanana Valley of the Central Yukon drainage system and in the Upper Yukon Valley that appear to correspond to some of the early flint forms just now turning up in the coastal and Brooks Range regions, and he and Nelson (Rainey, 1939, pp. 381-89; Nelson, 1937) placed on record the Campus Site on the brow of a river-cut ledge overlooking the Tanana Valley on the University of Alaska campus. Here Rainey and others excavated a large number of microblades and cores together with less
distinctive forms of projectile points and scrapers. Only recently recognized in this collection were two or three burins (Irving, 1955). Rainey also described varied artifacts which had been found in the frozen silt deposits exposed in mining operations in central Alaska. While these objects were never indisputably in place, some may have been contemporary with the extinct mammals whose bones are found in great quantity in these deposits. Later finds from these and other kinds of sites in central Alaska and, in particular, along the Alcan Military Highway have been more recently reported (Hibben, 1943, pp. 255-57; Johnson, 1946; Skarland and Giddings, 1948). Determined excavations were carried on in the interior, however, only in the Upper Tanana River region and along the lower reaches of the Yukon River.

The materials found in the old village of Dixthada were largely historic in age, as shown by trade goods, but a sizeable number of artifacts from the floors of rectangular house pits were made of bone and native copper. The copper objects included double-pointed awls or needles, stemmed arrow points, coiled ear and nose ornaments, and one skin scraper with a crenelated scraping end. Among the flints were some that can only be compared to those from the Campus site, for they are small end scrapers, microblades, and cores identical with those at the earlier site, though in strikingly smaller proportions. Rainey at first concluded that the Dixthada site represented only recent Athapascans and that the Campus site was much older, and he made a strong point for identifying the microblade and core technology with Athapaskan in
contrast to Eskimo archeology (Rainey, 1940, p. 304). He later concluded that the microblades belonged to an older deposit built upon by recent Athapascans (Rainey, 1953).

Important facts concerning pottery distribution came out with the discoveries in 1935 at Tanana and in 1937 at Rampart Rapids of the Central Yukon River valley that pottery had been made and used in late prehistoric times. This fact modified the earlier belief that Athapascans had made no pottery and hence could not have acted as intermediaries in the hypothetical distribution of pottery between Asia and northeastern America (de Laguna, 1936, p. 11; Rainey, 1939, pp. 376-77).

The excavations made by de Laguna, mainly in villages known to have been those of Athapascan Indians, showed that the river-bank population of the Lower Yukon had been comparable in prehistoric times to that of today (de Laguna, 1947). Large abandoned villages of deep house pits were found at several points. While it was difficult to distinguish whether an Indian- or Eskimo-speaking people had inhabited them, certain sites farther downstream were set apart as having a more "Eskimo" character than others. Most of the large village sites were interpreted as representing Tena (Athapascan) culture. The largest sites, as yet the subject of only limited excavation, are Old Fish Camp on the Khotol River, Old Bonasila on the Yukon River, New Grayling and New Bonasila on the Yukon, and two sites on the Anvik River near its junction with the Yukon.

Old Fish Camp, consisting of 40 or more house pits, appears
to have been a village with a single large ceremonial house (kashim) located on a terrace well above high river levels. Large numbers of objects found in excavation represent late prehistoric culture. These include stone saws, hammerstones, net weights and floats, skinning tools and scrapers, antler wedges, fragments of bark objects, pottery, boulder chip scrapers, slate blades, and splitting adze heads of pecked stone. Many of the forms and techniques represented in this and other Tena villages are closely similar to those found in houses of the later cultural periods along the Middle and Upper Kobuk River. Only further excavations at the language boundaries of western Alaska can determine whether or not the linguistic differences manifest in recent times may reasonably be projected back into the archeology.

The far interior has been determinedly sampled only in one other locality, that of Lake Telida west of Mt. McKinley in the headwaters of the Kuskokwim River. The Hayfield site at the outlet of Telida Lake represents a late prehistoric site of Athapascan Indians who left behind adzes, scrapers, ulu-like knives, net sinkers, chipped projectile points, bone awls, arrowheads, and a few potsherds of buff or brown plain ware among other artifacts (LeFebre, 1956). A few objects of obsidian include microblade fragments, some of them retouched. The presence of microblades in this late site along with those from Dixthada on the Upper Tanana River and those from Onion Portage on the Upper Kobuk River indicate that the microblade technique had persisted in the interior almost to the present
day as a minor cultural element.

Southern Interior

Work south of the Alaska Range is restricted to a survey of the Upper Copper River region (Rainey, 1939, pp. 358-62 of the Susitna Valley and the recently constructed Denali Highway to Mt. McKinley Park. Noteworthy in this area is the discovery of side-notched projectile points in the Lake Susitna-Lake Louise area on a hilltop overlooking Tyone River (Irving, 1957, p. 43) and similar points from the Ratekin site in "blowouts" of a glacier-formed ridge near the Denali Highway. These notched points, together with some found by Campbell in the Anaktuvuk Pass region in 1959 and by the author on the Palisades site in Kotzebue Sound, lend weight to this form of side-notching as an early horizon-marker in Alaskan prehistory. These notched points may even be related to similar forms in both the eastern Arctic and the temperate zones of North America. Other kinds of artifacts, both in association with the notched points and in unrelated surface sites nearby, indicate that the archeology of interior Alaska is going to be much richer than was heretofore supposed.
The facts of Alaskan prehistory have been accumulating so rapidly in the past decade that publication has not been able to keep up with progress. The student can find full descriptions and analyses only for sites discovered and excavated before the Second World War. The revealing later excavations, excepting one or two, are available only in short preliminary or summary articles. For this reason interpretations must be made either from those full, published conclusions that are now rapidly becoming obsolete or from opinion that is often unsupported by factual context. Nevertheless, we shall try to summarize the prehistory of Alaska as it appears after the 1960 field season.

The earliest Alaskans are not yet in sight. While it is possible that some of the coarse and chemically-changed objects from the Palisades site are extremely old, there is no supporting proof from the interior. Not one of the hundreds of tons of bones of extinct mammals recovered from silt deposits in many parts of Alaska has clearly shown signs of disturbance or use by man.

Later, when the last continental glacier was retreating in most of North America, people were certainly living in the passes and on the slopes of the Brooks Range. Coarse choppers and scrapers and possible projectile points occur at Firth River, at Anaktuvuk Pass, and at Cape Krusenstern. We can only say at present that relatively crude implements seem to precede the more refined ones in these three regions. The finding of only coarse implements on
the earliest time levels may be fortuitous. In this writer's opinion, no people would have made themselves at home in so demanding a region until they were capable of exploiting the year-round environment with a degree of comfort. Adjustment to the extremes of climate near the Arctic Circle may be taken for granted. Reliance upon inefficient weapons or tools is improbable, to say the least. Until more evidence comes to light, the idea may be held in abeyance that the people who used the coarse choppers possessed a commensurately primitive form of whole culture.

The land connection with Asia, which probably existed right up to the end of Mankato glaciation, would have been flooded as the world's glaciers melted. With the widening of the northern Bering and Chukchi Seas, and with the opening of the present waterway at Bering Strait, a possible earlier identity of culture between the two continents would have tended to disappear. This does not mean that the people living on both margins of the encroaching sea were not capable of floating themselves across in either direction. It means, instead, that the established populations, already adjusted to the new ways of making a living both inland and at the sea coast, now had greater reason to establish the boundaries of family, band, or tribe at the shores of the Strait.

At any rate, the artifact assemblages currently becoming known on the American side of Bering Strait appear to be more easily cross-compared eastward across the North American continent than westward into Siberia.

After the Pacific Ocean had been connected by Bering Strait to
the Arctic Sea, but before sea level had reached its greatest height (between 5,000 and 7,000 years ago), people whose culture is recognized by a distinctive style in stone workmanship began to camp at caribou crossings or lookouts. Good materials, including variously colored cherts, chalcedony, and obsidian, were reduced to small projectile points, notched at the sides for attachment in one specific manner to a shaft. The side-notched knives and points seem to have been hafted directly to wood rather than to harder organic materials.

Camping at the Palisades site, the earliest makers of notched points used carefully flaked, thick scrapers and broad, bifaced knives or spear heads as well. Notched points similar to those of the Palisades appear in Anaktuvuk Pass and far to the south on the Pacific slope of the Alaska Range. We are not yet in a position to say, however, that the similarities between notched points in these widely separated areas mean the spread of a single people or even contemporaneity of this style in stone work.

Following closely after the notched-point hunters came those who took as the basis of their technology the microblade and core, as did hunters of the European Mesolithic period. Unlike their predecessors at the Palisades, these Denbigh hunters of the sea coast left almost no large stone tools behind. Instead, camping repeatedly beside small fires, possibly within tent-like shelters, they fitted their flint cutting edges to shafts and handles of bone, antler, and perhaps ivory, which were secondarily hafted in wood. Their campfires, containing accumulations of minute and
special flint artifacts, indicate that the Denbigh people found an abundance of food upon the same kind of seashore that was later inhabited by the Eskimos. If they built deep and large houses, these have not been found on the coast.

The Denbigh people were not wanderers merely along the coast, however, for Denbigh-like flints extend throughout the Brooks range and, indeed, with modification, across the whole of North America to Greenland. In the opposite direction, from 1,000 to 5,000 miles away in central Asia, elements like those of the Denbigh Flint complex are to be found in many periods of the Siberian Neolithic, and especially in the Serovo phase of culture. The differences between the Denbigh complex in coastal Alaska and sites of the Siberian Neolithic are far greater, however, than are those between the coast of Alaska and the interior sites of the Brooks Range. A proposed dating of the Serovo period as earlier than the Denbigh Flint complex in Alaska or even of the earliest microblade and burin sites of Greenland, which were established by 4,000 years ago, can be questioned. At the present stage of our knowledge, it is safer to point to a circumpolar distribution of some elements of the Denbigh Flint complex—notably microblades and cores—and to see in them a circumpolar continuity with little indication of the direction or directions of their diffusion. The Denbigh techniques, so far as Alaska is concerned, appear to have been already established before the thermal maximum and to have continued for some time after this period when the sea reached its greatest height.
Following the Denbigh Flint complex on the coast, there was a period of local transition during which the fine workmanship became coarser as first microblades, then burins, disappeared. In the interior, however, the microblade technology seems to have persisted in some few places almost to the present day. The far inland microblade sites, including the Campus site, may have been either earlier or later than the Denbigh complex of the coast. Many of the Denbigh artifacts are not found in the interior, perhaps because the weapons they represent were designed for hunting only in, and at the edge of, the sea. By 2000 B.C. the old Denbigh culture had been altered and coarsened in its techniques, but even before burins had completely disappeared, an intrusive culture of whaling people who used side-notched points came between the Denbigh hunters and their lineal cultural successors—those of Ipiutak.

The flint work of this Old Whaling culture is, in the main, unlike that of other Alaskans, though the notching of points and the technique of producing raw flakes recalls later deposits at the Palisades. The Old Whalers used side-notched points of many sizes, but they also made use of unnotched knives or lance heads of large size, comparable only to those later to be seen in the Aleutians. Where did the Old Whalers come from? We may rule out the interior, for they were accomplished hunters of the whale and seal and appear to have neglected the search for caribou and other land animals. Yet no trace of this culture has yet been found elsewhere along the coasts of either Asia or Alaska. Similarities in stone work may be seen far
to the east in the Great Lakes region of central North America. Whatever relationship there may be between these areas, it cannot relate to the sea hunting specialities of the Old Whaling culture. Nor is it surprising that the sequences of flints elsewhere in the Brooks Range show none of the Old Whaling assemblage. The place of origin of this culture cannot have been greatly distant because of apparent crossties with the Palisades notched points; yet it cannot have been entirely local, for succeeding cultural phases at Cape Krusenstern revert to some of the technology of the earlier Denbigh Flint complex.

The period of about 1000 B.C. is shaping up as a coastal continuity in Alaska. The first midden mounds were beginning to be built along the Pacific. A trace of earlier microblade makers in the Aleutians indicates a pioneering stage, the sites of which are not yet widely known, and then the settling down in the islands of sea-hunting peoples whose culture changed only slowly into that of the modern Aleut. Far to the north the Choris people were less settled, building their large communal houses somewhat after the fashion of recent Aleuts, but moving so frequently that midden deposits did not accumulate. The settled, midden-building sea hunters of the Pacific may somehow have stimulated, through their example, the spread of middens along the coasts of both continents to the north. It was not until a century or two B.C., however, at the earliest, that the midden mounds of the north began to accumulate.
Nor were the ways of life closely similar between the northern area and the Aleutians. The hunting methods used at the whaling points of St. Lawrence Island, Bering Strait, and Point Barrow differed from those of the Aleutians, and the principal game was the great baleen whales and herds of walrus. While the midden builders of the north were only tenuously related to those of the south in most respects, the people of Norton, Ipiutak, and related forms of culture appear to owe a great deal to cross-fertilization with the Pacific peoples. Thus, Norton culture and that of Platinum Village show a flint technology in coarse materials very similar to that of the south.

In the first centuries A. D., the Okvik-Old Bering Sea whaling culture on the Asian side and the caribou hunting and sealing culture of Ipiutak on the American side began to converge in forms of artistic design while their other manifestations remained apart. Thus, the culmination of Okvik-Old Bering Sea and Ipiutak art appears to be contemporary and to represent cross-fertilization through diffusion rather than primarily through the movement of villagers from one side of the Bering Strait to the other.

The change from Ipiutak culture to the form that we see next in the Birnirk and Western Thule cultures of Alaska appears to relate most to the developing economical importance of the baleen whale. With whaling no doubt there came a cult, for whaling of this kind is a group enterprise, competitively organized, and concerned with the souls as well as the bodies of the world's greatest mammals.
The people of Ipiutak culture may or may not have been overwhelmed by Asians. Transitional phases of Ipiutak-to-Thule culture at Cape Krusenstern suggest that they were not. In case they were, however, a rapid spread or even a migration of Thule people, carrying with them not only an elaborate cult but perhaps even a language and a physical distinct from the old Alaskans, can be conceived as covering the entire coastal region between Alaska and Greenland.

The coasts to the south, largely cut off from the sweep of communal whaling, continued to change slowly and on a much more local basis. Diffused ideas were more easily resisted. Nor were the tribes of the interior likely to have been greatly affected by the spread of Asian whaling along the coast.

The impression must not be given, however, that we now understand the history of linguistic boundaries and the mechanisms by which the Indian languages came to be juxtaposed with the dialects of Eskimo. The most distinctive traits of that region are on an earlier time level--notched points, and then the microblade technology--but these also occurred on the western seacoast. The archeology of the interior is not yet rich enough to cast much light on Athapascan origins.

Another new problem has to do with the Old Whaling culture. It does not seem to have originated in the Kotzebue Sound region where it is found, but neither does it seem to have come from the Aleutians, where only microblades are known to precede the earliest Aleutian form of culture, nor from the Asian North Pacific where nothing even remotely related to these flints is known. Yet the kind of whaling
implied at Cape Krusenstern was for the same big baleen whales that were so ceremoniously sought here 2,000 and 3,000 years later.

These are only some of the problems that make Alaska's archeology puzzling yet at the same time crucial to an understanding of the prehistory of all polar peoples and the American Indians.
THE OLDEST ALASKANS TODAY

The lifeways of Indians and Eskimos of Alaska have changed greatly since World War II. Men of the villages, some barely able to make themselves understood in English, served in the Alaska Scouts or in the military forces within the United States and abroad and returned home after the war with thoughts of applying to their government for continuing support. Where formerly each man had cherished independence of money and obligations outside his local group, he now thought of "security." Village councils, more than before, guarded community rights and advised individuals on the ways of applying for financial aid and compensation. Even so, one saw all too few private ventures into business or profession.

In western Alaska, at any rate, where the labor season is short, the greater number of able-bodied Eskimo men still gather in the larger villages to await calls for short-term work. During the salmon season men go by planes to the commercial canneries of the southern Bering Sea area, while their wives seine for the local salmon which they preserve for winter use. Some men secure work, for short periods as a rule, on construction projects or as members of lighterage and unloading crews for the season's ship or two. Others find odd jobs guiding, serving professional parties from a distant center of research or exploration, or fighting forest fires somewhere in the interior. The jobs never come near exhausting the ranks of unemployed—not even in the busiest summer months; yet life seems to go on in the towns at a joyful pitch, as though one need have no care for the long winter to come. Since only a few men and women secure year-round employment, how is this curious new economy to be accounted for? There seem to be three main factors at
work in an Eskimo community.

First, the compensations from the federal government for unemployment, together with the pensions for old age, dependence, and poor health, provide a steady, if small, flow of funds into a community. As wants are not yet measured by the standards of the other states, or of the cities of Alaska, this income bulks large, while assuring the aged and non-working a prestige never before held by such people in Eskimo society. The old mother who received a monthly check from the government may take pride in supplying her unemployed son with the goods and prestige he cannot obtain for himself. Free of the costs of medical care and schooling (a changing situation now that Alaska is a state), the more careful Eskimos spend their cash first on motors and boats, and then on household goods and supplies. A sizable amount of the summer cash is spent by some of the men on liquor and luxuries during short convivial periods following pay day. Even though some villages are dry by choice, liquor can usually be ordered by plane or boat from Nome or another large town.

Second, the military establishment in Alaska are often in or near a native village, and while these may not have much of permanence to offer to the local economy, they do exude money and goods in a variety of ways.

Finally, the important background of the economy is still the old one. Women work continuously throughout the year at gathering and preserving food, preparing clothing, and, in general, maintaining a household and raising a family. They also form a strong stabilizing force in seeing to it that the men perform the time-old tasks of construction and repair and of providing wild game and fish for support of the family at intervals throughout the year.
The spring hunt for baleen whales, small white whales, walrus, and bearded seals does not conflict, as a rule, with commercial employment, nor does the fall and winter hunting for caribou, moose, and other land game interfere with sources of cash income. While low fur prices during the past two decades have radically cut down on the ability of Alaska natives to make a living at fur trapping, furs may still be obtained for necessary winter clothing and a small amount of cash. The old hunting economy based on the seasonal travels of the nuclear family from one food source to another is nearly a thing of the past, however. Foraging for food is now limited to excursions out from the village or town, and long stretches of seacoast and river edge have been abandoned except for the overnight travellers who by motorboat and dogsled stop en route from one village to another.

Rapid changes are taking place in the education of Alaskan natives. During the school year of 1934-35, the writer had the pleasure of spending the winter in Kotzebue. Although the winter population consisted of more than 300 Eskimos and only about 20 non-Eskimos, two schools were in operation: one for the full-blood Eskimo children, administered by the Federal government, and another—Territorial—for non-Eskimo children (of whom there were none that winter) and children of mixed blood. Although pupils could prepare themselves for high school, few did so, and the great majority dropped out of school at the end of their fourth year. The unusual student who went on to high school was sent to boarding school at White Mountain on southern Seward Peninsula. From this school, over some years, two or three had gone on to college at the University of Alaska or elsewhere, returning, usually, to teach in the government schools. Thus, while
the facilities existed for any ward of the government to secure as much education as he was inclined to, without expense to himself, the great majority of children nevertheless failed even to master reading and writing.

In contrast, the impression one has now of modern Kotzebue children is that they compare favorably in their ability to read, write, and figure with children of more populous regions. Although White Mountain no longer operates as a regional boarding school, one sees neatly dressed groups of Eskimo boys and girls of high school age boarding planes at Kotzebue at the end of summer for schools operated for Indians and Eskimos in southern Alaska and the northwestern states. A commodious private high school sponsored by a church group has recently opened in Kotzebue, and it becomes clear that within a few years state or local high schools will open in many of the larger communities. One meets today on the streets of Kotzebue a few full-blood Eskimos who are schoolteachers, elected officials in the state government, missionaries, or airplane pilots, including at least one who is the chief pilot of large commercial aircraft. These individuals, testifying as they do to the growing importance of native education, are nevertheless exceptional in a community where the business and executive affairs are nearly all run by outsiders.

Where Kotzebue, in 1934, had only two missions—a Protestant (Friends) and a Roman Catholic one—the town now includes churches of several denominations, most of which are not missions in the earlier sense of the word.

The health of Eskimos of western Alaska appears to have improved markedly over the past quarter century. No longer is a journey to
the government hospital at Kotzebue feared, as it was formerly, and if superstition does still exist, at least the shamanistic healing practices of a short time ago have nearly disappeared with the last individuals who grew up in a pagan environment. Distances are great; yet airplanes may be dispatched in almost any weather for emergency relief of injury and severe illness. The patients are generally flown to Kotzebue or another hospital, as medical practitioners are still very sparsely distributed along the coast.

To those who see the ideal life for any citizen of the United States as one in which he is increasingly protected by the promise of steady employment, has a surplus of food, and enjoys the cultural benefits of towns and cities, the Alaskan natives must seem to be headed in the right direction—towards a future in which the Indians and Eskimos blend without cultural distinction into the patterns derived out of western Europe. Those of us, on the other hand, who understand the uniqueness of a hunting and fishing culture in which, despite the hazards of a demanding environment, individuals grow up and grow old while experiencing pride and pleasure in their accomplishments, their companions, and their surroundings may feel some nostalgia for the good things lost, even as other good things are gained.

It is possible that the Indians and Eskimos of western Alaska may experience some revival of former values and return to or adhere to the basic economy and way of life of their ancestors, but this appears rather unlikely. The old religious beliefs are as obsolete as the shamanism and ceremonials that kept them alive. The trading feasts of midwinter, for example, could hardly be staged in this day of department stores and money, nor could the elaborate death ceremonies,
with their obligations between families and clans, take place now that people no longer believe in the wandering of spirits and their rebirth into the community. Not even the rewarding skills that produced warm underground houses, sewn buckets of thin wooden planks, and intricate sinew-backed bows may long be expected to survive the presence of rifles, bright metal kitchenware and Coleman stoves in nearby trading-posts. The making of birch-bark baskets may long persist along the Kobuk River and neighboring areas, and the whittling of toys and toggles may continue, but the intricate Eskimo carving of endless devices for special pursuits is already gone. Even if there were reason for a re-exploitation of the coast and rivers, it seems less likely that this would be done by the natives of the region than by outsiders full of nostalgia for the "savage" past. Already the ethnographers are beginning to supply the Christian Eskimos with printed accounts of their forgotten mythology, and one summer visitor to Alaska has successfully netted fish in the Arctic for ready sale to the natives of Point Barrow.

The Eskimos are moving to the towns, abandoning long stretches of coast. On a kayak trip along the coast of Beaufort Sea from Flaxman Island to Barter Island in the summer of 1952, I met no Eskimos at their former habitations, which stand at frequent intervals along this stretch of coast. Hunting, in the open season, tends to be confined everywhere as close as possible to the vicinity of the towns and villages, though fast motors and airplanes make foraging possible well beyond these limits. Many of the coastal people of northern and western Alaska turn to the inland towns where they secure work in the local labor markets. Fairbanks, as an example, is in Indian country, but now has a sizable Eskimo population.
While it seems unlikely that Alaska will ever see the reversion of even a small part of its native population to the aboriginal ways of life, language may remain longer than anything else to remind us of historic times. Language, together with pride in ancestry, may well encourage the long continuance of certain cultural threads that will be recognized as Eskimo, Aleut, or Indian. Nearly everywhere in the state, for example, the natives have responded to the suggestion of the arts and crafts advisors of the Alaskan Native Service and others that they revive or continue such of their specialties as will find ready sale in the collector’s and souvenir market. Where formerly only a few villagers (notably those on St. Lawrence Island, the Diomedes, King Island, and at Cape Prince of Wales) regularly carved ivory into appealing figures for the souvenir trade, now individuals from villages not even in the path of the migrating walrus are entering this market. Ivory carving, unlike the recently introduced soapstone carving of eastern Canada, continues a craft two or three thousand years old in the Bering Strait region. In a similar fashion, the wood carving of the Tlingit and Haida of southern Alaska is perpetuated in forms imitating those of pre-Christian days. While these wooden imitations of elaborate house posts and mortuary columns, utensils of sheep horn, argillite, and wood are reasonably accurate duplicates of historic pieces, they no longer have symbolic or social meaning of own. Another manner of carrying on an exact pattern of the old culture without its former meaning is through performing native dances nightly for the benefit of tourists, as is done in Kotzebue throughout the summer season. In each of these cases, the form is a reasonable facsimile of the old. The dance and music is true enough in sound
and movement, the carvings, many of them, are as elegant and artistically appealing as were those of pre-contact days. Yet we know that these representations are imitations, without other meaning, of an aspect of culture long since dead.

It thus appears that while we shall continue to recognize Indians and Eskimos by their facial features, the darkness of their skin, and seasonally, by their special clothing, food, and skill at living off the resources of the land, we shall not long have much left of the aboriginal whole cultures with which to identify the natives of Alaska. Instead, we ourselves will assume the ways of adapting to the environment of the Eskimos and Indians, wearing their parkas and their snowshoes, and employing their designs, just as our civilization has taken on elements of Indian architecture, Indian garden products, Indian smoking habits, and countless other aspects of earlier native cultures. The aboriginal culture history of the riverbanks, the terraces and the coastal beach ridges has thus come essentially to a close after the thousands of years of human occupancy of Arctic North America.
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VanStone, James W.


Weyer, Edward Moffat


Wissler, Clark

Wormington, Marie

Collins, Henry B.
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

PALUGVIK


Ownership:

Significance: Palugvik is a stratified midden deposit in which is found evidence that the Eskimo-speaking inhabitants of the heavily timbered Pacific bays and islands are not newcomers, but part of a long-established population and culture. This marks the eastern range of Eskimo archeology in southern Alaska, and helps to clarify the relationship of Eskimos to Tlingit Indians. Eastward and southward from this locality as far as southern British Columbia, the known archeology is all recent. Palugvik and neighboring sites furnish a background for the Chugach Eskimos, who have been ably described by Birket-Smith. The site is further discussed on page 86.

Features and Condition: Two middens, a few hundred feet apart, were on bars separated by a small bight. Spruce forests grew to the edge of, but not on, the deposits. The smaller, and shallower, midden on East Point lay near a burial ledge. The larger one reached a depth of nine feet. Though excavations were extensive, some of both middens was left intact. The work was sponsored jointly by the University Museum (Philadelphia) and the Danish National Museum.
Palugvik Midden, Hawkins Island, Alaska.

Photo 1933, Courtesy Frederica de Laguna
Principal References:
Birket-Smith, Kaj.

de Laguna, Frederica.
YUKON ISLAND MAIN SITE

Location: South side of Yukon Island, in Kachemak Bay of Cook Inlet.

Ownership: Privately owned (in 1932).

Significance: This is the oldest and most continuously occupied of the Cook Inlet sites that collectively led to the definition of Kachemak Bay culture. The controlled digging and careful analysis of this and other stratified deposits around Cook Inlet made possible a stage-by-stage comparison of the archeology of this region with that of Bering Strait. The Kachemak Bay culture was found to be at base a fairly generalized type of Eskimo culture, but with a number of traits held in common with both the Salish far to the south and the Kamchatkans and Ainu of the Asian coast. A radiocarbon date indicates the earliest period to be 2,700 or more years old (Rainey and Ralph, 1959, Sample P-139, p. 371). This site is discussed on page 33.

Features and Condition. This shell heap and midden, exposed by wave action where it lies on an ancient beach, was subject to flooding at extreme high tide in 1932. A sinking shoreline is indicated, and the site is thus threatened with eventual erasure by the sea. It was partly excavated under the aegis of the University Museum (Philadelphia).

Principal References:
Collins, Henry B.

de Laguna, Frederica
Yukon Island Main Site. Kachemak Bay, Cook Inlet, Alaska.

Photo 1931, Courtesy Wallace de Laguna
CHALUKA

Location: On Umnak Island adjacent to the existing village of Nikolski. (Aleutian Islands)

Ownership: Bureau of Land Management

Significance: This huge village mound appears to hold all periods of culture so far identified in the region. Hrdlicka found "paleo-Aleut" skeletons here under those of "neo-Aleut." While it is not yet fully described, in light of more recent excavations by Laughlin's group, Chaluka promises the first careful stratigraphic treatment of a single large site in the Aleutians. It is said to show a remarkably stable Eskimo-like culture, broken only by the appearance of a new physical type in recent centuries. A radiocarbon date of 3,750 years ago indicates that the occupation of the Aleutians stems from an even earlier time level. This site is discussed on page 75.

Features and Condition: The mound is 700 feet long by 200 feet wide, and it reaches a depth of 21 feet in places. It is located at the mouth of a good fishing stream near a reef where shellfish abound. Fresh-water lakes lie close behind. The bulk of this important mound is intact. Less than ten percent has been excavated. Hrdlicka's work was done for the Smithsonian Institution, while that of Laughlin was sponsored by several institutions, among which were the Arctic Institute of North America, the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, the U. S. Office of Naval Research, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the University of Oregon.
Principal References:

Hrdlicka, Ales.

Laughlin, William S.

Laughlin, W. S. and G. H. Marsh.
LOCATION: On the northwest side of Cape Denbigh, Norton Bay.

Ownership: Federal government (Public Land).

Significance: A spacious midden, reaching seven or more feet in depth, located on a bench 40 to 60 feet above sea level, contained Nukleet phases of neo-Eskimo culture and, isolated below, the remains of two other forms of culture. Norton culture deposits similar to Near-Ipiutak—the pre-Ipiutak culture at Point Hope—formed a layer up to two feet in depth which contained some few preserved organic artifacts. Still lower, and separated by a sterile layer, was the thin layer of stone artifacts and chips called "the Denbigh Flint complex." Here, for the first time on the Alaska coast, were isolated microblades in profusion. With them occurred many burins and burin spalls—identified here for the first time in America—and other flint products. The Denbigh flints opened new theoretical possibilities including early sophistication of technique in the Arctic and a Mesolithic-derived cultural extension into America. The dating is still in some doubt, though the last Denbigh flints at this site seem to have been made by 2500 B.C. This site is discussed on page 62. (Site classified as of exceptional significance under Theme I).

Features and Condition: The site covers about five acres of land on the slopes and a terrace of small Iyatayet Creek. About two-thirds of the early layer is excavated, but the site as a whole is perhaps two-thirds intact. The land is not used, although Eskimos sometimes camp at the mouth of the creek. Excavations were made at
Iyatayet for the University of Alaska and the University of Pennsylvania under the sponsorship, at different times, of the Arctic Institute of North America, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the Office of Naval Research.

**Principal References:**

**Giddings, J. L.**


**Hopkins, David M. and J. L. Giddings.**

GAMBELL

Location: Northwest Cape, St. Lawrence Island.

Ownership: Federal government, except for the existing village.

Significance: A series of house and village sites exist on the slope of a headland and on beach ridges that have formed successively during some 2,000 years. Here, through the variation of sites and artifacts, and by stratigraphic means, was first worked out the sequence of cultures on St. Lawrence Island. It was shown that as beaches built out from the headland, people first moved down from the hillside, then periodically forward to remain near the sea shore. Waves of cultural innovation from the mainland of Asia led to the succession of art styles and practices distinguished from early to late as Okvik, Old Bering Sea, Punuk, and Recent. The Old Bering Sea phases fall between 100 and 500 A.D., with Okvik apparently somewhat older. Punuk culture dates about 1000 A.D. The separate sites at Gambell are discussed on pages 23-25.

Features and Condition: All of the Gambell sites, except the Hillside (which gives few surface indications of its presence) have long been fair game for ivory and souvenir hunters, in spite of the efforts of teachers and other officials and some of the villagers to respect the Antiquities Act. Perhaps half of each of the thick mound sites remain intact; yet only rigorous protection is likely to protect them and the valuable information they hold.

Excavations were made separately by the Smithsonian Institution and
Gambell Sites. Northwest Cape, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. Miyowagh Midden in foreground; Ievoghiyoq Midden at right.

Photo 1930, Henry B. Collins, Courtesy Smithsonian Institution
the University of Alaska.

**Principal References:**

Collins, Henry B.

Geist, Otto W., and Froelich G. Rainey

Rainey, Froelich G.

* - These include the following sites: Hillside Miyowagh Ievoghiyog Seklowaghyaget Old Section of Gambell Gambell - modern village
WALES

**Location:** Sites within the existing native village at Cape Prince of Wales.

**Ownership:** Village Council, Bureau of Indian Affairs Reservation, Wales

**Significance:** The hillside site, or Upper Village, the mound called Kurigitavik, and an excavated burial mound of Birnirk age, though not yet reported upon in detail, together outline the American equivalent of Asian sites from Birnirk to modern age at the crucial point where contacts would logically be made between the old world and the new since the disappearance of a land bridge during the Pleistocene age. These sites are discussed on page 30.

**Features and Condition:** The extent of the Upper Village can only be determined by excavation, but the Kurigitavik Mound is about two-thirds intact. Other sites of Birnirk age may exist along a stranded beach behind those currently occupied. The sites at Wales were excavated separately by members of the Canadian National Museum and the Smithsonian Institution. Kingegan is the native name for Cape Prince of Wales Village. It is one of the very few native Alaskan Eskimo Villages still existing. It presents a very interesting unit, even though frame houses have supplanted most of the sod houses. The natives continue to preserve their meat on outdoor racks. This modern village is discussed on pp. 106-113.

**Principal References:**

Collins, Henry B.

Jenness, Diamond.
Wales Sites. Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska. Hillside or Beach Site in right center foreground; Kurgigitavik Mound to right beyond houses and by stream.

Photo 1936, Henry B. Collins, Courtesy (c) National Geographic Society

Photo 1936, Henry B. Collins, Courtesy (c) National Geographic Society
IPIUTAK

Location: On a series of beach ridges at Point Hope.

Ownership: Tribal Council

Significance: A vast site of house pits and burials on successive gravel ridges was discovered in 1939. Contained in the deposits were elaborate carvings in ivory and antler in an art style previously unknown, a new flint technology, and evidence of a burial cult. The largest collection of skeletal material from Arctic archeological sites is that of Ipiutak and later Point Hope sites. The absence in Ipiutak of such traits as lamps, pottery, and whale hunting, which were known from comparatively early Asian sites, led to the formulation of a paleo-Eskimo culture for North America which contrasts with the culture of Arctic whale hunters.

This site is discussed on pages 51-54. Classified as of exceptional significance under Theme I.

Features and Condition: At least four-fifths of the site appears to be left intact. While natives continually vandalize the later mound sites nearby, the Ipiutak houses do not now yield their artifacts readily enough to attract souvenir hunters.

Principal References:


POINT HOPE (The Modern Eskimo)

Location: Point Hope, on the Chukchi Sea 68° 20' N -- 167° 50' W.

Ownership: Native Village Council and Public Lands.

Significance: Tigara is the native Eskimo name for the present day modern village, also known as New Tigara. It contains a quantity of frame dwellings, school house, church, etc. and has recently been electrified. However it is situated on top of and alongside the recent prehistoric village of Old Tigara with its sod houses, whale bone cemetery and Chiefs' graves. Although Eskimos are digging up the older town for ivory and artifacts to sell to the tourists, there is still a great deal remaining of the old town and also of the old way of life. Many of the ancient arts and crafts are still performed in this village and it has so far fortunately been untouched by the tourist traffic due to its isolation. In fact, it is felt that this is one of the best preserved native Eskimo communities remaining on the mainland. One interesting factor about the local natives is that this is the only place in Alaska where summer sledding is used as a means of transportation, mainly because of the wet, boggy, tundra conditions surrounding this village. Hunting for sea mammals is still a major part of the subsistence of these people, as is collecting bird eggs from the vast rookeries at Cape Thompson and hunting caribou.

Taken together, all of these Point Hope sites, including Ipiutak, Old and New Tigara and Jabbertown form a culture complex at Point Hope which extends over many centuries of time and should be preserved in its entirety.
KUGUSUGARUK

Location: On the Chukchi Sea coast a few miles south of Point Barrow.

Ownership: Federal government (Public Land).

Significance: The remarkably preserved human and artifact remains from frozen mounds at this site defined a western Thule-like culture of whalers later called "Birnirk" culture. The many skeletons recovered from the site are more like eastern Eskimos than are the moderns of Point Barrow. These "Old Igloo" crania figure importantly in theories of Eskimo origin and dispersal, especially in connection with Thule culture. This site is discussed on page 56.

Features and Condition: The site is presumed to be depleted.

Principal References:

Ford, James A.

Mason, J. Alden.
BIRNIRK

**Location:** On "stranded" beach ridges between the town of Barrow and Point Barrow.

**Ownership:**

**Significance:** In this series of mounds was established the stratigraphy and seriation which shows the cultural development of the Point Barrow region from Birnirk times forward to the present day. Radiocarbon dates indicate the Birnirk culture to have been established by 600 to 800 A.D. This site is discussed on pages 53-59.

**Features and Condition:** The mounds in this group are more than half excavated.

**Principal References:**

Collins, Henry B.

Ford, James A.

Stefansson, Vilhjalmur.
Birnirk Mounds (Mound Q), Point Barrow, Alaska.

Photo 1953, Wilbert K. Carter, Courtesy Peabody Museum, Harvard
Barrow (The Modern Eskimos)

Location: Barrow, a large Eskimo village, is situated about 500 miles north of Fairbanks and 12 miles south of Point Barrow, the northernmost point in Alaska.

Ownership: Native Village Council.

Significance: Here, as at Kotzebue, the Eskimos have largely abandoned their traditional way of life. They still hunt and fish, and a few skin boats are yet to be seen, but it is a more common sight to see them launch their military-surplus landing craft and boats with surplus caterpillar tractors as they set out, armed with modern rifles, on their hunting expeditions. They have also given up their sod houses for small frame shacks that are heated by gas. Much of their traditional clothing, however, has been retained since it is best suited for the country in which they live. Ancient songs and dances are still retained to some extent by the older generation and are presented nightly, at least during the summer months -- for the benefit of tourists.

The Eskimos also produce handmade fur and skin items, that are exchanged in a lively trade conducted with tourists.

A few sod houses, now used solely as ice houses, are still to be seen at Barrow. The original church of Presbyterian Utkeayuk Mission, founded and built in 1891, is still standing, but has been considerable enlarged by additions that were made in 1948. All traces of the reindeer station that was founded at Barrow in the 1890’s to help the Eskimos had disappeared, and the great reindeer herds that once ranged north of the Brooks Mountains are now extinct.

This village forms an interesting cultural continuum when considered as a unit with the older sites of Kugusugaruk and Birnirk and many other sites, all of which are located on the Point Barrow Peninsula.
ANAKTUVUK PASS

Location: A mountain pass between the upper Koyukuk River drainage and the north slope of the Colville River drainage system.

Ownership:

Significance: Several sites of caribou-hunting people, including Kayuk and Imaigenik, have been located at various points within this two-mile wide and twelve-mile long important pass. The entire pass may be regarded as an archeological site of note. The significance lies in the definition of flint forms associated with caribou hunting and the promise of stability in those forms that will make possible a far-reaching typology. Among the sites are those containing Denbigh-like flints, others in which notched points predominate, and still others in which are found points like those of the Great Plains. The precise chronology is not yet worked out, but indications are that the earliest flints were deposited shortly after Wisconsin glaciation ended and that other sites formed a more or less continuous series to the present day. This is discussed on page 88.

Features and Condition: Since the sites are shallow and sod-covered, with few surface signs, their extent can be disclosed only by excavation.

Principal References:
Campbell, John M.

Photo 1951, Robert J. Hackman, Courtesy Smithsonian Institution
Irving, William N.


Solecki, Ralph S.

Saxman Totem Park,  
Alaska

Location: Saxman Totem Park is located two miles southeast of Ketchikan, on the shores of the Tongass Narrows, and in the native village of Saxman.

Cicernship: Village of Saxman

Significance: This park contains a collection of Tlingit wood carvings gathered from the abandoned Indian towns and cemeteries of Old Tongass Village, Cat, Village Island, Pennock Island, and Cape Fox Village. The park is laid out with an approaching driveway bordered with totem poles and a square area walled with hand-adzed logs ornamented with frog heads. Two stairways lead to the square, one flanked by two massive Raven figures and the other by two Bear figures. The Bear and Raven symbolize the two divisions or phratries of the Tlingit.

These poles were carved by Indian craftsmen of the Civilian Conservation Corps and were modeled after the 200 original and ruined poles that were salvaged from the abandoned villages, in a program of reconstruction carried out by the U.S. Forest Service in 1938-41. Twenty-six totem poles and carved wooden monuments are located in Saxman Park.

The park is part of Tongass National Forest and is administered by the U.S. Forest Service. The park contains about 5 acres.

References:
Edward L. Keithahn, Monuments in Cedar (Ketchikan, Alaska, 1945).
Indian Totem Poles at Saxman Totem Park, Ketchikan, Alaska.
Totem Bight Park

Location: Four miles northwest of Ketchikan, along the Tongass Highway, on the shore of the Tongass Narrows, in Southeastern Alaska.

Ownership: State of Alaska -- a State Historic Site.

Significance: Totem Bight State Historic Site, located in the heart of U.S. Tongass National Forest, contains one of the two surviving examples of Tlingit Indian community houses in Alaska¹ and also some 10 totem poles. The community house and poles were built by Indian craftsmen of the Civilian Conservation Corps from the native village of Saxman, under the direction of Charles Brown, head carver, during the U.S. Forest Service program of reconstruction, in 1938-41.

The large wooden community house is modeled after those built in the early 19th century. It contains one large room with a central square fireplace. Around the interior walls is a planked platform, which served as the living quarters for several families; each was allotted their own space, but shared the common fire in the center. The smoke hole is protected by a movable frame and cover designed to keep out both rain and wind. A low, oval opening at the front forms the typical entrance to this house. A painted design -- never commonly utilized -- on the house front, is of a stylized Raven with each eye elaborated into a face. On the two front corner posts sit men each wearing a spruce root hat. The crest design painted on their faces and the canes in their hands indicates that they are ready for a dance or a potlatch.

¹The other reconstructed community house is located at Wrangell, Alaska.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1961
Totem Bight Park Indian Totem Poles, Ketchikan, Alaska.

N. P. S. Photo, 1959
The carved posts supporting the beams inside the house symbolize the exploits of a man of the Raven division or phratry who showed his strength by tearing a sea lion in two. The exterior pole in the center is called the Wandering Raven, from the legendary Raven carved as the top figure. At his feet is the box containing daylight. At the lower end of the pole is Raven at the Head of Hoos, the powerful chief who owned the sun, moon, and stars and who is identified by the large turned-back beak. He was Raven's grandfather. Below him is Raven's mother, with a large labret in her lower lip—the mark of a high class Tlingit woman. These three figures illustrate the feat of Raven, who brought daylight to the world.

Condition of the Site: Totem Bight is a State Historic Site containing about 20 acres. There is an interpretive sign and the area is open to visitors. The building and totem poles are in excellent condition.

References:
Edward L. Keithahn, Monuments in Cedar (Ketchikan, Alaska, 1945).
Shakes Island

Location: In town of Wrangell, on Shakes Island, South-eastern Alaska.


Significance: On Shakes Island in the harbor of the town of Wrangell is situated Chief Shakes' House, one of the two surviving examples in Alaska of an early Tlingit Indian Community House. This house, together with some seven totems, was rebuilt by Indian craftsmen of the Civilian Conservation Corps, under the supervision of the U.S. Forest Service, in 1938-41.

The reconstructed community house, built of cedar, was a winter, or permanent, home of the Indians. In summer months the inmates scattered to the different fishing and hunting grounds that were the private property of each family.

As at Totem Bight, Ketchikan, the Chief Shakes Community House has house posts of huge trees, but here they are less elaborately carved than at Totem Bight. The entrance at the Chief Shakes' house is by one low doorway, and there are no windows. Around the interior walls is found the usual elevated platform, three sides of which formed the living quarters for the different family units. The back wall was usually reserved for storing the boxes which contained the treasures of the families -- their clan hats, ceremonial robes, and

1 The other reconstructed house is located at Totem Bight, Ketchikan.
Sites in the National Park System

related to this theme

Sitka National Monument

This 54-acre monument contains the site of the log stockade in which the Sitka Indians made their last stand against the Russian invaders led by Baranov. Here, in October, 1804, after withstanding several Russian attacks and a siege lasting several days, the Indians were forced to retreat, thus leaving the way open for the Russian development of Sitka. The monument also protects an outstanding collection of Alaska Indian totem poles reconstructed by native craftsmen under CCC supervision between 1938-1941.
Sites Also Considered

Metlakatla

Location: Metlakatla is an Indian village located on the west coast of Annette Island, in Southeastern Alaska.

Significance: This religious colony is the most developed Indian community in Alaska.

In 1857 the Missionary Society of the Church of England sent William Duncan, a Scottish lay preacher, to Fort Simpson, in Canada, to begin his missionary work among the Tsimshean Indians of British Columbia. He soon mastered the native language and preached to them in their own tongue. In 1862 Duncan began building a Christian Indian village at Metlakatla, a place then situated 17 miles south of Fort Simpson. His converts were required to abandon their primitive superstitions and tribal ways and to adopt the moral standards of the white man, that is, those of being industrious, sober, and peaceful.

As a result of a dispute with the Church of England and the confiscation of his lands by the Canadian Government, Duncan applied in 1887 to the United States for a site in Alaska. President Grover Cleveland granted the use of Annette Island, and on March 3, 1891, Congress officially established the island as a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior.

Meanwhile, as these legal technicalities were being worked out, William Duncan and 823 Tsimshean Indians began the occupation of New Metlakatla, on Annette Island, on August 7, 1887. Here they
built up a model Indian village, consisting of permanent homes, a sawmill, a school, church, public library, townhall, and water system -- all constructed in the white man's manner. The Indians engaged successfully in agriculture, fishing, salmon canning, boat building, and other industries.

In 1895 they organized a cooperative known as the Metlakatla Industrial Company, which merged their store, sawmill and cannery into one organization. The cooperative continued operations until 1905, when by common consent, Duncan assumed control of the company and started to pay wages. The missionary died in 1918.

**Condition of the Site:** The town has retained much of its late 19th century appearance. Among the original buildings are William Duncan Memorial Church and his Cottage.

The church, the largest in Alaska, was erected by the Indians in 1895. The exterior of this building still retains its original appearance. The interior, however, was redecorated by the Indians in 1938. The church has been affiliated with the Methodist Church since 1944.

William Duncan is buried close to the church, and his grave is marked by a monument.

His original home, known as the William Duncan Memorial Cottage, is still standing and is preserved as a museum. The one-story frame house is open to the public, and his belongings are exhibited in place.
General View of New Metlakatla, Alaska.

Courtesy Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., Canada
PALUTAT CAVE

Location: An island in Long Bay, Prince William Sound, at 60 degrees, 58 minutes north; 147 degrees, 17 minutes west.

Ownership:

Significance: This is an extensive stratified midden containing burials. It is unique in Alaska because of its enclosure in a huge, open-faced rock shelter. The importance of the site is the same as that indicated for Palugvik. This site is discussed on page 86.

Features and Condition: The site is largely intact, though test-trenched, and it is protected from sea damage by elevation and from the elements by its sheltering cliff. The work was sponsored jointly by the University Museum (Philadelphia) and the Danish National Museum.

Principal References:
Birket-Smith, Kaj.

de Laguna, Frederica.

Photo 1933, Courtesy Frederica de Laguna
NANIKAX

Location: On Lastova Bay of Attu Island. (Aleutian Islands)

Ownership:

Significance: Excavations by Jochelson in this extensive midden on the most western island of the Aleutian chain helped to establish the uniformity of culture throughout the islands and to support the view that the Aleutians had been populated from the American mainland rather than directly from Asia. This site is discussed on page 72.

Features and Condition: Although this mound was tested by trenching, it appears to be largely intact. The shell heaps were as deep as fifteen feet, and this site appeared to be the oldest on the island. Excavations were made first for the Smithsonian Institution, then for the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Principal References:

Dall, W. H.

Jochelson, Waldemar.
KAGAMIL ISLAND

Location: A small, rocky island in the Islands of the Four Mountains group. (Aleutian Islands)

Ownership:

Significance: Located among the volcanic cliffs of this island in the central Aleutians are burial caves which have been visited by a number of scientists. Collections from these caves offer remarkably preserved mummies of prehistoric Aleuts together with their perishable belongings, including textiles. While most of the burials are considered to be late prehistoric in age, dates ranging between 900 and 1,600 years ago have been released for organic objects possibly associated with earlier burials. These caves are discussed on page 73.

Features and Condition: The known burial caves appear to be depleted. Excavations were made by the several individuals for the Smithsonian Institution and the University of Michigan.

Principal References:

Bank, Theodore P., II.

Dall, W. H.
1879. On the Remains of Later Pre-historic Man obtained from Caves in the Catherina Archipelago, Alaska Territory, and especially from the Caves of the Aleutian Islands. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, No. 318.

Hrdlicka, Ales.
SITE D

**Location:** Amaknak Island, Dutch Harbor.

**Ownership:**

**Significance:** This large midden, not yet reported in full, is noteworthy because George Quimby, working from salvaged materials, recognized three periods of art and style corresponding with stages of Kachemak Bay culture. The tripartite division is questioned by some, and further analysis of Site D materials, including those recovered by Helge Larsen in careful excavation, will undoubtedly modify present conclusions. Larsen found evidence in his work at the site that the old Aleut culture belongs in the "paleo-Eskimo" category. While dates are not available, the size and content of the mound suggest that it is to be compared with other oldest sites of the Aleutians. This site is discussed on page 77.

**Features and Condition:** Site D was completely demolished by bulldozer operations in connection with the building of an airport. Larsen's work was sponsored by the University of Alaska and the American Museum of Natural History.

**Principal References:**


HOT SPRINGS SITE

Location: On high ground adjacent to hot springs near Port Møller, Alaska Peninsula.

Ownership:

Significance: This first carefully controlled excavation on the Alaska Peninsula, in 1930, showed that the archeology of the region was related to that of both the Aleutian Islands and third period Kachemak Bay culture. The latter has received a radiocarbon date of about 600 A.D., which may also be that of earliest Port Møller.

Features and Condition: The extensive midden, evidently a continuously occupied village mound, was test-trenched, but remains largely intact. The excavations were sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History. This site is discussed on page 60.

Principal References:
Collins, Henry B.

Weyer, Edward Moffat
PLATINUM VILLAGE

Location: Between Goodnews Bay and Kuskokwim Bay on beach ridges at the edge of modern Platinum village.

Ownership:

Significance: In only one excavated house pit, of an undetermined number at Platinum, were found fire-preserved artifacts including both coiled and twined baskets, stone lamps, drill rests, and net sinkers. Other forms of artifacts, however, were like Ipiutak culture of Point Hope, thus establishing the Ipiutak range along nearly the entire west coast of Alaska. This and other sites in the area lent substance to the theory of a paleo-Eskimo culture underlying that of slate-polishing, whaling neo-Eskimos. Radiocarbon dates indicate the site to have been occupied about 450 A.D., and thus to fall within the range of the Ipiutak sites at Point Hope and Cape Krusenstern. This site is discussed on pages 60 and 61.

Features and Condition: Several depressions are known to have been destroyed by bulldozers. The moss-covered old beaches on which the site lies have not been fully tested. Other house pits probably exist. Excavations were sponsored by the Arctic Institute of North America and the Danish Expedition Fund.

Principal References:


Platinum Village Site, Kuskokwin Bay, Alaska.

Photo 1948, Courtesy Helge Larsen
CHORIS

Location: On the west shore of the southern tip of Choris Peninsula, at the entrance to Eschscholtz Bay, Kotzebue Sound.

Ownership: Federal government (Public Land).

Significance: On the inner of nine beaches were found three large house pits and associated features. The oval form and great size of the houses introduced an architectural form new to Arctic archeology and a form of culture undetected before 1956, dating to 700 B. C. or earlier. The site divulged the earliest coastal pottery for this area and evidence of scapula divining and intensive caribou hunting. The site, not yet fully described, is discussed on pages 37 and 38.

Features and Condition: The recognized house pits of the Choris culture are completely excavated, though a few later features are undisturbed.

Principal Reference:

Giddings, J. L.
Choris Sites, Choris Peninsula, Kotzebue Sound, Alaska. Two large oval house pits before excavation.

Photo 1956, Courtesy J. L. Giddings
Choris Site, Choris Peninsula, Kotzebue Sound, Alaska. People are on the inner beach where the oldest house pits were excavated.

Photo 1956, Courtesy J. L. Giddings
Location: On a point of land on the north shore of St. Lawrence Island about six miles east of the village of Savoonga.

Ownership: Federal government (Public Land).

Significance: This is probably the largest midden mound north of the Aleutian Islands. Its remarkably rich and continuous vertical stratigraphy bears out the conclusions drawn from Gambell and other sites, through seriation, about cultural sequences from Old Bering Sea to modern times. The mound is 900 feet long and 14 feet deep at center. Occupation may have been continuous from 200 A.D. to 1880, when most of its occupants died of an epidemic introduced by Europeans. This site is discussed on page 26.

Features and Condition: About three feet of the top of the east end of the mound was removed by excavation, and a vast "test trench" was cut through the mound near center. The west end has been protected by common consent, however, and while ivory collecting causes some annual damage, the greatest threat to the site comes from the slowly encroaching sea. The site was excavated by the University of Alaska.

Principal Reference:
CAPE KRUSENSTERN

Location: On the northwest margin of Kotzebue Sound.

Ownership: Federal government (Public Land).

Significance: A large series of beach ridges, formed continuously at an average of perhaps sixty years to the ridge since the time of highest post glacial sea level, contains the house pits, burials, cache pits, and other remains of people who have inhabited these beaches for 5,000 or 6,000 years. Adjacent to the ridges are older surface deposits, extending the cultural record backward in time. This site places in a broad, horizontal stratigraphy practically all phases of culture known from northwestern Alaska and has made possible the definition of several new phases. Among these are the Old Whaling culture and two aspects of much earlier stone work from the Palisades site. Cape Krusenstern is significant in bringing together at one locality the evidence that men have been hunting at the seashores of western Alaska since the earliest post-glacial beaches first began to form. This site, not yet fully described, is discussed on pages 40-48.

Features and Condition: The archeological features, especially the older ones, must be meticulously sought out; hence, the wealth of the site can only be guessed at. Of the more obvious later houses and other pits, perhaps one-quarter have been excavated.

Principal References:

Giddings, J. L.
Cape Krusenstern Beach Ridges, Alaska.

Courtesy U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
CAMPUS

Location: On the University of Alaska campus five miles west of Fairbanks.

Ownership: University of Alaska.

Significance: A deposit of stone artifacts in shallow soil at the brow of a former river bank terrace, this excavated site first brought to light in the western American Arctic microblades and cores in association. These were identified with similar objects from the Gobi desert and other parts of Asia as a first factual demonstration in Alaska of early Alaskan-Asian contacts. The site is discussed on page 92.

Features and Condition: The site lies along the edge of a steep slope at the edge of the University of Alaska campus, and it appears to be nearly depleted.

Principal References:

Nelson, N. C.

Rainey, Froelich G.

Campus Site. University of Alaska Campus, College, Alaska.

Photo, 1961
Location: In a fjord of Shelikof Strait on the north side of Kodiak Island.

Ownership:

Significance: This stratified site, almost completely excavated in five seasons, exposed a midden deposit probably 2,000 years old. It is the source from which Hrdlicka derived his theory of a pre-Koniag people who, with their culture, were distinct from the later Koniag, both of whom he distinguished from Eskimos and related to distant Indians. More recent studies stress continuities between the Uyak levels and see the site as basically Eskimoan throughout. This site is discussed on page 87.

Features and Condition: The Uyak site was located on a small, rocky point, perhaps for protection as well as its sea-hunting and fishing advantages. After five years of work, the site was entirely excavated by personnel of the Smithsonian Institution.

Principal References:

Collins, Henry B.

Heizer, Robert F.

Hrdlicka, Ales.
Uyak Site, Uyak Bay, Koniak Island, Alaska.

Photo 1935, Alex Hrdlicka, Courtesy Smithsonian Institution
Kotzebue (The Modern Eskimo)

Location: On a peninsula in Kotzebue Sound, part of the Chukchi Sea.

Ownership: Native Village Council.

Features and Condition: This native Eskimo Village is thoroughly discussed on pp. 106-113. The modern village is sitting alongside and on top of a much earlier site dating back to 1400 A.D. The older site is important as outlining for the first time a coast-inland emphasis in culture. The present day village consists of quonset huts and frame buildings which are relatively uninteresting. Native dances, blanket tossing and sled rides on wheeled vehicles are presented for the benefit of the tourists.

Nome (The Modern Eskimo)

Nome is situated on the southern coast of the Seward Peninsula, on the shore of Norton Sound and the Bering Sea.

Here in the vicinity of Nome are to be found summer settlements of King Island Eskimos who appear to have been greatly altered in their traditional ways of life, due to the close proximity of the city. These people still carry on extensive ivory carving which is produced chiefly for the tourist trade.

Pribilof Islands - St. George and St. Paul Island (Modern Aleuts)

Discovered by Gerassim Pribilof in 1786 and 1787, the Russians settled Aleuts permanently on these islands for the purpose of hunting the fur seals. In 1870 the Pribilof Islands were leased by the United States Government to the Alaska Commercial Company, and since 1910 the Pribilof Islands have been managed by the United States Government. The Aleuts today still hunt the fur seals with methods and techniques that have been employed in the fur
trade since 1787, but otherwise appear to have lost most of their ancient culture. Residing in modern frame cottages provided by the U.S. Government, attending modern schools, and still of the Greek Orthodox faith, the Aleuts of Pribilof Island have abandoned their ancient customs.

Unalaska (Modern Aleuts), Recommended for Further Study of Aleuts

Location: The Village of Unalaska (or Iliuliuk) is located on the northeastern side of Unalaska Island, in the eastern Aleutian Islands.

Significance: The Aleutian Islands were the setting of the first "swarming of the Promyshlenniki." By 1760 these fearless and ruthless Russian fur traders had pushed eastward from Asia through the Aleutian chain to the great island of Unalaska, near the Alaskan mainland. The Aleuts, forced to hunt for furs by the Russians, arose against them in desperation on Unalaska and its neighboring islands in 1763 and met with temporary success. The following year, however, the promyshlenniki, led by Ivan Solovief, crushed the Aleuts with an iron hand and thus completed the subjection of these people. Between 1766 and 1770, Solovief established a Russian fur trading post at the head of Iliuliak Bay, now the site of the village of Unalaska.

Father Ivan Veniaminov, the most famous churchman in Russian America, arrived at this village in 1824. His parish for the next 10 years included the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands. In 1825 he established a school at Unalaska for the native children, and here, in 1826, he also dedicated a Greek Orthodox church. By 1834, when he was transferred to Sitka,
Veniaminov had mastered the Aleut language, invented an Aleut alphabet, compiled a grammar of the Aleut-Fox language, and translated the sacred books of the Bible into native tongue.

**Condition of Site:** The village of Unalaska today has a population of some 400 people, of whom nearly all are Aleuts. The present Russian Orthodox Church, which is still the faith of the Aleuts, was erected in 1894. The Aleuts have given up their ancient sod houses and live in small frame houses modeled on those of the white man. Compared to the Aleuts of the government-managed Pribilof Islands, the Aleuts of Unalaska appear to be left much to their own means. Location of the Russian-Aleut battlefields could perhaps be determined, but only after extensive historical research in primary sources, and field investigations on the island have been completed. Islands in the Aleutian chain located west of Unalaska have not been visited by members of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.
Sites Also Noted

A few archeological sites that did not fit readily into the textual treatment of this report may be placed on record for some special promise which they hold or because they have been treated in print. They are not necessarily secondary in the sense of being less extensive than others. Since most of the shoreline of Alaska is presumed by this author to be almost continuously studded with the leavings of former residents, any listing of sites should be read as the fragment of a developing story. Archeological writings on Alaska may be consulted for the locations of many sites which are not included in this limited report.

St. Lawrence Island

Kialagus, Southeast Cape.

Two mounds, one 18 feet deep and the other 8 feet deep, were tested by Collins in 1929 and found to contain rich deposits mainly of Punuk culture. Though pillaged often by native ivory hunters, the site is largely extant. (Collins, 1937, p. 29.)

Siknik

A large mound and burial site called Siknik lies on beach ridges at the mouth of a large lagoon on the south side of the island. In the vicinity of some of the burials were observed polar bear skulls in great number, some partly buried. Cavities in the skulls indicated removal of the brains (Geist and Rainey, 1936, pp. 36-37). This is the place of burial of a giant who figures in St. Lawrence my-
thology (Ackerman, 1959, p. 32). The site is largely intact.

Kitneapalok

This site on a high bank at a favorite seal and bird-hunting place appears to have the remains of many aspects of St. Lawrence Island culture in the form of isolated house pits and small middens. Tests in middens have been made (Collins, 1937, p. 26) and a house pit of rounded outlines dug (Giddings, 1957, p. 132), but the site appears to be extensive enough to warrant further excavation even though deep middens probably do not exist.

S'keliyuk

Located some ten miles east of Savoonga, this appears to be a relatively pure site of the period of Birnirk to Punuk transition. It was tested in 1958 (Ackerman, 1959, p. 35).

Mirrukta and Missugameet

These are two tested sites of some extent located a few miles east of Gambell, yet representing apparently only the time between Punuk and recent culture (Collins, 1937, pp. 27, 191-92; Geist and Rainey, 1936, p. 32).

Chukchi Sea

Shishmaref

The first site of note as one travels from Cape Prince of Wales northward about the rim of the Chukchi Sea is the village of Shishmaref and its adjacent mounds and depressions. No planned excavations have been made at Shishmaref; yet collections purchased from natives show that many houses and burials in sand dunes on, or just
behind, the current ocean beach represent from 100 to 300 years of occupation. The Eskimos who have lived at the opening of the excellent Shishmaref inlet and harbor seem to have more in common with the Eskimos of Wales than with those of Kotzebue Sound. Their sea hunting weapons were made largely of ivory, and their way of life has emphasized the sea hunt far more than the quest of inland game which characterizes the sites of Kotzebue Sound. Whaling was practiced here, as it was at Wales.

Aleutians

Kiska Island

Five sites were extensively excavated by Hrdlicka on the large island of Kiska and Little Kiska, a small island across Kiska Harbour. These appear to be all large, thick midden deposits.

Amchitka Island

Several deep middens were extensively sampled by Hrdlicka in 1937 (Hrdlicka, 1938). Dall worked here earlier.

Tanaga Island

Visited by Hrdlicka, 1945, who recovered materials from "despoiled" burial caves and reported other sites (Hrdlicka, 1945). Bank (1953, p. 42) mentions minor excavations here by members of his party.

Adak Island

Hrdlicka (1945, p. 317) reports large sites on Adak but did not excavate. Dall and, later, Bank (1953, p. 42) made some excavations.
Atka Island

Two ancient village sites at Atxalax and Balaca were excavated by Jochelson (1925, pp. 26-29), and limited excavations were carried out by Hrdlicka (1945, pp. 219 and 319) and Bank (1953, p. 42).

Alelia Island

Jochelson (1925, p. 122) reported a burial cave at the east end.

Cook Inlet

Passage Island (in Graham Harbor)

This represents the last stage of Kachemak Bay culture at this point.

Halibut Cove (Eastern shore Kachemak Bay)

Sizeable middens here and in another site at a point west of Halibut Cove represent Kachemak Bay III and later culture.

Aurora (Eastern shore Kachemak Bay, Kenai Peninsula)

This is a rich midden containing late Kachemak Bay III culture.

Homer

Several shell heaps and house ruins are reported here.

Prince William Sound

Hinchinbrook Island, "Big Village"

A midden 75 feet long by 50 feet wide is three feet deep, at least, in places. Its age may be as great as that of Palugvik (de Laguna, 1956, p. 15).
"Like A Cave" (on Hawkins Island)

This site, a quarter of a mile west of Balugvik, was originally a rock shelter, though its floor is now covered with beach gravel through settling of the land. Paintings are to be seen along the face of the cliff for a distance of fifteen feet (de Laguna, 1956, p. 17).

"Where Someone Cries"

This is an extensive midden on Hawkins Island at the top of a steep bank and thus above danger from land subsidence. Two rows of shallow depressions may be house pits and the midden promises to be deep (de Laguna, 1956, p. 19).

Southeastern Alaska

Daxatkanada Island

This is a small island near Angoon to the north, occupied until recently, and once the site of a native fort (de Laguna, 1960, pp. 94-97).

Pillsbury Point

Near Daxatkanada Island, this site contains a rich midden deposit (de Laguna, 1960, pp. 94-97).

Kotzebue Sound

Kiwalik

A beach site at the mouth of Kiwalik River across the river from Deering village contains about thirty recent house pits. One house was excavated by Larsen's party in 1949 (Larsen, 1951, p. 87,
Kugruk River Mouth

A series of beach ridges contains several house and other pits, probably no more than 500 years old. None has been excavated.

Point Barrow Eastward

Kugok

A group of burial mounds of Birnirk and Western Thule affiliation excavated in part by Ford (1959, pp. 25-32).

Muwuk

A sizeable village occupied until 1936 at the Point Barrow itself. Apparently all recent. (Ford, 1959, p. 18.)

Anderson Point

A house mound of late Birnirk age may have been the remnant of a larger site on this rapidly eroding shoreline (Giddings, 1957a). It was located on Beaufort Sea a few miles west of Anderson Point itself, where are found remains of a recent village and summer camp.

Barter Island

Two old village sites have been tested here and their materials described in part (Mathiassen, 1930, pp. 20-30). They appear to be quite recent.

Norton Sound

Gungnuk

A site of several house pits, apparently of pure Norton culture. One excavated house yielded materials to be used in defining
Norton culture.

**Madjujuinyuk**

A pure site of Norton culture on a high bench overlooking Norton Bay, a few miles west of Iyatayet.

**Difchahak**

A site of 99 house pits one mile south of Shaktoolik—apparently a village of one late aspect of Norton culture.

**East Central Alaska**

**Birch Lake**

A microblade site, now destroyed by road-building activities sixty miles southeast of Fairbanks (Skarland and Giddings, 1948).
APPENDIX I

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF SITES

The National Park Service has adopted the following criteria for selection of sites of exceptional value.

1. Structures or sites in which the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation is best exemplified, and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage. Such sites are naturally the points or bases from which the broad aspects of prehistoric and historic American life can best be presented.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

3. Structures or sites associated with important events which are symbolic of some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type-specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect whose individual genius reflected his age.

5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

6. All historical and archeological sites and structures in order to meet the standards of exceptional importance should have integrity; that is, there should not be doubts as to whether it is the original site or building, original material or workmanship, and original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may also be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule be eligible for consideration.
Indigenous People and Cultures

SPECIAL STUDY—ALASKA ABORIGINAL CULTURE

Working List

Sites Recommended for Classification as Having Exceptional Value:

1. Palugvik, Hawkins Island, near Cordova, in Prince William Sound. This marks the eastern range of Eskimo archeology in southern Alaska and helps to clarify the relationship of Eskimos to Tlingit Indians. Criteria 5 & 6.

2. Yukon Island Main Site, south side of Yukon Island in Kachemak Bay of Cook Inlet. This is the oldest and most continuously occupied of the Cook Inlet sites that collectively led to the definition of Kachemak Bay Culture. Criteria 5 & 6.

3. Chaluka, on Umnak Island adjacent to the existing village of Nikolski. This large village mound appears to hold all periods of culture so far identified in the region. Chaluka promoted the first careful stratigraphic treatment of a single large site in the Aleutians. Criteria 5 & 6.

4. Iyatayet, on the northwest side of Cape Denbigh, Norton Bay. This is one of the earliest sites yet found in Alaska. It is the type site for the Norton culture which flourished from 500 B.C. to 300 A.D. This site has already been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as eligible for Registered National Landmark status under Theme I.

5. Gambell, Northwest Cape, St. Lawrence Island. Here, through the seriation of sites and artifacts, and by stratigraphic means, was first worked out the sequence of cultures on St. Lawrence Island, which provided a standard by which the accumulated Eskimo prehistory could be ordered. These were the first sites in the greater Bering Strait Region to be scientifically investigated and completely reported upon Criteria 1, 5, & 6.

6. Wales, Cape Prince of Wales, Seward Peninsula. The Wales complex includes sites dating from very early, up to and including, a living Eskimo community and thus encompasses the American equivalent of Asian sites from Birnirk to the present day. Criteria 5 & 6.
7. **Ipuitak, Point Hope, Chukchi Sea.** This is a large spectacular Paleo-Eskimo site with house remains and elaborate burials. This site has already been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as eligible for Registered National Landmarks Status under Theme I.

8. **Point Hope Village, (Tigara), Point Hope, Chukchi Sea.** Old and New Tigara form a late prehistoric and living Eskimo community preserving a way of life rapidly disappearing in Alaska, and for that matter in the United States. The old town contains great quantities of sod houses, and many of the ancient arts and crafts are still practiced by the villagers today, including summer sledding. Criteria 1, 5 & 6.

9. **Kugusugark, Point Barrow area, Arctic Ocean.** The remarkably preserved human and artifactual remains from frozen mounds at this site defined a western Thule-like culture of whalers, later called "Birnirk" culture. Criteria 5 & 6.

10. **Birnirk, Point Barrow, Arctic Ocean,** In this series of mounds was established the stratigraphy and seriation which shows the cultural development of the Point Barrow region from Birnirk times forward to the present day. Criteria 5 & 6.

11. **Barrow Village, Point Barrow, Arctic Ocean,** A living native community still practicing many of their ancient arts and crafts. This village along with the other sites on Point Barrow such as Nos. 9 & 10 listed above, form a complete cultural complex from a very early period to the present. Criteria 5 & 6.

12. **Anaktuvuk Pass, Brooks Range Mountain Pass between the upper Koyukuk River and the Colville River drainage.** The pass, two miles wide and twelve miles long, has long been a major through-way for game, and therefore man from the arboreal forests on the south to the tundra on the north. Indications are that this pass has been used by man shortly after the Wisconsin glaciation ended and other sites form a more or less continuous series to the present day. The present day living remnant form an excellent example of inland Eskimo. Criteria 5 & 6.

13. **Saxman Totem Park, Ketchikan.** This park contains an excellent collection of Tlingit wood carvings gathered from the abandoned Indian towns of Southeastern Alaska. Criteria 5 & 6.

14. **Totem Bight Park, Ketchikan.** This park contains an excellent collection of Tlingit wood carvings and one of the only two surviving examples of an Indian community house once so prevalent in Southeastern Alaska. Criteria 5 & 6.

15. **Shakes Island, Wrangell,** This Park contains an excellent collection of unusual totem poles and the only other remaining Indian Community House in this part of Alaska. Criteria 5 & 6.
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Notes:
- Recent Thule-Punuk
- Recent Nuuk-Kiwalk
- Shesuak-Krusestern
- Birnirk Kugusugaruk
- Hillside Okvik Punuk Island
- Little Diomedge
- Difchahak Norton Iyatayet
- Gungnuk Madjujuinyuk
- Choris Cape Espen-berg
- Krugloi Pt. Yukon Isl.
- Battle Rock Battle Rock
- Old Whaling Old Whaling
- Kruzenstern Kruzenstern
- Late Denigh Flint Flint
- Palisades II Palisades II

Legend:
- Highest Level
- Sea Level
- Krusenstern Lower Bench
- Arctic Wood-Dixhade Island, or Athapascan Ambler Island (Old Fish Camp?)
- Ekseavik Onion Portag
- (Pre-Koniag?) Uvak
- (Tuluak?) (Campus?)
- (Aleutian) Anan-blades?
- (Micro-) Anan-gula
- (Imagensik?)