The Bow and Arrow War Days on the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta of Alaska

Caroline Funk, *Independent Researcher*

Abstract. Yupiit living along the Bering Sea coast south of the mouth of the Yukon River regularly engaged in violent conflict with more northern riverine Yupiit prior to the 1840s AD arrival of Russian explorers and traders. The conflict is known as the Bow and Arrow War Days, and outside Alaska few people are aware of it. Local oral histories tell of the war, and archaeological and historical sources provide complementary details. This article documents war events and techniques for war for one specific area: the Triangle in Yup'ik Alaska.

The Bow and Arrow War Days imperiled lives and made legends of great men and women in the Yup'ik world prior to the arrival of Russians in the mid-1800s AD. The Yup'ik conflicts, ranging from deadly to merely threatening, comprised one portion of a nearly pan-Alaska period of violence (O'Leary n.d.). During the hundreds of years of these wars, regional Yup'ik social and political organizations formed fluid alliances against equally mutable enemy cohorts. The full range of the conflicts extended far to the north and south to encompass the entire Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta and most Yupiit. This article is concerned specifically with the Bow and Arrow Wars between the Yupiit/Cupiit[1] from along the Bering Sea coast south of the mouth of the Yukon River and the riverine Yupiit who lived closer to St. Michael (fig. 1).

The origins of these wars are unknown. The end of the period of conflict roughly coincided with the circa 1840s arrival of Russian traders and explorers in the rivers and bays of the Alaska mainland. No Bow and Arrow War–related raids, attacks, or battles were observed by the Russians or the later Americans, and no observations of the war appear in historical sources. Local oral traditions include information about the period of conflict, and

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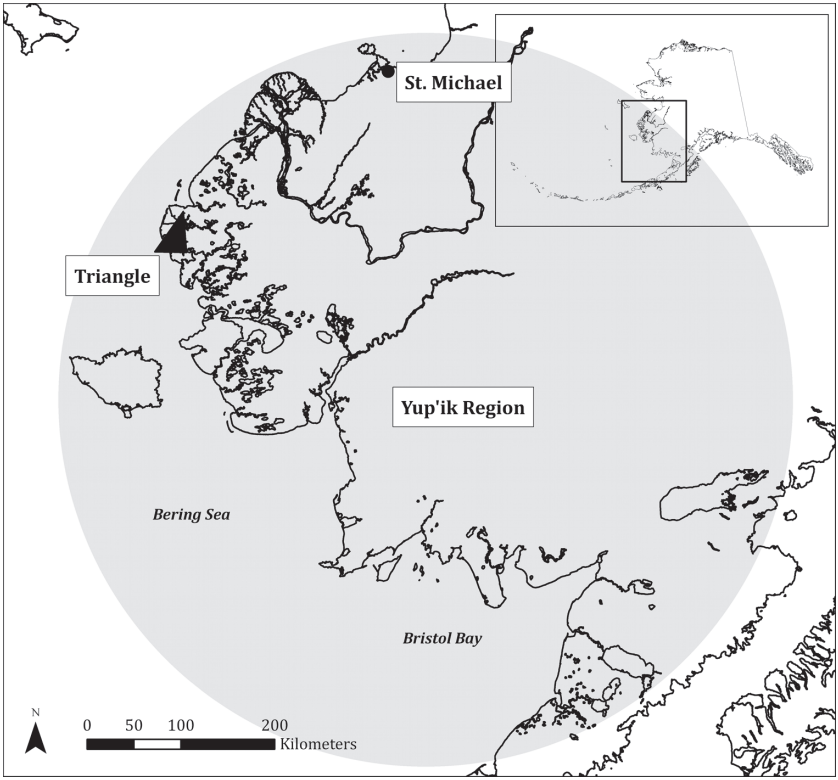

Figure 1. The Yup'ik region. Yup'ik Bow and Arrow War effects resonated throughout the entire Yup'ik region. Alaska base map, ADNR, 1984

much can be extrapolated from modern oral histories. The information in this article about the Bow and Arrow War Days comes mainly from the oral histories recorded as part of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) 14(h)(1) investigations performed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the late 1970s to early 1990s (Pratt 2009b). Ethnohistorical information about the Bow and Arrow Wars originates in the journals of the few Europeans and Americans who traveled in the area in the mid- to late 1800s. These journals document an earlier oral tradition about the wars.

This article begins with an introduction to the region and an explanation of why the histories of this war are unknown to many people, and it continues with a brief analysis of the ANCSA oral histories. Following the descriptive process employed by Ernest S. Burch Jr. in his discussion of Iñupiaq conflict (2005), the main body of the article describes the local expla-

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nations of the causes of the wars and the processes of war. Descriptions of the end of the long-term conflict conclude the article.

The first goal of this study is to relate the Bow and Arrow War Days as remembered by elders in the 1980s and as it was explained by Yupiit to early explorers. This is not a critical or historical analysis but an aggregate retelling of the war oral histories. The Bow and Arrow War Days had a significant impact on Yup'ik culture, so much so that all regional cultural analyses should include this socially cataclysmic process.

The second goal of the paper is to add the information about Yup'ik war to the growing body of knowledge regarding hunter-gatherer war. The presence of war and its causes in prehistoric contexts among indigenous small-scale societies are important topics in anthropological research (Ferguson and Whitehead 2000 [1992]; Haas 1990; Keeley 1996; Lambert 2002; LeBlanc 2003; Martin and Frayer 1997; Otterbein 2004, among others). This article documents what is known about the history and processes of the Yup'ik Bow and Arrow Wars in one small region, and it will serve as a source of hypotheses for theoretical archaeological inquiries regarding hunter-gatherer warfare.

Research in Alaska has targeted conflict among cultures directly to the north and south of the Yup'ik culture area: the Iñupiaq (Burch 2005; Sheehan 1997; Sheppard 2009) and Aleut (Maschner and Reedy-Maschner 1998). However, little has been published about the Yup'ik Bow and Arrow Wars in this region, except as a minor component of cultural studies (Frink 2003, 2007; Oswalt 1990). Ann Fienup-Riordan (1990, 1994) and others present information about Yup'ik war in other areas of the delta.

Several unpublished manuscripts (Kurtz 1985; O'Leary n.d., 1999) and hundreds of oral history tapes[2] provide significant information about the details of the conflict. The audio tapes record expansive and unstructured oral histories, and one of the major topics is the Bow and Arrow Wars. Enemies and alliances, events and processes, training and recovering from raids are all described from both sides of the conflict. As might be expected, the two sides tell different oral histories and remember events differently (Joe and Beans 1984), lending depth and texture to the Bow and Arrow War Days. This article brings together a series of war accounts from local oral histories and information from ethnohistoric records to create a complete picture of the Yup'ik Bow and Arrow Wars in one coastal region.

The Triangle: Territory and History of Alliance

The modern villages of Chevak, Hooper Bay, and Scammon Bay on the west coast of Alaska are located in an area often called the "Triangle" (see fig. 1). The Triangle is located between the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers on a

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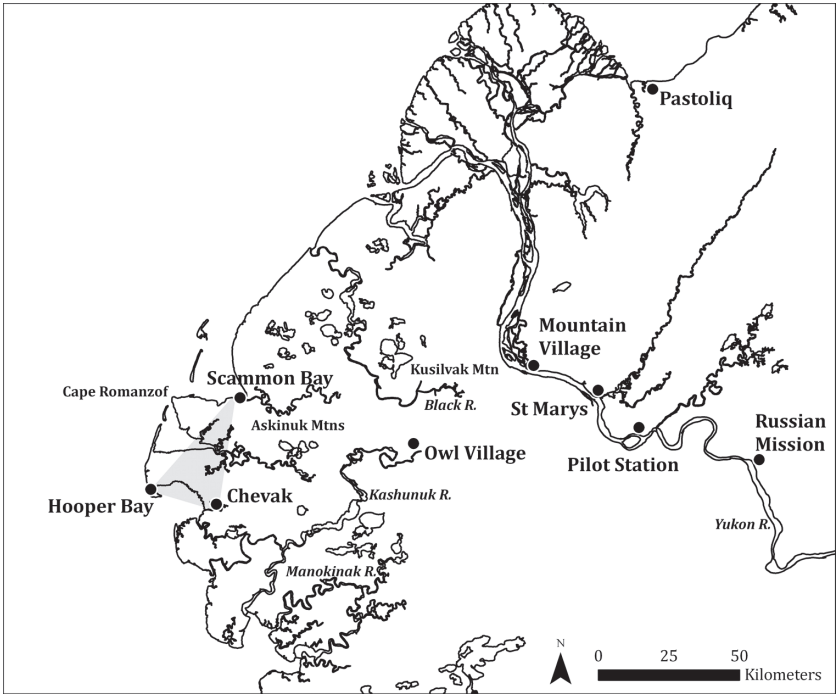

Figure 2. Villages and rivers in the war zone. Triangle area villagers tended to have enemies to the north and east in the most recent Bow and Arrow War Days. Alaska base map, ADNR, 1984

wide marshy plain bounded by the Black and Manokinak rivers (fig. 2). The villagers of the Triangle are linked today and share histories: their ancestors often banded together against outside enemies in the past. The villagers are Yupik in the broadest cultural definition; however, a distinction is made between the Cupik of Chevak and Hooper Bay and the Yupik of Hooper Bay and Scammon Bay.

All Yupiit originate on the deltas of western Alaska, and the expansive area includes many regional social and political groups (see fig. 3). Now and in the past these groups were defined by territory, language, social affiliation, and historical relationships (Andrews 1989; Fienup-Riordan 1990, 1994; O'Leary n.d.; Pratt 1984a). Commonalities in Yup'ik culture transcend local group definitions, but each region has specific and distinctive cultural attributes, including dialect and local histories. The distinct and autonomous Iñupiaq "nations" to the north are an analogous social

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form (Burch 1998, 2005). Like the Iñupiaq nations, affiliated Yup'ik social groups engaged in many types of relations with people who were not members of their group (as noted in Burch 2005). Yupik and Cupik within the Triangle historically are people of two nations who allied themselves regularly against people from more socially and physically distant Yup'ik nations. The strongest ties might be expected between the villagers of the same nation, and in fact, this proved to be the case in many of the war events and processes described below.

The Triangle area is a flat and watery landscape with the exception of Kusilvak Mountain and the Askinuk Mountains closer to the coast. The entire landscape is prone to flooding, subject to tides, and patchily covered in permafrost. Subsistence resources include marine, freshwater, and anadromous fish species, sea mammals, furbearers, and migratory waterfowl. Greens and other plant resources like berries are important in the summer and fall. A major caribou herd migrated into the area annually until the early 1900s. Yupiit moved seasonally from village to camp, following resources throughout the year (Funk 2005).

Ancestors of local Yupiit have lived in the area for at least two thousand culturally dynamic years (Shaw 1983). The earliest defined culture in the area is the Norton Tradition (about two thousand years ago). The Norton era people had a terrestrial and maritime hunter-gatherer adaptation and lived in large, semipermanent villages (Dumond 1984: 104–105, 1987: 100; Shaw 1983: 318, 1993). People of the Norton culture hunted and fished the area with chipped slate tools and fish nets and used a checker-stamped pottery for lamps and possibly cooking (see Dumond 1987; Frink and Harry 2008; Shaw 1983). In fact, Robert D. Shaw hypothesizes that the development of net sinkers and an efficient fishing technology created an effective use of the watery region, resulting in population growth through migration into the area (Shaw 1998).

New cultural practices developed about one thousand years ago, indicating a changing adaptation or the arrival of people of the Thule culture (Dumond 1987: 126–33; Oswalt 1952; Shaw 1983: 318, 1993). The Thule cultural tradition probably originated farther to the north in the Bering Strait area and in northern Alaska, but through an as yet unknown mechanism its people or their influence spread through the North American Arctic and Subarctic (Dumond 1987). The new lifeway included different material technologies and a greater emphasis on marine resources (Dumond 1984: 102; Harritt 1988: 189–191; Nowak 1988: 152; Shaw 1983: 321–22; Sheppard 1988: 137–41). Particularly significant was a stronger emphasis on sea mammal hunting, the use of dog sleds, and a tradition of combat marked by use of the bow and arrow and hide and wood armor (Dumond 1987). Com-

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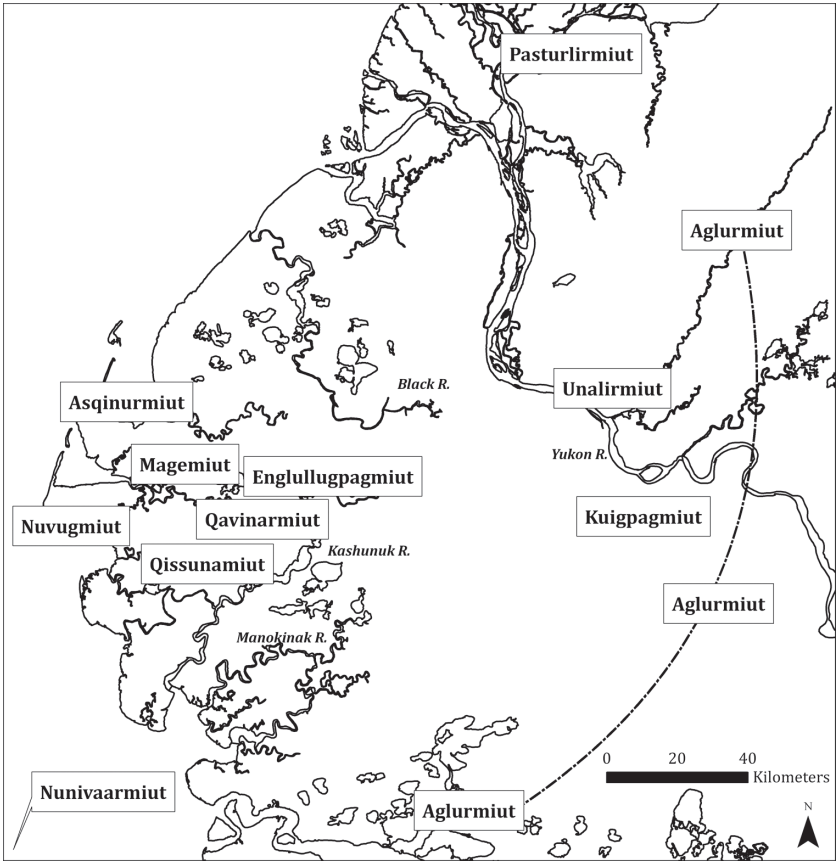

Figure 3. Microscale nations. The Magemiut and Asqinurmiut comprise several smaller culture groups. Alaska base map, ADNR, 1984

mon interpretations postulate that the mix of earlier Norton cultural and material attributes with the later Thule characteristics resulted in the local Yup'ik culture present at historical contact (Dumond 1987: 133–36; Shaw 1983). This transition may not have been benign, and social interaction recognized only by changing material culture may mark the start of the Bow and Arrow War Days.

Distinct national sociopolitical entities shared a general Yup'ik material life and cultural perception, even as they divided the delta and the Triangle over the past thousand years (fig. 3). The smallest identity groups formed at the village level and were marked by village-naming conventions.

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Each historical village name was associated with a culture group name; for example, Qissunaq village was occupied by Qissunamiut. The suffix *-miut* means "the people of." The place name plus the *-miut* suffix includes all people living in the main village and all people living in smaller family camps in the general vicinity of the village who assembled in the main village for events throughout the year. Several village identities were present in the Triangle area during the Bow and Arrow War Days: Qissunamiut, Qavinarmiut, Nuvugmiut, Englullugpagmiut, and so on. Some of the larger villages were occupied contemporaneously, but it seems at most three or four main villages were simultaneously occupied.

Groups of villages often recognized a larger corporate unity. For example, the Qissunamiut and Qavinarmiut were of the Magemiut, or Marayarmiut (Fienup-Riordan 1984, 1990, 1994; Kurtz 1985: 6; Nelson 1983 [1899]; O'Leary n.d.; Pratt 1984a, b; Zagoskin 1967);[3] in fact, the people of all the villages antecedent to Chevak and Hooper Bay in the southern and eastern portion of the Triangle belonged to the Magemiut. People of the villages ancestral to Scammon Bay to the north and west belonged to the Asqinurmiut. These two political entities frequently allied, or at least did not raid one another, and descendants of these groups are the men and women who define the area as the Triangle today (Smith 1981). Of course, the group names and geographic placement of people were in the midst of major demographic change in the mid- to late 1800s when many of the names were recorded. These names may be only the most recent manifestations of the small and large groups who flexibly interacted on many levels (Fienup-Riordan 1994).

The Bow and Arrow War Days are little known outside Alaska. This may be due to the erroneous notion held among Westerners that Eskimos in general, and Yupiit in particular, are peaceful, loving individuals (Briggs 1970; Burch 2005; Fienup-Riordan 1990: 146–66, 1994: 321–22). According to Fienup-Riordan, this "pernicious pacifism" was initially fostered by the typically nonviolent historical interactions between Yupiit and white traders and missionaries (1994: 324). She suggests that since the west coast of Alaska was not subjected to the intense Manifest Destiny process, Yupiit did not respond violently to Westerners (ibid.). Hence, people tend to think of Yupiit as peaceful—or emphasize the harmonizing aspects of Yup'ik cosmology while ignoring the high violence and murder within the culture (Fienup-Riordan 1994: 321–26). In fact, it is only in the suppressed notes of John Kilbuck, an early Moravian missionary to the area, that Fienup-Riordan found evidence for violence during the historical era (1994: 322).[4]

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The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bow and Arrow War Days

The Bow and Arrow War Days are a major topic in the series of oral histories recorded in the Triangle area by the BIA in the 1980s. Ninety-seven of the 232 tapes relating to Triangle villages include discussions of the wars, with 174 discussions by 38 men and women. The BIA interviews created an incredibly textured resource about the wars and many other topics. However, the specific legal context in which the interview process was conducted affected the information in the oral history tapes.

In 1971, ANCSA granted 40 million acres of land in Alaska to newly formed Alaskan Native corporations (Pratt 1992: 74, 2009a; Pratt and Slaughter 1989: 5). Section 14(h)(1) of this act allowed the for-profit native corporations formed by the act to receive historical and cemetery sites as a portion of their land entitlement (Drozda 1995: 100; Pratt 1992: 74, 2009a; Pratt and Slaughter 1989: 5). The United States BIA ANCSA Project Office was established in 1978 to investigate sites of potential historical significance or those housing burials. ANCSA site application investigations included three components of research: archival, oral historical, and field survey. The processes utilized to record oral historical information are of interest here.

From 1978 to 1991, 1,100 interview tapes were recorded with over 400 elders on the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta as a whole (Pratt 1992: 76–77). The oral histories used in the current study were selected based on the extent of the geographic knowledge of the fifty-nine interviewed elders from the modern villages of Chevak, Hooper Bay, and Scammon Bay and are specifically about the Triangle area. The interviewees were between forty and eighty years of age.[5] A diversity of perspectives is represented in the war oral histories: men and women, people affiliated with different sides of the conflict, inhabitants of different home villages within the Triangle, and people known as historians as well as those casually interested in the past all were interviewed.

Teams of federal employees recorded the oral histories (Drozda 1995: 109–10). Interviews were arranged with a minimum of one or two elders and at least one local translator. They were held in public meeting places or on sites and were often conducted in a question-and-answer format interspersed with free discussion. Interviewees discussed who lived and died in camps and villages, when these places were occupied, and what activities were performed in relation to each place, and they talked more generally about land use, technology, social organization, religious and ceremonial life, culture change, language, ethnography, and war (Pratt 1992: 75).

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Working with the ANCSA Oral Histories

The ANCSA tapes, like all other oral histories, include information of variable contextual coherence. Most of the war oral histories were discussed in multiple interviews (table 1), effectively creating a "group memory" process of correction (Burch 2005; Goody 2000; Vansina 1985). Common themes such as raiding, escaping, and weapon construction appear many times. Some differences in versions are clear inaccuracies; others result from an interviewee's origin village, completeness of knowledge, or gender. For example, men from the Triangle area tend to emphasize the role of women as engineers of escapes, while men from outside the area tell the same oral histories with men playing key roles. Women tend to recollect minutiae of the war, such as how to keep children quiet to avoid attack, while men tend to recount entire raid cycles from initial instigation to final resolution.

Knowledge stored in oral histories is mutable also because social, political, legal, or economic contexts change what is emphasized or related in each telling (Cruikshank 1998: 49, 95; Morrow and Schneider 1995: 5; Ruppert 1995). However, it is unlikely that the war oral histories were entirely reinvented in each transmission, because the events of the war are linked to Yup'ik culture history (Whitehead and Schneider 1987: 63–64). The introduction of Christianity, television, scholarly information, or information from other native peoples may have caused changes in the content or topical emphases of the war in oral histories (Goody 2000: 40; Mather 1995: 24; Vansina 1985: 156–57). Some of these influences are more obvious than others: in one interview a woman said that the Bow and Arrow War was like when the Indians on TV were shooting each other (Buster 1985).

The ANCSA oral histories are burdened with issues of language interpretation. During interviews, questions posed and answers received often were filtered through an interpreter. The interpreter's culture, language translation abilities, and perception of the interview's purpose affected the recorded oral history. A Yup'ik narrator or translator speaking English still speaks from within a culture context, so even straightforward translation of oral histories into English can cause misunderstanding, because "intended meaning, actual meaning, stereotypes, and idiomatic expressions" all may be confused during the language interpretation process (Cruikshank 1998: 27, 40–41; Morrow 1995: 30; quotation from Vansina 1985: 86). During the ANCSA interviews, younger Yupiit nearly always acted as interpreters for the elders. The ANCSA interviews placed the young interpreters in the difficult and improper position of questioning their elders, and they had to make decisions about how to get the information the interviewers wanted without being rude (Fienup-Riordan 1982: 256–60). They sometimes did not

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Table 1. Topical Oral History Reference Chart, by topic and ANCSA tape number

Timing of the War	War Training	The Annihilation of Qavinaq	General Raids
83 VAK 015	81 ROM 019	81 ROM 018	83 VAK 005
Allies and Enemies	81 ROM 024	81 ROM 019	83 VAK 007–009
81 ROM 010	81 ROM 026	81 ROM 025	83 VAK 040
83 VAK 062	83 VAK 023b	81 ROM 034	83 VAK 053
84 VAK 001–002	83 VAK 037	83 VAK 002	83 VAK 057
84 VAK 043	83 VAK 046	83 VAK 007–009	83 VAK 067
84 VAK 050–051	83 VAK 070	83 VAK 027	84 VAK 008
84 VAK 059–060	84 VAK 065	83 VAK 037	84 VAK 010
84 VAK 069–070	84 VAK 078	83 VAK 043	84 VAK 016
84 VAK 087	Tools of War	83 VAK 046–047	84 VAK 028–029
84 VAK 088b	84 VAK 037–038	83 VAK 050–051	84 VAK 037–038
The Eye-Poking Incident	84 VAK 053	83 VAK 071	84 VAK 050–051
81 ROM 009	84 VAK 073	83 VAK 075	84 VAK 074–075
83 VAK 007–009	84 VAK 077	84 VAK 017	85 TUT 043–044
83 VAK 015	84 VAK 087	84 VAK 056–057	The Hooper Bay Raid
83 VAK 013b	85 ALA 031	84 VAK 074–075	81 ROM 010
83 VAK 023a	85 ALA 060	Escaping or Avoiding Raiding Warriors	84 VAK 021–022
83 VAK 028	85 STM 073	81 ROM 014	84 VAK 036
83 VAK 037	Settlement Selection and Organization	81 ROM 034	84 VAK 058
83 VAK 046	83 VAK 005	81 ROM 036	84 VAK 088b
83 VAK 054–055	83 VAK 012	83 VAK 006	Women and Kids in War
84 VAK 056–057	83 VAK 013	83 VAK 007–009	81 ROM 050–051
84 VAK 074–075	83 VAK 025b	83 VAK 025b	81 ROM 025
84 VAK 082	83 VAK 027	83 VAK 037	83 VAK 071
Murdering Son-In-Law / Seal Hunter	83 VAK 063	83 VAK 050–051	Traveling to and from Raids
81 ROM 010	83 VAK 065	83 VAK 055	84 VAK 008
81 ROM 013	84 VAK 005	83 VAK 070	84 VAK 029
81 ROM 019	84 VAK 021–022	84 VAK 001–002a	84 VAK 031
81 ROM 029	84 VAK 056–057	84 VAK 005	84 VAK 033
83 VAK 007–009	84 VAK 063	84 VAK 009	84 VAK 052
84 VAK 021	The End of the War Days	84 VAK 020	84 VAK 054
84 VAK 036	83 VAK 007–009	84 VAK 031–031	84 VAK 086
84 VAK 037–038	84 VAK 033	84 VAK 043	84 VAK 088
84 VAK 071	84 VAK 037–038	84 VAK 050–051	85 ALA 031
84 VAK 074–075	84 VAK 050–051	84 VAK 086	85 ALA 059b
Misc. War Topics	84 VAK 056–057	84 VAK 088b	85 ALA 077
84 VAK 078	84 VAK 073	85 ALA 068	86 TNT 047
84 VAK 052	84 VAK 090	85 TUT 043–044	
84 VAK 072			

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understand the older generation's dialect, and more troubling, the young interpreters were deciding which parts of an elder's response to translate based on what they thought would appropriately answer the questions. Full formal transcription of the ANCSA oral histories may eventually resolve most of the interpretation issues.

Cultural change was rapid in rural Alaska in the 1970s and 1980s, and there was little time for local native people to incorporate new social, economic, and political circumstances with traditional ways. One side effect of the new lifeways was a decrease in the younger generation's interest in the old oral histories and the traditional practices. This meant that elders had a small audience for their traditional knowledge. The ANCSA investigations emerged in this local context, and the ANCSA procedure of recording interviews provided a solution for elders worried about the fate of their oral traditions (Funk 2005). Some elders viewed the interviews as an opportunity to store heritage information rather than as simply a recounting of the use of specific sites. This means that the Triangle ANCSA oral histories offer a more complete record of Yup'ik knowledge than planned, even if the knowledge exists outside a clear cultural context. The Bow and Arrow War Days oral histories are a particularly rich segment of the recorded interviews.

The Bow and Arrow Wars

The timing, participants, causes, and processes of the wars, and explanations for the cessation of the Bow and Arrow War Days, are all described in the ANCSA oral histories. The following sections address each of these topics in turn. The versions of events of the wars recounted here are aggregates compiled from many versions within the ANCSA oral histories. The oral histories are presented as "free translations"; the Yup'ik language is translated into American English structure as well as wording, but original phrases, sequencing, and repetitions are present (Fienup-Riordan 2007: xxvii). All of the oral histories included in each recounting in this article are cited. The information about the War Days is specific to the Triangle region and remains unpublished to this point. Supplementary and supporting information comes from the ethnohistorical texts of the early explorers in the region and from previously written publications and manuscripts about politics and war in the Triangle and surrounding area. The combination of ethno- and oral historical sources was employed to good effect in a similar, if more substantial, effort by Burch in the Iñupiaq region (Burch 1998, 2005).

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Timing and Duration of the Wars

The timing and cause of the start of the Bow and Arrow War Days remains unknown in the Yup'ik culture area. Competing hypotheses suggest origins as far back as a thousand years ago or as recent as the 1700s. The wars were not fought in living memory of the Yup'ik interviewees, and no one interviewed had parents who participated in the wars. On two occasions families traced their genealogy to a person who was involved in the processes of the wars: one elder woman had a grandmother who was abducted during a raid (Kurtz 1985: 29–30), and an elder man is descended from a woman stolen by his grandfather's younger brother during a revenge raid (Friday 1981b, 1984b). These two women could be the same person, since many Triangle people are related. Edward W. Nelson traveled through the Triangle area in the 1870s and did not witness any war or hear of any actively operating war vendettas (Nelson 1983 [1899]). However, during the late nineteenth century people remembered the wars and were clearly aware of consequences such as annihilated villages and suspicion of strangers (Nelson 1983 [1899]: 264–330). Lavrentii Zagoskin traveled near the Triangle area during the 1840s, and he also heard nothing of active violence (Zagoskin 1967). Like Nelson, Zagoskin had the sense that people were aware of the potential outbreak of hostilities, but none occurred to his knowledge (Zagoskin 1967). Russians in the area during the 1810s may have met living warriors and witnessed the fresh aftermath of battle (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 155). The 1820s and 1830s must mark the end of the War Days, but when did they begin?

One strongly supported hypothesis is that the Bow and Arrow Wars started as a response to Russian interruption of indigenous trade processes in the 1700s (Frink 2003: 172; Zagoskin 1967). This hypothesis can be linked to the notion of the "tribal zone," in which nascent colonial influences have profound and often violent impacts within indigenous cultures (Ferguson and Whitehead 2000 [1992]). Russian economic and political interests were moving into the Russian Far East in the early 1700s, and indigene trade processes between Alaskans and Chukotkans were in the process of modification (Burch 2005). If interruption of established trade patterns and the presence of a new colonial entity caused war, then the Bow and Arrow Wars could have started about three centuries ago.

A related hypothesis links the start of war to the migration of a violent Yup'ik nation through the area. At some point in the past five hundred years, the Aglurmiut moved through western Alaska after being forced from their homeland farther to the north and east in the Norton Sound area. The disruption caused by their occupation of owned territories may have led to tensions throughout the area that in turn caused the wars (Fienup-

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Riordan 1984, 1990, 1994; Nelson 1983 [1899]; O'Leary n.d.: 4, 34–35; Ray 1975). The Aglurmiut were known for their violence against outsiders, and they were associated with conflict until they settled near Bristol Bay to the south (Fienup-Riordan 1984, 1994; Nelson 1983 [1899]; O'Leary n.d.: 4–5, 1999; Pratt 1984a, b; Zagoskin 1967) (see fig. 3). Their movement may have been part of a typical process of group fissioning and migration throughout western Alaska (O'Leary n.d.: 28–35), or perhaps the Aglurmiut movement resulted from changing economic and political scenarios associated with Russian presence in Chukotka and Siberia.

According to the second main hypothesis, the Bow and Arrow Wars may have started a thousand or more years ago. Matt O'Leary suggests that the War Days were more recent than mythic time but before colonialism (n.d.: 3–4). The war oral histories are told as *qanemciq*—that is, they are oral histories of history or legend—and can be linked to known current landscapes and genealogies (Fienup-Riordan 2007: xix–xx; O'Leary n.d.: 2). Since massive cultural change occurred with the arrival of Thule cultural practices about a thousand years ago, it is logical to suppose that this could mark the start of the Bow and Arrow War Days. The past thousand years have been violent throughout North American indigenous cultures in general (Lambert 2002; LeBlanc 1999, among many others). However, scholars in the Yup'ik region are unwilling to provide a concrete date for the start of the Bow and Arrow War Days. James Kurtz (1985: 12) and Fienup-Riordan (1994) suggest that it may not be possible to know unequivocally when the conflict in the Triangle area commenced. O'Leary also suggests that the intergroup violence was not particular to any time period or significant ethnohistorical event but was instead a part of an ongoing process of fission and population shifting on the delta, with the Aglurmiut migration just a recent manifestation of this process (n.d.: 28). Archaeological evidence in the Triangle region is not yet helpful, only providing verification that some of the major villages named in the war oral histories were indeed occupied during the past several hundred years (Frink 2003; O'Leary 2007).

Whenever the precise beginnings, war began for the Triangle Yupiit deep enough in the past that it is considered a constant way of life in the oral histories. Occasionally the ANCSA oral histories contain vague hints of a lifestyle that existed before the wars, but it is difficult to determine whether the hints are about times before any war or times before the most recent series of raids and revenge killings. As far as the elders of the 1980s are concerned, war in the Triangle area was a continuous factor in the lives of their nameable ancestors.

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Opponents and Allies

The exact timing of the start of the Bow and Arrow War Days may be unknown, but the participants, at least the most recent allies and enemies, are well known to all in the Triangle area. There were two main areas of conflict in the Triangle, each associated with one of the two stated causes of the Bow and Arrow Wars. Both conflicts opposed villagers from the Triangle area against villagers from riverine settlements (as in Fienup-Riordan 1990: 160). In one area, the Nuvugmiut, Miluqautmiut, or Nenerrlugarmiut, all people of ancestral Hooper Bay, fought the Pastulirmiut, people of ancestral Pastoliq near the Yukon River mouth to the north (Friday and Bunyan 1984; Joe and Beans 1984; Kurtz 1985: 14; O'Leary n.d., 1999) (fig. 3). This conflict was instigated by murders perpetrated by a homicidal son-in-law from the north (O'Leary n.d.: 11; also see below). Farther to the east in the Triangle, the Qavinarmiut and Qissunamiut, ancestral Chevak villagers, fought the Kuigpagmiut and Unalirmiut, villagers from an area near present-day Pilot Station. This conflict may have been caused by the eye-poking incident (Kurtz 1985: 14; O'Leary n.d.: 11; also see below), although some war oral history versions aggregate all of the northern riverine villages as allied foes and identify the murdering son-in-law as the cause of the war (Henry 1981, 1984f; Joe and Beans 1984). Regardless of the cause, ancestral Hooper Bay and Chevak villages often allied together on raids to the north (Friday and Jones 1983). The Asqinurmiut, ancestral Scammon Bay villagers, rarely fought in battles or raided; instead, from their location near the boundary zone, they periodically foiled raids by eradicating vulnerable traveling raiding parties from the north. Raiders from both sides of the conflict often crossed Asqinurmiut territory (Henry 1984f; Kurtz 1985: 14). The area around the Qipn'gayaq (Black) and Kuigpak (Yukon) Rivers may also have been a boundary zone of heavy travel north and south but little fighting (O'Leary n.d.: 14).

In actual war operations during the most recent war, the two or three simultaneously extant Magemiut villages of the south central Triangle area came to each other's aid when attacked. These include Englullpagmiut, Hooper Bay, Qissunaq/Qavinaq, and coastal villages since abandoned and lost (Friday 1984c; Henry 1984f; Hoelscher 1984a, b; Joe and Beans 1984). Each of the larger villages would call on men from the smaller family villages tucked throughout the sloughs and rivers for raids and defense, and these men were compelled to join the raid or defense party (Friday 1984c, d). Kurtz believes that the alliance between Hooper Bay and Qissunaq emerged after the destruction of Qavinaq (see below), at least partially because constant revenge raiding depleted the supply of men (1985: 23–38).

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Triangle area alliances seem to have been permanent, although it may be that only the last permutations of alliances are the versions preserved in the oral histories. According to Fienup-Riordan, the Triangle area alliances were extremely conservative, with definitions of allies and enemies staying the same for generations (1994: 322). There are hints that other alliances were made between villagers in the Triangle to raid people to the south, and these explicitly refer to wars prior to the most recent and most remembered Bow and Arrow War (Aguchak 1984; Akerelrea 1984). During the most recent war, the area to the south near the Manokinak River was known as a more peaceful region (Henry 1984f; Smith 1983).

Gender in War

The Bow and Arrow Wars were fought by men, but were not as Fienup-Riordan states "strictly a male activity" (1990: 150). Lisa Frink suggests that the Bow and Arrow Wars were related to male prestige or power and access to goods, which were based on the products of women's labor (2003: 176). Women were involved in the Bow and Arrow Wars as victims, raiding party caregivers, escape engineers, suppliers of war clothing, and occasionally instigators or tacticians (Frink 2003: 176–78; also see oral histories below). Men may have planned raids and done the actual fighting, but women were arguably as important in the warfare process.

Causes of the Wars

Wars among "microscale nations" (Burch 2005) are not completely understood, and many theories attempt to explain war in general and within smaller indigenous societies.[6] War can be attributed to human nature (Keeley 1996), resource competition (LeBlanc 1999, 2003, 2006), the advent of sedentism and the need to protect landscapes (Ferguson 2006), or the arrival of massive nation states to indigenous systems: the "tribal zone" war (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992 [2000]). Evaluation of these theories is too broad a topic for this article; the discussion of the causes of the Bow and Arrow Wars will focus on those presented in the oral histories and the locally focused literature.

Competition for resources may be related to the wars, but there is little research into how resource paucity, ownership, or competition might manifest in Yup'ik cultures. Kurtz suggests that it was control over such coastal resources as seals that led to the conflict, and he supports this notion with an impression that resources are often mentioned in war oral histories, indicating their high significance in Yup'ik life and war (1985: 38). Some of the Triangle oral histories suggest that resources were under stress or access to

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resources was curtailed during the Bow and Arrow War Days. For example, one states that more people resulted in more deaths: war would happen and escalate the death rate, but when there were fewer people, there was no war and less death (Joe and Beans 1984). Were the initial high death rates caused by resource stress? In a related concept, it is remembered that people were without food to the point of starvation because it was impossible to hunt in the ocean during the war times (Henry 1984f). Whether this *caused* conflict or *resulted* from conflict is not clear, especially since the state of starvation ultimately led to the final truce (see below). A tradition of feuding combined with periods of famine may have fostered a positive environment for conflict.

According to Triangle area oral histories, the most recent Bow and Arrow War started because of the eye-poking incident or because of the murdering son-in-law, as noted above. These events are reputed to have occurred at several major ancient villages; exactly where an incident occurred, and whether it was related to the start of the war, varies according to where the story was told in the ethnographic present or according to the origin village of the storyteller (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 155, 1994: 326; O'Leary n.d.: 8–9). According to Nelson, who heard about it in the 1870s, the eye-poking incident happened at Ungluq, near Russian Mission, and after the incident the survivors (some claim the *losers*) split three ways and moved to Qissunaq, Nunivak, and the Bristol Bay area (Kurtz 1985: 6–7; Nelson 1983 [1899]; O'Leary n.d.: 7). More recent Triangle oral histories claim that the eye-poking incident occurred at a site within their own region (as mentioned in Fienup-Riordan 1990: 153; also see below). In general, interior villages tend to define the war as starting with the eye-poking incident while coastal people remember the murdering son-in-law as the instigator of war. The diffusion of Yupiit into many villages and regions, particularly after the late 1800s, may explain the widespread telling of the eye-poking origin story. The murdering son-in-law incident is more geographically precise and the details of the story typically match in most oral histories.

The Eye-Poking Incident. The eye-poking incident is regarded either as the cause of a Bow and Arrow War, because opposing families in the conflict separated and became long-term enemies (Bunyan 1984), or as an isolated tragedy in which all died (Friday and Jones 1983; Nayamin 1983). The incident is rumored to have occurred at Kapuutllermiut,[7] with only one telling placing the events at Englullugpagmiut, another large, old village in the Triangle region (Bunyan 1984). It seems likely that the events did occur at a site named Kapuutllermiut; however, there are two sites of this name in the

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east and northwestern areas of the Triangle (Friday 1983a, e). Only one, to the east, also has a nearby companion site with the same name as the second site in the story. Therefore, it was likely in the east that the events described here occurred:

> Kapuutllermiut: the whole site is a grave. People were wrapped in grass mats and laid on the ground. They left them where they died, some of them in their own homes, some outside. The whole village was a cemetery. They weren't burned. They were just left there.
>
> One time in Kapuutllermiut a man was working on a qayaq in the men's house. Another man was helping him. There were two boys playing darts. One boy threw his dart toward the boy whose father was working on a qayaq and accidentally popped his eye out. The man working on the qayaq got up and examined his son's eye. The father of the other boy said to pop out just one of his son's eyes so that the two boys will be the same. Even though he was told that, the man popped out both of the boy's eyes. The man who advised that the man pop out one eye out got mad when the other man poked both eyes out and he started poking. Each man's relatives got up and they started poking each another. Even the occupants of the houses took sides and fought. Soon the whole village was fighting.
>
> There was a camp nearby, Aurrvigmiut, where a man and his family resided. Earlier the man's wife told him not to go to the village but he went to the village for something and had taken part in the fight. The weather was clear that day. The woman came out of her sodhouse and saw a mist above the village. She went back in her sodhouse and told the children something was wrong with the village. The mist was steam from the blood of all the people.
>
> A man was seen crawling away. He may have been the only one left. He had a big hole in his stomach. This man crawled away with his intestines hanging out. His intestines would come out but when they got too long, the man would put them back in his stomach and keep crawling.
>
> The woman at the nearby camp saw a man approaching but he wasn't standing up. He was crawling. She kept going out to look now and again. She didn't mind the man, thinking it was her husband approaching. When he got closer she saw he was not wearing the parka of her husband and that it was a different man. She went in her sodhouse, and gave her children dried salmon roe. These eggs, they stick on the teeth when chewed. They get stuck on the teeth and the children had to pull them out, that's what kept them quiet. The woman figured

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> that the children would still be chewing while the man gets to their sodhouse. She did this so the children wouldn't make noise.
>
> While the children were eating, the man arrived at the sodhouse and the woman was peeking out and when the man became visible in the entrance, she placed her cutting board over the entrance and sat on it. The children were very quiet as they chewed the dried fish eggs. She could hear the man hitting the blocked entrance with his knife. He was poking the board.
>
> When the man outside became quiet, she went outside and followed the trail of blood outside and found the dead man who had been dragging his intestines. The woman was ready to fight when she walked over to the man, knowing he was very weak but when she took a close look, the man was already dead. The man had come to kill the lady but never made it. (Bunyan 1984; Friday 1981b, 1983a, c, 1984d; Friday and Jones 1983; Friday et al. 1983; George 1983; Henry 1981, 1984e; Hoelscher and Hoelscher 1983; Nayamin 1983)[8]

The Murdering Son-in-Law. The story of the murdering son-in-law is more commonly accepted by Yupiit from the Triangle as the start of the most recent Bow and Arrow War. The events of the story take place either in Old Hooper Bay (as in this version) or in one of the nearby antecedent villages.[9] There is little variation in the events of the story, and both Kilbuck and Nelson heard oral histories related to the murdering son-in-law in the late 1800s (Nelson 1983 [1899]; O'Leary n.d.: 7). There is a long cycle of Bow and Arrow War Days oral histories that include the start of the war, the full battle at Hooper Bay, and the attack on Qavinaq, as well as lookout locations, skirmishes, foiled raids from the north, and the end of the war. The story of the murdering son-in-law is the first portion of the cycle:

> The war started because a man from upriver was killing hunters for their catch. A man from Pastoliq met a Hooper Bay lady and settled in Hooper Bay. During seal hunting the person who went with him never came back.
>
> One spring the people were hunting seal. You can fit almost the whole seal in the qayaq. One man didn't catch any seal. He put a blade on his paddle. He would sharpen his oar as sharp as a blade. When others had a seal, he would go over to them and rip the bottom of the qayaq. He let the people drown and claimed the seal.
>
> At one time he had a partner, and he was going out seal hunting. That partner was cautious about going out with him. They were going back to where they left the shore and his partner kept his distance from him. Every time they'd come together, he'd move away. At one point

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when they were close enough the guy from the North slid his paddle underneath his partner's qayaq. When he tried that, the partner found out that the son-in-law had a cutting edge on the tip of his paddle.

Once a seal is in a qayaq its hair is marked with the impressions of the qayaq ribs. This guy was always coming home with a big seal. They started looking at his catch. When they looked at the hair on the seal this man brought in, they knew. It had two different qayaq marks. They knew.

The Hooper Bayers kept quiet. Some people wanted to kill him quietly. Instead, they waited until early spring when he was making a new qayaq. The man made his frame and got the seal skin and was ready to put it on. People worked together to get it on. One old man told the younger men to help put the seal skin covering on. The first time they put the skin on all the way, pushing the seal skin into a tight fit around the frame. On second stretch of the skin, the frame of the qayaq was cracking. The third time, that's when they demolished the qayaq. The guy was suspecting something. The third time they just rolled the whole qayaq up and over. He just walked out. He left. He talked to his wife and said the people wouldn't let him live, so he got his hunting gear and left the village to go up the Yukon.

The Pastoliq man ran north, probably home. The man went back to his home village and told a different story. He said the others were coming for war. He told the people the area was rich in skins to start the war. When they heard this, the Yukoners tried to be first for war. The first and worst of the attacks was on Qavinaq. (Akerelrea 1981; Amukon 1984; Bell 1984; Bunyan 1984; Friday 1981a, 1983e; Friday and Jones 1983; Henry 1984a, d; Kaganak 1984; Smith 1981)

Training for War

The Bow and Arrow Wars involved physically demanding processes, requiring specialized training in tasks that are not typical even for men who make a living hunting with tools that are also used for war (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 155–56). Accordingly, the Triangle area oral histories include information about the exercises and other special preparations that men made for war. Many of the exercises appear in winter festivals as "friendly" competition. This notion of military fitness maintained through gaming and competition is common in Alaska (Burch 2005; Fienup-Riordan 1994). In addition to physical preparedness, younger males learned proper techniques for warring by listening to the tales of older men (Burch 1974: 5).

General training displayed in gaming competitions tended to focus on feats of strength, speed, endurance, or agility (Fienup-Riordan 1990:

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155–56, 1994: 328; Friday 1981b). Stick jumping was a contest held at the end of the winter festivals (like most of the competitions), and this competition displayed the ability of warriors to leap enemy arrows (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 156, 1994: 328; Nayamin 1981). Other contests demonstrated a man's ability to avoid arrows through dodging or deflecting with staffs (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 155–56, 1994: 328). The finger-pulling endurance test and running races were typical gaming contests as well (Fienup-Riordan 1994: 328; Nayamin 1981).

Physical prowess was essential to survival in the Bow and Arrow War Days, and to ensure the survival of their people, Triangle men and women started training boys to be fast and strong as young as possible, even before birth (see below; Fienup-Riordan 1990: 155, 1994: 328). In addition to physical exercises, the training included special acts, such as rubbing dirty hands on their stomachs to protect their bodies from arrows or sickness, or dietary restrictions to maintain physical and mental lightness (as described regarding more southern Yup'ik warriors in Fienup-Riordan 1990: 155, 1994: 328). Some young men were brought up to be violent in addition to being physically capable (Friday 1981a). These men were reputed to be so powerful that arrows could not hit them, and they often were in at least nominal charge of the warriors of a village (Friday 1981a).

Training at Englullugpagmiut. Englullugpagmiut was one of the major villages of the Triangle Bow and Arrow War Days, and it figures in several of the war oral histories.[10] The site is on three very large, steep mounds about ten meters high. This height gave the site a reputation as invulnerable in times of war, because occupants could see for long distances over the tundra and because limited stream access made it nearly impossible to approach (Friday 1983e; Friday and Bunyan 1984; Pingayak 1984). The site eventually was burned while the villagers were not present, but no attacks were ever perpetrated on this large, central village while it was occupied (Hoelscher and Hoelscher 1983). One of the more common oral histories about Englullugpagmiut is a story about a young boy trained to be a warrior even from the womb:

> Englullugpagmiut was a big mound and even had handholds to get up the steepest part. They used to have endurance games and when they ran out of games to play they would run up the side of the mound. They slid back down before they could get to the top.
>
> There is a story about one woman living at Englullugpagmiut who was pregnant. The women usually knew if they were going to have a boy or girl when they were pregnant. She knew she would have a boy and vowed to raise her son to run up the side of the largest mound.

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> When the woman was pregnant, she decided that her son will be able to climb the mound. She took steps to ensure that her boy could do it.
>
> The lady took some feathers and placed one in plain water and one in seal oil. The one in water floated and the one in seal oil got soaked and sank. She started boiling the fats off her food and completely abstained from seal oil. She drank only a little bit of water when she drank.
>
> The boy was born and grew up light. He trained to run up the mound with no hands. When he could run up the north side of the mound, his grandfather asked the people to have his grandson join the war party. They called that boy Mayurtekiuraaneng Neglirnerem, "the one who was raised to be the climber of the north side."
>
> The boy was used in war. He was fast and light and could dodge arrows. (Friday 1983a, e; T. Moses 1983)

Raids

The Bow and Arrow Wars in the Triangle area were both defensive, in that attacks were made on villages and camps within the region, and aggressively offensive, since local people regularly left their region to attack inland Yupiit (Kurtz 1985: 5; Nelson 1983 [1899]; Zagoskin 1967; also see the oral histories referenced below). The Triangle warfare followed the general rules of Alaskan warfare, employing tactics such as sneak raids, ambush, the occasional battle, total annihilation of the enemy when possible, hostage exchanges for truce, lookout and warning systems, and spying for intelligence (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 157–59, 1994: 329; Kurtz 1985: 11; Smith 1981; and Burch 2005 provide thorough descriptions of these processes in Arctic war). The main goal, which supported the desires of surprising the enemy and winning, was that a successful raiding party should include more members than the village to be attacked (as described in Fienup-Riordan 1994: 330 for Yup'ik outside of the Triangle area). This is near universal wisdom throughout the Arctic (Burch 1974: 3–4).

Accounts of raids are common in the Triangle oral histories. In these accounts, enemies are often identified by their distinctive rabbit fur parkas; locals wear bird skin parkas, and even in the dark the difference is discernable (Joe and Beans 1984). It was necessary to be vigilant to such daily details, as Yukoners were not always aiming to attack a specific target that was cognizant of the threat. Instead, they often attacked the first village encountered, particularly if the occupants were distracted by a feast or festival (Friday 1981a). Some of the raid oral histories are incomplete, providing only the information that a camp or village was "wiped out" during the

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Bow and Arrow War Days. In one such attack, the entire population was murdered, beat to death with qayaq paddles, resulting in a red coloration in the land and water that exists to this day (James, Tommy, and Charlie 1983). This particular story has a sense of mythic time, but it does not stand alone as a description of brutal, annihilation-oriented raiding techniques. Another village, Kaumillillermiut, experienced a catastrophic raid:

> Here, a woman saw a suspicious number of new rocks in an area slightly above the village. She went to the men's house to tell the village men what she saw and was chastised for "speaking with authority." Knowing that the enemies were present, she sent her husband away, gathered her sons, and ran. The remaining villagers were clubbed to death, and looking back, the woman saw the village surrounded by flames. (J. Charlie 1984; James, Tommy, and Charlie 1983)

Triangle area raiding parties consisted of a group of men and at least one woman (Aloralrea 1981; Friday 1984d). Women were active members of the raiding party: they cooked, maintained equipment, and acted as keen lookouts for the presence of enemies. However, women were not considered warriors by Yupiit and were not usually killed in battle; if captured, women may have been questioned about the raiding party (Friday 1984d; Kurtz 1985: 17). The form of questioning is unknown and probably varied according to the level of violence in each raiding encounter or the presence of relatives of the woman in the enemy party.

On rare occasions, a raiding party was identified prior to attack and removed before it became a threat. Near the Askinuk Mountains north of Scammon Bay a party of Yukoners traveling by qayaq was sighted by Triangle Yupiit from a vantage point high in the mountains (Bunyan 1984).[11] The Yukoners were sleeping and the Triangle Yupiit sneaked to a rocky area above their resting place (Henry 1984a; Sundown and Amukon 1983). The Triangle Yupiit sent an avalanche of rocks down onto the Yukoners, killing all but one man (Aguchak and Amukon 1983; Bunyan 1984; Henry 1984a; Sundown and Amukon 1983; Tunutmoak 1984). The Yukoner bodies were shoved into a nearby lake, which turned bloody from the sheer number of dead men (Aguchak and Amukon 1983; Henry 1984a). The practice of burying or otherwise disposing of the dead enemies was not typical (Smith 1981), although if there were sufficient numbers they were placed in a lake or sometimes piled together and buried under piles of logs (Friday 1984b). If a raider died along the journey to or from an attack, this person was occasionally interred even if still within enemy territory (Hoelscher and Hoelscher 1983).

Oral histories from men and women living in the Yukon Yup'ik ter-

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ritory tell of Triangle Yupik raids to the north. These oral histories center on the theme of foiled enemies, and one particular oral history tells of a Yukoner victory over Triangle Yupik without a fight:

> A man was thirsty in the night. He got up to get a drink in the river and heard footsteps. He told the other men in the men's house. They didn't believe him. The enemy warriors blocked the entrances to the men's house and threw burning wood in the hole in the roof. The men in the men's house were stumbling around in the dark and one man tripped. He tripped over the honey bucket and it got stuck on his head. All of the men laughed at him. Hearing the laughing, the enemy fled, thinking the laughter meant that the men were going to escape to fight. (Joe and Beans 1984)

One of the more complete Triangle raids, in which the allies were the victims of attack, is the Hooper Bay incident:[12]

> Pastoliq warriors would qayaq to the hills near Hooper Bay. In the early evening at the time of year when it gets dark early, they would go check things out.
>
> People from Qissunaq went to Hooper Bay for a potlatch in the fall, when the evenings would get dark. Some boys were playing in the dark, and one noticed that the clothing of three boys was different.
>
> When the people from Qissunaq went home, the Yukon people hiding behind the village attacked. When they thought the people in the village were sleeping, they came closer to one of the men's houses. They blocked the entrance and made a small hole in the ceiling to smoke the people inside. They thought the smoke would make them suffocate. They shot arrows at the other entrances.
>
> But the men in the men's house had bows and arrows because they were cautious during the Bow and Arrow War Days. They shot the Yukon people on the roof.
>
> The Yukon warriors held the Hooper Bay warriors for three days without food.
>
> An old woman came into the men's house one morning and told the men that they were dead, that they were going to starve. She told them to leave in the morning with the bright sun, so the enemy would be distracted. The next day when the sun rose the old woman came to the men's house to tell the men to go ahead and give themselves to the enemy since they were dead anyway.
>
> An old man said he would go first. A left handed man shot out the door, making a way out. The other men went out each time an arrow was shot and ran toward the bright sun, blocking the arrows with their

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sticks. A child was shot with an arrow right in his mouth. The father of that child went out, and he had so many arrows in him that he didn't even touch the ground when he fell.

The men got out, and attacked when they were in front of the rising sun. They overpowered the enemies, who were dazzled by the sun.

An old woman yelled that the Pastoliq warriors were running away. When the Yukon warriors heard this, they fled.

The Hooper Bay warriors killed the enemies down by the creek. One man chased two of the enemies along the creek. He killed one and told the other not to think he escaped, but to tell people where he came from and what happened.

The people from Hooper Bay lined up all the men who were killed. They had the strongest man throw a harpoon across the line of people, but it didn't go beyond them because there were so many people dead. They cut off every penis and put them in seal skin pokes and filled one and two-thirds seal skins. There was one man who didn't fight but ate fish from one of the caches while everyone else was fighting. He was killed by the women, who put on pants and sat on his face. The dead were placed in a lake, which caused it to overflow. (Bell 1984; Henry 1981, 1984d, f; Kaganak 1984)

Village Burnings

Village burnings are chronicled for the entire area, and burning was probably a goal of any raiding party. Burning could be a significant element of the surprise attack, an efficient process for ensuring annihilation, or the final act of a successful raid, guaranteeing that survivors would have difficult seasons ahead after their move to a new location (Friday and Paniyak 1983; Nash 1984; M. Simon 1983; and see the section on Qavinaq, below). During raids, enemies sneaked up to villages, blocked house entrances, lit fires, and picked off villagers fleeing the flames (see below; Fienup-Riordan 1994: 330). Empty villages were burned opportunistically (as in the Englullugpagmiut case, above), leaving families without homes and without the subsistence resources and subsistence acquisition tools stored in villages while they were elsewhere in the seasonal migration.

Avoided Confrontation and Escape

The theme of avoided confrontation is more common in the Yup'ik oral histories than that of successful raiding. Avoidance took three forms: hiding, disguise, or running. Occasionally men and women deceived raiders through independent action while alone, but escape was more commonly engineered

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by a wife, mother, or grandmother to protect a husband, son, or grandson. In many of these oral histories, a family was alone in a small camp or village when enemies made their approach (Friday 1983f, 1984c; Friday and Paniyak 1983; Henry 1984f; Joe and Beans 1984; Napoleon 1984; Smith 1984; Sundown 1984; all include variations on the escape theme described next). The woman noticed the enemy arrival and began a preplanned sequence of actions designed to save the man. The most commonly told oral history, recounted for multiple sites and with some variation in detail, begins with a woman making *akutaq* in the sodhouse.[13] She was usually the wife, and while she was making akutaq the husband was outside the house fishing or doing some work, or he was in the house with her.[14] While mixing the akutaq, the woman saw reflected in the oily mixture enemy men peering through the smoke hole. She acted as though she saw nothing and, depending on the oral history variant, she called the man inside and fed him akutaq, or took snowshoes to him outside, which he then used to run. If the man was inside, after feeding him the wife sent him into an escape tunnel she had secretly dug or dressed him in her coat. The man then ran while the wife taunted the enemy or cut herself on the feet or thighs to mimic menstruation and thereby avoid rape. The man sometimes got away because he had the proper shorter and smaller snowshoes for running on the local snowscape, but he vomited the akutaq as he ran. The distinctive marks on his coat became a family marker into the present day.

If the man survived, he warned the people of a nearby village that the enemies were close. This village changes to whichever of the large villages was closest to the small site spoken of in the oral history. Many variants describe the man dying—freezing to death because he opened his coat for ventilation as he ran, but opened the windward side and exposed himself to extreme conditions. Only one variant attributes the escape tunnel and plan to the man, and like the male-dominated raiding story, this variant refers to a site north of the Triangle area (Joe and Beans 1984).

A similarly themed set of oral histories of escape includes a young man and his grandmother (D. Simon 1981) or parents (T. Moses 1983). In one version, the young man dressed as a woman when warriors arrived and pretended to squat to urinate like a woman, outside in view of the enemy (Simon 1981). According to the oral history, this was an effective avoidance technique because the warriors did not attack women and *some* young girls. The young man then put on snowshoes and ran to safety. Other versions have the sodhouse surrounded by enemies, and the grandmother or parents outfitted the boy or young man to run away with special short snowshoes for rough snow (Friday and Paniyak 1983; Hoelscher 1984a; Hoelscher and Hoelscher 1983; T. Moses 1983). As he ran away, the grandmother or

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parents taunted the Yukon warriors, who could not catch the young man because they had long snowshoes ill suited to the local conditions. In some versions the boy froze during his escape, and in others he made it to the nearest large village.

Occasionally a Triangle man escaped enemy warriors by simply running away. In one oral history, a man out hunting saw the enemy and escaped by swimming across a river while holding his bow above the water (Friday 1981a, 1983f). Another man was fishing when the enemy surprised him. He ran into willows near the water and hid in a cave that had two entrances or was in some way magically infused, and the man emerged somewhere else in safety (Napoleon 1984).

Hiding was also used to avoid confrontation. Men working alone with their fish traps would crouch low in the underbrush to avoid detection when enemies were sighted (Friday 1983b, 1984a). This was usually successful. In one instance a man who saw warriors coming froze in position; the warriors saw him but passed by without harming him, perhaps because he was a person of note (Evan 1984b). One oral history tells of a woman who dug a hiding hole in her sodhouse, in which she hid her husband when Yukon warriors came through (Aloralrea 1981). Most of the hiding incidents are individual; one man hides from many warriors. In a story from slightly north of the Triangle area, an entire village population hides from enemies in a hole on a hill across from their village (A. Charlie 1985) or hides within a dirt hill built to provide a view of the surrounding landscape (Paul 1985). Another oral history describes a general area as a place for "hiding out" during the Bow and Arrow War (Sundown 1984).

Underground escape tunnels were an alternative to openly running away, hiding, or enduring the smoke and fire of a raid. They were semi- to entirely subterranean crawl spaces that linked dwellings to provide a secret exit far from the house and were present in only a few of the older, larger villages (Bell 1984; Fienup-Riordan 1994: 330; Nayamin 1983). One set of escape tunnels is found at the site of Qavinaq, where the tunnels are visible on the surface of the site as indented linear features (Frink 2003: 145–50). Tunnels are present between house pit features, and a particularly long tunnel leads from the men's house to the perimeter of the site (ibid.). Frink suggests that the tunnels served many social purposes aside from escape but doubts they were built outside the war context (2003: 176). One elder speculates that the tunnels were invented during the war, explaining why not all villages had escape tunnels (Friday 1984b).

Raiding was a deadly serious endeavor in the Triangle, and the few successful attacks resonate in the oral histories of the area. Oral histories of avoided conflict describe a greater number and variety of incidents. This

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suggests that while planning and experiencing a raid were significant elements of life in the area, they were episodic rather than endemic. In contrast, being ready to escape or hide from attack was a constant requirement (Smith 1981). Children were raised to be quiet in the evenings to avoid detection from enemies (George 1983). Camps and villages were near food, in hidden areas, on defensible landforms, or situated to provide a good view of approaching enemies (Chayalkum 1983; Friday 1983b, c, 1984d, e; Friday and Paniyak 1983; Fienup-Riordan 1994: 330; Kurtz 1985: 9; G. Moses 1983; T. Moses 1983; Napoleon 1984). Special lookout sites and communication networks were maintained to warn of enemy approach (Joe and Beans 1984). Preparedness for confrontation may have been more influential to daily decision making than conflict itself.

Traveling to and from Raids

Raids, attacks, battles, or any type of war violence could occur in any season, but the violence tended to occur in the winter and the summer when traveling throughout the landscape was physically possible (this is also observed for regions to the south in Fienup-Riordan 1990: 157, 1994: 329). Dog teams and sleds were used for travel in winter and qayaqs in summer (Joe and Beans 1984). The qayaqs were used to get as close as possible to the area to be attacked, but the warriors had certain places where they would leave their qayaqs before continuing on foot (Henry 1984b). There is no mention of leaving dog teams, so perhaps in winter access to raiding sites was logistically simpler.

Travel routes are often described in terms of river systems in the oral histories: the Kashunuk, Qiivircaraq, Black, Manumik, and Pellavik rivers were commonly used (Aguchak 1985; Aguchak and Sundown 1985; Evan 1984a; Henry 1984b, f). River access points along the Kashunuk River were watched by Yukoners vulnerable to attack (Evan 1984a), and Yukon warriors got lost going home on the Pellavik River (Henry 1984b). Portages used by warriors are also named (Evan 1984b; Henry 1984f). Similarly, land trails used in winter with dog teams and for pedestrian travel in summer are well documented in the oral histories (Aguchak 1986; Nash 1984; Tunutmoak 1984; Yupanik and Yupanik 1985). Yukon warriors tended to come through two passes in the Askinuk Mountains, sometimes carrying their qayaqs (Tunutmoak 1984). One pass near Cape Romanzof along the coast was used by both Hooper Bay and Pastoliq warriors (Aguchak 1986). Though the warrior routes were well known, even to the point that typically used stopover points can be named (Evan 1984b; Henry 1984f; Simon 1984), the ideal was that warriors would use the least expected route to get to enemy territory (Nash 1984).

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For the area to the north, Burch describes raids as occurring between nations distant from one another (Burch 2005). Here, in the Triangle area, the raiding process seems to have occurred between neighboring nations. Travel to and from raids was fairly short most of the time, although longer distances were sometimes traveled to attack villages as far as modern day St. Michael (see fig. 1) (Kurtz 1985: 6; Nelson 1983 [1899]).

Lines of Battle

Organized battles were not the norm in the Yup'ik Bow and Arrow War Days. They occurred only when a sneak attack or raid was detected in time to meet the enemy outside the village. There are few oral histories about battles in the Triangle area, and all center on the events surrounding or subsequent to the Qavinaq massacre. If a battle did occur, the process was simple. Before beginning the actual conflict phase of an encounter, warriors from each side lined up in facing parallel lines (see the section on Qavinaq, below; Fienup-Riordan 1990: 158, 1994: 330–31; Kurtz 1985: 17). From this position they might gesture, shout insults, talk about past famous warriors, or, finally, attack each other with bows and arrows (Friday 1984d; Kurtz 1985: 17). During the attack the lines might come closer together, at which point the warriors would engage in hand-to-hand fighting, or they might run away (see below; Fienup-Riordan 1990: 158, 1994: 331). Water-based qayaq battles were sometimes fought, but these involved chasing and shooting at a fleeing enemy rather than a standing one (Paniyak and Aloralrea 1981).

Acts of War against Men, Women, and Children

Triangle oral histories do not dwell on specific acts of violence against women, men, and children. Rape, homicide, hostage taking, and mutilation are described euphemistically or in the abstract or are embedded within larger stories. Kurtz (1985) and Fienup-Riordan (1990, 1994) have specific information about acts of war, and it is possible that their private interviews included frank discussions about such sensitive topics that were not recorded during the ANCSA investigations.

Women and young girls were not the focus of violence during raids, but oral histories include exceptions, particularly if the purpose of a raid was total annihilation (see the section on Qavinaq, below). In these cases, women and children were killed during the burning of sodhouses (Kurtz 1985: 17). Lessons about how to avoid rape during an attack are mentioned, suggesting that even if the cultural ethos called for nonviolence toward women, rape was a danger. This suggests that local definitions of "harm" and "violence" toward women are embedded in the oral histories:

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rape may not have been considered all that harmful from the male perspective. Women avoided rape by mimicking menstruation, because menstrual blood was anathema to Yup'ik hunters (Fienup-Riordan 1994). They would cut their legs or feet, or soak their clothing in seal blood (Friday 1983g; Napoleon 1984; Smith 1984). Sometimes young women were abducted (Friday 1981b; Joe and Beans 1984). The oral histories do not describe what happens to the abducted women; however, one man claims descent from a woman who was brought home by his grandfather's younger brother (Friday 1981b). Others suggest that the abducted women typically became wives or slaves who never returned to their home villages (Fienup-Riordan 1990:159, 1994: 331; Frink 2003: 179; Smith 1981).

Men were killed in raids and battles, or more rarely were taken hostage. The ideal situation left at least one man alive and free to tell others what occurred (see the extract on the Hooper Bay raid, above; Fienup-Riordan 1990: 158; Friday 1984d; Kurtz 1985: 17). Captured men were held for a year or more before release, and sometimes these captured men served as warriors left alive to tell the tales of loss and annihilation (Frink 2003: 179; Smith 1981). Young boys were killed or abducted, a logical process given that a win or loss in the Yup'ik raids was very much related to the number of warriors present on either side (Fienup-Riordan 1994: 331). Abducted young males were adopted into the previously enemy community and raised as warriors for the enemy side. This was not always a successful process; there are oral histories of boys who grew into vengeful men who retaliated against their adoptive village (Frink 2003: 179; also see the section on the end of the Bow and Arrow Wars, below).

Men and boys were sometimes mutilated to cause death or after death. Young men were sometimes killed by quartering and stretching (see the section on Qavinaq, below). Heads and genitals of vanquished foes were occasionally removed to be sure that the spirit did not re-enter and reanimate the corpse (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 158, 1994: 331), as in the Hooper Bay raid described above.

Tools of War

Yup'ik tools of war include physical weapons and specially prepared spirit power. Like other Yup'ik and Iñupiaq nations to the south and north, Triangle area weapons consisted of bows and arrows, clubs, and spears (Burch 2005; Fienup-Riordan 1990: 156, 1994: 329). These were the tools used for hunting, but they were modified to be more effective against humans (Fienup-Riordan 1994: 329). Fienup-Riordan describes a class of weapons, the *anguyacuutet*, that were specifically for offensive use against humans: specially shaped arrow points that enhanced the size and severity of wounds,

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walrus skin shields, shell armor, stiff helmets, specially prepared boot liners, and loose parkas of skin or gut (1990: 156, 1994: 329). Three of these are mentioned in the Triangle area oral histories: specially prepared arrow points, thick outer garments, and magically prepared grass boot liners.

Arrow and spear points were crafted by the Triangle villagers of a slate found in only two areas in the extreme northern edge of the Triangle area: near Kusilvak Mountain and in the Askinuk Mountains (Aguchak 1985; Friday 1984f; Henry 1984a, c, f; Kurtz 1985: 14; Sundown 1985). Collecting the slate was potentially dangerous as Yukoner Yupiit also acquired slate in the areas and occasionally the Triangle area men had to hide from enemies (Friday 1984f; Kurtz 1985: 14; Uttereyuk 1985). The slate that was to become arrow or spear points, *umigaqs* or *umiq*, was particularly thin, and pieces were collected directly from the surface (Henry 1984f; Sundown 1985). The pieces were ground to points with sharp edges (Aguchak 1985; Henry 1984f; Uttereyuk 1985). The points were hafted into an arrow or spear shaft by splitting the end of the shaft and wedging the point in place (Friday 1984g). The points were left untied so that they remained in the body after the shaft was removed (Friday 1984f, g; Uttereyuk 1985). The small triangular tips were intended to break off and remain in the body even if the main part of the point was extracted (Aguchak 1985; Friday 1984f). These arrow and spear points are discussed specifically in the context of the Bow and Arrow War Days, but one oral history mentions that slate for women's knives was collected as well (Friday 1984f). This suggests that the mountains were the source for all slate raw materials and not just those specific to war materiel.

Clubs are described as weapons in one annihilation raid oral history (Charlie 1984; also see above). No other mention is made of the use of clubs in war, but they were a regular part of the hunter's toolkit (Nelson 1983 [1899]: 79). A club pictured in Nelson is carved of deer horn, about 32 cm long with an 8-cm club head (ibid.). The handle or shaft is less than 4 cm wide with a leather strap through a hole in the base. The small size of the club means that it would have been useful only in close proximity to the target. Annihilation or hand-to-hand battle contexts may have called for use of clubs. Qayaq paddles are another mundane tool used periodically as a weapon. As described above, the murdering son-in-law innovatively sharpened his qayaq paddle to slice into others' qayaqs. Another oral history describes a raid in which the entire community was beat to death with qayaq paddles (James, Tommy, and Charlie 1983).

Magic is a subtler weapon, employed in advance of battle. The use of magic is more commonly mentioned in more northern contexts: Inupiat used shamanic rituals prior to the departures of raiding parties (Burch 2005). In the Triangle area, magic in war contexts is mentioned only in the

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Qavinaq cycle, and then it is employed by Yukoners to weaken a Triangle hero (see the section on Qavinaq, below).

Hostage Exchange and Formalized Truces

The Bow and Arrow Wars continuously affected Triangle area life for generations, perhaps for a thousand years or more. The landscape does not permit neglect of subsistence activities even in times of threat, and so a technique developed to ensure adequate food supplies. Hostages were periodically exchanged to create a time of safety for doing subsistence. This period of hostage peace was called *ilaliyaq* (Fienup-Riordan 1994: 329; Friday 1983e; Kurtz 1985: 17), and during such a period a man lived in the village of his enemies. All people in the opposing regions were safe during subsistence activities while hostages were living in enemy home territories (Kurtz 1985: 17). Raids, sneak attacks, or other overt acts of hostility were forbidden. However, the end of ilaliyaq was marked by increased tensions between the groups (Friday 1983e). One oral history indicates that periods of truce were called for subsistence activities and does not specify hostage exchange (Friday 1981a). This may mean that hostage exchange was not a necessary component of temporary truces.

Heroes or Named Warriors of Note

Famous warriors are named in war oral histories throughout western Alaska. According to some Triangle oral histories, the act of killing a man in a raid or battle was more significant than a hunter taking an animal (Friday and Jones 1983), suggesting similar degrees of spiritual significance *and* high reputation. In Yup'ik territory, as in the Iñupiaq area to the north, renowned warriors in residence may have prevented attacks by enemy raiding parties (Burch 1974), and certainly the location and names of famous warriors are mentioned in the oral histories (Henry 1984b). In the region south of the Triangle, Yup'ik warriors were also marked with facial tattoos so that in raid or battle context the presence of fearsome men was easily noted (Fienup-Riordan 1990: 159–60, 1994: 331–32). There is no mention of such marking in the Triangle area war oral histories. Even if not specifically named or marked, some men were classified as *anguyaqssuutet* (the instruments of war) if they survived many battles to become experienced war leaders (Friday 1984d; Kurtz 1985: 37). Mighty warriors of the Triangle area Bow and Arrow War Days are chronicled in the Qavinaq oral history, below.

The Annihilation of Qavinaq

The oral history of the battle and massacre at the site of Qavinaq opens the cycle of events culminating in the raid of Hooper Bay (see above) and the

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subsequent end of the war (see below). This oral history includes many of the elements of war described thus far: hostage and truce, alliance, mutilation, abduction, massacre, heroes, magic, escape, and battle.

Qavinaq village was poorly located for defense, suggesting that it was located prior to the start of this last portion of the Bow and Arrow War Days. It was the closest village to the Yukoner territory just up the Kashunuk River (Kurtz 1985: 14). People from the descendant village of Chevak prefer that archaeologists or others do not disturb the site. This oral history still upsets local villagers; it is one of the bloodiest of the Triangle area war:

> Before the Yukon warriors burned the village of Qavinaq, the Yukoners sent one of their warriors to *ilaliyaq* in Qavinaq. Ilaliyaq was when the people of the man who was sent away to ilaliyaq hunted freely without having to worry about the enemy. While the man was away, the villagers tried to gather food without worrying about attacks. The people who received the man could not go on an attack raid as long as the man was in their village even though they really wanted to.
>
> The Yukon warriors had asked the warrior they sent to Qavinaq to stay with their war leader called Qillerkavialuk.[15] The Yukon warrior spent all summer in Qavinaq and when fall came, he got ready to go back to the Yukon. Qillerkavialuk had told all the other men of the village not to bother the Yukon warrior at any time even if he is seen walking around the village. He told them not to harm him. When he was going back Qillerkavialuk gave the warrior his aliqsaqs (woven grass boot liners).
>
> When the Yukon warrior arrived in the fall to his village from ilaliyaq he went to the men's house first thing. In the men's house the Yukon warrior took his mukluks off and removed his aliqsaqs. The rest of the Yukon warriors knew the warrior did not make them himself and asked him who the aliqsaqs belonged to. The man who went to ilaliyaq said they belonged to his host Qillerkavialuk.
>
> When they learned the aliqsaqs were a great man's, the people of the men's house took the boot liners and tied them together and hung them at the back end of the men's house. They had their shamans get together and perform shamanistic acts against the aliqsaqs all winter. They sang songs. They conjured. They threw darts at them. They danced and prayed for the strength to win the war. Then the boot liners, even through they didn't have flesh or body that could bleed, started dripping blood. When the aliqsaqs started bleeding, they knew that they had that man. That happened right before summer.
>
> That summer the Yukon warriors travel toward Qavinaq through

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the Qissunaq River. They came down on a foggy day. They were looking for that man, Qillerkavialuk.

When the people of Qavinaq woke up one morning, their river was low tide. The people of Qavinaq had the war leader, Qillerkavialuk, and their advisor and speaker was Kinguk. Kinguk would advise the warriors when they were going to fight.

The Yukon boats approached that morning, and they gathered together. Seeing the boats, the warriors of Qavinaq came out of their houses. Qillerkavialuk got ready, painted his face with embers, and took his parka off. He put on waterproof skin waders and put on two seal gut raincoats. This was how he prepared himself for a war.

A little ways downriver was a small slough called Itqarissiq. The Yukon warriors got ready to climb out of their boats; some had already climbed out and were on the riverbank. Whenever they climbed on the riverbank they would tighten their strings on their bows. Then Kinguk advised his warriors to start shooting their arrows at the warriors on the riverbank before all the warriors could climb out of their boats. When Kinguk said this, Qillerkavialuk said not to do that but to start when all the warriors had climbed up because it had been a long time since they had killed many people at one war.

When warriors from both sides had lined up across from each other, they started talking to each other. They would bring up the names of the dead that had been killed by their enemy.

After they had started talking for some time, the Yukon warriors asked where Qillerkavialuk was. Without hesitation, one of the Qavinaq warriors who was not Qillerkavialuk stepped out and presented himself by saying he was Qillerkavialuk. The Yukon warriors didn't believe him because they knew how Qillerkavialuk looked at wars because he used a seal gut raincoat and painted his face black with embers. Again, the Yukon asked where Qillerkavialuk was. Another warrior quickly stepped out and said he was Qillerkavialuk. The Yukon warriors asked for Qillerkavialuk for the third time. After the third time Qillerkavialuk stepped out and asked "why are you looking for me? What do you want to do with me?"

When all the Yukon warriors aimed at him, Qillerkavialuk remained in his position, thinking that what usually happened when he was hit by arrows would happen. The arrows used to hit but not penetrate and would fall from his seal gut raincoat. He just remained and stared at the Yukon warriors.

When the arrows hit him, he fell down and when he fell his body was not touching the ground because there were so many arrows on his body front and back. When Qillerkavialuk fell, a few Qavinaq war-

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riors ran to him and picked him up and ran back to the rest of the warriors. The warriors took Qillerkavialuk because they always depended on him. They panicked and fled. The Yukon warriors ran behind and got into their boats and took them downriver and got up on the riverbank on the other side of the river. As the Qavinarmiut swam across the river to run away from the Yukon warriors, the Yukon warriors got in front of them and started killing the Qavinarmiut who were swimming. A lot of the Qavinaq warriors died when fleeing across the river.

Very few Qavinarmiut escaped and the Yukon warriors wanted to kill them all thinking about the many warriors they lost in the previous war. When some of the Qavinarmiut warriors escaped and went to Qangllumiut, the Yukon warriors went after them.

When they got to Qangllumiut, a nearby village, they found two young boys. They removed all their clothing and checked their bodies by squeezing them. One of the Yukon warriors asked one of their warriors which boy he wanted to have. The man wanted the younger brother. Then the Yukon warriors took the older boy and had the younger one sit and watch them. Four warriors took his wrists and ankles and stretched his body outward on all sides until he died.

The Yukon warriors returned to Qavinaq and gathered the dead and some of the warriors burned the houses after they gathered wood and put it at the entrances. Even though the warriors weren't supposed to harm the women, the Yukon warriors burned their homes.

While the warriors were busy burning the houses, one of the women came out of her sodhouse and started saying to one of the Yukon warriors, "yangaaq . . . arca," or "quit tormenting your sister's children."

The warriors burned down all the sodhouses to nothing. Despite what the woman said, the Yukon warriors continued to burn everything. To this day, people think that the woman who hollered was a captive from the Yukoners.

There's graves all around this area. Women buried the dead in bunches after the attack. War graves are in different places than graves from before. War dead have no coffins.

People didn't go back there after. (Aloralrea 1981; Bunyan 1984; Friday 1981a, 1983c, d, e, f, g, 1984d; Friday and Jones 1983; Hoelscher and Hoelscher 1983; Moses and Friday 1983; Paniyak 1983)

The Most Recent End to the Bow and Arrow War Days

The Bow and Arrow War Days were over, if not forgotten, by the 1830s. As described above, Zagoskin in the 1830s and Nelson in the 1870s witnessed

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social tensions related to the wars, but there was no active raiding. In fact, the mid- to late 1800s may have been a freer time in Yup'ik history. After the danger of war ended, people moved about the landscape without worry, engaging in hunting, fishing, social activities, and travel without fear (Friday 1984f). Some elders in the 1980s were finally beginning to forget the events of the war stories (Buster 1985), although the Bow and Arrow War Days resonate still for some Yupiit. A few elders were concerned that talking about the War Days could spark old enmities among villagers now living together throughout the region (Kurtz 1985: 9–10).

The end of the wars came about through two or three mechanisms, one of which may have been the Russians, with their trade interests and firepower. Some Yupiit believe that the Russians are really the only reason the Bow and Arrow Wars ended (Friday and Jones 1983), at least partly because the white men (Russians) had better weapons that could not be beat with local technology (Evan 1984a). In some oral histories, it is told that the Russians directly ended the War Days by threatening to side with victims of attack (Friday 1983f, 1984d). O'Leary calls the effect of the Russians on cessation of the War Days "direct colonial intervention in the resolution of native hostilities" (n.d.: 26). Other oral histories say that the riverine Yupik acquired firearms in trade before the coastal Yupik, so the coastals decided not to attack anymore (Joe and Beans 1984). Fienup-Riordan supports the notion that the new trade with Russia was instrumental in ending the wars but also suggests that the debilitating 1838–39 smallpox epidemic significantly influenced the end of the raiding through simple demographic attrition (Fienup-Riordan 1994: 328). This seems a reasonable hypothesis given the perspective stated above that fewer people meant less war. It is possible that a desire for the newly arriving Western goods *replaced* the raiding parties with trading parties, and hostilities faded away or transformed into different forms of competition in the new economic situation (as in Frink 2003: 181).

There are two oral histories that explain how the Bow and Arrow War Days ended, and they are sufficiently different that they may describe the end to two different episodes in the wars. One describes events that occurred on the sea ice just offshore of Hooper Bay. Since the battle at Hooper Bay occurred before the annihilation of Qavinaq, this oral history probably relates to an earlier phase in the recent Bow and Arrow War or an earlier war altogether. This oral history does not include any Russian influence. Two men, one from Hooper Bay and one from Pastoliq, were hunting for seals on the ice (Henry 1984a, d, f). As John Henry (1984a, f) conveys it, their families were starving, they were starving, and the Pastoliq man's hunting companions had died as they traveled across the ice. The two men arrived at the same hole in the ice and saw a seal, but the Pastoliq man was

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too weak to make the kill so the Hooper Bay man did it. Afterward, the Hooper Bay man began to eat his limited provisions of dried fish, while the Pastoliq man walked away to avoid watching. The Hooper Bay man decided to share his dried fish, and then the seal as well. The Pastoliq man and the Hooper Bay man agreed that there would be no more wars between their people.

The other oral history describing the end of the Bow and Arrow War Days is the final segment of the Qavinaq cycle, and by the end of it, the Russians had arrived in the riverine area. In this sequence of events, the boy who wasn't stretched to death after the Qavinaq annihilation was taken back north as a son to the warrior who took him (Friday 1984d; Friday and Jones 1983). He was named Panik. When he grew to be a young man, Panik systematically killed any other young man who looked like he might become a good warrior (Friday 1984d). After killing the youngest of five brothers, Panik had to leave the village of his adopted parents (ibid.). They asked him to return to his home, and he journeyed downriver to Hooper Bay rather than to his home village (ibid.; Friday and Jones 1983). While he was journeying, the Russians arrived in the riverine Yupik area (Friday 1984d).

Panik and one other man were sent back upriver with drums, which make people happy, and a bow and arrow (Friday and Jones 1983). They took their drums in their qayaqs and traveled upriver to a spot across the river from a village, probably Pilot Station, where two qayaqs of men from the village came out and asked them what they were doing, and Panik and the other man said they wanted to stop warring and use the drums for dances and the bow and arrow for hunting (Friday 1984d; Friday and Jones 1983). The locals left and came back after awhile to ask Panik and his friend over to the men's house in the village (Friday 1984d). There they set up the drums and explained to all the men that they wanted to use the drums instead of warring, and the local men did not answer (ibid.). Eventually they all went to a meeting back in Hooper Bay, and messengers went out afterward that these two sides would not fight any more (Friday and Jones 1983).

Meanwhile, the Russians in the area learned of the wars (Friday 1984d). They said that if anyone went on a raid, they, the Russians, would help those who did not raid (ibid.; Friday and Jones 1983). According to the oral history, the Yukoner Yupiit and the coastal Yupiit did not raid again because they were afraid of the Russian weapons, even though there was still some animosity (Friday 1984d; Friday and Jones 1983). So the Bow and Arrow War Days ended because the people of both sides wanted to stop the raiding and because the Russians prevented violence.

The theme of ending the war through music is echoed in nearby

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Nelson Island, where dance apparently replaced war in a spontaneous act of peace (Fienup-Riordan 1994: 333). This suggests that the most recent Triangle area Bow and Arrow War Days may have ended near the time of Russian arrival, but they ended because of local social negotiations, not simply because of pressure from international trade processes.

The Bow and Arrow Wars in the North American Context

The Bow and Arrow Wars deeply influenced daily life activities for generations of Triangle area Yupiit and Cupiit. These wars may have been part of a pan-Alaskan, even pan–North American, series of conflicts in which small nations raided each other, sometimes to complete annihilation. Nearby in Alaska, other Yup'ik, Aleut, and Iñupiaq peoples engaged in similarly violent and constant war, using remarkably similar techniques to perpetrate and justify the incessant homicide. It seems now that these wars, in Alaska and throughout North America, preceded the influence of Western states by hundreds of years.

The Triangle area Yup'ik Bow and Arrow War Days were related to competition for resources, including territory, competition for status among men and women, stress, environmental shifts, political and demographic pressures, trade, and certainly a habit for feuding and violence that could have perpetuated the raiding cycles far beyond memory of any original stimuli, or may have even masked more materialist stimuli. Studies centering on why war happens and how it is maintained in microscale hunter-gatherer nations can now include the Triangle area Yup'ik Bow and Arrow War Days in their analyses.

Notes

Yup'ik language words follow the Jacobson 1984 orthography. Place names are the formal site names on record in reports from the Bureau of Indain Affairs (BIA) Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and in the Alaska Heritage Resources Survey (AHRS) database. The taped oral history interviews cited are on file at the BIA ANCSA Office, Anchorage, AK, and the Rasmussen Library Oral History Program, Fairbanks, AK.

I learned about the rich record of the Bow and Arrow War Days during my thesis research at the Anchorage office of the BIA ANCSA 14(h)(1). Thank you to Debbie Corbett, Ken Pratt, Matt O'Leary, and other scholars in Anchorage who aided me. I appreciate the care taken to produce high-quality information by Calista Region elders and the BIA ANCSA investigators during ANCSA field research. Thank you to the Calista Corporation for formally granting permission for me to work with the regional ANCSA files. Errors in this article are my own.

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1 Yupik and Cupik are two local cultural identities: Yupiit and Cupiit are plural forms and Yup'ik and Cup'ik are adjective forms.
2 The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act 14(h)(1) interview tapes are on file at the Anchorage, AK, ANCSA Office (see Pratt 2009b).
3 Nelson (1983 [1899]) and Zagoskin (1967) use many alternate names for the Magemiut or Marayarmiut; however, they seem to be talking about the same geographic area.
4 John Kilbuck and his wife, along with several others, were influential missionaries in the region just south of the Triangle. Kilbuck's notes are a major source for information about Yup'ik culture prior to changes in the post–World War II era. The Moravian church did not release all of Kilbuck's notes to the general public and apparently deliberately selected which of his notes should be released in only limited contexts (Fienup-Riordan 1991, 1994: 322).
5 Normally, interviews with older people minimize the amount of information distortion resulting from the "unconscious" incorporation of false information (Vansina 1985: 6–32). Since the Bow and Arrow Wars concluded long before any living person could remember, the age of the person interviewed is less significant than his or her personal interest in the past.
6 As noted in Burch (2005), the societies or nations involved in the Yup'ik Bow and Arrow Wars had a population size of about 500 persons. Burch considers these to be "microscale nations."
7 *Kaputlik* is translated as "knife fight" (Henry 1981); kapuutlleq, "the one that poked" (Henry 1984e). Kapuutllermiut is MAR-00075 in the AHRS database. Calibrated radiocarbon dating indicates occupation ca. AD 1005–1405 at a 2 σ probability (O'Leary 2007: 36).
8 *Aurrvigmiut* is translated as "crawling" (Friday and Jones 1983). Sometimes the crawling man was identified as the woman's husband (Nayamin 1983).
9 Sometimes the site named is St. Marys (Smith 1981) and sometimes the son-in-law's home village remains unnamed.
10 *Englullugpagmiut* is translated as "a big mound" (Friday 1984b). This probably is not the historical name of the village but describes the huge mounds on which the sodhouses were built. Englullugpagmiut is MAR-00008 in the AHRS database, and calibrated radiocarbon dating indicates an occupation of at least AD 1400–1620 2 σ (O'Leary 2007: 136). This date range is well within the suspected Bow and Arrow War Days era. The woman who survived the eye-poking incident fled to this site with her children on her husband's sled (Friday 1983a).
11 This event may have occurred near the ancient village site Nuvugmiut (MAR-00041 in the AHRS database), which is ancestral to modern Hooper Bay (Bunyan 1984).
12 This event probably occurred at Nuvugmiut, an ancestral village to modern Hooper Bay village, but locals tend to refer to the entire settlement sequence as "Hooper Bay" (Bell 1984). Kurt Bell told a thorough version of the Hooper Bay battle, but he makes special note that the story should not instigate hard feelings in today's people, who are from villages from both sides of the conflict (ibid.).
13 *Akutaq*, literally "a mixture," is made of deer or seal fat chewed until soft and frothy and mixed with berries. It is commonly known as "Eskimo ice cream."
14 Only one variant in this oral history theme includes a woman and her son instead of a woman and her husband (Paniyak and Aloralrea 1981).
15 Qillerkavialuk is pronounced KIXH-ka-vel.

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