A Speculative Framework of Northern North American Prehistory as of April 1959

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For a number of years I have kept on a wall of my office a chart of the prehistoric cultural sequences and relationships of Canada north of the sixtieth parallel. As new data appeared that chart has been supplemented and changed. I seem to have a compulsion to fill in gaps, even when the data is incomplete, and have several times tried to give a cohesive picture of Arctic prehistory to the layman. This paper summarizes those attempts. Much of the cultural relationship and temporal alignment on the chart is speculative (and probably incorrect). Generally speaking, I have felt that it was a personal matter better not shown to my archaeological colleagues. However, in response to flattering requests (including one from the editors of this journal) I am publishing the chart and attempting to explain it. Please be warned the chart is subject to change without notice, and also, not to believe as facts all that you read herein.

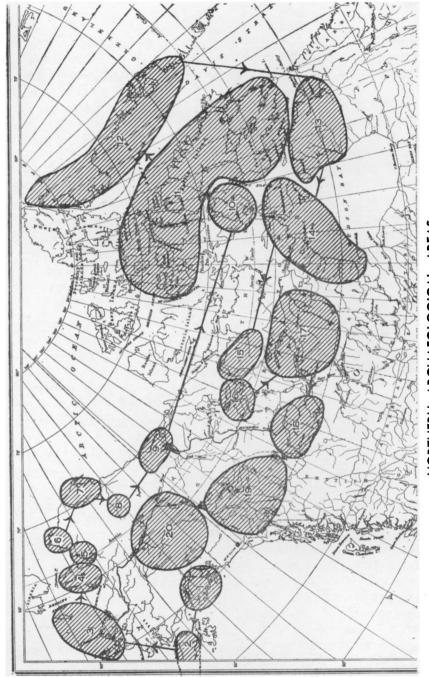
Now as to the chart: the vertical columns represent arbitrarily divided areas in North America, north of the sixtieth parallel. The columns running from left to right begin with the Gulf of Alaska, next to the Aleutians and the Bering Strait region, over the tundra of the Arctic to Melville Peninsula, and then across the islands of the Franklin District to Greenland. Next, they start on a more westerly movement down to the Ungava Peninsula and the southern Keewatin District, then to the area around, and inland from, Coronation Gulf. Here they enter the edge of the forest area about Great Bear Lake and the southeast part of the Mackenzie District. Next the columns go westward into the true northern boreal forest, the

southwestern Mackenzie District, southern Yukon and interior Alaska. Thus the series of columns end not far from the geographical point where they started (See Map 1, as well as Chart).

The horizontal aspect of the chart represents time with millenia marked off by distinct lines. The placement of cultures, phases or components of the various areas in their temporal position had been delineated in part by Carbon-14 determination and geological evidence, but in many cases by mere guess. In describing the cultures and their positions in a later part of this paper, mention will be made of Carbon-14 dates and geological estimates where pertinent. Frankly, the temporal aspect is among the major weaknesses of this chart and also one of the major difficulties in accurately reconstructing the prehistory of the North American north.

Placed on the time-space background of the chart are the cultural units. Some of these units are from single components, others are phases composed of a number of closely related and very similar components. Some of these are published, others are not. I shall attempt to footnote the various names of cultures when they are mentioned so one can see what artifacts composed these units as well as investigate the nature of the units in detail. I have not attempted to indicate the many limited diffusions and influences that the phases (often of different traditions) of the same time period have on each other.

Connecting these cultural units one the chart is a series of lines composed of different symbols. These lines represent different traditions. By tradition I mean a distinct way of life as it is distinguished by different complexes of artifacts or diagnostic traits that persist in time and space. The exact process by which these traditions originate, spread, change, persist, and finally disappear, cannot be determined by the present evidence. Some of these traditions may reflect actual migrations of distinct people with distinct cultures; others may represent diffusions of distinct cultural complexes; others may result from the readaptation of a way of life from one ecological zones to another; still other traditions may derive by combination of all the abovementioned processes as well as many others not mentioned here. Be that as it may, the origin, spread, persistance and dis-



NORTHERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AREAS

appearance of traditions seem to be a complicated process. However, in spite of this, the concept of tradition seems useful in delineating cultural relationships in time and space in the north.

Before explaining the chart in terms of these traditions, however, it should be noted that there must exist somewhere in the north a number of early traditions which have not yet been found. These would be hypothetical ancestors to many of the so-called Paleo-Indian cultures found further south in North America. Not only are these hypothetical traditions undiscovered in the New World north, but seemingly they have not been found, or if found not recognized, in the parental region in north-eastern Asia. One can only guess that they do exist in Asia and in the north, and that as far as Asia is concerned, they were probably of Paleolithic times. Only a good deal more work in the north as well as Asia can determine what they are and if they actually exist.

The nearest thing we have to this kind of stage in the north is the poorly-defined British Mountain complex (Mac-Neish. 1956, and 1959) found on the Firth River, associated with peculiar Arctic soil phenomena. The peculiarity of these Arctic soil phenomena plus the lack of diagnosticity of some of the artifact types cast considerable doubt upon the authenticity of the British Mountain complex. However, this culture complex seems to be different from anything known for the region either earlier or later. Currently we know very little about its date: we do know, however, that it occured during a warm period before the advent of the Cordillerian tradition. The so-called British Mountain tradition is characterized by flake tools with adhering striking platforms that had been struck originally from large discoidal cores. Some of these flakes had been made into unifacial leaf-shaped points, knives, side-scrapers, hook-gravers, end-scrapers and central-type burins. Seemingly also, as part of this complex, are pebble choppers and large plano-convex scrapers. There are a few prismatic flakes which might actually be large crude blades but, conversely, they might also be accidental flakes that approach the form of blades. The complex as a whole has little resemblance to anything else in the north or even further south in the New World. One assemblage that resembles this culture complex is that of Malta site of central Siberia (Bonch-Osmolovsky and V. Gromov, 1936). Also, some of the materials from the Ordos region of North China (M. Bonle, H. Breuil, E Licent, and P. Teilhard de Chardin, 1928) have many similarities to the British Mountain complex. Both of these Asiatic cultures have been classified as being of middle Paleolithic times. Let me hasten to add, however, that the three, British Mountain, Ordos, and Malta, are considerable distances apart and the significance of the artifact resemblances has not been adequately assessed.

On somewhat similar ground is the Cordillerian tradition. It is represented by a number of components of the early Flint Creek phase on the Firth River on the Yukon coast (MacNeish. 1956 and 1959), as well as by a surface site collection from the Klondike site near Fort Liard in southwestern Mackenzie Distric. There are also a number of related sites southward in the Rockies, such as the Frazer Canyon site near Hope, British Columbia (Borden, in press), dated at about 8,150 years ago (S-47) and the lower levels of the Five Miles Rapid site (Cressman, in press on the Columbia River in Oregon, dated at 9.785 years ago (Y-340) as well as other early sites in Washington and Oregon (B.R. Butler, personal communication). Characteristic of this tradition are crude blades struck from large conical cores. Fort Liard laterally spalled burins, and Flint Creek multi burins, lenticular (Lerma-Like?) dart or spear points, scraper planes, large pebble side and end scrapers, end-of-the-blade scrapers, slab choppers, scale-like scrapers, and fish gorges. Many of the traits of this tradition appear in the Verkholenskava Gora site of late Paleolithic time in central Siberia (Field and Prostov. 1937) and might indicate a cultural connection with it. There are, however, many differences and one cannot determine whether these are incidences of convergence or cultural influences or amalgamations with adjacent earlier cultures in the respective aréas. This early cultural tradition is still rather nebulously defined and it will be necessary to find and study many more archaeological components before we truly understand it.

Apparently invading, mixing with, and replacing the Cordillerian complex on the Firth River (MacNeish, 1956) and at

the Kayuk site in the Brooks Range is the Yuma traddition (J. Campbell, personal communication). In many northern areas the Yuma tradition appears to be the earliest. In the Coronation Gulf zone, the Dismal 1A Assemblage (Harp, 1958) is of this tradition, as are the Franklin Tanks and Great Bear River phases (MacNeish, 1955) of the Great Bear Lake region, the Lower Terrace material from Grant Lake in the southern Keewatin District (Harp, 1959), the Artillery Lake and the Taltheilei complex of the southeastern Mackenzie District (Mac-Neish, 1951), and the Sandy Lake complex of the southwest Mackenzie (MacNeish, 1954), the Champagne complex of the southern Yukon (MacNeish, in press), and the Hosley type of material from central Alaska (Skarland and Keim, 1958). Characteristic of this stage would be nomadic herd hunters who used collateral and ripple flaking, basely ground, lanceolate points such as Plainview. Agate Basin, Milnesand, Angostura, and Scootsbluff-like projectile point types. Also included in this complex might be large bi-facial knives and triangular snub-nose end scrapers. Occasionally a blade or point with burin blows appears with this tradition. These may represent hold-overs or diffusions from earlier horizons or other traditions. The only dates we have on these materials are from the Great Bear River complex, and they are 4.650 4.800 and 5,000 years ago (Saskatchewan S-9, S-10 and S-5). This probably represents an end date for the tradition. The much earlier dates from the Yuma tradition in the American Great Plains seem to indicate that this tradition developed in the New World in the Great Plains and then spread northward. As has been noted, it influenced the final phases of the Cordillerian tradition. It also should be pointed out that remnants of this complex influenced (in terms of ripple and collateral chipping techniques) later traditions such as the Arctic Small Tool tradition and the earliest members of the Northwest Micro-blade tradition.

The next tradition, called Northwest (interior) Microblade, has a number of distinctive characteristics that include: tongue-shaped polyhedral cores (plus conical and tabular cores), a series of retoucher micro-blades, micro-blades set in an antler shaft thereby forming a cutting edge, tci-tho type scrapers, notched net sinkers, Fort Liard type burins, large dart points

often notched or stemmed (except in the earlier stage when only Agate Basin-like points occur), neatly chipped large planoconvex end-scrapers, a peculiar assemblage, half of fine microblades and half of large bi-faces (choppers, knives, and so forth), and an economy seemingly based on lake fishing and forest animal hunting and trapping. When one attempts to study the history of each element of this tradition, many of its component parts are seen as coming from widely different sources. The micro-blades and tongue-shaped cores seem to derive from the northeastern interior of Asia: the bi-faces, burins, conical cores, and blades from the earlier Cordillerian complex already in North America; the projectile points from more southern New World complexes; the tci-tho, net sinkers and subsistence pattern may be recent inventions and adaptations which occurred while the carriers of the tradition moved into the boreal forest. In spite of the diverse background of this tradition, it did come into being and then persisted through time and spread through space.

The earliest known representative of this tradition is the Little Arm complex (MacNeish, in press) from the southwest Yukon which appears in the bottom part of a mature soil profile, perhaps representing the beginning of the post-glacial optimum some 7,000 years ago (Johnston, 1946). Possibly as early are the meagre remains from the lowest levels of Trail Creek Cave in the Seward Peninsula (Larsen, 1951), dated as 5,993 years ago (C-560) and the Kukpowruk phase from the Brooks Range (Campbell, personal communication). Developing out of this early stage, characterized by Agate Basin-like points and a predominance of tongue-shaped cores, is the Gladstone phase of the southwest Yukon (MacNeish, in press), the Pointed Mountain site materials of the southwestern Mackenzie District (MacNeish, 1954), and the Campus site remains from interior Alaska (Rainey, 1939). These in turn seem to have developed into a third stage. The Tyone site materials from interior Alaska (Irving, 1957), the Taye Lake materials from the southern Yukon (MacNeish, in press), the Fisherman's Lake complex of the southwest Mackenzie District (MacNeish, 1954), and the Lockhart River complex of southeast Mackenzie District (MacNeish. 1951) are typical representatives of this stage. The Kamut

materials from the Coronation Gulf Drainage (Harp, 1958), the Selwyn and related site materials from southern Keewatin District (Harp, 1959), and the N.T. Docks material from the Great Bear Lake excavations are other possible examples (MacNeish, 1955). The last-named has been dated at 4,100 years ago (S-8). The Natalkuz Lake site (Borden, 1952) of northern British Columbia dated at 2,415 years ago (S-4), and the association of the Taye Lake complex of the southern Yukon with the overlying volcanic ash layer, dated as 1,519 years ago (C-101) hint that this tradition may have lasted until about the time of Christ.

During the latter part of the development of the Northwest Micro-blade tradition, a new tradition appears on the Arctic coast, called here the Arctic Small Tool tradition (Irving, 1957, page 47, footnote 4). Characteristic of this tradition are burins with chipped surfaces, burin spall tools, cuboid (and conical and tabular) polyhedral cores, micro-blades (usually not retouched), ripple-flaked lenticular, lanceolate and triangular endblades for arrows (or harpoons), antler foreshafts for arrows, delicate, small, neatly chipper half-moon side-blades often with ripple flaking, ovoid, semi-subterranean houses with specialized central fire place (often outlined by boulders), and an economy based on caribou hunting but supplemented by a little seamammal hunting. The earliest manifestation of this tradition is the Denbigh Flint complex (Giddings, 1951) at the Iyatayet site on the Seward Peninsula of Alaska. Carbon-14 dates indicate that this is not younger than 4,000 years ago (Rainey and Ralph, 1959) while sea level datings hint that it probably also is not older than 5,500 years ago (Giddings, personal communication). Recently Giddings found on an old high beach level in the Kotzebue Sound area another manifestation of this culture. It also appeared in the Brooks Range where Solecki (Solecki, 1951), J. Campbell, and Irving (Irving, 1953) have found similuar remains. These remains from the Brooks Range I am calling the Itivlik phase. Actually some of these sites found by various archaeologists may likely represent different stages of this single tradition. However, no one has worked this out as yet. On the Firth River, the New Mountain phase (MacNeish, 1956 and 1959), estimated to be about 4,000 years old on the basis of Carbon-14 (Rainey and Ralph, 1959) represents another part of this tradition. Here the Firth River stage with fabric-impressed and cord-marked pottery, and the Buckland stage with dentate stamped, grooved and cord-marked pottery, represent still later phases of this tradition (MacNeish. 1956 and 1959). In the Coronation Gulf region the Dismal II component (Harp, 1956) are of the same tradition. At the Alarnerk site near Igloolik, the two earliest stages which might be called Alarnerk I and II (Meldgaard, 1955) dated Rainey and Ralph. 1956) as between 3.900 and 3.000 years ago, represent a development within this tradition as do the Independence I (Knuth. 1958) and the Sargag remains (Larsen and Meldgaard. 1958; Mathiassen, 1958) of Greenland. The latter has been dated as from 3,500 to 2,500 years ago (Larsen and Meldgaard, 1958). A few artifacts from the Button Point site in the Franklin District (Mathiassen, 1927) and from the Nuvuk site in the Ungava Pesinsula (Taylor, personal communication) hint that this tradition also occurred in these regions. The neolithictype burins, side-blades and projectile points (and ceramics) from the middle Lena (Okladnikov, 1955) and the Yakitikiveem site (Krader, 1952) from the interior of north-eastern Siberia suggest (if the Russian dating is correct) that some of the elements of this tradition were derived from the interior of northeast Asia. The micro-blade industry may have come from the North-west (interior) Micro-blade tradition already in North America, as might the Yuma chipping technique. The tools adapted to marine subsistence may have derived ultimately from the North Pacific tradition, which we will speak of presently. Here again is a case where a series of elements seems to have piled up in North America to form a new cultural tradition, and then moved as a unit across the entire Arctic and persisted in time.

Appearing next in the New World is a tradition termed here the North Pacific. Its diagnostic traits include the ground adze, wedge, celt, and haftings for these implements. Also occurring was the grooved muller-hammer. Ground slate dart or knife end-blades, the toggle (female) harpoon, often composite with a single basal spur, neatly made oval and rectangular stone lamps, foreshafts for harpoons with a central line hole, slender

barbed points (arrows?), plain, barbed, or composite fish spears, labrets, stone and bone carving, and semi-subterranean rectangular houses with wood or whale bone walls, are other diagnostics of this tradition. The only clear picture of this tradition we have far in the New World has been found by de Laguna (de Laguna, 1934 and 1956) at Kachemak Bay in the Gulf of Alaska. Here she has defined four sub-stages of this culture as well as added to it the culture of the historic Evak. Perhaps some of the early cultures that Borden has defined on the southern British Columbia coast (Borden, 1950) may also belong to, or be remnants of, this tradition. In terms of dating, of the material, mainly antler, has been processed for the Kachemak Bay I antler has been dated as 2,706 years ago (P-139). Some of Borden's early sites give dates of 2,900, 2,430 and 2.450 years ago (S-17, S-3 and S-18). On the basis of these estimates (done on antler which is usually conservative), I would guess the complex first appeared in the New World about 1,500 B.C. Dates of 205 and 231 A.D. (P-174 and P-102) for Kachemak III tend to confirm this estimate. Some of the projectile points in this complex, particularly the lanceolate and the lenticular forms, seem to have been derived from the earlier Arctic Small Tool tradition, but many of the elements are entirely new. I cannot but wonder if this tradition with its many new elements did not originate somewhere on the North Pacific coast of Asia. Certainly the many marine adapted tools would seem to indicate it had to come from some coastal region and we have found no likely ancestor for it in the New World.

However, one of the distinctive things about the North Pacific tradition is that it influenced a number of other cultures and gave rise to a series of other traditions in the Arctic. The first which we will discuss seems to have been a blend with the Arctic Small Tool tradition, but it became almost completely dominated by the North Pacific tradition. These remains are what I am calling the Aleutian tradition. As yet, a sufficient number of reports is not available for a clear definition of this tradition, so I will depend here on the precise albeit outdated work of Quimby (Martin, Quimgy and Collier, 1947). Seemingly characteristic of this tradition are multi-barbed bi-lateral harpoons with scoop-shaped sockets and central line holes; also

characteristic are rectangular, triangular and ovoid stone lamps, rectangular pit houses (with entry ways), cylindrical earrings, bone blubs and wedges, skin boats, serrated arrow points, notched end-scrapers, and a very distinctive art style. The earliest date for this tradition is 3,018 years ago (C-409), and it seems to have continued from about that time through three stages to the historic period of the Aleuts.

Having a somewhat similar history is the Inuk tradition. Here one finds basically and Arctic Small Tool tradition that took on and often readapted to Arctic conditions a whole series of North Pacific tradition elements. Further, due to its peculiar ecological zone, it invented or formed other entirely new elements. The end results of this process is that the Inuk is distinct from both its parents. Characteristic of this tradition are semi-subterranean houses with entry ways and back beds, ground slate usus, triangular chipped or ground slate harpoon end blades. Arctic winter travelling equipment such as sleds, ice creepers and snow goggles, kayak equipment, a variety of harpoons often with side blades and often also with lateral barbs. These harpoons also usually have bow-drilled line holes. Also occurring are simple lamps either of pottery or stone and cooking vessels, in the west of pottery, while in the east of steatite. Two components, both about 3,000 years old (P-96 and P-203), seem to be transitional between the earlier Arctic Small Tool tradition and the later more definite Inuk tradition. These are the Choris site from the Kotzebue Sound (Giddings, 1957) and the Joe Creek phase from the Firth River area (MacNeish, 1956 and 1959). Both have some holdover of micro-blades but they also show some of the elements of the Inuk tradition appearing. Perhaps more definitely in the Inuk tradition are the Norton type remains from the Bering Sea area (Giddings, personal communication), Seward Peninsula and the Kotzebue Drainage, the Near Ipiutak remains from Point Hope (Larsen and Rainey, 1948), the Kayuk remains from Anaktuvuk Pass (Campbell, personal communication), and the Cliff Culture remains from the Firth River (MacNeish, 1956 and 1959). Here we have something that seems to be truly Eskimo and of the Inuk tradition, though many of the tools, especially the chipped flint ones, seem to persist from the Arctic Small Tool heritage. This general stage

seems to have occurred about 400 B.C. (See Rainey and Ralph, 1959). After this time a rather peculiar bifurcation arose: one stem of this tradition that died out very shortly is to be found in Ipiutak (Larsen and Rainey, 1948), where seemingly many of the older Arctic tools and ways of life hung on and some of the newer elements of the tradition did not seem to take hold. While this culture persisted at Point Hope and in the Kotzebue area (at the Ipiutak site and the Krusenstern site), a more vigorous Inuk branch was developing in the Bering Sea area where it is called the Old Bering Sea (Collins, 1937) and Okvik cultures (Rainey, 1841). These seem to have occurred between the time of Christ and 300 or 400 A.D. (Rainey and Ralph, 1959). At about the end of the time period — perhaps first in the Barrows area — the Birnirk culture was developing (Ford, 1959). This begins at about 400 A.D. and seems to carry up as late as 800 A.D. and eventually gives away to Punuk culture in the Bering Sea area (Collins, 1937). During Punuk times a variant, called Thule culture, spread Inuk tradition across the Arctic as far as Greenland.

While the Inuk tradition was developing in the Alaskan area, the Arctic Small Tool tradition, particularly the eastern variety, was undergoing a change which gave rise to a new culture which we will call the Dorset tradition. (Much of what I write here is taken from conversation with W.E Taylor, though he should not be held responsible for the interpretation). In essence, the Dorset tradition seems to be composed of three traditions. It is mainly Arctic Small Tool tradition with a number of influences, direct and indirect, perhaps continual, from the western developing Inuk tradition. It also sees a few elements like side-notched points and scrapers from the Northwest Micro-blade traditions, especially from Lockhart River complex of the southeast Mackenzie and Keewatin (MacNeish, 1951). Characteristic for this stage would be micro-blades struck from polyhedral cores, either of the cudoid, tabular or conical variety. Also characteristic of this stage would be ground burin-like tools. Notched arrow points and knives occur, and there are many more chipper triangular points than lancealate. These people also had a sea-mammal adaptation, but their harpoons are somewhat different from the charcteristic Inuk ones in that

they have gouged rather than drilled line holes. Houses are often rectangular and their walls are composed of extremely large rocks. They also have a series of notched and stemmed end-scrapers. All these traits plus a distinctive realistic art make this tradition very different from anything else we have seen. Its geographic extent is very limited for it occurs mainly in the Eastern Arctic and eastern coastal sub-Arctic. Recent work has demonstrated a number of stages within this culture. These stages have been determined on the Melville Peninsula and are here called Igloolik I. II. III. IV. and V (Meldgaard, 1955). In the District of Franklin there are also Dorset remains, including those found at Frobisher (Collins, 1950), and these remains seem to be equivalent to Igloolik III. In Greenland there are at least two stages: Sermermiut which is equivalent to Igloolik III as well as Ritenbenk which seems to be equivalent to Igloolik V (Larsen and Meldgaard, 1958). In the Ungava Pesinsula Taylor's unpublished data show many of the five stages that are at Igloolik; however, only three of them have been well enough defined to speak of; one is called Tyara and is equivalent to Igloolik I: a second is Tonoo which is equivalent to Igloolik II; and a third is Keeatina which is equivalent to Igloolik V. On Southampton island, the famous T-1 site Collins, 1956) seems to be equivalent to Igloolik II. Many of the sites on the Labrador coast and at the northern edge of Newfoundland (areas really not a part of this paper), seem to be roughly equivalent to Igloolik IV and V. The earliest date of the Igloolik Dorset sequence seems to be about 800 B.C. and the final date and the end of this tradition seems to be around 1,000 A.D. (Rainey and Ralph, 1959). Just what ultimately happened to the Dorset tradition has as yet not been determined, but it may very well be that this Eskimo-like culture became swamped and amalgamated with the eastward spreading Inuk culture which — as the Thule culture — seems to have left Alaska and the Mackenzie area in full force shortly after 1,000 A.D.

The final cultural tradition we shall discuss is what I shall call Denetasiro, which in an Athabascan language means, "parent of the living Dene people." Characteristic of this tradition would be tci-tho scrapers, small, side and corner-notched arrow points.

unilateral multibarbed antler arrow points, detachable multibarbed fish spears, long-bone fleshers, antler daggers, antler and wooden clubs, large corner notched lance points, bone beamers. and an economy which was based on fishing with some adaptations toward trapping and hunting within the boreal forest. In the Athabascan area there are a number of phases that seem to belong to this tradition. In the southeastern Mackenzie District we have the Whitefish Lake complex (MacNeish, 1951); in the southwestern Mackenzie District there is the Spence River complex (MacNeish, in press); the Dixthada site in interior Alaska (Rainey, 1934) also seems to be of this tradition. All of these are historic or late prehistoric between the time of the arrival of the Europeans and 1,000 A.D. Only one phase seems to be any earlier and this is the Aishihik phase from the southern Yukon (MacNeish, in press). This lacks many of the bow and arrow elements and has a few more resemblances to some of the latest aspects of the Northwest Micro-blade tradition. However, the origin of the Denetasiro tradition still is undetermined. Some of its elements certainly derive from the Northwest Micro-blade tradition; where the others came from, I do not know and this remains a key problem in northern prehistory.

Summary

As is perhaps obvious from this paper, there is still a great deal unknown about Northern North American archaeology. I believe, however, that in terms of the concept of tradition most of the known sites and industries can be fitted into some sort of coherent scheme. That this scheme will be revised and the traditions supplemented and redefined is a certainty. Be that as it may, I hope this paper shows some progress toward synthesis of the rapidly accruing archaeological data and gives the reader a clear picture of what is known.

Briefly I see northern prehistory at present in terms of ten traditions (of varying validity). The earlier ones, British Mountain, Cordillerian, and Yuma are based on tenuous evidence. The Northwest Micro-blade, Arctic Small Tool, and North Pacific traditions are more solidly established and every field season sees their improvement. Except for the Aleut tradition, the later ones, Inuk, Dorset and Denetasiro seem to be on a relatively firm foundation.

However, perhaps as interesting as writing this paper itself has been the comparison of it with previous attempts to outline the prehistory of the north. When one looks at Collins' 1940 attempt, Larsen and Rainey's 1948 effort, and Collins' 1954 progress report, one is struck by the rapid and tremendous strides that have been made. In fact, it now appears that a coherent and understandable picture of Northern North America prehistory is within the realm of possibility in the not too distant future.

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