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RESEARCH

The "Living Yamal" Project and Surveys of the Russian Arctic

---William W. Fitzhugh

1994 brought exciting new developments in the area of Russian field studies. When I returned from Baffin Island in September 1993, I discovered Igor Krupnik had been busy over the summer developing a response to an **Amoco Eurasia Corporation** inquiry about Smithsonian interests in field studies in the Yamal Peninsula, a huge tongue of land extending north of the mouth of the Ob River east of the Ural Mountains. Amoco had entered into partnership with the Russian company Nadym Gazprom (NGP) and was looking for ways to lessen the impact of possible gas and oil development on the native cultures and their way of life. Upon my return Igor and I prepared the "Living Yamal" project proposal, and it was accepted by Amoco for a preliminary year, with possible renewal.

"Living Yamal" seeks to document cultural resources and develop research strategies promoting the understanding, preservation, and protection of the cultural and historical legacy of the peoples of the Yamal region. The project includes archeological surveys and excava-

tions, ethnography, archival and historical studies, filming, museum exhibition development, native training, and publication. In addition to myself and Krupnik, the project team includes **Andrei Golovnev, Vladimir Pitul'ko, Sven Haakansen,** and others. The work is being pursued in collaboration with several Russian institutions.

Initial fieldwork was conducted in July and August in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District, Russian Republic, in cooperation with the Ural Institute of History and Archeology in Yekaterinburg with assistance from the Institute of Material Culture Studies in St. Petersburg. Concurrent with our field surveys, Igor began archival studies in Moscow.

In addition to funding and assistance from Amoco Eurasia Corporation we received logistic and material support from NGP, which supplied helicopter transport for movements between our survey areas in the Yamal region. We also received assistance in the field from the Bovanyenkovo camps, from the Nenets Vanuyto-Serotetto camp, and from the Morzhovaya Arctic Weather Station near Kharasavey.

Our project began in early July in Nadym, a Russian industrial city located along the old rail line built across the northern edge of the tree line by Stalin to service some of his first gulag camps. Once oriented and with transport arranged through NGP we flew to Salekhard where we met



Russian Arctic coast survey team (from left to right): Ted Carpenter, Andrei Golovnev, Vladimir Pitulko, Sven Haakanson, Vlacheslav Makeyev, and William Fitzhugh. (Photo by A. Carpenter)

Andrei Golovnev and his team who were excavating the Ust-Poluy site dug in 1935-36 by Adrianov. From there Golovnev, Pitul'ko, Haakansen, and I flew to the Bovoyenkovo gas camp which was our staging point for surveys. For the next three weeks we had a marvelous time, spending a week each in three different areas of the Yamal. First we rafted a couple hundred km's down the Syoyakha River from Lake Neyto to Bovanyenkovo and found scores of old Nenets camps, including many ceramic period sites (2000-500 BP). The high point of this trip was our encounter with a group of Nenets reindeer herders who hosted us for two days and clothed us in reindeer-skin garments and robes; permitted us to be nosy with our cameras and videos; and generously shared much of their remarkable culture with us. Sven became fast friends with the camp's young men and learned a few new fishing tricks to take home to Kodiak. He hopes to return to conduct ethnoarcheological studies here in 1995.

The second phase of our program brought us to Tiutey Sale (Walrus

Cape) north of Kharasavey. Here Chernetsov had reported a large pre-Nenets site in 1928-29 which he thought dated to the 11th C AD. We surveyed a large area of the "Walrus" River, finding many Nenets camps, but no sign of Chernetsov's site. Near midnight one evening I found what had to be the last remnants of the old Tiutey Sale site, situated at the top of a high permafrost bluff overlooking the river. Ceramics, preserved wood, bronze and copper artifacts, bone and antler tools--even the remains of a few housepits should give us a chance to establish the reality of Chernetsov's claim for an ancient Eskimo-like arctic maritime adaptation in the Yamal.

Our third survey region was in northeastern Yamal at Drovyanoy Factoria. Thinking we would take advantage of the luxuries of the old Soviet military camp life, we arrived at this "Ultima Thule" at the extremity of the Yamal only to find the base deserted. Apparently abandoned in 1991, the site was littered with trucks, radar equipment, dried fish, and crates of unused diesel engines. "KGB Chief" Golovnev, "Admiral"

Fitzhugh, "Radio Marshall" Pitul'ko, and "Investigator" Haakansen quickly took up residence in the best of the military housing and spent three days as undisputed Commandants of the armies of mice, lemmings, sparrows, and ravens that are now remodelling the station into an archeological site. In addition to contributions to Russian military archeology, we found a Nenets shaman's cache in a blowout on the outskirts of the base, with god figures, magic stones, shaman's magic bows and arrows, and a pendant made of a 3-kopek coin dating to 1932. We presented these finds to the Yar Sale Museum in November when Igor Krupnik, Andrei, and I returned to Salekhard to report on our findings to the local community. And then there came the profile of our work in the Yamal in a lead article by Michael Specter in Science Times on 22 November.

Michael Specter is a fabulous reporter, but this piece gave the impression that we had discovered a "lost tribe," a "relic" of the past, rather than the point we felt was important: that Nenets reindeer-herders in the Yamal demonstrated remarkable commitment and success in preserving their traditions, even in the face of Soviet oppression and oil and gas development. Development and traditional culture may not necessarily be incompatible, at least in this case. Unfortunately we were not able to review the story for accuracy before printing, and our intended message was somewhat lost in the journalistic pitch.

Survey of the Kara Sea Coast

Drovyanoy marked the midpoint of the summer: the end of our Amoco sponsored program and beginning of a survey of the Russian arctic coast aboard the Russian hydrographic survey vessel, Yakov Smirnitskij. The Yakov had been chartered by Texas



Nenets at Syoyakha River Camp, July 1994 (Photo by W. Fitzhugh)

A&M University to conduct pollution studies of the Russian arctic coast and rivers, and with the assistance of the **Rock Foundation**, we secured a place aboard as the vessel moved east along the Kara Sea coast from the Yamal into the Laptev Sea. Our destination was Zhokov Island, northeast of the New Siberian Islands, where **Pitul'ko** found a perfectly preserved 8000 year old Mesolithic village site (*Arctic Anthropology* 1993) in 1989. **Adelaide and Ted Carpenter** and **Vlacheslav Makeyev** (Director, Research Institute of Nature Conservation of the Arctic and the North) joined us for this survey. The **Yakov** was a perfect home for our project, with an expert and highly sociable crew. Texas A&M and their VICAAR agents in St. Petersburg had done a great job stocking the vessel with food and equipment, including an INMARSAT telephone.

For the next three weeks we visited many coastal locations: Sho'kalskii Island; the lower Yenesei River; and the islands north of the Pyasina River in western Taimyr. Our zodiac proved a perfect means of transport. But soon it was late August, and time was working against us. As the time for my participation in the AAAS-RAS "Bridges for Science" meetings in Vladivostok (Aug. 29-3 Sept.) arrived, I found myself in the middle of Vil'kitskii Strait between the northern tip of Taimyr and Bolshevik Island, frozen fast in 2-meter thick arctic pack and awaiting arrival of two Russian nuclear icebreakers that had promised to break a path and tow us into the open Laptev Sea. They did finally show, and for one chaotic hour we forged ahead, though being pummeled near to death by massive chunks of ice churning beneath our hull in the **Vaigach's** powerful wake. Soon I felt a great jolt followed by a throbbing vibration that could only mean: a damaged propeller. A look over the stern was not

reassuring; transmission oil was streaming to the surface. **Yakov** was hopelessly crippled. There were no repair facilities between us and Kamchatka. Within minutes we had begun a 180 degree turn, breaking our way back the way we had come, to the west. Zhokov and the Laptev would have to wait another season.

Our work in August confirmed suspicions that the archeology of the Kara Sea coast is limited by a combination of inadequate marine resource base and extensive coastal erosion. Our efforts failed to locate any early archeological remains in the eastern Kara Sea, lower Yenesei, or Pyasina Islands. Remains of historic reindeer herding sites, burials, and caches were found, but nothing earlier than the 19th C. No bronze or ceramic period sites, and no trace of lithic sites. Today there seems to be little evidence of occupation of the arctic islands and outer coast until "Pomor" hunters and trappers expanded into this region from the west, in the 16th C. Today immigrants from the south have also appeared. But there are very few signs of Native camps on the Taimyr coast outside of the Yenesei Valley. Murky silt-ridden water, rapid sedimentation, and inundation of the coast by fresh water restrict the productivity of the marine ecology; and absence of wild reindeer, whose northern limits mostly remain south of the arctic coast (at least in historic times) make subsistence economies on land tenuous.

The final crushing blow is a consequence of glacial history and modern hydrography. Glaciers were not present in most of these regions in the Quaternary, so there is little uplift. And with the massive river runoff depositing millions of tons of silt annually, arctic coastal regions have been under geological subsidence for thousands of years. Submergence, melting permafrost, and undercutting of banks have destroyed all but the

most recent coastal and riverside sites, leaving only interior lake sites as potential archeological resources. Conditions in Laptev may be different, but it looks as though we are not going to find evidence of intensive arctic maritime cultures in this part of the Russian arctic. But the "archeology of abandonment" -- military bases, cities, weather station, gulags, and exile village archeology--provide archeological treasures.

Research in the Western Aleutian Islands:

1994 Field Season - Shemya

---Stephen Loring

Having completed a third field season, the Western Aleutian Human Paleoecology and Biodiversity Project (WAHPBP) continues as an international, interdisciplinary research initiative set in the Near Islands, the western-most of the Aleutian chain. Building upon earlier Smithsonian scholarship by W.H. Dall, L. Stejneger, and A. Hrdlicka (focused on the possibility that the Aleutians served as a pathway for human entry into the New World), we seek to understand the social and ecological constraints that figured in the emergence of cultural complexity in this remote archipelago (among the most geographically isolated landscapes ever colonized by maritime hunter-gatherers), and to examine long term changes in regional and interregional biodiversity, biogeography and paleoecology.

The WAHPBP initiative is based on the premise that data pertaining to cultural and ecological changes in the North Pacific region are available from multidisciplinary archeological investigations of early human settlements. The ancient Aleuts, who colonized the Near Islands around 3500 years ago, participated in the rapidly changing events that charac-

terized global climate and environmental change during the Holocene. While the prehistory of the Western Aleutians has been broadly sketched out and regional sequences established, there have been few attempts to interpret intraregional cultural dynamics, social organization, and population demography. The WAHPBP research initiative provides an opportunity to study the relationship between maritime-based economy, the causes and consequences of sedentism, and the social strategies that enabled such geographically remote populations to thrive, as well as to further explore the possibilities of external contacts with the Eastern Aleutians, the Alaskan mainland, and Asia.

The research is closely coordinated with the Aleut Corporation that retains title to many Near Island habitation sites. Sadly, there are today few surviving Attuans, the native Near Islanders, who were displaced during WWII, and subsequently denied the opportunity to return to their native villages. The project hopes to encourage and inspire interest by Aleut students and policy makers in participating in this program which celebrates the accomplishments of their ancestors.

Fieldwork to date has been designed to determine the viability of the projects goals, and work out the practicality of logistical arrangements and methodology. In 1992 a small block excavation was conducted on the large midden mound on Little Kiska, the western-most of the Rat Islands, a site previously dug by Ales Hrdlicka in 1936. The large collections Hrdlicka accumulated from sites throughout the Aleutian chain (including Little Kiska) have never been systematically analyzed or described. By returning to the same sites that Hrdlicka sampled, and by excavating carefully controlled units, we can fold the material

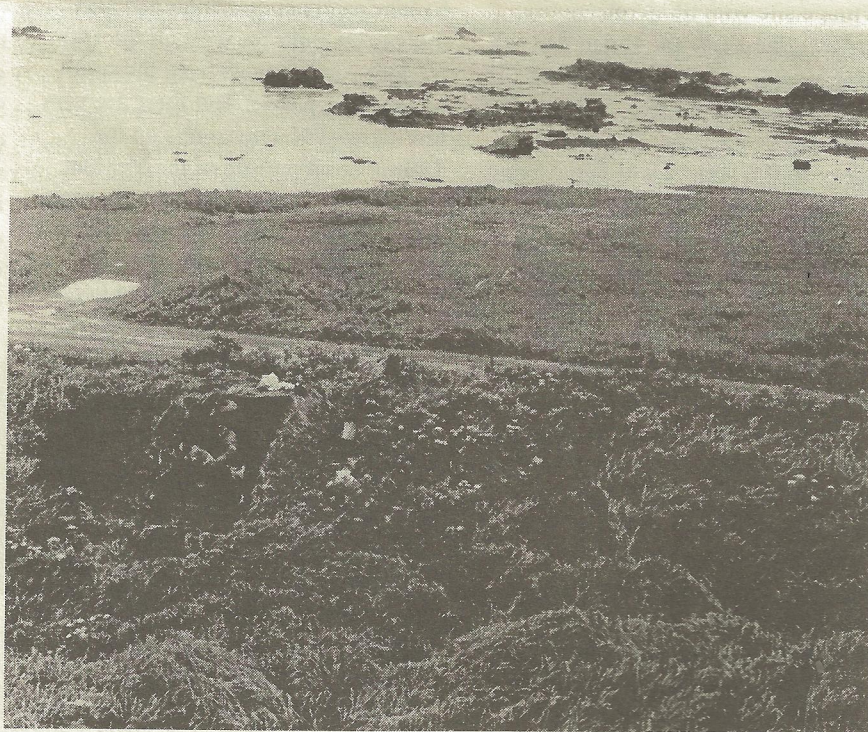
Hrdlicka collected into our smaller but well-dated assemblages.

The 1993 field-season was spent on Buldir, a tiny volcanic island halfway between the Rat Island group to the east and the Near Island group to the west. It is by far the most remote island in the entire Aleutian archipelago and a critical geographical point in the drama of the peopling of the Aleutians. An extraordinary midden, now perhaps 60% eroded, is unusual in the Aleutians for its anaerobic conditions, resulting in the complete preservation of wood, feathers, and other organic materials.

During the 1994 field-season, the first in the Near Islands proper, we had intended to work on Agattu. However logistical problems caused us to focus on Nizki briefly before finally washing up on Shemya where, in the course of our month-long stay,

we were able to sample all of the extant sites on the island plus conduct a limited block excavation at one. Shemya, easternmost of the Near Island group, has an areal extent of only 14 km². Much of the island is a gradually sloping plateau dotted with ponds. Steep cliffs on the north side of the island front the Bering Sea and loom over several sheltered bays that contain broad wave-cut terraces and extensive offshore reefs. The island experienced a massive military buildup during WWII and has subsequently served as an important air base and surveillance facility for the United States Air Force. With the thawing of Cold War tensions the base on Shemya is in the process of being deactivated.

Joining me on Shemya were colleagues **Douglas Siegel-Causey** (Univ. Nebraska), **Christine Lefevre**



Beginning of block excavation at SH-3, Shemya, Near Islands in the western Aleutians, August 1994. (Photo by S. Loring)

(Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris), **Debra Corbett** (U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, Anchorage), and **Arkady Savinetskii** (Severtsov Institute of Evolutionary Animal Morphology and Ecology, Moscow). Additional crew members included **Don Holly** (Pennsylvania State Univ.), **Leslie Freund** (Univ. Nebraska), **Tori Oliver** (Smithsonian), **Bruce Sterling** and **Dixie West** (Univ. Kansas).

For our fieldwork on Shemya we had three concurrent field agendas: a systematic site survey/site assessment reconnaissance under the direction of Debra Corbett; the acquisition of paleoenvironmental and biodiversity data by Siegel-Causey and Savinetskii; and a block excavation at the most promising of the ancient midden sites --Shemya 3-- directed by Loring.

Aerial photographs taken in 1943 revealed Shemya-3 to be a large intact village site with numerous housepit depressions and an extensive midden. Sadly WWII construction activities drove a road through the center of the village incorporating much of the upper portion of the site in berms and roadbeds. A portion of the site that appeared to be relatively undisturbed was selected for excavation. However, once underway, it became apparent that our expectations had to be revised. Our excavation encountered nearly a meter of artifact-rich bulldozed midden laying on top of almost two meters of intact, undisturbed, stratified deposits. In the three weeks that we worked at Shemya-3 we excavated a 6x2 meter block to a depth of nearly two meters.

A single shallow pit feature was revealed in the course of excavation, numerous bone and lithic artifacts recovered, and a large faunal sample collected. Fortunately we were able to get radiocarbon datable materials from the intact portions of the site as well as an artifact assemblage to

augment the collection derived from the upper disturbed levels. The Shemya collection provides us with an excellent set of materials to serve as a comparative base for subsequent work in the Near Islands. It also amplifies and expands the usefulness of a series of collections, now housed at the Smithsonian, that were made during WWII by officers and enlisted men stationed on the island. Most importantly, the recovery of a large faunal sample contributes to the development of the regional and temporal mosaic of animal species distribution and demography in the North Pacific-Beringian regions which is a principal feature of this research initiative.

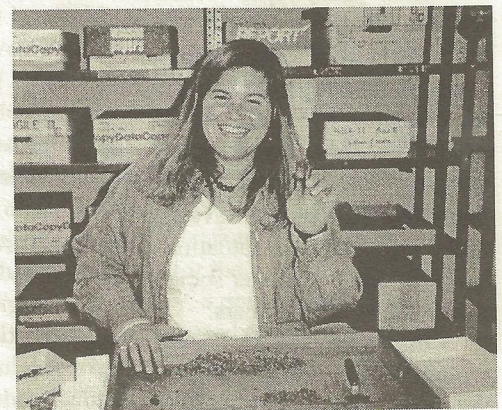
Some indication of the potential for the paleobiological component of our research design is already apparent. Preliminary analysis of the Little Kiska, Buldir and Shemya middens indicates that some avian species have dramatically different ranges and population dynamics in prehistory when compared with contemporary distributions. For example, the high incidence of Short-tailed albatross (*Diomedea albatrus*) bones in the Shemya middens indicate a major concentration of the animals in the vicinity ca. 2000 years ago. Today the Short-tailed albatross is limited to a single population that nests on an island off the south coast of Japan. Similarly, Siegel-Causey's analysis of the faunal material recovered between 1927-1937 by Smithsonian archeologists excavating sites on St. Lawrence Island, Kodiak Island, and in the Aleutians reveals large-scale changes in the Beringian maritime avifauna during the late Holocene.

Both the biological and cultural agendas of WAHPBP converge on the possibility of discovering the remains of Steller's sea cows (*Hydrodamalis gigas*) in the Western Aleutian

middens. The sea cow is known from Pleistocene fossils throughout the Aleutians and from the Kommandarskii Islands where it was exterminated by the Russians in 1768. While apparently unknown in the Western Aleutians at the time of Russian contact, the sea cow may have figured significantly in the initial colonization of the Near Islands. Fieldwork planned in 1995 will be the first opportunity we have had to locate and sample sites dating to the initial occupation of the Western Aleutians and to determine the nature of the mid-Holocene faunal communities.

WAHPBP research results provide a provocative new source of data for conservation and wildlife policy makers by providing a heretofore unavailable time depth to the dynamics of biological communities in this portion of the North Pacific.

Laboratory processing of the midden samples from Little Kiska and from Shemya, as well as artifact cataloging and preliminary analysis, continues at the Arctic Studies Center lab facility at the Museum Support Center (MSC). Supervised by ASC research assistant **Tori Oliver** are



Tori Oliver oversees analysis of flotation samples recovered from excavations on Little Kiska and Shemya Islands at the ASC research lab at the Museum Support Center (MSC), Silver Hills, Maryland. (Photo by S. Loring)

volunteers **Vivian Morris, Kelly Tourcotte, and Leslie Hines.**

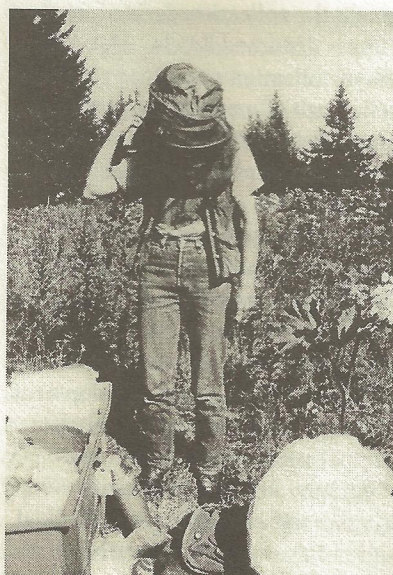
1994 fieldwork was funded by the **National Geographic Society** and the **Smithsonian Institution** with additional support from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the United States Air Force, and the University of Nebraska. A conspicuous debt of gratitude is owed to both **Commanding Officer Col. Johnny Jarnagin** and the personnel of the **673 ABG/CC of the United States Air Force**, Eareckson Air Force Base, Shemya, Alaska for their extraordinary kindness and unstinting support for our research efforts and, to **Reeves Aleutian Air** without whose generosity our research would have been severely curtailed.

Archeology and Dynamic Coastal Environments in the Gulf of Alaska

---Aron Crowell

The Gulf of Alaska, located at the contact between the Pacific and North American tectonic plates, is a highly unstable zone affected by frequent earthquakes, faulting and vertical movements in the earth's crust, and volcanic eruptions. Glacial advances and retreats from ice fields in the coastal mountain ranges contribute to the geological dynamism of the region. The Gulf is biologically and culturally rich, with fish, bird and sea mammal resources that have supported large human populations and complex hunter-gatherer societies for at least the last 7000 years.

Current archeological and geological research sponsored by the National Park Service (Alaska Regional Office) focuses on construction of a regional model of prehistoric economy and settlement patterns considering Holocene sea level changes, glacial advances and retreats, and the spatial distributions of subsistence resources along the



Mosquitos attack NPS archeologist Jeanne Schaaf, Kenai Fjords National Park. (Photo by A. Crowell)

southern Alaska coast. The five Gulf of Alaska national parks -- Katmai, Kenai Fjords, Lake Clark, Wrangell-St. Elias and Glacier Bay -- provide a spatially dispersed set of study areas that sample the full west to east spectrum of Gulf environments.

Field work at Kenai Fjords and Katmai National Parks (both in the western Gulf) was carried out in 1993 and 1994 under the direction of **Aron Crowell**, with co-principal investigators **Daniel Mann** (Department of Geology and Geophysics, University of Alaska, Fairbanks), **Frederic Wilson**, and **Thomas Hamilton** (both with the U.S. Geological Survey). Project management at NPS has been handled by **Jeanne Schaaf** and Regional Archeologist **Gary Somers**. Participants in the field research included NPS staff archeologists and graduate students, among them Baffin Island veteran **Patrick Saltonstall**, now at the University of Wisconsin.

Results from the 1993 and 1994 seasons confirm the importance of geological variables for the interpretation of coastal site distributions. The outer coast of the Kenai Peninsula

(Kenai Fjords N.P.), has undergone repeated episodes of catastrophic subsidence in association with great earthquakes, including the Good Friday event in 1964. 1993 field investigations date the last such event to about 1090 A.D. Although sudden downwarping episodes are followed by a rapid "rebound" phase, coastal archeological sites (and living villages as well) are in the meantime exposed to wave erosion and destroyed. As a result, only one site older than 1000 years has been found in the park, and its earliest occupation occurred only 1700 years old.

Glacial advances during the Little Ice Age (1100-1850 A.D.), studied in 1993 using tree ring dates and geomorphological evidence, may have destroyed other sites in Kenai Fjords, and also directly influenced the lives of late prehistoric inhabitants.

Overall, it appears that the Kenai Fjords environment has been relatively hostile to human habitation (avalanches and extreme storm waves are additional factors) as well as to the preservation of sites, despite the biological abundance of the area. Important research potentials nonetheless exist, particularly the opportunity to combine ethnohistoric data and Chugach oral histories with information from late prehistoric and Russian period sites, in order to study the cultural transformations that occurred following Western contact.

A very different type of archeological record is preserved on the Katmai coast of the Alaska Peninsula, investigated in 1994. Heavy Pleistocene glaciation in this area, combined with an early withdrawal of the ice, caused an isostatic rebound effect that caused the coast to rise faster than the sea level. Tectonic downwarping, so pronounced on the Kenai coast, has been minor in the Katmai region. The result is that many early sites of the Ocean Bay period (7000-3500) are preserved, at elevations of 4 - 10 meters above present sea level. Later

sites overlies the Ocean Bay levels, or occur at lower elevations. One late prehistoric fishing camp, probably less than 1000 years old, was found below the present sea level, in the intertidal zone of a resource rich estuary. This site suggests recent submergence, and is an especially exciting find because wood and other organic materials are preserved in submerged peats. This is the first reported "wet site" for the Alaska Peninsula.

Planning for next year's project at Glacier Bay is already underway, as well as data analysis and work on final reports for the Kenai and Katmai projects. A regional synthesis report will be prepared in 1997-98. Special thanks are due to **Anne Castellina**, Superintendent of Kenai Fjords National Park and to Katmai N.P. archeologist **Patricia McClenahan** for their assistance and cooperation.

Pathways: Community Archeology with the Innu in Labrador

---*Stephen Loring*

Introduction: the Smithsonian in Labrador. The Smithsonian has a long and distinguished history of involvement with the Native peoples --both Inuit and Innu-- of Labrador. It is a relationship that began with the collecting activities of Lucien Turner, a meteorologist stationed at Ft. Chimo in the "Ungava District" between 1882-1884. Through his contacts with visiting Innu and Inuit families who came to trade at the Hudson's Bay Company post, Turner was able to acquire perhaps the world's largest, most extensive ethnographic collection from Labrador. Also at the Smithsonian are an impressive collection of papers, photographs and journals derived from several travelers and scientists that worked in Labrador and which are now part of

the collections at the National Anthropological Archives. Included here are the unique photographs of William Brooks Cabot, a Boston Algonquinist who travelled with the Innu of Labrador and the Quebec North Shore between 1898 and 1925; William Duncan Strong's Labrador journals and notebooks from his participation as the ethnologist-archeologist attached to the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition in 1927-1928 (see N.Rothschild's SI Press book, Labrador Winter), and the papers of Everett "Pep" Wheeler, a geologist who worked in Labrador between 1928 and 1973. William Fitzhugh began his archeological research in Labrador in 1968 since which time he and his colleagues have defined the prehistoric sequence for the region revealing a fascinating history of alternating Indian and Eskimo cultures extending from nearly 8000 years ago up to the present day. Stephen Loring first began work in Labrador in 1975 as a member of one of Fitzhugh's field crews. He spent most of the next twenty summers conducting ethnohistoric and archaeological research there.

Community Archeology in Labrador. In April 1992, **Stephen Loring** was invited by the **Innu Nation**, the **Labrador Community College** in Northwest River, and the **Innu Resource Center** to come to the community of Sheshatshit in Labrador to talk with people there about the collections and photographs pertaining to Innu culture and history that are at the Smithsonian Institution. These discussions raised the possibility of initiating a program that focused on cultural heritage, previous Innu land use, and archeology. The proposed program was seen as an opportunity to teach Innu students about archeology. With the expansion of Innu territorial authority and land management responsibilities emerging as part of

proposed land claim negotiations, there was a perceived need for trained Innu individuals to assist in management of historical resources.

In Sheshatshit interest was expressed in undertaking an archeological research project that could provide educational opportunities for the Innu and which could serve as a pilot project for an expanded program if the objectives and interest seemed to warrant it.

At a meeting attended by **Peter Penashue** (Innu Nation), **Linda Jefferson** (the Newfoundland-Labrador Provincial Archaeologist from St. John's), **Rick Bauman** (Innu Resource Center), Stephen Loring and others, on April 22nd at the Innu Nation offices, it was decided to try and organize an initial field project for the fall of 1993. Amitshuakant, the old Innu camping place on the Naskaupi River opposite the mouth of Kaishkuatashkutik (Red Wine River) was agreed upon as an appropriate test site.

Situated about seventy miles from Northwest River, up-river from the head of Grand Lake, Amitshuakant marked the beginning of an ancient Innu portage route that led north around a particularly long stretch of rapids, eventually rejoining the Naskaupi at Seal Lake. From Seal Lake the Innu used to travel on to Michikamau and from there north to Ungava, west to Hudson's Bay and south to the Quebec North Shore. Although unmarked on any printed atlas, Amitshuakant was a major crossroads for the Innu in the 18th and 19th century, a point from which families departed to the furthest corners of Nitassinan (the Quebec-Labrador peninsula). For our purposes the location provided relatively easy logistics for getting people to and from the site area and Sheshatshit.

Pathways: Community Archeology. Funds for a six-week field course in archeological method



Innu students at "Pathways" training program, Amitshuakant, Nitassinan (left to right, back to front): Dominic Rich, Sylvester Antuan, Dominic Penunsi, Edwina Jack, Richard Abraham, Kathleen Penashue, Richard Nuna, Edmund Benuen. (Photo by S. Loring)

and theory was acquired through "Pathways", a training program supported by the province of Newfoundland-Labrador. The program provides Innu students with the skills to work as technicians and crew members on archeological research projects and to provide an introduction to cultural resource management programs and philosophy.

Directed by Stephen Loring and **Kevin McAleese** (now Curator of Archaeology at the Newfoundland Museum) and administered by **Sheligh Henry** (Innu Resource Center), the program ran between 6 September-15 October 1993. A team of eight student-trainees were selected by the Innu Nation including: **Richard Abraham**, **Sylvester Antuan**, **Dominic Penunsi**, **Kathleen Penashue**, **Richard Nuna**, **Edwina Jack**, and **Edmund Benuen**, residents of Sheshatshit, and **Dominic Rich** from Davis Inlet. **John-Pierre Ashini**, hunter, guide and translator, was invaluable in facilitating communication between the instructors,

students and the elders.

Community involvement was an essential feature of the Pathway program. While still in Sheshatshit elders were invited to the classroom to discuss aspects of land use with the students. In the country we benefited from sharing our camp with **Louie** and **Mary-Adell Penashue** and their infant grandson.

The science of archeology is a western method of constructing knowledge about the past. An integral feature of the Pathways program was the recognition of the importance of the skills, knowledge, and memories of Innu elders. The program was inspired to create an archeology that included both the "scientific" western discipline and the wisdom and knowledge of the Innu based on traditional practices, observations, myth and memory. The Penashues, who knew the country about Amitshuakant intimately, provided essential information about the site and the history of the region. By their example students learned about the

proper way to behave in the bush, and from their "stories" in the evening they learned about the history of the place, an "oral" map that spoke of the people and events of the region that epitomized a different way of knowing.

After ten days of classroom instruction the project left town in three speedboats for the head of Grand Lake and a near-month long stay in the bush.

Camp was established across the river from the Red Wine River portage trail. In addition to archeology, the students participated in all facets of camp life, hunted and fished for camp food, and explored the surrounding country. One memorable day we followed the old portage trail, still visible in the forest floor, for nearly ten miles. It was a moving experience to follow the path worn by generations of Innu families, a tangible testimony to the Innu legacy of the land.

At Amitshuakant, our excavations revealed the remains of old tepee structures with central hearths. Each morning, work only began after the rabbit snares set along the periphery of the site had been checked. With dinner assured, the archeology could progress. We recovered a wide array of late 19th-century and early-20th century artifacts including hunting and fishing paraphernalia, tobacco-related products, knives, cookware, medicinal containers, molasses jugs, combs, beads and coins.

In the evening everyone had the opportunity to help accompany Mr. Penashue to tend his nets, hunt for moose and bear, and prepare food. Later, as autumn nights lengthened, everyone gathered in tents to listen to stories about the old days, about starvation times, and extraordinary journeys by snowshoe and canoe.

Kevin McAleese joined the project for the last two weeks to help conclude the excavations and to work with the students during the final



Edwina Jack and Kathleen Penashue work on fieldnotes at Amitshuakant on the Naskaupi River. (Photo by S. Loring)

phase of the program: a presentation to the community of the results of the project. The Pathway participants spent a week cataloging and conserving the excavated objects and preparing an exhibition and open-house for the community.

Future Directions: By all accounts "Pathways" was a great success, and represents an exciting development in archaeological research in Labrador. Similar programs have been developed in other northern communities: with the Inuit of Nain, Labrador (co-directed by Stephen Loring and Gary Baikie as a joint Univ. of South Carolina/Torngasok Culture Centre project), in the Northwest Territories at Igloolik by Susan Rowley, and on Devon Island, as part of the Northern Heritage Research Project directed by Margaret Bertulli. In addition to training, these programs involve young Native people in working closely with community elders and instill pride by revealing a rich, exciting history that is their legacy.

Wood Analysis from the Frobisher Project

---Dosia Laeyendecker

The analysis of the wood and charcoal samples collected during the Smithsonian's part of the Meta Incognita project (1990-93) is almost finished (see earlier results in Arche-

ology of the Frobisher Voyages and The Meta Incognita Project.) Last summer Lynda Gullason completed cataloging the Frobisher Inuit site collections which are being stored and conserved at the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa. So, this fall I went to Ottawa to identify the Inuit wooden artifacts to species, compare them with debitage and driftwood samples, and draw general conclusions. At least some of the wooden artifacts from the Inuit sites in Frobisher Bay were manufactured from hardwoods that probably were imported by the Frobisher explorers. Among these are a possible ship nail of oak and a small oak stave in the collection from Kamaiyuk, the Inuit site near Kodlunarn Island described first by Frobisher's Captain, George Best. Most of the wooden artifacts were made from driftwood. An article on the driftwood collections we made in Frobisher Bay will appear in the near future. In December I will go again to Ottawa this time to analyze the wood remains from the Dorset site on Willows Island.

ASC ETHNOLOGY

---Igor Krupnik

As the Smithsonian Arctic agenda becomes fully circumpolar, new international research projects are currently among top priorities for the ASC. For example, the 'North Pacific Research Initiative' (Jesup 2) launched in 1992 focuses on cultural legacies, origin, and modern transformation of native people along the Pacific shores of Northeast Asia and North America. My primary involvement in Jesup 2 is building the Russian/Siberian collaborative network and recruiting the Jesup 2 ethnohistorical team. This team is

currently engaged in preparation of the first volume of the Jesup 2 publication series, in which the archival and museum legacy of the first Jesup North Pacific Expedition of 1897-1903 will be reassessed.

The "Living Yamal" project also occupies much of my interest and time mainly in the field of local ethnography, and coordinating partnerships with Russian social scientists, particularly those involved in projects focused upon modern status of the Yamal native communities, their subsistence activities, cultural and social needs. My major personal contribution to "Living Yamal" will be a map of tribal lands, pastures and hunting grounds according to the early Soviet censuses and other archival data of the 1920s, and editing reports, proceedings, and other publications.

I expect to present to SI Press by end of 1994 a two-volume monograph titled "Survival in Contact: Siberian Eskimo Transitions, 1900-1990," co-authored with Dr. Michael Chlenov from Moscow and supported by a grant from NSF. This 700 page manuscript is the outcome of a long-term survey among the Siberian Eskimos of the Chukchi Peninsula, during the 1970s and 1980s. It is the first and the only detailed account of the traditional social system and contact history of the Eskimo people in Siberia and of their transformation during the seventy years of the Soviet regime.

Beyond "Living Yamal", Jesup 2, and Siberian Eskimo projects, I am busily engaged in several other publication and research activities. Arctic Adaptations: Native Whalers and Reindeer Herders of Northern Eurasia was published by the University Press of New England in 1993, and in 1992-1994 I authored several new contributions on Arctic/Siberian ethnography and served as guest editor for the special issue of the

Etudes/Inuit/Studies (Fall 1994) focused on contacts among Inuit societies as a channel for native cultural change, modernization, contact experience, etc. In addition, I am also preparing a special issue for the newly established Russian periodical published in English in St. Petersburg, The Petersburg Journal of Cultural Studies. The issue titled "Classics in Siberian Anthropology" is a collection of papers originally published in Russian by several renown Siberian anthropologists of the 1920s and 1930s. Translated and supplemented with the editor's comments, the volume will make several classical pieces of Siberian anthropology available to western scholars involved in the Arctic/Siberian research.

NEWS FROM THE ANCHORAGE OFFICE

---Aron Crowell

The Anchorage Branch of the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center opened at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art (AMHA) in April, 1994, after several years of planning and discussion. An agreement finalizing the arrangement was signed in December by the Smithsonian, the Museum, and the Municipality of Anchorage. In addition, the Alaska Regional Office of the National Park Service has provided support for the ASC in Anchorage.

In coordination with the Washington Office, ASC-Anchorage will develop exhibits, educational programs, and scientific projects with a focus on Alaska peoples and environments. These programs will make use of Smithsonian arctic and subarctic collections, which include archeological and ethnological artifacts as well as historical photographs and archival

materials from early scientific expeditions. To enhance Alaska access to these resources, eventual transfer of selected collections to a research and curation facility at the Anchorage Museum is planned.

As an institution new to Alaska, the first order of business for ASC has been to develop widespread contacts with other museums and cultural organizations and to learn everything possible about needs, ideas and existing initiatives. This information gathering and networking process will continue at meetings, workshops and conferences over the next year. What follows are some ideas and projects already in process as the ASC takes shape in Alaska.

Museum Studies and Professional Training

As more small museums and large institutions like the Alaska Native Heritage Park open around the state during the next decade, we can anticipate a greatly increased need for staff -- especially Native Alaskans -- with museum training and experience. Practical information on how to plan, fund, build, and manage small museums is also in demand, and Museums Alaska has offered workshops in these areas at its annual meetings. The ASC hopes to make a contribution by offering museums training seminars and by creating opportunities for student professional involvement in its exhibit and research projects. We anticipate working closely with the University of Alaska, the Smithsonian Office of Museum Programs, and other educational organizations in developing this aspect of Center activities.

This fall, college students will have the opportunity to get involved with ASC archeology and exhibit projects through the new cross-regional museum studies curriculum

currently offered by the University of Alaska (Fairbanks) and the Arctic Sivunmun Iisagvik College (ASIC) in Barrow. Enrolled students from around the state will participate in 20 hours of teleconferenced classroom discussions about museum practice, followed by supervised projects at the University of Alaska Museum, Anchorage Museum, North Slope Cultural Center, and other institutions.

Meetings and Research

The opening of the Anchorage office provides a northern center for research collaboration, meetings and fieldwork with Russian, Canadian, European, and Native American colleagues who are working with ASC on the Jesup 2 Research Initiative. Papers by Jesup 2 researchers were presented in several symposia at both the Anchorage and Vladivostok meetings of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science held at the end of August. Just prior to the Anchorage meetings the ASC-Anchorage hosted a field trip to the Pratt Museum in Homer for a reception and viewing of the latest installation of Crossroads Alaska/Siberia for several of its Russian colleagues.

For the next several years, the main focus of archeological research at ASC-Anchorage will be ancestral Alutiiq and Tlingit cultures that inhabited coastal areas around the Gulf of Alaska for approximately the last 7000 years. Funding and project support are being provided by the National Park Service. Coastal archeological surveys of Kenai Fjords and Katmai National Parks have already been completed, and future work is planned at Glacier Bay, Lake Clark, and Wrangell-St. Elias parks.

Repatriated Collections

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Act of 1989

and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 directed the Smithsonian Institution and federally-funded museums around the U.S. to identify Native American funerary remains, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony in their collections, and to return specified categories of these materials to their communities of origin upon request. Several returns to Alaskan groups have been completed or are currently being processed by the Repatriation Office of the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. In response to a high level of interest in Alaska, repatriation workshops and seminars are being conducted by Keepers of the Treasures (Alaska), Museums Alaska, the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Tribes, and other organizations.

While the Arctic Studies Center has no role in the repatriation process itself, or in determining the disposition of Smithsonian collections that are returned to Alaska, ASC may be of assistance in working with Native Alaskan groups wishing to document repatriated materials, prepare exhibits, or conduct research. With the eventual acquisition of its own cultural facility, ASC may also be able to offer safe storage for repatriated collections under specific agreements with Native groups that own the materials.

Things to Come

This is an exciting time for the Arctic Studies Center to begin its Alaskan tenure, when so many new initiatives in arctic science, cultural programs, museum development, and international cooperation are taking shape. Through interaction and cooperation with museums, state and federal agencies, universities, Native corporations, and related organizations, ASC hopes to become a home

for programs that will serve Alaska and contribute to public and scholarly knowledge of its rich cultural and natural endowments.

Please contact Aron Crowell at the Center for further information.
Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center,
Anchorage Museum of History and Art,
121 W. 7th Avenue, Anchorage,
AK 99501. Tel: 907/343-6162

EXHIBITS

Continued Successful Tour for Crossroads Alaska

Crossroads Alaska/Siberia recently completed a successful run at the Pratt Museum in Homer, Alaska, where it was exhibited from August 25 - October 12, 1994. Over 5,000 visitors toured the show. Reportedly, the programmatic highlight of the show came with the arrival of three Koryak women, **Maria Pritchina** (shown below), **Tatiana Golikova**,



and **Alexander Ourkatchan**, who enchanted audiences with their song, dance and story telling. Richly attired in traditional Koryak reindeer skin garments, called "kuklianka", and Even dance clothes, they shared their traditional dances, including their individual family melodies passed down from generation to generation. The Koryak dancers presented two sold out concerts as part of the Pratt Museum and Homer Council on the Arts collaboration in presenting the first "Crossroads Festival of Dance" which hosted dancers from Nanwalek, Seldovia, Port Graham, and Kenai to a sellout crowd of over 500 people.

The *Crossroads Alaska* exhibition came with educational resources which were eagerly put to use by area schools. For example, the Kachemak Bay campus of the Kenai Peninsula College hosted several evenings of films from the video library of 33 films. They also presented a weekend course on the "Cultures of the Crossroads of Continents" taught by Alaska State Museum Curator of Collections **Steve Hendrikson**.

On November 1, 1994, "Crossroads" travelled to Barrow. **Jean Flanagan Carlo**, who continues to do a superb job as exhibit coordinator, once again proved her ability to handle last minute difficulties in facility arrangements. **Karen Brewster** of the North Slope Borough Inupiat History, Language, and Culture Program, was particularly helpful in stepping in at the last minute to handle local arrangements for the show.

In November, while in Russia on Yamal business, Bill Fitzhugh and Igor Krupnik met with Yuri Vedenin at his Institute in Moscow. Vedenin has teamed up with the Ministry of Culture of Russia to tour the small "Crossroads" exhibit to museums in the Russian Far East and North during 1995-96. The Ministry of Culture will handle all museological

arrangements and Vedenin's institute will take on the cultural programming activities. We expect the show to be seen in Anadyr, Magadan, Petropavlovsk, Sakhalin, Vladivostock and at other venues in Siberia. **We are looking for sponsors, so if you have ideas, please let us hear from you!** It looks like we will get the Crossroads message to Russia, after all!

Finally, **Valerie Chaussonnet**, exhibit co-Curator, has good news of her own. In addition to the evident success of her show and completion of its catalogue, she has just become mother to son Olivier, who was born to Valerie and Norman Dorsett-Chaussonnet on October 20, 1994. The whole family is fine and we wish them much continued health and happiness.

Exhibits on the Horizon

The Center plans to produce a new generation of exhibits focusing on Alaskan indigenous cultures, continuing explorations into the Smithsonian collections that began with *Inua* (1982-85), *Crossroads* (1988-93), and *Crossroads Alaska/Siberia*. A series of four projects representing each of the major Alaska Native cultures is anticipated for 1996-2000. Establishment of the ASC Anchorage office will enable the new exhibits to be produced primarily in Alaska, through partnerships with local Native museums and culture centers. Information and direction for the exhibits will come directly from the communities involved, through participation by local steering committees and Native Alaska exhibit co-curators. Innovative themes, contemporary topics, and indigenous viewpoints will be featured in the series. The following are some of the projects under development:

Looking Both Ways: The Rebirth of Alutiiq Identity is a joint project of ASC, AMHA and the Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA). The focus of the show will be on the rapidly growing Alutiiq identity movement in Kodiak, the Alaska Peninsula, and the Prince William Sound. To explore the themes of cultural rebirth and the significance of traditional culture for modern life, recent work by Alutiiq artists will be presented along with Smithsonian examples of 19th century garments, hunting hats, implements and masks from the William J. Fisher collection. The exhibit is being developed in cooperation with the Kodiak Area Native Association and the Alutiiq Archeological Repository and Museum, which will open its doors next year in Kodiak.

Stephen Loring, **Jana Harcharek** and **Karen Brewster** (Iñupiat, History, Language & Culture Division) have received a grant from the North Slope Borough Planning Department for developing an inaugural exhibition for the opening of the Barrow Culture Center in 1996. The exhibition, **Agviq: The Bowhead Whale in Iñupiat Culture**, seeks to explore the perceptions and traditional ecological knowledge of Iñupiat elders and the umialiks (Iñupiat whaling captains) as it pertains to the "natural history" --the behavior, biology and ecology-- of agviq, the bowhead whale. While still in an early planning stage, one feature of the proposed exhibition is to include approximately fifty objects from the Smithsonian's collections, objects collected by Edward Nelson and John Murdoch from among the Iñupiat communities of North Alaska in the 1870's and 1880's. While many of these objects are no longer used (umialiks and umiak charms, specially prepared boxes for lance blades, figurines, and certain masks) they were closely associated with the

spiritual consequences and obligations of hunting whales and provide a glimpse into the special relationship between Inupiat people and whales. By making these materials available again to North Slope Borough communities and elders it is hoped that substantial new information and insight about these objects will be learned.

Late 18th century Spanish voyages to southeastern Alaska occasioned some of the earliest Tlingit interactions with Europeans, and led to the acquisition by Spanish museums of unique and beautifully decorated examples of indigenous clothing, basketry, tools, armor and masks. These objects are the planned focus of the exhibit **Tlingit-Spanish Encounters, 1775-1793**. In addition, unpublished maps, drawings, and exploration accounts in Spanish and Smithsonian archives offer new perspectives on Tlingit culture and society during the early years of contact. Co-curators **Rosita Worl** (Sealaska Corporation/UA--Juneau) and **Steve Langdon** (UA--Anchorage) will collaborate with Tlingit elders and artists as well as Spanish museologists and historians to bring this material to life through an exhibit and catalog.

In conjunction with **Christopher Hanks** (Hanks Heritage) and **Charles Arnold** (Prince of Wales Heritage Center), the ASC has begun planning a small travelling exhibit tentatively titled **The McKenzie Inuit, the Northern Dene, and the Origins of Museum Anthropology**. Based on the collections of Smithsonian naturalist and collector, Robert Kennicott, and Hudson Bay Company employees, Roderick MacFarlane, and others, this show will exhibit and publish for the first time the Smithsonian's earliest natural history and anthropological collections from the Arctic and Subarctic North America. The collections were gathered with the

assistance of Native collectors, who supplied detailed scientific documentation. Following collecting protocols developed by the Smithsonian's Spencer Baird, this cooperative field collection and observation, beginning in 1858-59, became a prototype for museum anthropology for the remainder of the 19th century. The McKenzie show will be seen in the Canadian Northwest and in Alaska and will be co-curated by **Bernadette Driscoll-Englestad**.

Discussions are also moving forward with **Miranda Wright** of Fairbanks regarding a future exhibit to be done with the Athapascan community with a working title, *The Athapaskans: Peoples of the Northern Forest*. This show will utilize the first Athapascan collections to be acquired from the Alaskan interior by Robert Kennicott and William H. Dall. These magnificent collections are of particular importance because they are the earliest North American collections from the Indian groups living between the McKenzie River and Bering Strait. Particularly spectacular are the elaborately embroidered quill-decorated skin clothing, examples of which are found only in the Kennicott-Dall collections and in the earliest Russian collections from Russian America.

EXPLORATIONS IN THE ATTIC

The ASC is committed to making the Smithsonian's vast holdings of ethnographic and archeological materials accessible to northern native peoples. Native American internships and Community Scholar grants, administered by the Office of Fellowships and Grants, provide a means by which Native Alaskans can come to Washington to pursue their special interests. Alaskan Native scholars, educators, and artisans are encouraged to contact Stephen Loring (telephone: 202 357-4742; FAX: 202 357-2684) to help facilitate access to the Smithsonian collections.

Alas, the "attic" at the National Museum of Natural History is no more. The nearly decade long process of moving the Smithsonian's incredible archeology and ethnology collections to the new state-of-the-art conservation facility at Silver Hills, in nearby Maryland, is nearing completion. Researchers who remember (fondly or perhaps with horror) the dark, crowded storage cabinets in the Natural History Building's attic will share our enthusiasm for the new storage facility --the Museum Support Center, or MSC as it is known throughout the Institution-- which provides the objects in our collection with the care and security they need to assure their permanent preservation.

Recent visitors to MSC include, **Ann Fienup-Riordan**, who spent three days in January 1994 selecting Yup'ik masks for an exhibition she is curating at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art. June was a busy month at MSC with **Tom Lowenstein** (London, England) examining Iñupiat whaling paraphernalia; **Paul Brendible** (Metlakatla) studying the Tshimsian collections; and **Vivian Johnson** (Bethel) who stole an afternoon to examine Edward Nelson's late-19th century collection of Yup'ik clothing (and shares with us some of her thoughts below). During the summer, **Bernadette Driscoll-Englestad** studied Inuit clothing from Alaska and from the Canadian Arctic.

Parkas in the Summertime

--Vivian Johnson

Women on the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta are usually not concerned with parkas in the summertime. They are too busy cutting fish and picking berries.

Sewing is a winter time occupation. In recent winters, Margaret Cooke, Elena Nick, Maggie Charles, Angela Hunt and my Grandmother Pearly Johnson --all traditional Yup'ik skin sewers-- have been teaching me their craft. So, when I had a chance to see a women's traditional fancy parka made in the late 1800's, even though it was summertime, I felt I could not pass it up.

Recently, I had the opportunity to visit the Arctic Studies Center at the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Stephen Loring, the Museum Anthropologist with the Arctic Studies Center, guided me through many different kinds of artifacts that originated from the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta including spear points, sewing needles, and earrings. I was especially interested in the clothing I saw: seal gut parkas, mukluks, and dolls from the late-1800's dressed in traditional clothing.

When I came across a parka collected by Mrs. Hazen from St. Michael, which she donated to the Smithsonian in 1888, I became thankful. I had been looking for a pattern of this specific parka because my great-grandmother, who was from St. Michael, wore one just like it. At the time these artifacts were collected, it may not have been obvious that they



Vivian Johnson in the collections at MSC.
(Photo by S. Loring)

would someday become invaluable pieces of individual, family, and community history and culture.

My experience speaks to the opportunity the people of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta have with the new museum being built in Bethel. It will now be possible that artifacts such as these will become accessible to the descendants of the people who created them. I learned that the Smithsonian Institution is willing to share these treasures and that maybe with the new enthusiasm, parkas in the summertime will not be that uncommon.

Ethnological Collections Research on the Ainu & Neighboring Peoples of Northeastern Asia

---Koji Deriha

Koji Deriha, curator of ethnology at Hokkaido Kaitaku Kinenkan (Historical Museum of Hokkaido), was a scholar in residence at the Arctic Studies Center between September 1993 and March 1994. Deriha's work focused on problems pertaining to the material culture of the Ainu and of neighboring peoples in the Amur River region of the Russian Far East.

During the past ten years two large research projects on Ainu material culture have made extensive investigations of Ainu collections held by European and North American museums.

Joseph Kreiner (formerly of Bonn University now with the German Institute for Japanese Studies, Tokyo) and his colleagues (including **Hans Dieter Olschleger**) have conducted research in Europe, specifically in Germany, England, Italy, Sweden and Austria (between

1983-1985) where they located approximately 6000 Ainu specimens of which approximately 4900 were inspected and photographed. Their research succeeded in documenting one of the oldest known collections of Ainu material that had been collected by Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) in the 1820's. Almost all of the European collections were made before World War I during the Meiji era (1868-1912), and more than half of them were derived from Sakhalin.

The second research initiative was launched by **Yoshinobu Kotani** who sought out Ainu collections in North American museums. Kotani's team, including Hans Dieter Olschleger, Takashi Irimoto (Hokkaido Univ.), Toshikazu Sasaki (Tokyo National Museum), Hideo Kirikae (Hokkai Gakuen Univ.), Thoru Ikeda (Hokkaido Univ.), Josef Kreiner, and Koji Deriha, made four research trips (between 1990-1993) to study the North American collections including those at the National Museum of Natural History, the American Museum of Natural History, the Brooklyn Museum, the University Museum of Pennsylvania, the Peabody Museum of Harvard, Peabody Museum of Salem, Peabody Museum of Yale, the Field Museum of Natural History, the Logan Museum of Anthropology, and the Milwaukee Public Museum. Kotani's team was able to register nearly 3000 Ainu specimens. Many of the North American collections proved to have exceptional documentation and provenance data which enabled us to identify the age, location, usage, and in some cases the Ainu terminology of specific objects. According to their documentation, many of the materials were collected in the early-1900's. The detailed provenance and historical documentation --including period photographs, motion picture film, catalogs and related archival materials-- which is available for the North



Koji Deriha views collections stored in the MSC facility. (Photo by S. Loring)

American collections is in striking opposition to that available for Ainu collections in Japan.

In Japan, there are many collections of Ainu ethnography and art, especially in Hokkaido. For instance, the Hokkaido Kaitaku Kinenkan has almost 5000 specimens and the Shiraoui Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan (Shiraoui Ainu Museum) has almost the same number. These are numerically two of the largest collections in Japan today. Unfortunately, many of these collections are less well-documented than those in the United States, and many of the items in the collection are relatively recent, having been acquired after 1930.

Together, the research teams led by Kreiner and Kotani have transformed our awareness of the nature and extent of Ainu material culture and ethnological research. It is my belief that the materials brought to light by Kotani and his colleagues will repay further intensive study. The North American and European collections promise to provide significant insight to studies of cultural chronology and to questions

that bear on the distribution and diffusion of specific cultural traits among the Ainu and neighboring cultures. These studies will be useful for scholars interested in the cultural dynamics of Ainu socio-political adaptations, of the development and changes in Ainu material culture and art, in the processes of cultural rejuvenation, and useful for the Ainu people themselves in their struggle to maintain their unique and special way of life.

My own research on the cultural relationships among the peoples of northern Japan and the adjacent Asian mainland has focused on studies of specific tools and implements shared by the Ainu and by northeastern Siberian peoples. I knew from the research performed by Kotani and his colleagues that the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution housed collections of Ainu material culture that could address my research interests. Funds obtained from the Hokkaido government enabled me to travel to Washington, D.C. to conduct research at the Smithsonian.

One of the important problems of Ainu material culture research is determining the history and the provenance of the large collections. How were the collections made? How did they get to the museums? What were the relationships between collectors and the Ainu?

Many people, museum scholars and the public alike, believe that almost all Ainu materials on display are items of traditional culture. Yet, in investigating the background of certain specimens at the Smithsonian (from collections made by Benjamin S. Lyman and Horatio Capron) I found that they were acquired not in Ainu villages but from sources in Yokohama, near Tokyo, and in Hakodate in southwest Hokkaido. By the end of the 19th-century Hakodate had become one of the largest

Japanese ports open to foreign countries. The citizens of the city were for the most part Japanese, not Ainu. In addition to the provenance information I was able to ascertain that many of the Ainu objects lacked use-wear or showed any indication that they had ever functioned in a domestic setting. These observations incline me to believe that portions of these collections were not obtained from the Ainu who would have used them but from shops dealing in souvenirs and items made specifically for sale to tourists and foreign travelers. I was surprised to find some Ainu items for sale in Yokohama far from their point of origin.

Current anthropological scholarship in Japan is exploring the relationship between native peoples, tourism, and the production of art, souvenirs and handicrafts. Such studies provide an important avenue of research for acculturation studies pertaining to the Ainu during the 19th and early-20th centuries.

In his study of the American collections, Kotani paid especially close attention to the collecting activities of John Batchelor, an English missionary who worked in Hokkaido, and Frederick Starr, who made Asian collections for the Brooklyn Museum in the early-1900's. Other American tourists and scientists acquired Ainu materials, both souvenirs made especially for sale to travelers, and ethnographic items purchased from Ainu villagers.

Divorced from their provenance history Ainu material culture is often presented as representative of "hunting-gathering societies", an illusion or misrepresentation based in part on the propensity of ethnologists to concentrate their studies on "older" materials and materials that they interpret as typical of "traditional" Ainu society. Scholars have often ignored the evidence for Ainu

acculturation and the adoption of new materials and ideas brought about through exposure to Japanese influences. Future research in Russian museums is expected to provide additional insight into matters pertaining to modernization and social changes in Ainu communities.

A specific interest of mine is in the role of small game hunting and fur-trapping as practiced by the Ainu. This research explores the consequences to the Ainu resulting from their participation in the Sino-Russian-Chinese fur-trade. Throughout the 19th-century the Ainu were forced by the Matsumae clan in southwestern Hokkaido, to trap fur bearers (primarily fox, marten, and raccoon-dog) eventually destined for fur markets in Imperial Russia and China. The Matsumae clan, acquiring furs from the Ainu, carried them to Sakhalin to exchange for Chinese products, including silk robes and glass beads, which had passed through the Amur River region.

In addition to my study of the Smithsonian's Ainu collections I was also able to examine their collection of traps and hunting paraphernalia of the Ainu's northern neighbors. I found some similarities between these Siberian artifacts and those of the Ainu, similarities that I believe can be attributed to avenues of exchange and communication between these peoples brought about in part by the trade in furs.

Ainu Exhibitions Planned

In response to the Kotani inventory program, the ASC, with assistance from Smithsonian Special Exhibit Fund and Japanese sources, held a planning meeting in mid-November to review inventory results and research on North American Ainu collections. The group also considered the possibility of mounting a special

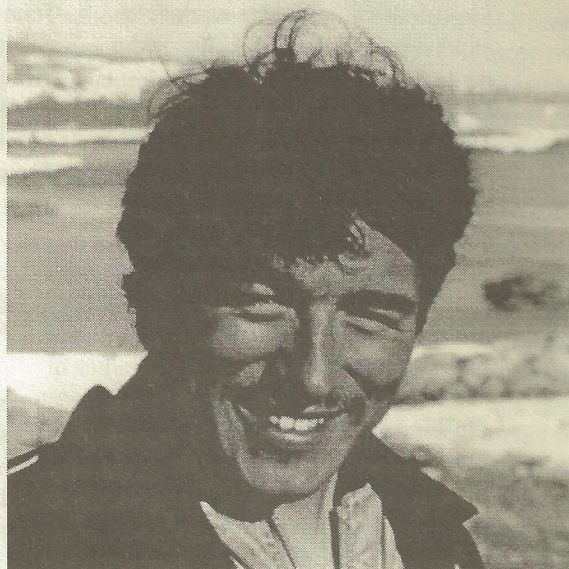
travelling exhibit of Ainu culture materials for tour in North America, Japan, and possibly Europe beginning in 1998. Ainu collections dating from the 1850s-1940s, together with photographs, archival holdings, films, and other documentation are held by more than 30 institutions in North America. Until recently, these collections have been ignored, and most are unpublished and have never been exhibited. The Ainu Project Team consists of curators from Japanese and North American museums (**Y. Kotani** --Nagoya; **K. Deriha**--Hokkaido Museum; **Y. Sasaki**--Tokyo Museum; **C. Houchins** and **W. Fitzhugh**--SI/NMNH; **A. Katz**--U. Penn Mus; **L. Kendall**--AMNH; **A. Poster**--Brooklyn Mus.), Ainu ethnologists (**Ohnuko-Tierney**--Wisc.), historians (**D. Howell**--Princeton), and Native curator **Gloria Cranmer Webster** (Kwakiutl/Alert Bay). We hope to have cooperation of Ainu leader Shigaru Kayano and other Native Ainu experts. In addition to presenting Ainu ethnography and art drawn from the finest of the world's collections we will present the history of perceptions of Ainu culture from various points of view (Japanese, Russian, European, and North American); history of collecting and of anthropological thought regarding Ainu origins and cultural relationships; and contemporary art and other issues. The project will cooperate with other proposed exhibitions: Ainu archeology, a Native-produced Ainu-Kwakiutl exhibit organized by Webster and Kayano, and an art exhibition of Ainu-e, illustrations of Ainu life by Japanese artists from the 1500-1900s. One of the show's themes will be to illustrate the history of two Native cultures--Ainu and Kwakiutl--

as they have faced impacts and challenges resulting from state expansion and assimilation policies during the past 200-500 years.

TRANSITIONS

Tragedy Strikes Frobisher Inuit

The people of Iqaluit, Baffin Island, suffered a tremendous loss this fall with the deaths of eight people when Simonie Alainga's Peterhead swamped in heavy seas between Gold Cove and Minguktoo not far from the Kodlunarn Island Frobisher sites. The vessel foundered en route from Gold Cove to Iqaluit after a successful walrus hunt. Among those lost was **Kelly Pishuktie**, an exceptional Inuit artist and friend to our team, and our close friend and field assistant, **Ooleetoo Pishuktie**, brother of Paul Pishuktie who was our guide and mate aboard the Pitsiulak from 1990-1993 organized by Y. Sasaki. Ooleetoo was



Ooleetoo Pishuktie

a marvelous person, always ready with a smile, a joke, and hard work. His assistance to our shore camp teams was invaluable, and we will miss him and his generous spirit. We extend our deep sympathy over these grievous losses to **Mary Ellen Thomas**, **Paul Achiooliak**, and the rest of their family and friends.

As we go to press we are deeply saddened also by the death from cancer of **William E. Taylor, Jr.**, a man whose name has been synonymous with Canadian Arctic archeology for decades. Bill worked, under one guise or another, with the National Museum of Canada for nearly his entire professional career: as Chief of the Archaeology Division, as Director of the National Museum of Man (from 1967 to 1983), and as Emeritus Director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Bill began his career in Canadian Arctic archeology as a member of Henry Collins' expedition to Southampton Island. Later he was instrumental in encouraging young scholars interested in Canadian arctic archeology. A productive scholar and talented administrator, Bill was particularly committed to international cooperation, and after retirement took on the difficult task of coordinating the Meta Incognita Project in Frobisher Bay, even donating his personal expedition equipment. I (Fitzhugh) owe him a deep debt of gratitude on that score and for his support for my work and that of Henry Collins, Steven Cox, and Richard Jordan. His antics and stories are legend, as everyone who attended his roast at the 1992 CAA meetings in London, Ontario can attest. At a recent St. John's, Nfld., CAA meeting I

received a new name from Bill who was with me when I was hit by a blind taxi driver who carried me off sprawling on the hood of his car. "Hey Fitz! From now on I'll call you "Dances With Taxis" he shouted. Humble? not quite; yet his heart and imagination were as unbounded as the northern landscape he championed. On September 11th a research gallery at the north end of the Grand Hall of the CMC was dedicated in his name, and a festschrift in his honor edited by David Morrison and Jean-Luc Pilon appeared. Our heartfelt sympathies extend to his wife Joan and the Taylor family.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization has launched the "William E. Taylor Research Award Fund," the proceeds of which will fund an annual award recognizing outstanding achievements in museum research, exhibition, and publication. Please respond generously.

In October 1994 we learned of the death of **Robert Stuckenrath** from his wife Barbara. Bob ran the Smithsonian's radiocarbon dating lab for many years in the 1970-80s before moving to the University of Pittsburgh. He was instrumental in developing the excellent chronology worked out for the Labrador Torngat Archeology Project, and he assisted many arctic archeologists over the years in providing dates and research collaboration. In his early years at the University of Penn, he pioneered studies of dating discrepancies resulting from C14 fractionation in antler, ivory, and bone. We will miss Bob's jaunty manner and wry sense of humor.

Last spring, we received as well the news of the tragic death in a freak house fire of **Father Guy Mary-Rousseliere**, a Jesuit priest who devoted nearly his entire life to ministering to the Canadian Inuit. "Father Marie" was a true

Renaissance man. Born in France, he was ordained a priest in 1937 and moved to Canada in 1938. In 1944 he arrived in Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, where he resided for most of the rest of his life. An astute observer with an inquiring mind, he was particularly dedicated to recording the traditions of the Inuit, and the National Museum of Canada published his comprehensive report on the string figures of the Arviligjuarmiut.

A book on the famous Qitdlaarsuaq migration from Baffin Island to Greenland also tied together much personal research and information gathered from the Inuit. Father Mary served for many years as editor of Eskimo, a Diocese magazine.

He was an accomplished photographer whose pictures were published in many publications including National Geographic. Like an earlier Jesuit priest, Father Bernhard Hubbard, who recorded Eskimo life in Alaska in the early 20th C., Father Marie became interested in film and oversaw production of a film series on the Netsilik Inuit. Archeologists recognize Father Marie's work through his many contributions to Canadian Arctic prehistory, especially through his excavations and reports at the Nungivik site near Pond Inlet. Father Mary will be sadly missed by the many and diverse people whose lives he enriched.

BERGY BITS

Arctic Studies Steering Committee

The ASC has benefited from the advice of an Steering Committee since its inception in 1988. Although this Committee has met infrequently due to limited financial resources. The opening of the ASC office in

Alaska called for expanded participation, especially by Alaskans. Accordingly we have increased the size of the committee from its originally largely East Coast membership. The ASC Steering Committee now includes: **Douglas Anderson** (Brown U.); **Ted Birkeedal** (NPS-Anchorage); **Ernest Burch, Jr.** (SI Research Associate); **Ann Fienup-Riordan** (SI Research Associate); **Jana Harcharek** (History, Lang. & Cult. Dept.-Anchorage); **Aldona Jonaitis** (U. Alaska-Fairbanks); **Susan Kaplan** (Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum); **Gordon Pullar** (Univ. of AK-Fairbanks); **Stephen Young** (Center for Northern Studies); **William Workman** (Univ. of AK-Anchorage); **Patricia Wolf** (Anchorage Mus. /History & Art); **Rosita Worl** (Sealaska Corp.); and **Miranda Wright** (Doyon Foundation).

The Steering Committee provides guidance and direction to the ASC in fund-raising, development, and advocacy; community liaison and coordination; development of collections and scholarly resources; exhibition and outreach programs; training and education; and research and scholarly programs. Meetings will be scheduled twice a year.

Seminars

On occasion, ASC staff has been fortunate to lure visiting scholars into sharing highlights of their research to anthro. department staff in the form of informal seminars. In the spring of 1994 we were privileged to host a particularly diverse bunch with an exceptional variety of research interests.

On April 14, **Vladimir Pitulko** discussed the results of his recent excavations on Zhokov Island in "An Early Holocene Site in the Siberian High Arctic". Located in the De Long Archipelago of the Siberian High Arctic (76 degrees North!), this "Mesolithic village" site with 13 semi-subterranean house pits dates to nearly 8000 BP. He has recovered a

remarkable assemblage of wood, bone and stone tools including microblades, bone and antler insert tools, groundstone adzes, and worked mammoth ivory.

Andrei Golovniev, curator at the Ural Institute of History and Archeology in Tobolsk, northwestern Siberia, received the 1994 Andris Slapins Memorial Film Award and presented his film, "Gods of the Yamal", on the Nenets reindeer herders of Russia's Arctic coast.

Barbara Bodenhorn presented "It's All One Ocean" on April 26. During field surveys in Barrow and Wainwright she canvassed Inupiat people about their attitudes concerning recent events affecting their lives. She found environmental pollution to be a major concern and that the Inupiat had little problem integrating the results of traditional and western science in their views. Bodenhorn's discussion, however, centered on images of environmentalism projected by media and non-Inupiat journalists and anthropologists, and the complexity of culturally-based attitudes as they relate to environmental issues such as whaling, hunting in general, oil development, and environmental pollution.

In May, **Yaoliang Song**, Visiting Fellow at Harvard-Yenching Institute, discussed his investigations of human face rock art in China. His discovery of an entirely unknown series of human face rock art has led him to formulate new hypotheses for the history of petroglyphic art in Eastern Asia. In the context of this lecture, Song presented the results of his field work, identifying the four groups of ancient masking traditions. He compared these traditions with similar rock art representations from other locations in the North Pacific where a number of parallels may indicate a widespread, related masking tradition in the circum-North Pacific region.

John Pohl, Visiting Fellow at the

National Gallery of Art, dropped by to present "The Flower Prince's Feast: Narrative Art, Craft Production, and Gift Economy". Pohl has joined his dual career interests in archeology and film animation in his work reconstructing ancient worlds. He showed computer graphic models of the ancient cities of Cahokia, Pueblo Bonito, and Palenque that he produced for a forthcoming T.V. series on American Indian Civilizations.

During the summer, **Stephen Collier**, University of New England, Armidale, Australia came to the department to continue his work studying post-cranial bones from the Alaskan and Terry Physical Anthropology collections. Always eager to expand its geographical interests, ASC engaged Collier to present an informal seminar to interested staff in which he discussed the origins of Australian Aborigine.

Notes from the Dutch Archives

During her October trip to the Dutch archives **Dosia Laeyendecker** ran across this 18th C. report on hunting:

"It was especially dangerous when the animals were sitting near the waters' edge and the hunter had little room to maneuver. The walrus would become very aggressive, sometimes hitting the gun or lance out of the hunter's hand, or throwing the men off the rocks into the water. It also happened that the walrus rolled himself up, its head between its flippers and like a huge ball rolled down the rocks into the water, menacing the hunters who had a hard time avoiding disaster. In the water, these beasts became so bold that they started attacking the sloops in order to free their captured comrades. Trying to prevent this racket, the hunters had to change tactics. They learned not to attack fiercely, but to approach the walrus softly, just showing the points of their lances. The walrus would shy away and turn around, and thus the whole troop would turn around and move up the rocks away from the hunters. Now it was easy to approach them from behind. The animal was unable to fight back or escape to the sea, and as it saw his companions being killed, it started shaking and trembling with fear, and just bowed its head, waiting for the hunter and death." (Zorgdrager, 1720:170)



The same author provided a recipe for Sperma Ceti, an expensive ointment and lubrication oil made from the brain of the sperm whale: "The brain of the sperm whale is mixed in a barrel with salt and water and has to be stirred around. This way blood and dirt are separated and can be skimmed off the top. One has to repeat this several times and in the end the salt has to be washed out several times with fresh water. When everything is clean and pure white, one runs the stuff through a paper sieve and after that it is pressed under a weight until the texture is flaky." (Zorgdrager, 1720:284)

New Accessions & Donations

The Arctic Studies Center would like to acknowledge **Dr. Dee Ann Story's** generous donation of journals to the Henry B. Collins Library.

New Faces

The ASC has two new Research Associates, **Douglas Siegel-Causey** (University of Nebraska Museum), and **Ann Fienup-Riordan** (Anthropologist-Anchorage), both of whom were appointed last spring. We welcome them and look forward to a productive association.

Additionally, President of the National Bank of Alaska, and long time friend of the ASC, **Elmer**

Rasmuson has accepted a position on NMNH's Board of Trustees. We offer him our congratulations.

Charles Smythe and Paula Molloy have joined the Smithsonian NMNH Repatriation office as project researchers.



Alex Muktoyuk, a native King Islander from Alaska, and his niece Deanna Kingston, a Native American community scholar with the ASC and the Human Studies Archives, at work cataloguing Father Bernard Hubbard's film footage taken on King Island in the 1930's. Deanna's mother and grandmother are captured on the video monitor. (Photo by L. Minor-Penland)

Visual Anthropology

Stephen Loring and Deanna Kingston co-organized a symposium entitled "Visual Anthropology in the North" for the 21st annual meeting of the Alaska Anthropological Association held in Juneau in March. Envisioned as an opportunity to highlight some of the significant collections pertaining to Alaska held at the Human Studies Film Archives, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, the symposium brought together a wide range of scholars, filmmakers,

educators and Alaskan natives. Smithsonian participation included papers and film clips: "The Alaskan images of Edward W. Nelson" by William Fitzhugh; "The Glacier Priest and the Ugiuvangmiut: insights on history and tradition derived from the films of Bernard Hubbard" by Deanna Kingston; and "Explorer, adventurer, showman and lecturer: David Irwin's promotion of Alaska and the public perception of Alaskan Eskimos, 1934-1964" by Stephen Loring.

Nunivak Project

Stephen Loring has received a

grant from the Smithsonian's Collections-Based Research Fund to bring several Nunivak elders and a translator to Washington, D.C. to study the ethnographic materials collected by Henry Collins and T. Dale Stewart on Nunivak Island in 1927. Collins and Stewart were transported into the field aboard the Boxer, a steamship operated by the Federal Bureau of Education. Travel on the Boxer enabled the Smithsonian scientists to make archaeological and ethnographic collections at a number of different sites in the Bristol Bay-Kuskokwim Bay region on the mainland opposite Nunivak, and at several communities on Nunivak. The 1927 collections (SI Accession #96521) contains approximately 2000 artifacts including over 80 bentwood bowls (many of which contain fine-line drawings of historical and mythical events). A cooperative analysis and publication of the Nunivak material is the anticipated outcome of this research initiative.

STAFF PUBLICATIONS

By William W. Fitzhugh:
"Forward". In: Science in the Subarctic: Trappers, Traders, and the Smithsonian Institution, by Debra Lindsay, pp. ix-xii. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1993

"Hot on the Cold Trail Left by Sir Martin Frobisher," Smithsonian Magazine Jan. 1993.

"Staffe Island 1 and the Northern Labrador Dorset-Thule Succession." In: Threads of Arctic Prehistory: Papers in Honour of William E. Taylor, Jr., edited by David Morrison and Jean-Luc Pilon. Archeological Survey of Canada Paper 149, Mercury Series Publication, pp. 239-268. Ottawa: National Museum of Civilization. 1994

"Forward." In: Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution. Edited by Tamara Bray and Thomas Killion, pp. vii-x. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1994

By Igor Krupnik:
Arctic Adaptations: Native Whalers and Reindeer Herders of Northern Eurasia. Hanover/London: University Press of New England. 1994.

By Stephen Loring
"Afterword", to Labrador Winter: the Ethnographic Journals of William Duncan Strong, 1927-1928, edited by Eleanor B. Leacock and Nan A. Rothschild. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp.185-214.

"A Most Peculiar Man: the Life and Times of Ales Hrdlicka." In: Reckoning with the Dead: the Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution, edited by Tamara Bray and Thomas Killion, pp. 26-40. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. (with Miroslav Prokopec.

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