Subsistence Resource Harvest Patterns: Nuiqsut





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FINAL SPECIAL REPORT

Subsistence Resource Harvest Patterns: Nuiqsut

Submitted to:

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IMPACT ASSESSMENT, INC.

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Alaska OCS Environmental Studies Program

Subsistence Harvest Areas: Nuiqsut

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In any project such as this the researcher owes much more to the people of the village in which he works than he can possibly make known. Most of the residents of Nuiqsut contributed in some way to help me understand the way of life in Nuiqsut and to produce this report. The errors remain mine, but I am grateful that their number has at least been reduced because of the kindness of those who worked with me.

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List of Acronyms Used

ADF&G AEWC ANCSA	Alaska Department of Fish and Game Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act
ANWR	Alaska National Wildlife Reserve
ARCO	Atlantic Richfield Company
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
DEW-Line	Distant Early Warning Line
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
IWC	International Whaling Commission
NPRA	National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska
NSB	North Slope Borough
TLUI	Traditional Land Use Inventory
USF&WS	United States Fish and Wildlife Service
USGS	United States Geological Service

PREFACE

The Minerals Management Service (MMS) had conducted a good deal of research on the North Slope prior to this study, much of it having a direct bearing on subsistence activity. Other than for the ongoing studies in Barrow and Wainwright however, such research has taken a general approach to subsistence and has provided little information on the spatial dimensions of North Slope subsistence harvest activity. Non-MMS research has approached subsistence activity from this viewpoint, but is either relatively inaccessible or not oriented towards MMS concerns for EIS purposes. This project was to document such land use patterns for the community of Nuiqsut for MMS, using the work that presently exists supplemented by a short (one month) period of field work.

The ultimate goal of the Nuiqsut subsistence harvest areas study was to describe the pattern of harvests of wild resources by Nuiqsut residents, emphasizing a geographical perspective. There were three explicit components to this ultimate goal. The first was to compile sitespecific information on Nuiqsut hunting sites, both from the literature and from field work in the village. The second was to contextualized this site-specific information by gathering information on several broader research questions concerning site use, changes in the pattern of use through time (potentially both for individuals and the community as a whole), and the role of subsistence in village life. The third component was to produce the actual report integrating the material from the first two components with the work partially completed for Part A of this project.

Organization of the Research

This component of the study was designed to emphasize field work and the collection of new information based on maps produced by Part A of the project. This maps, in turn were based primarily upon the literature. The main source was apparently the Traditional Land Use Inventories (TLUI) produced by the North Slope Borough (NSB). The TLUIs have some inherent difficulties as a primary source of data. Locational information is often ambiguous or lacking altogether. Site numbers are not always unique. A complete map of TLUI site locations is not available, and those partial maps that have been published are too small to accurately reflect other than general locations and also contain several inconsistencies regarding the specific placement of various sites. Other sources, and especially the more useful and recent work done in the community, tends to be unpublished and relatively inaccessible. Perhaps for theses reasons, the maps prepared for Part A (by a separate contractor) contained both errors of commission and omission that required a great deal of time to unravel (both in the field and afterwards). It is still not certain that all sites are located with complete accuracy, as complete field verification of all sites was not possible -- many pieces of contradictory information only became apparent after the field portion of the work was over. This required that the field worker/analyst make the most informed decision that he could on the basis of the information available.

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Organization of the Report

The report itself is organized into three sections. The first is a discussion of the history of wild resource use, the resources involved, seasonality and timing of harvest activities, changing resource and land use patterns, and factors affecting land use. A general discussion of the effects of industrial development, the Inupiat perception(s) of such development, and local attitudes toward development and resource management in general is also part of the first section of the report. References are made to specific sites inventoried in section two of the report when appropriate. This second section of the report is essentially an inventory of subsistence resource harvest sites and areas. Information on the -use characteristics of the site or area (specks involved, timing, location and so on) are presented in a standardized format. This is the specific information that forms the basis for the more general discussion and analysis contained in section one. Section three of the report is the bibliography of references used and data sources available.

There are several types of maps produced for this report. The primary map product, as specified by the contract, is a set of acetate overlays for the USGS 1:250,000 maps for the study area. Each of the sites inventoried in section two of the report is mapped on the appropriate overlay, except for those which are on maps which for reasons discussed in the text are not considered to be in the present-day Nuiqsut primary land use area (Barrow, Ikpikpuk River, Teshekpuk). In addition it was felt that such point mapping potentially greatly misrepresented Inupiat subsistence activities, so that a similar set of acetates illustrating the areas exploited for certain resources was also constructed. This follows the discussion in the text of section one, so that the rationale should be found there. Because of the expense of producing the acetate overlays, and at the request of MMS, we agreed to try to produce a set of similar 8.5" by 11" maps for inclusion in the text volume. It proved impossible to reduce the specific site map to this size within our time and budget constraints and have it remain usable. The area maps were modified so that each small map depicts the area used for one species only on a regional study-wide basis (that is, information from all component 1:250,000 maps is shown on one map). This not only make logical sense, since it is the large regional pattern that is of interest anyway, but also was a practical necessity. The color coding on the large acetate overlays is too complex to reproduce in black-and-white, and the only option to presenting all species on one partial study area map was to present information on each species separately on a standard regional study area map. These ten maps can be found in Appendix A. They are intended to be informational only and are interpretable only in conjunction with the text from sections one and two. In no way should these maps be taken as definitive.

Community Sample

The use of survey instruments was expressly forbidden for this research, so there was no formal sampling strategy and no attempt was made to provide quantitative measures for

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harvest amounts or frequency of site use. Not only are these sensitive issues which are difficult to investigate, but they would also have required far more time than was available. Similarly, any systematic investigation of sharing almost requires a formal interviewing instrument and a fair amount of time. The approach taken in this research was thus a pragmatic one of mapping sites and areas used with those identified by community members as active subsistence hunters, discussing those issues defined as most pertinent with those same individuals as well as with individuals identified as important for other reasons (community leaders, Elders, other knowledgeable persons), and attending the key public events occurring during the period of fieldwork (public hearings, council meetings, and so on).

The sample which resulted was far from a complete sample. For this reason the maps, and especially the area maps, can not be considered to be definitive. While it is probable that most sites of primary importance have been mapped, there are very likely some sites which are not on the maps. This is especially true for sites which have more importance in a cultural sense than for strict subsistence activities. Only areas of major significance which are also discussed in the text are mapped. It is extremely likely that Nuiqsut hunters use areas outside of those mapped on a fairly regular basis.

While the sample is not a complete one, it is more than adequate for the purposes of this research. As stated above, the purpose was not to document the amount and frequency of subsistence activity (although such information was not ignored if it was readily available) but rather to map and document the sites (and areas) within which subsistence areas took place. Informants understood this distinction quite well and often asked who had already provided information. They would then tend not to talk about areas they perceived as already covered. A few direct questions on the part of the researcher was usually adequate to cross-check information in the areas of perceived informant overlap and almost invariably the information had a high degree of agreement. Hunters have very complete information about where others go to hunt although seldom will they talk about the subsistence activity of others to the researcher, saying that they do not want to misrepresent what that person does. Villagers in general share a map of the land around Nuiqsut that is quite similar (although the knowledge varies in detail from person to person).

Not as many Elders were part of the sample as had been hoped. This was partially due to the difficulty of finding translators on short notice within the village. Most Elders can communicate in English, but are much more comfortable and eloquent in Inupiaq, especially when discussing a topic of such cultural significance as subsistence. Several Elders also perceived the research as redundant of the NSB effort which produced the TLUIS and so did not want to participate. They did not want to answer the same sort of questions yet again. This is unfortunate, given the problems with the TLUIs, but understandable and their refusals were respected. This makes the information on TLUI sites used for subsistence in the past but not so much now weaker than it otherwise would have been but the primary emphasis of this research was on contemporary subsistence sites.

Introduction

The research from which this report has resulted was oriented towards mapping subsistence resource harvest sites used by hunters from Nuiqsut and then collecting current information about the use of these sites. This inventory function was the primary task of the research and is presented in section two of this report. Section one deals with broader questions related to subsistence in Nuiqsut -- a general description of the current yearly round, how that is different from the past the effects of oil development upon subsistence activities, factors influencing who uses what sites or areas and at what times, and so on. The list of issues treated is not exhaustive, but is a product of the concerns that were expressed by informants during the field collection of site-specific information. A parallel study was also conducted in Kaktovik (Special Report No. 9) and provides good comparative information although the development of this comparison was not part of either project.

Our research focused on contemporary subsistence harvest site utilization with some concern for how this has changed from the past (and the effects of oil development in particular). The Traditional Land Use Inventory (TLUI) lists can be potentially misleading starting points for such research, especially in a refounded community such as Nuiqsut, because of the way in which they were compiled. Elders were asked where the productive areas were and where they themselves had lived and hunted. Given the changing conditions of life on the North Slope (the consolidation and mixing of the population into a relatively few fixed communities) it is not surprising that the TLUI reflects a pattern of subsistence utilization very different from that of the present day. This question as interesting as it is, was not a focus of this research and is treated only in a preliminary and mostly historical discussion (the present-day relation between subsistence, wage labor, and the cash economy is addressed by several sources -- see IQ-use 1982, Ruse at al. 1983, Galginaitis et al. 1984, Worl and Smythe 1986, Impact Assessment 1989, 1990). Our research was limited to documenting current patterns of subsistence activity as they relate to specific harvest sites.

These problems notwithstanding, the inventory of subsistence sites was developed primarily from the TLUIs compiled by the North Slope Borough (NSB) for each of the villages, supplemented by a short period of fieldwork in early 1990. Each TLUI is a list derived from a given number of informants associated with the community that the TLUI pertains to (usually they were resident there). In many cases, however, the information actually does not relate directly to the community of residence, as the informants were living somewhere else (or "many places else") during the time actually documented by the TLUI. Nuiqsut in particular is a community made up of people drawn from a number of different regions. Many of the TLUI sites in the Teshekpuk Lake are, for instance, reflect the previous residence in Barrow of a substantial number of current Nuiqsut residents. Other TLUI sites reflect a more mobile, seasonal, and expansive use of the Colville area before Nuiqsut was reestablished, when people would have to have made lengthy camping trips to have used the area at all. Part of this pattern dates back to the 1900s or earlier and so is also involved in the Elder recollection of earlier times and the previous residence issues. This is discussed in an historical section dealing with changing subsistence utilization patterns over time.

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The TLUI lists for the various communities have also tended to increase the overlap in the perceived land use areas of those communities. There is no doubt that there is overlap in the areas actively used by the hunters from the different North Slope communities, but it is just as clear that most North Slope hunters have an fairly clear cognitive idea of their community's "home territory" and that it is relatively well-defined and separate from that of the other communities. This is not to deny the reality of the value that any Inupiat is free to hunt anywhere, since the "home range" idea and the "freedom to roam" value are both held at the same time. The TLUI, by setting down in permanent form the areas and sites used by a very mobile population which later consolidated into several different permanent settlements, has made the question of "land use area" a very complicated one indeed.

Site Entry Format

Previous work has attempted to present the known information on the sites identified in a systematic way. Unfortunately, this work was rife with inconsistencies, incomplete entries, and inaccuracies. We have attempted to improve on this by using a similar approach with more attention to execution. The information for each site or areas is presented in the same format, using a standardized data template. Where information is missing or not known that area of the information grid is either left blank or annotated accordingly. Time did not allow for us to check which sites are included in Ed Hall's archaeological survey of the North Slope. Since this survey took place after the NSB TLUIS were compiled and has not as yet been incorporated into the TLUIs or the literature, this is potentially a rich source for information on the cultural significance of sites. For this reason we have left a field for this information in our database.

The information fields we have used are:

Site Number United States Geological Service (USGS) map the site is located on Inupiat name of site English name of site Meaning of the Inupiat name Alternate name(s) for the site Descriptive location for the site Coordinate location for the site (NSB TLUI, Orth 1967, Nielson 1977) Site number for the site in other references General use of the site Access to the site Features of the site Features of the site History of use of the site (and origin of English name) References

It will be noted that we have chosen to organize our primary list by site number and USGS map location. This reflects our guess that most users will be looking at the maps first and consulting the data rather than vice versa. Therefore, in section two we have grouped all the sites that appear on one map sheet together and list them in increasing numerical order. They are not in exact numerical order as we have tried to preserve some logical relation between our site numbers and those of the TLUI. This has not always proven to be possible, but we have done our best. Section II includes two listings of the sites to facilitate access to information on individual sites. The first is in the order that the sites are actually presented, in numerical order as sorted by USGS base map. and serves as a table of contents to the section. The second is a listing by strict numerical order and is included as an appendix, and also includes page numbers.

Perhaps the most important point that we can make is that the information in this report and on the accompanying maps is far too easy to misuse or misinterpret. We have not compiled close to a complete site and area inventory, nor do the maps adequately represent the complex behavioral patterns that comprise the present subsistence pattern of Nuiqsut. This system is in constant flux and no static description or single point in time can give an adequate understanding of mechanism within the system which allow it to adapt to normal fluctuations, or to respond and change to new and different conditions. We have tried, in our narrative discussion to contextualized the site and area information. It is our hope that this will enable the users of these products to understand some of the complexities of subsistence in Nuiqsut.

Overlay Maps of Subsistence Harvest Areas

One of the primary tasks of this research was to produce overlays for USGS base maps of the study area at a scale of 1:250,000. The original goal was to map subsistence resource harvest sites, but it soon became clear that not all subsistence resource harvest activity was reducible to point source information. Such point information often misrepresents the dynamics of subsistence activity, especially when used as an isolated graphic separated from the descriptive and analytical text accompanying them. We thus made a decision to also include some information on areas where individuals hunted. We made no effort to document the most expansive land use boundaries for each species, as has been done in the past (NSB Contract Staff 1979), nor did we try to document all use areas (clearly beyond our resources and the scope of work). Rather, the areas we have mapped are those that informants mentioned without explicit prompting by the researcher, and are assumed to be more salient to the informants based on this. These areas are definitely not the only areas used by those informants we worked with, and while we would argue that they are all highly salient and important areas, we would not claim that they include all important areas currently in use (and certainly not all areas important in the past). Areas where informants know that resources can be found, but which are currently not used, were likewise not mapped (except for muskoxen and moose, as it is quite possible that use of those resources will increase in the near future).

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The map overlays produced for this report do not contain all of the sites reported in section II. Those map overlays not produced are essentially for sites reported on the Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI which lie outside of the current Nuiqsut land use area (for reasons discussed above). Producing overlays for these areas would not contribute to the documentation of community subsistence activities, except in a negative way, and would use up resources that could be more productively employed. More importantly, perhaps, these sites do lie within the land use areas of other communities (most notably Barrow and Atqasuk) which were not included in this study. Thus, documentation of the true current use of these sites would be incomplete at best, and totally inadequate and misrepresentative at worst. Therefore, we have not produced map overlays for the Barrow, Teshekpuk, Ikpikpuk River, or Meade River USGS maps. The recent MMS study of subsistence in Barrow (Braund & Associates 1988, other reports forthcoming) provide information on these areas.

A study very similar to this one was also conducted in Kaktovik. Two of the map overlays were judged to be applicable to both communities, and have been included with both reports. This represents fairly accurately the present degree of overlap in the land use area of the two communities. For the most part, there is little such overlap except for the pursuit of forbearers by Nuiqsut hunters (for which the eastern boundaries were riot firmly documented). Still, the Flaxman Island area is important to Nuiqsut hunters during the open water season, although Kaktovik residents perhaps use it more regularly on a year-round basis. Similarly, the Sagavanirktok area is important to Kaktovik hunters on a seasonal basis, although it is more commonly included as part of the Nuiqsut land use area.

For the convenience of the users of this report who may not have access to the large overlays produced for the USGS 1:250,000 base maps of the study are, some 8" by 11.5" maps are included as Appendix A. These maps display the principal areas used by hunters from each village for each separate species on a regional basis. A point-site map could not be produced on this scale, as the points were too close together, and the resources were not available to make it feasible to produce a series of such maps on a quad-by-quad basis.

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For purposes of our reports on Nuiqsut and Kaktovik, we have made the pragmatic decision to define the land use areas of the communities pretty much where the active hunters do. This makes for minimal overlap (primarily in the Flaxman Island and Sagavanirktok map area) and does not misrepresent the current behavioral pattern to any large extent. The overlap is to a large extent a product of the subsistence utilization patterns of previous generations as reified by the NSB TLUIS. Historical accident also plays a prominent role in the arbitrary appearance of these boundaries. The Beechey Point map is an especially good example of this, as the subsistence harvest sites mapped area mixture of "Nuiqsut" and "Kaktovik" sites taken from the TLUI site lists for those two villages. At present, Beechey Point map sites are used almost exclusively by people from Nuiqsut, as Kaktovik is too far

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away. The assignment of individual sites to either the Nuiqsut or Kaktovik TLUI was done on the basis of where the informant who provided the information lived at the time of the interview or what community the informant identified as the focus of his movements for the time period involved. Since the TLUI lists for the most part deal with a time period when the population was dispersed over the land in a very mobile subsistence pattern many people in both Kaktovik and Nuiqsut had personal experience with many sites from the Canadian border (and beyond) in the east and Barrow (and beyond) in the west. Sorting these out on the basis of the location of present permanent settlements seems to be a task not worth doing, and would misrepresent the dynamics of the use of these sites in the past as well.

The pattern of subsistence harvest site utilization can never actually be fully documented in any event, since it is constantly changing and by necessity is a function of many complexly interacting variables. The most that can be hoped for is as detailed an understanding of the concrete behavior as can be observed or documented, combined with an understanding of the values and perceptions that shape the hunters behavior within that pattern. This is the task that had been set for out discussion.

Thus, the precise designation of land use areas for Nuiqsut is somewhat arbitrary. For the purposes of this research the boundary has been taken to be the 153 degree line. This is the boundary between the Harrison Bay and the Teshekpuk USGS 1:250,000 maps and reflects present use patterns. It coincides well with informant reports that they no longer (since the reformation of Nuiqsut as a settlement) use the Teshekpuk Lake are, which is considered a "Barrow" area. The effective eastern boundary for most subsistence activities is Tigvariak Island. This is essentially the dividing line between the Beechey Point and Flaxman Island USGS 1:250,000 scale maps. The area further to the east is more in the Kaktovik land use area. The effective southern boundary of the Nuiqsut land use area is the 69 degree line. All of these boundaries are to some extent arbitrary, although the southern boundary is to all intents and purposes a reflection of reality. The east and west boundaries are clearly artificial and related to the time frame and purposes of the current research, combined with the pragmatic considerations of what informants were willing to talk about.

For most practical purposes, the artificiality of the east and west boundaries has no real effect on the research. Most subsistence harvest activity does indeed occur within those boundaries. There are activities which take Nuiqsut residents further to the west and to the east, but for normal subsistence activities these boundaries represent behavioral reality fairly well. The Kuparuk and Prudhoe Bay oil fields act as barriers for preventing land access to certain areas to the east of the village, but the coast and ocean to the north and the interior to the south of this area is still open. Hunters report that the area effectively closed to them is one historically good for caribou and furbearers. The area to the south of this is used almost exclusively for hunting furbearers. This is one area of overlap with Kaktovik hunters, since both range far from their respective villages in the pursuit of furbearers.

Both villages report hunting in areas located on the Sagavanirktok USGS 1:250,000 map, and this map has been included in the reports for both communities. That this should be the area of overlap makes intuitive sense, since hunting furbearers is an activity that requires extensive travel at fairly high speeds, and a minimum of equipment. Most hunters would still haul a sled behind their snow machines, but it would be lightly loaded for the entire trip since there would be no meat to haul back to the village. It is most often the ease or difficulty of travel with a loaded sled that determines the area to be hunted, and a hunter with only a lightly loaded sled (survival gear, extra gas) can travel farther and traverse obstacles (both natural and related to oil development) that a hunter with a heavily loaded sled could not. The Sagavanirktok River is said to be the effective boundary for both communities in regard to hunting furbearers, but it is suspected that this is a normative idealization rather than an accurate reflection of behavior. In any event, the extreme outer limits on the land use area for furbearers is quite indefinite.

Subsistence Patterns

Any analysis of historical Inupiat settlements and settlement patterns must be considered on a regional or subregional basis, not on a strictly site-specific basis. Inupiat villages were not self-sufficient entities, but were conglomerations of people who could utilize individual mobility and shifting patterns of kinship and political alliance to respond to the vagaries of resource availability and changing economic and sociopolitical exigencies (and the same generalization can be supported for current villages). Villages might be situated at any of a number of sites, especially at places where different resources overlapped, and most especially near a reliable source of fresh water. Within an area, a village and its associated residents might move in response to changing conditions -- closer to or farther from the sea or the source of fresh water, onto higher ground or into the wind shadows of mounds and tussocks, upstream or downstream. Individuals might move outward from the centralized living area in a village into more peripheral area, and back again (a pattern most commonly associated in the modern period with fur trapping and reindeer herding in the 1920s through the 1930s). Different villages or sites would be used at different times of the year, mostly in response to the differential availability of subsistence resources. Most barrier island habitation sites, for instance, were primarily used in winter when marine mammals and in some localities (Tigvariak Island for one) were locally available, while resources inland were more sporadic. Most fishing locations were used in the fall and/or summer. If used for both seasons such sites could be used as a year-round habitation spot. Cross Island and some of the other barrier islands were used as seasonal habitation sites because of their proximity to bowhead whale migration routes. However, it was typical for people to move from one living site to another during the year and to settle in different villages, sometimes in widely divergent area, for widely variable periods of time over the course of their lifetimes. Inupiat life involved a cycle in which concentrated but temporally circumscribed activity within an intensively familiar hunting territory alternated with travel to widely dispersed and far more unfamiliar areas across the northwestern arctic (and beyond). Many

of these same dynamics can be observed on the North Slope today, although sometimes only in attenuated forms.

1. Prehistoric and Contact Period

Any detailed treatment of this pattern is beyond the scope of this report. Anderson 1984 provides an introduction to the prehistory of northern Alaska and VanStone 1984 provides a similarly brief treatment of the exploration and contact period (and into the "modem" period). The reader interested in more detail, especially in regard to the daily rhythms of life and how these may have changed over time, is referred to Amsden 1977, Gubser 1965, Murdoch 1892, Sonnenfeld 1957, and Spencer 1959 (these sources may not have this topic as their central concern but certainly contain a good deal of information on the subject). Galginaitis et al. 1984 contains a brief discussion of this changing pattern in the Nuiqsut context, but mostly in very general terms. Impact Assessment 1989:17-20 discusses this pattern in a more general regional context.

After contact, the flux of group formation and reformation undoubtedly intensified, as demographic patterns were substantially affected by the availability of resources from Euro-Americans, the effects of these same Euro-Americans on the availability of subsistence resources, and the introduction of new disease vectors. During the postcontact period, Inupiat groups formed and reformed (often along kinship or proto-kinship lines) in reaction to sudden and unforeseeable population changes. The present population of Barrow, for instance, is descended for the most part from interior Inupiat who had replaced the original coastal population by about 1890, after they had succumbed to epidemic disease (Oswalt 1967:234-235). This is especially important for Nuiqsut, since many current residents of Nuiqsut came to Nuiqsut from Barrow, and are for the most part descended from people who had moved into Barrow from the Colville River or other inland areas.

2. Postcontact Period

It is only from the early twentieth century on that reasonably good information on where people lived and hunted on the land is available, primarily through the NSB TLUIs, various NSB research programs which taped interviews with Elders, and the recollections of new informants. In as much as we will be concerned with historical patterns of land use, it will be this period from about 1900 that will be our primary concern.

During the early twentieth century, informants report that they ranged from Kotzebue to Kaktovik (and into Canada), as well as inland, in their normal movements (Galginaitis et al. 1984:8, Galginaitis unpublished field notes from Nuiqsut and Point Lay). The recorded birthplaces of current Nuiqsut residents certainly bears this out. Barrow predominates, but there are a significant number of people born along rivers or at coastal locations outside of villages well into the 1940s. It is evident, however, that the trend towards the concentration

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of the Inupiat population into centralized settlements was fairly steady and with the closing of most trading posts only a few people remained living in the Colville River area on a more-or-less permanent basis. The final stages of this process have been at least partially preserved in Helmencks and Helmencks 1948, which also presents perhaps the most personal view of Inupiat mobility in day-to-day life during this period.

The population effects of the whaling industry upon North Slope Inupiat have never been adequately investigated, and at this point the data may not exist to do so. The most likely general effects were the depopulation of the interior and the concentration of the Inupiat population in the villages best situated for whaling and whaling-support activities (Point Hope, Wainwright, Barrow) and at the most common over-wintering location for whaling ships at Herschel Island (in Canada). Almost all current Nuiqsut residents can trace relatives to these locations at this time, as almost all northwestern Alaskan Natives were engaged in the whaling industry in one way or another (Foote 1964).

By 1910, however, the whaling industry was essentially moribund. The local Inupiat population returned (if that is the proper word) to more of a subsistence-oriented lifestyle and once more dispersed over the landscape. There were, however, several related essential differences from the precontact period. There were now several permanent Native settlements which acted as service centers. Inupiat were very aware of the goods they could obtain in exchange for money and so were quite eager to engage in the fur trade. A string of trading posts was established to facilitate this trade and served as the anchors for semipermanent communities in the hinterlands. The demands of trapping (or hunting) forbearers were such that the Inupiat who procured the fur had to disperse of necessity. The presence of the trading posts at fairly regular intervals along the coast allowed them to do so and still maintain proximity to a regular resupply point (there were trading posts at Point Barrow, Cape Simpson Cape Halkett, Beechey Point, Flaxman Island, Collinson Point, Barter Island, Demarcation Point, Herschel Island, Shingle Point, the Mackenzie Delta and Ballie Island at one time or another in this period). Periodically they would make a trip to the central hub community, which was Barrow for the Colville River area. Nielson (1977:59-60) provides a good summary of the dynamics of trapping during this period, which extended to about 1939.

Reindeer herding was also an important industry employing Inupiat prior to World War II, and affected subsistence and settlement patterns. The herds associated with the Nuiqsut land use area were formally based in Barrow, and most of the herders had at least some form of residence there. The requirements of reindeer herding were such that herders spent more time away from home than anywhere else, and the number of sites associated with reindeer herding activity in the Nuiqsut area bears this out. Even though there were no permanent habitation sites (in the sense of communities with stable populations) in the Colville River area at this time there was certainly a population which used the area in a systematic and regular way for trapping, herding, trading, and hunting.

Trapping and reindeer herding both collapsed at about the same time, in the late 1930s or early 1940s. This is about when the modern depopulation of the interior began as Inupiat began to move into the settled villages to look for employment or to receive services and benefits. It was also about this time that Inupiat students were required to attend school, and many families moved into Barrow from the Colville River area to fulfill this necessity. The end result was that by the 1950s only one family lived in the Colville River area. The majority of those who had moved had gone to Barrow but still hunted the area. Their mode of using the area had undergone a substantial change, however, since they were now located at quite a distance from it. Several of the families which had moved to Barrow from the Colville River in the 1930s continued to make trips to fishcamp on the river or to locations east of the Colville (Sites 901 and N-56 for example). They would travel in the spring by dogteam to fish with nets under the ice, would stay through the summer (when travel by dogteam was not possible) and leave in the fall (after perhaps net fishing under the ice until the ice got too thick and the days too short). They would then return to Barrow for the winter. This pattern essentially ended in the 1940s, when informants say that the opportunity/need/desire to work for wages constrained the time available for such lengthy subsistence trips. They would still make one to several short trips to the Colville River area each year, but it became a less frequent occurrence as time went on. It is from this period in the 1930s and 1940s that many of the Nuiqsut TLUI sites in the Teshekpuk Lake area date. These sites were actually used by these people when they were based out of Barrow, and many continue to be used by Barrow hunters.

The 1940s and 1950s was a period of time typified by mobile male wage employment. One of the most typical experiences would be that of working on the construction of the DEW-Line stations. Several men in their 50s and 60s worked on most of the sites on the North Slope. This reinforced the pattern of long distance travel as well as fostering the concept of a career as a wage earner. Many of these men learned the skills they would later apply in other contexts on these jobs. The hiring of Inupiat for DEW-Line jobs seems to have been primarily from Barrow. Perhaps the best source for this time period on the North Slope is Sonnenfeld 1957.

DEW-Line construction was confined to the 1950s, so that the 1960s were exemplified more by the development of the Barrow Utilities Incorporated (later Barrow Utilities and Electrical Cooperative, Inc.) and other local services, all of which helped develop important skills of the people who would be instrumental in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). Barrow remained the home and center to most of the Inupiat population, however, although people did sometimes visit the Colville River area. Individual families did live in the area for a year or two in the 1960s (aided in part by the first snow machines), but there was no movement to move back to the area permanently until the passage of ANCSA. At that time the Nuiqsut village corporation was organized in Barrow and a group of individuals moved back to rebuild a community on the Colville River.

3. <u>Resettlement Period</u>

Brown 1979 presents the community view of this resettlement as well as information on the subsistence land use patterns of the "new" residents of Nuiqsut. Much of this would later be repeated and elaborated in Hoffman et al. 1978 (revised and reprinted 1988). It is important when using the information contained in these documents to remember that Nuiqsut hunters were relearning the land to a large extent during this period, and that this process is still continuing. Even in the most settled of communities individual hunters never stop learning the land and animals better. In Nuiqsut, where there has been no continuous resident population this is currently true of the community taken as a whole as well as the individual hunters. The "yearly cycle" that most commonly appears for Nuiqsut was developed at this time and is sort of a composite of the subsistence harvest behavior of that time and the reports of resource availability from the Elders who used the area in the past. We will later compare this "yearly cycle" with typical behavior in the present and discuss some of the differences.

A. Whaling in the Resettlement Period

Perhaps the most important omission from the Nuiqsut subsistence literature is an account of how and why Nuiqsut is a whaling village, although it is located inland on the Colville River. This is especially important given the fundamental centrality of whaling in the Inupiat *ethos* and the clear importance to many residents of Nuiqsut of their fundamental Inupiat identity as whalers, combined with the apparently marginal location of Nuiqsut in regards to whaling. The personality of the man who first successfully whaled from Nuiqsut after it was refounded has a great deal to do with this. At that time he was both Nuiqsut mayor and president of the village corporation. He is presently (1990) once again Nuiqsut mayor. He has served as chairman of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC) and is highly regarded for his subsistence knowledge and skills. However, such a detailed treatment would be inappropriate to the task set for this report, and would also be a potential invasion of his privacy. We will concentrate more on the historical, cultural, and institutional arrangements that allow Nuiqsut to be a full-scale whaling village.

Background: Precontact Whaling

The area where Nuiqsut crews whale in the fall is an area that has been historically productive. The details of this Native use are not clear, as definitive information on the antiquity of whaling in the regions of the North Slope east of Barrow does not really exist. Informants maintain that whaling took place at Cross Island and Barter Island in aboriginal times. Hall 1987 and Hall n.d. would provide information in this regard, but the efforts previous to ours neglected to incorporate them and there were insufficient resources (time and money) for this failing to be corrected (they are not easily available sources). In more

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of a summary publication, Hall states that the available archaeological evidence provides only the most meager cultural history (1981:48):

Essentially, there is no unequivocable evidence of occupation in the area previous to 4,000 years ago, precious little data on the nature of human adaptation in Arctic Small Tool tradition times, and only enough information from the more recent sites to broadly outline a picture of human occupation in the past 600 years [the late prehistoric].

For the late prehistoric, there are only three well documented sites. One, Niglik, is a specialized activity site. The lack of systematic archaeological testing at this site has resulted in an inability to establish prehistoric roots for the Niglik trading fair. Little has been recovered at this site that would address the subsistence behavior of the people using the site. Thetis Island prehistoric remains have been dated to A.D. 1350-1500. There is evidence of whaling activity, but both the nature of the tools and faunal remains found there support a subsistence pattern oriented toward caribou (50 percent) and seal (25 percent), with the remainder representing birds, foxes, whales, and various small animals (25 percent, in that order, so that whales must have been a relatively infrequent catch, given their large size relative to the other resources being harvested). Pingok Island prehistoric remains have been dated to A.D. 1550-1700. Land subsistence activities are well represented in this archaeological assemblage as well, but common seals and whales are as well. Bearded seal and walrus are not well represented, but overall it appears that whaling was a significant activity form Pingok Island during this period. The interpretation of this information in terms of cultural history is far from clear (Hall 1981:4-49,71-73).

Historical Whaling

Cross Island has been reported by Inupiat informants to have been the site of whaling activities for hundreds of years, and so could date back at least to the late prehistoric period. It is known that Taaqpak, a whaling captain Spencer (1959:154) places in Barrow, whaled from Cross Island from the 1920s to 1940 or so (Carnahan 1979:25-31). Taaqpak was one of several Inupiat who bought boats from whalers or traders in the 1920s, and a history of such transactions, especially as they affected Inupiat whaling, would be very Such a history has not been written, however, and would likely require informative. extensive research with no guarantee of ultimate success. In any event, Taaqpak also had a reindeer herd in the area and many of the men on his whaling crew worked for him, and some of those with reindeer herds to the east of him also whaled with him. It is not known for sure if Taaqpak ever lived in Kaktovik or had that community as his center of orientation, but many of those who served on his crew did. It is certain that many of those people now whaling in Nuiqsut (and Kaktovik) received their training from a person who had whaled with Taaqpak in the Cross Island area. Some of today's senior whalers in fact learned directly from Taaqpak. Thus, although whaling in the Kaktovik area proper is not

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documented prior to 1964, Kaktovik people did have whaling experience (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:52-53).

It is not altogether clear why whaling was suspended in this area. It is probable that the decline of the reindeer industry prompted most of the people who had been in the area to relocate to Barrow or Kaktovik. Certainly, this made the area effectively more distant for the purposes of whaling, since there were not even semi-permanent residents in the immediate area. The Colville River area was also experiencing depopulation at this same time. Schools and wage labor jobs were serving to attract people off the land and into central communities. At any rate, the last documented whale taken before the resettlement of Nuiqsut was in 1940 by Taaqpak (NSB 1987).

The same year that Nuiqsut was resettled, the Mayor (he was also the village corporation President at that time) decided to take a boat and a crew out and look the area over. He did not go out with the intention of whaling, since a single boat usually does not expect to succeed in taking a whale. He nonetheless took his whaling equipment along just in case.

This whaling captain reports that he had no real idea of what would await him when he went out in 1973. He remarks that he was the only one "crazy enough" to go out at that time, but that he is glad that he did. The Elders certainly had a great deal of knowledge about the fall whaling of the past, and this was one area that had been used in the past. No one had whaled in this area since about 1940, however, so he had no recent experience to draw upon. A whale appeared before the boat just off the barrier islands off of the Canning River delta in an area so shallow that it brought up sand when it sounded. The captain shot the darting gun and the harpoon was attached to the whale. It came up again and he shot it with the shoulder gun, and the whale died. The captain speaks as if the whale gave itself to him and certainly if it had not died quickly it would have been difficult for one boat to finish off a wounded whale.

There were only five of them in the boat, and it took quite a while to tow the whale to Flaxman Island, where they butchered it. Since the meat was spoiling and they had only one boat, they butchered for muktuk only, and cut most of' the fat off of that. It took them two days to return to Nuiqsut with a boat load, after which they returned to Flaxman Island accompanied by two other boats which helped transport the rest of the muktuk to Nuiqsut. Nuiqsut next took a whale in 1982. Prior to 1982, most Nuiqsut residents who wanted to whale went spring whaling in one of the other coastal villages.

The Nuiqsut whaling captain in command of the crew which took this first whale is understandably proud of the accomplishment. While maintaining a due show of modesty, he also (with strong apparent justification) claims that it was his success with this whale which established Nuiqsut as a whaling village, an identity that is pervasive and fundamentally important. This captain continued to go out whaling alone (with only his single crew) from 1973 to 1979 or 1980. During the end of this period the International Whaling Commission (IWC) ban on subsistence whaling, the formation of the AEWC, and

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the implementation of a quota system all occurred in short order. These events underscored for most Inupiat the need to protect whaling as a fundamentally important aspect of their lives. Without this historical pattern of hunting and a successful take, Nuiqsut would have had no record of previous whaling experience and so would have probably not been considered a whaling village. Aboriginally, Nuiqsut was an inland community and a delta fishing and gathering locality. Whaling was not a focus of the communities in and around the Colville River.

Current Nuiqsut whalers gained their experience in other coastal communities, and there are currently about seven active Nuiqsut whaling crews. It is interesting to compare Nuiqsut to Point Lay, which until the 1930s was a whaling community. Because there have been no active whaling crews in Point Lay since the 1930s, Point Lay has no quota and is not considered a whaling village.

B. The Yearly Round in the Resettlement Period

The Nuiqsut yearly cycle diagram that appeared in Hoffman et al 1978 has reappeared in various forms in quite a few publications since then (Brown 1979:37, Galginaitis et al. 1984:177, Hoffman et all. 1988:15). It can be fairly briefly summarized both in terms of species harvested and time of year. We will do both, as each provides the information in a useful form.

Nuiqsut Harvest Cycle by Species (Hoffman et al. 1988:15)

Caribou were harvested year-round with three broad peaks from mid-March through early June, August through mid-October, and December. Moose, on the other hand, were harvested very seasonally, starting in August and peaking in September and tailing off into December. Fox trapping was indicated to be at a nearly constant level of effort from December through March and not to occur the rest of the year. Wolf and wolverine trapping and hunting was continuous from October through May, but peaked in April and May. Seal hunting occurred in three distinct periods of time, with two relatively active peaks in April and September and a third low level period in November through December. Whaling peaked in September, and polar bear hunting, while continuous from September through May, was at its peak just after whaling and declined to a low level after November. Duck and geese hunting was continuous from mid-April through October and peaked in June and October. Fishing occupied two distinct periods of time, January through May and July through November and peaked in May and October-November. The summer-fall fish season displays a much higher level of effort than the winter-spring season. Nuiqsut Harvest Cycle by Month (Hoffman et al. 1988:15-17)

Hoffman et al. 1988 start the yearly cycle with June, probably because that is the time of the year when there is the least going on in terms of subsistence activities. This is because breakup usually occurs in early June and movement is very difficult at this time of year. It is essentially impossible to use either boats or snow machines at this time.

After breakup, which is usually in early June, the large whitefish (aanaakliq) move upriver. Fishing is delayed until two to four weeks after breakup due to flooding and the muddy nature of the water. Geese fly across the delta from west to east during this time. King eider ducks fly along the coast west to east. Caribou are not hunted to any great extent because the meat rots so easily. The caribou calf in late May or early June along the eastern shore of Teshekpuk Lake and between the main channel of the Colville and the Sagavanirktok Rivers. Moose move north along the upper Colville and Itkillik Rivers.

In July moose continue north and few caribou are harvested, for the same reason as in June. Fishing for aanaakliq continues (or more typically starts). Hunting for birds continues and summer fishing at Fish Creek starts. Some open water hunting for ringed and bearded seal begins off the delta, and a small amount of maritime hunting continues through the summer.

August is historically an important month to hunt caribou. The meat is less likely to spoil due to lower temperatures and fewer insects. The animals are fat from summer grazing and the migration south has not yet started. Caribou hides are also in optimal condition and the rut has not yet started. Arctic char and limited numbers of churn and pink salmon start upriver and are followed by spotted seal. Spotted seal are said to be hunted as far upstream as the Itkillik River. Small whitefish (qaaktaq) and arctic cisco (iqalusaaq) are taken at Wood's camp near the ocean, but are not upriver as yet.

In September the caribou from the **Teshekpuk** calving ground begin their migration up the **Ublutuoch** River over to the **Colville** River and then south. Some will stay **and** winter in the Fish Creek area. The Colville-Sagavanirktok River caribou calving group move toward the **Sagavanirktok** River and follow it south. The cisco and small whitefish run upriver just before freeze-up, and this is a very important fishing season. Moose season **is** said to start this month and hunting begins along the middle **Colville**. **Berry** picking and wood collection are sometimes combined **with** moose hunting. Whaling begins in mid-September and usually lasts about two weeks. Boats can range as far east as the Canning River. Other species can be taken when the chance arises during whaling. Seals are hunted in the **Colville** River delta independently of whaling.

October through November is an important time for fishing for cisco and **small** whitefish. This is done with nets under **the** ice, so as soon as the river freezes (usually mid-October) people will either **travel to** fish camp on the **Colville** River or Fish Creek. People also jig through the ice for **grayling (sulukpaugaq)** and **lingcod (tittaalik)**. There is some hunting for female caribou at this time, but male caribou are in rut and essentially inedible. Hoffman et al. say that some moose hunting is done by snow machine at this time.

In December the trapping season opens. White (arctic) fox, cross fox, red fox, and ermine were said to be trapped. Wolf and wolverine were trapped on occasion, but were usually shot. Some caribou and moose hunting "traditionally" takes place this time of year, and some seal hunting, since the leads are usually still open.

In January through March darkness and bad weather usually reduced subsistence activity, although trapping and caribou hunting continued. Hunting for wolf and wolverine continued as well.

In April jigging for **lingcod**, **grayling**, and lake trout begins as the weather warms up. The trapping season ends April 15. This is reported to be an important time for hunting wolves as conditions for their successful take improve at this time. April is also a good time for seal hunting as the seals sun themselves on the ice.

In May, seal hunting continues. Wolf and wolverine hunting is also said to continue, as does hook-and-line fishing. This is also said to be the month for **long** trips by snow machine.

4. The Yearly Round in Present-Day Nuiasut

We do not claim to possess complete knowledge about subsistence activities in **Nuiqsut**, so that the following discussion is hardly definitive. What is intended in our treatment is an update of the Hoffman et **al**. information and an examination of the areas where there appear to have been interesting changes. We will start with a species-by-species description in terms of timing of harvest and sites (or areas) utilized.

A. Caribou

Caribou are perceived by **Nuiqsut** residents to be so ubiquitous and readily available that it was difficult for them to indicate areas where they specifically hunted for caribou. They pointed out that one **could** find caribou in the entire area, that the entire area was used **at** one time or another, and to point out part of the range over other parts may in fact be misleading. Caribou can be hunted year-round, but there are times of the year when they are only hunted if there is an immediate need for **meat**. Most hunters prefer not to go out in the heart of winter due **to** limited daylight and the unpredictability of the weather. June and July also tend to be **low** activity months for the harvest of caribou, although they are usually locally available. Their condition tends to be poorer than later in the year and the relatively high temperatures makes preserving the meat a problem. More people do take caribou in June and July than in the past, however, perhaps due to larger and faster boats

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and home freezers. Most of the caribou taken in these months tend to be shot at or near fish camps in the **Colville** River delta.

Most informants clearly conceived of the best caribou hunting time as summer and fall. Most indicated that the coastal areas were the most productive for caribou hunting and that they used boats to access the resource. Although the entire coastal region and Colville River delta was said to be good, the Kogru River area and the upper Harrison Bay regions (N-38, N-42, N-46, N-48, N-49) was pointed out as an especially productive area in the summer. The area around Atigaru Point (N-51) and below it (N-53, N-56) are also very productive areas, but the water is so shallow there that one must know how to gain access to use this area. Other informants were quite insistent that the **Colville** delta and other river systems were vital summer caribou harvest sites as well. One hunter, for instance, takes almost all of his caribou along the upper **Itkillik** (N-908) and other hunters also use this area and the upper **Colville** for caribou (often **in** conjunction with hunting for moose). These same hunters will also take caribou when they are at summer fish camp, but usually only for immediate consumption or just before they return to the village, since it is difficult to preserve the meat at this time of the year. They prefer to take caribou in August, when the caribou are in good condition, water levels are usually high enough to allow travel up the rivers or along the coast, and preservation is not such a problem. Caribou will be hunted by boat through September, although fall whaling and the beginning of the rut season makes August the preferred harvest month.

The Cape Halkett area (N-38, NA-919) was said to be about the effective western limit of caribou hunting by boat. Hunters do sometimes range farther to hunt caribou, but only if they want to travel in that area anyway and happen to come across some animals, or if they have been unable to locate caribou at a closer location. Normally, hunters can find caribou closer to Nuigsut than Cape Halkett and consider a trip to Cape Halkett just for caribou to be too long a trip. Evidently, Nuigsut boaters have tended to go west more than east recently. **Olliktok** Point is said to be the effective eastern **limit** to hunting caribou by boat, although it is clear that people use boats to get to summer camps as far east as Beechey Point (N-102) and that they hunt caribou from these camps. The primary seal hunting area also extends far enough east to include Pingok Island (N-94), as is discussed below. The general impression is that Nuigsut hunters have been reluctant to use this area because of their fears of the effects of oil development in the area. This is also discussed more in the section on seals and marine mammals below, but the hesitancy seems to have been based on assumptions that access to the area would be physically difficult because of the oil facilities there, that the oil companies would be overtly hostile to such access, that the animals would not be plentiful, and that the animals might not be healthy. All these assumptions seem to be in the process of revision.

Caribou are hunted in the late fall, winter, and spring using snow machines. The effective primary **land** use area **(NA-918)** is effectively the same as in the summer. Cape **Halkett** is still the farthest that hunters wish to go on a regular basis, and few hunters go east of **Nuiqsut** to hunt because of the Kuparuk oil field. Most **Nuiqsut** hunters consider on-shore

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oil fields as off limits to hunters. The most significant difference between the "summer" and "winter" ranges is that all of the interior is accessible in the winter, whereas in the summer hunters are restricted to the rivers.

As was true of caribou in the summer, informants say that usually there is no lack of caribou in the winter and there is no real concern about the "best" spot to locate them. They are usually quite near the village. In fact, during field work in February and March, 1990, caribou were observed (and hunted) near the dump, airport, sewage lagoon, and ice road. Informants did point out Atigaru Point (N-52) as a dependable winter caribou harvest location if caribou could not be found anywhere else. In years with a great deal of snow, when caribou tend to be scarce, hunters say that the uplands east of the Colville, southeast of Nuiqsut, tend to be productive. The winds sweep the snow off so that the caribou can get at their feed in this area, Traveling in this area is not that bad and although there has been a good deal of seismic exploration in the area there has been little real development as yet. Thus, this area south of the Kuparuk field is still considered "open" to hunting and is included as a very significant area of the caribou hunting range.

Hunters are generally aware of the regulatory restrictions which apply to the taking of caribou, and have been in the past, but tend to claim that they know less than in fact they do. This seems to be a mechanism to protect themselves if they do by chance break a regulation. They can claim ignorance of the law and hope for leniency. As most regulations are not strictly enforced on the North Slope, few hunters have really worried about this. Such claims also support the **Inupiat** contention that the regulations actually make little sense and are constantly changing anyway, so that it is senseless to try to keep up with them. When caribou numbers were quite low and only limited (or no) hunting allowed, local hunters were extremely upset. Even presently, when caribou numbers are high, local hunters are mystified by the management scheme which allows them to take five caribou a day west of the Colville River, but only five a year east of the Colville. Understandably, few caribou are reported to be harvested east of the Colville. Most Nuigsut hunters do not bother to report the harvest of caribou with Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) harvest tags, but almost all those who hunt moose do obtain a license and do turn in the harvest report tag. In most cases it appears that noncompliance with regulations is not ignorance, but neither is it a willful disregard for the law. Rather, in most cases it is a matter of local common sense -- an evaluation of whether the regulation makes good sense in terms of local conditions and the characteristics of the local resources. Thus, regulations may have little real effect on where people hunt and how much they harvest, but there is no good way to test this hypothesis. "Good" regulations are in accordance with "good" Inupiat subsistence "Bad" regulations are not, but may be promulgated under conditions where practice. noncompliance is difficult to establish (low harvest levels because of low populations, lack of enforcement, or whatever). Inupiat hunters do generally seem to be aware of the regulations currently in effect.

B. Moose

Moose have become an important species for **Nuiqsut** hunters. They are hunted by boat in August on the **Colville**, Chandler, and **Itkillik** Rivers (NA-940, **NA-941)**. After August (and sometimes even in August) the water levels **in** these rivers tends to **be** too low, peventing access to the best hunting spots. Whaling starts in September in any event. **Nuiqsut** hunters do not hunt moose **by** snow machine as **the** animal is simply too large and difficult **to** transport in that way.

As can be seen by the distribution of base camps used for moose hunts (N-81, NA-908, N-921, N-922, N-923, N-924, N-925, N-928), hunters differ markedly in the distances that they travel to hunt moose. This seems to be related to several factors. Time and money available are perhaps the most important. The farther one goes up a river, the longer it takes and the more equipment is needed to ensure access and a timely return trip -essential if the meat harvested is to be preserved. Boats and engines are both expensive, but gas is seen as perhaps the critical expense because even after the boat and engine have " been paid for the hunter still needs to buy gas. Sentinel Hill (N-921) is about one day% trip upriver from Nuigsut and is considered the beginning of real moose hunting country (only one informant mentioned looking for moose as far up as Ocean Point, N-81). To get to Sentinel Hill with the standard eighteen foot boat and forty horsepower engine takes about twenty gallons of gas, roundtrip. Gas costs over \$2.00 per gallon and to go to one of the more distant moose hunting areas takes quite a bit more gas. The cost of gas in Umiat is \$5.00 per gallon. One informant estimated the total cost of a moose hunt as \$2000, with no certainty that a moose would actually be harvested. Moose was the only subsistence resource that informants attached this sort of "cost" to (other than perhaps whaling captains talking about **the** expense of maintaining a whaling crew).

Hunter attitude or disposition also seems to be a factor in determiningg where hunters look for a moose. Those who combine it with a sort of vacation away from **the** village and/or and exploration of areas they have not been before tend to range farthest (and spend the most time and money). Those who are mainly after a moose do not travel as far and spend less time and money. Almost **all** moose hunters agree that almost anywhere **below** Sentinel Hill one may be able to find a moose, and that it is just personal preference as to where **to** look and luck that determines ones success. One hunter whose main **goal** is the actual harvest said that if he were lucky he shot his moose right below Sentinel Hill and could return to **Nuiqsut** right away. If **he** were not at all lucky he would have **to go** beyond N-923, the junction of the **Colville** and Chandler Rivers (both are used).

Most moose camps are used on a regular basis, year after year, but not necessarily by the same people. Hunters tend to reuse their old camps if they are hunting in the same **area**, and some hunters (but not **all**) tend to return to the same area to **hunt** year after year. Some hunters **will** also camp in new locations, either because they are in a new area or simply because there are so many potentially good camping spots that they want to try anew one. One feature of most moose base camps is that they are near a **bluff** or other elevation

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that can be used as lookout point. A good gravel base, or other well-drained location, for the placement of tents is also a prime feature.

Most Inupiat moose hunters use the Colville or Chandler River areas, whereas resident non-Inupiat hunters concentrate on the Itkillik River. Non-Inupiat informants say that they use the Itkillik because it has a good deal of game, few other hunters have been there so that the game is not spooky, and it is easier and faster to get to than the upper Colville. A few Inupiat hunters claim to hunt the Itkillik on occasion (at least one Inupiat has harvested a moose six hours travel up the Itkillik), but still use the Colville and Chandler for most of their subsistence activities. All hunters will hunt other species while on a moose hunt, if the chance should arise and they have not seen any evidence of moose in the area. If a hunter has had no luck at all, he will try to at least return to the village with several caribou, thus recovering part of the expense of the hunt.

C. Fish

Fishing is one of the most important subsistence activities in Nuiqsut, and probably the one in which the largest percentage of the population participates. Fishing can take **place** at almost anytime of the year except the middle of winter (when the ice is too thick) and the period two to four weeks after breakup (when the water is too high and muddy). Fall net fishing under the ice is easily the most productive season, however, with summer net open water fishing being somewhat less productive, and winter jigging ranking **last** in terms of the amount caught. There is, however, an element of recreation or enjoyment associated with jigging itself that is absent from the techniques used during the other two periods of fishing. Although people enjoy being at summer fish camp, not too many express a great love for the **actual** task of minding their nets. We will discuss the three separately, at least to begin with.

Fall/Winter Net Fishing

The fall/winter fishing season is by far the most productive for **Nuiqsut** subsistence users (as well as the commercial operator), and in a normal year **Nuiqsut** residents will expend more time fishing during this period than any other (Craig 1987, George and **Kolvalsky** 1986, George and **Nageak** 1986, Moulton et al. 1986, Entrix 1986, Entrix 1987, Moulton and Field 1988). The start of this season is determined by when the river ice is strong enough to support a snow machine (seven to nine inches). One informant said that **the** earliest he remembers this being is about October 9. **People** will then fish with nets **until mid**-November, when diminishing returns generally causes everyone to pull in their nets. There is an occasional 'late run" after November 15, but people do not normally extend their fishing effort to wait for this unless they have not caught very many fish at all. A few families may fish for the entire season, but generally enough fish can be caught in two weeks or less. One informant's estimate is that 3,000 pounds can be caught in two weeks, using

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an estimate of 90 pounds per **sack**, "sacks" being the unit by which **Nuiqsut** residents measure the quantity of fish they catch.

There are relatively few locations where nets are set for the fall/winter fishery. This is not because these are the only productive locations, but seems to be because they are dependable spots and people like to fish together **so** that they can watch each other's nets, help out when it is necessary, and make it somewhat of a social activity (this is even more true of the summer fishery). Also, it is necessary to keep **holes** chopped **in** the ice to set and pull the nets, and after one person is finished fishing for the season another may set his nets in the same spot so that he can use the **pre-existing** holes. **Also**, although the general locations where people set nets is the same from year-to-year, the precise location is dependent upon conditions at the time. Informants say that this is what separates an experienced fall net fisherman from a novice. The novice will set his net in the same **place** as he has before, regardless of whether conditions, note similarities and differences with previous seasons, and **adjust** the location and depth of his net sets accordingly.

There are five main fall/winter net fishing locations in the Colville delta (Craig 1987) discusses four, but his is a subsistence fishery report and does not discuss the commercial fishery also existing in the delta). On the main east channel of the **Colville**, near the **mouth** of the river, the commercial fishery is located at N-124. They essentially fish **until** the fish stop or they have enough and have run **out** of storage capacity. The subsistence effort. in this part of the **delta** is in an area called **Kupigruak** (N-87) and is where **people** who have fish camps in this part of the **delta (N-904, N-905, N-906)** as well as others from **Nuigsut** set their nets. Both sides of the **channel** are used and people fish **until** they decide that they have enough for their own use and to give away or trade. In the west **part of** the delta, the location nearest the mouth is at Niglig or Wood's Camp (N-58). Although this location is associated with the Woods family, many others use it. The second location in the western part of the **delta** is perhaps mid-way between Wood's Camp **and Nuigsut**. This locality is called Nanuk (N-60) and is again associated with certain families which have established fish camps there with tent platforms, but which is used by many other families as well. The third location is the Nechelik Channel just north of Nuigsut itself to a point about three miles downstream (N-45, N-61, N-63). Nets are set here by people with a minimum of fishing equipment or who do not have a great deal of time to spend checking their nets and so want them as close as possible. Many people set nets here, although who has a net in this location can vary greatly from day-to-day. In addition to these five locations, informants report that they will sometimes fish at Kayuktusiluk (N-74) for whitefish that are full of roe. These are a delicacy and not many fish with roe are caught at the other locations. Fish Creek could also be used as a fall/winter net fishing location, but informants were united in maintaining there was no need to travel to fish creek when there were sites just as productive closer to the village.

Summer Net Fishing

There are also a limited number of localities used to set nets in summer, in a way similar to the fall/winter net fishery. The eastern part of the delta is apparently not used at all (some informants suggested this was to avoid contact with the operators of the commercial fishery, but it could also be influenced by the desire to keep the main channel of the river open for boat traffic). There are perhaps four diffuse areas used, which are discussed in turn below.

The first summer net area is the **Nechelik** Channel between **Nuiqsut** and Wood's Camp (N-61 and N-58 respectively). Although there are some nets set near **Nuiqsut**, most people prefer to be at least three miles downstream and preferably somewhere from **Nanuk** (N-60) to Wood's Camp. This seems to be for two reasons. **First**, the traffic and dust from the village makes processing the fish caught near the village **in** summer difficult. Second, most of the fish camps are located at or beyond **Nanuk** and people take the opportunity in the summer to spend weeks or months away from the village at these camps. **This is** an explicitly recognized time for relaxed socializing and informants rank the ability to visit nearby fish camps as a major locational factor for their fish camp and/or net locations.

The second major summer net locality is in the area of **Itkillikpaat/Qautuk** (N-121/N-145) and **Tiragruak** (N-77). Fish camps are also located in these areas and **people** will spend weeks or months fishing and engaging in other subsistence activities. There may well be an explanation in terms of kinship for why some families use one or the other of these areas as their main summer fish camp/net location, but we **did** not reach any conclusions on that question. Some people use both and the situation is very fluid.

The third major area is the Fish Creek area. This is subdivided into that portion of Fish Creek near its mouth to about three miles inland (N-909), and a second part from about five miles inland to about nine miles inland (N-911). Informants report that this is probably the most productive summer net location in the **area**. One informant went so **far** as to say that he **could** catch twice the fish in half the time as any other location. Fish Creek is usually mentioned as a sort of supplementary or shorter-term fishing location than the two areas discussed above, and may be used in conjunction with birding and shorter-term (one to two week) camping trips away from the village.

The fourth area is one which informants say was used extensively in the past (including the first years of the resettled **Nuiqsut**) but which has in the more recent past not been used very much. This is the **Puviksuk/Agki** (N-76/N-75) area of the upper **Colville** River. Craig (1977:38-39) refers to this as the **Tiragruak** area (N-74 on our overlay). It seems that the other locations discussed above have proven to be more convenient to current residents of **Nuiqsut**.

In addition to these locations, informants also report that they fish in the other locations that they happen to find themselves. Thus, the **family** which has a camp at **Beechey** Point

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will set nets there. Those camping on the coast near **Olliktok** Point or other places may well set nets as well. **Nuiqsut** informants are almost unanimous on saying that they do not use the **Teshekpuk** Lake area, however, even though they may travel through it on occasion. It is simply too far to bother to transport fish. If they are in need of food **to** eat on **the** way, they may fish or shoot a caribou, but not otherwise. When they used **dogteams** they say it was different and this was an important area for them. At present the only informant who fished at all in the **Teshekpuk** Lake region was a summer resident of **Nuiqsut** who otherwise lived in Barrow. In the past he has chartered a plane to fly him into this area from Barrow and he has hunted caribou and fished for a week or so. This is hardly a typical **Nuiqsut** pattern and we can not speak to how typical it is for Barrow hunters.

Jigging

Jigging is even more flexible in the potential choice of sites than is net fishing, yet informants say that once again most people go to pretty much the same spots. This is **partly** explained by people wishing to use a **hole** that **has** already been opened rather than chopping one of their own. However, **it** is not that difficult to chop a new **hole** and in fact it is **not** uncommon for people to chop new holes even when **they** go to an area where other holes already exist. It is possible to jig through the ice all winter, but most ice fishing seems to occur in the fall for **grayling** and in the spring (March on) for **lingcod/burbot**.

By far the most commonly used jigging location for **burbot** during the period of fieldwork was at or near **Tulugaluk** (N-62), **which** is just north (downstream) of **Itkillikpaat** (N-121/N-145). Informants say that **holes** are also opened **closer** to **Nuiqsut** on the **Nechelik Channel** (downstream), especially by those who do **not** have a reliable snow machine or truck. One advantage of **Tulugaluk** is that is can be reached by truck. The regular ice road follows the **Nechelik** Channel to the main channel of the **Colville**, and from there upriver to **Tulugaluk** can usually be negotiated by any four-wheel drive vehicle. The winter of 1989-90 **had** so little snow that this posed little problems for any vehicle. The truck **could** then be used as a **place** to warm up, a source of **light** when it got dark so that fishing **could** continue, and are generally faster and more convenient to pack than a **sled**. Some people did go jigging at **Tulugaluk** with snow machines and sleds, but more commonly people went by truck (see the "road issue" section of the **Nuiqsut** chapter **of** Impact Assessment 1990 for a discussion of the proliferation **of** trucks in **Nuiqsut**).

Other locations that were mentioned as good for **burbot** are **Nuiqsapiaq (N-88)** and two locations on upper Fish Creek (N-91O and N-912). These are less frequently used than the locations mentioned above, most likely because of distance.

Jigging for **grayling** in the fall was not mentioned by informants with much frequency, and information on only one site was collected. This is located on the upper **Colville** at **Puviksuk** (N-76). It is likely that jigging for **grayling** can take place almost anywhere and that precise locations are not considered important. It is also possible that the fall net

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fishery takes most of peoples' efforts so that they do not jig for **grayling** very much. Several informants did mention fishing for graying with rod-and-reel in the summer in the **Colville**, **Itkillik**, and other rivers they happened to be traveling. It is possible that this has become the method of choice for catching **grayling**.

Timing of the **Nuiqsut** Fishery

As should be clear from the discussion above, the **Nuiqsut** fishing subsistence cycle is now behaviorally much different from the picture presented in Hoffman et al. (1988:15). For all intents and purposes, all effective fishing begins in June or July and ends in mid-November. Jigging or rod-and-reel fishing may take place in other parts of the year, but the number of fish caught are relatively insignificant. This is not to say that the activity is **unimportant**, but that the diagram as presented in Hoffman et al. (1988:15) is no longer accurate and is potentially misleading. whether this is merely a short-term fluctuation or a more permanent change from what Hoffman et al. 1988 and local informants maintain is the historical pattern can not be determined.

There are clear differences between the fall/winter net fishery and the summer net fishery. The fall fishery is more productive, but this maybe related to factors other than **the** mere presence of more fish. Preservation and transportation of the fish is clearly easier in the fall than in the summer. The actual fishing is **less** pleasant in the fall than in the summer, but people seem to adapt to this by fishing more intensely for a shorter period of time in the fall than in the summer. Fall net fishing is not the same sort of social activity as is summer net fishing at fish camp. **Again**, the physical conditions no doubt have a good deal to do with this. As remarked upon above, informants spontaneously talk about the social aspects of summer fish camp. They never mentioned anything similar for fall net fishing.

Other Fishery Issues

As with most other subsistence activities, informants remarked that the **level** of their activity was of **course** dependent upon the resources that they had available. In the case of fishing people seldom "cost out" the activity in **any** exact way, but were merely expressing the idea that the number of times they went out, their length of stay, and how far they went, were **all** dependent on economic factors. One informant estimated that it took five gallons of gas for a roundtrip from **Nuiqsut** to Wood% Camp by snow machine, or ten gallons for a typical boat with a 25 horsepower engine (a smaller than typical engine). Still, fishing is the **least** resource dependent subsistence activity and one that can be made to fit into almost any schedule. **It** is therefore not too surprising fishing is the most common subsistence activity for **Nuiqsut** residents, or that those who fish close to the village tend to be the **old**, those with **little** extra money and no dependable transportation, and those who work full-time and must fit checking their nets into their schedule. **People** who fish farther away are those who

tend to have more economic resources and more relatives to help out if work prevents them from always checking the nets when they should.

It should also be mentioned that fishing effort is not a constant. Fishing and whaling can overlap, and whaling would generally have precedence **for** most people. Wage activity can **also** prevent a person who is usually an active fisher from catching his normal amount. Personal problems or some other act of God can remove a significant fisher for a season or more and distort the "normal" catch pattern. The fishery itself is cyclical in a way that is only beginning to be understood. All of these factors must be taken into account when trying to evaluate the **Nuiqsut** subsistence fishery. **It** is anything but a static system.

Nuigsut's subsistence fisherman are unique on the North Slope in that they must compete with the only commercial fishery in the NSB. "Compete" is perhaps too strong a word, as there is no evidence of a lack of fish for anyone who wants them, and the fishery shows no signs overfishing. Nonetheless, there are strong feelings in the village about the commercial fishery and the eastern part of the delta where it is located is avoided for the most part. Most people say they do not hunt caribou over there. Nets are set by subsistence fishers in this area in the fall, but only because they do not want to give up this productive area altogether. One informant expressed his displeasure that he could not fish where he had been born, Nuigsapiag (N-88), because that is where the commercial operation set its nets. Others complained that they knew that the commercial operator sometimes **put** nets across the entire channel because sometimes they caught no fish at all further upstream (the reliability of the information maybe unclear, but the underlying attitude is quite apparent). The **commercial** operation has existed for perhaps forty years now and moved to its present location very shortly after the **Inupiat** who had been using that location moved into Barrow. Relations between the **non-Inupiat** commercial fishers and the **Inupiat** of **Nuiqsut** have been in flux ever since, and a summary treatment does not do justice to the complexity and richness of the relationship (not to mention the variability of relationships with different individual villagers). The mean annual commercial catch over the last ten years during the fall fishery has been 22,300 Arctic cisco (standard diviation = 8,587) and 21,500 least cisco (standard diviation = 9,252), representing 46 percent of the total area catch of Arctic cisco and 59 percent of the total area catch of least cisco (Moulton and Field 1988:18,32). The fall fishery is the major fishing period and while the commercial harvest is more regular in terms of amount from year-to-year than the subsistence harvest, both can vary a great deal depending on fishing conditions and other factors. The main commercial markets for the fish are in Barrow, Fairbanks, and Anchorage.

D. Birds (Geese and Ducks)

The main issue in the village involving birds during the fieldwork period was a public hearing held by the Army Corps of Engineers on the "advance designation" process for the **Colville** River delta. This is essentially a mechanism to classify certain land as wetlands (or not) on **a** preliminary basis before any real development **plans** are in process. Since this

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became an important issue in the village it will be treated below at greater length in the section on attitudes toward development.

The typical response to a question about where people hunted ducks and geese was "anywhere." As with fish and **caribou**, waterfowl are seen as being **so** ubiquitous **that** when they are present one can harvest them in almost any location. However, as with fish, the actual number of harvest areas seems" to be relatively small. Within these areas the particular harvest site may vary from year-to-year, and people tend not to camp in the same exact spot every year, but the tendency is to return to the same general area to hunt waterfowl from one year to the next. People said that the entire coast over to Beechey **Point**, and the entire **Colville** down to Sentinel Hill, is productive for waterfowl. The areas mentioned with most frequency, however, were Fish Creek (N-55), the Itkillikpaat area (N-121/N-145), and Ocean Point (N-81). All share the characteristic that they are close to the village, yet far enough away to be a change, and are good camping locations As with summer fish camp, the opportunity to hunt and **relax** with one's friends and neighbors outside of the village is said to be one of the main attractions of **the** activity. Some fishing may be done in conjunction with a camping trip that also results in the harvest of some waterfowl. Waterfowl hunting is usually an activity that takes place within a context that allows other subsistence activities as well.

Informants went to great pains to point out that the opportunity to **harvest** waterfowl on the North Slope is very short, and some times they have what is in effect a "one-day" season. The **"best** spot" **to** shoot from varies from year-to-year, although areas that are productive one year can be expected to remain productive in the future. Variable conditions such as the degree of wetness, temperature, wihd direction and speed, **cloud** cover **or fog**, and so on influences where the waterfowl fly. Since waterfowl are shot while migrating as flocks, a successful harvest depends on placing oneself within range of where such a flock is going to fly. Informants report varying success, but never fail to harvest at **least** a few birds.

Informants also made it clear that although Fish Creek was a good spring waterfowl harvest site in **general**, that it did have one significant drawback Once the rivers went **out** and the ice went "flat," people have to return to **Nuiqsut**. They still have a day or so leeway after this happens, but if they **delay** too long the trip back is very tedious and quite strenuous.

Informants also mentioned ptarmigan as a "specialty item" to hunt starting in **March** or so, while they were still concentrated. This was not considered to be a hunt for meat so much as a change of diet and a chance to take a trip away from the village. **Informants** did not want to indicate any site information in this regard, confining themselves to generalizations and broad **areas**.
E. Furbearers (Wolf, Wolverine, Fox)

In the past, informants say that they had **traplines** in the **Nuiqsut** area (the **Kogru** River area for example). However, there is essentially no trapping by **Nuiqsut** residents at present. Certain individuals are said to run traplines, but this could not be verified. There is little market for fox fur at present and it is not in high demand in the villages. People will occasionally trap or shoot a fox, but fox are not a preferred species. The flats south of **Nuiqsut** are good for white fox, and the river courses for red fox.

Wolf and wolverine are almost invariably shot rather than trapped. Few **people** have the time or inclination to run a trapline, due to employment and other commitments. C9ne informant remarked that unless he **could** run a trapline correctly, checking it at frequent intervals, that he did not want to run one at all and preferred to hunt these animals. His reasoning was that wolves and wolverines were tough animals and **it** was cruel to **leave** them in a trap to suffer because the trapper did not want to check **the trapline** often enough. His respect for wolves and wolverines made this possibility repugnant to **him, and** the attitude seems to **be** shared by most or **all** hunters in **Nuiqsut**. In any **event**, a combination of this attitude and the difficulties (and lack of rewards) of running a trapline results in little trapping out of **Nuiqsut**.

Some **furbearer** hunting may occur **almost** anytime during the winter, especially if a hunter is out for some other reason and comes across **a** wolf **or** wolverine by chance. Pelts are said to be best in the middle of winter, but this **is** also when conditions for hunting are the worst. Few hunters **will** go out to hunt furbearers as a primary target at this **time**. **Most** informants report that the best time **to** hunt wolf and wolverine is in March, when **the** days start **to** get longer and the temperature begins to moderate. Conditions continue to be good through April, but after that the **pelts** start to bleach as the days continue to get longer. Thus most furbearer hunting activity is in March and **April**.

It is reported that most **Nuiqsut** furbearer hunters concentrate on the area of flats and river beds west of **Nuiqsut** on the Harrison Bay map, and to the east of the **Colville** on the **Umiat** map. Site N-1 is typical of this area. One of the more successful furbearer hunters implied that these areas were overhunted and that **he** went elsewhere for that reason. He prefers to hunt the **bluffs** where **it** is easy to track and he can tire the animals out by chasing them. He can also use the **bluffs** as lookout points. His general use area is outlined **on** the Umiat, Sagavanirktok, and Harrison Bay maps and is labeled **NA-931** and **NA-934**. Base camps that are used for extended **furbearer** hunts are N-926, N-927, and N-928. **All** are on the Harrison Bay map. Documented recent harvest sites are mapped **as** sites NA-929 (**six wolves** in 1989), NA-930 (wolverine in 1986), and NA-933 (seven wolves in 1989). This hunter has **two** "standard" hunting trips **or plans**. One is for him to head southwest from **Nuiqsut**, searching the area between the **Kikiakrorak and Kogsukruk** Rivers while on his way to the **Colville** River somewhere (maybe 16 to 20 **miles)** upstream from Umiat. He **will** then work his way back to **Nuiqsut along** the **Colville**, doing zigzags across the river to work both sides. This can be an extended trip, or **he** can. cut it off so that he can make it into a

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day trip. The second choice is to head southeast from **Nuiqsut** towards site N-927. He will then camp here and hunt the area surrounding it (including NA-933 and **NA-934** on the **Sagavanirktok** map), The second trip thus requires camping out.

The area described for this informant is of course in more general use, as he sometimes go outs as a member of a larger party and they do learn from each other. When hunters go out together to pursue furbearers they do only stay together until they reach the base camp. At that point they split up and hunt individually until such time as they have arranged to meet again (either to cook and sleep or to return to the village). This of course enables them to cover a very wide area and keeps them from competing with each other. It also serves as a strong incentive for individual hunters to learn how to find their own way. It is also clear that the Nuiqsut range for hunting furbearers is potentially much greater than has been indicated. Basically, anywhere that a Nuigsut hunter can reach is within his furbearer range. No other terrestrial subsistence resource inspires as much effort as the pursuit of furbearers. The important limitation seems to be gas for the snow machines. In Kaktovik, hunters figure that a week trip to the mountains (60 to 80 miles) for forbearers will consume a drum of gas, and it is reasonable to assume the same as a minimum for a week-long trip out of Nuigsut. Combined with this is the wear such activities puts on equipment. The successful hunter mentioned above harvested perhaps fifteen wolves last year, but also went through several snow machine engines. Once all expenses are counted up, he probably still made a profit, but not as large a one as it would at first appear.

It is said that all wolves and wolverine harvested by **Nuiqsut** hunters are used locally, or are sent to relatives or friends. This is certainly true for those pelts harvested by hunters who take only a few. It is not clear whether this also applies to the hunter who took fifteen wolves last year (1989). At any rate, there is a large demand in the village, **since** everyone's parka needs a **ruff** and the local preference seems to be for locally harvested **fur**.

F. Seals and Other Marine Mammals

Relatively few **Nuiqsut** hunters take many seals. Many **people relate** this to the shift from dogs to snow machines, and the fact that relatively few people have a preference for seal meat. Seal oil is still an important condiment in almost all households, however, so that some seal hunting (especially for **ugruk)** is always done. It **seems** that there are a few families with a maritime orientation who account for most of the seals **taken**.

There is fairly good agreement among all informants that the prime sealing area is **in** front of or off of the **delta** area (the area centered in Thetis Island, N-93). Thetis **Island** is the most commonly used base camp for this area, as people often want to stay out several days. This "main area" extends as far west as Fish Creek (N-55) and as far east as Pingok Island. Other sites used as base camps in this area are (from west to east) the Spy Islands (N-125) and Pingok Island (N-94). Additional informants say that they seal as far west as Atigaru Point (N-52), which they use as a base camp, and as far east as the **Cottle** Island/Long

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Island (K-66/N-101) area. They will seal in these areas before breakup by snow machine, but most seal hunting is in the summer by boat and concentrates on **ugruk**. Camping trips of a week to two weeks to this more eastern islands are not **uncommon**.

Cross Island is also said to be very productive for sea mammals, but **is** too far away from **Nuiqsut to** be used on a regular basis. During whaling most captains do not want their crews attention to be diverted by hunting other species, so that Cross Island has not been used much except as a base camp for whaling. One hunter, who has whaled in the area and seen the abundance of **ugruk** and seal, has indicated that he intends to hunt this area this summer. His main interest is **ugruk**. The primary facilitator for this was his buying a second boat and his son being old enough to handle such a boat **on** his own. Hunters very much prefer to go with at least two functional machines (whether boats, snow machines, or **ATVs)** when going out any distance, as a safety feature. It is possible, therefore, that Cross Island will become part of the typical sealing range of **Nuiqsut** in **the** future.

G. Whaling

Nuiqsut has been a whaling village since 1973, as was related above. The first whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew was also the easternmost whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew. The next whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew, in 1982, was also taken near the Canning River, but farther off the coast and a little more west. The next whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew, in 1986, was struck near Cross Island (N-1 10A). Cross Island has been used as a base camp for most Nuiqsut whaling crews since at least the early 1980s and the crews spend most of their time in that general area (NA-936). All of their reported whale sightings and strikes are enclosed within a slightly larger area extended to the west to include the Midway Islands and to the east to about Bullen Point (NA-937). There is strong evidence that this is the current Nuiqsut whaling area, although some Nuiqsut whaling captains will set the eastern boundary as Flaxman Island (NA-938) or even mid-Camden Bay. Given the logistical problems encountered by a successful Nuiqsut crew even under the best of circumstances, however, it would be unusual for a captain under current operating procedures to strike a whale outside of the NA-937 area. The tow would simply be too long to the islands now being used as base camps.

At present the **Nuiqsut** crews at Cross **Island** are using trailers for shelter, but plan to build more permanent structures. There is a tich on the island which is used to **pull** up whales so that they can be butchered. **At** least one crew uses Narwhal Island (K-68) **as** a base camp, **but all** whales are butchered at Cross Island.

Nuiqsut and Kaktovik are unique in that they have negotiated an agreement with the oil companies operating in the area. Under the terms of the Oil/Whalers Agreement, first signed in 1986, each party **has** certain responsibilities. The whalers agree not to interfere with oil exploration and development operations. The oil companies agree not to interfere with the subsistence whale hunt and to suspend operations that may pose a hindrance to

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it. Both parties keep the other fully informed of the positions and intentions of all vessels in the area. Oil company vessels and facilities are available to provide assistance should it be required. The extent to which this assistance agreement applies has been tested and it is meant **to** apply to emergency cases only. The first year of the agreement the oil companies provided a great deal of assistance in transporting the whale and the butchered products. This has been deemed **inappropriate**, but the oil companies still ease **Nuiqsut's** logistical problem by allowing the whalers to bring the butchered portions of the whale to the oil production facility at **Endicott**. There they are boxed up and loaded onto trucks and taken by road to **Olliktok** Point. Here they are stored in metal containers until the people of **Nuiqsut** can move them into more permanent storage. The Oil/Whalers agreement also has a provision for the oil companies to provide gas and food for the whaling crews, but this is being phased out. Both parties seem to have been satisfied with how the agreement has worked out. The Oil/Whalers Agreement is described and discussed at greater length in a later **section**.

It is not altogether clear that all of the different whaling villages which comprise the AEWC think that this agreement is a good idea. Some think that such a **close** working relationship with the oil industry, especially if the oil industry provides assistance, might make the whale hunt less of a subsistence hunt in the eyes if the **IWC**. Since the IWC ultimately regulates the hunt, such an eventuality **would** have dire consequences for **all** villages making up the AEWC. Thus, the AEWC has been very careful to take the position that it will support any local agreement that individual villages reach with **oil** companies operating in their areas, so long as such agreements do not hurt **AEWC** interests or go against AEWC policy.

Barrow, as the village with the most whaling crews, has dominated the AEWC since its formation. Nuiqsut has recently been very active, along with some of the other smaller villages which still have a significant number of whaling crews, in challenging this dominance. Part of this is a struggle over the allocation of whale strikes, since there is only a limited number to go around. The smaller villages believe that Barrow has sometimes taken more than its fair share. There is also some feeling that larger villages have more of an interest in protecting their quota than in helping other, smaller, villages start whaling with a single or double strike quota. The annual AEWC meeting has always been held in Barrow, thus helping to reinforce the Barrow influence (although this also made sense since the NSB provided most of the funds for AEWC). At the latest AEWC meeting, however, a resolution was passed to hold the next AEWC annual meeting in Nuiqsut.

This is seen as the first step in countering excessive Barrow representation in the **AEWC**, at least in the eyes of **Nuiqsut** whaling captains. It is also a very clear indication of how salient a cultural identity marker whaling is to **Nuiqsut** whaling captains. Whether this is because **Nuiqsut** is the "newest" of the North **Slope** whaling villages, because of the personalities of the whaling captains from **Nuiqsut**, or other reasons is not presently knowable. None of the other villages have been as active as **Nuiqsut** in trying to counter what is perceived as the Barrow influence, although Point Hope and Wainwright whaling captains have become increasingly restive as the number of crews in Barrow has increased.

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Nuiqsut informants also claim that holding the AEWC meeting in **Nuiqsut** will affirm some "traditional" **Inupiat** values, most importantly that of hospitality. **Nuiqsut** has no hotel, but does have many private homes which will have to take in **guests** if the AEWC meeting is to be a success. This is clearly a case where whaling as an activity is being used politically and ideologically at the same time as it is being used to reaffirm the fundamental importance of subsistence.

H. Polar Bear

Polar bear are not much mentioned **by Nuiqsut** residents, except in stories from the past. The documented harvest of **polar** bears **by Nuiqsut** hunters in 1989 was two (and one of these was taken while the hunter was whaling in Barrow in the spring). Historically, most polar bears that are taken by **Nuiqsut** hunters are shot while hunting other resources, and mainly during the whaling season (Schliebe 1990a, 1990b). Since the skins can no longer be sold unless made into something else, relatively few **people** will go hunting with the intention to kill a polar bear. The success of the informal agreement between **the NSB** and the **Inuvialuit** Game Council (of Canada) to restrict the number of **polar** bear taken will depend on such restraint continuing.

I. Brown Bear

Brown bear is another species that informants know about, but **seldom** hunt. Most informants have observed that there are plenty of them around **(NA-917, N-922)**, but then add "... but I do not bother them." Most **simply** said that they did not care for the taste of the meat.

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J. Musk Oxen

Musk oxen are not classified **as** a subsistence species for **Nuiqsut**, and so cannot be legally hunted in the area (a very limited harvest, regulated by an **ADF&G** permit system, is allowed for musk oxen around **Kaktovik**). Musk oxen are **certainly** a subsistence issue in **Nuiqsut**, however, and for that reason will be discussed below in a section on the perception of wildlife management. **Nuiqsut** hunters have observed musk oxen in the area and **claim** in fact that there are several resident groups. Some hunters contend that caribou do not like musk oxen and will **leave** the area if musk oxen are around. All object to not being allowed to hunt an **animal** that is living in the area. There have been several musk oxen shot by **Nuiqsut** hunters. The last such hunter turned himself **in**. After he was prosecuted and fined, **local** informants say that no other **Nuiqsut** hunters have shot a musk ox.

5. Recent Trends in Nuigsut Subsistence

Our information is far from complete, but there are still several points that are worth developing here. The first has already been introduced in the discussion above. The Nuigsut subsistence cycle as presented by Hoffman et al. (1988:15) is no longer a behavioral representation of Nuiqsut subsistence activities. It is useful as a reference to the past and as a diagram of when subsistence activities are possible. The formation of modem settlements and the development of local full-time wage employment may have more significant and long range effects on the subsistence pattern than do the direct physical/environmental effects of oil exploration and production (although of course the latter is the ultimate facilitator for the former). In any event, it is obvious that informants are engaging in a wider variety of activities and have a wider range of responsibilities than they did in the past. People travel much more, and further away. Winter subsistence activity is minimal, except for a few very active hunters. Hunting trips tend to be shorter than in the past, with day trips being most common. Longer trips are increasingly taking on aspects of recreation as they most often have to scheduled to coincide with **annual leave** and are often used to hunt "special" species such as moose or whale. Subsistence will always be much more than recreation to the **Inupiat**, as **long** as they remain **Inupiat**, but informants spontaneously volunteered the information that when they get tense or frustrated, it helps to go out on the land. This clears their head and relaxes them, and if they do take an animal provides some meat for their household or the village. Aspects of the hunt other than the actual harvest are becoming increasingly important as cultural identity value markers and for the maintenance of mental health, especially as the time available for subsistence activities becomes less. In fact, it may be possible to hypothesize that as the time available for subsistence activities lessens, the ideological value and salience of subsistence as the center of **Inupiat** cultural identity will increase.

Second, and far more concretely, the last three years have seen Nuigsut hunters making concerted efforts to go as far upstream on the various rivers as they possibly can. All of these rivers are shallow, but some years there is more water in the rivers than in other years. The furthest upriver points are marked on the **Umiat** map. The **Anuktuvuk** River is too shallow to be traversed, but **Nuigsut** boaters have gone significant distances up the **Colville**, Chandler, and Itkillik Rivers. The facilitating factor for this seems to have been the introduction of flat bottomed boat with "jet unit" engines. These are propless engines which suck up water and **expel** it backwards to send the boat forward. They do not have to extend down nearly as far as a prop, and so reduce the draft of a boat considerably. Once these boats came into use, however, people found them to be underpowered, slow, and inefficient in terms of gas economy, compared to prop-engine boats. A flat bottomed boat is also confined pretty much to river use, as it is hard to steer and handle in the ocean. Most boats in Nuigsut have to double as river and ocean boats, as most people can only afford one boat. People then experimented with going upriver with tilt-prop engines in small v-hulled boats, and report good success. They do tend to still break props, and sometimes bottom units, so that other informants still say that jet units are the engine of choice of you really want to go upriver. All informants agree that there is no need to go that far upriver if all

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you want to do is harvest game, since game is available fairly close to the village on the **Itkillik and** in the area where the Chandler River flows into the **Colville**. Jet units are also not as well suited for ocean travel, and especially fall whaling, since slush ice **clogs** up their intake and renders them rather unreliable. People do use them on a v-hull boat in the summer.

Third, generalizing from the second point, **Nuiqsut** hunters are still learning what the resources of the land **and** sea around **Nuiqsut** area, and are actively incorporating new techniques and technology to harvest the resources in that area. Some **Nuiqsut** hunters maintain more of a riverain-terrestrial orientation. These are said to be people whose parents lived primarily on the land and who spent less time in Barrow and other settlements. Other hunters are much more ocean oriented, and are mainly people who have come from Barrow, or who traveled a good deal along the coast. There are a few individuals who combine the two. It **would** be interesting to compare the life experiences of the three groups to note similarities and differences, **but** that is clearly beyond the resources of this research.

Fourth, subsistence is the core of Inupiaq cultural identity. This point is developed in general in later sections so that the reader of this document has an interpretive context for the harvest site and area information provided. However, it is beyond the scope of this project to document how subsistence is the frame for much (perhaps most) of village behavior. Some brief examples may make this **claim** clearer. The current mayor of **Nuiqsut** did not have a wage job until recently. He has worked for wages sporadically in the past, but is best known for his work with the village corporation (mostly in the past), his intense interest in village politics and service as mayor (essentially 1973-1983, 1988-present), and his representation of village interests, including subsistence concerns, at various meetings for various committees and boards. His main assets are' a dynamic personality and a reputation as a good hunter. He is a whaling captain and an excellent hunter for furbearers. He does not hunt for other species as much, partially for lack of time and also because he can trade muktuk and fish (obtained from his daughter) for the' other things that he needs. The Nuiqsut case study (Galginaitis et al. 1984:230-243, 264-267) and Impact Assessment (1985:76-79) describe the political context of **Nuigsut** and the characteristics of the people who have served as mayor. The interested reader is referred to those sources. The point of interest here is that the current **Nuigsut** mayor has had a successful political career by stressing his identity as a subsistence hunter. Villagers respond to this, even though they may have reservations about some of his other qualities. His main political "rival" within Nuiqsut, who is now retired, also has such a primary subsistence orientation, although he also has a long history of wage employment. A third person who served as mayor did not personally have such a strong subsistence identification from actually living on the hind, since this person is younger. This person's father lived in the area before the village was refounded, however, and this person also possessed excellent education and personality characteristics. It is also interesting that all known elections for NSB Mayor have used subsistence, and the candidates' status as whaling captains, as part of the advertising campaigns. This has not ever been used as an issue, but it is also interesting that nearly all

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candidates for NSB Mayor so far have been men, and that **all** of them have been whaling captains.

Another brief example of how village politics can be expressed in a subsistence idiom comes from the most recent field work period. The current mayor successfully harvested a whale last fall. Actually, some informants credit this whale to another crew, claiming that they had **shot** the whale first, but that the physical evidence was not sufficient to establish this as fact, The situation is quite complex, but does highlights the importance to the mayor (and any other whaling captain) of taking a whale and the tensions that develop around any person who occupies a leadership role for any length of time. The distribution of the **muktuk** and meat from this whale also underscores the political factional cleavages in the village. At least one person is known to refuse to eat the **muktuk** from this whale, for personal and political reasons. This is a profound statement within the **Inupiat** context of redistribution and sharing and emphasizes that the recipients role is as active as that of the giver in defining and maintaining the subsistence value system.

Subsistence Site Usufruct

One of the major concerns of this research was the investigation of who used any given subsistence site and how such use was regulated. This is a fundamental question in any society and for any culture, but especially so for one such as the **Inupiaq** where sharing is given such a central place in the value system. The measurement in the change of **usufruct** of subsistence sites, if it were possible, may **well be** one of the most accurate assessments **of Inupiaq** cultural change. Indeed, many **Nuiqsut** informants say that one reason they moved to **Nuiqsut** was because in Barrow **people** with Native Allotment claims and other cabins had begun to try to assert their private ownership and exclude other hunters from using the **land** around those claims and cabins. In **Nuiqsut**, on the other hand, anyone could hunt anywhere and in most cases use any cabin, since most are left open with the understanding that anything used will be replaced (how this actually works out is discussed below). Not **all** subsistence sites share **all** of the same characteristics, however, with the most salient differences apparently being related to the resource being harvested. We **shall** thus start our discussion of subsistence site **usufruct** by examining sites on a **species-by**-species basis.

1. Species-Specific Site Usufruct Characteristics

We will briefly discuss the harvest site characteristics of the subsistence resources taken by **Nuiqsut** hunters in this section. The order will be the same as in our earlier discussion of the yearly subsistence round in present-day **Nuiqsut**. We have omitted consideration of polar bear, brown bear, and musk oxen as resources that are not harvested often enough to provide an adequate amount of data for this discussion.

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A. Caribou

For the hunters of **Nuiqsut**, caribou are ubiquitous. Caribou are also wanderers and are ultimately unpredictable in terms of knowing exactly where to find them. Given the need to harvest a caribou, however, most **Nuiqsut** hunters would be fairly confident of being **able** to do so in a reasonable amount of time. Furthermore, most **Nuiqsut** hunters would give little thought to whether they had to go out alone, if one person wanted to "follow" (accompany him), or if a larger party decided to go along. In the **last** case, there are usually more than enough caribou to be found to go around. In the first case, caribou are easy enough to find, and simple enough to process, that an individual has no fears of going out alone. Only if the weather looks marginal or if the trip **planned** is an especially long one will a hunter think twice about going out alone. Most hunting trips for caribou **are** day (or partial day) trips so that there are no base camp sites as such for caribou.

No informant identified a specific spot or locality as a prime site for the harvest of caribou. The lowest level of specificity (Atigaru Point, N-52) was a region about seven miles in diameter. Informants report that people sometimes harvest caribou when they are at their fish camp, but even then these are perceived as caribou present in the Colville delta, and not associated with that particular fish camp. Since caribou are only taken when the chance arises during the time when people are at fish camp, there is no conflict over the use of the site for fishing versus the taking of caribou. When people are not fishing at the site, anyone who wishes to can use that part of the delta for hunting caribou.

Furthermore, there is no apparent secrecy over where hunters go to take caribou or what they consider the most productive spots. Hunters explicitly say that they **will** share this information about caribou and **fish**, in sharp contrast to harvest sites associated with furbearers. Waterfowl and moose harvest sites fall somewhere in between in terms of this information exchange.

B. Moose

Moose are very different from caribou in that if they are to be found, it is in very specific places -- along the **Colville**, Chandler, or **Itkillik** Rivers. Moose are still not a **site-harvested** species, however, since it is very variable where within this area (NA-940, NA-941) moose **will** actually be found. **All** of these areas **are** said to have many moose, but that does not guarantee a successful **hunt**. Moose browse in thick willows and are difficult to spot. In addition, they are readily accessible in August, because of season restrictions and the **Nuiqsut** preference to use boats for access rather than snow machines. The preference for boats is for the same reason that few hunters **will** hunt moose **alone**. The **animal** is so **large** that processing it and transporting it is an arduous task for an individual. Even for several people it is difficult to transport by **sled**. Using a boat minimizes the **field** processing necessary and generally allows a greater load to be hauled. Most hunters not only **will** not hunt moose alone, but most prefer to go with a second boat in case of mechanical failure.

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Given the shallowness of the rivers used and the frequency of broken props, this is an understandable caution.

Given these characteristics, one might expect that hunters would be somewhat more secretive about where they hunt then they are. In fact, the abundance of moose (there are more than enough for everyone who wants to hunt them, at least from the village) combined with the need for cooperation in the hunt (in order to increase the chances of harvesting a moose, processing it, and returning to the village before it spoils) encourages the sharing of information This is reflected in the characteristics of the sites used as base camps for moose hunts. The main base camp sites are relatively few in number (N-921, N-922, N-923, N-924, N-925, N-928). AU are common knowledge and none are associated with any individual or group in particular. All (except perhaps the most remote) have fairly huge groups of **people** camping at them at times. Individual hunters do have areas that they tend to hunt more than others, and so usually have tendency to use the same base camps, but this does not result in the site becoming associated with them (although others will know that they prefer that site to others). It should also be noted that other camp sites are sometimes used when hunting for moose. These are simply the sites where base camps are most consistently placed. Temporary camps, where a hunter may decide to rest before returning to the base camp, can be almost anywhere.

Moose are similar to caribou in that the specific **harvest** site is not predictable and there are no apparent restrictions on where an individual can take a moose. Base camp sites are relatively few and fixed, but are also open to **all**. In addition, people **will** at times camp at a "non-standard base camp if they want **to** bunt a new area or **simply** want to be in a different place. One of the advantages of a known base camp site is the sociability that is possible. It also adds an additional safety factor should a hunter need assistance.

C. Fish

Fishing is perhaps the most site specific subsistence activity engaged **in** by **Nuiqsut** hunters. This is not because fish can be caught only in certain spots, as many informants insisted that you could put a net almost anywhere and catch fish. To catch fish most efficiently, however, one should know the physical features of the site and past experience assists in modifying the net sets to changing conditions. Fish camp sites also tend to be multi-purpose sites and people use them as places to live for several weeks to several months outside of the village. Such sites take on the characteristics of a second residence, especially if there is a permanent cabin or house on the site. Not **all** fish sites **are** equivalent in this regard, however, so we will discuss each of the main sorts of fishing in **Nuiqsut** in turn.

Jigging

As discussed above, there are relatively few sites that **are** used on a consistent basis for jigging. All such sites are common knowledge, and are open to whomever wishes to use

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them. These sites are not associated with any family or group in particular, although they may be near specific fish camps. Jigging for burbot appears to be a day (or partial day) activity. No informant mentioned camping out on a jigging trip and **all** jigging sites are located close to the village. Jigging for **grayling** may differ, as in other villages such **as** 'Point Lay people will camp out for a week or so to engage in this activity (Impact Assessment 1989). Little information was collected on jigging for **grayling** in **Nuiqsut**, **but** it appears that it is a limited activity and that the sites used are again fairly close to the village (N-76). These are significant differences from Point Lay, where there is no other fall-time fishing activity and the jigging site is four to six hours travel from the village. It is thus likely that jigging for **grayling** is also a day (or partial day) activity in **Nuiqsut**. As for burbot, **grayling** jigging sites are open to all and associated with no one in particular.

Fall/Winter Net Fishing

The fall fishing season is the most productive for **Nuiqsut**, and is described above in terms of timing and sites. Many of the locations where **nets** are set are also **places** where nets are set in the summer. This being so, they are located near fish camps associated with specific people or families, either through Native Allotment claims or traditional use. As one would suspect, the pattern of use in the fall differs from that in the summer. The summer pattern is discussed below, but in the fall people tend to fish more intensively than in the summer and not to stay out at fish camp as long, if at **all**. Rather than camp out they **will** sometimes **simply** check the nets every day from the village, **using the** fish camp to store the fish caught **until** they choose to transport them. Those **people** who are fishing the **Nechelik** Channel **close** to the village of course are essentially **using** the village as their fish camp.

The net locations near the village (N-45, N-61, N-63), which are not associated with fish camps, are essentially open to **all**. There is no evidence of lack of space or good locations, so that everyone who wants to set a net near the village seems to be **able** to. Informants say that even nets apparently blocked by other nets in **front** of and behind them catch **fish**. There are some indications that there is an unwritten convention that those individuals or families who would have **difficulties** using a site further away from the **village (age, lack** of transportation, lack of time due to employment) have a preference to fish this part of the **Nechelik** Channel. **It** could also **be** that the delta sites are more productive and those who can manage to fish there do so preferentially.

The fall/winter net locations located further out in **the** delta (N-58, N-60, N-87, N-124) are all associated with fish camps, and most with more than one. The fish camps are fixed sites, and everyone who fishes from **Nuiqsut** has one, or access to one through kinship ties. Not all fish camps have permanent structures, and some do not even have tent platforms. Net locations are less fixed, as **conditions** change from year-to-year and the number of people fishing in any one location varies over **time**. In the past, people without a fish camp could usually establish one easily enough simply by pitching a tent in an unused location, but this has become more problematic with land selections in the **delta** (see the discussion section

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below). The important points here are that almost everyone in **Nuiqsut** has access to a fish camp, and that there is a distinction between a fish camp (where people stay) and where those people set their nets.

A fish camp and where people set their nets are not necessarily in the same place (although they are almost certainly close to each other). Fish camp sites are associated with specific individuals or a family group, and are usually considered to be primarily for their **use** only. The net set locations in the area are conceived of as associated with the fish camps **in** the area. The **people** associated with those camps are free to set nets where they want (essentially, where no one has as yet set a net). Other people may come in and **use** the net set locations or even the fish camp, but **in** practical terms this seldom happens. **In** any event, permission would first be asked. The most common sort of use of another's fish camp site is when a hunter out after caribou or some other terrestrial prey uses a cabin as a temporary shelter or place to fix some coffee. This is **an** accepted use, so long as whatever is used is replaced. There have been some recent complaints that people are behaviorally falling short of this standard, but few people lock their cabins as they figure that those who wish to pillage them **would** do so whether the cabin was locked or not, with **little** danger of detection. This is not yet more than a minor problem.

Summer Net Fishing

Locations for setting nets in the summer in the **Colville** delta are essentially a subset of the locations for setting nets in the fall. It is interesting that fewer nets are set in the **Nechelik** Channel near the village, so that almost all nets are set near fixed fish camp sites. The two other areas to set summer nets, Fish Creek (N-909 and N-911) and a section of the upper **Colville** around Itkillikpaat/Qautuk (N-121/N-145) and Tiragruak (N-77), are also associated with fish camps. Summer is a less productive time for fishing, but people tend to spend a great deal of time out of the village at fish camp. They will hunt an occasional caribou and engage in other subsistence activities, but spend a good deal of time visiting with other people in other fish camps. Nearly everyone has a fish camp, or at least access to one, so that even though fish camps are associated with individuals and families, no one is denied access to summer fishing and fish camp. As mentioned above, most fish camps are based on a Native Allotment claim or traditional (historical) usage.

Discussion

Jigging sites are essentially held in **common** and so **will** not be discussed at any further length. The fall net sites near the village are also open sites that have been adequately treated above. Fish camps as a category of site require a little more explication, however. There is at present no problem with the concept of a fish camp being associated with a particular individual or **family** and open access to the fish/camping resource since **nearly** everyone in **Nuiqsut** has access to a fish camp. This access is based on kinship relations to

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people who have historically used the area. This access to **a** fixed-site fish camp in turn legitimizes the placing of nets within a rather nebulously defined area around the fish camp site. Net placement varies from year-to-year and is not **fixed.** The best or most reliable net set locations tend to be taken by the same people over time, but this is a convention whose strength **it** is difficult to assess.

Summer fish camp is also a very **social** occasion. One fishes among a group of people one wants to be with, so the assert the "right" to fish in a certain location is to misunderstand the entire context. **The** question would never come **up** as the activity is contextualized in such a way that social groups fish together. It may be argued that during fall net fishing, where conditions are more difficult and the fishing more instrumental and focused, the question of whether a certain person could fish in a certain location may arise. The reason that it apparently does not is the strong association of fall net set locations with fish camp sites, whose use characteristics are set by summer activities, combined with a productive set of fall net sets open to everyone near the village. Fish camps **are** thus strongly associated with certain families, and are passed on through kinship ties. The strong interconnections in the village and the fact that everyone has access **to a** fish camp ensures that access to the subsistence resource remains open to **all**.

However, **usufruct** as a measure of cultural and societal change is evident in the changing nature of how **people** are thinking about privatization of the land. This has at least two aspects. The first is that **people** do conceive of fish camps as individually "theirs," especially if they have **built** a shelter **there**. Historically such shelters have been open **to** anyone who had use of **them**, with **the** expectation that **they** would not be abused and **that** items that were used or broken **would** be replaced. For the most part, this is still the operative **rule** that informants state should **be the** case, but they also report that breaches of this rule are becoming more common. The **legal title** accompanying Native Allotments seems to be fostering a more protective attitude towards well-defined sites such as **fish** camps, **but at** present people are still quite cooperative in terms **of** making areas open **to** other **users**.

The second change in the privatization of land is the land selection authorized and mandated by **ANCSA**. The **Colville delta** is now chopped up into federal, state, regional corporation village corporation, and Native Allotment parcels. For **the** most part this has not yet affected subsistence users. That it might was made **clear** when a new **Inupiat** resident wanted to build a cabin in the eastern **part** of the **delta** some time ago. He did so, and was then questioned on his right to do so by the village corporation, which believed that it was on their kind. As it turned out, the cabin was on state **land** leased **to** an oil company which has no objections to the cabin. As **land** becomes potentially valuable for alternative uses, however, it can be expected that conflicts over **usufruct**, formal ownership, and "best use" **will** emerge (see the discussion on attitudes toward development).

D. Birds (Geese, Ducks)

The characteristics of waterfowl harvesting areas are similar to those of caribou. Waterfowl are abundant, range over a wide area and can be harvested in a great many locations, and are ultimately unpredictable as to the specific location where they **will** be found. The general area for the harvest of waterfowl can generally be predicted, however, and it is this information which is commonly shared. The entire coast over to **Beechey** Point, and the entire **Colville** down to Sentinel Hill, is productive for waterfowl. The areas mentioned with most frequency, however, were Fish Creek (N-55), the **Itkillikpaat** area (N-121/N-145), and Ocean Point (N-81). Hunters are sometimes **reluctant** to **share** detailed locational information, but the common waterfowl hunting areas are well known. Since waterfowl season is another time of the year when **people** go camping in a social context, it is easy for hunters to observe where others go.

The three areas mentioned are **all** treated as open to all, although there is a well-known fish camp in the **Itkillikpaat area**. The resource, and the area in which it is harvested, seems to be treated as **a** common good. The characteristics of the harvest areas seem to foster this attitude. **All** are close to the village, and except for **Itkillikpaat**, not closely associated with specific fish camps. Some **people** camp out while others hunt waterfowl on day trips. The short period of time that waterfowl are available to be harvested, combined with their **large** numbers, may also be a factor in the open access to harvest sites.

Some individuals tend to hunt waterfowl from sites they use as fish camps. These sites have the appearance of being "restricted access" sites but in actuality if anyone **else** wished **to** use them they would probably be open. In practical terms, waterfowl harvest sites are so available that there **would** be no demand for such open access, and the people harvesting waterfowl in that location are doing so because **it** is the most convenient site. The only real restriction to waterfowl harvest sites is that some hunters do try to keep what they consider the best sites secret.

E. Furbearers (Wolf, Wolverine, Fox)

Few informants would be very specific about harvest sites for forbearers. This was **in** part due to the mobility of these animals, so that they are seldom **harvested** in the same place. It also **reflects** the reluctance to reveal information that may then enable someone **else** to take an animal that perhaps the other hunter would perhaps have harvested. Furbearers are perhaps the only species which brings out this sort of behavior. Hunters **will** compete in other subsistence spheres, but only for forbearers does information become proprietary. Lastly, the area hunted is very large and the boundaries quite indefinite (especially to the north, as indicated by the dotted lines on the maps).

Again, this can be related to characteristics of the animal, how it is hunted, and how it is used. Furbearers are relatively scarce and are one of the few items hunted that **can** be easily transformed into a relatively **large** amount of **cash**. There is also a constant demand

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for furs. Because of the mobility of the animal, a large area must be searched to find **them**, so that essentially it is necessary to hunt alone. The organization of furbearer hunting was described briefly in the **yearly** round discussion. A hunter will either go out alone, or with a group which will split up once they reach the area they want to **hunt**. Each hunter is essentially on his own while hunting.

The implications of this are that the general areas that are good for furbearers are commonly known. The techniques for finding the animals within this area **and** of making the kill separate the good hunters from the poorer ones, and there is little opportunity for one hunter to observe another's skills in these areas unless he is invited to "follow." It **would** seem **to** be precisely these skills that **enable** the successful furbearer hunter discussed earlier to hunt areas that he says most other **Nuiqsut** hunters do not. Thus, it is not **only** a better knowledge of the land or harvest area that is operating to determine success, but also the skill of the hunter in using or working that area. This is true **of** all other resources as **well**, of course, but is not quite so obvious as in the case of furbearer harvest.

In terms of forbearers, hunting knowledge is often considered proprietary, but hunting areas are not. Any hunter can hunt any area. The large areas that must be covered while hunting is probably one reason that such open access must be maintained. The ordy exception is that an area being trapped by one hunter will not knowingly be hunted by **another**. There were said to be one or two people running **traplines** in **Nuiqsut**, **but** this could not be verified. At **least** one of these men was out of the village **(on** business) for most of the fieldwork period and so **could not** have been running a **trapline** at that **time**. Most informants report **that** little or no trapping is actually done in **Nuiqsut**.

It is interesting to note that several of the base camps said to be used in the extensive travels required for the successful harvest of furbearers are **old** oil exploration sites of one sort or another (N-927, N-928). It is reasonable to expect that many more such sites are **used** and were **simply** not mentioned and mapped. Informants report that in the past they never had to worry much about carrying gas, even on long trips, since they **could** expect to find drums of gas **left** over from past oil exploration activities along the way just about anywhere out on the tundra. They report that these drums are now **nearly** all gone and that rarely can they find such free gas anymore. If and when they do find such a cache, it in essence becomes a base camp **until** the cache is used **up**.

F. Seals and Other Marine Mammals

Seals are hunted before breakup with snow machines and after breakup by boat. In both cases the area used is basically the same and hunters prefer to go out as a group, with at least two machines. Normally, a base camp would be used (N-52, N-93, N-125, N-101). Relatively few people spend much time harvesting seals, but the base camp sites are not really associated with specific people or families. As with all hunting areas, sometimes

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hunters will camp at a "non-standard' site because of convenience. Camping sites are used as needed. The hunting area is open to all.

G. Whaling

The whaling area has been described above and is essentially defined by historical usage and personal experience. Most crews camp on Cross **Island** (N-11OA) and use trailers for shelter. Each crew has its own area, and the whaling captain is responsible for providing the shelter and so on. There is no question that if additional crews are formed that they would be allowed to use the **island** as abase camp, as whaling is a cooperative venture. The captains of these crews would have to provide tents or construct additional shelter.

Narwhal Island (K-68) is used as a base camp for at **least** one **Nuiqsut** whaling crew. It is close enough to Cross **Island** so that close cooperation is **still** possible. Additional crews could also base here.

Whaling is the prototypical **Inupiat** subsistence activity, and **all** potential whaling sites **are** open to **all** crews. The product of the hunt is distributed as widely as possible, so that a restriction of use of **the** area available to the hunt would be contrary to the spirit of the activity. Crews are expected to cooperate in the hunt, although they sometimes **fall** short of this **mark**. Where whales will be available to be struck is never certain, so that it is to the advantage of everyone to have enough crews to **patrol** as much of the **Nuiqsut** primary whaling territory as possible, and this territory is perceived as **a** commonly **held** resource.

H. Summary

For the most part, most subsistence resource harvest areas are treated in **Nuiqsut** as commonly held resources to which **all** residents hold **usufruct**. Fish camps are the only real exception to this and since most individuals "own" or have access to at least one fish camp there is no real restriction to the resource in this case either. For especially prized species, however, knowledge that increases a hunter's chances of a successful harvest (special techniques, observations on the last known location of animals) may be considered proprietary and is not shared in a general way. It is likely that if privatization of land continues, and especially if lucrative alternative uses of land currently used for subsistence harvests develop, that **usufruct** rights will be restricted in certain contexts in the future.

Native Allotments

This project has unfortunately not had the time or resources required to adequately deal with Native allotments in the Nuiqsut area. We had hoped to map them along with the subsistence harvest sites and areas, but this has not been possible. The information exists

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primarily in Bureau of Land Management (BLM) records and **the** minds if informants, and our portion of **the** research had neither the time nor the monetary resources to collect and organize this data. Many of the mapped subsistence harvest sites, especially fish camps, are in fact associated with Native Allotments, so that many of these sites are indeed included on our maps. It is to be hoped that the Minerals Management Service will take steps to have supplemental mapping work done which will focus specifically on Native allotments.

What little processed information exists on Native Allotment **claims** by **Nuiqsut** residents is in the form of unpublished notes in the Fairbanks office of **ADF&G**. These are mostly the result of Sverre Pedersen's work in **Nuiqsut**. There is, of course, **nearly** complete information in the BLM files, if one has the time to recover and then process it. **ADF&G** has apparently done a much more thorough job of this thankless task for **Kaktovik** than for **Nuiqsut**. For Nuiqsut, there is currently a list of 29 individuals with a total of 42 Native Allotment **claims**. As far as is **known**, these have not been mapped. The characteristics of these Native Allotment claims is also unknown.

Pedersen et al. speculate as to the strategy which motivated people in their selections of Native allotments in the Kaktovik area (1985:94). For our purposes it is sufficient to look at the implications of the current use of such sites. Until recently, no one used a Native Allotment claim to assert individual proprietary claims on subsistence resource harvest sites. The one recent exception may be considered a politically motivated aberration. It is not clear that the claimant intended to really make a proprietary claim, but the size of the allotment claimed and the fact that it was "prime land" separating the present village from the river channel aroused the ire of many village residents. The village corporation has not as yet transferred title to any of the house lots in the village, so that this individual would have been, in effect, the only person with clear title to land in or near the village itself. The NSB has bought land for its various projects from the city of the village corporation, the only entities with legal title at present. Once lots are transferred (or allotment claims are recognized), individuals could at least potentially profit individually by selling or leasing land to the NSB or other interests. In the case under discussion, the city and corporation feared loss of control of the development of the city, and there was also a strong feeling that it was not just that one person obtain title to land in the village when no one else was able to. Once these objections were **known**, the claimant hastened to assure **people** that access would not be denied and that no undue advantages would accrue to the claimant. The situation had progressed too far by that point, however, and became (and continues) to be ugly. This is the only Native Allotment **claim** which is physically located near the village, and is the only one to create this sort of a problem. The same family has a Native Allotment **claim** in the **Colville delta** area which is treated as are all the others, and is not a matter of any concern.

The importance ascribed to them by people in the community, and their interest in having them mapped, would seem to indicate that they are intended to proclaim a community **claim** on the use of these sites. Further, the land use **claim** extends beyond the very limited boundaries of the Native allotments themselves, which are used primarily for base **camps**.

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As we have seen in the above discussions, many of the "harvest sites" identified by informants or place names are actually camp sites at which people stay while fishing **the** immediate area or hunting a much larger territory. Most are open to the use of **almost** any community resident, although in most cases Native Allotment associated sites w-ill have connections to specific families more than others. For **Nuiqsut**, most of these are **fish** camps and are located in rich fishing areas where fishing locations are plentiful. Thus, there is little competition for specific fishing sites located at specific fish camps associated with specific Native Allotments. There is also another spot nearby. Camping locations farther from the village, associated with hunting rather than fishing, are much more explicitly open to all and seem to have fewer associations with Native Allotment claims.

Effects of Oil Development on Subsistence Resources and Activities

The effects of oil development on the subsistence resources around Nuigsut, and on the hunting behavior of the local population, have been many and various. Since the village is by no means homogeneous there are disagreements among residents as to the proper course of future development. Some advocate no development and a return to as close to a subsistence lifestyle as possible. Avery few may claim that subsistence is no longer a viable alternative and that industrial development is the only option. Most opt for a middle course which espouses industrial (oil) development at a slow enough pace to ensure that there is no environmental degradation, but at a level sufficient to maintain the present economic standards of the villages. This reveals a fundamental ambivalence underlying North Slope Inupiat life. One primary wish is for a "modem American" standard of living, a desire which no less a cultural hero than Eben Hopson articulated as one of the major reasons for the formation of the NSB. At potential odds with this desire is the Inupiat fundamental identity with the land and the Inupiat place in the cycle of subsistence, and the fear that industrial development, no matter how careful and conscientious, will invariably lead to environmental degradation and the loss of this **Inupiaq** cultural identity. The **Inupiaq** cultural identity involves more than what has been termed the "subsistence lifestyle." The Inupiat heritage is inextricably linked to the hind. The land breathes life into the **people** and is used as the touchstone of ultimate meaning and value. The key issue resolves itself into the familiar parameters of economics and values. How can Inupiat achieve and maintain a standard of living comparable to that of other Americans and still maintain their fundamental subsistence identity? To this ultimate question we will not hazard to provide even a temporary answer, but we will look at some of the aspects of this question that are evident in Nuigsut.

1. Restriction of the Subsistence Range

Perhaps the most obvious effect of **oil** development in the **Nuiqsut** area has been that it has effectively removed certain areas from the **Nuiqsut** subsistence **land** use area. There are essentially four ways that this restriction can take **place**. The areas can be closed by **non**-

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local (governmental) regulations. The areas **can** be closed by the **Inupiat** perception that they are restricted, whether this is a formal restriction or not. The areas can be closed by an **Inupiat** perception that the animals in these areas are no longer fit for human consumption or have otherwise been affected by the industrial development. Lastly, the areas can be closed because access has become physically difficult or impossible. The areas affected had either been used for subsistence before oil development, or would potentially be in such **use** because of their proximity to the refounded **Nuiqsut**.

A. Kuparuk/Prudhoe Bay Field

One such area is to the east of **Nuiqsut**, the **Kuparuk** and **Prudhoe** Bay oil fields. The area in the past has been used mainly for caribou, forbearers, and (along **the** coast and Sagavanirktok River) fish. At present few **people** would use the area for fish, **due** to the distance factor, and it is unclear **if** it is a prime **furbearer area** at present or not (informants were **unsure** if the populations of furbearers were significant. in the area or not, but most seemed to assume **that** they were not became of the **human** presence). Informants clearly perceive that the caribou in this **area** have prospered and, **all** other things being equal, this would be an excellent area to hunt caribou.

Most informants, however, maintain that this area is **closed** to hunting and draw a line where they perceive the boundary **to** be **(NA-920)**. The few hunters who do **claim to** harvest caribou in this area actually do **not** do **much** caribou hunting, trading **other** subsistence goods **(fish, muktuk)** for caribou most of **the time. It** is **also not clear** that they actually do hunt this area, **but** if they do it is to make **a** statement as much as to harvest meat. Most people **think** that the area is **closed** and they wish to make the statement that even if **the** area is formally closed, they do not recognize the validity of that closure. The report of this behavior is ideologically just **as** important as whether it is completely accurate or not.

This small **group** of hunters **aside**, **there** are two different perceptions of how this area is closed to hunting. One group of informants maintains that it **is** the policy of **the oil** companies that no hunting is allowed within five miles of oil production equipment. The belief is that oil company personnel are empowered to confiscate any subsistence harvest equipment (rifles, machines) that hunters take into this area. Understandably, few individuals think this risk is worth taking, especially when caribou are readily available elsewhere.

Another group of informants maintains that in fact at least the **Kuparuk field** area is **open** to hunting, but that the animals in the area are not fit for human consumption. They recognize that the caribou in the oil **fields** have increased in numbers, and point out. that the oil companies have seized on this as a public relations tool. Their own evaluation of the caribou is that they have become lazy and "dazed." More now stay in the area year-round instead of migrating and many informants say they would not eat these animals because they

may be "drugged up" by eating various substances that are by-products of or leaked from oil industry activities.

There are also a few informants who say that even the central Prudhoe Bay area is open to hunting, if a person wants to take the time and expense to challenge the system. One informant told the story of some non-Natives who eluded the checkpoint search for firearms, took a caribou within the Prudhoe field, and were on their way to Fairbanks when they were stopped at the last checkpoint on the way out. Their truck, caribou, and rifles were confiscated. They appealed this and eventually won back the property which had been confiscated. The informant said that their intent had been to test the validity of the hunting ban within the oil field and that on one level they were successful. On another, however, they lost so much time and expended so much effort that the oil companies were in effect successful in implementing a *de facto* ban on hunting within the oil field.

Another subgroup of those who believe that the oil fields are open to hunting say that the oil companies still have a policy which discourages hunters from using the area. Oil company personnel harass hunters and the existence of checkpoints implies a surveillance that makes most **Inupiat** uncomfortable. That **Inupiat** hunters enjoy hunting is an understatement and at the same time a misstatement a declarative statement devoid of the emotional connotations which attach **Inupiat** to the **land**. To hunt in an area where ones feels uncomfortable, such as the oil **fields** to the east of **Nuiqsut**, is to take the joy out **of** the hunt. These informants are also ill at ease hunting within the unnaturalness of an industrial setting, **with** the all too obvious signs of modern manufacture -- pipelines, production facilities, roads, and traffic. They also express disquiet with the possibility of the animals in the area being tainted in some way by industrial contaminants.

The argument has also been made that industrial development makes physical access to certain areas very difficult. Informants were not very expansive on this topic during **field work**, however, although they did say that the production **fields** with their pipelines and roads did at times make travel from one point to another difficult. In the recent past, informants have reported that they have had to make extensive detours because of pipelines and other **oil** related facilities. It may be that informants do not wish to repeat what they have said in the past, or that they have decided because of the factors discussed above (restricted access due to regulation or company policy, contaminated resources) that they do not want to go into these areas until **the** oil companies leave, so that the physical restriction of access is for **now** beside the point.

It does appear that the actual physical hindrance of physical access to an area is only a factor on the land. This is not to say that oil development does not affect marine subsistence resources, but that for the most part informants report that they can hunt in the marine areas that they wish to. Industrial boat and air traffic does at times deter hunters from using certain areas, but these are isolated cases of relatively short time duration. During whaling season there is a formal procedure which suspends that oil industry activity which may interfere with the subsistence whale hunt. Part of the difference in this regard

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between land and sea is that the density of industrial development can not be **nearly** as high at sea as on land. Production sites are far more costly offshore, so that they are father apart. Pipelines are buried in the sea floor, rather than elevated above ground. Collecting stations and processing plants are **all** located onshore and are thus not **a** factor offshore.

B. Other Potential Areas of Development

Nuiqsut residents are all too aware that a developed oil field is essentially removed from the subsistence range for the village. They have adapted to the (temporary they hope) loss of the Kuparuk/Prudhoe Bay area for terrestrial subsistence resources. They fear that the oil potential of areas to the south, east, and north of Nuiqsut will lead to similar developments all around Nuiqsut. The potential exists for Nuiqsut to become blocked off from most of its subsistence land use area by industrial development, and one of the goals of present village leaders is to prevent that from happening. The Kuparuk uplands to the south of Nuiqsut are one area for which future lease sales have been planned. There are so far no such plans for the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska (NPR-A) lands to the east. The Colville River delta is an extremely important area for subsistence and will be discussed below. What really concerns Nuiqsut residents is potential development that might restrict access to the Itkillik and upper Colville Rivers. These areas are of vital importance for summer subsistence (moose, caribou, geese) and any restriction of access would work a severe hardship.

2. Colville River Delta Development Issue

The potential development of the **Colville** River delta is a very complex issue. What makes it a complex issue is that villagers do not present a united front **on the** subject, since there is no consensus on what **the Inupiat** interests in the case really **are**. All agree that the **delta** is a vitally important subsistence area that needs to be protected for future subsistence activities. All also recognize that the **delta has** perhaps the highest potential for **oil** development of any land in the **Nuiqsut** area and that the **oil** companies are quite interested in the **area**. **Nuiqsut's** village corporation, as well as **the** regional corporation and the **state**, **hold** mineral rights in the **delta** and so also have an interest in encouraging leasing and exploration. The disagreement arises from an assessment of the potential effects **of** development upon subsistence activities in the delta, and who would benefit economically from developing the oil resources in the area.

Some Inupiat maintain that the primary subsistence use of the delta is for fishing, and that it would be simple enough to protect the most-used fishing sites while allowing for a reasonable amount of development. They say that the take of caribou in the delta is limited to areas directly surrounding the fishing areas anyway, due to the marshiness of the delta and transportation difficulties. Similarly, geese-hunting areas could be protected. Those who have more doubts about development seem to have been concerned so far about

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accidents and spills. They have also explicitly asked about the disposal of drilling mud and other waste generated by the drilling process, since the oil companies have already requested permission to inject these products into "dry holes" already drilled in the area. Villagers are not at all sure that these wastes would be contained in such places. Another concern that has not been explicitly articulated is the supply of water to the oil facilities that would be needed in the area, and how the waste water would be processed and disposed of. Fish are quite sensitive to temperature, salinity, and water levels, **all** of which could **be** potentially affected by normal drilling operations, even in the absence of accidents and spills.

That at least some Inupiat explicitly believe that subsistence interests and economic development can co-exist in the **Colville** River delta was made **clear** at the public hearing held in Nuigsut on February 6, 1990. That the Inupiat who most vocally maintain this position are those who have a vested institutional interest in doing so was also clear from . this meeting, since almost everyone who testified represented an institution with either mineral rights in the area or the authority to tax any production facilities built to develop whatever oil may be there. Details of this hearing appear in the attitudes toward development section below. It is quite clear from this public hearing that the NSB government, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC), and the village corporation all realize that the continued health of the NSB economy depends upon a healthy oil industry. They are thus predisposed to find a compromise between the strict environmental conservationist position and that of the industrial "environmental degradationists." This is perhaps a point that has not been emphasized enough. As strongly as **Inupiat** identify, their cultural identity with the land and subsistence, environmental conservationists who wish to preserve nature at the expense of **people** using the land puzzles them. The kind, and the resources of the land, are there for **people** to use in their livelihoods. **Preserving** the land for the sake of preservation and relegating it to a subsidiary sphere of one's life such as recreation is totally alien to an **Inupiat's** conception of his relationship with the **land** and the environment.

3. Information Processing Burdens and Leadership

This topic can not be developed to any great extent, but is clearly an everyday problem in village **life**. Informants say that even when they know about lease sales coming up that it is very difficult for them to know where to ask for the information that is available about the various studies being done. Even after they receive information, they must find time to read it, process it, and respond. Even when they respond and make comments, they **seldom** have the sense that they have been heard, and even more rarely do they see local people as having any effect on decisions made on **lease** sales, as all are made outside of the village. Furthermore, lease sales are only the tip of the iceberg. The entire permitting process, before and after lease sales, produces a mountain of paper that is potentially available to local villagers, but which they rarely see. On one hand this is a blessing, as they do not **really** have the time to process it. On the other hand, being uninformed means that they

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do not have any effective way to participate in the process. The NSB Planning Department (and especially the Permitting Division) helps to some extent in this regard, as they try to track all development efforts on the slope. This is their mandate, since they must issue permits before any development can take **place**. This centralizes information in Barrow, however, and generally very **little** of the detailed information reaches the villages.

Village informants frequently state that they feel overwhelmed by the sheer mass of information available to **them**, but that they do not know how to go about obtaining it and are not sure they could actually usefully process it. The regulatory system has become too large **and** complex for small communities to deal **with**. This is no doubt why, in **Nuiqsut**, most people are willing to defer to the NSB central planners in dealing with oil development questions. Although they do not totally represent local interests, they at **least** understand the **Inupiat** view of the world and are somewhat responsive to local (**Nuiqsut**) opinions. Furthermore, they have the resources to adequately collect and assess the paper documentation produced as a byproduct of the permitting process and **to** track the compliance of development with the stipulations **put** upon it. Perhaps most important, the **NSB** is an entity with enough leverage (taxing authority, lobbyists) that **oil** companies and **the** state and federal governments **are** attentive to **NSB** views and actions. The NSB **can** negotiate with these entities in a much more successful way **than** can the **local** villages, for the most part.

On the other hand, in **Nuiqsut** the mayor feels that by playing the oil companies off against the NSB, **AEWC**, and other regional (larger) institutions that he has been able to negotiate pragmatic deals with the oil companies that have benefitted the village. **He** realizes that sometimes **people** think he is being used by the oil companies, or that maybe **people** even sometimes **think** that he has been "bought." This is one of the hazards **of** his position as a leader in an ideologically egalitarian culture, where he in his formal position has access to, and a reasonable amount of control over the distribution of, **valued** resources. His own view is a very pragmatic one. **He** realizes that **the oil** companies are trying to use **him, at** the same time as he is trying to **use** them. Each has something that the other wants. **He** sees the resulting negotiation as a natural process where both parties should, in the end, benefit. Any **final judgement** on which side does "**best**" is of course very difficult and **will** probably differ from person to person.

Attitudes Toward Development

As has been suggested above, **Inupiat** informants say that they are often more comfortable with oil company representatives than they are with government agency employees or researchers. Villagers know pretty much what oil company employees are after, and can also be **fairly** confident **that** a give-and-take practical compromise can **be** achieved. There are some **Inupiat** who take an ideological position that there can be no compromise with the **oil** companies (or other forces of development), but this position will be discussed a little later. **The** majority **Inupiat** position is the pragmatic one that oil development has

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occurred, is now the very lifeblood of the NSB economy, and that the proper course of action is to obtain as many benefits as possible (including limitations on development in certain areas) in return for not objecting to the development that would have probably taken place anyway.

One behavioral manifestation of this is the course of events at the typical public hearing held in **Nuigsut**. Informants will say that their testimony will have no effect on the decision about whatever is at issue, but will attend **and** speak anyway. At most public hearings the public testimony is not confined to the specific issue that the officials holding the hearing are authorized to address, so to a large extent these officials are placed in an untenable position by their own limited scope of authority. They cannot adequately explain why their piece of the development/resource management puzzle should be considered as a separate entity unto itself, and most Inupiat cannot and will not separate issues into separate administrative pigeon holes. Some hearings can go on for **hours** because of this, as villagers essentially testify with speeches and stories that they have related in such public forums many times before. It is not the content that they are so concerned about, although that is important, but an attempt to make the attending officials understand the deeply **held** values underlying what may appear to be testimony that is off the point. The Nuiqsut case study (Galginaitis et al. 1984:258-264) briefly covers these points for a public hearing of this nature. During fieldwork for the present study a public hearing was held on a different subject, by a different agency, but essentially the same dynamics were observed. What was different about this hearing was that the NSB and the ASRC had representatives present who testified, few local people testified, and the hearing was very short by NSB standards. This public hearing will be discussed below as a separate topic, the Colville River delta advance designation process issue (Army Corps of Engineers and Environmental Protection Agency).

There are several more concrete examples of the results of this pragmatic attitude of accommodation and compromise. Perhaps the one that the Nuigsut mayor is most proud of (because he had a good deal to do with it) is the Oil/Whalers agreement between the villages of Nuigsut and Kaktovik on the one hand and the oil companies operating in the Alaskan Beaufort Sea on the other. Another would be the **multiyear** fish study that was sponsored by the **oil** companies in **Nuigsut**, which employed **a** number of **Nuigsut** residents. A third was the training of **oil** spill response teams in **Nuigsut (and Kaktovik)** as a practical way to spread knowledge in the villages of how spills (large and small, sea and land) could be controlled. Local people were motivated to learn, and to essentially act as information disseminators by being paid. Still a fourth way is the trade-off of an Inupiat hire policy in the **oil** fields in return for an **Inupiat** support (or at **least** nonresistance) to **oil** development. This is a complex topic, and informants are explicit in their understanding of the "divide and conquer" strategy that is sometimes used by oil companies and government agencies to foster their objectives. These same informants, by showing their awareness of this system amid the context of many different regulatory agencies, explicitly say that they are trying to do the same thing to achieve as good a result for the local community as possible. AU of the examples mentioned are described at greater length below.

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1. Development of the Colville River Delta (Public Hearing)

The hearing (held in **Nuiqsut** on February 6, 1990) was conducted by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and was to collect comments on **the** advanced identification process as **it** is being applied to the **Colville** River delta. This is a procedure **by** which the Army Corps of Engineers identifies and classifies wetlands before actual applications are made for development in area. **It** only considers environmental factors, **and** specifically excludes other pertinent human uses (such as subsistence). It is not a permitting decision and does not preclude development through the permitting process. If some entity does wish to develop an area that has been classified as protected wetlands **by** this procedure, they must go through **the** permitting process to do so.

A. Summary Description of the 'Public Hearing

The meeting started with an explanation of the meeting procedure, which was highly formal and favored prepared written statements over verbal comments. The methodology used to identify and **classify** wetlands in the **Colville** River **delta** was then summarized, but it was far too technical to be comprehensible to any non-professional not intimately acquainted with the research. This presentation was certainly not tailored toward its largely **Inupiat** audience and made no concessions to those whose first language was not English. The proposed **land** classifications **were** based **on** a two year study using the methodology described, with most of **the** work being performed **by** the United States Fish and Wildlife Service **(USF&WS).** Those in attendance were then asked to testify.

The first person to testify was the president of ASRC, who had come in from Barrow specifically for this meeting. The thrust of his remarks was that the Federal government extinguished all Native rights to kind, in return for letting the Natives select back about ten percent of what they had agreed to give up. The Natives had been told that the lands they selected would be valuable for development and would have increased value since they would have good title and an environment conducive to development. However, the Natives were not allowed to select lands in **Prudhoe** Bay, since the state had already reserved that. Natives were barred from selecting subsurface rights in NPR-A because of Federal withdrawal. For a similar reason Natives could not select land in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). The area of highest oil potential available for Native selection was the **Colville** River delta, and now the advanced identification process would essentially make such selections economically valueless by classifying almost the entire delta as wetlands. He questioned the methodology used and drew a parallel to the "no net 10SS" wetlands policy and asked if this was not simply a way to apply this policy to Alaska. He questioned the rationale for such a policy in Alaska, where there is no shortage of wetlands and (he claimed) they are not nearly as sensitive as in the lower-48. Local Inupiat were not consulted for either the research upon which the advanced identification process was based or for the interpretation of the data obtained. By classifying the entire delta as wetlands this

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process essentially stops alldevelopment inits tracks. Requestioned whether t.hiswasreally a planning tool or if it would facilitate the permitting process, since there is no case in which a developer would not have to obtain a permit. The advanced identification merely sets up the presupposition that development is inappropriate at most sites in the **delta**, based on inadequate scientific information. This deters exploration in the area (he claimed one oil company had already canceled its planned seismic work in the area after it received the results of the advanced identification process). He ended by stating that **Inupiat** have never objected to responsible regulations for the protection of resources, but that this was a "study done by low-level bureaucrats who never talked to local **Inupiat**."

The land manager for the village corporation testified next and essentially seconded what the president of ASRC had just said. **Preidentification** would hurt the potential economic benefits of the village corporation's land. Development and protection can both be accomplished by working together, **but** not even one person from the village was consulted or even told about this process. The **village** corporation president speaks next and is even more emphatic. He doubted the report conclusion that **oil** development in **the delta would** hurt migratory birds by significantly redwing the wetlands environment available to them. Restricting oil development would, **he** said, be the economic "**death** knell" of **Nuiqsut**, and "stonewalling" permit applications **would** have **the** same effect. **He** ended with a powerful summary. **Inupiat** are the true environmentalists, as they have preserved the land for centuries. Development is not incompatible with this. The **Inupiat** live in **the** area and do not want their land made into a **park**, but they do not want to see it degraded either.

The head of the NSB Permitting Division then spoke, and stressed the need for cooperation in this process. He had also traveled from Barrow to **Nuiqsut** specifically for this meeting. He suggests that the NSB has a process in place that is designed **to** protect the environment (which he assumes is the Federal objective as **well**) but which also incorporates obtaining local opinion on **local** projects. He suggests that this is superior to making decisions strictly on biological environmental information. The NSB supports permitting but would prefer to control the process themselves rather than having the federal government do it. He does not mention economic factors, but stresses response **to** local concerns and issues of **local** control.

The next speaker identified himself as a resident, although he also said that he was the vicemayor and village coordinator. He sees **no** problem with development in this area, and flinches at the very term "wetlands" now. Development can be made suitable with other uses. Present economic growth in **Nuiqsut** is zero, **he** claimed, and although there are few **Nuiqsut** people employed directly by the **oil** industry, indirectly oil development supports it all.

The next, and **last**, speaker was the mayor of **Nuiqsut**. He started by saying that he wished the Elders could have participated, but that they could not as no translator had been arranged for by the Army Corps of Engineers or the EPA. He then makes three summary points, **all** covered by previous speakers as well. First, he says that the advanced

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identification process is essentially economic expropriation. The economic value of the land would be undermined, contrary to the provisions of **ANCSA**. Second, the process as applied to the **Colville** River delta is based on inadequate and inaccurate information, using a flawed methodology both for collection and analysis, conducted by people with uncertain credentials. To top it off, all development permits would still have to be done on a **case-by**-case basis, just as if the advanced identification process had not been done. Third, he **claims** that **EPA** has no legal authorization for the blanket advanced identification process, but only for the issuance (or denial) of specific permits. Both the state and the **NSB** have regional planning mechanisms in effect which have proven to work on the North Slope. **EPA**, on the other hand, has not coordinated its efforts with the state, either at the planning level or the data gathering (Alaska Fish & Game) level. The **result** is that the state too opposes **the** EPA advanced identification process.

B. Summary: Attitudes Toward Development Revealed by the Public Hearing

The recognition that both the NSB and the state favor measures to **slow** the decrease in **tax** revenues derived from the oil industry is very **clear** from the testimony **at** this hearing. The Inupiat-oriented government of the **NSB** has essentially reached a pragmatic agreement with the state and the oil industry about what is now the proper course for development to take. The NSB is still very uneasy **about** offshore development, which is one reason they are pushing for exploration and development **in** the **Colville** River delta (and **ANWR)**. The main stated reason for this is that the technology **to** drill offshore is less developed than for onshore, especially for **the** cleanup of oil spills. It is also true that the **NSB** derives more revenue from onshore development **than** from offshore development. In any event, the NSB position is now one that favors carefully considered development, which is a significant change from the more ideological positions opposing most new development in the earlier years of the NSB (when revenues from the **Prudhoe** Bay development were not in decline and the **NSB** per capita debt was **not** so high).

The issue of local control, or at **least** the need for **local** consultation, also comes through very clearly. This 'local consideration" has **at least** two levels, however, depending on **your** frame of reference. For most oil companies, "local" seems to mean "NSB." For villagers, "local" means "Nuiqsut." The main reason that the Army Corps of Engineers and the EPA held this public hearing in Nuiqsut was that the NSB requested that a hearing on this issue be held in Nuiqsut, and the agencies involved had to **comply** since residents of Nuiqsut are the people who are most directly affected. Most of the information presented by those who testified was clearly prepared by NSB staff members, although speakers put **it** in their own words and **fully** agreed with **it**. Those speakers who came from Barrow clearly set **the** tone for the meeting, although they were careful **not** to appear to be more than **the** invited guests of their Nuiqsut hosts. The main message delivered from the NSB speakers, however, was that the EPA and Army Corps would do better to cooperate with the NSB in their planning efforts than to try and act independently. It was the speakers from Nuiqsut who then added the additional message that **local Inupiat**, from the village to be affected, **should** also be

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involved in the process at an early stage. Both are necessary. The NSB is the obvious liaison between the local communities and outside entities, whether they be government agencies or oil companies. Nuiqsut speakers were reminding both the NSB speakers and those conducting the hearing that the NSB has an agenda of its own, however, so that an effort must also be made to involve individuals from the affected communities. This was a gentle message, as after all, Nuiqsut is in many ways ultimately dependent upon the NSB for a great many services. In many ways, though, Nuiqsut leaders play the same negotiating game with the NSB that they do with the oil companies and make the best deals that they can. They are dependent allies on a great many issues, but their interests are not exactly the same as the NSB's.

The fact that no private citizen testified was not too surprising in hindsight. The "advanced identification process" was not well understood in the village as a whole. Most people in the village also seemed to be opposed, at a gut level, to any development in the Colville delta. Only corporation officials, some elected officials, and some people who had formerly held elective office expressed support in public for such development. Most other informants, when faced with the economic argument that the NSB needed new revenue sources would understand the concept, but still felt uncomfortable with the prospect of development in the delta. At the base of this uneasiness was the fear that development and subsistence are ultimately incompatible uses of the land, and that development will destroy the subsistence use of the land forever. Clearly those Inupiat who favor limited development in the delta think that limited development and subsistence are compatible. One corporation official did suggest that perhaps while wells in the Colville delta were producing that at least sections of the delta could not be used for subsistence. In his view, the wells would not be in production that long, however, and no permanent harm would be done to the subsistence resources. He cites the Prudhoe Bay example, where caribou and fox populations have actually increased (although there is of course little hunting now in that Unfortunately for the oil companies, village corporation officials, and NSB area). functionaries, the gut-feeling that many Nuiqsut residents seem to have about development in the **Colville** River **delta** is not one that is easily dispelled. For private citizens to speak and reveal their uneasiness with development in the delta would have undercut the testimony of their leaders (both NSB and local), however, which would have been pragmatically foolish and **culturally** inappropriate. Most local residents, when faced with making a final stand on this tough issue, will defer to their leaders who are willing to take a position, although they may at the same time criticize this position. That is one of the quirks of leadership and decision making among Inupiat.

2. Nuigsut and the Oil Companies

As has been stated several times, the relationship between **Nuiqsut** and the oil companies is based on pragmatism. Each knows that the other is trying to serve its own interests and has a fairly good idea of what those interests are. For the oil companies, the goal is to obtain access to promising **lease** tracts, with a minimum of local opposition and a minimum

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of regulation. For **Nuiqsut** the goals are twofold. They want to protect the integrity of the environment **and** the local subsistence resources. That said, and recognized **to** be at times a goal that has to be compromised before the negotiations even start, the second goal is to extract as many economic concessions from the oil companies as possible (again it is possible to draw parallels to **Nuiqsut-NSB** relations, **but** politics is not the topic of this report). This is perhaps made clearest by a few brief examples of such negotiated bargains.

A. Oil/Whalers Agreement

The reasons for the Oil/Whalers agreement are patently obvious. The **Inupiat** want to whale with as little interference as possible, and are willing **to** accept **all** the **help** that the oil industry is **willing** to provide. The oil industry wants to avoid the negative publicity of interfering with the **Inupiat** subsistence whale hunt, but desires as **little** interference with its day-to-day exploration and production activities as possible in the very short open-water season in **the** Beaufort. The **oil** companies are quite prepared to spend some money as a cost of doing business to ensure **this**.

Nuiqsut and Kaktovik have taken the lead in negotiating the agreement since they are essentially the only villages which whale in the fall, but not in the spring. In the spring, leads open in the ice which generally permit the Inupiat further to the west to harvest whales (these leads open too far out from Nuiqsut and Kaktovik to be usable). The ice cover remains too extensive and unstable for the safe operation of drill ships, however, and even though seismic testing can physically take place at this time, it is supposed to be suspended when whales are present. Thus, Inupiat spring whaling ends for the most part before oil operations really begin. In the fall, on the other hand, the ice is "out" and the oil companies are trying to complete their drilling season before the weather and ice shut them down. The whales, on their trip back south, pass close enough to the shore so that crews from Kaktovik and Nuigsut can effectively hunt them (whereas the whales pass too far out for any of the villages further west to do so, except for Barrow -- and Barrow most often fills its quota in the spring). The Beaufort Sea in the fall would appear to be the only setting for direct confrontations between Inupiat whalers and oil industry activities, and the Oil/Whalers Agreement seems to be a logical development to achieve a workable compromise between those two sets of activities. As the 1986 Oil/Whalers Agreement states: "It is in the best interest of **all** concerned that industry vessels avoid interfering with or restricting the bowhead whale hunt" (Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:3).

The agreement has several provisions (what follows is abstracted from Oil/Whalers Working Group **1986:3-5).** One is a communications system to allow whalers and operators **of** industry vessels to talk **to** each other. **All** equipment, except the radio tower at **Kaktovik**, is provided by the **oil** companies. The **oil** companies are responsible for the installation of the equipment and the training of the operators, and the maintenance of the equipment when it is returned after each season. The communications center in **Deadhorse** is to be manned **by Inupiat from Nuiqsut** and Kaktovik, and each industry **vessel** is to have an

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Inupiat trained as a "communicator" to ensure that the system works smoothly. There is a manual stating explicit rules for how industry vessels are to notify whaling boats of their positions and vice versa, and actions industry vessels are to take to avoid restricting or interfering with the hunt.

It is explicitly stated that the communications system can not be used to "scout" for bowhead whales or to otherwise report whale locations to subsistence hunters. It may be used for emergency assistance support.

Specific assistance that the oil companies will provide is listed as follows:

- 1. Help tow caught whales (if an industry boat is near by and available) to a suitable butchering site in order to prevent meat from spoiling.
- 2. Cache emergency supplies (gasoline, food, etc.) for use during the course of the hunt.
- **3.** Provide emergency assistance **in** adverse weather conditions.
- 4. Assist in transporting whale meat and muktuk to the village which caught the whale in order to prevent spoilage and maximize consumption (Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:4-5).

The oil industry also agreed that vessel traffic east of **Kaktovik will** be curtailed **"as** far as is practical" and that should such traffic be necessary it would be as far offshore as possible. All seismic vessels would retrieve all lost gear with all possible speed, and if recovery is not possible, to notify other vessels of the loss through the communications system. This probably refers to cable which could foul boats very easily. The companies also recognize the need to obtain permits for exploration and drilling. If such permits are denied, they may withdraw from this agreement. Any oil company that secures a permit may participate in this agreement (and not just the signatories). The agreement was for 1986 only, but was signed with the idea that it would be renewed on an annual basis, and amended as necessary.

The agreement has been renewed annually since it was signed in 1986, and as might be expected, has undergone some changes. The first year was quite instructive, as the whalers asked for, and received, a great amount of help. Nuiqsut took a whale that year and requested assistance in towing and butchering it. It was towed to the east dock at Prudhoe Bay, butchered, and flown by a Hercules aircraft to Nuiqsut. One industry representative

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(who will not be identified) estimated that this and the other assistance provided that year cost \$600,000. The accuracy of this estimate cannot be assessed, but given the equipment and manhours devoted to providing this assistance, it is not beyond the **realm** of possibility. The oil companies made the decision not to do that again, so that it must now be a real emergency before they will **help** to tow a whale. The oil companies also will no **longer** fly the processed meat and muktuk to the villages. These measures reduce **the** direct economic cost of the agreement **to** the oil companies, but also ensure **that** the subsistence nature of the hunt is not threatened by too much outside assistance.

Oil companies are still agreeable to helping transport the butchered whale to storage at **Olliktok** Point, as long as the **Inupiat** tow the harvested whale themselves to Cross Island, butcher it there, and transport the butchered parts by whaleboat to the facilities at **Endicott**. The oil companies will then box them up and truck them to **Olliktok** Point. This the oil companies perceive as a reasonable level of assistance and one that does not affect the subsistence nature of the hunt, while **it** does materially assist the **Nuiqsut** whalers. **Nuiqsut** whalers have interpreted the second sort of assistance listed above. as implying that **the** oil companies have resisted this interpretation for **obvious** reasons. **Still**, both parties express satisfaction with the agreement. The **Inupiat** gain a whaling season relatively free from interference and **all** the assistance that they can convince the oil companies to provide. The oil companies gain some positive **public** relations and as short an interruption in **their** normal activities as possible, since they have complete information about when **whales** harvested and there is a strict quota on **whales**.

The larger implications of the Oil/Whalers Agreement have not as yet become clear. Most informants in **Nuigsut** (and **Kaktovik**) perceive the agreement as a reasonable compromise. Informants in other villages express a few more doubts. The fundamental question seems to be the inherent **conflict** between the protection of subsistence resources and **the** dangers posed to those resources by oil development. There is a perception that the Oil/Whalers Agreement results in **short** term gains for **Nuigsut** and Kaktovik, **but has** the potential for long term deleterious effects on all whaling villages. There is no similar cooperative agreement covering spring whaling, and apparently little pressure from either party to the existing Oil/Whalers Agreement to negotiate one. This is understandable if most whalers are indeed unsure of the long term benefits of such an agreement. From the perspective of the oil companies, as discussed above, spring whaling occurs at the beginning of the open water season, before most offshore drilling activity takes place. We leads open in the ice fields and generally allow the Inupiat to harvest whales, the ice cover is too extensive and too unstable during this time to allow drill ships to operate. The oil interests would logically have little interest in a "spring Oil/Whalers Agreement" in the absence of the possibility of such oil-related activity.

The question of the utility to the **Inupiat** of such explicit agreements with industry (perceived to represent "development") is **a** complex issue, potentially pitting cultural values against economic interests, potentially dividing villages into opposing camps, and potentially

creating conflicts between institutions. The last AEWC annual meeting in Barrow surfaced some of these feelings, where a resolution was introduced stating explicitly that any agreements between a village or villages and representatives of oil companies were in no way binding on other villages. Informants were vague as to what the resolution actually meant, and even as to whether it was passed. They were quite clear in stating that its purpose was **to** state uneasiness with **having** formal agreements with oil companies. In this regard, the Chairman if the **AEWC** is reported to have informally stated that he has no objections to the Oil/Whalers Agreement or similar contracts, as long as they **do** not prejudice the long term interests of **Inupiat** subsistence hunters. This is a **politer** way of expressing the same set of doubts. Nielsen 1988 briefly discusses this issue, but more to state that profound conflicts are implicit in the situation than to describe and analyze these conflicts. The development of these issues is clearly important, and perhaps the most critical subsistence-related question on the North Slope, but is also very difficult and ultimately beyond what could be accomplished in the time available for this work.

B. The Colville River Fish Study

The **Colville** River Fish Study was conceived of by the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) liaison with the villages of **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik**. His thought was that it would provide baseline information on the fishery, help determine if the current level of oil activity was having any effect on this fishery, and involve some **local** residents in an ARCO-sponsored activity. This would again provide some positive public relations for the **oil** company while providing an economic benefit to some **local** residents. It would also ensure ARCO access to fishery data that they would later need if they should ever decide **to** apply for development permits. Local villagers were not thrilled with the study, in the sense that it was something that they would choose to do, but there was little trouble in hiring dependable assistants and completing the work. The data indicate that the **Colville** fishery is in excellent shape and that there are no discernible effects from the current level of industry activity.

C. The Oil Spill Response Team

The oil **spill** response team was another idea of the ARCO liaison to **Nuiqsut** and Kaktovik, but the idea worked so **well** that it may be extended to the other villages. The idea is simplicity itself. ARCO hired twenty individuals from the two villages (ten from each) and trained **them** in the state-of-tie-art techniques for cleaning up **oil** spills. **Thus**, each of these **people** now has a good understanding of the capabilities for cleaning up an **oil spill**, and realizes that **should** the need arise, **at** least local people will be involved to see that it is done correctly (and **local** people **will** receive the wages paid to **clean** up the spill). Furthermore, the oil companies provided each of the villages with a complete set of the equipment that is needed for **oil** spill cleanup. The most salient possibility is of course a large offshore spill, but that is also the least likely. Although these individuals did receive

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some training for that, most of their instruction was **in** how to deal with the more mundane but **all** too common **"small"** spill on land. This is also applicable to the village experience, since it is exactly this sort of spill that villagers would have to deal with should they have an accident in one of their power plants, or should a storage tank leak, or a drum leak. In **fact**, most NSB community dumps have quite a few barrels of unlabeled waste, many of which have been or soon will be leaking, and it is anticipated that these trained individuals could be very useful in handling this problem.

The **tradeoffs** are again **fairly** obvious. The oil companies once again receive some positive public relations for community service. They also ensure that the village public is educated, from the oil company's perspective, as to the risks of oil spills and the ways to deal with them. The trained individuals can be expected to share this with their friends and neighbors, and even though they know the information is not from a neutral source it is likely to be accepted **fairly** readily. The participating **Inupiat** gain a wage while training and the knowledge that there will be local participation in any **local** cleanup that **should** be required. **In** .addition, they have had the opportunity to **work** on other cleanups, for a good wage, employing the skills that they were **taught** in this program Not **all** can take advantage of **this**, since many work **full-time**, but the program clearly provided benefits to both parties.

3. Inupiat (Native) Hire

Inupiat hire is not the same as Native hire, since many **non-Inupiat Nuiqsut** residents are still considered "Native" hire since they are (more-or-less) permanent residents of Nuigsut. That point **made**, we should also note that this section is not **meant** as a complete discussion of native hire. Rather, it stresses one main **point**, which is that local **Inupiat fully** realize that they are **underrepresented** in the **oil** industry labor force, that the jobs they do **hold** in the oil industry are different from those held by nodnupiat, and that they think that most. Inupiat are hired by the oil companies merely as a "cost of doing business" and not in any serious attempt to train a skilled Inupiat labor force. The model is then one in which Inupiat are given jobs so that they feel they are part of the system, receive some of the rewards, and will not object so strongly to development as it occurs. That this somewhat cynical view of the situation bears a strong resemblance to reality is unfortunately all too clear. That the oil companies bear **all** of the **blame** for this is not **at** all obvious. The Inupiat labor force in many ways has adapted to exploit the worst aspects of this system, which commonly rewards sporadic or irregular working **hours** and often results in unproductive workers (by the "normal" standards of the employers as judged by their operations in other areas). An Inupiat who wishes to find steady, challenging work in the oil industry can do so, but he must exert himself. Otherwise he is likely to find himself in a temporary job and eventually laid off.

Most village informants viewed most oil industry jobs as "pay-off" positions. That is, **the** industry hires a certain number of **Inupiat** so that they can say they have paid out so much in wages to locals and can claim a certain percentage of "local hire." Most of these positions

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are temporary and **unskilled**, so that eventually the people are laid off. Thus there is a pattern of **Inupiat** going to work in the oil fields, being there several months, and returning to the village. Sometimes they quit, and sometimes they are **laid** off or fired. Eventually, if they want to return, they will be able to obtain another temporary job. Industry representatives said that few **Inupiat** want **a** full-time, permanent **job in** the oil industry. **It** requires too much time out of the village. There are some **Inupiat**, on the other hand, who treat the oil industry as a source of jobs that is always available. So long as they can pass the drug test (required of all oil industry job applicants), most **Inupiat** who desire an oil field job can obtain one. The rate of failure of the drug test seems to **be** related to age. Young men have a very high rate of failure, and make up the largest segment of the potential labor force.

Thus, **Inupiat** hire maybe one area where the negotiated solution is still far from adequate. Some **Inupiat** are working in the oil industry, but not **nearly** as many as could be expected **and** not in **truly** responsible positions. On the **Inupiat** side, too many **Inupiat** seem to accept the type of positions that they are given and are willing to go along for the **ride**. Perhaps this is perceived by individuals as individually **beneficial**, but collectively it would seem to have a number of negative effects. The industry side has not been examined in much detail, but there appears to be **a** common perception that too little effort **is being** made to involve **Inupiat** in any meaningful way in the oil industry.

Attitudes Toward Resource Management

The Inupiat of Nuiqsut are not a uniform group, any more than are the members of any other American community. Thus it should be no surprise that there are significant differences in what different members of the community think of the various agencies involved with resource management in Nuigsut. There are at least three agencies that Nuiqsut must deal with=- the North Slope Borough Department of Wildlife Management the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, and the United States Fish and Wildlife Semite. In addition, of course, there is the Bureau of Land Management, the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, and **all** the other advisory boards dealing with locally used species. Lastly, there are the oil companies and the various government agencies associated (at least in the Inupiat mind) with the oil companies, among them the Minerals Management Service and the Army Corps of Engineers. The Environmental Protection Agency also takes actions of local concern. Nuiqsut residents realize that these agencies are to a large extent independent, but at another level villagers treat them all as pretty much the same. Certainly wildlife management issues crosscut the agencies and local people are often frustrated by the inability of any one agency to deal with an issue in a complete way. All too often different agencies have partial responsibilities and the end result is frustration and a conviction that no management at **all** would be better than the current system. No state or federal agency is perceived to be responsive to local concerns or suggestions. The NSB fares somewhat better, but is still viewed with suspicion. Native regulatory groups (AEWC for example) are considered the best mechanism if such management is a practical necessity.

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Industrial development (mainly oil development, but potentially mining, tourism, and perhaps other activities) and resource management (wildlife as well as mineral resources) are explicitly linked together by most Inupiat. This is quite understandable as it is an accurate assessment of the situation. What seems to puzzle most Inupiat is why the various government agencies on their fact-finding missions and during public hearings apparently try to keep the two separated. Government agencies are never quite trusted in the village because villagers are never quite sure what their real agenda is. Researchers often also fit into this category. If informants are unsure of what a person's position is on the relationship between development and the protection of subsistence resources (and access to them), local control over local resources, and whatever other issues are pertinent at the time, it is difficult for those informants to trust the information collector to use the data collected in a way that the informants see as beneficial (or **at least** not harmful). In a "funny" way this explains why oil company representatives often have better relations with villagers than do researchers or government agency representatives. The interests of the **oil** companies are known and in most cases their representatives are pragmatists who are willing to use the resources at their disposal to negotiate a practical compromise or trade. The local Inupiat can understand the goals and motivation of the oil companies, even if they do not much like them. Knowing this, they can interact with them with a **fairly** good idea of what information they are willing to share, how they want to present it, and how it can be used to facilitate reaching a solution acceptable to the local community.

1. Attitudes Toward Animal Study Projects

Animal study projects are for the most part perceived by Inupiat as related to wildlife management programs. Since for the most part Inupiat do not think much of wildlife management, they avoid animal study projects as much as possible. Participation in voluntary reporting programs is generally low, and even an unobtrusive measure such as the number of hunting licenses sold is unreliable since few Inupiat hunters (and even some non-Inupiat hunters) do not buy licenses. Certain animal studies draw stronger comments.

Most of the studies which **Inupiat** express displeasure with, rather than simply ignoring, are those which involve handling the animal and marking it physically. To handle the animal it must usually be immobilized. In the past the agent of choice **has** been a dart **gun** administering **a** drug. Most **Inupiat** are very reluctant to eat a harvest animal that has been marked, since they fear that the drug used to **immobilize** the **animal** may have affected the meat. Some **Inupiat** think that this drug changes the animal% behavior and makes it stay in the area where it was drugged. The **use** of drugs to immobilize animals is so discomforting to most **Inupiat** that **ADF&G** is now investigating other methods to capture animals to mark them.

Inupiat are in general very unhappy about marking animals. Radio collars on caribou and **polar** bear are a source of constant comment, as when such animals are harvest it is quite common to find areas rubbed raw of skin, infection, or some other sign of irritation. **Inupiat**

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seem to regard the collaring of an animal as somewhat of an indignity to that animal as **well**. They understand the rationale for collaring a limited number of animals, but would still prefer that it not be done.

Tags on fish and animals are also a source for complaint. **Nuiqsut** fisherman say that whenever they catch a tagged fish that there are signs of infection or even more serious problems around the area where the tag is. They **do** not consume these fish. Furthermore, a significant number of these tags are never turned in. **Again,** the fishermen realize the object of the study, but have no wish to participate or to seem to encourage such studies by turning in the tags. Tagged animals do not seem to generate the same degree of comment, perhaps because there are fewer of them or the tags are not so obvious. Banded waterfowl are evidently not encountered very frequently, but when they are they are still consumed. The band on a waterfowl's leg is evidently not seen as that serious a matter.

2. Musk Oxen

Again, we must be unfortunately brief in describing this situation. Mush Oxen can not be hunted by Nuiqsut residents as they are a protected species. They can be hunted in Kaktovik, where a small herd was introduced in the past and has now increased to the point where musk oxen have been designated a subsistence species for Kaktovik (the history is much more complex than that -- see the Kaktovik subsistence harvest site report). Musk oxen have begun to appear in the Nuiqsut area, however, and hunters are increasingly upset that they can not harvest a resource which has now become a year-round presence in the area. Some hunters maintain that musk oxen scare away the caribou, and that since musk oxen stay in the same general area year-round that the caribou then become scarce. Other hunters say that this is not true and is only a rationalization. They say if the hunting of musk oxen.

Recently, the Bureau of Land Management has revealed plans to relocate some more musk oxen to the south of **Nuiqsut**. This has met with some resistance from the village **and** the NSB (after initial support) since no hunting would be allowed for at **least** several years. **Again**, a very pragmatic attitude is communicated. If a resource is not usable in a practical way, its management and preservation is of no benefit. The **Nuiqsut Inupiat** fully understand why some people somewhere may well want to foster the musk oxen population of the world. Their point is that there is no advantage to **Nuiqsut** to have it done in the **Nuiqsut** land use area unless they are allowed to hunt **them**, so that those who want the musk oxen **preserved** should be the ones to have them in their area. Those who benefit should be ar the costs and not pass them on to the **Inupiat** just because they live in what would be prime musk oxen territory. **Nuiqsut** residents get no joy from merely seeing musk oxen and indeed think that they may provide some unneeded competition for resources that they can harvest. This is seen **as** yet another animal study of little use to local **Inupiat** that potentially negatively affects the availability of subsistence resources.

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A year ago a **Nuiqsut** hunter purposely shot a musk ox and turned himself in. The story of why he did so is not altogether clear, but it was clearly a protest of the regulations against shooting musk oxen. He was heavily fined and the **animal** confiscated, although the meat was distributed so it did not go to **waste. It** is reported that several musk oxen had been shot by **Nuiqsut** hunters before that, but that none has been shot **since.** Again, the interpretation of this is unclear.

NUIQSUT SUBSISTENCE RESOURCE HARVEST PA'ITERNS SITE INVENTORY

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Locational Information Not Available

N-012				 					 					 														2-	24	-5
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N-139						 																						2-2	25	0
N-140						 																						2-2	25	1
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Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

Site Number:	N-011 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Barrow)
Inupiat Name:	Kungulik Point
Meaning of Name:	
English Name: Other Name(s):	
Location:	TLUI coordinates appear somewhat uncertain for this site, as the mapped location does not appear consistent with the place name.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 71 04'00" 155 09'25" Orth:
Site Number in	
other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 11 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, root gathering.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Primarily a Barrow site.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Site Number:	K446 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Tikagaagruk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Heald Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tikagaagruk is located on the east side of Prudhoe Bay, apparently on Heald Point. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14812'32" 7021'00" Ort.1K
" Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 35 Pedersen et al. 1985:23 Mid-liieaufort Sea TLUI: 23 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping (past)
Access:	Boa~ snow machine
Site Features:	Tikagaagruk is the site of sod house ruins and ice cellars.
Specific Use:	No current subsistence activity takes place due to oil development.
History of Use:	This is know to be an old habitation site. In the historical period, Andrew Oeegna lived here some time in the 1930s. The Akootchooks had an ice cellar here when lived at Kaniqtua in the 1940s. Current subsistence usage is limited due to oil development in the area.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:83; Nielson. 1977:71

Site Number:	K-047 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kisim Inaa
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kisim Inaa is mapped southwest of the Tigvariak West Base marker, on the east side of Foggy Island Bay, in accordance with the TLUI coordinates given got this site. The Mid-Beaufort TLUI maps this site where we have mapped Qalgusilik.
Coordinates:	TIM: 14728'00 '7011'10 Ch-th:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk T'LUX: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 36 Pedersen et al. 1985:28 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 37 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	This is an old site and presumed to have ruins of some sort.
Specific Use:	Snow machine access is limited by oil development (Nuiqsut) and distance (Kaktovik). Boat access is restricted by oil activities, although during fall whaling this ocean area is hunted at times.
History of Use:	Kisim Irma is known to be an old site, but the extent. of archaeological remains is unknown. It was used in the past as a camping location for the Woods family when they were living on the land, before relocating into modem Nuiqsut. Its current usage would be limited to the whaling season (September - October) and perhaps for summer sealing by a limited number of people.

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	There is some confusion on where this site is precisely located. We have mapped it according to its TLUI coordinates. The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980) places it where we have mapped Ekoolook Inaat (again according to the TLUI coordinates given). Please see the historical note for Ekoolook Inaat for a discussion of this locational problem.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventoq 1981; Nielson 1977.

Site Number:	K-048 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kakianaam Inaa
Meaning of Name:	Kakianaaq's place.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Qallinik Inaat
Location:	Kakianaam Inaa is on the east side of Foggy Island Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14719'30" 7011'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 37 Peclersen et al. 1985:30 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 38 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping.
Access:	
Site Features:	There are graves located at Kakianaam and perhaps some habitation ruins as well.
Specific Use:	This area is reportedly used for trapping. It is also potentially used during fall whaling by Nuiqsut hunters, but is otherwise difficult to access due to distance and oil development.
History of Use:	Kakianarnm Inaa was Kakianaaq'a main camp. He is buried here, along with his mother Aseakotak and his sister Qilgiuraq. The area is used only infrequently at present, mostly during whaling season by people from Nuiqsut. It is a TLUI site for Kaktovik since descendants of some of the people who used to live and travel in this area eventually moved to Kaktovik when populations consolidated into a few settled villages.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Invento~ 1981:83; Jacobson n.d.; NSB n.d; Nielson 1977.

Site Number:	K-050 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Pole Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Pole Island is the westernmost of the Stockton Island group, almost directly north of Tigvariak Island. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TIM: 14702'10 7018'15" Orth: 14702' 10W 7018' 15"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 38 Pedersen et al. 1985:20 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUL 18 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, hunting, fishing, birds.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	There are sod house ruins on Pole Island.
Specific Use:	The area is currently used mainly in the fall for whaling. In the past, when people lived there or in the area, it was used for fishing (qaaktaq and iqaluakpik) and waterfowl hunting. Polar bear have been hunted in this area as well.
History of Use:	The Stockton Islands were named after Captain C.H. Stockton of the U.S. Navy Revenue Cutter Thetis. Pole Island was probably named by commercial whalers after a pole that was at one time erected on the island to serve as a kmdmarlc. Pole Island has been a seasonal residence for many NSB Elders in the past. The Koganalooks had a house there. William Soplu and Clay Kaigekk Sr. stayed therein the 1920s. Nannie Woods stayed there as well. George Woods and the Ahkivgaks hunted seal at Pole Island and built a house there. Presently, Pole

. Island is used mostly during the fall whaling season or if people are traveling in the area anyway.

References:Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use
Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use
Inventory 1981:76-77; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-051 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Sikiagruum Inaa
Meaning of Name:	Sikiagruk's place.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Sikiagruum Inaa is mapped at the mouth of the Kalugisilik (Kadleroshilik) River, on Foggy Island Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates: The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI apparently maps this site incorrectly - see historical note.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14736'00" 7011'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 39 Pedersen et al. 1985:31 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 39 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping, birds.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Year-round use (in the past). Currently used mainly in conjunction with fall whaling due to oil development restrictions and distance from village sites.
History of Use:	Siliagruum Inaa was one of the old family camps of Harry and Lucy Sikiagruk. They were the parents of Eli Solomon's wife. Sikiagruk was also a first cotisin to Annie Ologak. Qalgusilik from the Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI, has coordinates only slightly different from those of Sikagruum Inaa, so that the two may actually be the same site. It is also possible that these are two sites very close together, as this coastal area was extensively used and not all such sites have been located on maps.

The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980) maps this site on the 'Shaviovik River. This is almost certainly incorrect, as the text says that this site is located "at the mouth of the Kalugisilik River" (Smith 1980:83). This suggests that perhaps other sites are dislocated on the Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI map as well.

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beau.fort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:83,90-91.

Site Number:	K-061 (Located "on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	"New Site X"
Other Names(s):	
Location:	This site is located on Mikkelson Bay, a few miles east of the Shaviovil River. It is listed as "New Site X" in Jacobson nd.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: , Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	There are habitation ruins at this site.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-062 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Putuligayuk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	"New Site Y
Other Names(s):	
Location:	This site is located on the Shaviovik River, about six miles from the mouth. This is "New Site Y" in Jacobson n.d. The mapped location is only very approximate.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There is at least one grave at this site.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Putoligayuk is buried at this site. Other information is lacking. The mapped location is only approximate.
References:	Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-063 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	"New Site 2"
Other Names(s):	
Location:	This site is located about three miles west of the Shaviovik River delta, on the east end of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	<i>TLUI:</i> Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUE Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, camping.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	There are habitation ruins at this site, as well as graves. Coal is also scattered around this site.
Specific Use:	The "area is reportedly used for summer fishing (iqalukpik and qaaktaq) and as a camping location. Because of distance, it is really only used when traveling in the area for other reasons.
History of Use:	Kaliyoak, Adam Alisuarak's sister, is buried at this site. Adam Alisuarak is a direct ancestor to the majority of current Kaktovik residents. The Ologak family lived at this site for one year.
References:	Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-064 (Located	on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:	Leavitt Island	
Other Names(s):		
Location:		a barrier island, one of the Jones Island group, long. It is west of Pingok Island.
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth: 149 34'N 7034'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshek Beaufort Sea TI Pedersen et al. 1 Mid-Beaufort S Ed Hall (NSB):	UI: 985:
General Use:	Whaling, seals.	
Access:	Boat.	
Site Features:	around Leavitt	re are habitation ruins, since people lived on or Island in the 1920s. There are graves and bones on nearby Pingok Island.
Specific Use:		cus in this area is fall whaling from Nuiqsut. I in the area in the summer.
History of Use:	People are repo in the 1920s.	rted to have lived on or around Leavitt Island
References:	Mid-Beaufort S	puk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; lea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Appendix F, page 12; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	K-065 (Loca	ted on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:	Bertoncini Is	land
Other Names(s):		
Location:	west of Bodfi	land is a member of the Jones Island group, just sh Island. It is about half a mile long and is about of Beechey Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth: 149 17' 45"W 70 32' 10"N
Site Number in other References:	Beaufort Sea Pedersen et a	l. 1985: z Sea TLUI: 4
General Use:	Hunting, cam	ping, fishing, seals, eggs, whaling.
Access:	Boat.	
Site Features:		
Specific Use:	Used in summ whaling assoc	ner and fall: summer mostly for seal and fall for iated activity.
History of Use:	Bertoncini of	and was named by Leffingwell after Captain John the whaleship Jeanette. This ship transported San Francisco from the Arctic in 1914.
References:	Mid-Beaufort	Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71.

Site Number:	K-066 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Cottle Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Cottle Island is a member of the Jones Island group.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14907' 15"W 7030' 45"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TIM: Beaufort Sea T'LUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 6 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, whaling,
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used in the summer and fall: summer for fishing and sealing, fall for activities associated with whaling.
History of Use:	Cottle Island is named after Captain Steve Cottle, a commercial whaler. See also entry for Kataktugvik
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-067 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Argo Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Argo Island is the easternmost island of the Midway Island group, north of Prudhoe Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 148 15'W 7028'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 9 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer use.
History of Use:	Argo Island was named by Leffingwel1 after his yawl of the same name.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	K-068 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Narwhal Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Narwhal Island is the most northern and eastern island of the McClure Island group, north of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14728' 50W 7023' 45"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 13 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, seals.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	Shelter cabins and perhaps some habitation ruins are found on Narwhal Island.
Specific Use:	Narwhal Island is used as a base for fall whaling for at least two Nuiqsut crews. It is also used to hunt for seals in spring through fall.
History of Use:	Narwhal Island has been used as a base for fall whaling for a long time. Whaling in the current period was resumed in the 1970s. In 1923 Nannie Akpik (later Woods) spent the winter with her family at Narwhal Island. From 1934 to 1943 Clay Kaigelak Sr., George Agiak, and Mark Pausanna hunted seals in the Narwhal Island area. Currently Narwhal Island is used primarily for whaling in the fall (at least two crews from Nuiqsut usually use it as their base camp), but is also used as a camping spot for an occasional extended hunting trip for seals.

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	The English name for the island is from the name of Captain Leavitt's ship, the Narwhal. The McClure Islands were named by Leffingwell after Captain Robert McClure of the Royal Navy, who "discovered" the islands in August of 1850.
	The area has been historically used for hunting seals and polar bears, and was used as a winter habitation site. See listed references for more details.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75; Jacobson n.d., Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; NSB n.d.

Site Number:	K-069 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Jeanette Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Jeanette Island is one of the McClure Island group, about forty one miles east of Beechey Point and north of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 147 25'W 70 22'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 14 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, sealing.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Jeanette Island is in the primary Nuiqsut whaling area and is mainly used at that time.
History of Use:	Jeanette Island was named by Lieutenant Commander G.W. DeLong, USN, after his steamship.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75,

Site Number:	K-070 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Karluk Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Karluk Island is the southernmost island of the McClure Island group, north of Foggy Island Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 147 19' 30"W 70 20' 25"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 15 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	whale, seal.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Karluk Island is within the primary whaling area of Nuiqsut and is used mainly at that time. People also hunt seals in this area.
History of Use:	Karluk Island was named by Leffingwell after the ship of the same name under the command of Captain Steven Cottle.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75; NSB n.d.

Site Number:	N-091 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Uuliktuk
Meaning of Name:	It shakes
English Name:	Oliktok Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Uuliktuk is the point of land on the east end of Harrison Bay, on the Beaufort Sea coast, about 16 miles west of Beechey Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 30'45" 14957'00" Orth: 7030' 45"N 149 51'30W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 91 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUL 21 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, caribou, water fowl, storage, sea mammals
Access:	Boat, road, ice road
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins, old store. Graves of Amaguagnaat, Taal~ Ahsogea~ Martha Woods covered by DEW-Line construction. Abandoned DEW-Line site. Water treatment plant for oil indust~. Storage units.
Specific Use:	Salmon fish, summer and winter. Other species on an opportunistic basis. People camp at Uuliktuk on a regular basis and there are permanent buildings there.
History of Use:	Uuliktuk was the site of a store owned and operated by 13tuk. There are also contemporary camps and cabins there (Baxter Adams, Patsy Tukle, the Allens). A number of graves are present. Some of these graves were destroyed when a DEW-Line site (since decommissioned) was constructed in the area. The area was an habitation site from before the 1900s until the 1950s or 1960s. See the listed references for more information.

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Uuliktukis also the terminus of the permanent gravel road from Deadhorse, since there are oil production facilities (a water treatment plant) built on Oliktok Point. The Hehnericks usually build a ice road between this gravel road and their home in the Colville delta. In additio~ an ice road from the village of Nuiqsut to the gravel road at Oliktok Point is usually constructed every winter. This road has received increased usage with each passing year. When Nuiqsut harvests a whale it is usually butchered on Cross Island, transported to the Endicott oil facility (the nearest road access) where it is put into boxes, and trucked to Uuliktok over the oilfield roads. It is stored at Uuliktok in metal storage units until it can be moved into ice cellars or other more permanent storage.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:78-80.

Site Number:	N-092 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Mitqutialaqtuuq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Missing from map, second group of islands (also missing from NOAA maps).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 33'00" 150 00'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI 92 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, seals
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house, graves.
Specific Use:	Summer fishing for arctic char, seals.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12.

Site Number:	N-094 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Pinggu
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Pingu, Pingok Island "
Location	Pinggu is the largest of the Jones Island group of barrier islands, off the Beaufort Sea coast, seven miles northwest of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7031'10 14931' 30".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 31'10" 149 31' 30" Orth: 70 31' 10"N 149 31' 30"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 94 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 3 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Seals, whaling
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses, graves including Billy Kinneaveak (Saglu) from Point Hope and Ikayuak and Nalikak.
Specific Use:	Summer, fall/winter use. Pingok Island and the area around Pingok Island is a major harvest area for seals. Waterfowl are also harvested here. Base camps on Pingok Island are used for these activities. The major sealing area extends from east of Pingok Island west to the Cohil.le delta (Harrison Bay quad see site N-093).
History of Use:	Pingok Island was an habitation site in the 1920s and perhaps later. It has been used as a productive subsistence harvest location for a substantial period of time (as evidenced by the remains on the island) and is currently an important seal harvest location. The area is used on an opportunistic basis for

other species. The site can be used year-round, but winter use is minimal.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:71; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number	N-095 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Ugrugnavik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	,
Location	This site refers to the mouth of the Ugrugnavik River. The Ugrugnavik drains into Simpson Lagoon, east of Uulilctok. Nielson 1977 coordinates 70 28'10 149 47'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 28' 10" 149 47' 00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 95 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 22 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Ice cellars
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Ice cellars.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	N-096 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Naqaayuqik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Milne Point
Other Names(s):	
LOcation:	Milne Point is a point of land on the Beaufort Sea coast seven miles west of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7031' 00 14927'30'.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 31' 00'' 149 27'30'' Orth: 70 31 '00''N 149 27' 30''W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 96 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 24 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Cabins, graves including Ahkivgaks, Kuunik, Kisiilaaq, and Nashaknik's father.
Specific Use:	Milne Point is used for subsistence activities on an opportunistic basis. Hunters travel in the area on a fairly frequent basis.
History of Use:	Milne Point was named by P.W. Dease and Thomas Simpson on July 24, 1837.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:80; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	N-097 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Ugrugnavik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	This site refers to an area of the Ugrugnavik inland from the mouth. The Ugrugnavik drains into Simpson Lagoon east of Uuliktuk
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 29' 30" 149 46' 30" Orth
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 97 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 23 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area, ducks, stop-over area
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins/sod house, cellar, graves including Kunaknanas and Agnuk.
Specific Use:	Birds: especially aaqhaallich (old squaw duck)
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:80.

Site Number:	N-099 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kataktugvik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Cottle Island
Other Names(s):	Kaviarat
Location:	Kaataktugvik is located on Cottle Island, which is the most eastern of the Jones Island group, north of Beechey Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7030'00" 14904'00" Orth: 7030'45" 14907'15"
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 99 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 6 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping are~ whaling area.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house
Specific Use:	Cottle Island is used mainly in the summer and fall, on an opportunistic basis. During the summer people are boating in the area, and in the fall the island is within the usual whaling area.
History of Use:	K.ataktugvik is an old site and has been used for seasonal subsistence activities for a long time (as have most of the barrier islands). It is associated with the Kasak family. Cottle Island was named for Captain Steve Cottle, a commercial whaler.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:71.
Site Number:	N-100 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
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Inupiat Name:	Nukatpiat
Meaning of Name:	A young man [of marriageable age]
English Name:	Bodfish Iskmd
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Nukatpiat is a barrier island northwest of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 7032'00" 14907' O(Y.
Coordinates:	T'LUI: 7032'00 14907'00" Orth: 7031' 45"N 149 15'28"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 100 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:9 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 15 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area, whaling
Access: Boat	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	No focus was specified for this site, but it is in a good sealing area and is part of Nuiqsut's whaling grounds.
History of Use:	English name given by Leffingwell in 1910, in honor of Captain Bodfish of the whaling fleet.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:71; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	N-101 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Tapkakturuak
Meaning of Name:	This place has a big sand spit (or small island)
English Name:	Long Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tapkaturuak is a barrier island in the Return Island group, off the Beaufort Sea coast 2.5 miles east of Beechey Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 29' 00" 143 55' 00" Orth: 70 28' 55"N 148 55' 30"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 101 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:12 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 7 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Nesting birds, seals, roots
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Spring, summer, and fall use.
History of Use:	English name given by Leffingwell in 1911, after Captain Long of the whaling fleet.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al, 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:71; Pedersen et al. 1985:126.

Site Number:	N-102 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Beechey Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Beechey Point is a point of land on the Beaufort Sea coast, on the southern shore of Simpson Lagoon, twenty-five miles east of the mouth of the Colville River. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7029'20 14909'30".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 29' 20" 149 09' 30 Orth: 70 29' 20"N 149 09' 30"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 102 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:10 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 27 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping, nesting birds, seals, roots, fishing, hunting
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses, fifteen graves, house (Lloyd Ahvakana).
Specific Use:	Year-round, especially summer. Fishing, caribou predominate.
History of Use:	Beechey Point was historically one of the larger settlements in the area. It was named by Sir John Franklin on August 26, 1826, in honor of Captain Friedrich William Beechey of the Royal Navy. Beechey Point was the site of a trading post which was quite important in the area and passed through various hands. Beechey Point is still important as a hunting and camping area, and is the site of a house belonging to Lloyd Ahvakana of Barrow and Nuiqsut. See list of references for more detailed information.

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:80-82; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	N-103 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Sakungauyak
Meaning of Name:	Little bend
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Locatioru	%kungauyak is located on the coast between the Sakonowyak River to the west and the Kuparuk River to the east. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 70 26'40" 149 01'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI 70 26'40" 149 01'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 103 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:13 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 29 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, hunting/camping area (past)
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Graves, including Qutuq from the Paneak family,
Specific Use:	Year-round use in the past. Currently Little use because of oil development.
History of Use:	Sakungauyak was reported to be a well-known gathering place for Nunamiut people in the past, It was also an old habitation site.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:82; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 197'7:7L

Site Number:	N-104 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Aquvlaak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Back Point
Other Names(s):	Aquvlaaq
Location:	Aquvlaak is the western point of Gwydyr Bay, three miles southeast of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7027' 40 149 00' 45".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'40 14900'45" Orth: 70 27'52"N 149 03'40W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 104 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:11 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 28 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping area, hunting
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses
Specific Use:	Forbearers in the winter.
History of Use:	English name given by Sir John Franklin on August 16, 1826 in honor of Lieutenant (later Captain) George Back.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980; Pedersen et al. 1985:115,126; Nielson 1977:77.

Site Number:	N-105 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kukpaagruk
Meaning of Name:	Big river
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kukpaagruk is in the delta of the Kuparuk River. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7023'00" 14852' 00 ".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7023'00 14852'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 105 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:14 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 30 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Graves dating to 1905.
Specific Use:	Summer, fall, winter: fish and salmon berries (angugviat). Current access restricted due to oil development.
History of Use:	Kuukpaagruk was used in the past for summer fishing, especially by the Agiaks and Taaqpaks when they lived in the area. Since the concentration of population in the villages the site has been used less, and with oil development access has been very limited.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:82; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:71 .

Site Number:	N-106 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Sigllaktitaq
Meaning of Name:	The place that has been picked with a pick axe
English Name:	Point McIntyre
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Sigliaktitaq is the western point of land at the entrance to Prudhoe Bay, fifteen miles southeast of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7024'00' 14835'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7024'00" 14835'00 Orth: 7024 N 14835' W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 106 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:16 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 31 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Sod house ruins and ice cellars (Ahmaogak, Nashaknik, Samarualik, Agnik families)
Specific Use:	In the past used in the spring, summer, fall - especially for fish: qaaktaq and iqaluakpik . Access now restricted by oil development.
<i>History</i> of Use:	Sikllaktitaq was used as a habitation and seasonal subsistence harvest site between 1900 and the 1950s. Earlier use is probable. Reindeer herding occurred in the area. Oil development prevents any current subsistence activities in the area .

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:82-83; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	N-107 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Kaniqlluq
Meaning of Name:	Bad [comer] end
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kaniqlluq is very close to the east dock complex on Prudhoe Bay. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 7019'10" 14816'05".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7019'10 14816'05" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 107 Beaufort Sea TLUI: 32 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 21 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Industrial site (former subsistence use)
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Cabins. Former fish storage for Pausanna family. Fishing trail begins at this site. Features may no longer physically exist.
Specific Use:	Most subsistence activity is precluded because of oil development. Dock and road facilities have been used to help transport the results of successful whale harvests.
History of Use:	Kaniqlluq was an habitation site in the 1920s. Access is now limited by oil development.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:83; Pedersen et al. 1985: 126; Nielson 1977:71 .

Site Number:	N-108 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Niaquq Island
Meaning of Name:	Head
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Niakuk
Location:	The Niaquq Islands extend about 1.2 miles west of Heald Point at the mouth of Prudhoe Bay (23 miles southeast of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7020'40 14811' 00". Orth's coordinates appear to be more accurate.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7020'40" 14811'00 Orth: 7022' N 14814' W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 108 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:22 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 10 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Access precluded by oil development.
'History of Use:	Niaquq Island has a documented history of use as a camping location and stopover spot during the historical period.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:71; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	N-11OA (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Napagsralik
Meaning of Name:	Place with a pole [post]
English Name:	Cross Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Barrier Island between McClure and Midway Islands, twelve miles north of Anxiety Point and 27 miles east of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7029'30 14756'30".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7029'30" 14756'30" Orth: 70 29'30N 147 56'30"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 110A Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:18 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 11 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, trapping area, nesting birds, seals
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins, bones.
Specific Use:	Year-round. Fall for whales and marine mammals. Birds.
History of Use:	English name given by Captain Stockton in 1889, after the large wooden cross marking the island. Nuiqsut residents most frequently refer to it by its English name, at least in the presence of non-Inupiat researchers. Taaqpak , one of the most famous Inupiat whalers, had a whaling camp on this island and took several whales in the area. Cross Island is currently one of the two main whaling camps used by crews out of Nuiqsut .
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:72-73; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:71; Carnahan 1979:9,11.

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Site Number:	N-11OB (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Napagsraligarak
Meaning of Name:	The place where a post has been placed
English Name:	Reindeer Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Westernmost barrier island of the Midway Island group . Nielson 1977 coordinates are 702!7 10 " 14827'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7029'10" 14827'00" Orth: 7029'N 14820'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 110B Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:17 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 8 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Marine mammals
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	While Reindeer Island is within the general Nuiqsut land use area , no informants mentioned it specifically as a place where they currently hunt on a regular basis. It is used opportunistically.
History of Use:	English name was given to this island after the whaling ship Reindeer ran aground here while looking for a whale. This island also has associations with Taaqpak , perhaps the most famous of historical Inupiat whalers.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980; Pedersen et al. 1985:126.

Site Number:	N-III (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Agligvurak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Foggy Island
Other Names(s):	Agligvurak
Location:	Island in Foggy Island Bay, Sagavanirktok River Delta, 35 miles southeast of Beechey Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7016' 00 14748'00.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7016'00" 14748'00" Orth: 70 16'N 147 48'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 111 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:25 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 12 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, seals
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, ten graves.
Specific Use:	Fall for bowhead whale and Ugruk. Agligvurak is not a focal site during this time, but is used opportunistically, depending upon where the animals are and the success of other harvests
History of Use:	Agligvurak, or Foggy Island, was used as a habitation site in the 1920s, 1930s, and perhaps into the 1940s. It was a base for subsistence activities and reindeer herding. The island was named by the Franklin expedition , which was delayed there for eight days due to fog. Jack Smith established a trading post there sometime after 1920, but before he took over the trading post at Beechey Point in 1935. The missionary Klerekoper and his guide Ahnagak visited her in April of 1937. See the listed references for more detail.

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Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:73-75; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:71; NSB unpublished.

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Site Number:	N-113 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Qalgusilik
Meaning of Name:	It has something on top [a cover]
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	We have mapped Qalgusilik near the mouth of the Kadleroshilik River, where the TLUI coordinates place it. The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980) maps Ekoolook Inaat in this location. See the historical note discussion for Ekoolook Inaat .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7012'00 14735'05" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 113 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, unidentified graves.
Specific Use:	Year-round use (in the past). Currently used mainly in conjunction with fall whaling.
History of Use:	Qalgusilik was used as an habitation site in the past, primarily in the summer. See the historical note for Ekoolook Inaat for a discussion of how various sites in this area may be confused with each other.
	Sikiagruum Inaa, from the Beaufort Sea TLUI, has coordinates only slightly different from Qalgusilik, so that the two may actually be the same site. It is also possible that these are two sites very close together as this coastal area was extensively used.

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Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix **F**, page 13; NSB unpublished.

Site Number:	N-114 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Point Lookout
Other Names(s):	
Location:	On Tigvagiak Island. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7013'15" 147 20'55". AU coordinates may be somewhat in error.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7013'15" 14720'55" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 114 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:34 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 16 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, graves including Martha P. Leavitt (1942).
Specific Use:	Primarily a TLUI site - no specific subsistence harvest information on this site exists.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:75; Pedersen 1985:127.

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Site Number:	N-115 (Located on USGS 1:2	250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Tigvagiag Island	
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):	Tigvariak Island	
Location:		y Island Bays, 23 miles west. of 7 coordinates 7013'15" 14720'
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7013'15" 14720'55"	Orth: 7013' 15"N 147 12'55"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 11 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:29 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 17 Ed Hall (NSB):	5
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping	g area, trapping area
Access:	Boat, snowmobile	
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, graves include daughter, other old graves	ing Kakianak, Ekolook's son and
Specific Use:		ar-round use. White fox trapping y good. Current use is sporadic e from the village.
History of Use:	the annual trading place betw	by Leffingwell to be the site of een the Natives of the area and occurred in the winter months.
	that. it was used year-round, and to harbor game when other are several of the islands in this Tigvagiag Island in particular.	bitation site. Informants remark and could be relied upon in winter eas had none. They characterized are in this way, but singled out At present, informants say that ated too far away for Tigvagiaq

Island **to** be a viable regular harvest site, although the animals are still there. The site is now used on an opportunistic basis, and pretty much marks the cognitive boundary between the present-day **Kaktovik** and **Nuiqsut** land use areas.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:75-76; Pedersen 1985:126; Nielson 1977:72.

Site Number:	N-116 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Savviugviak River
Meaning of Name:	Place of iron
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Savvakvik, Shaviovik
Location	The Savviagvik River has its headwaiters at 69 14'N 14700'W, and flows northeast about 75 miles to enter the Beaufort Sea between Foggy Island and Mikkelsen Bay, opposite Tigvariak Island. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7011'30 14715'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'30 14715'00 Orth: 7012' 20N 147 16'30W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 116 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:32 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 40 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Cabins (Killgirak, Greist, Utuan) and sod house on other side, one mile away.
Specific Use:	Primarily a TLUI site, as the area is not used on a regular basis at present. See references for past use,
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 14: Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:83-84; Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Nielson 1977:72.

Site Number:	N-125 (Located on USGS. 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)	
Inupiat Name:	Sanniaruk	
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:	Spy Islands	
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Sanniaruk is a barrier island directly north of Uuliktuk . Nielson 1977 coordinates are '7034'00" 14950'00".	
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7034'00" 14950'00" Orth: 7034'N 149 50'W	
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-7 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:1 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 1 Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Trapping, hunting/camping, nesting birds, seals, roots	
Access:	Boat	
Site Features:	Three sod house ruins, three graves, shelter cabin.	
Specific Use:	Summer especially. Whales, seals, camping. Used as a base camp for seal hunting and other species as encountered.	
History of Use:	English name was given by Leffingwell , who named the group after the schooner Spy.	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:71; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:72.	

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Site Number:	N-126 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Ekoolook Inaat
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Ikuluum Inaa
Location:	We have mapped Ekoolook Inaat on the coast near the middle of Foggy Island Bay, west of Kisium Inaat , in accordance to the TLUI coordinates. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 7012'20147 3100". See the historical note.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7012'20 14731'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-8 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:2'7 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 36 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Was Ekoolook's camp. Three sod house , <i>three</i> graves. Known graves - Sikiagruk , Ekolook , Tauqsiaq , two daughters (died from flu 1945).
Specific Use:	Primarily a TLUI site.
History of Use:	This is reported as the site of Ekoolook's camp. It is presumed to have been a habitation site and was used seasonally for subsistence activities. See listed references for more details.
	We have mapped Ekoolook Inaat by the TLUI coordinates given for it. The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980) places Kisim Inaat in this location , although the TLUI coordinates for Kisim Inaat place it further to the east, where we have mapped it. The Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980) in turn places Ekoolook Inaat to the west of where we have placed@ close

to where we have mapped **Qalgusilik (again,** by the coordinates provided for that site). The **Mid-Beaufort** Sea **TLUI** (Smith 1980) does not include **Qalgusilik** as one of the sites it maps and discusses.

The decision was made to map the sites according to the coordinates given for them since the literature seems contradictory on where the sites are actually located. Etta Ekolook's interview (Smith 1980:109) seems to support the TLUI coordinates and our map locations, placing Ekoolook **Inaat** about where we have put it - halfway between two rivers and about 4 miles (actually 5 +) from the western end of Tigvariak Island. Jacobson n.d. is quite definite about placing Ekoolook Inaat on the Kadleroshilik River, however, so it is likely that at least some informants (or researchers) have mixed up names and sites. Since most people in the period when these sites were in use used most of the coast and had several cabins, it is possible that different informants have different ideas as to which was that family% "main" camp (which would carry their name). There are any number of ways that can cause such inconsistencies in the literature, but few good ways to sort them out. At least some versions of the TLUI list have three sites in this area, however, whereas the Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI** (Smith 1980) has only the two. While it is not possible to determine which locations are correct, it seems unlikely that the **TLUI** would list three different sites with three different sets of coordinates when only two of them existed (or where two were actually the same site).

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:83, 109; Jacobson n.d.; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:72; NSB n.d.

Site Number:	N-127 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point) '
Inupiat Name:	Koganak Inaat
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Quganam Inaa
Location:	Nielson 1977 coordinates 7013'20 14731'00. All of these coordinates appear to be incorrect , as the Mid-Beaufort TLUI (Smith 1980) maps this site where we have placed it on the map, on the west shore of Foggy Bay, about 147 43'W .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7013'20 14731'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-9 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:26 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 35 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house (Koganak); graves - Paniorak (Alfred Linn's paternal grandmother), David and Carrie Konganaluk (Alfred's siblings).
Specific Use:	Year-round use in the past. Current use limited for the most part to a stop-over camp in the summer and fall when boating (seal, whale, caribou).
History of Use:	This is the site of Koganaluk's (Qugannaaluk's) camp. The family lived here in the 1920s. The area is still used as a hunting , fishing, and camping area. Historically, this site is linked to people who currently live in Kaktovik . Currently, few people from Kaktovik use this site and it is more within the Nuiqsut land use boundary.

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:72.

Site Number:	N-130 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Takpam Inaat
Meaning of Name:	Taqpak's place (named after a well-known Inupiaq whaler)
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Taaqpam Inaa
Location:	Takpam Inaat is located on the east side of Milne Point. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 7030'00" 14925'30.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7030'00" 14925'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-12 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:5 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 25 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area, nesting birds, seals, roots
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins, cabin said to now belong to Abe Stine, graves.
Specific Use:	No specific focus known.
History of Use:	Takpam Inaat is named after the famous Inupiat whaler Taaqpak, who was evidently at one time the most prominent resident of this settlement. The site is not known to be a focus for any one activity, but is within the general Nuiqsut land use area and people mention caribou, fish, and waterfowl as resources that could be found there.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:80; Pedersen et al. 1985:126.

Site Number:	N-132 (Located	on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	Aglivurak	
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:	Point Brewer	
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Foggy Island B	the western point of kind at the entrance to ay. Nielson 1977 coordinates 7017'20 14747' and #25 in Pedersen et al. 1985 are located on
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth: 7017' 40N 14748' 00"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshek Beaufort Sea TI Pedersen et al. Mid-Beaufort Se Ed Hall (NSB):	1985:24
General Use:		
Access:		
Site Features:	Ice cellars, grave	es - Panningona family and others (see history).
Specific Use:	Current use is v	ery limited due to oil development.
History of Use:	before as well. I reported as 27, operated by He Currently, oil p	an habitation site in the 1930s, and perhaps in the U.S. Census of 1939 the population was A trading post owned by Jack Smith but nry Chamberlain was reportedly located here. roduction in the area precludes the harvest of purces in this area.
References:	Hoffman et al. Traditional La	puk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; 1978, Appendix F , page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea nd Use Inventory 1980:83 ; Nielson 1977:72 ; 1985:126 ; NSB unpublished.

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N-935 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point) Site Number: **Inupiat** Name: Meaning of Name: Endicott English Name: **Other** Names(s): Endicott production facilities and the causeway are located off Location the delta of the **Sagvanirktok** River, east of **Prudhoe** Bay. TLUI: Orth: **Coordinates:** Site Number in Nuigsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: other References: Beaufort Sea **TLUI**: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): Industrial site, logistical assistance for whaling General Use: Boat, truck Access: Connected by permanent roads to the entire Prudhoe Bay and Site Features: Kuparuk industrial complexes, docking facilities for small boats. Specific Use: When **Nuigsut** whalers catch a whale, they butcher it on Cross Island. They then transport the meat and muktuk to Endicott where it **is placed** in boxes and trucked by the **oil** companies to Oliktok Point, where it is stored temporarily. Nuiqsut hunts whales in the fall and the "standard" pattern is History of Use: still very much under development. Currently, most whales that are harvested are expected to be butchered on Cross Island, where there is equipment to assist in the process of hauling the whale out and cutting it up. Once this is done, the pieces are transported by the whaling crews to the **Endicott** industrial site, where they are boxed and loaded onto oil company trucks and hauled to **Oliktok** Point. They **are** stored at **Oliktok** Point in metal storage units until conditions are such that the villagers can take them overland by snow machine and **sled** to ice cellar

Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

and home freezer storage. This reportedly **falls** under the terms of the Oil/Whalers Agreement between the oil companies operating in the area and the villages of **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik**.

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

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Site Number:	• NA-936 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Area NA-936 includes the ocean around Cross Island, the McClure Islands, and the Stockton Islands.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Whaling, sealing
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	While the primary use of this area is fall whaling, the focus for this entry is that this is the area where it is expected that seals may be taken during the whaling season , and where seals may be sought in the future in the summer.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

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Site Number:

NA-937 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:" Beechey Point, Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Names(s):

Location:

Area NA-937 defines the central or core whaling area for **Nuiqsut** crews. See historical note for discussion and qualifications.

Orth:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:

Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** Pedersen et al. 1985: **Mid-Beaufort** Sea **TLUI:**

Coordinates:

Site Number in

other References:

General Use:

Fall whaling

Ed Hall (NSB):

TLUI:

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use:

Fall whaling for bowhead, some opportunistic harvest of seal **and** other species.

History of Use: The "core Nuiqsut whaling area" has been defined on a very pragmatic basis and is a research construct and not an informant category. It is based on where the area that Nuiqsut crews use as base camps (Cross Island and Narwhal Island) added to the areas where those crews spend the most time cruising (and where the majority of their whale sightings are reported). This is clearly not the full extent of the area Nuiqsut whalers hunt, as the first whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew, in 1973, was off the Canning River delta to the east. This "core area" does reflect the present disposition of Nuiqsut whalers to take whales as close to their base camps as they can, since the

Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

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•	longer they have to tow a whale, the more likely it is that at least part of the meat will be lost. The distance between the village of Nuiqsut and the area it uses to hunt bowhead whales, and the often difficult conditions under which the hunt takes place, makes this even more of a consideration than in other whaling villages. The assistance that is available to Nuiqsut whalers from oil companies under the Oil/Whalers Agreement also encourages the taking of whales as close to this "core area" as possible.
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

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NA-938 (Locate{ on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Beechey Point, Site Number: Flaxman Island) Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: **English Name:** Other Names(s): Area NA-938 represents what most Nuigsut informants report Location: as the extent of the area they use for fall whaling - the Midway Islands in the west and Flaxman Island in the east. See the historical for qualifications. Coordinates: TLUI: Orth: Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): General Use: **Fall** whaling Access: Boat Site Features: Specific Use: Fall **bowhead** whale hunt, opportunistic take of seals and other species. History of Use: The boundaries as given are at best flexible, but most Nuigsut village informants agreed upon them. Crews may happen to go beyond the Midway Islands in the west or Flaxman Island in the east, but for the most part make efforts not to do so. Whaling further west is evidently not very productive, and to go further east would require too long a tow in the event of a successful crew. The first whale taken by a Nuiqsut crew was beyond this eastern limit, and resulted in the spoiling of the meat. There

were **also** logistical and manpower problems, **as** this was in 1973, the first year that crews whaled from **Nuiqsut**.

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Site Number:	• K-001 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Tigutaaq
Meaning of Name:	Name of a famous man who had a house at this site
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Tigutaakm Inaa
Location:	Site located in the Canning River delta by the Tamayariak River where it joins the Canning. The mapped location is uncertain , as the coordinates given and the verbal description do not match (but are in the same general area).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14534'00 7004'05" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 48 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping
Access:	
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, bones.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Named for a famous man who had a house at this site.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory; Wentworth and Jacobson 1982:89.
Site Number:	K-002 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
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Inupiat Name:	Kayutak
Meaning of Name:	Name of a family that lived at this site
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kayutak is located on the coast near the Canning (Kuugruaq) River delta, about 2 or 3 miles west of Kanginniivik . It's exact location is not known, so the map location is only approximate. It is listed as "New Site (W)" in Jacobson n.d.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:55 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins of an old house, a large log half-buried in the sand, and several large rocks .
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Kayutak is named after the family which lived in the house, Paul and Mae Suapak Kayutak.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:90; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:127.

Site Number:	K-003 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Kanginniivik Point
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Konganevik Point
Location:	Point of land extending northeast into Camden Bay, about 21 miles southeast of Flaxman Island, on the west side of Camden Bay. The TLUI gives two sets of coordinates: 14510'30 70 01'30 and 14512'00" 7001'30.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14510'30 7001'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 23 Pedersen et al. 1985:56 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Graves, sod house ruins, and cabins. Cabins are on the tip of the spit as well as on the mainland near the small spit.
Specific Use:	Caribou are hunted in this area in the summer, fall, and winter. Reported to be one of the most important harvest sites for caribou historically and in recent years.
History of Use:	Kanginniivik was historically the site of caribou drives. Caribou were herded onto the point and their escape by land blocked. The area was and remains an important winter camping site.
	There is also a story told of a group of Eskimos who were trapped on the spit by a group of Indians who guarded the narrow land escape route. The Eskimos lived by hunting seals and fishing, while the Indians eventually ran out of food and left.

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References:

Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:90;** Jacobson 1979; Pedersen **et** al. **1985:126; Beaufort** Sea Traditional **Land** Use Inventory.

Site Number:	K-007 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Aanalaaq
Meaning of Name:	At the head of the bay.
English Name:	Anderson Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Anderson Point is just to the east of Camden Bay, between the bay and the mouth of the Sadlerochit River. The are referred to as Analaaq extends from Anderson Point about two miles to the southwest to Koganak .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14428'30" 7000'50 Orth: 144 27'45"W, 7001' 30"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 22 Pedersen et al. 1985:61 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, berries
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	This is an area of relatively higher elevation than the surroundings. Graves are found here.
Specific Use:	Important spring waterfowl hunting area. Also reported to be good for berries. Used as a basecamp for hunting trips into the mountains.
History of Use:	The Ologak family lived and herded reindeer in the Aanalaaq area, near the cabin of John Koganalook on the spit called Koganak. John Koganalook's son , Levi Griest , says that they moved there in the early 1920s. Levi had a trapline in the area which extended west of the Kadleroshilik River. Several other current Kaktovik residents remember living in the area in the past, and at least one was born there (see references cited).

The **English** name was given to the point in 1914 by **Leffingwell** and was named after Dr. Rudolph Martin Anderson of the Canadian Arctic Expedition who had given **Leffingwell** assistance. The **Inupiat** name **Koganak** is derived from the name of **John Koganalook**.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:93**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory; **Pedersen** et al. **1985:127**; Jacobson n.d.

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Site Number:	K-009 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Sanniqsaaluk
Meting of Name:	The place where there are cabins built of logs all running in the same direction.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Sanniqsaaluk is located at the mouth of Kajutakrok Creek , on the east side between the Sadlerochit and Hula Hula Rivers. NSB TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14417'00" 7002'20" and 14408'10" 7002'20.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 1441700 7002'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 21 Pedersen et al. 1985:62 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, nesting birds, seals, roots, wood,
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Ruins of a cabin and sod houses are evident.
Specific Use:	Used as a camping spot while hunting caribou (summer) and for geese (spring). The prime goose hunting area is 3 miles east.
History of Use:	The sod ruins at this site are said to be associated with the Ologak, Itchuagak, Patkotak, and Kayutak families. Phillip Tikluk Sr. was born at this site (01/25/37).
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:94; Pedersen et al. 1985:128.

Site Number:	K-010 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Patkotak
Meaning of Name:	Named for Paul Patkotak family, which had a house there.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Patkotak is located at the mouth of the Nataroaruk River, between the Sadlerochit and Hulahula Rivers. Patkotak is either very close to Ahsogeakm Inaa or the two are actually different names for the same site.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:63 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use: location.	Paul Patkotak and his family had a house in this
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:95; Pedersen et al. 1985:128.

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Site Number:	K-042 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Agliguagrak
Meaning of Name:	Big jawbone.
English Name:	Brownlow Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Agliguagrak is a point of land between Camden Bay and Lion Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14550'00" 7010' 00" and 14550'00" 7008'10.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14550'00" 7010'00 Orth: 145 51'W 70 10'N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 24 Pedersen et al. 1985:51 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 46 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, camping, fishing, trapping.
Access:	Boat, snowmobile.
Site Features:	Agliguagrak is the site of graves, as well as for old ruins. There was also an old trading post there.
Specific Use:	Agliguagrak is a good summer caribou hunting location. People also seal in the area. The area is used year-round, however, and people do hunt caribou herein the fall and winter and will fish in the summer. Historical trapping area.
History of Use:	Agliguagrak was the site of one of Jack Smith's trading posts, and was run by Henry Chamberlain. Quite a few people lived here prior to the concentration of population in Kaktovik. Known graves include those of Susie Nasook, Shorty Anupkana, Josephine Itta's mother, and Ben Akootchook Sr. There are more graves about 1.5 miles south of the Agliguarak delta.

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Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson n.d.; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981.

Site Number:	K-043" (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Point Hopson
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Point Hopson is located about seven miles west of Flaxman Island and about two miles west of Point Sweeney. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14630'45" 7011'25" and 14632' 00' 7011'00".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14630'45" 7011'25" Orth: 14630'45"W 70 11'25"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 25 Pedersen et al. 1985:25 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 44 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There are sod house ruins at Point Hopson.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Point Hopson is the site of Fred Hopson's old cabin. Qunguatchiaq and Wilson Soplu lived here at times between 1900 and the 1950s.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:84.

Site Number:	K-044 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Point Gordon
Other Names(s):	
Location	Point Gordon is a point of land six miles east of Bullen Point and ten miles west of Flaxman Island. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14637'30 7011'10 and 14636'40 7010' 30".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14637'307011'10 Orth: 146 37'30W 7011' 10"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 26 Pedersen et al. 1985:43 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 43 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	There are graves at Point Gordon.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Point Gordon is named after the trader, Tom Gordon. Why this particular place was chosen is not known The Panningona's trapline at times ran as far as Point Gordon from Flaxman Island .
References:	Pedersen et al.1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:84 .

• Site Number:	'K-057 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Kingmayukm Inaa
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kingmayukm Inaa is located east of the Hulahula River delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14407'40 7002'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 46 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	
Site Features:	Kingmayukm Inaa was an old habitation site and ruins are found there.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Kingmayukm is known to be an old site, but specific information is lacking.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

Site Number:	K-058 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Ahsogeakm Inaa
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Ahsogeakm Inaa is located on Nataroarok Creek, somewhat inland. Ahsogeakm Inaa is very close to Patkotak, or else the two are different names for the same site.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14410'00 7001'40" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 47 Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	
Site Features:	There are old habitation ruins at Ahsogeakm Inaa.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Ahsogeakm is presumed to be an old habitation site, but more specific information is lacking.
References:	Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

• Site Number:	K-071 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qikitaq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Belvedere Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Belvedere Island is a member of the Stockton Island group, about seventeen miles northwest of Flaxman Island.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 14654' 45"W 7017' 30"N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 19 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, birds, seals.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Reported to be important for seal hunting, salmon fishing, and bird hunting. Currently it may be used for seal hunting on occasion.
History of Use:	This island was named after Captain Cottle's whaling ship, the Belvedere.
References:	Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:77; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number:	N-117 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Savagvik
Meaning of Name:	Working place
English Name:	Bullen Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Savagvik is the east point of Mikkelson Bay. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 7011'10" 14652'00.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'10' 14652'00" Orth: 7011' 10"N 146 52'00"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 117 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: ? Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 41 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Sod house ruins.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	English name was given by Sir John Franklin on August 7,1826.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 14; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Nielson 1977:84 .

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Site Number:	N-118 (Located on USGS 1:25	0,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Qikiqtaq	
Meaning of Name:	Big Island	
English Name:	Flaxman Island	
Other Names(s):	Sidrak - foxhole, Kugruak - also Sirak	the name of the Canning River,
Location:	Flaxman Island is about three m River delta between Point Tho Nielson 1977 coordinates are 7	ompson and Brownlow Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'15" 14603'14"	Orth: 70 11'N 146 03''W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 118 Beaufort Sea TLUI: 42 Pedersen et al. 1985:150 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 20 Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Whale, trapping, hunting/campi	ng, birds, seals, caribou
Access:	Boat, snowmobile	
Site Features:	Shelter cabin, sod house ruins, f	fall whaling base camp.
Specific Use:	Fall whaling, summer caribou.	Birds. Year-round use.
History of Use:	The English name for this island on August 6, 1826, in honor o English sculptor John Flaxm reported as the site of tradition was operated at Brownlow Poin 1920s. The island was used as a has been used seasonally as we further information.	of the (then) recently deceased an. Flaxman Island has been nal trade fairs. A trading post at by Henry Chamberlain in the habitation site year-round, and
	Inupiat whalers have used Flaxn and commercial whalers som location. More recently, a whalin	netimes overwintered in this
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struck a whale off the east fork of the Canning. River and towed it to **Flaxman** Island for butchering. These activities have since been moved to Cross Island and **Nuiqsut** whalers try to take whales more **to** the west when possible. **Flaxman Island** is about as far east as they wish to go to whale at present.

Both **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik** hunters have taken caribou on **Flaxman** Island, but all say that this is farther than they prefer to go. If animals are available at a **closer** site, they will be hunted there. **Flaxman Island** is hunted when there are **no** animals at closer **range**.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:77-78; Nielson 1977:72; Pedersen et al. 1985:131; Libbey 1981:9,11; NSB unpublished.

Site Number:	N-119 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Point Thompson
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Point Thompson is the point of land at west entrance to Lion Bay, 2.5 miles southwest of Flaxman Island. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 7011'15" 14619'45".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'15" 14619'45" Orth: 7011' 15"N 146 19'45"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 119 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 45 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Sod houses (Otuayuk, Kunaknana, Kunutchiak).
Specific Use:	<i>No</i> specific focus given. This is on the margins of both Nuiqsut's and Kaktovik's land use areas. Kaktovik boaters tend to go east of Kaktovik , and Nuiqsut boaters tend not to go this far.
History of Use:	English name was given by Sir John Franklin on August 7,1826. Documented as a winter habitation site in the 1920s.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 14; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Nielson 1977:72.

Site Number:	N-129 (Located	on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)
Inupiat Name:	Ikpikpauraq	
Meaning of Name:	Little bank [blu	ff]
English Name:		
Other Names(s):	Ikpikgauraq	
Location:	accordance with	napped about 3 miles east of Bullen Point, in n the Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI (Smith 1980). aces it at Point Sweeney, about 8 miles further
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshek Beaufort Sea TI Pedersen et al. Mid-Beaufort So Ed Hall (NSB):	1985:45
General Use:		
Access:		
Site Features:	clear that these	be ruins of sod houses at Ikpigauraq . It is not ruins still exist. A sod house at Kunuatchiak , said to be still standing.
Specific Use:	specific use of th	rimarily a TLUI site, as no informant reported ne site for current harvest activities. This is not never used for subsistence activities.
History of Use:		
References:	Hoffman et al. 1	puk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; 978, Appendix F, page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea d Use Inventory 1980:84; Pedersen et al.

Site Number: N-939 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island) Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: **English Name:** Other Names(s): Location: This site is the approximate location where the first whale taken by a Nuiqsut whaling crew (1973) was first struck. Coordinates: TLUI: Orth: Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea **TLUI**: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): General Use: Fall whaling Access: Boat Site Features: Specific Use: Bowhead whale harvest site History of Use: The Nuiqsut whaling captain in command of the crew which took this whale is understandably proud of the accomplishment. While maintaining a due show of modesty, he also (with strong apparent justification) claims that it was his success with this whale which established Nuigsut as a whaling village. He had been going out whaling alone (with his single crew) from 1972 to 1979 or 1980. During the end of this period the IWC ban on subsistence whaling, the formation of the AEWC, and the implementation of a quota system all occurred in short order. These events underscored for most **Inupiat** the need to protect whaling as a fundamentally important aspect of their lives. Without this historical pattern of hunting and a successful take, Nuigsut would have had no record of previous whaling experience and so would have probably not been considered a

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whaling village. **Aboriginally, Nuiqsut** was an inland community and a delta fishing and gathering locality. Whaling was not a focus at that time.

Current **Nuiqsut** whalers gained their experience in other coastal communities, and there are currently about seven active **Nuiqsut** whaling crews. It is interesting to compare **Nuiqsut** to Point Lay, which until the 1930s was a whaling community. Because there have been no active whaling crews in Point Lay *since* the *1930s*, Point Lay has no quota and is not considered a whaling village.

This whaling captain reports that he had no real idea of what would await him when he went out in 1972. He remarks that he was the only one "crazy enough to go out at that time, but that he is glad that he did. The Elders certainly had **a** great deal of knowledge about **the** fall whaling of the past, and this was one area that had been used in the past. No one had whaled in this area since about 1940, however, so he had little explicit guidance. He reports that he and his crew were just looking around, but that they **had** all their whaling equipment with them in the boat. A whale appeared before the boat just off the barrier islands, in an area so shallow that it brought up sand when it sounded. The captain shot the darting gun and the harpoon was attached to the whale. It came up again and he shot it with the shoulder gun, and the whale died. The captain speaks as if the whale gave itself to him, and certainly if it had not died quickly it would have been difficult for one boat to finish off a wounded whale.

There were only five of them in the boat, and it took quite a while to tow the whale to **Flaxman** Island, where they butchered it. Since the meat was spoiling and they had only one **boat**, they butchered for **muktuk** only, and cut most of the fat off of that. It took them two days to return to **Nuiqsut** with a boat load, after which they returned to **Flaxman Island** accompanied by two other boats which helped transport the rest of the **muktuk** to **Nuiqsut**. **Nuiqsut** next took a whale in 1982. Prior to 1982, most **Nuiqsut** residents who wanted to **whale** went spring whaling in one of the other coastal villages.

References:

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Site Number:	N-001 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Ugiin
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Ugiin is located between the upper reaches of Fish and Judy Creeks, almost due west of Nuiqsut about 30 miles.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'50 15212'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 1 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Site of cabins and sod house ruins, Eguakaq's cabin
Specific Use:	Presently, this area is used to hunt forbearers in the winter when a person wishes to only be out for the day . The Fish creek area seems to be the focus for this activity.
History of Use:	Little historic information exists on this site.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978

Site Number:	N-004 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nigligiak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Nigligiaq
Location	Nigligiak is located near or at the junction of Inigok Creek with Fish Creek , about 40 miles west of Nuiqsut .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'00" 15237'40 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 4 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	No specific resources were mentioned in relation to this area. Furbearers and caribou are likely foci.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5 .

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Site Number:	N-008 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Igluparak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Igluparak is located south of Pogik Bay (and perhaps on the bay itself).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7050'00" 15248'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 8 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Site Number:	N-038 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Atliggaru
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Cape Halkett
Other Names(s):	Cape Halket, Halket Cape, Halkett Cape, Ishuk, Isuk (meaning "end")
Location:	Atliggaru is a point of land on the coast of the Beaufort Sea at the west entrance to Harrison Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 48'10" 15211'05" Orth: 7048'10 15211'05"
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 38 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, cellars
Access:	
Site Features:	Graves/cemetery. Known internments are S. Panningona, Qusuk, B. Leavitt of Adam Leavitt, two daughters of Ilguchiak, Ahsogeak(iq), Thompson, Leavitt Kapuyak.
Specific Use:	Cape Halkett marks the approximate boundary of where Nuiqsut hunters currently go to harvest caribou (both winter and summer). They will also harvest seals in this area in the summer.
History of Use:	Named Cape Halkett after one of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company by P.W. Dease and Thomas Simpson.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 7 ; Simpson 1843:133 .

Site Number:	N-041 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Isuk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Isuk is a point of land, near Cape Halkett. It is labeled "Esook Trading Post" on the USGS 1:250,000 map.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7053'10 15236'15" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 41 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting/camping area, nesting birds, seals
Access:	boat and snowmobile
Site Features:	Cabins, including trading post (currently owned by Lampes of Barrow). Ruins/sod house. Graves with known interments of Itta, Lewis Aiken, Ahkiviana twins with Agnavik.
Specific Use:	Year-round use in the past (habitation site). Not much used for Nuiqsut subsistence at present.
History of Use:	Isuk was used as a residence site until the late 1940s. There was a trading post at this site for at least part of that time, and there are a number of graves in the area. More detail on the families who lived at this site is available in the listed references.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 7 .

Site Number:	N-042 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Apallivik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Apallivik is a small point of land located south of Cape Halkett.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7042'4015222'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 42 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area - caribou, seals
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Area was used in the past for habitation, based on the availability of fish. Nuiqsut residents now use the area primarily for caribou and seal.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 7.

Site Number:	N-043 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Sikulik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Silulik is a site west of Saktuina Point near two large lakes which are good for year-round fishing. The lake north of Silulik may be called Uuigalik.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7038'40"15245'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 43 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins/sod house, graves with known interment of Tookak, Qillu, Lampe, Twin-Taipana (Pualuk).
Specific Use:	This is primarily a TLUI site. The lakes were used for fishing when people were distributed on the land. Since the reestablishment of Nuiqsut people fish at closer to Nuiqsut . Winter caribou.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 7 .

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Site Number:	N-044 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Ikaluuruak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Ikaluuruak is located just east of Teshekpuk Lake. See historical note.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7033'20" 15250'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 44 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: E d H a i l (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	Cabin, built in 1927 by Harold Itta . Ice cellars of Harold Itta and Chester Lampe . Graves with known interments of Itta's grandfather and Leavitt .
Specific Use:	Previously used for fishing. Presently area is sometimes used for winter caribou.
History of Use:	Ikaluuruak is associated with the Itta family, as is site N-146 , Itta Inaat . As the TLUI coordinates for the two are very close, it. is possible that they are actually the same place. Since a family informant only mentioned one family cabin site in this area (at yet a third different, but nearby, location site N-901), it is possible all three actually refer to the same place .
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-045 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Niglivik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Niglivik is located about three miles downstream from Nuiqsut on the west bank of the Natchilik Channel of the Colville River delta , less than one mile below the site of Uyagagvitt .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7015'15"15102'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 45 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, cellars, nesting
Access:	boat and snowmobile
Site Features:	Sod house ruins
Specific Use:	Broad whitefish in summer, arctic cisco and least cisco in winter/fall. This area (including Uyagagvik) and the Nechelik Channel near Nuiqsut are two of the main locations to set nets in the fall and together define "close" fishing.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:32, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-046 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Agki
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Agki is located on the southern bank of the Kogru River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7032'3015217'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 46 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, one of Ugruak.
Specific Use:	Caribou are the present focus of hunters using this area . They use boats in the summer and snow machines in the winter.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 8 .

Site Number:	N-048 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nuyapisut
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Nuyapisut is located on the peninsula north of the Kogru River. on or near a point jutting to the north.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7035'00" 15220'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 48 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping area, driftwood
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fall/winter use reported for the past.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-049 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Saktui
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Saktui is located on the peninsula north of the Kogru River. It is mapped according to the reported TLUI coordinates. Working TLUI maps (Nielson 1977 plates) place it at the end of the peninsula at Saktuina Point .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7035'04" 15213'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 49 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, caribou, seals
Access:	snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses , cabins, old trading post (Edwardson) . Land eroding, grave of Tugruk .
Specific Use:	Used mostly for fall/winter fishing in the past, when people lived in the area. Now used mainly for summer caribou and seal (access by boat).
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8; Nielson 1977.

Site Number:	N-050 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Qiqiktaq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	According to the TLUI coordinates, Qiqiktaq is a group of' islands south of Atigaru Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7032'40 15137'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 50 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Qiqiktaq is included within one of the prime locations for the winter harvest of caribou from Nuiqsut, in a normal year.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 8.

Site Number:	N-051 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Tikigamiut
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Eskimo Island
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tikigaqmiut is one of the islands, each about ten roles long, in Harrison Bay at the mouth of the Kogru River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7034'00" 15147'00" Orth: 7034' 30N 151 55'00"W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 51 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beau-fort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Cabins, graves (said to be Point Hope people).
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-052 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Atigruk Point
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Amaulik
Location:	Atigruk Point is a point of land on the coast of the Beaufort Seas extending east into Harrison Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7033'00" 15137'00" Orth: 7033' N 15142' W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 52 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, trapping, hunting/camping area
Access:	Snow machine, boat
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses, grave of Amaulik (great grandfather of Okakok).
Specific Use:	Informants report that this spit of land is one of the more productive areas for the harvest of caribou in the winter. Caribou will also be harvested in the summer, if they are not available closer to the village. Seal, waterfowl also.
History of Use:	There is some evidence that Atigruk Point was more of a winter settlement location in the past (specifically for Roxy Ekowana).
	The point is used as a base camp by various individuals engaged in sea hunting (seals) or looking for geese. In terms of caribou, the entire point is generally perceived as a whole and is considered a primary winter harvest area .
References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8; North Slope Borough n.d. (Roxy Ekowana).

Site Number:	N-053 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Kangigkuq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kangigluq is located in a small inlet, just north of where the Kalikpik River enters Harrison Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7026'20 15157'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 53 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	fishing area, trapping area
Access:	trail system
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses, one belonging to Iguagak. An old fish camp associated with Amy Itta is nearby.
Specific Use:	Fall/winter use in the past. Current use is mainly for caribou , by boat in the summer and by snow machine at other times of the year.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-054 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Niaquqturuq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Niaquqturuq is located south of Fish Creek, about 10 miles from Nuiqsut.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7018'07" 15121'58" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 54 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, duck hunting and nesting
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house
Specific Use:	Jig for fish in the winter, use nets in the summer waterfowl in the spring.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-055 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nikruapaitch
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Nikruapaitch is the marshy low land west of where Fish Creek empties into Harrison Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7024'22" 15119'14" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 55 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area, nesting area, birds
Access:	Snow Machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Spring waterfowl hunting, community camping. The entire area is used (at different times) and there are no consistent camp sites from year to year, although the same general areas maybe used.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-056 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Ikkalikpik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Fish
Other Names(s):	Kalikpik
Location	Ikkalikpik is located just south of where the Kalikpik River flows into Harrison Bay. Near an old camp associated with Amy Itta .
Coordinates:	<i>TLUI: '7027'00'' 15156'00''</i> Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 56 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou, fishing, trapping area, nesting birds, seals
Access:	Snow machine, boat
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house: past residence of Koganak.
Specific Use:	Recently people have concentrated on hunting caribou by boat in this area. Caribou are also available in winter. Last used as a major fishing location in the late 1940s (fall fishing).
History of Use:	Ikkalikpik was the past residence of Koganak.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-057 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Tulagvik
Meaning of Name:	Where a boat goes ashore
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tulagvik is on the edge of the Colville River delta , near Tolaktovut Point (a USGS place name).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'00 15056'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 57 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, seals, caribou, trapping, nesting birds
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Focus of site was not specified. Area is good for seal and caribou in general, species which tend to be hunted in areas rather than specific sites.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-058A (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nigilik
Meaning of Name:	Goose (white fronted goose, whose cry the name imitates)
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Commonly written Nerlik or Nechelik, Nigliq delta.
Location:	Nigilik is contiguous with Woods Inaat , also a TLUI site. Nigilik is located on. the west bank of the Natchilik Channel less than four miles from delta's edge. Hoffman et al.'s coordinates are 7023'30" 15106'70" ('?).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7025'00" 15103'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 58 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting and trapping area
Access:	Boat and snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house. Grave of George Woods (1965). Cabins. Site of historical Eskimo trading location.
Specific Use:	Summer and fall/winter fishing broad whitefish, arctic cisco , least cisco , humpback, rainbow smelt, fourhorned sculpin. Caribou are sometimes harvested in the area. Several families set nets in the area south of the mapped site.
History of Use:	Nigilik is contiguous with Woods' Inaat but is usually distinguished from it by local residents because of its past history as the site of aboriginal trading. Woods' Inaat is associated more with contemporary subsistence activity. There are also some unpublished Inupiat stories associated with Nigilik (NSB Archives). Woods' Inaat is the fall/winter and summer fish camp of the Woods family, who lived there for

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many years (since some time around 1949). Other families may have lived in the area as well.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9; North Slope Borough n.d. (Bill Merry).

Site Number:	N-58B (Located)	on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Wood's Inaat	
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Nigilik. It is on t	in the Colville River delta , contiguous with he west bank of the Natchilik Channel less in the mouth of the Colville .
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Drth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekp Beaufort Sea TLI Pedersen et al. 19 Mid-Beaufort Sea 13d Hall (NSB):	UI: 185:
General Use:	Fishing, base cam	ıp.
Access:	Boat, snow maching	ine
Site Features:	Cabin, graves.	
Specific Use:	caribou harvested	is the focus of this site. There is also some I here, and some use of the site for fall and we entry for Nigilik .
History of Use:	Wood's Inaat ha Helmerick's Carr (non-Native) fan about the same to varies from account that was a prod interested in sub started a comment tensions that deve	Nigilik for a summary of this site's history. s often been confused in the literature with np. The Woods (Native) and Helmericks nilies settled in this same area of the delta at time. The exact timing and who came first int to account. Both settled near Nigilik since uctive fishing location. The Woods were bistence, while the Helmericks eventually rcial fishing operation. Because of various loped, the Helmericks moved over to the east where they now have an established fishery,

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air strip, and assorted business operations. Thus, **Helmerick's** Camp is in the eastern **Colville delta**, while **Nigilik** and Wood% **Inaat** are next to each other in the western **Colville** delta.

References: Hoffman et al. 1988S43; Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use **Inventory** 1976.

Site Number:	N-059 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Apkugaruk
Meaning of Name:	Old trail
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Apkugaruk is on the coast, in the middle of the Colville River delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'20 15059'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 59 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 9.

Site Number:	N-060 (Located on USGS 1:250,000	Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nanuq	
Meaning of Name:	Polar bear	
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Nanuq is located about 7 miles downstream from Nuiqsut on the a site name and an fishing area desig	Nechelik channel. It is both
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7019'00 15101'00 Orth	1:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI : 60 Beaufort Sea TLUI : Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI : Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Fishing area	
Access:	Boat, snowmobile	
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses, remains of storage	pits.
Specific Use:	Summer and fall/winter net fishin Illhuagnik; elevated ground used a le harvested and geese are hunted in north and on the gravel point south o	bokout. Caribou are also the spring. Nets are set
History of Use:	Nanuq was the site of historic-period Colville Rover delta. In the early 1 reindeer herders (Egowa and Itchugak area continued to be used in the 1930 herders (Wilbur Itchugak Sr. and Rei	920s two families of c) built houses there, The Ds and 1940s by reindeer
	Sam Taalak has his summer fish camp Ahmakak also has his camp nearby. S nets in the channel either directly location. The location is also a po	everal other people place north or south of this
Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns	2-113	Impact Assessment, Inc.

fishing nets in the **fall.** Sam **Taalak** located his camp at the mapped point, but he is reported to set his nets at the outlet of the lake into the **channel**, along with several other people. A second concentration of nets is set upstream at the nearest bend in the channel. Both of these areas are considered to be part of the **Nanuq** fishing area. It may be assumed that a number of these people have fish camps in the area that have not been mapped. Most and perhaps all of these camps **in** the **Nanuq** area do not yet have permanent cabins built.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:34-35, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-061 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nuiqsut
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Present-day Nuiqsut is located on the Nechelik channel of the Colville River, about 16 miles from the edge of the delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7012'20" 15059'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 61 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: " Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, trapping area, hunting/camping, cellars
Access:	Boat, snow machine, air
Site Features:	Graves/cemetery, modem village site since 1972.
Specific Use:	Summer and fall fishing: aanaakliq, iqalukpik, pikuktuuq, iqalusaaq, qaaktaq, ilhuagniq, kanayuq. Home base for all subsistence activities. Fishing nets are set in the channel very close to the village, more downstream than upstream.
History of Use:	This is the current site of the village of Nuiqsut . The village was located here for historical reasons, tempered by political and economic considerations. See the list of references provided.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9; Hoffman et al. 1988; Brown 1979; Craig 1987:38-42 .

Site Number:	N-062 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Tulugaluk
Meaning of Name:	Old raven
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tulugaluk is located on the west side of the Colville River, somewhat over a mile downstream from Itkillikpaat .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7010'18" 15055'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 62 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, trapping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fishing: Titaalik (ling cod). Trapping: sigsrik (ground squirrel).
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9 .

Site Number:	N-063 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Uyagagvik
Meaning of Name:	Place where one can get many rocks [net sinkers]
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Uyagagvik lies on the northwest bank of the Natchilik Channel of the Colville River Delta , coordinates 70 14' 30"N, 151 02' 30W. It is a ten or fifteen minute boat ride northwest of Nuiqsut. It is near Niglivik .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7014'15" 15106'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 63 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, Hunting/camping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	High bluff (45 feet) on one side of the river, used as a lookout, and a beach on the opposite side .
Specific Use:	Fish: summer aanaaklliq , fall/winter qaaktaq . Year-round for caribou. Along with Niglivik and channel by Nuiqsut itself, these points define the "near" fishing locations for Nuiqsut residents.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:29-30, Appendix F, page 9; Hoffman et al. 1988:29-31.

Site Number:	N-068 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Kastialurak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Kastialurak is located on the Colville River, at the very boundary of the Harrison Bay 1:250,000 scale map (southern boundary). Working TLUI maps (Nielson 1977) place the site somewhat to the west, among a group of small lakes.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7000'20 15134'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 68 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, berries, squirrels, birds, coal.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer and fall for fishing and berries. Most outings seem to be by family groups. The area to the south (N-066, Umiat map) is said to be good for moose and birds.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9; Nielson 1977.

Site Number:	N-069 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Angaguvik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Angaguvik is located on the smaller channel of the Colville which cuts across the large oxbow near Ocean Point (south of the village). Working TLUI maps (Nielson 1977) place it somewhat north of the mapped location.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7003'18" 15129'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 69 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, berries, squirrels, coal "
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer and fall. Most outings seem to be family-centered.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978 , Appendix F , page 9; Nielson 1977 .

Site Number:	N-070 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Kitik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kitik is located opposite Ocean Point on the Colville River on the large oxbow south of Nuiqsut.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7004'40 15135'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 70 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, berries, squirrels, coal
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Summer and fall, mostly family excursions.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 9 .

Site Number:	N-071 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Kuugruachiak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kuugruachiak is located at the beginning of the first oxbow in the Colville River south of Nuiqsut.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7007'20 15102'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: '71 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-072 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Illanikruak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Ilannik
Location	Illanikruak is located on the Colville River about a mile upstream from Itkillikpaat.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7008'20 15101'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 72 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, Trapping area
Access:	boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-073 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Sagviavik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Sagviavik is located within the large oxbow formed by the Colville near Ocean Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7002'20 15126'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 73 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Boat (?), snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	May be primarily a TLUI site, as no informant specifically addressed this site.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 10.

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Site Number:	N-074 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Kayuktusiluk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kayuktusiluk is located on top of 50-foot bluffs on the east bank of the Colville River about fifteen miles upstream from the beginning of the delta (where the Nechelik Channel diverges from the main channel).
Coordinates:	TLUI: -7002'45" 151 10' 00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 74 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/trapping, cellars, berries
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins/sod houses (Jack Smith trading post, sod houses of several people, including Attic John. Graves with the interment of Harding Katairoak Kakianaak, Irritchiluk, one unknown.
Specific Use:	Year-round use: Whitefish, grayling , and devilfish; caribou and ptarmigan ; masu , blueberries, and aqpik . It is reported that it is possible to catch aanaakliq full of roe at this location (as opposed to "lean" ones in the delta).
History of Use:	Kayuktusiluk was the site of a major trading post, run at one time by Jack Smith. The trading post served as the nucleus for a small community for the time the post was open, and the remains of several sod houses are evident. More detail is available in the references cited.

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Informants reported this site was good for catching whitefish full of roe. They maintained that they did not catch many such fish at delta netting sites. The timing of the catch is different for the two locations, but informants could not be more specific than that.
Some informants included this site as the southern boundary of the area they labeled **Puviksuk** (mapped as a site about 5 miles

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:Appendix F, page 10; Hoffman et al. 1988:43-49.

downstream).

Site Number:	N-075 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Agki
Meaning of Name:	The other side
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Aki
Location	Agki is on top of a bluff on the edge of an old river meander, now a slough. It is 1.5 miles from the east bank of the Colville River. Agki is in the middle of the larger area that some informants labeled Puviksuk .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 03'5W 1510207" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping, look-out site
Access: .	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Two sod houses, one old .
Specific Use:	Summer fishing: aanaaklliq at mouth of creek. Year-round game lookout point.
History of Use:	Agki is reported to be a site that Indians from the interior used to raid, and so is considered to be an area habitually used by Inupiat in the past. There are the ruins of sod houses at this site.
References:	Nuiqsut/T'eshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:51, Appendix F, page 10; Hoffman et al. 1988:49-51.

Sita Numban	N 076 (Leasted on LIGCS 1:250 000 Marin Harrison Day)
Site Number:	N-076 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Puviksuk
Meaning of Name:	It's swelling up
English Name:	Pingu Beach
Other Names(s):	Puviqsuq
Location:	Puviksuk is located on the south bank of the Colville River, about 5 miles (direct distance) upstream from Itkillikpatt . Hoffman's coordinates are 7005' 10N, 15059' 59W. Some informants refer to a larger area as Puviksuk .
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7005'10" 151 00' 30" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 76 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping, berries, landmark
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses, graves with interment of Nakarak. Pingo serves as landmark. Ideological associations (see "history" and references listed).
Specific Use:	Used year-round. Berries in the fall (in conjunction with fishing, hunting). Landmark. Beach on the other side of the river also used for fishing. Most fishing is in the summer but there is good fishing for grayling in the fall/winter.
History of Use:	Puviksuk is a site with considerable ideological significance. According to traditional narratives, Puviksuk was created by Ayagumallhaq , a cultural hero who taught the Nunamiut how to live . He spent the night at this spot and decided the next morning that this should be a remembered. He then turned it into a small knoll with a hollow top where he left his pack.

This site is also the location of the grave of a female **shaman**, **Nakauraq**. See listed references for further information.

Some informants referred to the entire area between the site we have mapped as **Puviksuk** and the site we have mapped as **Kayuktusiluk** as **Puviksuk**. Such **generalization** of a site label is not unusual, **and** is only one of the potential confusions of mapping research.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:53, Appendix F, page 10; Hoffman et al. 1988:51-58.

Site Number:	N-077 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Tiragruak
Meaning of Name:	Large sandbar
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tiragruak is located on the north east bank of the Colville River, about 2.5 miles upstream from Itkillikpaat . Hoffman's coordinates are 7007' 40N, 15059' 59W
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7007'20" 15127'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 77 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping, trapping, waterfowl
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins, cellars, graves with interments of Akivik, Magak, Qullnagak, Ipanna, Nungaluk, Hattie Inualurak, two women, two boys, two girls, five Ericklooks, Panialuk, Kunaknanas, Sikiugruk.
Specific Use:	Summer use primarily: aanaakliq , pikuktuuq, iqalukpik , amaqtaq - also caribou. Some people hunt geese here as well.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 10; Hoffman et al. 1988:58-62.

Site Number:	N-078 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay) ·
Inupiat Name:	Kayaktuagiak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Kayaktuagiak is located on the Colville River, about 3 miles downstream from Itkillikpaat.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7011'00 15049'40" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 78 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access: .	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 10.

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^e Site Number:	N-079 "(Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Sigiaruk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Sigiaruk is located on the Colville River, pretty much opposite where the Nechelik channel splits off from the Colville River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7013'20 15048'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 79 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 10.

Site Number:	N-080 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Putu
Meaning of Name:	Hole, referring to the river charnel which was formerly deep in front of that location.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Putu is located on the Nechelik channel of the Colville River, not far from where it splits off the main river channel. Hoffman's coordinates are 7013'35" 15050'25".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7013'10" 15053'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 80 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area, cellar
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses of Pausanna and Kalayuagruak . Grave of Avilluuq . Ice cellar used by Kunuknana .
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	The name Putu means "hole" and refers to the river channel, which used to be deep in front of this site. Paul Pausanna lived at Putu in the 1930s and 1940s and used his house as a store for about five years, until about 1941. He brought in the supplies by boat , which he traded for fox furs. After 1941 the family continued to use this site as a camp when traveling from Barrow. This was one of the sites considered for the new settlement of Nuiqsut .

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Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:82, Appendix F, page 10; Hoffman et al. 1988:79-82.

Site Number:	N-081 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Ittigiak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Ocean Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Ittiglak is located on the Colville River southwest of Nuiqsut on a large oxbow.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7004'00 15122'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 81 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou, berries, waterfowl, family outings
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This site is a common destination for family groups. There are plentiful berries and usually there are caribou available. Moose may be this close as well. Waterfowl are sometimes hunted here.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 11.

Site Number:	N-082 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Napaun
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Nappaun is located on the Colville River, downstream from where the Nechelik charnel splits off from the main river channel.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7015'00" 15048'30" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 82 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house (Tukle).
Specific Use:	Information about recent use is not available. It appears that this is primarily a TLUI site, used mainly prior to the reestablishment of Nuiqsut .
History of Use:	Napaun is the site of a sod house belonging to the Tukles. It is reported that this location was used for the storage of fish in an ice cellar during the resettlement of Nuiqsut (as was probably true of other ice cellars in the area as well).
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 11.

Site Number:	N-083 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Qakimak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Qakimak is located east of the Colville River and west of Kachemach Mound, between two distributaries of the Katchemach River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7018'15" 15041'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 83 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): 2258
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses (Amakak, Woods); on caribou migration route
Specific Use:	Fall/winter fishing: least cisco, arctic cisco (iqkalusaaq, qaktak). Year-round caribou, especially summer.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 11.

Site Number:	N-084 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Pisiktagvik
Meaning of Name:	Using bows and arrows - name implies small wars near or at this site
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Pisiktagvik is located about 12 miles from the Colville River delta edge, on the south end of a large island in the Elaktoveach Channel where it diverges from the Kuukpigruaq Channel.
Coordinates:	TLUI: '7020'00 15734'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI : 84 Beaufort Sea TLUI : Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI : Ed Hall (NSB) :
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, spotted seals
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Area of high dunes
Specific Use:	Fall and winter fishing, trapping.
History of Use:	Pisiktagvik is reported to be the site of fighting in pre-contact times. Although there is no archaeological evidence of this, the site still has strong associations with such conflicts to the local population (see listed references). The area continues to be used as a subsistence resource harvest site.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 11; Hoffman et al. 1988:72-74.
Site Number:	N-085 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
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Inupiat Name:	Milugiak
Meaning of Name:	Name of a fish or fish with mouth under
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Milugiak is located on the most eastern channel of the Colville River about'7 miles from the delta edge.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7022'20' 15031'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 85 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, nesting birds, seals, roots
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fall fishing (qaaktaq).
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 11.

Site Number:	N-086 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Illlaktugvik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Illaktugvik is located in the Colville River delta. It is mapped where existing TLUI maps have placed it, although the TLUI coordinates given would put it somewhat to the north of this location. The origin of these coordinates is unknown.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7028'00 15033'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 86 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, nesting birds
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Cabins, graves.
Specific Use:	Fish: least cisco, arctic cisco (fall/winter), Birds: - brants, oldsquaw ducks.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 11.

Site Number:	N-087 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nauyaatuuq
Meaning of Name:	Seagulls
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Nauyaatuuq is located in the eastern part of the Colville River delta, not far from the coast.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'15" 15026'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 87 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area , nesting birds
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	One of the most productive fishing areas of the delta , used by people with fish camps somewhat farther in the interior of the delta. Both sides of the channel are used, above and below where this "site" is mapped.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 11.

Site Number:	N-088 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 "Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nuiqsapiaq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	First Nuiqsut
Other Names(s):	
Location:	First Nuiqsut is located on the southwest end of Nuekshat Island, in the Colville River's main channel, about 3 miles upstream from the mouth. The TLUI coordinates place it elsewhere and previously mapped locations are also inconsistent.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7023'40 1503036" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI : 88 Beaufort Sea TLUI : Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI : Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins/sod houses, graves.
Specific Use:	Summer, fall/winter fishing aanaakliq , qaaktaq , pikuktuuq , iqalukpik , amaqtaq . Also opportunistic caribou hunting. Informants also mentioned that this was a good location to catch Tomcod.
History of Use:	Informants recall living in Nuiqsapiaq in the 1920s, although not always year-round. The fall fishing season was the focus of the site then and remains so at present. In the 1930s flooding made it necessary to relocate the village, and it was moved to another small island northeast of Nuiqsat Island. See the list of references for further information.

References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 11; Hoffman et al. 1988:74-77.

Site Number:	N-089 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Nigligat
Meaning of Name:	Place of the white-fronted geese
English Name:	Second Nuiqsut
Other Names(s):	Niglinaat
Location:	Nigligat is located at the southern end of an unnamed island directly north of Nuiqsat Island. TLUI coordinates place it elsewhere and previous mappings of the site are also inconsistent. Hoffman's coordinates are 7025'15" 15024'00.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'45" 15027'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 89 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, trapping, birds
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Sod house ruins, reported to be graves.
Specific Use:	Summer and fall/winter fishing: aanaakliq, qaaktaq, pikuktuuq, iqalukpik, amaqtaq. Also brants and arctic fox.
History of Use:	Niglinaat (Second Nuiqsut) was settled in the 1930s after flooding and erosion forced the abandonment of the "original" site of Nuiqsut. This site was occupied until the requirement for compulsory education for children, combined with better health care and greater employment opportunities, attracted people to larger settlements such as Barrow. See list of references for more information.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978:79, Appendix F, page 11; Hoffman et al. 1988:77-79; Craig 1987:41; Nielson 1977.
Nuiasut Subsistence Pattern	as 2-143 Impact Assessment, Inc.

Site Number:	N-090 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Qulvi
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Kalubik Creek also known as Iqalliqpik Creek.
Location:	Qulvi is located on the coast, east of the Colville River delta where the Kalubik Creek enters Harrison Bay. This is where Nielson 1977 maps it, although TLUI coordinates place it elsewhere (origin of coordinates not known).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7026'20" 15002'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 90 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, cellars
Access:	
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house, graves including Vera Ulugak Panigo and Ahsogeak family member. Grave of Martha Woods is 4 miles west of Qulvi (1940).
Specific Use:	Primarily a TLUI site, sometimes used for caribou, but avoided for the most part due to oil development.
History of Use:	Qulvi was a past settlement site, as is evidenced by sod house ruins. Whether use was seasonal or continuous is not documented. It was last used as a residence in the 1930s. Most Nuiqsut residents say that they avoid hunting east of the Colville delta at present because of oil development.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 11; Nielson 1977.

Site Number:	N-093 (Located on USGS 1:2	250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Amaulituuq	
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:	Thetis Island	
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Amauliktuuq is a barrier island Jones Islands, off the coast of	d, the westernmost island of the the Beaufort Sea.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7033'25" 15010'00"	Orth: 7033' 25"N 150 10'00W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 93 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Seals, nesting birds	
Access:	Boat	
Site Features:	Ruins/sod houses, graves.	
Specific Use:	Waterfowl are also harves Amauliktuuq are used for these area extends from the Colvil	is a major harvest area for seals. ted here. Base camps on se activities. The major sealing lle delta east to beyond Pingok ng activity can take place as far
History of Use:	revenue cutter U.S.S. Thetis in the entire group of islands, b previously "discovered" and n	Captain Charles Stockton of the n 1889. He applied the name to but as Dease and Simpson had amed them the Jones Islands in the name Thetis Island to the island chain.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditiona Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix	al Land Use Inventory 1976; x F, page 12.
Nuiqsut Subsistence Pattern	s 2-145	Impact Assessment, Inc.

Site Number:	N-120 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Duplicate of site N-081
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7004'00 15122'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-121 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Itkillikpaat
Meaning of Name:	At the mouth of the Indian River
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Itqilippaa
Location:	Itkillikpaat is located where the Itkillik River joins the Colville River. Hoffman et al.'s coordinates are 70 09'15"N, 15050' 30W. Qautuk, another site on the Nuiqsut TLUI, also seems to be located in this area.
Coordinates:	TLUI: -7009'15" 15050'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-3 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting area, trapping area, birds
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins of sod houses, sod house built in 1970s by Joseph and Edward Nukapigak, graves.
Specific Use:	Year-round use with emphasis on summer fishing: aanaakliq , pikuktuuq , iqalukpik , amaqtaq . Caribou are also found here. Ptarmigan are also abundant at this site seasonally, and some people hunt geese here.
History of Use:	Itkillikpaat was used as a habitation site from at least 1908-1909, and probably well before that. At that time there were five houses and twelve families in the winter village located there. At present, there are the remains of at least twenty five houses and twenty graves in the area.
	There is a summer camp at this site, and the site is commonly used by many Nuiqsut families.
Nuiqsut Subsistence Pattern	as 2-147 Impact Assessment, Inc.

References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Hoffman et al. 1988:62-64.

Site Number:	N-123 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Anayuk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Anayuk is located on the east bank of the Colville River about 11 miles from the edge of the delta. The Kachemach River joins the Colville here. Hoffman et al.'s coordinates 7020' 45"N, 15041' 00"W.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7020'05" 15039'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-5 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping, berries
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Sod house dating to the 1930s (Jacob Ahmakak).
Specific Use:	Year-round. Day trips with children - opportunistic hunting, berry picking.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Hoffman et al. 1988:70.

Site Number:	N-124 (Located cm USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Helmerick's Camp
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Helmerick's camp is located on Natchilik Island in the eastern part of the Colville River delta. It has been confused with Wood's Inaat and Niglik because initially the Helmericks settled in that area and still have a warehouse there.
Coordinates:	TLUI: '7026'00 15026'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, cellars
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Commercial fishcamp . Prehistoric features unknown , but historic Native use of the site has been documented.
Specific Use:	Year-round use - fish and caribou: qaaktaq, iqalusaaq, pikuktuuq, aanaakliq, ilhuagniq, kanayuq (winter); aanaakliq, pikuktuuq, qaaktaq, amaqtaq (summer). Commercial fishery. Nets usually set between the mapped point and Niglinaat .
History of Use:	This is the current site of the residence and businesses of the Helmericks family. Bud Helmericks and his first wife originally settled in the eastern part of the delta in 1949, near Woods' camp. Because of the commercial nature of the fishery developed by the Helmericks , a spatial separation became desirable and the Helmericks moved to a part of the delta that was then not used for subsistence fishing. 'The area had been used for this purpose in the past and the families associated

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with these sites may have moved to Barrow just prior to this time.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Hoffman et al. 1988:35,39-41; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980; Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Nielson 1977:72.

Site Number:	N-145 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Qautuk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Qautuk is located where the Itkillik River joins the Colville River, in the same approximate area as Itkillikpaat.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7009'00 15057'45" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AT-3 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used primarily for winter fishing: Titaalik (burbot-lingcod).
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 18 .

Site Number:	N-146 (Located on USGS 1:250,000	Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Itta Inaat	
Meaning of Name:		
English Name :		
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Itta Inaat is located east of Teshekp smaller lakes. It is just southwest of site of a cabin also associated with th north of Igkiatuna Lake. See historica	Ikaluuruak, which is the ne Ittas, and is on or just
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7032'00' 15254'05" Orth	::
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AT-4 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Fishing area	
Access:	Snow machine	
Site Features:		
Specific Use:	Fishing area , no longer much used Primarily a TLUI site. Barrow reside resources in this area.	· ·
History of Use:	Itta Inaat is associated with the Itta fa 44, Ikaluuruak. As the TLUI coordina similar, it is possible that they are a Since a family informant mentioned o in this area (at yet a third different, bu N-901), it is possible that all three as place.	ates for the two are very actually the same place . nly one family cabin site ut nearby, location site
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , pag	•
Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns	2-153	Impact Assessment, Inc.

Site Number:	N-147 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Kuugaliit
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kuugaliit is located in the Colville River delta , on the eastern branch of the main channel, about 9 miles north of where the Nechelik channel joins the main channel . The site is presumed to be on the western (gravel) bank.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7020'32" 1504038" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AT-5 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fishing area, year-round.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 18.

Site Number:	N-148 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Uluagruk Creek
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Uluagruk Creek is located about 15 miles north of where the Nechelik channel joins the main channel of the Colville River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7024'19" 15030'37" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI : AT-6 Beaufort Sea TLUI : Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI : Ed Hall (NSB) :
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Aanaakliq (broad whitefish).
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 18.

Site Number:	N-150 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	Ikalukpalik Lake
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Ikalukpalik Lake is about 41 miles east northeast of present-day Nuiqsut, and is chained by Igkaluapalik Creek.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7020'00" 15239'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AT-8 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Ikalukpalik Lake is no longer used on a regular basis by Nuiqsut residents. In the past, when people were distributed over the land , it was used as a seasonal fishing and perhaps habitation site.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 19'76; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 18.

Site Number: N-901 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay) Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: **English Name:** Other Names(s): Site N-901 is located east of Teshekpuk Lake in the same Location: general area as sites N-4 and N-146. All three may indeed refer to the same single location. TLUI: Orth: Coordinates: Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): General Use: Fishing (past) Access: Snow machine (dogsled) Site Features: Specific Use: Fishing - spring through the summer History of Use: Site N-901 was located by Sam Taalak, Amy Itta's husband, in the area east of Teshekpuk Lake. He said that they used to travel to this location by dogteam in the spring and stay over the summer. They fished for themselves and for the dogs, and could not leave until the fall when they could again travel by dogteam. They came over Teshekpuk Lake from Barrow, where they were living at the time. As no other family sites were mentioned by Mr. Taalak, it is possible that TLUI sites N-44 and N-146 actually refer to this single camp and that slightly different locations have been recorded at different times. Galginaitis 1990, unpublished fieldnotes. References:

Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

N-902 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay) Site Number: Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: **English Name: Other** Names(s): This is the site of an old DEW-Line station on the north shore Location: of the Kogru River. The DEW-Line site is now gone, for the most part. TLUI: Orth: Coordinates: Site Number in Nuigsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: other References: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI**: Ed Hall (NSB): Used as a base camp in the past General Use: Boat, mostly snow machine Access: Remains of an old DEW-Line site Site Features: Used in the past by present residents of **Nuiqsut** as **a** base camp Specific Use: before Nuiqsut was refounded. They lived in Barrow at that time and the emphasis seems to have been on forbearers. History of Use: Galginaitis Field Notes 1990 References:

Site Number:	N-903 (Located on USGS 1	:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Site N-903 is on the main Islands.	land coast south of the Eskimo
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Summer base camp	
Access:	Boat	
Site Features:		
Specific Use:		summer base camp by Nuiqsut be the primary objective, all along en.
History of Use:		
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990	

Site Number:	N-904 (Located on USGS 2	1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:	Ahvakana Fish Camp	
Other Names(s):		
Location:		Nelson Ahvakana in the eastern id to be on state land under lease
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Fish camp, summer base can	mp
Access:	Boat, snow machine	
Site Features:	Recently built cabin	
Specific Use:	Mostly used as base camp t the village. Can also be used	to hunt caribou in summer, out of d as a fishing location.
History of Use:		
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990)

N-905 (Located on USGS 1	1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Kupigruak (areal name)	
Allen Fish Camp	
N-905 in a fish camp in the	eastern delta of the Colville River.
TLUI:	Orth:
Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
Fish camp, summer base ca	mp
Boat, snow machine	
Cabin built (and expanded)	in the fairly recent past.
fall or summer, or both). Ca	usually made from this site (can be aribou are also hunted from the site ctually set at the front of the delta cuuq.
deceased. It is a very pro current users (Niel's daughte a good number of fish each	en's fish camp, although he is now oductive fishing location and the er and her husband) generally catch year. In the past they have lived at mer and have hunted caribou from
Galginaitis Field Notes 199	0
	 Kupigruak (areal name) Allen Fish Camp N-905 in a fish camp in the TLUI: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): Fish camp, summer base ca Boat, snow machine Cabin built (and expanded) Serious fishing efforts are u fall or summer, or both). Ca in the summer. Nets are ao in the area around Nauyaat This is known as Niel Alle deceased. It is a very pro current users (Niel's daughta a good number of fish each the site for part of each sum it as well.

Site Number:	N-906 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Tukle Fish Camp
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Site N-906 is in the eastern part of the Colville River delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fish Camp, summer residence and base camp
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	Cabin
Specific Use:	Fish is the primary orientation of this site, although caribou are also taken in the area in the summer. Recently the nets have actually been set at the delta front in the area around Nauyaatuuq.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-907 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Ahmakak Fish Camp
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Site N-907 is on the Nechelik Channel, and is part of the general area know-n as Nanuq .
Coordinates:	TIM: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fish camp
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Primary use is as fish camp. Also used for the harvest of caribou.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-908 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay, Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Site N-908 actually represents an area of the Itkillik River used as the primary summer caribou hunting range for certain Nuiqsut hunters. It is about 8 miles long, beginning about 7 mile upstream from Itkillikpaa .
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Caribou hunting (moose, other game as encountered).
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	The primary focus is the harvest of caribou. There are also moose in this area and some have been harvested.
History of Use:	
References: C	alginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-909 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Fish Creek
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Site N-909 represents the area of Fish Creek from its outlet to Harrison Bay up to about 3 miles inland. It is used primarily for net fishing in fall and summer.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fall and summer net fishing
Access:	Snow machine, boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This part of Fish Creek is a primary fishing location for Nuiqsut residents. It is said to be twice as productive in half the time as fishing sites closer to Nuiqsut (both fall and summer).
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-910 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Site N-91O represents that part of Fish Creek extending about 2 miles above N-909.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Ice-fishing for grayling.
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Informants mentioned only jigging for grayling as important in this portion of Fish Creek.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-911 (Located	on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location	Site N-911 represents that part of Fish Creek extending about 4 miles upstream from N-910.	
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Fall/summer net	t fishing.
Access:	Snow machine	
Site Features:		
Specific Use:	Informants state that this section of Fish Creek is good for fall and summer net fishing. Access in summer is uncertain , and use in fall is minimal at present given better sites closer to the village.	
History of Use:		
References:	Galginaitis Field	Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-912 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)	
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location	Site N-912 represents that part of Fish Creek extending about 2 miles upstream from N-911.	
Coordinates:	TIM: Orth:	
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Fall/winter ice-fishing for grayling	
Access:	Snow machine	
Site Features:		
Specific Use:	Informants mentioned only ice-fishing for grayling as a focus for this portion of Fish Creek.	
History of Use:		
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990	

N-913 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay) Site Number: Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: **English Name:** Other Names(s): Site N-913 represents an area used by one Nuiqsut hunter to Location: harvest geese. It is about 14 miles upstream (direct distance) from the mouth of Fish Creek). Orth: TLUI: Coordinates: Site Number in Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: other References: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): Waterfowl General Use: Access: Snow machine Site Features: Spring harvest of waterfowl Specific Use: History of Use: References: Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

N-914 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay) Site Number: Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: English Name: Other Names(s): Site N-914 represents a second area of Fish Creek used for the Location: harvest of waterfowl. It is about 21 miles (direct distance) from the mouth of Fish Creek. TLUI: Orth: Coordinates: Site Number in Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: other References: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): General Use: Waterfowl harvest Snow machine Access: Site Features: Spring harvest of waterfowl Specific Use: History of Use: Galginaitis Field Notes 1990 References:

Site Number:	NA-915 (Locate	d on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location:	This area is roughly circular, about 16 miles in diameter, and centered about 14 miles west of Nuiqsut .	
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekp Beaufort Sea TL Pedersen et al. 19 Mid-Beaufort Sea Ed Hall (NSB):	UI: 985:
General Use:	Furbearers (past)	
Access:	Snow machine	
Site Features:		
Specific Use:	fall (1973) after	aries of this area 19 wolves were shot the first the resettlement of Nuiqsut . No one expects is close at present.
History of Use:		
References:	Galginaitis Field	Notes 1990

Site Number:	NA-916 (I	NA-916 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)		
Inupiat Name:				
Meaning of Name:				
English Name:				
Other Names(s):				
Location:	This area was one locality where furbearers were hunted before Nuiqsut was resettled.			
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:		
Site Number in other References:	Beaufort S Pedersen e Mid-Beauf	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):		
General Use:	Hunting fu	urbearers (past)		
Access:	Snow mach	Snow machine		
Site Features:				
Specific Use:	resettled. T moved to 1	Forbearers were hunted in this area before Nuiqsut was resettled. These hunters lived in Barrow at the time and some moved to Nuiqsut at the time of resettlement. Furbearers no longer can be caught so close to the village.		
History of Use:				
References:	Galginaitis	Field Notes 1990		

Site Number: NA-917 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay) Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: **English Name:** Other Names(s): Location: This area is southwest of Nuigsut and is centered on the Ublutuoch River. Coordinates: TLUI: Orth: Site Number in Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: other References: Beaufort Sea **TLUI**: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): Brown bear General Use: Access: Snow machine Site Features: Specific Use: Informants say that this area was and is used to harvest bear. Few hunters choose to search for bear, however, so most such takes are incidental to other hunts. History of Use: **References:** Galginaitis Field Notes 1990
Site Number:

NA-918 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Names(s):

Location:

This line marks the approximate boundary of how far a **Nuiqsut** hunter will search for caribou in winter. In the west it is determined by distance and meeting Barrow hunters. In the east it is constrained **by** oil development and non-Natives.

Coordinates:

TLUI: Orth:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:

Site Number in other References:

Beaufort Sea **TLUI: Pedersen** et al. 1985: **Mid-Beaufort** Sea TLUI: Ed Hall **(NSB):**

General Use:

Access:

Site Features:

Specific Use:

History of Use:

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:

NA-919 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Harrison Bay)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Names(s):

Location

This line represents the approximate boundary of the primary summer boat use area for **Nuiqsut** hunters (mostly for caribou and seal) to the west. Most harvest further to the west occur during travel for other purposes.

Coordinates: TLUI: Orth:

Site Number in other References:

nces: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:** Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** Pedersen et al. **1985:** Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** Ed Hall **(NSB):**

General Use:

Access:

Site Features:

Specific Use:

History of Use:

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

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Site Number:

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Names(s):

Location:

This line represents the boundary of caribou hunting to the east for most **Nuiqsut** hunters. The **Kuparuk** oil **field** the cause of this boundary. A few hunters will take caribou in this area, but most prefer not to.

Coordinates:

Orth:

TLUI:

Site Number in other References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et. al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features:

Specific Use:

History of Use:

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

Site Number:	N-002 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Ikpikpuk River)
Inupiat Name:	Kimikpak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Knifeblade Ridge
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Ridge, extends fifteen miles west of Angoyakvik Pass between the Colville and Kigalik Rivers, twelve miles south of the head of the Ikipikpuk River (Orth 1971:532).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6910'00" 15448'00" Orth: 6910' N, 154 W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	Graves/cemetery - "old" grave located on September Creek (Hoffman et al. 1988 Appendix F:5).
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Graves, cemetery
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 5.

Site Number:	N-003 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Ikpikpuk River)
Inupiat Name:	Katairuak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6945'40 15358'30 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	coal
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976 ; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Number: K	K-052 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
biat Name: In	mialat
nning of Name: V	Without water.
lish Name:	
er Names(s):	
iı	imialat is located near the source of Gilead Creek , which flows nto the Ivishak River. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
rdinates: 7	TLUI: 14738'29" 6912'10 Orth:
E F N	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 40 Pedersen et al. 1985:42 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
eral Use: F	Fishing, hunting, camping.
ess: S	Snowmobile
	Graves are located at Imialat and people presumably lived there at least seasonally in the past.
S	Fishing for iqalusaak (least cisco), titaalik (burbot/lingcod), sukukoaurak (arctic grayling), iqalukpik (lake trout). Also hunting, mainly for furbearers. Used in winter and spring.
h a c la f f erences:	Imialut was used in the past, presumably as at least a seasonal habitation site since people are know to have been born there and others are buried there. It is currently used as a place to camp while hunting for furbearers. While taking a break from looking for furbearers people will fish. Because of its distance from Kaktovik, people only use this area infrequently. Nuiqsut residents did not discuss this site. Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977 ₀
E eral Use: F ess: S Features: C the cific Use: F sory of Use: F have a c have a c h	 Ed Hall (NSB): Fishing, hunting, camping. Snowmobile Graves are located at Imialat and people presumably litchere at least seasonally in the past. Fishing for iqalusaak (least cisco), titaalik (burbot/lingce sukukoaurak (arctic grayling), iqalukpik (lake trout). A hunting, mainly for furbearers. Used in winter and spring. Imialut was used in the past, presumably as at least a seaso habitation site since people are know to have been born thand others are buried there. It is currently used as a place camp while hunting for furbearers. While taking a break filooking for furbearers people will fish. Because of its dista from Kaktovik, people only use this area infrequently. Nuic residents did not discuss this site. Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land

Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

Impact Assessment, Inc.

Site Number:	K-053 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Ninngulit
Meaning of Name:	Place with cottonwood trees.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Ninngulit is located near the source of an unlabeled tributary of the Ivishak River, south of Gilead Creek. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14744'30 6907'20" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 41 Pedersen et al. 1985:41 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Graves and presumably some habitation ruins are found at Ninngulit.
Specific Use:	Ninngulit is used in the fall, winter and spring. The primary foci are hunting for furbearers and fishing for iqaluksaak, titaalik, salupaurak, and iqalukpik. Siilsinik.
History of Use:	Henry Nasanik and his family lived in this area until 1938 or so. Nauyak, Nashanik's mother, is buried here. The current use of this site is almost identical to that of Imialat .
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

Site Number:	K-054 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Silqsinniq
Meaning of Name:	Water seepage.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Silqsinniq is located east of the Sagavanirktok River, at what appears to be the junction of two tributaries to the Sagavanirktok, north of the Lupine River. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14843'00 6912'40 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI : Beaufort Sea TLUI : 42 Pedersen et al. 1985:40 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI : Ed Hall (NSB) :
General Use:	Fishing.
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Silqsinniq is reported as a fall, winter, and spring fishing location. Species caught are iqaluksaak, saviunak, tittaalik, sulukpqugak, and iqalukpik.
History of Use:	This area was used mostly when people lived in a dispersed throughout the North Slope. Few people make the long trip to this area, since good fishing sites are available much closer to their communities of residence.
References:	Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

Site Number:	N-098 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirkok)
Inupiat Name:	Qaviarat
Meaning of Name:	Place of the fine sand
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Qaviarat is located on the Ivishak River. Nielson 1977 coordinates are 6017'52" 14808"48".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6917'52" 14808'48" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 98 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: " Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping area
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Graves.
Specific Use:	Winter and spring in the past, not currently used by Nuiqsut residents due to distance and oil development
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980; Nielson 1977:71.

Site Number:	N-128 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Siiqsinik
Meaning of Name:	Water seepage
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Siliqsinik is located on or near the Shaviovik River. No current subsistence activity takes place there.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6946'40" 14743'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-10 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house. There may be a spring nearby, as the TLUI lists the comment that there is bubbling water, with no ice, at this location.
Specific Use:	No current subsistence use, due to oil development and the consolidation of population into settled villages.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Pedersen et al. 1985:127.

Site Number:	N-133 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Qaquqtugruat
Meaning of Name:	Hilly area where you look out every direction
English Name:	Franklin Bluffs
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Qaquqtugruat is located on the east bank of the Sagavanirktok River, about 30 miles south of Prudhoe Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 6948'N 14840'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-15 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Trapping area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine
Site Features:	High area, used in the past as a lookout position.
Specific Use:	Qaquqtugruat is primarily a TLUI site, as oil development precludes its current use for subsistence hunting.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-134 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Ivisaam Paanga
Meaning of Name:	Mouth of Ivisaaq (Ivishak) River.
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Ivisaam Paana is located where the Ivishak River joins the Sagavanirktok River, about 55 miles south of Prudhoe Bay. The TLUI lists no coordinates, which were taken from Orth's entry for the Ivishak River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth: 69 30'N 148 30'W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-16 Beaufort Sea TLUI: • Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat, snow machine.
Site Features:	Willow houses to be found here
Specific Use:	Nuiqsut residents report that this used to be a good site for year-round fishing and caribou hunting. Oil development precludes its current use.
History of Use:	Cora Nashaknik Simmonds was born at Ivisaam Paana. Frank Long Jr. lived at this site for a year with his family when he was young.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-135 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: maybe Savanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Aluaqpak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-17 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping, hunting
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-136 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: maybe Savanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	Ittiguknik
Meaning of Name:	Ammonia smell or it really smells
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-18 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

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Site Number:	NA-933 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Area NA-933 is southeast of Nuiqsut and pretty much south of Prudhoe Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Reported as a furbearer harvest area for 1989-7 wolves in one trip. Trip was 4 days long and used 140+ gallons of gas. Wolves were feeding on caribou.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

NA-934 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Savavanirktok) Site Number: Inupiat Name: Meaning of Name: English Name: Other Names(s): Location Area NA-934 is a continuation. of area NA-931 from the Umiat map. The boundary is much more uncertain than for the Umiat area. Informants placed no real limits and they may indeed approach close to Kaktovik in search of forbearers. Coordinates: TLUI: Orth: Site Number in Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: other References: Beauf~ Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB): General Use: Hunting furbearers Access: Snow machine Site Features: Specific Use: Hunting of furbearers - wolf, wolverine. History of Use: **References:** Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-005 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kignivik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kignivik is located on the west shore of Admiralty Bay. It has been mapped to agree with the TLUI working map (Nielson 1977) as the TLUI coordinates appear to be in doubt and their source is not known.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7052'15" 15431'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 5 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Site Number:	N-006 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kingatak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kingatak is located inland, about 23 miles south of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7006'16" 15328'12" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 6 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 5.

Site Number:	N-007 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kuulugruak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kuulugruak is located on the southwest shore of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7029'20" 15352'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 7 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Site Number:	N-009 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Tungagavik
Meaning of Name:	Place with devils
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Tuungaqagvik
Location:	Tungagavik is located on the southwest shore of Admiralty Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7052'20 15530'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 9 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

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Site Number:	N-010 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kunguliurak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Kunguliurak is located about 52 miles south of Admiralty Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7006'30" 15509'25" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 10 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, root gathering.
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Primarily a TLUI site, as Nuiqsut residents rarely use the Teshekpuk are for subsistence activities at present. The site may be used on a regular basis by Barrow residents.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Site Number:	N-013 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Isuliumaniq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Isuliumaniq is located east of the Ikpikpuk River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7018'20 15435'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 13 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting and trapping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Graves/cemetery: graves of Harriet Pausana, Kalayouk, Nayukuk parents
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Location of graves/cemetery. Known graves: Harriet Pausanna, Kalayouk, Nayukuk parents
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 5 .

Site Number:	N-014 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Shuglak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Shuglak is located in the eastern part of the Ikpikpuk River delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7047'00" 15413'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, cellars
Access:	
Site Features:	Past residence of Shuglak (left in 1958).
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Past residence of Shuglak, who left it in 1958.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5 .

Site Number:	N-015 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Alaktak
Meaning of Name:	named after stream
English Name:	Half Moon Three Ranch
Other Names(s):	Alaktak Ranch
Location	Alaktak is a locality on the east shore of the Alaktak River, between Admiralty Bay and Smith Bay, nineteen miles southwest of Cape Simpson and fifty-three miles southeast of Barrow.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7046'00" 15502'00" Orth: 70 46' N, 15502' W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 15 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, cellars, cabins
Access:	
Site Features:	Tom F3rower's cabin. Grave of Dorcas Ungarook and other "old" graves. Reindeer-ranch artifacts.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Past site of reindeer corral-ranch owned by the Brewer family on the Chip River. The herd was at one time several thousand in size and was referred to as Half Moon Three Rant'h. This name was derived from the call letters of a radio station maintained there in the 1940s for weather reporting and emergency assistance.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Nuiqsut Subsistence Patterns

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Impact Assessment, Inc.

Site Number:	N-016 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Sakeagak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Sakeagak is located in the western part of the Ikpikpuk River delta.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7049'15" 15428'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 16 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Sakeagak's cabin
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

.

Site Number:	N-018 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Pingutuuq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Pingutuuq is located about 19 miles south of Smith Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7034'00" 15434'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 18 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-019 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Igsingat
Meaning of Name:	
English Name ;	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Igsingat is located about 8 miles south of Smith Bay, and is on or near the Ikpikpuk River. It was located by plotting the TLUI coordinates given.
Coordinates:	TLUI: '7043'00 15424'30" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 19 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins/sod houses. Recent cabin of Daniel Leavitt (Barrow resident).
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-020 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Imagruak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Imagruak is located where the Mayoriak River enters Smith Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7048'00" 15403'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 20 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins/sod houses, graves - Ahsogeak family member buried there.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-021 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Mitittuak Point
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Drew Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Mitittuak Point is the most eastern point of land defining Smith Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7054'4015356'00" Orth: 7052' 30"N 153 56'00W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 21 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Graves (some eroded).
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. <i>1978</i> , Appendix F, page 5 .

Site Number:	N-022 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Imagruak Lake
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Imagruak Lake is located inland between Smith Bay and Admiralty Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7048'00' 15456'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 22 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, eggs
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-023 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Tuugluk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tuugluk is located south of Smith Bay and north of the western part of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7042'40 15406'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 23 Beaufort Sea TLUI: . Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.

Site Number:	N-024 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kimmitquuk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kimmitquuk is located on the west shore of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7037'30" 15407'00' Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI : 24 Beaufort Sea TLUI : Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI : Ed Hall (NSB) :
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	Maybe Sakeagak's current cabin.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-025 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Igsugvik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Igsugvik seems to have coordinates that make little sense, and there is no good way to locate it on the map.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7042'40" 15415'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 25 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6 .

Site Number:	N-026 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kuyapigaq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kuyapigaq is located on one of the smaller islands in the west part of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7038'00' 15401'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 26 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-027 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Amilguruak Island
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Amilguruak Island is the large island in the west part of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7036'00" 15360' 00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 27 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 6 .

Site Number:	N-028 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kugruin
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kugruin is located on the southern part of Amilguruak Island, in Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7038'48" 15354'36" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 28 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 6 .
Site Number:	N-029 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
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Inupiat Name:	Pinguruk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Pinguruk is located on the southwest shore of Teshekpuk Lake, at or near where the Pittasuk River enters the lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7031'20" 15400'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 29 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area, cellars
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-030 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Alagii
Meaning of Name:	•
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Alagii is located on the southern shore of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'40" 15349'20 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 30 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house. Story of Angakut (Kinniviak) related to site ruins.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6 .

Site Number:	N-031 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kama
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Kama is located on the southern shore of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'20 15334'20" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 31 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	Graves/cemetery
Specific Use:	
History of use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 6.

Site Number:	N-032 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Uyagalik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Uyagalik is located on the southern shore of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7027'15" 15339'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 32 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Jonah Leavitt's (Barrow resident) cabin, maybe other cabins
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 7.

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Site Number:	N-033 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Maurgvik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Maurgvik is located on the southern shore of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7026'40 15326'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 33 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 19'78, Appendix F, page 7.

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Site Number:	N-034 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Singigruak Point
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Singigruak Point is the point of land jutting into the northern part of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7038'00' 15318'35" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 34 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 7.

Site Number:	N-035 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kuugallit
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kuugallit is on an island in the western part of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7037'00 15359'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 35 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 7.

Site Number:	N-036 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kinniviak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kinniviak is on the eastern shore of Smith Bay, north of Poleakoon Point.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7048'40" 15400'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 36 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 7.

Site Number:	N-037 (Locat	ed on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:		
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location	Evidently a re #21).	peat of site N-21 (Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI site
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Tesho Beaufort Sea Pedersen et a Mid-Beaufort Ed Hall (NSB	l. 1985: Sea TLUI:
General Use:		
Access:		
Site Features:		
Specific Use:		
History of Use:		
References:		kpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; 1978, Appendix F , page 7 .

Site Number:	N-039 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Qaluvik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Qalluvik
Location:	Qaluvik is southwest of Pitt Point. It is mapped in accordance with the TLUI working maps (Nielson 1977) and not the TLUI coordinates, which appear to be in error and whose origin is not known.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7052'00 15320'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 39 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	Bradford Elavgak's cabin, ruins/sod house, graves. Known internments are Elavgak, Qayana, Kasak, Atqana, Kigallgun, Panigluk's daughter Sithagin, Agsiina.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 7.

Site Number:	N-040 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Kuuruagaruk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Pitt Point
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Kuuruagaruk, or Pitt Point, is the northernmost point of land on the coast of the Beaufort Sea between Harrison Bay and Smith Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 48'44" 15308'00 Orth: 70 55'N, 15310' W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 40 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Named Pitt Point by P.W. Dease and Thomas Simpson on July 27, 1837.
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 7; Simpson 1843:143 .

Site Number:	N-047 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Taglii
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Taglii is located on the southeast shore of Teshekpuk Lake.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 70 31'40" 153 08'02" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 47 Beaufort Sea TLUI Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	trail system
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Fish - Annaliq, Ikalusaak Igkalukpik
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 8.

Site Number:	N-143 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Tasikpiachiak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Tasikpiachiak is located southeast of Admiralty Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7044'23" 15517'12" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AT-I Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al, 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLU: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, cellars
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific. Use:	Least cisco and broad whitefish
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 18.

Site Number:	N-144 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Mayuagiak River
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Mayuagiak River flows Smith Bay east of the Ikpikpuk River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7048'08" 15403'38" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AT-2 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area
Access:	
Site Features:	Erosion problems.
Specific Use:	Anaalik (broad whitefish).
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 18.

Site Number:	N-149 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Teshekpuk)
Inupiat Name:	Yugarii
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Yugarii is located on the east side of Smith Bay, north of Point Poleakson.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 5050'25" 15356'36" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI AT-7 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Graves (one marked grave).
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 18.

Site Number:	N-064 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	Uulugsrak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Uulugsrak is located where the Anaktuvuk River joins the Colville River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6930'00" 15128'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 64 Beaufort Sea TLUI Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Cabins, ruins/sod house. Graves with interments of Pausanna, Paneak, Kenton family members, Katilli (an Indian). Near caribou. migration route.
Specific Use:	Caribou, especially in summer. Moose in August. Some fishing in conjunction with other subsistence activities.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-065 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	Titqiak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Titqiak is located on the Kikiakrorak River, a tributary of the Colville River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 69 54' 20" 151 43' 15" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI 65 Beaufort Sea TLUI Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting/camping area
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Old unidentified memorial grave.
Specific Use:	Moose and bear, in the fall. This is a TLUI site and no current informant claimed to have used this area recently.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-066 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	Kugluktuk
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Kugluktuk is on the Colville River, about 10 miles north of Sentinel Hill.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6958'20 15133'00" Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 66 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, moose.
Access:	Boat, snow-machine.
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Moose are hunted in this area in August, using boats. Some fishing may be done in conjunction with this. Caribou are also harvested in this area, primarily when the river is navigable. The area both up and downstream is good for birds (see N-68, Harrison Bay).
History of Use:	Informants report that the Colville is good for hunting geese from about 4 miles upstream from where N-66 is mapped all the way downstream. Of course, some areas are better than others, and these vary from year to year with differing conditions, but hunters have a wide range of choice of harvest locations for geese. By this statement the informants are also making the point that although not all potential harvest sites in this range will be productive in any one given year, over time the entire range may be used due to the variations in where the birds are and the relative abundances of other resources. The

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fluctuations and variation in resource availability, harvest activity, and "area used," must be kept constantly in mind SO that the present condition, no matter how stable it may appear, is not taken as the normal or base state of the system.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-067 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	Isuurak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Isuurak is about 3 miles west of Titqiak on a small lake which drains into the Colville River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 6958'40 15139'20 Orth
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 67 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping area, hunting/camping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Ruins/sod house
Specific Use:	Fall and winter: moose, forbearers (red and white fox wolf, wolverine). Such fishing as occurs is in conjunction with these other subsistence activities.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 9.

Site Number:	N-921 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	Sentinel Hill
Other Names(s):	
Location	Sentinel Hill is located on the Colville River, about 23 miles downstream from where the Anaktuvuk River joins the Colville. This is about one day's travel by boat from Nuiqsut (18 foot boat, 40 horsepower motor, 20 gallons of gas).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Camp, lookout place, moose.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	As the name implies, there is a high hill here that is used as a lookout place.
Specific Use:	This locality is sometimes used as a base camp for moose hunts, but generally people travel further down the river (to get a moose this far north is considered "lucky"). People most often do camp here overnight when going further.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-922 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Site N-921 is on the Colville River about 13 miles upstream from Sentinel Hill.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for hunting moose.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	This is a common location to establish a base camp to hunt for moose. Hunters will stay here 5 days to a week. Brown bear are also common above and below this site, but few hunters bother them.
History of use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-923 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Site N-923 is on the Chandler River, just upstream from where it joins the Colville River, about 15 miles upstream from site N-922.
Coordinates:	TLUI Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for hunting moose.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Near an old airstrip, with good gravel base for tents.
Specific Use:	This area contains many moose. It is considered a long way to travel beyond this point to harvest a moose, although people do it. Some merely wish to travel around, while others are "unlucky" and did not find a moose further north.
History of use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-924 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Site N-924 is located on the Colville River, about 5 miles upstream from where the Chandler River joins the Colville.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for hunting moose.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Site N-924 is near Shivugak Bluff, an elevation that is used as a lookout point. Moose can be harvested very close to this site. This is as far as some people feel comfortable traveling upriver.
Specific Use:	This is moose-hunting territory. It is also a commonly used camping site.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

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Site Number:	N-925 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Site N-925 is located on the Chandler River, about 20 miles (direct distance) upstream from N-923. It is the furthest riverine "base camp" from Nuiqsut and is near the farthest point that can be reached on the Chandler from Nuiqsut.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for hunting moose, exploring
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	Near Tuluvak Bluffs, used for lookout points.
Specific Use:	Area for hunting moose.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

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Site Number:	N-926 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Site <i>N-926 is</i> located on the Kuparuk River about 50 miles southeast of Nuiqsut.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used as a base camp for hunting furbearers, which necessitates traveling over a wide area. Hunters will usually only hunt other species for consumption in the field or opportunistically just before returning to Nuiqsut.
History Of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-927 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Site <i>N-927 is</i> located about 19 miles south of N-926, at an airstrip on the Kuparuk River.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Base camp for hunting furbearers.
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Used as a base camp for hunting furbearers, which necessitates traveling over a wide area. Hunters will usually only hunt other species for consumption in the field or opportunistically just before returning to Nuiqsut.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	N-928 (Located on USGS 1:250,000	Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	Umiat	
Meaning of Name:		
English Name:		
Other Names(s):		
Location:	Umiat is located on the Colville River from where the Chandler and Colvill	A
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:	
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):	
General Use:	Supply center, reference point	
Access:	Snow machine, boat	
Site Features:	There is an airstrip at Umiat, as well who will sell fuel and other supplies individuals who need or desire them.	s (at quite high prices) to
Specific Use:	Umiat is reported to be used as t hunting area, although hunters do no Umiat. They will stop in for coffee are said to sometimes buy gas there.	t actually stay or camp at or conversation. Boaters
History of Use:		
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990	

Site Number:	NA-929 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Area NA-929 is located about 7 miles northeast of Umiat.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting forbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific. Use:	Reported as a harvest area for wolves for 1989(6 in one trip).
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	NA-930 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Area NA-930 is located about 10 miles east of site N-922 (a moose hunting base camp on the Colville River).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting furbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Reported as a harvest area for wolverine in 1986 or so.
History of Use:	
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	NA-931 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat, Harrison Bay)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Area NA-931 is a continuation of area NA-934 from the Sagavanirktok map. The boundary seems more certain than for the area to the east, except for the northern portion nearer the village (Harrison Bay quad). This northern boundary is shown as a dotted line to indicate the rough, although indefinite, limits to the primary furbearer search area.
Coordinates:	'TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting forbearers
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Hunting furbearers (wolf, wolverine) - see historical note.
History of Use:	This note will summarize what one informant explained about his approach to hunting furbearers in the areas on this quad sheet. He has a lifetime history of hunting furbearers in the Nuiqsut area and this is currently his area of choice (this has changed over time).
	When he decides to go out, he will head in one of two directions or follow one of two "standard" trip plans. The first is to head southwest from Nuiqsut, searching the area between
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	the Kikiakrorak and Kogsukruk Rivers while on his way to the Colville River somewhere (maybe 16 to 20 miles) upstream from Umiat. He will then work his way back to Nuiqsut along the river, doing zigzags across the river to work both sides. His second choice is to head southeast from Nuiqsut towards site N-927. This results in a longer trip as it requires camping out overnight, whereas the first itinerary can be done as a day trip.
	The portion of this area on the Harrison Bay map is not intensively used, since furbearers tend to avoid the approaching the village. The northeast boundary is set by the Kuparuk Oil Field development. A primary reason for including the northern boundary for NA-931 is so that the 8 by 11.5" area map makes somewhat more intuitive sense.
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	NA-932 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Area NA-932 is located southeast of Nuiqsut.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Winter caribou hunting when there is much snow
Access:	Snow machine
Site Features:	Uplands area, snow cover usually not that deep
Specific Use:	This area is said to be used primarily for hunting caribou in the winter when there is so much snow that caribou are either not close to the village or are in other areas that can not be accessed because the snow is too deep.
History of Use:	Informants report that there has been considerable seismic activity in this area, but that there is little or no development as yet so that there is little interference with subsistence activities at present. No comments on the effect of seismic activity on the behavior of, animals in the area, and their availability as compared to times in the past., were noted. Informants were merely addressing the issue of physical access to the area .
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	NA-940 (Locat	ed on USGS 1:250,00	0 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:			
Meaning of Name:			
English Name:			
Other Names(s):			
Location		located along the riv livers south of Nuiqsu	vercourses of the Colville
Coordinates:	TLUI:	Orth:	
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshel Beaufort Sea T Pedersen et al. Mid-Beaufort S Ed Hall (NSB)	LUI: 1985: ea TLUI:	
General Use:	Primarily used the same time.	for moose hunting, also	o some caribou hunting at
Access:	Boat		
Site Features:	-	le by small boats. Hu hunting moose.	nters do not go far from
Specific Use:	August is the prare available at reach them. Per moose as the	rime hunting time becand there is still enouge eople will take some	and perhaps September. ause that is when animals gh water in the rivers to e caribou while hunting it will not decrease the moose is to found).
History Of Use:	traveling farthe last five years	r to do so, every year have been especially s	mooses, and sometimes c. Informants say that the significant in this regard, e rivers in shallow draft
References:	Galginaitis Fiel	d Notes 1990	
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Site Number:	NA-941 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Umiat)
Inupiat Name:	
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location	Area NA-941 is located along the Itkillik River Southeast of Nuiqsut . The southern boundary of this area is very uncertain.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Moose, some incidental caribou.
Access:	Boat
Site Features:	River navigable by small boats. Hunters do not go far from the rivers while hunting moose.
Specific Use:	This area is said to be used primarily for hunting moose, although caribou will also be harvested in this area if they are encountered. This area is preferred by certain hunters since it tends to be used by fewer individuals, is close to the village, and has an abundance of game. The principal hunting period is the month of August.
History of Use:	This area is used primarily by a limited number of hunters who prefer to hunt in areas not frequented by many other hunters. This use has developed mainly in the last five years or so.
References:	Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

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Site Number:	N-012 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: ?)
Inupiat N a m e :	Tulimanik
Meaning of Name:	
English Name: Other Names(s):	
Location:	Unknown, as the given TLUI coordinates place the site in the Arctic Ocean, north of Smith Bay.
Coordinates:	TLUI: 7107'00 15413'00 Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: 12 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, root gathering.
Access:	
Site Features:	Flooded sod houses
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	Flooded sod houses
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 5.
Site Number:	N-122 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:) .
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Inupiat Name:	Qanaak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name: Other Names(s):	
Location	May not be on map, since the TLUI did not locate it and local informants were not found in the time available.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-4 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, hunting/camping area
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Winter fishing
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17.

Site Number:	N-131 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:)
Inupiat Name:	Aivigiak
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Aivik
Location:	Not locatable from present TLUI information. It is assumed to be located within the boundaries of the Beechey Point USGS map. Local informants did not provide any additional information on the site.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-13 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Graves (Tukle grave).
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F , page 17.

Site Number:	N-137 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:)
Inupiat Name:	Kallgusilik
Meaning of Name:	It has a cover
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-19 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hail (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping, hunting/camping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	Year-round use (at least in the past).
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-138 (Located on 'USGS 1:250,000 Map:)
Inupiat Name:	Saviukvik
Meaning of Name:	Where you make work
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Savagvik
Location:	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-20 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985:164 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping, hunting/camping
Access:	
Site Features:	
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-139 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:)
Inupiat Name:	Kaviarat
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-21 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping, hunting/camping
Access:	
Site Features:	Willow houses
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-140 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:) .
Inupiat Name:	Ninglliq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-22 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping, hunting/camping
Access:	
Site Features:	Bubbling water
Specific Use:	
History of USe:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number:	N-141 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:)
Inupiat Name:	Ninngaliq
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	
Location:	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-23 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Fishing area, trapping, hunting/camping
Access:	Snowmobile
Site Features:	Bubbling water
Specific Use:	Winter fishing, trapping, and hunting.
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

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Site Number:	N-142 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:)
Inupiat Name:	Kuukpagrum
Meaning of Name:	
English Name:	
Other Names(s):	Qaquqtungitch
Location:	Not located on TLUI maps (site not adopted).
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: AN-24 Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	
Access:	
Site Features:	Lookout area.
Specific Use:	
History of Use:	
References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

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APPENDIX A

This appendix consists often maps depicting the areas used for certain subsistence activities in the study area. Each map is dedicated to a **single** species with information displayed on a regional basis. As discussed in the preface, this mode of presentation was a **result** of compromises between the data to be presented and the limitations of the map desired (8.5" by 11", in **black** and white). It was not possible to produce similar point site maps, due to time and budget constraints.

The areas represented are not meant to define the complete use areas for the species in question. The mapped areas are merely those areas discussed in the text. These are the most commonly used areas and in the majority of cases probably constitute a good part of the total use area, but **Inupiat** subsistence patterns are so flexible that all boundaries are artificial and misleading. These maps are not definitive and should be used only in conjunction with interpretative information from the text.









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As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interest of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under U.S. Administration.



