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SUBSISTENCE LAND USE IN NOME,
A NORTHWEST ALASKA REGIONAL CENTER

by

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ABSTRACT

This study documented areas used for hunting, fishing, and gathering wild resources by a sample of 46 households in Nome, Alaska. The study purposes were: (1) to document the extent of areas used by Nome residents, and (2) to compare areas used by members of different Nome subcommunities.

Nome, with 3,876 residents in 1985, was the largest community in northwest Alaska and was ten times as large as any community which had existed in the local area before 1850. Fully 25 percent of the 15,000 people in Northwest Alaska lived in Nome. Nome was a regional center for government, transportation, and retail trade. Nome was a polyglot community with a 59 percent Eskimo majority (many of whom had moved to Nome from smaller communities in the region). Minorities (some of whom had lived in Nome all their lives) included whites, blacks, asians, and hispanics. Previous studies have shown that nearly all households in Nome harvested at least some wild resources.

This study found that Nome's harvest areas were two to three times as large as harvest areas for other smaller communities in the region. Roads facilitated harvesting, especially of moose and plants. The sampled households harvested throughout the southern Seward Peninsula from Wales to Cape Darby, throughout Norton Sound, and in the Bering Strait. A majority of the households with heads or spouses born in other northwest Alaska communities also returned to those communities to harvest wild resources.

Previous studies have shown that some Alaska Natives in Nome allied with subcommunities consisting of people who identified with a common community of birth. Families within subcommunities hunted, fished, and gathered together, shared food and equipment, and camped together. Wales and King Island subcommunities both maintained substantial camps for resource harvesting outside Nome, and these camps exhibited some features of traditional Inuit polity, including territoriality.

This study attempted to compare the harvest areas of members of the original Nome Native subcommunity with harvest areas of members of other subcommunities. To identify the Nome subcommunity, researchers interviewed all elder Native individuals thought to be of local ancestry. But only a few elders reported any ancestral occupancy either maternally or paternally, and none identified with each other. A subcommunity of Native people descended from traditional Native communities between Cape Nome and Sledge Island, with a self-identity, apparently did not exist. Thus, no comparison was made.

This finding helped explain how Wales families who moved to Nome in the 1940s could so completely occupy Fort Davis on the Nome River. The discovery of gold near Nome doomed local societies, whose members died, joined other Native societies, or were absorbed into Euro-American culture. Natives moving to Nome half a century later reoccupied the local territory and established new subcommunities along traditional lines.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This report documents hunting, fishing, and gathering areas used by 46 selected households in Nome, Alaska. Nome, with a population of 3,876 people in 1985, was the largest community in northwest Alaska. This study was designed especially to examine land and resource use in a moderately sized community like Nome, which serves as a regional center for a number of smaller villages with mixed subsistence-cash economies.

REGIONAL CENTERS IN NORTHWEST ALASKA

In the mid-nineteenth century, people in northwest Alaska were scattered widely in summer camps with a few dozen people and in winter villages with a few hundred residents. Between 1879 and 1918, local populations declined precipitously as the result of disease, social dislocation, and competition with commercial whaling ships for vital resources like whale and walrus. Although the population of northwest Alaska has been increasing since then, in 1980 it was hardly larger than historically. It is estimated that 10,050 people lived in 20 societies between the Fish and Colville rivers in 1850 (Burch 1975:12). The 1980 census counted 12,248 people in the same area; by 1984 the population had grown to 15,211 (Alaska Department of Labor 1985).

The geographic distribution of the regional population has

changed since aboriginal times. In 1984, 44 percent of the people in northwest Alaska lived in 27 small winter communities with an average population of 250. The remaining 56 percent lived in one of only three communities: Nome, Kotzebue, and Barrow. Each was a center of transportation, service, government, and retail trade for surrounding small communities in their regions.

In 1980, these three regional centers had an average population of 2,207 and were growing. By 1984, the average regional center population was 2,824. With relatively greater cash income opportunities generated from government, mining, oil, or commercial fishing activities regional centers attracted immigrants from the surrounding villages. High wages also attracted a transient population of professionals and laborers from urban Alaska and other states.

The economies of regional centers, like those of the villages, are a mix of cash and subsistence activities (Ellanna 1982, Wolfe et al 1983). In each regional center, many people rely on hunting, fishing, and gathering to provide basic food and materials. Hunting, fishing, and gathering were conducted on land and waters in the region, although the extent of land use by NW Alaska regional center residents has only been documented for Barrow (Pedersen 1979).

Although a number of subsistence studies had been conducted in Nome, only two attempted to map harvest areas (Thomas 1981, Magdanz and Olanna 1984b) and then only for single species. (These studies located particular areas for king crab and salmon

harvest activities.) Magdanz and Olanna (1984) also found that the people using the principal fish camp on the Nome River were almost all originally from Wales or Wales' allied communities (Shishmaref, Brevig Mission). That immediately raised questions about whether other lands used by Nome residents was patterned by the cultural background of particular user groups in Nome, such as natal village.

This study extends the inquiry begun on the Nome River to include species other than salmon, areas other than the Nome River watershed, and people other than the Nome River fishers. Central questions include the following: What areas do Nome residents use for hunting, fishing and gathering? What factors influence their harvest patterns? Did other groups of Nome residents have discrete use areas like those on the Nome River? If so, who were they? What areas did they use?

PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES

There were two different purposes for this project. The first was to document the extent (outer boundaries) of subsistence use areas of Nome residents. The second was to describe and understand land use patterns by residents of regional centers, examining certain theoretical propositions:

- A. Discrete areas are used for hunting and fishing by discrete subgroups of people in the regional center.
- B. Residents' use areas are influenced by the community of birth or ancestry ("natal community").
- C. To a certain extent, residents of regional centers

return seasonally to use areas near their natal community to harvest particular resources, in a pattern of town-village exchanges of people and products.

The first objective of the project was to produce a set of maps showing the extent of land use by Nome residents. These have been drafted at 1:250,000 scale and will be available in limited editions at the ADF&G regional offices in Nome, Fairbanks, Kotzebue, Anchorage, and Juneau. The 1:250,000 scale maps appear in reduced scale as figures in this report.

The second objective was this narrative, describing some patterns of fish and wildlife use in a regional center. Numerous northern studies have demonstrated that traditional and contemporary hunting and gathering societies had discrete territories, which community members recognized and used. In northwest Alaska, Ray (1964, 1967) and Burch (1975, 1980) have identified traditional Inupiat societies and their territories. These societies and territories still are reflected in land use patterns. Inupiat reindeer herders usually graze their herds within their society's traditional boundaries (Stern 1980). The land selected by Native corporations under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act often reflected traditional territories. Recent mapping by the Division of Subsistence reveals contemporary subsistence land areas fall within traditional territories (Thomas 1982, Magdanz and Olanna 1986). A Canadian study documented land-use patterns for seven communities in northeast British Columbia (Brody 1981). Brody found that community use areas tended to abut one another, but not to overlap. There was a high degree of correspondence between

residency and land-use areas. That is, people in a settlement used the same areas. In Alaska, Division of Subsistence mapping has shown considerable overlapping land use areas. None of these studies have, however, examined moderately sized, culturally mixed communities like Nome.

Nome was an especially good location for further study of the territoriality question. At least two subcommunities have been documented in Nome: King Island by Ellanna (1983) and Wales by Magdanz and Olanna (1984b). A relationship between the Wales subcommunity and salmon use areas has been demonstrated. This study was designed to discover if other land use patterns reflected existing subcommunities in Nome.

METHODOLOGY

The basic research design called for the collection of land-use and demographic information from both a stratified random sample and a selected sample of Nome residents. Land-use information was collected on clear film overlays of USGS maps at 1:250,000. Demographic information was compiled from existing sources and from a survey administered to each house (Appendix 1).

The Samples

In October, 1984, there were approximately 1,085 occupied houses in Nome. The design called for two different samples of Nome's

population, together totalling 10 percent of the total population, or slightly more than 100 households. The first sample was comprised of key respondents who were or had been active hunters, fishers, or gatherers while living in Nome. This sample was chosen to provide information about the maximum extent of use areas. The key respondent sample included 28 households (60.9 percent of the total sample). The second sample was comprised of households selected randomly from four selected subcommunities in Nome. This sample was chosen to examine the hypotheses about the territoriality of resource use areas. The subcommunity sample included 18 households (39.1 percent of the sample). For reasons detailed below, it was much smaller than planned.

By design, this study selected active resource users. As a consequence the Native component in the sample was slightly larger (65.2 percent) than in the general Nome population (59.5 percent in 1980). Average residency was slightly longer (27.0 years) for the mapping sample compared with Ellanna's random sample in 1982 (20.0 years).

The key respondent sample was identified through consultation with leaders of particular local groups -- the King Island Community, Nome Eskimo Community, Kawerak Elders Committee, and the Norton Sound Fish and Game Advisory Committee. Key respondents also were identified from a list of active hunters and fishers compiled during a 1982 study conducted by the Division of Subsistence (see Wolfe and Ellanna 1983).

To select the subcommunity sample, researchers compiled a

list of Nome residents by natal community, based on a census developed by Ellanna (1983). Ellanna identified the natal community of household heads on a utility's master list of residential customers. This master list was sorted by natal community, and random samples selected from four groups -- households whose heads' or heads' parents' natal communities were Gambell or Savoonga ("St. Lawrence Island Subcommunity"), Ingalik ("Diomedede Subcommunity"), King Island ("King Island Subcommunity"), or Nome ("Sitnasauak Subcommunity"). This sample was the "subcommunity sample."

Researchers had problems with the subcommunity sample. The King Island subcommunity decided not to participate in the mapping study,. The Diomedede subcommunity was much smaller than expected and, consequently, this subcommunity was dropped. The Sitnasauak subcommunity, which was expected to be the largest subcommunity in Nome, was so small that it was not adequate to test the hypotheses. It, too, was dropped from the study. This latter finding was as interesting as the hypotheses themselves, and is detailed in Chapter 4. Because of these problems, the sample totalled only 46 households, half as many as planned. Table 1 lists the natal communities of the key respondent in each household surveyed, for both the key respondent and the subcommunity samples. The only subcommunity sample large enough for examination of the territoriality hypotheses was the St. Lawrence Island subcommunity. But since there were no other valid subcommunity samples, there was nothing with which to compare it.

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE (N=46)

	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENT OF TOTAL SAMPLE
WILD RESOURCES USED		
Salmon	46	100.0 %
Freshwater Fish	42	91.3 %
Marine Fish	36	78.3 %
Shellfish	37	80.4 %
Walrus	31	67.4 %
Seals	37	80.4 %
Moose	43	93.5 %
Small Mammals	32	69.6 %
Bear	6	13.0 %
Plants	43	93.5 %
Wood	26	56.5 %
Waterfowl	30	65.2 %
NATAL COMMUNITIES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS		
Key Respondent Sample		
Barrow	1	2.2 %
Cape Darby	1	2.2
Deering	1	2.2
Kotzebue	1	2.2
Mary's Igloo	1	2.2
Nome	8	17.4
Nunivak Island	1	2.2
Shishmaref	3	6.5
Wales	3	6.5
White Mountain	1	2.2
Outside Alaska	7	15.2
Key Respondent Subtotal	28	60.9 %
Subcommunity Sample		
<u>Ingalik</u> (Little Diomedé)	3	6.5 %
King Island	2	4.3
<u>Sitnasuak</u>	0	0.0
St. Lawrence Island	13	28.3
Subcommunity Subtotal	18	39.1 %
TOTAL SAMPLE (N=)	46	100.0 %

NOTE: By design, the key respondents and the subcommunity members selected for this study were more active resource users than the residents of Nome as a whole. See Wolfe and Ellanna (1982) for data on resource use by a random sample of Nome residents.

Variables

Information about areas used for hunting, fishing, and gathering was gathered for twelve different resource categories (Appendix 1). Informants were asked to draw on a USGS topographic map (scale 1:250,000) areas where members of the household have hunted, fished, or gathered resources in each category since they began living in Nome. Both the maps and the survey were administered on the household level, rather than the individual level. Areas mapped were areas used by any member of the household, not simply by the respondent.

Procedures

Composite maps were drawn to show the extent of land use in eight resource categories, using standard Division of Subsistence procedures (Wolfe 1984). The outer boundaries of those composites appear in the figures in this report.

Survey and map data were digitally coded and examined with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. To code the mapped information, researchers divided the base map into geographically based areas (See Fig. 1 and Table 2). On land, the areas followed major watersheds, such as the Nome River, the Snake River and the Sinuk River. The major road corridors east, west, and north of Nome were made into discrete areas (shaded in Fig. 1). The ocean was apportioned into areas approximating the size of the watershed areas.

Each household's land use map was placed, one at a time, on the coded base map. Each resource category was examined, to see which areas on the base map were covered. For instance, when the household's salmon fishing area included the Nome River and the Snake River, then codes for these two areas were recorded. The process was repeated for each resource category on each household map, until there was a digitally coded record of resource use for each household. Researchers used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences to tabulate the use of each geographic area by species and other variables.

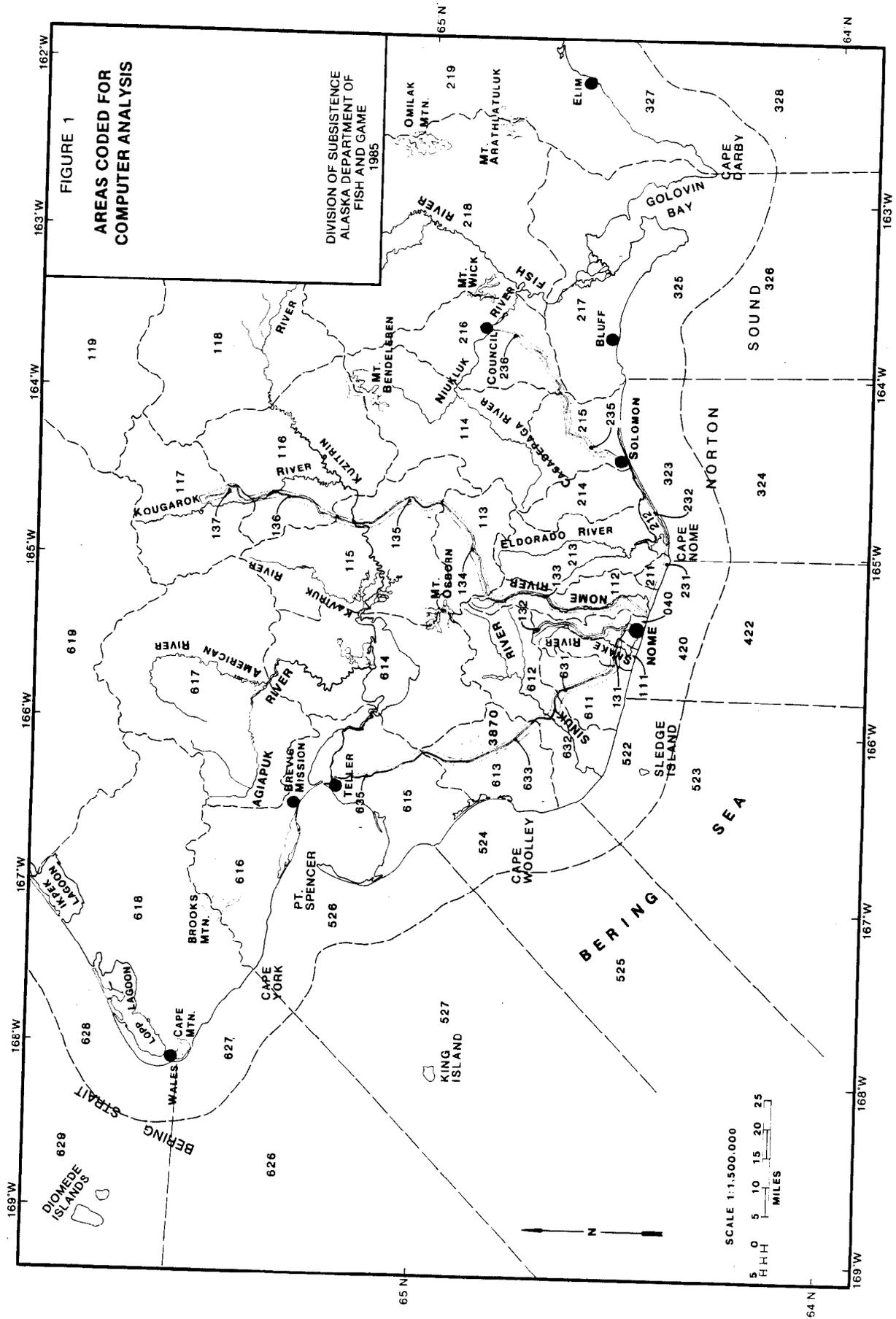


TABLE 2. AREA CODES USED IN COMPUTER ANALYSIS

LAND AREAS			
040	NOME TOWNSITE	215	SOLOMON RIVER WATERSHED
111	SNAKE RIVER WATERSHED	216	NIUKLUK RIVER WATERSHED
112	NOME RIVER WATERSHED	217	LOWER FISH RIVER
113	SALMON LAKE	218	UPPER FISH RIVER WATERSHED
114	CASADAPAGA RIVER WATERSHED	219	NORTON BAY WATERSHED
115	LOWER KUZITIRIN RIVER	611	PENNY & CRIPPLE RIVERS
116	MIDDLE KUZITIRIN RIVER	612	SINUK RIVER WATERSHED
117	KOUGAROK RIVER WATERSHED	613	FEATHER RIVER WATERSHED
118	UPPER KUZITIRIN RIVER	614	IMURUK BASIN & AGIAPUK
119	NE SEWARD PENINSULA	615	GREATER TELLER COAST
211	CAPE NOME	616	BREVIK MISSION COAST
212	SAFETY SOUND	617	AMERICAN & AGIAPUK RIVERS
213	FLAMBEAU & ELDORADO RIVERS	618	WALES COAST
214	BONANZA RIVER WATERSHED	619	NW SEWARD PENINSULA
ROAD CORRIDORS			
132	GLACIER CREEK ROAD	235	COUNCIL ROAD 30-55 M.
133	KOUGAROK ROAD 0-30 M.	236	COUNCIL ROAD 55-END
134	KOUGAROK ROAD 30-45 M.	131	TELLER ROAD 5-10 M.
135	KOUGAROK ROAD 45-60 M.	631	TELLER ROAD 10-20 M.
136	KOUGAROK ROAD 60-70 M.	632	TELLER ROAD 20-25 M.
137	KOUGAROK ROAD 70-END	633	TELLER ROAD 25-50 M.
231	COUNCIL ROAD 10-15 M.	635	TELLER ROAD 50-END.
232	COUNCIL ROAD 15-30 M.		
MARINE WATERS			
323	NORTON SOUND EAST	523	NORTON SOUND WEST
324	NORTON SOUND EAST	524	NORTON SOUND WEST
325	NORTON SOUND EAST	525	NORTON SOUND WEST
326	NORTON SOUND EAST	526	NORTON SOUND WEST
327	NORTON SOUND EAST	527	NORTON SOUND WEST
328	NORTON SOUND EAST	626	BERING STRAIT
420	NORTON SOUND SOUTH	627	BERING STRAIT
422	NORTON SOUND SOUTH	628	BERING STRAIT
522	NORTON SOUND WEST	629	BERING STRAIT

NOTE: This table is a key to Figure 1. Areas were numbered, beginning with the Nome townsite, in clockwise order from the north. Each code consists of three digits. The first place indicates the direction from Nome (e.g. 1=North). The second place indicates area type (e.g. 2=marine waters). The third place indicates approximate distance from Nome (e.g. 4=40 miles). These areas and codes will be used in tables throughout the report.

CHAPTER 2

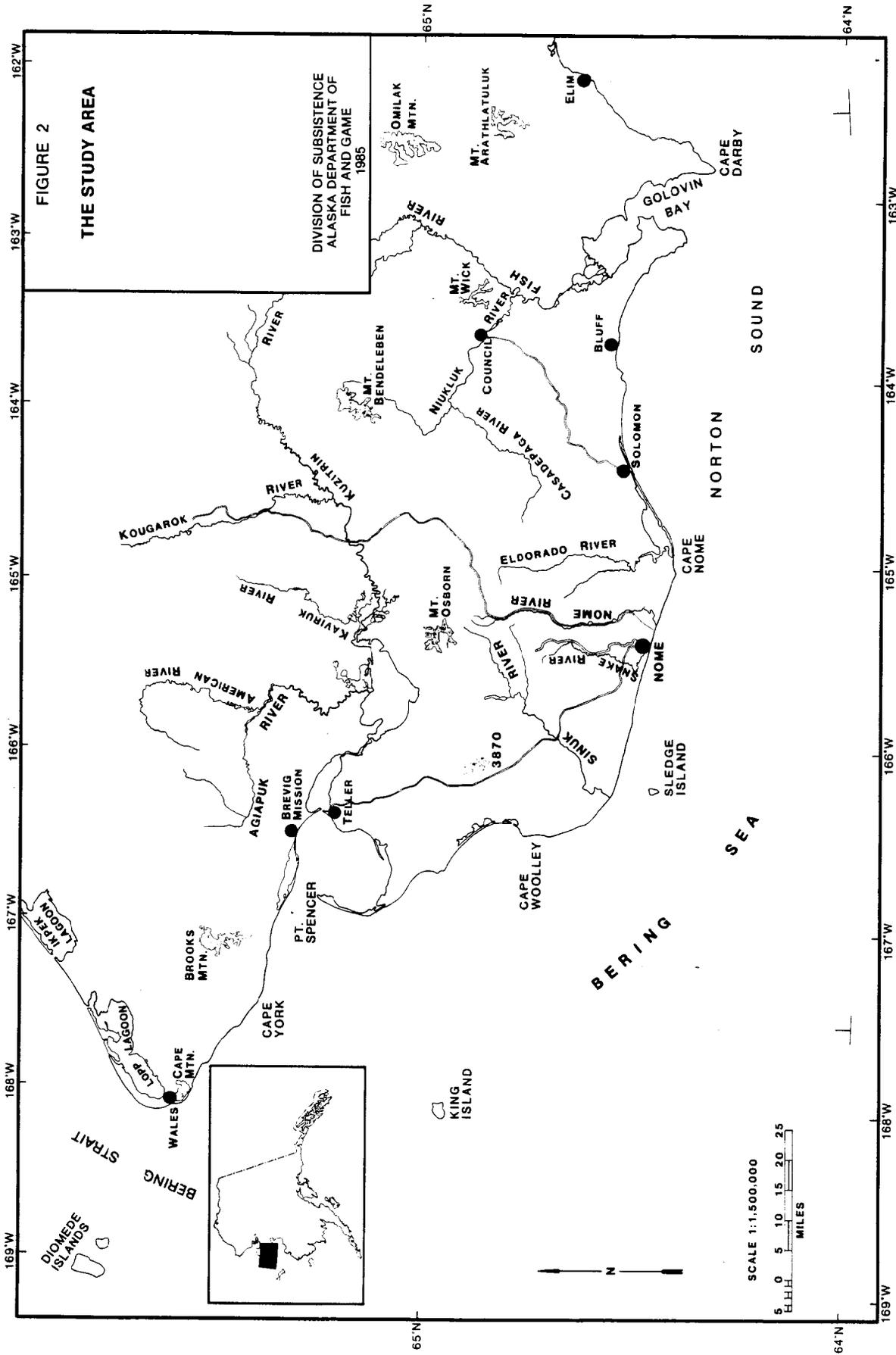
THE SETTING

In 1985, Nome was an ethnically diverse community of 3,876 residents, with an economy supported by government, local renewable resource harvesting, mining, and commercial fishing. As a transportation, trade, and service center, Nome linked approximately 20 smaller communities in the Norton Sound and Bering Strait region with urban Alaska and other states. This chapter briefly describes Nome's environment, history, population and economy. Readers seeking more information are directed to other excellent sources available (e.g. Ray 1975, Ender et al 1980, Cole 1984).

THE LOCAL ENVIRONMENT

Nome lies on southern shore of the Seward Peninsula about four miles west of the mouth of the Nome River, facing Norton Sound (Fig 2). Norton Sound usually freezes in December and thaws in May, though the offshore ice is never fast. Major migrations of pacific walrus and bearded seal pass by Nome each spring during breakup. Smaller seal species typically are abundant during open water, and belukha and grey whales occasionally are present. Red and blue king crab are found near Nome, Cape Douglas, Lost River, St. Lawrence Island and the Diomed Islands.

The southern Seward Peninsula is a mostly treeless, subarctic landscape, with cool, short summers and long, cold



winters. The area used by respondents in this study is roughly bounded by the Kuzitrin River watershed northwest of Nome, and the Fish River watershed northeast of Nome. The Kuzitrin watershed is separated from Nome by the Kiglauik Mountains. Both the Kuzitrin and the Fish rivers support substantial runs of pacific salmon (five species) and dolly varden, and has resident populations of whitefish, northern pike, grayling, and burbot. The Fish River watershed is notable for its spruce forests, which are sparse but provide firewood and building materials to communities on the eastern peninsula. Smaller rivers along the coast usually support chum, pink and coho salmon, as well as whitefish, dolly varden, and grayling.

When Europeans first arrived in the area caribou were abundant, but by 1900 caribou no longer inhabited the peninsula. They were replaced ecologically by privately owned reindeer, which were still present in 1985. In the 1950s, moose migrated into the region from the interior and by 1985 were common throughout the peninsula. Brown bear are common and used occasionally for food in some communities. Smaller animals -- hares, ptarmigan, arctic fox, red fox, lynx, wolverine -- are all found in areas accessible from Nome.

Cape Douglas, Wooley Lagoon, Safety Sound and Golovnin Lagoon attract tens of thousands of migrating waterfowl in spring and fall. Lesser numbers of waterfowl can be found throughout the area during open water season. Seabirds nest on cliffs at Bluff and Sledge Island.

Unique in northwest Alaska, Nome has three state-maintained

roads leading miles into the country: one to Teller, one to Taylor in the Kougarok mining district, and one to Council. The roads, however, connect with no others and terminate within the region.

NOME'S HISTORY AND ECONOMY

Inupiat Eskimo occupancy of the area began at least 4,000 ago (Bockstoece 1979:88). Prior to a gold rush in 1899, the Nome townsite had been seasonally inhabited by Inupiat and was known as Sitnasuak (Ray 1964:73). Twenty inhabitants were recorded in the 1880 census (Petroff 1884:11). A nearby site at the mouth of the Nome River, Uinakhtaguik, was inhabited by 10 persons in 1880 (ibid.). These sites were primarily used for fishing and crabbing. They were not especially good for marine mammal hunting, as sea ice conditions generally were unfavorable (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983:91).

The principal Inupiat settlements in the area were Qipall'uq (or Asaacaryaq), 15 miles east at Cape Nome with 60 inhabitants in 1880, and Ayaag, 15 miles west on Sledge Island with 50 inhabitants in 1880 (Koutsky 1981:26,27). Smaller settlements, like those at the Nome and Snake rivers, occurred along the coast at productive locations. All these communities, including those at Nome's site, comprised either one society occupying the coast from Cape Douglas to Rocky Point (Burch 1980) or two related societies bounded at Cape Nome (Ray 1964, 1967). The societies

were largely independent of Europeans socially and economically until about 1900, when the gold rush both disrupted land use patterns and introduced diseases. Nome was founded on October 18, 1898, as a mining district on the Snake River in Northwest Alaska (Collier et al 1908:18). In September of that year, prospectors from Council had located substantial quantities of gold on Anvil Creek, a tributary of the Snake (ibid:16). In 1899, nearly 3,000 miners already in the North hurried to Nome. And in 1900, as evidence of the rich gold deposits reached outside Alaska, more than 20,000 more people arrived from the states. The mouth of the Snake River became a booming settlement. Residents voted to incorporate the City of Nome in April 1901 (Cole 1984:101). Nome has been inhabited continuously ever since.

The Inupiat societies in the Nome area at historic contact were severely impacted by the gold rush and ceased to exist as societies by the early twentieth century. In 1918, the Eskimo population in the Nome region was estimated to be 250, and of those, 200 died in an influenza epidemic (Cole 1984:136). Remnant survivors -- mostly children -- were scattered and the communities were abandoned. After 1918 Nome was the only settlement on the central southern Seward Peninsula.

From its early days, Nome attracted other Inupiat from the surrounding region. On the one hand, Nome's wealthy miners and traders were a good market for Native crafts, especially ivory carvings. On the other, Nome was a good source of imported staples like tobacco, tea, coffee, flour and sugar. Labor was always needed for longshoring, mining, and services. Some Inupiat

-- especially from King Island and the Diomed Islands -- made wage labor part of their seasonal round of economic activities.

For the first few years of the twentieth century Nome was the largest city in Alaska (Cole 1984:101), but the richest placer deposits were worked out within a decade and its population fell. As gold mining declined, a reindeer industry developed. The Lomen family promoted reindeer meat as a gourmet food and sold 8.5 million pounds, most to markets, outside the region between 1917 and 1933 (Stern 1980:123). But like gold before it, the reindeer economy collapsed in the 1930s leaving behind a remnant domestic industry.

World War II temporarily boosted the local economy when Nome became a refueling stop for the lend-lease program that provided United States airplanes to the Soviet Union. Intelligence reports of a pending Japanese invasion of Alaska prompted an airlift of 2,300 troops to Nome. Civilian job opportunities attracted many Inupiat from area communities to Nome. But the military boom was temporary, too. Since World War II, only the Alaska National Guard has maintained a small presence in Nome.

Gradually, government came to be the mainstay of the regional economy, providing administrative, educational, medical and social services to the Seward Peninsula and Norton Sound area. In 1979, 53 percent of the jobs in the Nome census area were in federal, state or local governments. For example, state and local governments employed 1159 Nome residents in 1983, compared with only 303 in 1969 (City of Nome 1985:19). The

employees and the operations of government in turn supported private businesses, most of which were located in Nome. The Bering Straits Regional Strategy team estimated 75 percent of the region's employment depended on government, either directly or in services.

NOME IN THE 1980S

Nome's character changed dramatically between its founding in 1898 and 1985. The mining boom town evolved into a multi-cultural service and retail center. It was a polyglot community with an Eskimo majority (59 percent). The minorities included whites (39 percent), blacks, asians and hispanics. Nome produced for export small quantities of gold, reindeer, and seafood, but not nearly enough to support the local population. It depended heavily on government revenues generated elsewhere in Alaska and the United States, on tourism, and on non-commercial wildlife harvesting for local consumption. Like most other rural Alaska communities, Nome exhibited extremes of housing, employment, and income. Some people lived in expensive homes, were employed year round, and were highly paid. Others lived in one-room cabins, were employed seasonally or not at all, and were poorly paid.

Nome's economic trends continued to be unpredictable. Between July 1981 and July 1984, 215 new housing units were constructed, a 20 percent increase (City of Nome 1985:10). Between July 1981 and July 1983, state and local governments employed 435 more people, a 60 percent increase(ibid). But by

1986, tumbling world oil prices and shrinking state oil revenues caused severe reductions in state and local government budgets. The housing market froze, layoffs mounted, and the local economy was poised for recession.

Housing, food, transportation, clothes, recreation, and medical services were all more expensive in the Nome area than in most other parts of Alaska. The Alaska Geographic Differential Study calculated the overall cost of living to be 1.33 times that of Anchorage in 1985 (Alaska Department of Administration 1985). Other studies have calculated even higher differentials: 1.63 (City of Nome 1985:26) and 1.65 (Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development 1979:82-83). It has been estimated that a family of four would require more than \$43,000 annually to support a moderate standard of living on cash alone (Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development 1979).

Average personal incomes in Nome were less than those of Anchorage and the rest of Alaska. The average taxable income per return reported for Nome in 1982 was \$19,745, compared with \$23,590 for Anchorage and \$21,624 for Alaska as a whole. (Alaska Department of Revenue 1985:50,47,15) Figure 3 shows the range of gross incomes reported per income tax return for Nome in 1982 (see Fig. 3).

Faced with such high living costs and low monetary incomes most families in Nome supplemented their diet with wild foods. A survey of a random sample of Nome houses conducted by the Division of Subsistence in 1982 found that 95 percent of the

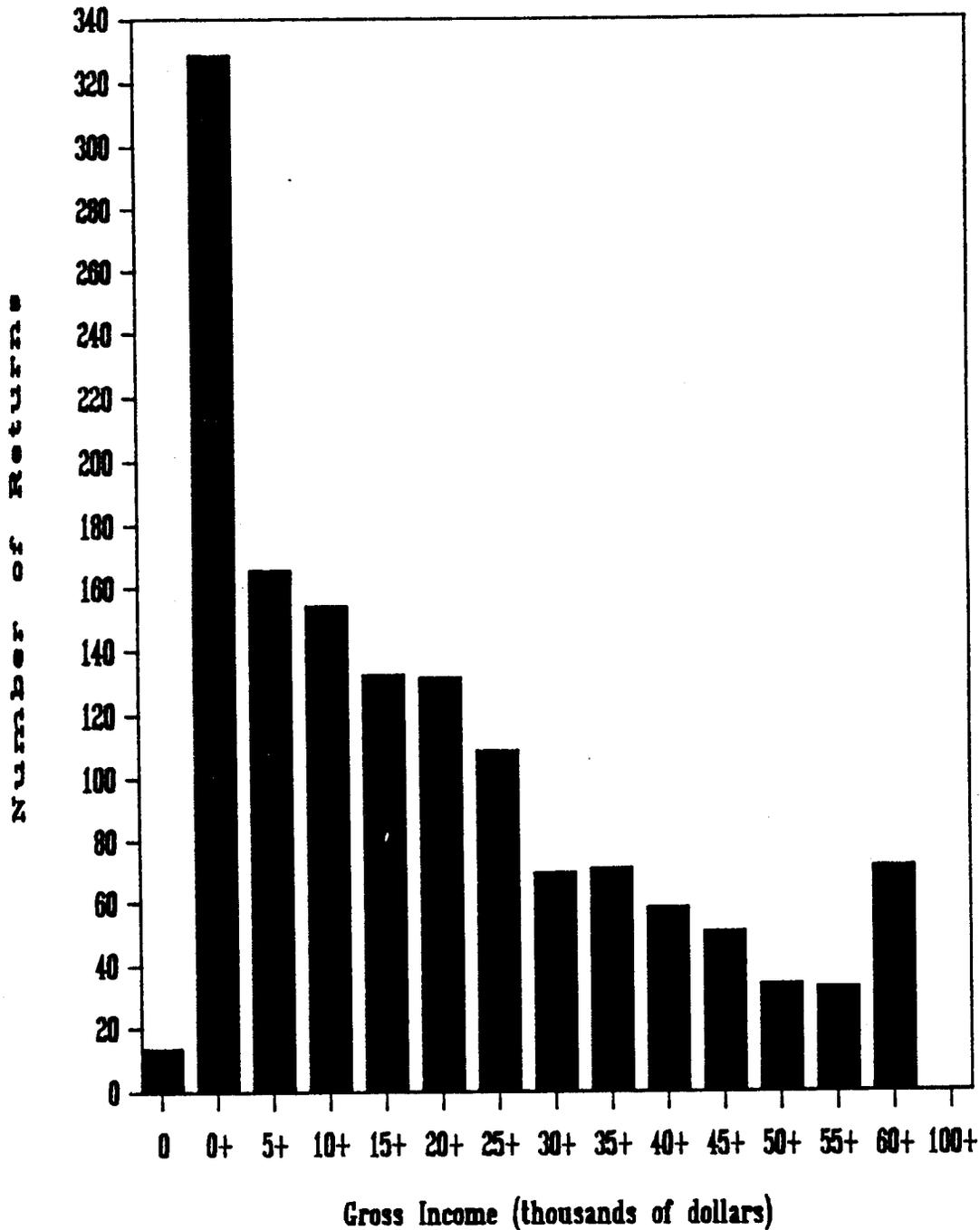


FIGURE 3: GROSS PERSONAL INCOMES IN NOME. Nome residents' gross personal incomes (per tax return) ranged from \$0 to more than \$60,000 in 1982. More than 300 taxpayers reported gross incomes of \$5,000 or less. The vast majority reported incomes less than the \$43,000 required to support a moderate standard of living for a family of four. See text.

households used one or more wild foods (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983:111). Approximately 65 percent reported using at least six different kinds of wild food (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983:105). The Alaska Geographic Differential Study found 93 percent of Nome area households used wild foods (Alaska Department of Administration 1985:201). Nome area households reported spending more than \$1,400 annually on subsistence equipment, supplies, and transportation (Alaska Department of Administration 1985:202).

People used different combinations of employment, hunting, fishing, and gathering to meet their needs. The most common practice was for family members to contribute in different ways to a household's economy. One member or more would be employed for wages. His or her income would be used to purchase equipment, which were used by household members to hunt and fish. Different houses used different strategies, ranging from heavy dependence on wages and salaries to heavy dependence on wild resources. Economic activities of households commonly varied seasonally, since more jobs were available in the summer than in the winter.

CHAPTER 3

AREAS USED FOR FISHING, HUNTING, AND GATHERING

The Nome hunters, fishers, and gatherers interviewed during this study harvested wild resources throughout the southern Seward Peninsula, Norton Sound, and the Bering Strait. Nome walrus hunters traveled to within sight of the Yukon River delta to the south and of Shishmaref to the north, a span of more than 200 miles. Maps showing where people hunted, fished and gathered appear as figures in this chapter. The same information is available at 1:250,000 scale in the Arctic Region edition of the Alaska Habitat Management Guide (Alaska Department of Fish and Game) at department regional offices.

The chapter is organized by species, beginning with fish, followed by land mammals, marine mammals, waterfowl, and plants. When people drew maps they often volunteered information that could not be mapped, such as season of use, type of equipment used, and use of resources. Some of these data are included in the narratives below. Nome residents also traveled to other Alaska communities to hunt, fish, and gather. These travels were not mapped, but they are described in the final section of this chapter.

FISH

Salmon Areas

Salmon were the most common of all wild resources harvested by Nome residents. All the 46 sampled households in this study reported harvesting salmon. Salmon harvesting areas appear in Figure 4. The Nome River watershed was most heavily used (23 households), followed by the Sinuk River (18), Norton Sound near Nome (17), the Penny and the Cripple rivers (16). Safety Sound and the two main rivers draining into it, the Eldorado and the Flambeau, were used by 10 households (Table 3). Most salmon were taken in these rivers with nets, except that the Sinuk was more heavily used for rod and reel fishing than for net fishing.

Fourteen of the household specifically mentioned using camps during salmon fishing. Road access facilitated salmon fishing for certain households. Nine households reported use of the Kougarok Road, 11 of the Council Road, and 7 of the Teller Road.

Five households fished the upper Fish River watershed, a surprisingly large number because this area was more than 100 miles from Nome, first by road and then by boat. Two households traveled equally far in the opposite direction to the Agiapuk River. In most cases, a member of the household had been born in either a Fish River or a Port Clarence community.

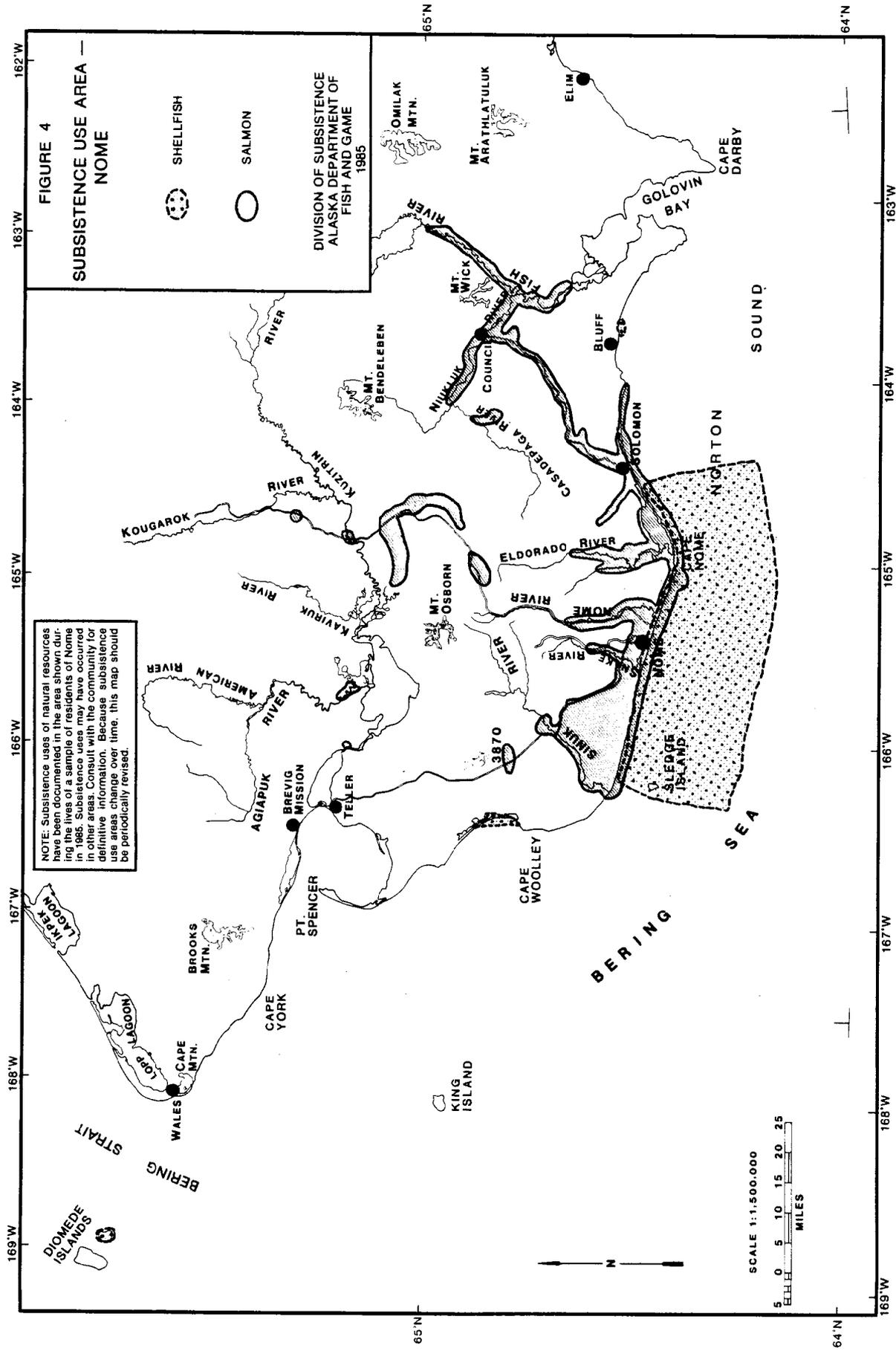


FIGURE 4

SUBSISTENCE USE AREA —
NOME

-  SHELLFISH
-  SALMON

DIVISION OF SUBSISTENCE
ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF
FISH AND GAME
1985

NOTE: Subsistence uses of natural resources have been documented in the area shown during 1985. Subsistence uses of resources in other areas. Consult with the community for definitive information. Because subsistence use areas change over time, this map should be periodically revised.

SCALE 1:1,500,000
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MILES

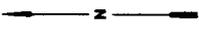


TABLE 3: NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING USE OF AREAS FOR HARVESTING FISH AND SHELLFISH (N=46)

	SALMON	SHELL FISH	MARINE FISH	FRESHWATER FISH
NOME TOWNSITE	9			6
SNAKE RIVER WATERSHED	7			12
NOME RIVER WATERSHED	23			15
SALMON LAKE	3			10
CASADAPAGA RIVER WATERSHED	3			6
LOWER KUZITRIN RIVER	6			12
MIDDLE KUZITRIN RIVER				8
KOUGAROK RIVER WATERSHED				4
UPPER KUZITRIN RIVER				3
CAPE NOME	1			
SAFETY SOUND	7	1	17	4
FLAMBEAU AND ELDORADO RIVERS	10			13
BONANZA RIVER WATERSHED	3			6
SOLOMON RIVER WATERSHED	3		4	3
NIUKLUK RIVER WATERSHED	7			11
LOWER FISH RIVER	4			4
UPPER FISH RIVER WATERSHED	5			7
NORTON BAY WATERSHED				2
PENNY AND CRIPPLE RIVERS	16			11
SINUK RIVER WATERSHED	18			17
FEATHER RIVER WATERSHED	1			3
IMURUK BASIN AND AGIAPUK RIVER	2			5
GREATER TELLER COAST				2
AMERICAN AND AGIAPUK RIVERS				1
GLACIER CREEK ROAD	3			3
KOUGAROK ROAD 0-30 M.	9			19
KOUGAROK ROAD 30-45 M.	2			4
KOUGAROK ROAD 45-60 M.	8			20
KOUGAROK ROAD 60-70 M.	1			7
KOUGAROK ROAD 70-END				1
COUNCIL ROAD 10-15 M.	11			6
COUNCIL ROAD 15-30 M.	5			1
COUNCIL ROAD 30-55 M.	10			23
COUNCIL ROAD 55-END	3			6
TELLER ROAD 5-10 M.	3			2
TELLER ROAD 10-20 M.	2			8
TELLER ROAD 20-25 M.	7			10
TELLER ROAD 25-50 M.				1
TELLER ROAD 50-END				2
NORTON SOUND EAST 323	8	1	10	
NORTON SOUND EAST 324		1		
NORTON SOUND EAST 325			2	
NORTON SOUND SOUTH 420	17	36	30	
NORTON SOUND SOUTH 422		2	1	
NORTON SOUND WEST 522	3	3	5	
NORTON SOUND WEST 523		1		
NORTON SOUND WEST 524		2		
NORTON SOUND WEST 526	2		4	
BERING STRAIT 627		2		
BERING STRAIT 629		1		
Total Cases	46	37	36	42

Shellfish Areas

The shellfish category included crabs, clams and mussels. Most of the shellfish harvested were red king crab. Shellfish harvest areas were relatively small and concentrated compared with other resource areas (see Fig. 4). Harvesting was reported by 36 households in Norton Sound from near the beach to approximately 5 miles seaward, and from Cape Nome in the east to approximately the Cripple River mouth in the west (in area 420 of Figure 1). No other area was used by more than three households and most were used by only one (Table 3).

Norton Sound immediately south of Nome (area 420) was prime king crab winter habitat. King crab usually were harvested with handlines or pots set through the sea ice within two miles of shore. Most harvesting occurred between January and May, although three households reported harvesting crab in the summer. Two households reported harvesting or obtaining crab from Little Diomed Island; one obtained crab through sharing and trade, one actually crabbed at Diomed. The king crab fishery has been extensively documented by the Division of Subsistence (Thomas 1981, Magdanz 1982, 1983, Magdanz and Olanna 1984, 1985).

Claming areas were reported by four households. Safety Sound and its tributary rivers (Eldorado, Flambeau, and Bonanza) were most often mentioned by clammers. One respondent said there were many clams just inside and to the west of the entrance to Safety Sound, but the tide was never right for clam harvesting. He said there were clams in the middle of the Bonanza River, but he had

not been able to figure out how to harvest them. Ocean storms sometimes deposited clams on the beaches. Two respondents reported clams and mussels on the beach at Wooley Lagoon. One gathered clams along the western spit between Grantley Harbor and Port Clarence.

Marine Fish Areas

For this study, marine fish were defined as all the fish harvested in salt water except salmon. This included two anadromous species: dolly varden ("trout") and cisco ("whitefish"). Thirty six households reported using marine fish areas. The most commonly caught marine fish were saffron cod ("tomcod"), arctic cod ("blue cod"), and sculpin. Dolly varden were mentioned by three households (most dolly varden were harvested in fresh water, see below). Herring were mentioned by one household. Most households reported fishing in Norton Sound between Solomon River in the east and Cripple River in the west (Fig. 5). One household fished as far east as Bluff; several households ranged as far west as Sinuk River and Sledge Island.

Thirty households harvested marine fish in the winter through the sea ice south of Nome (Table 3). Twenty-three specifically mentioned tomcod; sculpin and blue cod were also available here. Safety Sound was used by 17 households, principally for tomcod. These harvests usually occurred in the fall just before freeze-up when nets were used, or just after freeze-up when jigging lines were used. The Bonanza River near

the Solomon bridge was used by four households.

Freshwater Fish Areas

Freshwater fish were defined as all fish harvested in fresh water except salmon. Thus the use of anadromous species appeared in these areas as well as the marine fish area. Forty two households reported using freshwater fish areas.

Harvesting effort for freshwater fish was widely dispersed across the peninsula, aided by the roads (Fig. 5). The Council Road along the Solomon River saw the most effort: 23 households reported using this area (Table 3). The Kougarok Road near the Nome River and again near the Pilgrim had almost as much effort: 19 and 20 households respectively. The Teller Road was used by 10 households which fished in the Sinuk River. All major rivers saw heavy use: Sinuk, Nome, Flambeau, Eldorado, Snake, Kuzitrin, Niukluk, Penny and Cripple.

Respondents in the study volunteered extensive specific information about areas used. To give an indication of the extent of fresh water fishing, notes from a typical interview appear below:

At Sinuk and Cripple rivers he fishes for trout and grayling year round. During the summer he fishes for trout and grayling at Penny River. At the Pilgrim River area he fishes for whitefish, trout, grayling, and northern pike in spring, summer and fall. At the head waters at Pilgrim Spring he fishes for whitefish, grayling, and trout. On Kougarok and Kuzitrin rivers he fishes for trout and grayling. On the Eldorado River he fishes during the summer and winter for trout and grayling. On the Nome and Bonanza rivers he fishes for

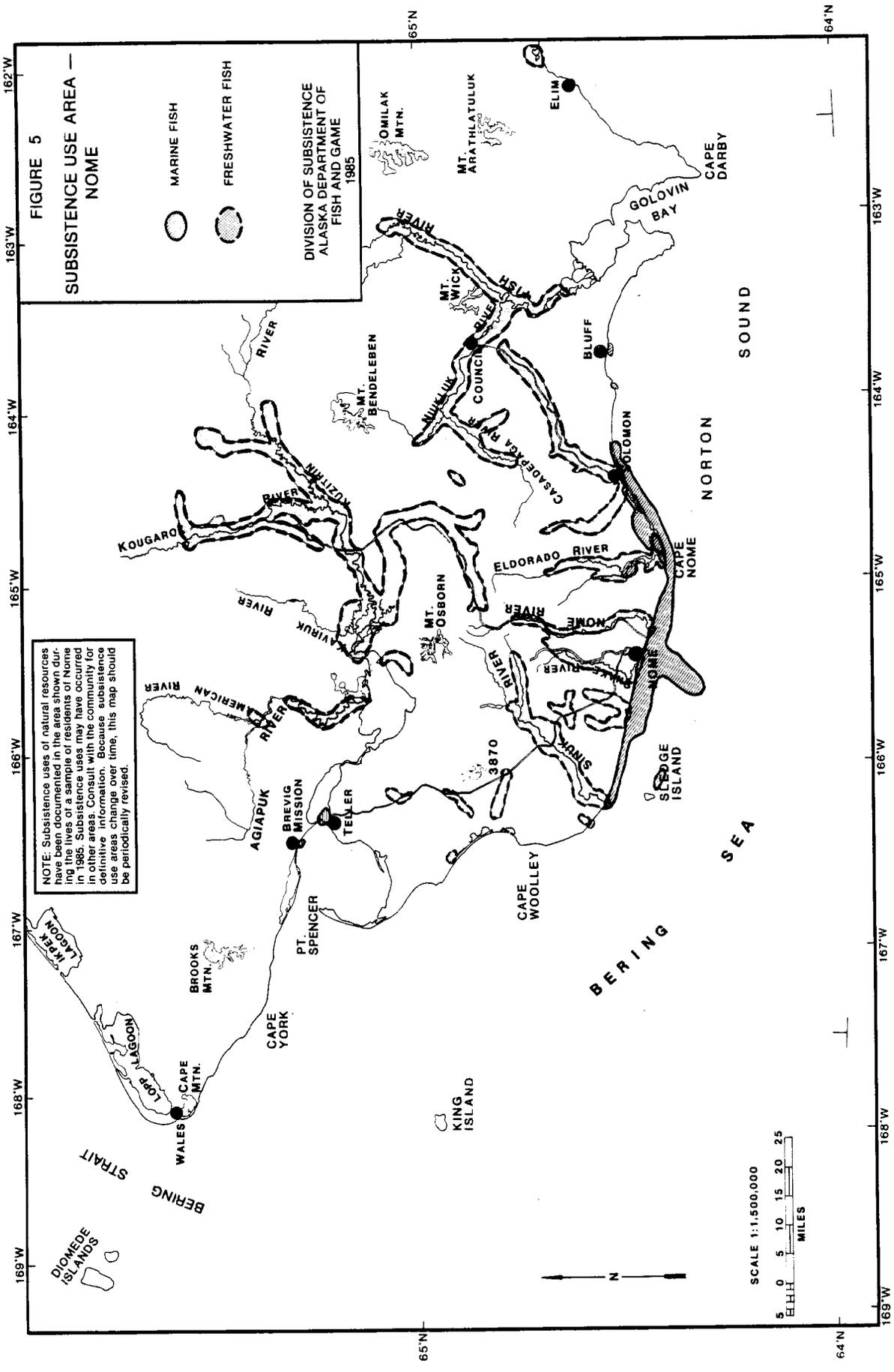


FIGURE 5

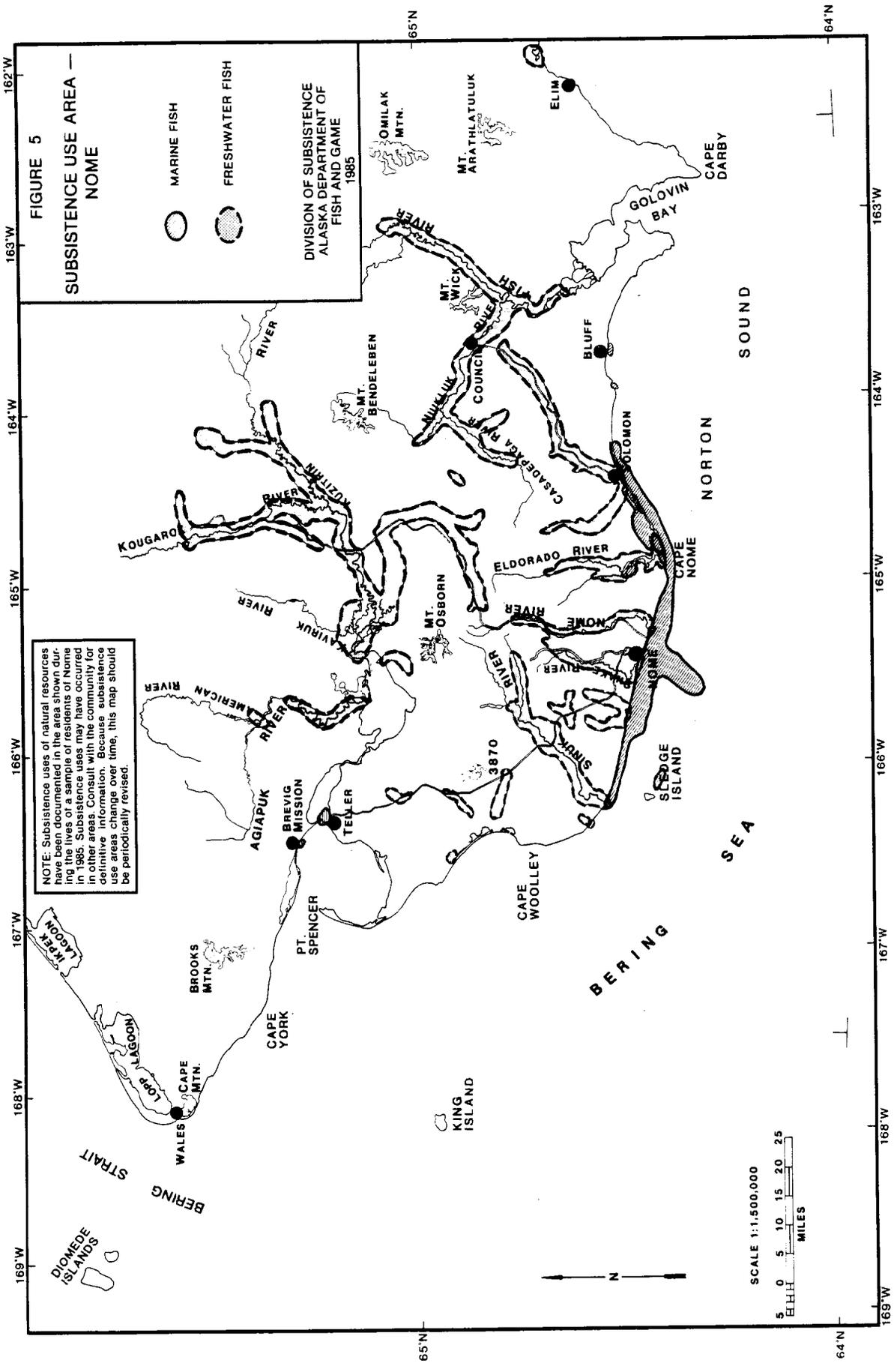
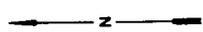
SUBSISTENCE USE AREA —
NOME

-  MARINE FISH
-  FRESHWATER FISH

DIVISION OF SUBSISTENCE
ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF
FISH AND GAME
1985

NOTE: Subsistence uses of natural resources have been documented in the Norton Sound area by residents of Nome in 1985. Subsistence uses may have occurred in other areas. Consult with the community for definitive information. Because subsistence use areas change over time, this map should be periodically revised.

SCALE 1:1,500,000



trout and grayling. On Solomon River he fishes for trout and grayling year round. On Casadepaga River he fishes for trout and grayling. From Big Four Creek to Niukluk and Fish River he fishes for trout and grayling. At Agiapuk River he fishes for trout and grayling during the summer and fall. On the Kuztrin River near Davidson's Landing he fishes for northern pike. On Grand Central River, he fishes for grayling.

Not all of these locations would be visited by members of this household every year. But most locations probably received some effort from Nome as a whole each year. Dolly varden was considered a delicacy by many Nome residents, and fishers ranged widely to obtain it.

LAND MAMMALS

Moose Hunting Areas

Moose arrived on the Seward Peninsula 30 to 40 years ago, and were integrated quickly into the seasonal round of hunting activities by Nome residents. Moose have been the only large terrestrial mammal locally available to moose hunters since the caribou herds disappeared from the peninsula in the nineteenth century. Forty three households reported using moose hunting areas. Only salmon attracted more effort.

In no other harvesting activity did roads and rivers play such a prominent role as with moose hunting. Although moose hunters ranged from the upper Fish River in the east to the American River in the west (Fig. 6), hunting was concentrated along the Kougarok Road, the Teller Road, and the Council Road.

From 19 to 33 houses reported using the road system for hunting moose (Table 4). Only the Kuzitrin River, which usually was reached from the Kougarok Road, received as much hunting pressure (19 households). The Niukluk River, reached via the Council Road, was hunted by 13 households.

The short moose hunting regulatory season in areas near Nome promoted the use of roads for hunting. In watersheds near Nome -- the Nome, Snake, Penny, Cripple, and Sinuk rivers -- moose hunting was open for only 15 days in early September. Once the short GMU 22C season closed, hunters had to travel more than 50 miles inland, where the moose season remained open through December or January. Roads were the most convenient access routes. From October to December, thin ice and open water restricted travel on rivers by snowmachines. Minimal snow cover also commonly restricted overland travel under these conditions. Wheeled vehicles were most suited for accessing moose hunting areas. As moose had not entered the Seward Peninsula until after the road system had been built, no prior transportation method has ever been established for moose hunting. Pickup trucks are the most efficient vehicle for transporting moose. Few hunters choose to pack a moose a long distance if moose can be taken near a road. So during moose season hunters in pickup trucks cruise the roads, glassing the river bottoms and hillsides for moose.

Some hunters used snowmachines when conditions permitted, principally in the Niukluk and Fish River watersheds where hunting was open through January 31. Some hunters used airplanes,

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING USE OF AREAS FOR HARVESTING LAND MAMMALS (N=46)

AREA USED	MOOSE	SMALL MAMMALS	BEAR
NOME TOWNSITE	11	12	3
SNAKE RIVER WATERSHED	12	18	4
NOME RIVER WATERSHED	6	14	5
SALMON LAKE	8	6	3
CASADAPAGA RIVER WATERSHED	8	4	2
LOWER KUZITRIN RIVER	19	8	1
MIDDLE KUZITRIN RIVER	14	7	1
KOUGAROK RIVER WATERSHED	4	3	
UPPER KUZITRIN RIVER	1	2	
NORTHEAST SEWARD PENINSULA		1	
CAPE NOME	3	11	2
SAFETY SOUND	1	8	2
FLAMBEAU AND ELDORADO RIVERS	6	14	3
BONANZA RIVER WATERSHED	1	11	3
SOLOMON RIVER WATERSHED	4	7	2
NIUKLUK RIVER WATERSHED	13	5	2
LOWER FISH RIVER	7	3	2
UPPER FISH RIVER WATERSHED	7	3	1
NORTON BAY WATERSHED		2	1
PENNY AND CRIPPLE RIVERS	1	15	3
SINUK RIVER WATERSHED	3	15	3
FEATHER RIVER WATERSHED	1	6	2
IMURUK BASIN AND AGIAPUK	9	4	1
GREATER TELLER COAST	9	3	
BREVIK MISSION COAST	1	1	
AMERICAN AND AGIAPUK RIVERS	4	1	
NORTHWEST SEWARD PENINSULA	1		
GLACIER CREEK ROAD	17	6	
KOUGAROK ROAD 0-30 M.	18	17	
KOUGAROK ROAD 30-45 M.	33	12	
KOUGAROK ROAD 45-60 M.	33	13	
KOUGAROK ROAD 60-70 M.	30	14	
KOUGAROK ROAD 70-END	7	3	
COUNCIL ROAD 10-15 M.	8	6	1
COUNCIL ROAD 15-30 M.	8	7	
COUNCIL ROAD 30-55 M.	13	6	
COUNCIL ROAD 55-END	19	7	
TELLER ROAD 5-10 M.	14	9	1
TELLER ROAD 10-20 M.	16	7	
TELLER ROAD 20-25 M.	15	6	1
TELLER ROAD 25-50 M.	17	11	1
TELLER ROAD 50-END	23	7	1
NORTON SOUND WEST 522		1	
Total Cases	43	32	6

NOTE: One respondent reported hunting polar bear in Norton Sound waters between Cape Darby and Cape Wooley.

landing at remote strips or gravel bars and hiking overland. The Agiapuk and American rivers were hunted with aircraft.

Small Mammal Areas

Thirty two households reported using areas for harvesting small mammals. Small mammals included hares, rabbits, ptarmigan, red and arctic fox, and arctic ground squirrel. Otter, muskrat, mink, wolverine, and wolf were also hunted, but were much less commonly harvested. Whereas moose hunters clearly used roads and rivers, the small mammal hunters traveled cross country. The reason lay in the season; small mammals are taken in winter, when snow conditions allowed for overland travel. Hunters on snowmachines commonly ranged from watershed to watershed hunting fox, hares, rabbits and ptarmigan with rifles.

Watersheds close to Nome -- the Snake, Nome, Flambeau, Eldorado, Sinuk, Penny, Cripple and Bonanza -- were used by 11 to 18 households (Table 4). The Kougatok Road was used by 17 households; the Teller Road by 11. Hunting pressure gradually declined with the distance from Nome. Small mammal hunters penetrated further into the interior of the peninsula than other hunters or fishers. One hunter circled Imuruk Lake on the north side of the continental divide, while another hunted as far east as Moses Point.

Bear Hunting Areas

Only six households reported bear hunting areas. Five households had hunted brown bear; one had hunted polar bear. Bears were not widely sought. Many people considered them more of a nuisance than a food source. One respondent said that neither he nor his wife cared to eat it, because a relative once died after eating bear meat. He would eat bear only in an emergency situation. Bear harvests also may be low because brown bears could be harvested only by paying \$25 in advance for a bear permit, and because regulations allow hunters to take only one brown bear every four years.

Most bear hunters during spring, traveling widely across the country (Fig. 6). The Nome and Snake River valleys were hunted by five and four households, respectively (Table 4). The Flambeau, Eldorado and Bonanza rivers, all draining into Safety Sound, were used by three households. The Penny, Cripple and Sinuk rivers also were used by three households. As with small game, hunting pressure diminished as the distance from Nome increased.

MARINE MAMMALS

Walrus Hunting Areas

Walrus hunters literally went off the map. When designing the study, researchers underestimated the potential range of walrus hunters. Consequently, the base map was not large enough to

include all the areas used for walrus hunting. Walrus hunters ranged throughout Norton Sound and through the Bering Strait (Fig. 7). Several hunters reported hunting within sight of the Yukon Delta, 75 miles south of Nome. One hunter sighted St. Lawrence Island, 125 miles southwest. Most walrus hunters in 1985 were using 18-foot aluminum skiffs with 50-90 hp motors. Seventy five miles (not to mention 125 miles) was a long way to travel in such a boat on the open ocean.

Walrus were abundant in Norton Sound in May, June, and July, as they migrated northward through the Bering Strait. They were usually found in the disintegrating ice pack, 10 miles or more from shore. Walrus occasionally hauled out on the south side of Sledge Island, and many Nome hunters began their walrus hunts by steering for Sledge Island. Twenty eight households hunted walrus in Norton Sound west of Nome (area 522), while 25 and 26 households hunted in the adjacent areas south and west of Nome (Table 5). After checking Sledge Island most hunters turned to the ocean 20 to 30 miles offshore until they encountered floating ice, and then traveled parallel to the coast east and west. One walrus hunter said that he established a base camp on Sledge Island and hunted from there.

Hunters looking for walrus ranged over more territory than hunters after any other species. "Game don't stay in any one place," said one old Nome hunter from Diomedes about marine mammal hunting. "You can't hunt in one place. The only time you stay in one place is winter. Look for open water. But in summer time, you got to go all over. You can't find them only in one place."

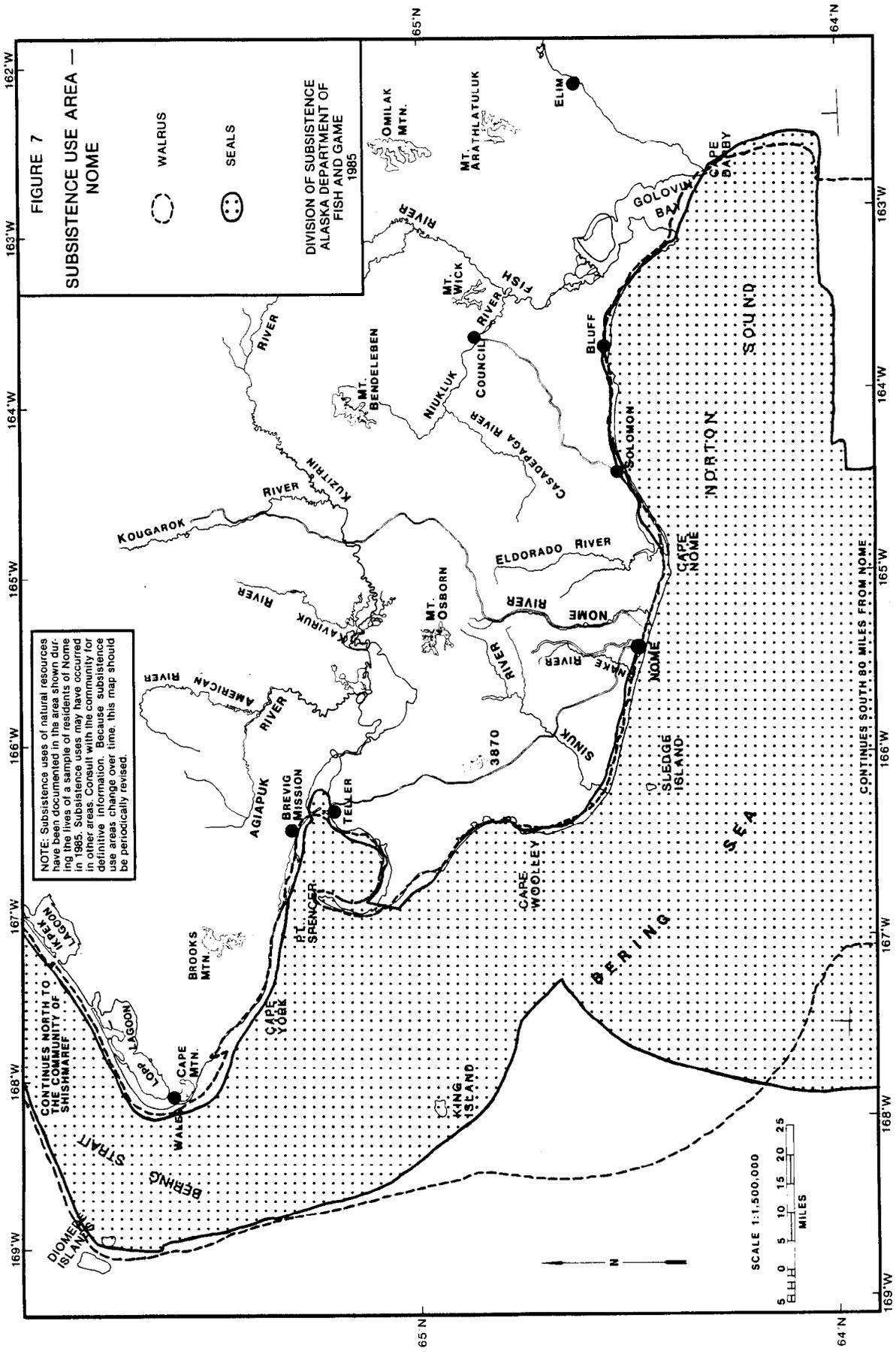


FIGURE 7

**SUBSISTENCE USE AREA —
NOME**

○ WALRUS

● SEALS

DIVISION OF SUBSISTENCE OF
ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF
FISH AND GAME
1985

NOTE: Subsistence uses of natural resources have been documented in the area shown during the lives of a sample of residents of Nome in 1985. Subsistence uses may have occurred in other areas. Consult with the community for definitive information. Because subsistence use areas change over time, this map should be periodically revised.

SCALE 1:1,500,000

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MILES

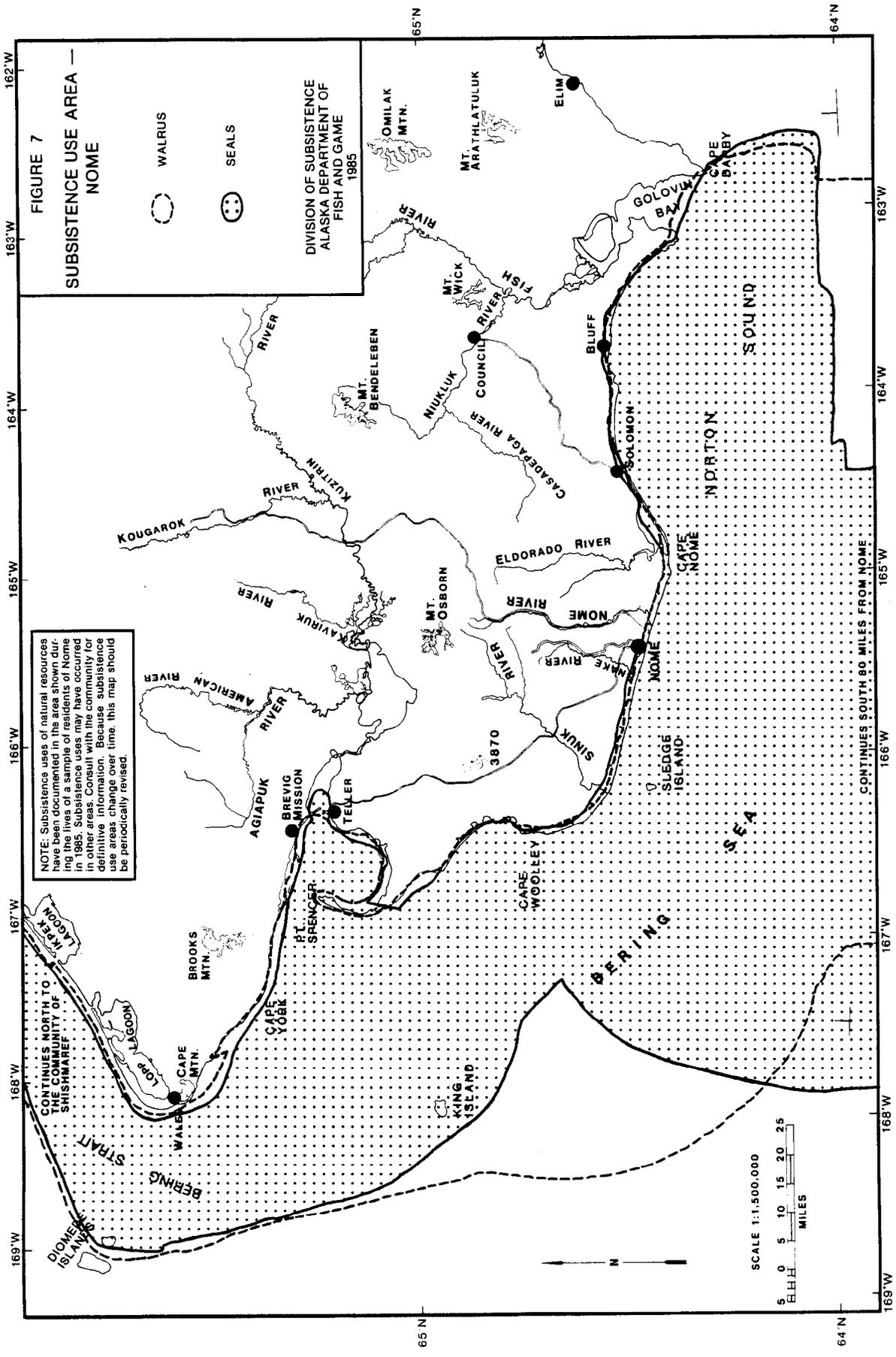
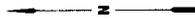


FIGURE 7

**SUBSISTENCE USE AREA —
NOME**

○ WALRUS

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SCALE 1:1,500,000

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MILES

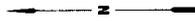


TABLE 5. NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING USE OF AREAS FOR HARVESTING MARINE MAMMALS AND WATERFOWL (N=46)

AREA	WALRUS	SEALS	WATERFOWL
NOME TOWNSITE			4
SNAKE RIVER WATERSHED			2
NOME RIVER WATERSHED			2
SALMON LAKE			1
LOWER KUZITIRIN RIVER			7
MIDDLE KUZITIRIN RIVER			2
CAPE NOME			3
SAFETY SOUND		1	11
FLAMBEAU AND ELDORADO RIVERS			9
BONANZA RIVER WATERSHED			6
SOLOMON RIVER WATERSHED			4
LOWER FISH RIVER			6
PENNY AND CRIPPLE RIVERS			3
SINUK RIVER WATERSHED		5	
FEATHER RIVER WATERSHED		6	
IMURUK BASIN AND AGIAPUK RIVER		2	6
GREATER TELLER COAST			3
BREVIK MISSION COAST			1
WALES COAST			1
TELLER ROAD 5-10 M.			1
GLACIER CREEK ROAD			1
KOUGAROK ROAD 0-30 M.			2
KOUGAROK ROAD 30-45 M.			1
KOUGAROK ROAD 45-60 M.			5
KOUGAROK ROAD 60-70 M.			1
COUNCIL ROAD 15-30 M.			3
COUNCIL ROAD 30-55 M.			1
NORTON SOUND EAST 323	19	30	11
NORTON SOUND EAST 324	18	17	
NORTON SOUND EAST 325	7	8	3
NORTON SOUND EAST 326	6	5	1
NORTON SOUND EAST 327	1	1	
NORTON SOUND EAST 328	1	1	
NORTON SOUND SOUTH 420	25	34	10
NORTON SOUND SOUTH 422	26	21	1
NORTON SOUND WEST 522	28	30	16
NORTON SOUND WEST 523	26	19	1
NORTON SOUND WEST 524	9	8	6
NORTON SOUND WEST 525	11	6	
NORTON SOUND WEST 526	8	5	1
NORTON SOUND WEST 527	8	3	
BERING STRAIT 626	4	1	
BERING STRAIT 627	5	1	
BERING STRAIT 628	3	1	
BERING STRAIT 629	4	2	
Total Cases	31	37	30

Seal Hunting Areas

Seal hunting areas resembled walrus hunting areas (Fig. 7). Hunters often hunted seals and walrus simultaneously during spring, but also took seals at other times of the year. Four seal species were available in the Nome area: bearded, ringed, spotted, and ribbon. Thirty seven households reported areas for hunting seals (Table 5).

Spotted seals were especially abundant in the fall, feeding on small fish near shore and in brackish waters like Safety Sound, Grantley Harbor, or the entrance to Sinuk River. Hunters hunted from small boats. Ringed seals remained in the area year round. During winter, they denned in the ice. Some hunters hunted on foot, walking along the edge of the shore ice about two miles offshore near Nome. Bearded seals were most commonly hunted in the spring, often in conjunction with walrus hunting. Because the animals are large, hunters preferred to take them on top of the ice where they were easier to butcher. Ribbon seals were only occasionally encountered, usually far out to sea.

WATERFOWL

Thirty households in the sample reported areas for harvesting waterfowl or eggs; sixteen of those harvested in Norton Sound west (area 522) which included Sledge Island (Table 5). Safety Sound, about 25 miles east of Nome, was prime waterfowl habitat and 11 households reported effort there. Coastal hunting

predominates, stretching from Topkok Head to Cape Douglas (Fig 8). Six households reported effort in the Fish River delta. Waterfowl effort was more dispersed than effort for other species. That is, different households harvested in different places.

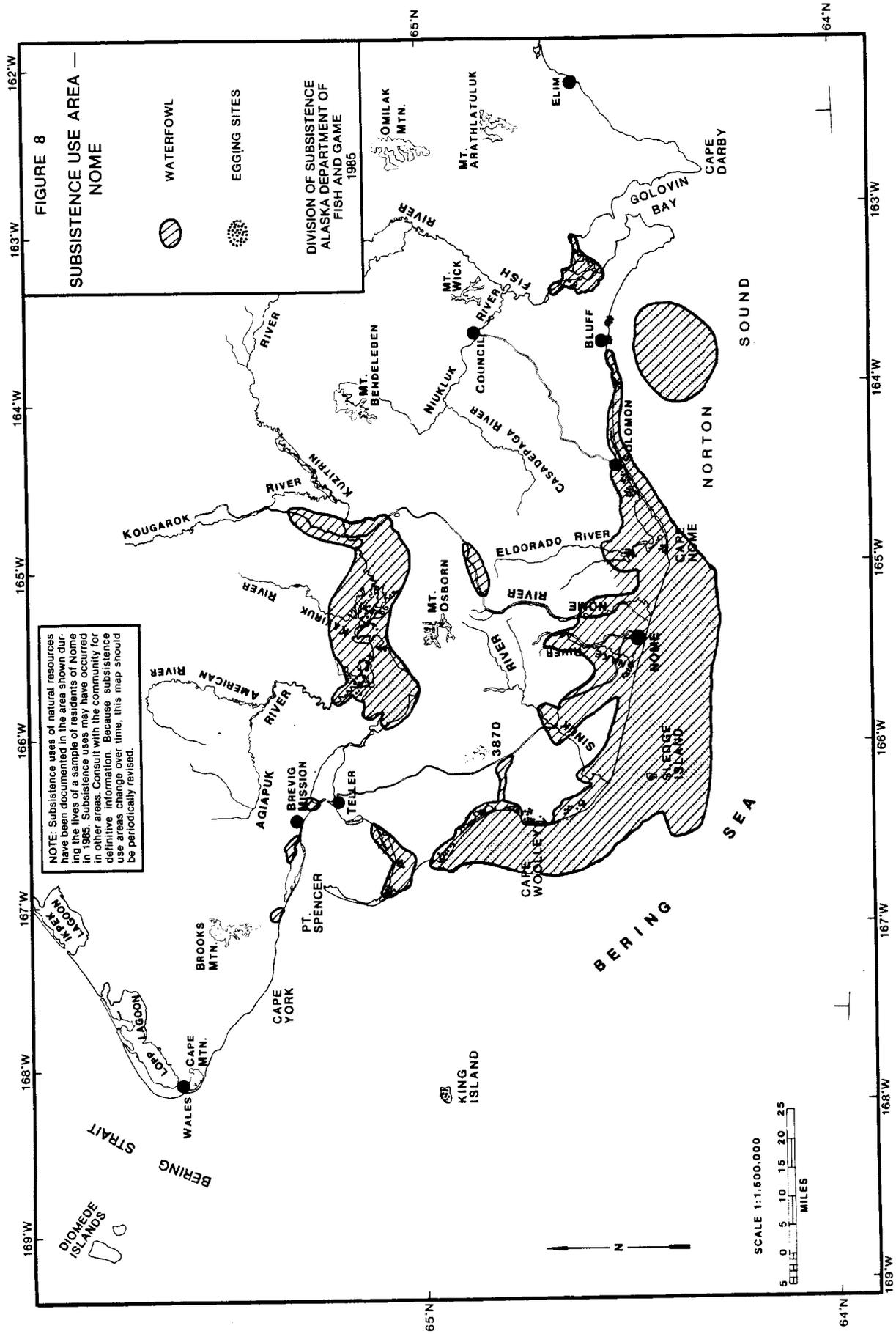
Waterfowl effort encompassed a wide range of species and habitat. Cranes, Canadian geese, brants, puddle ducks, pond ducks, and sea ducks were all hunted. Canadian geese and eider ducks were the most commonly mentioned species.

Eggs were gathered on King Island (only by King Island people), on Sledge Island, between Cape Douglas and Cape Rodney, at Cape Nome, Flambeau River, Topkok Head, and Bluff. Species from which eggs were gathered included seagulls, murre, auks, geese, and ducks.

PLANTS

Berry and Greens Gathering Areas

Respondents differed in their approach to mapping plant harvesting areas. Some drew broad areas to show the general vicinity where they harvested. Some drew small points, to show the particular areas where they harvested. This partly reflected harvesting strategies. One respondent "looks all over, depending where they're at." Another respondent picked sura at "mile -- on Dexter Road" (the specific location is withheld to protect his



sura). In drafting the composite maps for this report, the broad areas usually covered the particular areas and thus the small, particular sites do not appear here.

Blueberries and salmon berries were the most common berry varieties, mentioned during the interviews, but respondents harvested crowberries, and cranberries, too. Willow leaves Sura (Salix pulchra), sourdock (Rumex arcticus), and Eskimo potato masru (Hedysarum alpinum) were the most commonly used plants. Some respondents also used wild celery igituk (Angelica lucida), beach greens atchaaqłuk (Honckenya peploides), pallas buttercup kaputi (Ranunculus pallasii), wild celery tukkaayuk (Ligusticum scoticum), and wild rhubarb kugimak (Polygonum alaskanum).

Roads, and to a lesser extent rivers, were used to access berry picking and green gathering areas (see Fig. 9). Most commonly used were Glacier Creek Road north of Nome for blueberries (20 households) and the Teller Road near Teller for salmonberries (18 households) (Table 6). The Kougarok Road had nearly as many harvesters (17 households). The only non-road accessible area to have moderate gathering effort was the lower Kuzitrin River (where 12 households gathered plants).

Wood Gathering Areas

Most of the Seward Peninsula was without trees, consequently beach-found drift was the principal source of wood. Wood was gathered in summertime, principally for burning as firewood, but also for building fish racks, caches, or other structures. The

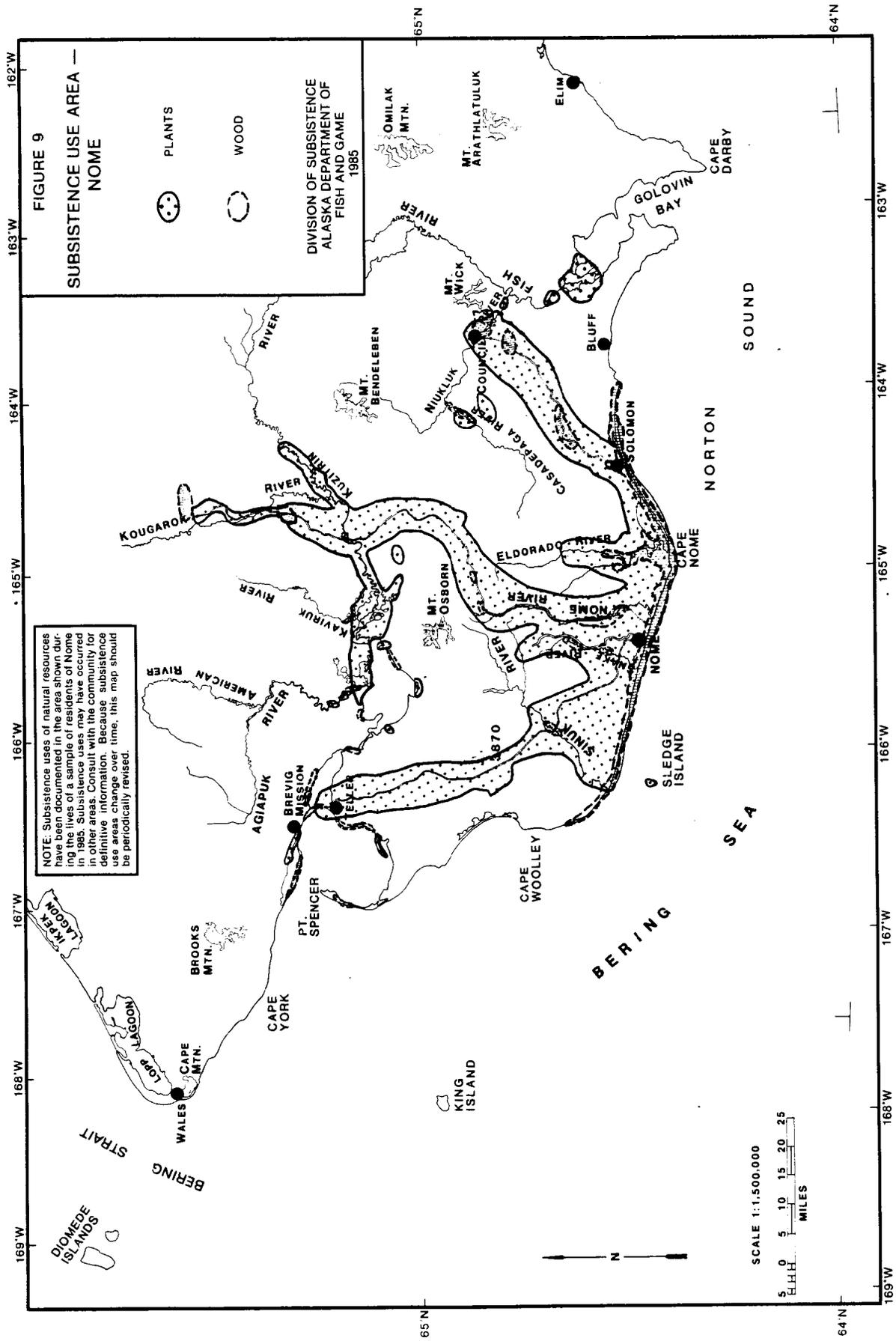


TABLE 6. NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING USE OF AREAS FOR HARVESTING PLANTS AND GATHERING DRIFTWOOD (N=46)

	PLANTS	WOOD
NOME TOWNSITE	13	12
SNAKE RIVER WATERSHED	17	10
NOME RIVER WATERSHED	17	9
SALMON LAKE	7	
CASADAPAGA RIVER WATERSHED	2	1
LOWER KUZITRIN RIVER	12	1
MIDDLE KUZITRIN RIVER	3	
CAPE NOME	17	6
SAFETY SOUND	9	2
FLAMBEAU AND ELDORADO RIVERS	5	
BONANZA RIVER WATERSHED	2	1
SOLOMON RIVER WATERSHED	6	4
NIUKLUK RIVER WATERSHED	4	1
LOWER FISH RIVER	3	
NORTON BAY WATERSHED	1	
PENNY AND CRIPPLE RIVERS	7	10
SINUK RIVER WATERSHED	3	4
FEATHER RIVER WATERSHED	2	
IMURUK BASIN AND AGIAPUK	3	1
GREATER TELLER COAST	8	2
BREVIG MISSION COAST	1	2
GLACIER CREEK ROAD	20	
KOUGAROK ROAD 0-30 M.	16	1
KOUGAROK ROAD 30-45 M.	11	1
KOUGAROK ROAD 45-60 M.	17	1
KOUGAROK ROAD 60-70 M.	4	1
KOUGAROK ROAD 70-END	1	
COUNCIL ROAD 10-15 M.	8	10
COUNCIL ROAD 15-30 M.	13	9
COUNCIL ROAD 30-55 M.	13	2
COUNCIL ROAD 55-END	4	1
TELLER ROAD 5-10 M.	13	1
TELLER ROAD 10-20 M.	11	
TELLER ROAD 20-25 M.	5	1
TELLER ROAD 25-50 M.	4	
TELLER ROAD 50-END	18	
NORTON SOUND EAST 323		1
NORTON SOUND SOUTH 420		2
NORTON SOUND WEST 522	2	
NORTON SOUND WEST 526	1	
Total Cases	43	27

beaches from Cape Nome in the east to Penny River mouth in the west had the most effort (see Fig. 9 and Table 6). The Council Road paralleled the beach east of Nome for several miles; it was a common avenue for wood gatherers. Little wood gathering effort was reported elsewhere on the peninsula. Live spruce were available in the Fish River drainages, but while people did go there for Christmas trees occasionally, the 80-mile trip over a dirt road was too much for a timber expedition.

HARVESTING IN OTHER COMMUNITIES

The areas described above were used for resource harvesting activities based in Nome. But 40 of the 46 households surveyed in this study traveled to other communities to hunt, fish and gather. Forty-four different communities were mentioned, from Metlakatla in distant southeast Alaska to Kotzebue in the north. Because of the huge geographic area involved, researchers did not attempt to map harvesting that occurred by Nome residents while they were visiting another community. But researchers did compile summary statistics describing these activities.

Three communities — Teller, Solomon, and Council — could be reached by road from Nome. The most commonly visited community was Teller, where 24 households went to hunt, fish or gather. Next in order was Council, visited by 15 households, Savoonga (10 households), and White Mountain (8 households). Table 12 summarizes harvesting reported in 30 communities in Northwestern Alaska.

Researchers predicted that people born in northwest Alaska typically returned to their community of birth ("natal community") to hunt, fish and gather. Table 7 shows the number of households with heads or spouses born in each community in Northwest Alaska, and the number of such houses returning to those natal communities to harvest resources. Of 38 household with heads born in northwest Alaska, 24 (63 percent) reported returning to their homes to harvest wild resources. Of 34 households where spouses were born in northwest Alaska; 18 (53 percent) returned to natal communities to harvest wild resources.

Return was especially common for people born in Savoonga or Gambell on St. Lawrence Island, where 85 percent of the heads and 70 percent of the spouses returned. Most other communities were represented by only one to three people, and community-by-community patterns are not reliable with such small samples.

In general, survey data suggested that over half of the Nome residents born in northwest Alaska returned to their natal communities. People from insular communities returned at even higher rates.

SUMMARY

Of all the areas used by the households contacted in this study, no area was used for as many resources as Safety Sound. There, households reported harvesting all 12 resource categories. Table 8 presents summary statistics for the areas used most, ranked by

TABLE 7: NUMBER OF NOME HOUSEHOLDS TRAVELING TO OTHER ALASKA COMMUNITIES AND NUMBER RETURNING TO NATAL COMMUNITIES OF HEAD OR SPOUSE TO HARVEST WILD RESOURCES. (N=46)

	HOUSEHOLDS HARVESTING HERE	HEAD		SPOUSE	
		BORN	RETURN	BORN	RETURN
Barrow		1			
Brevig Mission	6			1	1
Buckland	2			1	1
Council	15				
Deering	1	1	1	1	1
Elim	4				
Gambell	6	6	4	2	2
Golovin	4				
Kiana	1				
King Island	1	2		1	
Kotzebue	1	1			
Koyuk	3			1	
Koyukuk	3				
Little Diomedede	5	3	2	2	1
Mary's Igloo	2	1		3	
Noatak	1				
Nunivak Island		1			
Savoonga	10	7	7	8	5
Shaktoolik	3				
Shishmaref	3	3		2	
Sinuk	1				
Solomon	6			1	
Stebbins	1				
Teller	24				
Unalakleet	4			1	
Wales	5	3	1	3	1
White Mountain	8	1	1		
TOTAL CASES	40	38	24	34	18

TABLE 8: 37 AREAS RANKED BY THE NUMBER OF RESOURCES HARVESTED

	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESOURCES HARVESTED	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS HARVESTING EACH RESOURCE CATEGORY
LAND AREAS		
SAFETY SOUND	12	5.3
IMURUK BASIN AND AGIAPUK RIVER	10	3.4
NOME RIVER WATERSHED	9	10.6
LOWER KUZITRIN RIVER	9	7.9
SINUK RIVER WATERSHED	9	7.7
SOLOMON RIVER WATERSHED	9	4.1
SNAKE RIVER WATERSHED	8	10.3
NOME TOWNSITE	8	8.8
PENNY AND CRIPPLE RIVERS	8	8.3
FLAMBEAU AND ELDORADO RIVERS	8	7.6
NIUKLUK RIVER WATERSHED	8	5.6
CAPE NOME	8	5.6
SALMON LAKE	8	5.0
BONANZA RIVER WATERSHED	8	4.1
CASADAPAGA RIVER WATERSHED	8	3.4
MIDDLE KUZITRIN RIVER	7	5.1
LOWER FISH RIVER	7	4.1
GREATER TELLER COAST	7	4.0
FEATHER RIVER WATERSHED	7	3.0
UPPER FISH RIVER WATERSHED	6	4.0
ROAD CORRIDORS		
TELLER ROAD 5-10 M.	8	5.5
COUNCIL ROAD 10-15 M.	8	6.4
COUNCIL ROAD 15-30 M.	8	6.1
KOUGAROK ROAD 30-45 M.	8	8.1
KOUGAROK ROAD 45-60 M.	8	12.3
KOUGAROK ROAD 0-30 M.	8	10.4
COUNCIL ROAD 30-55 M.	8	8.6
TELLER ROAD 20-25 M.	7	6.4
KOUGAROK ROAD 60-70 M.	7	8.3
COUNCIL ROAD 55-END	6	6.7
GLACIER CREEK ROAD	6	8.3
TELLER ROAD 50-END	5	10.2
MARINE WATERS		
NORTON SOUND SOUTH 420	10	15.7
NORTON SOUND WEST 522	9	9.9
NORTON SOUND EAST 323	8	10.1
NORTON SOUND WEST 526	6	3.5
NORTON SOUND SOUTH 422	6	8.7

the number of resources harvested in each area (refer to Table 1 and Figure 1 for keys to areas). On the average, each resource category at Safety Sound was harvested by 5.3 households. Marine fish were the most commonly used resource at Safety Sound (17 households), followed by waterfowl (11 households).

Other areas were used more heavily for selected resources. Thirty-six households harvested shellfish in Norton Sound just south of Nome (area 420), more activity than was reported in any other area for a single resource. This area was used by many households for other resources, too, especially seals, marine fish, walrus, and salmon. An average of 15.7 households harvested 10 of 12 resource categories here. Norton Sound areas east (area 323) and west (area 522) of area 420 were also heavily used, with 8 and 9 resource categories harvested.

Thirty three houses reported hunting moose along the Kougarok Road corridor from 30 to 60 miles north of Nome. No land area was used by as many households for a single resource. But the Kougarok was not used for as many resources, only 8 of 12, as coastal areas. The adjacent Nome River watershed had high average use for the nine species harvested there; salmon and plants were the most commonly used.

In general, road corridors had the highest average number of households reporting use, although for a somewhat lower number of resource categories. Other land areas -- especially coasts -- offered more diversity, with the extent of use roughly proportional to the ease of access. The ocean areas offered the fewest resource categories, since plants and land mammals were not

available except along the beaches. But more households used the ocean than the land.

CHAPTER 4

THE SEARCH FOR SIINASUAK

During World War II, the military constructed a number of Quonset huts east of Nome. When the military abandoned them, they were occupied by King Island families who came to Nome every summer for employment and trading. By 1965, when the BIA school on King Island closed and all the families remained in Nome for the winter, most lived in or near those quonsets. Since then, the Quonsets have been replaced by more substantial houses and Nome has grown to surround the area. Even so the King Island community maintained a separate identity spatially, socially, and economically within Nome (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983:93). More than a neighborhood, the King Island group has been described as a "subcommunity" of Nome (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983).

King Island is but one example of the several subcommunities in Nome. Others include the families with fishing camps at Fort Davis on the Nome River (who are almost all from Wales or Wales-allied communities (Magdanz and Olanna 1984b)), and families from St. Lawrence Island who have maintained their own unique language. Each of the subcommunities mentioned above -- King Island, Wales, St. Lawrence Island -- is composed of families who had moved to Nome from northwest Alaska communities since 1900.

This study was designed partly to explore the functioning of subcommunities in Nome, in particular, to understand where members of different subcommunities harvested wild resources and how their use of areas differed. Central to the design was the

identification of a subcommunity which traced its ancestry from the Native villages along the Nome coast before the gold rush, or, in other words, the original "Nome" Native community. Researchers called this subcommunity "Sitnasuak," after the traditional village at the mouth of the Snake River in what is now downtown Nome.

THE SUBCOMMUNITY CONCEPT

Nome is a community of immigrants. It has grown primarily due to the immigration of Natives from small northwest Alaska communities and non-Natives from Alaska and beyond. Only 20 percent of a 1982 sample of households contained heads who were born in Nome (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983:85). In this respect, Nome was fundamentally different from other northwest Alaska communities. Nome was also a community of transient residents. Almost 30 percent of Nome's residents "turned over" between 1976 and 1978 (Wolfe and Ellanna 1984:85). Most short-term transients were non-native professionals and laborers from urban Alaska and Outside. Natives from northwest Alaska were also attracted to Nome. When Nome's economy turned down, the Natives seemed more likely to remain. The average residency of non-natives in 1982 was 9.6 years, compared with 26.5 years for Natives (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983:85).

Nome's population, then, could be separated into two fractions. About 30 percent were short-term residents,

predominantly non-native. The other 70 per cent were longer term residents, predominantly, but by no means exclusively, Native. It was in this second fraction that subcommunities like the King Island and Wales-Fort Davis subcommunities formed.

Immigrants, upon arriving in Nome, naturally sought fellows from their home communities. They hunted with them, fished with them, camped with them, and danced with them. Immigrants from King Island clearly were a self-identified group within Nome as a whole. They had their own community center, store, ivory dealership, and dance group. They maintained a traditional camp at Cape Wooley every summer. St. Lawrence Island immigrants, bound in part by their Siberia Yupik language, also maintained strong ties with one another as well. Marine mammal hunting crews were usually composed of relatives from within one subcommunity.

There was evidence from King Island community and Nome River that these subcommunities functioned much like traditional Inupiat societies (Burch 1980, Ray 1964, 1967), except they existed side-by-side in a regional center instead spread across the region. Both the Cape Wooley camp (King Island) and the Fort Davis camp (Wales) included few families without common natal communities. The presence of these groups discouraged -- to some extent -- other Natives from using the areas for hunting and fishing (see Magdanz and Olanna 1984b).

It is likely that Non-native immigrants also associate with people of similar cultural backgrounds for social and economic pursuits, but they were unlikely to have known one another before arriving in Nome. Non-natives who married into Native

subcommunities sometimes did ally with the subcommunities.

This study was designed in part to further researchers' understanding of subcommunities in Nome. Researchers knew that immigrants from two communities (King Island and Wales) used discrete territories (Cape Wooley and Fort Davis). Did Inupiat immigrants from other communities also use discrete territories? What territories did non-natives use? Most of all, what areas did the original Nome Inupiat -- what researchers called the Sitnasuak subcommunity -- use? Mapping seemed to be one way to answer such questions. But as so often happens, what researchers discovered was not quite what they expected.

IDENTIFYING THE SUBCOMMUNITIES

To begin, researchers had to determine which houses in Nome belonged in which subcommunities. Subcommunities were defined as groups of households with male heads, female heads, or heads' parents born in the same community. Researchers obtained a list of all October 1984 utility customers from Nome Joint Utilities. Although some residents of Nome did not have water and sewer, few were without electricity. Commercial customers were removed from the list, leaving 1,085 residential customers. To identify communities of birth for the heads of each house, researchers used several sources:

- (1) Linda Ellanna and George Sherrod, who had conducted extensive demographic work in Nome including one complete census, identified natal communities of heads of houses listed on the utility list.

(2) Natal communities of respondents to a 1982 Division of Subsistence survey were added (Wolfe and Ellanna 1983).

(2) Researchers added their own demographic data on Nome River families (Magdanz and Olanna 1984b).

(3) A shareholder list was borrowed from Nome Eskimo Community. Shareholders in Sitnasuak Native Corporation -- the Nome corporation created by ANCSA in 1971 -- were identified.

(4) The list was shown to knowledgeable key informants in Nome.

Researchers were able to identify natal communities for heads of 569 of Nome's households. Identification of people born in King Island, Gambell, Savoonga, Wales, Shishmaref, and Diomede was especially complete because of previous studies involving those communities (Ellanna 1983, Magdanz and Olanna 1984b). Identification of the transient residents (estimated to be 30 percent) was most difficult, and the estimates that follow probably under represent that group which comes primarily from outside the region. Figure 10 shows two charts depicting the composition of Nome's 1984 population, by community of birth, based on the 569 households. The bottom chart depicts the entire population; the top chart depicts the population with natal communities in Northwest Alaska. Of the Northwest Alaskan group, Nome-born houses accounted for 40.8 percent, Wales-born houses accounted for 9.3 percent, and so forth.

The list of 569 known households was then sorted by birthplace in five communities: King Island, Savoonga, Gambell, Diomede, and Nome. If spouses or their parents had been born in

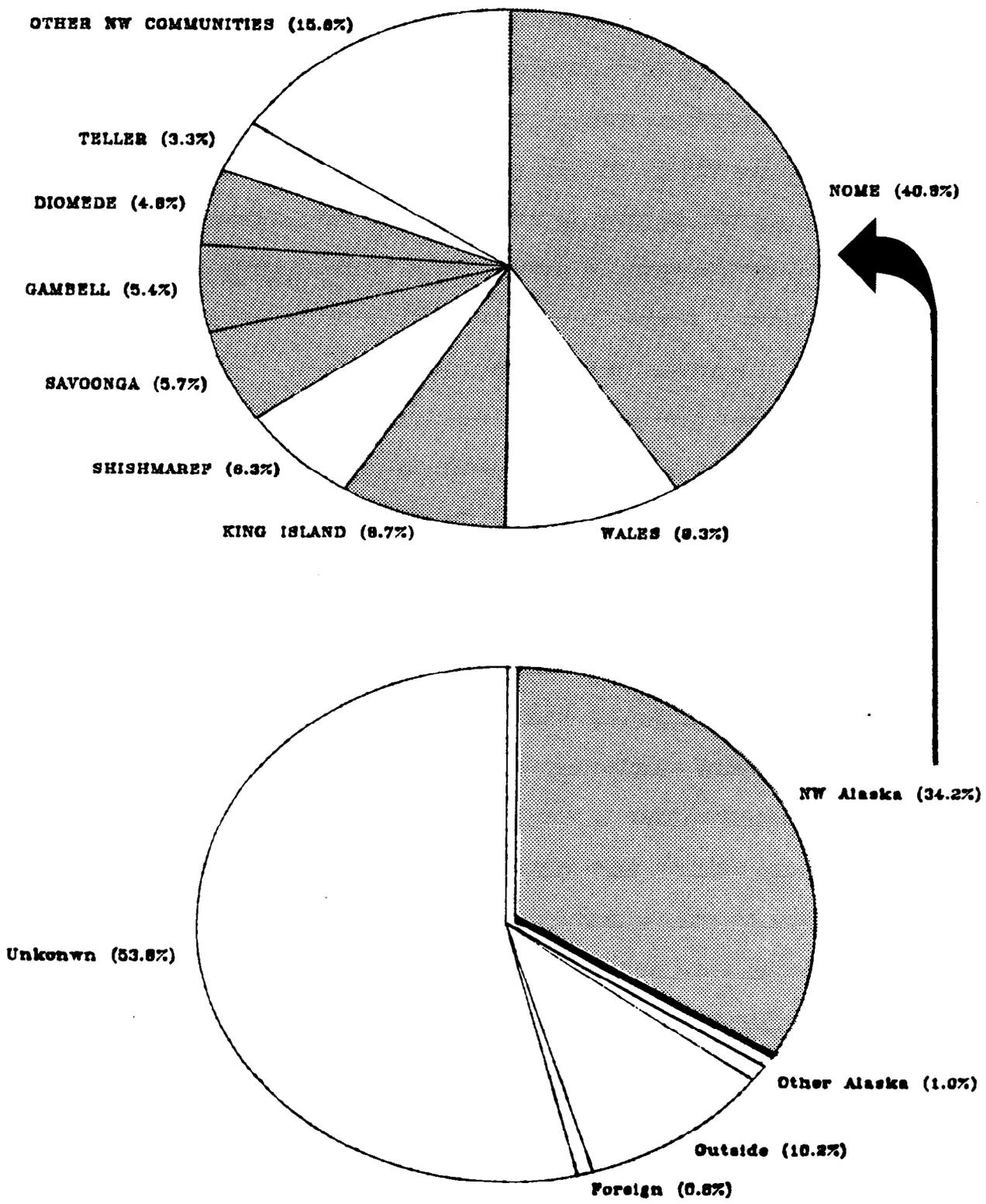


FIGURE 10: NATAL COMMUNITIES OF NOME RESIDENTS. The bottom chart depicts the birthplaces of household heads in Nome in 1985. Those born in northwest Alaska are shaded, and appear in greater detail in the top chart. The shaded areas of the top chart (Nome, King Island, Savoonga, Gambell and Little Diomede) are the subcommunities in which samples were attempted during this study.

different communities, then the household appeared on multiple lists. The subset of households with Nome-born heads was called the "Sitnasuak" subcommunity (after the original Inupiat village on the Snake River) to distinguish it from Nome as a whole. Members of the Sitnasuak subcommunity so defined were not necessarily the same as shareholders of the Sitnasuak Native Corporation. These five subcommunity lists were used for selecting the houses to be interviewed.

The research design called for random samples from houses with heads or heads' parents from Little Diomed Island, Gambell, King Island, Nome or "Sitnasuak" and Savoonga. Each group was to be treated as a separate subcommunity, except that Gambell and Savoonga were considered as a single subcommunity, called "St. Lawrence Island." Additionally, non-Natives randomly drawn from the whole population in the 1982 study were contacted again. Non-Natives were sampled separately (some non-Natives appeared in Native subcommunities if they had Native spouses).

Random samples were drawn, and researchers began contacting the houses to set up mapping interviews. During the interviews, respondents were asked to name their own and their parents' communities of birth. The head's birthplace -- rather than the master list above -- ultimately determined the subcommunity to which the house was assigned.

To summarize the procedure: (1) A master list of all occupied houses in Nome was developed. (2) Natal communities were identified for as many households as possible. (3) The list was sorted by natal community and subcommunities were identified. (4)

Random samples were drawn from four subcommunities and from non-Natives. (5) Interviews were conducted. (6) Each house's maps were added to maps drawn by other houses whose heads were born in the same community. (7) Maps from the different subcommunities were compared with one another.

Almost from the first day of research, there were problems with the procedure. Key respondents in the King Island community declined to participate, saying they did not trust certain Department of Fish and Game personnel. After repeated contacts and only three completed interviews, researchers decided to drop the King Island subcommunity from the study.

Nome's Diomedes population was unexpectedly small. Only 23 Diomedes households could be identified, and four of those were from a single extended family. In 20 of these households, the household head or spouse was not from Diomedes (in contrast to King Island or St. Lawrence Island subcommunities where endogamous marriages were frequent). Three Diomedes households were sampled early in the project, but because of the small size of the Diomedes population and its exogamy, researchers decided it was not sufficient to test the territoriality hypotheses.

The Sitnasuak subcommunity presented its own special problems. By definition, subcommunities contained people born in the same community. However, during interviews it was determined that most Nome-born heads were descendants of people from King Island, Wales, or some other community. Such households usually identified most strongly with their parent's natal community, and

not with the original Sitnasuak society. For this reason they could not be properly considered part of an original Sitnasuak subcommunity. To deal with this, researchers redefined the Sitnasuak "subcommunity" to include only those households whose heads were descended from the original inhabitants of the Nome area, including people from Sledge Island, Sinuk River, Snake River, Nome River, or Cape Nome villages.

Researchers had hoped that the Sitnasuak Native Corporation's shareholder list would help identify Inupiat descended from the aboriginal Nome area Native societies. But as the study progressed, it was found that the shareholder list was almost as cosmopolitan as Nome itself, containing people from Wales, St. Lawrence Island, Diomedes, and elsewhere. Thus, sampling the Sitnasuak subcommunity became a major research challenge. At first the subcommunity seemed very large, but then as no households on the corporation list were found to meet selection criteria, the subcommunity grew ever smaller. For a few weeks, the study became "the search for Sitnasuak."

THE SITNASUAK SUBCOMMUNITY

Researchers were looking for households whose heads had been born in Nome, and who could trace their ancestry back to one of the original Nome area villages, from Cape Nome in the east to Sledge Island in West. This area approximates the traditional territory for Nome Inupiat (Ray 1964, 1967).

To find these households, researchers eventually adopted a

key informant network approach. Explaining the problem to key informants (mostly elderly Inupiat), researchers asked them to identify "original Nome Natives." Most elders could name individuals or families they considered original Nome Natives. Researchers then contacted those individuals and families to confirm their natal communities and ask if they could identify other original Nome Natives.

Researchers continued this process until the network became a closed circle, that is, until key informants were naming people who had been contacted already. As large as Nome was, the circle closed remarkably quickly.

Perhaps the best way to describe the Sitnasuak situation is to include researchers' notes from interviews conducted during this procedure. Mrs. B, Mr. S, Mrs. M, Mrs. P, Mr. E, Mrs. J, Mr. Y, Mr. U, Mr. A, and Mr. H all had been identified as "original Nome Natives" by key informants. Here is what they told researchers about themselves:

Mrs. B: Her parents were from a place near Wales. They moved to Nome before the mining, she said, and worked here during the mining. She was born in 1912 in Nome. She doesn't know any people who were original Nome people.

Mrs. S: Mr. S, now deceased, had been born at Cape Nome. She said S's father was from the Unalakleet (?) area; his mother was from "up north." They had lived for a time at Cape Nome, then moved to Nome to work for the "Blue Goose" mining company.

I asked Mrs. S if she knew any original Nome people. She did not. She said, "They scattered... There was only one family living in Nome" when the miners came. Mrs. S did say Mrs. J was from Sledge Island.

Mrs. M: Mrs. M was born in 1903 in Elim. Her parents had been identified as original Nome. She said her

father was from Elim; her mother from Buckland. They lived in Nome for a time during the early gold rush days, when she was a child.

She knew of no living residents of Nome who were originally from Cape Nome or Nome itself. She said Mrs. J was originally from Sledge Island. The B's were from the Snake River sandspit (see above note on Mrs. B, below on Mrs. J).

I told Mrs. P and Mrs. M about our Nome River study, and how we had expected to find Nome people down there in the beginning. Mrs. M laughed. "Those are all Shishmaref people," she said.

"What happened to Nome people?" I asked.

"Most of the old Nome people are gone," M said.

"What happened to their children?" I asked.

"Most of them are gone," P said. She couldn't be more specific about where they had gone.

I said we were having better luck identifying people from Wales, from Shishmaref, and from St. Lawrence Island, than we were in identifying people from Nome. They agreed. People came from all over to live in Nome, they said.

Mrs. M said that a relative's family had lived at Cape Nome during the flu. All had died, except for two young children. One, a boy, lived for a time with M's family. But authorities took him away and sent him to a children's home (possibly the one at Marys Igloo), and his own family lost track of him. He would be 75+ years old today. The flu certainly had an impact at Cape Nome, and may have been the end of the functioning village. M was 15 at the time.

Mr. E: When I was doing my Nome River research in 1983, informants told me that E was from an original Nome family. I asked his daughter to see if he would help us trace Sitnasuak society. She checked with him and learned that her Dad's mother was not from Nome, but Wales. And her Dad's father was from Nova Scotia. So he is not original Sitnasuak, either. His wife was born in Wales.

Mrs. J: I went to see Mrs. J tonight. The most well known "original Nome Native," she confirmed that she was indeed born on Sledge Island. Her mother was from the mission at Sinrock, on the mainland across from Sledge Island. Her mother's parents were from King Island. Her father was born along the coast somewhere between Teller and Cape Wooley. She has no memories of Sledge Island. Her folks travelled extensively in those days, up and down the coast, hunting, fishing and trading. Her dad worked some of the time in the mines.

She is the only one of her generation in her family left in Nome. She seemed sad when I asked about

that. One brother is in Seattle, carving soapstone and "playing golf with the Japanese." But she never hears from him. She said nothing about other siblings, except, "they're all gone."

Mrs. J said that people are always coming and going from Nome, and it has been that way all her life. Referring to her work in a local women's club, she said, "It's hard to get anything started," she said, because as soon as you find some one to run for office, they go back to the village. I said it seems as if there are more people from the villages in Nome than there are original Nome people. "That's how Nome has always been," she said. "People coming and going."

Mrs. J says that because she is known as the only remaining Sledge Islander, she gets calls once in a while from people who want to write stories about it. She has no stories to tell she says. She has no memories of the Island. People told her she was born in a log cabin in the middle of the old village there, "like Abe Lincoln." But when she went out to see it one time, there was nothing to see.

Mrs. J has four children. Her daughter runs a beauty shop in Nome. One son used to operate a warehouse, but he was injured recently in a hunting accident. A second son was part owner of a local air taxi here for a number of years; he sold out a year ago. Her third son is living in Diomedea.

Although Mrs. J was born at Sledge Island and raised her family in Nome, her ancestry -- father west of Cape Wooley and maternal grandparents King Island -- sounds at least as much like King Island as it does Sitnasuak. Her husband was from Deering.

Mrs. Y: Several people have named the Y family as original Cape Nome. Until Mr. Y's death a few years ago, the Y's lived year round at Cape Nome, the only family to do so. They have allotments at Cape Nome and at Nuuk.

Mrs. Y said that she was born in Shaktoolik. Her parents were Covenant missionaries, and travelled around western Alaska. She met Mr. Y on Nunivak Island. They were married, and moved to Nome during World War II to find work. They are not, in other words, original Cape Nome.

Mrs. Y said that Mrs. U may be original Nome.

Mr. U's son: I called U's son on the telephone. I explained that we were trying to locate people who had lived here before the miners came. He said that his dad had been born in White Mountain. His mom was born "east of Point Barrow." I asked about his parent's parents. His dad's mother was from Nunivak Island; his dad's dad was an orphan from Ohio, who came to Nome as a young

man.

In the thirties, the U's lived with their family in a log cabin at Cape Nome. He remembers spending two winters there. They used to put up a lot of fish -- 3,000 to 5,000 a summer, depending on how many dogs they had to feed. He said Cape Nome used to be a village, but as far as he knows, it was the only one along the coast until you get to Sledge Island. People moved to the rivers in the summer for fishing, but didn't live at Nome River or Snake River year round. U's family fished at the Iglutalik River, east of Koyuk (about 100 miles east of Nome). U moved into Nome to go to work.

Mr. A: I called A on the telephone, and explained the project. He said he wasn't original Nome; his folks had moved here many years ago. His mother was from St. Michael. His father was from Golovin. They moved to Nome to find work. "So many of us moved in," he said when I asked him who else might be original Nome. I asked him about his parents' parents. He said they were from the same villages as his parents, that is, St. Michael and Golovin.

Mr. H: Visited Mr. and Mrs. H tonight. H's father had been identified by several elders as original Cape Nome. But H said he did not know where his father was from. It may have been Candle, it may have been Cape Nome. His mother was from Big Diomed.

H was raised at the Catholic Mission at Pilgrim Hot Springs. He came to Nome in 1941, at age 14. Today, he drives a delivery truck for the City of Nome. He had half a dozen brothers and sisters (most half-siblings). All but one has left Nome. He married a woman from Wales.

They said they didn't know where all the original Nome people may have gone. They didn't know any. Perhaps they went to Anchorage, they suggested.

While it is possible that H is descended from Cape Nome Inupiat, it is not part of his identity today. He has fished at Nome River with his wife's relatives. He doesn't hunt. His father's natal community is unknown to him.

What happened to the original Inupiat living between Cape Nome and Sledge Island? Apparently, death and diaspora. The epidemics of 1900 and 1918 killed large numbers of Natives in the Nome area (Wolfe 1982). Other Inupiat were disrupted and displaced and finally dispersed by contact. Researchers were able to identify

no more than five living Nome residents whose ancestry could be traced either maternally or paternally to Cape Nome or Sledge Island. Each instance of "original Nome Native" was the child of an exogamous marriage (Nome and another village) at best, or a long-ago migration from other parts of northwest Alaska. A subcommunity of Native people descended from Cape Nome or Sledge Island, with a self-identity, apparently did not exist.

The modern Sitnasuak group was the shareholders in the Sitnasuak Native Corporation, who derived from a multitude of places. When the corporation was formed by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971, it ardently recruited any Native living in Nome without regard for natal community (its land entitlement would be based on enrollment). Therefore, its shareholders include many Native people who had been born in other communities and had lived in Nome for a relatively short time. Fifteen years later, some Sitnasuak shareholders have returned to their natal communities. A prominent St. Lawrence Island man living in Gambell in 1985 was a Sitnasuak shareholder. In Nome, people who clearly functioned socially and economically within the Wales subcommunity in 1984 (camps at Fort Davis, hunting crew members from Wales), were shareholders in Sitnasuak.

In the business of the corporation, which included apartment management, automobile services, fuel delivery, and hardware and lumber sales, shareholders had a common economic interest. Shareholders were proud of their corporation, but most played minor roles in its operations, voting at annual meetings

and sharing in the dividends. The day-to-day affairs of the corporation were handled by paid managers. The corporation supported hunting and fishing by its shareholders by providing camp sites on corporation land, but the corporation focus was not hunting or fishing activities.

The Sitnasuak corporation was a major feature of the contemporary Nome economy and polity. But its membership and history were radically different from that of a traditional Inupiat society, and significantly different from the Nome subcommunities described for King Island and Wales.

SUBCOMMUNITIES IN NOME

The Sitnasuak situation notwithstanding, subcommunities were a feature of social and economic life in Nome in 1985. As discussed above, subcommunities of people from King Island and Wales were relatively large and distinct within the community as a whole.

Anecdotal examples suggest that second and third generations were less likely to maintain subcommunity ties than first-generation immigrants. Immigrants' children, whose natal communities often would be Nome, married across subcommunity and cultural boundaries. The longer subcommunity members lived in Nome, the more the boundaries between subcommunities seemed to blur -- except for King Island. Although King Island's presence in Nome is as old as Nome itself, that subcommunity has remained distinct. Subcommunities were a way for immigrants to continue in the comfortable traditional ways of the Inupiat, while their

children gradually adopted new strategies of survival and developed new friends and allies.

The research design did not anticipate the Sitnasuak situation. Considerable time and effort was spent attempting to draw a significant sample from a subcommunity of original Nome Inupiat; researchers ultimately decided they had not done so. With the King Island subcommunity dropping out, and the Diomedede subcommunity so small, only the St. Lawrence Island subcommunity sample contained significant numbers of households. But researchers had no other subcommunities with which to compare the St. Lawrence Island households. So there ended the attempts at subcommunity analysis.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was designed to document the extent of hunting, fishing, and gathering areas for Nome. Even though the sample was relatively small (N=46), the households surveyed covered a relatively large area for subsistence activities, a far larger area than residents of other communities in the region where the Division of Subsistence has mapped subsistence using similar methods. When hunting moose, for example, residents of Nome used twice the area reported by Shishmaref residents (Sobelman 1985), and three times the area reported by Brevig Mission residents (Magdanz and Olanna 1986). Small mammal harvest areas, while larger than moose areas for all three communities, were again much larger for Nome than for Shishmaref or Brevig Mission. Salmon harvest areas were smaller for all communities, but again, Nome's areas were far more extensive.

In Shishmaref, Brevig Mission, and Golovin, community residents harvested on lands within the watersheds which surrounded the communities. Specifically, residents of the small communities did not harvest in watersheds that drained past other communities. This resembles the traditional Inupiat territories reported for the Seward Peninsula. But for Nome residents, considerable moose hunting, fresh water fishing, small mammal harvesting, and even plant gathering occurred in watersheds far removed from Nome. Moose, for example, were hunted in the Kuzitrin watershed (overlapping Brevig Mission hunting areas) and

Fish River watershed (overlapping Golovin and White Mountain hunting areas).

It was not hard to understand why people ranged so far. First, the local habitat is sparse: a windy plain crossed by short, shallow streams where willows are the dominant vegetation, bordered on the south by a nearly featureless sandy beach and on the north by mountains. Richer habitat lies to the east, north, and west: sheltered lagoons, spruce forests, inland lakes, and substantial rivers. Second, the local population was large: almost 4,000 residents in 1985, compared with about 150 in 1880 (Petroff 1884:11). The local habitat could never provide enough wild resources to support a subsistence-oriented community the size of Nome. People had to range widely. Third, the original Inupiat inhabitants of the Nome area, who must have known and recognized the boundaries to their territory, were gone.

To protect the wild resources immediately adjacent Nome from overharvest, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game restricted seasons, harvests, and areas. Nome's moose season is only two weeks long, compared with six or eight months for neighboring communities. Nome families are required to obtain subsistence salmon permits, which limit them to 250 or fewer salmon per year. Nome is the only community in northwest Alaska where permits and harvest limits have been applied to subsistence fisheries.

People used several strategies to surmount the competition and the restrictions. Some harvesters ranged further into the country, aided by Nome's extensive road system. Some harvesters

traveled to nearby small communities, where competition and restrictions were less, to hunt, fish or gather. Some established camps which exerted some degree of territorial control over local areas, such as Fort Davis on the Nome River.

A UNIQUE COMMUNITY

At the conclusion of the Nome River study (Magdanz and Olanna 1984b), researchers wondered where the original Inupiat claimants to Nome's territory hunted, fished, and gathered. This study answered that question in an unexpected way. Almost none of Nome's current residents could claim the local area as ancestral. The absence of ancestral claims made it easier for Natives from adjacent areas to establish camps in the Nome area.

In several ways, Nome was fundamentally different from the other communities in Northwest Alaska. First, it was larger than any community that had ever existed in the region. Second, roads made long-distance travel in summer and fall relatively easy. Third, a large and highly transient population (perhaps 30 percent) co-existed with a relatively stable population. Fourth, the original local Inupiat inhabitants were no longer a significant component of its population, which left an "empty" territory into which Inupiat immigrants from neighboring areas could move and establish themselves. Fifth, more than half the people born in other communities in the region continued to harvest near their natal communities. This combination of factors resulted in residents of Nome using a much larger area for

hunting, fishing, and gathering than residents of other communities in the region.

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APPENDIX ONE

RESOURCE CATEGORIES FOR MAP DATA

Twelve different resource categories will be mapped, using two sheets of clear inking film on a USGS base map assembled from the Teller, Bendeleben, Nome, and Solomon 1:250,000 scale quadrangle maps. The research question for each category is the same:

WHERE HAVE YOU OR PEOPLE IN YOUR HOUSE HARVESTED _____
SINCE YOU BEGAN LIVING IN NOME?

Informants will draw colored lines on the film to surround harvesting areas, and small triangles to indicate camp locations.

SHEET ONE

1. MOOSE.
2. SALMON: pink (humpies), chum (dogs), coho (silvers), sockeye (reds), and chinook (kings).
3. MARINE FISH: dolly varden (trout), herring, tomcode, blue cod, capelin, flounder, sculpin, and other fish caught in the ocean. NOT salmon. NOT shellfish.
4. WATERFOWL: ducks, geese, seagulls, aukes, murrees, cormorants, and other waterfowl, including egg gathering locations.
5. PLANTS: all species of berries, plants, and roots used for food or medicine.
6. SEALS: bearded (ugruk), spotted, ringed, and ribbon.

SHEET TWO

7. FRESH WATER FISH: dolly varden (trout), grayling, northern pike, whitefish, and other fish caught in fresh water (rivers, streams, lakes and lagoons). NOT salmon.
8. SHELLFISH: crabs, clams, mussels, other marine invertebrates.
9. SMALL GAME: rabbits, ptarmigan, fox, ground squirrel, muskrat, otter, mink, wolverine, wolf. Either hunting or trapping.
10. BEAR: brown, black or polar.
11. FUEL AND STRUCTURAL MATERIALS: driftwood, spruce, willows, alder, sod, stone, clay, gravel, and other similar materials for burning or building.
12. WALRUS.

APPENDIX TWO

SURVEY

We are studying why people hunt, fish, and gather in certain places. People who were born in different towns and villages seem to have different ways of hunting, fishing, and gathering.

WHEN I SAY HOME, WHAT PLACE DO YOU THINK OF? _____

WHERE WERE YOU BORN? _____

WHERE WERE YOUR PARENTS BORN? _____

MOTHER? _____

FATHER? _____

WHERE WAS YOUR (HUSBAND/WIFE) BORN? _____

WHERE WERE (HIS/HER) PARENTS BORN? _____

MOTHER? _____

FATHER? _____

WHAT YEAR DID YOU BEGIN LIVING IN NOME? _____

SINCE YOU BEGAN LIVING IN NOME, WHAT OTHER VILLAGES HAVE YOU VISITED TO HUNT, TO FISH, OR TO GATHER?

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

SOME PEOPLE HAVE CAMPS IN THE COUNTRY WHERE THEY STAY WHILE HUNTING FISHING OR GATHERING. HAS YOUR FAMILY USED A CAMP LIKE THAT SINCE YOU BEGAN LIVING IN NOME?

(1) YES

(0) NO

Transportation affects where people go. Cars and snowmachines make it easier to go into the country. Boats make it easier to travel along the coast.

WHAT EQUIPMENT HAS YOUR FAMILY USED FOR HUNTING, FISHING, OR GATHERING SINCE YOU BEGAN LIVING IN NOME?

SNOWMACHINE

DOGTEAM

CAR

BOAT

3-WHEELER OR 4-WHEELER

SKIS

SNOWSHOES

AIRPLANE

Some studies suggest that Native and non-Natives have different hunting fishing and gathering patterns.

DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE:

ESKIMO?

WHITE?

INDIAN

OTHER? _____

Do you have any questions about our interview today?

COMMENTS: _____

AREA CODES -- SHEET ONE

MOOSE:

SALMON:

MARINE FISH:

WATERFOWL:

PLANTS:

SEALS:

AREA CODES -- SHEET TWO

FR. WT. FISH: _____

SHELLFISH: _____

SMALL GAME: _____

BEAR: _____

WOOD: _____

WALRUS: _____

