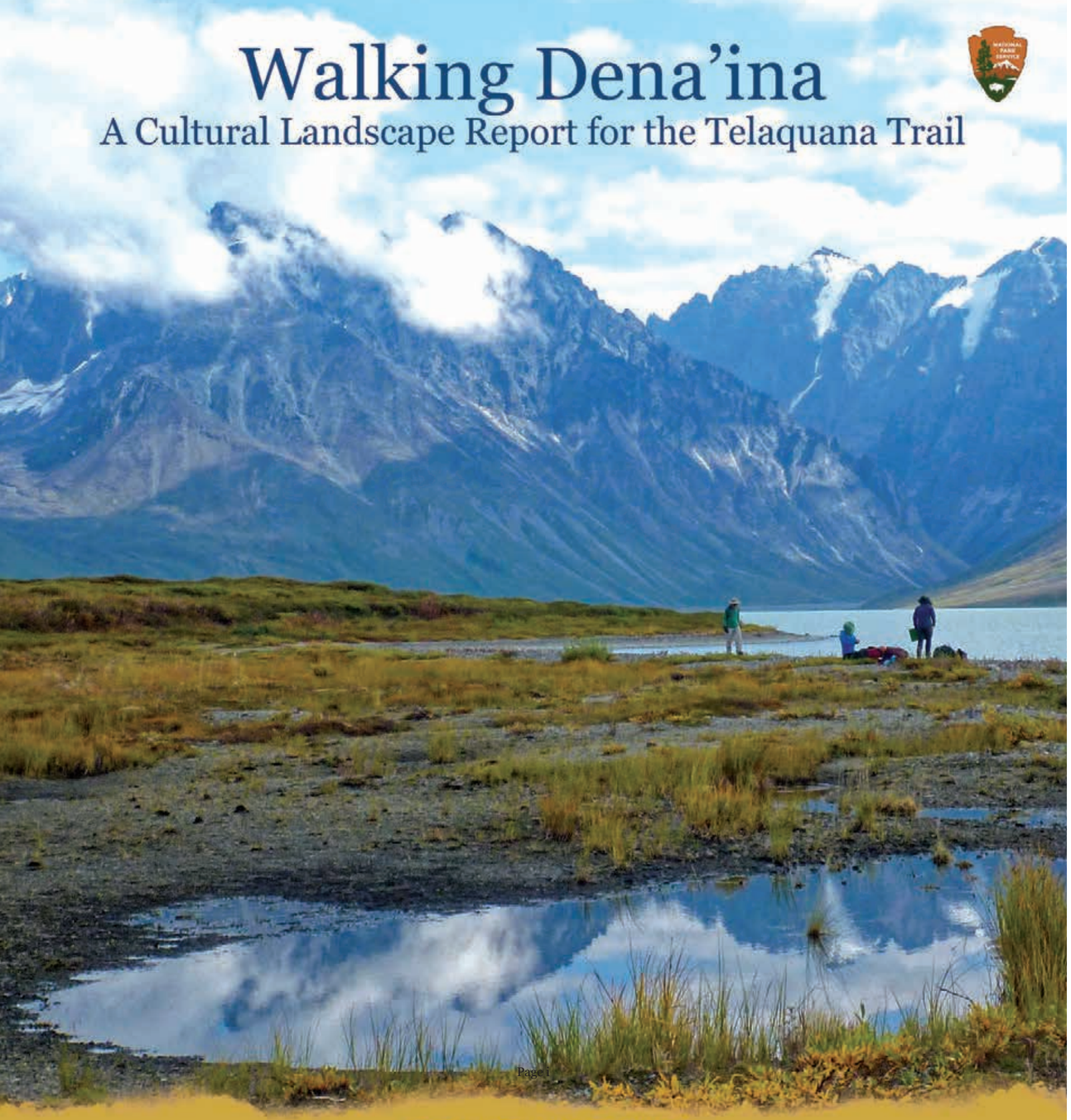
Walking Dena'ina

A Cultural Landscape Report for the Telaquana Trail



DOUGLAS DEUR

with JAMIE HEBERT, JOHN BRANSON, AND TRICIA GATES BROWN

Cover Photo:

Three hikers pause at the western end of Turquoise Lake with Telaquana Mountain dominating the stunning scene. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

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2020

“In the summer, they would walk the Telaquana Trail, carrying their supplies on backpacks. Dogs also wore backpacks in summer and in winter were used with sleds and harnesses. The Lake Clark area Dena’ina were aptly called the ‘Walking Dena’inas’ due to their ability to cover long distances on foot. It has been said that my grandmother’s husband, Trefon Balluta, would walk the entire length of the fifty-mile trail in one day!”

—Dena’ina elder, Frank Hill

Acknowledgements

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NPS staff hiking near Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu, "stream that flows on the swamp," in the Kijik National Historic Landmark. Photo by Douglas Deur.

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Priest Rock, Hnitsanghi'iy, looking southwest across Lake Clark. Photo by Douglas Deur.

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Introduction

The Telaquana Trail is an ancient pathway ascending from the shores of *Qizhjeh Vena*, Lake Clark, through tundra and timbered valleys, into a high-elevation expanse of rolling tundra and smaller interior lakes nearly 50 miles north of Lake Clark. The pathway is an ancestral corridor used by Native peoples since the beginning of remembered time. Though the archaeological record of the trail is still coming into focus, it lends us important clues about the trail and how it was used. For example, archaeological evidence at places like Twin Lakes and Snipe Lake suggests that ancestral Native communities occupied and traveled along what is today the Telaquana Trail soon after the glaciers retreated from the landscape, millennia ago.[1] The depth of human association with the trail is thus considerable and profound. And as a pathway lined with places of ancestral importance, linking modern Native communities to one-another and to places of reliable substance harvests, it continues to be valued by Dena'ina people today.

Left: A view from the western shore of Vandaztun Vena (Turquoise Lake) looking east to Nduk'eyux Dghil'u (Telaquana Mountain) presents a stunning view of breath-taking perfection. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019. Above: A aerial view of the glacial clad Neacola Mountains to the east of the Telaquana Trail. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Beginning in the late 19th century and continuing into the early 20th, non-Native peoples also regularly used this trail, following longstanding Native pathways between the Iliamna and Kuskokwim Basins in search of furs, precious metals, and more. Yet, this period of active exploration and exploitation of the Telaquana Trail backcountry was short-lived. Ephemeral trapping cabins and mining settlements along the trail have disbanded over the last century, and little discernible "trail" remains. Old villages and camps have been reclaimed by the soil and overgrown by native vegetation, while recreational travelers now outnumber Native residents along much of the trail. Aspects of the trail's historical landscape persist, nonetheless—especially as archaeological sites, cabin ruins, and culturally significant natural landscapes spread widely across the countryside. These places of importance, taken together, make up the Telaquana Trail cultural landscape, which transects the northwestern quadrant of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve.

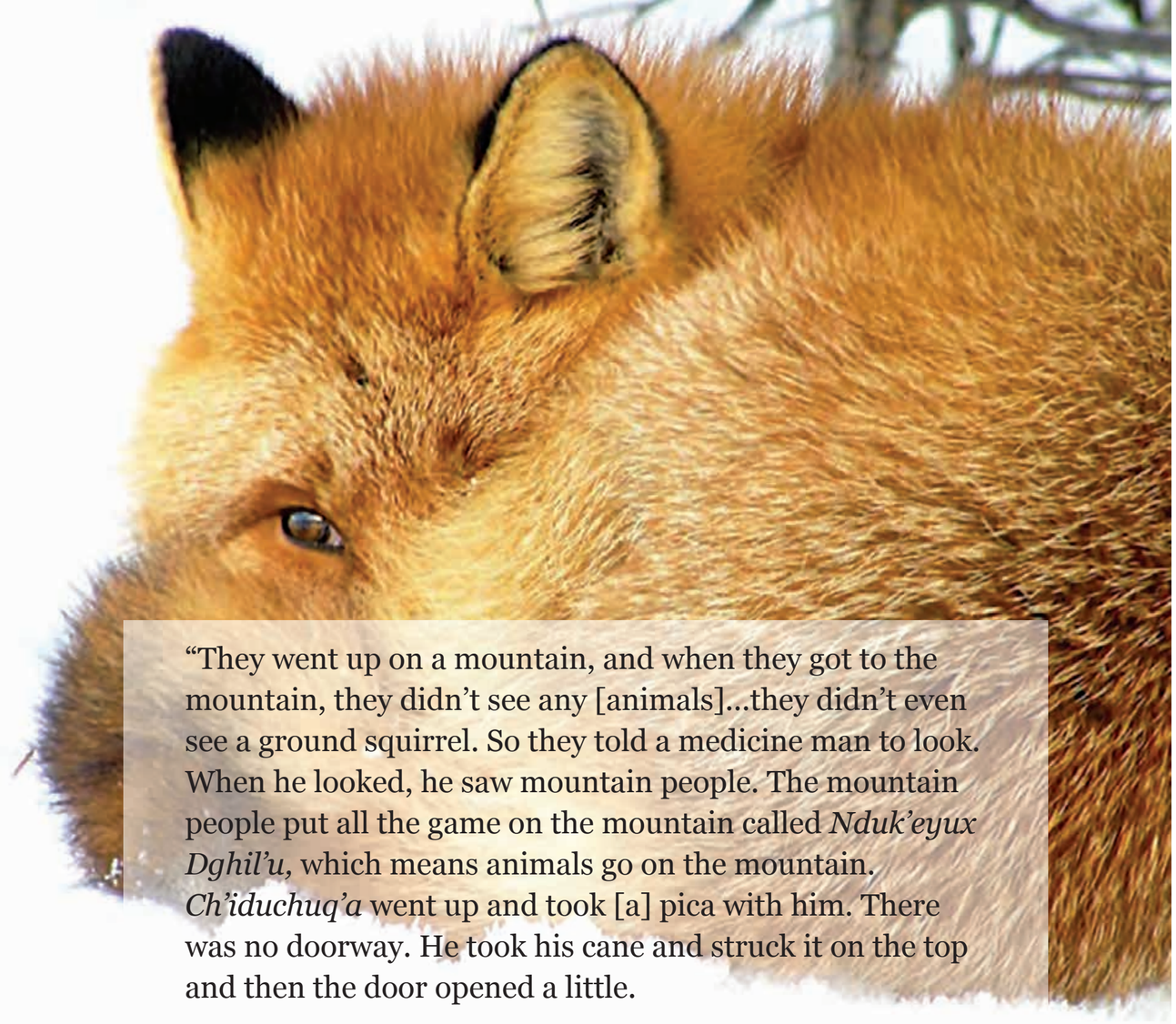
To the Inland Dena'ina people, the Telaquana Trail is the pivot point of the known world. Oral tradition and other lines of evidence speak of the villages near the northern end of the trail as the place of Dena'ina origins. In some accounts, the Inland Dena'ina first emerge as a people along these northern reaches—in the villages of the trail's northern terminus at Telaquana Lake, and in the Upper

Historic Kijik village photographed by biologist Wilfred Osgood in 1902. The village of this time was decimated by the "Great Sickness," the measles.and influenza epidemics that reduced the Dena'ina population by perhaps 25% in the course of a few years. © The Field Museum, Image No. A107933, Photographer Wilfred H. Osgood.

Stony and Upper Mulchatna River Basins—before dispersing into the wider world. In the Dena'ina language, this northern land is called *Htsaynenq'* or "First Land"—the name of the ancestral people who lived there.[2] For generations, Dena'ina peoples thrived and survived in communities centered on these interior lakes and waterways, traveling the Telaquana Trail to the Lake Clark Basin for subsistence and to interact with peoples from places beyond. Within the broader region, the Telaquana Trail served as a vital link in a vast trade network running from Iliamna Bay into the interior—where marine products like whale blubber and dentalium shells from the Pacific coast and Kodiak Island were exchanged for furs, shelf fungus (*Ganoderma applanatum*), and more—with Dena'ina people serving as traders, travelers, and middlemen at every step.

Dena'ina elders (left to right) Anne Seversen Monsen, Jimmy Drew, and Bertha Seversen Drew. All contributed to our appreciation of Dena'ina history and culture. Anne (b.1919) and Bertha (b.1930) were born to Yenlu Nudlash Seversen and Hans Seversen, preeminent merchants in the Iliamna-Lake Clark area in the early 20th century. Jimmy Drew was born at Iliamna to Alexandra Trefon Drew (daughter of Trefon Balluta and Mary Ann Trefon) and Harvey Drew (Portage Creek miner and Bristol Bay fisherman) in 1928. Jimmy was the grandson of Trefon Balluta and Mary Anne Trefon. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Traditionally, Dena'ina are extraordinary hikers—often covering 30 or 40 miles in a single day, and on longer trade trips would remain on the land for weeks or months at a time. Trefon Balluta famously was able to hike the full 50-mile trail, carrying no gear, in less than twenty-four hours without stopping to sleep. Whether on foot or by dogsled, the ancestral Dena'ina developed routes through this Corridor by identifying larger landmarks and making their way from point to point using paths of



"They went up on a mountain, and when they got to the mountain, they didn't see any [animals]...they didn't even see a ground squirrel. So they told a medicine man to look. When he looked, he saw mountain people. The mountain people put all the game on the mountain called *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u,* which means animals go on the mountain. *Ch'iduchuq'a* went up and took [a] pica with him. There was no doorway. He took his cane and struck it on the top and then the door opened a little.

"Inside they saw every species of animal. People were singing and dancing. In his song *Ch'iduchuq'a* named each species of animal, and they went out through the door. That's why we've got wild game. All the wild animals out in the country, *Ch'iguchuq'a* let out." – Ruth Koktelash

least resistance. This lifestyle required a sophisticated system of wayfinding through the landscape that was based on prominent natural features known through personal experience but also through rich oral traditions passed between generations. These oral traditions persist to some extent, called up by myriad Dena'ina place names that invoke the land's appearance as well as historical and cultural knowledge linked to particular places. As longtime ethnolinguist to the Dena'ina, James Kari, observed of the Inland Dena'ina, "the sequence of place names along a trail or river constitutes a mental map of that part of the country."[3] By naming and memorizing these landmarks, the Dena'ina retraced their traditional routes over generations. The place names, used extensively throughout this report, are still known today by many elders in Nondalton and Lime Village.[4]

The Telaquana Trail was fundamental to other aspects of traditional Dena'ina culture and history as well. Following this trail, generations of Inland Dena'ina people slowly migrated southward until most of their number lived at the trail's southern terminus: Kijik Village on the shores of Lake Clark.[5] This process accelerated during historic migrations in the late 19th and very early 20th century due to epidemic disease, the influence of Russian Orthodoxy, and the changing regional economy. In many respects, Telaquana Trail became the lifeline linking their home in Kijik to the Inland Dena'ina's foremost villages of origin on the shores of Telaquana Lake and waterways nearby. Key landmarks along the trail today include places where families temporarily relocated as they migrated south, places like *Nan Qelah* on the shores of Lake Clark, and in-between places where families regrouped to reconnoiter and decide where to hunt and fish in these transitional times—such as the *K'a Ka'a* Cabin built by Andrew Balluta. But though they relocated their homes, Dena'ina families still returned along the trail to that high country to hunt and fish, to seasonally reoccupy traditional villages and camps, and to visit landmarks of significance both sacred and mundane.[6] Though the measles and influenza epidemics of the early 20th century displaced the Dena'ina to a new home in the Lake Clark Basin, Nondalton Village, Telaquana Trail has continued to serve as a linkage between the ancestral homeland and the modern communities of Inland Dena'ina people into the present day.

This enduring connection has a variety of important consequences. For this homeland on the northern end of the trail is also understood to be a wellspring of nonhuman life, where caribou are found in astonishing abundance within the Mulchatna herd, where salmon ascend myriad rivers to arrive at each major lake in turn, and where small game abound. Looming above it all, dominating the viewshed, is the visage of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*, Telaquana Mountain, a place of origin and originating power for the animals of the Dena'ina homeland. Dena'ina *sukdu* (oral history) explains when the Earth was taking its present form, the animals were not yet abundant. The people had been hunting

A red fox, its dense and brilliant reddish-orange coat keeping it warm in winter. Photo by J. Mills, NPS.

unwisely and were experiencing a period of starvation and migration in search of food. Through ceremonial intervention, the shaman *Ch'iduchuq'a* (kingfisher) released all the animals of the Dena'ina world from that mountain. As Dena'ina elder, Ruth Koktelash recalled,

> "They went up on a mountain, and when they got to the mountain, they didn't see any [animals]...they didn't even see a ground squirrel. So they told a medicine man to look. When he looked, he saw mountain people. The mountain people put all the game on the mountain called *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u,* which means animals go on the mountain. *Ch'iduchuq'a* went up and took [a] pica with him. There was no doorway. He took his cane and struck it on the top and then the door opened a little.
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> "Inside they saw every species of animal. People were singing and dancing. In his song *Ch'iduchuq'a* named each species of animal, and they went out through the door. That's why we've got wild game. All the wild animals out in the country, *Ch'iguchuq'a* let out."

In this way, through a sacred act of grace and generosity, the animals of the Dena'ina world were released into the world, bringing lasting resource wealth to the people of the land. The land was blessed by this act, and the abundance and spiritual power of the event still permeates this northern part of the trail today—emanating from this area and dispersing into the river basins below. As Kari suggested of this mountain, it "is literally at the center of the drainages in the region, and has long been one of the principal sacred places of the Inland Dena'ina."[7]

For Inland Dena'ina who had relocated south to the Lake Clark Basin, the landscapes on the northern reaches of the Telaquana Trail still provided a special kind of protection. The abundance of game, fish, and other natural resources was not only an objective fact about the northern country, but was embedded in oral traditions passed across the generations, offering the promise of divinely ordained resource wealth and stability throughout the Dena'ina world. When the salmon runs faltered in the Lake Clark Basin—as they did in the 1920s due to commercial overfishing downstream—or when moose or caribou were scarce, the people of Kijik and vicinity were still safe. They could ascend the Telaquana Trail to return to this northern country, this First Land, to harvest the subsistence resources of their core homeland. The Telaquana Trail remained a conduit to these northern homelands, a source of endurance and security that allowed the modern interior Dena'ina to consolidate along the shores of *Qizhjeh Vena*, Lake Clark, safe in their lasting proximity to the country known as *Htsaynenq'*.[8] The stability of Kijik as known at the time of European contact—so remarkably large, settled, and permanent among the Inland Dena'ina villages—arguably depended on this enduring lifeline for its existence.

Wassillie Trefon, traveling by dogsled, in 1939. NPS photo, courtesy of Agnes Cusma.

Through the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Telaquana Trail remained the principal footpath within this interior region, and a dogsled route of growing importance. The trail lead to a complex network of secondary trails linking resource sites, campsites, and the territories of neighboring communities. People traveled actively between the villages on Telaquana Lake, those on Stony River, Kijik Village, and the many camps and smaller settlements in between. Trapping, trading, fishing, and socializing—the trail was the principal link to all these opportunities on the land and in villages of the greater Telaquana Trail region. As Dena'ina elder, Macy Hobson, recalled of the period,

> "that it was a well-traveled route between *Chqul-Chistnu* [Telaquana Village] and Kijik and was the access route for the Telaquana people to their nearest trading post at Old Iliamna. People came down on the trail in the fall to Kijik, then kayaked to the store at Iliamna. [One ancestor] reported that as a youth he would follow the trail from Kijik north to Telaquana Lake in late summer to fish. His family trapped there in the winter, then returned to the Lake Clark by dogsled. There were many campsites with pole caches along the way in timber patches at major stream crossings. Traplines were run all along the trail, and it was blazed, free of undergrowth."[9]

Similarly, modern Dena'ina attest that the lands along the trail were of singular significance in the history and culture of their people:

> "The route from Kijik to Telaquana Lake was a very important area. This was a high use area for food, hunting, trapping and even visiting. The people from Stony River, Lime Village would come over to *Qizhjeh Vena* [Lake Clark] side or Kijik people would travel there, back and forth. This was a hub for the area and as important to our ancestors as Bristol Bay is to people today."[10]

From the beginnings of European and EuroAmerican exploration, outside peoples also realized the trail's value as a transportation corridor. Russians first entered the region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, seeking to expand their fur trade networks—including the Vasily Ivanov party, circa 1790, and the Petr Korsakovsky party in 1818.[11] Their effects were subtle within the Inland Dena'ina world, but the Russian Orthodox missionaries who followed had more lasting effects. Inland Dena'ina villages became part of missionary parishes from the time of Hieromonk Juvenali, in 1795, with intermittent but intensified missionary activity through the 19th and early 20th centuries.[12] Though these missionaries left few physical traces as they traveled along the Dena'ina trail networks, their presence can still be felt at Kijik, with its large Russian Orthodox graveyard and ruins of a chapel dubbed "The Precious and Life-Giving Cross." The missionaries' influence can also be felt in the Dena'ina villages where Russian Orthodoxy persisted, often integrated with preexisting spiritual beliefs and practices. The rise of Russian Orthodoxy also added momentum to late 19th century migrations down Telaquana Trail—from interior Dena'ina homelands to villages at Lake Clark and vicinity that sat closer to the missionary post at Iliamna. The rise in Russian trade had indirect effects on the trail as well, as Dena'ina families at Kijik, Telaquana Lake, and other settlements intensified trapping along the trail route—for furs that provided their first access to non-Native trade and cash economies linked to markets worldwide.

By the early 20th century, EuroAmerican settlements appeared in several places along the Trail, such as Brown Carlson's place shown here at Portage Creek in 1941. Carlson's house is on the left, his three caches and woodshed visible in the center. Poles from Carlson's fish drying racks are on the right. Photo by Peggy Baker, provided to NPS by Margaret Alsworth Clum.

By the late 19th century, American explorers and prospectors first enter the region. In 1890, records mention what may have been the first use of the trail by three American prospectors who traveled 200 miles up the Mulchatna drainage searching for gold.[13] A year later in 1891, the Schanz party arrived at Kijik. Renaming *Qizhjeh Vena* as "Lake Clark," they note a portage to the "Rock" (Stony) River through a mountain pass north of the village—one of the first references to the trail in English language sources.[14] Naturalists W. Osgood and M. Gorman visit Kijik in 1902, and on their map of the region identify a Native trail to the Kuskokwim Basin via Trail Creek—a clear reference to the

Telaquana Trail.[15] Miners first appear by the mid-1890s, so that by 1902, Osgood documented "half a dozen" unnamed miners working gold placers on Portage Creek in 1902.[16] The Gillespie-Walm party pass through in 1902 as well, using the trail on one leg of a circuitous prospecting trip through southern Alaska—the first prospecting party to travel the trail. In the end, they abandoned 1,800 pounds of gear at Telaquana Lake before making a hasty retreat from the Alaska gold fields.[17] Other non-Native men arrived and settled permanently in the region at this time, such as Jack Hobson and Brown Carlson—marrying Dena'ina women and becoming participants in an increasingly multiethnic trapping tradition centered along the southern trail corridor. Carlson, and other men such as Frank Brown, also prospected for gold in the area, becoming part of a small community engaged in a mixed economy of modest gold prospecting, trapping, and subsistence hunting alongside occasional work in the commercial fisheries of Bristol Bay. In the early 20th century, prospectors sometimes traveled through the Telaquana Trail corridor en route to nearby gold mining regions, notably the Bonanza Hills and Portage Creek.[18] While physical traces of gold prospecting are elusive along the Telaquana Trail today, the mixed economy of the period is suggested by the ruins of former cabin sites, certain tree blazes at river crossings, and a few former caches.[19]

Brown Carlson and his daughter Ida Carlson Meyer Crater in 1963. NPS photo, courtesy of Ida Carlson Meyer Crater.

The name "Telaquana Trail" first appears in the written record by no later than 1921, when Colonel A.J. Macnab, one of the first outsiders to visit the area for recreational big game hunting, mentioned taking a canoe to "go down the lake to look for the Telaquana Trail."[20]

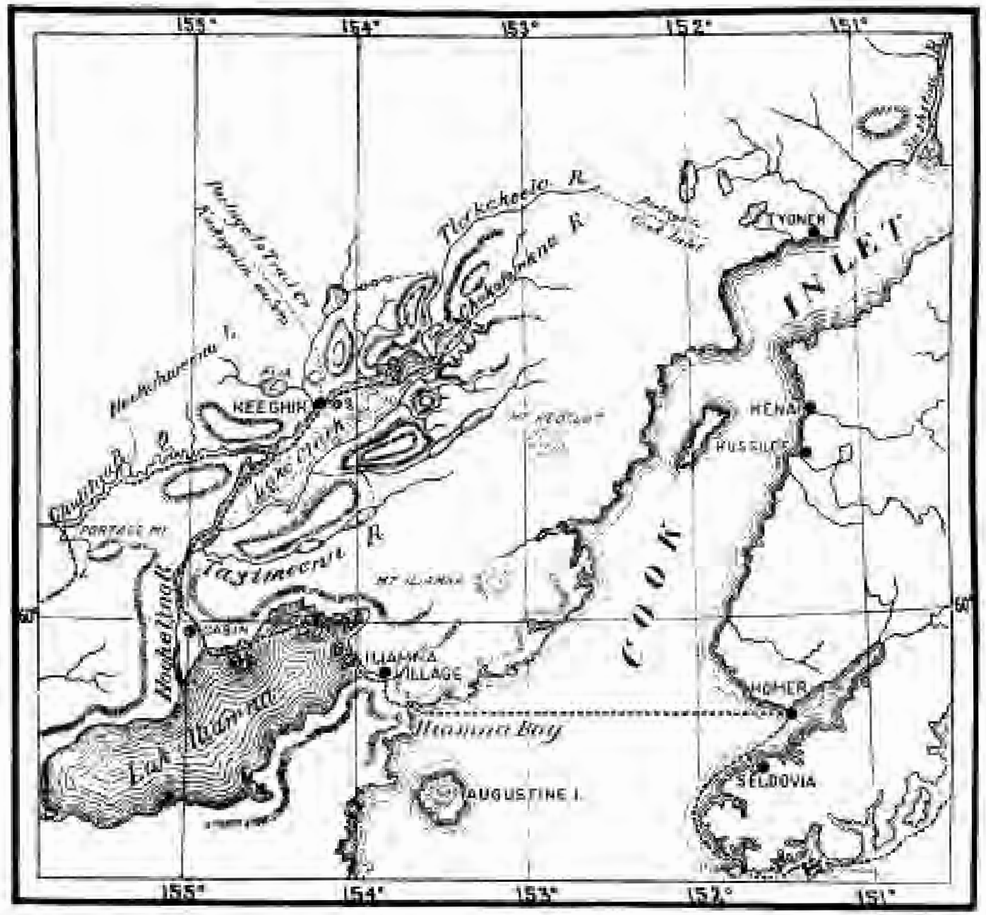
Stephen Capps of the U.S. Geological Survey traveled and mapped the area in 1929, as this mixed economy became well established. Producing the first detailed public map of the trail, Capps marks it as the "Native Route." As Dena'ina interviewees will attest, non-Native travel along the trail by this date was ample, but the corridor was still largely conceived of as Native space. Today, as the traces of significantly Anglo-American mining and trapping communities fade from the landscape, Dena'ina people still look to the trail corridor as a touchstone for their shared history and a cosmological axis of their own unique cultural geography. In the homes of Dena'ina people today, the landmarks of the Telaquana Trail are still remembered and the names of these places still spoken.

Researching the Cultural Landscapes of the Telaquana Trail

Through the work of prior researchers, including teams of National Park Service (NPS) staff, the basic outlines of this cultural landscape came into focus. Starting nearly two decades ago, NPS Cultural Landscape specialists led by Samson Ferreira compiled a "Cultural Landscape Inventory"—an impetus for the present document. The Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI), which we reference throughout this report, documented a number of specific landmarks contributing to the cultural and historical importance of the trail. Meanwhile, Park Anthropologist Karen Evanoff, a contributor to this report, heard and recorded her elders' oral traditions about the Telaquana Trail over decades, and John Branson, Lake Clark National Park & Preseve Historian and co-author of this report, traveled and documented the trail since the 1970s. With the help of Dena'ina elders, settlers' families, regional residents such as Dick Proenneke and others, Branson developed the most comprehensive collection of stories, written facts, and photos about the trail in existence—in addition to becoming a knowledgeable and energetic trail traveler himself.

A view of Dick Proenneke's cabin, perhaps the most famous historic landmark in Lake Clark National Park & Preserve. Courtesy NPS.

Unknown Dena'ina woman, probably from Old Nondalton stands in front of a semi-subterranean long house along the Newhalen Portage situated in the timber. Alaska State Library, Arthur Tulloch Collection, Arthur Tulloch, PCA-148-029.



The published Wilford Osgood map based on his 1902 survey of the Lake Clark region — clearly indicating the Telaquana Trail. Osgood, Wilfred H. 1904 A Biological Reconnaissance of the Base of the Alaska Peninsula. US Department of Agriculture, Division of Biological Survey North American Fauna No. 24. Government Printing Office, Washington DC. Electronic document, https://archive.org/details/biologicalreconn24osgo, accessed November 20, 2020.

The CLI document demonstrated that, taken together, the many culturally significant places along the Telaquana Trail meet the standard for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as a "cultural

The Telaquana Trail Corridor Historic District boundary, as established in prior NPS National Register of Historic Places documents. Courtesy NPS.

landscape." Roughly one mile wide and fifty miles long, this cultural landscape comprises archaeological sites, historical Native villages and camps, certain sites linked to the history of trapping and mining and—most of all—natural landscapes of enduring cultural significance to Dena'ina peoples. Based on this assessment, the NPS prepared National Historic Landmark documentation that presented the fundamentals of the CLI narrative and provided an expanded list of contributing resources along the trail. Reviewing the assembled evidence, the Alaska State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) concurred with the assessment that the Telaquana Trail Corridor is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Both the NPS and Alaska SHPO determined the trail's cultural landscape to be eligible to the National Register under Criterion A (for the trail's contribution to major themes in American history, including transportation, exploration/settlement, and trapping/prospecting) and Criterion D (for the trail's potential to yield archaeological information). They also agreed that the Telaquana Trail landscape represented both an "ethnographic landscape" and a "vernacular historical landscape."

Ironically, the "Telaquana Trail," strictly speaking, is not a contributing feature of the District, yet its route is. This is because the trail is not a "trail" in the usual National Register sense of the term. Instead, it is a route, known by virtue of wayfinding techniques and remembered through experience and the passing of this knowledge from generation to generation through oral tradition. More importantly, it is contributing because the natural features that serve as wayfinding elements for the route are physical elements of the landscape. They retain a high degree of integrity today—both in their condition and in their relationship to Dena'ina peoples. As such, the natural features of the corridor become important contributing features of the ethnographic landscape. While hundreds of traditional Dena'ina place names are arguably associated with the Telaquana Trail Corridor, and thousands exist within the greater Dena'ina territory, only the key landmarks and key wayfinding elements of the Corridor are considered contributing to the District and addressed in the pages that follow.[21]

The purpose of this Cultural Landscape Report (CLR), then, has been to document the landmarks that make the Telaquana Trail cultural landscape culturally and historically significant. As is true of all CLR documents, we have sought to identify the key features, values, and associations that contribute to this significance—both in historical terms and within the living culture of Dena'ina peoples. To determine which landmarks should be included, we began with an initial compilation of sites and site names along the Telaquana Trail created as part of the Cultural Landscapes Inventory filed in 2006 by NPS.[22] Within that document are two lists of sites: one of Natural Systems and Features and one of Archaeological Sites. We used these lists to begin our own analysis, adding certain additional "suspected archaeological sites of unknown significance and association," culturally modified trees (CMTs), and hunting and trapping sites also mentioned in the CLI text.

Douglas Deur interviews John Branson about Telaquana Trail history while taking a break along the Trail with NPS Archaeologist Dael Devenport. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2017.

In addition to the 2006 CLI, we also consulted a master list of sites included in Telaquana Trail documentation submitted to the Alaska State Historic Preservation office to determine the eligibility of the trail to the National Register of Historic Places.[23] Sites along the Telaquana Trail are not listed in table format in a National Historic Landmark (NHL) document included as part of that documentation, but are described within the text in correlation with a table of "Telaquana Trail Geographical Place Names," attributed to James Kari's "Dena'ina Place Names in the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Study Area," *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[24] We added every site within the text of the NHL and the associated place names table into our master list, alongside landmarks mentioned in the CLI. With this consolidated list, we then carried out a broad literature review regarding all of the sites listed in these sources in available published and archival materials relating to the archaeological, ethnographic, ethnohistorical, architectural, and historical resources of the Telaquana Trail. Table 1 lists these landmarks and some of the key written sources that describe their cultural and historical significance.[25] The research team also carried out extensive field reconnaissance hikes along most segments of the Telaquana Trail over the course of the study, and

Hikers pause in a high alpine valley on the way to Portage Creek on Lake Clark, south of L'ałi Vena, Lachbuna Lake. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

lead author Douglas Deur carried out ethnographic interviews relating to the trail with Park Anthropologist and Dena'ina researcher, Karen Evanoff—all activities that have contributed materially to the current report.

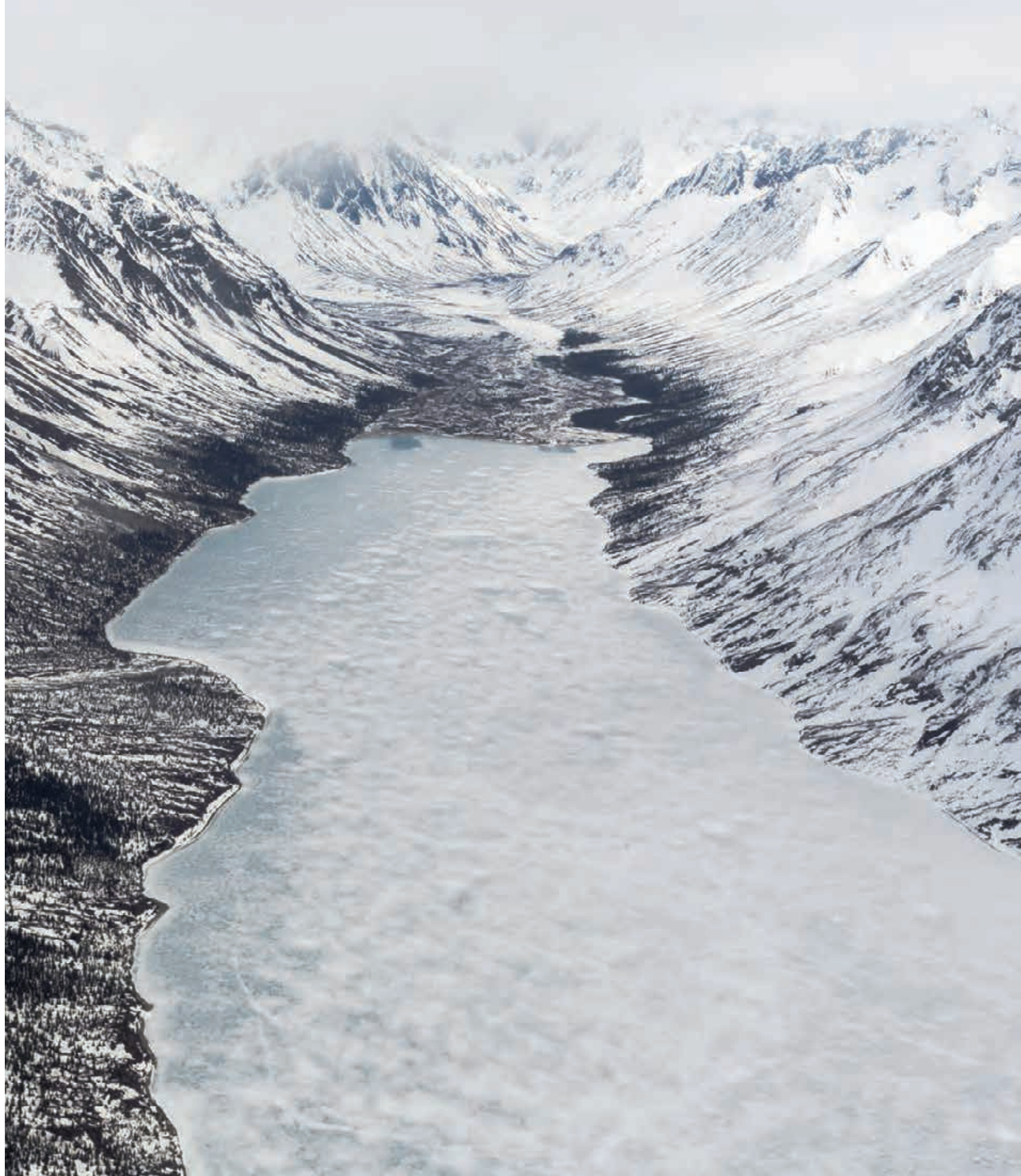
Landmarks with special significance in the history and cultural heritage of the Telaquana Trail are generally identified as "contributing" resources in this document, if they are also on NPS land and within the physical boundaries of the Telaquana Trail Corridor. We also address certain "discontinuous" resources that exist on NPS lands outside of the trail corridor—which are important in understanding the cultural and historical importance of the trail, but debatable as "contributing" resources. Within this CLR, we also address a few sites of singular historical significance that sit on private property (*Qizhjeh*—Historic Kijik Village, for example), recognizing that these are non-contributing in a National Register nomination.[26] We present the contributing elements of this cultural landscape here and propose alternative additions and subtractions from the original lists of landmarks presented by the CLI and associated National Register documents. Our recommendations

John Branson on beach near Priest Rock. Photo by Douglas Deur.

are informed by significant works that had not been completed when NPS staff developed the original CLI, such as David Tennessen's comprehensive archaeological overview and Jennifer Tobey's meticulous assessment of cabins and their ruins. We also add a few places in light of their singular significance within Dena'ina tradition, identified in interviews conducted with Dena'ina elders both during and prior to this study. Though the entire landscape is significant in its way, and all pieces are connected to the whole, certain places certainly stand out. These special landmarks are the focus of the report that follows. Following conventions for Cultural Landscape Reports, the organization of this document is complex but navigable.[27] Key landmarks are organized by major themes. And within each theme, landmarks are ordered approximately by their appearance from north to south along the trail.

Authors Deur (right) and Branson (left) hiking on the Telaquana Trail with the Chilikadrotna River Basin extending into the far distance. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU..

We conclude that the trail is indisputably an "ethnographic landscape," of enduring cultural and historical significance to Dena'ina people into the present day. Though it is a "vernacular historical landscape" in some respects, the tangible traces of this aspect of the trail are rapidly fading from the land. Based on that revelation and the combined significance of both archaeology and Native significance—we propose various treatment alternatives aimed at protecting the integrity of the land and the integrity of Dena'ina cultural attachments to this unique landscape at the heart of their homeland.



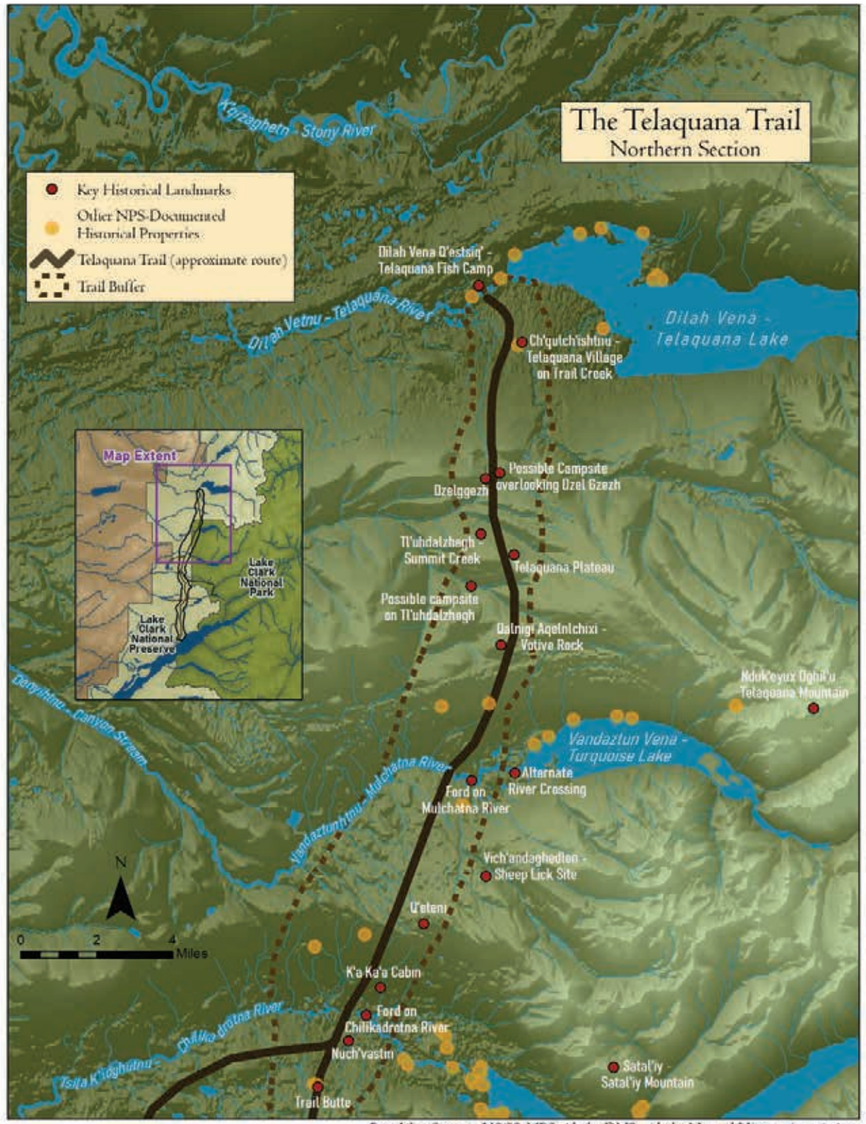
Aerial view of Unqeghnit Nilqidlen Vena, Upper Twin Lake, still frozen in early spring. Photo by Tia Vaughn, NPS, 2016.

Table 1: Contributing Landmarks within Prior NPS National Register Documentation pertaining to the Telaquana Trail

References in Prior Telaquana Trail Documentation	CLI (2006)	NPS (n.d.)	Kari (1986)	Other Source
Dilah Vena—Telaquana Lake	X		X	X
Vandaztun Vena—Turquoise Lake			X	X
Tsila K'idghutnu or Tsilak'idghutnu—Chilikadrotna River	X	X	X	X
Nitqidlen Vena—Twin Lakes			X	X
K'dalghek Valley—Big Valley	X	X	X	
Yudun Dghil'u—Downstream Mountain	X	X	X	X
Ch'ak'dałtnu Tl'ughu—Kijik River above Lachbuna Lake		X		X
K'ilghech'—Gap Valley	X	X	X	X
Ch'ak'daltnu—Kijik River/ 'Animals walk out stream'	X	X	X	X
Nan Qelah Vetnu—Miller Creek		X	X	X
Qałnigi Aqenlchixi or *Qałnigi Aquenlchixi*—Votive Rock (XLC-130)	X	X	X	X
N'duk'eyux Dghil'u—Telaquana Mountain		X	X	X
K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy or *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy*—Hnidenghi'iy Mountain		X	X	X
Hnitsanghi'iy and *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten*—Priest Rock and Priest Rock Creek	X	X	X	X
Dilah Vetnu—Telaquana River	X	X	X	X
K'qizaghetn—Stony River			X	X
Ch'qulch'ishtnu—Trail Creek	X	X	X	X
Tl'uhdalzhegh—Summit Creek	X	X	X	X
Vandaztunhtna—Upper Mulchatna River	X	X	X	X
Ford on Mulchatna		X		X
K'aka'a or K'aka or *K'a ka'a Valley*—Valley on the Upper Chilikadrotna	X	X	X	X
Ford on Chilikadrotna River		X		X
K'adała Vena—Snipe Lake			X	X
K'dalghektnu—Bear Creek		X	X	X
Nunch'qełchixitnu—Little Mulchatna River		X	X	X
K'ilghech - College Creek		X	X	X
Southern End of *K'ilghech'*—South Gap Valley		X		X
Tuvughna Ten—Tyonek People's Trail/S.O.B. Canyon	X	X	X	X
Tits'nadzeni—S.O.B. Mountain			X	X
Veghdeq Idałtin or *Veghq Idałtin*—Miller Lake	X	X	X	X

K'unust'in—Kijik Mountain		X	X	X
Kenquq' Tazdlenitu—Creek at the Base of Kijik Mountain		X	X	
Qil'ihtnu—Bad or Evil Creek; Creek north of Kijik Village		X	X	X
Dzełggezh or Dzel Gzegh—Mountain Gap	X	X	X	X
Q'eteni—Northern Plateau	X	X	X	X
Q'eteni—Southern Plateau	X	X	X	X
Qiniha— Wolf Mountain	X	X	X	X
Possible campsite overlooking *Dzeł Gzezh*	X	X	X	X
Possible campsite overlooking *Tl'uhdalzhegh*	X			X
Nuch'vastin—Spruce Timber Extends Camp	X	X	X	X
K'ena'a Qelahi—Lookout Mountain/Trail Butte	X	X	X	X
Cache at Pear Lake	X			X
Trefon Balluta Cache	X			X
Nan Qelah Tustes		X	X	X
Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'—Telaquana Lake Fish Camp (XLC-035, AA-11101)	X	X	X	X
Ch'gułch'ishtnu—Telaquana Village (XLC-002, AA-11092)	X	X	X	X
Turquoise Lake—Archaeological Site (XLC-128)				X
Near Turquoise Lake—Gravesite (XLC-129)	X			X
Kijik Kashim Site (XLC-094)			X	X

If a place is addressed witin the three principle NPS National Register documents, this is indicated in the blue highlighted columns. The category of "Other" includes a range of other historical and ethnographic sources relating to the trail; see Bibliography and the texts of specific sections to identify these sources for each resource.



Base Map Sources: USGS, NPS, Alaska DNR, Alaska Natural History Association

Base Map Sources: USGS, NPS, Alaska DNR, Alaska Natural History Association

Telaquana Trail: *Site History and the Natural Landscape*

The Telaquana Corridor Historic District is a linear landscape corridor extending some 50 miles across the northwestern quadrant of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. Established as a national park in December 1980 by section 201 (7)(a) of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA),[28] Lake Clark National Park and Preserve consists of over 4 million acres of land.[29] Close to 2.5 million acres are designated wilderness. Within this vast expanse, the Telaquana Corridor Historic District is a landscape of unique historic and ethnographic significance, closely linked to the history and culture of Dena'ina people, a traditionally Athabaskan-speaking people of what is today south-central Alaska. In addition to villages including *Qeghnilen*, the Telaquana Trail is directly associated with the ancestral Dena'ina villages of Kijik, and overlaps places with the Kijik Archaeological District National Historic Landmark. Both districts are considered distinct cultural landscapes representing different aspects of Dena'ina history and different resource types, both of enduring cultural and historical importance to modern Dena'ina people.

The collision of the Alaska and Aleutian Mountain Ranges formed the fundamental geographies of the Telaquana Corridor. The Corridor sits approximately 260 km southwest of Anchorage, where the rugged western slope of the Neacola Mountains meets the rolling tundra of the Mulchatna River Basin. The trail travels across foothills, following close the outlets of glacially-carved lakes and what is perhaps the most readily traveled north-south pathway possible through these rough and craggy lands. According to one description, "The Corridor is primarily within what has been characterized as the Foothill–Lakes physiographic subdivision," The southern end of the trail descends into the more deeply incised Kijik River valley, draining into Lake Clark within what is sometimes called "the Lake Clark–Kontrashibuna physiographic subdivision."[30] Throughout this document, we discuss specific landscape features along this route, within what is today the Telaquana Corridor Historic District—alternatively referring to it as the District, the Corridor, Telaquana Corridor, Telaquana Trail, and "the

Hikers along the Telaquana Trail have sometimes used beaver dams as crossing points, such as in this scene at a beaver dam crossing College Creek in K'ilghech Valley. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

trail." This trail is of such significance in local and regional history, so central to Dena'ina culture, in fact, that its contours and landscapes are embedded in Dena'ina oral tradition and inextricably woven into the Dena'ina worldview, while the contours of the trail have also been subtly shaped by these cultural traditions. We return frequently to this point throughout the document.

The Telaquana Trail crosses three major river drainages of western Alaska: the Kvichak, the Nushagak, and the Kuskokwim. All three are major salmon-bearing rivers, draining ultimately to the sea at Bristol Bay. Lake Clark is the largest tributary of Iliamna Lake, the largest lake in Alaska, which is in turn the source of the Kvichak River — historically the largest producer of red salmon into Bristol Bay. Based largely on vegetation characterizations and geomorphology, researchers have proposed certain subdivisions of the trail. Expanding on original designations by Racine and Young, the National Park Service commonly refers to these areas as including: the Montane Regions separating the coast from the Interior, and the Interior Lowlands Region west of the Foothill-Lakes subdivision.[31] A separate Coastal Zone, fronting Cook Inlet, is also recognized within Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, but stands many miles to the east of the trail.[32] Within the Foothill–Lakes subdivision are four major lake complexes: Two Lakes, Telaquana Lake, Turquoise Lake, and Twin Lakes. These glacial lakes are situated at the headwaters of major rivers—the first two flowing into Kukokwim Bay, the second two draining into Britsol Bay. Twin Lakes is the source of the Chilikadrotna River (largest tributary of the Mulchatna River), with both Turquoise and Twin Lakes being tributaries of the Mulchatna River, whose waters ultimately end up in Nushagak Bay (Bristol Bay) via the Nushagak River. The Mulchatna is the largest tributary of the Nushagak River, the third largest river in western Alaska after the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers, and a major salmon river in season. Telaquana Lake drains into the Stony River via the Telaquana, and Two Lakes drains into the Stony River via the Necons River.[33] Subsequently, Stony River empties into the Kuskokwim, draining in turn into Kuskokwim Bay, approximately 200 air miles northwest of Nushagak Bay. Together, these few lakes sit at the headwaters of a vast and interconnected series of river basins—the watersheds draining into the north bank of Bristol Bay. In this relatively remote condition, the Telaquana Trail and the larger Bristol Bay/Kuskokwim Basin region has been significantly protected from the development pressures found in other parts of Alaska and North America beyond. Though it still serves as a travel corridor of sorts, it has therefore retained its integrity to a remarkable degree. As Linda Ellanna noted, "Of the 50 miles of the Telaquana Trail less than two hundred yards has been altered from its historic appearance."[34]

The Telaquana foothills, traditionally occupied and utilized by Inland Dena'ina communities, encompass over one million acres. Running across these foothills, the Telaquana Trail has served as a key transportation corridor, connecting major villages, seasonal camps, and subsistence use areas throughout the region. The trail itself is an unmarked route across this vast region, traditionally navigated using wayfinding skills. Its route follows a natural corridor running from Kijik on the

shores of *Qizhjeh Vena*, Lake Clark (part of the Kvichak River drainage), through boreal forest and over tundra, eventually crossing over the headwaters of the three major river drainages mentioned above. In the late 18th century, on the eve of direct European contact, the Telaquana Trail did not leave from the shore of Lake Clark only at historic Kijik Village, but ascended from a number of pre-contact villages that were situated facing south at the base of Kijik Mountain.The trail winds through passes between hills and mountains, and across alpine tundra and muskeg along the western flank of the

Unqeghnit Niłqidlen Vena, Upper Twin Lake. Photo by K. Jalone, NPS, 2012.

Lake Clark National Park and Preserve to a northern terminus at Telaquana Lake (part of the Kuskokwim River drainage). This is of particular significance because the two drainages host distinct populations of salmon, and the trail traverses several drainages that allowed Dena'ina people to harvest fish from outside of the Bristol Bay drainage. This range of options for fishing venues at once sustained resident villages in those drainages historically, allowed for fishing in conjunction with travel along the trail, and provided food security when salmon runs crashed on particular rivers—as happened in the early 20th century Bristol Bay region due to commercial overfishing. The preeminent subsistence resource at Kijik and Telaquana are sockeye (red) salmon (*Onorhynchus nerka*). While sockeye salmon are also found in abundance in and around Telaquana Lake, so are King salmon (*O. tshawytscha*), which arrive at roughly the same time in smaller quantities than the sockeye, spawning just below Telaquana Lake in the upper Telaquana River and Trail Creek.[35] This diversity of salmon,

with different times of arrival at these key waterways, has provided Dena'ina people with options for harvest times and locations. If the runs on one drainage were poor, they could rely on the other as backup; in turn, this has provided Dena'ina people with food security over many generations—traveling between these drainages along the Telaquana Trail. Indeed, this geographical reality may have contributed significantly to early development and use of the trail.

Certain main historic trailheads form the southern terminus of the Telaquana Trail beginning at historic Kijik Village and the mouth of Miller Creek, though other trailheads existed prior to European contact. A wintertime trailhead also entered near the mouth of Priest Rock Creek. From these southern terminus points, the trail ascends gradually northward to a junction on the *Nan Qelah Vetnu* (Miller Creek) Basin. At Kijik Village, a foot-deep rut in the tundra has been among the evidence of extensive trail use in the 19th century by Dena'ina travelers—one of the few places where a true "trail" is inscribed on the land and plausibly detectable along the entire modern route. This indentation transects a black spruce forest for roughly a mile before disappearing into a marshy area formed by beaver dams. Then, as explained in the original Cultural Landscape Inventory,

> "From this point the trail goes north to [Miller Lake and then down in the Kijik River canyon] the Frank Brown [/J.W. Walker] Cabin… in the Kijik River Valley [from the Kijik River one mile up stream on North side to mouth of S.O.B. Creek and up that creek to Kil'ghech] and continues north to K'ilghech Valley… Proceeding north the Telaquana Trail crosses Bear Creek (K'dalghektnu)… and continues north crossing the Chilikadrotna River…The trail continues north crossing the Mulchatna River… proceeding north mid way across Qeteni… Approaching the northern end of the trail at Telaquana Village…the trail comes to its northern terminus at Telaquana Fish Camp."[36]

Dog team at Old Nondalton, around 1930. This seventeen-dog team with a freight sled probably belonged to Father Sergi from Egegik – a priest who visited Nondalton in the early 20th century. Photo courtesy of Ida Carlson Crater, H-95.

The exact path varied over time, and between seasons. Winter travel was a different experience, with frozen waters, snowshoes and eventually dogsleds allowing different points of access. A winter trailhead existed at the mouth of *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten,* Priest Rock Creek, near Gabriel Trefon's cache; the ground here was relatively open immediately north of Priest Rock Creek before entering the thick boreal forest heading north toward the Kijik River ford, where all these northward trails converged.[37] A few tree blazes and other markings suggest the route through dense and disorienting timber.

On the northern end of the trail, people followed its course from the Telaquana Village, *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* upstream along Trail Creek, on the east side of the creek, one mile before crossing Trail Creek just below the canyon on Trail Creek, and proceeding southwest and uphill toward *Dzelggezh* ("mountain gap") or over a series of ever ascending undulating moraines until one reached the alpine tundra beyond the gap. The trail then crossed Trail Creek to the west side one mile to the south, before entering the canyon and heading south and up out of the Telaquana Lake Basin. Here too, the area is densely forested, so that "[a]t both Kijik and Telaquana a few very old axe blazes on spruce and cottonwood trees stand as trail markers left by Dena'ina axemen."[38] The trail was probably always subtle, and not readily detectable along many segments. As use of the Telaquana Trail has declined rapidly since the 1930s, rotting cabins, caches, and other culturally modified trees and markers that follow the trail are barely visible now too—making for a very subtle, mostly invisible trail route along most of its length. Indeed, in the absence of culturally modified trees and other cues in the landscape, the modern trail lacks any physical manifestations detectable to the traveler: "Above the tree line the exact trail has always been faint, so one follows an approximate route between historic camping sites."[39]

Harnessing a dog team on the Telaquana Trail in the late 1930s. NPS photo, courtesy of Rose Hedlund. H-1013.

Only in the winter, when people broke portions of the Telaquana Trail by foot, dogsled, and later snowmachines, were trail segments especially visible as a track through the snow: "I think it was more of a hard and fast trail during wintertime use, because if you could open up a trail at least part of it would be visible."[40] Sometimes, Dena'ina people snowshoed ahead of their dogsleds to clear the trail and compact the snow, so that the dogs could proceed smoothly up these paths. Dena'ina elders such as Lary Hill describe weather along the Telaquana Trail as "ever-changing" at these times of year, requiring special care and navigational strategies.[41] Similarly, as John Branson recalls, "Agnes Cusma told me that was the most sketchy part of it because a lot of times it would be in clouds and stuff and you had to have a good leader for your dog team that knew the trail that would stay on it or you could get lost out there."[42] Oral tradition also describes how Wassillie Trefon had a fine dog team, intimately familiar with the contours of the Telaquana Trail. Agnes Cusma recalled that Wassillie Trefon could travel across *Q'eteni* safely because his leader knew the trail so well the team was sure to get across the big flat in most any kind of weather. Howard Bowman reported that his father Fred sometimes borrowed Wassillie's head dog, Florie, because that dog always knew how to find his way home across the trail's expanses.[43] Brush and tree bark shelters, and later wall tents, helped afford modest protection from the elements on these journeys.

Kijik people gather for fall fishing for red salmon, around 1910. Back row, from left to right: Mary Ann Trefon holding daughter Agafia, Trefon Balluta, Gabriel Trefon, Wassillie Trefon, Marka Karshekoff, three unknown men, Maxium Cusma. Front row, left to right: Alexie Balluta, Alexan Trefon (standing behind Alexie), Pete "Fedja" Delkittie holding unidentified girl, and another unidentified girl. Taken at Kijik around 1905, courtesy of Agnes Cusma.

Formal documentation of the Telaquana Trail, including the Cultural Landscape Inventory and documentation produced to demonstrate eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places further defines the trail.[44] For the purpose of the National Register, the Telaquana Trail Historic Corridor is a 50-mile long, one-mile wide corridor running from Kijik to Telaquana Lake, which encompasses known historic routes, natural features, and other objects and sites in the landscape that contribute significance to the District. Together, this National Register-eligible landscape is vast, totaling approximately 56,638 acres. The NPS first established this Corridor boundary through the delineation of the historic Dena'ina trail route on the basis of available written and oral history documentation, as well as by incorporating subtly different trail route information compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Cook Inlet Region Inc. in the 1980s.[45] The NPS digitized these routes in a GIS platform and geo-referenced all data to U.S. Geological Survey maps at a 1:250,000 scale; NPS mapmakers charted a composite map that unified the NPS and BIA maps. Utilizing this composite map, NPS cartographers then charted a one-half mile (805 m) buffer on each side to account for known trail variations and contributing landscape features. This composite map was adjusted on its southern end to exclude private property. With this mapping exercise complete, the resulting "polygon"—50 miles long and one mile wide, was officially accepted as the historic district boundary.[46]

The Telaquana Trail exists almost entirely on public lands. Exceptions include two trailheads: one on Lake Clark at historic Kijik Village and the other three miles north at the mouth of Miller Creek.[47] Areas of private land are not under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service (NPS) and therefore are not included in the Corridor's boundary. These areas include privately-owned trail segments at *Nan Qelah*, near the mouth of Miller Creek—a Dena'ina winter camp and 20th century trailhead—as well as at Historic Kijik Village. The NPS also excluded the Priest Rock Creek trailhead for similar reasons within the original CLI, though this land is now owned by the NPS and shall be included within the trail narrative below and future National Register nomination efforts. One section of the district, on its far southern end, overlaps with the Kijik Archaeological District National Historic Landmark in an area of complex public and private ownerships.

Not all significant features, objects, and sites relating to the historical and cultural significance of the Telaquana Trail are within the mile-wide Corridor boundary. Natural landscapes of cultural importance, certain landmarks used in navigation and wayfinding on the trail, campsites, and village sites are known to exist along the margins of the trail corridor, and to contribute to its story and integrity. Their existence and their connection to the historic Telaquana Trail has been verified through numerous investigations, but they are not situated within the somewhat arbitrary mile-wide Corridor.[48]

Yet a proper description of the Telaquana Trail extends beyond mere physical landmarks, because much of its significance is intrinsic and intangible. More than most "cultural landscapes" managed by

the National Park Service, the Telaquana Trail consists almost exclusively of natural landmarks of cultural significance. Built features have largely disappeared from the land, leaving only subsurface archaeology and a smattering of exceedingly subtle features such as culturally modified trees as tangible evidence of human activity. Yet, these intangible values have great significance. Oral traditions relating to particular landmarks have helped countless generations of Dena'ina navigate the available resources of the land, as well as to navigate broader social, cultural, economic, and spiritual landscapes. For example, though presently uninhabited, the northern part of the trail holds profound meaning to the Dena'ina people as a place of natural resource abundance and security, at relatively mundane places such as *Dilah Vena*, Telaquana Lake, and uniquely sacred places like *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u,* Telaquana Mountain or *Qalnigi Aqenlchixi* "votive rock" northwest of Turquoise Lake. As the Telaquana Trail Cultural Landscape Inventory noted,

> "Unique to the Telaquana Corridor is the abundance of ethnographic information documenting wayfinding methods through this particular place and the importance of natural features as wayfinding elements of the landscape. Knowledge of these methods and use of this route by the Dena'ina, and later by Euroamericans, reveals a landscape with significant ethnographic and historic vernacular characteristics. More importantly, the absence of an extant trail does not diminish the significance of the resource in this case given the abundance of historical and ethnographic evidence documenting its existence."[49]

Given these complexities, the NPS National Register documentation relating to the trail suggests, "[T]he boundary description of the Telaquana Trail is best verified by one knowledgeable in local history, geography and Dena'ina culture repeatedly hiking the trail searching, discovering, documenting and reflecting on the probable route of the trail."[50] In this document, we present both places that are within the contiguous trail boundary, and potentially contributing but discontiguous places, based on precisely this kind of assessment—drawing from the input of longtime historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, and especially the knowledge of Dena'ina people with deep personal and community ties to the trail.

Political Boundary Description

The Telaquana Corridor is situated in the State of Alaska and falls within the boundaries of the Lake and Peninsula and Bethel Boroughs, located within the boundaries of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. Most of the Corridor lies within the Preserve section of the park. In 1985, a 50-foot easement from Kijik to Telaquana Lake (based on the 1985 BIA estimation of the route) was selected by CIRI (Cook Inlet Region Inc.); however, this land was not officially transferred and was relinquished by CIRI in the early 2010s. Thus, all of the lands within the designated Telaquana Trail

Historic District boundaries are owned by the NPS on a fee-simple basis. Private lands along the shore of Lake Clark prevent the district boundary from encompassing the historic trailheads in these privately-owned areas, but the public still has access to the trail through alternate trailheads including a public access point at Priest Rock. "Moose Cove," the cove east of the mouth of *Nan Qelah*, Miller Creek, is also public land and a good access point—ringed on the Lake Clark side by islands that offer calm water suitable for floatplane and boat landings.

Private land ownership makes contemporary recreational access to the historic southern terminus of the trail problematic. Though the NPS purchased a private parcel, designated as 08-105, with access to the Corridor's southern portion in mind, no action has been taken to realize the land's potential as a modern trailhead. The State of Alaska has identified the Telaquana Trail as a potential RS2477 route—a federal designation that allows "the right-of-way for the construction of highways across public lands not otherwise reserved for public purposes." Yet, this characterization is spurious at best and not in keeping with Dena'ina traditional uses and wayfinding.

Sun through dense spruce forest at a campsite near College Creek on the southern side of K'ilghech, along Telaquana Trail. Photo by Tia Vaughn, NPS, 2018.

Natural Landscapes

The geological and climatological variability of the study area contributes to a diversity of habitats, including lakes, rivers, vast marshes, spruce and birch forests, open dry tundra, and mountains, as well as a diversity of plant and animal life.[51] Especially along streams and on hillsides, one finds alder (*Alnus virdis*), willows, shrubs such as Labrador tea (*Rhododendron groenlandicum*), bunchberry (*Cornus canadensis*), and Bog Star (*Parnassia palustris*). Dense forests of white birch (*Betula papyrifera*), white spruce (*Picea glauca*), and black spruce (*Picea mariana*) are also widespread in the area. Dense thickets of willow (*Salix* spp.), Dwarf birch (*Betula nana*) and other small trees are widespread, especially on well-watered ground.

So too, one finds a growing number of dense thickets, consisting of young and expanding forest containing these trees. Dena'ina interviewees, such as Randy Kakaruk, often remark that their entire homeland, including much of the study area, is getting brushier and more densely wooded: "Definitely thicker the [elders] were saying. A lot thicker so it's not as easy for moose to get around." The thicker brush also makes transportation much more difficult, including travel along the Telaquana Trail. This phenomenon complicates hunting and increases the risk of inadvertent bear encounters—a growing threat in recent years.[52] This is attributed to climate change and other, mostly related environmental changes occurring at regional and global scales. Fire suppression and the absence of precontact

A moose peers across tall grass at Telaquana in Autumn. Photo by J. Mills, NPS, 2013.

indigenous burning practices are cited as well. Over the last 50 years, the decline in trail use has impacted vegetation. Where winter travelers once kept many sections of the trail free of brush and debris to allow the use of dog sleds, "vegetation and blown over trees have reclaimed the trail. … [O]nly where big game continue to use it is the approximate route of the trail still visible as some game trails run from obvious to obscure to nonexistent in a kind of continuum which reappears time and again."[53]

The upper reaches of Tuvughna Ten or Tyonek People's Trail, also known as S.O.B. Canyon on the southerly portion of the Telaquana Trail. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Ground cover in the study area is composed of mosses and lichens (such as the reindeer lichen, *Cladonia rangifernia*), with patches of fireweed (*Epilobium angustifulium* and *Epilobium latifolium*), Mountain harebell (*Campanula lasiocarpa*), and a multitude of berries such as dwarf blueberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), lowbush cranberry or Lingonberry (*Vaccinium vitis idaea*), highbush cranberry (*Viburnum edule*), and crowberry or blackberry (*Empertrum nigrum*), to name a few. The Telaquana Trail abounds in berries, which can be picked along its length; it has been called a "50 mile long berry patch."[54] The primary soil types along the Telaquana Trail—spodosols, histosols, and andisols—are often acidic and marked by deep organic horizons. This reflects the dynamic geology, cold climate, and coniferous forests of the region, and provide a substrate for the myriad habitats found in Inland Dena'ina territory.[55] That being said, the vegetation varies considerably over the length of the Telaquana Trail.

Brown bears are found widely along the Telaquana Trail, especially in places where there is salmon spawning and moose calving. Two yearling cubs are shown here. Photo by Kara Lewandowski, NPS, 2015.

The foothill lakes, valleys, and tundra plains through which the Telaquana Trail passes abound with wildlife. Large game are widespread in the area, including caribou (*Rangifer tarandus caribou)* and moose (*Alces alces)*, black and brown bear (*Ursus americanus* and *Ursus arctos*), and Dall sheep (*Ovis dalli*). A traditional focus of Inland Dena'ina hunters, the area reaching from "the Alaska Range on the east and through the hills around Turquoise and Twin lakes and then westward towards Snipe Lake and the Bonanza Hills," is a key place where caribou calve, "although calving occasionally occurs in the Koksetna Hills near Fishtrap and Caribou lakes."[56] The Mulchatna caribou herd traditionally arrived at the calving grounds in the upper Mulchatna River and Bonanza Hills during springtime. The calving grounds have moved west and north over time, however; by the early 1990s, they centered on the area between the Nushagak River and upper Tikchik Lakes, moving again in the late 1990s to the King Salmon River and Klutuspak Creek drainages of the upper Nushagak River.[57] Campsites exist throughout this area, relating especially to the traditional hunting of caribou.

Other species include beaver, lynx, fox, ground and red squirrel, porcupine, marten, Arctic and snowshoe hare, mink, land otter, ptarmigan, spruce grouse, and migratory ducks and geese. Some landmarks in the study area bear the names of the principal animals that dwell and are traditionally harvested there—*Vandaztunhtnu* or 'caribou hair stream' being a prime example.

A hiker treks south through Yudun Dghil'u along the Telaquana Trail. Before Crossing. Photo by Tia Vaughn, NPS, 2018.

In the waterways in this part of Dena'ina territory, fish species consist most notably of sockeye salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*) and other anadromous salmon including coho (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*), kings (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), chum (*Oncorhynchus keta*), and pinks (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*). Freshwater fish are numerous in certain waterways, such as Arctic grayling (*Thymallus arcticus*), burbot (also known as freshwater ling or lingcod) (*Lota lota*), longnose sucker (*Catostomus catostomus*), Northern pike (*Esox lucius*), Dolly Varden (*Salvelinus malma*), Arctic char (*Salvenlinus alpinus*), lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*), rainbow trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), mountain or 'brook' trout (*Salvelinus malma*), humpback whitefish (*Coregonus pidschian*), pygmy whitefish (*Prosopium coulteri*), round whitefish (*Prosopium cylindraceum*), least cicsco (*Coregonus sardinella*), ninespine stickleback (*Pungitius pungitius*), and slimy sculpin (*Uranidea cognata*).

History of Land Use along the Corridor

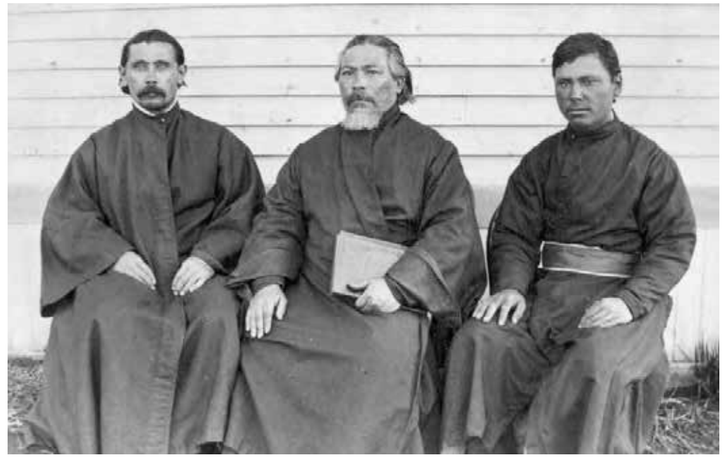
As a major artery of a larger regional circulation system, the Telaquana Trail Corridor is itself historically significant, having been an important route of migration for both precontact and historic peoples between the inland regions to Lake Clark and Iliamna, and upper Cook Inlet. So too, the trail

comprised a major route between Kijik and Telaquana Lake, as well as all the hunting, fishing, and gathering places in-between. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both EuroAmericans and Dena'ina travelers used the route for travel and subsistence purposes. While sporadic EuroAmerican use of the Corridor has been documented from approximately 1900 to the present, the trail traverses the homeland of the Inland Dena'ina people. This is largely a Native trail through traditional Native lands, and the Dena'ina remain the one cultural group most directly associated with the Telaquana Corridor.

An aerial view of modern Lime Village. Photo by Karen Gaul, NPS.

As one of several Athabascan groups in the state of Alaska, the Inland Dena'ina people traditionally occupied a vast territory from the Kuskokwim River drainage in the west, the inland areas of Kenai Peninsula in the east, the Matanuska and Susitna drainages in the north, and the Lake Iliamna and Kachemak Bay areas in the south. Inland Dena'ina peoples are a sub-group of the Dena'ina, whose

homeland is transected by the Telaquana Trail; subtle linguistic and cultural differences set them apart from their coastal Dena'ina kin.[58] The modern Inland Dena'ina territory is centered around Nondalton, a village at the southern end of Lake Clark, though significant numbers of Inland Dena'ina peoples also reside in the Stony River region in Lime Village and other communities, and have inter-married with the upper-Cook Inlet and Iliamna peoples for centuries. Kari[59] identified Inland Dena'ina as a distinct dialect spoken by people in the villages of Nondalton and Lime Village, by a few older individuals in the village of Stony River, and by people of Iliamna speaking a slightly different dialect as is true of modern Cook Inlet Dena'ina. The Telaquana Trail is uniquely linked to the history and culture of the Inland Dena'ina, and for this reason, this Native community is a focal point of the entire report that follows.



Father Vasili Shishkin (?-c.1893), center, flanked by two church deacons, at Nushagak about 1885. During the summer of 1878, Father Shishkin visited Kijik. He continued to minister to the region's villages over the next fifteen years. PhotCL 39 (064), the William H. Weinland Photograph Collection, the Huntington Library, San Marina, California.

Russian colonization impacted the study region with influences direct and indirect. This is especially evident in the Russian Orthodox faith still practiced by many of the region's residents, and by remains of certain churches and gravesites that reflect Russian Orthodox traditions at Kijik and beyond. Yet due to the region's relative isolation, Russian incursions into the region occurred relatively late when compared to most of Russian-occupied America. The Lebedev-Lastochkin Company was the first to arrive in this region. By the late 1780s, the company had entered the Lake Iliamna area, and by the early 1790s had established an artel (a small one-man post).[60] Between 1790 and 1795, Vasili Ivanov made an overland expedition into Lake Clark country with Dena'ina guides, traveling to the Stony River and down to the Kuskokwim. Though his exact route is unknown, he traveled at least in the general vicinity of the Telaquana Trail for at least part of his journey.[61] Some historians also theorize that Kijik and the Lake Clark area may have been visited by Father Juvenali, one of the first Russian

Orthodox priests to enter the region, in the late 18th cenrtury.[62] A Russian Orthodox chapel, christened "The Precious and Life-Giving Cross," missionaries built with Dena'ina labor at Kijik in 1889. Russian Orthodox priests visited Kijik and Qeghnilen, the historic village on the Stony River, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with relative infrequency.[63]

Alex Trefon hunting moose at Dice Bay, on the shores of Lake Clark in the autumn of 1931. Alex is wearing a beaver hat, and common shoe packs of the time. Part of Alex's spruce plank boat is visible on the left, courtesy of Agnes Cusma.

The earliest documented visit to the Lake Clark area by a EuroAmerican from the United States did not occur until 1882. Charles Leslie McKay, working for the U.S. Signal Service, traveled to what was then *Qizhjeh Vena* (Lake Clark) via the Kvichak River, Iliamna Lake, and the Newhalen portage. Though he collected several artifacts (sheep horn spoons) that eventually became part of the Smithsonian collection, it is unclear whether he visited the village of Kijik. At the time, Kijik was the only major Native village on *Qizhjeh Vena*, leading to the unproven assumption that the artifacts were collected at Kijik.[64] Coming from Old Iliamna, he was guided on the Chulitna Portage by Zackar Riktorov Evanoff (great-grandfather of Park Anthropologist and contributor to the present report, Karen Evanoff) to the mouth of the Chulitna River and upriver, before reaching the divide between the Chulitna and Swan River drainages in Nushagak country.

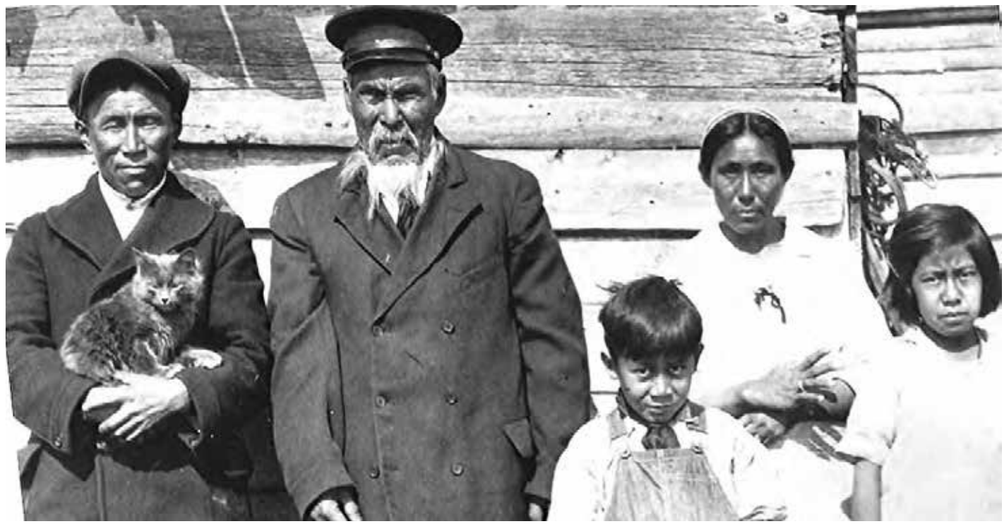
Three years later, in 1891, the Alfred B. Schanz party became lost while exploring the region, ultimately ending up at the village of Kijik on the shores of *Qizhjeh Vena*. Schanz was looking for a rumored lake that would be the northern tributary of Iliamna Lake, so was "lost" for just a few days. When he reached Lake Clark, he realized he had located this northern tributary to Iliamna, and named "Lake Clark" in honor of a member of his expedition, Alaska Commercial Company trader John W. Clark. He acknowledged that the Dena'ina peoples called the lake "Kijik," or more correctly, *Qizhjeh Vena*. This marked the first unambiguous reference to the trail within the English-speaking

world. Referencing the explorations of A.B. Schanz in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*,[65] America's first national newspaper: "…Kilchikh [Kijik]…north of it is a gap or pass in the mountains over which natives make a portage to the sources of the Tketlkuk Rock, (Stony River), a tributary of the Kuskokwim. The headwaters of the latter are unknown territory, and form the hunting ground of the Kalchani tribes, of which the Kilchikh Indians are acknowledgedly an off-shoot."[66]

During the very late 1800s and early 1900s, EuroAmericans began to enter and settle the region in greater numbers. In part, this was a result of spill-over of prospectors from the Turnagain gold rush beginning in 1896, on the northern part of the Kenai Peninsula. American botanist Martin Gorman and biologist Wilfred Osgood came to survey the region in 1902. In 1909, a USGS survey was undertaken by G.C. Martin and F.J. Katz—passing through *Nan Qelah,* at the Miller Creek mouth, the Corridor's 20th century trailhead. More significantly, EuroAmerican trappers and prospectors working in other regions of Alaska, most notably the played-out Turnagain Arm gold rush of 1895-1898, also began to settle and explore the Lake Clark region during the early 1900s.[67] The Bonanza Hills in the Telaquana Foothills and areas around Lake Clark such as Portage Creek produced some coarse gold, although no one got rich there; prospecting took place at Kasna Creek too, yet the site produced no copper. These areas drew the interest of miners, but were clearly underwhelming. For those few miners who endured in the area, mining was arguably more about sustaining their rural lifestyle than accumulating wealth. Interestingly, the Telaquana Corridor served only infrequently as a transportation route for miners and little, if any, mining equipment was taken over the trail. This may have to do with the topography from Lake Clark to Telaquana country, which made carrying large loads extremely challenging. For mining purposes, a longer, more gradual route up the Mulchatna drainage served when shipping gear to and from the mining district at Bonanza Hills.

Still, the route through Lake Clark was the shortest route north from the Lake Clark Basin. The route was undeniably difficult. Jack Hobson sardonically named the Kijik tributary where the trail ascended from the Kijik River Basin "S.O.B. Canyon"—a place known to Dena'ina travelers as *Tuvughna Ten* or "Tyonek People's Trail." Hobson was the first EuroAmerican to marry into the Inland Dena'ina peoples on the Stony River before moving his family to Old Nondalton in 1915; his descendants are among the interviewees who have contributed to the present report. Despite this pass' reputation, many miners chose to winter on Lake Clark, and many knew of and used the Telaquana Corridor for subsistence or when accessing the mining area on foot without a significant load.[68] In the end, the 1900 census for Kijik listed 17 gold miners in addition to many Dena'ina inhabitants in the vicinity of the Telaquana Trail, along with several early settlers living across Tanalian Point in the community that would eventually become Port Alsworth.[69]

Jack Hobson and Brown Carlson beside Jack's log house, Old Nondalton, approximately 1939. Both men married into the Dena'ina community, and were reported to have nursed the sick and dying people at Kijik Village during the "Great Sickness" in the winter of 1901-1902. H-42, courtesy of Ida Carlson Crater.



Village Chief Zachar Evanoff (center) and other residents of Old Nondalton in 1936. Photo provided to NPS by Ida Carlson Crater. H-94.

Surveyor Steven R. Capps, along with a U.S. Geological Survey crew, first mapped the Telaquana Trail in 1929. He described the Telaquana Trail as "Another faint trail, formerly much used by the natives [that] leaves the shore of Lake Clark at the mouth of the Kijik River and continues northward through the foothills to Telaquana Lake."[70] Mapping the trail was a challenge for Capps and his team, for portions of the trail were likely invisible to the untrained eye, even in this period when trail travel was quite active. For this reason, the trail departs from the route described by Dena'ina consultants and other written sources in minor ways: "[w]hile major portions of Capps rendition of the Telaquana Trail are at variance with Nondalton elders' testimony (areas across *Qeteni* and through *Yudun Dghil'u*, for instance) other portions of his map through *K'ilghech* and down Tyonek People's Pass [S.O.B. Canyon] are largely correct."[71] According to Capps' map, the "Native Trail" runs around the base of *Tits'nadzani*—4,000 feet in elevation. The following excerpts from Capps' journals chronicle his journey and specific characteristics of the trail:

Telaquana Trail north of Miller Lake and south of the Kijik River ford, 1929. Stephen Capps USGS mapping expedition of 1929, about five miles from the north shoreline of Lake Clark. S.R. Capps Collection, 83-149-2808, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

> "Between the north lateral moraine on the Mulchatna and the south lateral moraine on the Telaquana there is an area some 6 or 7 miles wide and 10 miles or more long that has mild relief and comprises a high rolling plain. It appears to be composed entirely of gravel deposits and is probably an outwash plain which, during the early stages of retreat of the last great glaciers, formed a basin between two large glaciers, from each of which heavily loaded streams discharged gravel into this basin."[72]
>
> "Above these lakes the rivers are characterized by broad outwash trains of gravel through which the streams flow in many branching channels. The lakes, however, act as traps in which the streams drop all of their heavy debris, and the rivers that drain the lakes, while somewhat cloudy with fine glacial silt, nevertheless carry little gravel and sand. As a consequence they have developed only narrow flood plains and flow in single, well-defined channels through the lowlands. They are only moderately swift, and on most of them places at which horses can ford can be found in normal stages of water… In fairly high stages the Kijik River is said to be a dangerous stream to cross, even with horses, but in July and August 1929, an easy ford was found a short distance below the point where the Telaquana trail meets the river."[73]

During Capps' journey, Jack Hobson delivered to prospector Brown Carlson's cabin the supplies and groceries the U.S. Geological Survey crew would need when they returned to Lake Clark from Telaquana Lake. On their return, the USGS pack string led by Capps crossed the Kijik River near S.O.B. Creek and rode to the east of Miller Lake. Before hitting Lake Clark, they turned east and rode to Brown Carlson's cabin where their supplies awaited, rather than the actual terminus of the trail—a departure still reflected on Capps' map and those derived from it.

The Alaska Road Commission made additional efforts to map the Telaquana Trail in 1951, attempting to map the trail's configuration through the Cook Inlet District at a 1:500,000 scale. This is perhaps the most accurate map of the trail, showing it starting at Kijik Village and heading north to the Telaquana Fish Camp. The map does not, however, show the 20th century trailhead at Miller Creek. Another map by the US Geological Survey, a Lake Clark 1:250,000 topographical map, shows an unnamed trail from Portage Creek on Lake Clark to Old Village on the Telaquana River. Another USGS 1:63,360 Lake Clark map identifies the trail as the "Native trail (approximate)," but failed to correctly delineate approximately 95% of the trail—apparently mapping the route more on the basis of reputation than a careful survey of its remote route. The Telaquana Trail continues to make appearances on another USGS 1:250 Lake Clark map (1958 edition) and a USGS 1:63,360 Lake Clark map (1954 edition, including the approximate route by Capps).[74]

Unfortunately, no attempt to map the Telaquana Trail has been completely accurate. As Parry Grover, a man from Anchorage who accompanied John Branson on many hikes through the region quipped, "The Native trails that are shown on maps of the Lake Clark region are historical wishful thinking."[75]

Stephen Capps U.S. Geological Survey pack train crossing the Kijik River at the trail ford in 1929. S.R. Capps collection, 83-149-2805, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.UAF.

Similar view as above, in the summer of 2004. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

They must be considered general pathways more than trails, with few visible markers. Navigating the Telaquana Trail is done by navigating between recognizable features on the landscape, a skill referred to as "wayfinding." Ferreira describes the trail this way:

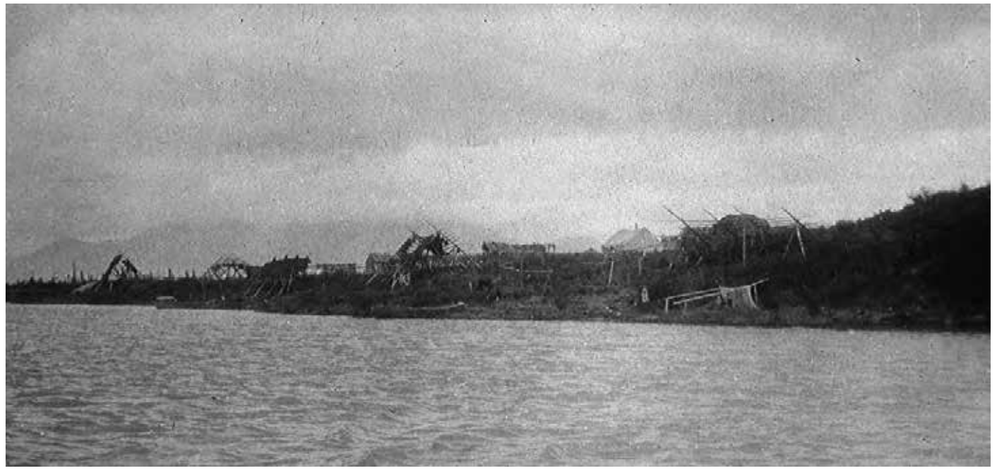
> "[It is] not a trail in the common sense. It is more a route, followed by identifying landmarks and making your way towards them as best you can over the high plateaus and through the drainages of the major Lakes of the area. It is rough going at times through the low lands with dense brush or through the drainages where river crossings can be hazardous in high water, the white spruce forest can be nice walking if it is mature enough to choke out the undergrowth."[76]

Some smoke houses were made with brush walls. Here we see a young Johnny Kankanton at Nastasia Zackar's smoke house. As an adult, Johnny was the last Dena'ina man to travel the length of the Telaquana Trail by dogsled. Courtesy of Natasia Zackar. H-971.

Throughout the early 1900s, Native use of the Corridor remained constant, though most of the bands had already moved to Kijik, *Qeghnilen,* or Old Nondalton, and only a few families remained at the village of *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* on Trail Creek near Telaquana Lake. After about 1910, when the Trefon Balluta family and others relocated to Tanalian Point, these northern settlements were mostly used as

wintertime trapping residences with the exception of the year 1926. This is when the run of salmon into Lake Clark was so low that Gabriel Trefon and his family walked the Telaquana Trail north to spend fall and winter at Trail Creek/*Ch'qulch'ishtnu* village. There, in that year, more food resources could be found at *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* than at Lake Clark.[77] After 1940, both Dena'ina and EuroAmerican people only traveled the Corridor infrequently, although modest subsistence uses persisted. Moreover, a number of mostly non-Native trappers and big game hunters had occupied upper Twin Lakes and the northern part of Lake Clark during the 1950s and 1960s. Occasionally, Dena'ina men helped construct cabins near the trail for use by non-Native hunters, such as a cabin built for a big game guide circa 1960 by Pete Bobby and a few other men from Lime Village. Dena'ina hunting continued on or near the northern portions of the trail, but this was increasingly ephemeral, and mostly linked to the very small community of Lime Village; the last unambiguous account of a Dena'ina hunter independently traveling the trail by dogsled was in 1977, when the late Johnny Kankanton made a hunting circuit through the area. This is at roughly the same period that Tony Balluta took his last trapping expeditions along the southern half of the trail—though others from Nondalton reportedly trapped later than this date. Several accounts report that local Dena'ina such as Anton Balluta in the 1920s and his son Andrew Balluta in the 1960s, occasionally served as guides for big game hunters in the Corridor. And many families from Nondalton continued to use the *Tuk'elah* (the fish camp at Kijik) for seasonal fishing.[78]

Major changes to the region came in the 1970s. In 1978, Lake Clark National Monument was established, and on December 2, 1980, Lake Clark National Park and Preserve was created under the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA). As a result, subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering continued, including within the park. Portions of the the Park are designated wilderness, while sport hunters, fishers, backpackers, river runners, tourists, and sightseers increasingly utilize areas in the Preserve. As a consequence, park managers must actively measure, manage, and monitor visitors and park lands. To this day, families from Nondalton still visit *Tuk'elah* in the fall to harvest red salmon, and park personnel have on numerous occasions accompanied Dena'ina people on hikes along the Telaquana Trail Corridor. These treks have been culturally significant, reconnecting Dena'ina people with a place of tremendous importance that has nonetheless been visited less frequently in recent decades. Quoting elder Lary Hill, who has participated in some of these treks to the trail, "The more we walked, the closer we seemed to be to our Dena'ina roots…We came away with a renewed appreciation for the strength and knowledge it took for our ancestors to live in that rugged country."[79]



Nondalton Fish Village, on Sixmile Lake, south side, 1929. Fish racks and smoke houses and a net rack are visible. S.R. Capps Collection, 83-149-2820, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Subsistence Hunting, Fishing & Trapping

The Dena'ina have traditionally utilized the Telaquana Trail as a major thoroughfare—linking the Inland Dena'ina people's most resource-rich river basins, and leading to a wider trail network accessing a constellation of subsistence hunting areas between. Traditionally, hunting for caribou occurred throughout much of the Telaquana Trail corridor, while moose hunting was especially productive along riparian areas and lake margins in this area. Small game hunting was once also a mainstay of Dena'ina subsistence economies linked to the area, but has arguably reduced in proportional significance over the last century. The hunters of the 20th century especially traversed the Corridor in fall and winter, accommodating the time constraints of commercial and subsistence salmon fishing during summer months. In fall and winter, "red meat is desired and the moose are fat and favored as a subsistence resource."[80]

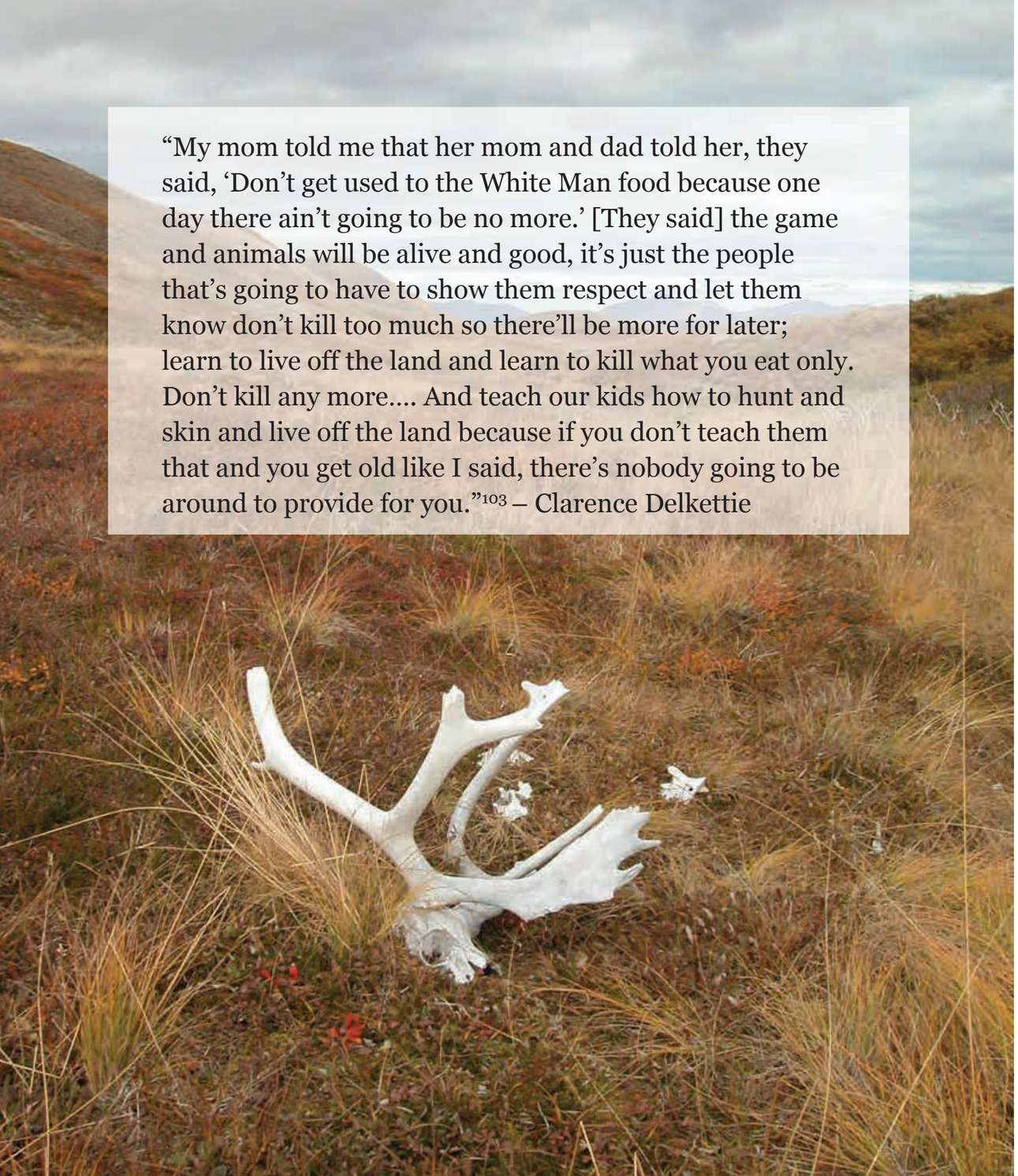
The Mulchatna Basin and Telaquana Lake areas have been extremely important caribou calving grounds for the Mulchatna caribou herd, and were key caribou hunting areas historically. The Mulchatna Basin and Telaquana Lake areas remained prime hunting areas for Native and non-Native hunters into the mid-20th century, in migration paths leading to and from the core calving grounds for the herd, extending "to the Alaska Range on the east and through the hills around Turquoise and Twin Lakes and then westward towards Snipe Lake and the Bonanza Hills."[81] In the early 1900s, Telaquana and Turquoise Lakes were the sites of Dena'ina settlements and fish camps, which also served as a foothold for caribou hunting within the vast Mulchatna herd. According to Dena'ina

elders, Turquoise Lake was once an especially important site of caribou calving. The Dena'ina named this place *Vandaztuntnu*, or "caribou hair stream," as the caribou are so numerous their shed hair accumulates in and around the waterway as they pass through. Describing this phenomenon, Ellanna and Balluta note, "The Inland Dena'ina term for its outlet, Vandaztuntnu or 'caribou hair stream,' demonstrates their cognizance of this ecological fact and their long-term interest in this site as a location for caribou hunting activities."[82]

A No. 2 single-spring, leg-hold trap at the Tony Balluta cache. A portion of a wire snare is visible in the image — often used to secure the trap to a tree or drag. Photo by Douglas Deur.

For the Dena'ina people who relocated to the Lake Clark Basin from these areas, this remained a locus of hunting for another few generations; when harvests were poor closer to Lake Clark, families sometimes travelled north to access more distant, time-honored caribou hunting grounds. In recent decades, the Mulchatna herd population plummeted without clear explanation, and hunting in this area has been dramatically curtailed.[83] Caribou persist, but in smaller numbers and often appear to exist independent of the larger Mulchatna Herd.[84] As a result, Dena'ina hunters must travel longer distances to other traditional hunting sites—some traveling over one hundred miles, returning to traditional Inland Dena'ina hunting areas like those near Lime Village.[85] The changes in size and migratory routes of the Mulchatna caribou remain a subject of concern, scientific investigation, and speculation.

Though hunting tended to occur in fall and winter in the late 19th and 20th centuries, Dena'ina hunting has occurred in some manner during much of the year. As Dena'ina communities must follow migrating game, some accounts of Dena'ina subsistence economies depict movement as almost continuous. Within ethnographic accounts, such as those recorded by Ellanna and Balluta, this significant seasonal movement is clear. It is linked closely to travel along portions of the trail:



> “My mom told me that her mom and dad told her, they said, ‘Don’t get used to the White Man food because one day there ain’t going to be no more.’ [They said] the game and animals will be alive and good, it’s just the people that’s going to have to show them respect and let them know don’t kill too much so there’ll be more for later; learn to live off the land and learn to kill what you eat only. Don’t kill any more…. And teach our kids how to hunt and skin and live off the land because if you don’t teach them that and you get old like I said, there’s nobody going to be around to provide for you.”[103] – Clarence Delkettie

Pete Trefon at beaver camp, drying beaver skins. Hanging beaver meat can be seen in the background. Courtesy of Helena Moses Seversen. H-288.

> “No one stayed in Old Nondalton for long. Gabriel [Trefon] packed up his family and took them up Lake Clark to Miller Creek. Then they all walked into the mountains for moose, caribou, and bear hunting. …The men usually went into the higher mountains near Little Lake Clark to get Dall sheep. Then they returned to Hniksanghi’iy (a place near Priest Rock on Lake Clark) where Gabriel and Catherine got spawned out fall salmon.”[86]

In turn, the continuing cultural significance of many places along the trail, such as *Nan Qelah Vetnu*, Miller Creek, lies in large part in these ancient and enduring associations with subsistence hunting and the travels and camps associated with the practice.[87]

Traditional hunting treks were taken by foot and by dogsled in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with occasional use of boats at certain crossings and portages.[88] In more recent times, transportation methods have changed. Snowmachines became widespread in rural south-central Alaska by the mid-20th century, and reliable ATVs—first three-wheeled then four-, became available by the 1970s and 1980s. Small airplanes also became widespread among the households of rural Alaska during this same transitional period. Over historical time, sections of the Telaquana Trail traversed largely on foot were reworked in places to accommodate faster speeds and the limited turning radius of

Flying toward Telaquana Trail from Port Alsworth. Photo Douglas Deur.

dogsleds. In many parts of Inland Dena'ina country, trails have in turn been realigned and straightened to accommodate even faster vehicles—snowmachines and ATVs—though these have almost never been used on the Telaquana Trail. Using these trail networks, Dena'ina people travel circuits through the landscape, hunting and sometimes trapping over wide areas. As Clarence Delkettie describes modern ATV and snowmachine use of former dogsled trails for subsistence hunting, he says: "you make a circle…you cruise up this way, get up on the mountain…then go all the way around and you come back up through the mountain and back down between the mountains…. It's like a big circle."[89] The heightened mobility of Dena'ina subsistence hunters has allowed people to successfully pursue highly mobile game such as caribou, but also to continue using familiar hunting areas to some extent—even when families have relocated between Inland Dena'ina villages. This mobility has allowed continued coordination between hunting parties from Lime Village and Nondalton—two Dena'ina communities with shared heritage in the northern reaches of the Telaquana Trail.[90]

Ice fishing on Lake Clark – a subsistence activity that has long provided sustenance to Dena'ina families in the winter months. NPS photo, courtesy of M. Ravenmoon.

Due to many causes, use of outlying northern subsistence hunting and fishing areas declined significantly in the mid-20th century. Participation in cash economies created new scheduling conflicts for Dena'ina harvesters, and the cost of fuel and maintenance for vehicles has sometimes been steep. State and federal mandates for school attendance also substantially impacted traditional subsistence practices as many Dena'ina peoples transitioned to year-round occupation in villages. Nonetheless, the abundance of the northern area for resource procurement—both for hunting and fishing—is integral to the Dena'ina communities' continuing perception of the Telaquana Trail as a place of significance. The historical natural abundance of this area was not only an objective fact, providing

Caribou along Telaquana Trail. Courtesy NPS.

the Dena'ina with a sizeable portion of their sustenance, but was encoded in oral traditions suggesting a cosmological basis for this bounty. This unique significance of the northern portion of the Telaquana Trail is today recalled in part by the oral traditions of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*, Telaquana Mountain—a point to which we shall return in later sections of this report.

In the past, entire communities relocated to enduring camps positioned at narrows to harvest annual salmon runs.[91] In the Telaquana Trail region, "'fall fish camps' (*naqeli nuch'etdeh*) were of particular importance, and also served as bases for fishing, brown bear hunting, and sheep hunting,"[92] On the southern end of the trail, people located at the *Tuk'elah* fish camp near Kijik in late summer and fall to catch redfish, the late season sockeye salmon. People have often relocated to this fishing place after staying at the Nondalton Fish Camp, *Ch'ghitalishla*, earlier in the summer—a pattern that persists today. In the northern part of Inland Dena'ina territory, sockeye do not spawn so abundantly. Prime salmon fishing occurs in the late summer and fall, when people harvest king and silver salmon above *Qeghilen* on Stony River, northeast of Telaquana Trail. Telaquana Lake fish camp, called *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* was a major venue for this fishery. Even after relocation to the Lake Clark Basin, many Dena'ina families continued to trek seasonally to this fish camp via the Telaquana Trail. As Holen et al. note, "People from the Nondalton/Lake Clark area used the Turquoise Lake/Twin Lakes area in the fall for hunting and late fall fishing for spawned-out sockeye."[93] Though Turquoise and Twin Lakes lacked the fish and other amenities of the major fishing centers on Telaquana Lake and Lake Clark, they could be visited in the course of travel, sheep hunting, and other activities in this

A school of spawning sockeye salmon near Kijik Lake. Photo by Dan Young, NPS, 2015

intermediate portion of the trail. Freshwater fishing has also been widespread throughout the lakes and rivers of the Telaquana Trail region, usually as an ancillary component of subsistence treks focused on other culturally keystone species. Though Kijik area fishing practices remain robust, most of these other fisheries on the trail have largely disbanded in recent generations. Indeed, the past 60 to 70 years have witnessed significant shifts in Dena'ina salmon harvest patterns at summer and fall fish camps. Individuals and families spend less time being physically present at fish camp when not fishing—while the social, cultural, and spiritual significance of time spent at fish camp has persisted and perhaps even intensified at places such as Nondalton Fish Camp, reflecting its singularity as a venue for continued group subsistence activities.[94]

When winter arrives, Dena'ina trapping intensifies as animals' fur thickens in response to colder temperatures. Interviewees mentioned this phenomenon for beaver, fox, mink, marten, and lynx. When snowfall begins to accumulate and waterways freeze over, trappers traditionally construct trap lines (though climate change has altered these patterns—with freeze-up materializing later and break-up happening earlier or even repeatedly). Especially after the adoption of dog teams, Dena'ina peoples used dogsleds to travel the length of their traplines, navigating with reference to prominent landscape features along the trail. Traditionally, trap lines radiate from a central campsite, sometimes punctuated by smaller camps near specific trap lines. These traplines and associated camps and cabins were once widespread along the Telaquana Trail, especially during the height of fur markets in the very late 19th and early 20th centuries. Ellanna and Balluta note that "[a]n average trap line was 25 to 30 miles in length during short winter days. A man running a trap line took from 7 to 9 dogs and stayed out for 10 days to a couple of weeks at a time."[95] Historically, women, children, and the elderly often participated in trapping from these well-established camps while men hunted in nearby lands in the fall. Ellanna and Balluta list many fall trapping camps identified by Nondalton families along the Telaquana Trail:

> "Fall trapping camps most commonly used by Nondalton Dena'ina during the study period included Nan Qelah (Miller Creek), where there were four cabins in the early decades of the 1900s; and [others beyond Telaquana Trail]. Some trappers left their families at Miller Creek and ran trap lines between Lake Clark and Telaquana Lake along the Telaquana Trail, with cabins at K'a Ka'a (a valley on the upper Chilikadrotna River), K'adeła Vena (Snipe Lake)…and Telaquana Lake."[96]

Families and entire communities often laid claim to particular trapping areas and others generally respected these claims.[97] Through years of *de facto* "apprenticeship" with elder males in their families, men typically learn the detailed information required to successfully navigate and use their territories.[98] Clearly, along the Telaquana Trail, much of the landscape was at one time considered part of the Kijik/Nondalton and Lime Village trapping territory.

Pete Koktelash and Andrew Balluta on the north side of the mountain at the head of stream into Chulitna Bay. The Dena'ina name for the mountain is *Qinghuch'unah* or, "ridge of difficulty," 1940, courtesy of Agnes Cusma.

Even after families left the Telaquana Lake and Stony River country, moving to Nondalton in the early 20th century, they continued to revisit those areas for combined hunting and trapping.[99] In recent decades, at least some trapping has continued in the study area, in part by Dena'ina people wishing to sustain these practices and the ethics associated with them. As noted in one late 1980s BIA report, "There are now older men out teaching the young boys the techniques of trapping. Pete Koktelash is presently running traplines with his sons, from the Mulchatna to Telaquana—his traditional trapping territory."[100] Through the late 20th century, motorized vehicles such as motorboats, snowmachines, and ATVs allowed for more efficient checking of traplines, though these traplines increasingly shifted to new territories, such as along the Chulitna River south of the trail. Today people use trapping camps less often, as they can often run their lines in a single long day-trip from Nondalton. Still, a few trapping camps do remain outside of the Telaquana Trail study area, most sitting closer to the villages of those who sustain the practice.[101]

Widely trapped in the Telaquana region historically, red foxes can have many color phases including red, cross, silver, and black. This fox has a coat that is mixed with red, silver and black. Photo by Kara Lewandowski, NPS.

Dena'ina tradition includes standalone camps used during the trapping of beaver. Here, Bill Wilson and Ben Trefon are seen at a beaver camp on the Mulchatna River, 1943. They are sitting in front of a white wall tent with spruce pole frame. Ben Trefon owned the camp, but Paul Cusma, Bill Wilson, and Charlie Trefon also trapped beaver from it.
H-57, courtesy of Agnes Cusma.

An aerial view of modern Nondalton.
Courtesy NPS.

Hunting, fishing, and the use of animal products acquired through subsistence traditions remain a centerpiece of Inland Dena'ina identity. The knowledge required to successfully acquire wild foods is described as essential to Dena'ina food security and self-sufficiency. The cost of purchasing all food from outside of the Lake Clark region is high, and that food is generally understood to be less healthy than wild foods obtained from the land. Most understand that wild meat provides more nutrients pound-for-pound than commercial substitutes such as beef—never mind cultural preferences for the flavors, textures, and other attributes of wild foods.[102] In fact, Dena'ina elders have predicted, even prophesized, that a time will come when the flow of outside food and other goods will be interrupted in some kind of cataclysm, and the game and enduring hunting traditions of the people will save them. As Clarence Delkettie recalls,

> "My mom told me that her mom and dad told her, they said, 'Don't get used to the White Man food because one day there ain't going to be no more.' [They said] the game and animals will be alive and good, it's just the people that's going to have to show them respect and let them know don't kill too much so there'll be more for later; learn to live off the land and learn to kill what you eat only. Don't kill any more.... And teach our kids how to hunt and skin and live off the land because if you don't teach them that and you get old like I said, there's nobody going to be around to provide for you." [103]

For this reason, the continuation of the hunt and the perpetuation of the values and knowledge that guide the hunt, are widely understood to be essential to the survival of the Dena'ina as a people. "If you don't show the younger generation how to survive off the land and respect each other then that'll be the downfall of the whole tribe," Delkettie concludes.

Dena'ina Elder Nora Alexie with furs.
Photo presented to NPS by Priscilla Russell.

Non-Native Hunters

Non-Native people have carried out subsistence hunts in and around Lake Clark National Park and Preserve since their first arrival, though the scope and scale of these hunts were relatively minor in the late 19th and early 20th century. Sport hunting by non-Natives in what is now Lake Clark National Park & Preserve (LACL) began as early as the late nineteenth century, when explorer and prospector reports of big-game hunting opportunities became known to the wider world. By 1921, the first recreational hunting parties were making their way along the Telaquana Trail:

> "Colonel Alexander James 'Sandy' Macnab and Frederick K. Vreeland were one of the first hunting parties to hunt in the interior of present day Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. For a vacation, these two men decided to travel to Alaska and explore the unmapped areas north and east of Lake Clark. Traveling the area in 1921, they are the first visitors known to travel the area specifically for leisure hunting and exploring…Macnab and Vreeland visited many areas now within the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve boundaries, including Snug Harbor, Crescent River, Lake Clark Pass, portions of the Telaquana Trail, Lake Clark and Kontrashibuna Lake."[104]

Dena'ina guides played a role in this hunt from its early years. For example, Anton Balluta used the Telaquana Trail from Miller Creek to Twin Lakes to guide three hunters from California on a moose hunt in 1926. Fur trader-merchant Hans Seversen hired Anton Balluta of Lake Clark to guide the three hunters. They got one moose and Anton packed the moose horns all the way from Twin Lakes to

Cow moose grazes on fireweed. Photo by E. Wasserman, NPS.

A herd of caribou south of the Mulchatna River on Q'eteni feed and seek refuge from the insects on the snow patch. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Colonel A.J. "Sandy" Macnab (1878-1955), cooking in front of his tent on the Telaquana Trail just south of Kijik River on Aug. 31, 1921. Macnab and Frederick K. Vreeland (1874-1964) were the first known tourists and recreational hunters to hike a portion of the Telaquana Trail. NPS photo, courtesy of Sandra Orris.

A painting by Tish Bowman, of Colonel A.J. Macnab and Fred Vreeland paddling downstream on the Newhalen River on September 21, 1921 passing Trefon Balluta and his son Wassillie Trefon, poling in the bow upstream. The boat is the background has Joe Kackley, poling upstream, in the stern, with a friend on his way to Lake Clark. Courtesy Tish Bowman.

Miller Creek, down the trail. This was the pre-aviation era so in the the summer and fall people walked to and from hunting areas. The hunters gave Balluta a .306 rifle for his service that is still in the Olga Balluta family to this day.

By 1925, the Alaska Game Law (48U.S.C. ch. 75, 43 Stat. 739) had established the Alaska Game Commission, composed of five Alaska residents charged with regulating the hunting, sale, and transport of birds and animals. This law required non-Native individuals, including hunting guides, to obtain hunting and trapping licenses. However, game wardens appointed by the commission faced immense difficulties monitoring hunting in remote areas such as along the Telaquana Trail. Navigating the terrain in inclement weather with limited funds was deemed impossible. Seeking to alleviate these problems in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the commission began hiring officers local to the Lake Clark area to oversee licensing and tagging, and game wardens began using planes to

monitor hunting activities and animal populations. The earliest fly-out big game hunting in the Lake Clark area began in the late 1920s or early 1930s.[105] Especially after World War II, with the rise of motorized transportation options and increasing affluence and leisure time among outside hunters, recreational hunting of caribou, moose, bear, and Dall sheep increased significantly within the region. And by the 1960s, air taxi services and hunting lodges placed much of the Lake Clark region within easy access of a wide range of commercial operations catering to outside recreational hunters.

In the 1970s, the State of Alaska established the Guide Licensing and Control Board to protect Alaskan wildlife. The board divided the state's management units into twenty-six exclusive guide districts and, by 1978, published regulations for hunting guides. The 1980 passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) and the designation of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve changed this situation once again. As per the terms of ANILCA, subsistence practices was permitted within LACL but sport hunting and trapping were prohibited in the park and wilderness areas. This subsequently introduced changes to hunting, circulation, and land use in the area—nearly eliminating sport hunting in the park while displacing a certain amount of hunting to the Preserve, where most of the Telaquana Trail is found.

In recent times, recreational hunters have continued to visit areas on and near the Telaquana Trail, but their numbers have varied significantly due to changing economies and game availability. For example, visitation by non-Native hunters at Telaquana Lake has decreased in recent years due to the reduction in moose numbers in that portion of the park:

> "Since 2000, visitor days as well as the number of visitors have declined by almost half, mostly attributable to declines in hunters.... In all years, hunters tended to have average lengths of stay approximately twice as long as other visitors. In recent years, not only have fewer hunters traveled to Telaquana Lake but the length of their trips also decreased. In 2003 and 2004, hunter average length of stay was over eight days with an average party size of two to three persons."[106]

Researchers such as Fay and Colt provide data substantiating these trends with specific visitor activities, length of stay, and other variables through the early 2000s.[107]

Airplanes play an important role in these trends. Fly-in hunters have been flying into Miller Lake, Lachbuna Lake, Fishtrap Lake, Snipe Lake, Pear Lake, Lower Twin Lakes, a small lake west of Turquoise Lake, and Telaquana Lake for sport hunting and meat hunting of moose since the 1930s—a practice that has continued into modern times. For hunters and others flying through the area in light airplanes, the Telaquana Trail has become a kind of modern pathway, allowing pilots to retain their bearings while passing through a familiar and

historically significant landscape. In fact, the tracking of the trail by air may sometimes surpass foot traffic as the mode of trail use in modern times. As Karen Gaul observed, "These passes today see much less foot traffic than they did in the past, but they provide the air space necessary for small airplanes to follow the same routes that Dena'ina historically did on foot to get back and forth between the inlet and interior areas."[108] Nondalton residents often discuss how the increased accessibility of modern transportation methods such as airplanes places pressure on game, displacing less affluent Native communities: "you can get to the resource quickly, and this creates more pressure on animals. 'The guides,' [one interviewee] says, 'can take off here and be in Mulchatna in maybe 15, 20 minutes instantly. On foot you couldn't move around much, so there's a big difference.'"[109]

NPS researchers on a long-distance reconnaissance trek along the Telaquana Trail.
Photo by Tia Vaughn, NPS, 2018.

Backpackers

Each year, Lake Clark National Park and Preserve hosts many visitors. Hiking on the trail remains a minor but popular component of the LACL visitor experience, drawing a modest number of hardy hikers each year. The Telaquana Trail landscape remains a remote and challenging hiking environment—potentially disorienting, across river fords and through thickets or marshes at certain points, with its share of bears and other large mammals. Traveling the Telaquana Trail requires some degree of proficiency in backcountry backpacking skills. For those who do venture to hike the trail, it is a rewarding experience of travel through some of the most sprawling, inspiring country in southcentral Alaska.

Wolverine and mink tracks lining the shoreline at Dilah Vena, Telaquana Lake, a place long visited for trapping.
Photo by J. Mills, NPS, 2012.

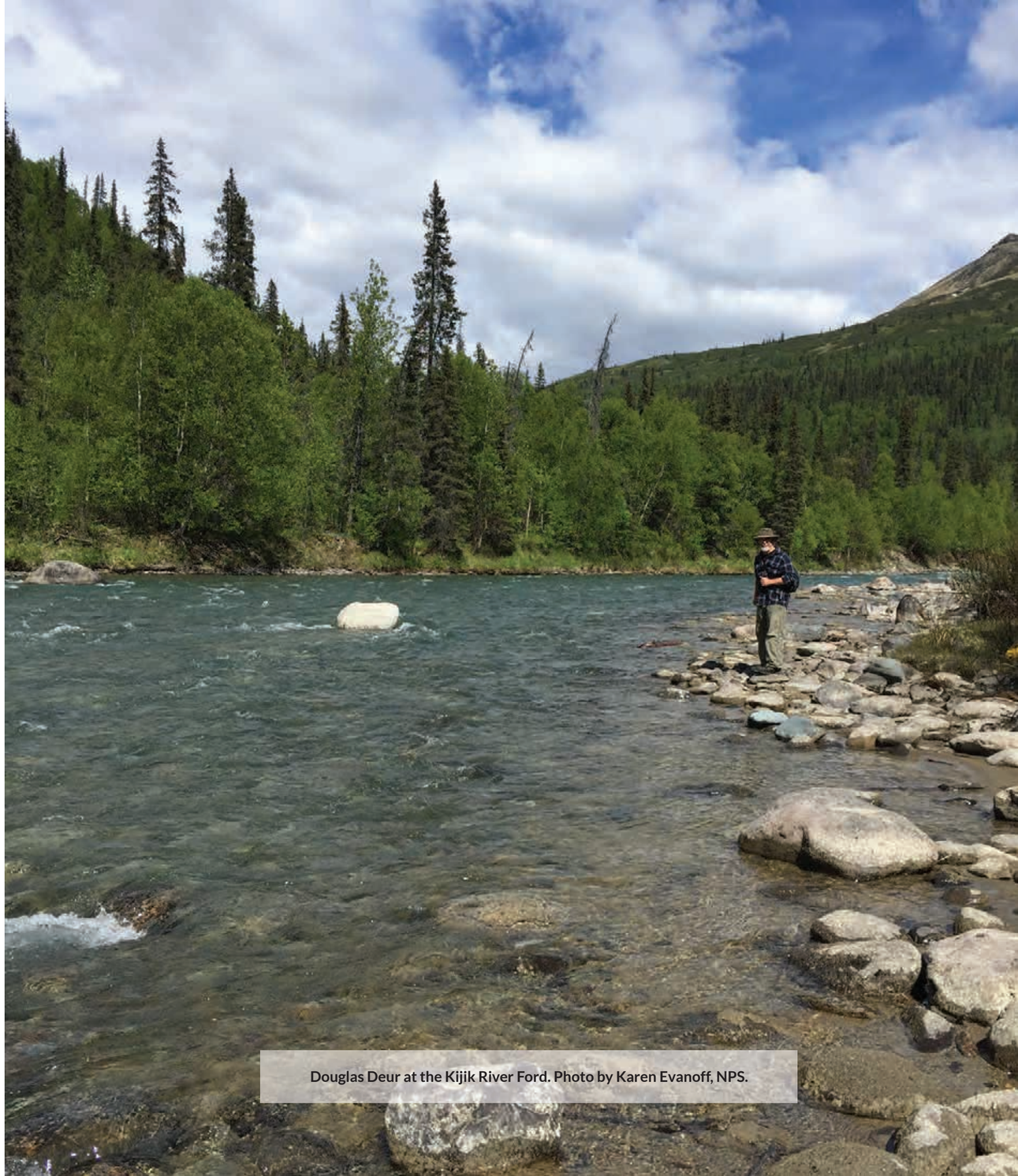
As co-author, John Branson, an energetic hiker of the trail, attests, hiking the full route takes "four or five days for backpackers with forty-pound packs."[110] Since the 1960s and '70s, portions of the Telaquana Trail have seen a growing number of visitors, hunters, and backpackers. Following park creation in 1980, the trail came to the attention of a widening circle of visitors by virtue of its national park provenience. Among visitors to Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, backpacking the Telaquana Trail has become an uncommon but coveted backcountry experience.[111] Though Telaquana Lake visitation has seen a slight decline, Lower and Upper Twin Lakes have become popular destinations. Fay and Colt[112] suggest this may be a result of 'historic visitors' in search of Dick Proenneke's cabin; currently, several outfitters make day-trips to this cabin.

Public pedestrian access to the trail corridor on NPS lands is unrestricted. Though visitors must navigate around private property, there are many public points of access. An NPS parcel along the shore of Lake Clark, designated as lot 08-125, provides unrestricted public access to the southern portion of the trail corridor. Moose Cove, just to the east of the Miller Creek mouth is Federal public lands and provides a fine starting place to embark on the trail. One can also easily access the Telaquana Trail from Lake Clark starting at the mouth of Priest Rock Creek mouth which is now on NPS land—a historically significant place that was both a winter trailhead and the site of Gabriel Trefon's cache. The other expeditious and somewhat historic trailhead sits immediately east of *Nan Qelah,* the Miller Creek mouth, at a place known locally as "Moose Cove"—land obtained by the NPS through a land swap with private landowners. This location is a convenient trailhead linking to the Telaquana Trail and may be even more expeditious than Priest Rock Creek mouth.

Backpackers also commonly charter float planes that drop-off and pick-up at several locations along the trail. Fishtrap Lake in the south, and Snipe Lake, Pear Lake, and Twin Lakes in the north are popular options. Lachbuna Lake near the mouth of College Creek on the north shore of the lake is also a popular point of access. This area provides access to the Telaquana Trail via College Creek. Alternatively, the trail can be hiked south from Telaquana Lake, or north from Lower Twin:

> "To hike south from Telaquana Lake, begin the hike from mid-lake on Telaquana Lake and climb through forest and shrub up into alpine country. This may take two to five hours. Once above the tree line the camping sites and drinking water are numerous and you may continue at your desired pace. Be sure to cross the Mulchatna River up stream of the first major tributary entering from the south; this is about 1.5 miles downstream of Turquoise Lake. Follow this same tributary up to higher country before making the descent into the Chilikadrotna river basin, which is forested."[113]

John Branson, co-author and long-time Lake Clark Park Historian, has organized many hikes in the Lake Clark area—often hikes that follow routes frequented by Native travelers in the past. According



Douglas Deur at the Kijik River Ford. Photo by Karen Evanoff, NPS.

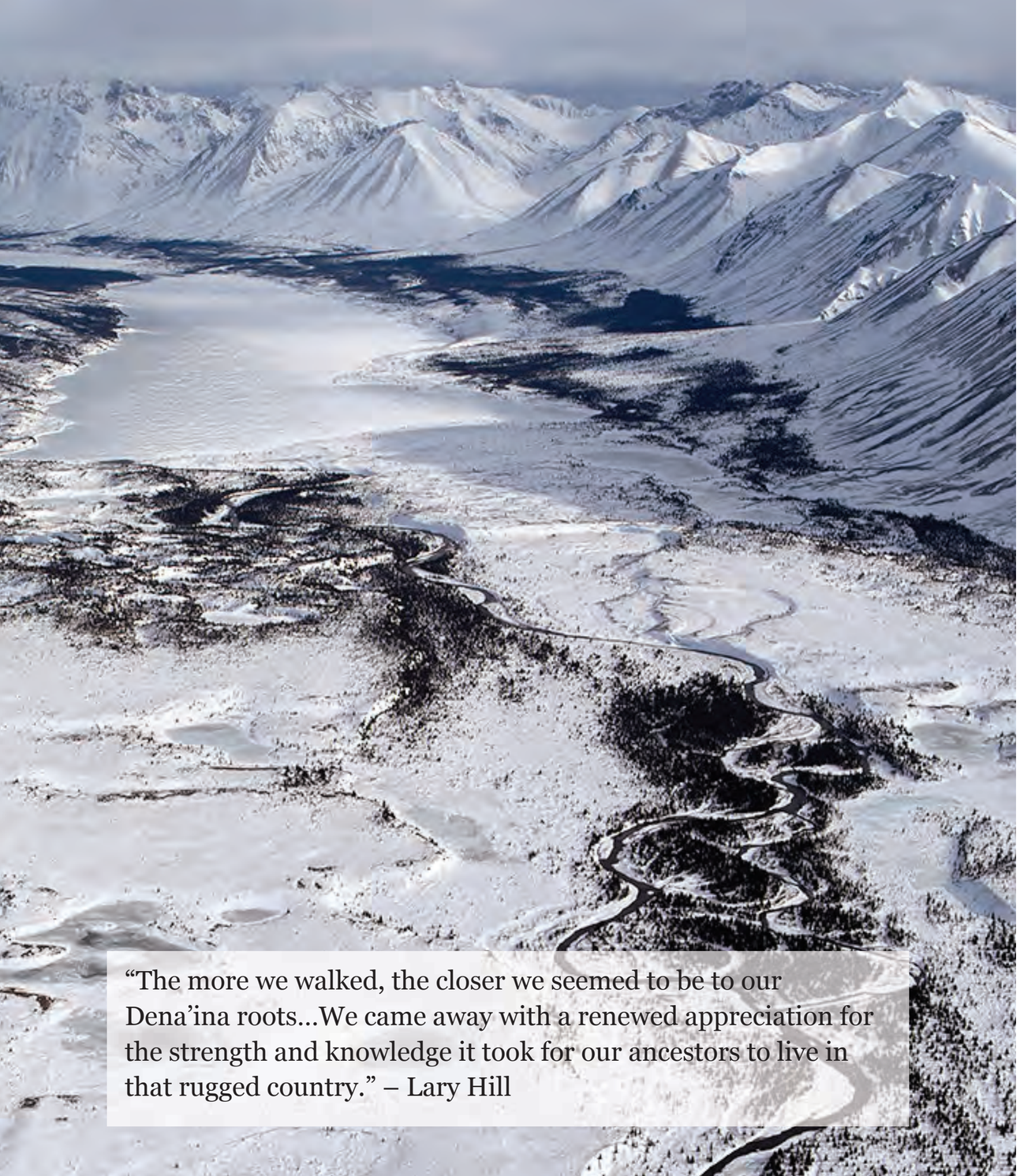
to Kahn, "[Branson] found it exhilarating to get a feel for what the Natives did, how they walked across the country. …He compares the Telaquana Trail in the fall to a 50-mile-long berry patch."[114]

Backpackers and hikers traversing the trail must have experience wayfinding, as trail markers and identifiers do not exist. One must "follow your compass and the contours of the land."[115] The high country is brush free and campsites and water sources plentiful, but as you drop down closer to the lakes, vegetation thickens, making walking more difficult. The trail crosses three four major rivers: the Telaquana, Mulchatna, and Chilikadrotna, and the Kijik. In the summertime, these should be no deeper than thigh-high, though caution must be taken during rainy weather. The Telaquana River crossing can be avoided if one is dropped off on the south side of Telaquana Lake. The Mulchatna and Chilikadrotna River crossings, though not deep, may require a pack raft to facilitate crossing, which is easiest in the morning when glacial melt is lowest.

Aside from these precautions, wildlife are a critical consideration. Hiking the trail brings backpackers into close proximity with wildlife such as Dall sheep, caribou, grey wolf, lynx, wolverine, coyote, moose, and black and brown bear. Thus, backpackers must keep a clean camp, minimize attractants, make lots of noise in the brush while hiking, and remain aware. Bear spray is highly recommended. Backpackers are also asked to follow the Leave No Trace (LNT) guidelines when visiting the park. During the summer, park rangers are stationed at Lake Clark National Park and Preserve ranger stations at Silver Salmon Creek, Telaquana Lake, and Twin Lakes.

Vista through pass in Yudun Dghil'u or "downstream mountains." Photo by Douglas Deur.

Close-up grasses Lower Twin Lakes



"The more we walked, the closer we seemed to be to our Dena'ina roots…We came away with a renewed appreciation for the strength and knowledge it took for our ancestors to live in that rugged country." – Lary Hill

Cultural Foundations

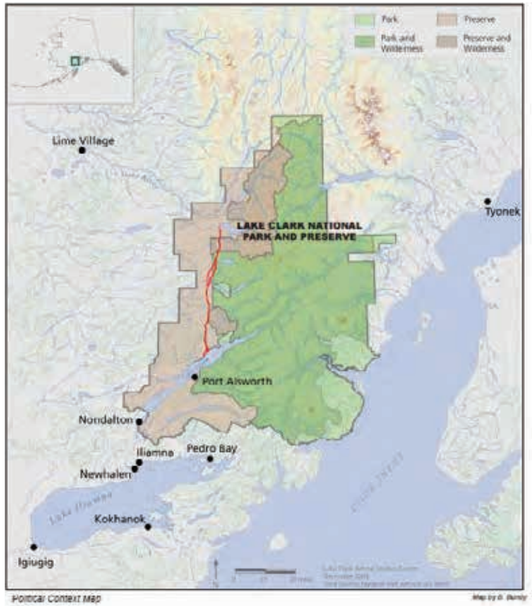
Cultural Meanings of Subsistence and Trails

Telaquana Trail is a corridor of singular significance in Dena'ina history, lined with many places of special historical importance and meaning. Appropriately, many aspects of the Telaquana Trail fulfill National Register criteria for historic vernacular and ethnographic landscapes, as demonstrated by the National Park Service's Cultural Landscape Inventory for the trail. Inland Dena'ina people have traversed the study area since time immemorial, both alone and in groups, walking the Telaquana Trail, guiding dogs and sleds over snowy terrain, tracking, hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering, visiting, and trading. Later, they served as labor, guides, and sources of geographical knowledge for EuroAmerican miners and trappers who traversed the land. Over time, many fundamental elements of the Dena'ina lifestyle have endured in spite of tremendous changes in technology, economy, demographics, land ownership, and regulation. Through these changes, Dena'ina people have retained certain key values, abiding attachments to place, and a subsistence tradition that not only provides necessary food but sustains culture and community. Today, cultural landscapes such as Telaquana Trail are still important as Dena'ina communities seek to sustain their traditional ecological knowledge, core social values and cultural competencies, community health, and their physical, psychological, and spiritual well-being.[116]

This cultural continuity depends in part upon enduring interaction with certain landscapes associated with the Telaquana Trail. In Dena'ina culture, the landscape is still highly significant. Most of the physical traces of this significance are subtle, even invisible to the untrained eye; instead, the significance manifests in the "intangible values" of natural landscapes to Dena'ina people, rooted in generations of living upon the land and linked to places touched but little altered by their ancestors. Many ancestors traveled through this place, many people were born or died along the trail; ancient burials lie unmarked along its route. Deep meaning is ascribed to the vast spaces and landmarks of the Telaquana Trail based on shared cultural knowledge, without requiring human handiwork as tangible signposts of the landscape's significance.

Tsilak'idghutnu, the Chilikadrotna River below Lower Twin Lake in winter. Photo by Lucas Westcott, NPS, 2016.

That being said, some physical markers do persist. Even in areas not settled permanently or frequently visited in recent times, Dena'ina traditional practices and values left discernible physical traces on the landscape—such as certain culturally modified trees, cairns, or places where vegetation was cleared for hunting camps. Each serves as subtle evidence of an abiding Dena'ina relationship with the land, and as a reminder of ancestral activity. Dena'ina interviewees attribute the subtlety of the Dena'ina cultural landscape, the absence of dramatic cues or built features, in part to a "no trace" ethic rooted in core Dena'ina cultural values. While some modification of the landscape is necessary, excessive modification is said to be disrespectful and traditionally discouraged. As one interviewee expressed: "It's the respect for the land.... You want to leave the land the way it was when you got there, when you first got there. And that was a rule that was explained to us. Even my mom used to tell us that as kids: when you go somewhere you want to leave it the way it was when you first got there."[117]



The position of the Telaquana Trail within Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. Courtesy NPS.

The few physical traces of past and ongoing Dena'ina land and resource use, including trail use and maintenance, are subtle but widespread. In many areas, they are among the only traces of human activity detectable above the soil's surface in this cultural landscape. Modern Dena'ina value these subtle traces. They are like signposts, telling them where their ancestors have traveled, found their way through the forest, or found a suitable place to camp. But beyond being practical markers of activity, these traces also signal the handiwork of the ancestors, touched by ancestral hands—and this is greatly valued by Dena'ina people. These culturally significant landmarks are considered "sacred" to many modern tribal members—as gifts from the ancestors, created long ago for the wellbeing of future generations, helping to steer people away from harm and toward places of meaning and opportunity. Former camps and villages are also said to be sacred—described as places where the

spirits of ancestors still dwell, observing and assessing the actions of people who visit into the present day. Understanding the appearance, origin, and enduring cultural meaning of these features is essential to comprehending the Dena'ina cultural landscape.

Many of the culturally significant landmarks along the Telaquana Trail, as along other trails, relate to traditional hunting. Traditionally, hunting was a group activity involving entire Dena'ina families, including elders. Elders had a valuable role not only as knowledge-holders but as keepers of the camp; often small bands hunted together and included an older man who stayed behind at camp to cook for the hunting party. Among younger hunters, expertise in stalking animals was required, especially historically when hunters had to advance close enough to strike with a long spear or bow and arrow.[118] Intimate knowledge of landscape was also key to successful hunting strategies. And hunting campsites, a few still used today, dot the landscape along the Telaquana Trail. These are at once functional spaces for camping, preparing for the hunt, and processing game, as well as social spaces for people gathering and sharing experiences and knowledge between generations.

Hunting is essential to Dena'ina survival, as well as being a key element of what it "means to be Dena'ina" for modern people. For this reason, the teaching of hunting-related skills from one generation to the next is viewed as urgent, as important culturally as anything adults do to support the community. Interviewees say that traditional hunting skill brings focus, clarity of thinking, and resourcefulness; elders traditionally admonished that, in all things, people should work to "have a strong mind," and this applied as much to hunting methods and ethics as to other aspects of life.[119] In fact, interviewees spoke of traditional values relating to the raising of children in the hunt, such as the importance of teaching them physical and emotional discipline when they are young. Some interviewees say this practice is needed more today—that the transmission of hunting knowledge will bring strength in other domains.[120]

Asked what constitutes the core of traditional teaching regarding the hunt and other subsistence pursuits, elders consistently identified the core cultural concept of "respect." The ways respect is manifested in the hunt and in the use of meat acquired through the hunt is an underreported topic, yet modern Dena'ina peoples see it as essential to continued survival as a community and culture. We outline the rudiments of these values here, recognizing this is but a short introduction to a rich and multilayered system of belief and practice. We anticipate a more detailed treatment in a forthcoming study of Dena'ina "Expressive Culture" overseen by author of the present report, Doug Deur, and Park Anthropologist, Karen Evanoff.

Interviewees complain that when outsiders document hunting and other subsistence tasks, they too often forget "the deeper meaning...how to take care of the animal, like the spirit of the animal."[121] Ecological knowledge and understandings of cause-and-effect patterns in game populations

Karen Evanoff and John Branson surveying a recently rediscovered Dena'ina winter house depression near Dilah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Photo by J. Mills, NPS, 2014.

and the landscapes they inhabit guide these beliefs—all ensuring long-term stability and survival in this place. To this day, tribal members assert that traditional notions of respect have sustained the ancestors and continue to bring life forward in the landscape; it is, as Fawn Silas describes, "probably the reason why [the animals] keep showing up." And, as Randy Kakaruk explains, "You can't say this enough…, there's a reason we survived here as long as we have—is because we knew. You know, we understood it." When asked to describe key ancestral teachings that might be passed on to future generations of Dena'ina peoples, interviewees of all ages usually cited the notion of respect as integral to subsistence. Gladys Evanoff offers:

> "Respect the land. And respect the water. The land, it's like part of us. You need to treat it right. You don't just kill animals. You only kill what you need and you show your respect. You don't even tease a moose. We have a lot of stories about that: kids teased a moose and the game all went away. [It's all about] respect…. Thousands of caribou used to come here…they stopped because people mistreated them…. Animals, you have to take care of them. If you don't treat them right they will go away from you. They give themselves to you [willingly], but they watch. They watch how they are treated and if you don't treat them right they will go."[122]

Another contemporary Dena'ina interviewee notes: "that's something that has to be taught to everyone…, like especially younger generations. They have to understand that when you go hunting or anything, we're using something from the land: you have to have respect for it."[123] In this light, the killing and consumption of game species traditionally creates cosmological tensions and unresolved debts. In spite of religious conversion and considerable social change, Dena'ina subsistence harvesters still bear the imprint of ancient values on ongoing beliefs and practices related to the hunt. Animals are traditionally understood to be sentient, and to possess a spirit or something closely

analogous to spirit; and they are traditionally described as gifts from the Creator, or at least from creative spiritual forces that reward good behavior and punish bad. While conversion to Russian Orthodoxy eclipsed some of these beliefs and values, many aspects of the traditional belief system remained intact—certain values being woven seamlessly into Orthodox practice to this day.

Bella Hammond, Sophie Austin and Agnes Cusma, discussing edible plants at Nan Qelah in about 1993. Both Sophie and Agnes traveled the Telaquana Trail with their families during their youth. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

The painful consequences of human *disrespect* toward animals is a significant recurring theme in enduring Inland Dena'ina oral traditions. A number of story cycles describe people showing disrespect toward game animals, with those animals disappearing in response. On the other hand, when the people show respect and prove they have learned their lesson, the game return. In the entire Dena'ina world, there is no place more linked to this teaching, more commonly invoked as a touchstone in this core cultural and spiritual teaching, than *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*—Telaquana Mountain,

looming above the northern reaches of the Telaquana Trail. As will be discussed in later sections specifically addressing this sacred peak, Dena'ina oral tradition speaks of a time when the ancestors hunted with reckless disregard for core teachings in this place of ancestral origin close to the north end of Telaquana Trail. Game species were thus taken away from the land by divine fiat, and held in the mountains by many beings. Realizing the error, the ancestors asked a shaman, *Ch'iduchuq'a*, for help. This shaman ascended the mountains and found all the world's animals encased at the mountain that is to this day called *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*—meaning 'the animals went in the mountain.'[124] He strikes the mountain, and the animals stampede out, blessing the land with renewed life and abundance, feeding the people, and restoring balance to an unbalanced world.

The mountain came to be associated with the core cultural value of respect, as a mnemonic and as a locus of enduring meaning and power, just as the land in its viewshed became a premier hunting ground—home to the Mulchatna caribou herd, and more. In Dena'ina tradition, the land retains an importance rooted in this core cultural teaching, a place of such elevated meaning that one might claim it is akin to the Judeo-Christian place-based traditions of the Garden of Eden and Mount Ararat—combined into a single prominent place. Looming high above the premier hunting and fishing grounds of the ancestral Inland Dena'ina, this mountain and its powerful teachings would not be easy to ignore.

Interviewees attest that hunters still show multi-layered respects in myriad ways, including by not killing wantonly or overharvesting, by not killing pregnant animals, by minimizing the suffering of animals, by showing respects ritually and offering thanks through prayer when something is killed, by cleaning animals respectfully, and by sharing meat. As Fawn Silas explains, "they respected the land. They didn't just take. They respected the animals. You don't just go and kill something just to kill." People were said to treat animals like neighbors "because we are in their backyard too, as much as they're in our backyard."

These values still guide hunting, fishing, and other resource harvests within LACL. The drafting and implementation of ANILCA regulations during the formation of the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve "was unique in acknowledging and providing for continued traditional uses and access methods by rural residents of Alaska"[125] Subsistence traditions still being observed on the land allow for the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, help solidify communal ties, make possible a coherent and distinctly Dena'ina worldview through the instruction of Native youth, and give people a sense of confidence and purpose. In a word, this way of life is *necessary* to Dena'ina culture and continued identity. Without such sustained, meaningful connections to the land, it is unclear what it might mean to be "Inland Dena'ina." As former LACL Park Anthropologist Karen Gaul writes, "Subsistence practices—even as they have radically changed—represent a strong strand of continuity

of connection Dena'ina have with the land.... These ties are celebrated and strengthened as Dena'ina people themselves reinterpret their past and their traditions, and reinvigorate their language and culture through strong revitalization efforts."[126] The landscape therefore not only serves as a source of subsistence game, fish, and plant foods, but as a wellspring of cultural meaning and identity that cannot be found elsewhere. This remains true along portions of the Telaquana Trail where *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* still stands tall, reminding Native and non-Native people alike of the deep history and cultural meaning of hunting in Dena'ina tradition.

A view of the mountains on the north side of Lower Twin Lakes from near the upper Chilikadrotna River. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

The Significance of Named Places

As an ethnographic landscape, the Telaquana Trail is a cohesive, 50-mile constellation of characteristic natural features and cultural sites of enduring cultural and historical value. In speaking about this rich and varied landscape over many generations, Dena'ina people have generated a veritable dictionary of place names. A past study by CLR collaborator Karen Evanoff[127] reported over 2,400 recorded Dena'ina place names reported by Dena'ina elders over the years—a reminder of the gradual accumulation of place-based knowledge across deep time.

Certain shared experiences of the trail, oral traditions, and the definitive landmarks and resources of this place all have become encoded in names linked to particular landmarks, so that many aspects of the history of the Telaquana Trail remain embodied in Dena'ina place names. Important places—rivers, lakes, mountains, lookouts, campsites, small creeks and ponds—all have Dena'ina names learned through experience and the memorization and recollection of oral tradition.[128] People have active conversations within communities about their shared landscape, and these conversations converge on shared names that bear certain shared understandings of the land and its characteristics. Dena'ina travelers report the cultural significance of seeing physical evidence of their ancestors along the Telaquana Trail, so that they can knowingly walk in the footsteps of the ancestors. They benefit from "signposts" such as blazed trees along the way—gifts from the ancestors that show them, for example, opportunities for campsites or pathways offering safe passage along the trail. And place names function in ways strikingly similar to these tangible cues. When one hears or utters the traditional Dena'ina name for a place, one is literally hearing the words of the ancestors spoken in the present time. One can begin to comprehend their perspective, their view of the landscape, and to see with one's own eyes the landscapes they invoked with sometimes vivid descriptive clarity. By using these words like tangible markers along the trail, one sees the opportunities and challenges the trail has to offer, delivered in these linguistic artifacts from elders of a distant time. They are like gifts from the ancestors, revealing a place's possibilities:

> "Dena'ina and Athabascan place names serve as signs. Most of the place names describe the natural environment or are a mix of cultural activities and metaphors. Various features of the system facilitate memorization and efficient foot travel. The large majority of the Dena'ina place names are informative and have straightforward meanings."[129]

Place names are key elements in our ability to navigate, and as such are key to the wayfinding traditions linked to the Telaquana Trail. For this reason, the CLI and National Register documentation for the Telaquana Trail have treated named places, and the names associated with them, as contributing elements of the cultural landscape.[130] Most often the place names along the trail

provide descriptive or metaphorical descriptions of natural landmarks encountered as one travels. Such names are elemental, yet manifest myriad details of interrelationship between the land and the Dena'ina people.

The largest percentage of Dena'ina place names (about 75%) are physical descriptions of the land, including hydrology, landforms and rocks, and various biota (vegetation, fauna).[131] Very often, these names describe key navigational landmarks that can be seen and must be used for orientation along the trail and in other parts of Dena'ina country. Such names as *K'ilghech* ('gap between mountains' at Gap Valley) or *Veghdeq Idałtin* ('lake lying above [Lake Clark]' for Miller Lake) are good examples of these most basic descriptive navigational terms. Nearly all of the Dena'ina names of natural systems and features along the Telaquana Trail possess unique qualities in that they are for the purpose of navigation using 'wayfinding.' As elders Nicholi Carltikoff, Sr., Olga Balluta and Okenia Delkettie have explained,

> "Long ago they traveled all over by foot; knowing the place names was important for travelers to tell each other. If there was no names you wouldn't know where you're at. All the names is important even for the material you want; some of the places tell you where to go to get something. ...The names are very important. It's about our history and what we done."[132]

As this suggests, other names in this "physical description" category express something about a place that must be known to navigate, anticipate, and appreciate the natural resources found in that place. Names such as *Dilah Vena* ('salmon swim up into that lake,' for Telaquana Lake), *K'adała Vena* ('birds fly out of lake,' for Snipe Lake), and *Ch'ak'datnu Tl'ughu* ('the headwaters of the river where game walk out,' for upper Kijik River) are arguably of this type.

Some of the names of this kind border on the poetic, such as *Vandaztun Vena* ('caribou hair lake,' for Turquoise Lake), suggesting the place is so rich in caribou that hair piles up in drifts along the water. So too, there is Bear Creek, *K'dalghektnu* ('sound of scraping river'). This name conveys that the caribou are so frequently in this place during spring and early summer, when they shed velvet from their horns and antlers, that one can hear them scraping their antlers against the brush along the creek. From an English speaker's perspective, an impressive amount of environmental detail is conveyed in that single Dena'ina word.

The detailed local knowledge embedded within these names allows rich detail to be conveyed and comprehended by Dena'ina speakers with great efficiency in the course of conversation. One gets some hint of this in reading any snippet of Dena'ina oral history pertaining to Telaquana Trail. For example, Peter Bobby shared this account of *Dilah Vena* (Telaquana Lake):

> *Qeghnilen hdults'ih ch'u yunit Dilah Vena ku'u hdults'ih.*
> The people stayed at *Qeghnilen* [‘*place where current flows through the canyon*’] and upstream they also stayed at *Dilah Vena* [Telequana Lake—‘*salmon swim up into this lake*’].
>
> *Q'u k'tuleh ghu idi'eɬa nishqedeɬ.*
> Then when fish would run, they would come downstream [to the canyon].
>
> *Ch'u yi ɬiq'a qelqit ha yeh hdelts'ih ha q'uyehdi yun'e nuhtedeɬ ghu.*
> And fish they ate, and there they stayed and then they go back upriver.
>
> *K'elduntеh hdi yeh ɨyeh qut'ana guna k'i yeh qeɬ nuhtededeɬ.*
> Sometimes then these local people would go back there again.
>
> *ɬiq'a tlegh ɬiq'a tl'egh hdi yeh k'uqu qel'iht.*
> After salmon, after salmon they would go there for game.[133]

The juxtaposition of the canyon and the lake is made clear through the use of place names in the opening line of the narrative, as is the fact that this is a salmon-bearing river all the way into the lake. Such information is key to the context, and is made instantly available through the use of densely meaningful place names at the beginning of the story.

Similarly, this can be seen in the accounts of Andrew Balluta in his 2008 publication “*Shtutda'ina Da'a Shel Qudel* My Forefathers are Still Walking with Me: Verbal Essays on *Qizhjeh* and *Tsaynen Dena'ina* Traditions.”[134] In describing for the listener a safe place along the Telaquana Trail to get out of the elements with dog teams, he provides vivid yet implicit descriptions of the landscape, helping listeners navigate to this place west of Turquoise Lake:

> Iy gu qaɬnigi gu gu neɬ'ani gini.
> /This rock here that I am looking at here now,
>
> Q'udi gu yi shughu *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchix* qeyɬ dghinihi.
> /That is ‘rock that a structure is built against’ [Votive Rock]
> they used to call it.
>
> *ants'daztun Vena* ghini k'etnu ts'inun nuhdelggesh ghu.
> /At the ‘caribou hair lake’ [*Vants'daztun Vena*—Turquoise Lake] they would go straight across the stream there.

> Yi yudeq yeh hnidenghi'iyi.
> /From there high up can be seen ‘the one that is embedded’ [Hnidenghi'iy Mountain, the name describing its appearance amongst other mountains].
>
> Yi yan shi vet'uch' qilani.
> /This the only protected place.
>
> Ɬik'aha eɬ k'i qeyt'uch' nilggesh ha t'qeyghiɬ'ih.
> /They would also put the dogs into the lee of it.”

Here, Balluta not only illustrates the physical characteristics of *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchix* that identify it on the landscape, but also incorporates useful facts about the lands and resources surrounding this sacred spot long used as a campsite by travelers seeking safety along the trail.[135] As Pauline Hobson notes, Dena'ina place names can keep a person alive along the Telaquana Trail: “Like your home, you know every detail and where everything is. If you know your land, country, its resources, plants and animals, you will be content and relaxed. You can survive in it.”[136] Importantly, Dena'ina elders have reported to the authors that when someone talked about the various prominent locations along the trail they spoke each name in succession in a sing song fashion, suggesting that the names were learned as part of a routinized song that served as a reminder of trail routes transmitted between Dena'ina travelers.

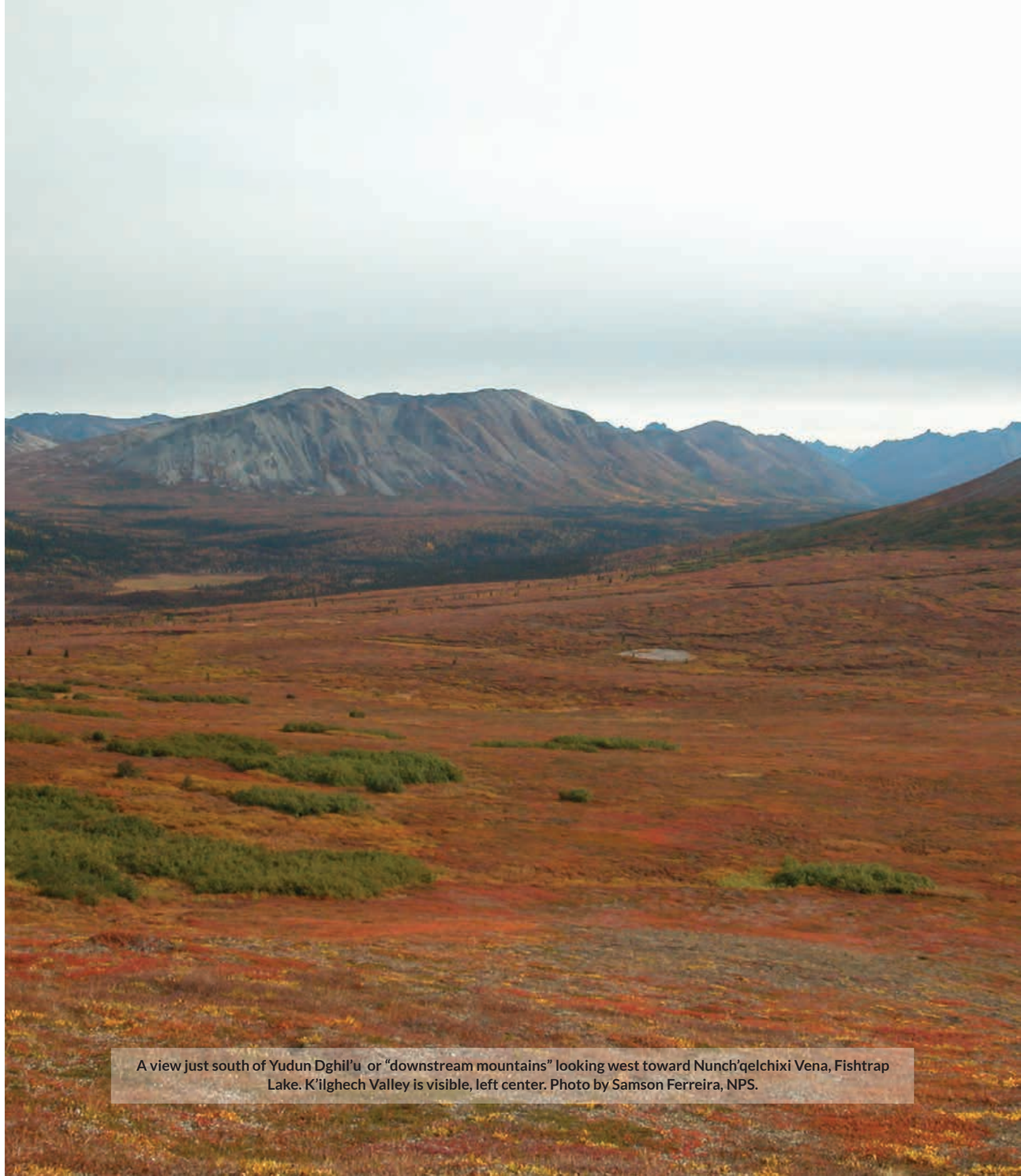
A smaller percentage of Dena'ina place names (about 15%) speak directly of human activities, such as patterns of spatial organization, villages, cemeteries, and other structures and objects. These names concisely express key aspects of the human geography of the place. To name three examples, we might mention *Nunch'qeɬchixitnu* (‘we built a stone dam across the stream’ on Little Mulchatna River), *Tuvughna Ten* (‘Tyonek peoples' trail’ at S.O.B. Canyon), or *Qizhjeh* (‘many people gather at this place,’ the name of Kijik Village).[137] Much as the names referencing natural features help Dena'ina travelers navigate the natural landscape, so these kinds of names help travelers navigate the human geographies of the region. These names also mention the placement and configuration of opportunities and challenges for navigation along trail networks, such as *Q'eteni* (‘trail across a mountain’) or *Nuniɬch'del'uxt* (‘we transport each other across’ at Stony River).

Places, however, can carry a deeper meaning than that conveyed by the contours of a name: “Mapping in Dena'ina is best described as laying out lives on paper through their activities such as hunting, fishing, and traveling to where the land offers the most. Andrew [Balluta] would tell me a place name and ask me, ‘Do you know why it has that name?’ Then he would lead into the story of how a place was named.”[138] Among the most important of these is *N'duk'eyux Dghil'u* (‘animals go into the mountain’), describing ancient oral traditions related to Telaquana Mountain and the full tapestry of

environmental knowledge and moral precepts the oral traditions about *N'duk'eyux Dghil'u* convey. As oral traditions were passed on to young people generation after generation, the young people could recall the names across the landscape, as well as the oral traditions linked to those places—either when traveling on foot or simply retracing the trail in their minds.

Since EuroAmerican exploration and settlement, descriptive English names were applied to several distinctive natural features associated with the Corridor, such as Trail Creek, Bear Creek, and College Creek, among others. Their value in unpacking the rich cultural and natural heritage of the trail varies. Yet, in spite of the presence and predominance of these English names on maps, the Dena'ina names endure. They remain as gifts from the ancestors, still available to teach people and to guide them safely along the trail. If they continue to be learned and used by present and future generations, they will continue to hold that potential.

A view of Vandaztun Vena — "caribou hair lake" or Turquoise Lake — and the mountains to the east . Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.



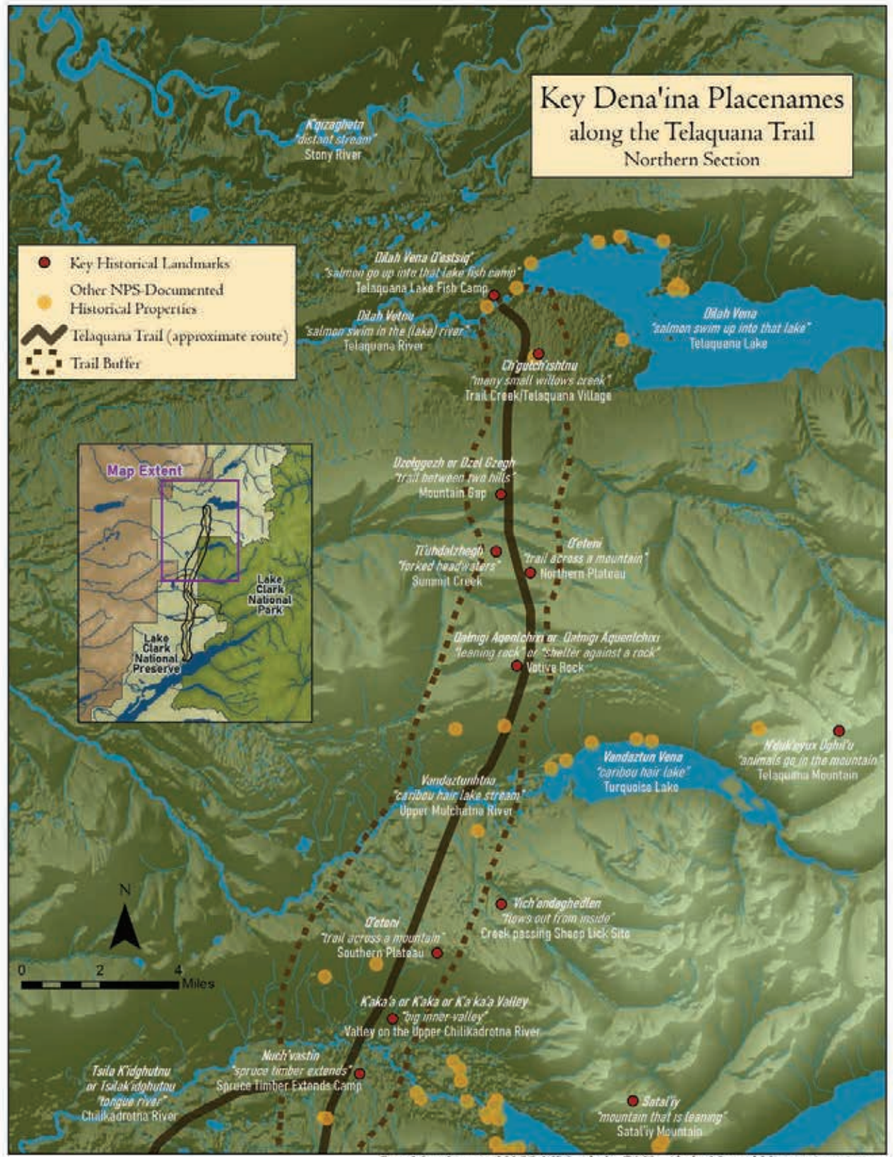
A view just south of Yudun Dghil'u or "downstream mountains" looking west toward Nunch'qelchixi Vena, Fishtrap Lake. K'ilghech Valley is visible, left center. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Here we list most of the key Dena'ina place names that contribute to the cultural and historical significance of the Telaquana Trail (Table 2). These names we use frequently throughout this report, alongside descriptions of the places so named.

Table 2: Dena'ina Place names, Translations, and English Equivalents

Dena'ina Names	English Translation	English Map Equivalent
K'qizaghetn	"distant stream"	Stony River
Dilah Vena	"salmon swim up into that lake"	Telaquana Lake
Dilah Vetnu	"salmon swim in the (lake) river"	Telaquana River
Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'	"salmon go up into that lake fish camp"	Telaquana Lake Fish Camp
Ch'gułch'ishtnu	"many small willows creek"	Trail Creek/ Telaquana Village
Dzełggezh or Dzel Gzegh	"trail between two hills"	Mountain Gap
Tl'uhdalzhegh	"forked headwaters"	Summit Creek
Q'eteni	"trail across a mountain"	Northern Plateau
N'duk'eyux Dghil'u	"animals go in the mountain"	Telaquana Mountain
Qałnigi Aqenlchixi or *Qałnigi Aquenlchixi*	"leaning rock" or "shelter against a rock"	Votive Rock
Vandaztun Vena	"caribou hair lake"	Turquoise Lake
Vandaztunhtna	"caribou hair stream"	Upper Mulchatna River
Vich'andaghedlen	"flows out from inside"	Sheep Lick Site
Q'eteni	"trail across a mountain"	Southern Plateau
Satal'iy	"mountain that is leaning"	*Satal'iy* Mountain
K'aka'a or K'aka or *K'a ka'a Valley*	"big inner valley"	Valley on the Upper Chilikadrotna River
Tsila K'idghutnu or Tsilak'idghutnu	"tongue river"	Chilikadrotna River
Nilqidlen Vena	"lakes that flow into one another"	Twin Lakes
Nuch'vastin	"spruce timber extends"	Spruce Timber Extends Camp
K'ena'a Qelahi	"lookout exists"	Lookout Mountain/Trail Butte
K'adała Vena	"birds fly out lake"	Snipe Lake
K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy or *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy*	"point that is embedded"	Hnidenghi'iy Mountain
K'dalghek Valley	"scraping noise of (antlers) in stream—valley"	Big Valley

Dena'ina Names	English Translation	English Map Equivalent
Yudun Dghil'u	"downstream mountain"	A series of hills between Little Mulchatna River & Snipe Lake
Nunch'qełchixitnu	"we build dam across the stream"	Little Mulchatna River
Qiniha Mountain	"the one behind"	Wolf Mountain
Ch'ak'dałtnu Tl'ughu	"game walks out— headwaters"	Kijik River above Lachbuna Lake
Ll'ati Vena or *Nl'ati Vena*	"deadfall collapses"	Lachbuna Lake
K'ilghech	"gap [between mountains]"	College Creek Valley
Nunch'qełchixi Vena	"we build a dam across"	Fishtrap Lake
K'ilghech'	"gap [between mountains]"	Gap Valley
Tuvughna Ten	"Tyonek people's pass"	S.O.B. Canyon
Ch'ak'daltnu	"animals walk out on stream"	Kijik River
Nan Qelah	"where there is moss"	Miller Creek mouth
Nan Qelah Tustes	"pass where there is moss"	Telaquana Trail from Miller Creek
Nan Qelah Vetnu	"deep moss creek"	Miller Creek
Veghdeq Idałtin or *Veghq Idałtin*	"lake above it"	Miller Lake
Veghdeq Dghilenka'a	"bigger creek"	
Veghdeq Dghilenshla	"small creek"	
Tits'nadzeni	"one that is steep to the water"	S.O.B. Mountain
Hnitsanghi'iy	"one that is embedded"	Priest Rock
Hnitsanghi'iy and *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten*	"one that flows from the one that is embedded"	Priest Rock Creek
K'unust'in	"one that stands apart"	Kijik Mountain
Kenquq' Tazdlenitu	"stream that flows on the swamp"	A creek at the base of Kijik Mtn.
Qil'ihtnu	"bad or evil creek"	Bad or Evil Creek; Creek north of Kijik Village
Qizhjeh	"many people gather at this place"	Historic Kijik Village
Qizhjeh Vena	"many people gather at this place lake"	Lake Clark
K'unustin T'uh K'emeq'	"pond beneath the one that stands apart"	Kijik Fish Pond Site



Base Map Sources: USGS, NPS, Alaska DNR, Alaska Natural History Association

Base Map Sources: USGS, NPS, Alaska DNR, Alaska Natural History Association

Landscapes of Cultural Significance

Regions of Seasonal Occupation

The Telaquana Trail is first and foremost a collection of natural landscapes of cultural and historical significance. Dena'ina oral tradition and written historical accounts all attest to the wide-ranging use and importance of landscapes that are at once "cultural" but lack significant human traces upon the land. Many landscape elements addressed in this report are therefore significant as either Natural Systems and Features (lakes, rivers, and valleys) or Views and Vistas (mountains and other wayfinding points). It is important to recognize that these landmarks and viewsheds are themselves points of cultural interest—as are the spaces between them. Linkages exist within the intervening spaces between each piece in this patchwork of contributing landscapes: between pathways of movement, traditional hunting and trapping territories, and ephemeral camps and places of cultural activity, for which there is no tangible evidence—no archaeological sites, signature anthropogenic vegetation, small scale features, or buildings or structures. Many parts of the Corridor therefore exist as general areas of occupation that are at once materially tangible as natural landscapes, but hold cultural and historical values that are intangible. Yet while these values are intangible, they still contribute significantly to the sacred, traditional, and historic character of the Telaquana Trail. No understanding of the Telaquana Trail cultural landscape would be possible without an appreciation of the importance of these regions of occupation.

Accordingly, in this section we consider eleven sites as 'regions of seasonal occupation' within the Telaquana Trail Corridor. These are large and highly significant natural areas that lack enduring built features but are of elevated importance due to their significance in Dena'ina history as recalled especially through oral tradition, and as venues for enduring seasonal occupation even after the Dena'ina migration to the Lake Clark Basin. They are highly important to the overall cultural landscape, as their seasonal occupation influenced enduring patterns of Dena'ina engagement with the Telaquana Trail landscape in many ways.

Qałnigi Aqenlchixi, sometimes called "Votive Rock," is a place of special significance to Dena'ina travelers. Described as a sacred place, the landmark is also a well-known campsite and a key feature in wayfinding along the Telaquana Trail. Photo by Samson Ferriera, NPS.

All of the following are contributing features associated with cultural traditions within the boundaries of the Telaquana Trail Corridor: *Dilah Vena* (Telaquana Lake), *Vandaztun Vena* (Turquoise Lake), *Tsila K'idghutnu* or *Tsilak'idghutnu* (Chilikadtrotna River), *Nilqidlen Vena* (Twin Lakes), *Satal'iy* (*Satal'iy* Mountain), *K'dalghek Valley* (Big Valley), *Yudun Dghil'u* (downstream mountains), *K'ilghech'* (Gap Valley), *Ch'ak'daltnu* (Kijik River or 'game walks out stream-headwaters'), and *Nan Qelah Vetnu* (Miller Creek on Lake Clark or *Qizhjeh Vena*, 'people congregated lake,' or 'many people gather at this lake').

Telaquana Lake in winter, encircled by mountains and taiga forest. Photo by W. Hill, NPS, 2013.

View looking NW across Telaquana Lake also known as Dilah Vena, or "salmon swim in the lake" from a plateau south of the lake. This is the preferred route out of the Telaquana Lake basin when heading south by-passing the boggy wooded terrain near lower Trail Creek or Ch'qulch'ishtnu or "young wills stream." Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

Table 3: Regions of Seasonal Occupation

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/Category	Landscape Feature
Dilah Vena	Telaquana Lake	Cultural Tradition	Lake—Seasonal Camp
Satal'iy	Satal'iy Mountain/ 'mountain that is leaning'	Cultural Tradition	Mountain—Seasonal Camp
Vandaztun Vena	Turquoise Lake/ 'animal hair lake,' 'caribou hair lake'	Cultural Tradition	Lake—Seasonal Camp
Tsila K'idghutnu or *Tsilak'idghutnu*	Chilikadrotna River/ 'tongue river'	Cultural Tradition	River—Seasonal Camp
Nilqidlen Vena	Twin Lakes/ 'lakes that flow together,' 'lakes that flow into one another'	Discontinuous: Cultural Tradition	Lake—Seasonal Camps/Resource Harvest Area
K'dalghek Valley	Big Valley/ 'scraping noise of (antlers) in stream'	Cultural Tradition	Valley—Seasonal Camp/CMT
Yudun Dghil'u	Downstream Mountain	Cultural Tradition	Resource Harvest Area
Ch'ak'daltnu Tl'ughu	Kijik River above Lachbuna Lake/ 'game walks out stream-headwaters'	Cultural Tradition	River
K'ilghech'	Gap Valley	Cultural Tradition	Valley—Seasonal Camp
Ch'ak'daltnu	Kijik River/ 'animals walk out stream'	Cultural Tradition	River—Seasonal Camp
Nan Qelah Vetnu	Miller Creek/ 'deep moss creek'	Cultural Tradition	Creek—Seasonal camp

Dilah Vena—Telaquana Lake

Dilah Vena (Telaquana Lake) is a lake of unique cultural and historical significance on the northern end of the Telaquana Trail, and an enduring hub of Dena'ina social and subsistence activities. The name has been translated as 'salmon swim up into that lake,'[139] 'salmon swim in lake,'[140]

and 'fish run in lake,' alluding to the robust salmon run entering the lake up Telaquana River.[141] The lake was the site of a significant village discussed in other sections that was largely abandoned as families moved to Kijik and Nondalton over the last century. Since then, Telaquana Lake has remained a key foothold of Dena'ina peoples from this region—being a significant site of seasonal camps, which serve as bases of operations for Nondalton families hunting and trapping in the area during fall and winter.

Ranger Andrew Balluta, Agnes Cusma and Sophie Austin at Ch'qulch'ishtnu Village on Trail Creek near Telaquana Lake in 1986. The elders, Sophie and Agnes, stayed here and trapped with their families in the 1930s. Courtesy NPS.

Certain Dena'ina settlements are historically associated with Telaquana Lake, and are referenced widely throughout this report. *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* was once the historic village site of the Htsaynenht'ana, the Inland Dena'ina people who dwelled in the the upper Stony River and Telaquana Lake region at the time of European contact.[142] The village was located about one mile upstream from the confluence of Trail Creek and the Telaquana River, on the east bank. The location of this village is sometimes referred to as "Old Village." During the 19th century, *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* remained the semi-permanent fall and winter home of the Trefon, Balluta and Kankaton families. The community at *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* largely relocated to *Qizhjeh* (Historic Kijik Village) in the very late 19th and early 20th centuries. *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'*, is known as the Fish Camp on Telaquana River. It sits apart from Telaquana

Dena'ina elders Agnes Cusma, Sophie Austin, and Andrew Balluta at Telaquana Village, 1986, with helicopter pilot Jimmie Schwerer. Courtesy NPS.

Village and has been represented as the northernmost point of the Telaquana Trail. Archaeological, written, and oral history evidence suggest that *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* hosted both a winter community and summer-to-fall fish camps until the turn of the century.[143] Some Dena'ina elders have suggested that the Fish Camp had ceremonial significance, relating to first fish rites and other events, in addition to its clear utilitarian functions.for many families, especially those who had relocated south to Kijik and Nondalton, Telaquana Lake was a place they continued to visit seasonally, often in a way that balanced the realities of community life in those southern villages. When the fishing was poor on Lake Clark, they could ascend Telaquana Trail to Telaquana Village to fish for salmon there; when hunting or trapping was not especially productive near Lake Clark, they could ascend to Telaquana Lake to hunt caribou or trap the fur-bearing mammals of the high country. And at Telaquana Lake, the scale of the community remained small, and distant from non-Native communities and influences—sometimes an incentive to return to that special place.

For these reasons, Dena'ina elders of recent times remember living, hunting, and trapping at *Dilah Vena*, or traveling to or from the Telaquana Lake area with close family as children. Others mention fishing at the lake from summer through winter seasons. They also remembered the long journeys up

and down the Telaquana Trail as an integral part of these stays. For example, as a child Agnes Trefon Cusma—an elder born in 1921, who lived most of her life in the Lake Clark area, traveled with her family to stay at *Dilah Vena* during the fall season, from the first of September until the end of October. She recalled that her family journeyed from Nondalton by boat to *Nan Qelah* (a site on Lake Clark at the mouth of Miller Creek) in 1926 or 1927. Following the Telaquana Trail from here they "traveled on foot to *K'a Ka'a* (...a valley on the upper Chilikadrotna River) where they camped in a wall tent,"[144] hunting caribou, moose, and squirrels. They then traveled by foot to stay for the rest of the season at *Dilah Vena*.

An early morning panorama of Telaquana Lake looking northwest. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

So too, Mary V. Trefon (a.k.a., Mrs. Wassillie Trefon), an elder of Nondalton, remembers when she and her family used the Telaquana Trail every summer to visit Telaquana Lake until her kids enrolled in school. Summarizing her account, Bureau of Indian Affairs researchers noted, "They returned from the lake by dogsled from their camps at Telaquana River and Twin Lakes. [Mary] also said the trail was blazed and indicated that in summer the trek took four days but in winter only two days."[145] Annie Delkittie's parents and grandparents spent winters at *Ch'kendałket*. Annie recalls that her "dad used to trap way up Telaquana and from there, every year, a different place. And from there, I remember he used to trap in Stony River" at *Dunk'elashnu*. From there they traveled to Whitefish Lake and along the shorelines and tributaries of Telaquana Lake: "Telaquana is a big lake itself and they used to trap all the way around the lake for fox and everything. Also, land otter in the little rivers, little creeks."[146] In another account, Agnes Cusma commented that every summer when she walked with her family to Telaquana Lake: "The trip took five days, and they took with them seven dogs for the return trip after freeze-up. She [Agnes] recalled that in 1928 or '29, trappers took many beavers around Telaquana Lake and packed them out on foot down the trail. She said she last walked the trail in 1934, and people seldom followed it as far as Telaquana Lake anymore."[147] In 1939, Wassillie Trefon mushed the entire trail by dogsled—perhaps the last person known to do so.

Wassillie Trefon (1897-1958) photographed about 1935. A skilled Dena'ina hunter, trapper and log builder, Trefon was born at Telaquana Lake. H-278, Photo provided by Helena Seversen Moses.

Andrew Balluta at a house pit in Ch'qulch'ishtnu, Telaquana Village, August 1986. Balluta was the first Alaska Native National Park Service law enforcement ranger, and often took part in documentation efforts relating to the Telaquana Trail — a place of much importance in his family's history. Courtesy NPS.

Other Dena'ina elders also recall aspects of community life at *Dilah Vena*. At least two prominent Dena'ina elders reported that they were born in the communities of Telaquana Lake. Albert Wassallie, Sr. was born prematurely at a hunting camp near *Dilah Vena*,[148] and Pete Koktelash was also born near the lake in 1905.[149] When he got older, Pete and his father traveled from *Denyihtnu* on the Mulchatna River below the canyon to the village at *Dilah Vena* (Telaquana Village) to visit his family living at the lake, including Trefon Balluta, Andrew Balluta, and their families during the winter and early spring seasons.[150] The Balluta family hunted and trapped extensively throughout the Telaquana Lake region.[151] Gabriel Trefon-Balluta maintained his family's winter base camp at *Dilah Vena* until 1935 when, due to health restrictions, he was required to consolidate his family at *Nikugh Vena* (Nikabuna Lake), with a trapline extending from *Nikugh Vena* north to *Qinghuy Kiyiq* (the western tip of *Quinghuyi* Mountain)[152]

For many years, the Trefon family also trapped seasonally around *Dilah Vena*. Between 1914 and 1925, Gabriel Trefon returned to the Telaquana area each fall after harvesting salmon around Lake Clark, trapping for furs around *Dilah Vena* throughout the winter months. Ben Trefon (b. 1923)

Andrew Balluta at Kijik, 2007. A Dena'ina author and ranger, Andrew made great contributions to our understanding of Telaquana Trail — recalling landmarks, historical facts, and oral traditions in rich detail. Photo by Karen Evanoff, NPS.

commented that his father Gabriel, as well as "[Andrew Balluta's] grandfather, and SK [probably Simeon Kankaton] had houses near here [*Dilah Vena*]. …After fishing for salmon here, he would move up to the head of Telaquana Lake to harvest 'fall' salmon. Then he would move back to near the mouth of the lake where he had his trapping base."[153]

Some Dena'ina families ran traplines between Lake Clark and Telaquana Lake along the Telaquana Trail. These Dena'ina trappers maintained cabins "at *K'a Ka'a* (a valley on the upper Chilikadrotna River), *K'adeɬa Vena* (Snipe Lake), *Denyihtnu* (no English name, an important canyon on the upper Mulchatna River; just downstream below the canyon; on the north side of the river is reported to be a large winter house), and Telaquana Lake."[154] Melvin Trefon remembers his family following the same pattern, trapping while traveling from the Miller Creek area on Lake Clark to Telaquana Lake, while also fishing: "[They] trapped here leaving from their home at Miller Creek. They would fish through

the ice for pike and lake trout too. There used to be a village here before [that] time."[155] Some suggest that trapping in the Telaquana area largely ceased a few generations ago as more people focused on traplines in the Chulitna River Basin and areas closer to the village at Nondalton. According to some, extensive trapping at Telaquana had largely ceased in the mid-1930s.[156]

Contributing to the decline in use of Telaquana Lake were the difficulty, distance and expense of relocating each year, but also a growing statewide requirement that children attend village schools. A resident from Nondalton explains that once school started, he no longer participated in annual treks to the Telaquana Lake area, even as a few adults continued to return: "Well my dad's from Telaquana, that's a big lake there, that's where he was born, and we went up there in the summer time, wintertime. After we start school, we don't go up there anymore, him and mom used to go up there and trap."[157]

Still, some families, especially those with traditional territories and familial ties near Telaquana Lake, still continued to visit individually or in very small numbers. Some returned to trap fox, beaver, and other species in the *Dilah Vena* area. Agnes Cusma's father (Gabriel Trefon 1897-1963) never ceased trapping in his traditional Telaquana Lake area, as well as continuing to subsistence hunt and fish for his family: "My dad was always a good provider. Part of the time, he continued hunting, trapping, and fishing with his brother or with my mother after I was old enough to watch the older children. He never stopped going to Telaquana for trapping, as this was the area he knew best."[158] Several families have identified the areas around Telaquana Lake as enduring fall and winter hunting areas for Nondalton residents:

> "Well for getting meat, they have to go up Middle Fork [the Chilikadrotna River], Mulchatna and Telaquana. Telaquana, that's where my grandpa and them come from. And that's where my dad stayed with us in the fall time, then all winter, we would go trapping, because there was no moose around. If he gets moose he's got to come down and bring some down to grandma and them."[159]

Even in recent times, Dena'ina families set traplines during the winter season, placing traplines across the landscape in accordance with traditional community harvest boundaries. A Nondalton trapper described how Telaquana Lake still is understood to be Nondalton's trapping area, and trappers from Newhalen, Iliamna, and Nondalton recognize and respect these boundaries:

> "What they do, like Newhalen, they hardly go in anybody else's trap line. … Iliamna, hardly go down this way, they respect the others. Like over here, that's Nondalton's trap line, all the way from Mulchatna up to Telaquana [Lake]. Like here's Dutna Lake [Tutna Lake, in Mulchatna River drainage but close to the Chulitna River valley], they go far as there, all the way Telaquana [Lake]."[160]

Dena'ina trappers are familiar with traditional territorial boundaries and make efforts to avoid affecting other trapper's lines and thus inviting conflict or demand for payment. The boundaries are maintained by community members' shared recognition of familial rights to trapping areas. In this sense Telaquana Lake remains the northernmost Nondalton trapping territory to this day, even in those times when it is not being actively utilized.[161]

Beyond trapping, *Dilah Vena* is widely regarded as as base for significant hunting in the area. Dena'ina hunters from Nondalton continue to hunt caribou in the region, especially when harvests are poor closer to Lake Clark, with families traversing the study area to access these more distant, time-honored caribou hunting grounds.[162] The area has been a reliable caribou hunting area, in part due to the longstanding presence of the vast Mulchatna caribou herd. The scale and migratory routes of the Mulchatna herd have changed in recent decades, with these changes dramatically impacting Inland Dena'ina hunters.[163] A once vast maze of caribou trails passing through this area are now significantly fading from the local landscape. As a result of shifting caribou availability, Dena'ina hunters found *Dilah Vena* a less reliable base for caribou hunting through the late 20th and early 21st centuries. They must travel longer distances to other traditional hunting areas to find caribou—some traveling over one hundred miles, returning to traditional Inland Dena'ina hunting areas such as those near Lime Village.[164] Some turned to moose hunting, which was also once unavailable near Lake Clark and sought in the Telaquana Lake area:

> "Well, they didn't have any moose when I was small, they had to go way up Telaquana to get their moose or Middle Fork [the Chilikadrotna River or Middle Fork of the Mulchatna River], but right down here there was none. I was born [in] 1921, and they have to go far as Middle Fork I guess, to find a moose, that's way up. It's over Telaquana way, on the other side, going toward Telaquana."[165]

Today, moose no longer inhabit the Telaquana area in significant numbers, either, due to changing habitats and herd demographics. The Mulchatna Basin and Telaquana region once provided sanctuary for the Mulchatna caribou herd during calving season; thought they have largely moved to other areas, caribou hunting may still hold promise in the lands around *Dilah Vena*. The shoreline of the lake has also been reported to be a good and long utilized berry picking ground, especially for blueberries.

Both in the past and present, the *Dilah Vena* area has been the destination of a number of non-Native visitors. Former Alaska Governor Jay Hammond, then an employee of the US Fish and Wildlife Service in the 1950s, spent significant time at Telaquana Lake and in the surrounding area in the late 1940s and early '50s, intending to build a cabin near the lake in the early 1950s. He began construction, but ultimately built his home at the outlet of Miller Creek on Lake Clark; Hammond's

partially built cabin at Telaquana Lake was sold to Dick Straty, a US Fish and Wildlife Service employee.[166] Since then, and especially after park creation, visitation grew steadily into the late 20th century—for recreational hiking, paddling, and other reasons, but also for hunting. Yet in the early years of the 2000s, both visitor days and number of visitors to Telaquana Lake declined significantly. Fay and Colt cite as the main reason a decrease in caribou in the area and the decline in non-Native hunting parties, which tend to be larger and stay longer than other non-Native visitors.[167]

During interviews conducted by Kari[168] as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,* Dena'ina interviewees identified the lake as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. In this publication, the location is referred to as *Dilah Vena Tustes* (Telaquana Pass), translated as 'fish swim in lake pass.' Dena'ina participants with Project Jukebox[169] also deemed *Dilah Vena* a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. For this lake, the spelling "*Dela Vena"* is sometimes alternately used. The entire lake, as well as individual archaeological sites and the old village, are all identified as contributing resources within the Telaquana Corridor Historic District Inventory.

Satal'iy—Satal'iy Mountain

Satal'iy, located north of Twin Lakes, is a Dena'ina term translated as 'mountain that is leaning.' The mountain is widely visible along the trail and can be used for orientation along the central portions of the trail. As described by Ferreira,[170] as one approaches the base of the mountain, the ground becomes very soggy and swampy, but "[o]nce we reached a high point at the base of 'leaning mountain,' we could see into both the Mulchatna and Chilikadrotna drainages, the view was phenomenal."

Rolling alpine tundra runs to the base of Satal'iy "mountain that is leaning," south of Trail Butte. Courtesy NPS.

Hikers walk across Q'eteni toward Satal'iy or "one that is leaning," also known as Leaning Mountain, as they approach views of Twin Lakes to the left. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

The areas on and around the *Satal'iy* Mountain slopes were once well-traveled by Dena'ina people hunting along the margins of the Telaquana Trail. The area was good for hunting caribou, and the flanks of the mountain were useful as a lookout. Ferreira and associates spotted a significant number of caribou of the larger Mulchatna herd that migrate through the area annually. The boggy areas and waterways nearby were also used for trapping. Nicholai Carltikoff recalls trapping beaver during the months of February and March from Lower Tazimina Lake, all the way to Mount *Satal'iy*.[171]

Satal'iy Mountain or Leaning Mountain across the wide expanse of Q'eteni running toward the Chilikadrotna River valley. Satal'iy Mountain. Courtesy NPS.

Vandaztun Vena—Turquoise Lake

Located approximately 28 miles north of Lake Clark, *Vandaztun Vena*, Turquoise Lake, sits at an elevation of 2504 ft. and is fed by glaciers; the surrounding landscape is characteristic of an alpine tundra. To the east are steep mountains, while to the west the landscape flattens out into the valley of the Mulchatna River.[172] *Vandaztun Vena* means 'animal hair lake'[173] or 'caribou hair lake' in the Dena'ina language—referencing the fact that caribou are so plentiful here that their hair accumulates

The upper Chilikadrotna River valley, with Lower Twin Lakes visible. K'a Ka'a or "big inner area" in Dena'ina is to the left against the ridge. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

The jagged summit of Nduk'eyux Dghil'u, Telaquana Mountain, with Vandaztun Vena, Turquoise Lake, visible behind. Photo by K. Miller, NPS, 2010.

along the waterline during their peak migration.[174] Understandably, this was once a premier caribou hunting area. The region between Turquoise and Twin Lakes also hosts Dall sheep. The area had its own settlements historically, and seasonal use continued until recent decades due to the resource abundance of the area. Residents of Nondalton and the larger Lake Clark area once used the Turquoise Lake area in the fall for hunting, and may have sometimes utilized spawned-out sockeye redfish when there in the fall. The area is exposed, at high elevation with few trees, so an unlikely site for fishing camps, though some sources have suggested fish camps may have existed here historically.[175] Ellanna and Balluta[176] identify at least two hunting camps in the area.

The place has been a settlement and resource procurement site, archaeological evidence suggests, since not long after glaciers retreated from the land. It is recognized as having enduring importance to Dena'ina families though subsistence use has diminished in recent generations. Dena'ina elder Lary Hill, his brothers Frank and Pete, and Pete's wife B.J., flew to Turquoise Lake to hike around the area and revisit portions of the Telaquana Trail one spring: "The more we walked, the closer we seemed to be to our Dena'ina roots."[177]

In 1976, Smith and Shields conducted an archaeological survey at Turquoise Lake, identifying several sites (see Archaeological Sites), and Tennessen carried out surveys at the lake in 2002 as part of the Interior Lakes Survey. During interviews conducted by Kari as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[178] Dena'ina people identified the lake as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail, and Dena'ina participants with Project Jukebox in 1998 deemed it a significant feature along the trail.

A small pond lies like a mirror in the foreground while Vandaztun Vena (Turquoise Lake) and Nduk'eyux Dghil'u (Telaquana Mountain) are reflected on the pond. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

Tsila K'idghutnu or *Tsilak'idghutnu*—Chilikadrotna River

Tsilak'idghutnu, translated as 'Tongue River,'[179] is sometimes referred to by Dena'ina people as 'Middle Fork.'[180] This Chilikadrotna River Basin has served as a key seasonal hunting and trapping region where several seasonal campsites and traplines have been found. Ferreira[181] describes the area as having an abundance of white spruce forest with moderate undergrowth and grassy meadows, in addition to rolling tundra. In the early fall and winter, Dena'ina peoples have traditionally traveled to *Tsilak'idghutnu* to hunt for caribou, as well as moose that are sometimes numerous along the Chilikadrotna River riparian.

Evening on Chilikadrotna River, during a survey of Telaquana Trail, looking east toward Nilqidlen Vena, Twin Lakes. Photo by Liza Rupp, NPS, 2015.

This pattern of seasonal use is especially well documented for the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As Dena'ina elder Albert Wassilie recalled, "We used to go to Mulchatna and Middle Fork [...*Tsilak'idghutnu* or Chilikadrotna River] to get moose meat."[182] During the winter, Dena'ina peoples then focused on trapping red and cross fox, lynx, wolverine, marten, river otter, and mink over wide areas that included the Chilikadrotna River riparian zone. Alex Balluta recalls that he and his family would trap "all around...Caribou Creek [...*Q'uk'tsatnu* or Koksetna River] and Middle Fork [...*Tsalik'idghutnu* or Chilikadrotna River]."[183] Andrew Balluta's father and younger brothers maintained a trapline, making "spike camps" throughout an expansive area that went from "*Chaq'ah Tugget* to *Hukughitenitnu*, a creek that runs into the head of *K'q'uya Vena*. Then they went to

Hikers crossing the Chilikadrotna River, at a natural ford easily located by its proximity to a low kame on the north bank nearby. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Nusdnigi Q'aghdeq or Caribou Lakes, which are located in a valley on the Koksetna River. Then they went on to *Tsilak'idghutnu*, called the Chilikadrotna River on *Gasht'ana* maps."[184]

Chief Alex Balluta, Alex Balluta's father, is reported to be the first to forge a path through this region that was widely used by Native and non-Native trappers. This trail was later maintained and referred to as Lynx Trail or *K'chanlentnu* Trail: "Matter of fact, Alex Balluta's dad [Chief Alex Balluta] made the trail, made that route, trail up to *Chilikadrotna* [...*Tsilak'idghutnu* or Middle Fork] and then from there they used the same old trail that...everybody used to use."[185] During his interview, Alex Balluta refers to this trail as well, describing how he would trap from November into March: "We used to go over to *Tsilak'idghutnu* [...Chilikandrotna River] and to a place called Ptarmigan Creek camp,"[186] and that when he was younger, Alex's father trapped with him at Lynx Creek or *K'chanlentnu*.

Even into the second half of the 20th century, families maintained camps and cabins in the area to use as bases for trapping and subsistence hunting in the Chilikadrotna River Basin. For example, from 1944 until 1964, Paul Cusma traveled with his wife Agnes to their trapping camp at *Chałchitnu* (the Chilchitna River), maintaining a trapline "from *Chałchitnu* west along the Mulchatna River to

A fall scene along Tsilak'idghutnu, the Chilikadrotna River. Photo by K. Jalone, NPS, 2012.

Hqak'elaxtnu (...Moose Creek below Springway Creek), northeast along the Mulchatna River to *Nil'aghedlen* (...mouth of the Chilikadrotna River), the location of Pete Koktelash's trapping cabin."[187] From December through January, they trapped small furbearers, until beaver season in February and March.

During interviews conducted by Kari as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[188] Dena'ina people identified *Tsilak'idghutnu* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Project Jukebox[189] participants also described the river as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Moreover, referred to as *Tsila K'idghutnu*, the river was included in the documentation of the Telaquana Trail for nomination to the National Register and as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI.[190]

Nił<u>q</u>idlen Vena—Twin Lakes

In the language of the Inland Dena'ina, *Nił<u>q</u>idlen Vena* implies 'lakes that flow together'[191]and 'lakes that flow into one another,' or in some translations, 'two lakes are tied together.'[192] In English, this place is widely known as "Twin Lakes." Located approximately 18 miles north of Lake Clark, Twin Lakes is situated at an elevation of 1979 feet, and has the longest shoreline of all the upper lakes in the region. The north shore is largely upland spruce while the southern shore is alpine tundra. According to Smith and Shields,[193]

> "The original shape of this glacially formed lake was altered by the pinching effect of the two opposed alluvial fans in the approximate center of the lake. Most of the eastern end of the lake is surrounded by high, steep-sided mountains with the exception of a few areas where alluvial fans have been built up. The westernmost lake is confined to a bit broader area while the northern shore is lined with a series of parallel ridges in contrast to the southern shore which is a large terrace with few small land features."[194]

Bright red and orange vegetation contrast the pale turquoise of Unqeghnit Nił<u>q</u>idlen Vena, Upper Twin Lake, Teetering Rock. Photo by D. Liles, NPS, 2017.

Two hikers approach Nił<u>q</u>idlen Vena, Lower Twin Lakes, having just descended the escarpment that demarcates Q'eteni from the lowlands running toward the Chilikadrotna River. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Bears tracks near Unqeghnit Niłqidlen Vena, Upper Twin Lake. Photo by O. Urbanski, NPS, 2016.

A number of other Dena'ina place names have been recorded for the features of this landmark, such as *Unqeghnit NiŁłqidlen Vena* for Upper Twin Lakes, meaning 'upper lakes that flow together.'[195]

This place has been a center of Native settlement and subsistence since remarkably early in the archaeological record—indeed, since not long after the retreat of glaciers from the land. Twin Lakes was the site of an archaeological survey by Smith and Shields in 1976, identifying numerous archaeological sites. Tennessen revisited the lakes and documented several sites in 2002 and 2005, as part of the Interior Lakes Survey. Diagnostic artifacts at Twin Lakes include specimens belonging to the Northern Archaic tradition (6500 BP to 1300 BP)—a tradition that, while not conventionally associated with Athabaskan occupation, might be potentially associated with certain peoples ancestral to the Dena'ina in this region and suggesting possible human use and occupation not long after the glaciers' retreat (see Archaeological Sites).[196] The area is part of the Chilikadrotna Headwaters Archaeological District, documented by NPS staff and submitted to the Alaska State Historic Preservation Office at the time of this writing.

An aerial photo above Tsilak'idghutnu, the Chilikadrotna River, near Niłqidlen Vena, Twin Lakes. Photo by Dan Young, NPS, 2010.

NiŁqidlen Vena sits at a crossroads and at a significant intersection between the Telaquana Trail and other major Dena'ina passageways. It is here at *Niqidlen Vena* that the Telaquana Trail and *Chickalushen Tustes* converge, providing travelers with a route to Tyonek Village, a major Dena'ina settlement on the Cook Inlet shoreline. People traditionally traveled through *Chickalushen Tustes*, the pass from Tlikakila River to Twin Lakes, and then from Twin Lakes would access the Telaquana Trail to continue on. This is part of an extensive network of trails allowing trade and relationships between Dena'ina peoples and people of the surrounding territories: "[T]here is Telaquana Pass also. Chickalusion Pass is at the head of Twin Lakes and towards Lake Clark Pass. There's only one head of [Twin] lake. There is a pass there, one pass, towards the salt water and another pass towards Mulchatna."[197]

Nilqidlen Vena is not within the contiguous 50-mile Corridor designated as the Telaquana Trail. However, this lake complex clearly was a destination point for Dena'ina peoples traveling to a winter sheep hunting trail that branches off of the larger Telaquana Trail. It also serves as a connecting point between the Telaquana Trail and the *Chikalushen Tustes,* two major thoroughfares within the larger network of traditional trails traversing the entire region. And clearly, key Telaquana Trail locations such as *Nuch'vastin* and *K'a Ka'a* are located on either side of the Chilikadrotna River, just a few miles below Lower Twin Lakes.

Although specific Dall sheep winter ranges have not been defined, the area north of the outlet of the westernmost portion of Twin Lakes is well-known by Dena'ina hunters as a hunting site for Dall sheep, as well as caribou.[198] And between Twin Lakes and Turquoise Lake is a lambing area for Dall sheep that is generally referred to as the "Sheep Lick." During the winter, Dena'ina peoples would travel to *Nilqidlen Vena* via the Telaquana Trail, and from there would access a hunting trail at the head of the Lower Twin Lakes near *Ts'izdlen* (Emerson Creek). Co-author John Branson, who documented a conversation between Richard Proenneke and Dena'ina elder Steve Hobson, Sr. (1908-1983) in 1970, reports: "The trail was used by Dena'ina hunters to access Dall's sheep on their lower winter range. Proenneke wrote about learning of the trail from Hobson and later [in November, 1970] going out on the short two-mile-long trail, following the axe-blazed trail through the woods, and finding a campsite at trail's end, right where Hobson told him it would be."[199]

The area was also a center of fur trapping. For example, in 1937 at the age of 18, Pete Trefon used this trail for hunting and trapping. He reported using 25-30 traps which he kept moving around along the trial. The furs he sold through Seattle Fur Exchange or Hans Severson in Iliamna: "Moose were scarce up there in those days, just came in my lifetime." He and other Dena'ina hunters report that their use of the area has declined in part due to pressure from non-Native hunters in the region: "used to be good sheep hunting at Twin Lakes but not anymore with all the head (trophy) hunters. They're ruining our country."[200]

Panorama view of Proenneke's cabin interior. A wood cabin with a gravel floor, the cabin contains a woodstove, bed, fireplace, desk and chair, and a small "kitchen" area. Photo by C. Lindsay, K. Jalone, NPS, 2017.

A cabin on the southern shore of *Nilqidlen Vena,* was famously built by non-Native settler Richard Proenneke beginning in 1968. Filming his construction process and his lifestyle on the shores of *Nilqidlen Vena*, Proenneke brought this lake complex to the attention of international audiences. His cabin remains a premier attraction for Lake Clark National Park and Preserve to this day (see Twin Lakes—Dick Proenneke Cabin).

Antone Balluta with his wife Sophie Balluta and relative Bennie Trefon somewhere on the Telaquana Trail in the late 1920s or early 1930s. Antone is hooking up dogs to the family sled. NPS photo, courtesy of Sophie Austin.

Elder participants in the 1990s Project Jukebox study referenced *Nilqidlen Vena* as being of cultural significance as a navigational waypoint, precontact settlement site, and subsistence use area.[201] In the 1986 *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[202] Dena'ina elders identified *Nilqidlen Vena* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail; and Dena'ina interviewees for the present project identified the site as significant. Contemporary Dena'ina interviewees express a sense of enduring connection to this place, though they also acknowledge a sense of being displaced somewhat by visitors and others. As Dena'ina interviewees have noted,

> "This was an important place to our ancestors, traveling, hunting, berry picking…There was Dena'ina presence all over in the area. This was all done by walking and later with dog sleds…
>
> "[We are] still connected. That's what's unique about us [Dena'ina] is that connection. It's hard to explain "The first time I went to Twin Lakes was last fall and it felt like I was there before. This is hard to describe. It was like I was there before, like I belonged there. It's because of how Native people connect with the land. This area and all the surrounding land needs to be protected, there's a lot of history there also. The history of the Dena'ina people needs to be told as part of history. This is why we're here today, it's because of our ancestors and what they did to take care of the land, this [the land] was passed on to us."[203]

Archaeologists surveying in K'dalghek, Big Valley, looking north. Archeologist Karen Workman, left, and NPS summer intern Aharon Zorea pause in the Big Valley near Bear Creek K'dalghektnu before heading north through the gap in the background. K'kiyiq Hnighi'iy or "the one that is stuck on the end," is partially visible on the left.
Photo by John Branson, NPS.

K'dalghek Valley—Big Valley

The name of this valley, *K'dalghek*, is a Dena'ina term meaning 'scraping noise of (antlers) in stream,'[204] the term applying to the whole valley, though east of Snipe Lake it is also referred to as Big Valley.[205] Macy Hobson remembers that the Dena'ina people traditionally camped in Big Valley. Their presence, and the importance of travel through this area, is suggested by the presence of culturally modified trees of diverse types and antiquities (see Culturally Modified Trees (CMT). According to Hobson,

> "One encounters no distinctive cultural features until one arrives southeast of the base of Hninughet'iy Mountain on the north side of Big Valley. In this area the old spruce trees with lower limbs cut off and axe chopped stumps attest to a Dena'ina campsite. Macy Hobson has stated that any place where the Dena'ina found water and firewood could be used to camp."[206]

During interviews conducted by Kari as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[207] Dena'ina elders identified the valley as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. The name Big Valley was applied to the landform by Dick Proenneke—the name being a basic but apt description of the 9-mile long by one- to two-mile wide valley. Historian Aharon Zorea, serving as a research assistant in 1991, was part of a survey team along with Karen Workman and co-author John Branson that traversed the trail; as he noted, the valley spans between the "mountains to the south of Twin Lakes and the Mountains to the north of College Creek and Little Mulchatna River; Snipe Lake lies on the south-western side of it."[208] National Register documentation[209] notes that the Telaquana Trail runs along the north side of *K'ilghech*, rising to an elevation of 2,700 feet. The trail then runs

A view leaving Yudun Dghil'u and going down into the Big Valley with the landmark mountain K'kiyi Hnighi'iy in the center background. Courtesy NPS.

through *Yudun Dghil* and into the valley of the *K'dalghektnu*, 'scraping noise of (antlers) stream,' known locally as Bear Creek in Big Valley. Bear Creek runs the length of Big Valley and continues west about 10 miles to its junction with the Chilikadrotna River, the Middle Fork of the Mulchatna River. The valley was included in the Telaquana Trail NRHP nomination documentation, and listed as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the NPS' 2006 CLI.[210]

Yudun Dghil'u—downstream mountains

In the language of the Inland Dena'ina, *Yudun Dghil'u* means 'downstream mountains,'[211] a name referring to a string of low mountains south of Big Valley, Snipe Lake and Pear Lake, and north of the headwaters of the Little Mulchatna River and *K'ilghech* (College Creek/Gap Valley). At this location is a pass connecting these two areas, north and south through *Yudun Dghil'u* that has been colloquially called "Tobacco Can Pass"—named by NPS ranger Richard Jones for a Half & Half Tobacco can found during a hike throught he site in the early 1990s. The landmark served as a navigational mark and was likely hunted and used as a hunting lookout intermittently. Dena'ina elder Pete Bobby also identified it as a place where Dena'ina people procured *dashtl'ech'i chix* or black paint. [212]

Dena'ina people identified the mountain as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail during interviews conducted by Kari as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[213] Dena'ina participants in the Project Jukebox study also considered it a significant feature along the Telaquana

A view of hikers heading south in Yudun Dghil'u or "downstream mountains." Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Partial caribou skull at Caribou Pass, lookin northwest. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS

A view from Yudun Dghil'u looking north at upper College Creek and K'Kiyiq' Hnighi'iy or "the one that is stuck on the end," in the right background." Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Trail. [214] *Yudun Dghil'u* was included in the documentation of the Telaquana Trail for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places and finally, it was listed as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI[215] as 'downstream mountains,' with the inclusion of Caribou Pass.[216]

Ch'ak'daɬtnu Tl'ughu—Kijik River above Lachbuna Lake

Ch'ak'daɬtnu Tl'ughu is a Dena'ina term that translates as 'game walks out stream-headwaters.'[217] The term is an apt description, as this is where caribou and other species travel in and out of the upper reaches of the Kijik River Basin. The name may also allude to the broader cultural significance of the western front of the Neacola Mountains, as the wellspring of game and game abundance in ancient Dena'ina oral tradition—this corridor being one route linking the Kijik River Basin to this cosmologically significant region. The area has been hunted, and associated campsites have been found in the area historically.

Alex Trefon and Pete Koktelash identified the river as a place along the Lake Clark- Telaquana Lake Trail during studies of the early 1970s,[218] and in 1998, Project Jukebox interviewees identified it as a

Chuck and Clyde Trefon from Nondalton in Yudun Dghil'u, "downstream mountain" looking northwest to the trail pass, in 1996. The Trefon brothers are the grandsons of Wassillie Trefon and the great-grandsons of Trefon Balluta, the man who could walk the 50 mile-long Telaquana Trail in one day. His Dena'ina nickname was " the man who walks fast." Photo by John Branson.

significant feature along the trail.[219] Ch'ak'dałtnu Tl'ughu is also included in the Telaquana Trail nomination to the NRHP as *Ch'ak'dałtnu*, located below Lachbuna Lake on the traditional ford of the Kijik River. It is about 100 ft. wide and becomes impassible in July and August. In the nomination to the National Register of Historic Places,[220] it is identified as "a well-known camping spot."[221]

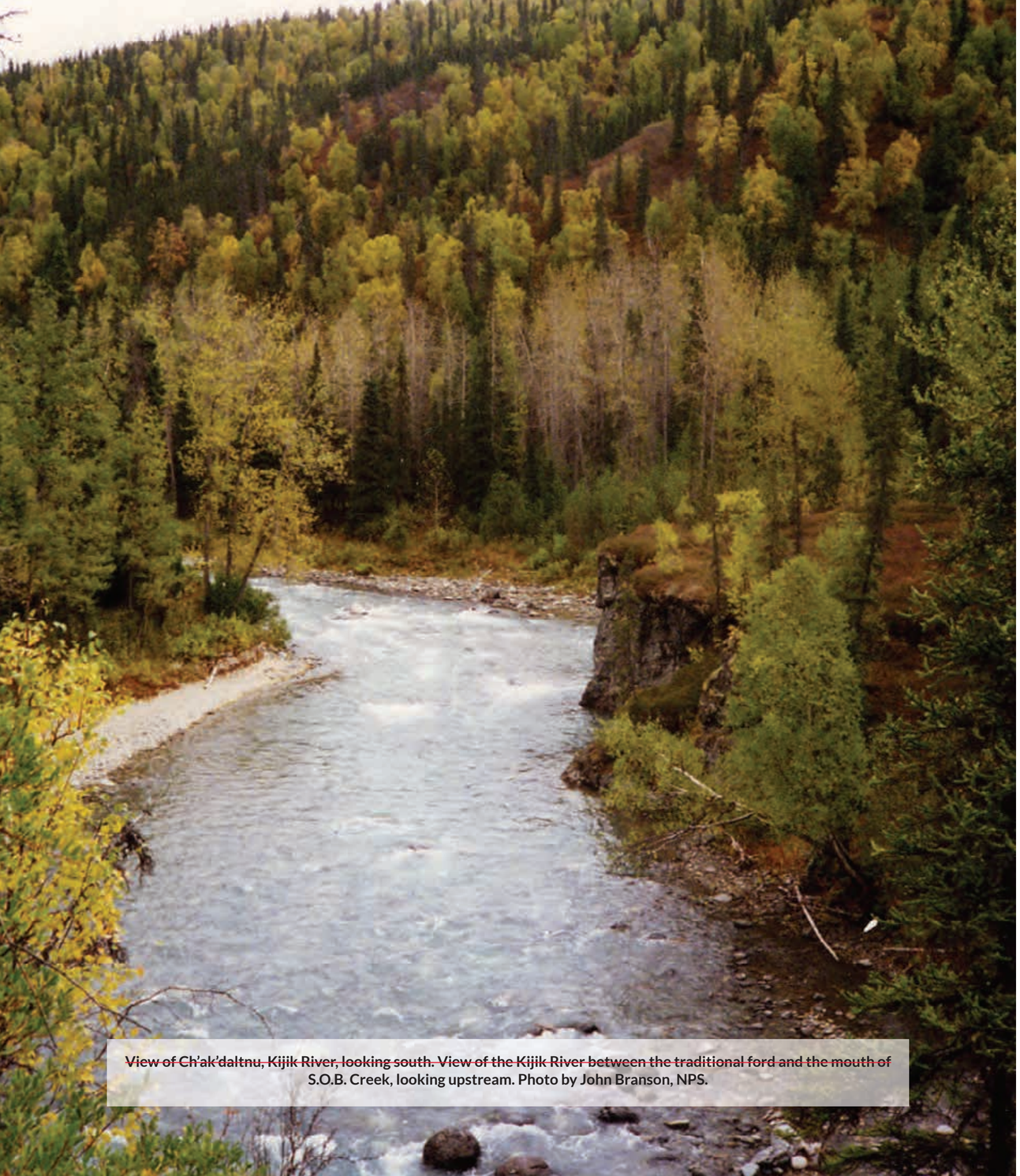
K'ilghech'—Gap Valley

K'ilghech' or Gap Valley has been translated as 'gap'[222] and 'valley' in translations from the Dena'ina language.[223] Agnes Cusma expressed that some late 19th to early 20th century prospectors heard Dena'ina packers say "K'ilghech" and thought they heard "college"—the origin of the name of the Lachbuna Lake tributary, "College Creek." The Telaquana Trail runs right through the heart of *K'ilghech*, more or less south to north.

The valley provides passage to migrating caribou and other species while moose can be found especially along waterways and in the timber and marshes of the pass. Dena'ina families sometimes hunt this area. Andrew Balluta recalled a seasonal fall hunting camp at *K'ilghech'* and actively hunting

While local Dena'ina salmon fishing is concentrated at Nondalton Fish Camp, a traditional late season fishery continues near the mouth of Kijik River for redfish, the sockeye salmon that have turned deep red as spawning time approaches. Photo by Dan Young, NPS, 2003.

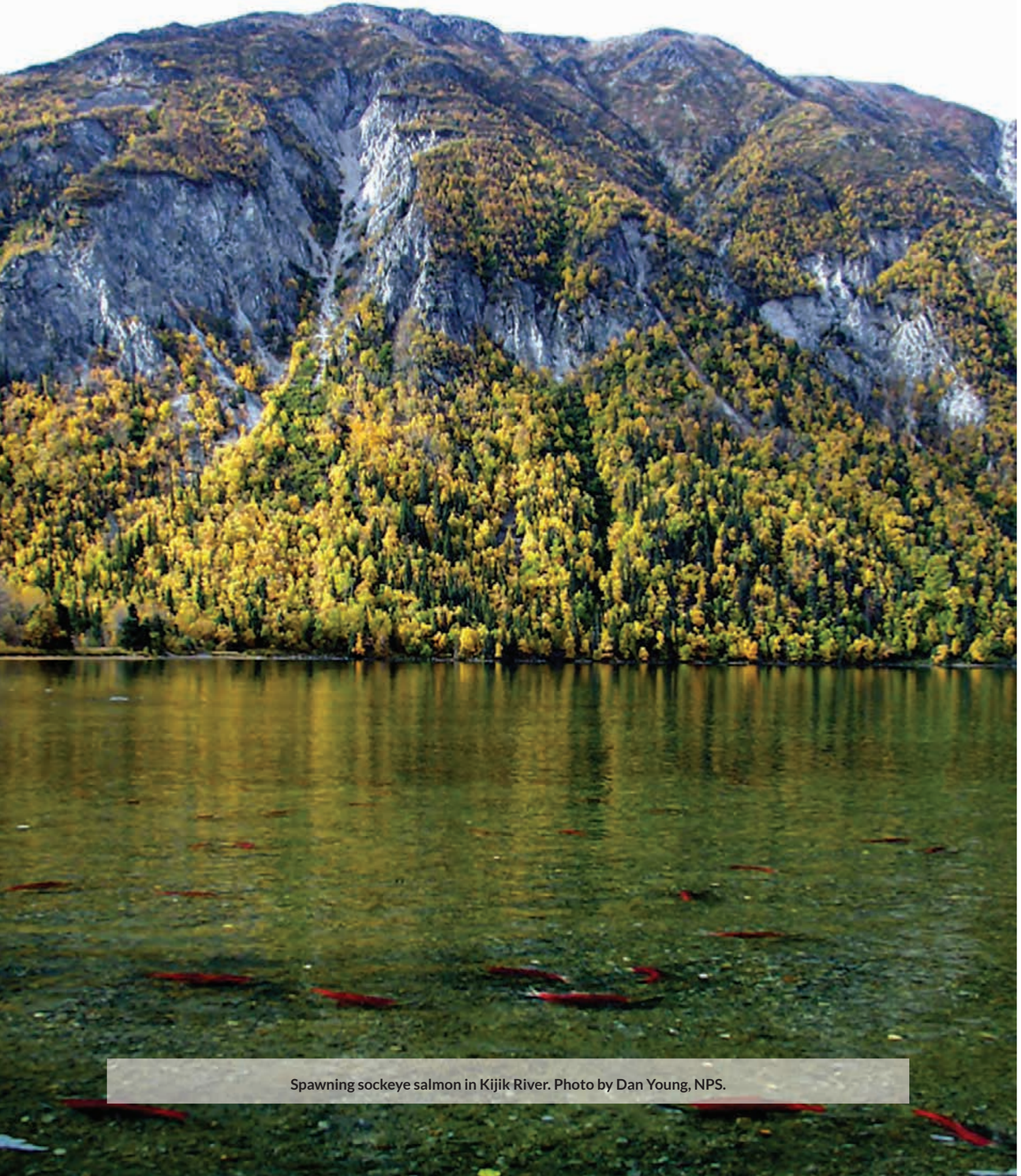
On the Telaquana Trail, looking north at the Kijik River flowing out of Nl'ali Vena or "deadfall collapses lake" also known as Lachbuna Lake, in 2012. Photo by John Branson, NPS.



~~View of Ch'ak'daltnu, Kijik River, looking south.~~ ~~View of the Kijik River between the traditional ford and the mouth of~~ S.O.B. Creek, looking upstream. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

The Stephen R. Capps 1929 USGS expedition pack train at K'ilghech' on the Telaquana Trail about 15 miles north of Lake Clark. H-1196. S.R. Capps Collection, 83-149-2801, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

North K'ilghech' — Gap Valley — looking north toward Yudun Dghil'u and Caribou Pass. Photo by Samson Ferriera, NPS.



Spawning sockeye salmon in Kijik River. Photo by Dan Young, NPS.

moose and caribou there.[224] This was also a passable trapping area for certain species, such as lynx. According to Albert Wassallie, Sr., "the old people used to trap here in the winter. One elderly couple would bring back lynx from here and cook the meat and feed it to the children."[225] Linked to such hunting and trapping, Trefon Balluta had a cache on the north side of this valley, west of College Creek and just north of a small branch of the Little Mulchatna River.

Brelsford recorded *K'ilghech'* as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name in the 1970s,[226] and Dena'ina people identified it as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail during interviews conducted by Kari in the 1980s as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[227] Also in Ellanna,[228]Alex Trefon identified *K'ilghech* as a significant location along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail: "K'ilghech', that's this (valley)." The valley was reported as a significant feature along the trail by Dena'ina participants in the Project Jukebox study; and in the Telaquana Trail NRHP nomination documentation, *K'ilghech'* is identified as a campsite.[229] Finally, it was most recently listed as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI[230] as *K'ilghech'* Valley.

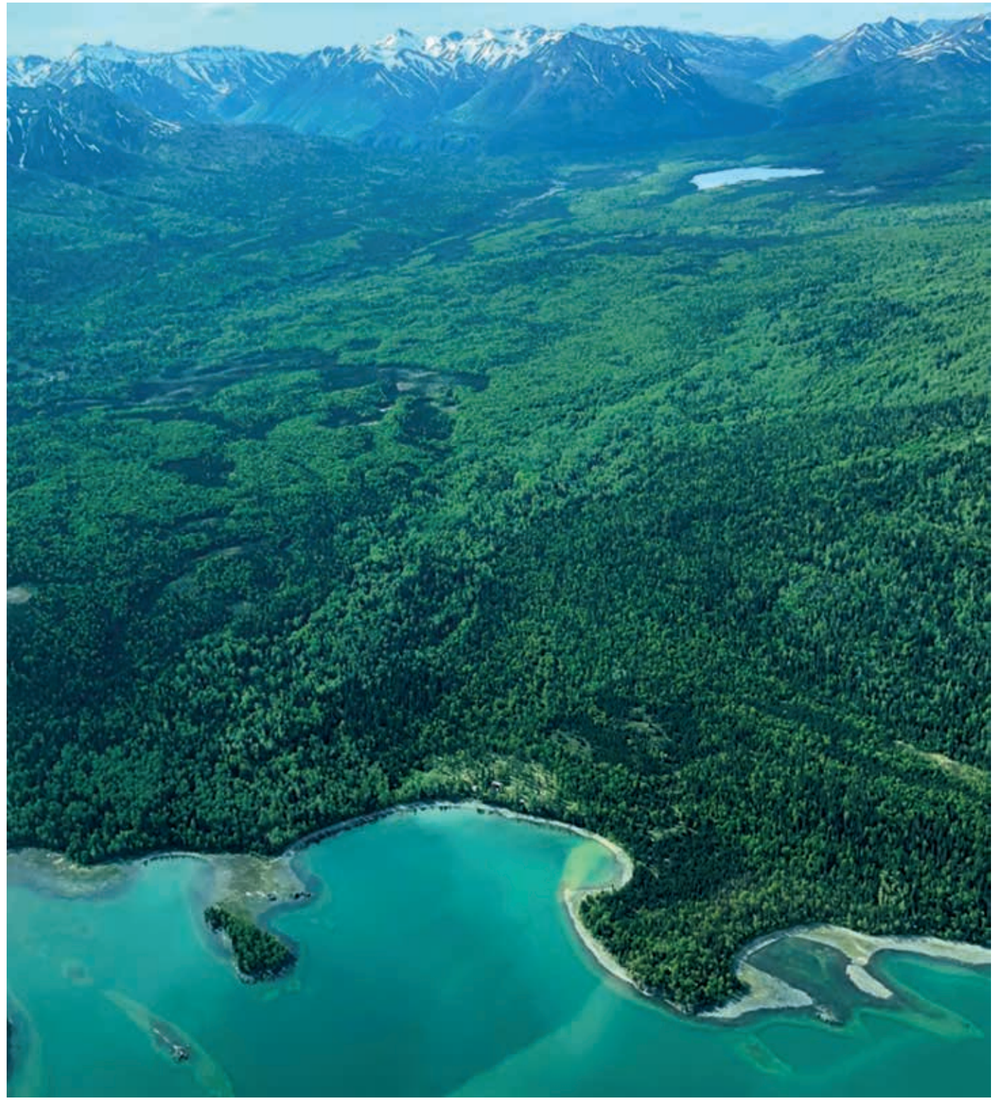
Kil'ghech Valley and White Mountain, as seen from Qiniha along Telaquana Trail. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Though Historic Kijik is no longer an occupied settlement, the village site and surrounding landmarks are still among the most culturally significant places within the inland Dena'ina world. Courtesy NPS.

Ch'ak'daltnu—Kijik River/ 'Animals walk out stream'

Ch'ak'daltnu is translated as 'animals walk out stream,'[231] a name referring to the many animal trails in the area according to Albert Wassallie, Sr.[232] Animal trails converge at this location in part due to its position in the landsape and the availability of shallow fording locations on Kijik River. As with *Ch'ak'daɬtnu Tl'ughu*, the name may also invoke the broader cultural significance of the western front of the Neacola Mountains as the wellspring of game and game abundance in ancient Dena'ina oral tradition—the Kijik River corridor being one route linking the village complex at Kijik to these cosmologically significant mountains.

It should be mentioned that Kijik River has its own general cultural and sacred significance to Dena'ina peoples. Accordingly, several places along Kijik River have pronounced cultural significance beyond *Ch'ak'daltnu*, from the headwaters to its outlet—near the village of Kijik, the geographical heart of the Inland Dena'ina world. The south creek of the Kijik River, *Tuk'elah*, continues to be an



Lake Clark and the Miller Creek Basin with Veghdeq Idaltin or the "body of water above it" also known as Miller Lake, five miles to the north. Photo by Douglas Deur.

The Hammond family hosting friends at their Nan Qelah homestead in 1993. From left to right, John Branson, Agnes Cusma, Andrew Balluta, Sophie Austin, Jay Hammond, Jay Stanford (bottom) and Bella Hammond at Miller Creek. Photo courtesy of John Branson.

active fall fishing site (formerly a fish camp) for many Nondalton residents, for example, where families catch redfish—continuing the fishery into the fall after the summertime salmon run has ascended above Nondalton. As Agnes Cusma recalled,

> "Before I had had my second daughter, we had made our own fish camp at *Ch'ghitalishla* [by Nondalton Fish Camp] where it is located today…Then we went to *Dutna* Lake and a mountain north of Long Lake (*Qinghuy Dghil'u*) for fall hunting. I still have that camp today. Then we went with everyone else to *Tuk'elah*, which is the south creek of Kijik River, for catching fall fish. I still have that camp today, too."[233]

Andrew Balluta also visited *Tuk'eleh* to harvest spawned out sockeye: "Having the outboard motor made it easier for us to travel from Old Nondalton to *Nan Qelah* [the outlet of Miller Creek] and from *Nan Qelah* to *Tuk'eleh* (the south creek of the Kijik River delta). *Tuk'eleh* was the place we went to put up spawned out sockeye…."[234] The area also continued to be a center of hunting, following the relocation of Dena'ina families to Nondalton early in the 20th century. In the fall of 1935, Gabriel

Trefon-Balluta stopped traveling to Telaquana. But from 1935 until 1943, he and his family left Old Nondalton and traveled to either *Tuk'eleh* (south creek of the Kijik River delta) or *Qizhjeh* (Kijik village) for "fall fish and for sheep, bear, moose, and caribou."[235]

The ford over the Kijik River, close to the Brown-Walker cabins a place of singular significance along the trail and could arguably serve as a standalone contributing landscape feature. Because almost all historic Trail segments converged at this ford, it is the one place along the trail that was visited by almost every traveler along its length. As John Branson has noted, "*everyone*…every person who lived in Kijik crossed this river here when they would go up the trail to see their relatives" at places such as Telaquana Lake. [236]

The Telaquana Trail fords shallow points in this river roughly eight miles north of Kijik, where the trail begins its dramatic ascent up S.O.B. Canyon—out of the Lake Clark Basin and towards the Mulchatna River Basin. In the *Ch'ak'daltnu* area are two historic fords on the Kijik River, approximately one quarter mile northeast and one quarter mile southwest of the Frank Brown-J.W. Walker Cabin (built in 1910). Both fords are on broad and shallow gravel riverbeds where the water is fast—making crossing a challenge even in some low-water conditions. In midsummer, due to the swelling volume of water in the river caused by rain and melting snowpack, the Kijik River fords would have been impassible, but were fully utilized at other times of the year when the water levels were lower or the river's surface frozen. The land is steep and densely forested around these fords, making the well-watered riverfront an especially good place for stopovers along the trail. Prior to the twentieth century, Dena'ina peoples "would likely have camped at the ford on the Kijik River in temporary shelters." [237] One ford is in line north of the Brown-Walker Cabin. In 1921, Fred Vreeland photographed Col. A.J. Macnab crossing the river at this ford, which was marked by "a very old sawed spruce stump of 12" diameter and the latter by a large living spruce tree with its lower limbs sawed off."[238] Blazed trees of various ages can be seen near this ford, probably serving as navigational markers to Dena'ina and non-Native travelers alike. A small stone cairn was placed at the ford as a marker to travelers by John Branson and fellow travelers in the late 20th century.

In the 1970s, Brelsford listed *Ch'ak'daltnu* as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name. Interviewees later mentioned this as a significant place in a study conducted by Kari, and as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*. Dena'ina people identified *Ch'ak'daltnu* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. [240] Alec Trefon identified this as one of the key locations along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail: "Ch'ak'dałtnu. That's Kijik River." [241] Most recently, *Ch'ak'dałtnu* was documented as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the National Park Service CLI[242].

Nan Qelah Vetnu—Miller Creek

Nan Qelah Vetnu is a place with a name meaning 'moss is there stream' in the Dena'ina language.[243] The stream descends from the broad Miller Creek Basin and Miller Lake area to *Nan Qelah*, the mouth of Miller Creek. The creek, and the creek mouth, have multiple layers of significance associated with the Telaquana Trail. Some evidence suggests that, while the area was significant to Dena'ina people in various ways, *Nan Qelah* served as a Telaquana Trail trailhead only in the 20th century. For this reason, the trailhead has only limited connections to ancient trail use by the Dena'ina people, though it may have served as the trailhead for Dena'ina families seasonally occupying this area after their relocation from Kijik in the early 20th century.[244] *Nan Qelah* was the southernmost point of the trail from approximately 1910-1940. In survey notes by Zorea,[245] the transition of the trailheads from Kijik to the Miller Creek area are explained:

> "When Kijik [was] left for Nondalton between 1902-1910, the region was not completely abandoned. The Dena'ina people often came back to fish during the Fall/Summer fish camps (the women and the elders, at least—the men were gradually leaving more and more to work at the Bristol Bay canneries.) The new Fall/Summer fish camps were not at Kijik exactly but rather around Miller Creek area. Therefore, it seems likely that the second trailhead at Miller Creek came about then. This also explains why the 1930 Capps et al. USGS expedition brought the trail terminus to Miller Creek—at the time the Kijik head had been abandoned, and the Miller Creek head was the one currently in use." [246]

The trailhead at *Nan Qelah* has archaeological sites predating European contact and is also the site of the Jay Hammond Homestead (XLC-022). Brelsford[247] and Zorea[248] also note a cemetery at *Nan Qelah*. (see *Nan Qelah* in Buildings and Structures and *Veghdeq Idaltin* [Miller Lake] in Natural Systems and Features).

Travel, hunting, and trapping are widely reported along *Nan Qelah Vetnu*, where it ascends from the Miller Creek mouth toward the larger Telaquana Trail network. Ellanna and Balluta [249] identify the creek as a location of fall and winter hunting and trapping camp sites. Melvin Trefon explains how the lands along *Nan Qelah Vetnu* were used in the winter for trapping by his family. Speaking of Mary Trefon, he recalled,

> "She moved here with her family as a child from Qeghnilen. Her family had a cabin here which they used as a winter base. They would leave to trap at Telaquana Lake from here as the winter trail to there started here. They would also trap around this area. Some of her family is buried at this place. She remembers that there were three houses here."

Gabriel Trefon, Anton Balluta, and Wassillie Trefon all report having cabins in the area, and at least three known graves were located nearby.[251] Kari [252] also lists as significant *Hughilnigen Qaya*,

'something comes out of the ground village,' a creek that flows into Miller Creek from *Tits'nadezeni*. According to Albert Wassallie, Sr., "The name means 'one who sticks his hand up' or 'he has got his hand out of the ground.' It is claimed that a silhouette of a person sticking his hand out of the ground is seen at the head of this creek right next to the mountain." *Veghdeq Idaltin* 'the lake above' (Miller Lake) was occasionally used as a campsite if people returning from the north could not get to *Nan Qelah* by dark; this place is discussed in more detail below in the "Natural Systems and Features" section. Additional archaeological survey is recommended for this place, where presently undetected winter houses may have been located historically.

During interviews conducted by Kari as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[253] Dena'ina people identified *Nan Qelah Vetnu* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Documentation of the Telaquana Trail for nomination to the NRHP also included this place.

Sacred Natural Landmarks

Within Inland Dena'ina cultural tradition, it is no small task to summarize the concept of a "sacred place." Traditionally, Dena'ina peoples described many kinds of sacred places—places with special powers that might enliven or heal or instruct a person who visits them with due respect and clarity of vision. Places simply touched or blessed by ancestors can be understood to be sacred; the ancestors, who some say still watch and protect living people, revered these places and visited them in times of change or distress. In this sense, one could argue that the entirety of the Telaquana Trail could be understood as a "sacred place." Yet, certain places stand out and have been described by Dena'ina people as having special significance in this respect. Some of these most important places are recalled, revered, and revisited by Dena'ina people today. As the Russian Orthodox Church established itself in Dena'ina communities, many were reluctant to speak of these powers or to teach their children the places uniquely tied to them: "shamans and all that—those were things they didn't talk about when I was a kid.... The elders didn't want the kids to know about it," explains Gladys Evanoff. Still, much is recalled, and the importance of these places is arguably persisting and even rebounding among younger adults today.

Among the many named features that formulate the Telaquana Trail are four significant sites the Dena'ina people have described as sacred. Only three sit within the Telaquana Trail Corridor boundary. One, the Cultural Landscape Inventory treated as a contributing feature: *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi* (Votive Rock). *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten* (Priest Rock) was outside the boundaries of the Corridor when the CLI was written, but is now within NPS ownership and should be treated as a contributing feature. NPS owns the land on both sides of Priest Rock Creek at its mouth, as well as the site of Gabriel Trefon's cache near the mouth of the creek and the site of a winter dogsled trailhead on

A boulder with smaller rocks piled on it along Q'eteni on the Telaquana Trail. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

the Telaquana Trail. *K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy*, Hnidenghi'iy Mountain, is a relatively minor spiritual site, originally included on the Cultural Landscape Inventory due in part to Dena'ina references to this place as a site of healing.

Due in part to the immensity and peripheral location of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* (Telaquana Mountain), it is not included within the Corridor boundaries defined in the Cultural Landscape Inventory. However, the cosmological significance of this mountain is fundamentally related to the general cultural significance of the Telaquana Trail corridor as a whole. All views of the mountain from within the Corridor are said to contribute to understandings of the cultural importance of the broader Telaquana region and the ethnographic landscape it comprises. If the NPS proceeds with a National Register nomination process for the Telaquana Trail, especially with reference to Traditional Cultural Property criteria as outlined in Bulletin 38, this mountain might be considered as an additional contributing resource to the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.

Sacred places such as *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi* (Votive Rock), *K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy*, Hnidenghi'iy Mountain, and *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten* (Priest Rock), and vistas such as those that feature *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* (Telaquana Mountain), are still venues of deep cultural meaning and manifest spiritual power linked to the persistence and survival of the ancestors. While potentially healing and restorative, the power of a place also can be hazardous if a person visits the place disrespectfully, with an unfocused mind, or

with ill intent. The identity and location of these places are encoded in oral traditions and tied to special capacities to overcome threats and hardships. Some describe these landmarks as possessing singular power as places where the spirits of ancestors are present or accessible. While contemporary Dena'ina peoples do not generally describe taking special trips to visit these places, they sometimes visit them while traveling for other purposes—a pattern of visitation likely rooted in pre-contact practices.

These places often lack cultural artifacts, or clear diagnostic physical features that would be intelligible to cultural outsiders. Still, as people travel, offerings are sometimes left at such sites as part of ritual engagement, in part to show respect and to reciprocate for the blessings and "gifts" received from these places. These offerings have their own "power," and by traditional protocol should remain undisturbed.

Most of these sacred places have histories, powers, and properties encoded in "*sukdu*," the traditional stories of Inland Dena'ina people. The majority of the *sukdu* pertaining to these sacred places describe the locations as venues where powerful people and other beings applied extraordinary spiritual capacities to overcome hardships and threats to the wellbeing of the Dena'ina people, including individuals, families, or entire communities. Most interviewees express that these stories, and the places linked to them, have potent instructional value for modern tribal people related to ethics and themes of resilience that continue to inspire. A few interviewees suggest that long after the events in the *sukdu* transpired, the landscape still carries a signature of past events, a power linked to the landscape. Boraas and Peter[254] identify this concept of 'residual' signatures as *beggesh* and *beggesha* in the coastal Dena'ina dialect, but the general concept applies to Inland Dena'ina cultural values as well:

> "The concepts of beggesh and beggesha are not limited to artifacts but also extend to places.... Dena'ina spirituality of place involves a message of a past event that emanates from a location which some can detect whether or not they had been part of the original event. The events are sometimes morally neutral everyday occurrences; some can be morally good, while others are bad. ...Events of this 'emerging good' or 'emerging bad' can be encoded in the landscape, and for a Dena'ina to travel was to encounter the moral history of the people as detected by feelings, images, emotions, or thoughts experienced at a place."[255]

Accordingly, as the Dena'ina people travel the Telaquana Trail, they are reminded of oral traditions that describe these unique potentials and powers within places, and the spiritual and moral implications of those oral traditions remain instructive. Such landmarks exist along the Telaquana Trail, and indeed throughout the whole of Inland Dena'ina territory. Particular rock outcrops other than Priest Rock are said to have stories and powers that attest to their "sacredness." Similarly, caves

A glacial erratic boulder on the Telaquana Trail at Qałnigi Aqenlchixi. This place was used by Dena'ina travelers as a campsite when heading north to Ch'qulch'istnu Village if they were overtaken by nightfall before their arrival. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

have been found in the Lake Clark region that may have ceremonial significance, in addition to serving as caches at certain times (no specific ritually significant caves were identified in the present study area, and little archaeological evidence has been found of Dena'ina cave use in this area). Springs have ritual functions as well, and Dena'ina peoples visit some springs regularly—such as those above the tree line near Telaquana Lake—albeit mostly for utilitarian consumption.[256] Springs had clear utilitarian significance as well. Significant springs may have included those flowing out of the banks at the Fish Pool Site, XLC-084, its ground water emanating from the Kijik River, becoming the source of Priest Rock Creek. Yet, even larger landscapes have their own spiritual power. For example, the entire upper end of Lake Clark, extending from Kijik northeastward, has deep and old power distinct from other parts of traditional Inland Dena'ina territory.

Table 4: Sacred Sites

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/Category	Landscape Feature
Qałnigi Aqenlchixi or *Qałnigi Aquenlchixi*	Votive Rock (XLC-130)/ 'structure built against a rock,' 'leaning rock,' 'Spirit Rock,' etc.	Cultural Tradition	Seasonal Camp/Artifacts
Nduk'eyux Dghil'u	Telaquana Mountain/ 'animals go in the mountain,' 'the game went in the mountain'	Discontinuous: Cultural Tradition	Mountain
K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy or *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy*	Hnidenghi'iy Mountain/ 'the one that is stuck on the end,' 'the point is embedded,' 'flat rock that is embedded'	Cultural Tradition	Mountain located on the Telaquana Trail.
Hnitsanghi'iy and *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten*	Priest Rock / 'the rock that stands alone' Priest Rock Creek / 'the rock that stands alone stream'	Cultural Tradition (discontinuous in CLI; reclassified as contributing)	Creek / Stone Landmark

Connections to spiritually potent landscapes endure as significant aspects of Dena'ina culture and identity today, facilitating a continued relationship between place, oral tradition, and ancestral lifeways across time. To this day, these signature powers are realized and engaged by individuals.[257] Many such places are recalled on the basis of Dena'ina oral tradition. While some places have been forgotten since the arrival of Russian Orthodox missionaries in the 18th century, some Dena'ina attest that places still possess power, subtly detectable to the sensitive observer and lying there latent for potential future engagement. In the pages that follow, we address the four places most commonly mentioned in reference to the trail corridor in this respect. Dena'ina individuals surely know of many more places, which they might or might not choose to share and have included in a future National Register nomination for Telaquana Trail.

Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi or *Qaɬnigi Aquenlchixi*—Votive Rock XLC-130 (20)

Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi is a place of unique and sacred significance to Dena'ina peoples and an old campsite, in addition to being a generally significant and visible landmark along the Telaquana Trail. In the Dena'ina language, *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi* is variously translated as:

1 'structure built against a rock" (Project Jukebox 1998),
2 'leaning rock' or 'shelter against a rock' (Kari 1986),
3 'where they used to camp under the rock, leaning rock' (Alex Trefon in Ellanna 1986:A-30),
4 'where a structure is built against the rock' (Andrew Balluta in Ellanna 1986:A-30).

In some Dena'ina accounts, the place has also been given names related to its cultural and spiritual significance, including:

5 'Spirit Rock' (Hill 2004, 2010), and
6 'learning rock' (Brelsford 1975),

Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi is also identified by its archaeological site name and number, Votive Rock, XLC-130. The central feature is a 30-foot tall glacial erratic with a split down the middle that can be seen from miles away. Rising on a high ridge over the tundra, this feature is located approximately 2.75 mi. (4.4 km) northwest of the Turquoise Lake outlet. It is a culturally and spiritually significant landmark often used as a resting place by Dena'ina people and other travelers as they pass through the area.

When traversing the 3,000-foot-high *Q'eteni* (Telaquana Plateau), Dena'ina used this place as shelter in inclement weather or when approaching nearby camps and villages as night approached. Approximately 50 ft. to the southwest of the larger erratic is a collection of small boulders forming a small cave or 'stone house' that can be used to shelter from the weather. Some Nondalton elders remember stopping at *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi* during their youth.[258] When Gabriel [Trefon] and his family traveled on the Telaquana Trail, for example, they found shelter at *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi*:

> "One particular trip, Agnes [Cusma] remembered that her dad wanted to stay there for about three nights. It was foggy right down to the ground. There were alders nearby, and Gabriel packed them into the cave for firewood. There were a lot of empty cartridges nailed into a crack in that rock. Gabriel explained that anytime hunters found a rock with a cave and spent one or more nights there, they knew it was important to leave the remains of anything that they used, such as empty cartridges, matches, and food. By doing this, they believed their luck in hunting was protected. They also left extra wood for the next traveler who needed shelter."[259]

Rolled pieces of birch bark can still be found within cracks on the rock from years of use, stockpiled as tinder for emergency use—at this place, many miles from the nearest natural birch grove.

The practice of taking shelter at *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi* is described as an ancient practice. In "*Qaɬnigi Aqenlchix*: Rock that Structure is Built Against," Andrew Balluta describes the significance of Votive Rock in the Dena'ina language. While quoted partially elsewhere in this document, here we quote him in full:

> "*Iy gu qalnigi gu gu nel'ani gini.*
> /This rock here that I am looking at here now,
>
> *Q'udi gu yi shughu Qalnigi Aqenlchix qeyl dghinihi.*
> /That here is 'rock that structure is built against' they used to call it.
>
> *Vants'daztun Vena ghini k'etnu ts'inun nuhdelggesh ghu.*
> /At the 'animal hair lake' [*Vants'daztun Vena* - Turquoise Lake],
> they would go straight across the stream there.
>
> *Yi yudeq yeh hnidenghi'iyi.*
> /There high up it is the one that is embedded there.
>
> *Yi yan shi vet'uch' qilani.*
> /This the only protected place.
>
> *Lik'aha el k'i qeyt'uch' nilggesh ha t'qeyghil'ih.*
> /They would also put the [sled] dogs into the lee of it.
>
> *Daghiltey qanich'ey ha chitF talqun ghu.*
> /There are strong winds and there is blowing snow.
>
> *Yi ghini t'u t'u yuh hdelts'ih hnuyu htetch'el el hnuyu,*
> /Meanwhile there they would sit within lee of that one until it starts to clear up,
>
> *q'uyehdi yi ts'inun yi ts'inun hdi nuhetlqeldel ha'*
> /and then straight across there, straight across there, they would drive sleds and,
>
> *yi ts'inun k'i nuhdelggesh yi ghu.*
> /and they would go straight across [the open treeless ridge *Q'eteni*].
>
> *Shanteh ghu k'i ilkix ha,*
> /In summer it begins to rain and,

nuni… nunigi qelax ghu yi k'i yi t'u k'i hdelts'ih.
/or when it gets foggy there they would stay in the lee of it.

Ha hugh yagheli qelax ilhdi,
/And until conditions got good then,

Yi ts'inun nuhdelggesh lu
/they would go directly again,

Dilah Vena qech'tinitun.
/on to 'fish run in lake' [*Dilah Vena* - Telaquana Lake] there is a trail.

Yi ghini qey… qeyt'u nihhdelax ghu.
/They spent some nights in the shelter of that place.

Elugha qich'anadalggazh hnuyu q'u
/Prior to their departure then,

qyeghunudelnex ha t'qeyghil'ih.
/they would give something to it [an offering, to the rock] then, they did that.

Yada nihdi ghudift'ayi.
/Whatever he can use.

Qyeghunudelnex ha t'qeyghil'ih.
/They would give it something.

Yada nihdi ghudilt'ayi,
/Whatever useable things,

diq'ushi, diq'ushi k'i iy nihghildel.
/matches, matches also they would put there (in a crack on rock).

Yada du yiduch'aqeltel.
/Something that they would smoke.

Davak nih k'I iy nihghildel.
hey would leave it tobacco too."[260]

As some contemporary Dena'ina explain, the practice of placing goods at *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi* was not only meant to stockpile useful items for emergency use, but is traditionally understood as an "offering" to show respect to this important site and the ancestors who used it. These offerings are also a sign of thankfulness, a small sacrifice made to reciprocate for the protection afforded by the site. They indicate that the site has been the venue of ceremonial activity and moments of revelation—suggested by the name "spirit rock" or "learning rock" in some Dena'ina accounts. These individuals indicate that the striking viewshed from *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi*—including the clear view of Telaquana Mountain, with its significance as the origins of game—is key to understanding the broader power and protective values of this special place to Dena'ina people. The place is closely linked to the overarching cosmological significance and power of the entire Telaquana region, and is a place where Dena'ina people suggest those attributes have been engaged and observed.[261]

In 1992, NPS staff documented an axe-cut, 6-foot spruce pole, probably used in a tent frame, at this site.[262] Also at the site, "an opening on one side was large enough to build cooking fires. Another cave-like opening was large enough to provide shelter for several people. Our friend John [Branson] showed us a stash of rolled up birch bark in a rock crevice, stored there years before, that was used to start fires. Located near a small lake, Spirit Rock was an ideal landmark and resting place."[263] This structure is consistent with stone houses described by Dena'ina elder Gabriel Trefon to Jay Hammond near Turquoise Lake, with rock shelters similar to those at *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi*.[264] In Summer 2019, co-author John Branson found another rock shelter of similar design at the base of Telaquana Mountain, about 4 miles north of this site. A Russian Orthodox grave has been reported roughly ¾ mile away from the rock, and may be directly associated; the grave has been designated as site XLC-129 and is addressed in more detail within the archaeological section of this document. In the early 1970s, Brelsford[265] documented Dena'ina accounts of *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi,* or Votive Rock, as a feature closely associated with the Telaquana Trail. Subsequently, on a list of Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Names this place was referred to as *Gatniqi akenlchix*. In interviews conducted by Kari and published in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[266] Alex Trefon and Pete Koketelash identified it as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. And in 1987, in association with nomination of the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place as required by 43 CFR 2650, the BIA published documentation of *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi*.[267] According to that report, from Anton (possibly Andrew) Balluta's cabin, Telaquana Trail "runs northeast more to the east than is shown on USGS the map, over 2800 ft. high western flank of a range of peaks and then descends to the Mulchatna River basin. Across the river and less than 0.5 mi. up the opposite bank is a cave or rock shelter—another well-known camping spot."[268] In 1998, Project Jukebox participants identified *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi* as a significant feature along the trail; in the National Register nomination, *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi* was listed as a significant feature of the Telaquana Trail; and in NPS' 2006 CLI, it was defined as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor.[269]

Alex Trefon, Sr. of Nondalton circa 1992. Alex was one of several Dena'ina elders who has recalled and shared oral traditions about Qałnigi Aqenlchixi, Votive Rock, and many other places along the Telaquana Trail. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Nduk'eyux Dghil'u—Telaquana Mountain

Among Telaquana Trail landmarks of spiritual significance in Dena'ina tradition, perhaps none is more prominent than *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*—Telaquana Mountain, near the head of *Vandaztun Vena* (Turquoise Lake). One of the most widely shared *sukdu* in Dena'ina oral tradition is called *Ch'iduchuq'a Sutdu'a*, relating specifically to the significance and power of this landmark, which, at 8,070 feet (2,460 m), looms over the northern reaches of the trail. No fewer than four versions of the story cycle have been published, based on accounts from Inland and coastal Dena'ina peoples alike—including elders Peter Kalifornsky, Alexie Evan, and Ruth Koktelash.[270] *Ch'iduchuq'a Sutdu'a* tells of a long-ago winter when the ancestral Dena'ina people hunted far and wide trying to find animals for food; they found none and were starving. The people sought the advice of a *Ch'iduchuq'a*, a shaman, who found that mountain beings were holding the animals captive in *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*. *Ch'iduchuq'a* walked to *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* with '*q'ich'idya*, the pika (*Ochotona collaris*)—a denizen of this mountainous country. Arriving at *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u,* they found no way to get inside. He then used his powers to reveal the animals within:

As the small stone structure is visible in the foreground with the bigger rock known as Qalnigi Aqenlchixi or "structure built against a rock" in the background. Former Governor Jay Hammond reported that Gabriel Trefon spoke to him about people staying in stone shelters near Turquoise Lake, including shelters at this site. Courtesy NPS.

The grand massif of Nduk'eyux Dghil'u, Telaquana Mountain as seen from Q'eteni near Qałnigi Aqenlchixi, Votive Rock, while walking south along the Telaquana Trail. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

> "He took his cane and struck it on the top and then the door opened a little. Inside they saw every species of animal. People were singing and dancing. In his song *Ch'iduchuq'a* named each species of animal, and they went out through the door. That's why we've got wild game. All the wild animals out in the country, *Ch'iguchuq'a* let out…."[271]

The people survived, and the country below this mountain became a place of special security and abundance, blessed with the Mulchatna caribou herd and other animals large and small. With reference to this ancient oral tradition, the name *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* translates as 'animals go in mountain'[272] and 'the game went in the mountain.'[273] The account is still well known to many Dena'ina families today, and is said to be understood as "part of their creation story cycle."[274]

Analysis by Kari[275] agrees with Dena'ina oral tradition linking this mountain to key episodes of creation, Dena'ina ethnogenesis, and natural abundance on the landscape. Oral tradition and linguistic analysis suggest that the interior lakes near this mountain are effectively the origin place of Dena'ina peoples as a distinctive Athabaskan group. The landmarks associated with this place of creation are revered for their association with formative powers and foundational events: "Some

Ruth Koktelash picking blueberries, circa 1975. From a Ch'qułch'ishtnu, (Telaquana Village) family, she was one of the elders who shared Dena'ina oral traditions relating to the origins of game at Nduk'eyux Dghil'u - Telaquana Mountain. Courtesy of Florence Hick and Doris Hagedorn.

Hikers pause on Q'eteni with Nduk'eyux Dghil'u – "animals go in the mountain" or Telaquana Mountain – dominating the view of the Telaquana Trail. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Mary Hobson demonstrating how to set a squirrel snare – often accomplished with the shaft of an eagle feather. Photo by Karen Evanoff, NPS.

places became associated with good events and became revered. One such place is thought to be *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*, or Telaquana Mountain, which means 'animals went into the mountain.'"[276] In this respect, the headwaters of the Stony and Mulchatna Rivers, an area immediately east of the Telaquana Trail, are analogous to a Garden of Eden in Dena'ina story cycles, a location where origin narratives of the people and accounts of divinely ordained natural abundance converge. And while *Ch'iduchuq'a* is not the 'Creator,' in Dena'ina tradition, he taps into divine powers and potentials; animals radiate out from the mountain, as do the creative powers and potentials that first bring them forth. For these reasons, not only is the mountain a preeminent landmark used to navigate the Telaquana Trail, it is an important natural monument imbued with historical, cultural, and sacred significance for the Dena'ina people. This relationship was affected, but not erased, by Dena'ina conversions to Russian Orthodoxy in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

The mountain has significance that is more mundane as well—as a beacon and landmark seen widely across the Telaquana Trail, helping to orient travelers. Indeed, those traveling the trail had the option of taking a route that effectively rises up over the mountain's low flanks when passing between Telaquana and Turquoise Lakes. Documentation assembled by the BIA[277] mentions the route of the Telaquana Trail in relation to Telaquana Mountain, stating that from a site identified as "a cave or rock shelter—another well-known camping spot" (presumably *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi* - Votive Rock), the "trail splits again as it passes over the 3200 ft. high western flank of Telaquana Mountain. One branch

heads practically due north to the winter village *Chqul-Chishtnu*, the other runs more northeast and then north to the head of Trail Creek."[278]

The spiritual significance and role of the mountain in Dena'ina oral tradition are, however, what truly set it apart. And this significance, this general perception of the mountain and its environs, has a number of implications. Dena'ina interviewees suggest that ceremonial sites, probably linked to hunting and related practices, may have sat within the viewshed of the mountain—with *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi*, Votive Rock, being one prominent example. So too, the presence of this mountain, with its singular significance, was an enduring attraction to this northern part of the trail, helping to sustain people when they lived in large numbers in villages near the shores of Telaquana Lake and other interior lakes. For the Dena'ina who moved south to the Lake Clark Basin, however, the mountain was a particularly potent symbolic reminder of potentials on the northern end of the trail. In normal times, people continued to hunt and fish within sight of Telaquana Mountain as part of their seasonal round. Many Dena'ina peoples would take regular hunting circuits through the area, along the interior lakes, into the Upper Stony River Drainage,[279] and into areas on and around Telaquana Mountain.[280] Annie Delkettie, for example, recalled from her youth that while women trapped ground squirrels on Groundhog Mountain near Nondalton, the men formed a fall hunting party that traveled "up towards Telaquana on this big flat mountain—that is the one they use to call *Q'ełeni* [ridge at base of Telaquana Mountain]."[281] Timed correctly, these parties of hunters could return to this area without undermining resource harvests in the Lake Clark country, allowing them to maximize overall harvests between the two portions of their territory.

Still, the mountain's importance was brought into especially sharp relief at times when hunting and fishing was not productive in the Lake Clark Basin. Dena'ina oral traditions suggest that during times of scarcity, such as when Kvichak Basin salmon runs faltered, the people sometimes mobilized on foot or by dogsled back to their northern homeland, to the lakes and rivers of the Mulchatna and Stony River Basins within sight of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*. Some suggest the fish and game were sometimes numerous here even as they temporarily waned to the south. Yet it was not the mere material abundance that made the place a secure backup for subsistence harvests: this landmark is traditionally understood to be a wellspring of resource wealth, with protective powers that far outweigh the material values of the place. In times of hardship, scarcity, and threats to the Dena'ina people's survival, there was no better place to return.

For the Dena'ina people, Telaquana Mountain remains a very special place. As summarized in one recent account, this mountain symbolically "represents all that is good and prosperous about the people and their territory."[282] The meaning of the entire Telaquana Trail is connected to the abundance made available to the Dena'ina people—of the past and the present—at this sacred place.

In turn, this persistent abundance has continued to keep the Telaquana Trail in use, its cultural meaning all the more relevant to modern generations of Dena'ina people living in the Lake Clark Basin.

This landmark appears in most assessments of the Telaquana Trail and its National Register eligibility. In interviews conducted by Kari and published in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I* in 1986,[283] Alex Trefon and Pete Koketelash identified *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Then in 1987, the site was documented in the nomination of the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place as part of ANCSA assessments undertaken under 43 CFR 2650.[284] Dena'ina interview participants in Project Jukebox[285] subsequently mentioned the mountain as a significant location associated with the trail; and in 2006, the National Park Service identified the view of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* as a contributing view on the Telaquana Trail Corridor. In the Cultural Landscape Inventory, the site is treated as important to the context of the trail, though the mountain is not included as a potentially contributing landmark due to its discontinuous position and massive scale.[286] It is considered here as a discontinuous but highly significant contributing sacred site integral to understanding cultural traditions of the Dena'ina people. We propose that it be treated as a contributing resource; we do so recognizing it is integral to the cultural significance of the trail and would merit Traditional Cultural Property status if considered on its own merits—something that cannot be said of many other contributing resources along the trail.

K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy or *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy*—Hnidenghi'iy Mountain

Hutał Hnidenghi'iy or *K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy* is a 3195 ft. mountain east of Snipe Lake in the Chilikadrotna River Valley. The Dena'ina placename *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy* translates as 'the one that is stuck on the end,'[287] 'point that is embedded,'[288] and 'flat rock that is embedded,'[289] but has also been termed 'a little mountain by itself.'[290] On the north side of Big Valley, the Telaquana Trail converges with a series of game trails, passing east of *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy,* Hnidenghi'iy Mountain. It then descends into the Chilikadrotna Valley through willow and grass with some patches of aspen and spruce.[291] Dena'ina peoples have traveled the area extensively. Alex Trefon remembers passing this point on his way to Miller Creek in the winter via the Telaquana Trail:

> "It was at the base of 'Point that is embedded' Mountain that Alex Trefon stated he and Benny Trefon left a worn out dog sled in June of 1934. A few days before they had left Telaquana Village and came down the Telaquana Trail heading to Miller Creek at night when it was cooler for the dogs as there was little or no snow on the ground and the dogs had to work extra hard. Finally, Alex's sled wore out so they left it and proceeded on to Miller Creek."[292]

K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy, "point that is embedded," or "the one that is stuck on the end." looking northwest. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

In compilations of traditional writings by Karen Evanoff, who advised the present CLR effort, Gabriel Trefon speaks of *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy,* describing the spiritual connection the Dena'ina people have with the area as they communicate with the natural world and engage the healing properties of the area and the rock itself.[293] The landscape is said to have healing capacities, which were known to the ancestors and are still detectable upon careful and respectful engagement with the place today.

Alex and Peter Trefon helped document the site in the 1970s; multiple spellings exist for the Dena'ina name of the mountain in the resulting work by Brelsford, including *K'kijiq' hnighi'I*, *K'kiyiq' Hnighi'i,* and *Hutał Hnidenghi'i. K'kijiq' hnighi'i* is the name Brelsford listed as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name.[294] Kari's Dena'ina consultants also identified *K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[295] and Project Jukebox[296] participants refer to the mountain as *K'kiyiq' Hnighi'iy*. In the documentation of the Telaquana Trail for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places,[297] the mountain is called *Hutał Hnidenghi'iy*.

Hnitsanghi'iy and *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten*—Priest Rock and Priest Rock Creek

Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten, translated 'stream that flows on the swamp,'[298] is a creek located between Kijik Village and Miller Creek on Lake Clark and is a discontinuous contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor.[299] At the mouth of *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten*, Priest Rock Creek, sits where the creek corridor allows access from the banks of Lake Clark through the thick boreal forest heading north toward the Kijik River ford. Gabriel Trefon's cache once sat nearby, linked to this trailhead.[300] This place also served as a winter trailhead, good for access with dogteams. The ascent was easy with dog teams, as the woods to the north were far more open in winter, making for a more level, less treed route that was an easier starting place for heading north on the trail.

Crossing Priest Rock Creek, Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten with Tits'nadzeni visible in the right background. Photo by Douglas Deur.

Hnitsanghi'iy is the striking stone landmark called Priest Rock, 'the rock that stands alone,'[301] and is treated as "non-contributing" in the Telaquana Corridor Historic District Inventory because it was on private land; it is now owned and managed as part of LACL, following the purchase of lands associated with the Public Use Cabin nearby, and might be considered as contributing in a future National Register nomination. As a highly visible feature, *Hnitsanghi'iy* aids in the navigation of the trail, marking one of its 20th century trailheads.[302] This landmark plays an important role in Dena'ina history and is described by some tribal members as a sacred place imbued with special power related to the protection and endurance of Dena'ina peoples. In Dena'ina oral history, the rock is especially remembered as an ancestral battlefield. According to Albert Wassallie, Sr., "The Athabaskans from the Kuskokwim area and Lake Clark did not get along. The Kuskokwim people who liked to brag,

Priest Rock, Hnitsanghi'iy, looking southwest across Lake Clark. Photo by Douglas Deur.

The Gabriel Trefon cache near the mount of Priest Rock Creek, as it appeared in 1976. Photo by Bureau of Indian Affairs.

came to the rock and said they could pull it down. They tied rawhide ropes to it and tried to pull it down but were unsuccessful."[303] Butch Hobson adds: "The Aleuts said, 'if people could pull down this rock there would be a war.... They tried but they couldn't do it.... They saw they didn't have the power to fight.... There was no war."[304] According to Pete Koktelash in Ellanna[305]: "This rock here they used to call *Hnitsadenghi'uyi* that is called (locally) 'priest rock.' Long time ago, the older generation used to tie a rope around it, and try to pull it over or knock it down. But they could never do it." Rick Delkettie explains how the power of the people is encapsulated by *Hnitsanghi'iy*: "At one time they were trying to knock that thing down.... They believed that it gave people in that tribe there, which was our people back then, some kind of power. They failed. [They were people from] farther south. Southwest, south, northwest; Kuskokwim, Dillingham."[306] Many Dena'ina people are familiar with the history of *Hnitsanghi'iy*, recognizing the landmark as sacred—linked in part to the endurance and strength of Dena'ina people in the face of imposing external threats.

Biologist Martin Gorman first recorded the name "Priest Rock" for the feature in 1902—a name ostensibly applied for the resemblance of the rock to the hat of an Orthodox priest. Alex Trefon and Pete Koketelash identify *Hnitsanghi'iy Ch'adaniten* (Priest Rock Creek) as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in interviews Kari conducted and published in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[307] The NPS owns 160 acres around the mouth of Priest Rock Creek, including Priest Rock itself and the location of Gabriel Trefon's cache.

Natural Systems and Features

Many places along the Telaquana Trail are of cultural and historical significance but lack significant built features—in fact, this is a defining feature of the modern Telaquana Trail. Nonetheless, each of these places has their own significance and their own history. In National Register terms, these "natural systems and features" contribute to the Telaquana Trail Corridor's integrity in terms of location, feeling, association, and setting. Using National Register Bulletin 38 terms, they are the enduring places with "integrity of condition" onto which Dena'ina people especially map their cultural knowledge, value and perspectives—sustaining an enduring "integrity of relationship" between these people and the landscapes that are part of their home.

Here, only landmarks such as sections of rivers and bodies of water lying within the proposed National Register district boundaries are treated as 'contributing.' Following the guidance of preexisting National Register documents and the guidance of park staff and Dena'ina cultural specialists, we propose that the following sites shall be considered natural systems and features within the boundary of the Telaquana Trail Corridor: *Dilah Vetnu* (Telaquana River), *K'qizaghetnu* (Stony River), *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* (Trail Creek), *Tl'uhdalzhegh* (Summit Creek), Sheep Lick Site, *Vandaztunhtnu*

One of the several branches of Tl'uhdalzhegh – "forked headwaters" or Summit Creek - coursing across Q'eteni. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

(Upper Mulchatna River), ford on Mulchatna (variable from season to season), *K'aka'a* or *K'aka,* or *K'a ka'a Valley* (valley on the Upper Chilikadrotna), the ford on *Chilikadrotna, K'adała Vena* (Snipe Lake), *K'dalghektnu* (Bear Creek), *Nunch'qełchixitnu* (Little Mulchatna River), *K'ilghech* (College Creek), *Nl'ałi Vena* (Lachbuna Lake), *Nunch'qełchixi Vena* (Fishtrap Lake), the southern end of *K'ilghech'* (South Gap Valley), *Tuvughna Ten* (Tyonek People's Trail/S.O.B. Canyon), *Tits'nadzeni* (S.O.B. Mountain), *Veghdeq Idaltin* (Miller Lake), *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a* (Bigger Creek), *Veghdeq Dghilenshla* (Small Creek), *K'unust'in* (Kijik Mountain), *Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu* (creek at the base of Kijik Mountain), and *Qil'ihtnu* (Evil or Bad Creek—a creek north of Kijik).

These natural features are vast and enduring. No large-scale natural or human disturbances have affected their integrity, and these landmarks are readily recognized on the modern landscape looking much as they did in the time of distant Dena'ina ancestors. They continue to serve as the remembered venues of historical events and as mnemonic touchstones in a history remembered more through the intersection of landscape and oral tradition than in the pages of books. They hold integrity in terms of location, materials, feeling, association, and setting. They remain part of the lived cultural landscape, and as key wayfinding landmarks within the shared cultural memory of many Nondalton and Lime Village residents today.

Dilah Vetnu—Telaquana River

Dilah Vetnu (Telaquana River) is translated as 'salmon swim in the (lake) river,'[308] and is a river remarkably productive for salmon, with large sockeye (*Onorhynchus nerka*) populations ascending the Kuskokwim to spawn in Telaquana Lake. As discussed elsewhere in this document, this salmon run was integral to the subsistence of ancestral Dena'ina peoples well before EuroAmerican contact. Over historical time, it has contributed to the endurance of Telaquana Village and Telaquana Fish Camp and the enduring importance of the area as a locus of scarcity- and risk-reduction among Dena'ina peoples today. Alongside sockeye salmon, the river contains very modest quantities of other salmon species, including Kings (*O. tshawytscha*), silvers (*O. kisutch*) and chum (*O. keta*); it also contains lake trout, whitefish, longnose suckers, Dolly Varden, ciscoes, pike, and other species.[309] The broad seasonal availability of fish is remarkable, setting this waterway apart from other interior rivers and lakes. The river corridor has also been hunted for caribou, moose, and other game, sometimes serving as a venue for trapping and traplines. Along with Dena'ina trappers, EuroAmericans likely trapped along this river and constructed cabins on its banks; some speculate that Les Wernberg was one of these individuals. Many camps and settlements have been associated with this river over deep time: Telaquana Fish Camp is on this river, and *Ch'qułch'ishtnu*—Telaquana Village—sits alongside Trail Creek, a tributary of the river. The river can be forded at low water below its outlet from Telaquana Lake. In the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[310] Kari identified the river as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. The NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory[311] also listed it as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor.

Table 5: Natural Systems and Features

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/Category	Landscape Feature
Dilah Vetnu	Telaquana River/ 'salmon swim in the (lake)'	Natural Systems and Features	River
K'qizaghetnu	Stony River/ 'distant stream'	Natural Systems and Features	River
Chqul-chishtnu	Trail Creek	Natural Systems and Features	Creek
Tl'uhdalzhegh	Summit Creek	Natural Systems and Features	Creek
Vich'andaghedlen	Sheep Lick site	Natural Systems and Features	Mineral Dep.
Vandaztunhtnu	Upper Mulchatna River/ 'animal hair stream,' 'caribou hair stream'	Natural Systems and Features	River
	Ford on Mulchatna	Natural Systems and Features	River Crossing
K'aka'a or *K'aka*, or *K'a ka'a Valley*	Valley on the upper Chilikadrotna River/ 'big inside,' 'big inner valley'	Natural Systems and Features	Valley
	Ford on Chilikadrotna	Natural Systems and Features	River Crossing
K'adała Vena	Snipe Lake/ 'migration water fowl lake,' 'birds fly out'	Natural Systems and Features	Lake
K'dalghektnu	Bear Creek/ 'scraping noise (of antlers on brush) stream,' 'where the caribou tear the velvet off his horn on the brush'	Natural Systems and Features	Creek
Nunch'qełchixitnu	Little Mulchatna River/ 'we build a dam across stream'	Natural Systems and Features	River
K'ilghech	College Creek	Natural Systems and Features	Creek
Nl'ati Vena	Lachbuna Lake/ 'deadfall collapses-lake'	Natural Systems and Features	Lake
Nunch'qełchixi Vena	Fishtrap Lake/ 'we build a dam across lake'	Natural Systems and Features	Lake
S. End of *K'ilghech'*	South Gap Valley/ 'gap'	Natural Systems and Features	Valley
Tits'nadzeni	S.O.B. Mountain	Natural Systems and Features	Mountain
Veghdeq Dghilenka'a	Bigger Creek	Natural Systems and Features	Creek
Veghdeq Dghilenshła	Small Creek	Natural Systems and Features	Creek
Veghdeq Idaltin	Miller Lake/ 'the lake that is above it'	Natural Systems and Features	Lake
K'unust'in	Kijik Mountain/ 'the one the stands apart'	Natural Systems and Features	Mountain
Kenquq' Tazdlenitu	Creek at the base of Kijik Mountain/ 'stream that flows on the swamp'	Natural Systems and Features	Creek
Qil'ihtnu	Creek north of Kijik Village/ 'bad or evil creek'	Natural Systems and Features	Creek

The winter shoreline of the frozen Dilah Vetnu, Telaquana River, lined by dense spruce forest, Alaska Range peaks behind. Photo by J. Mills, NPS, 2013.

Dilah Vetnu — "salmon swim in the [lake] river" or Telaquana River — just below its outlet at Telaquana Lake flows downstream about 18 miles before joining the Stony River. Telaquana River. Courtesy NPS.

A view of K'qizaghetn, the upper Stony River. Courtesy NPS.

K'gizaghetnu—Stony River

K'qizaghetnu (Stony River) is translated as 'distant stream.'[312] Kari identified the river as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the Lake Clark *Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[313] Though the entire river is significant to Dena'ina people, it is only the uppermost reaches, near Telaquana Lake, that have a direct relationship to the Telaquana Trail Corridor. These upper reaches are highly significant as a travel corridor, hunting and trapping corridor, and fishing place for Dena'ina people. Caribou can be found in this country, along with salmonids, and the upper basin appears to have also been significant for hunting certain birds.[314] Families have continued to trap along the river into modern times, concurrent with their travels to the Telaquana Lake region. This includes Annie Delkettie's father, who trapped in the area along this river this is called *Dunk'elashnu*.[315] The Stony River's banks serve as a pathway by foot, dogsled, and in recent times by ATV and snowmachine, for Dena'ina residents of Lime Village and Nondalton—linking them to the northern end of Telaquana Trail. In season, the area can also be hunted and trapped by boat.[316] Moreover, it is a place where rare freshwater dentalia shells are traditionally gathered—an object of high value and cultural significance among Dena'ina people. As recalled by Vonga Bobby,

> In the Stony River
> They call ***Yeq Tsana***, that a rock
> In the middle of the river, behind that,
> There is a rock in the middle of Stony River
> They call ***Yeq Tsana***
> And behind that rock
> There is a white rock and a black rock.

> They call that ***K'inq'ena Quaeh***,
> Means 'dentalia's home.'
> Or 'dentalia's village.'[317]

Chief's sash that belonged to Zachar Evanoff. According to oral tradition dentalia called k'enq'ena was found in the Stony River and Lake Clark, Lake Iliamna areas. Photo by F. Hirschmann, NPS .

Dena'ina people have also gathered stones in this area for use as scrapers for hides, axes, and arrowheads.[318] On its upper reaches near Telaquana Lake, the Stony River intersects with the Telaquana Trail network. Downstream from this reach is the community of Lime Village, which is still home to a very small number of Inland Dena'ina families—a small hub of enduring cultural, economic, and social life in this important interior portion of traditional Dena'ina country. Historically, people of the middle Stony River in such communities as *Qeghnilen* were intermarried with outside Native communities, such as families from Cook Inlet and Iliamna, providing kinship ties as well as a network of social and economic relationships extending beyond the Telaquana Trail region. Dena'ina families such as the Evan family hail from this area. Dena'ina oral tradition describes people, the *Htsaynenht'ana*, initially moving to this area during the time of starvation linked to *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*, Telaquana Mountain, when the animals first emerged from the mountain to sustain the people.[319]

Vonga Bobby of Lime Village, who shared the Dena'ina oral tradition of dentalia gathering on K'qizaghetn, Stony River. Photo courtesy of Priscilla Russell.

Ch'qulch'ishtnu—Trail Creek

Ch'qulch'ishtnu (also spelled as *Chqul-chishtnu* 'young willows stream'; Trail Creek) is a tributary of the Telaquana River that, in turn, drains into the larger Stony River drainage before entering the Kuskokwim River to Kuskokwim Bay, northwest of Bristol Bay. In English, the creek is named in reference to Telaquana Trail. Telaquana Lake village, discussed elsewhere in this document, is found on its lower reaches near the confluence with Telaquana River. *Chqul-chishtnu*, Trail Creek serves as a corridor linking the Telaquana Lake lowlands and Telaquana Village on its lowest reaches to the trail pass at the "gap" at *Dzel Gzegh*. The creek is a significant wayfinding feature used by travelers following the Telaquana Trail Corridor. Here, Telaquana Trail descends from *Dzel Gzegh,* cutting through stands of white and black spruce, dwarf birch, alders, and willow until it reaches Trail Creek, which is bounded by boreal forest.[320] Swift and deep in some locations, the creek can be forded

Two hikers look down on upper Trail Creek with Telaquana Mountain, also known as Nduk'eyux Dghil'u or "animals go in mountain" partially visible on the left, and Q'eteni stretching out on the right to the south. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

An aerial view of Ch'qulch'ishtnu ('young willows stream'), Trail Creek, in autumn. Photo by J. Mills, NPS, 2013.

in several locations especially in its higher-elevation southeastern reaches; and trail segments cross the creek along its length. According to documentation provided by the BIA[321] describing Telaquana Trail as a historic route: "The Trail Creek branch descends from the ridge along the left stream bank to a point about 1 mi. above *Chqul-Chishtnu*, where a crossing is made, and the trail continues to the village along the right bank."[322] Heading north on the trail one descends to Trail Creek just below where it flows out of the canyon there, people ford the creek then continue downstream about one mile staying on the right side of the creek, until they arrive at *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* Village. Dena'ina elders report that the optimum ford is one mile upstream of the village, just below where Trail Creek emerges from its canyon. Salmon spawn in the lower reaches of this creek, and it has been hunted, fished, and trapped especially on its northwestern half.

Ch'qulch'ishtnu, Trail Creek, flows toward distant mountains. Photo by K. Martin, NPS, 2016.

Throughout the early 20th century, Dena'ina residents of the Telaquana Lake area and other trappers—including non-Natives—traveled this creek. In 1991, Zorea noted that he and others hiked down the trail for several miles: "We saw suggestive paths/trails and many blazes that were photographed but we found no Chqul-Chishnu. There were many stumps—some new for a cabin south of Trail Creek owned and lived in by Larry Vehrs—and some old perhaps used by the Chqul-Chishnu village or even Old Village."[323] Travel through the riparian corridor can be arduous, and the trail has perhaps become significantly overgrown with the passage of time. Ferreira describes the landscape as he traveled out of *Ch'qulch'ishtnu*, continuing along the Corridor:

> "[W]e then crossed Trail creek about 50 yards south of the village site and headed for the Mountain Gap (*Dzeł Ggezh*), up and out of the Telaquana valley. Almost immediately on the other side of Trail Creek the forest changes from dense alder and brush understory to moss covered understory with the occasional patch of dwarf birch and alder, much easier going on the south side of the creek, although it is wet in spots and there are several areas where you must cross tussocks, which can be difficult for the inexperienced. Suffice it to say, it was a tough haul out of that valley, through clouds of mosquitoes and sweltering heat, but the higher we got the more the wind picked up, and eventually as we reached the top (2880 ft. MSL), we got some rain from the thunder heads that had been forming that afternoon."[324]

Related to these challenges, travelers have marked the approximate trail route through the Trail Creek riparian with tree blazes and other markings, as noted elsewhere in this document.

The nomination of the Telaquana Trail to the National Register of Historic Places lists Trail Creek as a significant site along the trail. Documentation associated with the nomination of the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place as part of ANCSA surveys also notes the location.[325] Moreover, after traveling this portion of the trail, Zorea included the site in his survey notes relating to the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.[326]

Tl'uhdalzhegh—Summit Creek

The many branches of the *Tl'undalzhegh* (Summit Creek), a tributary of the Mulchatna River, break up the wide expanse of the *Q'eteni* (Telaquana Plateau). When traveling south through the Corridor, "there are five [arms] to cross which drain the high plateau."[327] The English name alludes to the creek's position, draining the summit of the Telaquana Trail pass across *Q'eteni* between the Telaquana and Mulchatna River Basins. The landscape drained by this creek is mostly flat and open, marshy over vast expanses, and interrupted only by the drainage tributaries of the *Tl'undalzhegh* and an irregular boulder or glacial erratic. Vegetation is composed of grasses and low-growing dwarf forbs. The area is so vast and open that people are said to have camped here sometimes, such as when darkness fell before reaching campsites in more favorable locations. And the few patches of trees found along *Tl'undalzhegh* may have served as shelter for travelers through this area and, especially in inclement weather, as sources of firewood.

The view from the *Tl'uhdalzhegh* includes *Satal'iy*, 'mountain that is leaning,' which rises from the landscape 20 miles to the south, at the northwest end of Twin Lakes. In the east, the plateau gradually swells to the western slope of the Alaska Range, with Telaquana Mountain (*Ndukeyux Dghil'u* or 'animal goes in mountain') and the Neacolas visible in the distance. According to Ferreira:

One of the many branches of Tl'uhdalzhegh or "forked headwaters" also known as upper Summit Creek, flowing across Q'eteni. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

A branch of Tl'uhdalzhegh or Summit Creek flows from the looming Telaquana Mountain across the high-elevation (over 3,000 foot high) plateau known as Q'eteni. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

> "Navigation through this part of the trail is simple, keep your eye on the 'one that leans' [*Satal'iy*] and avoid the wet areas. After about three miles you come to what JB [John Branson] calls the 'badlands', where rock outcrops punctuate the tundra and large glacial erratics are common. Once we reached the badlands we started down into the valley momentarily and looked for Votive Rock (Qalnigi Agenlchixi; 'structure built against rock' or 'leaning rock'…), the largest erratic in the area which is split down the middle."[328]

In the Lake Clark Geography, Ellanna[329] identifies *Tl'uhdalzhegh* (Summit Creek) as a location along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail, based largely on the accounts of Alex and Pete Trefon.[330] Alex Trefon also mentions *Tl'uhdalzhegh* as a feature along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail in Ellanna[331]: "there's a creek running in there [Tl'uhdalzhegh], but down here on the other side of this hill is Ch'qułch'ishtnu, that's where a little village is down…right in here, where that trail goes." Project Jukebox[332] participants mention *Tl'uhdalzhegh* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail, and it is identified as a contributing feature in the Cultural Landscape Inventory.[333]

Vich'andaghedlen—Sheep Lick Site

On a ridge southwest of Turquoise Lake is a place called *Vich'andaghedlen* in Dena'ina, which means 'flows out from inside.' Ferreira[334] mentions the Sheep Lick Site in his Telaquana Trail Notes—the site also known as 'mineral lick' creek.[335] Sheep Lick Site is named for the Dall Sheep that congregate to utilize mineral rich soil in the area. Sheep trails are evident along the adjacent hillsides, with some trails converging at this point.[336] According to co-author John Branson:

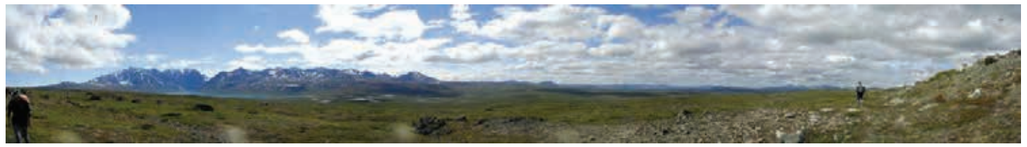
> "It had to have been known by the Dena'ina because it's an old sheep lick, mineral lick that mostly ewes and lambs…lactating ewes need to eat the soil. There aren't that many rams that go there. But Dick Proenneke in the mid-70s, the early '80s, he saw a 175 sheep in that area in one day. …Yeah, it's a big congregation there. But then during the rest of the summer they spread out. They're not that common there after the middle of June…it's still… important for the sheep, the ewes [the] lick where the sheep congregate. But they're all over the side of that because it's bare dirt and they actually eat the dirt. It's kind of an olive green dirt. It's minerals that they need."[337]

The area also offers a view of Telaquana Mountain. Dena'ina oral tradition hints that the concentrations of game at the sheep lick and other places nearby relate to the foundational power of the mountain. The site is speculated to have been at once sacred and a potential hunting site. No significant archaeological survey has been undertaken at the time of this writing to corroborate or correct these interpretations.[338] *Vich'andaghedlen* flows downstream from this point, joining the Mulchatna River at a good spot for catching Dolly Varden trout and other species.[339]

Vandaztunhtnu, "caribou hair stream" and the Mulchatna River and Nduk'eyux Dghil' Telaquana Mountain in the background. The name "caribou hair stream" references the piles of hair that built up when vast herds of caribou crossed this waterway. Photo by Samson Ferriera, NPS.

Vandaztunhtnu—Upper Mulchatna River

Vandaztunhtnu (Upper Mulchatna River) is translated as 'animal hair-stream,'[340] 'caribou hair stream,'[341] and 'caribou hair on lake.'[342] With banks edged in willow,[343] the area is a well-known crossing point for the migrating Mulchatna caribou herd.[344] In places, the river is shallow and about 100 feet wide, making it crossable without difficulty by humans and caribou alike. Indeed, the Dena'ina name for this place, *Vandaztunhtnu*, reflects the fact that the number of caribou passing through the area is so large that shed hair accumulates in drifts in and around the waterway. The name encapsulates the significance of the location as a hunting area and a calving ground within the context of Dena'ina traditional ecological knowledge of caribou migration and residence. The river is also highly important for fishing, including sockeye salmon and other salmonid species, with several reported fishing stations historically.[345]



A panorama of the Upper Mulchatna River (Vandaztunhtna) Basin. Courtesy NPS.

Pete Trefon at Nondalton, in the 1950s. Trefon was an important source for many historical details included in this document, shared in interviews with several researchers including coauthor John Branson.
Photo courtesy of Martha and Bill Trefon, Sr., H-982.

The Upper Mulchatna River Basin is considered part of the interior homeland of the ancestral Dena'ina, a part of the larger *Htsaynenq'* "First Land" occupied by the *Htsaht'ana*, or "First People."[346] A number of ancient settlements and camps, including but not limited to caribou hunting

camps, are said to have been in this basin. The riparian corridor continued to be seasonally hunted, fished, and trapped by Dena'ina families that moved southward to the Lake Clark Basin. Families that remained in Lime Village have ready access to this area and continue to use it for hunting, trapping, and other purposes into modern times. Maps included in Kari's 1983 report show "that the upper Mulchatna area now in GMU 17B was used 'within the life span of the Lime Villagers (i.e. hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering).'"[347] During interviews with Brelsford,[348] Alex Trefon and Pete Trefon listed *Vandaztunhtnu* as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name. Additionally, Kari identified it as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*[349]; and in 1998, Project Jukebox participants identified it as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. The location is listed as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI where it is simply referred to as 'Mulchatna River.'[350] Alex Trefon identifies *Vandaztunhtnu* as a key location along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail[351]: "And then Vandaztunhtnu, that's this river here." Furthermore, Kari also identifies *Vich'andaghedlen* ('flows from inside'), a stream flowing from the Sheep Lick Site near *Qayantda* into *Vandaztunhtnu* out onto the Mulchatna River Valley from inside the mountains, as a place of significance along the Telaquana Trail.[352] NPS documetntation reports that the confluence between the two waterways has been a fishing station.[353]

Ford on Mulchatna River

The Mulchatna River presents one of the few major river crossing points along the entire Telaquana Trail. During the winter, crossing is somewhat easy, as dogsleds and now snowmachines can pass over the river with relative ease. However, during ice-free seasons, the river can be treacherous, with deep and fast-flowing segments, so that people have returned to certain shallow points to ford since the beginning of remembered time. In truth, fords are quite variable, usable one day and not the next as water levels and sedimentation patterns change. For this reason, it would be correct to say that multiple fords exist on the upper Mulchatna River: if one does not work, a traveler will try another or wait a day or two for waters to recede. However, certain points are relatively reliable, and the Telaquana Trail historically converged at these crossing points.

Illustrating the dangers of this crossing, Alex Trefon related to John Branson an incident involving himself and Anton Balluta when they were hiking from Telaquana Lake to the *K'a Ka'a* cabin in the late 1920s on their way to Lake Clark. While fording the Mulchatna River in the early fall, they were swept off their feet — losing a sheet metal stove they were packing and most of their clothes. One of them had placed a small box of matches under his cap, and after they were swept to the south shore of the Mulchtana they found the matches were still dry. They made a fire and warmed up enough to avoid hypothermia, then made a speed hike over to Andrew Balluta's cabin in *K'a Ka'a* were some of their family were staying. When they arrived, they were cold but were given dry clothes and food and a place to rest. Alex was in his teens at the time, and Anton would have been in his early 20s.

The fords of the Mulchatna were navigational landmarks, then, but also places where people might pause to assess navigational hazards, to hunt or trap adjacent riparian areas or, as with Alex Trefon and Anton Balluta, pause for shelter and safety. Therefore, minor camps sat close to suitable fording points on the Upper Mulchatna. According to the BIA[354] description of the Telaquana Trail, from the Balluta family cabin the trail "runs northeast more to the east than is shown on USGS the map, over 2800 ft. high western flank of a range of peaks and then descends to the Mulchatna River basin. Across the river and less than 0.5 mi. up the opposite bank is a cave or rock shelter—another well-known camping spot."[355] And according to the NPS National Register documentation, "One mile further north on the Telaquana Trail is the ford on the [Mulchatna] River which is not as difficult as the Kijik River is to cross."[356] The BIA evaluation of the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place as part of ANCSA documentation efforts recorded this specific point as "the Ford on the Mulchatna River."[357] "Ford at Mulchatna" is also listed at specific coordinates (UTM 442.2 E and 6738.4 N) as a significant landmark along the Telaquana Trail in NPS National Register documentation.[358]

K'a ka'a Valley—Valley, Upper Chilikadrotna River

Multiple sources document the *K'a Ka'a* Valley as a significant site associated with the Telaquana Trail. The name is also spelled *K'aka'a* or *K'aka*—meaning 'big inner valley,' in Dena'ina, referencing the fact that it is a large valley, situated within the much larger valley of the Chilikadrotna.[359] The valley provided a gradual ascent from the low, marshy Chilakadrotna River to the open highlands between the Mulchatna and Chilikadrotna River Basins when traveling this part of the trail. *K'a Ka'a* Valley is especially well known today for its association with the *K'a Ka'a* cabin, which was built and maintained by Dena'ina families (such as the Ballutas) from Lake Clark and Telaquana Lake communities; here, it served as a stopover and reconnoitering point roughly halfway along the trail. Hunting, trapping, plant collecting, and other activities appear to have been undertaken in this valley, both independent and ancillary to stays at the *K'a Ka'a* cabin. Reports exist of hunters snaring or ambushing caribou in narrow draws entering the valley; stone structures may have once existed in these draws to route caribou toward hunters lying in ambush.[360] Culturally modified trees are found on these approaches to the Chilikadrotna Basin approaches, where the trail passes through timber.

Alex Trefon and Pete Trefon identified this landmark as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail place name in Brelsford's 1970s documentation.[361] The landmark is also described in the documents of Ellanna.[362] Participants in Project Jukebox in 1998 identified the valley in association with the Telaquana Trail, where the valley name is spelled *K'aka'a*. The valley is listed as a location along the Telaquana Trail in its nomination to the National Register, and is identified as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI[363] (referred to as *K'a Ka'a* Valley and as the location of *K'a Ka'a* Cabin).

A glacial landform called a kame on the north side of the Chilikadrotna River near K'a Ka'a. Elders such as Sophie Hobson noted that this small hill was a landmark on the trail indicating a reliable summertime stream crossing and a straight half-mile hike to the K'a Ka'a cabin. Like many low hills along the trail, this feature may have also served as a lookout. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Ford on Chilikadrotna River

The crossing of the Chilikadrotna is among the few major river crossings along the Telaquana Trail. This river has fast and deep reaches, so that only certain places are suitable for fording—including this principal crossing point roughly three miles downstream from the river's outlet from Lower Twin Lake. Here, the river is shallow and wide. Though it flows quickly, the river can be crossed with caution except at high water. The trail may have been aligned through the larger Chilikadrotna River Valley to meet this reliable ford. Dena'ina oral tradition mentions crossing the river at this point. Similar to the Kijik River ford, but not comparable in scale or importance, appear to have been minor camps near the banks of the Chilikadrotna River on either side. The Telaquana Trail National Register nomination identifies the ford on the Chilikadrotna River as a significant location on the trail. It is described as 125 ft. wide and 2–3 ft. deep, located at the following coordinates: UTM 437.9 E, 6728.4 N.

Pete Trefon beaver trapping in the mid—1930s. NPS photo H-594, provided by Helena Severson Moses.

Tundra and forests along the shoreline of K'adała Vena, Snipe Lake. Courtesy NPS.

K'adała Vena—Snipe Lake

K'adała Vena is a Dena'ina placename translated as 'migration waterfowl lake'[364] and 'birds fly out.'[365] The English name "Snipe Lake" also appears to reference the abundance of birds, though it is unlikely the name is derived from the Dena'ina term. In 1977, Smith and Shields conducted an archaeological survey on the shore of Snipe Lake, approximately 10 miles southwest of Twin Lakes, describing it as a small lake that "appears to be nothing more than a large tundra pond."[366] Tennessen later visited Snipe Lake and recorded several sites in 2004-05 as part of the Interior Lakes Survey. The surrounding area is a mixture of upland spruce forest and alpine tundra, with the lake located on the outer reaches of the caribou summer territory. The area is sometimes visited by Dena'ina hunters—a use that appears to be quite ancient. Archaeological evidence found on the shore at *K'adała Vena* included a side-notched point. Smith and Shields[367] attribute the point to the North Archaic artifact tradition, similar to points that have been dated to between roughly 4,000 and 6,000 B.P. (see Archaeological Sites).

Alex Trefon and Pete Trefon identified *K'adała Vena* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in interviews conducted by Kari in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*, and this data is referenced in the NPS National Register documentation for the Telaquana Trail.[368] Participants in Project Jukebox[369] also identified *K'adała Vena* as a feature along the Telaquana Trail. The area's

archaeological resources are of such quantity and integrity that the NPS has prepared documentation for the creation of a Snipe Lake Archaeological District, now submitted to the Alaska State Historic Preservation Office.

K'dalghektnu—Bear Creek

K'dalghektnu is a Dena'ina term translated as 'scraping noise (of antlers on brush) stream,'[370]'scraping noise of (antlers) stream,'[371] and 'caribou running horns on brush.'[372] Alex Trefon[373] translated *K'dalghektnu* as 'where the caribou tear the velvet off his horn on the brush.' This may be the most precise translation available for an event that was commonly observed and discussed in the Dena'ina world but lacks a clear and tidy English equivalent. In English, the creek has been called Bear Creek since the 1970s, locally known as 'Bear Creek in Big Valley'—a tributary of the Chilikodtrona River that travels west through intersecting game trails and patches of white spruce, willow, and dwarf birch. The valley is traditionally hunted for caribou and other game species.

A patch of fall bearberry plants aflame on the alpine tundra near the top of Tuvughna Ten, S.O.B. Canyon. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

USGS survey camp on what appears to be K'dalghektnu, Bear Creek in K'dalghek, the Big Valley, south of the Chilikadrotna River, in 1929. S.R. Capps Collection, 83-149-2792, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

In interviews, Alex Trefon and Pete Trefon listed *K'dalghektnu* as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name.[374] Project Jukebox[375] participants also identified the creek as a significant location on the Telaquana Trail. The Telaquana Trail National Register documentation includes the ford over the creek, listed as a 'Ford on Bear Creek' at the following coordinates: UTM 434.4E and 6717.8N, though the name references a point commonly crossed by Telaquana Trail travelers rather than a point of geological significance; despite the name, Bear Creek can usually be forded at any point, as it is a shallow, narrow creek.

Nunch'qeɬchixitnu—Little Mulchatna River

Nunch'qeɬchixitnu (Little Mulchatna River) is translated as 'we build a dam across stream.'[376] The river is traditionally fished by Dena'ina peoples, while hunting and winter trapping are reported in its riparian margins. The Telaquana Trail travels through the upper basin of the Little Mulchatna, near the headwaters, though river fords are located in its shallow reaches downstream. Just downriver from the outlet of Fishtrap Lake on the Little Mulchatna River are spawning grounds of king salmon. This is the closest king salmon spawning waters to Kijik Village. Several cache pits are located on the north bank of the Little Mulchatna River, suggesting Dena'ina harvesting and processing of salmon at this location. The Dena'ina name may refer to stone structures built for fishing, and possibly crossing, the waterway. This river enters another significant landmark associated with the trail, *Nunch'qeɬchixi Vena* or Fishtrap Lake. In the Lake Clark *Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[377] Kari identified the river as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail; and Project Jukebox[378] participants also identified it as a feature of significance.

Les Wernberg (left) and Gabriel Trefon (right) traveling by dogsled in K'ilghech' at the base of Qiniha in 1938. NPS photo, courtesy of Allen Wernbeg

K'ilghech—College Creek

College Creek is located in *K'ilghech* Valley. The name appears to be an Anglicized form of the Dena'ina place name *K'ilghech*, or 'gap [between mountains],' which describes the creek valley's terrain; the creek in this area is traditionally called *K'ilghech'tnu* or 'gap creek.'[379] Agnes Cusma expressed that some late 19th to early 20th century prospectors heard Dena'ina packers say "*K'ilghech*" and thought they heard "college." As Agnes Cusma said, "We got no colleges around here."[380] The Telaquana Trail follows the creek valley through this area, running along the right bank of College Creek. Due to the uneven terrain and relatively high speed attained by dogsleds passing through this area, pedestrians and dog teams took different routes through the area. As noted in BIA documents relating to the College Creek segment of the trail,

> "Approximately 1 mi. further northeast, the trail splits, a shortcut running north over a 2700 ft. pass and another branch running northeast along the right bank of College Creek. The latter branch itself splits to accommodate dog teams or pedestrians, then runs northwest several miles to join the shortcut as the trail descends into Chilikadrotna River basin."[381]

A section of the trail shown on some maps ran along the right bank of College Creek; this was documented by S.R.Capps, during his 1929 U.S.G.S. survey but does not align with the typical Trail route. Capps simply passed through the mountains along this alternative route, and mapped it accordingly.

According to Zorea's field notes for the Telaquana Trail, the trail continues northwest around the front of what some call "Gabriel Mountain," through thick brush. "The going was hard. Occasionally, we would catch a deep worn trail."[382] Kari identified the creek as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the Lake Clark *Sociocultural Study Phase I*[383]*;* and Project Jukebox study participants identified it again in 1998.

L'aɬi Vena—Lachbuna Lake

Lachbuna Lake, known in Dena'ina as *L'aɬi Vena* or 'deadfall collapses lake,' is a significant landmark sitting close to the Telaquana Trail Corridor. Dena'ina interviewees have identified it as a feature along the Telaquana Trail, including in interviews with Project Jukebox.[384] The site has also been reported in archaeological studies such as the work of Smith and Shields.[385] The lake is formed by the waters of Kijik River, which flow into and out of a glacial depression at this place. This area, particularly the northern shore with its relatively open and even terrain, has been hunted for Dall sheep and caribou, and may be part of Nondalton trapping areas into recent times. As the name conveys, oral tradition suggests that small-game deadfall traps have been used along this lakeshore—the lake being a logical stopover point for people traveling in and out of the upper Kijik River Basin or when crossing into the basin from adjacent watersheds such as Portage Creek. It is likely that several

Approximate location of the Kijik River ford from the air. Photo by Douglas Deur

Moose horn on the trail on the south side of K'ilghech or "gap." Photo by Douglas Deur.

Hikers descend from Yudun Dghil'u toward the western end of L'aɬi Vena, Lachbuna Lake. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

campsites, some enduring and some ephemeral, have been numerous in association with this lake. While the position of the lake is somewhat peripheral to Telaquana Trail, Dena'ina consultants identify it as integral to wider practices of movement and resource procurement along the trail corridor. Lachbuna Lake is today a point of entry or departure for LACL visitors wishing to hike Telaquana Trail.

Nunch'qeɬchixi Vena—Fishtrap Lake

The landmark known as *Nunch'qeɬchixi Vena*, Fishtrap Lake, sits in an area well known for caribou hunting. It is a small glacial lake, some eight miles west of Lachbuna Lake and surrounded by rolling tundra. On the north shore are high, steep mountains while the southern, eastern, and western shores open into a low, complex terrain of ridges, terraces, and large hills. The Little Mulchatna River flows just northwest of the head of College Creek in *K'ilghech'* and runs into the east end of Fishtrap Lake; the lake is drained by the Little Mulchatna River which flows to the northwest some eight miles to the Chilikadrotna River. *Nunch'qeɬchixi Vena* has been a landmark and rest stop for people traveling through the area for hunting and winter trapping, and the Koksetna Hills near the lake are known as a key landmark in the calving ground for Mulchatna caribou herds.[386] In 1977, Smith and

College Creek in K'ilghech Valley looking west toward Fishtrap Lake — known in Dena'ina as Nunch'qelchixi Vena or "we build dam across lake." Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Shields surveyed for archaeological sites at the lake (see Archaeological Sites). Tennessen later visited the site and identified additional sites in 2004-05, as part of the Interior Lakes Survey.[387] Though *Nunch'qeɬchixi Vena* (Fishtrap Lake) is peripheral to the Telaquana Trail,[388] Project Jukebox[389] participants identified it as a significant feature along the trail, translating *Nunch'qeɬchixi Vena* as 'we build a dam across lake.'

Southern End of *K'ilghech'*—South Gap Valley

The southern end of *K'ilghech'* provides a low pass through the mountains. This gap is a key landmark for travelers and a target sought out by wayfarers wishing to follow or reconnect with the Telaquana Trail from the valley below. The nomination of the Telaquana Trail to the National Register of Historic Places listed South Gap Valley as a significant feature located at the following coordinates: UTM 424.3 E, 6702.8 N. The division between the southern end of the valley and the northern end is somewhat arbitrary, but each portion affords different views and vistas relating to the surrounding terrain; here we follow the convention of separating these two parts of the landscape, following the lead of the CLI.

South K'ilghech Valley, showing the low pass between K'ilghech and Tuvughna Ten, S.O.B. Canyon - looking south from Qiniha. Photo by Samson Ferriera, NPS.

Tuvughna Ten—Tyonek People's Trail/S.O.B. Canyon

Tuvughna Ten is a Dena'ina term translated as 'Tyonek People's Trail'[390] and 'people from Tyonek went through there.'[391] *Tuvughna Ten* is still known as Tyonek People's Trail today. The Kijik River tributary stream descending this canyon is called *Tuvughna Tentnu*, or 'Tyonek People's Trail stream' but is today sometimes called "S.O.B. Canyon Creek." Indeed, this canyon is widely known as S.O.B. Canyon. This name was conined by Jack Hobson (1868-1949), the first EuroAmerican person to marry into the Inland Dena'ina community, a name applied because of the difficulty of traveling this steep and densely wooded canyon with dog teams; the term was first documented in cartographic form in 1929 by S.R. Capps of the U.S. Geological Survey. Dena'ina elders have reported that the *Tuvughna Ten* follows a creek "to the head of the Kijik River and continues on to Twin Lakes," but concede this is one of the most arduous, steep and densely wooded parts of the trail.[392]

Looking down on S.O.B Canyon to the Kijik River valley and Lake Clark to the south. The remains of a rock cairn are in the foreground. Tuvughna Ten or "Tyonek People's Trail" was named SOB Canyon by prospector Jack Hobson in the early 20th century. Photo by Douglas Deur.

A view down the rugged and densely forested Tuvughna Ten, S.O.B. Canyon, looking south toward Lake Clark. Courtesy NPS.

Mountains west of Tyonek, east of Lake Clark Basin. Photo by Douglas Deur.

A view of the upper part of Tuvughna Ten or Tyonek People's Trail, also known as S.O.B. Canyon because it was very difficult to mush a loaded dog sled up it from the forest to the alpine tundra. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

The *Tuvughna Ten* term is complex in that it refers to a main trunk of the Telaquana Trail ascending this pass, but also references the connection above this point to another trail network passing through the Alaska Range mountains through Tyonek People's Pass. This was an important branch of the larger Telaquana Trail network that connected the Lake Clark Dena'ina and the Tyonek Dena'ina of Cook Inlet, allowing for travel, communication, and trade between families in both locations. Alex Trefon[393] explained how Tyonek people used Tyonek People's Pass because travel through the Lake Clark Pass was complicated by the steepness and historical presence of glaciers in that pass, requiring an alternate land route. Annie Delkettie offered compelling details relating to the difficult travel over that pass:

> "Kijik and Stony River people walked to Tyonek over the high mountains. Now the glaciers have melted down (from where they were before). When they use to get on top of the glacier there was a big wide mouth (crevasse). Before they crossed the glacier, the younger men get some poles and carry the poles on top the glacier to cross the crevasse (to make a bridge of some kind). They also had pack dogs with them. They took their fur catch over for trading. They carried their beaver skins. They made a bridge with the poles being carried by the younger men to cross. Maybe they crossed the crevasse in two or three places. After they crossed the glacier, they saved the poles. They left the poles until they returned and used them on their way back across the glacier."[394]

Historical accounts mention men from Kijik, Stony River, and Telaquana Lake villages travelling this network of trails to cross the Alaska Range to the coastal village of Cook Inlet in order to find wives—helping to sustain strong relationships between interior and coastal Dena'ina communities. To this day, some Nondalton Dena'ina families, like the Koktelashes and Seversons, have relatives at Tyonek—a phenomenon related to travel along this route. [395] Dena'ina traditional narratives speak of this route as 'a place where the Tyonek come running'/'the trail of the Tyonek people'—which also suggests trade along the route.[396] Commonalities in oral tradition, beliefs, and language are sometimes attributed to exchanges along this route by contemporary elders on both sides of the Alaska Range.

Nondalton elder Antone Evan in Tyonek during a Potlatch. Evan was an important figure in the Dena'ina cultural world, and a teller of "Dena'ina sukdu'a" – the Dena'ina oral traditions of distant times. Like many Nondalton residents, he maintained contact with Tyonek families for social and ceremonial events in both communities, a tradition once sustained by travel along the Tuvughna Ten – Tyonek People's Trail. NPS photo provided by Antone Evan's grandchildren: Kurt Jensen, Ernie Jensen, Tanya Evan, Anthony Evan, Denali Rice, and Lee Ann Rice.

The place above Kijik River called *Tuvughna Ten* was arduous, but in a different way. Due to the difficult terrain, the name "S.O.B. Canyon" has persisted among many 20th and 21st century trail users for this landmark. The ascent and descent through this steep, densely wooded grade was made especially treacherous during winter when dogsleds were used historically—sometimes requiring travelers to unpack and repack gear at the top and bottom of the grade. In some cases, as elders such as Pete Trefon recalled, dogsleds had to be fully unpacked at the base of the grade, allowing the dogs to pull empty sleds to the top where all gear was reloaded. Many reasons can be found for the presence of traditional Dena'ina camps, and later the Frank Brown/J.W. Walker Cabin, at the Kijik River ford not far from the base of this ascent. Yet, the need to rest and regroup before and after traveling the difficult pass is surely among them.

Alex Trefon reported that Jack Hobson, a prospector, trapper, and early EuroAmerican who married into the Dena'ina community, first named *Tuvughna Ten* "S.O.B Creek Canyon."[397] In his field notes and photographs housed in the U.S. Geological Survey photo library, Capps referred to Tyonek People's Pass as "S.O.B. Creek Canyon," though the name does not appear on his map.[398] About the term, co-author John Branson recalls,

> "[Pete Trefon] said, 'That son-of-a-bitch,' or he said, 'SOB Canyon.' And I said, 'Well why is that?' He said, 'Because it was a son-of-a-bitch to get a dog team up there.' The incline is such that Trefon 'had to unload the dogsled team and let them go up pulling an empty sled and we would pack the gear up and then pack the sled again on top.' And then you're in *K'ilghech* [and that's] good going, for a while."[399]

The terrain is "rough going up the stream, but it's not rocky outcroppings or anything. It's just undulating and there's trees down."[400] A few culturally modified trees are located in the area, including a tree stump showing signs of being cut with a handsaw: it is "about three feet high; it's grey, that stump, real old."[401] From here the trail becomes very steep for about three or four hundred feet, leveling out once it reaches the tree line.

This corridor is not easily forgotten; it appears in most written accounts of the trail. Brelsford[402] documented the site when he listed it as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name based on data from interviews with Alex and Pete Trefon. Dena'ina people interviewed by Kari in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*[403] identified the location as a feature along the Telaquana Trail,[404] reporting that *Tuvughnaten, Tuvughna Tentnu* (S.O.B. Creek) and 'Tyonek People's Path' are all located in S.O.B. Creek Canyon. And it was identified as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail by Project Jukebox[405] participants. *Tuvughna Ten* is listed in the documentation of the Telaquana Trail for nomination to the National Register; and the CLI[406] defines *Tuvughna Ten* as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor.

Tits'nadzeni—S.O.B. Mountain

Tits'nadzen is a Dena'ina placename translated as 'one that is steep to the water,' describing the steep descent of the mountain's southwest flank from its roughly 4,000 foot summit to the waters of Lake Clark.[407] Like S.O.B. Canyon, S.O.B Mountain has become known as S.O.B. Mountain because it was a "son-of-a-bitch" to ascend; the name was applied by Brown Carlson, who long lived near the base of the mountain. The "mountain" might best be described as a geological massif forming a series of deeply incised ridges situated between the Miller Creek and Portage Creek Basins. The mountain has been a major navigational feature, widely visible along the southern end of the trail. The mountain was used historically by Dena'ina people for hunting, trapping, plant gathering, and other purposes. As John Branson has noted, the mountain may also have been a prospecting site in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

> "It's called Tits'nadzeni, 'steep to the water,' but flowing north towards northwest toward the Kijik River, off that mountain instead of draining over toward Brown's and Lake Clark, is a small little stream. [It] must have placer gold in it. There were a lot of little creeks like the Franklin Gulch, Lincoln Gulch and couple other gulches there that were prospected in the late 1890s, early 20th century…."[408]

The nomination of the Telaquana Trail to the National Register listed the feature by virtue of its significance as a landmark along the trail.

Veghdeq Dghilenka'a—Bigger Creek

Veghdeq Dghilenka'a is a Dena'ina term meaning 'bigger creek,' 'big one that flows above it,' or 'creek running in above a bigger hill.'[409] This large creek flows east off the side of Kijik Mountain. The creek was a navigational landmark especially along the *Nan Qelah Vetnu* route, which became the main southern branch of the Telaquana Trail in the first half of the 20th century. The stream was sometimes forded during the ascent of this trail segment, and trapping and hunting no doubt occurred at times on its banks or at its confluence with *Nan Qelah Vetnu*.

Alex Trefon identified *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a* as a place on the Kijik-Telaquana Trail and Albert Wassallie, Sr. described *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a* as a "larger creek [in relation to *Veghdeq Dghilenshla*] that flows off the east side of Kijik Mountain."[410] Furthermore, Alex Trefon describes *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a* as a key location along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail: "Veghdeq Dghilenka'a up here's another creek coming in."[411] Breslford[412] also includes *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a* as a location along the Lake Clark-Telaquana Lake Trail, listing it as the fourth landmark noted when traveling north along the trail. In Ellanna, 'bigger creek' is spelled *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a,*[413] but in Brelsford[414] the spelling changes to *Veghdeq dghilenke'a*. Although *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a* is not listed as a contributing feature in the NPS CLI,[415] a picture of the confluence is included in the CLI report. The landmark is of comparatively minor significance and is debatable as a contributing feature.

Stream confluence just south of Miller Lake (Veghdeq Dghilenshla), view north west. The stream on the right drains Miller Lake and the stream on the left rises from the east side of Kijik Mountain. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Veghdeq Dghilenshla—Small Creek

Veghdeq Dghilenshla is a Dena'ina term, translated as 'small creek' or 'little one that flows above it.'[416] Kari documents the name being used to distinguish the landmark from the 'big creek'—calling *Veghdeq Dghilenshla*, the creek flowing off east side of Kijik Mountain, 'little one that flows above it,' and *Veghdeq Dghilenka'a*, a creek off the east side of the Kijik Mountain, 'big one that flows above it.'[417] *Veghdeq Dghilenshla* (Small Creek) as well as Big Creek flow east from Kijik Mountain and enter Miller Creek about halfway downhill to the mouth of Miller Creek. Both are less than three feet wide and usually only a couple of inches deep. Among the various landmarks mentioned in this document, they are among the most subtle.

This area has been the venue for hunting and trapping by Native and non-Native peoples alike. A cache is located by a large spruce tree near this confluence downstream from Miller Lake, with wire snares and steel traps hanging in it, apparently associated with the Balluta family. Tony Balluta trapped this creek into the 1970s and was the last Dena'ina person reported to do so. In interviews with Brelsford, Alex Trefon identifies *Veghdeq Dghilenshla* as a significant site along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail: "There's Veghdeq Dghilenshla. There's a creek coming in there. …Veghdeq Dghilenshla is a small creek coming down ['little one that flows in above it']."[418] Brelsford[419] lists *Veghdeq Dghilenshla* as the third landmark encountered when traveling northward along the traditional Lake Clark-Telaquana Lake Trail.

Miller Lake in the foreground looking east, with the sprawling Tits'nadenzi or "steep to the water" beyond, left center, from the air. Photo by Douglas Deur.

Veghdeq Idaɬtin or *Veghq Idaɬtin*—Miller Lake

Veghdeq Idaɬtin (Miller Lake) is a Dena'ina placename translated as 'the lake above Lake Clark,'[420] 'the lake that is above it,'[421] and 'lake above it.'[422] The lake is a navigational landmark along the trail, especially for those following the 20th century *Nan Qelah Ventu* route from the mouth of Miller Creek. The lake was a popular stopover point, in part because the grade downslope to the early 20th century trailhead at *Nan Qelah* was relatively low-gradient; the grade upslope was also relatively open and easy to traverse with dogsleds in the early 20th century. The lake margin has been hunted, trapped, and used as a minor campsite—such as by people descending toward Kijik or *Nan Qelah* who ran out of daylight before the end of their trek. There is some vague suggestion that a proper settlement may have once existed on or near the lake. Today, the lake can also serve as a fly-in point for people hiking or sport hunting for moose.] the southern end of the trail today—as was done in the course of research for this report. Kari identified the lake as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[423] as did participants of the 1998 Project Jukebox study, with

Albert Wassallie, Sr. commenting that the lake is "high up on a ridge which is the reason for the name."[424] *Veghdeq Idaɬtin* is also listed as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI.[425] In Brelsford,[426] the name is spelled *Veghq Idaɬtin,* whereas all other publications refer to the lake as *Veghdeq Idaɬtin*.

Documentation of the Telaquana Trail for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places does not list Miller Lake as a significant feature along the trail, though it is mentioned as a reference point when navigating the trail:

> "It is not until one overlooks the Kijik River canyon north of Miller Lake that telltale signs of the trail reappear in the form of a well-worn game trail heading down toward the river which undoubtedly was used by pedestrians and dog teams during the heyday of the Telaquana Trail. …Another section of the trail which is visible, albeit, faintly is an area about 1 ½ miles south of Miller Lake."[427]

K'unust'in—Kijik Mountain

K'unust'in (Kijik Mountain) is a Dena'ina term meaning 'the one that stands apart'[428] and the 'one that stands by itself,'[429] and is a 3,357-foot tall mountain. The mountain is a key landmark for the Dena'ina people of the region, standing tall above the village complex at Kijik. People traveling across the Lake Clark Basin toward Kijik traditionally navigate with reference to this mountain. So too, the mountain is a landmark along the Telaquana Trail; and the fork between the old Kijik route and the 20th century *Nan Qelah* route of the trail meet near the mountain's base. People standing on this mountain could see people approaching along the trail, with views of southern trail segments including portions of the *Nan Qelah Vetnu* (Miller Creek) drainage.[430] Agnes Cusma recalled that the Old Kijik Village site was located at the base of this mountain. Speaking of Kamuk Village (XLC-092) she noted, "It was occupied perhaps 300 years ago when people still used bow and arrow."[431] As noted elsewhere in this document and to be elucidated in a separate Kijik Cultural Landscape Report, portions of that village complex, such as *K'unustin T'uh K'emeq'* (XLC-092; also known as the 12 House Site), are indeed nestled into the base of this mountain. In his 1991 survey notes, Zorea comments that: "… many blazes were also found at the Old Kijik site at the foot of Mt. Kijik."[432] He points out that this could well be XLC-092, the Kamuk site just off the headwaters of *Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu*, 'stream that flows on a swamp.' The peak itself is of traditional spiritual significance to Dena'ina people and is the venue for groundhog hunting, subalpine and scree plant gathering, and other specialized montane resource harvests—among the most convenient venues for Kijik residents to partake in such harvests. Kari identified *K'unust'in* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the Lake Clark *Sociocultural Study Phase* I[433]; and Project Jukebox[434] participants identified the site as a significant trail landmark as well.

Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu, "stream that flows on the swamp" at the base of Kijik Mountain — the North Fork of Priest Rock Creek. Photo by Douglas Deur.

Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu—Creek at the Base of Kijik Mountain

Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu (a creek at the base of Kijik Mountain) is a Dena'ina term meaning 'stream that flows on the swamp.'[435] The creek flows from Kijik Mountain north of Priest Rock Creek. In places along this part of the trail, the ground is very marshy and care is required to navigate this area; in the winter, however, the walking, dogsledding, or (more recently) skiing is excellent as the land is open in many places with great visibility. This creek is an important landmark on the trek northward from Kijik. The swamp was navigable by salmon and fished, though Nondalton residents note "the beaver have spoiled the salmon grounds here."[436] Oral tradition suggests hunting and trapping along the creek as well. As noted in the *K'unust'in* entry, Dena'ina settlements were found in the headwaters of this stream at the base of the slope, including *K'unustin T'uh K'emeq'* (XLC-092), also known as the Kamuk Village site. In the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[437] Kari identified the creek as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail.

Qil'ihtnu—Bad or Evil Creek; Creek north of Kijik Village

Qil'ihtnu is a creek of cultural and historical significance to Dena'ina peoples, located to the north of Old Kijik Village. The name *Qil'ihtnu* is translated as 'bad or evil creek.'[438] The creek drainages in this area verifiably shifted course during the early contact period, and Dena'ina people note that the change corresponded with the religious conversion of tribal members by a Russian Orthodox priest. According to Albert Wassallie, Sr.,

> "This is a creek at Kijik Point, the name of which means 'evil creek.' In the 1800s, the Russian Orthodox priest came and poured holy water into a little pond here and baptized all the people. Afterwards something like a prehistoric animal went into that pond and the creek formed. It is claimed that the holy water brought the animal out. This is the story behind the name of the creek."[439]

There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that this was Father Vasilii (Vasiliev) Shishkin, who advanced missionary efforts in the region in the mid- to late-19th century, but that point remains unconfirmed. In some cases, Dena'ina people speak of this change in local drainages as a sign of the disruption of the cosmological order of the Dena'ina world due to their partial acceptance of non-Native religious loyalties. The acceptance of the priest's baptism is sometimes recalled as a traumatic event, literally tearing the land, bringing some Dena'ina participants to tears, remorse, and efforts at repentance. The landmark is described by some Dena'ina today as still possessing a spiritual power and identity linked to this disruption—explaining why it is still called "bad" or "evil" in Dena'ina placename conventions. The name and the landmark are an enduring and significant mnemonic, reminding modern Dena'ina of the importance of staying true to certain traditional practices and beliefs. Linguist, James Kari (1986) identified *Qil'ihtnu* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[440]

Vista north through Yudun Dghil'u or "downstream mountains" pass. Photo by Douglas Deur.

Views and Vistas

Views and vistas are among the most striking attributes of the Telaquana Trail. Certain views and vistas stand out and have special significance that adds to the trail's story and context. These are not within the immediate boundary of the defined Telaquana Trail Corridor and are thus considered discontinuous contributing features; yet they are as significant to trail travelers today as they were in the past. Views and vistas can be considered contributing for National Register purposes in several ways. The first is in being a historic vista documented either from historic photographs or landscape plans. Generally, these vistas are quite specific in range, are usually framed by vegetation, natural landmarks or built features, and are generally engineered. The other type is panoramic in nature (views or viewsheds), which are generally of a broad range and are naturally occurring rather than appearing by design. If particular views and vistas relate to the significance of the trail in specific ways, and contribute to its overall integrity, they may be treated as contributing landmarks within the larger Cultural Landscape.

A hiker walks south past flowering Labrador Tea on Q'eteni with K'ena'a Qelahi or "lookout exits" in view in the distance to the right. As a lookout, K'ena'a Qelahi afforded a commanding view of the surrounding terrain, including much of the vast expanse of Q'eteni. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

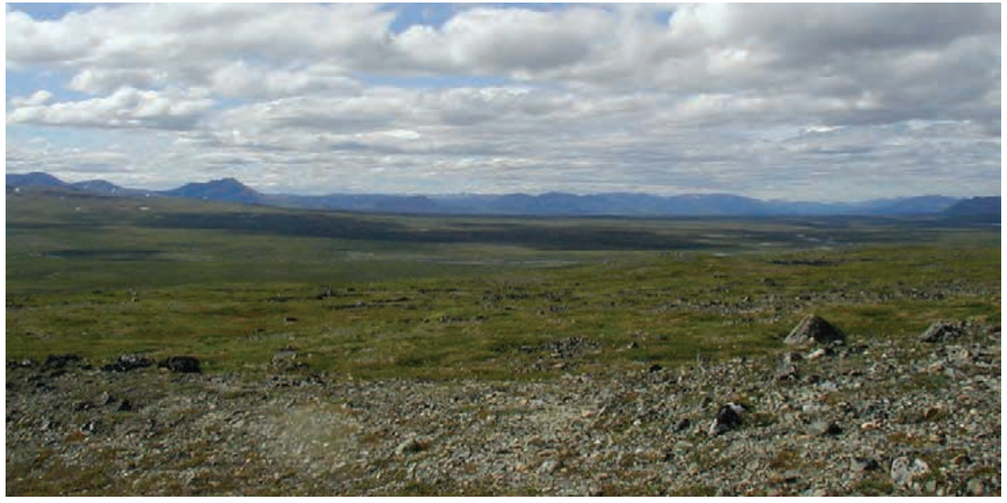
S. R. Capps' packhorses swim across Sixmile Lake in 1929 on the way to Telaquana Lake. On their return to Lake Clark in August, the Capps' party mapped the approximate route of the Telaqiana Trail for the first time by the USGS. S.R. Capps Collection, 83-149-2819, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Landscape of the Telaquana Trail just south of the Kijik River and about four or five miles north of Miller Lake, in 1929. The Kijik River and S.O.B. Canyon are in view.
S.R. Capps Collection, 83-149-2809, Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Along the Telaquana Corridor, numerous views reveal the general character of the landscape and wayfinding elements, though they include no specific named vistas. These include the places along the trail where one can see the visage of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*, Telaquana Mountain, within the northern reaches of the trail. Views of this mountain have cultural and even ceremonial significance to Dena'ina peoples, even as most vantage points have not been described as uniquely contributing to the experience of the mountain—though the view of the mountain from *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi*, Votive Rock, is significant in this regard. The view from Votive Rock is called out individually in sections below. Historical vistas that contribute to the experience and integrity of the trail also exist, in important but geographically ambiguous ways. For example, in 1929, the Capps party took several photos within the Corridor that are instrumental in establishing integrity of setting and feeling for the District. One is a view of Capps' pack horses resting at the south slope of *K'ilghech'* Valley. *Qiniha* Mountain is clearly visible in the background and behind *Qiniha*, White Mountain is distinctly visible on the left. This view has not changed significantly since the historic period. Also of note is the vegetation in the foreground: it appears to be tundra interspersed with low growing shrubs of willow and dwarf birch identical to the natural vegetation of today. This photo helps to establish integrity of setting and feeling in the District. Another photograph shows the Capps party crossing the Kijik River in 1929. When compared to the modern example, setting and feeling are again confirmed—showing continuity in the landscape and its vegetation across almost a century.

Other types of views considered 'contributing' to the Cultural Landscape illustrate examples of traditional wayfinding along the trail. The trail corridor contains hundreds of these types of views; it would take at least a field season to document all of them. We mention a few of the more significant examples on the following pages—these views contributing largely to integrity of location and association, while the view of the natural wayfinding feature affirms the route's design and location. The view also affirms and illuminates the trail's association with traditional methods of wayfinding through the environment. Views become particularly important to wayfinding on the Telaquana Plateau, or *Q'eteni*, where few visual clues are available in the near distance and the only wayfinding elements are views of peaks or other objects in the far distance. Views toward distant landmarks are also hugely important when wayfinding in dense forest or brush, as for example in *Dzel Gzegh*. In addition, views of glacial erratic boulders such as those on *Q'eteni* help travelers navigate across the open, expansive, rolling landscape.

Other views contributing to the trail's integrity of setting and feeling include vast panoramas or viewsheds. One example is the vast panoramic views from Telaquana Plateau (the highest point on the route through the Corridor) west to the Bonanza Hills, south to the upper Mulchatna drainage, north to Telaquana Lake, and east to the hulking monolith of Telaquana Mountain. These viewsheds provide a unique sense of space and proportionality, reinforcing the experience of being in a vast,



A view from Q'eteni to the south toward the Tsila K'idghutnu, the Chilikadrotna River. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

natural landscape. This is largely the same experience of place that Telaquana Trail visitors would have experienced historically, regardless of their identity and cultural affiliations. Though reactions to these viewsheds likely varied from person to person, the underlying landscape with its rugged expansive geography, has persisted relatively unchanged across unknown generations. In a National Register sense, this demonstrates the integrity of setting and feeling in these places. In the unlikely event that these views were affected by future human development, the changes would likely materially affect the integrity of setting and feeling in the Corridor—an important measure of their overall significance to the integrity of the trail.

Returning to *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*, Telaquana Mountain, we are reminded that if oral history is remembered, if Dena'ina story cycles persist and are shared even beyond the Dena'ina community, the views and vistas are placed in a deeper cultural and historical context. In this way, natural landscapes serve as the foundation for cultural landscapes, with profound meaning ascribed to their contours. By sustaining these forms of knowledge, we are in a way adding to the integrity of the cultural landscape, sustaining the "integrity of relationship" between people and the land—a point we return to in the final sections of this report.

While there are numerous views and vistas worth noting along the Telaquana Trail Corridor, we identify five here that are called out in available written documentation as having specific value to the integrity of the trail, and that might be considered as contributing to the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.

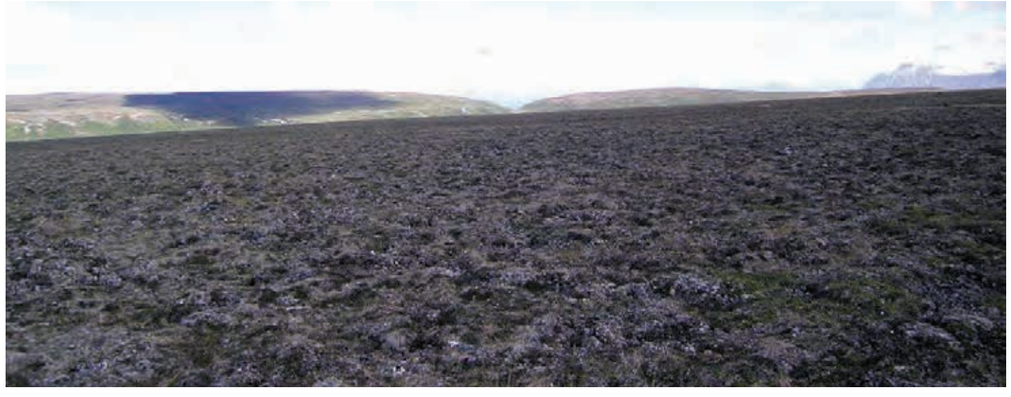
Looking south across the Q'eteni plateau from the Mountain Gap, a passageway from the plateau into the Telaquana River Valley. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Dzełggezh or Dzel Gzegh—Mountain Gap

In Dena'ina, *Dzel Gzegh* translates as 'Mountain Gap'[441] and 'trail between two hills.' The name is descriptive, referring to the gap through which the trail passes south of Telaquana Village.[442] Like many Athabaskan place names, the name *Dzel Gzegh* serves to coarsely define the landscape in descriptive terms, facilitating navigation and memorization of routes through complex terrain. The same place name is applied to several places as a general descriptor. This *Dzel Gzegh* (2992 feet in elevation) is a small depression in the ridge line south of Telaquana Lake that leads to *Q'eteni*, a high plateau.[443] The pass is significant as a passageway along the Telaquana Trail, a route between the Telaquana and Turquoise Lake subsistence and settlement areas, and marks a significant boundary between watersheds: "All the creeks and rivers from here south to Lake Clark drain into Bristol Bay, everything north to the Kuskokwim country, Kuskokwim Bay."[444] The pass provides dramatic views of the upper ends of both basins and the lakes below, as well as Telaquana Mountain and adjacent peaks looming to the immediate east. For those traveling along the trail, the pass was a *de facto* overlook, such as for monitoring the presence and movement of game. The gap also serves as a target for those wishing to connect to the trail from the open country in all directions; one is certain to find the trail by hiking toward this gap from anywhere it can be detected.

Table 6: Views and Vistas

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/ Category	Landscape Feature
Dzełggezh or Dzel Gzegh	Mountain Gap/ 'trail between two hills'	Views and Vistas	Valley
Q'eteni— Northern Plateau	Telaquana Plateau/ 'one with a trail on it'	Views and Vistas	Plateau
Q'eteni— Southern Plateau	Ridge at base of mountains between Twin and Turquoise Lakes/ 'the one on the trail,' 'trail over the end of the mountain,' 'trail across a mountain'	Views and Vistas	Plateau
Nduk'eyux Dghil'u, seen from *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi*	Telaquana Mountain, as seen from Votive Rock	Views and Vistas	Mountain
Qiniha [in K'ilghech]	*Qiniha* Mountain/ 'the one behind' (called "Gabriel Mountain" by some)	Views and Vistas	Mountain



The notch in the far ridge, called Dzel Ggezh, a key wayfinding mark, seen across the vastness of Q'eteni and the foothills at the base of Telaquana Mountain. Courtesy NPS.

A view of Dzel Ggezh, or "mountain gap" a clear divot in the ridgeline can be sighted from a long distance to the south; it has always been used as a beacon to northbound travelers as they prepare to descend into the boreal forest to Ch'qulch'ishtnu Village. Courtesy NPS.

In the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[445] Kari identified *Dzel Gzegh* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail; and Project Jukebox study participants identified it similarly in 1998. The view is defined as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory[446] with the feature described as appearing from the south as a singular opening, 'like an open sight on a rifle.'

Q'eteni—Northern Plateau

No fewer than two locations along the Telaquana Trail are referred to as *Q'eteni*. The "northern *Q'eteni*" is located on the Telaquana Plateau—the name translated as 'the one on the trail,'[447] 'trail across a mountain,' 'one with a trail on it,'[448] 'trail over Alaska Range,'[449] and 'over this flat mountain.'[450] The southern *Q'eteni* we address in a separate section below.

The northern *Q'eteni* is an eight-mile long alpine plateau known in English as both the Telaquana Plateau or the Telaquana Flats, separating the Mulchatna and Stony River Drainages near the divide between Trail and Summit Creeks. The trail is positioned between the centers of settlement and subsistence at Telaquana Lake and Turquoise Lake. Here, some three thousand feet above sea level, the landscape is flat and treeless. In Ellanna,[451] Alex Trefon identified *Q'eteni* as a key location along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail, describing it as encompassing the entire mountain top: "And this mountain here, Q'eteni…. Is that the whole mountain top? [Alex Trefon]: Yes, the whole thing is Q'eteni."[452] From this vantage point, one enjoys unobstructed views of the surrounding landscape, including the upper Mulchatna and Stony River Basins, and mountains adjacent. The area was also a likely game lookout, providing clear views of caribou herds migrating through this area and the maze of game trails that converge somewhat at the mountain passes. Indeed, after visiting as part of early assessments of the cultural landscape in this area, Ferreira describes an encounter with the Mulchatna caribou herd that regularly uses the area as part of their migratory territory:

> "As we began our walk across the upper valley towards the hills we noticed something moving over the ridge. Slowly the trickle of brown spots increased and soon we were looking at a hillside covered in caribou…. As we approached they moved back up out of site. But as we reached the top of the ridge and could see across the high plateau, we encountered thousands of caribou, hanging out in the small valleys and snow patches of the plateau landscape. We were cautious not to spook the herd and made our way through as unobtrusively as possible. …There were many cows and calves in this group, and the bucks were farther away on the hillside, and far fewer in number. The herd was on the high ground to stay cool, and to avoid the mosquitos, many were lying on the snow patches, or in the water of a small lake."[453]

Alex and Peter Trefon first listed *Q'eteni* as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name in Brelsford.[454] And in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[455] Kari identified *Q'eteni* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Project Jukebox[456] participants also identified the site. The location is included in the Telaquana Trail NRHP nomination and is defined as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the Cultural Landscape Inventory.[457] Documentation for the Telaquana Trail NRHP nomination calls *Q'eteni* the 'mid-point on the *Qeteni*.'

The vast Q'eteni plateau is interspersed with tussock fields. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

A hiker walks across the plateau called Q'eteni or "the one on the trail" near upper Trail Creek with Telaquana Lake seen in the right background. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

An alternative placename used by Dena'ina travelers for Q'eteni— Qayantda or "a flat on that mountain" — is explained by this scene from the Q'eteni portion of Telaquana Trail. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

A hiker walks south across Q'eteni on the route of the Telaquana trail. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

Q'eteni—Southern Plateau

Again, no fewer than two locations along the Telaquana Trail are referred to as *Q'eteni*. The "southern *Q'eteni*" is variously translated from the Dena'ina as

1 'the one on the trail' (Project Jukebox 1998),
2 'trail over the end of the mountain' (NPS 2006),
3 'trail across a mountain' (Kari 1986),
4 'trail over end of this mountain' (Brelsford 1975),
5 'over the mountain' (Alex Trefon in Ellanna 1986:A-30), and
6 'the one with a trail on it' (Andrew Balluta in Ellanna 1986:A-30).

One of the few good camping spots on the Q'eteni plateau is this spot along a branch of Summit Creek that is fringed with willow trees. Summit Creek. Courtesy NPS.

This *Q'eteni* sits near the break in drainages between the Mulchatna and Chilikadrotna Rivers Basins. The overlook provides excellent views of both basins, as well as the lakes below and mountains to the east—including Telaquana Mountain. The pass was also a game lookout, providing views of caribou herds migrating through this area. The southern *Q'eteni* also affords views of the Sheep Lick, a place with abundant Dall sheep, described elsewhere in this report. The pass descends into *K'a Ka'a* in the Chilikadrotna River Valley, not far from the *K'a Ka'a* Cabin—a historic stopover point between Telaquana Lake and Kijik. If a hiker stays to the right or west when hiking across *Q'eteni* toward the upper Mulchatna River, the walking is much better; it is dryer and has fewer tussocks. Halfway across are two erratic boulders close together that provide beacons for navigation.[458]

A hiker walks across Q'eteni through a glacial erratic boulder field on the approach to Turquoise Lake. Photo by Chris Lauver, PNW CESU, 2019.

This viewpoint is also mentioned in many written accounts of the trail. Alex and Peter Trefon first identified the southern *Q'eteni* as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name in Brelsford,[459] and Kari identified it as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[460] Project Jukebox[461] participants also identified the site. Alex Trefon identified *Q'eteni* as a key location along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail in Ellanna.[462] And finally, the location is part of the Telaquana Trail documentation for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.[463] Unlike the northern *Q'eteni,* southern *Q'eteni* is not listed as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI.[464] However, co-author John Branson asserts that it should be included because of its importance as a navigational waypoint and its closeness to the "Sheep Lick," which must have been exploited by Dena'ina hunters every spring and early summer.[465] The NRHP nomination described the location as a plateau of characteristic alpine tundra extending to *Vandaztuntnu* (the Mulchatna River), with patches of willow.

An area of concentrated glacial erratics on the south edge of Q'eteni. This area serves as a wayfinding element of the landscape when distant landmarks are obscured by clouds. The area has been called the "badlands" — a term recently applied to the area by two Russians ornithologists from Moscow State University who studied birds during several summers in the 1990s. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Nduk'eyux Dghil'u to Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi—Telaquana Mountain seen from Votive Rock

As addressed elsewhere in this report (see Sacred Places), the views of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* (Telaquana Mountain) have particular cultural, historical, and even sacred value to Dena'ina travelers. The mountain is a landmark for navigation, but more importantly serves as a cultural beacon, recalling oral traditions about the origin of game species in this landscape and the enduring abundance of Dena'ina lands. Some modern Dena'ina still regard this mountain as having special power and significance, and open views of the mountain are of particular importance to Dena'ina travelers on the Telaquana Trail. Ceremonies may be conducted at such places, as well as the teaching of tribal youth regarding a number of historical and cultural themes unique to Dena'ina tradition. While significant views appear widely along the northern reaches of the trail, certain places have elevated importance—their significance elevated by virtue of clear views and direct linkages between distant landmarks and this peak. For example, *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi,* Votive Rock, is unique in this regard—its cultural significance linked to this viewshed and its clear views of *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u,* Telaquana Mountain. While both landmarks are treated independently in this report, it should be noted that the viewshed between the two landmarks also has its own cultural significance, contributing to the integrity of the trail as an ethnographic landscape and supporting the "integrity of relationship" between Dena'ina people and these landmarks in a way consistent with National Register Bulletin 38 criteria.

Nduk'eyux Dghil'u (Telaquana Mountain) and the plains of Q'eteni are a place to avoid when it is stormy weather as there are few places to seek refuge from the elements. Courtesy NPS.

Caribou trails, like these on the approach to Q'eteni are a ubiquitous feature of the Telaquana Trail landscape. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

"White Rock" on top of Qiniha Mountain in K'ilghech Valley looking south, in 1993. Prominent glacial erratics such as this boulder have served as important wayfinding landmarks along the Telaquana Trail. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Qiniha

Qiniha is a mountain in *K'ilghech'* Valley known by some as "Wolf Mountain" or "Gabriel's Mountain" and sometimes indicated on field maps just as G.M.[466] The name is translated as 'the one behind' in Dena'ina and the peak provides striking, sweeping vistas across *K'ilghech'* Valley, including views of White Mountain, *Qiniha* Mountain, *Yudun Dghil'u* ('downstream mountains') and many others, as well as waterways and game trails.[467]

The site was a likely overlook for Dena'ina travelers and hunters, providing unusually expansive views of the country below. In the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[468] Kari identified *Qiniha* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. And in 1998, Project Jukebox study participants also identified the site. The Telaquana Trail nomination to the National Register of Historic Places[469] lists the location, with the view of *Qiniha* defined as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the Cultural Landscape Inventory.[470] According to Zorea's notations,

John Branson points to a peak of 3865-foot elevation, from which Macnab took his 1921 photo at Qiniha Mountain, K'ilghech, 1993. Photo courtesy John Branson, NPS.

View north of K'ilghech' Valley. The mountain sometimes called "White Mountain" is on the left), Qiniha is the ridge-like landmark in middle of valley, and Yudun Dghil'u "downstream mountains" is in the background. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

> "Gabriel's Mountain or G.M. refer to the mountain just south of the [cache] site on the Telaquana trail east of College Creek. The [cache] has been identified as Gabriel Trefon's Father's [cache]. For ease, since the USGS has not labeled the mountain, it will be hereafter referred to by the above title. It has been place named by BIA sources as Qinaha Mountain (section 22 on 15 minute quads C-4; between the Little Mulchatna River and College Creek)."[471]

A view of the 2,570 foot-tall Qiniha or "a little one behind" in the middle of K'ilghech looking south. K'ilghech' 'Gap Valley'. Courtesy NPS.

Culturally Modified Vegetation

Vegetation that bears the signature of human activity is faintly visible within the Telaquana Trail cultural landscape. Though these traces are subtle, they are detectable to the watchful eye as distinctive grass and birch groves at campsites, areas of cleared brush or trees, and certain types of culturally modified trees that are sometimes found along the trail. In some cases, these places are scarcely detectable without access to the oral traditions of Dena'ina elders and the documents of past archaeological investigations. Yet, in many settings, these faint signatures are among the only remaining testament to longstanding Dena'ina use and occupation of the landscape.[472] They are enduring markers of human use and occupation, and landmarks of profound cultural significance to modern Dena'ina peoples.[473]

Granted, even where these vegetation signatures can be detected, they are often fleeting. Long-term hikers of the Telaquana Trail, such as co-author John Branson who has hiked the trail for 45 years, report observing rapid changes in vegetation along the entire length and breadth of the trail. As he notes: "the boreal forest is getting thicker. The tundra sections are beginning to be encroached on by spruce seedlings and deciduous shrubs. The brushy parts of the trail are getting more robust and [apparently] spreading." Similarly, while traveling the Trail as part of a NPS survey team in 1991, Zorea noted difficulty locating sites along the trail due to successional vegetation no longer maintained or kept in check through consistent use:

> "It would take a hundred crews to find even half the sites probably hidden in the band of trail. I am not worried that so few sites have been found—the fact that any have been found in such a continuum suggests appropriate usage, and the fact that there are so many more possibilities suggests significance in its need for greater research in this part of the state where so much is unknown about a subsistence society almost unique in all the country."[474]

These observations of vegetation change are not just anecdotal. They are supported by systematic studies of conifer biogeography, including stand age and tree-ring analyses in and around LACL.[475] Historic photographs, such as those from the 1929 Capps Expedition, also serve as comparisons to document changes in vegetation over the last century.[476]

Nonetheless, vegetation signatures do remain, and come in many forms. People formerly groomed the trail route in places, removing downed logs in places with narrow passage through timbered lands. In the case of long-term villages or seasonal occupation sites along the Corridor, for example, Dena'ina people traditionally cleared brush from the margins of camps, and from food procurement and processing stations. This was done not only to create open and accessible spaces for human activity, but to reduce the risk of surprise encounters with bears drawn to the scent of food. As Gladys Evanoff recalls: "Everywhere they stay, they chop all the brush away…the reason they did that was to be able to see the bear coming around. Back then we never had to think about bears [at camp]."[477]

The clearing of vegetation around camps, and intensified human activity within the cleared spaces, makes the groundcover of camps distinctive as well. In many places where villages or camps were large or enduring, large patches of grass grow instead of lichen or other groundcovers typical for this area. Inland Dena'ina people, such as Gladys Evanoff, sometimes say "that we have a scent the grass is drawn to," or the grass follows in their wake. Elders comment on how grass appeared largely inadvertently at camps, and would persist even when the camps were no longer in use. For example, Evanoff explains, "They can move to a place where there is no grass and grass will appear; if they move away, the grass stays there to show where they lived…the grass shows you where people used to live…they called that *kechán*, meaning 'grass'—that's grass growing after people stay there."[478] These grassy patches can still be seen at a few former camps and villages today.

When these former villages or campsites are not visited or maintained for many years, new and emergent vegetation sometimes emerges, at first within, and soon in place of, grassy clearings. Grass is the first plant to re-establish on disturbed ground, and in some settings requires about two centuries to be replaced by vegetation more typical of the surrounding countryside.[479] Along the rivers and lakeshores of the study area, interviewees identified former camp areas where relatively young stands of birch (*Betula* spp.) grow in anomalously dense thickets along the shore. Campsites known

only through oral tradition can be tentatively located from such clues, according to Dena'ina elder consultants Butch and Pauline Hobson.

Dena'ina travelers also traditionally establish small camps for a short time while traveling the trail. The creation of these transitional camps involves only temporary shelters, and leaves very few lasting changes to the landscape. Still, Dena'ina travelers commonly remove the lower limbs of trees in these camps to make room on the ground and to provide cover, with the removed limbs used for fuel or laid out on the floor like a carpet. As John Branson explains:

> "Cover… say you're traveling in the fall, or cooler weather and…you're going to have lunch or something. You don't want an elaborate thing but you see a beautiful spruce that's got all these low-hanging branches, green branches, so you go in there and you cut up, cut them out so you can walk around without difficulty and then you build a fire and you make tea or you know. So you've got a little homemade tent instantaneously by the removal of a few lower limbs…. Or you're going to pitch a tent or something nearby and you want that same [effect] you can lean against the tree, you can hang things in the tree and then you have your campfire by the tree and your tent away from it and stuff like that. Just makes a little home for yourself."[480]

One often finds concentrations of stumps from firewood trees, too, or poles associated with tent structures, around many enduring campsites. Though utilitarian in origin, even certain stumps and poles are culturally significant to some Dena'ina peoples, being landmarks touched by their ancestors, some long passed. Oral tradition tells of long-ago seasonal and transitional campsites and villages along the Telaquana Trail visited by families and hunting parties who stockpiled wood and other materials for camp and home use.[481]

As a result of Dena'ina land ethics, vegetation is often the only readily visible clue of a landscape's past human occupation. Beyond the practices outlined here, campsites are traditionally left very clean, devoid of debris or other items besides firewood, tinder, and tent poles stockpiled for the next visitor. To show respect both for the land and for those who will follow, people burn or remove any artificial or manufactured items, as Clarence Adam Delkettie describes: "they pretty much left if pretty clean because [we're taught to try] to keep the places clean out…While they camp." Likewise, Randy Kakaruk recalls, "once they leave, it doesn't really look like anyone was there other than the campfire…like a little rock circle is all… it was always told to us, you know, respect the land; you want to leave it the way you found it."[482]

Within the Telaquana Corridor Historic District, a number of possible and known campsites are potentially contributing features, suggested through a combination of vegetation characteristics and oral history. Future archaeological surveys and other reconnaissance may in time reveal many more

such places, including sites archaeologists have not recorded or for which they have not issued site numbers. Here we give detailed attention to two such places that have been documented in prior studies, possessing likely vegetation signatures but no archaeological confirmation of former campsite presence: the Knuckles—a possible campsite overlooking *Dzeł Gzezh* (the Savannah), and a possible campsite on *Tl'uhdalzhegh* (see Table 7). Other sites with such possible clearings include *Nuch'vastin* ('spruce timber extends camp'), discussed in the following section relating to Culturally Modified Trees. Many other suspected camps—suspected on the basis of oral tradition and historical records, or on the basis of anomalous vegetation—could be added to this list. In an ironic way, with so few "built" features remaining in the landscape, these modest patches of anthropogenic vegetation are perhaps among the most numerous and enduring human imprints on the Telaquana Corridor Historic District. Most sites known to us now have been documented as archaeological sites, and are included in the archaeological section of this report. The NPS is well advised to continue searching for campsites, and to continue factoring anomalous vegetation signatures into archaeological surveys in the future.

Table 7: Possible and Known Sites with indicative Vegetation Characteristics

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/ Category	Landscape Feature
	Possible Campsite overlooking *Dzeł Gzezh*	Vegetation	Seasonal Camp
	Possible campsite on *Tl'uhdalzhegh*	Vegetation	Seasonal Camp

Possible Campsite overlooking *Dzeł Gzezh*

East of *Dzeł Gzezh* (Mountain Gap), at the north end of *Q'etani* North or the Telaquana plateau, is a suspected traditional campsite. Here are found spruce poles with cut ends that may have formed a tent structure, sitting in association with two large glacial erratics. NPS staff conclude that the poles were transported to the site from the Telaquana Valley, as the surrounding plateau is treeless.[483] As part of a reconnassiance survey with co-author John Branson along the Telaquana Trail, Ferreira produced this description of the area:

The "knuckles" — a glacial erratic boulder that was a preferred camping site by Dena'ina travelers on the Telaquana Trail when darkness fell along this length of the trail. Dena'ina travelers formerly left spruce tent poles against the boulder, which could be quickly used to hold up a tent canvas or birch bark sheet to protect from rainfall during the night. Courtesy NPS.

> "The next day was clear, sunny and warm, we headed up to the Gap, then left our packs to check out an alleged Dena'ina campsite on a ridge above the lake where two large glacial erratics stuck out of the tundra like the 'knuckles' of some ancient Dena'ina Titan. [John Branson] showed us a spruce pole here with clear cut marks (K. Gaul has these photos). It should be examined by archaeologists if it has not been so already."[484]

Andrew Balluta reported that Dena'ina travelers camped next to these two erratic boulders if overtaken by darkness, so as to avoid hiking through the thick boreal forest to *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* in the dark.[485] The placement and small scale of the site are consistent with this practice.

The Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) created by the NPS in 2006 identified the site as a possible contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor, though no known Dena'ina word exists for the location. The significance of the site has yet to be determined and the site has not been investigated archaeologically. As a likely campsite for Dena'ina travelers along the trail, it may hold more intangible than tangible value to modern Dena'ina peoples.

Possible campsite on *Tl'uhdalzhegh*

Another likely campsite sits within the only wooded section of upper *Tl'uhdalzhegh* (Summit Creek), on the fourth tributary basin (from the north) of the creek. This basin consists of a small valley transected by a stream, with its banks lined by willows. For those traveling the Telaquana Trail, flat spots along the creek provided the only source of fresh water, firewood, and shelter for miles.[486] Subtle clearings in the streambank vegetation are among the only clear signatures of human activity, though site location makes historical human use almost a certainty. The Cultural Landsacpe Inventory identified this campsite as a possible contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor. The site may have archaeological value, but is also a site of significance with intangible values to Dena'ina peoples. Ferreira encountered the site during a survey of the Telaquana Trail in 2015, concluding that "[t]his is a potential archaeological site and should be examined if it has not already been so."[487]

Culturally Modified Trees (CMTs)

Small scale features often comprise the signature elements of a traditional camp on the landscape—including the clearings, culturally modified trees (CMTs), caches and cairns, and other physical traces that endure long after people have moved on. These landscape features provide clues to past human activity, contributing to the design, location, setting, and associations of the Telaquana Trail Corridor. As reminders of ancestral activities, these CMTs also serve as mnemonics of traditional knowledge and oral history—enhancing the "integrity of relationship" between Dena'ina people and the cultural landscape in the terms of National Register Bulletin 38. As enduring artifacts of past travel and cultural activity, these CMTs also function as wayfinding elements and as clues to past seasonal activities and movements along the trail.[488]

Trees hold a unique place in traditional Dena'ina culture as small-scale features that are often overlooked in written accounts.[489] They are understood not only as living, but as nominally conscious or sentient beings. Moreover, the life cycles of trees are said to parallel human life cycles: trees start off young and limber but stiffen as they age; and without proper nurturing and nourishment, trees become bent, rickety, and even inflexible. As a matter of Dena'ina cultural practice, "you show them respect," according to Gladys Evanoff. Pauline Hobson explains, "Respect the plants also, especially the trees—they have spirit too. If you disrespect it, it will change your luck in life."[490] Inland Dena'ina

A double-blazed cottonwood snag along the Telaquana Trail, along Ch'qulch'ishtnu, Trail Creek, near the old Telaquana village. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Culturally modified trees are widespread along the Telaquana Trail corridor. Cut stumps are common at cabin or cache locations. Courtesy NPS.

peoples demonstrate this respect in myriad ways. Guided by these values, and the practical challenges of cutting large trees using ancestral tools, elders assert that the Dena'ina traditionally do not cut or kill trees casually, but only when a pressing need exists.[491] In many cases, trees can be pruned, marked, even chopped a short distance above their lowest branches, yet they are often kept alive—with these markings left as enduring reminders.

Poles stockpiled for later use below the branches of a partially limbed spruce tree at an unoccupied camp. Photo by Douglas Deur.

The presence of culturally modified trees at campsites—especially those larger and more enduring—are also meant to aid future travelers passing through the landscape. Dena'ina travelers often leave wooden poles for tent construction, as well as dry firewood or branches for fires, stockpiled under branches for the next visit or visitor. They commonly stockpile poles upright, leaning them against the sheltering tree to keep them off the ground and prevent rot. Leaving such materials at a camp is deemed important for safety, allowing prompt camp construction in an emergency or in extreme cold. These materials are also, in a basic sense, left as a courtesy to the next user—regardless of whether that user is oneself, a family member, a friend, or a stranger: "They always thought ahead for other people."[492] Like trails cut through the brush or blazes on trees, the presence of limbed trees and stockpiled poles is a mnemonic of importance to travelers. Younger hunters say they can easily find

old camps as they travel, and use them when needed, based on blazes and stockpiled poles, cleared trees, and other evidence. These markings are like signposts to future travelers, indicating safe and suitable places to camp.

Branch removal also creates a certain type of signature CMT. Removed branches can serve as temporary bedding while green. Beds of spruce boughs covered in caribou hide have been a common feature of camp life: "you change them every so often when the needles begin falling off.... Boy, I liked that smell!"[493] People often stockpile the used, dried branches on site as fire-starter, with new limbs gathered for bedding. In the process, these limbs sometimes serve as impromptu brooms to clean campsites—before, during, and after the time spent camping. The dead or dying lower branches of spruce trees are also removed for quick fire-starting material. In some instances, Inland Dena'ina men begin gathering branches for fires almost the moment they begin setting up camp at the end of a day of travel—an almost reflexive practice, reflecting generations of experience making camp when cold, damp, and in need of a quick fire. Over time, these practices further open the campsite, keeping it free of branches and reducing the risk of accidental wildfires on its margins.

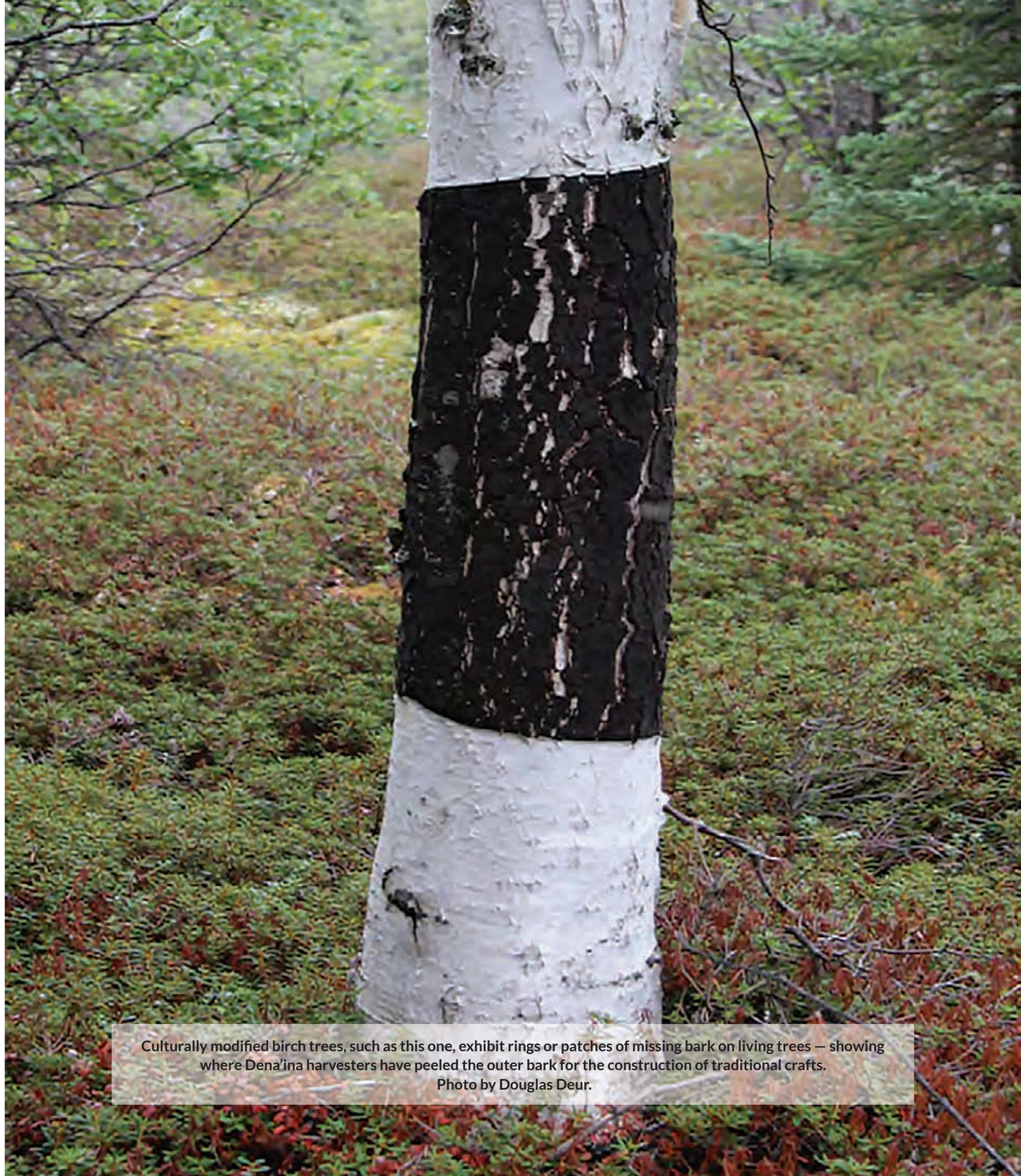
Dena'ina travelers commonly store fire-starting materials with wood under certain trees, especially in the protected spaces produced by removing the lower limbs of trees. In these places, they stockpile driftwood or harvested dead wood, as well as fire-starter in the form of pitchy wood or burls, peeled and dried birch bark, and small dried branches of conifer trees. At a camp where food processing is undertaken year after year, travelers will stockpile deciduous hardwoods, such as cottonwood, which produces little smoke or sparks when burning and imparts no unpleasant flavors to food.

Occasionally, people top saplings when clearing the snowy surface at winter campsites; and when cut off at the snow line, they are cut incompletely. Sapling tops taken this way are often used as fire-starter when other wood sources are scarce. By summer, these trees present as topless saplings. Surrounding many campsites too are stumps, large and small. Some portion are related to firewood procurement to support camp; in other cases, people cut poles for tents, drying racks, and other camp uses from straight trees around the camp edge, leaving areas of rather uniformly-sized, small-diameter stumps. Disproportionately, these stumps are spruce, reflecting a longtime preference for spruce in constructing caches, steam baths, fish racks, fish rafts, and many other tools and implements such as dip nets and sleds.[494] As Dena'ina elders indicated to Kari, "Spruce is the single most important plant to the Dena'ina because of the many uses they have for it. The fact that the Dena'ina name for spruce, *ch'vala*, or a variation of it, is also the name for 'tree' signifies the value of the spruce to the Dena'ina."[495] In a few cases, people incorporated standing small trees—cut or uncut—into the underlying structure of camp tents, drying racks, and other camp infrastructure. These trees often have bends, scuffs, or other marks that demonstrate their past use.
Traditional trail maintenance involves the removal of "sweepers," another practice resulting in

distinctively marked trees. Historically, as part of annual trail management, people removed branches hanging low over trails where they would strike dogsleds, their occupants, and dogs, leaving fully or partially cut branches along the margins of the trail. With the advent of snowmachines, people move at greater speeds and at slightly different elevations relative to trees, making such branch removal even more imperative. Also, with the availability of lightweight powered saws, cutting has become more efficient. For this reason, some interviewees attest that the removal of "sweepers" along trail networks has changed in recent decades, becoming more common and involving branches of different elevations than those targeted by earlier trail managers. One identifies these distinctive markings as cut branches and "stubs" protruding from the sides of standing trees.[496]

Topped spruce and birch trees are another form of culturally modified tree. Men sometimes set aside extra time during the hunt just to clear viewpoints—pruning trees from below or even climbing into trees to remove top sections. They only prune these trees near the tops. Consistent with Dena'ina conventions, much effort is expended to not kill a tree unnecessarily. Unless a pressing need arises to take down a tree, and the wood will be salvaged for some purpose, the life of a tree is maintained. When managed this way, "[trees] don't die: they just grow back," in the words of Butch Hobson. Very often, trees that are topped will be difficult to detect years later, as upper branches begin to grow upward to replace the top. One often must look closely to detect the cut middle stem of a tree amidst two or more newly established treetops. In older topped trees, new tops recruited from lateral branches can reach six feet or more in height.

One can find many other types of culturally modified trees within Inland Dena'ina traditional territory, associated with enduring settlements and campsites. In many places, one sees peeled birch trees where an exterior band of outer bark has been removed for use in baskets or other traditional crafts. At one time, craftspeople used birch bark to make sun visors, moose call "whistles," baby carriers, plates for food, food storage barrels, and even box-like containers for boiling food with hot stones.[497] As Mary Hobson reported, people use, "birch bark for dishpan, for basin, for steambaths, that birch bark basin. They used for dish pan. Everything birch bark, everything. Our plate: birch bark. That's all we used, birch bark: everything."[498] Done very carefully, one can harvest enough bark to produce small conical shelters—a historical practice not often seen today.[499] Some gather the bark for tinder as well. Such harvests continue in much attenuated form today, for use in traditional crafts. The scars from these peeled trees are occasionally seen, especially close to former village sites.[500] Elders like Butch Hobson consistently explain that bark is peeled respectfully, in a manner "so you don't kill the tree," by only taking what is needed, avoiding the inner bark, and often leaving a small strip of outer bark attached to the tree. "They don't die if you just take the top bark off."[501]



Culturally modified birch trees, such as this one, exhibit rings or patches of missing bark on living trees — showing where Dena'ina harvesters have peeled the outer bark for the construction of traditional crafts.
Photo by Douglas Deur.

Emma Alexie with birch bark baskets, in 1982. Photo by Priscilla Russell.

The showing of respect to the tree is traditionally understood to be important, especially if the basket, moose call, or other item made from its bark will contribute favorably to the life and work of the maker. The energy of the tree, affected by its encounter with the harvester and craftsperson, is said to live on somewhat in the object created from the bark. If the tree dies, the harvester often returns to salvage the wood, thus demonstrating respect and the absence of wastefulness.

In another traditional practice, harvesters sometimes peel slabs of spruce tree bark from living trees as a surface for cutting fish, or as temporary roofing or floor material for use in camps. Travelers sometimes construct entire temporary shelters of poles and peeled tree bark. While pieces of bark needed for this purpose are large and usually removed from dead or dying trees, a few CMTs with large sections of removed bark are believed to originate from this practice. At times, people also partially pull apart standing dead trees to acquire reddish-orange pulp used in the tanning and dying of moose hides. While the traces of this practice do not last long on the sides of rotting trees, one sometimes encounters logs pulled apart for such purposes when traveling near hunting camps and villages.

Spruce pitch is also gathered traditionally. People use the pitch for internal and external medicines, as well as for waterproofing and other purposes. Within modern Dena'ina medical practice, this sap is especially popular for sealing wounds, as a drawing salve, and as a tooth-cleansing gum.[502] Spruce pitch has other uses as well: it is still used at times as a sealant in special craft projects (though this practice is relatively uncommon due to the availability of cheap and effective commercial alternatives). Within the study area, near former village sites, one still can see pitch-gathering scars—lateral cuts in the spruce bark where sap has been allowed to flow from the tree. In time, these scars heal, so that many appear to be horizontal anomalies in the bark's texture, close to chest height. In some cases, these cuts are relatively deep incisive marks into the underlying wood of the tree, perhaps evidence of "pitch wells" designed to capture dripping pitch for later use.

Finally, trapping activities leave characteristic tree modifications on the landscape along the trail. Trappers, Native and non-Native, secure metal animal traps—those that catch fur bearing animals like martins in the winter—against a stump or tree using a piece of wood[503]: "Typically, the metal trap is gone but often the pole is still attached to the stump or tree, revealing another type of CMT."[504]

All of the culturally modified trees discussed here are diagnostic of ancestral use of the landscape. When living tribal members see these marks, they instantly perceive them as physical reminders, mnemonics of enduring Dena'ina cultural values and practices, touched by the ancestors and often still providing healing and insight to modern people. In this respect, they are "cultural resources" considered "sacred" by some portion of the Dena'ina community today.[505] It is consequential that when Dena'ina elder Macy Hobson was asked to generally characterize the Telaquana Trail, one of her main observations was that "it was blazed, free of undergrowth."[506] For some traveling remotely, these

CMTs are beacons of past use, hinting at the presence of good camping sites, even if the site's history is otherwise unknown. They instantly reveal to travelers, Native and non-Native, that camps or settlements of former importance are nearby, implying the proximity of fresh water, good game, and other desirable attributes.[507] Vegetation signatures such as these have been given short shrift in the literature on Dena'ina land and resource use, but were clearly a defining characteristic of the historic Telaquana Trail.[508] Such signatures remain eminently appropriate for listing as contributing features, and continue to contribute to the integrity of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District in myriad ways.

As small scale features, culturally modified trees (CMTs) contribute to the integrity of setting, feeling, and association in the Corridor, as well as to the "integrity of relationship" between Dena'ina peoples and the landscape. They are present at several places along the Telaquana Trail Corridor, but most notably in the timber at the northern and southern extremities of the trail network. As noted in the Telaquana Trail CLI,

> "Blazes have been located at the Kijik River crossing location near the Frank Brown cabin site, as well as near *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* on Trail Creek. Stumps are found throughout the Corridor, usually near cabin or cache sites. The blazes contribute to integrity of design, location, setting, and association in the District as wayfinding elements, the stumps to setting and association."[509]

The NPS National Register documentation does not categorize sites along the Telaquana Trail as "Small Scale Features," nor does it define them as sites significant to "Cultural Traditions." However, it does identify the location of CMTs at both the northern and southern terminus of the trail: "At both Kijik and Telaquana a few very old axe blazes on spruce and cottonwood trees stand as trail markers left by Dena'ina axemen."[510]

It is true that CMTs such as blazes are numerous on the approaches and through the forests around Kijik. Blazes and other markings also occasionally are found in the dense timber between Kijik and the Kijik River ford. CMTs are also identified near Frank Brown's Cabin, and near camping sites associated with wayfinding to and from this important crossing point on the Kijik River:

> "About one quarter mile northeast of the cabin and a quarter mile southwest of the cabin are two historic fords on the Kijik River which are marked in the former case by a very old sawed spruce stump of 12" diameter and the latter by a large living spruce tree with its lower limbs sawed off. Both these places offer good fords of the swift Kijik River." [511]

Other CMTs have been observed along the ascent from this area up *Tuvughna Ten*—Tyonek People's Trail/S.O.B. Canyon as well. Some portion of these have been formally recorded by NPS staff and others remain to be documented.

So too, on the north end of the trail, several CMTs are reported and recorded in the immediate vicinity of *Ch'qułch'ishtnu*, Telaquana Village. Furthermore, a number of tree blazes have been reported in the trail segment from the ridge at *Dzełggezh* (Mountain Gap) to *Ch'qułch'ishtnu*, Telaquana Village below—helping travelers to navigate this densely forested approach to the trail network.[512] And, in places such as Upper Twin Lake, blazes can still be found where subsidiary trails of the Telaquana Trail pass through dense timber close to the lake margins.

Table 8: Culturally Modified Trees (CMT) Sites

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/Category	Landscape Feature
Nuch'vastin	Spruce Timber Extends Camp—'spruce timber extends,' 'timber patch camp,' 'between two timber stands'	Small Scale Feature	Seasonal Camp/Cache/CMT
	Culturally Modified Trees—Between Trail Butte and Snipe Lake	Small Scale Feature	Saw Marks
	Culturally Modified Trees—Between College Creek and Trefon Balluta's Cabin	Small Scale Feature	Sawed Logs/Stumps, Blaze Marking

Any unambiguously modified tree with known origin or function might be considered a small-scale contributing feature on the Telaquana Trail. Most, however, are associated with other, larger landmarks such as villages, and can be documented as an element of those larger contributing landscape features. Here we address three places on the landscape that are relatively nondescript based on existing documentation, except for their CMTs and associated anthropogenic camp vegetation. They include *Nuch'vastin* (Spruce Timber Extends Camp), a campsite between Trail Butte and Snipe Lake, and a campsite between College Creek and Trefon Balluta's Cabin. Each is detailed here in turn.

Nuch'vastin—Spruce Timber Extends Camp

The Dena'ina placename *Nuch'vastin* has been translated as 'spruce timber extends,'[513] but also 'Timber Patch Camp,'[514] and 'between two timber stands.'[515] East of Lookout Mountain is a path through *Nuch'vastin,* an important Telaquana Trail passageway through two small spruce patches

that lead to a well-known campsite. Several sources indicate that "there are many culturally modified spruce trees and stumps here and a fire scar from a campfire."[516] Successive survey teams have located additional culturally modified trees in this important passage, including surveys taken for the present CLR document. Clearings in the vegetation suggest likely campsites that are somewhat protected from the weather in this densely timbered passageway along the Telaquana Trail. Other possible cultural features have been noted in this area, including possible cache pits. Some reported features have later been determined to be of likely natural origin:

> "A large number of suspected *nichił* and associated cache pits, similar to those at Kijik, were found somewhere between Trail Butte and the traditional camp at *Nuch' Vastin* (spruce timber extends), the exact locations were not specified, but were found when looking for *Nuch' Vastin*. [A prior surveyor may have been mistaken] when he states that there were 'possibly 100s of barbaras' and associated cache pits.... Later coring and surface excavation revealed little and it was concluded that these were merely erosional features."[517]

Earl Balluta and John Branson at Nuch' Vastin, "spruce timber extends" - a thin band of spruce forest that extends from the mountains down into the valley. The site has long been a camping place along the trail. Trail Butte visible in the background. Courtesy NPS.

Subsequently several of these purported winter house depressions were examined by NPS archaeologist, Karlene Leeper, who concluded they were indeed erosional features.

According to BIA[518] documentation describing Telaquana Trail as a historic place, a campsite along the trail sits in an unspecified location before reaching the site identified as Anton Balluta's cabin. The trail runs northeast along the right bank of College Creek before splitting to

> "accommodate dog teams or pedestrians, then runs northeast several miles to join the shortcut as the trail descends into the Chilikadrotna River basin. Soon, another campsite is reached, this one in a timber patch just east of 'Lookout Mountain' [The place called *Nuch'vastin*—'spruce timber expands camp']. The trail then continues along the USGS route across the Chilikadrotna River and up the opposite terrace to Anton [Andrew] Balluta's old cabin, which was investigated by the National Park Service (NPS) in 1981."[519]

An axe-cut stump in Nuch'vastin—"Spruce Timber Extends" or "between two timber stands" Camp. Photo by Douglas Deur.

The description obtained from that report possibly describes *Nuch'vastin*.

> Dena'ina people first formally identified *Nuch'vastin,* also referred to as Spruce Timber Camp, as associated with the Telaquana Trail during interviews by Kari for the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[520] As required by 43 CFR 2650 as an outcome of ANCSA, the BIA[521]documented the site as a Native historic place significant to the trail; and Project Jukebox[522] participants also identified it as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Finally, *Nuch'vastin* is documented as a component of the Telaquana Trail in its nomination to the NRHP and is defined as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) developed by the NPS.[523]

Culturally Modified Trees—Between Trail Butte and Snipe Lake

During a survey of the Telaquana Trail in 1991, Zorea noted saw marks on a tree along the trail between Trail Butte and Snipe Lake. The description he made of the tree and surrounding area is as follows:

> "Between the ridge where Karen [Workman]'s site was located and the Trail Butte, there is a lone tree that appears to exhibit many saw marks. There is no blazing on the tree but the cuts are definitely human. In description, there is one live tree (8-10 ft.) right next to two stumps that were sawn. It seems reasonable to assume that the live tree was germinated by the ones that were sawn, because no other tree is within 200 yards. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the sawing could be dated by reference to a ring-count and germination time considerations of the live tree. By guess, I should say the saw was made no more than a hundred years ago—of course it could easily have been hewn any time before that. There is no certainty in the matter, but it does indicate a search for wood by somebody in the area—no date; no names. Since the cairn [on Trail Butte] does appear to be in the order of hundreds of years, it is possible that there is a connection between the two sites—however, it seems very unlikely: it is probably isolated."[524]

This site has been identified as potentially contributing, as one of several culturally modified tree sites, in the Cultural Landscape Inventory and the National Register nomination documents relating to the Telaquana Trail Historic District.[525]

Culturally Modified Trees— Between College Creek and Trefon Balluta's Cache

During the 1991 survey of the Telaquana Trail, Zorea noted sawed logs, stumps, and blaze markings in association with old martin traps along the trail in an area between College Creek (*K'ilghech*) and the cache of Trefon Balluta, Gabriel Trefon's father. He describes the site as follows:

> "[A] site 50-100 feet west of College Creek—about three-fourths of the way north through G.M. ['Gabriel Mountain']—about a mile to ½ mile south-east of where Gabriel Trefon's Father's Cabin was supposed to be. There were many sawed logs/stumps. A few were axed. Some appeared to have been placed against live trees—old martin traps…. There was also a blaze marking—2-3 inches thick. This appears to have been used as part of a winter trap line on the trail—with the blaze indicating its location."[526]

The height and location of the CMTs appear to be diagnostic of wintertime trail marking. Zorea suggests that a more thorough survey of the area may unearth additional sites along this section of trail: "The site on G.M. is a full ½ mile to 1 mile away from where Capps et al. said the trail should have been—yet there were pretty clear blaze marks on the path we chose. It would take a hundred crews to find even half the sites probably hidden in the band of trail."[527]

While the exact origin of these features is unclear, circumstantial evidence suggests the interpretation that they were made in the late 1930s and 1940s by trappers who had a cabin (C-161) near the mouth of College Creek near the west end of Lachbuna Lake. The trappers associated with this cabin included Joe Thompson, Chester Whitehead, Ray Brower, Al White and others. They trapped for many winters in the lands between the College Creek Basin and Chilikadrotna River. These trappers had two other cabins that have not yet been located.

Caches and Cairns

Especially in the past, camps often had caches used to store food, fire-starting materials, traps, hunting gear, and other materials needed by resource users on the land. Typically standing on pole supports, these caches keep these items off the damp ground and away from animals, encased in a wooden structure. Caches seldom existed as solitary features within the Corridor; most were associated with larger sites of occupation, such as villages or cabins. Today, camp goods are more readily carried to and from camps by ATV and snowmachine, while modern storage and refrigeration technologies make caches less important in villages. Today, the caching of goods persists but in a much-reduced form.

There are few of these structures left to see in the Lake Clark region. If not maintained, these old caches and similar wooden structures quickly decompose, tumble to the ground, and rot into the soil matrix, leaving few detectable traces. In most places on and near the Telaquana Trail, former cache sites cannot be located without recourse to methods of archaeology and oral history. Underscoring this point, Clarence Delkettie describes one relative's camp that became completely invisible after a few decades' time:

> "[H]e had a smokehouse, a cache, and all of that was standing there, but it all fell down and now you look there and you couldn't even tell anything was there. No cabins or nothing. Everything fell down on the ground and rotted away.... It's hard to imagine like logs and stuff, you could have a whole town out there built out of logs and seventy, eighty years from now you go out there and nobody tends to it, or you don't preserve the wood, guess what'll happen...It'll look like there was just nothing there; all the weeds and grass and brush and trees will grow over. And it'll look like a natural setting.... You wouldn't hardly recognize [a cabin from the early 20th century]. They didn't have nothing to preserve the wood back then. If they did, you'd be seeing something."[528]

Also treated in this section are cairns—piles of stone found in a few places within the Lake Clark region. Made from locally available stone, these features are sometimes found on hills with wide views, reflecting their commonplace construction in the course of surveys, or by travelers wishing to mark their trail routes to aid future navigation. Some cairns may also relate to burials or possibly Dena'ina ceremonial practice. Without additional ethnographic or historical evidence, or a careful archaeological assessment, the significance of any individual cairn is difficult to discern.
There are three, possibly four, cache or cairn sites along the trail that contribute to the integrity of the design, location, setting, and association of the Corridor, together adding to historic and cultural significance of the landscape. These sites are itemized in Table 9, and described in the section that follows.

Table 9: Caches and Cairns along the Telaquana Trail

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature Category	Landscape Feature
K'ena'a Qelahi	Lookout Mountain/ 'a lookout exists' /Trail Butte	Small Scale Feature	Cairn/Artifacts/CMT
	Pear Lake	Possible Small-Scale Feature	Cache
	Trefon Balluta Cache	Small Scale Feature	Cache—Trefon Balluta
Nan Qelah Tustes	Telaquana Trail from Miller Creek/ 'pass where there is moss'	Cultural Tradition	Artifacts

Looking east toward Trail Butte in the foreground and K'ena'a Qelahi "a lookout exists" — also called Lookout Mountain — in the background. The name K'ena'a Qelahi suggests longstanding use of the mountain as a lookout along the trail.
Photo by John Branson, NPS

K'ena'a Qelahi—Lookout Mountain & Trail Butte

K'ena'a Qelahi is a Dena'ina name that translates as 'a lookout exists.'[529] It is a 2,275 ft. mountain, southwest of Twin Lakes.[530] *K'ena'a Qelahi* (Lookout Mountain) and Trail Butte have been confused or described in some accounts as being essentially the same landscape feature,[531] but they are more accurately described as two distinct but associated features separated by two miles. Both names are basic and descriptive terms. Lookout Mountain stands tall, allowing a wide view over the Twin Lake and Chilikadrotna River Valley and has been used as a lookout for Dena'ina hunters and other travlers. And, as Zorea notes, the less prominent Trail Butte [was named] by Dick Proenneke, seemingly because the native trail passes right next to it." The landscape is largely open on both promontories, vegetated in low tundra, with patches of willow and white spruce.

In the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I* and in documentation of the trail for the NRHP nomination, Ellanna[532] and Kari[533] identify Lookout Mountain as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Project Jukebox[534] participants also identified Trail Butte as a significant feature along the trail. In the Cultural Landscape Inventory,[535] this butte is listed as a contributing feature to the Corridor. The trail clearly passes in close proximity to both of these interconnected landmarks. As Richard Proenneke noted as he traveled between the Twin Lakes on May 21, 1974,

> "Another fine morning and I was up in good time for today I was going on a long journey. I would go at least as far as Trail Butte. A good hike from here as it is a good two hrs. hike below the lower lake. … I headed for the [Trail] butte and felt sure when I crossed the old trail. A low saddle and leading to the river crossing was a natural gentle slope. I could just see those dog sleds sail on down grade to the river."[536]

A close-up view of K'ena'a Qelahi south of the Chilikadrotna River along the Telaquana Trail on the way to K'dalghektnu or "scraping noise of antlers on brush," also known as Big Valley. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Telaquana Trail runs just east of Lookout Mountain, and the Dena'ina placename confirms that the mountain has long been used as a lookout for hunters and others wishing to look out across the landscape. On the top of this mountain is a rock cairn: "atop Lookout Mountain where a weathered stone cairn of very old origin sits. This summit offers outstanding vistas of the Chilikadrotna River valley and the surrounding area south of Twin Lakes. This site was almost certainly used by Dena'ina peoples and others to watch for caribou."[537] Whether the cairn originates from Dena'ina use or some other human activity remains unclear in available records. Still, Dena'ina associations with the site are clear, and an origin of the cairn in Dena'ina practice appears likely.

When Zorea traversed the Telaquana Trail in 1991, he noted a cairn on the highest point of what he recorded as Trail Butte, commenting that: "It is difficult to discern at first because it is often used as an eagle's perch and is subsequently covered with guano. However, on closer examination it is indeed a pile of rocks that could not have possibly fallen there—they must have been placed there."[538] In his notes, he puzzles over the location of the cairn, suggesting the cairn may have been a grave or marker

and may be hundreds, but not thousands, of years old. As Zorea conflated Trail Butte and Lookout Mountain in some of his notes, it remains unclear whether this is the Lookout Mountain cairn, or a secondary cairn on Trail Butte. Tennessen documented additional sites on the top and flank of Trail Butte, which are addressed in the archaeological section of this document.[539]

The Cultural Landscape Inventory identifies a cairn on top of Trail Butte as a contributing feature to the Telaquana Corridor Historic District, in addition to several possible precontact archaeological sites on a ridge on the flank of the butte on the east side of Bear Creek Pass. Several sawn tree stumps were also found on its north end between this flank and the larger butte, near a "lone tree," suggesting other human uses of this area.[540]

Pear Lake is nestled at the base of Yudun Dghil'u or "downstream mountains" in the Big Valley about 6-miles southeast of Snipe Lake or K'adala Vena ("birds fly out lake"). Courtesy NPS.

Cache at Pear Lake

Pear Lake is a small lake along the Telaquana Trail, its name referencing its vaguely pear-like shape when viewed from above. The site once had cache structures in association with other landscape features. Project Jukebox participants identified Pear Lake as a significant feature along the

Telaquana Trail, though no cache was mentioned.[541] The area has historically been a popular stopover point for hunters and trappers. When Zorea and Branson traveled the north and west shores of the lake in 1991, Zorea noted two possible traditional Dena'ina housepit (*nichił*) sites and multiple former caches, suggesting that this location had been a camp or settlement utilized along the trail where supplies were once kept in reserve. Admittedly, the cache may have been an erosional feature rather than an anthropogenic feature—a point requiring further archaeological analysis. Nonetheless, Zorea also noted possible stone artifacts at the site, suggesting possible use pre- and post-contact: "We also found several possible stone artifacts—chipped stones etc. They seem doubtful to me but certainly warrant further investigation."[542] In his survey notes, he suggests the Telaquana Trail could circle around the east or west side of Pear Lake, but that trail travelers utilized the entirety of the lakeshore. He suggests they also used the lake surface in the winter when it iced over. This is based on Zorea and Branson's understanding that the lake was part of a winter and fall trapping and hunting territory.

In 2006, one possible (though in 2020 still unverified) cache at Pear Lake was identified as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI.[543] Based in part on Zorea and Branson's notes, the inventory lists an "unsubstantiated cache and *nichił* depressions on the north and west shores of the lake."[544] The cache is unlikely to be recognizable as a structure, but today would represent a possible archaeological feature, increasingly subsumed within the soil matrix. The site's value may lie especially in its significance as a historical site, and as an archaeological site that may reveal additional details relating to the use of the Telaquana Trail by Dena'ina pre- and post-contact as a venue for hunting and trapping.

Trefon Balluta Family Caches

In a patch of spruce timber one mile north of *Qiniha* (Wolf Mountain), Trefon Balluta built a cache to store supplies for hunting and trapping activities along the Telaquana Trail. Trefon Balluta's cache was proximal, within a mile or mile and a half, to Gabriel Trefon's father's campsite. Trefon Balluta (1851-1923) was a famous hiker of the trail, highly regarded by Dena'ina and non-Native communities alike, and was Gabriel Trefon's (1898-1963) father. Macy Hobson (born ca. 1913), a resident of Nondalton and primary Dena'ina consultant for the 1987 BIA documentation of the Telaquana Trail, recalled, "[Gabriel] Trefon's father's camp and cache were located along this portion of the trail between the Little Mulchatna River and College Creek, just north of Qiniha Mountain."[545] The Cultural Landscape Inventory places the Trefon Balluta cache/cabin site near the north slope of *K'ilghech'* (Gap Valley) somewhere along the trail.

In summer of 1991, Zorea and John Branson unsuccessfully attempted to locate the site, though they did find abundant evidence of hunting and trapping in the area, including numerous culturally modified trees. The NPS National Register documentation for this area notes this concentration of features, "50-100 feet west of College Creek…about three-fourths of the way north through G.M. ['Gabriel Mountain'] about a mile to a half mile south-east of where Gabriel Trefon's Father's Cabin

was supposed to be…where numerous cut stumps were found, poles placed against living trees (for martin traps) and a blaze on a tree, all indicating trapping activity."[546] The log remains were likely left by non-Native trappers led by Joe Thompson, who began operating in the area in the late 1930s and continued most winters through the 1940s.

A martin trap found along the Trail. Typically only the wood pole attached to a standing or dead tree remains. Courtesy NPS.

Born in 1851, Trefon Balluta was a prominent Dena'ina man who traveled extensively along Telqauana Trail. He famously traveled this trail with speed and strength between the Telqauana region and Kijik—where his family relocated soon after 1900. He may not have been the first individual to frequent this cache site, but may instead have been among the last to frequent the site, so that it became associated with Balluta in the written record and oral tradition of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The National Register nomination document for the Telaquana Trail suggested a Trefon Balluta's camp, presumed to be associated with the cache but unconfirmed, might serve as a contributing small-scale feature (camp, building/structure).[547] Also conceivable, Balluta may have used a wall tent in this location. No other structures remain on the site, however, and a campsite is not readily apparent.

A view north from Qiniha Mountain looking across K'ilghech to Yudun Dghil'u or "downstream mountains." Just below the black shadow of a cloud in the center of the image is the approximate location of Trefon Balluta's cache near the headwaters of the Little Mulchatna River. Courtesy NPS.

This trapping area may have been developed and utilized by Joe Thompson and his trapping partners in the late 1930s-1940s. It is about half a mile southwest from the area where Trefon Balluta's cache was reported on the north side of *K'ilghech*, with Thompson's trapping cabin being near the mouth of College Creek a few hundred yards upstream from Lachbuna Lake, about a day's walk from Balluta's cache. The approximate position of the cache has been determined, though only very old axe cut spruce stumps and limbed trees remain visible.[548]

John Branson has spent time surveying for Balluta's cache between the headwaters of Little Mulchatna, east of Fishtrap Trap and just west of College Creek, but has yet to find the location:

> "But there was a cache. Trefon Balluta had a cache and if we'd gone along our original way, it's just over these downstream mountains in the headwater of the Little Mulchatna River, east of Fish Trap and a little west of College Creek. And I found stumps, but I never could find the cache. And it's what it is, it's dwarf birch and alder and spruce stumps that are axe cut, but I could not find the cache you know the remnants. I thought I'd find a pile of logs and it was probably out there at one time but it's so dense and.... But I could see that people had cut trees there. I just couldn't pinpoint the exact location of the cache. But I know that was Gabriel Trefon's father's cache."[549]

Within the analysis of the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place undertaken as part of ANCSA (43 CFR 2650),[550] researchers identified the Trefon Balluta Cache as a significant site along the Telaquana Trail. The Cultural Landscape Inventory also identified the cache site was also defined as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.[551]

Another cache linked to the same family has been identified far to the south on "the alternate 20th century trailhead near Priest Rock that consists of the remains of a log cache. ...[It has] not been located definitively."[552] According to John Branson, the site is on the Lake Clark shoreline between historic Kijik and Miller Creek, where Trefon Balluta's sons Gabriel and Wassillie had cabins and caches in the early 1920s. The site was also reported by Zorea in 1991, relying in part upon oral history accounts by Dena'ina elder, Andrew Balluta.[553] The cache was located about 30 feet from the Lake Clark shoreline and 10 feet from Priest Rock Creek.

Nan Qelah Tustes

As *Nan Qelah Vetnu* is Miller Creek, and *Nan Qelah* is the mouth of Miller Creek near the southern terminus of the Telaquana Trail, *Nan Qelah Tustes* is a place close to the headwaters of the stream, several miles to the north. *Nan Qelah Tustes* has been literally translated as 'deep moss stream' or 'pass where there is moss," but may in this context be more satisfactorily translated as "pass of the creek where there is moss."[554]

Where the Telaquana Trail passes east of *K'unust'in* (Kijik Mountain), about three miles north of *Qizhjeh* (Kijik Village), one branch of the Telaquna Trail passes through boreal forest near the break between the Kijik River and Miller Creek drainages above *Nan Qelah Vetnu* (Miller Creek Valley). The pass is a key route between Lake Clark and the lakes to the north, but could be difficult to navigate through the timber.[555]

Dena'ina elders identified this place as being closely associated with the Telaquana Trail in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[556] The following year, in 1987, the BIA found *Nan Qelah Tustes* to be significant to the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place, in a study undertaken as an outcome of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 CFR 2650).[557] The site is documented as a component of the Telaquana Trail in the nomination of the trail to the NRHP; there, it is referred to as the 'Junction

of Trails,' acknowledging its importance as a place where the Telaquana Trail southern branch originating in Kijik meets the southern branch ascending from Miller Creek and the trailhead at the Miller Creek mouth.[558] Several cairns have been noted, probably as navigational features within this pass. One was constructed there by Dena'ina man, Wassillie Trefon in 1920, and has been identified as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.[559]

This cairn placement may relate not only to the difficulty of navigation through this forested corridor but to modest changes in the route made after the large-scale abandonment of Kijik in the early 20th century. Macy Hobson, the primary Dena'ina consultant for 1980s BIA research in the area, describes how the trailhead had been modified to accommodate the shift of Dena'ina people from *Qizhjeh* to Nondalton:

> "After Kijik was abandoned around 1902, people modified the route and began following it from Nangelah [*Nan Qelah*], an old trapping camp at the mouth of Miller Creek. The newer trail follows the left stream bank northward, joins the older route east of Kijik Mountain, and continues north to Miller Lake [*Veghdeq Idaltin*, 'the lake that is above it']. During winter, dogsleds were driven across the lake, but in summer a foot path circled its eastern shore. An alternate path runs along the ridge slightly to the east where drainage is better and the ground is not so swampy."[560]

From approximately this time, *Nan Qelah* at the mouth of Miller Creek served as a southern terminus of the Telaquana Trail Corridor; a place with archaeological sites of great antiquity, this became the site of the Jay Hammond Homestead in the 20th century (XLC-022, see *Nan Qelah* in Buildings and Structures for a more complete review of the area).[561] The use of this site as a point of access for the trail appears in a number of historical narratives from the first half of the 20th century.[562]

Colonel A.J. Macnab on a ladder placing a duffle bag in one of two caches located at Nan Qelah Tustes, the mouth of Miller Creek, in 1921. Members of the Trefon or Balluta families likely built the caches at this site. NPS photo, courtesy of Sandra Orris.

Hiking over snowfield in Yudun Dghil'u, or "downstream mountains." Photo by Douglas Deur.

Archaeological Sites in the Telaquana Trail Landscape

Archaeological investigation of the Telaquana Trail Corridor and the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve began in the 1960s. VanStone and Townsend[563] undertook the earliest archaeological work on the north shore of Lake Clark at the village site of Kijik in the late 1960s. The Cook Inlet Historic Sites Project, overseen by Smith and Shields,[564] included a brief archaeological survey in 1975 of shoreline sites and features that involved co-author of the present document, John Branson. The project also surveyed certain areas inland of Lake Clark, and along the shorelines of Telaquana Lake, Twin Lakes, Turquoise Lake, Fishtrap Lake, Lachbuna Lake, and Snipe Lake. In 1987, archaeologists from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) reported that the Telaquana Trail qualified to be designated as a historical place under Section 14 (h)(I) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.[565] As a result, the BIA oversaw archaeological investigations at *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* in 1987 and at *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* in 1988, in association with nomination of the trail as a Native historic place according to 43 CFR 2650. The most recent archaeological investigations of sites along the trail were conducted as part of a Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[566] resulting in the identification and documentation of 57 previously unrecorded sites. Additionally, the survey revisited and expanded documentation of 21 previously recorded sites along the trail route. The NPS has also carried out occasional condition assessments of individual sites along the trail, though these have yielded few additional discoveries and limited formal reporting. While archaeological investigations have continued at Kijik, we do not include those sites in the discussion that follows. Although the overall scale and scope of these projects is limited, more than 60 recorded archaeological sites within and near the Telaquana Trail Corridor provide information on the past use of the landscape.

Cumulatively, the investigations identified thirty-seven precontact archaeological sites within the Telaquana Trail Corridor. Most are concentrated at lakeshores along the trail. They include twelve Telaquana Lake sites (XLC-002, XLC-032, XLC-033, XLC-034, XLC-035, XLC-036, XLC-131,

John Branson with Kijik Mountain in the background, visiting archaeological site XLC-084. Prior to the establishment of historic Kijik village, Dena'ina traveled from this site north on the Telaquana Trail, following the southerly base of Kijik Mountain. NPS photo, courtesy of Eileen Audette Kramer.

2002 John Branson at possible cairn on ridge near Turquoise Lake. Courtesy NPS.

XLC-132, XLC-133, XLC-134, and XLC-135,); seven Turquoise Lake sites (XLC-037, XLC-038, XLC-039, XLC-040, XLC-126, XLC-128, and XLC-129); ten Snipe Lake sites (XLC-044, XLC-141, XLC-142, XLC-161, XLC-170, XLC-198, XLC-199, XLC-200, XLC_201 and XLC-202); one Lachbuna Lake site (XLC-045); and six Fishtrap Lake sites (XLC-046, XLC-047, XLC-048, XLC-136, XLC-137 and XLC-168).

Four post-contact archaeological sites were also recorded within the Telaquana Trail Corridor boundary: the Fishtrap Lake site (XLC-048), *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq',* the fish camp at the outlet of Telaquana Lake (XLC-035, AA-11101), *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* or Telaquana Village (XLC-002, AA-11092), and a gravesite near Turquoise Lake (XLC-129).

Each of these archaeological sites contains certain documented resources, such as lithics and firepits, that hint at the broader significance and use of the site over time (Table 10). All of the sites also have the potential to yield additional information relating to human activities along the Telaquana Trail with further evaluation. Importantly, to Dena'ina people, these archaeological sites and features are understood to be the handiwork of the ancestors. By virtue of this fact, these sites and features are not

Dave Tennessen, left and Katie Krasinski carrying out archaeological surveys at Caribou Lakes, 2004. Courtesy NPS.

just of archaeological significance, but are geographical loci of cultural meaning to Native communities and to Dena'ina people who still travel along the trail.

In addition to these sites, researchers documented 21 precontact archaeological sites in the Twin Lakes area close to the Telaquana Trail, but outside of the defined Corridor boundary. Smith and Shields[567] identified three precontact archaeological sites: XLC-041 (also containing a post-contact component), XLC-042, and XLC-043. The Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey identified and documented eighteen precontact sites: XLC-112, XLC-113, XLC-114, XLC-115, XLC-116, XLC-117, XLC-118, XLC-119, XLC-120, XLC-121, XLC-122, XLC-123, XLC-124, XLC-125, XLC-139, XLC-140, XLC-203, and XLC-204. NPS Archaeologist Jason Rogers also identified two additional sites in a

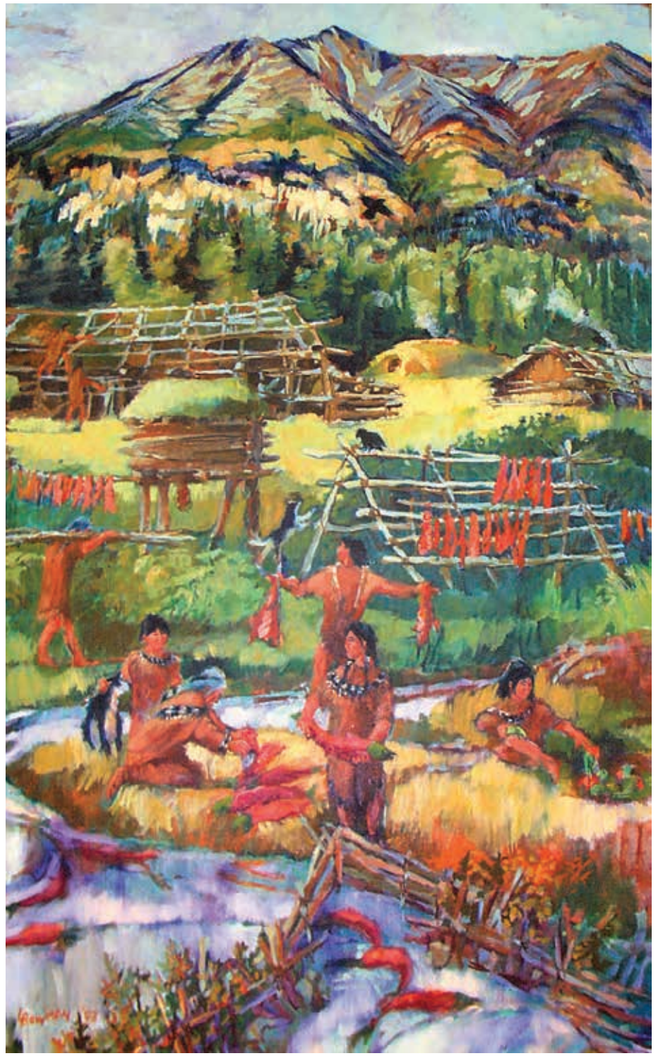
2019 survey: XLC-273 and XLC-274.[568] Together, these sites suggest an extensive pattern of Dena'ina use of Twin Lakes across many generations.

Another nearby site is *Qizhjeh*, the historic Kijik Village (XLC-001, AA-1107), located in the Kijik Archaeological District. A place of monumental cultural and historical significance, this village complex is on the National Register of Historic Places as contributing elements of the Kijik National Historic Landmark and is reported to be the largest Athabaskan site in North America.[569] Though *Qizhjeh* is the southern terminus of the Telaquana Trail, much of the village is located on private property, including private allotments and Kijik Corporation lands.[570] A site located near Fishtrap Lake (XLC-169), potentially relevant to the larger Telaquana Trail story, is also on private property. As such, these sites cannot be officially included within the boundaries of the Corridor, nor as contributing resources for Telaquana Trail. For this reason, these sites have been designated as 'discontinuous' contributing features in this report, and in the original Cultural Landscape Inventory for Telaquana Trail. Sites on private lands, as well as sites near but not within the Corridor boundary, are itemized here in Table 11. Still, overall, it is important to note that almost all of the Telaquana Trail Corridor is on Federal land including key trailheads such as Moose Cove and Priest Rock.

While the sites at Twin Lakes, Fishtrap Lake, and *Qizhjeh* are not located within the official boundaries that define the Telaquana Trail Corridor (as established here for the purposes of the Cultural Landscape Report), sites at these locations should be considered discontinuous elements. NPS topical experts vary as to the degree that they believe that these discontinuous elements should be "contributing" as part of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District. For the purposes of this document, we acknowledge that these sites are contextually significant to understanding the Telaquana Trail, but might not be included as contributing resources within the final Telaquana Corridor Historic District National Register nomination. They are imperative for the understanding of the overall precontact land use and settlement patterns of the Dena'ina people who initially forged the physical and cultural attributes of the Telaquana Trail, and whose connections to the landscape still define the significance of this place today. These sites also accentuate the singular importance of Kijik and Twin Lakes as places of unique and enduring significance to Dena'ina people—suggesting the critical nature of the independent National Register documentation efforts underway at these two special places at the time of this writing.

Additionally, four post-contact archaeological sites within the Telaquana Trail region are identified in the Cultural Landscape Inventory as "discontinuous" and outside of the defined Corridor boundary. These include two of the sites mentioned above: the post-contact component of the Twin Lakes site (XLC-041), and *Qizhjeh*, or the historic, post-contact Kijik Village (XLC-001, AA-1107). The other two sites are the Kijik Kashim Site (XLC-094), and *K'unustin T'uh K'emeq'* (XLC-092), also known as the 12 House Site or the Kamuk Site. The 12 House site was first documented by NPS archaeologist

Harvey Shields in 1976, carrying out archaeological testing at Turquoise Lake, in the first systematic survey of the interior lakes of what is today Lake Clark National Park & Preserve. Courtesy NPS.



An oil painting by L. Bowman of the imagined pre-contact Dena'ina Fish Pond Site at the base of Kijik Mountain with the people processing red salmon for storage in underground caches and drying fish on racks. Dena'ina winter houses are seen in the background with smoke billowing from their smoke holes. Courtesy Tish Bowman.

A.J. Lynch and John Branson ca. 1983. The site lies just north of the north fork of Priest Rock Creek, nestled at the base of Kijik Mountain. It contains three levels of houses, with the upper two levels located on the base of Kijik Mountain. In the mid-1980s, the late elder Agnes Cusma estimated the site to be about 300 years old based on Dena'ina oral tradition and other supporting evidence.[571] The intersection of the Kijik Archaeological District NHL and the Telaquana Corridor Historic District is complex and overlapping; for this reason, we defer most treatments of the Kijik sites to a separate Kijik Cultural Landscape Report now underway. Numerous sites have been recorded in this area of overlap. The Kijik Village site XLC-001 is summarized here as a proxy for the larger village complex addressed in that separate CLR document. Finally, two other relevant sites should be mentioned here. A site called the Fish Pond (or "Fish Pool") Site (XLC-084) contains close

to 100 Dena'ina winter-house depressions scattered around the headwaters of the main stem of Priest Rock Creek. The site appears to have been a significant fishing site, with vast concentrations of Dena'ina houses at one time. Changes in Priest Rock Creek have altered the water flow and reduced fish passage to the point that the site no longer has fish resources sufficient to support a village of this type.[572] The second site contains a large Dena'ina house depression found ca. 2000 at Telaquana Lake west of the Ranger Cabin, designated XLC-00107. Local Dena'ina oral tradition and the written record contain no known documentation of the existence of this house. NPS archaeologist Dale Vinson documented this site with the input of John Branson. Vinson has interpreted the site as dating from the historic period but no radiocarbon dating has been undertaken at the site. This may be the place reported as *Ventsi* or *Ventsi Vena* by Dena'ina consultants, or very close to those places.[573]

Karen Evanoff & Liza Rupp walking through the remains of a tunnel entrance into a Dena'ina winter house depression in Kijik. Photo by Douglas Deur.

Table 10: Archaeological Sites—Contributing Features

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/ Category	Landscape Feature
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-032)	Archaeological Site	Lithic flakes
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-033)	Archaeological Site	Lithic debitage, projectile point (artifact #1976-16), biface (artifact #2003-23)
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-034)	Archaeological Site	Lithic debitage, microblade core (artifact #1976-18)
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-036)	Archaeological Site	Biface (artifact #1976-15)
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-131)	Archaeological Site	Flake, charcoal
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-132)	Archaeological Site	Biface, flakes, debitage
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-133)	Archaeological Site	Biface (artifact #2003-13), biface fragment (artifact #2003-18), biface (artifact #2003-19)
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-134)	Archaeological Site	Lithic debitage
	Telaquana Lake (XLC-135)	Archaeological Site	Flakes
Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'	Telaquana Lake Fish Camp (XLC-035, AA-11101)	Archaeological Site	Seasonal Camp/Gravesite
	Telaquana Fish Camp (XLC-035)	Archaeological Site	Structure remnants, lithic scatter
Ch'gułch'ishtnu	Telaquana Village (XLC-002, AAA-11092)—Reported as 'young willows stream,' 'many willows creek,' 'many small willows creek village,' etc.	Archaeological Site	Village Site/Cabin/Artifacts/ CMT/Gravesites
	Turquoise Lake (XLC-037)	Archaeological Site	Flakes, projectile point
	Turquoise Lake (XLC-038)	Archaeological Site	Flakes, bifaces
	Turquoise Lake (XLC-039)	Archaeological Site	Flakes, biface fragment, unifacial scraper

	Turquoise Lake (XLC-040)	Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Turquoise Lake (XLC-126)	Archaeological Site	Debitage, uniface fragments
	Turquoise Lake (XLC-128)	Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Dena'ina gravesite near Turquoise Lake (XLC-129)	Archaeological Site	Gravesite, fragments of Russian Orthodox cross
	Precontact Sites	Archaeological Site	Chipped Rock, Crystal
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-044)	Archaeological Site	Lithic Scatter
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-141)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: lanceolate projectile point (artifact #2004-14), blade core (artifact #2004-18).
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-142)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithics, core fragment, biface fragment, two fire rings
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-161)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: microblade fragment, biface fragment, core
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-170)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithics, biface fragment, projectile point fragment
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-198)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithics
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-199)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: Ovolanceolate biface (artifact #2004-01)
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-200)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithic scatter
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-201)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithic scatter
	Snipe Lake Site (XLC-202)	Archaeological Site	Surface lithic scatter
	Lachbuna Lake (XLC-045)	Archaeological Site	Basalt Flakes
	Fishtrap Lake (XLC-046)	Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Fishtrap Lake (XLC-047)	Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Fishtrap Lake (XLC-048)	Archaeological Site	Pits/Depressions
	Fishtrap Lake (XLC-136)	Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Fishtrap Lake (XLC-137)	Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Fishtrap Lake (XLC-168)	Archaeological Site	Flakes, microblade fragment

Table 11: Archaeological Sites—Discontinuous Features

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/ Category	Landscape Feature
	Twin Lakes (XLC-041)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Tent ring, cut wood, lithics
	Twin Lakes (XLC-042)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Lithics
	Twin Lakes (XLC-043)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Lithic Scatter
	Twin Lakes (XLC-112)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Flake, charcoal
	Twin Lakes (XLC-113)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Lithic scatter
	Twin Lakes (XLC-114)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Twin Lakes (XLC-115)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface and subsurface lithics: sideblade (artifact #2002-17), sidenotched biface (artifact #2002-16)
	Twin Lakes (XLC-116)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: biface and flakes.
	Twin Lakes (XLC-117)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: corner-notched biface (artifact #2002-09), charcoal
	Twin Lakes (XLC-118)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics
	Twin Lakes (XLC-119)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface and subsurface lithics
	Twin Lakes (XLC-120)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: biface fragment
	Twin Lakes (XLC-121)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: black basalt biface fragment, cairn
	Twin Lakes (XLC-122)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: bifacial scraper (artifact #2002-12)

	Twin Lakes (XLC-123)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface and subsurface lithics: five biface fragments and utilized flakes, charcoal
	Twin Lakes (XLC-124)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface and subsurface lithics: retouched flakes, biface fragment, side-notched point fragment (artifact #2002-02), charcoal
	Twin Lakes (XLC-125)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics
	Twin Lakes (XLC-139)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Twin Lakes (XLC-140)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics: five microblade cores (artifacts #2004-12, 2005-13, 2005-14, 2005-16, 2005-18, 2005-19), rejuvenation flakes, microblades
	Twin Lakes (XLC-203)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics and stone ring
	Twin Lakes (XLC-204)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Surface lithics, microblade rejuv. flake (artifact #2005-10), two stone rings
	Fishtrap Lake (XLC-169)	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Flakes
	Kijik Kashim Site (XLC-094)	Archaeological Site	
K'unustin T'uh K'emeq'	*K'unustin T'uh K'emeq'* (XLC-092) – Reported as 'pond beneath one that stands apart'	Archaeological Site	
Qizhjeh	Historic Kijik Village (XLC-001, AA-11107)— Reported as 'people congregated,' 'many people gather at this place'	Discontinuous: Archaeological Site	Historic Village Site

The Chronologies of Telaquana Trail Archaeological Sites

Archaeologists organized the archaeological record of the region into a cultural chronology, first by Smith and Shields, followed by later researchers that further defined the regional cultural traditions. In their report, Smith and Shields[574] discussed dates of occupation for the upper lakes area in very general terms. In addition to recognizing a "historic" or post-contact period, they identified two or three traditions based in part on artifact typologies. At Telaquana Lake, they found evidence of one period, and a possible second period. The first is the Norton period, represented by a single projectile point at the Telaquana Lake site XLC-034. The second time period is based on a microblade core from another Telaquana Lake site (XLC-036), thought to possibly belong to the American Paleo-Arctic period (ca. 11,000-6000 BP) or later. The third tradition is represented at Twin Lakes and Snipe Lake, where sites contained elements from the Northern Archaic tradition. These cultural traditions will be further discussed below.[575]

While more definitive dates of occupation are unattainable from the results of their archaeological investigation, Smith and Shields suggested Lake Clark was ice free 6,000 years ago and that artifacts found from Lake Clark to Telaquana Lake are proof of human habitation since at least that time.[576] The authors also proposed the sites reflect a tradition of land-use patterns:

> "The location of the other sites in conjunction with the artifacts found seem to indicate an orientation to primarily a hunting pattern. In addition, sites seem to be places along possible routes of travel along or near lake shores. In certain cases (XLC 032, XLC 036) we feel this is a definite factor in site location, in others it is a possibility. These routes of travel would take one around the lakes avoiding certain features that would act to lengthen the journey, such as peninsulas, large spits or prominent hills."[577]

The Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey further defined the archaeological record in the region. Ten cultural traditions or phases are recognized in regions surrounding the park and preserve. Tennessen[578] organized these cultural traditions into three broad temporal periods; 1) 12,000 to 7000/6000 BP, 2) 7000/6000 BP to 2000 BP, and 3) 2000 BP to the historic era. These three temporal periods are presented below. Only the first two periods will be discussed in relation to sites associated with the Telaquana Trail Corridor, both as continuous and discontinuous components.

Temporal Period One: Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene Traditions (ca. 12,000 to 7000 BP)

The earliest known archaeological sites in the vicinity of Telaquana Trail contain materials dating to soon after the glaciers retreated from the interior lakes of the region. Pleistocene glaciers were in retreat by perhaps 14,000 to 12,000 years ago in the valleys where interior lakes such as Twin Lakes

are now located. Some of Alaska's early radiocarbon dates are from the same period. Dated archaeological sites from near Telaquana Trail also reflect very early human occupation at the end of the Pleistocene epoch. Radiocarbon dates for one site at Two Lakes dates to approximately 11,000 years before present, while one site within the trail corridor, XLC-124, has been dated to as early as 9,000 years before present. Addressing these early sites, NPS Archaeologist Jason Rogers summarizes, "The oldest dated archaeological sites in Lake Clark National Park and Preserve (LCNP&P) date to ca. 10,000 to 11,000 BP. Core-and-blade lithic technology found in these sites is consistent with the Early Beringian Denali Complex culture. This stone tool technology, which has roots in eastern Asia, was likely used to hunt large mobile game—presumably caribou."[579] Researchers commonly attribute these early sites and their associated artifacts to the Paleoindian occupation, characterized as hunters that ranged widely over tundra and taiga-margins in search of large and small game. Artifacts associated with the Beringian Denali Complex include lanceolate projectile points, early stage bifaces, scrapers, gravers, and burins. Tennessen divides these stone assemblages into two groups. One shows evidence of blade or microblade technology presumed to have been manufactured by boreal hunters of large game animals (mammoth, bison, and caribou) and the other is similar to the Paleoindian tradition found more widely in Canada and the US.

Assemblages defined by the presence of blades and microblade technology—in Tennessen's first category—can be further divided into two traditions, the Early and Late Beringian. The Early Beringian tradition is dated from 12,000 to 9500 BP and is typified by the Denali complex, characterized by the presence of wedge-shaped microblade cores. The Late Beringian is dated from approximately 8500 to 7500 BP and is typified by the Kagati Lake complex of southwestern Alaska—consisting of large cores and microblade cores conical to cylindrical in shape. Assemblages from both groups have been found widely in the vicinity of the park and preserve, and in very limited quantities within the Telaquana Trail study area. Smith and Shields[580] were the first to report the recovery of "the distal end of a conical core" from the southern shore of Telaquana Lake at site XLC-034—the shape "suggestive of the later microblade tradition."[581] Later finds, especially Tennessen's work in the 2000s, added to the inventory of microblade cores within the Telaquana Trail corridor—especially at Twin Lakes, reinforcing the view that this particular lake complex has been a center of ancestral Native activity since extraordinarily early in the human history of Alaska. Specific sites, such as one close to where the Chilikadrotna River exits Lower Twin Lake, clearly date from the Early Beringian period. Though not conventionally understood to be ancestral to Athabaskan peoples, this evidence shows that Native peoples may have occupied and traveled the lands along the Telaquana Trail from the time the land first emerged from below the glaciers, suggesting an extraordinarily deep association between Alaska's Native peoples and the Telaquana Trail landscape.

Table 12: Microblade cores found at sites associated with the Telaquana Trail Corridor

Artifact Number	Location	Artifact Type	Shape	Max linear dimension (mm)	Max width (mm)	Max thickness (mm)	Weight (g)
1976-18	XLC-034	Distal portion of microblade core	conoidal	22.38	—	—	3.99
2004-12	XLC-140	Microblade core	Possible front flute	29.41	18.12	40.36	21.97
2005-13	XLC-140	Microblade core	Front flute	16.43	14.22	33.90	11.93
2005-14	XLC-140	Microblade core	Front flute	48.66	13.85	36.99	26.88
2005-16	XLC-140	Microblade core	Front flute	27.22	12.27	24.04	8.88
2005-18	XLC-140	Microblade core	Front flute	26.40	8.61	24.83	9.21
2005-19	XLC-140	Microblade core	Front flute	50.80	20.93	38.39	43.69
2005-10	XLC-204	Microblade core	Possibly conoidal	35.44	38.19	—	30.10
2004-18	XLC-141	Microblade core	Indet.	58.77	—	—	54.97

Temporal Period Two: Emerging Patterns of Settlement & Subsistence (6000 to 2000 BP)

The second temporal period present in the Telaquana Trail corridor represents a period of rapid diversification, reflecting Native peoples' increasing specialization in certain subsistence practices relating to specific habitats, and the formation of larger settlements in the region. Within the second temporal period are several cultural traditions found in Lake Clark National Park and Preserve: Northern Archaic, Arctic Small Tool, Norton, and Ocean Bay. Evidence of the Northern Archaic cultural tradition (ca. 6500 BP to 1300 BP)[582] is widespread, being found throughout much of Alaska and northwestern Canada and, specifically, along the Telaquana Trail. Characteristic artifacts of this

tradition are side-notched projectile points, stemmed and oblanceolate point forms, a variety of side and end scrapers, bifaces, informal flake tools, notched pebbles (possible net weights), choppers, and clubs.

Archaeologists have analyzed tools such as projectile points and scrapers, we well as the relative frequency of those tools, to make inferences regarding broader patterns of resource use and social organization among the people associated with the Northern Archaic tradition. At well-documented Northern Archaic archaeological sites, such as the Agiak Lake and Pond Sites, archaeologists have identified caribou drive-lines which may indicate collective hunting efforts by multiple groups or bands—suggesting cooperation, and perhaps a growing trend toward semi-sedentary settlements.[583] The concentration and types of hunting and hide processing tools also suggests that men and women worked together, and in large numbers, at some especially productive hunting sites. Large groups appear to have assembled at certain productive fishing stations as well, with communities perhaps converging and cooperating at sites utilized by multiple families or bands. Information on themes such as plant use is thin, however, due to poor preservation of plant materials in the archaeological record from this early period. Simultaneously, evidence from archaeological sites from this period indicate that the Archaic was a time of significant environmental change; subsistence practices appear to diversify rapidly during this period, perhaps reflecting more variegated and dynamic resource opportunities and increased local specialization in emerging harvest technologies. This trend held true in Alaska, but has been noted in other Archaic assemblages as well—even in places such as the American Southwest, where environmental variegation was perhaps more pronounced, providing a more diverse range of plant and other subsistence resources.[584] Still, as archaeologist Julie Esdale has summarized, information regarding "Northern Archaic subsistence economies is speculative at best because of poor faunal preservation in the vast majority of sites."[585]

This tradition is associated with Native peoples who hunted a diverse range of boreal animal species in tundra and taiga settings, as well as carrying out specialized fishing—with growing precursors to the lifeways documented among the Dena'ina peoples at the time of contact. As Tennessen notes,

> "It has been proposed that the Northern Archaic tradition was ancestral to the Athabascan-speaking peoples in northwestern North America. In part, this idea seems to rest on the general correspondence between the distribution of Northern Archaic tradition sites, Athabaskan-speaking peoples and the boreal forest. In addition, archaeological evidence from northwestern Canada demonstrates apparent continuity between late expressions of the Northern Archaic tradition and late prehistoric cultural materials that are 'clearly ancestral' to the Athabascan-speaking Southern Tutchone."[586]

Specific Northern Archaic sites are recorded in the vicinity of the Telaquana Trail. According to data presented by Dumond[587] and Henn,[588] the tradition appears in this area between approximately 5100 and 3900 BP. In the course of the earliest excavations along the trail, Smith and Shields[589] determined that a corner-notched projectile point base manufactured from black basalt, found on the surface of a moraine at the southwestern end of Lower Twin Lakes (XLC-042), was similar to points associated with the Northern Archaic tradition, ca. 5500 to 4000 BP.[590] Other Northern Archaic materials have been identified in later archaeological efforts along the trail.[591]

Archaeologists later reevaluated the corner-notched biface (artifact #1976-06) from XLC-042 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[592] The biface is described as the proximal portion of a concave base, corner-notched point. It includes the distal portion of the blade and all of the base, made from possible high-quality volcanic material. Based on these diagnostic features, the biface was reconfirmed to be representative of the Northern Archaic tradition from this period.

At Snipe Lake, Smith and Shields[593] recovered another artifact that they attributed to the Northern Archaic tradition. They found a side-notched projectile point manufactured from andesite or rhyolite on the surface of a large hill on the west shore of Snipe Lake (XLC-044). Based on similarities to a diagnostic point found at Kagati Lake, from a complex of points known as Tuktu Palisades, they attributed the Snipe Lake site to the ancestral Dena'ina people as well. This site was assigned an age range between 6000 and 4000 B.P. Here too, archaeologists reevaluated the side-notched projectile point (artifact #1976-12) as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[594] The projectile point is described as a complete, asymmetrically side-notched, convex-based point with an excurvate, sub-triangular blade manufactured from a coarse chert-like material. Based on these diagnostic features, the biface was also reconfirmed to be diagnostic of the Northern Archaic tradition. Most recently, NPS Archaeologist, Jason Rogers recovered another side-notched Northern Archaic projectile point in a 2019 survey of the area.[595]

Three additional sites located as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey are attributed to the Northern Archaic tradition based on diagnostic lithics.[596] The first of these lithics is a side-notched biface (artifact #2002-16) recovered from Twin Lakes site XLC-115. The second is a corner-notched biface (artifact #2002-09) from Twin Lakes site XLC-117. The third artifact is the base of a side-notched biface (artifact #2002-02) found at the Twin Lakes site XLC-124 (see individual archaeological site descriptions for full descriptions of these artifacts). Together, these finds suggest a very deep timeline of Native use and occupation along the Telaquana Trail generally, and Twin Lakes specifically.

Other archaeological traditions are also represented along the Telaquana Trail for this temporal period. The Arctic Small Tool tradition (ASTt) in Alaska, or Western Arctic Tool tradition (4700 to 2500 BP), is associated with hunting and gathering people who relied primarily on caribou. The tradition covers a large geographic area across the tundra of the interior and western parts of Alaska. It is characterized by a variety of small and finely flaked projectile points that include bipoints and side blades, scrapers, and burins. Microblades are also components of ASTt assemblages, as are end and sideblades with a plano-convex cross section or remnant dorsal ridges. Evidence of the ASTt has been found at XLC-033 on the west shore of Telaquana Lake, suggesting cultural connections with these ancestral hunters.[597]

Norton tradition sites are found throughout western Alaska from Point Barrow to the upper Alaska Peninsula and Cook Inlet. The tradition is divided into three phased sub-traditions: Choris, Norton proper, and Ipiutak. Of these, the Norton sub-tradition appears in the vicinity of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, dating from approximately 2300 to 950 BP. Smith and Shields[598] recovered a stemmed point from XLC-033 on Telaquana Lake that "was similar to points found in both Arctic Small Tool and Norton assemblages in the Naknek region."[599] This parallels longstanding cultural linkages between inland peoples of the Telaquana Trail region and the communities downstream, such as on the Kvichak River and tidewaters of Bristol Bay. Archaeologists later reevaluated the stemmed point (artifact #1976-16) as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[600] the results of which provided additional support for a Norton tradition affiliation. Two additional diagnostic lithics recovered as part of the survey were also identified and affiliated with the Norton tradition: a stage three, bipointed biface (artifact #2003-19) from Telaquana Lake site XLC-133, and a sideblade (artifact #2002-17) from Twin Lakes site XLC-115.

The Ocean Bay tradition dates to ca. 7500-2800 BP[601] and represents sea mammal hunters who travel in small, mobile groups. Sites are generally found in the central and western Gulf of Alaska, but are best represented in the Kodiak Archipelago and on the adjacent coast of the upper Alaska Peninsula. The Ocean Bay tradition is divided into two phases. The first phase exhibits "well-formed projectile points, ranging from approximately 4 to 8 cm, with lanceolate blades, square to rounded shoulders and contracting stems."[602] The second phase is characterized by the adoption of ground slate technology around 4500 BP. Being a tradition linked to coastal resources and peoples, this tradition is not significantly represented along the Telaquana Trail, but nonetheless there is some hint of linkages between trail users and this tradition within the archaeological record.

Table 13: Diagnostic lithics found at sites associated with the Telaquana Trail Corridor

Artifact Number	Location	Artifact Type	Complete (Y/N)	Max length (mm)	Max width (mm)	Max thickness (mm)	Weight (g)	Cultural Affiliation
1976-16	XLC-033	Shouldered, contracting stem biface	Y	33.68	13.30	3.26	1.18	Norton tradition
2003-23	XLC-033	Bipointed biface	Y	16.80	6.73	2.08	0.17	—
1976-15	XLC-036	Stage one biface	Y	129.73	77.08	41.46	465.46	—
2003-18	XLC-133	Biface fragment	N	—	—	2.8	0.39	—
2003-13	XLC-133	Stage two biface	Y	80.63	56.37	18.83	76.52	—
2003-19	XLC-133	Stage three biface	Y	55.35	15.80	5.26	3.67	Norton tradition
1976-06	XLC-042	Corner-notched biface	N	—	—	10.30	13.06	Northern Archaic
2002-17	XLC-115	Sideblade	Y	36.56	17.32	5.63	2.70	Norton tradition
2002-16	XLC-115	Side-notched biface	Y	50.11	25.85	10.10	14.05	Northern Archaic
2002-09	XLC-117	Corner-notched biface	Y	43.56	24.32	6.79	9.53	Northern Archaic
2002-12	XLC-122	Bifacial scraper	Y	44.16	29.09	9.98	12.62	—
2002-02	XLC-124	Side-notched biface base	N	—	—	—	2.64	Northern Archaic
1976-12	XLC-044	Side-notched biface	Y	46.63	22.00	7.30	7.95	Northern Archaic
2004-14	XLC-141	Lanceolate biface	Y	57.07	21.44	4.90	6.37	—
2004-01	XLC-199	Oveolanceo-late biface	N	Not measured	30.28	8.97	19.29	—

Temporal Period Three: Dena'ina Consolidation and Expansion (2000 BP to the contact period)

Within the third temporal period, from roughly 2000 BP to the contact period, are two dominant culture traditions. These are the Thule tradition and the "Athapaskan" or "proto-Athapaskan" tradition, centered on the coast and the interior of Alaska respectively. Both are represented in some way in the Lake Clark region.

The Thule tradition is especially associated with peoples of the Arctic coast, and is widely understood to be related to people who are ancestral to the Inupiaq, Inuit, and other speakers of "Eskimo-Aleut" languages of western and northern Alaska. Ground stone, stemmed ground stone points with pronounced medial ridges, and "unstemmed ground stone and end blades with faceted bases, and gravel-tempered pottery"[603] all characterize artifacts of the Thule tradition—a time of significant population growth, and apparent increases in settlement scale, social inequality and warfare along the Alaska coastline.[604] The Thule tradition is represented by the Kukak Mound phase (1175 ± 95 and 1175 ± 110 BP)[605] on the Pacific coast of the upper Alaska Peninsula; and the Early Koniag phase (AD 1200 to 1400) and the Late Koniag phase (AD 1400 to 1780) in the Karluk region on the Kodiak Archipelago.[606] In the general vicinity of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, sites attributed to a Thule tradition phase, dating between 1200 and 1000 BP, are found on the upper Alaska Peninsula.[607] Beyond the Lake Clark area, sites within the Ugashik drainage are attributed to the River phase of the Thule tradition (1055 ± 60 BP);[608] and sites within the Naknek drainage are attributed to the Brooks River Camp phase (880 ± 65 to 300 ± 75 BP—or AD 1050-1450) and the Brooks River Bluff phase (480 ± 90 to 230 ± 80 BP—or AD 1450-1800) of the Thule tradition.[609]

How people of the Thule tradition came to inhabit regions in and around Lake Clark National Park and Preserve is unclear. Some researchers[610] propose that people using material associated with the Thule tradition expanded throughout the North American Arctic after 1000 BP. However, other researchers such as Knecht[611] have suggested that the presence of similar traits in such places as the Kodiak Archipelago indicates cultural diffusion between peoples or parallel technological changes occurring *in situ*. According to Tennessen, "regardless of how it occurred, it is clear that after approximately 1000 BP, many of the cultures found in southwestern Alaska and in the Gulf of Alaska were participating in a widely shared cultural tradition."[612]

Of much greater significance to the Telaquana Trail, however, is the "Athapaskan" or "proto-Athapaskan" tradition. These terms are employed by archaeologists such as Clark[613] and Dixon[614] to refer to Athapaskan speakers settled in portions of Alaska and western Canada in period from approximately 2000/1500 BP to the arrival of a sustained non-Native presence ca. 150/100 BP. The

archaeological signatures of this tradition align well with the overall descriptions of Dena'ina life provided in Dena'ina oral tradition, ethnographic reports, and historical accounts. Material culture associated with the proto-Athapaskan tradition includes projectile points of stone, bone, and antler; adzes; "stone slab *tci-tho* scrapers;"[615] items made of copper; and copious amounts of fire-cracked rock. In some areas, there are individual semi-subterranean houses, while in other locations such as Kijik, these subterranean houses appear in astonishing concentrations. These high concentrations suggest dense and prolonged settlement, associated with successful resource intensification strategies focused on salmonids, caribou, and many other plant and animal species.[616] Within the boundaries of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, semi-subterranean house depressions associated with the proto-Athapaskan tradition are found at the "outlet of Telaquana Lake (Vinson 2001, notes on file at Lake Clark-Katmai Studies Center), along the middle Mulchatna River (McMahan 2000, O'Leary 2002), and on the north shore of Lake Clark at the base of Kijik Mountain (Lynch 1982)."[617]

Hikers walk toward L'aṭi Vena, Lachbuna Lake, through wetlands and boreal forest. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Some evidence suggests that proto-Athapaskan material culture gradually transitioned into the material culture characteristic of the historic period Dena'ina Athapaskans who occupied areas around Cook Inlet. For example, Osgood[618] indicates that semi-subterranean floor plans found within

the park gradually approximate those attributed to Dena'ina who occupied the larger region during the historic period. However, due to gaps in the available archaeological record of Dena'ina settlement during the historic period, the archaeological record of the nature and pace of this transition remains unclear.[619] However, importantly, multiple lines of evidence—from Dena'ina oral tradition to linguistic analysis—seem to concur that the lands within the Telaquana Trail corridor sit close to the core of the old Dena'ina Athabaskan heartland, from which many of these cultural and technological transitions emanated through this third temporal period. As Tennessen summarizes,

> "On the basis of linguistic data, Kari (1988; 319, 332, 336-337) has proposed that the homeland of the Dena'ina is located 'at the headwaters of the upper Stoney and upper Mulchatna rivers west of the Alaska Range.' From this region, the ancestors of the Dena'ina expanded first into upper Cook Inlet between 2000 and 1500 years ago and then 'gradually annexed areas east and south—Lake Clark, Iliamna Lake and Cook Inlet basin—some of the finest resource areas in Alaska'" (Tennessen 2006: 72).

However, ironically, very few artifacts dated from this period have been recovered from archaeological sites in the Telaquana Trail region and Lake Clark Park and Preserve to date. Unexpectedly, sites attributed to Dena'ina peoples not only commonly lack artifacts, but also faunal remains—a surprising fact given that salmon, freshwater fish, caribou, moose, bear, hare, and other animals compose a substantial portion of the Inland Dena'ina diet.[620] One reason for this may be that the Dena'ina people traditionally used perishable materials such as wood, hide, and skin. However, this does not account for the absence of faunal remains, especially at places such as prime fishing sites where evidence of long-term, or seasonal, occupation should exist.[621] Moreover, to be fair, it must be remembered that very few archaeological surveys have been completed within the Telaquana Trail Corridor and indeed throughout Lake Clark National Park and Preserve generally. Less than one percent of the accessible terrain with the park and preserve has been surveyed for archaeological resources:

> "But within that… 140 sites have been identified so far, including a coastal site dating back 3,000 years, and one on Two Lakes that may be 10,000 years old. Based on known human activity and occupation of park lands—and sites identified to date—many additional sites of significance likely remain undiscovered."[622]

Another factor possibly affecting the presence and location of material culture in the archaeological record is Dena'ina traditional cultural and spiritual beliefs relating to the disposal of bone and artifact remains. *Beggesh* is a term referring to the ability of personal belongings, tools, and other artifacts to become saturated with information or energy from their surroundings. These artifacts then possess the potential to communicate this information with other Dena'ina people, animals, ancestor spirits,

and other spirits, potentially causing major disruptions in the social and ecological equilibrium. The method of disposing of such materials thus becomes of utmost concern. Boraas and Peter suggest that:

> "The meaning of *beggesh* is to be understood within the overall context of precontact Dena'ina cosmology, which involved a set of beliefs that many Dena'ina peoples still understand today but few have communicated to non-Dena'ina for fear of being misunderstood."[623]

In particular, Boraas and Peter cite several sources indicating that great care was taken in the disposal of faunal remains. Peter Kalifornsky related to Alan Boraas in 1991 that at Kalifornsky Village bones were collected during the winter months. Inhabitants took the bones to Cook Inlet in the spring and released them into the tide, thereby eliminating such faunal remains from any context that would leave an archaeological signature. In a letter to Boraas, dated December 11, 1989, Priscilla Russell told how the Dena'ina people once buried the bones of land animals, but aquatic animal bones were returned to the water: "[I]t was important not to scatter animal bones or place them where animals or people might bother them because, as Russell was told, it showed lack of respect and would cause the bones to 'leave the country.'"[624] Like the release of bones into the water, the practice of removing land animal bones from their use contexts and burying them elsewhere undoubtedly affected the archaeological record and subsequent interpretation. According to an assessment by Boraas and Peter:

> "[R]eliance solely on materialist interpretations leads to a skewed version of the prehistoric record. Were it not for oral tradition and the linguistic and ethnographic record, the Dena'ina would have become virtually invisible to history as hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Dena'ina house depressions and associated cold storage pits, most lacking associated artifacts, erode into obscurity leaving almost no material trace of their existence."[625]

It is important, then, to consider multiple lines of evidence to understand the precontact use of the Telaquana Trail. Further, the virtual absence of archaeological precontact material remains within the Telaquana Trail and the park and preserve boundaries make sites like those at Snipe Lake and Twin Lakes particularly integral to understanding when and how people came to traverse the trail and utilize surrounding resources.

After contact, Boraas and Peter[626] note a trend in the increasing number of artifacts recovered from nineteenth and early twentieth century Dena'ina historic village sites. The authors cite the proliferation of items recovered at *Qizhjeh*, or the historic Kijik Village (XLC-001, AA-1107),[627] Kenai,[628] Cooper Landing,[629] and Kalifornsky Village. For example, they compare the density of 232

artifacts per m^3 at a recent historic Dena'ina site (KEN-014, Kalifornsky Village), with 2 artifacts per m^3 at the sedentary, late precontact Dena'ina house site (KEN-230, *Shqit Tsatnu*). From these and other comparisons, Boraas and Peter infer that either the spread of Orthodoxy diluted the cultural practices associated with *beggesh*, or that the European American objects were perhaps not perceived to be governed by the same principles of *beggesh*. The authors also recognize that an increased sedentary lifestyle will raise the frequency at which artifacts are deposited at a site. Another factor they consider is that historic structures and cabins may have been regularly built and rebuilt on the same site, increasing the potential of diverse artifacts at one location.

If their hypothesis is correct, post-contact archaeological sites within the Telaquana Trail Corridor, including historic village and cabin sites, have the potential to contain a significant number of artifacts and therefore warrant further investigation. This includes sites such as *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq',* the fish camp at the outlet of Telaquana Lake (XLC-035, AA-11101), and *Ch'qułch'ishtnu,* Telaquana Village (XLC-002, AA-11092).

There is a high potential for further archaeological investigations in the Telaquana Trail and region. At the conclusion of their archaeological survey of the Lake Clark area and the upper lakes of the region in 1976, Smith and Shields suggest further investigations should be made. None of the sites located had been extensively tested, and determinations of significance were not possible: "On one level, all the sites are significant. As no archaeological work has been done in this area, each site provides insight into the history and prehistory of this region."[630] This sentiment is echoed later by both Hoagland[631] and the documentation to nominate the Telaquana Trail to the NRHP: "[T]he Telaquana Trail north of Kijik is an extended and unknown archaeological resource awaiting professional attention. The results of such an examination might very well shed light on the origins of the Dena'ina occupation in the Lake Clark area."[632] While the recent Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[633] expanded the archaeological documentation of the region significantly, it is likely additional archaeological sites exist in the unsurveyed portions of the park and preserve. Further survey of lands, and investigation of known sites, can add to our understanding of the past human use of the Telaquana Trail, the landscape surrounding the Corridor, and the wider history of the region.

Archaeological Sites—Contributing Contiguous Features

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-032

The Smith and Shields[634] 1976 survey first recorded the Telaquana Lake site XLC-032. The site, revisited in 2003 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[635] is located on the northwest shore of Telaquana Lake.

Cultural material was found on two of these prominences, in three defined loci. Locus one measures 28.50 m × 10.0 m; locus two measures 36.50 m × 16.5 m; and locus three measures 23.50 m × 10.0 m. Non-diagnostic lithic material was found on the first two loci, including ten black basalt flakes, two black basalt utilized flakes, and one gray basalt utilized flake, recovered from a depth of 10 cm to

A boat on Dilah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Photo by J. Mills, NPS, 2016.

20 cm. Archaeologists found no materials on the third prominence along the cove, though it has not been fully surveyed and has high potential for cultural materials based on close proximity to the other documented loci. Based on the depth of the material and lack of historic era artifacts, Smith and Shields determined XLC-032 to be broadly precontact. Still, based on the limited subsurface investigations and the absence of radiometric dates, they were unable to confidently assign either cultural or temporal affinities:

Dave Tennessen and Katie Myers, 2003, head of Telaquana Lake. Courtesy NPS.

> "No attempt will be made here to wrestle with this problem and the authors will suggest a Norton affiliation based on more proximity than anything else, the nearest Kavik point being much further from this area than Norton ones. The occurrence of this material demonstrates a heretofore unknown Eskimo presence in this part of the Alaska Range and foothills."[636]

In 2003, the site was revisited as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[637] and seven test units were excavated in three separate loci. Test unit 1 and 2 were dug at Locus 1. Test unit 3, 4, 5 and 6 were dug at Locus 2. Test unit 7 was dug at Locus 3. Test units 3, 5, 6 and 7 produced a total of 71 pieces of lithic debitage. Soils at the site were determined to range from 25 to 70 cm in depth and are composed of silts and sands. The glacial till was found to be a mixture of course to medium sand, gravel, and cobbles. Vegetation in the vicinity of the site is consistent with an open mixed forest, with scattered spruce, birch, and dwarf birch. Based on these findings, the site was classified as 'unspecified prehistoric' and was determined to be in good condition according to guidelines used in the NPS Cultural Resources Invetory System (or CRIS, formerly known as ASMIS, or "Archaeological Sites Management Information System"). The site exhibits very little evidence of natural or human disturbance. As such, the site still has the potential to reveal considerable information regarding past human occupation at Telaquana Lake.

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-033

The Telaquana Lake site XLC-033 was first recorded during the Smith and Shields survey in 1976,[638] and was revisited in 2003 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[639] The site is located on a spit that extends from the northwest shore of Telaquana Lake. Soils are approximately 70–90 cm deep and are composed of fine sand and silt. Below these fine sediments are coarse sand, gravel, and cobbles—most likely glacial till. Vegetation in the vicinity includes scattered spruce, willow, dwarf birch, Labrador tea, lingonberry, mosses, and lichens.

Biface 2003-23, recovered from XLC-033 at Delah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Courtesy NPS.

Smith and Shields recovered 17 pieces of lithic debitage and a contracting stem projectile point (artifact # 1976-16), which they assigned to the Norton tradition. In 2003, when the site was revisited as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[640] five test units were excavated. Three (TU 3, 4, and 5) produced cultural artifacts. Several artifacts were located at the site, including 38 pieces of lithic debitage, a uniface fragment, and a very small, intact biface (artifact# 2003-23) approximately 1.7 cm long and manufactured into a microblade. Test unit 3 was excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels to a depth of 60 cm. In the level below the biface, the unit produced charcoal that was found to be a conventional radiocarbon age of 3660 ± 40 BP. Based on these findings, the site is considered to be affiliated with hunters of either the Arctic Small Tool or Norton traditions.[641]

In addition, Smith and Shields[642] recovered a stage three biface, a single shouldered, contracting stem biface from a test pit at XLC-033 (artifact #1976-16). As Tennessen summarizes,

> "This artifact has fairly high shoulders that set off the blade from a contracting stem. In morphology and dimensions it fits into Dumond's (1981:204, Plate V-VII, X) Smelt Creek contracting base or Brooks River contracting base types. In the Naknek drainage of the upper Alaska Peninsula, Dumond (1981: 196) associated Smelt Creek contracting stem points with Arctic Small Tool tradition-related Gravels phase, and with the Norton-related Smelt Creek, Brooks River Weir and Brooks River Fall phases. … [T]he presence of this artifact suggests a Norton or Arctic Small Tool tradition occupation at XLC-033."[643]

Dave Tennessen and Ross Smith at Old Village, Telaquana Lake, 2003. Courtesy NPS.

During the 2003 Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey, a stage three biface, a bipointed biface (artifact #2003-23) was recovered. Bipoints are defined here as bifaces with approximate longitudinal symmetry, tapering to a point at each end with their widest point at the approximate center. This Telaquana Lake biface is

> "manufactured on high quality volcanic material…and slightly bilaterally asymmetrical. In cross section it is plano-convex, with what appears to be the remnant of a dorsal ridge on the convex face suggesting that it was manufactured from a microblade. Given the extremely small size, the primary method of manufacture was presumably pressure flaking. Although grouped with the

bipoints for the purpose of this report, the bilateral symmetry suggests that it may have been intended to be hafted as a side blade…In terms of its dimensions and general morphology, this artifact fits in well with material affiliated with the western Arctic Small Tool tradition including the Classic Denbigh at Onion Portage (Anderson 1988:91, Plate 36). The practice of manufacturing bifacial tools from microblades is also characteristic of the Arctic Small Tool tradition (Giddings 1964) and has been reported from the Naknek region as well (Dumond 1981). This artifact is unequivocally diagnostic, however, similar materials have also been associated with the Norton tradition in the Naknek region (Dumond 1981). The recovery of a Smelt Creek contracting stem point (artifact #1976-16) from the same site, and the strategic relationship between 2003-23 and radiocarbon date of 3660+/-40 supports an affiliation with either the Arctic Small Tool or Norton traditions" (Tennessen 2006: 261-262).

Shouldered, contracting stem biface, 1976-16, recovered from XLC-033 at Delah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Courtesy NPS.

Based on the vertical distribution of artifacts in test unit 3, archaeologists have concluded that artifacts are moving throughout the soil column with time. However, very few natural and/or human disturbances were noted in the site in general. Therefore, the site is considered to be in good condition according to CRIS guidelines, and has a high potential to reveal additional details relating to Native use and occupation of the Telaquana Lake shoreline over time.

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-034

Telaquana Lake archaeological site XLC-034 was first recorded by the Smith and Shields survey in 1976,[644] and was revisited in 2003 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[645] The site is located on the southwest shore of Telaquana Lake.

When Smith and Shields first visited the site, materials recovered included: two black basalt flakes, one yellow chert flake, and the distal end of a conical core (artifact #1976-18). The distal end of the core comes to a small spatulate end (0.4 cm wide) with two small flake scars on one face. The core

The core exhibits two blade scars: one looks shattered at the proximal end, the other looks like the distal end was used as the platform. Each of these scars may indicate that the hinge fractured during blade removal. Smith and Shields determined that the core fragment is representative of a level of technology "going back several thousand years." At the time of excavation, Smith and Shields did not

Distal portion of microblade core. 1976-18, recovered from XLC-034 at Delah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Courtesy NPS.

attempt to place the site in temporal context or to associate it with known cultural sequences, though the site was identified as precontact.

In 2003, when the site was revisited during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[647] four test units were excavated. Test unit 3 produced two pieces of lithic debitage between 10 and 20 cm below ground surface. As part of the site analysis, archaeologists revisited the distal portion of microblade core #1976-18 recovered by Smith and Shields.[648] The artifact "was recovered from a test pit at XLC-034 in 1976. It was manufactured on high quality volcanic material and appears to be the distal end of conoidal microblade core.[649] Eleven blade removal scars were observed."[650] The artifact is now attributed to the Late Beringian—suggesting a very early date of perhaps 8,500 to 7,500 years before present[651]. No evidence of natural or human disturbance was recorded; the site is therefore considered to be in good condition according to CRIS guidelines, and may provide evidence of very early human occupation along the Telaquana Trail.

Stage 1 biface,1976-15 recovered from XLC-036 beside Delah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Courtesy NPS.

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-036

The survey by Smith and Shields first recorded Telaquana Lake site XLC-036,[652] located on the north central shore of the lake. Without systematic subsurface investigations, they were unable to determine the size of the site. They did recover a black basalt biface (artifact #1976-15) at a little over 20 cm depth, the cross-section of the biface being triangular and largely shaped by percussion flaking. One end of the biface is narrower than the other

Ross Smith and Dave Tennessen at Telaquana Lake, 2003. Courtesy NPS.

and appears more worn. Step flakes are seen on all edges. These are characteristic wear patterns of heavy work on a hard material. No temporal or cultural affinities were assigned.

As part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[653] the biface recovered by Smith and Shields was reexamined. Archaeologists determined that the artifact is a "stage one" biface—being the form produced in the first phase of forming a biface. Stage one is characterized by being crudely thinned and shaped, and unpatterned, with deep and expanding flake scars. It is possible that this biface represents a bifacial core. Flake scars tend to be quite large indicating the removal of debitage that would be potentially useful as informal tools.[654]

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-131

The Telaquana Lake site XLC-131 was first recorded during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[655] The site occupies a rocky spit, extending into Telaquana Lake from a large peninsula off of the north shore. Soils were determined to be silt and sand. Vegetation in the area consists of dwarf and stunted birch, willow, scattered spruce, lichens, lingonberry, and blueberry.

Archaeologists Katie Myers (right) and Jeanne Schaaf (left) at Kijik, 2002. Photo by John Branson.

The site was located during a 2003 soil survey when an Oakfield soil probe recovered a flake 16 cm below the surface. A test unit was excavated at this same location producing 102 pieces of lithic debitage between 15–55 cm below ground surface and localized pockets of charcoal. Three more test units were excavated but produced no additional cultural material. Based on these findings, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric.' It has been subject to colluvial processes, but overlying sediments now appear to be stable. Erosion is minimal. According to CRIS guidelines, the site is considered to be in good condition, and may yet reveal more details relating to human settlement and use on the Telaquana Lake shoreline.

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-132

The Telaquana Lake site XLC-132 was first recorded during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[656] This site is spread across hills on the northwestern shore of Telaquana Lake. Archaeologists defined each hill as one locus, numbered one to three from northwest to southeast. Vegetation in the area consists of dwarf birch and scattered spruce.

In 2002, NPS ranger volunteers Jerry Mills and Jeanette Weeks recovered a tan chert biface and a flake of black basalt from the site. Archaeologists revisited the site in 2003 and conducted a surface survey, revealing a cluster of lithic debitage (13 fragments) at Locus 2. They also excavated a test unit at Locus 1 and 3, with neither producing cultural material. Two square depressions, each approximately 40 × 40 cm, were observed at Locus 3. Tennessen[657] suggests that these might be resultant of excavations done by Smith and Shields,[658] though they were not documented in their report. Based on these findings, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric.' Artifacts on the surface indicate that erosion is active at Locus 2; thus, the site is considered to be in fair condition according to CRIS guidelines. Little else has been recorded regarding the extent or antiquity of the site.

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-133

Archaeologists first recorded the Telaquana Lake site XLC-133 during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[659] On the north shore of Telaquana Lake is a large bay. The site is located on the northeast corner of this bay. Soils at the site are finely laminated silts and sands formed as the result of alluvial deposition atop Pleistocene-age till.

Biface fragment 2003-13 recovered from XLC-033 on Delah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Courtesy NPS.

The site, as recorded, is composed of two designated loci: Areas A and B. In August 2002, Jerry Mills, Bill Trefon Jr., and Monroe Robinson found a chalcedony biface at Area A while excavating with the intent of installing a drainpipe for a sauna. A test unit was excavated in the area. It produced a chert or chalcedony flake and fire cracked rock, suggesting both use as a campsite and possible stone tool processing. Archaeologists excavated a second test unit but it did not reveal any cultural material. Area B sits on the eastern terrace. During the archaeological compliance project, completed in 2002 before constructing a privy, three of four shovel tests were positive for cultural materials consisting of microblades.

During the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey in 2003, both loci were reexamined.[660] An impressive total of 134 lithic artifacts were found—the majority from Area B. Initially, archaeologists excavated ten shovel tests in Area A. None of these produced cultural materials. Another three shovel tests were completed along the terrace on the northwest. One of these (ST 35) produced one flake. Two 50 × 50 cm units (TU2 and TU3) were excavated. Additional shovel tests were conducted, with only one (ST19) being positive, producing a quartz crystal. Shovel tests were done in Area B as well, and five of them (ST 42, 43, 46-48) were positive for cultural materials. Another test unit (TU4) was excavated producing an intact biface manufactured from a fine-grained gray to tan raw material (artifact #2003-19), a brown chert biface fragment (artifact #2003-18) and microblade fragments. TU 4 also produced charcoal from 10–15 cm and again 25–30 cm below ground surface. These charcoal samples produced conventional radiocarbon ages of 750 ± 40 BP and 6930 ± 40 BP.

Based on lithic findings, archaeologists determined that the site was associated with people bearing the Arctic Small Tool tradition. Yet, radiocarbon dates from TU 4 are not, however, consistent with the Arctic Small Tool tradition. Because the test unit began as a shovel test, the relationship between the charcoal and the lithics remains unknown. Therefore, "all that can be said is that the radiocarbon dates do not necessarily contradict an affiliation with the Arctic Small Tool tradition, and may represent an earlier and younger occupation of the site."[661] Cumulatively, these lines of evidence suggest a remarkably long period of human occupation of the site, consistent with Dena'ina oral tradition of very longstanding settlement along the shores of Telaquana Lake—among their most important places of origin in oral tradition and linguistic analyses. Disturbances, both natural and human, appear to be minimal at the site despite construction of buildings on the terrace; and the site

is considered to be in good condition according to CRIS guidelines. The site remains significant, even pivotal, in understanding the deeper history of Dena'ina peoples, their ethnogenesis, and their trade and travel across southcentral Alaska.

Additional artifacts recovered from the site underscore this significance. For example, a biface fragment (artifact #2003-18) was recovered from TU 4 at XLC-133 from a depth of 15–29 cm. Bipoints are defined here as bifaces with approximate longitudinal symmetry, tapering to a point at each end with their widest point at the approximate center.

> "This biface was small with a maximum linear dimension of 22.8 millimeters and was finely flaked with parallel oblique flaking on one surface. It was manufactured from what appeared to be a high quality chert-like material. Although the full shape of the artifact cannot be determined from the fragment that was recovered, its form and size are generally consistent with bifaces attributed to the Arctic Small Tool tradition (Dumond 2001, Giddings 1964, Maxwell 1985)."[662]

A second artifact was recovered from XLC-133 (not pictured here), a stage two biface (artifact #2002-13). This artifact may have functioned as a formal tool. It is a discoidal biface with a relatively sharp cutting edge that may have served as a cutting tool, though perhaps it had other uses as well.[663]
The third artifact recovered from XLC-133 was a bipointed biface (artifact #2003-19). The biface was

> "manufactured from a chert-like raw material, has a lenticular cross section, and is roughly symmetrical in both its lateral and longitudinal dimensions. The relatively broad and often deep flake scars suggest that it was finished largely by percussion flaking. However, on one face at one end the edges exhibit numerous pressure flaking scars. It is unclear if this represents an attempt to thin this end for hafting or to sharpen it. Although 2003-19 is somewhat nondescript, in its dimensions and general morphology it is similar to the Bipoint III category defined by Dumond (1981:203, Plate V, VII). In the Naknek drainage, numerous examples of this category of artifact have been found in deposits associated with the Arctic Small Tool-affiliated Gravels phase. In the same region, this type of artifact has been found less frequently in deposits associated with the Norton tradition (Dumond 1981: Table 7.4)."[664]

The recovery of microblades from XLC-133 at the same site also suggests linkages with the Arctic Small Tool tradition. Clearly, the people of Telaquana Lake carried out the manufacture of a diversity of stone tools, using techniques that were distinctive, from materials both locally sourced and imported from other regions of what is today Alaska.

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-134

Telaquana Lake site XLC-134 was first recorded during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[665] In Telaquana Lake, a large peninsula forms a bay on the north shore of the lake. The site is west of this

peninsula. Archaeologists first detected artifacts at the site when conducting a series of twenty-one shovel tests completed along the ridge. Four (ST 3,9,10 and 21) produced eight pieces of lithic debitage (including a microblade, two blade-like flakes). Based on these findings, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric.' The site appears stable and according to CRIS guidelines is considered to be in good condition. The site reinforces the general view of Telaquana Lake as a center of lithic tool production, but little is yet known about how these lithics relate to those found in other sites around the lake's perimeter.

Telaquana Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-135

The Telaquana Lake site XLC-135 was first recorded during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[666] A large peninsula extends southwest from the north shore of Telaquana Lake. The site is located on this peninsula. Work at the site took place during two sessions in 2003. In July, archaeologists excavated seven test units—TU1 and TU2 were located on the eastern peak, while TU3–7 were on the western peak. TU3 produced an olive gray blade-like flake fragment and an obsidian tertiary thinning flake. In August, five shovel tests were dug (ST1–5). ST1 produced a gray flake fragment of volcanic rock. ST3 produced an obsidian flake fragment. No charcoal was recovered and no radiometric dating attempted. Based on these findings, the site is classified as an 'unspecified prehistoric' lithics site.

A number of sawn spruce at the site indicate the area has been visited in recent times, perhaps as a modern campsite for Telaquana Trail visitors, Dena'ina or otherwise. In spite of possible recent use, sediments at the site appear to be stable. According to CRIS guidelines, the site is considered to be in good condition and may add to the understanding of settlement and lithics production along the shoreline of this lake—a place of origin and enduring significance to the Dena'ina.

Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'- Telaquana Lake Fish Camp XLC-035, AA-11101

Dilah Vena Q'estsiq', the fish camp at the outlet of Telaquana Lake, is a place of historical and contemporary importance to Dena'ina people, and has likely been a locus of subsistence fishing into very deep time. *Dilah Vena* is translated as Telaquana Lake, and *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* is translated as 'salmon swim in-lake-outlet,'[667]'salmon go up into that lake fish camp' and 'outlet of fish swim in lake'—attesting to the enduring significance of salmon and salmon fishing at this river outlet.[668] *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* is locally remembered and referred to as the "fish village."[669] The site sits south of the Telaquana Lake outlet, on the north bank of the river.

Brelsford carried out interviews with Dena'ina individuals about the site in 1975 (cited in Ellanna's later work). The first published documentation of the Telaquana Lake Fish Camp was in this work,[670] relying especially on the oral traditions recalled by Alex Trefon, Pete Trefon, and Pete Koktelash. In

the course of interviews, Alex Trefon and Pete Trefon noted the presence of a former settlement and cemetery near this location.[671] The document identified the cemetery as sitting on a ridge directly behind the fish camp. Alex Trefon has a brother and sister buried in the cemetery[672]. Quoting an interview with Alex Trefon in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study: Phase I,*[673]

> "Fish Camp [at Dilah Vena Q'estsiq']...well, it's not too far down... Right by Fish Camp... just at the mouth ... and the cemetery is I don't think 100 yards from the Fish Camp up on the little hill, that's the cemetery. Just on that kind of ridge above it ...you can see the cross, if you walk around there. The cross would be there. The tundra is just like this by the old church."[674]

Breslford[675] recorded Pete Koktelash's memories of visiting the fish camp as a child in which he recalls: "[There were] three to four smoke houses, five to six cache pits left behind after people left. Lots of crosses at old fish camp."[676] Apparently, the site becomes swampy during the rainy season.

In a separate 1986 study, interviews conducted by Priscilla Russell Kari and James Kari with elder Andrew Balluta regarding Dena'ina place names in the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve identified *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* as the site of the 'old fish camp.'[677] This locus of fishing and settlement was also mentioned by participants in the 1998 Project Jukebox study in relation to the trail.

Ethnographic descriptions of the site provide a coherent if general picture of the community and life at *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq*. Ellanna and Balluta[678] and Deur et al.[679] identify archaeological, historic, and oral historic evidence that until the turn of the century, *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* regularly hosted a winter community and summer fish camps. This location allows easy access to the fish resources of the lake and river. While in use, the fish camp had five fish drying racks, a log cabin, a fish trap, and a cemetery.[680] One elder thinks his grandfather Constantine and his grandmother Katarina on his father's side got married at *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'*, and "a man named T would spend the summer in Kijik and then come here to harvest salmon. He built a house here. Many people used this place."[681]

Dena'ina elders remember visiting the fish camp. Locating the camp is often done in relation to *Ch'qułch'ishtnu,* or Telaquana Village, as Pete Trefon does in his description of the fish camp in Ellanna:

> "[The fish camp] is right close to the mountain. Here is a ridge. It is right at the bottom of the ridge [AB remarks that this cemetery has still not been mapped.] Well the mountain comes right down to the creek, all the way down to the creek. There is a little rise there. Well Pete (Koktelash) is the one who told me about it. About three-quarters of a mile. It should be right in there. Near Ch'qułch'ishtnu."[682]

Alex Trefon describes a worn foot trail that connected *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* and *Ch'quɬch'ishtnu*:

> "Back about 3 quarters of a mile, where's Ch'quɬch'ishtnu, well you walk right straight back like that there used to be a pretty good foot trail down there. Probably still is because of all the white reindeer moss there. Yea, and then there's a house. You might find walls there yet. You know the walls are made just like the walls you see at the old church.... It's hollow, so it stands a long time. And there's another trapping cabin built there around the 30s. That one should show up yet."[683]

Deur et al.[684] specifically identify the site as one of ceremonial as well as utilitarian value. On the basis of both archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence, the site was documented as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the Nomination to the NRHP and in the 2006 CLI by the NPS.

Smith and Shields[685] first archaeologically recorded the site of XLC-035, AA-11101 in 1976. The site was revisited in 2003 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[686] Archaeological evidence indicates that the fish camp site runs along the riverbank for approximately 650 ft. (200 m) and ranges away from the riverbank for approximately 150 ft. (45 m). The site area, defined by the heavy grass cover, is approximately 90 m × 50 m; the long dimension being parallel to the riverbank. Based on a review of the oral history and site survey, Brelsford classified *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* as a protohistoric seasonal camp and summer site with two structures that are severely deteriorated, several salmon cache pits along the shore, and an associated cemetery defined as possibly precontact.[687]

When Smith and Shields conducted their archaeological survey in 1976, they found the remnants of one structure—possibly a tent frame (2.90 m × 4.10 m)—as well as a scatter of late historic era artifacts that align well with oral traditions of use into the late 19th or early 20th century. The possible tent remnants were then visible on the landscape, as a small rectangular wood structure built in a depression roughly 35 cm deep. Smith and Shields felt that the depression appeared partly natural and partly dug by its occupants. A section of four or five rough-hewn planks running parallel to each other at the bottom of the depression they interpreted as the remnants of a wood floor. The exterior walls were defined by round logs on all four sides; and the area was scattered with finished lumber fragments containing wire nails, with occasional pieces of canvas attached. Plastic littered the area as well, demonstrating continued use into second half of the 20th century.[688]

In a later 1985 field investigation, archaeologists documented a large depression, several well-defined postholes, a stovepipe, and a structure ruin submerged in a small pond. During this same investigation, it was noted that:

> "Near the village [of Ch'quɬ-ch'ishtnu] is Telaquana fish camp, located at the mouth of Telaquana lake, along the north bank of the Telaquana River (Dilah Vetnu). A path leads from the settlement to the fish camp. ... Several Nondalton elders described the location of graves on a ridge behind the fish camp as well, but archaeologists were unable to locate this cemetery in 1985...Both the fish camp and the village sites were connected to Kijik by the Telaquana Trail."[689]

In 1988, another survey of the area confirmed the associated gravesite on a ridge behind and north of the camp.[690] In a 1992 publication, Cusma noted some recent cultural remains above ground: a rusted-out sheet metal stove (now pitched by someone into a nearby water hole), a few axe cut logs, and some whipsawed boards. Since that time, most wooden features have largely decomposed and little intact evidence of camp structures persists visible above the ground surface. No other surface evidence was recorded, but NPS employees have determined that the archaeological integrity of the site's subsurface portion remains intact.[691]

When the site was revisited in 2003 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[692] most of the site was reported to be wet and hummocky, with stunted willow, grasses, and fireweed. A surface survey identified a few remaining cultural materials including a stove vent and pipe, and contemporary debris like shell casings, cigarette butts, and food cans suggesting roughly contemporaneous use. Three test units were excavated, all of which were located on the higher ridge, with test unit 1 producing a trash pit that included melted plastic, insulted wire, beer bottles, and a cot part; and test unit 3 producing a copper button. Surface items were also collected at a spot along the Telaquana River, away from the site. These included fragments of a clear glass bottle and a variety of metal items. The archaeological evidence all points toward a continued, if more ephemeral pattern of Dena'ina subsistence use and occupation into present times.

Since the late 1980s, erosion of the riverbank has been substantial, with the distance between the riverbank and the ponds having decreased between 24 and 12 m. Both natural and human disturbances are substantial at the site; thus, based on these findings, the site condition is considered poor according to CRIS guidelines. The site may still hold potential for additional archaeological research, but ethnographic and historical research may prove equally promising for this site of enduring use and significance.

Ch'guɬch'ishtnu—Telaquana Village XLC-002, AA-11092

Ch'quɬch'ishtnu, or the Telaquana Village site, is a place of special cultural, historical and archaeological importance. The Kari[693] interviews regarding Dena'ina place names in the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve identified *Ch'quɬch'ishtnu* as an old 'winter village.' Based on data

collected from interviews with Alex and Pete Trefon, it was listed as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name. The *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* is variously explained to mean:

1 'young willows-stream' (Jukebox Project 1998)
2 'many willows creek' (Kari 1986)
3 'willow sprout stream' (Kari 1986)
4 'many small willows creek village' (NPS 2006)
5 'Trail Creek, location of Telaquana Village' (Kari 1986)
6 'lower Trail Creek' (NPS 2006)
7 'lot of second growth willows' (Brelsford 1975)
8 'this little willow, there's lots of little willows along the creek' (Alex Trefon in Ellanna 1986: A-30)
9 'a place by the creek where some timber comes down to meet the creek' (BIA 1988), and
10 'where some kind of willow grows by the creek' (BIA 1988).

Ch'qułch'ishtnu is located within the boundaries of the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve—along Trail Creek, a tributary of the Telaquana River, approximately 1.5 mi. southeast of the outlet of Telaquana Lake in the Mulchatna drainage area and approximately 74 mi. northeast of modern Nondalton.[694] In some documents, *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* or Telaquana Village is described as being the village on Trail Creek[695] and 'lower Trail Creek.'[696] Peter Bobby describes the location of this winter site:

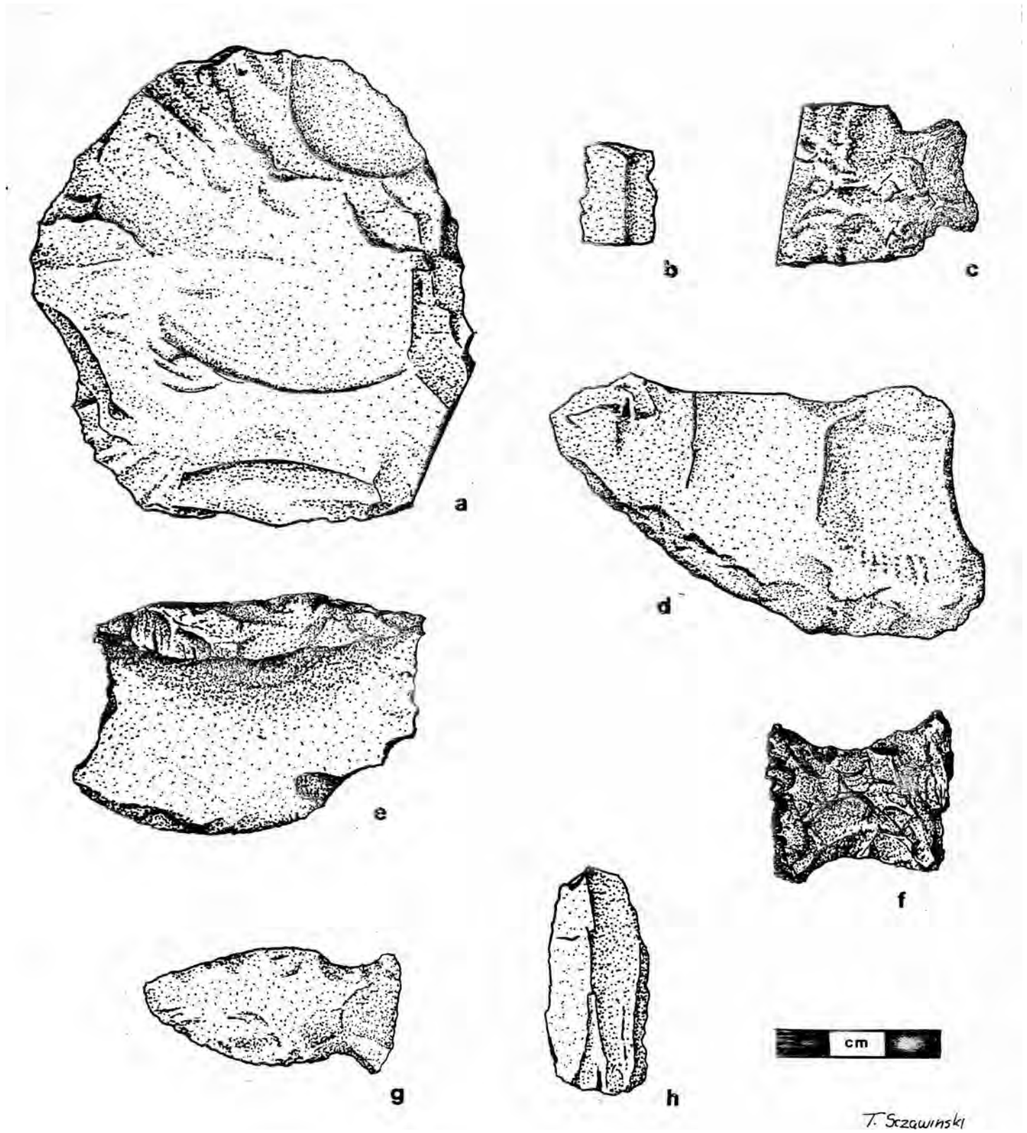
> *"Qeghnich'en dghili ghenich'en hdi* ***Ch'qułch'ishtnu*** *qeł hdghinih.*
> Upstream on upstream side of mountain there is where they call 'young willows stream.'"
>
> "*Yehdi hey qayeh qighił'u.*
> There they had a winter village."[697]

In Ellanna,[698] Alex Trefon also identifies *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* as one of several culturally significant locations along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail: "down here on the other side of this hill is Ch'qułch'ishtnu, that's where a little village is down here somewhere…right in here…where that trail goes."

Ch'qułch'ishtnu was once a key historic village site of the *Htsaynenht'ana*, the Inland Dena'ina regional band of the upper Stony River and Telaquana Lake people[699] (see Contributing Feature: Archaeological Site, *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'*, Telaquana Lake Fish Camp [XLC-035]). It was highly important to resident Dena'ina families as a place where resources were abundant and fish were plentiful at most times of year. It also provided ample opportunities for trapping, and was an ideal hunting location in the fall as moose appeared here before they were found in other areas each year. It

was, therefore, a place the Dena'ina people came to recognize for reliable hunting and fishing even when harvests were poor in other areas.[700] *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* was also an ideal location to participate in trade networks, including trails branching off to the coast at Tyonek: "It is likely that the people of hqul-chishtnu [*Chqul-chishtnu*] traded imported items as well, because they frequently travelled to the store in Tyonek to obtain items foreign to their material culture."[701] As families moved to Kijik and eventually Nondalton after contact, Telaquana Village sometimes provided a foothold for return trips to Dena'ina families wishing to return to the Telaquana region to hunt and fish; in times of poor salmon runs or resource scarcity in the Lake Clark area, trips to *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* provided resource security and stability. Multiple Dena'ina elders interviewed in the last few decades can recall a time when *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* was an active village site. According to BIA documentation,[702] the site was occupied during the 1800s and 1900s by at least 100 people. Past inhabitants recall there were four or five large plank houses, many raised log caches, smoke houses, a bridge across the creek, and a cemetery on the opposite side of Trail Creek.

A smoke house in late 1930's at the Big Evan Nudlash house at Kijik, on the south side of river. The Nudlash family was among the last to live full-time near Kijik. Courtesy LaVerne Larson. H-1712.



Illustrations of bifaces and artifacts.

Archaeological investigations near Kijik by Jeanne Schaaf and Katie Myers, 2002. Courtesy NPS

During the late 19th century, *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* was the semi-permanent fall and winter home of three Dena'ina families that are still well known today: the Trefons, the Ballutas from the Mulchatna River, and the Kankatons from Lime Village (*Qeghnilen*). The Evans, from Stony River, also frequently lived at the village.[703] It is thought that the Trefon and Balluta families trace their paternal lines almost entirely to the village of the latter half of the nineteenth century:

> "Trefon Balluta is one of the earliest remembered at Telaquana although [Alex] Trefon (63 years old) recalls that it was a village before his grandfather's time, which would be Trefon Balluta's father. Trefon Balluta is, hereafter and presently by people of Nondalton, referred to as Trefon Trefon. This appears to have been the beginning of the Trefon family as it is now identified. Andrew Balluta is another of the oldest remembered Balluta at this time and was undoubtedly a resident of *Chqul-chishtnu*."[704]

In the late 1890s, Wassillie Trefon's father and mother, Trefon Balluta and Mary Ann Trefon, were married at Telaquana Village. BIA documentation indicates that: "Trefon Trefon had three sons and two daughters born at Telaquana village." By the very early 20th century, the Trefon and Balluta families appear in the records of Kijik and other villages—reflecting both enduring ties between these communities and the gradual outward migration to join Dena'ina families living in the Lake Clark region during this period.[705]

Elders recall that Dena'ina people from as far south as Kijik and as far north as Lime Village congregated at *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* to fish in the summer and trap in the winter, sometimes staying for more than one season. For example, Evan and Mary Constantine (known as the Evan family), originally from *Qeghnilen*, would stay in *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* during the winter to trap. Their daughter, Agafia Evanoff, a child at the time, recalls that the Trefon and Balluta families were living there during that time.[706]

Ruth Koktelash (born ca. 1928) recalled spending winters as a child with her family (father Paul Bobby Constantine from *Qeghnilen)* at a camp within sight of *Ch'qułch'ishtnu*. She also remembers the village was largely abandoned by the time she was ten.[707] Annie Delkettie recalls that, similar to Ruth's, her family had a log cabin near Telaquana Village: "There is a creek that comes out there—*Ch'qułch'ishtnu* …'willow sprout creek.' Right by there they made a log house. Fish camp was way down where the creek runs into Telaquana River on the north side of the Telaquana River."[708] Annie stayed with her parents at Telaquana during the winters. Additionally, Pete Koktelash from Nondalton, born ca. 1905 in Telaquana, remembers the village from when he was seven years old and trapping with his father and grandfather: "He recalls only 30 to 40 people living at the site and remembers a nearby graveyard containing Russian Orthodox crosses northeast of the site along a

trail. He said the site was substantially a winter village occupied by the three principle families noted above."[709] Remembering six traditional birch bark and mud houses at *Ch'qułch'ishtnu*, Macy Hobson of Nondalton also recalled a "foot trail" that "… ran through the middle of the village and connected the settlement to the nearby fish camp of Telaquana Lake (AA-11101) … [reporting] at least two graves along the trail east of the village."[710]

During the early 1900s, the population shifted towards the southern villages. Most Dena'ina residents living in the *Vałts'atnaq'* (Mulchatna River) and *Vandaztunhtnu* (upper Mulchatna River) areas, including those living at *Qeghnilen* on the Stony River and in the village at *Dilah Vena* (Telaquana Lake), moved downriver to two main areas. Some established *Hek'dichen Hdakaq'* ('Hungry Village' or Lime Village) while others followed the Telaquana Trail south to the historic *Qizhjeh* (Kijik) settlement.[711] It was around 1910 that the community at *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* began to shift. Families reported moving to *Qizhjeh* for multiple reasons including a closer proximity to friends, family and the Russian church at Kijik, access to formal education, to be closer to the store for introduced goods, because fishing was easier at Kijik, and because they experienced a temporary decline of the caribou herd in the area.[712] Macy Hobson remembers that: "There was a large village here [at Telaquana Lake]. People moved from here to Kijik to be closer to the store at Old Iliamna village. Also, fish was easier to harvest at Kijik than here."[713] Many moved to Kijik, and after a series of epidemics in the first few years of the 20th century, many of these families relocated again to Nondalton. The family of Big Evan Nudlash family, too, continued to live nearby, on the south side of the Kijik River, until the 1940s.[714] *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* village remained an active seasonal site. Some Dena'ina residents returned to *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* in the 1920s, remodeled some houses, and continued the practice of winter trapping for fur bearing animals.[715] One resident had vivid memories of the area and the enduring traditional practices of the people who camped there during the hunting season: "Many people lived here in 1918 and GC was the 'boss' of everybody around Telaquana Lake then."[716] The identify of "GC" appears to be Gustingen Constantine, who later helped establish the Lime Village community and was an influential figure in early 20th century Inland Dena'ina history generally.

As fur prices increased, winter trapping in the 1920s and 1930s experienced a short rebound centered on *Ch'qułch'ishtnu*. Pete Trefon describes how trapping activity in the area between Lake Clark and Telaquana once again intensified during this period, leaving traces upon the cultural landscape: "At *Chqul-chishtnu* [*Chqul-chishtnu*] village itself, the old cabins were renovated in the 1920's for use as a permanent base of some trappers. Alex and Pete Trefon were there, Bennie Trefon their nephew, and another brother with his wife"—that brother being either Wassillie or Gabriel Trefon, who are known to have visited the site in the 1920s.[717] However during the summer months, the village ceased to

function as a permanent settlement and appeared to be abandoned. In 1929, when Stephen R. Capps began his survey of the Lake Clark-Mulchatna region for the US Geological Survey, he observed that the village seemed largely abandoned when not in use for trapping, as did the larger region in which it sat:

> "Except for one white man [Brown Carlson] on the north shore of Lake Clark, about five miles above the mouth of the Kijik River, there are no permanent inhabitants in the region described in this report. There were formerly native villages at the foot of Telaquana Lake and at the mouth of the Kijik River, and a few native houses along the north shore of Lake Clark, but all of these are now abandoned...."[718]

When visiting *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* in the 1950s to trap for beaver, Bennie Trefon made similar observations: "He observed the housepit depressions and abundant tall grass growing where the village had been. Mary V. Trefon recalls seeing it and described it similarly."[719] No one has lived at *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* except as a temporary camp since approximately the 1930s.[720]

In 1988, the BIA completed documentation of *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* in association with nomination of the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place as required by 43 CFR 2650.[721] A little over a decade later, Project Jukebox[722] participants identified *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail

The site has also been investigated archaeologically. Brelsford[723] first documented *Ch'qułch'ishtnu,* or Telaquana Village site XLC-002, AA-11092, in association with the Telaquana Trail. An especially detailed survey was undertaken in September of 1985, by a BIA ANCSA team. As part of this effort, Matthew O'Leary, Catherine Rauch, Dennis Griffin, and Dena'ina consultant Pete Koktelash visited the site to conduct field work as part of an effort to survey the Telaquana Trail. This documentation was undertaken to identify the Telaquana Trail and *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* as historic places as required by 43 CFR 2650.[724] When investigators surveyed the site in 1985, they found the village site to be largely overgrown but based on vegetation growth patterns, were able to discern the general location of past habitation (see Vegetation section). House sites and other archaeological features are numerous within this area.[725]

The BIA ANCSA survey team established datums within each Feature Area, determined site boundaries, and mapped major features. They determined that access to the site was limited, and site erosion is limited to times when runoff is particularly heavy in the spring. The features were found to be in generally good condition and identifiable in spite of considerable overgrowth since the time of occupation.

The survey team designated the large clearing—determined to be the primary activity area—Feature Area 1. Within this area, the archaeologists located six rectangular house depressions and thirteen rectangular cache or steam bath depressions. They note that "the houses were constructed in the traditional manner: log frames covered with birchbark and mud, some of which had attached rooms and steam baths. ... Numerous cache pits surrounded the houses."[726] According to information provided by Pete Koktelash, Feature 1 in Feature Area 1 was the remains of the Trefon house and Feature 2 was the house of Harry Balluta's father and his family. Feature 4 was thought to be the house of Simeone Kankaton.[727] The site contained three additional house depressions, and 15 non-residential depressions were located just outside the clearing in the wooded area. Multiple axe-cut stumps were also found in the surrounding areas. Feature Area A, as mapped, is shown below; Table 14 describes each of the features in turn.

Vandaztun Vena (Turquoise Lake) and the Upper Mulchatna River Basin. Courtesy NPS.

Table 14: Cultural Features at *Ch'gutch'ishtnu:* Feature Area 1 (BIA 1988).

Feature Area 1	
Feature 1	A well-defined 4.2 m × 5 m house depression oriented N. 53° W., with walls of split dovetail-notched logs and surrounded by a 0.5 m berm. The depression is 0.5 m deep, and an entrance breaks the wall toward the southwest. The feature has two attached rooms, one on the northwest wall measuring 2 m × 3.5 m and another long the northwest wall measuring 1 m × 2 m. Several large boulders lie in the interior of the feature.
Feature 2	A small 2.8 m × 2.9 m cache or steam bath oriented S. 50° E. and surrounded by a 0.3 m berm. A break in the southeast wall indicates a possible entrance.
Feature 3	A small 2.6 m square cache or steam bath oriented N. 30° E. and surrounded by a 0.4 m berm. A break in the southwest wall indicates a possible entrance.
Feature 4	A distinct 3.2 m × 5.5 m house depression, oriented N. 53° W. and surrounded by a 0.3 m berm. A break in the southeast wall indicates a possible entrance. A northeast extension of the northwest wall indicates, possibly, an additional room. Spatial arrangement of both Feature 4 and Feature 5 suggest that the two might have once been connected.
Feature 5	A small well-defined 4.5 m × 6.9 m house depression, oriented N. 35° W. and surrounded on three sides by a 0.3 m berm. The northwest wall is absent. This was probably the entrance. Three large aligned boulders lie near the northernmost corner.
Feature 6	A small, but well-defined, 3 m × 3.7 m house depression, oriented S. 33° E. and surrounded by a heavy 0.7 m berm. The feature is 0.8 m deep, and a break in the southwest wall indicates a probable entrance. Several boulders like in the center of the feature.
Feature 7	A complex multi-roomed depression generally oriented S. 65° W. The feature is well-defined and, for the most part, the rooms are connected by breaks through the 0.7 m berm: Room A is 3.9 m × 4 m; Room B is 4.5 m × 5.2 m; Room C is 3.8 m × 4 m; and Room D is 4.5 m × 5 m. Additionally, two attached depressions without a berm may represent caches or steam baths. They measure 2.6 m × 2.8 m and 1.5 m × 2.6 m. These later components are deeper than the four-foot rooms and have a maximum depth of 0.5 m.
Feature 8	A well-defined 3.8 m × 4.8 m house depression oriented S. 38° E. and surrounded by a 0.6 m berm. A break in the northwest wall indicates a possible entrance. The feature is outside the clearing, and spruce trees grow along the berm and in the interior.
Feature 9	A well-defined 5.2 m × 7.2 m house depression, oriented S. 50° E. and surrounded on three sides by a 0.5 m berm. A break in the northwest wall indicates a possible entrance. Both Features 8 and 9 are joined at a corner and may represent a single extended family dwelling.
Feature A	A small 0.7 m square depression, oriented N. 30° E. It is 0.3 m deep and is probably a cache pit.

Feature B	A 2 m × 3 m cache depression, 0.6 m deep and oriented N. 62° W. The feature lies at the southeast end of a long narrow ditch that bisects the clearing. Several other cache-like features are in the ditch.
Feature C	A 1.2 m × 2.7 m depression, 0.5 m deep and oriented S. 15° W. It is probably a cache pit.
Feature D	A T-shaped, 1.6 m × 2.1 m, 0.5 m deep depression that is oriented S. 35° W. The feature is located in the ditch and probably represents a cache pit.
Feature E	A 1.3 m × 2.9 m depression, 0.3 m deep and oriented N. 82° W. It is located in the ditch and probably represents a cache pit.
Figure F	A 1.2 m square depression, 0.2 m deep and oriented N. 82° W. The feature likes within the ditch and represents a cache pit.
Feature G	A 1.2 m × 2.3 m depression, 0.2 m deep and oriented N. 16° E. This feature also lies within the ditch and represents a cache pit.
Figure H	A 2 m square depression, 0.5 deep and oriented N. 62° W. It is in the ditch and probably represents a cache pit.
Figure I	A 2 m × 2.2 m depression, 0.5 m deep and oriented N. 62° W. The feature is aligned with both features H and J in the ditch and probably represent a cache pit.
Feature J	A 2 m × 2.3 m depression, 0.5 m deep, oriented N. 62° W., and is probably a cache pit.
Feature K	A 1 m × 2.1 m depression, 0.4 m deep and oriented N. 30° W. A narrow 1 m appendage extends southeast from the feature.
Feature L	A 0.7 m square depression, 0.3 m deep and oriented N. 40° W. It is probably a cache pit.
Feature M	A 1.5 m × 2.3 m depression, 0.4 m deep and oriented N. 20° W. It is probably a cache pit.
Feature N	A small depression 0.6 m in diameter and 0.3 m deep. It is probably a cache pit.
Feature O	A large 2.2 m × 3 m depression, 0.4 m deep and oriented S. 36° W. The feature is probably a cache pit, although is large enough to be a steam bath, because it lacks a berm and an entrance.
Feature P	A 1 m depression, 0.2 deep and oriented S. 36° W. It is probably a cache pit.
Feature Q	An irregular 0.8 m × 1.2 m depression, 0.4 m deep and oriented N. 36° N. A curved appendage, 0.6 m wide and 2 m long, extends southwest from the depression.
Feature R	An irregular depression roughly 1 m in diameter and 0.2 m deep. The depression is at the entrance of Feature 4 and may represent the remnants of a traditional entrance tunnel.
Feature S	A depression 0.5 m in diameter and 0.2 m deep. The feature is at the edge of the clearing and represents a cache pit.

Feature T	A 1 m × 1.5 m depression, 0.4 deep and oriented S. 82° W. The feature lies outside the clearing and represents a cache pit.
Feature U	A 1.4 m × 1.6 m depression, 0.5 m deep and oriented N. 55° W. The feature lies outside the clearing and represents a cache pit.
Feature V	A 1.4 m × 2 m depression, 0.5 m deep and oriented N. 35° W. The feature lied outside the clearing and represents a cache pit.
Feature W	A 1 m square depression, 2 m deep and oriented S. 74° W. It probably represents a cache pit.
Feature X	A 1 m square depression, 0.3 m deep and oriented S. 74° W. The feature represents a cache pit.
Feature Y	A 1 m square depression, 0.3 m deep and oriented S. 65° E. It is probably a cache pit.
Feature Z	An irregular depression, 1.2 m in diameter and 0.3 m deep, that probably represents a cache pit.
Feature AA	A small depression, 0.2 m deep and 0.7 m in diameter, that is probably a cache pit.

An aerial image of the outlet of Telaquana Lake, and lower Trail Creek, and the Telaquana River Basin, with the Alaska Range looming on the horizon. Telaquana Lake and Trail Creek. Courtesy NPS.

CMTs are common along the Telaquana Trail near cabin or cache locations, and blazes such as shown here on the side of a living white spruce tree indicate route locations — often important in navigating dense timber along the trail. Courtesy NPS.

To the east in a wooded area was designated Feature Area 2. Within this area were the remains of three structures, a raised cache that had collapsed, and a small cache or steam bath. Post-contact era debris was scattered among these features. Feature Area B, as mapped, is shown below; Table 15 describes each of the features in turn.

Table 15: Cultural Features at *Ch'gułch'ishtnu:* Feature Area 2 (BIA 1988).

Feature Area 2	
Feature 10	An indistinct 4 m × 4.3 m house depression oriented N. 55° W. and surrounded by a 0.3 m berm. The feature is overgrown by spruce and birch trees.
Feature 11	The remains of a 2.3 m square raised cache, oriented N. 60° E. The structure has collapsed toward the southwest and was constructed of split dovetail-notched logs. One of the foundation posts was a modified tree stump. Associated historical debris include: two Victor 3 traps, a white enamelware plate, a gray enamelware pot and a rusted 5-gallon fuel can.
Feature 12	A small 1.8 m square cache-like structure oriented N. 50° W. The walls are log lined and a break in the southwest wall indicates a possible entrance.
Feature 13	An indistinct 3.7 m square house depression, oriented N. 55° W. and surrounded by a 0.4 m berm. The feature includes two attached rooms, one along the northeast wall measuring 1 m × 1.2 m and another along the southeast wall measuring 1.2 m × 2 m. Associated historical debris include: a rusted 5-gal. fuel can modeled into a stove, a rusted Lipton (Leylon) tea can, a 2-pound Hill Bros. coffee can (circa 1922), a rusted gold pan and two Victor 3 traps. Split-log construction materials lie inside, and around, the feature.
Feature 14	A collapsed 2.5 m × 2.7 m structure, oriented S. 52° W. and constructed of split dovetail-notched logs. Associated historical debris include: two gray enamelware pots, an enamelware kettle, a rusted Victor 3 trap, several 5 cm lead net sinkers and a rusted Patterson's Tuxedo tobacco can. Additional structural materials are scattered around the feature.

In addition to these two key Feature Areas, the 1985 survey team noted a cemetery with Russian Orthodox crosses located opposite the village across Trail Creek, accessible by a traditional style footbridge. Several blazed trees are also located throughout the area; the blazes thought to mark where the trail passed the village:

> "Two trails run northeast through the site area and connect several hundred feet north of the principle use area. One trail follows the right bank of Trail Creek, then turns northward to pass through the principle use area. The other skirts the separate feature area and is marked by at least two blazed spruce trees. These may represent parts of the Telaquana Trail (AA-11094)."[730] Ferreira also describes finding culturally modified trees and the remains of a cabin in the area when he traversed a portion of the Telaquana Trail in 2015:
>
> "We then proceeded inland (due south) towards the winter village site of Ch'qulch'ishtnu. Once you leave the black spruce taiga landscape the white spruce forest going becomes difficult due to dense underbrush. It was hard to find the village and the mosquitoes were voracious, but we finally found it and took some GPS points… and pictures. As we approached the site from the south we passed several CMT's, three stumps sawn off approximately 2-3 ft above the ground, [John Branson] reports also a cabin ruin and tree blazes nearby. We did not have time to find, let alone document these resources."[731]

John Branson recalls seeing culturally modified trees—two blazes situated one above the other—near the Telaquana Lake area: "right up by the old village, *Ch'qułch'ishtnu*, up on Trail Creek. And I've got a slide of that."[732] They are located close to the village and may have been utilized as markers for travelers.

Archaeologists revisited *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* in 2003 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[733] NPS staff also revisited the site with Dena'ina elders in the course of the Ellana and *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[734] *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* was listed as a significant feature of the Telaquana Trail on the NRHP nomination form and was defined as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI.[735] Tennessen compared maps produced of the site in 1985 and 2003, concluding that the site had been subject to very little disturbance.[736] Moreover, the site is considered in good condition according to CRIS guidelines and provides an opportunity to conduct archaeological research in a setting where oral traditions and other lines of evidence for post-contact use remain robust.

Turquoise Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-037

The Turquoise Lake site XLC-037 was first documented during the Smith and Shields[737] survey in 1976. The site, located on the northwest shore of the lake, was revisited in 2002 as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey.[738] Archaeologists noted several lithic flakes spread over an area measuring 2.2 by 0.9 meters, one being a grey chert projectile point fragment, fractured at the very tip and at the middle of the artifact; this projectile point is triangular in cross-section and the base is rounded. Archaeologists also recovered a retouched, heavily-weathered black basalt flake[739].

Based on the presence of a broken projectile point and what appears to be sharpening flakes, Smith and Shields suggest that the area may have been utilized as an animal kill or butchering site.[740] They did not assign temporal provenance or cultural affinities, except to identify the site as precontact.

Vandaztun Vena, Turquoise Lake in fall — still unfrozen and turquoise, as snow accumulates on surrounding mountains and tundra. Photo by Lucas Westcott, NPS, 2017.

When archaeologists revisited the site in 2002,[741] they mistakenly issued a second site number, XLC-127, though the error has since been rectified. The archaeologists conducted a surface survey, identifying a surface lithic scatter of 25 flakes in an area approximately 1 × 4 m. They excavated a test unit 1 m northwest of the lithic scatter to a depth of 1.14 m below ground surface. The unit contained lithic debitage and charcoal. Cultural material was found approximately 60 cm below ground surface between zones of sterile glacial till. Based on these findings, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric,' and includes apparent lithics processing and camp or residential sites.

A group of hikers descending into the upper Trail Creek valley east of Q'eteni, as they travel south from the modern-day trail head on upper Telaquana Lake. Photo by Karen Evanoff, NPS.

Artifacts on the surface suggest erosion has caused cultural materials to become exposed; patterned ground at the site suggests disturbance by natural processes such as freeze-thaw cycles. Based on CRIS guidelines, the site is considered to be in fair condition.

Turquoise Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-038

The Smith and Shields[742] survey identified another Turquoise Lake archaeological site, XLC-038, located on the north central shore of the lake near a small stream. Based on findings from test pits, the site is estimated to be 15 m × 13 m. They located several flakes and two undiagnostic bifaces at the site. The flakes included one light tan chert flake, one dark gray weathered basalt flake, one black basalt, one marginal flake of andesite, and one utilized flake of dark gray weathered basalt. One of the biface fragments is a weathered gray basalt shaped by percussion flaking, asymmetrical along its axis.

The second biface is a gray to dark gray chert shaped by percussion flaking. The presence of small flakes on the edges show that the biface had been used. This artifact also has a striking platform at the proximal end, indicating this biface may have been made from a larger blade. Based on this data, Smith and Shields could not assign temporal placement and cultural affinities, though they identify the site as precontact.

Turquoise Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-039

In 1976, the Smith and Shields survey first documented the Turquoise Lake archaeological site XLC-039,[743] located on the northwest shore of the lake on an old terrace. Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey then revisited the site in 2002.[744] The 2002 survey recovered two flakes: one of brown chert and the other of black basalt. Temporal placement and cultural affinities could not be assigned, though archaeologists identified the site as precontact.

The Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey conducted in 2002 also noted that vegetation in the site's vicinity included a range of wetland and tundra species, many of cultural significance: dwarf birch, grasses, mountain avens, stunted willow, cinquefoil, lingonberry, Labrador tea, dwarf willow, and crowberry. Lithic artifacts at the site were concentrated in three clusters: Clusters 1 and 2 on the northwest edge of the exposure, and Cluster 3 at the southern end. Cluster 1 consisted of 17 flakes. Cluster 2 contained 25 flakes, three biface fragments, and a unifacial scraper. Cluster 3 contained 3 flakes. Based on these findings, and in the absence of additional data, the survey classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

Artifacts on the surface of the site indicate active erosion or bioturbation. CRIS guidelines deem the site to be in fair condition, though the 2002 survey observed visitors in the area, increasing the potential of cultural disturbance by human visitation and disturbance. Still, the site may yield additional information relating to the human use and occupation, as well as the position of the Turquoise Lake area in regional cultural and exchange patterns based on diagnostic lithics and other lines of evidence.

Turquoise Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-040

Smith and Shields also identified the Turquoise Lake archaeological site XLC-040 during their survey in 1976.[745] The site is located on the north central shore of the lake on the same terrace as XLC-038. They recovered one retouched black basalt flake and one utilized black basalt flake. Temporal placement and cultural affinities could not be assigned, but they identify the site as precontact. The relatively large site holds potential for lithic and other analysis that might place the site, and Turquoise Lake use and occupation, in their broader cultural and temporal contexts.

Turquoise Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-126

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[746] first recorded Turquoise Lake site XLC-126. On the north shore of Turquoise Lake is a small point of land northeast of the outlet of the lake—portions of which are actively eroding. The 2002 surface survey identified an area on the point containing cultural materials. Archaeologists recovered two uniface fragments (possibly fragments of endscrapers) and six pieces of debitage. The site also has evidence of modern, probably Dena'ina occupation, present in the form of a trash deposit buried on the north end of the site dating to the late 1970s or 1980s. Archaeologists dug a test unit in a portion of the site with apparent surface lithics. They also excavated a second test unit on the southern end of the site approximately 5 m south of the datum, digging to a depth of 1.30 m; no cultural material was found in this unit. They did find two large wooden stakes made of spruce (49 × 2 in. and 29 × 2.5 in., respectively) in the ground to the south of the site; and based on these findings, considered the site to have hosted both historic era and precontact occupants, though they assigned no cultural affiliation to the site.

Artifacts on the surface of the site are associated with active erosion. CRIS guidelines deem the site to be in fair condition. As noted by Tennessen, "the area also receives significant use from anglers, hikers on the Telaquana Trail, and paddlers floating the Mulchatna River, increasing the potential for human disturbance."[747]

Turquoise Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-128

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey first recorded Turquoise Lake site XLC-128 in 2002.[748] The site is located where Sheep Lick Creek meets the Mulchatna River floodplain.[749] The 2002 surface survey at the site identified lithic scatters concentrated into two clusters. The center of Cluster 1 covers an area approximately 10 × 6 m in size. This cluster produced 105 flakes and two non-diagnostic biface fragments. Cluster 2 is approximately 12 m to the east of Cluster 1, and is 3 × 1.5 m in size—producing 75 flakes in this survey. Outside of these clusters, archaeologists found one flake and two blade-like flakes. Soils in the area did not produce deposits of cultural material, and so the team excavated no test units. Based on these findings, with no further artifact analysis, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric.' Artifacts on the surface indicate erosion or bioturbation has been significant on the upper surface of the ridge where the site is situated. CRIS guidelines classify the site condition as fair.

Near Turquoise Lake—Gravesite XLC-129

A gravesite near Turquoise Lake site XLC-129 is located near the outlet to Turquoise Lake. This is a Dena'ina gravesite. During archaeological surveys, fragments of a Russian Orthodox cross, the former grave marker, appeared in this area. The vertical upright, a piece of hand-hewn spruce with a

rectangular cross-section of 1.5 × 2.0 in., lay on the southwestern side of the mount. Though the cross piece was missing, a 1.5 in. diagonal notch that once supported the piece remains visible on the upright portion. Archaeologists also found additional pieces of wood within the site boundaries, between the rocks of the burial mound, the datum being 18.5 m to the southwest of the grave mound. according to Tennessen, "It is possible that the individual buried here, died while traveling the Telaquana Trail. The site is assumed to be affiliated with the historic Dena'ina occupation."[750] This site is less than one mile east of *Qalnigi Aqenlchixi*, Votive Rock.

Angular glacial erratics were scattered along the ridge. The grave mound was constructed from glacial erratics and is less than 1 m high, 5.0 m long, and 2.5 m wide. On top of the mound, a large tuft of grass was growing out of a deep depression; it is unknown if this depression is a natural formation or the result of site disturbance. Other than the depression on the grave mound, very little evidence suggests site disturbance.

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey in 2002 first recorded Turquoise Lake grave, site XLC-129,[751] though Craig and Gail Coray observed the site in around 2000 and reported it to co-author John Branson, who passed on the information to Jeanne Schaaf. NPS staff classified the site as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI—not only because of its location and cultural significance, but also its likely connection to trail users.[752] CRIS guidelines classify the condition of the site to be good[753]; and according to NPS assessment, it retains archaeological integrity—though it is highly unlikely that the site will be investigated archaeologically in the imaginable future.[754]

Turquoise Lake Windbreak/Hunting Blind—XLC-283

Dena'ina hunters and travelers sometimes allude to the past construction of hunting blinds and windbreaks of stone on or near the Telaquana Trail, though archaeological evidence of such features is relatively sparse. Archaeological site XLC-283 is a welcome exception. This stone feature consists of a drystone rock wall, approximately four feet long and three feet high.[755] Documented by National Park Service staff in 2020, the site was determined to be a possible windbreak or hunting blind. The site covers an area approximately .002 acres and is located a short distance north of Turquoise Lake. The rock wall is located within the historical range of the Mulchatna Caribou herd and in a suitable caribou hunting location. The antiquity of the site has not yet been determined. Site conditions are consistent with normal weathering patterns, and there is no sign of visitor disturbance to the stone feature.

Dena'ina woman Danielle Stickman, looking across the calm waters of Dilah Vena, Telaquana Lake. Photo courtesy Karen Evanoff, NPS.

Trail Butte is visible looking south from Nuch'vastin on the Telaquana Trail. Courtesy NPS.

Unnumbered Precontact Lithic Site

When surveying the trail in 1991, Zorea found chipped rock fragments and a crystal on the east side of Bear Creek Pass. Karen Workman, an archaeologist in the survey group, interpreted the lithics to be part of a site perhaps thousands of years old:

> "Just before the butte on a ridge (2nd on the east side of the Bear creek pass, on its north end) Karen believed she found some prehistoric sites (3) based on chipped rock fragments and a crystal. No date, of course, could be responsibly guessed at, but Karen estimated it in the thousands of years. The sites appear skeptical but certainly deserve more attention and examination."[756]

John Branson guided Aharon Zorea and Karen Workman during this 1991 trip, believing the butte to be Proenneke's "Trail Butte," just south of *Nuch'vastin* on the Telaquana Trail. The site does not appear to have a documented Dena'ina place name. Nevertheless, Dena'ina travelers clearly would have used the feature as a trail marker because it dominates the immediate viewshed approaching from the north, south, east, or west.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-044

The Smith and Shields survey in 1976 was first to archaeologically record Snipe Lake site XLC-044.[757] Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[758] then revisited the site in 2003. The site is located on the western shore of the lake, close to the top of a hill. Archaeologists recovered two artifacts from the site, the first being a worked 'blade,' a roughly shaped blade/flake with two arises (ridges found along the margins of where a flake was removed) on one side. The base of the blade is slightly convex, nearly flat, and not perpendicular to the long axis; the cross-section is almost lenticular. The second artifact recovered from the site was a side-notched projectile point made of andesite or rhyolite. The point has asymmetrical side notching created by a mixture of percussion and pressure flaking. According to Smith and Shields, the point has distinct similarities to a point found at Kagati Lake that belongs to a complex of points known as Tuktu Palisades, generally found in the interior and assigned an age range between 6,000 and 4,000 years ago.

During the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey in 2004, archaeologists conducted additional analyses on the upper hill, on the western shore of Snipe Lake. They relocated site XLC-044 in 2004 based on work published by Smith and Shields. At that time, the survey team recovered a retouched blade-like flake and a side-notched projectile point (artifact #1976-12), proposing at that time that the site was associated with the Northern Archaic tradition.

Side-notched biface , 1976-12, recovered from XLC-044 at K'adeła Vena, Snipe Lake. Courtesy NPS.

Upon revisiting the site in 2004–2005, researchers conducted a surface survey and excavated one test unit. They located no cultural materials within the site boundaries. Approximately 0.25 km to the south of the XLC-044 datum, they recorded two flakes found on a hill as an isolated find. Because no materials were found in this 2004 survey, "the site condition assessment has been designated 'not relocated—unknown' according to CRIS guidelines."[759] Heavy erosion has occurred throughout the site, and visitors are frequent as evidenced in the modern trash found near the site.

Harvey Shields in 1976, at XLC-044. Courtesy NPS.

As part of the 2004–2005 site assessment,[760] the archaeological team also reexamined the side-notched biface (artifact #1976-12) recovered from site XLC-044 by Smith and Shields.[761] This artifact "is a complete, asymmetrically side-notched, convex-based point with an excurvate, sub-triangular blade. It was manufactured from a coarse chert-like material and collected from the surface at XLC-044 west of Snipe Lake."[762] Based on these diagnostic features, researchers proposed that site XLC-044 is affiliated with the Northern Archaic tradition.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-141

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[763] first recorded Snipe Lake site XLC-141 on a hill southwest of Snipe Lake. Soils in the area are thin—the vegetation characteristic of alpine tundra: dwarf birch, grasses, and scattered spruce. Researchers found three surface scatters, the majority of which are light greenish gray, yellowish gray, or grayish yellow chert. The first scatter consists of 89 lithic artifacts; the second and third are approximately 70 m to the southeast of the first scatter. The second scatter consists of 133 lithic artifacts and a lanceolate projectile point (artifact #2004-14) and a possible blade core made from chert (artifact #2004-18). The third scatter consists of 47 lithic artifacts. Based on these findings, particularly the point and the possible blade core, these archaeologists have attributed the site to a people who employed early microblade and/or lanceolate traditions.

A few potentially diagnostic artifacts have been recovered from this site. Artifact #2004-18 is one example:

> "[It] is a possible blade core manufactured on a flake. The two possible blade scars are truncated by a fracture. It was manufactured from high quality volcanic material. Four blade scars were visible. The core was apparently discarded after an attempt to strike a flake from secondary platform removed a deep hinging flake that also removed most of the blade producing face."[764]

Researchers also recovered a lanceolate biface (artifact #2004-14) from XLC-141. This artifact "is the smallest and thinnest of the four bifaces. It has a triangular blade with slightly excurvate lateral edges and a concave base. It is also the most roughly flaked of the four, with little evidence of pressure flaking."[765] The presence of cores and so many lithic scatters suggests a possible tool processing site relating to hunting in the area.

Artifacts on the surface of the site indicate significant levels of erosion. Thus, according to CRIS guidelines, the condition of the site is characterized as fair. Evidence of modern occupation, trash, shell casings, and soda cans indicate recent human activities and a strong potential for further disturbance.

John Branson and Ross Smith at XLC-142 in 2004. Courtesy NPS.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-142

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[766] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-142. The site sits on a hill southwest of Snipe Lake, consisting of a lithic scatter (approximately 14 × 15 m). The assemblage is composed of the following, all manufactured of chert: a core fragment, a biface fragment, 82 pieces of debitage, an overshot flake, and 5 blade-like flakes. Two fire rings are also present, indicating the area has been used as a campsite in recent times. Based on these findings, the site is classified as an 'unspecified prehistoric' site associated with lithics processing and perhaps a range of other uses over time.

Lanceolate biface 2004-14, recovered from XLC-142 at K'adeła Vena, Snipe Lake. Courtesy NPS.

Artifacts located on the edge of the exposure are indicative of recent, active erosion. Though continuing erosion will cause conditions to deteriorate, CRIS guidelines currently classify the site condition as fair. The presence of contemporary fire rings and trash in the area indicate the area is subject to significant use by visitors and may undergo further human disturbance.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-161

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[767] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-161, located south of the inlet of Snipe Lake. Densely vegetated and criss-crossed with a network of game trails, the site revealed the following cultural material when surveyed: a biface missing a tip, a large core, and 24 pieces of debitage including a microblade fragment. Researchers excavated one test unit producing six pieces of debitage. Based on these findings, they classify the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.' Very little evidence of erosion is present at the site, considered to be in good condition according to CRIS guidelines—with good potential to reveal additional facts regarding the deeper human history of the Snipe Lake shoreline.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-170

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[768] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-170. Located to the southwest of Snipe Lake, the site consists of a small lithic scatter and four scattered lithic artifacts. The assemblage is composed of 11 pieces of lithic debitage, one broken biface, and one large projectile point mid-section. Based on these findings, researchers classify the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.' CRIS guidelines deem the site condition to be poor as it has experienced heavy erosion. Evidence of modern use, such as trash and ammunition cases, indicates current use and suggests the ongoing possibility of site disturbance due to human visitation.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-198

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[769] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-198. Also located southwest of Snipe Lake, the site has been recorded as containing four lithic fragments (three flake fragments and one non-diagnostic core fragment) located during a surface survey of an area of exposed soil. All of the objects are white chert that either have an orange patina or were heat altered to produce the observed light- to dark-orange pigments. Based on these findings, in the absence of diagnostic analysis of the artifacts or radiometric dating, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

Artifacts located on the edge of the exposure suggest recent, active erosion. According to CRIS guidelines, the site is considered to be fair, though continuing erosion is anticipated to cause this condition to deteriorate. The presence of contemporary trash in the area indicates the area is subject to significant use by visitors and may experience further human disturbance as well.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-199

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[770] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-199. The site is located southwest of Snipe Lake. In 2004, during a surface survey, researchers recovered a large lanceolate biface (artifact #2004-01); and in 2005, additional surface surveys located a cluster of lithic materials (ten pieces of greenish chert) on the north ridge of the exposure and three pieces outside of the cluster (a basalt cobble with possible flake scars, a piece of possibly retouched greenish chert, and a flake). Archaeologists recovered and have analyzed one artifact from site XLC-199: a stage three biface or ovolanceolate biface (artifact #2004-01). This artifact is a well-flaked, elongate biface with excurvate lateral edges and lenticular cross sections that is missing a significant portion of what is assumed here to be the base and a small portion of the tip. It appears to be symmetrical with its widest point closer to the assumed mid-point.

Ovolanceolate biface 2004-01, recovered from XLC-199 at K'adeła Vena, Snipe Lake. Courtesy NPS.

Based on these findings, archaeologists attribute the site to a people using an early microblade or early lanceolate tradition. This suggests considerable antiquity, but additional archaeological investigation would be required to establish site age and cultural associations. Artifacts found on the soil surface at the site indicate extensive and ongoing erosion. CRIS guidelines deem the site condition to be fair, though it may degrade to poor as erosion continues. Evidence of recent occupation, ammunition casings, soda cans and other refuse indicate a high potential for further disturbance by contemporary visitors.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-200

Researchers with the 2004 Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[771] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-200, southwest of Snipe Lake. In 2004, the team located four pieces of chert debitage during a surface survey of the site. But upon returning to the site in 2005, they found only three of the pieces remaining: two pieces of blocky shatter and a flake fragment, all manufactured from white chert that has taken on an orange to pink patina. Based on these findings, the site is classified 'unspecified prehistoric.'

Artifacts on the surface suggest disturbance of cultural deposits, including likely human disturbance. CRIS guidelines classify the site condition as poor. Modern trash near the area and failure to relocate artifacts initially found in 2004 indicate the possibility that cultural materials at the site experience disturbance by park visitors.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-201

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[772] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-201 east of the lake outlet. Researchers observed a surface lithic scatter in a sediment exposure in 2004, performing a single shovel test. In 2005, when archaeologists revisited the site, they located an additional 19 pieces of lithic debitage. They mapped the site and dug three additional shovel tests, only one of which (ST1) produced cultural material: 37 pieces of lithic debitage. Based on these findings, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric,' and apparently associated with tool manufacture

The site is subject to active erosion that has exposed and undermined cultural materials. According to CRIS guidelines, the site condition is considered fair; researchers noted no evidence of contemporary visitation during 2004 or 2005.

Snipe Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-202

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[773] first recorded the Snipe Lake site XLC-202, southwest of Snipe Lake. During a surface survey of an exposed rocky slope, researchers located the site—most of it vegetated. They performed six shovel tests along the slope; of these ST1, 2, and 3 produced cultural materials. ST1 produced more than 200 pieces of debitage including blades, microblades, and blade-like flakes; ST2 produced 36 pieces of debitage; and ST3 produced 35 pieces. Researchers found an additional 96 artifacts, including two biface fragments, on the surface. Based on these findings, the site is classified as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

Artifacts found on the surface indicate active erosion in process at the site, though the extent is minimal. CRIS guidelines classify the site conditions as good, though access to the site is limited due to swampy conditions in the area around the ridge. No evidence of modern occupation was observed.

The site seems to have significant potential to reveal additional details of human history along the Telaquana Trail, in light of its condition and its significant concentrations of lithics.

Lachbuna Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-045

Smith and Shields[774] first recorded the Lachbuna Lake archaeological site XLC-045 in 1976. The site is located on the northwest shore of the lake. Researchers dug test pits to a depth of 15–25 cm and recovered nine basalt flakes. Temporal placement and cultural affinities could not be assigned, but the team identified the site as precontact. The site has not been revisited by later archaeological surveys nor has its conditions been assessed in light of CRIS criteria.

Fishtrap Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-046

The Smith and Shields[775] survey first archaeologically documented the Fishtrap Lake site XLC-046 in 1976, and researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey revisited the site in 2003.[776] Located on the southwest shore of the lake, the site's full size was not determined. Archaeologists recovered two andesite flakes. Though temporal placement and cultural affinities could not be assigned, the site is identified as precontact. When researchers revisited the site in 2004, "seven shovel tests were excavated in a north to south line."[777] Vegetation at the site was consistent with a mixed open forest, primarily white spruce with an understory of dwarf birch. They recovered no cultural material at this time and classified the site 'unspecified prehistoric.' They determined the site to be stable and in good condition, with minimal natural disturbances and no noted visitor disturbances. It has not been formally assessed for condition according to the terms of CRIS, but is likely to qualify for listing as a site in good condition.

Fishtrap Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-047

The Smith and Shields[778] survey first documented the Fishtrap Lake site XLC-047 in 1976; and in 2003, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey revisited the site,[779] located on the eastern shore of the lake. Test pits revealed one white chert flake, one black banded chert flake, one volcanic flake, and one retouched yellow chert flake. Archaeologists did not determine the full extent of the site. Temporal placement and cultural affinities could not be assigned, though they identified the site as precontact.

When researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[780] revisited the site in 2004, they excavated nine shovel test pits in a northeast to southwest line, with four of these shovel tests producing cultural material: ST1, ST4, ST6, and ST8. They then expanded shovel test 1 into a 50 x 50 cm test unit from which 62 artifacts were recovered including the following: numerous flakes and a retouched core fragment. They also recovered a carbon sample. Shovel tests 4, 6, and 8 produced four, five, and two flakes, respectively. Researchers classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.' The site showed no evidence of deterioration since the 1976 survey, and CRIS guidelines assess site conditions as being good.

Dave Tennessen, archaeological survey at Fishtrap Lake, 2004. Courtesy NPS.

Fishtrap Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-048

Smith and Shields[781] first recorded the Fishtrap Lake site XLC-048 in 1976; and in 2003, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey revisited the site.[782] The site is located on the eastern end of the lake and consists of two grass covered pits or depressions: one measuring 2.0 m × 1.5 m × 0.40 m in depth, and the other 1.5 m × 1.5 m × 0.40 m in depth. Smith and Shields propose that the pits may have been used as caches or hunting blinds. No artifacts were recovered. Based on vegetation patterns, archaeologists determine the site to be historic period—with grass being the primary ground cover. They attribute occupation to Dena'ina people living and harvesting subsistence resources in the area.

When researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[783] revisited the site in 2004, they dug shovel tests in each of the two depressions but recovered no cultural materials. Erosion has affected the southwest side of the knoll; as this continues, the depressions on the upper surface of the knoll will be destroyed. CRIS guidelines presently determine the site conditions to be fair.

Fishtrap Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-136

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[784] first recorded the Fishtrap Lake site XLC-136. The site is located near the east end of Fishtrap Lake. During this survey, archaeologists dug eight shovel test pits. They recovered seven pieces of lithic debitage from two of them (ST2 and ST3), though these artifacts were not sufficient to assign a cultural affiliation other than 'unspecified

prehistoric.' Soils at the site consist of accretin silts and sand over poorly sorted coarse sand, gravel, and cobbles—probably glacial till. Disturbance at the site is reported to be minimal, though researchers noted a game trail along the ridge. CRIS guidelines classify the site condition as good.[785]

Fishtrap Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-137

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[786] first recorded the Fishtrap Lake site XLC-137. The site is located on the east end of Fishtrap Lake. When the site was documented in 2004, vegetation in the area was characteristic of an open mixed forest: dwarf birch, scattered spruce, and Labrador tea.[787] Researchers excavated four shovel test pits. Of these, only shovel test 4 (ST4) produced artifacts: one piece of lithic debitage, a possible hammer stone, and two possible microblade core fragments. In 2005, researchers dug two shovel tests bracketing ST4, along with six additional shovel tests in an eastwardly line extending from ST4. They uncovered nothing new; they classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric' and documented no disturbances. CRIS guidelines classify the site conditions as good, with potential to reveal additional details regarding the precontact history of the Telaquana Trail region.[788]

Fishtrap Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-168

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[789] first recorded the Fishtrap Lake site XLC-168. The site is located on the east central shore of Fishtrap Lake. In 2005, researchers dug a series of shovel test pits and determined XLC-168 to be an archaeological site, uncovering eight flakes or flake fragments and one microblade fragment. They found the site to be 'unspecified prehistoric.' Archaeologists determined site XLC-168 to be located in intact soil most likely glacially deposited, with the presence of finer sentiments, sand, and silt that may have been transported by wind, water, or both so that the site soil may be accreting somewhat. Researchers documented no disturbances; CRIS guidelines classify the site condition as good.[790]

Archaeological Sites—Discontinuous Features

Beyond the sites identified in the prior section, many archaeological sites exist in the vicinity of Telaquana Trail that relate to the broader cultural and historical context of the trail that might be considered as potentially contributing to the larger National Register nomination. The Cultural Landscape Inventory itemized certain sites, and certain archaeological documents (especially the work of Tennessen) expands much on our understanding of archaeological linkages to the Telaquana Trail. We address a number of potentially relevant sites in turn below, recognizing that these are contextually related to the Telaquana Trail but are to be considered optional as contributing resources in future National Register nomination efforts relating to the trail.

Katie Myers and Brian Davis trying to beat the rain at XLC-041, 2002. Courtesy NPS.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-041

In 1976, the Smith and Shields[791] survey identified the Twin Lakes archaeological site XLC-041 on the southwest shore of the lake. Then in 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[792] revisited the site. The site has three components. Two of the site components are lithic scatters of precontact-era flakes. The third component includes a tent ring composed of cobbles, wooden stakes in the ground, cut wood, and a flake scatter—the tent ring being an incomplete circle (about a quarter of the diameter open) measuring 4.0 m in diameter, of cobblestones averaging 17 cm in diameter, with the cobblestones partially buried in shallow gravel. Outside the cobblestones at a 45° angle, several tent stakes have been driven into the ground. Additional cut pieces of wood were found near the tent ring, some of which had been burned. Researchers also recovered three flakes from the site: one black basalt flake, one black basalt retouched flake (possibly a scraper), and one possible blade fragment made of dark gray basalt. They also found one tree segment, sawn perpendicular to the length at one end and cut to a point with an ax at the opposite end.

The recovered flakes, particularly the microblade fragment, suggest precontact occupation. Wood artifacts *in situ* indicate enduring post-contact use, likely reflecting Dena'ina use before, during, and after the time of EuroAmerican contact. Smith and Shields[793] determined that the presence of wood

indicates the building of enduring structures, meaning the site appears to have been occupied for a length of time; they associate the historical use of the site to the Dena'ina people but were unable to define a temporal range for the site's precontact component.

When researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[794] revisited the site in 2002, they excavated a single test unit west of the tent ring and determined the soil to consist of approximately 40 cm of sand, silt, overlying gravel, and sand. They recovered no cultural materials and proposed no specific cultural affiliation for the larger site. They did observe disturbance on the west edge of the site due to erosion, and noted that some wood stakes appeared to have been removed. Archaeologists determined that visitation to the site is significant, so that erosion and visitor impacts continue to threaten the integrity of this potentially illuminating archaeological site with pre- and post-contact elements. The site's condition has been deemed fair in CRIS.[795]

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-042

In 1976, Smith and Shields[796] first documented the Twin Lakes site XLC-042 archaeologically; in 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey revisited the site.[797] It is a relatively small (7.5 m × 4.0 m) site, located on the southwest shore of the lake. Recovered lithics include: one blade-like flake of gray chert; a unifacial black basalt flake scraper with percussion retouch along one edge; and a biface fragment of black basalt. The edge of the biface fragment has a hinge fracture from the manufacturing process. A fourth recovered lithic artifact was a black basalt projectile point base with basal notching produced by pressure flaking. When researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[798] revisited the site in 2002, they conducted a surface survey, locating two small flake scatters on the southern half of the site. They also excavated two test units near these lithic scatters, but found no cultural material in these units.

Corner-notched biface 1976-06 recovered from XLC-042 at Nilqidlen Vena,Twin Lakes. Courtesy NPS.

Archaeologists have conducted analyses of specific artifacts recovered from the site. A projectile point base fragment recovered by Smith and Shields[799] from site XLC-042 was broadly associated with the Northern Archaic tradition, ca. 5500 BP–4000 BP.[800] In their comparative analysis, Smith and Shields referenced a similar point of the Natvakruak Complex ca. 6000–4000 BP illustrated by Campbell[801] and another from the Livengood area of the Tolovana River.[802] Based on these comparisons, the authors gave the site an initial date of around 8000–6000 BP.

As part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey, Tennessen[803] also reexamined a biface recovered by Smith and Shields,[804] describing it as a corner-notched biface (artifact #1976-06); the artifact is said to represent "the proximal portion of a concave base, corner-notched point collected from the surface at XLC-042. The fragment recovered includes the distal portion of the blade and all of the base. It appears to be manufactured from possible high quality volcanic material."[805] Based on these diagnostic features, Tennessen and others propose that site XLC-042 is affiliated with the Northern Archaic tradition.

In spite of the impressive antiquity of the site, both natural and human processes seem to imperil XLC-042. The presence of artifacts on the surface in 2002 not previously documented by Smith and Shields[806] suggested to archaeologists that the site is experiencing active erosion and possible bioturbation. The site's condition is deemed poor in CRIS due to both erosion and significant visitation involving observed and potential human disturbance.

An aerial view of Nilqidlen Vena, specifically Lower Twin Lake, as seen from above the Neacola Mountains. Photo by Tia Vaughn, NPS, 2016.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-043

Another Twin Lakes archaeological site first recorded by Smith and Shields[807] is site XLC-043, which researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[808] revisited in 2002. Located on the northwest shore of the lake, the site principally consists of a lithic scatter. Isolated finds, however, indicate that the site may extend further. Two recovered flakes appear to have evidence of wear: one of gray-green banded chert and one of black basalt. Researchers also recovered one basally-thinned, reworked projectile point with a convex base. The point is unusual in that it has two opposing concave edges with adjacent sides parallel to each other. Flattened areas and striations on the concave edges indicate moderate wear. Some areas on the point are ground and polished, possibly the result of hafting. Though temporal placement and cultural affinities could be not assigned, archaeologists generally identified the site as precontact.

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[809] reevaluated the site. This survey found seven flakes in an area with apparent erosion. Researchers dug two test pits, but neither produced cultural materials. To the southeast of the site, surveyors found one basalt flake (IF 14-2002); they located two more basalt flakes northeast of the site (IF 15-2002). The flakes did not allow for an assessment of cultural affiliation beyond 'unspecified prehistoric.'[810]

The presence of artifacts on the surface in 2002 not previously documented by Smith and Shields[811] has been interpreted to suggest active erosion. Due to this erosion, site conditions are deemed fair in CRIS. The site is also at risk for significant visitation and human disturbance due to its proximity to a modern campsite on the shore of Lower Twin Lake.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-112

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[812] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-112, located north of Lower Twin Lake. The site was detected in part because of a blowout exposing underlying sand and gravels.[813] The site consists of a lithic scatter identified during a 2002 surface survey. Archaeologists determined the 22 flakes to be non-cortical, consisting of internal chips of stone cast aside in tool processing. Only one flake shows evidence of retouching. Researchers excavated two test units; the first, located approximately 4 m to the northwest of the lithic scatter, produced a single flake and possible paleosol. Radiocarbon dating of wood charcoal from the possible paleosol produced a date of 680 ± 40 BP, suggesting possible occupation by Dena'ina ancestors of the Thule or Proto-Athapaskan tool traditions. The latter tradition is presumed more likely due to the lack of ground slate or ceramics. The second test unit, located to the north northwest of the site datum, produced no cultural material. The presence of artifacts on the surface suggests that erosion is active at the site. CRIS guidelines deem the condition of the site to be fair for this reason.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-113

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey first recorded[814] the Twin Lake site XLC-113, northeast of XLC-112, and north of Lower Twin Lake. Composed of sand and gravel, the site is in the vicinity of vegetation consistent with alpine tundra: dwarf birch, stunted willow, Labrador tea, and bearberry.

Archaeological survey at Twin Lakes, Katie Myers on survey transect by Jeanne Schaaf, 2002. Courtesy NPS.

The site consists of a lithic scatter of 29 flakes located in 2002 during a surface survey. One flake exhibited a dorsal cortex and another was determined to have been retouched. One test unit was excavated but no cultural artifacts were found: "Three possible tephra zones were noted within the test unit," which might facilitate future efforts to date site stratigraphy.[815] As with so many other sites of this area, archaeologists could not establish exact chronologies or cultural associations in the course of survey, so determine the site to be 'unspecified prehistoric.' The presence of artifacts on the surface suggests erosion is active in the area. CRIS guidelines deem the site condition to be fair, but archaeologists anticipate that in the future erosion may continue to degrade the site, so that the site will be reclassified as poor.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-114

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[816] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-114 above Emerson Creek and in the vicinity of Lower Twin Lake.[817] The site is composed of five flakes in a single scatter. Researchers recovered one additional flake approximately 5 m southeast of the datum and determined none of the flakes to have been retouched or to possess a cortex. The archaeologists also determined a collection of rocks at the southern end of the blowout to be created by human activity, and classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

The presence of artifacts on the surface suggests that erosion is active at the site. CRIS guidelines deem the condition of the site to be fair. CRIS notes suggest that the site eventually may be downgraded to poor due to continued erosion.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-115

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[818] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-115 at the outlet of Lower Twin Lake. The site is composed primarily of surface lithic scatters in three separate loci on the east and west sides of the site, on exposed glacial till. Locus 1 produced three clusters of lithic material: 17 flakes, 3 biface fragments, one complete biface that appears to be a sideblade (artifact #2002-17), and a medial blade fragment. Locus 2 produced approximately 196 flakes and a biface fragment. Locus 3 produced approximately 16 flakes and a side-notched projectile point (artifact #2002-16). In addition to these loci, researchers excavated two shovel test pits, with test unit one producing two small flakes.

Evidence suggests multiple potential cultural traditions at this site, suggesting a considerable time depth of occupation. Based on diagnostic features of artifacts recovered from the site, archaeologists affiliate the occupation with people of the Northern Archaic and Norton traditions. The impressive quantity of lithics at the site suggest tool production in association with hunting traditions in the Twin Lakes region.

Two artifacts are particularly significant as diagnostic indicators of antiquity and cultural tradition. Recovered from site XLC-115 is a sideblade (artifact #2002-17) that "is manufactured from an almost transparent chert-like material, identified as chalcedony. Both the tip and the base are pointed, with the base tapering to a relatively sharp and off-center projection. The lateral edge closest to this projection is assumed to be the spine. The opposite edge, which is slightly more excurvate is assumed to be the cutting edge."[819] This blade is consistent with sideblade designs from the Norton tradition in the Naknek Region in Dumond's[820] "Sideblade III" category. This contributes to archaeologists' suggestion that XLC-115 fits within the Norton tradition, post-dating a Northern Archaic phase.

Another diagnostic artifact recovered from site XLC-115 is a side-notched biface (artifact #2002-16). This artifact "was collected from the surface of XLC-115 at the outlet of Lower Twin Lake. It is manufactured from a coarse chert-like material and exhibits asymmetrical side-notching and a convex

A view up Lower Twin Lakes from near the Ranger Cabin looking east. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

base. A deep hinge flake has been detached from the tip of the point, possibly representing an impact scar."[821] Based on these diagnostic features, archaeologists propose that site XLC-115 is also affiliated with the Northern Archaic tradition.

Soil at this site is "thin, and much of the area consists of devegetated, deflated sediment exposures,"[822] with extensive disturbance of artifacts on the surface. This suggests that erosion is highly active and

has severely deteriorated the site's condition. Thus, the site condition is recorded in CRIS as poor. The area is also subject to impact by multiple park visitors, mainly angler and rafters. The thin soils and presence of surface artifacts only amplifies the possibility of human disturbance.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-116

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[823] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-116 below Lower Twin Lake. Researchers found seven flakes on the surface of a blowout. One of these flakes was retouched. The team then dug one test unit north of the site datum, but recovered no cultural material. They classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.' Artifacts on the soil surface indicate recent disturbance of the site caused by active erosion. Thus, CRIS guidelines classify site condition to be fair. The area also experiences visitation from park visitors; proximity to the ranger cabin may limit certain kinds of disturbance, but may also curtail certain Dena'ina traditional uses of this area.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-117

First recorded during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[824] the Twin Lake site XLC-117 is located on the south shore of Lower Twin Lake.[825] At the highest point on the site, researchers found a corner-notched point of grey basalt and a large flake. On an eastern exposure, they found 30 flakes alongside a chalcedony uniface; the majority of these flakes being in an area measuring 4 × 3 m. Archaeologists then excavated two test units. Test unit one, southeast of the site datum, produced one flake and a small amount of charcoal. Test unit two, northwest of the site datum, produced one charcoal sample. Researchers located no further cultural deposits.

Corner-notched biface, 2002-09 recovered from XLC-117 Nilqidlen Vena, Twin Lakes. Courtesy NPS.

Seeking diagnostic artifacts, researchers recovered a corner-notched biface (artifact #2002-09) from site XLC-117. This artifact "was recovered on the surface at XLC-117.... It is an intact straight to very shallowly corner-notched point with a faintly concave base. It was manufactured on a coarse igneous material."[826] Based on these diagnostic features, archaeologists suggest that site XLC-117 may be affiliated with the Northern Archaic tradition.

Artifacts on the soil surface indicate recent disturbance of the site caused by active erosion. Trash found during the survey suggests the area is used by campers who may contribute to further

degradation, though proximity to the ranger cabin may deter disturbance to some degree. CRIS guidelines designate the site condition as fair, but note that in the future the site condition may be downgraded to poor.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-118

First recorded during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[827] the Twin Lake site XLC-118 is located along the shoreline of Lower Twin Lake, southeast of the lake's outlet.[828] A 2002 surface survey at the site revealed a lithic scatter (eight pieces of debitage) in an area approximately 5 m in diameter. Researchers excavated two test units but found no cultural material. They classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.' As suggested by the presence of artifacts on the surface, erosion at the site is ongoing; CRIS guidelines classify the site conditions to be fair. One modern aluminum tent stake was located in the vicinity of the site, indicating recent use as a campsite and suggesting a potential for human disturbance at the site.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-119

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[829] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-119, located south of the Chilikadrotna River and west of the Lower Twin Lake outlet.[830] A surface survey revealed a lithic scatter (approximately 18 × 4 m) composed of four biface fragments (three of which appear to be bases), four flakes, and one piece of angular shatter. The archaeologists then excavated two test units at the site, with test unit 1 producing no cultural material, and test unit 2 producing two flakes. In the absence of diagnostic artifacts or radiometric dating, the team classified XLC-119 as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

Artifacts on the soil surface indicate recent disturbance of the site caused by active erosion. CRIS guidelines deem site conditions to be fair, but note that the site may be downgraded to poor due to continued erosion. While the Chilikadrotna River is subject to many visitors, no evidence of human disturbance at this site is reported in the 2002 survey.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-120

First recorded in 2002 during the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey,[831] the Twin Lake site XLC-120 is located on the south bank of the Chilikadrotna River, west of where that river exits Lower Twin Lake.[832] The 2002 surface survey located the site, consisting of two lithic scatters. The first (3.5 × 2.5 m), on the southern edge of the site, is composed of 50 lithic flakes; the second (2 × 2 m), on the northeastern side of the site, is composed of 83 dark gray basalt flakes—the two scatters likely indicative of stone working. Archaeologists also found on the surface three flakes and one fragment of a large chert biface. They excavated three test units but recovered no cultural material. Based on these findings, they classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

Artifacts on the surface of the terrace indicate recent disturbance of the site caused by active erosion. CRIS guidelines deem site conditions to be fair, though they may be downgraded to poor in the future due to continued erosion. While the Chilikadrotna River is an attraction to many visitors, no evidence of human disturbance is reported at this site.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-121

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[833] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-121 on Trail Butte, west of Lower Twin Lake.[834] The site is composed of a lithic scatter especially concentrated (28 of 36 total artifacts) in one area. One of the lithics recovered from this concentration is a black basalt biface fragment. A cairn, a low mound approximately 1 m high × 3 m in diameter, constructed of bedrock or glacial erratics, is also located on the top of the butte; the cairn is of unknown cultural or historical significance, though Dena'ina and non-Native people have sometimes constructed cairns in the region for several purposes, such as wayfinding. Tall grass partially covers the cairn. Researchers conducted no further excavations. Based on these findings, they classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric' based on the lithic evidence. The antiquity of the cairn might also suggest a contact or post-contact use of the site, but this remains unclear.

The XLC-121 site exhibits significant erosion and the exposure and translocation of cultural materials. Thus, CRIS guidelines determine site conditions to be poor. The site's proximity to a part of the Telaquana Trail commonly hiked by visitors may affect site conditions, yet no specific evidence of human disturbance is reported for the site.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-122

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[835] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-122 on the margin of Trail Butte, west of Lower Twin Lake and south of the Chilikadrotna River. During the 2002 surface survey, researchers located the site that included a surface lithic scatter. The scatter is composed of seven flakes, one that exhibits bifacial retouch on two edges and one that is a bifacial endscraper (artifact#2002-12). The latter is a well-formed, teardrop-shaped chert biface with a lenticular cross section and a steeply flaked edge along its wide end. Its shape suggests the artifact functioned as a scraping tool, and its presence suggests resource processing at the site.[836] The archaeologists excavated no test units and did not find the chert endscraper to be diagnostic. Based on these findings, they classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.' Artifacts on the surface suggest erosion has disturbed cultural deposits, and the moderate slope of the site may contribute to the shifting of artifacts downslope. CRIS guidelines deem site conditions to be fair. The site's proximity to a part of the Telaquana Trail commonly hiked by visitors may affect site conditions, yet no specific evidence of human disturbance is reported for the site.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-123

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[837] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-123 north of the Twin Lake outlet. Archaeologists located the cultural material, consisting of a lithic scatter (seven flakes), three biface fragments, a flake, and two utilized/retouched flakes during the surface survey in 2002. They excavated two test units: test unit 1 (southeast of the site datum) produced two biface fragments; test unit 2 produced possible tephra and paleosol. They found no other cultural materials. Testing the charcoal associated with the tephra from test unit 2, they received a conventional radiocarbon age of 3630 ± 40 BP. Based on these findings, they classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

Artifacts on the surface suggest erosion has disturbed cultural deposits; thus, CRIS guidelines lead to a determination of the site conditions as "fair," though they may be downgraded in the future due to continued erosion. Within only a few meters of the lithic cluster archaeologists reported finding a modern tent ring, suggesting a significant possibility of human disturbance to the site.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-124

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[838] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-124 on the northern side of the Chilikadrotna River, downstream of the outlet of Lower Twin Lake.[839] During the 2002 surface survey, researchers found seven artifacts including one fragment of a large chert biface, two large retouched flakes, and a side-notched point base (#2002-02). They excavated one test unit that produced 21 flakes. Eighteen of these were recovered at the same depth as a charcoal sample tested to be a conventional radiocarbon age of 8100 ± 40 BP.

Side-notched biface base, 2002-02 recovered from XLC-124 at Nilqidlen Vena, Twin Lakes. Courtesy NPS.

The team recovered one side-notched biface base (artifact #2002-02) from site XLC-124 that "is interpreted as the base of an asymmetrically and shallowly notched side-notched point. This artifact, collected from the surface at XLC-124, was manufactured from a coarse igneous material."[840] Based on these diagnostic features, archaeologists associated the site XLC-124 with the Northern Archaic tradition. Yet, if the debitage is associated with the recorded radiocarbon date, the site may have been occupied at an earlier time as well, possibly during the Late Beringian phase.

Artifacts on the surface suggest active erosion, and the sloping of the site has disturbed cultural deposits. CRIS guidelines deem site conditions to be fair, though they may be downgraded to poor in

the future due to continued erosion. The area receives a significant number of visitors who fish and camp near the outlet of Lower Twin Lake, so that the possibility of human disturbance is high.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-125

In 2002, researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[841] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-125 on the north bank of the Chilikadrotna River, downstream of the outlet of Lower Twin Lake, having located the site during the surface survey.[842] Of the eight flakes identified, they found seven in a diffuse cluster (approximately 3 × 1.5 m). Coring in the western portion of the site produced charcoal in two locations; though the team excavated two test units, neither produced cultural material. Based on these findings, archaeologists classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.'

The presence of artifacts at the surface of the site indicates active erosion. Stream channel migration may be actively undermining the site. CRIS guidelines classify the site condition as fair. As erosion continues, this status may be downgraded to poor. The area is a popular fishing destination, suggesting a high probability for human disturbance.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-139

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[843] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-139 in the Chilikadrotna River valley, north of a small lake locally known as Fiddle Lake and north of the Chilikadtrona River.[844] Vegetation consists of low dwarf birch, willow, Labrador tea, crowberry, lingonberry, and blueberry.

The assemblage consists of four large, heavily weathered flakes of basalt or andesite that appear to have been retouched. None exhibit a cortex. Tennessen notes that "the site lies on the Telaquana trail and may be associated with prehistoric use of this north to south corridor."[845] Based on these findings, archaeologists classify the site as 'unspecified prehistoric.' The presence of artifacts at the surface indicates erosion, and extensive weathering on the flakes suggests possible exposure to the elements for an extended period of time. CRIS guidelines classify site conditions as fair.

Microblade core 2005-13 recovered at XLC-140, Nilqidlen Vena,Twin Lakes. Courtesy NPS.

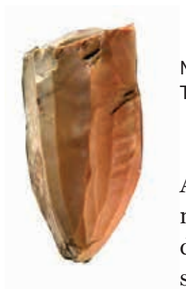
Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-140

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[846] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-140 "south and southeast of the easternmost lake in a chain of three lakes that drain westward into the Chilikadrotna River."[847] During the surface

survey in 2004, researchers found a total of 101 lithic artifacts at the site, including two lithic scatters on the southeastern end. These appear to reflect bifacial reduction at the site. Researchers then identified five additional surface scatters in 2005, four of which (1-04, 3-05, 4-05, 5-05) they determined to be recently exposed by erosion. Two of these scatters produced five microblade cores (artifact #2004-12, 2005-13, 2005-14, 2005-16, 2005-18, 2005-19) and microblade platform rejuvenation flakes that indicate an occupation of people with an early microblade tradition. Based on these findings, the site may be a tool manufacturing site associated with an Early Beringian tradition or the Denali complex.

Archaeologists provided specific descriptions of these diagnostic artifacts. One of the microblade cores (artifact #2004-12) "is a blocky, possibly frontally fluted microblade core manufactured from a chert-like raw material. It appears to have a prepared keel, although the working face only possessed one blade scar."

A second microblade core (artifact #2005-13) "appears to be an almost exhausted, wedge shaped, frontally fluted microblade core, with a platform length only slightly longer than its width. It possesses cortex on its surface opposite the blade-producing face on which six scars were visible. A stop fracture apparently ended what use-life the core had left."[848]



Microblade core 2005-16 recovered at XLC-140, Nilqidlen Vena, Twin Lakes. Courtesy NPS.

A third microblade core (artifact #2005-14) "is a wedge-shaped frontally fluted microblade core that is relatively long for its width. The core may have been discarded when the removal of a core tablet created a steeply angled platform surface. Five scars were visible on the fluted face."[849]

A fourth microblade core (artifact #2005-16) "is a frontally fluted wedge shaped microblade core, manufactured from an orange chert that may have been heat altered. Eight scars are visible on the fluted face and the platform has been rejuvenated by the removal of a deep hinging flake struck from the fluted face."[850]

A fifth microblade core (artifact #2005-18) "is manufactured from a somewhat tabular piece of greenish chert. The kneel along its base appears to have been created by unifacial flaking. The use-life of the core apparently ended when an attempt to remove a blade caused a hinge fracture. Four scars were visible on the fluted face."

And finally, a sixth microblade core (artifact #2005-19) "is a frontally fluted microblade core manufactured from a yellowish chert. Its platform is rejuvenated by the removal of hinged flake driven off from the fluted face" (Tennessen 2006: 278). Tennessen also describes it as "a plunging flake that includes the distal surface of what appears to have been a conoidal core manufactured on dark coarse igneous material."[851]

The presence of artifacts at the surface of the site indicates active erosion processes. CRIS guidelines classify site conditions to be fair. Evidence of recent human visitation is not reported, but is still likely based on extensive evidence of modern visitation at nearby XLC-204, approximately 140 m to the northwest.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-203

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[852] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-203 northwest of Lower Twin Lake. The site consists of surface materials (15 pieces of debitage) and a partial stone circle near a glacial erratic. The stone ring is of uncertain origin, but is consistent with Dena'ina stone placement in traditional camps or ceremonial sites. It is composed of approximately 12 stones from 10 to 20 cm long. Lichen within a range of 0 to 30 percent is found on each of these stones, whereas stones nearby have a higher percentage. Based on these findings, archaeologists classify the site as 'historic/unspecified prehistoric.'

> "The soft sediments west of the hill crest hold the potential to contain buried cultural deposits. In addition, the presence of the light-colored and prominent glacial erratic suggests that this site represents the highly visible landscape features. Another example of the intentional use of a highly visible feature is Votive Rock (XLC-130) a short distance off the Telaquana Trail north of the Mulchatna River. Finally, the stone ring present at the site is similar to the two seen a short distance away at XLC-204, and the stone ring reported by Smith and Shields at XLC-041 on Lower Twin Lake (Smith and Shields 1977)."[853]

The upper strata of the site appear to be heavily eroded, and artifacts on the surface indicate cultural materials have been disturbed. CRIS guidelines deem site conditions to be fair.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-204

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[854] first recorded the Twin Lake site XLC-204 northwest of Lower Twin Lake.[855] The site is to the northwest of XLC-140 and composed of one small lithic scatter, four flakes of lithic debitage and two stone rings, with the lithic scatter including three blade-like flakes/flake fragments and a microblade core platform rejuvenation flake (artifact #2005-10) associated with the Late Beringian or Late Tundra traditions. The two stone rings, found on the eastern boundary of the site, are about 4 m apart and 4 m in diameter. Spruce trees growing nearby have disrupted the rings; therefore, the shape of the features and number of stones is difficult

to determine. Based on these findings, archaeologists classified the site as either historic or 'unspecified prehistoric.' Plausibly, the site may have both pre- and post-contact elements.

The upper strata of the site appear to be heavily eroded and artifacts on the surface indicate cultural materials have been disturbed. CRIS guidelines classify site conditions to be fair, though further erosion may downgrade the site to poor. Also found at the site were the following modern artifacts: a beer bottle, a fragment of a snow machine windscreen, and ammunition casings. Visitor use may increase the possibility of disturbance of cultural materials, though these items might also relate to enduring Dena'ina use of the site for cultural and subsistence purposes.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-273

National Park Service Archaeologist, Jason Rogers, first recorded archaeological site XLC-273 in July of 2019, the site being located on the southern shore of Lower Twin Lake.[856] Cultural material recovered from the site's surface includes one incomplete, square-based chert biface fragment (LACL 11,136) and a portion of lithic debitage. The biface fragment is lenticular in cross-section and has been broken above the shoulder on one margin, and below the shoulder on the other. Rogers determined the biface fragment to be similar to artifacts attributed to the Smelt Creek phase unit of the Naknek drainage.[857] This would suggest the artifact dates from approximately 3,000 to 2,000 years before present.[858] This artifact is unique in that it is the first of its type to be located within the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. Applying CRIS criteria, the site is determined to be fair in condition, with erosion along the site margins.

Twin Lakes—Archaeological Site XLC-274

National Park Service Archaeologist, Jason Rogers, first recorded archaeological site XLC-274 in July of 2019,[859] the site being located on the western end of Lower Twin Lake. The site is composed of sand, gravel, and cobble, overlooking the lake. Cultural materials recovered from the surface of the site include a flake tool (LACL 11,131), flake core (LACL 11, 132), microblade core rejuvenation flake (LACL 11, 133), and debitage/shatter (LACL 11,134). Only the microblade core rejuvenation flake (LACL 11,133) was subject to further analysis.[860] This core was determined to be a partial wedge-shaped frontally fluted microblade core manufactured from a fine-grained sedimentary raw material (either silt or mudstone). Its fluted face has two blade scars; and the core has been broken along the long axis in a fracture that may have occurred during removal of a core tablet from the platform surface. Applying CRIS criteria, site conditions were determined to be fair with active erosion at the margins of the site.

Fishtrap Lake—Archaeological Site XLC-169

Researchers with the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey[861] first recorded the Fishtrap Lake site XLC-169 on private land. For the purpose of this report, it is considered 'discontinuous.' Situated on the south side of Fishtrap Lake,[862] the site exhibits extensive disturbance. The top of the knoll is used as a

work area by the landowner who has scraped the area down to underlying glacial deposits. Archaeologists carried out shovel tests around the perimeter of this disturbed area. They unearthed: in ST1, six pieces of lithic debitage; in ST2, a single flake fragment; and in ST5, one piece of possible lithic debitage. Archaeologists classified the site as 'unspecified prehistoric,' and according to CRIS

John Branson at rectangular winter house depression at the the Kijik National Historic Landmark. Photo by Douglas Deur.

guidelines, deemed it to be in poor condition. Despite the significant levels of disturbance, the site may retain some archaeological value in illuminating the past lifeways of Native peoples.

Kijik Kashim Site XLC-094

The Kijik Kashim site XLC-094, described as an archaeological site at the base of Kijik Mountain,[863] is a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Carbon dating from a house pit at the site resulted in a date of 400 ± 600 years BP, which may relate to the fact that "that the Dena'ina were established at Kijik by at least 1600."[864] Co-author John Branson first documented the site. Around 1983, he took NPS archaeologist Alice Lynch to the location and mapped key features; nineteen individual house depressions were located on three different levels (terraces) at the site. A well-worn game trail runs east along a former branch of the Telaquana Trail network along the base of Kijik

Mountain, passing through XLC-092, the 12 House Site also known as the Kamuk Site (as per VanStone and Townsend). This site holds tremendous potential to yield information regarding the lives of pre- and post-contact Dena'ina. A separate Kijik Cultural Landscape Report will address this site in much greater detail.

K'unustin T'uh K'emeq' XLC-092

In the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I,*[865] Kari identified *K'unustin T'uh K'emeq'* as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. The name is translated as 'pond beneath the one that stands apart.'[866] In archaeological terms, the site is known as the 12 House Site, XLC-092, first documented by NPS archaeologist A.J. Lynch and co-author John Branson in about 1983. The 12 House Site (also called the Kamuk Site) lies north of the north fork of Priest Rock Creek. In the mid-1980s, the late elder Agnes Cusma estimated the settlement to be about 300 years old. Three features at XLC-092 have been radiocarbon dated, resulting in C14 dates of 200 (+/-40), 160 (+/-80), and 100 (+/-70) radiocarbon years before present. Unlike XLC-094, which is land-locked, XLC-092 is close to the north fork (*Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu* or 'stream that flows on a swamp') of Priest Rock Creek. At this site are cache pits, and salmon used to swim upstream from Lake Clark to this village.[867] Several other sites have been identified in surveys within this same general area between Kijik Village and Kijik Mountain, and some historical sources tend to confuse or conflate multiple small communities in this area. Information on site identity and historical significance for this area is still coming into focus as additional survey and excavation continue, which will be summarized in a separate Cultural Landscape Report for Kijik.[868]

Qizhjeh—Historic Kijik Village XLC-001, AA-1107

Qizhjeh is translated as 'people congregated,' [869] 'many people gather at this place,'[870] and 'lots of people come there (in the war) all at once.' [871] Though it is non-contributing to the District as it is significantly located on private property, *Qizhjeh*, or Historic Kijik Village site XLC-001, AA-1107, is among the most important places in the Inland Dena'ina world, and is highly significant to the Telaquana Trail cultural landscape. Here, we recognize that there are several independently numbered sites in and around Kijik. The CLI references XLC-001 as a proxy for the larger constellation of features, and we follow this convention here, recognizing that a detailed Kijik Cultural Landscape Report is in production that will address the full range of National Regsiter eligible properties in the vast Kijik complex.

Qizhjeh is the southern terminus of the Telaquana Trail. According to Macy Hobson, the 74-year-old resident of Nondalton who was the primary informant for the 1987 BIA description of the Telaquana Trail, "the trail formerly began at Kijik, on the north shore of Lake Clark and ran northeast through timber and marshy tundra around the eastern flank of Kijik Mountain to Miller Creek several miles upstream from its mouth."[872] The Trefon brothers remember the foot trail effectively began just north of the old church at *Qizhjeh* and was marked by blazed trees.[873]

While Kijik stands alone somewhat in its importance as a settlement and cultural site, many sources attest to the direct association between the village and Telaquana Trail. Brelsford[874] initially recorded the site as an element the Telaquana Trail when he listed it as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail Native Place Name based on data collected from interviews with Alex and Pete Trefon. The 1986 interviews regarding Dena'ina place names in the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve also identified *Qizhjeh* as being fundamentally linked to the Telaquana Trail.[875] In 1987, the BIA published data to nominate *Qizhjeh* as a Native historic place as required by 43 CFR 2650; and the following year, participants in Project Jukebox[876] identified *Qizhjeh* as a significant feature along the trail. *Qizhjeh* is also listed as a significant feature of the Telaquana Trail in the nomination to the NRHP.[877]

In truth, the exact configuration of Kijik, and the number of contributing small outlier structures and settlements, make delineation of the village somewhat challenging through time.[878] The site has been excavated extensively, including systematic excavations by researchers James VanStone and Joan B. Townsend, with major results published in a 1970 monograph, *Kijik: An Historic Tananina Indian Settlement*, through the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History. Many other excavations have followed; the particulars are beyond the scope of the present report, but will be addressed in a later Cultural Landscape Report centering exclusively on Kijik. The Cultural Landscape Inventory entry for the *Historic Kijik Village* (XLC-001) summarizes the many features within this site:

> "The historic village includes: the exposed foundations of 12 houses, five bath-houses and an unidentified structure; 47 cache pits; remnants of a hewn log Russian Orthodox Church; the foundations of three historic buildings; and a number of grave sites with Russian Orthodox regalia. Three recent cabins and five outbuildings have been built in the cemetery area. Additional damage has been done to the church by a local resident. Extensive excavations were conducted by VanStone and Townsend. XLC-018 (Kijik Cemetery) and XLC-019 (the Church) are included within XLC-001." [879]

Today, the area is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as the Kijik Archaeological District and is part of the Kijik National Historic Landmark: "[T]he Kijik Archaeological District, a national historic landmark…contains the largest known concentration of Athabascan sites in the world. The significance of Kijik is in its potential to greatly expand knowledge and understanding of the late prehistoric Inland Dena'ina who settled the Kijik area after 1000 CE."[880] The place continues to have unique significance to Dena'ina communities, and is still the venue for social, ceremonial, and educational events among modern Dena'ina.

Landscapes of Trapping, Mining, and Resettlement

As is apparent throughout this document, the historic Telaquana Trail was largely a Native route traversing Native space. Non-Native miners and trappers arriving in the late 19th and early 20th centuries also traveled the trail, with different agendas, expectations, and relationships to the land. These people brought new building traditions to the region and, though many only passed through briefly, constructed several cabins in and around the Telaquana Trail—enduring markers of this pivotal moment in the region's history. Readers unfamiliar with the region might take the appearance of buildings and structures in the early 20th century as suggesting a displacement or even replacement of Dena'ina peoples at that time; but this would be misleading. Dena'ina peoples not only continued traveling and valuing the Telaquana Trail concurrent with these changes, but actively participated in this frenetic period of non-Native incursion. Many served as guides, fellow trappers, and as a source of place-based knowledge to outsiders arriving in a new, often daunting terrain.

In some cases, Dena'ina peoples aided non-Native builders, and Dena'ina travelers and trappers increasingly built their own cabins incorporating introduced methods and styles. Indeed, by around 1889, Dena'ina people built the Russian Orthodox chapel at Kijik out of hand-hewn logs—a well-documented example of Dena'ina peoples innovatively incorporating non-Native construction and architectural conventions into a largely Native landscape. Writing in 1891, A. B. Schanz described historic Kijik Village and one local cabin, that of Chief Zackar Evanoff, by writing: "The houses and caches were neatly built of hewn logs and planks, the houses having windows made of the tanned skin of mountain sheep intestines.... The whole village had an air of respectability and cleanliness...upon entering the chief's house, found there a small box-stove with four holes for cooking. The chief had also built himself a table and a sleeping bunk."[881] In this way, Native and non-Native building conventions had converged into a syncretic and fully functional whole—an integrated approach that

View across Lake Clark from Kijik, with Tanalian Mountain in the distance. Photo by Douglas Deur.

The Kijik chapel, circa 1901. Built in 1889, the chapel was named the Precious and Lifegiving Cross. Left to right: Yvdakia Karshekoff, Mary Ann Trefon, Trefon Balluta, Wassillie Trefon, (front) and Gabriel Trefon, (front), perhaps Yvdakia Koktelash, Evan Koktelash, four unidentified boys, Chief Zackar Evanoff stands in mid-line in front of the right corner of the chapel, wearing a cap, perhaps Chadashla wearing a cap, six unidentified women and children, and Mary Jacko at far right. H-88, courtesy of Pete Trefon.

one can still detect in subtle ways even in modern Dena'ina communities. Such hybrid architectural forms were well established in Kijik, and to some degree in other communities along the trail, such as at Telaquana Lake and at *Nan Qelah* on the shores of Lake Clark. In some cases, such as at the *K'a Ka'a* Cabin, Dena'ina people even maintained their own EuroAmerican-style cabins as outposts along the Telaquana Trail, using them as stopover points and as places for Dena'ina peoples of the Lake Clark and Telaquana Lake regions to regroup and coordinate on subsistence and trapping expeditions along the trail. Dena'ina culture and lifeways are therefore inherent even in the period of EuroAmerican mining and trapping, and in the very history and structure of early 20th century cabins.

Resting on the Newhalen Portage on August 8, 1921 from left to right: Col. A.J. "Sandy" Macnab, Andrew Balluta and Wassillie Anelon. Balluta and Anelon were hired for $6 a piece to pack the canoe and camping outfit for sport hunters Macnab and Vreeland over the portage, a process which took two days. NPS photo, courtesy of Robert W. Vreeland.

These buildings and associated structures within the Corridor—Native and non-Native alike—provide insight into the movements, subsistence practices, and seasonal economies of Telaquana Trail users. This includes the Dena'ina people who utilized the Telaquana Trail since time immemorial. It also includes the trappers, prospectors, and fishermen who arrived at Lake Clark in rising numbers in the late 19th century and during the events of Alaska's gold rush (see Land Use). Generally, arriving non-Native men from the "lower forty-eight" participated in a mixed seasonal economy. Many would prospect for gold or fish commercially in the summer, trap for furs during the winter, and hunt and fish for subsistence purposes when schedules allowed in between. This seasonal lifestyle, alternating summer and winter occupations, required extensive travel across the landscape in a circuit, with stays in various kinds of temporary housing. The most geographically expansive and diffuse activities, such as the maintenance of multiple traplines, required especially complex circuits of travel, with several small structures for temporary stays and the storage of gear.

Serving as an artery for new and returning trappers and miners, the Telaquana Trail facilitated these movements within the region, with cabins and associated structures testifying to these historic patterns. Viewed alone, the building and structure sites may appear unremarkable. Built at small scale, usually comprising a single room with basic construction methods and materials and lacking foundations, these were highly utilitarian spaces. Most today are in total ruins, scarcely identifiable to the untrained eye as former structures. Yet collectively, these cabin sites provide insights into construction methods, travel, and livelihoods of early 20th century peoples in a way that few landscapes can.

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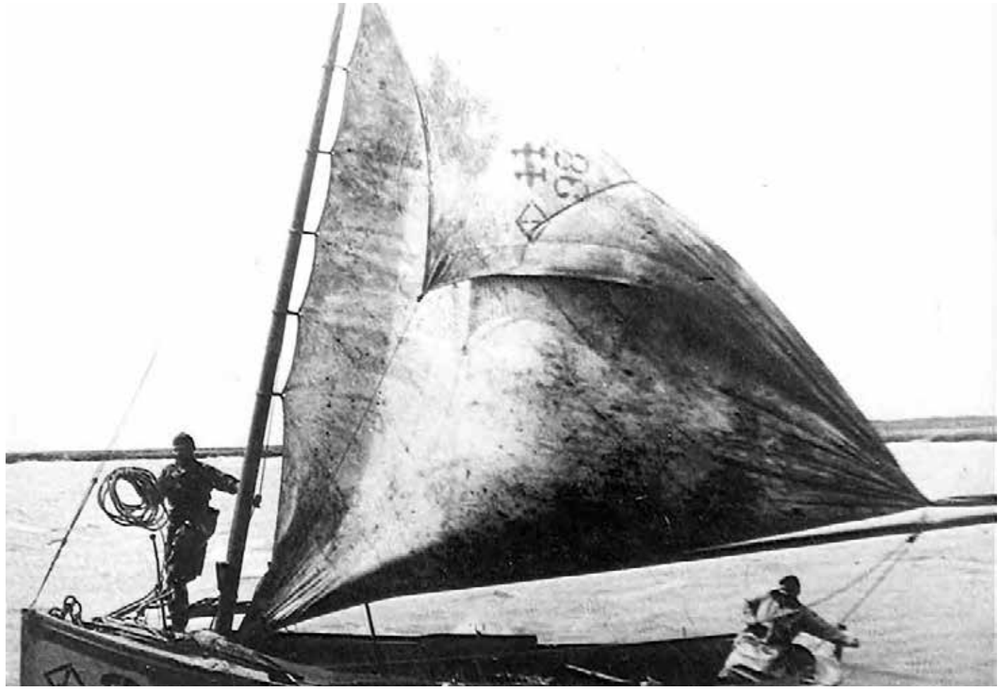
Dena'ina chiefs such as Zachar Evanoff, shown here in 1921, were key figures in the adjustments of the late 19th and early 20th century. While holding special status, they also had weighty responsibilities to sustain families and villages with such items as food and firewood during times of hardship. NPS photo, H-2018, courtesy Pete Koktelash.

prospect for gold or fish commercially in the summer, trap for furs during the winter, and hunt and fish for subsistence purposes when schedules allowed in between. This seasonal lifestyle, alternating summer and winter occupations, required extensive travel across the landscape in a circuit, with stays

Early clues hint at the condition and style of cabins that took shape along the Telaquana Trail at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1902, Martin Gorman gave dimensions of some prospectors' cabins at Kijik, writing about the log roadhouse (Trans-Alaska Co.) on the Newhalen Portage between Iliamna Lake and the upper Newhalen River. Yet, the earliest concerted effort to



Dena'ina men working aboard a boat as part of the Bristol Bay commercial salmon fishery. NPS photo H-2018, courtesy Pete Koktelash

document cabins in the Lake Clark area was not published until 1912, after a 1909 excursion by G.C. Martin and F.J. Katz, employed by the U.S. Geological Survey to explore the Iliamna and Lake Clark regions. They referred to *Nan Qelah* as "Miller's Camp" after prospector W.H. Miller, who died there about 1911.[882] They found that: "Numerous prospectors' camps and cabins are scattered throughout the district. Most of these were built by prospectors, who have been at work in a small way since 1889 over the greater part of this region and in the Mulchatna country. The most active of these operations were from 1903 to 1906."[883]

People often built the cabin structures associated with the Corridor near lakes, creeks, and rivers that provided fresh water and access to fords and transshipment points to waterborne transport. Highly functional, these structures appear in sheltered places with access to trapping areas, hunting areas,

prospecting sites, and at logical stopover points for travelers along the trail. They are of simple construction with few embellishments and ambiguous stylistic pedigrees. As Tobey notes,

> "From the nineteenth century through the twentieth century, most individuals' livelihood consisted of some combination [of] winter trapping, winter hunting, summer fishing and summer prospecting. ...This lifestyle resulted in seasonal settlements of temporary, semi-permanent, and permanent structures, generally employing basic and simple construction techniques."[884]

Methods for construction were customized for available materials—often raw logs, available in abundance—and the few tools available in these places, such as axes and small hand saws. The log cabins and other structures thus varied in construction but within narrow parameters of materials and techniques. Some earlier buildings employed rough dovetailing, for example; when using round raw logs, this often involved less of a "dovetail" than a rough triangle joint. An example of this construction can be found at the old cache at the Brown Carlson Cabin (XLC-023, LACL-070C).[885] Another common method of corner-notching is referred to as 'square-notching.' To achieve this effect, one squares a log at the end into a "tenon-like projection" that connects with similar square projections on the logs joined to it.[886] An example of this technique can be found on the newer cache at the Brown Carlson Cabin (XLC-023, LACL-70C).

Yet, milled lumber also appears in the early cabins of the Telaquana Trail. The earliest use of lumber in Lake Clark cabins typically involved pit or whip-sawn lumber. According to botanist Martin Gorman's unpublished journals from his 1902 trip to Lake Clark, a pit saw was established at historic Kijik Village at that time, providing modest quantities of lumber to prospectors as well as Dena'ina people in the community. Gorman noted that all doors and tables in Kijik houses were constructed of whip-sawed white spruce.[887] This would have been a full three decades prior to the construction of larger-scale operations—at Charley Denison's sawmill (c. 1934-36) near Tanalian Point, or Fred Bowman's sawmill at the Bowman Camp, c. 1936-1937, on Portage Creek. Structures built with milled lumber on or near the Telaquana Trail often had horizontal board exteriors or vertical board-and-batten sides. Later sawmills contributed to this trend, as did the rise of air cargo transportation of building materials from outside the region. By the 1920s, the rising frequency of air travel to the Lake Clark area provided opportunities to transport cabin-building materials to building sites. By the 1950s, people began integrating milled wood, metal, plywood, and even occasional synthetic elements like insulation and carpets, into most cabin structures in remote locations, while local mills declined. Nonetheless, people continued to construct many cabins in the region from logs from adjacent areas, generally white spruce trees, along with earth—in both cases, excavating into the ground and creating exterior berms for insulation and stability.

Fred Bowman drives his Fordson tractor up the trail from Brown Carlson's place at Portage Creek village to the Bowman mining camp in 1941. Bowman's tractor was the first piece of heavy equipment to be brought in from outside. The tractor powered Bowman's sawmill, becoming operational by 1937 or 1938. H-2715, courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum.

Bowman's placer operation on Portage Creek c. 1937 with flume, penstock, hydraulic giant, and diversion channel – technologies used widely throughout the region. H-334, courtesy of Howard and Letitia Bowman.

These structures manifest not only ancient human uses of the land along the Telaquana Trail, but the historical events of the last century. They appear ephemerally on the landscape by the turn of the century, become abundant as trapping and prospecting boomed in the 1920s, and were still constructed during the lean years of the 1930s as trapping and prospecting offered a kind of stability not seen in other economic sectors nationwide. As Tobey summarized,

> "Trapping furbearing animals has been an important source of income for rural Alaskans, both Native and Euroamerican Alaskans. It was a lucrative occupation from the 1920s-1940s, more so than as a commercial salmon fisherman in Bristol Bay. …Fur trappers were perhaps some of the very few people making money during the Great Depression. The fur trade during the 1930s kept many people from destitution…. Today trapping remains a key part of life in Alaska. It allows people to live a traditional, outdoor lifestyle, supporting themselves off the land."[888]

The number and configuration of structures at a cabin varied depending on the function and situation of the cabin. For example, cabin complexes meant to be occupied more or less year-round often included a large cabin and assorted outbuildings (raised caches, a woodshed, an outhouse, multi-purpose sheds, a smokehouse, and more); while trapline cabins were small, with only modest additional structures such as a cache, and often placed on streams or rivers for fresh water and ready access to traplines. Most cabins situated in trapping and hunting areas were single-room structures. Though structurally similar, prospecting cabins often consisted of a single room with an 'arctic entry,' a "small, sometimes non-insulated room at the front of the building."[889] The smaller structures tended to be used for a time then abandoned, even as the owner might retain and make significant repairs on a larger residential cabin. For this reason, these smaller "trapping cabins" (or hunting or prospecting cabins)—once abundant on the Telaquana Trail—have suffered the most degradation with time.[890]

Short-term trapping cabins are known as "line cabins" or "wilderness cabins." These small cabins are generally composed of local materials, and smaller in size. These structures trappers used for short stays lasting from a night to roughly a week, where a person could typically check and maintain one or more traplines in the area. For example, George Shaben had such cabins at Two Lakes and other places, apparently including Telaquana Lake.[891] With help from pilots who flew the area, Shaben was able to transport materials to build small line cabins at multiple locations, as well as a larger cabin at Two Lakes that served as a base residence. He moved between the small cabins in winter, accessing various trapping sites during the late 1920s and 1930s.

Today, due to regulations outlined in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) and the creation of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve in 1980, people are no longer permitted to construct "wilderness cabins" except on private inholdings within the park.[892] Almost all of the cabins found along the Telaquana Trail are not only not serviceable, but have ceased to exist as freestanding

Fred Bowman brought in modern mining equipment to his Portage Creek diggings in the late 1930s, including the hydraulic water jets shown here. H-2709, courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum.

An old teapot at a former house site. Photo by Karen Evanoff.

structures due to the elements. With most structures made of wood, their traces are fleeting, if detectible at all—some looking only like vaguely rectangular mounds on the earth.[893] Today, they are perhaps best considered as archaeological sites pertaining to the historical period, and provide some sense of location and function in the absence of architectural remains. However, to more fully illuminate historic and cultural patterns of settlement along the Telaquana Trail corridor, we consider them here as buildings and structures, separate from archaeological sites.

Though the cabins falter, documentation of cabins in LACL is relatively robust. In 1977, George S. Smith and Harvey Shields completed an informal cabin survey as an appendage to their archaeological survey around Lake Clark and many upper lakes within the Lake Clark region (see Archaeology Section).[894] Then in 1981, park and preserve staff completed the first formal cabin inventory within Lake Clark Park and Preserve. Collected data included information about cabin construction, size, owners, and approximate construction dates; this documentation also included photographs. Shortly thereafter, in June of 1982, the Alaska Regional Office of the National Park Service published a survey of known historical architectural resources within the boundary of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, in cooperation with the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service.[895] The purpose of the survey was to assess, identify, and evaluate the historical and architectural significance of the standing buildings (defined as those with a roof) constructed before 1945 within the Lake Clark Park and Preserve. After conducting physical inspections and consultation of both oral and written sources, researchers completed a written evaluation (HABS/HAER Inventory) for each of the identified cabin sites.[896] Due to the very poor condition of the structures, even at that date,

> "The most important source for locating buildings…was the people who lived in the Park. At every opportunity, they were asked where other, unknown buildings might be, and they were extremely helpful in locating them. …Because of the twentieth-century emphasis of this study, most of the early settlers whose buildings survive were known personally by people who are still living. Their recollections were vivid and extremely accurate, although weak on dates."[897]

Historical architect, Alison Hoagland, completed HABS/HAER Inventories for the Brown Carlson Cabin (XLC-023, LACL-070C) and other structures found near the Telaquana Corridor: one inventory addresses the status of the house, while another describes the associated buildings or 'complex.' Hoagland finds the buildings and structures listed in the 1982 survey to be "both historically and architecturally significant to the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve,"[898] recommending that these sites be listed on the National Register of Historic Places to provide recognition to the historic sites and to protect the buildings from future development that might bring adverse effects.

In 2001, the National Park Service Fire Management program initiated a two-year survey of historically significant cultural resources within the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve—preparing a fire management plan to comply with the National Historic Preservation Act Section 106 process in the event of a fire (16 U.S.C. 470f). The result of these investigations are two volumes of Jennifer Tobey's authoritative 2003 work *Cabins of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve*. The first volume documents and evaluates cabins and sites the National Park Service has found eligible for the National Register; on this list are the following buildings and structures associated with the Corridor: Telaquana River Cabin Ruin (XLC-178, LACL-221C, C-21), Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruin (XLC-173, LACL-165C, 166C), Les Wernberg's Trapping Cabin (XLC-171, LACL-C157), College Creek Cabin Ruin (XLC-172, LACL-C-161), and the Frank Brown/J.W. Walker Cabin Ruin (XLC-179, LACL-293C). And, most directly linked to the Dena'ina history of the trail, this volume also documented the *K'a Ka'a* Cabin Ruin (XLC-176, LACL-C04/204C), built by Dena'ina man Andrew Balluta in about 1920; Andrew was a brother to Trefon Balluta, father to Anton Balluta and grandfather to Andrew Balluta, a Dena'ina author and former NPS ranger. For each of these buildings and structures, Tobey[899] provided a completed Determination of Eligibility Form containing the following major datasets: the name of property, site location, site description, information regarding the current integrity of the site, a narrative description (divided into individual site features), a statement of significance that includes temporal data and attributions, bibliographic references, photographs, and maps. The National Park Service incorporated the Smith and Shields[900] information as well as cabin surveys, incident reports, and interviews with those familiar with the park territory into the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Cabin Inventory Database created in Microsoft Access 2000. In 2003, there were 205 entries for cabins and associated structures within LACL in this database.

Reviewing the available data, we found certain documented cabins and related structures along the Telaquana Trail Corridor that relate to the historical and cultural importance of settlement within the Telaquana Corridor Historic District. These sites are as follows (listed north to south along the trail): Telaquana River Cabin Ruin (XLC-178, LACL-221C, C-21), Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruin (XLC-173, LACL-165C, 166C), *K'a Ka'a* Cabin Ruin (XLC-176, LACL-C04/204C), Les Wernberg's Trapping Cabin Ruin (XLC-171, LACL-C157), the College Creek Cabin Ruin, built by Joe Thompson et al. c. 1937 (XLC-172, LACL-C-161), and the Frank Brown/J. W. Walker Cabin Ruin (XLC-179, LACL-293C), built c. 1910. Researchers also carried out a review of other potentially relevant cabins in the region. Additionally, two sites not within the Corridor are addressed here briefly due to their importance to the context of overall historical settlement patterns: Twin Lakes—Dick Proenneke Cabin, and the cabin ruins at *Nan Qelah* (see Table 17). The site of the Hammond Homestead at *Nan Qelah* is now on the National Register of Historic Places and was a 20th century trailhead for the Telaquana Trail, but sits on private land.

Not discussed in detail within this report is a cabin at Snipe Lake, known as the Frank Bell/Louis Schilling Cabin (XLC-177, LACL-C18-218C). This cabin remains intact, and the NPS has recently restored the building with some attention to the structure's historical integrity but only a few of the original logs intact. The cabin is unlikely to be contributing however: sitting far from the trail, the cabin was constructed in the mid-20th century by Frank Bell and Louis Schilling who had only limited connections to the Telaquana Trail, and is unlikely to meet National Register criteria after its renovation.[901] We also omit here the Frank Woods Cabin site on Fishtrap Lake (XLC-174, LACL-C167) which was included in original CLI documentation, but has been determined to have little direct connection with the trail.

Few archaeological investigations of historic trapping and hunting cabins have been conducted in Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. Further archaeological investigations at cabins in the region may supplement the understanding of the park's history, currently based primarily on historical documents and oral histories. Since little to no subsurface investigations have been conducted on trapping and hunting cabins in the area, the archaeological deposits that typify these sites are virtually unknown as well.

Two hikers approach the upper Kijik River valley above Tuvughna Ten, looking southwest toward the Lake Clark Basin. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

The following is an in-depth review of each documented, potentially contributing building and structure site along the Telaquana Trail.

Table 16: Building and Structures Sites within the Telaquana Corridor Boundary

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/ Category	Landscape Feature
	Telaquana River Cabin Ruin (XLC-178, LACL-221C, C-21)	Buildings and Structures	Domestic camp, trapping
	Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruins (XLC-173, LACL-165C, 166C)	Buildings and Structures	Domestic, single dwelling
	K'a Ka'a Cabin Ruins (XLC-176, LACL-204)/Andrew Balluta Cabin	Buildings and Structures	Domestic camp, hunting/trapping—Andrew Balluta
	Les Wernberg's Trapping Cabin Ruin (XLC-171, LACL-157C)	Buildings and Structures	Domestic Camp, Trapping—Les Wernberg
	College Creek Cabin Ruin (XLC-172, LACL-161C, C-161)	Buildings and Structures	Domestic Camp, Hunting/Trapping
	Frank Brown/and J.W. Walker Cabin Ruin (XLC-179, LACL-293C)	Buildings and Structures	Domestic Camp—Frank Brown and J.W. Walker

Buildings and Structures—*Contributing Features*

Telaquana River Cabin Ruin XLC-178, LACL-221C, C-21

The Telaquana River Cabin Ruin (C-21) sits approximately one-half mile downstream and west of Telaquana Lake. The cabin and associated features are connected to EuroAmerican trapping activities along the Telaquana Trail corridor in the 1930s and 1940s. The builder of the cabin is unknown, but some sources suggest that Les Wernberg may have been the builder.[902]

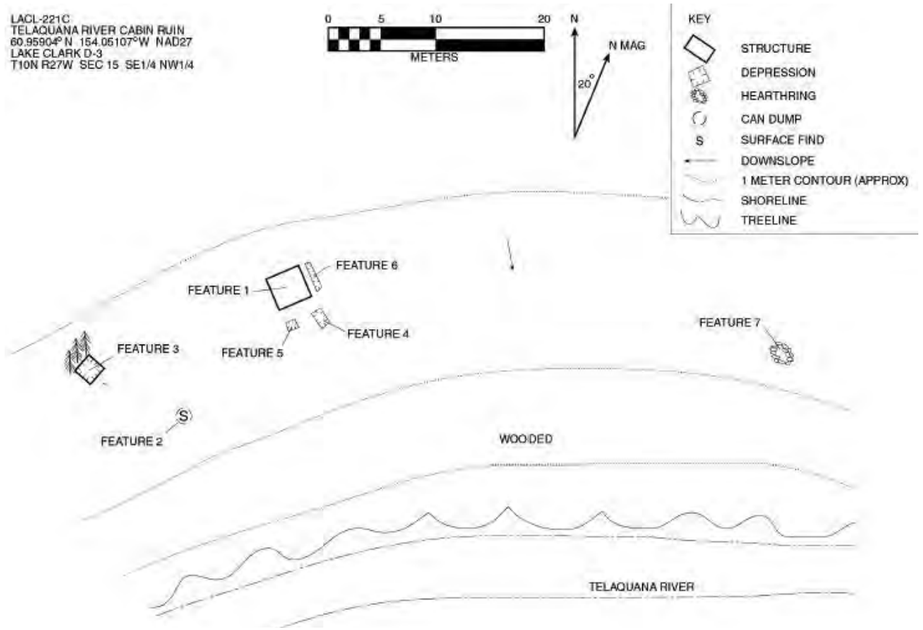
Les Wernberg was a EuroAmerican from northern Minnesota who traveled to Alaska in 1934. After living in Juneau for a month, he traveled to Seward on the *Baranov*, then walked to Anchorage. Wernberg worked in Anchorage briefly as a plumbing contractor before moving again to the Lake

Clark–Iliamna Region.[903] He built a cabin (C-157) on the upper Chilikadrotna River in about 1937; by 1938 he had taken up residence in Iliamna, commercially fishing in the summer and trapping during the winter. During the Great Depression, fur-bearing animals became one of few means of making money; and facing competition in areas surrounding Iliamna, Wernberg sought alternative, more remote areas of Alaska to continue trapping.

Table 17: Discontinuous and Non-Contributing Building and Structures Sites

Dena'ina Place name	English Translation	CLR Contributing Feature/ Category	Landscape Feature
	Twin Lakes—Dick Proenneke Cabin	Discontinuous, non-contributing Buildings and Structures	Domestic Cabin
Nan Qelah	Mouth of Miller Creek/ 'where there is moss'	Discontinuous: Buildings and Structures	Seasonal camp/caches/ Dena'ina graves, Jay Hammond's grave/ Cabins—Miller, Trefon, Balluta, Hammond
	Brown Carlson Cabin (XLC-023, LACL-087C)	Buildings and Structures	Domestic Camp, Trap Line Cabin—Brown Carlson

In 1938, pilot Roy Dickson flew Wernberg from Severson's trading post at the head of Iliamna Lake to Lower Twin Lake with three dogs and supplies to last until March of 1939. During his stay in the Twin Lakes and Telaquana Lake regions, Wernberg reported seeing no other person. When in May of 1939, Wernberg's plane failed to arrive at Twin Lakes, he was forced to return to Iliamna on his own. Following the Telaquana Trail, he traveled with his dog team south from the Twin Lakes area to Miller Creek on Lake Clark; along his route, he joined Gabriel Trefon, who was also destined for Lake Clark. From Lake Clark, Wernberg continued on to Nondalton and eventually returned to Severson's trading post where he sold the furs he had collected during his stay in the Twin Lakes and Telaquana regions. Wernberg continued to trap for a couple years before leaving the region at the beginning of World War II.



A map detailing the layout of ruins from the Telaquana River Cabin ruin (LACL-221C) and associated landscape features, as shown in Jennifer Tobey's 2003 report, Cabins of Lake Clark National Park & Preserve.

Wernberg constructed a number of small cabins to support his trapping operation. The Telaquana River cabin was a Telaquana Basin outpost of a network of cabins centered just downstream from Twin Lakes:

> "[Wernberg] built himself a base camp on the Chilikadrotna River, approximately one half mile west of the mouth of Lower Twin Lake (LACL C157). From this cabin he ran traplines along the Chilikadrotna and Mulchatna Rivers for about 25 miles (40.2km) and also north to the Telaquana Lake region. Along these traplines, he constructed line cabins and dugout structures for temporary stays."[904]

As a "line cabin," this structure was a small building used for temporary lodging and gear storage while the builder, perhaps Wernberg, attended to the traplines he maintained in the Telaquana River area.

A pedestrian survey of the site suggests a total footprint of 65 feet 6 inches by 229 feet 6 inches (20 m × 70 m), containing evidence of two buildings: the ruin of one cabin and the earthen foundation or square depression of a second structure. Both are in poor condition and may soon be unrecognizable to the untrained eye as remnant structures; nonetheless, they may still possess modest potential as archaeological features of the historic period. The cabin is located 49 feet 2 inches (15m) above the northern bank of the Telaquana River on a level spot on the hillside. The cabin lacks a roof, though remnants of the four walls and an earthen foundation remain.

As part of the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Wilderness Cabins inventory, Tobey provided detailed documentation of the Telaquana River Cabin Ruin site XLC-178.[905] BIA documentation of the Telaquana Trail as a Native historic place in 1987 also briefly mentions the cabin, though it was simply a geographical landmark and apparently not built with the involvement Dena'ina individuals.[906]

Today, the features associated with the Telaquana River cabin site largely remain intact as subtle, potentially archaeological traces on the landscape: the cabin ruin, a can dump, three depression features, and one stone fire ring. Since the time of initial construction, these features have been unaffected by erosion and receive very little visitation except for the occasional park employee or visitor. As a result, as Tobey[907] suggested in 2003, the site "maintains a high level of surface and subsurface integrity. The property is stable and as an archaeological site is in good condition. The site retains the following aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling." Detection of some of these integrity measures, including design, materials, workmanship and feeling may now require archaeological methods or historical photo analysis in light of cabin conditions. While details regarding the original construction are few, evidence suggests that Wernberg may have constructed the building independently, so that construction methods are likely to incorporate the vernacular styles of Wernberg's home in the upper Midwest.

Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruins XLC-173, LACL-165C, 166C

The Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruins are located on the north shore of Telaquana Lake, near its midpoint—approximately 5.4 miles (8.7 km) west of the head of the lake and 4 miles (6.4 km) east of the lake's mouth. The site sits on a hillside within a spruce, birch, and cottonwood forest, covering an area of approximately 1.2 acres (4,950 m^2); it consists of the ruins of three structures, the remains of a wood workbench, an artifact scatter, and two trails. When in use, in the mid-20th century, the cabins at this site would have sat a short distance away from the Dena'ina village on Telaquana Lake.

Table 18: Telaquana River Cabin Ruin

TELAQUANA RIVER CABIN RUIN (from Tobey 2003: 109-117)	
Historic name	Telaquana River Cabin Ruin
Other name	LACL-221C, C-21
AHRS number	XLC-178
LOCATION	
Map sheet	Lake Clark D-3
Aliquot	T 10N R 27W Section 15, SE 1/4 of NW 1/4
Acreage	Less than one acre
City or town	Lake Clark National Park and Preserve
SIGNIFICANCE	
Areas of Significance	
Significant date(s)	1938-1939
Period of significance	1933-1967; Middle twentieth century
Cultural affiliation	European American
Architect/Engineer/ Builder	Les Wernberg (presumed)
DESCRIPTION	
Ownership of property	National Park Service
Property's function	Current: Vacant/not in use
	Historic: Domestic camp
Materials	Foundation: Earth
	Roof: None
	Walls: Wood—Log, decomposed
PROPERTY FEATURES	
Feature 1: Cabin ruin	The cabin was a one-room log structure measuring 11 ft. × 11 ft. (3.4 m × 3.4 m) with an earth berm foundation. The northwestern wall was built into a slight slope while berms along the remaining three walls were creating using dirt excavated nearby. The walls were constructed of round, unpeeled, horizontal logs and range in height from 2 ft. 1 in. to 3 ft. 11 in. (64 cm to 1.2 m) in height. Moss was used as chinking between the logs. The corners of the structure were constructed using a saddle notching technique.

	The roof of the structure has collapsed and lies buried under moss and grass inside the cabin footprint. The door is not present, but was located on the southwestern wall near the western corner of the cabin. The doorframe was constructed using wood planks measuring 2 in. × 5 in. and measures 1 ft. 11 in. (58.4 cm) in width and 3 ft. (91.5 cm) in height. One window was cut into the cabin, on the southeastern wall near the eastern corner of the cabin. The window frame measures 3 ft. 10 in. (1.2 m) wide and 1 ft. 6 in. (45.8 cm) tall. The window frame was constructed using 2 in. × 5 in. wood boards. The size, short stature, and small number of windows are typical of winter trapping cabins that were built to be heated quickly and to maintain heat.
Feature 2: Can scatter/dump	A small can dump is located southeast of the earthen foundation and southwest of the cabin. This dump lies just below the sod level and measures approximately 3 ft. 3 in. (1 m) in diameter. No depression was noted and it appears that this feature was a surface scatter, which is now covered with ground vegetation. The dump contained a variety of fuel cans and mink and muskrat traps associated with the occupation of the site. The surface find designated on the site map was a Victor brand mink and muskrat trap.
Feature 3: Foundation depression	The earth foundation of a second structure sits 59 ft. (18 m) southwest of the cabin. This depression appears to have supported a 7 ft. × 7 ft. (2.1 m × 2.1 m) structure. No remains of walls or roof material remain at the surface. The structure may have been a cache, a cabin or other shelter that predates the one previously described. Because the only part of the structure remaining is the foundation, the structure is in poor condition. The foundation does retain its form. The presence and integrity of the foundation suggests that the structure retains subsurface integrity.
Features 4 and 5: Rectangular depressions	Two depressions appear to have been excavated to provide material for wall berms. These features are located southeast of the cabin and measure 3 ft. 3 in. × 6 ft. 7 in. (1 m × 2 m) and 2 ft. 4 in. × 2 ft. 4 in. (70.2 cm × 70.2 cm).
Feature 6: Rectangular depression	Adjacent to the cabin and alongside the northeastern wall is a rectangular depression measuring 3 ft. × 11 ft. (91.5 cm × 3.4 m). This feature is directly associated with the cabin. It appears that this depression was excavated during the construction of the cabin in order to provide dirt for the berm on the northeastern wall.
Feature 7: Modern fire pit	One fire pit is located on the outskirts of the site, 144 ft. 3 in. (44 m) southeast of the cabin. It is an oval pit measuring 3 ft. 6 in. (1.1 m) along its long axis and 2 ft. 7 in. (78.8 cm) along its short axis and has a cobble ring. No cultural material was found in or around this feature. It is a noncontributing feature to the significance of the site as it is not known whether it is contemporaneous with the other features or postdates them.

Trapper Les Wernberg holding a wolf pelt and a golden eagle carcass near his cabin on the Upper Chilikadrotna River, around 1937. NPS photo, courtesy of Allen Wernberg.

Based on current site conditions, the cabins at the Telaquana Cabin Ruins site are thought to have been occupied into the middle of the twentieth century. Various publications have documented the Telaquana Cabin Ruins sites XLC-173, LACL 165C, and 166C, including cabin surveys conducted by the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve in 1984, 1993, and 1999; and the Fire Management cabin survey conducted by the National Park Service in the summer of 2001. The Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Wilderness Cabins inventory[908] documented the ruins extensively; and Brelsford[909] identified the ruins as a former habitation site

While available accounts are contradictory, Tobey and others have speculated that the cabins may be associated with George Shaben, a man who trapped for furs and prospected in the region for several years.[910] As described in historical accounts, Shaben was

> "an early Euroamerican trapper/prospector in the northern part of what is now Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. In mid-January 1928, pilot Russel Merrill flew George Shaben to Chakachamna Lake, approximately 40 miles northeast of Telaquana Lake. An accomplished woodsman, Shaben built a cabin on Chakachamna Lake and stayed there through the winter. Shaben had a number of cabins on Lake Clark National Park and Preserve's northern lakes and stayed in the region for several years, moving to different trapping sites with the assistance from various pilots who flew in the area."[911]

One of Shaben's cabins was on Two Lakes, a few miles north of Telaquana Lake. By the summer of 1928, his first summer in the region, Shaben began prospecting in the area; pilot Matt Nieminen reported dropping off supplies for Shaben in this area that summer.[912] The Telaquana Lake cabin is likely to have been built in the year or two thereafter.[913] Shaben appears intermittently in press accounts of the region from this period. In September 1929, for example, pioneer Alaska aviator Russel Merrill—namesake of Anchorage's municipal airport—crashed while flying a circuit that was to include picking up Shaben from one of his lakeside cabins in the area.[914]

Les Wernberg on upper Chilikadrotna near Twin Lakes, 1938. H-1077, courtesy of Allen Wernberg.

The exact function of the Telaquana Lake cabins is unclear. Circumstantial evidence points toward these structures being line cabins built to support Shaben's winter traplines in the area, while Shaben retained his base cabin on another interior lake to the northeast. Accordingly, the presence of earth berms in two of the three structures indicates winter occupation. Still it is uncertain whether the cabins were occupied solely in the winter or utilized year-round. Tobey[915] suggests utilized

A group of hikers heading south on Q'eteni with Trail Creek valley in the immediate background and Dilah Vena (Telaquana Lake) and the Alaska Range in the background. Archaeological and historical evidence suggests thousands of years of human settlement in this area, into the era of trapping cabins and seasonal fishing camps in the early 20th century. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

year-round. Tobey[915] suggests the site is "more complex than a typical trapline cabin and is more suggestive of a trapping base cabin, hunting cabin, or year-round residence," suggesting that the cabins were at least designed to have a broader role in Shaben's operation involving longer stays.[916]

In 1930, Shaben appears in the news again—reported as missing for an extended period, but later found to have been assisted by Dena'ina trappers in finding his way to Lake Clark and safety.[917] Press coverage included a photograph of Matt Nieminen with his Fairchild bush plane at Shaben's cabin.[918] An article from that time reads:

> "Flying the New Standard plane of the Alaska Airways, Pilot Nieminen went first to the Shaben cabin at Twin lakes [should be Two Lakes], where he had found several notes left by the trapper when he set out for Lake Clark January 27. A trader named Barnhart was found at the cabin and it was learned from him that nothing had been seen of Shaben since he started for the lake. Barnhart told the airmen of the trail leading to the headwaters of the Talaquana river [*sic*], where they would find an Indian village at the lake, not more than 5 miles from the Shaben cabin. The searchers set out in that direction and were soon at the lake, but there were no Indians there. They were able to pick up Shaben's trail, however, leading across the plateau in the direction of Lake Clark, and upon arrival at the Indian camp at [Miller Creek on Lake Clark] they learned that Shaben had arrived there safely, in company with some Indian trappers whom he had encountered en route. The trapper had reached the lake 11 days before the arrival of the plane."[919]

While the article states that Shaben's cabin was on Twin Lakes, Tobey postulates the improbability that it was Twin Lakes, noting that:

> "The village mentioned at the head of Telaquana River is undoubtedly a Dena'ina fishing camp/village that it depicted on topographic maps as 'Old Village.' ...It seems that the cabin was either the one on Two Lakes—approximately 8 miles (13km) north of the camp/village, or the cabin site on the lake currently known as Telaquana. The Telaquana Historic Cabin ruins site is located approximately five miles east of the site of the Dena'ina village at the mouth of the lake. While it cannot be determined definitely at this time, this information suggests that George Shaben occupied the cabins or one of the cabins at this site."[920]

It is true, however, that reports from the Anchorage newpaper at this time, *The Anchorage Daily Times*, sometimes confused of conflated Two Lakes and Twin Lakes.

Today, the cabins at Telaquana have collapsed and largely deteriorated. A remnant workbench and a scatter of tin cans and milled lumber have also been recorded at the site. At this time, the cabin no longer represents a "structure" by any stretch of the imagination However, the cabin and associated

features now represent historical archaeological sites, possibly with sufficient integrity to illuminate the history of mid-20th century trapping and prospecting on Telaquana Lake. Questions such as Shaben's interactions, if any, with resident Dena'ina families living nearby may also be illuminated by future archaeological investigation of the site, and possibly through archival and newspaper searches.[921]

Douglas Deur taking notes. Photo by Karen Evanoff, NPS.

Table 19: Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruins

TELAQUANA HISTORIC CABIN RUINS (from Tobey 2003: 52-62)	
Historic name	Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruins
Other name	LACL-165C, LACL-166C, Telaquana Historic Cabin Ruin C-165, C-165
AHRS number	XLC-173
LOCATION	
Map sheet	Lake Clark D-3
Aliquot	T 10N R 26W Section 09, SW 1/4
Acreage	Less than one acre (0.91 ac.)
City or town	Not Applicable
SIGNIFICANCE	
Areas of Significance	Archaeology—Historic
Significant date(s)	None
Period of significance	1920s—1940s
Cultural affiliation	Unknown
Architect/Engineer/ Builder	Unknown
DESCRIPTION	
Ownership of property	National Park Service
Property's function	Current: Vacant/not in use
	Historic: Domestic-single dwelling or camp
Materials	Foundation: Earth
	Roof: Metal-tin (no longer present)
	Walls: Wood—Log, decomposed and burned
PROPERTY FEATURES	
Feature 1: Cabin ruin	Feature 1 is a cabin ruin that is located at the north end of the site. All that remains of this cabin is an earth foundation depression. The interior of the foundation measures 12 ft. × 16 ft. (3.7 m × 5.6 m), suggesting that the structure measured 12 ft. × 16 ft. The earth berm surrounding the foundation ranges from 2 ft. to 3 ft. thick (61 cm to 92 cm) and 2 ft. 1.5 in. (65 cm) above the ground surface. A depression runs the length of the southwest wall and is most likely from where the sediment for the earth berms came. This foundation was first documented by A. Balluta and M. Yurick with Lake Clark National Park and Preserve in 1984. At that time, they noted that the foundation was all that remained of the cabin. The foundation does not appear to have been disturbed or deteriorated further during the time since their visit. Two animal/human trails meet in a "T" approximately 16 ft. 5 in. (5 m) south of Feature 1. One trail leads in a southward direction down the hillside and ends at the tree line at the beach approximately 26 ft. 3 in. (8 m) west of Feature 4. The second trail forms the top of the "T" and runs in an east to west direction, continuing beyond the boundaries of the site.
Feature 2: Remains of a wooden workbench	Feature 2 is located 56 ft. (17 m) southeast of Feature 1 and 8 ft. 2 in. (2.5 m) south of the east to west trail. Feature 2 consists of the remains of a wood workbench. The workbench was nailed to a spruce tree. The tree forms the southeast leg of the bench. The workbench is oriented in a southeast to northwest direction and extends 5 ft. 11 in. (1.8 m) from the tree. It stands 2 ft. 6 in. (76 cm) above the ground and is 1 ft. 2 in. (36 cm) wide. The workbench is constructed of unpeeled spruce logs, hewn logs, milled boards, and hand-hewn boards. Two 2 in. × 4 in. boards remain from the top of the bench. It appears that it originally had four or five boards across the top.
Feature 3: Earth foundation of a cabin	Feature 3 is located 103 ft. (31.5 m) southeast of Feature 1. This feature is the earth foundation of a cabin. The foundation was excavated into the side of the hill and measures 9 ft. 10 in. × 9 ft. 10 in. (3 m × 3 m). In 1984, Balluta and Yurick documented two standing cabins. One of these measured 8 ft. × 8 ft., the other, 8 ft. × 10 ft. Although they did not describe the foundations of these cabins, it appears that Feature 3 is the foundation of the 8 ft. × 8 ft. cabin. They described the cabins as being in a "ruin condition" and constructed of round logs with flat notches (perhaps saddle notches). In 1999, T. Ulizio and S. Goodglick reported that only the foundation depression remained.
Feature 4: Surface scatter	Feature 4 is located 82 ft. (25 m) southeast of Feature 1. The westernmost extent of this feature is approximately 52 ft. 6in. (16 m). It extends approximately 59 ft. (18 m) to the east and 30 ft. 6 in. (10 m) to the south. The feature is a surface scatter, which consists of decomposed remains of a log structure and a scatter of food tins. It consists of several cut logs and boards, decomposed, and a variety of food tins. This appears to be the location where the 8 ft. × 10 ft. (2.4 m × 3.1 m) cabin that was documented in the 1984 survey once stood. Based on the lack of evidence of a foundation, this cabin's floor sills were probably laid at grade. In 1984, this cabin was described as being located 30 ft. (9.2 m) west of Feature 3. It was constructed of round logs with flat notching and had a tin roof. No evidence of this roof remains at the site. The 1999 survey team described this feature as poles and metal remains with a scatter of artifacts.

Dena'ina families often gathered at K'a Ka'a Cabin, sitting roughly halfway betweek Kijik and Telaquana. Here we see, left to right, Katherine Trefon holding Luther Hobson, Sr., Alex Trefon, unknown, Pete Trefon and Gabriel Trefon at this cabin at K'a Ka'a or 'Big Inner Valley,' in the winter of 1935. H-20, provided by Agnes Cusma.

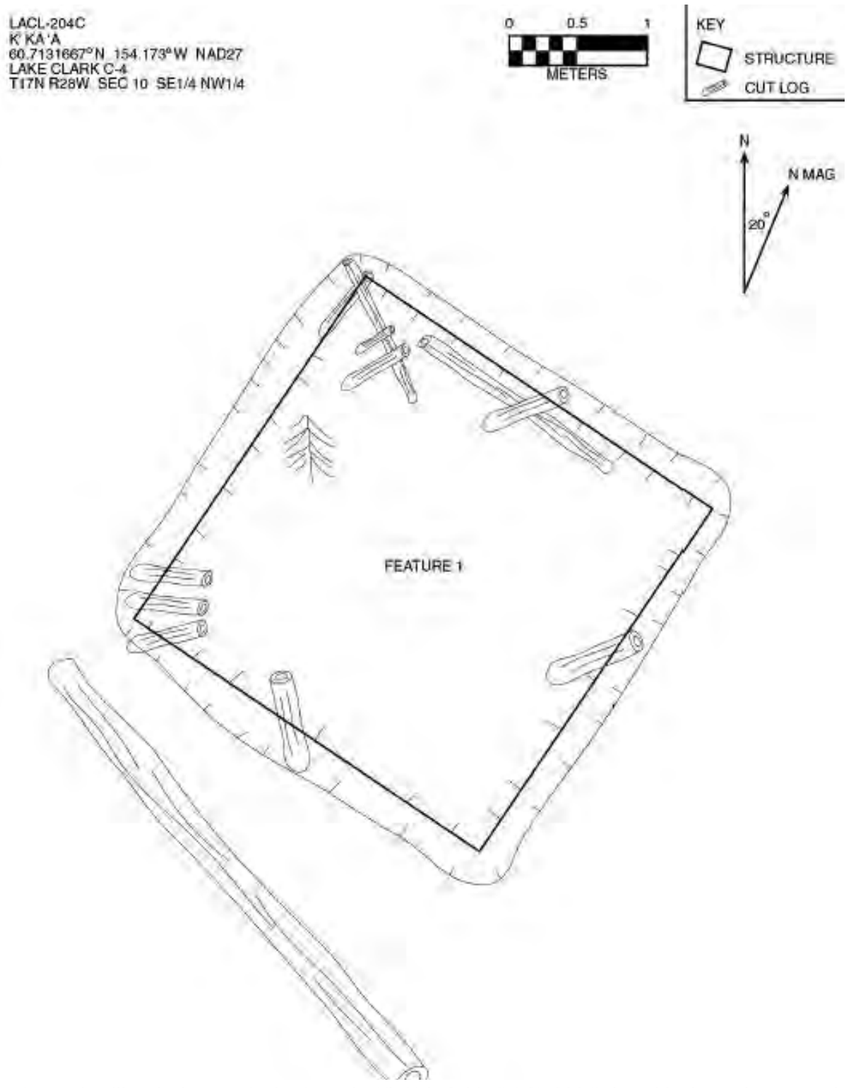
K'a Ka'a Cabin Ruin XLC-176, LACL-C04/204C

The *K'a Ka'a* cabin ruin is located along the Telaquana Trail in a stand of timber northwest of Lower Twin Lake. The cabin is named for the valley in which it is located; *K'a Ka'a* means 'big inner valley' in Dena'ina. The cabin sits in a nondescript, relatively flat location in the gently sloping northern side of the valley, approximately 1 ½ miles north of the Chilikadrotna River, the closest predictable source of water, and over four miles northwest of the mouth of Lower Twin Lake. Located halfway between Telaquana Lake and Lake Clark, the cabin provided a convenient stopover point even in the absence of significant amenities in this location. The physical environment of this site remains much the same as it did when the cabin was built: relatively open tundra plain with sparse clusters of spruce trees and scrub.

Andrew Balluta (1875-1930) built the cabin sometime before 1921 in support of his travels and trapping along the Telaquana Trail.[922] Andrew Balluta was a prominent figure in the Dena'ina community of the region; he was the father of Anton Balluta who was the father of another Andrew Balluta (the elder Andrew's grandson, and not to be confused). The Balluta family mostly used this cabin in wintertime for trapping, and in other times as shelter when hiking the Telaquana Trail. Other people traveling and trapping along the trail, Native and occasionally non-Native, used the cabin as a

resting point. There are accounts of members of the Trefon family falling into the Mulchatna River during one winter trek in the 1930s, and taking shelter in this cabin—providing protection from the elements that probably saved their lives.[923]

Remains of the K'a Ka'a Cabin with John Branson, left, and Ranger Richard Jones, right, in 1992. Since this photo, the cabin has decomposed significantly. Near K'a Ka'a on the Telaquana Trail. Photo by John Branson, NPS.



A map detailing the layout of ruins from the K'a Ka'a Cabin (LACL-C204) the cabin that so long served as a meeting place of Dena'ina families, as shown in Jennifer Tobey's 2003 report, Cabins of Lake Clark National Park & Preserve.

Though the cabin was quite small, it was an important place for the Dena'ina community, as a growing number of people from the northern, interior Dena'ina country moved to Lake Clark. In the summer, people from Kijik and Telaquana Lake villages met at the cabin to regroup and reconnoiter: they compared notes on the status of fish runs, the status of the migrating caribou herds, compared these against the needs of their villages, and determined where the most productive harvest areas were to be found. In the winter, Dena'ina people used the cabin as a hunting and trapping base. From the first of December until the end of March, Gabriel Trefon ran a northerly trapline from *Dilah Vena* to *Tutnutl'echa Vena* (Two Lakes): "The spike camp was at Tutnutl'echa Vena. The second segment of Gabriel's trapline ran from Dilah Vena south to K'a Ka'a...."[924] There he trapped for fox, lynx, wolverine, land otter, mink, and marten. Indeed, at least three generations of Ballutas utilized the structure. The Trefon family continued to use the cabin through the 1930s, and a historic photograph taken at the cabin dates to 1935.

The cabin's construction involved the use of unpeeled logs for walls and sod for the roof: "[i]t probably didn't take very long at all for three or four guys to build it."[925] The location of the structure, along a low-grade, rising up from the river, was chosen so that dogsleds could get there easily:

> "Andrew Balluta... said his grandfather built it around...1920 or in the 'teens sometime. And it appears to be a shed roof and very small.... I often thought, 'I wonder if there was another one in there too.' But no one said that there were two, just one's referred to. It's so small. But whole groups of people would lie right down there like a sardine can."[926]

The cabin is among the few recorded along the trail that is unambiguously associated with historic Dena'ina trapping activity. Though the structure is no longer standing, its location still has integrity as an archaeological site and is likely to yield information important to understanding Dena'ina subsistence activities and land use patterns.

The *K'a Ka'a* cabin ruin measures 9 ft. 5 in. × 10 ft. 2 in. (2.9 m × 3.1 m), with the earth foundation and highly decomposed portions of the four walls being all that remain. Save for the corners, the exterior sides of the walls were not visible even in Tobey's surveys of two decades ago. The cabin site appears as a depression. Historically, the walls consisted of round logs installed horizontally, fastened with double saddle notching at the corners. At the time of Tobey's surveys, remnant wall segments ranged in height from 2 ft. 6 in. (76 cm) to 3 ft. (95 cm). Three logs remained in the north, east, and south walls; and four logs remained in the west wall. While surface features at the site have largely decayed beyond recognition today, the site sits far from waterways and key visitor attractions: it has experienced little disturbance from human activity and retains its historic integrity in terms of setting, location, and feel.

Multiple written sources reference the *K'a Ka'a* Cabin as a significant site associated with the Telaquana Trail, with Brelsford[927] being first to list it as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail place name. The Bureau of Indian Affairs surveys in the 1980s also seem to reference the cabin though the documentation is ambiguous.[928] In 1986, Kari identified the cabin as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail, as part of the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study, Phase I*.[929] And in that same year, Alex Trefon and Pete Trefon[930] identified the cabin as a key location on the Kijik-Telaquana Trail. Again in 1998, Project Jukebox study participants identified the *K'a Ka'a* Cabin in association with the Telaquana Trail. Due to its advanced decay, the cabin was determined ineligible as a Lake Clark National Park and Preserve backcountry visitor cabin in 2003,[931] but NPS staff still listed the cabin as a contributing resource along the Telaquana Trail for nomination to the National Register for Historic Places.[932] Finally, the cabin was identified as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in the CLI[933] (which references the *K'a Ka'a* Valley and as well as the location of the *K'a Ka'a* cabin). Odds are high that subsurface deposits remain intact and the remains of surface features retain enough integrity to provide data regarding land use in early twentieth century Dena'ina trapping and subsistence lifestyles along the Telaquana Trail Corridor.[934] Archaeological potentials aside, the cabin was a keystone location in early 20th century Dena'ina use of the trail, and so remains a place of historical importance as well as enduring cultural significance to modern Dena'ina communities.

A painting by L. Bowman of Fedja Delkittie and Evon Koktelash hiking the Telaquana Trail. In the image, the men are entering the Yudun Dghil'u or "downstream mountains," heading north, with Nunch'qełchixi Vena (Fishtrap Lake) and Nunch'qełchixitnu (the Little Mulchatna River) in the background. Courtesy of L. Bowman.

Table 20: *K'a Ka'a* Cabin

***K'A KA'A* CABIN RUIN (from Tobey 2003: 85-91)**	
Historic name	*K'a Ka'a* Cabin Ruin
Other name	LACL-204C, C-4, 204,
AHRS number	XLC-176
LOCATION	
Map sheet	Lake Clark D-4
Aliquot	T 7N R 28W Section 10, SE 1/4 of NW 1/4
Acreage	Less than one acre (approximately 0.03 ac.)
City or town	Not Applicable
SIGNIFICANCE	
Areas of Significance	Archaeology—Historic—Aboriginal
Significant date(s)	None
Period of significance	1890-1940
Cultural affiliation	Dena'ina
Architect/ Engineer/ Builder	Andrew Balluta
DESCRIPTION	
Ownership of property	National Park Service
Property's function	Current: Vacant/not in use
	Historic: Domestic- camp
Materials	Foundation: Earth
	Roof:
	Walls: Wood—Log, decomposed

PROPERTY FEATURES	
Feature 1: Cabin ruin	The *K'a Ka'a* cabin ruin measures 9 ft. 5 in. × 10 ft. 2 in. (2.9 m × 3.1 m). The earth foundation and portions of the four walls are all that remained in early 2000s. The exterior sides of the walls were not visible, save for the corners. The cabin appears as a depression. The walls were constructed of round horizontally laid logs, fastened with double saddle notching at the corners. In the early 2000s, remnant walls range in height from 2 ft. 6 in. (76 cm) to 3 ft. 1 in. (95 cm). Three logs remained in the north, east, and south walls. Four logs remained in the west wall. The cabin structure is today decomposed above the soil surface, but it is likely that subsurface deposits in and around the cabin remain and will yield information important to the Dena'ina history of the Lake Clark area.

Les Wernberg and about 15 of his red fox furs by his cabin on the Upper Chilikadrotna River, 1938. NPS photo, courtesy of Allen Wernberg.

Les Wernberg's Trapping Cabin XLC-171, LACL-C157

Constructed in 1937, the Les Wernberg Cabin was the first EuroAmerican cabin to be built in the Twin Lakes region. The site is located north of the Chilikadrotna River, and east-northeast of the outlet of the Chilikadrotna River at Lower Twin Lake. Trapper Les Wernberg built the cabin structure and the remaining four associated features, all of which are representative of EuroAmerican trapping activities and trapping cabin styles of the Lake Clark region in the 1930s and 1940s. The cabin and its

associated site covers an area of approximately 0.15 ac. (600 m²), overlooking a slough roughly 150 feet to the east, at the base of the hill. Wernberg strategically situated this cabin on a level surface near fresh water, high enough to avoid spring flooding; in spring and summer, occupants would have been able to procure fresh fish from the slough and river. The site consists of five surface features: the ruin of one cabin, two earth foundation depressions, one outhouse depression, and one other rectangular depression. One feature on the site, an L-shaped foundation depression, resembles Native Dena'ina house pits. NPS staff believe that all structural elements are attributable to Wernberg, but this feature may be associated with the precontact era of the region and may thus predate Wernberg's arrival—underscoring the general appeal of this resource-rich site as a stopover along the Telaquana Trail.

Les Wernberg trapped this general area, including the Twin Lakes and Chilikadrotna River Basins as part of his wider trapping efforts beginning in the late 1930s. Available evidence suggests that Wernberg used the cabin as a line cabin when working traplines in the area, as well as when hunting. More biographical information on Wernberg and his time in the region can be found in the section addressing the Telaquana River Cabin Ruin XLC-178, LACL-221C, C-21. At least on one occastion, Wernberg traveled by dog sled with Gabriel Trefon along the Telaquana Trail between his cabin and the Miller Creek Telaquana Trail terminus at *Nan Qelah* on Lake Clark.

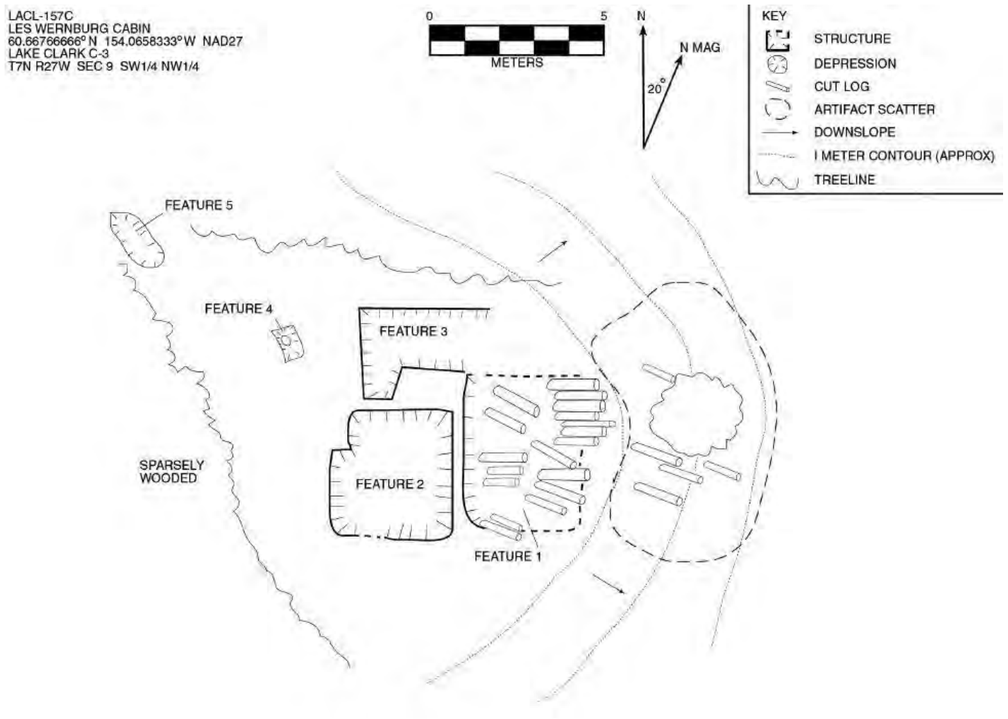
Wall tent, dog sleds, and two men probably on a joint trek along the Telaquana Trail by Les Wernberg and members of the Trefon family in 1938. NPS photo, courtesy of Allen Wernberg.

Les Wernberg holding a red fox and his leashed dogs that he used to pull his sled, 1937-1938 in front of his cabin on the upper Chilikadrotna River. Photo provided by Allen Wernberg.

Like other contributing structures along the Telaquana Trail, this cabin is no longer a structure by any stretch of the imagination, but is a plausibly good historical archaeological site. Due to its location in a remote part of the trail, little impact to the site has resulted from human activity. Much of the subsurface portion of the site is intact, demonstrated by the distinct presence of four depression features. The setting, location, and integrity of the site remain much as they did when the site was occupied. However, the structures on the site have deteriorated and collapsed, leaving a few remnant and decomposing wooden fragments lying on the top of the hill, on the hillside, and at the base of the hill.

Documentation regarding Les Wernberg's Trapping Cabin as a contributing feature of the Telaquana Trail Corridor can be found in the CLI.[935] Before that time, the cabin had been determined eligible for designation as a Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Wilderness Cabins in 2003.[936] NPS staff have completed surveys of the Les Wernberg trapping cabin site, including maps and photographs of key surface features. No archaeological investigations have been done at the site. The surface features are indicative of an early twentieth-century cabin associated with trapping activities along the Corridor during that time period.

Sometimes trappers were unable to get back to their cabins by nightfall. Here, a dugout of logs, dirt, and brush, built by trapper Les Wernberg, is seen in the upper Chilikadrotna River country sometime between 1937 and 1939. Shelters like this provided Wernberg with protection from the elements when he was too far from his base camps to return in one day. NPS photo, courtesy of Allen Wernberg.



A map detailing the layout of ruins from the trapping cabin usually attributed to Les Wernberg (LACL-C157) and associated landscape features, as shown in Jennifer Tobey's 2003 report, Cabins of Lake Clark National Park & Preserve.

College Creek Cabin Ruin XLC-172, LACL-C-161

The College Creek Cabin is thought to have been built c. 1936-1937 by workers from the Bowman mining camp who augmented their income by trapping during the winter when mining was not feasible. As noted elsewhere, the name "College Creek," appears to reference the Dena'ina place name *K'ilghech*, or 'gap [between mountains]'; though there is little evidence of Dena'ina connections to this cabin, the NPS has identified the cabin site in National Register documentation pertaining to the trail.[937] The former cabin site is located on a low terrace approximately 100 ft. (30.5 m) east of College Creek and approximately one-half mile north of Lachbuna Lake in a sparse spruce, alder, and birch forest. The site today consists of seven features: one cabin ruin, the remains of one elevated cache, three rectangular depressions, and two wood surface scatters.

Table 21: Les Wernberg's Trapping Cabin

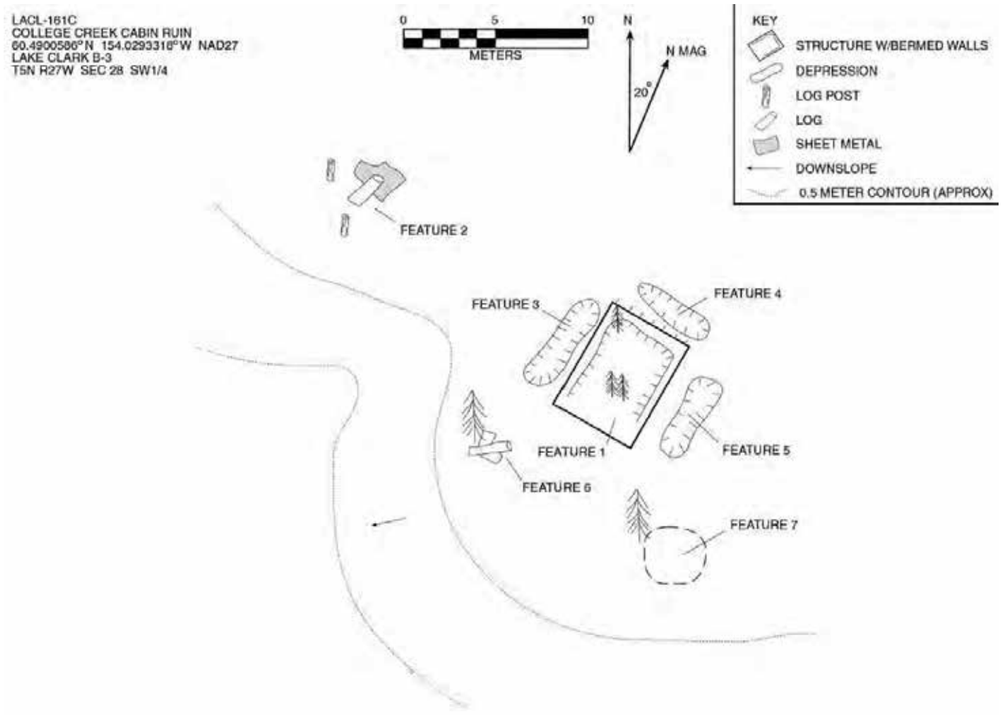
LES WERNBERG'S TRAPPING CABIN RUIN (from Tobey 2003: 28-36)	
Historic name	Les Wernberg Trapping Cabin ruin
Other name	LACL-157C, Chugach, C-157
AHRS number	XLC-171
LOCATION	
Map sheet	Lake Clark D-3
Aliquot	T 7N R 27W Section 09, SW 1/4 of NW 1/4
Acreage	Less than one acre (0.15 ac)
City or town	Not Applicable
SIGNIFICANCE	
Areas of Significance	Archaeology—historical—non-Aboriginal; Archaeology—Precontact
Significant date(s)	1938, 1939, 1949
Period of significance	1930s-1940s
Cultural affiliation	European American
Architect/Engineer/ Builder	Les Wernberg
DESCRIPTION	
Ownership of property	National Park Service
Property's function	Current: Vacant/not in use
	Historic: Domestic-camp, trapping
Materials	Foundation: Earth-sills at grade
	Roof: Wood-log, Other-sod
	Walls: Wood—Log, decomposed
PROPERTY FEATURES	
Feature 1: Cabin ruin	Les Wernberg's cabin was located on the east end of the hilltop, 3 ft. 3 in. (1 m) away from the edge. Based on evidence at the site, the cabin measured approximately 10 ft. × 14 ft. (3.1 m × 4.3 m) and rested at grade, with the exception of the west wall, which had an earth berm. Based on a historic photograph and wall remains at the site, the walls of the cabin were constructed of unpeeled vertical logs. Historical photographs reveal that the cabin had a front gabled roof of low pitch, which appears to have been

	made of logs, and covered with moss. The door had been in the southern wall of the cabin and at least one window was present on the eastern wall. No evidence of a manufactured floor was present. Based on this lack of evidence and the information from other log trapping cabins in the region, the floor was most likely dirt. The cabin is no longer standing, and decomposing materials used to construct the cabin and some of the contents of the cabin may still be detectable at the surface. The cabin appears to have slumped and then collapsed to the east, leaving several logs lying parallel to each other.
Feature 2: Rectangular depression	A large nearly rectangular depression is located west of and adjacent to the cabin ruin. This depression measures approximately 8 ft. × 11 ft. (2.4 m × 3.4 m). Across the southern wall of the feature lies a decaying moss and grass covered log. Several soil probes taken within the feature revealed no charcoal or other cultural evidence of a floor. The distinct corners and the general shape of the depression suggest an earth foundation of a former structure. This structure may have been a Native structure that predates Wernberg's occupation of the site or a temporary structure that Wernberg erected and used before his cabin was completed.
Feature 3: 'L' shaped depression	An "L" shaped depression is located north of the previously discussed depression and the cabin. The short leg of the "L" runs north to south and measures 8 ft. 7 in. (2.6 m) long and 2 ft. 8 in. (81 cm) wide. The long measures 12 ft. 7 in. (3.9 m) long and 5 ft. 7 in. (1.7 m) wide. There is no berm wall along the eastern wall. Several spruce trees grow within the depression as well as established moss. Based on the extent of this vegetative growth, this feature may predate the other features at the site. It resembles other Native Dena'ina house pits in Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. It may be a Native house pit, though it is possible that the feature is contemporaneous with Wernberg's occupation of the site. If it had been the location of a refuse deposit, it would have provided rich soil or spruce to grow. The subsurface aspect of this feature is intact and retains its integrity.
Feature 4: Rectangular depression, possible former outhouse	West of the "L" shaped depression is the location of what appears to be a former outhouse. This feature consists of a small rectangular depression measuring 6 ft. 3 in. × 9 ft. 3 in. (1.9 m × 2.8 m). Soil probe samples from the inside of the depression revealed dark night soil suggesting that this was an outhouse. No standing structure remains. Furthermore, structural evidence is not present. While an outhouse may have stood here, this may also have been the location of a pit toilet.
Feature 5: Rectangular depression	The final feature at the site is a rectangular depression located in the northwestern portion of the site. The depression measures 2 ft. 11 in. × 5 ft. 3 in. (0.9 m × 1.6 m). Soil probe samples within the feature offered no cultural material, but the rectangular shaped gives the feature a distinctly anthropogenic appearance.

Les Wernberg trapping cabin on Chilikadrotna River near the Telaquana Trail, in 1938.
NPS photo H-1078, courtesy of Allen Wernberg.

Estimates based on present conditions place the site's occupation in the middle of the twentieth century. It is likely associated with local trappers Joe Thompson, Jack Stahl, Al White, and possibly Chester Whitehead and Ray Brower (friends of the other three men)—all of whom settled in the Lake Clark region in the mid-to late 1930s. They all came to work at the Bowman Camp placer gold operation on Portage Creek on the north shore of Lake Clark about five miles east of *Nan Qelah*. In the winter they dispersed to their cabins for trapping; they had three cabins along their trap lines, extending clear to the Middle Fork of the Mulchatna and the Chilikadrotna River.Their main cabin was near the mouth of College Creek, a few hundred yards upstream from Lackbuna Lake. The cabin was approximately 4 or 5 miles east of K'ilghech and the Telaquana Trail. According to documentation compiled by Hornberger,[938] Whitehead stayed in a cabin on Ingersoll Lake (another name briefly applied to Lachbuna Lake) during the 1937 trapping season with Thompson and White. The trappers referred to Lachbuna Lake as Ingersol Lake, presumably after a prospector by that name who worked the area north of Lake Clark in the late 19th or early 20th centuries.[939]

Joe Thompson and Al White likely built the College Creek cabin in the 1930s as a sort of base of operations for winter trapping in the region. They were reported to have had two smaller out-cabins on their traplines down Little Mulchatna River to the Chilikadrotna River. This College Creek cabin had four bunks on one wall. Thompson and White invited Chester Whitehead to spend the winter of 1937 or 1941 in this cabin, and he walked out in the early spring to Bowman's Camp near Lake Clark via the Portage Creek Trail, which was filled with deep snow that spring.[940]



A map detailing the layout of ruins from the College Creek cabin ruin (LACL-C-161) and associated landscape features, as shown in Jennifer Tobey's 2003 report, Cabins of Lake Clark National Park & Preserve.

Extensive earth berms at the base of the walls suggest that the cabin was designed for winter occupation and use as a winter trapping cabin. The associated cache and the size of the cabin, 16 ft. × 20 ft. (4.9 m × 6.1 m), implies the occupants could have stayed in the cabin for an extended length of time, either for a season or a few weeks. The site is more complex than a typical trapline cabin, being indicative of a trapping base cabin or hunting cabin. This is consistent with information provided by Whitehead.

In 2003, Tobey[941] documented the College Creek Cabin Ruin site XLC-172, LACL-C-161 and, though the original cabin was in ruins, determined that the site might be eligible for status as a Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Wilderness Cabin.

Table 22: College Creek Cabin Ruin

COLLEGE CREEK CABIN RUIN (from Tobey 2003:44-51)	
Historic name	College Creek Cabin Ruin
Other name	LACL-161C, C-161
AHRS number	XLC-172
LOCATION	
Map sheet	Lake Clark B-3
Aliquot	T 5N R 27W Section 28, SW 1/4
Acreage	Less than one acre (0.39 ac.)
City or town	Not Applicable
SIGNIFICANCE	
Level of Significance	local, state
Areas of Significance	Archaeology—Historic
Period of significance	1930s-1960s
Associated period	1930s-1960s
Architect/Engineer/ Builder	Unknown
DESCRIPTION	
Ownership of property	National Park Service
Property's function	Current: Vacant/Not in use
	Historic: Domestic-camp
Materials	Foundation: Earth
	Walls: Wood-log, decomposed
	Roof: unknown (not present)
PROPERTY FEATURES	
Feature 1: Cabin ruins	The cabin plan measured approximately 15 ft. × 19 ft. (4.6 m × 5.8 m). The foundation consists of log sills at grade with the addition of earth berms after the walls were construction. Earth berms were placed around the northwest, northeast, and southeast walls, but not the southwest wall through which was the entry. The roof was absent from the cabin by the time of Tobey's surveys. It has collapsed inside the cabin and was buried by vegetation. The walls of the cabin were

	constructed of round peeled logs. The corners of the cabin were fastened with double saddle notches. The walls ranged from 1 ft. 6 in. (45.8 cm) to 2 ft. 5 in. (73.2 cm) in height at the time of Tobey's assessment in the early 2000s; each was one to two logs high. The entrance to the cabin was in the center of the southwest wall. All that remains of the door at the time of Tobey's assessment was a 1 in. × 8 in. milled board attached to the wall by a plain metal hinge. No evidence of windows in the cabin remains.
Feature 2: Cache ruins	Ruins of an elevated cache are located northwest of the cabin ruin approximately 49.2 ft. (15 m). These ruins consisted of two standing log pole legs and a sparse surface scatter, at the time of Tobey's early 2000s assessment. The surface scatter was made up of metal debris and a few logs. The dimensions of the former cache cannot be determined from the evidence at the surface.
Feature 3, 4, and 5: Depressions	Three rectangular depressions border the cabin ruin along the northwest, northeast, and southeast walls. These depressions or ditches apparently resulted from excavation of soil to berm the walls. The depressions run the length of each wall and measure approximately 3 ft. (91.5 cm) across and 2 ft. (61 cm) deep.
Feature 6: Wood scatter	Southwest of the cabin ruin approximately 16 ft. 5 in. (5m) is a surface scatter. This scatter of wood debris sits adjacent to a spruce tree and consists of decomposed remnants of cut logs and boards. The scatter is overgrown by moss and grass. It was impossible to determine whether this was a debris pile or the remains of a workbench or other type of wood furniture.
Feature 7: Wood scatter	Approximately 26 ft. 2 in. (8 m) south of the cabin ruin is a surface scatter of wood debris. The debris consisted of decomposed cut boards. The scatter is near a spruce tree and is partially overgrown with grass and moss that grows in the area.

Frank Brown/J.W. Walker Cabin Ruin XLC-179, LACL-293C

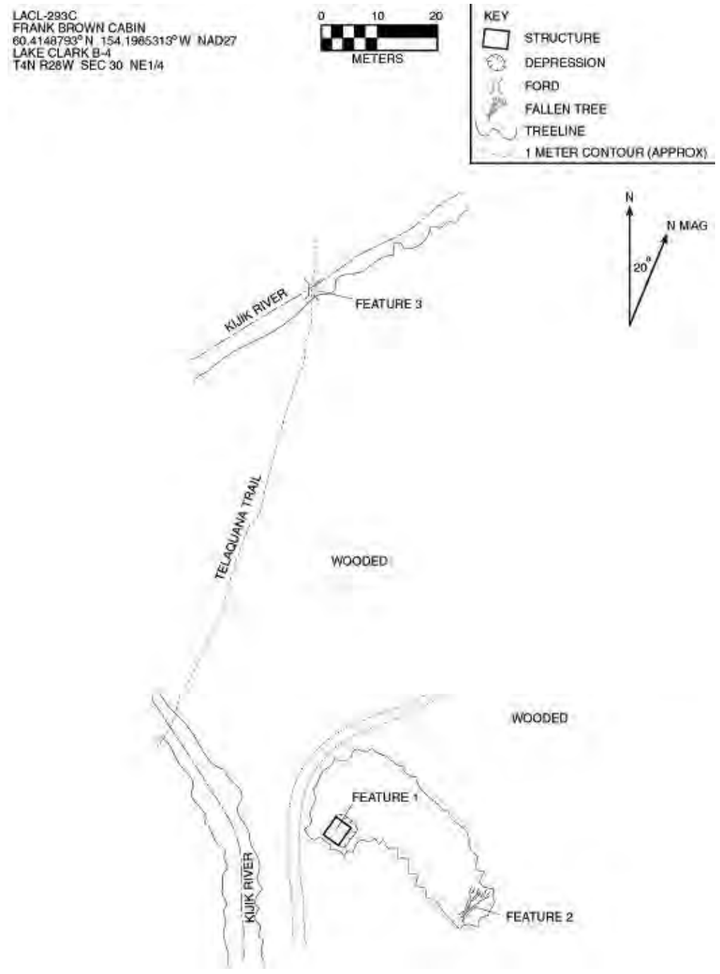
The Frank Brown/J.W. Walker cabin is located on the Telaquana Trail at *Ch'ak'dałtnu Tl'ughu,* "on the traditional portage crossing of the Kijik River.... The location is north of Miller Lake, down in the Kijik River Canyon."[942] A Dena'ina camp apparently existed nearby prior to cabin construction, related to the ford and providing rest before or after traveling the arduous terrain along adjacent segments of the trail. While on the trail route, even the earliest non-Native explorers traveled this area; the NPS has a photograph of Colonel Alexander James 'Sandy' Macnab crossing the Kijik River near the cabin in 1921. A game trail, roughly approximating the historical Telaquana Trail route, leads to the ruins of the two-room Brown-Walker cabin, including a low berm measuring 10 by 18 feet and a rusty sheet metal stove.[943] The cabin sits close to fresh water, but also at an important stopover immediately before or after S.O.B. Canyon: "It's about 25 yards south of the Kijik River where the traditional crossing was on the Kijik River for the Telaquana Trail. You have to cross it and then you walk up about a mile and you get to Tyonek People's Trail that runs up S.O.B. Canyon."[944] According to Macy Hobson, the primary Dena'ina consultant for the 1987 BIA study of the Telaquana Trail, the Brown-Walker cabin was a well-known landmark in the early 20th century:

Cabin builder Frank Brown, right, was an owner of Kasna Creek copper claims and a trader in the Iliamna-Lake Clark area in the early twentieth century. Ed Ahola, left, was a Bristol Bay fisherman and helped build Brown's Roadhouse, later known as Seversen's Roadhouse, in 1913 at Iliamna. H-567, courtesy of Marie Roehl Millett.

"The trail continues northward up a small tributary [*Nan Qelah Vetnu*, or Miller Creek] of the Lake, then climbs over a ridge to an old prospector's cabin located along the left back of Kijik River. The old [Brown-Walker] cabin is a well-known campsite. After crossing Kijik river, the route continues north for [maybe 1.5] miles along the right riverbank, veers west up a narrow draw, [*Tuvughna Ten*—'Tyonek People's Trail' or "S.O.B. Canyon"] then cuts northeast through a pass [*K'ilghech* - 'gap'] …" (BIA 1987: 8).

Joe Kackley, left, and Doc Dutton, right, look over a set of Dall's sheep horns in front of their original cabin at Tanalian Point in 1940. Doc and Joe were active prospecting and mining at Kasna Creek, Portage Creek and the Bonanza Hills in the early twentieth century. H-2767, Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

Both Frank Brown and Walker were mining engineers as well as prospectors in the area in the early 20th century. They constructed and occupied this cabin on the Telaquana Trail to support prospecting north and south of the Kijik River, as well as in and around Portage Creek and Lachbuna Lake. Brown and Walker's occupation of the site was relatively brief. Frank Brown, born circa 1876 in New York, was active at the Kasna Creek copper claims and in prospecting in the Lake Clark-Iliamna Lake region at the turn of the last century. He also had a roadhouse at Old Iliamna.[945] Walker, from Gary, Indiana, came into the country in 1902 with the Trans-Alaska Company, partnering with Doc Dutton and Joe Kackley at Tanalian Point in about 1909. He filed on the first homestead on Lake Clark at Tanalian Point in 1912, but did not follow through with the process. Frank Brown filed a lien for four quartz claims on the



A map detailing the layout of ruins from the Brown-Walker cabin (LACL-293C) and their juxtaposition with nearby landscape features including the Kijik River ford of the Telaquana Trail, as shown in Jennifer Tobey's 2003 report, Cabins of Lake Clark National Park & Preserve.

Kijik River on September 25, 1914.[946] When placer gold was found in *Tits'nadzeni*, Walker, Kackley, and Dutton became partners at Kasna Creek Copper, being involved together in the Bonanza Hills and at Portage Creek: "[T]hat cabin was built by Walker supposedly according to Andrew Balluta and Sophie. I think Andrew was the one that told me 'Walker's cabin.' And [Walker] was the first homesteader at [Tanalian Point, which later became the site of Port Alsworth] and on Lake Clark but he didn't follow up on it [in] 1912. So that's when he was in country."[947] Walker, who was from Gary, Indiana, left for Kodiak Island around 1912: "he moved over to Kodiak to be a cannery man over in Kodiak in the 'teens."[948] When Walker moved to Kodiak, his partners Kackley and Dutton remained, as did Frank Brown and his wife Jennie Miller, until roughly 1913.[949]

After Brown and Walker vacated the site, Lake Clark Dena'ina peoples used the cabin while traveling the trail.[950] Sophie Austin, an elder living in Nondalton, remembered using the cabin in the 1920s and 1930s when traveling the Telaquana Trail: "Sophie said the Brown cabin was comfortable and had a window on the west wall. This was a well-known camping site for people on the Telaquana Trail as it is about one day's travel from the trailheads at historic Kijik or Miller Creek."[951] Co-author John Branson recalls that Sophie also spoke of using the cabin once it became vacant:

> "Sophie once told me about one time, crossing—she and her husband and Wass and Mary [Trefon] were camped in [*K'ilghech*] in the fall, and they had to get back to Lake Clark before winter really closed in. And when they came down Tyonek People's Trail to the Kijik River and then went down to the crossing opposite the cabin, the river was freezing, it was [the time when] slush starts building up on the bottom. And it was really slippery and cold you know, but the water level's lower during that time generally. And they had to cross there, and they went to that cabin. This…had to have been in the late 1920s probably, based on their marriage [date]."[952]

The cabin ruin (Feature 1) sits on a small flat terrace 26 ft. 3 in. (8 m) east of a small creek that flows into the Kijik River, and roughly 250 feet south of Kijik River. Northwest of the cabin is a clearing containing several tree stumps, overgrown in trees and brush. South of the cabin ruins is an old dead blazed tree (Feature 2) that was also used for target practice and is full of bullet holes. In notes, Branson recalls:

> "I found where a tree had been hewed. And then I saw several .22 bullet holes in it. And some of the holes had little pegs in them…it was like a prolonged target practice. They were plugging the holes, so you wouldn't think you, you know if you shot again, and shot right into the same hole you couldn't tell. So, you put a plug in there in case you do. And Macnab was a crackshot. He was supposed to be as good in the US Army with a pistol as George Patton was. He was known as the guy who taught the American Expeditionary Forces to shoot in World War I in Europe, so…. He was out there with a .22 shooting spruce hens and I think he must have just did a little target practicing. … If I took you there, I could show you where it was: whether we'd see it still standing, or it would be down and rotted until we couldn't see it, I don't know."[953]

Additional blazes are found in the general area, apparently associated with the Kijik River ford and trail segments on either side. Architecturally, the cabin appears to have been representative of Alaska prospector cabins of the period, but may have had elements linked to vernacular traditions known to Brown and Walker from "lower forty-eight" contexts. The cabin no longer exists as a structure, but is in good condition as a historical archaeological site. The cabin ruin has deteriorated and been largely integrated into the soil matrix, overgrown with grasses, small spruce and birch saplings. Since the time of occupation, the setting, location, and

Table 23: Frank Brown - J.W. Walker Cabin Ruin

FRANK BROWN - J.W. WALKER CABIN RUIN (from Tobey 2003: 117-122)	
Historic name	Frank Brown Cabin Ruin
Other name	LACL-293C
AHRS number	XLC-179
LOCATION	
Map sheet	Lake Clark B-4
Aliquot	T 4N R 28W Section 30, NE ¼
Acreage	1.28 ac.
City or town	Not Applicable
SIGNIFICANCE	
Areas of significance	Archaeology—historical—non-aboriginal
Level of Significance	Local, state
Period of significance	1900s-1930s
Associated dates	1910
Cultural affiliation	European American, Dena'ina
Architect/Engineer/Builder	Frank Brown and/or J.W. Walker
DESCRIPTION	
Ownership of property	National Park Service
Property's function	Current: Vacant/Not in use
	Historic: Domestic-camp or single residence
Materials	Foundation: Earth-sills at grade with earth berms
	Walls: Based
PROPERTY FEATURES	
Feature 1: Cabin ruins	Not much remains of the cabin, except a distinct depression feature with numerous spruce and birch trees growing within it. The feature measures 11 ft. 6 in. × 14 ft. 6 in. (3.5 m × 4.5 m). In the time of Tobey's early 2000s survey, the remains of the walls were overgrown and range from 7 in. to 33 in. (17.8 cm to 83.8 cm) in height, suggesting that one to two rounds of logs remain buried under the vegetation. The northeast and the southeast walls had earth berms, evidenced by the depressions adjacent to the exterior of the

	walls. Found within the cabin ruins are the remains of a cast iron stove. The top plate and door of the stove are present. The top plate of this characteristic Yukon stove measures 17 in. × 25 in. (43.2 cm × 63.5 cm). The door is 10 in. × 17 in. (25.4 cm × 43.2 cm). The diameter of the stove pipe hole on the top plate measures 4 3/4 in. (12.1 cm).
Feature 2: Blazed tree	South of the cabin ruins is an old dead blazed tree which was used for target practice. The blaze is full of bullet holes. Other CMTs may be found nearby, associated with the ford.
Feature 3: Telaquana Trail ford across the Kijik River	The Kijik River ford is located 230 ft. (70 m) northwest of the cabin ruins. This river crossing is marked.

their original locations. There is no evidence of erosion, and human disturbance has been negligible. NPS National Register documentation suggests that the site preserves the setting, feeling, and location of frontier Alaska, which brought American speculators like Frank Brown to the region in the late 19th- through mid-20th centuries.[954] The site has significance as a venue for Dena'ina travel and encampments—before, during, and after the brief Brown and Walker occupation of the site. Kari first documented the Frank Brown/J.W. Walker Cabin Ruin (XLC-179, LACL-293C) as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*.[955] In 2003, Tobey documented the site in detail, and in 2006, the nomination of the Telaquana Trail to the NRHP included the cabin ruin as an associated site.[956] Finally, NPS' 2006 CLI[957] listed the cabin as a contributing feature.

Buildings and Structures—Discontinuous, Non-Contributing Features

There are certain structures that are mentioned in the CLI and other documents relating to the Telaquana Trail Historic Corridor that are described as discontinuous, as they fall beyond the footprint of the Telaquana Trail corridor, or as "non-contributing" because they sit on private land. We concur with their exclusion. Nonetheless, these sites still provide insights into large-scale historic settlement patterns and land use along the trail.

One of these sits at Twin Lakes. The Twin Lakes area was a significant convergence point between the Telaquana Trail and the *Chikalushen Tustes*, two Dena'ina thoroughfares within the larger network of trails traversing the entire region. Along the banks of Twin Lakes is Dick Proenneke's Cabin, a cabin that continues to be a major visitor destination within Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. In 1998, Project Jukebox study participants identified *Nilqidlen Vena*, or Twin Lakes, as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Kari later listed it as a significant feature in the *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*[958] though it is not within the contiguous 50-mile Corridor designated as

the Telaquana Trail; as Proenneke's cabin relates to the late 20th century history of the trail, we include some brief discussion of it here.

Similarly, the CLI identified a structure at *Nan Qelah* at the mouth of Miller Creek, near Priest Rock, as non-contributing because it was not in NPS ownership. This is true, but the basic history of Dena'ina cabins in that location are especially important to the Telaquana Trail, and especially the history of early 20th century migrations and adaptations associated with the decline of Telaquana Lake as a settlement center and the epidemic-induced collapse of Kijik Village. Finally, we address the Brown Carlson cabin, XLC-023—another structure on private land with a unique history relating to early settlement, and the Capps survey that erroneously designated this cabin as the southern terminus of the Telaquana Trail. Herein we assess each of these places in turn.

Twin Lakes—Dick Proenneke Cabin

For many years, Twin Lakes was home to Dick Proenneke (1916-2003). Proenneke famously constructed his cabin beginning in 1968. Filming and writing about his cabin construction process and his lifestyle on the shores of *Nilqidlen Vena* (Twin Lakes), Proenneke brought this area to international attention. He authored a widely read book about his experiences building and living in this cabin in *One Man's Wilderness*, originally published in 1973.[959] Proenneke was also featured in a films, using movie footage he had taken of the construction process and his life around Twin Lakes. He appeared as a feature-length documentary by Bob Swerer Productions, *Alone in the Wilderness*, while also appearing in many other venues. He lived in happy near-isolation in this cabin, exploring the landscape widely, learning much from local Dena'ina people, and sharing his observations with friends like co-author John Branson until, in 1999, health concerns required Proenneke to move away.

Proenneke's story remains widely known, his documentary film continues to circulate, and his cabin remains a premier attraction at Lake Clark National Park and Preserve to this day. His cabin is used in a limited way for interpretation of Proenneke's life on the southern shore of the lake, which remains a popular destination for those familiar with his life and works. The Dick Proenneke cabin (LACL-C08/208C) is referenced in the Cultural Landscape Inventory and associated National Register documentation, as Proenneke's life and influence have had broad effects upon the modern history of the Telaquana Trail. Information he gathered—published by himself or shared with Branson and others—has contributed to our understanding of trail history. That being said, these sources do not specifically list his cabin as a contributing feature to the Telaquana Trail National Register nomination. We concur with this assessment, recognizing that the Proenneke cabin must be mentioned in a complete modern history of the trail but does not warrant consideration as a contributing discontinuous resource within the trail's National Register nomination. Instead,

Proenneke's cabin will be addressed as a contributing feature in a standalone Cultural Landscape Report focused on Twin Lakes. We anticipate that the structure will be determined eligible as a contributing resource within the Twin Lakes Cultural Landscape.

Richard Proenneke (right) and co-author John Branson (left), visiting in the late 1970s. Proenneke's personal story and cabin became famous through documentary films and books. He explored the Twin Lakes region extensively and learned from Dena'ina elders, and shared his knowledge generously with Branson and others.
NPS photo, courtesy of Raymond Proenneke

Jay Hammond and Andrew Balluta near a cabin site reportedly built by Miller, 1993. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

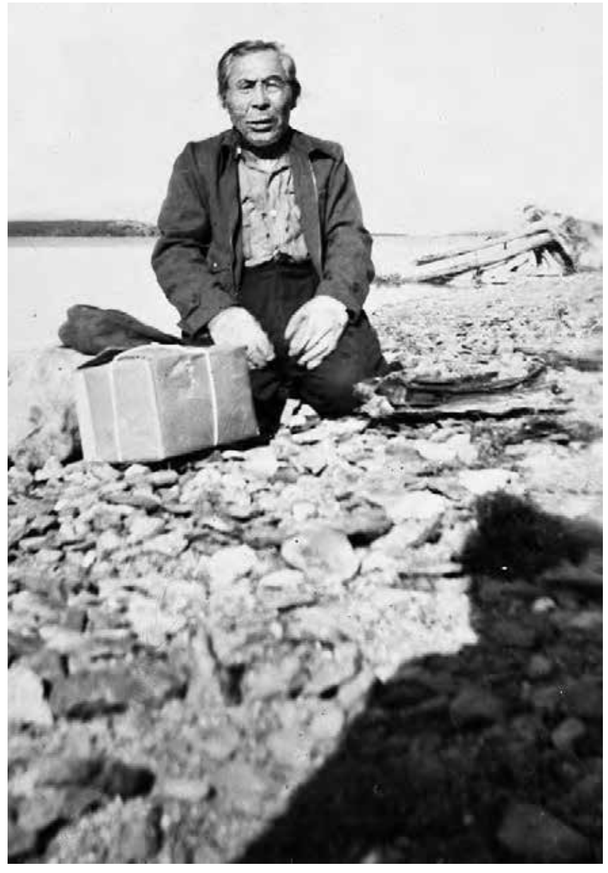
Nan Qelah—Mouth of Miller Creek

Another discontinuous structure site outside the Corridor boundary is *Nan Qelah* at the mouth of Miller Creek. The Dena'ina placename *Nan Qelah* is translated as 'where there is moss'[960] and 'mossy place.'[961] The location is arguably within the 20th century Telaquana Trail corridor, so its "discontinuous" status might be reevaluated; however, the lands and resources relating to this site sit largely on private lands, making them ineligible as contributing features. Because the NPS has collaborated with landowners at this site in various ways to document and protect cultural resources, we offer a short narrative here to facilitate future discussions of the site that provides important context in understanding the broader history of the Telaquana Trail. As NPS documentation relating

Wassillie Trefon Dena'ina fish cache in 2011. Photo provided by John Branson.

to the CLI suggests, "This site is highly significant to the Corridor landscape but is considered non-[contributing] because it resides on private property. The owners of the property have recognized the significance of the site and have allowed archaeological work to be undertaken there by the National Park Service and other interested parties."[962]

Nan Qelah has multiple layers of significance in association with the Telaquana Trail. This place became a southernmost terminus of the trail during the early 1900s when the Dena'ina peoples abandoned Kijik in the wake of epidemic disease and other changes. From roughly 1910 until the 1940s, this entry point to the trail allowed Dena'ina people to bypass the old village, which had become a burial site, and to make the ascent up Miller Creek to meet the old trail network.



Alexie Balluta on the beach at Six Mile Lake in the 1930s or 1940s. Balluta was Chief of Old Nondalton from 1930-1947, succeeding Chief Zackar Evanoff. Photo courtesy of Pete Koktelash, H-995. .

Additionally, the site became an important settlement, especially for families moving south to the Lake Clark region from Telaquana Lake and vicinity. At this early 20th century trailhead for the Telaquana Trail, a number of Dena'ina families maintained cabins. The location served as a convenient stopover point for trail travelers, as well as a point of access for lands and resources along the northern side of Lake Clark—suitable for overnight stays on the trek from Nondalton and for the storage of food and gear. Anton Balluta had a cabin at *Nan Qelah*, possibly built by W.H. Miller originally; Gabriel and Wassillie Trefon had cabins there; and Alexie Balluta may have had a cabin there in the 1920s as well. A number of Dena'ina graves are located in the area.

Nan Qelah is also the site of the Jay Hammond Homestead (XLC-022). Jay Hammond and his family established this homestead on the shores of Lake Clark in the early 1950s. The Hammond continued to vacation at the homestead through his tenure as Alaska Governor from 1974 to 1982, moving there as full-time residents when Hammond retired and left office in December of 1982.[963] Jay Hammond filed a claim on the 123-acre parcel in 1952, not knowing it had any connection with the Telaquana Trail. A cooperative agreement with the Nature Conservancy and Lake Clark National Park and Preserve allows part of this parcel to be managed by the NPS[964]; and though the trailhead is on private property, the Hammond family remain committed to not disturbing Dena'ina sites. Years later, the

Women splitting fish at the mouth of the Newhalen River, 1921. NPS photo, courtesy of Robert & April Vreeland. H-214.

Nature Conservancy incorporated some of the Hammond Homestead and Bella Hammond's Native allotment into their management, soon transferring those responsibilities to the NPS. Still, the trailhead was not affected by those dealings, and the Hammond family continue to own and use the site. Despite its significance as both a Dena'ina cultural place and the home of a prominent setter and figure in Alaska history, the site remains on the private property of the Hammond family and therefore cannot be treated as a contributing feature here.

Multiple phases of human occupation are evident at *Nan Qelah*. Before the construction of permanent structures were built, Dena'ina people apparently camped at *Nan Qelah* in seasonal brush or hide shelters.[965] Some archaeological signatures of these encampments remain on the site. In Zorea's 1991

Gabriel Trefon (1897-1963) in Gladiator Basin east of Kontrashibuna Lake on Sept. 17, 1921 with two Dall rams shot by Colonel A.J. Macnab. Photo courtesy of Sandra Orris, H-760.

field notes, for example, he mentions that: "Several stone artifacts…were recovered by John [Branson] when he was digging up the Hammond's garden. The artifacts were identified by Shields and Smith, as well as Behnke, as belonging to a technology ending in the 1870s. There are a few points that were said to be thousands of years old."[966] True, the antiquity of the site is considerable: archaeologists have determined that the Miller Creek artifact assemblage is associated with the Norton Tradition, dating from no later than 2300 to 950 years before present.[967]

Antone Balluta, at Nan Qelah, circa 1926. On this occasion Anton holds a .306 rifle given to him by three big game hunters from California who hired him to guide them on a moose hunt to Twin Lakes. Agnes Cusma recalls seeing Anton emerge from the woods there carrying the moose rack all the way from Twin Lakes to Lake Clark.
NPS photo, courtesy of Sophie Austin.

The first documented permanent residential structure at *Nan Qelah* was that of a prospector, W.H. Miller and his wife Jennie, who built a cabin three miles northeast of the mouth of Kijik River. The exact year of construction is not known, but according to Branson "[n]either Wilfred Osgood nor Martin Gorman mentioned the Millers as being on Lake Clark in 1902."[968] The construction would therefore have been after 1902, but before 1909, when USGS explorers G.C. Martin and F.J. Katz documented the site in their 1909 field notes, referring to the cabin as 'Miller's Camp.'[969] The couple only resided at the site briefly but appear to be the origin of the EuroAmerican place names Miller Creek and Miller Lake, important places along the Telaquana Trail.

In a widely read account of the Lake Clark region, *A School Teacher in Old Alaska*, Hannah Breece talks about her encounter with the Millers in 1910 at Nondalton. She describes Jennie Miller as "a young, travel-worn woman…timid to the point of being frightened, and dreadfully bedraggled: barefooted, bareheaded, missing some teeth and others rotted."[970] She describes her husband as a task-master with ambiguous relations with local Dena'ina people.[971] Breece wrote that W.H. Miller had earned, and then lost, a small fortune selling whiskey in the Klondike before settling at Miller Creek. She also documents the sudden death of Miller during the winter of 1910-1911, describing how Jennie Miller and her husband had been trapping approximately five miles from their cabin when Miller passed away unexpectedly. Kasna Creek miners a short distance away aided Mrs. Miller with the transport and final interment of his remains, perhaps near the Miller's Cabin. In 1986, National Park Service historian Sara Hornberger was told by Lake Clark area interviewees that Miller died after eating "water lily roots," though this account does not seem likely: "The Breece account of Miller's demise, taken with the other documents, seems more plausible and compelling than the account told to Hornberger of him dying after eating 'water lily root.' If Miller died after eating a plant, it would likely have been summer rather than winter when Breece documents his death."[972] In 1912, after Miller's death, Jennie Miller returned to Old Iliamna and married mining engineer Frank Brown who built a cabin on the Kijik River ford with another mining engineer, J.W. Walker of Tanalian Point, leaving the cabin vacant. The cabin most likely came to be used by Euro-American prospectors and Dena'ina people.[973]

As a first point of permanent arrival for some of the families moving from the interior homelands along Telaquana Lake to the villages on Lake Clark, this place was highly significant. At *Nan Qelah*, these families could effectively live on Lake Clark while still living at an easy trail-access point near their original homes. For a short time, the settlement became like a small village. In the early 20th century, two Dena'ina families, the Trefons and Ballutas, moved from *Ch'qułch'ishtnu* (Telaquana Village) to *Nan Qelah*. Andrew Balluta recalled, "The camp at *Nan Qelah* (Miller's Creek) was for fall and winter trapping and a base from which we went to the high country for fall hunting. We came there by boat from Old Nondalton in early September and generally remained there until the end of

March."[974] Near the mouth of Miller Creek, they built four hunting and trapping cabins. There is also evidence that Dena'ina families Gabriel and Katherine Trefon, and Wassillie and Mary Trefon utilized the Miller cabin before building their own in the vicinity. Wassillie and Mary Trefon built their cabin about 200 yards east of the Miller Cabin and their son Bill Trefon, Sr. was born in their new cabin in 1939. Nondalton consultants also told Sara Hornberger in the 1980's that Anton and Sophie Balluta may have used the Miller cabin until it was burned, possibly by Brown Carlson. Anton and Sophie's son, Andrew, was born in the Miller Cabin in 1930; they had at least one infant die there, which is buried on site, with a grandparent and perhaps others buried there as well.[975]

In addition to cabins, the site has also contained numerous caches. In 1920, Wassillie Trefon, with assistance from Balluta family members, constructed a cache adjacent to the family cabins to store dried salmon and moose for both human and sled dog consumption: "Mr. Trefon believes his father was aided in the construction of the cache by his father, Trefon Balluta (1851-1923), and his older brother Gabriel Trefon (1897-1963). The Trefon brothers were known as expert practitioners of Dena'ina woodcraft and building techniques."[976] Another cache has also been documented in the vicinity of the Trefon and Balluta cabins. During the summer of 1921, Colonel A.J. Macnab and Frederick K. Vreeland arrived at Lake Clark from New York City to go hunting, hiking up the Telaquana Trail from Miller Creek beginning on August 29, 1921: "Macnab wrote: 'We find … the old trail at the mouth of the creek where there is an old cabin and two well-built caches—empty.' On August 31, Colonel Macnab again mentions the cache: 'We reach the mouth of the creek [Miller Creek] … store our surplus stuff in a well-built cache on stilts back of the cabin ….'"[977]

Families began to disperse from the site in the 1930s and 1940s, most moving to the village of Nondalton. Some families relocated caches and salvaged materials from their cabins, removing a number of these structures from the site and relocating them to Nondalton or other areas visited for subsistence harvests. In the 1940s, for example, the Trefon family moved to Nondalton. Their cache, referred to as the 'Wassillie Trefon Fish cache,' was moved to the family's new summer fish camp at Horseshoe Bend on the upper Newhalen River. By the end of World War II, this kind of salvaging and repurposing of structures and structural materials significantly erased the traces of the short-lived "village" of Dena'ina residents.

In 1947, future Alaska Governor Jay Hammond arrived in the Lake Clark area initially working as a hunting guide and later as an employee of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. He originally intended to build a cabin at Telaquana Lake in the early 1950s but found the location too remote. He turned his attention to Lake Clark and in 1952, filed his claim on a homestead of approximately 123 acres at the mouth of Miller Creek. The Hammond family built several structures, creating what is referred to as the Jay and Bella Hammond Homestead—now on the

National Register of Historic Places by virtue of its association with Governor Jay Hammond, and brothers Jim and Tom Stanton. Mike Vandegrift later contributed to the initial construction of the homestead, while other builders made improvements and additions in later years.[978] The homestead "consists of 14 buildings mostly log construction, a rustic log and stone bridge over Miller Creek and a two acre cleared field."[979] Near this field are depressions in the ground, all that remains of the four historic Trefon and Balluta family cabins. The traces of this relatively recent history are few and easily missed if one is not familiar with the oral history of the site. As co-author John Branson recalls, "living at Miller Creek, I was on a trailhead of the Telaquana Trail, but I really didn't know it necessarily. But I did know that Lake Clark Dena'ina people, some of the Trefons and Sophie herself said, 'Andrew was born right there.' And I was living in a cabin not five feet away from where the remnants of their old cabin was, [where] Andrew was born."[980]

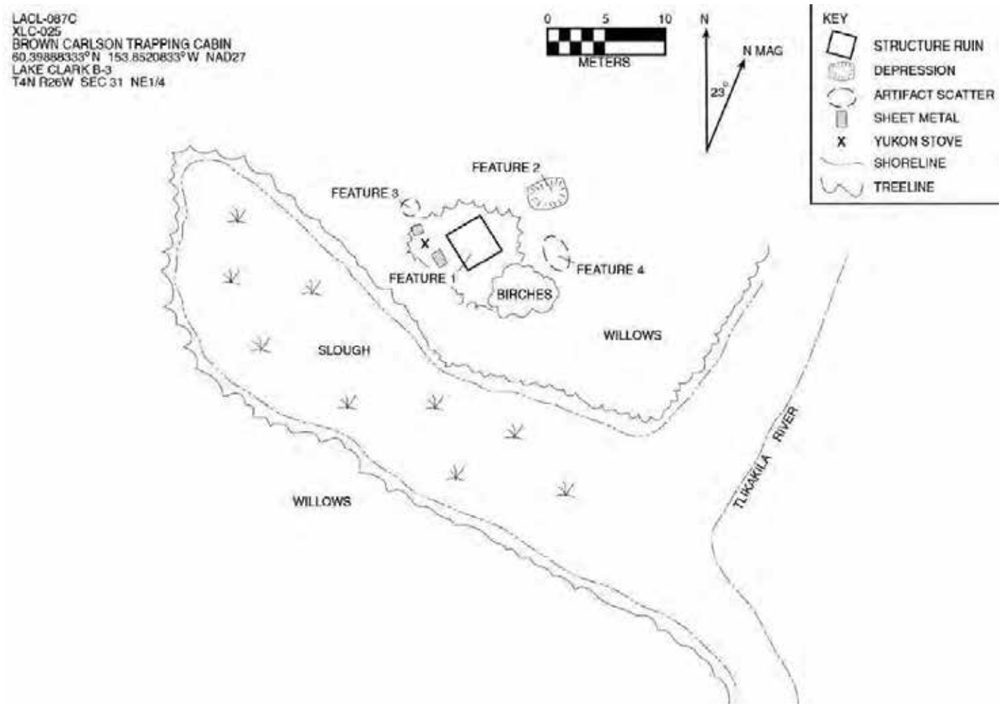
The *Nan Qelah* site still contains a number of graves that are intact. Brelsford[981] and Zorea[982] note the presence of burials associated with the site, with Brelsford referring to it as a 'Native cemetery,' describing one child's grave with a Russian cross—the burial plot covered with moss and grass and surrounded by spruce trees.[983] Similarly, Zorea observed three decades ago:

> "We also went up to the trail head at Miller's Creek where Jay Hammond now resides. Though the development has hidden any signs of the native trail head, there was one Russian cross found under a tree, as well as the outline of a house pit identified as the cabin Andrew Balluta was born in. There were also two Russian Orthodox Crosses at the Kijik site. A small metal cross like those said to be on the blazed trees at Kijik's trail head was reported to have been on the Miller's Creek cross. At this visit, the metal cross was not there. It is likely that it simply fell off."[984]

The cemetery has been overgrown and has become relatively invisible in recent years. Co-author Branson recalls seeing two decomposed Russian Orthodox crosses at the site in June 1974, but "the last time I checked with a Trefon descendant in the early 2010s, Warren Hill, only one grave marker was barely discernable."[985] Several of these sites are known to the current residents of the site and now protected by easements:[986]

> "[W]hen Gus and Mike Delkettie came, they were doing something for the BIA trying to find graves, you know all the graves, like you've done subsequently. So, they showed me where those graves were, and Jay [Hammond] had done that too before. …There's an easement on those now…on Wass Trefon's place on that easement, on the graves and on Gabriel's cabin which is being undercut now by the creek, but it's still mostly intact."[987]

In multiple sources, *Nan Qelah* has been documented as a significant site associated with the Telaquana Trail. In 1921, Macnab and Vreeland began their hike up the Telaquana Trail from Miller Creek and photographed the two caches near the trailhead. The site was listed as a Lake Clark-Telaquana Trail place name in Brelsford in 1975,[988] where he noted burials at the site. And in Ellanna 1986 (A-29), Alex Trefon identified *Nan Qelah* as an important location along the Kijik-Telaquana Trail, being both a terminus and a settlement of significance. Brelsford[989] listed detailed coordinates for the site. The present site lacks structures of Dena'ina construction, but archaeological evidence of such structures dating from the early 20th century are anticipated to be numerous. Extant structures relate exclusively to the occupation since 1952 by the Hammond family.



The Brown Carlson Cabin complex, as mapped by Jennifer Tobey (2003a).

Brown Carlson Complex and Cabin XLC-023

Brown Carlson was a man of enduring significance on the shores of Lake Clark—one of the earliest non-Native settlers, who married into the Dena'ina community and became an important figure in the interethnic community of trappers that formed in the Lake Clark Basin in the early 20th century. He built his original home cabin at Portage Creek Village on Lake Clark in 1906. This original burned down in 1939; Floyd Denison, a resident of Tanalian Point, remembers seeing the fire from his house, some 16 miles down the lake. Carlson rebuilt the house with the assistance of Fred Bowman. Carlson inhabited the house until the mid-20th century. The outbuildings associated with the house—a shed, two caches, an outhouse, and a smokehouse—were built at unknown times during Carlson's occupancy. The house remains in private ownership and has been restored in recent times in a manner consistent with the materials, workmanship, and feel of the original structure.

Table 24: Brown Carlson Complex—House

BROWN CARLSON COMPLEX—HOUSE (from Hoagland 1982)	
Site Address	T3 R28W S13 N shore of Lake Clark
DESCRIPTION	
Original Use	Residential
Condition	Rebuilt, defunct
Danger of Demolition	No
PROPERTY FEATURES	
Feature 1: House	See Brown Carlson Complex—House: Originally one-and-a-half stories, approx. 14 ft. 7 in. × 29 ft. with a 4 ft. 7 in. × 4 ft. 8 in. vestibule on the southeast corner, round logs nailed into corner boards, vestibule wood frame with vertical board siding, gable roof with green asphalt covering, first-floor windows boarded up, six-light windows in gable. The logs did not extend the length of the building but are only half the length, nailed into posts at the midpoint of the long wall. The 'Brown's Landing' sign on the house was made for Carlson by Harry Baker. Now in advanced state of decay.
Feature 2: Shed	One story, post construction, horizontal boards, vertical boards in gable, gable rook, open on two sides.
Feature 3: Outhouse	Board and batten siding, shed roof.
Feature 4: New cache	Round logs, square notched, gable roof, raised on posts.
Feature 5: Old cache	Round logs, dovetailed, gable roof, fallen on ground.
Feature 6: Smokehouse	Post construction with horizontal half-logs, vertical half-logs, in gable, gable roof; building leaning badly in early 2000s Tobey survey, propped up by posts.

One of the earliest non-Native inhabitants on Lake Clark was Brown Carlson, born in Halden, Norway, in 1878.[990] When he was sixteen, he sailed (or perhaps was pressed into service) on a supply ship to Bristol Bay, landing in 1900. After arriving in Bristol Bay, he worked summers for Libby, McNeill, and Libby, the commercial salmon fishing company, and in 1906, built his main residential cabin in the Lake Clark area. That same year he married Dena'ina woman, Christina Balluta, Anton Balluta's older sister — marrying in Kijik on March 10, 1906. She passed away shortly thereafter. In the late 1920s, he married again, this time to Agafia Trefon, daughter of Trefon Balluta and Mary Ann Trefon. His second wife died in 1928 after the birth of a daughter, Ida Carlson. Carlson also had a stepson, Charlie Trefon and sometimes helped rause Anton Balluta.[991] Some Dena'ina kin referred to Brown Carlson as Uncle Brown.

Calrson Brown most likely continued to fish commercially in Bristol Bay during the summer months until the late 1920s or mid-1930s. In the winters, he operated a trapline that extended for more than 100 miles. It began at the head of Lake Clark and continued into the pass to Otter Lake, over to Lachbuna Lake, down the Kijik River Valley to Miller Lake, and back to Lake Clark—traversing portions of the Telaquana Trail and lesser branch trails.[992] It took Carlson five days to run his trapline traveling on foot, using pack dogs but typically not using a sled or dog team. Carlson continued to live and trap near his cabin through the 1950s. Due to failing eyesight, Carlson moved to a rest home in Anchorage around 1963 and died in 1975 at the age of 97 years.

Carlson's reputation in the region was legendary. He was known for his strength, stamina and agility, of which he was enormously proud. "Someone once challenged him to pack a load of 100 pounds or more along the ten-mile portage at Iliamna without stopping, and he did. ...Reputedly once an acrobat in Europe, Carlson was extremely agile and walked on his hands at his rest home in his old age. He also talked to himself and loved to boast"[993]

Brown Carlson, along with Doc Dutton and Joe Kackley who lived at Tanalian Point, were apparently the only non-Native setters on Lake Clark in the 1920s. In a 1927 letter, Doc gives a hint at their cooperation at this time, writing that "Joe and I and Brown Carlson are all ready to go down to Hanses (trading Post) for our winter supplies. We get the Heavy stuff up by Dog Team...."[994] This letter was written shortly before the arrival of Capp's U.S. Geological Survey expedition, which utilized Brown's cabin to store supplies for their team.

In 1929, Stephen R. Capps began his survey of the Lake Clark-Mulchatna region for the US Geological Survey. The supplies they stored at Brown Carlson's cabin in 1929 were transported from Old Nondalton by Jack Hobson in his small skiff.[995] During his own 1991 Telaquana Trail survey, Zorea makes note of the Brown Carlson cabin:

Cabin builder Brown Carlson was an early twentieth century EuroAmerican resident on Lake Clark. He was a prospector and part-time miner, a Bristol Bay salmon fisherman and trapper. He lived at Portage Creek village between about 1906 and 1962. H-27, provided by Floyd Denison.

> "It would also be prudent to note that there was a cabin (Brown Carlson?) at the end of the USGS 1930 survey. It is possible that Capps et al. routed the trail terminus to the nearest cabin. ...I'm sure Carlson would have been flattered. However, it also suggests that non-native miners and trappers appeared to have a familiarity with the route, by ending at a prospector's cabin—it seems to suggest that it was used more by them, than by the Natives. Even in 1930, Capps et al. labeled the Telaquana Trail, the 'Old Native Trail'—not just 'Native Trail.' That would imply that the native had not been using it nearly as extensively as they thought. On the other hand, since there was no trail—the natives could have been using it like an interstate, and the Capps crew could have passed the signs entirely without ever noticing them. It is something to consider—nothing to consider conclusive though."[996]

The Brown Carlson "Complex" refers to the numerous structures built by Brown Carlson around the Lake Clark region, including not only his main residence, but smaller trapping cabins built at other places, such as the trapping cabin at the mouth of Tlikakila River (XLC-025). The Brown Carlson house that specifically relates to Telaquana Trail, XLC-023, consists of a house, shed, two caches, an outhouse, and a smokehouse. The shed was of one-story post construction with horizontal boards, with vertical boards and a gable; the shed was used to house wood. The outhouse consisted of board-and-batten siding and a shed roof. The new cache was built with square-notched round logs, was raised on posts, and had a gable roof; while the old cache consisted of dovetailed round logs and a gable roof. The smokehouse was of post construction with horizontal half-logs, and vertical half-logs built into a gable and gable roof; this structure was propped up by posts. Though Brown Carlson lived at this site from 1906 until roughly 1963, it is not known when he built the outbuildings.

In an archaeological field study published by Smith and Shields (1977), a cabin, identified as site XLC-023, is "located on the north shore of the lake on the east side of the largest bay" and is attributed to the "first reported man to live on Lake Clark, Brown Carlson."[997] At the time, Smith and Shields documented the presence of a large log house with an attic, a wood shed, a log cache, and a barn located to the west of a small creek.

> "To the east of this unnamed creek is a 4m x 3.5m depression…with a small 1m by 1m depression in the SW corner, two small log cabin[s] (still standing), the remains of a log cache, a standing outhouse and the remains of a fence. There is also a bridge that crosses the small unnamed creek."[998]

In June of 1982, as part of a HABS/HAER inventory, Alison K. Hoagland inventoried the Brown Carlson Complex, including the house, built in about 1939, with features of this description: one-and-a-half stories, approximately 14' 7" x 29' with a 4' 7" x 4' 8" vestibule on the southeast corner; round logs nailed into corner boards; vestibule wood frame with vertical board siding; gable roof with green asphalt covering; first-floor windows boarded up; six-light windows in gable. According to Hoagland, the logs do not extend the length of the building but run half of the building's length, nailed into posts at the midpoint of the long wall. Harry Baker crafted for Carlson a sign on the house that reads "Brown's Landing."[999] Historical archaeology research addressing the life of this early non-Native settler, and his relationships with the Dena'ina and other area residents, would be potentially revealing.Little or no subsurface investigations have been conducted at the Brown Carlson Complex site; investigations have been confined to mapping and photographing features and artifacts visible at the surface. The structures at this site remain in private ownership, and have been restored with great care to historical continuity in materials and workmanship. Brown Carlson found an early 19th century Russian axe head in his garden at this place and gave it to the Coray family.

Miners from the Bowman Mine, Portage Creek, in the mid-1950s. Left to right, they include Brown Carlson, Tommy Meyer, and Fred Bowman. Bowman owned most of the Portage Creek claims by 1933. With a small crew, he worked the Portage Creek placer operation until his death in 1959. H-330, courtesy of Howard and Letitia Bowman.

Land Use: Mining Sites

As a significant ethnographic and historic landscape, the Telaquana Corridor reflects the broad historical changes experienced in southcentral Alaska and beyond from the beginning of the American period. Among these events are the gold prospecting and mining economies that brought riveting change to Alaska in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. When the United States purchased Alaska in 1867, the U.S. opened the territory to EuroAmerican prospectors, bringing the first significant exploration and exploitation of Alaska's vast mineral wealth. Dena'ina peoples observed prospectors

arriving in their lands in the years that followed, in search of copper and gold. By 1890, prospectors had reached the Mulchatna River Basin and surrounding streams, with intermittent exploration on the fringes of what would become Lake Clark National Park and Preserve.[1000] In the years that followed, waves upon waves of prospectors entered Alaska, involving a succession of gold rushes centered on the Klondike region (1890s), Turnagain Arm (1896-1900), Nome and northern Alaska (1899-1909), and Fairbanks and central Alaska (in the early 1900s). Each represented a definitive moment in Alaska history. In turn, each surge in regional prospecting brought its own small surge in prospectors on the peripheries, including the Telaquana Trail—with prospectors passing through while also searching the Telaquana Trail landscape for signs of gold. The Turnagain Gold Rush was especially impactful on the lives of Inland Dena'ina, bringing a small surge of prospectors into Lake Clark country—many of whom stayed at Historic Kijik Village.[1001]

Gold, copper, and other precious metals were surely to be found in what is today's Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, bringing early miners and small mining settlements. Some portion of this mining history took place along or very near the Telaquana Trail. The Telaquana Trail became a pathway for early prospectors, and eventually for miners traveling to and from significant deposits in Bonanza Hills and at the site of the Bowman Mine. Beginning in the late 1890s, men began actively prospecting and panning gold at Portage Creek, the first operation around Lake Clark. Notable prospectors who entered the region in these early years included Hugh Rodman, J.W. Walker, Doc Dutton, and Joe Kackley—first involved in the Kasna Creek copper operation on Kontrashibuna Lake, south of historic Kijik Village.

Yet the Telaquana Trail's earliest significance in Alaska's mining history may have been in its role as an established transportation corridor—in particular, as a pathway between the navigable waterways of the coast, especially Cook Inlet and the relatively well-known mining districts in the upper Kuskokwim (Stony) and Mulchatna River Basins. Word of the gold in these rivers had reached the dwindling and overcrowded California gold fields in the late 19th century, as well as the wider American press, bringing its own surge of miners seeking land routes to the mining districts of interior southcentral Alaska. We see evidence of the use of the Telaquana Trail as an access route for early miners in the written record, such as the correspondence of prospector, Lemuel E. Bonham, who describes the apparent use of the Telaquana Trail while shipping supplies from Iliamna Bay south of Lake Clark to the head of the Kuskokwim River. Writing in March 10, 1901, he notes:

> "This is the best winter route 12 mile portage from here to [Old] Iliamna Village, hence 6 miles [Newhalen Portage] portage to [Newhalen] River between Clark Lake and Iliamna Lake, hence 13 miles up river to Clark Lake, thence 60 miles up Clark Lake to Keejak (Indian village) [Kijik].

> Hence 140 miles north to point of discoveries on Kuskokwim. I took 500 lbs. for a stampeder from here to Keejak. We expected to get provisions off the boat on her next try and strike out for the head of the Kuskokwim at a point of 63 N latitude and 154 W longitude. The party I took a load for is from California. He told me they had found a good thing. As high as $17.00 to the pan—said he would put notices along the trail informing me of the locality.... I am over here on the coast stopping in an old shack with some other fellows who are waiting for the boat. 'The ship that never returned' it is now so late that I am afraid we could [not] make it to the head of the Kuskokwim before break up. The [Telaquana] trail goes over several mountains and we would have to do much relaying."[1002]

Similarly, a year after Bonham's trek, we find accounts of prospectors who had worked the upper reaches of the Kuskokwim (Stony) River, leaving the country in despair along the Telaquana Trail after failing to find gold. They abandoned over a thousand pounds of supplies at Telaquana Lake, on the northern end of the trail, to hasten their travel southward to Kijik and to a ship beyond. On their way home, Oregon botanist Martin W. Gorman met them at Iliamna Bay, in the early summer of 1902. As Gorman wrote on June 30, 1902: "prospectors ar. fr. Trail Creek on Mulchatna River, Gillispie, Walm, Walm & 3 others. They sleep until noon & then get the Indians & squaws to pack to the [Iliamna] bay for the[m]. They left Unalaska Aug. 17-01. Went up the Kuskokwim to Trail Cr. Where they found a little gold. They started with 4,700 lbs. of provisions & abandoned about 1,800 lbs on Trail Cr."[1003] As these accounts suggest, Telaquana Trail was becoming a haphazard thoroughfare of intermittent and often ill-informed miners passing through the area, just as Kijik was becoming a stopover for these miners traveling through the region. So too, Dena'ina men and women were increasingly recruited to serve as paid guides and as sources of labor in shipping and provisioning to support early prospectors using the trail.

With so many prospectors passing through, and local mining operations expanding, it was only a matter of time before the gold and copper resources of the Lake Clark backcountry would be detected and exploited. The written record of these early years of mining history is thin. However, certain accounts make clear that miners spread widely across the landscape by the early 20th century, including lands near to and often accessed by the Telaquana Trail. By 1909, U.S. Geological Survey surveyors G.C. Martin and F.J. Katz documented the names of nearby prospects on the "headwaters of the Kijik River including Kellet Creek and Ingersol [Lachbuna Lake], Lincoln, and Franklin gulches."[1004] However, they never identified exactly where they were. Clearly, extensive prospecting and occasional gold mining seems to have taken place within the upper Kijik River Valley, and gold-bearing quartz veins were reported in the early 20th century. Tailing piles have been reported on the south bank of the Kijik River just below Lachbuna Lake in recent times, confirming these general patterns.[1005]

It is during this same period, the first decade of the 20th century, that we first see written evidence of focused mining at Bonanza Hills, as will be detailed in later sections. By no later than 1909, Oliver Millett is reported actively mining this area. Other miners soon join him—men already working elsewhere in the region, such as Frank Brown, J.W. Walker, Doc Dutton, and Joe Kackley, all drawn to the site by news of prospecting success.[1006] The Telaquana Trail was the principal point of access for miners going to and from this mining district. It is during this time that prospectors also have initial success on Portage Creek—founding what would in time be known as the Bowman Mine near the southern end of the Telaquana Trail. These mining operations remained small but sufficiently productive to support emerging mining settlements into the 1910s. Well-known prospectors from the region were active in these locations and appear in the area's first reliable census:

> "If you look at the 1910 census, it has Walker like the head and then it'll have Kackley and Dutton underneath it as partners; they worked for him and they were involved at Kaznick [Kasna] Creek Copper. They were involved together over in the Bonanza Hills and at Portage Creek. So, there's three big prospects around Lake Clark and Walker, Dutton and Kackley were all involved; Frank Brown was involved in them too."[1007]

Some, such as Brown Carlson and Fred Bowman, established cabins near or on their claims at Portage Creek—circa 1906 in Carlson's case, circa 1934 in Bowman's. Many others lived in Kijik and at Tanalian Point while continuing to seek out their fortunes, traveling miles along the trail to reach the Bonanza Hills. No doubt, the Telaquana Trail was difficult for traveling prospectors, especially negotiating the lower portions and S.O.B. Canyon with heavily freighted sleds. This canyon was so challenging, in fact, that travelers usually unloaded their sleds and packed their gear to the top of the hill before driving empty dogsleds up the pass to regroup at the top. They would then reload before continuing north.

These hardships caused prospectors to gravitate to other trails to the Bonanza Hills, eventually steering clear of the main stem of the Telaquana Trail. In their book *The People of Nondalton,* Ellanna and Balluta documented one of the alternative trails meant to circumvent the Telaquana Trail.[1008] This alterative trail left the north shore of Lake Clark from Portage Bay and headed north across the Chulitna River Valley, continuing north while crossing the upper Koksetna Creek west of Caribou Lakes and winding north crossing Ptarmigan Creek, then continuing north to the Bonanaza Hills site. This trail was approximately 38 miles more or less straight north from Tanalian Point and was more expeditious than using the so-called "upper trail"[1009] or the Telaquana Trail to access gold prospects in the Bonanza Hills. Trails like these spread the miners' pathways broadly, even diffusely across the landscape. In the 20th century operations of these mining districts, the Telaquana Trail was significant, but not overwhelmingly significant. For this reason and others, remarkably few built

features or other landmarks have been noted along the trail independent of key landmarks described in this section.[1010]

Over the course of World War I, however, both copper and gold mining declined precipitously.[1011] This reflects a decline in available labor, significantly reduced prices for gold on international markets, and perhaps also the effects of the "Spanish flu" pandemic. Only a few miners, such as Doc Dutton, Joe Kackley, and Fred Bowman remained in the area while many others moved away at this time. Telaquana Trail cabins used in travel to and from the mines, such as the Frank Brown-J.W. Walker cabin, were largely abandoned—sometimes becoming shelters for longstanding Dena'ina users of the trail.

By the 1920s, mining began to rebound in the region, buoyed by rising gold prices and the demobilization of troops at the end of World War I. The mining communities that endured after this period become somewhat less itinerant, constructing new cabins and settling into mixed economies that involved winter trapping, commercial fishing, and subsistence hunting alongside a mining economy focused on summertime pursuits. Miners like Dutton and Kackley trapped in the winter but mined in the summer. In many cases, a combination of commercial fishing in Bristol Bay and the trapping of fur-bearing animals in and around the Telaquana Trail brought in far greater income than prospecting and gold panning for these men. New miners arrived in this period. Charlie Denison settled at Tanalian Point on Lake Clark, prospecting in 1932 at Lake Kontrashibuna and Bonanza Creek,[1012] though he mostly prospected around Mesa Mountain and the Chilchitna River, and at Bonanza Creek in the Bonanza Hills between the Mulchatna and Chilikadrotna Rivers west of the Telaquana Trail.

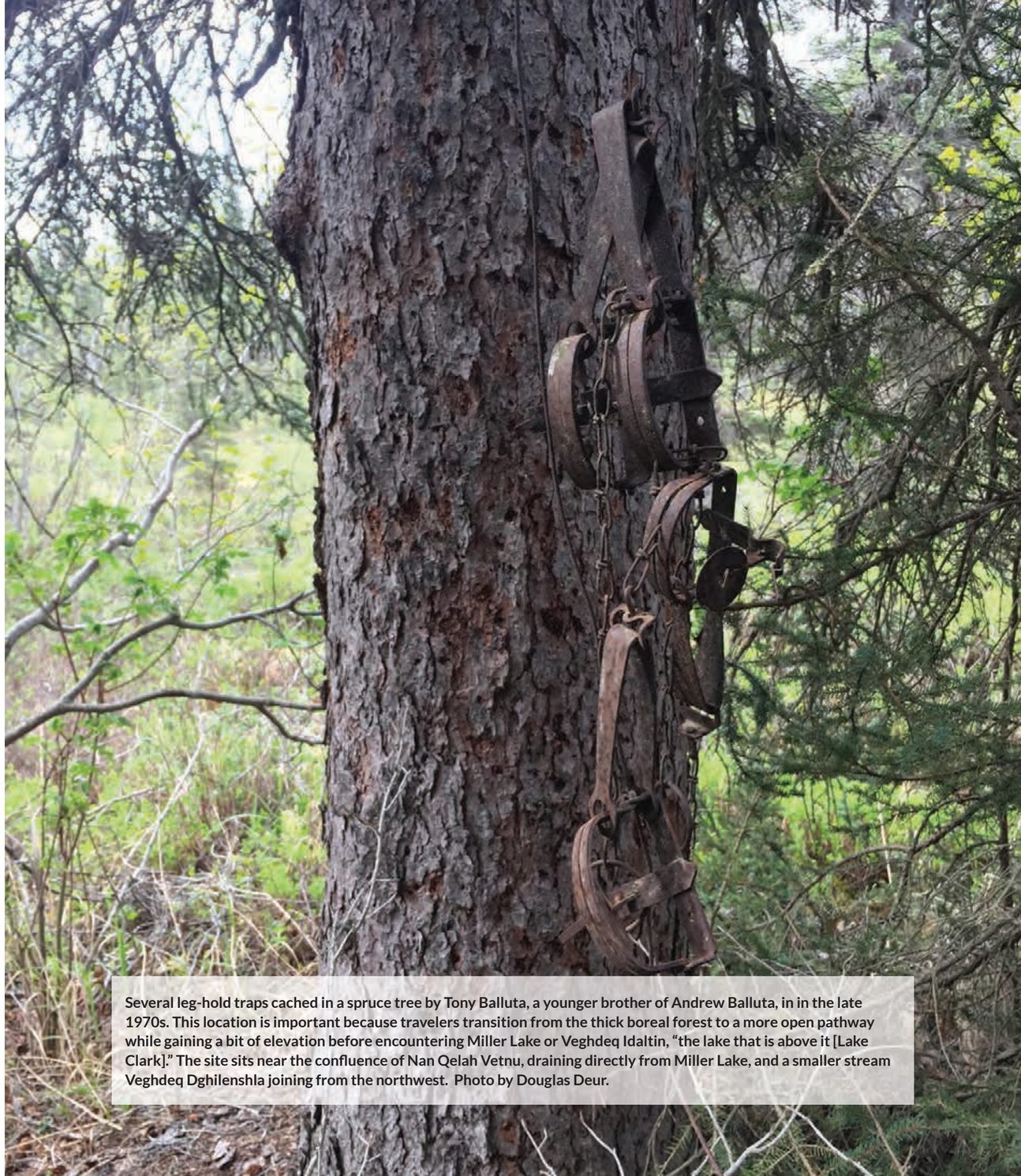
Additionally, Fred Bowman mined along the west side of Portage Creek during this period. In fact, by 1936 the Portage Creek mining district became known as "Bowman's Camp," based on this association.[1013] Through the middle twentieth century, the Bonanza Hills remained somewhat active too, though none of these locations matched the wealth-producing gold strikes in other parts of Alaska, or the hopes and dreams of many local prospectors. By the 1940s, the men from the first mining operations were becoming elderly—some moving away, others passing away locally. A new era of mining emerged in the years following World War II, with mining operations persisting in certain productive locations; by the time of ANILCA in 1980, only a few private inholdings continued to serve as venues for gold panning and mining—the Bowman Mine among them.

National Register documentation demonstrates that two significant mining sites are associated with the Telaquana Trail, though they are of ambiguous relevance to the Telaquana Corridor Historic District—one being on private land and non-contributing, the other being discontinuous with the

trail. The first of these two significant mining sites is the mining settlement in the Bonanza Hills. This area is not within the contiguous 50-mile-long Telaquana Trail Corridor; still, the Bonanza Hills mining settlements were a destination point to trail travelers during the period when mines were active in the early 20th century. Moreover, this mining district is referenced as a potentially contributing site in NPS National Register documentation relating to the Telaquana Corridor Historic District, including the Cultural Landscape Inventory and context statements.[1014] We reference the mining district here as a potentially discontinuous contributing landmark, drawing from recent documentation of associated historical archaeological features.[1015] Considered alongside other contributing features, this history of the mining district affords a greater understanding of the landscapes of contact and reoccupation along the trail corridor.

Members of the mining community, gathered at Brown Carlson's place in 1941. They include, left to right: Peggy Baker, Joe Thompson, Howard Bowman, Norma Bowman, and Fred Bowman. H-2713, photo by Harry Baker, provided to NPS by Margaret Alsworth Clum.

The second of these, on private land, is the Bowman Mine. This mining site sits on the west bank of Portage Creek and is very close to the historical route of the Telaquana Trail. While this was significantly a non-Native operation, a number of Dena'ina men sometimes worked for or in the mining camp, such as Pete Delkittie, Macy Hobson, and Wassillie Trefon. A secondary Portage Creek trail associated with early mining operations at this site ran between Porter Creek village on Lake Clark (near Brown Carlson's cabin) and the placer mine of Portage Creek (Bowman Camp)—extending north to intersect with the Telaquana Trail. In the 1986 *Lake Clark Sociocultural Study Phase I*,[1016] Kari identified the Bowman Mine as a significant feature along the Telaquana Trail. Hoagland



Several leg-hold traps cached in a spruce tree by Tony Balluta, a younger brother of Andrew Balluta, in in the late 1970s. This location is important because travelers transition from the thick boreal forest to a more open pathway while gaining a bit of elevation before encountering Miller Lake or Veghdeq Idaltin, "the lake that is above it [Lake Clark]." The site sits near the confluence of Nan Qelah Vetnu, draining directly from Miller Lake, and a smaller stream Veghdeq Dghilenshla joining from the northwest. Photo by Douglas Deur.

completed three HABS/HAER Inventories at the site in 1972: one for the camp, one for the mine, and one for an associated cabin. Additional information is provided below, but—out of respect for the private property owners—does not provide detail commensurate with a property contributing to the National Register status of the trail.

Mining Sites—Continuous and Potentially Contributing Features

Kijik River Tailings Piles

Considerable placer mining took place in late 19th and early 20th centuries on the Kijik River, though documented landmarks associated with this history are relatively few. Still, below Lachbuna Lake (Ingersol Lake), rows of tailing piles are clearly visible to this day. Many places along the greater Kijik River corridor were widely known to have gold-bearing alluvial deposits, as noted in such early reports as Martin and Katz's 1910 geological survey: "On the headwaters of the Kijik River the alluvium of Kellet Creek and Ingersol, Lincoln, and Franklin gulches are reported to be auriferous."[1017] Significant tailings piles associated with these deposits are located on the Kijik River, on the south side, just below the outlet on Lachbuna Lake. These have been reported by John Branson, with the input of Stu Ramstad and Glen Alsworth, Jr,[1018] and have not yet been formally documented at the time of this writing, though NPS staff report that archaeological survey is imminent. These undocumented tailing piles are among the few tangible impacts on the landscape left by miners within the trail corridor. Dena'ina workers were likely among those who assisted in the development of mining in this area; Lake Clark Dena'ina guided and packed, and worked for the prospectors. Big Evan Nudlash, who resided just south of Kijik River, was a "blaster" at the Kasna Creek copper deposit across Lake Clark on Kontrashibuna Lake circa 1910-1913, and may have assisted in prospecting operations within the lower Kijik River during the same general period.[1019]

Mining Sites—Discontinuous and Non-Contributing Features

Bonanza Hills: Mining Settlement

For many reasons, Bonanza Hills is a highly significant discontinuous feature—peripheral to the Telaquana Trail. Though peripheral, this mining center is still linked to the larger mining history of the Telaquana Trail cultural landscape and was often accessed along the trail corridor. Dena'ina peoples have referred to the hills as part of an area called *Tich'eqantu*, 'lodge in water river.'[1020] Highly important in Dena'ina tradition, Bonanza Hills has been a prominent landmark, visible widely within the calving ground for the core of the Mulchatna caribou herd and serving as a landmark for hunters. Hunting camps have been numerous but ephemeral in this area, leaving few lasting traces. The area is

also known for abundant small game and has been a part of the trapping territories of Dena'ina families now living in Nondalton. Some families stayed in and around Bonanza Hills to run traplines for part of the winter and spring. In Fall et al.,[1021] a Nondalton resident recalled, "There are camp sites all over that area…any place they trap is an abandoned camp area…. Bonanza Hills, they trapped up there too, abandoned camps…. They always came back for church holidays in May."

The first prospectors arrived in the region in the 1890s, entering Bonanza Hills from the gold mining regions to the north, along the Kuskokwim and Yukon Rivers. Other prospectors soon came from the south: overflowing from the Turnagain Gold Rush or from the Bristol Bay canneries, they came to the Bonanza Hills through Iliamna Bay, Iliamna Lake, Newhalen Portage, Lake Clark, Kijik or via the Nushagak and Mulchtana Rivers. These prospectors had transformative effects within the Telaquana Trail region, and many traveled along the trail through the final years of the 19th century and into the 20th. Dena'ina oral tradition suggests Native families may have been the first to guide prospectors to the spot. By the beginning of the 20th century, news of prospecting success and the gold-bearing potential of Bonanza Hills and other mining claims nearby drew more non-Native men to the area to establish small mines and mining settlements. Many trekked from Kijik and Tanalian Point, traveling the trail to reach Bonanza Hills in search of copper and gold. Certain names were prominent in this period, including that of Oliver Millett, who prospected near Lake Iliamna by 1903 and in the Bonanza Hills no later than 1909.[1022]

Miners and prospectors were already numerous in the region, working other mining areas, so that spreading news of successful gold prospecting and modest sluicing operations at Bonanza Hills brought a quick redeployment of miners to Bonanza Hills. J.W. Walker, Doc Dutton, Joe Kackley, and Frank Brown were already active as miners in this area during the early- and mid-20th century, with operations focused in the vicinity of the Bonanza Creek-Little Bonanza Creek Confluence. Referencing their arrival at Bonanza Hills from other mining districts, a letter found in the Alaska Historical Library from "Tanalian Point, Nov. 25, 1911," addressed to A.S. Tulloch in Gary, Indiana and signed "Walker and the Boys," states: "There is no news to tell you. Mulchatna is still at a stand still. It seems everybody wants the other fellow to do the digging. Brown and Gleason took out some good money last year. I had a drill sent from home and we intend to put it on Bonanza Creek next year. A short time will determine how far it is to Bedrock."[1023] News of the success of these operations brought a veritable "stampede" of miners—reaching a peak between 1912 and 1914. During this time, preexisting mines and cabins became the center of a growing complex of mines and structures, densely packed along certain waterways. Oliver Millett and his wife Theresa, for example, staked several additional claims on Bonanza and Little Bonanza Creeks; they also established a cabin camp at the mouth of Little Bonanza Creek, housing four to six working men.[1024]

Dena'ina men long served as guides, as well as packers and workers, at the Bonanza placer mines. Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, Dena'ina men from Kijik, Tanalian Point, and Old Nondalton packed and guided prospectors and mining engineers from Iliamna-Lake Clark to the Bonanza Hills and the placer mines. Around the time of Walker's letter, four Dena'ina men in particular were photographed at Bonanza Creek with the Oliver Millett family and mining engineers, including Trefon Balluta, Gerison Balluta, Marka Karshekoff, and Yacko Evon.[1025] The photo corroborates somewhat oral history accounts suggesting key roles of Dena'ina men in the early establishment of mining operations and facilities at Bonanza Hills.

The diggings were not especially productive, however, and gold markets wavered. The cost of gold plunged nationwide to historic lows, losing nearly half its value in the second half of the 1910s, the cost per ounce reaching a nadir in the mid-1920s. The costs and difficulties of mining were substantial so that plummeting profits soon closed most of the Bonanza Hills mines. Several miners left the region, while others like Dutton and Kackley retired from gold mining and remained in the area, trapping, working as big game hunting guides and Bureau of Fisheries employees, finding work at salmon canneries in Bristol Bay, and subsistence gardening, fishing, and hunting. According to Ben Trefon, "Two non-natives who mined this area settled at Tanalian Point when they retired and held an informal school for…Dena'ina people."[1026] In this way, the short-lived early 20th century mining boom at Bonanza Hills shaped the wider social history of the region.

Mining operations rebounded intermittently through the 20th century, but never with the feverish intensity of the early years at Bonanza Hills. By the early 1930s, gold prices began rising again; this, combined with limited employment options during the Great Depression, brought miners and prospectors to the gold fields of Alaska once again. With the aid of Native and non-Native men, early miners who remained in the Lake Clark region such as Millett redoubled their efforts, hauling drilling equipment to the site in the 1930s and 1940s.[1027] Others, such as Billy Hill and Terry and Vickie Gill carried out mining on the site through the mid-20th century. This small number of miners persisted at the site intermittently—working existing claims and staking others, building a few cabins and caches, and by mid-century, adding an airstrip to the site.

Today, no cabin ruins exist in the area, but several features serve as landmarks of mining at Bonanza Hills. Multiple prospect pits from early 20th century mining have been recorded in the area, at Pass Creek, Lower Synneva Creek, and other places nearby. A short distance upstream from the Little Bonanza Creek mouth is a claim marker, designated as XLC-00238.[1028] Additional features date from the interwar period, such as prospect ditches, a culturally modified tree, a cache, and a Hillman airplane drill hauled to the Bonanza Hills in 1935 by Oliver Millett, Billy Hill, Wassillie Trefon, Charlie Denison, Charlie Wolfe, and others. Mid-20th century features include the ruins of the Millett Cache

(XLC-00240), footprints of former structures at the Gill-Busk Camp, the Busk Airstrip (used to fly in heavy equipment by the late 1950s), remnants of tent campsites at the Busk Camp, prospect pits, and one or more blazed trees. As the site has continued to be used into recent times, certain structures dating from the 1960s and later are also on the site, such as Gills' Cabin—a 14 x 14 foot gable log structure built by Terry and Victoria "Vickie" Gill in the 1960s.[1029]

The Bonanza Hills mining district was identified in all original documents relating to the Telaquana Corridor Historic District, including the Cultural Landscape Inventory and documents submitted to Alaska SHPO in support of the National Register nomination. However, in light of the discontinuous nature of the Bonanza Hills mining district and its tangential connection to the central themes of the larger Telaquana Trail, certain NPS staff suggest removing this mining district from the list of potentially contributing resources along the trail. A case can be made for inclusion or exclusion, based on facts presented here; consultation with Dena'ina communities, NPS Cultural Landscape program staff, and Alaska SHPO might seek concurrence on this point.

Bowman Gold Mine, Portage Creek

Though the site lies on private property, a short description of the Bowman Gold Mine site is included here as it is a key historical landmark relating to the mining history of Telaquana Trail, which as fleshed out above, was a significant period in the trail's history. The Bowman Gold Mine Camp is located on the west side of Portage Creek, north of Lake Clark, and includes a house in the midst of buildings comprising the broader camp. While the mining history of the region was brief and not terribly productive, it did leave remnants of the lives miners temporarily built adjacent to the trail. For example, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, placer miners created the initial camp that would become Bowman's Camp. In 1934-1935, Harry Bowman built the southwest section of the Bowman house; and in 1936, Fred E. Bowman (Harry's son who filed the original land claim) built the northwest section. Miners built the southeast section at Portage Creek in 1914 when they attempted to mine there, and this section was moved to the Bowman Gold Mine site in 1938 (originally located where the greenhouse is today). Finally, the northeast section of the Bowman Mine house was built in 1955. The Bowman family occupied the house until 1959 when Fred passed away; and no one has used the house as a primary residence since. As the land is still privately owned, it is not considered to be a contributing resource, nor is it considered as part of this larger National Register analysis.[1030]

Individuals have been actively collaborating with the NPS and others to document their own heritage in the Lake Clark region. Here, Nicholi (Harry) Balluta is seen mapping home sites at Old Nondalton, 2004. Photo by Karen Gaul, NPS.

Spawning sockeye salmon and fall colors at Kijik Lake. Photo by Dan Young, NPS, 2012.

Tangible and Intangible Values of the Telaquana Trail *An Analysis in light of National Register Criteria*

In the course of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District Inventory (CLI), the NPS and the Alaska State Historic Preservation Office concurred that the trail is eligible as a cultural landscape under National Register Criteria A and D. The CLI makes a case for Criterion A, referencing the significance of the trail in the history of transportation, EuroAmerican exploration and settlement, as well as trapping and prospecting. An abundance of both “prehistoric” archaeological sites and features, as well as historic archaeological sites and features, provides ample support for a nomination referencing Criterion D. And the preceding sections provide further substantiation for this interpretation. Yet, the original CLI also acknowledges that the Telaquana Trail is perhaps first and foremost an “ethnographic landscape” as well as being a “historic vernacular landscape” that manifests these criteria.

Guidelines for the analysis of landmarks contributing to the significance of cultural landscapes and the development of recommendations for addressing threats to their integrity, can be found in *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. Options for sustaining the integrity of cultural landscapes include the acquisition, protection, stabilization, preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction of specific contributing features. In sustaining the integrity of key landscape features, the NPS seeks to not only ensure the long-term integrity of those places, but to take steps to assess and resolve adverse effects of any NPS activities, as addressed in 36 CFR 800.5(1). Our analysis here is meant to assist the NPS in meeting mandates to both accurately document and portray the Telaquana Trail corridor within the context of National Register documentation, but also to help the NPS identify and minimize or mitigate any adverse effects that might be found.

The middle section of Trail Creek — Ch’qulch’ishtnu, “many small willows creek” — in autumn.
Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

Sockeye salmon drying on fish racks at Nondalton Fish Camp, before being brought into the smokehouse. Such resource harvests not only provide year-round sustenance, but are a focal point of modern cultural activity and the intergenerational transmission of resource knowledge. Photo by Liza Rupp, NPS.

Here, our analysis of the many contributing resources along the Telaquana Trail leads us to certain conclusions that we will address here in turn. Documented archaeological sites and features are numerous in the landscape and their condition varies—erosion and light visitor impacts have caused some modest site damage, though many are in good condition, still revealing significant truths about the human past. Archaeological sites are also of persistent cultural, even spiritual, significance to Dena'ina peoples. On the other hand, Dena'ina people often describe other features, such as non-Native trappers cabins and mining infrastructure as the rapidly disappearing traces of a very brief and unfortunate period in early 20th century history—a momentary invasion by non-Native fortune-seekers who came and went over a few years, temporarily interrupting millennia of intimate human connections with this unique place.

The landscape itself is of clear and enduring cultural and historical significance to Dena'ina peoples. Yet while it manifests many tangible cultural resources of importance to Dena'ina people (tree blazes and stumps remain as some of the tangible evidence, most Dena'ina in origin), much of the trail's significance relates to the intangible value of natural features and locations. For nearly the entire span of its use prior to European contact, the Telaquana Trail was a Native trail. Today it is still largely a

Dena'ina trail—albeit one visited by recreational visitors as well. Some of the tangible resources contributing to the trail's "historic vernacular landscape," such as cabins, have entered a period of almost total decay, nearly disappearing from the land. Though certain sites and ruins remain, in their decayed state even cabins have largely become "archaeological features," so that the vast majority of all tangible, human-constructed resources along the trail increasingly consist of archaeological sites.

Telaquana Trail has many layers of historical significance, but the modern landscape might best be understood as a place of ongoing and significantly intangible meaning to Dena'ina peoples, with that significance attached to natural landmarks, historic camps and villages, and the archaeological traces of their ancestors underfoot. As such, the criteria, or the standards conventionally applied to cultural landscapes of significance like the built landscapes of EuroAmerican communities, do not neatly fit the Telaquana Trail. Indeed, the Telaquana Trail is arguably difficult to reconcile with certain Cultural Landscape program protocols and guidance, as the number of constructed elements that contribute to its significance is vanishingly small. Thus, additional standards and additional considerations need to be calculated into efforts to sustain the integrity of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District over the long term. We address these points in our analysis that follows.

Archaeological Sites

Archaeological sites represent the most numerous and enduring anthropogenic features within the Telaquana Corridor Historic District. And, in spite of their number, we recognize that only a small proportion of the total archaeological sites within the Telaquana Trail Corridor have been documented to date. Many others exist below the soil surface, perchance to be detected in future archaeological surveys. Again, these sites and features are themselves contributing resources within the Telaquana Corridor Historic District Corridor, but are also of enduring significance to Dena'ina peoples as the handiwork of ancestral peoples. In this sense, one could make a case not only for Criterion D National Register eligibility for such sites, but also for Criterion A eligibility, for example, through the application of Traditional Cultural Property standards—a point addressed below.

The integrity of archaeological sites differs somewhat from integrity measures of built landscape features. Site integrity assessments include, among other things, an appraisal of whether the site is structurally stable, and whether its provenience and condition are secure, with features, artifacts, and stratigraphy existing in recoverable contexts without risk of destruction due to factors like erosion or looting. These criteria are not a perfect proxy for the values Dena'ina people might wish to see monitored and protected at archaeological sites, for they understand these sites to still be "alive" in a sense, bearing the signature energies of ancestral actions. The list of adverse effects of utmost interest

to Dena'ina people, then, might also include such intangibles as various kinds of "disrespect" shown by visitors to the site. Still, fortunately, Dena'ina cultural assessments of site integrity do include many of the same indicators of structural site condition, such as the absence of erosion or looting.

To appraise the integrity of archaeological sites, the NPS performs a Site Condition Assessment, which is "a professional evaluation of the condition of an archaeological resource that focuses on physical stability and degree or amount of deterioration."[1031] Site Condition Assessments are recorded in the NPS Cultural Resources Inventory System (CRIS), which has recently encompassed the former Archaeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS) inventory. When performed consistently, these site assessments allow the NPS to assess threats or changes to site conditions over time, and to determine if treatment plans are needed to preserve or protect the integrity of archaeological sites. Within the CRIS assessments, archaeological sites are determined to be Good, Fair, Poor, Destroyed, Inundated/Uncertain and Not Located-Unknown. Categories pertinent to Telaquana Trail are defined by the NPS as follows:[1032]

> GOOD—"The site, at the first condition assessment or during the time interval since its last condition assessment, shows no evidence of noticeable deterioration by natural forces and/or human activities. The site is considered currently stable and its present archaeological values are not threatened. No adjustments to the currently prescribed site treatments are required in the near future to maintain the site's present condition."
>
> FAIR—"The site, at the first condition assessment or during the time interval since its last condition assessment, shows evidence of deterioration by natural forces and/or human activities. If the identified impacts continue without the appropriate corrective treatment, the site will degrade to a poor condition and the site's data potential for historical or scientific research will be lowered."
>
> POOR—"The site, at the first condition assessment or during the time interval since its last condition assessment, shows evidence of severe deterioration by natural forces and/or human activities. If the identified impacts continue without the appropriate corrective treatment, the site is likely to undergo further degradation and the site's data potential for historic scientific research will be lost."
>
> NOT RELOCATED-UNKNOWN—"The location where the site was last documented was visited, but the site could not be relocated. Based on best professional judgement that considers standard site types in the park, geography, topography, site documentation, and other pertinent factors, the area is deemed to most likely be the location of the site. Further testing may be required to determine the site location."

Two other categories are commonly used in CRIS that are not applicable in the case of Telaquana Trail archaeological sites addressed in this report. One of these categories is "Destroyed," relating to sites that have been removed from the landscape, or so severely damaged that they do not warrant consideration as National Register properties nor management and monitoring as cultural properties. The other category is "Inundated-Uncertain"—an unusual designation that applies only to formerly terrestrial archaeological sites that are now submerged and inaccessible due to dam construction and other water impoundments.

NPS staff and consulting archaeologists working for the agency have carried out Site Condition Assessments for a majority of the archaeological sites within the boundary of the Telaquana Trail Corridor. Many of these were performed by Tennessen as part of the Lake Clark Interior Lakes Survey. In carrying out his assessments, Tennessen employed ASMIS criteria, while also providing narratives describing the condition of specific sites: "Condition assessments are based on the criteria provided in the Archaeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS). The collection of this information will allow park managers to monitor the health of archaeological sites within the park and to focus attention on areas that seem to be receiving high impact."[1033]

As a result of original site assessments, as well as a review of park records, Tennessen concluded that "while the health of the archaeological sites within the park and preserve is generally satisfactory, sites in some areas have deteriorated significantly due to both natural and human factors."[1034] The most prevalent of these deleterious factors were determined to be wind erosion and human disturbance. We concur with this assessment, and provide a summary of specific findings in the tables below—listing the condition of both continuous and discontinuous features. As the tables below demonstrate, conditions vary but sites of particular concern are concentrated in areas of heavier park visitation and in areas of naturally accelerated erosion at Snipe, Turquoise, and Twin Lakes. Sites along these lakes are disproportionately rated as "fair" to "poor" in prior assessments, including those of Tennessen. Relatively intact sites, most in "good" condition by CRIS criteria, are especially concentrated at Telaquana and Fishtrap Lakes.

A view of the K'ilghech (upper College Creek) area near Yudun Dghilu, Downstream Mountain.
Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Table 25: Archaeological Site Conditions - Continuous Features

Archaeological Site	Assessed Condition	Notes on Condition
Telaquana Lake (XLC-032)	Good	
Telaquana Lake (XLC-033)	Good	
Telaquana Lake (XLC-034)	Good	
Telaquana Lake (XLC-036)	NA	Site evaluation pending
Telaquana Lake (XLC-131)	Good	Erosion, minimal; currently stable
Telaquana Lake (XLC-132)	Fair	Erosion, active
Telaquana Lake (XLC-133)	Good	
Telaquana Lake (XLC-134)	Good	
Telaquana Lake (XLC-135)	Good	
Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'— Telaquana Lake Fish Camp (XLC-035, AA-11101)	Poor	Erosion, riverbank; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Ch'gułch'ishtnu (XLC-002, AA-11092)	Good	
Turquoise Lake (XLC-037)	Fair	Erosion, active
Turquoise (XLC-038)	NA	Site evaluation pending
Turquoise Lake (XLC-039)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Turquoise (XLC-040)	NA	
Turquoise Lake (XLC-126)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Turquoise Lake (XLC-128)	Fair	Erosion, active
Near Turquoise Lake— Gravesite (XLC-129)	Good	
Unnumbered Precontact Lithic Site	NA	Site evaluation pending
Snipe Lake (XLC-044)	Not Relocated— Unknown (Tennessen 2006:140)	Erosion, heavy; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use

Archaeological Site	Assessed Condition	Notes on Condition
Snipe Lake (XLC-141)	Fair	Human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Snipe Lake (XLC-142)	Fair	Human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Snipe Lake (XLC-161)	Good	
Snipe Lake (XLC-170)	Poor	Erosion, heavy; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Snipe Lake (XLC-198)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Snipe Lake (XLC-199)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Snipe Lake (XLC-200)	Poor	Human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Snipe Lake (XLC-201)	Fair	Erosion, active
Snipe Lake (XLC-202)	Good	Erosion, active, swampy
Lachbuna Lake (XLC-045)	NA	Site evaluation pending
Fishtrap Lake (XLC-046)	Not Relocated— Unknown (Presumed Good) (Tennessen 2006:77)	Stable
Fishtrap Lake (XLC-047)	Good	
Fishtrap Lake (XLC-048)	Fair	Erosion, hillslope
Fishtrap (XLC-136)	Good	
Fishtrap (XLC-137)	Good	
Fishtrap (XLC-168)	Good	

A view across the expansive landscapes of the Telaquana Trail. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Table 26: Archaeological Site Conditions - Discontinuous Features

Archaeological Site	Assessed Condition	Notes on Condition
Twin Lakes (XLC-041)	Fair	Erosion, west edge; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-042)	Poor	Erosion; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-043)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-112)	Fair	Erosion, active
Twin Lakes (XLC-113)	Fair	Erosion, active
Twin Lakes (XLC-114)	Fair	Erosion, active
Twin Lakes (XLC-115)	Poor	Erosion, heavy, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-116)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-117)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-118)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-119)	Fair	Erosion, active
Twin Lakes (XLC-120)	Fair	Erosion, active
Twin Lakes (XLC-121)	Poor	Erosion, heavy
Twin Lakes (XLC-122)	Fair	Erosion, active, moderate slope
Twin Lakes (XLC-123)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-124)	Fair	Erosion, active, slope; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-125)	Fair	Erosion, active, stream channel; human disturbance, cont. rec. use
Twin Lakes (XLC-139)	Fair	Erosion, active
Twin Lakes (XLC-140)	Fair	Erosion, active; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Twin Lakes (XLC-203)	Fair	Active erosion
Twin Lakes (XLC-204)	Poor	Heavy erosion; human disturbance, contemporary recreational use
Fishtrap (XLC-169)	Poor	Human disturbance, excessive, digging/work area
Kijik Kashim Site (XLC-094)	NA	To be reassessed in Kijik CLR
K'unustin T'uh K'emeq' (XLC-092)	NA	To be reassessed in Kijik CLR
Qizhjeh—Historic Kijik Village (XLC-001, AA-1107)	NA	To be reassessed in Kijik CLR

These findings suggest that Telaquana and Fishtrap Lake may have particularly high archaeological integrity and an elevated capacity for future archaeological investigation in relatively undisturbed contexts. Simultaneously, these findings indicate a potential need for archaeological site protection measures at Snipe, Turquoise, and Twin Lakes—focused significantly on minimizing visitor effects along waterways, as well as appraising the potential for stabilizing sources of erosion. Mitigation excavation or survey to detect and document archaeological materials in places of high visitor traffic or active erosion may also be considered along these lakes in particular, and in other settings marked "fair" to "poor" within these tables.

Still, based on available site condition criteria, we do not recommend removing any contributing archaeological sites listed in the CLI or the present CLR from future National Register documentation or nominations relating to Telaquana Trail. All still possess some degree of integrity and are sites of enduring cultural value to Dena'ina peoples. The NPS can add additional sites as contributing as the sites are discovered through archaeological survey and other means. The NPS may also determine whether culturally modified trees (CMTs) are admissible as archaeological features, and can add these to archaeological databases as they are identified in ongoing surveys along the Telaquana Trail Corridor.

Cabins, Caches, and Other Structures

With staff historical architects, cultural landscape specialists, and National Register specialists providing consistent oversight, it is safe to say that the NPS has applied meticulous National Register reviews for the few cabins either repaired or refurbished within LACL. Still, one cannot refer to historical structures within LACL without clarification. While the present CLR report addresses several "structures" to be consistent with the terms and objectives of the CLI, in truth very few intact structures remain as part of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.

Intact structures along the Telaquana Trail consist only of the Frank Bell/Louis Schilling Cabin or "Wills cabin" at Snipe Lake. Due to weather and animals, this mid-20th century trapping cabin experienced extensive decay. The cabin was determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places in 2004, and NPS is currently rehabilitating the structure for continued use as an administrative cabin. The NPS has carried out all work under the supervision of an NPS historical architect and with the intent of sustaining the integrity of the cabin's location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. Repairs to the cabin have included replacing all or portions of some decomposing wall logs, the ridgepole and perlins, replacing the roof, windows and door, and building a wood floor. NPS staff cut approximately 25 logs, six by ten inches in diameter, for the walls

and ridgepole. Work crews cut these logs from a dense spruce stand 1.1 km southwest of the site and towed them to the site via snowmachine when snow cover was adequate to avoid damage to the ground cover. The end result is a cabin that still possesses its integrity on most counts. Still, while this cabin was included in prior NPS documentation of contributing features along the Telaquana Trail, it has little to do with the trail's story, is largely a reconstruction rather than an original structure, and should be treated as contextually relevant but still not "contributing" to the larger National Register effort relating to the trail.

Intact discontinuous structures within the CLI consist only of the Dick Proenneke Cabin. Built in 1967-68, the cabin was placed on the National Register in 2007; the nomination was updated, including an expanded footprint including grounds around the cabin, in 2014. The NPS has maintained the cabin as a popular public attraction and has created internet-based "virtual tours" of the cabin—making it the most publicly visible structure within the park. With the guidance of an NPS historical architect, the NPS has continued to make repairs to the cabin, using materials and construction methods consistent with the integrity of the cabin's location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. The cabin and its associated grounds and structures are a focus of a separate Cultural Landscape Report addressing Twin Lakes. The cabin is treated as contextually relevant, but not "contributing" within the present Telaquana Trail Cultural Landscape Report. Other cabins in the vicinity of Telaquana Trail are not identified as contributing or even contextually relevant features. The NPS has recently purchased and refurbished the Allen Woodward cabin at Priest Rock for public us. This cabin was constructed between 1972 and 1978; it is included in an as-yet incomplete draft National Register document relating to post-World War II settlement in the Lake Clark region, presently on file at LACL. The NPS also manages a refurbished public use cabin, built circa 1960 by prospector Joe Thompson near the Portage Creek trailhead, but this falls outside of the Telaquana Trail Corridor. In addition, a few private cabins of relatively recent construction exist on inholdings.

Beyond these, the cabins identified in this report have ceased to function as contributing "structures" by any stretch of that term. Most contributing cabins are now decomposed beyond repair, and are not even recognizable as former structures to the untrained eye. This includes the ruins of the Telaquana River Cabin (XLC-178) and Telaquana Historic Cabins (XLC-173), the *K'a Ka'a* Cabin (XLC-176), Les Wernberg's Trapping Cabin (XLC-171), the College Creek Cabin Ruin (XLC-172), and the Frank Brown/J.W. Walker Cabin Ruin (XLC-179). Contributing caches are similarly ruins, decomposed beyond recognition in most cases.

With the outlying exception of the Snipe Lake cabin, potentially contributing cabins and caches are beyond the point where stabilization or preservation would be plausible. Therefore, they are largely

significant as historic sites, and hold some archaeological potential relating to early 20th century occupation, mining, and trapping. If classified strictly as structures, then, these features might be uniformly classified as "destroyed" by CRIS (formerly ASMIS) criteria; yet, may have "fair" or even "good" condition if assessed with reference to archaeological potentials. Descriptions of their historic location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling may still be instructive to NPS staff in preserving other cabin sites, or the general integrity of the Telaquana Trail, but these attributes can only be partially inferred from the observation of former cabin sites.

The structures in the two mining sites also warrant mention. The NPS does not wish to assess the condition of private inholdings at the Bowman Gold Mine site, as these are private lands. The Bonanza Hills Mining Settlement, not a contributing part of the trail, nonetheless has a cabin, Gills' Cabin, that crossed the 50-year threshold during the course of this study. Consisting of a 14 x 14 foot gabled log structure built by Terry and Victoria "Vickie" Gill in the 1960s, the structure is still standing. NPS staff have not yet conducted an analysis of this structure's condition, but a condition analysis is recommended.

Ethnographic Landscapes

Dena'ina interviewees and written ethnographic sources concur that the Telaquana Trail landscape—though it is presently uninhabited—retains profound cultural significance to Dena'ina communities. The trail links their homeland to places of ancestral origin and to lands that have continued to provide natural resource abundance and security into the present day—in particular, salmon runs to the interior lakes and the caribou of the Mulchatna herd. These northern parts of the trail transect what is understood to be a core ancestral Dena'ina homeland, from which the people, language, and cultural traditions spread. Many Dena'ina trace their family's origins to villages like Telaquana Village that were once in this rich but austere country to the north. They had to relocate over the last century and a half, consolidating at Kijik and later Nondalton for all manner of reasons. Yet during times of difficulty or scarcity, they still go north to this place of abundance—described in oral tradition like a wellspring of fish and game provided by the Creator to ensure their continuation as a people. The ancestral village sites, some Dena'ina today call "sacred places." Some Dena'ina interviewees also understand places like *Aqenlchixi*, "Votive Rock," as spiritual sites linked to these themes—said to be a prayer place positioned on a ridgetop where one can see all of these places of originating abundance with significance and power encoded in oral tradition—places like Telaquana Mountain. As described by Dena'ina people, this entire cultural landscape has its own power, linked to the origins of themselves as a people and their game species. The landscape is a gift from the Creator to their ancestors and, by extension, to themselves. The trail is a gift from the ancestors that allows them to

visit and engage this powerful land—the lifeline that connects the people to their place of origin. Ultimately, from a Dena'ina perspective, this may be what the trail "means," in a most fundamental sense, and is what holds the encyclopedic contents of this CLR together as a whole.

The Telaquana Trail, then, is unambiguously an "ethnographic landscape." A robust case can be made for this status, even as the tangible contributing resources from the brief periods of exploration, prospecting, and non-Native trapping disappear from sight. Ethnographic landscapes are a category of cultural landscapes managed by the NPS and National Register program. As defined by the NPS Ethnography Program, they are landscapes that "are important to a people's sense of purpose or way of life." They represent contiguous areas of interrelated places, where contemporary cultural groups find great meaning. These people understand these places to be meaningful because such landscapes are inextricably and traditionally linked to their local or regional histories, cultural identities, beliefs, and behaviors. Ethnographic landscapes are distinct from other cultural landscapes in that they are:

> "...identified and delineated by members of the cultural groups who are traditionally associated with them, and whose histories and identities are tied to them. Further, ethnographic landscapes' significance derives from the roles they play in the associated communities' own traditional histories, not those criteria of national, state or local significance that make them eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places."[1037]

Based on the analysis undertaken within this CLR, we reach the inevitable conclusion that the case for Telaquana Trail as an "ethnographic landscape" is quite robust. Meanwhile, the tangible resources needed to substantiate a National Register nomination focusing on the "vernacular historic landscape" of EuroAmerican exploration, settlement, trapping and prospecting are relatively few, and become fewer with each passing year. And, when documenting, nominating, or assessing the condition of ethnographic landscapes as a "cultural landscape," the logic and language of Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) is salient. We contend that the Telaquana Corridor Historic District nomination language must add references to TCP standards and criteria—augmenting rather than supplanting elements pertaining to other National Register themes and resources.

The Telaquana Trail consists of very few tangible, above-ground features—most, beyond the cabins and archaeological sites addressed above, being natural landscapes of enduring cultural significance. All the special landmarks, sacred places, views and vistas, natural systems and features, and even the possible campsites without tangible evidence—to wit, all of the contributing resources that are not effectively archaeological within this document— fit this description. In light of these facts, it is the relationship between the material resources of the trail and the people who use and value the Telaquana Trail—consisting first and foremost of Dena'ina—that is fundamental to sustaining the

integrity of the trail as a National Register eligible property. We now turn to a consideration of National Register guidance relating to this cultural landscapes of this kind.

Ethnographic Landscapes: An Application of TCP Criteria

The outcomes of this study demonstrate the enduring significance of most places and resources along the Telaquana Trail to the Inland Dena'ina people, due to their unique cultural and historical value. Mountains, vistas, campsites, even archaeological sites and features below the ground: all of these are described as being culturally significant, even "sacred," to Dena'ina peoples. This leads us to the conclusion that it is appropriate and necessary to also apply Traditional Cultural Property eligibility for lands and resources along the Telaquana Trail.

Traditional Cultural Properties are a type of National Register property potentially eligible for listing under the National Historic Preservation Act. The section of the Code of Federal Regulations regarding National Historic Preservation Act implementation (specifically, 36 CFR Part 800) employs the terms "Properties of Traditional Religious and Cultural Significance" and "Properties of Traditional Religious and Cultural Importance" to landscape elements of enduring cultural importance to Native (and other) communities. These are synonymous terms, applied to categories of properties potentially eligible for National Register status. Subsequently, the NPS formally embodied in the term "Traditional Cultural Property," specifically within the language of National Register Bulletin 38, guidelines on the identification, documentation, and nomination of such places. Hereafter, this type of place, and the criteria used to define it, are simply referred to with the acronym "TCP."

TCPs are defined in National Register Bulletin 38, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (NPS 1990). Bulletin 38 specifies a "step-by-step" procedure for assessing the eligibility of properties that might be listed in the National Register of Historic Places, whether as standalone TCPs or in larger nominations at landscape scale or encompassing multiple properties. If there are multiple places of interrelated cultural significance to Native communities documented over large contiguous areas, TCPs can also consist of "Cultural Landscapes" that include diffuse but functionally associated places meeting Bulletin 38 criteria. We contend that Telaquana Trail is such a place.

In consideration of this step-by-step procedure, this section reviews the implications of listing culturally significant lands and resources along the Telaquana Trail Corridor on the National Register with reference to TCP standards and criteria. The section is written in general terms so that it might be applied to any contributing lands and resources of cultural significance along the Telaquana Trail

View east up Lake Clark from Priest Rock. Photo by Douglas Deur.

Corridor with clear Dena'ina cultural ties. This is done recognizing it is unlikely certain landmarks will be eligible as Traditional Cultural Properties individually, or that landmarks at any one location (such as a culturally significant vista) will be the sole basis for an isolated National Register nomination. Accordingly, under the terms of National Register guidance, these contributing resources must be addressed in general terms as a *group of landmarks or resources* with interlinked cultural and historical significance as part of a larger landscape. These resources can include locations of villages and Dena'ina camps, landmarks significant in Dena'ina cultural practice and mentioned in Dena'ina oral tradition, and other places of unique importance within Telaquana Trail history from a Dena'ina perspective.

Concepts of Integrity within an Ethnographic Landscape

A key set of criteria for assessing the eligibility of the Telaquana Trail Corridor in a manner that invokes a TCP center on themes of "integrity." Integrity can be challenging to define or to demonstrate in the case of TCPs, as their documentation focuses not only on material aspects of a property, but requires attentiveness to the perspectives, beliefs, and values of living people. And it requires efforts to engage and document these perspectives, beliefs and values through consultation and research—of the sort undertaken as part of the present CLR. As defined by the Code of Federal Regulations, integrity for National Register properties is a function of a property's "location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association" (36 CFR Part 60). When considering TCPs, National Register Bulletin 38 narrows these criteria to two: "integrity of relationship" and "integrity of condition."

In the case of potential Traditional Cultural Properties, "integrity of relationship" is a measure of the extent to which a place continues to be viewed by particular historically associated communities "as important in the retention or transmittal of a belief, or to the performance of a practice," usually for some significant portion of traditional practitioners within a community.[1038] "Integrity of relationship" might be considered closest in spirit to the aspect of "association" in the built environment. Most fundamentally, "integrity of relationship" is meant to indicate that a TCP continues to be known, to be culturally or historically important, and to possess a distinctive and ongoing role within the community in question. This "integrity of relationship" condition implies that a National Register listed place has a unique role in the retention or perpetuation of culturally significant activities—that there are not, for example, countless places or types of places in the traditional territory of a tribe that are used for essentially the same cultural-historical functions. And though a place may have been documented as significant long ago, it is the enduring knowledge of the place by living Dena'ina people today that affirms the place's "integrity of relationship." For example, a culturally significant peak or village site along the Telaquana Trail Corridor must still be recognized and valued as part of

the living cultural tradition of park-associated Dena'ina communities for it to meet the language and spirit of TCP criteria.

The "integrity of condition" standard indicates that contributing resources within a TCP are sufficiently intact—structurally, geologically, materially—to allow for their enduring importance as culturally significant landmarks. Landmarks identified as significant along the Telaquana Trail by contemporary Dena'ina people typically would meet the standards set forth in NPS Bulletin 38 for "integrity of condition." In a cultural context, if such landmarks are detectable on the landscape, then by definition they continue to have sufficient structural integrity to be culturally important to park-associated Dena'ina peoples, and to be perceived as symbolically significant loci of shared history, spiritual power, and cultural meaning. Similarly, as this document attests, a landmark that is still known and detectable on the landscape and geographically coordinated and navigated in living story traditions, such as those relating to Telaquana Trail Corridor landmarks and surrounding peaks like Telaquana Mountain, possesses "integrity of condition" because this category of landmark is "known…to be regarded by a traditional cultural group as important in the retention or transmittal of a belief [and] to the performance of a practice."[1039] These features are valued and engaged continuously over time, for the teaching of tribal history and traditional values, but are also integral to the perpetuation of some of the most culturally central oral traditions among tribal members today.

Certain specific, individual landmarks might often be only subtly visible, or even invisible on the landscape today—being simply a named and valued locale still known and valued by tribal members. These places, too, may serve as contributing resources if they can be bounded and characterized geographically. These specific landmarks are unambiguous in their intrinsic cultural value to park-associated Dena'ina communities. They possess singular cultural significance as compared with other landmarks—natural or manmade. Again, tribal members assert that the landmarks identified in this document are important in the perpetuation of some of their most important traditional practices and oral traditions and are linked to their core identities and traditional beliefs. They are visited when possible and have sometimes been used in on-the-ground instruction of tribal youth in teaching cultural keystone stories and values. This alone underscores the enduring integrity of the landmarks by both definitions applied to Traditional Cultural Properties.

National Register Criteria within an Ethnographic Landscape

Another set of criteria for evaluating resources potentially contributing to Traditional Cultural Properties centers on the admissibility of a property under general National Register criteria, as specified in the Code of Federal Regulations (36 CFR Part 60). Four criteria are used for this analysis of property eligibility, designated as Criteria A through D. A property nominated for National Register listing must meet at least one of them.

Criterion A specifies that a National Register property can be associated "with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our [national, regional, state or local] history." The application of this criterion for Traditional Cultural Properties within Bulletin 38 shifts the level of analysis from the national history of the United States to allow listing of properties that are significant to the history of Native nations. Moreover, Bulletin 38 allows for a reckoning of history that is appropriate to Native societies, and often has been transmitted through oral rather than written form. Thus, as specified in National Register Bulletin 38, Traditional Cultural Properties can include places that are significant to the broad patterns of a tribe's history, including history that has been transmitted orally, takes place during time periods that cannot be measured by conventional standards, or centers on the actions of beings who might be viewed as "mythical" by non-tribal members. So long as the events and beings are understood to be of significance to a larger tribal community (or one might say "nationally significant" in the history of a Native people, in the sense that they are a "nation" unto themselves), associated properties may be eligible for TCP status based on Criterion A.

The role of the Telaquana Trail in the early diffusion of Dena'ina people from their core homeland along the interior lakes, in the migration of people to their homelands on Lake Clark, and in maintaining enduring ties with the interior—all function to underscore the centrality of the Telaquana Trail in the full sweep of Inland Dena'ina history. The original Telaquana Trail CLI and National Register documentation supported a Criterion A eligibility for the trail, but based significantly on the history of the trail within the context of significantly EuroAmerican history at state and national levels. We contend that the Telaquana Trail may provide a much stronger basis for National Register eligibility under Criterion A if it focuses specifically on the significance of the Telaquana Trail to the Dena'ina as a people, using this standard. Within the span of U.S. national history, Telaquana Trail is a peripheral place with idiosyncratic historical significance; within the span of Dena'ina history, it is one of the main geographical pivot-points of the entire world.

Additional support for National Register eligibility with reference to TCP concepts and standards can be found in the other three criteria. Criterion B specifies that a National Register property can be associated "with the lives of persons significant in our past." Within the larger National Register program, this criterion is often associated with homes or other places of significance in the lives of nationally prominent historical figures—U.S. presidents, nationally prominent inventors or industrialists, heroes of the Civil Rights movement, and beyond—or other figures as appropriate if a nomination is based on regional, state, or local significance. As noted in National Register Bulletin 15, persons "significant in our past" refers to individuals whose activities are demonstrably important within a local, state, or national historic context. Again, National Register Bulletin 38 indicates that, in the case of Traditional Cultural Properties, Criterion B applies to individuals who are significant to

Native nations. Moreover, within Bulletin 38 criteria, the individuals associated with a listed property need not be human; they may include significant beings, such as spirit beings, who are significant within the oral traditions of tribes but not verifiable human individuals in the written historical record. In this context, the key Dena'ina figures mentioned in this document are potentially admissible as such beings; so too would be the shaman that first ushers the animals out of the mountain known as *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* (Telaquana Mountain).

Criterion C specifies that National Register properties eligible under this criterion shall embody "the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction," represent "the work of a master," possess "high artistic values," or be "representative of a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction." Within the United States at large, this criterion is most often applied to architecture or monuments that were designed by celebrity architects or are distinctively representative of certain architectural movements or periods. The last of these four sub-criteria, "representative of a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction," is most commonly employed with reference to Traditional Cultural Properties. This interpretation of Criterion C is commonly applied in cases where the site in question contributes significantly to a culturally distinctive artistic tradition (e.g., basketry) or is an essential component of traditional verbal performances (e.g., a site that is centrally invoked as part of culturally fundamental ritual stories, songs, or chants). Other sub-criteria may apply, for example, in places such as where monumental Native architecture is still highly visible on the landscape. The singular significance of Telaquana Trail and its keystone landmarks in specific Dena'ina oral traditions might make Criterion C a further basis for National Register eligibility.

Finally, Criterion D specifies that a National Register property can exhibit a "history of yielding, or potential to yield, information important in prehistory or history." In a conventional National Register nomination, this criterion is especially applied to archaeological sites that might yet yield information regarding the past. Traditional Cultural Properties often meet this criterion if they have been the focus of significant past ethnographic or archaeological research, or possess the enduring potential to yield new information through archaeological analysis. Still, Criterion D is commonly understood to be of limited relevance to nominations based principally on TCP criteria. As Bulletin 38 suggests, even when Criterion D is met by a property, it "is secondary to [a potential TCP's] association with the traditional history and culture of the group that ascribes significance to it." A property that principally meets Criterion D is often placed on the National Register based on its archaeological significance alone, without reference to TCP criteria. In some cases, a place meets TCP standards under Criteria A, B, and C, but can also be listed under Criterion D due to separate archaeological values of the landscape. We contend that this is true along the Telaquana Trail, where archaeological features are numerous, still significantly lacking in analysis and comprehensive survey,

and are of pivotal cultural significance to Dena'ina peoples. As such, a nomination that invokes Criterion D alongside other criteria may prove the most comprehensive and accurate reflection of the true meaning and significance of the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.

In sum, following this review, we agree with the original conclusions of the CLI that Telaquana Trail is eligible for the National Register under Criteria A and D. A nomination that invokes at least two national criteria is justified. However, we contend that the trail's Criterion A eligibility hinges much more on the Dena'ina experience of the trail as manifested in TCP standards than it does on the general significance of the Telaquana Trail within American history writ large. We also contend that Criteria B and C may also be given reasonable consideration within a future nomination.

And cumulatively, for these reasons, we propose that TCP criteria be incorporated into a future National Register nomination, in part to provide stronger substantiation for the individual contributing resources itemized within the CLI, and within the present Cultural Landscape Report. Moreover, we propose that the required context statement for the Telaquana Corridor Historic District nomination be written with focused attention to Dena'ina cultural valuation of the trail throughout the narrative—referencing concepts derived from National Register Bulletin 38 and accentuating the enduring significance of contributing landmarks within the living culture of Dena'ina peoples. With the exception of certain contributing features along the trail that are exclusively linked to EuroAmerican history—which are few in number—the National Register context statement should acknowledge that contributing features exhibit both an "integrity of condition" and an "integrity of relationship" with Dena'ina peoples that define their significance. In doing so, the National Register nomination will gain in coherence, and in its credibility as a faithful representation of the overarching meaning of the Telaquana Trail.

Changes in Proposed Listing of Contributing Features

The Telaquana Trail Cultural Landscape Inventory and associated NPS National Register documentation established the National Register eligibility of all contributing resources noted in this document.[1040] However, we propose certain departures from the list of potentially contributing features provided by the original Cultural Landscape Inventory—which we address in more detail in recommendations at the conclusion of this report. These recommendations emerge from the analysis outlined in the sections above, alongside a careful review of the status and location of proposed contributing landscape features, and the significant input of LACL staff.

A view of Dilah Vena, Telaquana Lake, from the high alpine tundra that makes up Q'eteni looking to the northwest. Photo by Grant Crosby, NPS.

Certain sites identified in the present report are perhaps so peripheral from the trail, geographically and contextually, that they might be eliminated from future National Register documentation and nominations relating specifically to Telaquana Trail. The discontiguous archaeological sites at Twin Lake and Snipe Lake, and mining settlements, might be assessed on a case-by-case basis by NPS staff prior to a full National Register nomination and locations deemed too peripheral by the LACL Historian and Archaeologist might be mindfully discarded.

A few sites addressed in the original CLI and National Register document sit on private lands, including mining structures and cabins, but without stated landowner support for listing. The Bowman Gold Mine property is the principal case, and should not be incorporated into a future nomination without landowner involvement and consent. And, there are a few sites that were added to the original CLI based on impartial or speculative information that might warrant removal from future National Register documentation and nomination forms. This includes such sites as the Trefon Balluta camp; the existence of this camp seems to have been hypothesized within the CLI based on

proximity to Trefon Balluta's cache. While it is true that caches are usually associated with camps, and Balluta may have pitched a wall tent nearby, archaeologists have not yet identified the location of the camp so it remains conjectural and lacks other supporting documentation.

That being said, several sites might be added to the list of contributing resources for the Telaquana Trail. The NPS has continued archaeological surveys along certain segments of the trail, and new sites are certain to be detected in the course of these investigations. This document identifies both sites identified since the original CLI that should now be included, such as XLC-273 and XLC-274, and the Turquoise Lake Windbreak/Hunting Blind XLC-283, recently recorded by NPS Archaeologist, Jason Rogers.[1041] This document also includes features observed in the field, such as the Kijik River Mining Tailings Piles, that will require additional archaeological survey before being included on National Register documentation—but will almost certainly prove eligible for inclusion once formally recorded. The NPS also continues to identify culturally modified trees along the Telaquana Trail and these might be added to final National Register nominations as potential contributing features. Certain sites of cultural significance to Dena'ina peoples deserve consideration as contributing resources. Among these, there is perhaps none so consequential as *N'duk'eyux Dghil'u*, Telaquana Mountain, which—from a cultural and historical standpoint—is a definitive landmark along the trail. The CLI and National Register documentation does mention this landmark, but the scale was seen as prohibitive; we contend that the trail only makes sense within the context of that landmark, and so it should be given serious consideration as a contributing, probably discontinuous landmark. We recommend treating this mountain as integral to the trail in any National Register nomination that might invoke TCP standards and criteria.

Also, as this CLR was nearing completion, NPS cultural resource specialists completed a detailed survey of remnant features at the Bonanza Hills Mining Settlement; this settlement sits far from the Telaquana Trail, but the NPS might consider the features documented in the course of this survey for inclusion as discontinuous features. Archaeological sites along the Chilikadrotna west of Twin Lakes are ostensibly close to Telaquana Trail and may have functional associations—a point to double-check with park archaeologists before completing a National Register nomination for the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.

In addition to adding or subtracting certain contributing resources, other important questions about how such resources are to be allocated between National Register districts are raised in considering the Telaquana Trail. Many Telaquana Trail sites in and around Kijik are located within an area of overlapping National Register eligible districts—the Telaquana Corridor Historic District and the National Register-listed Kijik National Historic Landmark. (Similar issues may also emerge relating to pending nominations for the Chilikadrotna Headwaters and Snipe Lake Archaeological Districts,

which also intersect with the greater Telaquana Trail corridor.) The NPS may opt to list the full range of Kijik area sites on a Telaquana Trail nomination. However, for simplicity, we might recommend that sites in these overlapping areas be placed first and foremost in the existing Kijik National Historic Landmark nomination so that this nomination is complete, and then these sites might be added as a unit to any Telaquana Trail nomination developed subsequently.

Nancy Delkettie and Jessica Hay preparing salmon to smoke at Nondalton fish camp.
NPS photo, courtesy of Robbin LaVine.

The Future of the Telaquana Trail: Treatment Recommendations

The Telaquana Trail is a unique landscape, at once rich with cultural and historical significance, but difficult to reconcile with cultural landscape protocols related to built environments. As the pages of this report attest, very few tangible, above-ground built features remain along the trail; remaining landscape elements constructed by human hands are either archaeological sites or, at this point, structures effectively degraded into "archaeological sites," existing largely below the soil's surface. Other landscape elements consist primarily of natural features that serve as loci of historical importance and cultural meaning to Dena'ina peoples. So few people visit the Telaquana Trail that visitor pressures create only modest impacts on this dramatic landscape. Thus, while there may be a few minor threats to the "integrity of condition" of landscape features in the sense of National Register Bulletin 38, the greater challenge is in sustaining the "integrity of relationship" between Dena'ina peoples and this place of unique significance in their culture and history. Together, these facts demand an innovative treatment strategy and limit certain conventional treatment options. By necessity, a treatment strategy for Telaquana Trail must focus on two primary objectives that emanate from the National Register analysis of the preceding sections: protecting archaeological resources, and sustaining the integrity of Dena'ina cultural associations with the Telaquana Trail corridor. We outline here prescribed treatments of Telaquana Trail lands and resources, including the following seven general recommendations:

Hikers pause near the base of Qałnigi Aqenlchixi, Votive Rock, a place that is at once sacred and a traditional stopping point for Dena'ina travelers along Telaquana Trail. Photo by Trefon Balluta descendant, Warren Hill.

1 **Continue and Expand Consultation with Dena'ina Villages and Corporations**

2 **Develop Dena'ina Educational Opportunities Relating to Telaquana Trail**

3 **Develop Archival Resources Relating to Telaquana Trail**

4 **Develop Interpretation as a Tool for Public Education and Cultural Landscape Protection**

5 **Undertake Archaeological Survey, Research, Protection, and Reclassification where Appropriate**

6 **Monitor Telaquana Trail Integrity, Facilitate Access, and Reduce Adverse Effects on Resources**

7 **Reassess and Develop Strategies for Discontinuous Properties**

Each of these treatment options we address in detail within the pages that follow. A standalone "Record of Treatment" outlining specific NPS activities undertaken to date or programmed for future action, is treated in a standalone document under separate cover.

Continue and Expand Consultation with Dena'ina Villages and Corporations

Dena'ina peoples possess unique and enduring ties to this cultural landscape. These ties define the historical and cultural significance of the trail, and contribute significantly to its origin and character. National Register eligibility and significance depends significantly on the continued "integrity of relationship" between Dena'ina communities and the Telaquana Trail landscape over time and across generations. Moreover, accepting that Bulletin 38 Traditional Cultural Property National Register criteria apply to this cultural landscape, Dena'ina perceptions and assessments of trail "integrity" must be key reference points in ongoing NPS trail monitoring and maintenance. If Dena'ina people contend that the trail's meaning has been eroded or lost to them, for any number of reasons, much of the value of this special landscape and its basis for National Register listing will have been lost.

Therefore, the NPS has a special responsibility to continue to foster communications and collaborative efforts with Dena'ina people related to the Telaquana Trail. Especially in recent decades,

Lake Clark National Park & Preserve has fostered close and generally positive relationships with Dena'ina communities through consultation and direct engagement, the hiring of a Dena'ina Park Anthropologist, and the support of educational activities and writings related to Dena'ina culture. Such communications should continue and, when possible, enter a phase of focused attention to the future of the Telaquana Trail. These communications and consultations must relate to the conventional topics of natural and cultural resource management and interpretation; however, to support the larger mission of facilitating Dena'ina "integrity of relationship," these exchanges must also relate to matters of enduring Dena'ina access, use, and youth educational opportunities relating specifically to the trail. With their unique knowledge and connections to this cultural landscape, Dena'ina people are certain to have useful perspectives on the "integrity of condition" of contributing elements along the Telaquana Trail—their physical condition and factors that may affect particular places and resources. Moreover, the "integrity of relationship" is very much determined by Dena'ina perspectives, and can only be assessed and addressed through engagement with Dena'ina communities with ties to the Telaquana Trail.

Ideally, these communications will continue to be frequent and to extend beyond the letter of consultation law, policy, and regulation with the assistance of the LACL Park Anthropologist—addressing opportunities for collaboration in advancing the mutual interests of the NPS and Dena'ina communities in Telaquana Trail stewardship. Topics for focused attention might include, but not be limited to, addressing sensitive sites and potential visitor effects—perhaps establishing mutually acceptable protocols or public education to prevent adverse visitor effects on archaeological sites or especially sensitive sacred landmarks along the trail, such as *Qaɬnigi Aqenlchixi* (Votive Rock) and *Hnitsanghi'iy* (Priest Rock). The NPS and Dena'ina communities might develop a more formally articulated protocol for documenting and protecting human burials, which are numerous and principally of Dena'ina origin along the Corridor. The NPS and Dena'ina representatives might continue to discuss opportunities for collaboration with Native allottees and Native corporation landowners, especially on the Kijik end of the trail, on such matters as access, cultural site protection, and other shared interests in trail management.

Surely, educational and interpretative options will also be part of this discussion. NPS and Dena'ina representatives might discuss a range of interpretive and educational possibilities for the visiting public—from messages meant to instill respect and foster site protection (discussed in more detail below) to messages related to the deeper cultural meaning of the trail and oral traditions related to its most important landmarks such as *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* (Telaquana Mountain). Only Dena'ina people will be able to speak fully to what stories are appropriate and what stories are too sensitive for public venues. And the NPS might consider engaging Dena'ina communities regarding such matters as the development of educational projects and other opportunities for Native youth associated with Telaquana Trail—a topic discussed in more detail below.

Floatplanes, such as this Cessna 206 onTurquoise Lake, serve as the primary mode of access to points along Telaquana Trail for modern visitors.
Photo courtesy Karen Evanoff, NPS.

Dena'ina youth from Nondalton preparing food for elders at Quk' Taz'un, "The Sun Is Rising" Outdoor Leadership Camp, in Kijik. Photo by Douglas Deur.

Develop Dena'ina Educational Opportunities Relating to the Telaquana Trail

Additionally, the NPS is advised to continue and expand collaborations with Dena'ina communities in developing educational opportunities related to the Telaquana Trail and its heritage. In spite of its historical and cultural significance, the trail sits distant from modern Dena'ina communities and travel to and from much of the trail is difficult; younger people have few opportunities to visit the trail. Knowledge of its contours has thus faded over time among many families. For this reason, the

Nivagi, consisting of blackberries mixed with fat and sugar, are one of many traditional foods served at gatherings, such as at this Dena'ina elders gathering feast at Kijik. Photo by Douglas Deur.

National Park Service and Dena'ina communities have a mutual interest in creating opportunities for all Dena'ina people—Dena'ina youth in particular—to continue to learn about and sometimes visit the trail. But while the educational opportunities anticipated and outlined here are to be developed by NPS largely for and in cooperation with Dena'ina peoples, the products and outcomes may also benefit non-Native park visitors and NPS staff. Such educational opportunities may be developed either onsite or offsite. Onsite opportunities involving visits to Telaquana Trail would be especially compelling, but involve higher costs and logistical challenges.

Much of this educational collaboration can be accomplished in the context of programs already well established within the park. For several years, the NPS has collaborated with Dena'ina villages to develop educational media and opportunities for Dena'ina people, especially Dena'ina youth. This work has been successful and increasingly visible under the guidance of Park Anthropologist Karen Evanoff and with the assistance of several other park staff, documenting Dena'ina heritage within

Knowledgeable Dena'ina elders such as Butch Hobson, shown here, contributed to the documentation of not only Telaquana Trail history, but Dena'ina preferences for the future management of the trail. Photo by Douglas Deur.

LACL and engaging Dena'ina youth from Nondalton and other villages. Volumes such as Evanoff's *Dena'ina Ełnena: A Celebration* have emerged from these efforts, as have curricula used in Nondalton schools and youth culture camps.

The NPS might help expand upon these research and writing efforts, then, to help amass and share knowledge specific to the Telaquana Trail. The NPS might facilitate, through funding or staff time, the expanded documentation of Telaquana Trail history or specific landmarks of intangible Dena'ina cultural significance. These research activities can include products such as presentations or written

A kayaker glides across the water of Niłqidlen Vena, Twin Lakes.
Photo by K. Miller, NPS, 2010.

materials that convey key cultural and historical values of the trail in language understood and appreciated by Dena'ina youth both in the villages and in urban settings. So too, the NPS is currently facilitating the general documentation of traditional Dena'ina cultural values and practices related to lands and resources to produce a book-length overview for Dena'ina communities, Dena'ina youth in larger towns and cities, and beyond. The NPS might augment this work, or accompany it, by separate written documents related to the significance of key landmarks along the trail, especially places that stand apart on the cultural landscape such as Kijik, *Qałnigi Aqenlchixi* (Votive Rock), and *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u* (Telaquana Mountain). The NPS might also help to amass photos, even drone footage, of certain trail segments to be used in educational media—to help Dena'ina people retain familiarity with landscapes difficult to access and at risk of falling out of memory.

Also, for a number of years the NPS has collaborated with the Village of Nondalton providing funding and logistical and staff support to cohost a Dena'ina youth culture camp called *Quk' Taz'un*, "The Sun Is Rising" Outdoor Leadership Camp. This event allows Dena'ina youth to camp together at Kijik while engaging their history and culture through traditional crafts, classes in Dena'ina language and history involving Dena'ina elders, and at times direct student participation in park-sponsored archaeological research. The camp serves to sustain Dena'ina knowledge of and attachment to Kijik and its environs while passing on aspects of traditional cultural knowledge to future generations of Dena'ina. At these events, instructors, elders and youth sometimes discuss the Telaquana Trail. NPS and Dena'ina representatives have also collaborative carried out special youth learning events such as Beaver Camp undertaken along the Chulitna River in winter, and planned (but not, as this writing, carried out) a smaller but similar Lower Twin Lake Dena'ina educational camp.

Working in collaboration, NPS and Dena'ina representatives might consider developing additional opportunities for these camps that relate to the history and cultural significance of the Telaquana Trail. These might include instructional events at Kijik's *Quk' Taz'un* camp related to the trail—for example, its traditional uses, traditional management, traditional values and beliefs relating to the trail, Dena'ina place names, and archaeological heritage. Curriculum and written materials like those outlined above might become available to Dena'ina students at such venues, or remotely, alongside instruction from elders, Dena'ina cultural specialists, and sometimes NPS staff.

By virtue of its unique role as the southern terminus of the trail, Kijik is a suitable venue for such instructional events. However, with suitable facilities and time, the NPS might also facilitate student visits to other trail segments as part of the *Quk' Taz'un* camp. Opportunities might be created for Dena'ina youth to visit particular Telaquana trail segments to learn about key landmarks, or even to participate in park operations such as trail condition assessments or archaeological excavations on portions of the trail. The Lower Twin Lake Camp could be an excellent base of operations for these

experiences—either independently or in tandem with the Kijik camp. By fostering hands-on learning experiences in interior locations—whether from Lower Twin Lake, from the *Quk' Taz'un* camp at Kijik, or both—the NPS and the people of Nondalton can significantly enhance access and educational opportunities to Dena'ina youth—from the villages or from other places—related to ancestral landscapes along the Telaquana Trail. In turn, these experiences might foster enduring knowledge and attachments among Dena'ina youth so that connections to the trail remain strong, and the special relationship between the Dena'ina people and this cultural landscape retains integrity into the distant future. Importantly, beyond the written materials, traveling to the trail and camping at various culturally keystone places resonates with the traditional Dena'ina methods for learning. Traditional education means being on the land, with knowledge-holders and youth together, learning from the land and each other.

Dena'ina families catching salmon at Nondalton Fish Camp — an important subsistence activity that also brings families together, providing opportunities for the teaching of traditional cultural practices to tribal youth. Parametrix photo courtesy Nondalton Tribal Council.

Develop Archival Resources Relating to Telaquana Trail

For those seeking to protect and understand the Telaquana Trail, easy access to materials regarding the trail is essential. Park managers and interpreters need access to reports, historical documents, photographs, and other materials to support their work related to the trail. Yet, such information is also of public benefit and may help Dena'ina people to sustain and even build upon their rich knowledge of the trail's particulars. The NPS already possesses an impressive collection of materials on the study area—a collection that grows significantly over time. But these materials are incomplete. They exist in separate collections and are not yet fully organized. Those wishing to access information specific to the Telaquana Trail must rely heavily on the expertise and navigational skills of a professional NPS curator. Moreover, with the imminent retirement of LACL Historian and co-author to this report, John Branson, a wealth of new materials will enter the park collections from his personal files just as LACL loses access to his in-house expertise on Telaquana Trail history and sources.

For these reasons, we propose a focused effort to consolidate and organize available archival materials related to the Telaquana Trail. With a full appreciation of limitations on NPS staff time and budgets, we tentatively propose the NPS allocate resources to produce a reasonably complete archival compilation, in one place, of pertinent documents and photos related to the trail. Importantly, we propose that these files be organized in a manner that is readily navigable not only by archivists or cultural resource specialists but, for example, Dena'ina stakeholders, NPS interpreters, and others without significant archival training or experience who may wish to access the collections.

To produce a more complete collection, NPS curators might assemble materials already in NPS collections including not only existing archives, but also Alaska Region records, LACL records, and appropriate items provided from the offices of individual NPS staff—ensuring that most available NPS materials related to Telaquana Trail exist in a single collection. Moreover, at the curator's discretion, this gathering of materials might also include consulting and making copies of suitable materials within regional and state museums, and the collections of the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. As appropriate, with due consultation and consent, the curator might approach Native corporations and tribal governments for materials they wish to contribute; other agencies, such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, also have documentation related to the trail, such as files related to lands surveyed as an outcome of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA).

These sources might be integrated into the NPS collections—with those in paper form digitized whenever possible. With this material, we propose developing a password-protected digital collection that can be accessed by NPS staff and a small number of designated non-NPS entities such as

Dan Oberlatz crossing Kijik River at the Telaquana Trail River ford. Photo by John Branson, NPS.

Dena'ina tribal governments and schools. We also recommend producing a searchable digital-collection guide, so that the materials can be navigable by keyword searches related to place, people, and major contributing features addressed in the materials.

As part of this larger effort, we propose expanding the collection of digital images such as historical photographs pertaining to the trail, and organizing them so they are navigable by keywords related to place, people, and major contributing features. The NPS might also consider adding images of artifacts recovered from archaeological sites along the Telaquana Trail—photographing artifacts or digitizing images now only in paper form, as needed, providing a powerful tool for NPS archaeologists and tribal members alike.

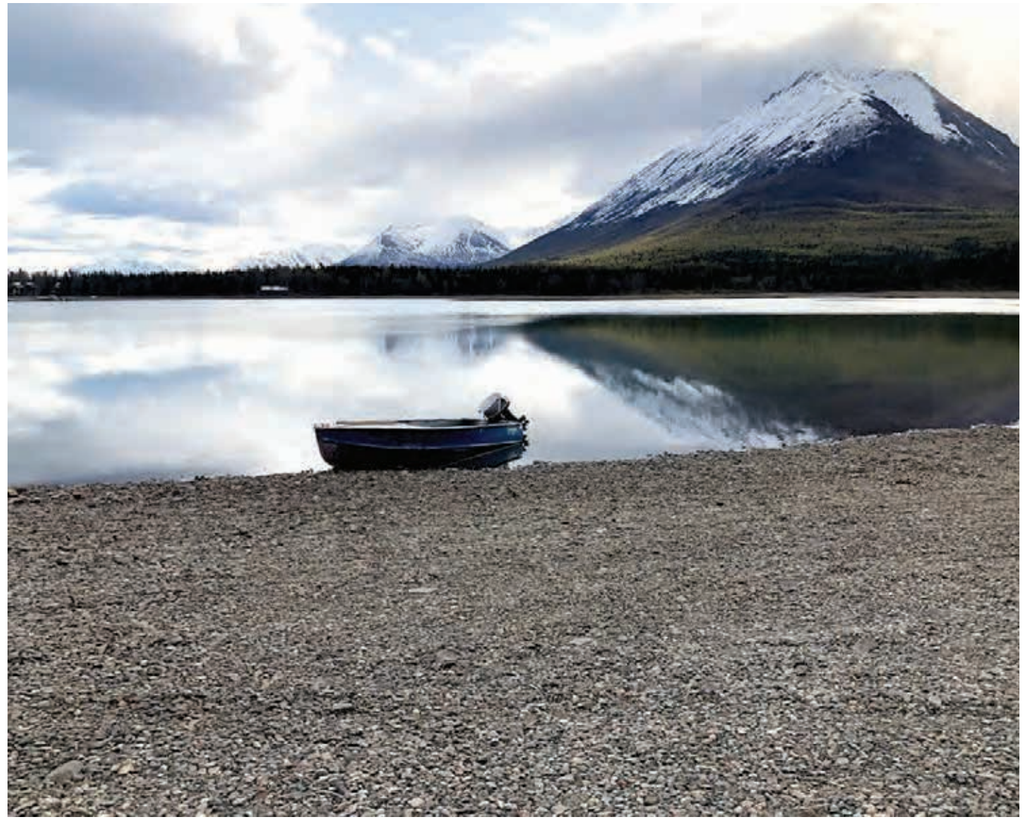
Along with these steps, the NPS shall maintain suitable precautions for sensitive materials, such as documents containing archaeological site locations or details related to specific burials or Dena'ina spiritual practices. Questions of data sensitivity are well-known to NPS staff and can be refined through consultation with Dena'ina communities. As with all such collections, standards for material use as well as copyright restrictions and procedures can be articulated clearly, in language intelligible to non-specialists, within the collections.

Amassing much of what has been recorded about the trail into one accessible venue, navigable by non-specialist staff and Dena'ina stakeholders, has several advantages. The collection will be a powerful tool for park managers and interpreters seeking to protect contributing landmarks and features. But equally important, it might help sustain the Telaquana Trail's "integrity of relationship" by allowing Dena'ina people unfettered access to the full corpus of information related to trail.

Develop Interpretation as a Tool for Public Education and Cultural Landscape Protection

In addition to opportunities addressed in prior sections, broader educational and interpretative efforts related to the Telaquana Trail play an important role, specifically when directed at park visitors. Public education and interpretation related to the trail are a priority for LACL staff generally, and a key element in the park's operations to fulfill nationwide NPS interpretive mandates and missions. However, beyond that, public interpretation might be key to preserving the long-term integrity of the Telaquana Trail. Drawing again from the guidance in National Register Bulletin 38, public interpretation can help protect both the integrity of condition and the integrity of relationship along the Corridor.

Prior efforts by LACL staff have produced some effective interpretive media on the historical significance of the Telaquana Trail. A very detailed and illustrated interpretive map, *Telaquana Trail Guide*, applies a high standard for park interpretive media in describing the history and key sites along the trail. This map also contains brief language aimed at trail visitors about the need to protect archaeological sites and other resources along the trail. The map is popular but difficult to find outside of NPS facilities. Therefore, NPS might consider continuing to print and distribute the map, but also to consistently add links to the map on webpages related to the Telaquana Trail.



Hardenberg Bay boat basin at Port Alsworth with Tanalian Mountain in the background.
Photo by Douglas Deur.

The protection language in this map and others developed by the park might be employed for broader use and distribution among visitors to Telaquana Trail. Though very few direct threats exist to the

Place names map, as shown in the NPS illustrated interpretive map, Telaquana Trail Guide. Courtesy NPS.

integrity of contributing National Register eligible resources in this report, and though visitors are few, some sites are potentially at risk of adverse visitor effects. In these few cases, possible visitor effects upon documented archaeological sites are involved (or cabin sites that have effectively become archaeological sites with time and decay). Hikers, anglers, paddlers, and others traverse the landscape, often camping beside or even atop archaeological sites. A very small number of visitors appear to leave behind trash. Circumstantial evidence suggests that rare cases of looting may occur, especially of stone artifacts readily visible at the soil surface. In light of its accessibility to visitors to LACL from communities near and far, the landscape remains largely unmonitored and potentially vulnerable to looting. Most visitor impacts seem inadvertent—places that were geographically "good campsites" long before European contact remain good campsites today, drawing people back to the very same places, causing occasional collateral damage. However, with additional visitor education, these kinds of effects might be further reduced—with aggregate protective benefits in the long term.

The LACL website presently discourages taking cultural items or leaving enduring impacts. Interpretive media and programs hosted at Port Alsworth also accentuate the importance of a "no trace" ethic when traveling through the park's natural and cultural landscapes. These efforts have been ongoing and have likely contributed to the protection of cultural site integrity within the park and preserve in ways that are tangible but difficult to measure. Such efforts can be continued and even expanded to meet the multiple mandates of the park—including that of cultural site protection.

If expanded, interpretative media and programs might present the history of the Telaquana Trail to the public while also seeking to foster respect and a preservation ethic among visitors. Similarly, the

Caribou browsing on tundra. Photo by J. Mills, NPS.

NPS might work more proactively with commercial operators who offer backcountry trips in the area to ensure their guides have thorough knowledge of the cultural importance and the resource protection issues associated with the trail. Public discussion of LACL's considerable archaeological heritage is at once important and problematic: it is very difficult to protect the park's archaeological heritage without public awareness of its existence. Still, revealing too much about that archaeological heritage to the public places cultural sites at risk. In all cases, interpreters must strike a delicate balance. Interpretive staff must coordinate with cultural resource specialists, and often Dena'ina knowledge holders, to strike that balance.

Certain general guidelines apply. In describing LACL archaeology to visitors, geographical information must remain vague. Interpreters can impress upon visitors and commercial guides that archaeological sites are non-renewable resources and, by terms of both federal law and Dena'ina protocols, deserve a modicum of respect. Interpreters can help instill this respect by accentuating the fact that archaeological sites and features within LACL are of incalculable but largely untapped scientific value, while being of profound cultural meaning to Dena'ina people who live in the area today. If additional leverage is required, one might mention the legal penalties for damaging archaeological sites and Dena'ina oral traditions describing hardships befalling site looters, and might offer reminders that both NPS employees and Dena'ina peoples travel and monitor parts of the trail.

The on-site interpretation of features along the trail, such as the use of signage, is unlikely to be appropriate along almost the entire corridor. However, the NPS might consider signage near Priest Rock in light of the growing visibility of that landmark to many visitors approaching the trail or visiting the recently required visitor cabin. In this location, signage mentioning the site's general cultural significance and requesting "respect" in light of Dena'ina beliefs and values might be helpful in protecting the integrity of that landmark. Stated appropriately, such a sign might both protect this feature while also instilling in visitors a respect and awareness that they would carry with them along the trail—in effect, protecting the integrity of the larger trail.

It should be noted that discussions of specific Dena'ina cultural practices are inherently sensitive, requiring review and vetting by Dena'ina representatives. Discussions of sacred places, burial sites, village-scale archaeological sites, and other places of particularly elevated significance are especially of concern and may not be suitable without extended communications between interpretive staff, cultural resource staff, and Dena'ina representatives. However, topics such as Dena'ina traditional resource values may provide a useful point of departure for public stewardship messages—emphasizing themes of respect, of the need to leave few traces on the land, and of our shared obligations to transmit the land in good condition for the benefit of future generations. Brochures and publications describing these stewardship values and their implications for visitors may also be warranted for both visitors and commercial operators alike. The ongoing "Dena'ina Expressive Culture" project, involving Dena'ina cultural specialists, NPS staff, and university researchers, may provide materials useful for this purpose.

Undertake Archaeological Survey, Research, Protection, and Reclassification Where Appropriate

Several opportunities and needs relate to the archaeological resources along the Telaquana Trail. These include a need for additional archaeological reconnaissance and research, a need to consider possible future site stabilization protocols, and a need to administratively reclassify most "structures" along the trail as archaeological sites in light of their ruined condition. Each of these themes is addressed in turn.

Archaeological Reconnaissance and Research

We propose specific measures to advance archaeological survey and research. Since completion of the Telaquana Trail CLI, NPS archaeological survey of Telaquana Trail has been intermittent but ongoing, and will continue following the completion of the present Cultural Landscape Report. The NPS has

staff and funding programmed to undertake routine reconnaissance and survey over the next decade that, importantly, may fill unsurveyed gaps along the Telaquana Trail. The lands surrounding the interior lakes are an appropriate focus for this survey. Both NPS staff and Dena'ina knowledge holders anticipate additional unsurveyed sites on the margins of certain lakes. The NPS not only has permanent staff with expertise in site survey, but has continued to train seasonal staff to detect, report, and protect archaeological sites—a trend that can and should continue into the foreseeable future.

In addition, we recommend carrying out archaeological survey at a number of places identified in this document as contributing landmarks that are not presently classified as "archaeological sites"—though they were clearly venues of focused human use. For example, the Sheep Lick site or reported campsites such as those overlooking *Dzeł Gzezh* and at *Tl'uhdalzhegh* may have archaeological signatures that illuminate their significance and past use. In these contexts, certain technologies, such as the use of a magnetometer for the location of hearths, might be considered in addition to conventional pedestrian surveys and shovel tests. The NPS might also carry out radiocarbon dating with samples obtained from known or newly identified sites, and carry out analyses of newly recovered artifacts to seek diagnostic features placing artifacts into known typologies. In turn, these findings may bring up additional National Register eligible sites or augment the contexts of existing sites within the Telaquana Corridor Historic District.

Because the Telaquana Trail is a landscape actively used by subsistence harvesters and others traveling the trail, archaeological survey should document areas of ongoing use by Dena'ina and other trail users. This should include survey not only for archaeological sites, features, and artifacts but also careful documentation of culturally modified trees, recent camps and trails, and other site features underreported in early archaeological surveys of the park. These features not only help establish the enduring presence of Dena'ina people on the landscape but, if recorded meticulously, may also illuminate aspects of the living culture in a manner that meets "Criterion D" National Register objectives and can be cross-referenced with the ethnographies and oral histories of Dena'ina peoples. Until recent years, these features have been underreported so that, for example, the culturally modified trees identified in the CLI and the present document likely represent just a fraction of those to be found along the Telaquana Trail corridor and determined National-Register eligible as contributing resources.

Moreover, additional research might be undertaken to analyze existing archaeological collections. The Telaquana Trail was clearly a corridor of tremendous movement—of peoples, technologies, and artifacts over vast distances, beginning almost immediately after the retreat of the glaciers from the interior lakes. Early materials, such as those of the Norton tradition, appear unexpectedly and without

context, suggesting possible cultural exchanges or migrations over vast distances. Hints of these aspects of the human history of the trail are found in the available archaeological record, though most details remain elusive. Most archaeological sites addressed in this report remain classified as "unspecified prehistoric" for lack of radiometric dates or the absence of diagnostic features identified to date through systematic analysis. Artifacts from Telaquana Trail with potentially diagnostic features are catalogued in NPS collections and still awaiting analysis, such as certain lithic cores or exotic stone materials that might be sourced with reference to Alaska artifacts identified in other collections. The NPS collections also contain archived charcoal from Telaquana Trail sites that might still be dated, allowing archaeologists to illuminate the chronology of human use and occupation of these lands. The NPS can conduct such analyses with existing staff or, for example, might consider recruiting one or more archaeology graduate students to conduct analyses of the NPS collection of Telaquana Trail archaeological materials for available dates, diagnostic features, and source materials. With this information, the NPS might add significant context, presently missing, to National Register eligible archaeological sites along the Telaquana Trail. This information, in turn, may aid in the identification and analysis of presently undocumented sites in the trail corridor, while adding considerably to our understanding of human history along the trail over deep time.

Lastly, Dena'ina people who are interested, should be involved in some of the archaeological survey and other related work. Dena'ina communities should be informed and invited to be involved, in archaeological work conducted on their ancestral lands. The benefits for this are several. Dena'ina communities and participants may be able to help bring Dena'ina knowledge, values, and protocols into archaeological efforts, especially excavations and other activities involving ground disturbance and potential new discoveries. For Native youth, direct hands-on experience empowers young learners, and builds a better understanding of their ancestors and their shared history—in a way that passive observation of archaeological findings cannot achieve. Past participation of Native youth from the *Quk' Taz'un* Outdoor Leadership Camp in NPS archaeological excavations has proven successful—both in providing exemplary educational opportunities and in building wider community knowledge and support for archaeological research within LACL. Youth particpation may also foster the transmission of traditional knowledge back to archaeological researchers and other cultural resource specialists, in a manner that can only improve our understanding and interpretation of the past.

Site Stabilization

Along the Telaquana Trail, relatively few adverse effects are presently reported on culturally significant, National Register contributing sites and resources. A notable exception are several archaeological sites reported in this document that experience some degree of erosion—largely from natural causes such as wind. At present, site stabilization measures for natural erosion are to be

A hiker passes through K'ilghech past a blazed tree. Photo by Tia Vaughn, NPS, 2018.

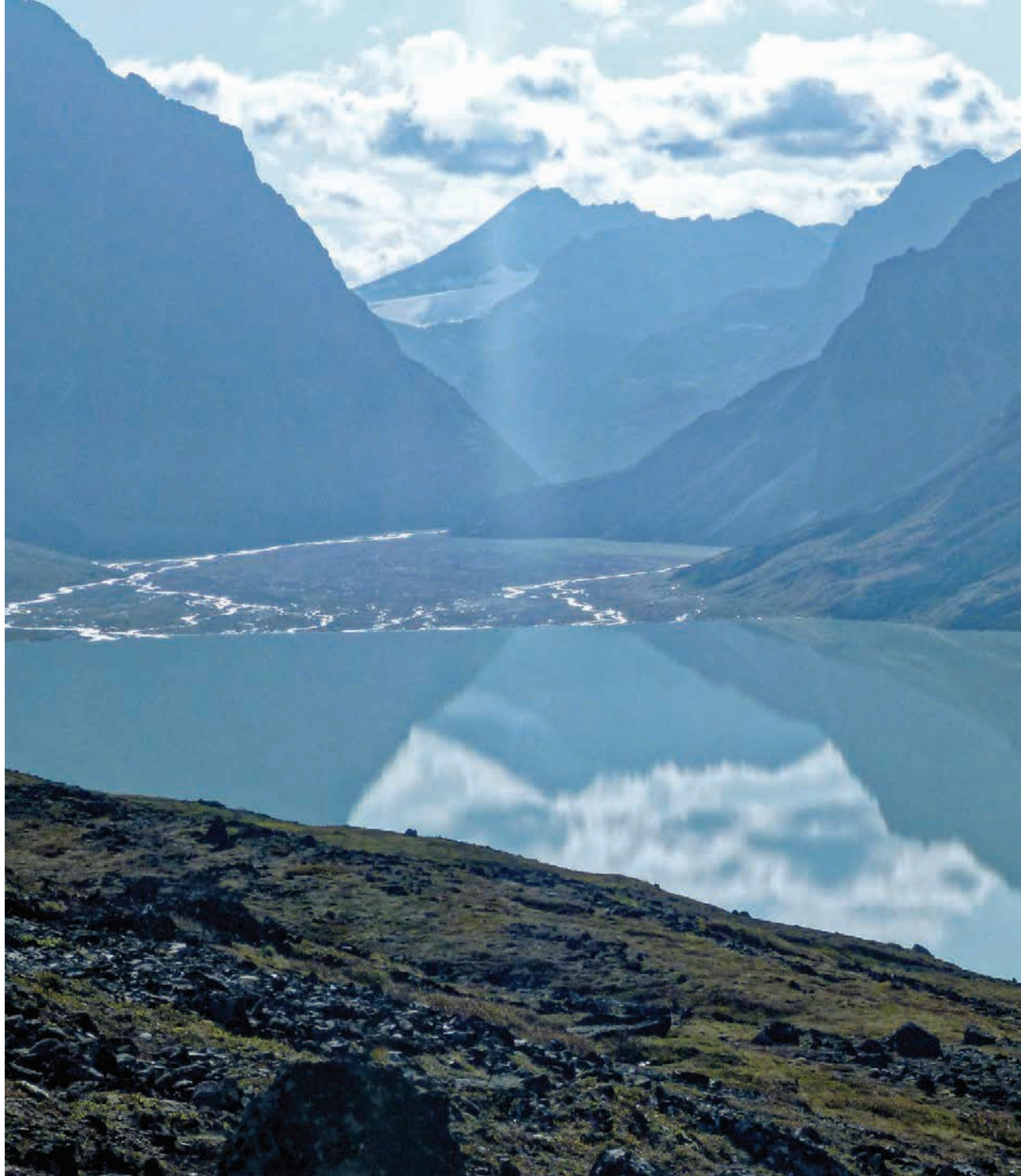
carried out only infrequently and under exceptional circumstances. The NPS has no interest in attempting to undertake major site stabilization efforts at this time. This position on the part of NPS is generally compatible with Dena'ina cultural values, which prescribe showing respect to archaeological sites but do not prescribe radical measures to preserve cultural materials that wash away naturally over time. Wind erosion, riverbank erosion, or slumps and slides in a landscape that was glaciated until very recently by geological standards—are all phenomena exceedingly difficult to contain even if a will and legal mandate existed to do so.

Still, intervention might be required in truly exceptional hypothetical cases, such as if a major village site were at risk of imminent destruction due to extreme geological events. In such cases, a need for engineered site stabilization measures or mitigation excavations might exist, to quickly recover archaeological data before erosion or visitor effects permanently damaged the site. The NPS will consider such scenarios as needed on a case-by-case basis in consultation with traditionally associated Dena'ina communities. A general protocol regarding the thresholds for site protection actions or emergency mitigation excavations might be useful, but is likely unnecessary in light of the infrequency and the idiosyncratic nature of such large-scale disturbances.

With such light visitation along the Telaquana Trail, site looting is not a pronounced problem. Still, circumstantial evidence suggests that visitors may sometimes spontaneously collect stone artifacts from places where they are visible on the soil surface. This has been reported for sites that are both contributing (e.g., XLC-200) and discontinuous (e.g., XLC-041). Places such as Lower Twin Lake, with higher levels of visitor use, are especially vulnerable. Beyond public education efforts and potential trail rerouting efforts discussed in other sections, occasional cases may arise that require stabilization or concealment measures. In extreme cases, in sites with heavy visitation that are known to be exposed, the NPS might consider creating visual or other buffers—such as by planting or seeding of native plant species, to visually conceal a site and reduce site erosion.

Transitioning Historical Structures to Archaeological Site Status

The identification of so many cabins in the Telaquana Trail Cultural Landscape Inventory and within park management databases produces some unanticipated challenges and ironies. Most contributing "structures" no longer meet even the most inclusive definitions of that term: today, these structures are largely decomposed beyond recognition and have been subsumed below the soil surface. Field visits undertaken to cabins in the course of this study, then, involved inspecting vaguely rectangular lenses of decomposed organic material in the soil, consisting of fully rotted remains of wooden construction materials, with intrusions of metal and other introduced items. Most of these cabins may



Vandaztun Vena or Turquoise Lake looking to the east

The Twin Lakes Ranger Cabin on Lower Twin Lakes. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

have value under National Register Criterion D, being instructive as historical archaeological sites, but have ceased to function as contributing "structures" by any stretch of the imagination. The NPS has expressed no interest in attempting to restore these buildings and, in light of the condition of the structures, no possibility of restoration truly exists. Any attempt to revitalize many of these cabins would be a "reconstruction" in every respect.

In spite of these facts, the sites appear in the CLI as structures and continue to live on in NPS databases, such as CRIS, primarily as buildings rather than archaeological sites. We contend that the NPS might best administer these sites by shifting that status, addressing most cabins as archaeological sites rather than structures. This may entail issuing archaeological site numbers for remaining cabins presently lacking them, updating CRIS to match the "ground truth" of cabin conditions, and beginning to monitor and manage these places as part of the larger suite of archaeological sites along the Telaquana Trail. Historical archaeology research might be possible at these places in the future to corroborate and expand upon themes identified in the historical record. In the event that the NPS does not wish to pursue such status for these cabin sites, the locations of cabins might be treated as contributing "historical sites" rather than as contributing "structures."

The few cabins with structural integrity, such as discontinuous cabins at Snipe and Twin Lakes, are presently being converted into visitor-use cabins. In these few cases, continued NPS management of cabins as "structures" is appropriate. Any structural modifications will require the oversight of NPS staff with expertise in landscape architecture, history, and/or historical architecture to ensure consistency with architectural conventions that protect site integrity, setting, feeling, and materials.

Monitor Telaquana Trail Integrity, Facilitate Access, and Reduce Adverse Effects on Resources

The NPS shall continue to periodically monitor the Telaquana Trail route for changes that undermine the integrity of condition or the integrity of Dena'ina relationship with this culturally significant corridor. NPS staff shall assess and report any adverse visitor effects upon cultural sites and resources. They will also monitor vegetation condition, including trampling that may exacerbate erosion, or potential encroaching forest that would impede travel along the corridor. In addition, the NPS will monitor factors such as erosion, hydrological changes, or geological events that may affect cultural sites or travel along the Telaquana Trail. In the event that NPS staff identify adverse effects or imminent threats to tangible cultural resources, they will collaborate with LACL management in developing impact minimization or mitigation measures—working in consultation with Dena'ina representatives. And, through staff reporting, as well as consultation and other communications with Dena'ina representatives, the NPS will seek to record any adverse visitor effects upon Dena'ina use, access, and valuation of cultural sites along the Telaquana Trail corridor—collaborating on impact minimization and mitigation strategies on a case-by-case basis.

In some trail segments, the NPS may determine that visitor pressure has the potential to adversely affect the integrity of archaeological sites as well as certain intangible values associated with Dena'ina

Ursula Graham of Lime Village with birch baskets, grandmother Nora Alexie in background, 1980.
Photo presented to NPS by Priscilla Russell.

cultural values and significance. For this reason, we propose the NPS consider minor trail reroutes based on ongoing assessments of trail effects on cultural resources. NPS archaeologists may periodically bring adverse visitor effects to the attention of park management. Consultation with Dena'ina communities may reveal similar concerns about archaeological effects, but also additional trail segments where they perceive adverse visitor effects on culturally significant sites and landmarks. Based on this guidance, the NPS may develop reroutes of certain trail segments subject to favorable review by cultural resource staff, natural resource staff, and Dena'ina communities through consultation.

An open tundra camp along the Telaquana Trail. Photo by A. Lindholm, NPS, 2009.

Potential adverse visitor effects are especially of concern in the vicinity of Lake Clark, with its density of cultural sites and private inholdings, as well as in the vicinity of the interior lakes. These places warrant periodic review by NPS staff for rerouting alternatives, especially in the event of reports regarding repeated visitor effects on cultural and historical sites. Routes bypassing Kijik may be less arduous for hikers than alternative routes, for example, and may steer visitors away from an area rich with sensitive archaeological sites, human burials, and pronounced sensitivity to Dena'ina peoples. Alternative routes presently being considered by NPS staff between Telaquana Lake and Turquoise Lake would have similar advantages. Such reroutes must be considered on a case-by-case basis.

Douglas Deur interviewing Dena'ina elder Gladys Evanoff about Dena'ina natural resource use traditions. Photo by Karen Evanoff, NPS.

Because the trail is not actively maintained nor clearly defined on the landscape, but consists of general routes across the land, much of this "rerouting" will not involve trail construction. Rather, rerouting will simply consist of such tasks as advising trail users to utilize certain low-impact routes and to avoid others, creating maps of preferred new routes and potentially adding markers such as cairns or tree blazes to mark these new routes.

In addition, we recommend that the NPS apply adaptive trail management procedures in response to the localized effects of global climate change. Though it is unlikely, changes in vegetation such as the expansion of shrub and forest areas along the trail, may create obstacles to travel; in these cases, modest vegetation management, the creation of trail markers such as blazes, or rerouting of trail segments may be indicated to facilitate continued visitor access—a decision to be made on a case-by-case basis. In addition, changes in surface hydrology and permafrost may create obstacles to travel in certain segments such as where the trail crosses valley-bottom tundra and riparian areas; this phenomenon may incentivize rerouting trail segments to protect resource values, visitor experiences, and safety. The NPS may wish to carry out predictive assessments based on available models of climate-induced change, or simply to integrate this component into the regular trail monitoring protocols.

Reassess and Develop Strategies for Discontinuous Properties

A number of places identified as "discontinuous" to the Telaquana Trail's National Register status within the original CLI should be reconsidered as potential contributing resources for a number of reasons. Importantly, due to a recent NPS land purchase, *Hnitsanghi'iy* (Priest Rock) is now owned and managed by the NPS, though this was not the case during the development of the original Cultural Landscape Inventory. This landmark is of unique cultural and historical significance to Dena'ina peoples and to Telaquana Trail history, and should be considered a potentially contributing landmark within any National Register nomination for the area—especially if that nomination invokes

Bulletin 38 National Register criteria. In the present Cultural Landscape Report, we depict Priest Rock as a potentially contributing resource and as a Dena'ina sacred place, while Priest Rock Creek we acknowledge as a winter trailhead.
Also, in the course of the present study, NPS staff and Dena'ina representatives have questioned determinations made in the original CLI related to which sites are contributing and which sites are treated as discontinuous and non-contributing. We concur that certain features identified as "discontinuous" in the CLI and in the present report arguably have a close enough association with Telaquana Trail that they might be revisited for later inclusion as "contributing" resources within the Telaquana Corridor Historic District National Register nomination. Archaeological sites on Lower Twin Lake and on the Chilikadrotna River just downstream, for example, may warrant reconsideration as potential contributing resources with the guidance of the LACL Historian and Archaeologist, as well as NPS Cultural Landscape staff prior to completion of a full nomination. In addition, it should be noted that certain places listed as contributing on the CLI have been questioned by NPS staff and project researchers based on their ambiguous association with Telaquana Trail. Archaeological sites mentioned in this report as potentially discontinuous, especially those around Twin Lakes, are verifiably related to the trail's overall context but are debatable as contributing resources; these sites deserve a careful review by NPS staff prior to a future National Register nomination, but can be discarded from the list of contributing properties at their discretion.

One thing is clear throughout the available documentation and all communications with Dena'ina repesentatives relating to this Cultural Landscape Report: *Nduk'eyux Dghil'u*, Telaquana Mountain, is among the most important and definitive landmarks along the trail. To some extent, the trail cannot be comprehended without reference to this peak and its significance in the Dena'ina world. While the CLI and National Register documentation mentions this landmark, there has been some reluctance to include it because of its sheer scale. We contend that the trail's significance is linked directly to this landmark and that it should be treated as a contributing discontiguous feature along the trail. If Dena'ina cultural values and Bulletin 38 criteria are to be seriously engaged in a National Register context, we see no way around including the peak more directly within a final National Register nomination.

In addition, the NPS may consider engaging private landowners as appropriate to discuss potential inclusion of landmarks on private lands within a future nomination. In this report, we identify a number of sites that are significant to the human history of Telaquana Trail but sit on private lands, and are therefore non-contributing to the present Cultural Landscape. Lake Clark National Park and Preserve has a number of private inholdings, such as Native allotments, Native corporation lands, and the lands of non-Native owners held in fee simple title. The NPS maintains an ongoing rapport with

many of these private landowners related to such matters as access and natural resource management, and has sometimes collaborated in cultural resource documentation and protection, as well as National Register efforts. As appropriate, in the context of these discussions, NPS staff might engage private landowners regarding Telaquana Trail's National Register status and future management of the trail. Private inholders often express interest in the historical significance of the trail corridor, but may have concerns related to visitor use of the trail, potential trail reroutes, and other park activities. In the course of communications, the NPS might inform private parties of the option of having non-contributing resources on their lands documented and included within a future National Register nomination. The inclusion of such private lands must be understood as voluntary, recognizing that private landowners sometimes wish to have their lands considered for inclusion. The NPS has already developed successful written agreements with private inholders at historic Kijik Village (XLC-001) allowing historic and archaeological resources on certain private lands to be included within the Kijik Archaeological District NHL nomination. This Kijik agreement, plus the recent Priest Rock land purchase, have allowed the listing of sites on some of the most significant private lands along the Telaquana Trail corridor; additional private lands, added by written agreements with landowners, might still be considered as part of the formal nomination for the Telaquana Corridor Historic District

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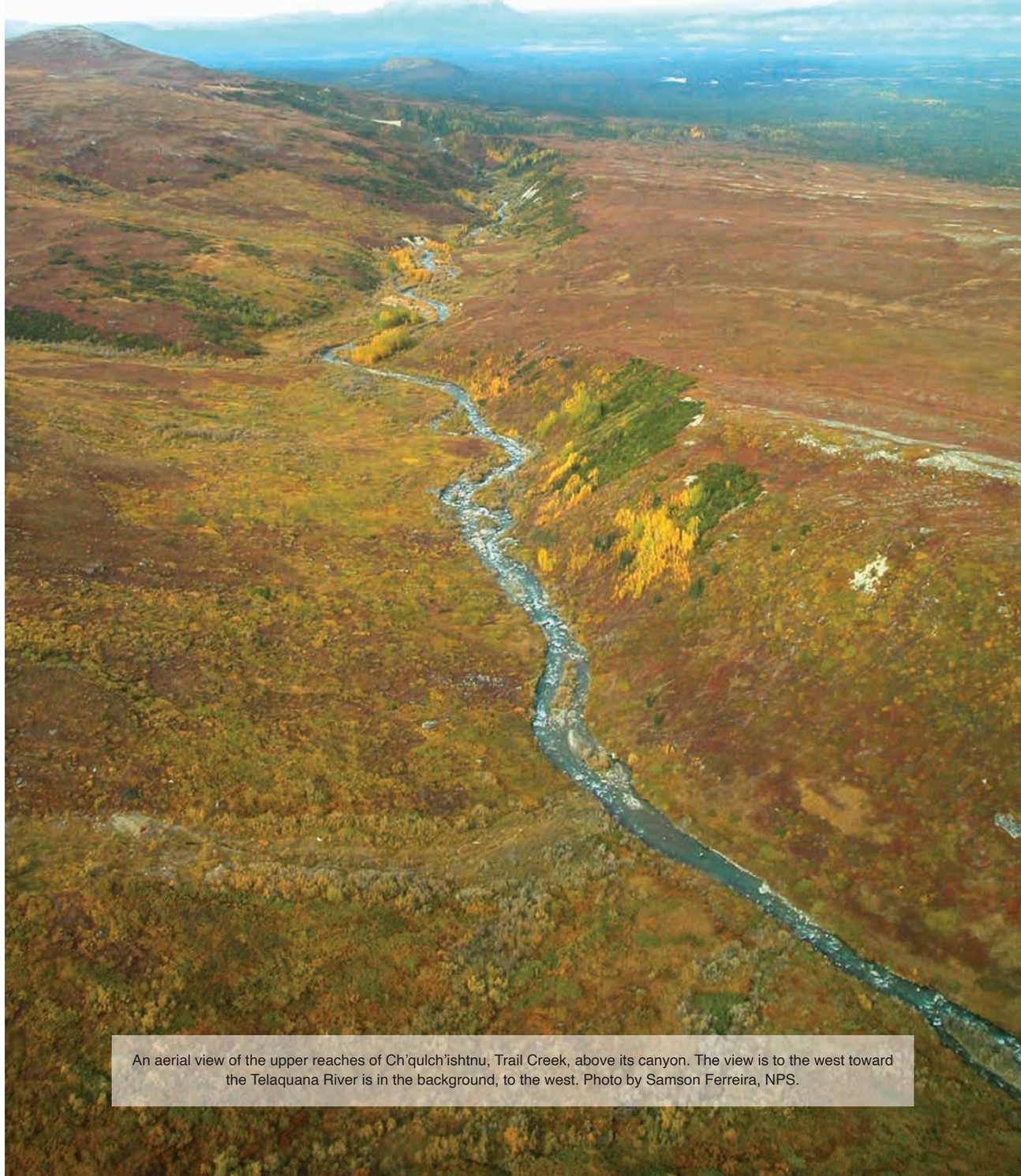
This brings us to a final point related to places such as Kijik, with pronounced cultural and historical significance along the trail. Intersecting with Telaquana Trail, but existing somewhat independently from it, are two key areas with an unusual concentration of historically and culturally significant features. These are Twin Lakes and Kijik. Kijik is the terminus of the Telaquana Trail and a village site of unequaled significance within the Inland Dena'ina world. This village contains a vast constellation of archaeological sites and features as well as the historic village of Kijik, and is a place regularly visited by Dena'ina peoples for subsistence, cultural education, and many other purposes. Twin Lakes is also a place of enduring importance to Dena'ina peoples. Historically and culturally significant features include numerous ancient archaeological sites, Richard Proenneke's cabin, and many other historical sites and features. Due to the unique concentration of contributing resources, Kijik and Twin Lakes exist as independent districts—yet with histories and landmarks that intersect with the Telaquana Trail both geographically and topically. Additional, focused documentation is clearly required for these areas, as well as independent National Register treatments. The National Park Service therefore has initiated two efforts that are ongoing at the time of this writing—consisting of Cultural Landscape Reports for both places. In September of 2018, the NPS initiated a project entitled, "Prepare Kijik National Historic Landmark Cultural Landscape Report" in collaboration with Portland State University through the Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit network. In 2019, the NPS initiated the Twin Lakes Cultural Landscape Report with the assistance of the consulting firm, Mundus Bishop. These standalone CLRs will provide more information and specific treatment guidelines for these landscapes, extending far beyond the present Telaquana Trail report.



An aerial view of the upper reaches of Ch'qulch'ishtnu, Trail Creek, above its canyon. The view is to the west toward the Telaquana River is in the background, to the west. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.

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Balluta, Andrew
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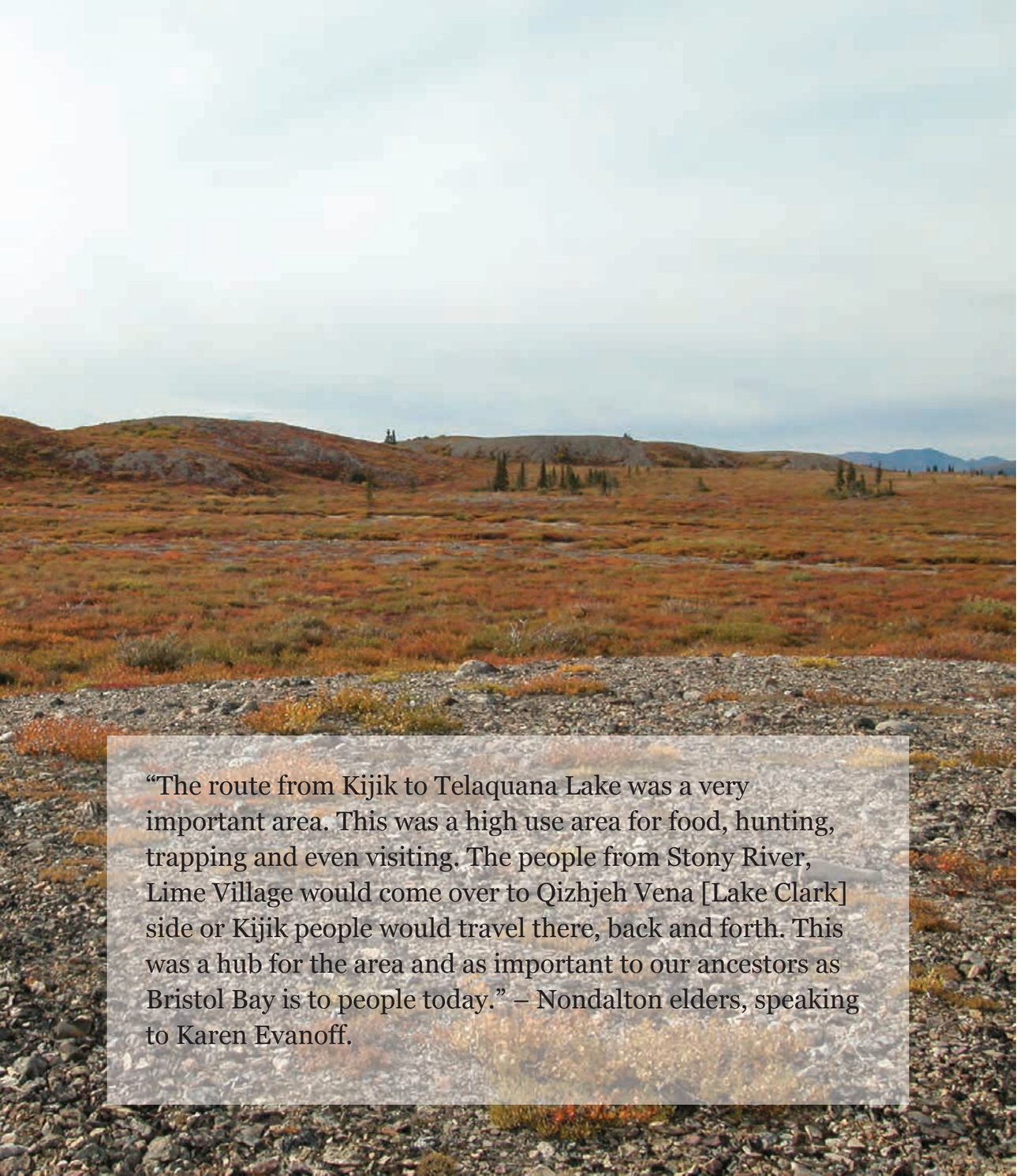
Balluta, Nikolai
Balluta, Olga
Branson, John
Carltikoff, Darren
Carltikoff, Nicholi
Cusma, Agnes
Delkettie, Agnes
Delkettie, Clarence Adam
Delkettie, Mary
Delkettie, Nancy
Delkettie, Rick
Evanoff, Gladys
Evanoff, Karen
Hedlund, Nels
Hedlund, Rose
Hobson, Butch (Steve Hobson, Jr.)
Hobson, Mary
Hobson, Jack
Hobson, Pauline
Kakaruk, Randy
Rickteroff, Teresa
Silas, Fawn
Tracy, June
Trefon, Ada
Trefon, Ben
Trefon, Jr., Bill
Trefon, Clara
Trefon, Melvin
Trefon, Tyrone
Wassallie, Sr., Albert
Wilson, Katie
Zackar, Paul

Small, dry seasonal ponds on glacial till on the south side of K'ilghech along the Telaquana Trail, looking southwest. Photo by Samson Ferreira, NPS.



"The route from Kijik to Telaquana Lake was a very important area. This was a high use area for food, hunting, trapping and even visiting. The people from Stony River, Lime Village would come over to Qizhjeh Vena [Lake Clark] side or Kijik people would travel there, back and forth. This was a hub for the area and as important to our ancestors as Bristol Bay is to people today." – Nondalton elders, speaking to Karen Evanoff.

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A sweeping view of the southern Telaquana Trail and its many culturally significant landmarks including, from left to right:

Ch'ak'daltnu - Kijik River or "animals walk out stream"
Veghdeq Idaltin – Miller Lake or "body of water above it.
Veghdeq Dghilenka'a –"big one that flows above it" (draining Miller Lake).
Veghdeq Dghilenshla- "little one that flows above it." Flows into Veghdeq Dghilenk'a which in turn becomes Nan Qelah Vetnu.
Hughilnigen Qayeh – "something comes out of the ground village," flowing off Tits'nadzeni to Miller Creek.
Tits'nadzeni- SOB Mountain or "one that is steep to the water."
Nan Qelah Vetnu- Miller Creek or "moss is there stream."
Nan Qelah- mouth of Miller Creek or "where there is moss."
K'unust'in- Kijik Mountain or "one that stands apart."
Qizhjeh Vena- Lake Clark or "place people gather lake."
Hnitsanghi'iy – Priest Rock or "the rock that stands alone."
Photo courtesy Sam Carter.

Endnotes

1 Clark 1974; Irving 1957.
2 James, Fall & Leggett 2013; Kari 1988: 329; Kari and Kari 1982.
3 Kari and Kari 1982: 14.
4 NPS 2006; Kari 1986.
5 Boraas 2004; Kari 1988.
6 Ellanna and Balluta 1992.
7 Kari 1988:328.
8 Interview with Nondalton elders, in Karen Evanoff notes in LACL files.
9 Macy Hobson in BIA 1987:9.
10 Interview with Nondalton elders, in Karen Evanoff notes in LACL files.
11 Postnikov Falk and Black 2015.
12 Znamenski 2003.
13 Their names were Harry Mellish, Percy Walker, and Al King. See Spurr 1900: 261.
14 Schanz 1891.
15 Osgood 1904: 49.
16 It is thought the very first EuroAmerican prospectors came into the country by 1895 (Unrau 1994: 304). Prospector Hugh Rodman visited Kijik in 1898 with Nicholai Riktorov from Old Iliamna village (Branson 2014: 22-23).
17 This party traveled from Telaquana Lake to Iliamna, at the end of a year-long misadventure which started in Unalaska, ascended the Kuskokwim and Stony River drainages before turning south through the Telaquana Corridor.
18 Smith 1917.
19 Zorea 1991.
20 Macnab, in Branson 1997:40-44.
21 NPS 2006.
22 NPS 2006.
23 NPS n.d.
24 Kari 1986.
25 Certain key sources include interviews recorded as part of the University of Alaska-Fairbanks Project Jukebox program (1998) and information related to Telaquana Trail observations documented in Ellanna (1986) and Ellanna and Balluta (1989) among others; the extensive works of John Branson (e.g., 2014) and the notes and personal narratives by Samson Ferreira and former LACL Anthropologist Karen Gaul; A.W. Zorea (1991), a Historian for the Cultural Resources Division of the National Park Service; and others. We recovered information regarding buildings, cabins, ruins, mining operations and other architectural components along the trail in documents related to surveys conducted by the National Park Service. Furthermore, the Alaska Regional Office of the National Park Service in cooperation with the Historic American Buildings Survey also conducted a survey of the historical architectural resources within the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve—the results published by A.K. Hoagland in 1982. Finally, J.A. Tobey (2003a) surveyed cabin sites within the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve for the National Park Service Fire Management program to provide a fire management plan to protect historically and culturally significant resources.
A considerable number of additions to the 2006 CLI are archaeological sites. Brelsford (1975), Smith and Shields (1977), and investigative reports published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (1987, 1988, 1989) documented these sites. The most significant contribution to these site investigations was made by Tennessen (2006), who conducted an archaeological survey project of the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve by the National Park Service from 2002 to 2005. Tennessen's project focused on ten regions within the Park and Preserve. Of interest to this report were surveys conducted in Two Lakes, Telaquana Lake, Turquoise Lake, Lower Twin Lake, Snipe Lake, and Fishtrap Lake, all areas identified previously as significant to the cultural landscape of the Telaquana Trail Corridor. Clearly, the documents listed here do not represent a comprehensive representation of all literature reviewed as part of the publication of this CLR. Rather, we highlight the documents that contributed significantly to the expansion of the CLI published in

A different view of Votive Rock. Photo courtesy of Karen Evanoff.

2006. A full list of sources is presented in the bibliography of this report.
26 Within the CLI (2006) document, these sites located outside the Corridor are identified as 'non-contributing.' Rather than suggest that these sites do not contribute to the integrity of the cultural landscape of the Telaquana Trail Corridor, the term 'discontinuous' has been used to refer to the location of the site outside the physical boundary of the Corridor rather than to the site's importance.
27 See Page, Gilbert, and Dolan 1998 on conventional organization and required elements of CLR reports.
28 94 Stat.2383; Public Law 96-487.
29 Lake Clark National Park consists of 2.6 million acres, and Lake Clark National Preserve has 1.4 million acres.
30 NPS 2006:14.
31 Racine and Young 1978.
32 NPS 2006:14. Using physiographic characterizations, Spencer (2002) recently reclassified these regions, characterizing the lands transected by the Telaquana Trail into distinct ecological subsections, including the Telaquana Highlands, the Western Lakes Moraine and Till Plains, the Stony River Moraine Valley, and the Rounded Volcanic Hills.
33 Documented by S.R.Capps in 1928. Orth, p. 679. Similar to Necodayno or Nikadavna Creek. Necons River appears to be a corruption of a Dena'ina placename, with Anglicized pronunciation.
34 Ellanna 1986; Cusma in Ellana and Balluta 1992.
35 Ellanna and Balluta 1992: 150; Dan Young, NPS, pers comm. 2020.
36 NPS 2006:33-34. According to BIA 1975, Bennie Trefon reported to Dale Slaughter (archaeologist, ANCSA Office): "Traditionally the trail departed Kijik towards Kijik Mt and paralleled Miller Creek, joining the marked trail about 5 miles inland. At its northern terminus, the trail follows Trail Creek more closely than is shown on the map for about the last mile" (Bennie Trefon in BIA 1975:34).
37 Alex Trefon pers. comm. to J. Branson, 1992. Alex Trefon, born in 1912, was younger brother to Gabriel and Wassillie Trefon. LACL photo collections include an image of Gabriel Trefon's cache.
38 NPS 2006: 9.
39 NPS 2006:9.
40 D. Deur interview with John Branson, 2018.
41 L. Hill 2010:46.
42 D. Deur interview with John Branson, 2018.
43 John Branson interviews with Howard and Tish Bowman, in notes to files, USDI National Park Service, Lake Clark National Park & Preserve. Howard Bowman (1930-2003) was the son of Fred and Norma Bowman. His grandfather was at Portage Creek sometime in the late 1920s -early 1930s. Fred was at Portage Creek in March 1934.
44 NPS 2006, n.d.
45 BIA 1987.
46 NPS 2006.
47 NPS 2006: 27.
48 NPS 2006:24. The NPS has acknowledged that boundary definition has been challenging and could be reassessed to amend the one-mile corridor boundary. "Given the large number of UTM points associated with the Corridor boundary, a boundary description will not be narrated, but coordinates are included in the appendix. All UTM coordinates are in NAD 27 Zone 5, all lat./lon. coordinates are in decimal degrees." NPS 2006:11.
49 NPS 2006:24.
50 NPS n.d.: 35.
51 Behnke 1982; Morris 1986.
52 As elders speaking with Holen et al. observe, the conflict between humans and bears "can be especially tense when there is minimal escapement of salmon, or a poor berry crop, because brown bears and humans both are dependent on the same population of caribou and moose" (Holen et al. 2005:78). A Nondalton hunter summarizes his observations: [The] "harvesting of brown bear occurs at fish camps when brown bears get into smoke houses or they come too close to the village. As a hunter in Nondalton says, 'there are more bears,' and laughs, and 'They are too lazy to hunt, living off people's fish camps.' Another Nondalton hunter relates, 'you're more likely to run into a bear now days then 10-15 years ago. The population of bears came up quite a bit, the last 3-4 summers. They must have shot over 20 bears just in this area down at fish camp. We never used to have that problem before'" (Holen et al. 2005:79).
53 NPS 2006:10.
54 John Branson interview with D. Deur, 2017.
55 Deur et al. 2018.
56 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1:40.
57 Holen et al. 2005.
58 Kari 1988; Boraas 2004.
59 Kari 1988.
60 Korsakovskiy and VanStone 1988:6; Black 2004:113.
61 Ivanov's route is uncertain. He may have used Telaquan Trail, but it is likely he used a lower trail, for example, heading toward the

Chulitna River from the southwest corner of Lake Clark near a landmark now known as "Hammer Cache," or six miles further east and leaving the Lake Clark shoreline from Portage Bay and heading north over the Chulitna River. This is a preferred route because it has lower relief than the trail and allows travelers to bypass the perilous S.O.B Canyon in winter.
62 Townsend and Townsend 1961; Smith and Shields 1977. On the other hand, it has been established that the Juvenali journals—the basis for the story—were actually written by Ivan Petrov, raising serious questions about their authenticity. See Black 1981 and Oleska 1990.
63 Znamenski 2003.
64 Unrau 1994:92; Osgood 1904:25-26.
65 Schanz 1891.
66 "The Retreat," VI, Feb. 16, 1891, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 7, 1891; Osgood includes a 1902 map with the words "Kijik village with trail running north from the village portage to Trail Creek on Kuskokwim waters" (Plate 1 in *A Biological Reconnaissance Of The Base of the Alaska Peninsula* by Wilfred H. Osgood).
67 USDOI 1912.
68 USDOI 1912:38.
69 Branson 2003:46; Bureau of Census 1900.
70 Capps 1931.
71 NPS 2006:35.
72 Capps 1929:151.
73 Capps 1929:153.
74 NPS 2006:9.
75 Kahn 2017.
76 Ferreira 2005:2.
77 See Ellanna & Balluta 1992: 280.
78 Ellanna and Balluta 1992:131; Branson 2005.
79 L. Hill 2010: 47.
80 Holen et al. 2005:57.
81 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1:40.
82 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1:12-13.
83 Factors in the demise of the herd may include degraded range, over-hunting in the 1990s, and present-day under-reporting of harvest numbers. The herd is presently estimated at under 13,500 caribou total, down from a high of roughly 200,000 around 1999-2000. Documents from the 1800s showed Mulchatna caribou populations peaked in the 1860s then experienced a decrease. By 1880, the herd no longer traveled to the Yukon and Kuskokwim River drainages (Holen et al. 2005), and according to a report published by the BIA, fear of starvation forced people to locate to more promising hunting grounds as "herds declined at the turn of the twentieth century" according to BIA interviews with members of the Kankanton and Delkettie families (BIA #AA-11092: 29). In 1970, there was again a concern that the Mulchatna herd showed signs of decline. Photo censuses by wildlife biologists, however, showed an increase in herd size over the next 15 years (Holen et al. 2005: 26). According to a resident of Nondalton, "'in the past, maybe 40 years ago, caribou never came up past Nicovena [perhaps Nikabuna] Lakes, about 30 miles south-east of Nondalton'" (Holen et al. 2005:26). Holen et al. note that, "however, maybe as the herd has grown they have been seen up near Nondalton every few years." Continued documentation in the 20th century has seen a general increase in population of the Mulchatna caribou herd. In 1981, the herd was estimated at 18,599 animals (Holen et al. 2005). By 1985, the herd had increased to 37,000 head (Morris 1986). In 1996, the herd had grown to 192,818. In past decades, changes have been seen in the calving areas of the caribou herd. Traditionally the Mulchatna caribou herd arrived at calving grounds in the upper Mulchatna River and Bonanza Hills during the springtime. In 1994 this changed to the area between the Nushagak River and upper Tikchik lakes and again moved in the late 1990s to the King Salmon River and Klutuspak Creek drainages of the upper Nushagak River (Holen et al. 2005).
84 For example, one Nondalton hunter reports seeing a scarcity of caribou in the Chulitna River Basin in the Hoknede Mountain area: "There used to be lots of caribou, going up on the Chulitna or on the mountain (he points out the window to Hoknede Mountain which is right behind the village, just over the mountain is the Chulitna River valley), [you] used to see caribou all the time but over the past years it seems to have declined" (Holen et al. 2005:27-28). As Randy Kakaruk observed, "[P]eople notice…caribou aren't moving up where they used to be. …[The caribou have] decreased quite a bit. There's hardly anything around here anymore." Similarly, Charlotte Balluta noted in the early 2000s that "only a few people were harvesting caribou in Nondalton because they were scarce near the community" (in Holen et al. 2005:46).
85 Deur et al. 2018:126-127. As Alex Trefon stated, "We used to go back in Mulchatna country to get caribou. No caribou around here at all" (A. Trefon 2010b:201). Dena'ina hunters' knowledge of their traditional landscape and caribou's migratory patterns allow hunters to continue the traditional harvesting of caribou. Clyde, a Nondalton hunter relayed that "during one of his last caribou hunts, he had to travel about 100 mi one way before he managed to harvest an animal" (Fall 2010 et al:147). In 2004, eighteen caribou were taken by Nondalton residents. Most of them were harvested on a small stream near Upper Talarik Creek (Fall et al. 2006). Some hunters had to

travel beyond the northern limits of Lime Village to harvest caribou, according to a Nondalton resident who reported, "Last year [2003] they had to go all the way past Lime Village to get caribou; moose too. …Caribou used to come out on the beach, there's less moose and caribou" (in Fall et al. 2006:182).
86 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[2]12:12-13.
87 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1.
88 As Behnke wrote of the Lake Clark area during the time of park creation: "During the open water season, hunting methods revolve around the use of boats in conjunction with walking. During winter, when snow and ice conditions permit, snowmachines shape the pattern of hunting." According to Ellanna and Balluta: "Fall camp sites were usually located by a stream or small lake where alders and willows were abundant…along the edge of the wooded area where there was some shelter from predominating cold north winds or storm-bearing east winds." See Behnke 1982:58; Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:31-32.
89 Interview with Clarence Adam Delkettie, in Deur et al, 2018.
90 Melvin Trefon described how, in light of declining caribou populations, Lime Village and Nondalton hunters are now coordinating hunting strategies to ensure a successful harvest: "Lately we been having, it's like buddies saying 'okay, its hunting time, time to find a caribou, where are you guys finding them and we'll meet you up a Dutna Lake, half way.' Or Whitefish Lake [T'ih Vena], and so we'll take off with our snow machines, like I say from the village here and we'll run up through the Skegh in ten? (sp? and place) that pass and you go across Chulitna…The ultimate end during this season was to get into the high country in order to hunt caribou, moose, and black bear and snare ground squirrels. Boats were left at various sites along the shore of the lake including Nah Qelah (Miller Creek), Qałnigi Tunilen, K'chanlentnu (Lynx Creek), Long Lake, and other places." In Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:28.
91 Morris 1986.
92 Ellanna and Balluta 1992:147, 154, 162.
93 Holen et al. 2005:119.
94 Deur et al. 2018, Fall 2010 et al:70; Stickman [Evanoff] et al. 2003a and Holen 2009.
95 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:48.
96 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:46. The source also mentions Denyihtnu as a cabin site. Based on his personal notes, John Branson counters that the one trapping cabin in the area was built c. 1960 by EuroAmerica trappers from the Kenai Peninsula with little connection with the Dena'ina. He also notes that "Denyihtnu is the only canyon on the Mulchatna River, explaining that it begins about 10 miles west of Turquoise Lake and runs about 6-8 miles in length, depending on how it is measured. Downstream of Denyihtnu or 'canyon stream' the Mulchatna River runs through boreal forest" (John Branson notes to files, 2019). Branson continues: "There is a place on the north side of the Mulchatna in Denyihtnu named Hqaqeyghastq'ey or 'they made a bark roof,' (Ellanna 1986: 7-62). This suggests to me that the big Dena'ina winter house is located not far below the end of the canyon. Above Denyihtnu the landscape is mostly alpine tundra with increasing willow and dwarf birch shrubs. This is on state land and an important Dena'ina village, and important to the Telaquana Trail." Branson notes that Pete Koktelash had a trapping cabin in this area that may have been near the big house.
Andrew Balluta once explained to Branson how to understand the Mulchtana River from the Dena'ina point of view: "The main Mulchatna River was also known as the 'Big Mulchatna.' The Chilikadrotna River was called the 'Middle Fork' of the Mulchatna River. Further south you have the Little Mulchatna River. It is interesting that the Big Mulchatna and Middle Fork each wrap around the Bonanza Hills and join together about 30 miles west of the western most portion of the Bonanza Hills mixing the murky water of the Big Mulchatna with the crystal clear waters of the middle Fork (Chilikadrotna River)" (John Branson, notes to files, 2019).
97 A Nondalton trapper described how trappers from Newhalen, Iliamna, and Nondalton recognize and respect community boundaries when setting trap lines, saying, "What they do, like Newhalen, they hardly go in anybody else's trap line. …Iliamna, hardly go down this way, they respect the others. Like over here, that's Nondalton's trap line, all the way from Mulchatna up to Telaquana. Like here's Dutna Lake, they go far as there, all the way Telaquana" (in Fall et al. 2006:178). See also Fall 2010 et al.:32; Deur et al. 2018:109. Hunting and trapping areas can be inherited, largely along paternal lines. A man will construct the routes, along with fishing and camping sites, in areas previously used by his father and grandfather before him—"a system of usufruct rights relating men to their fathers, sons, and brothers through time" that extend to women who marry into those lines. For example, Butch Hobson (Steve Hobson Jr.) has been one of the most active trappers and hunters in Nondalton, focusing especially on areas his father used, such as Nikugh Vena, and trapping in the mountains in the vicinity of Nondalton. See Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:39, and LACL file transcript of an interview with Butch and Mary Hobson 1986.
98 Echoing this, Albert Wassallie described traveling extensively with his parents as a child, then continuing to visit these same areas as an adult: "I've been all over Tazimina. …Everywhere. I've been on Talarik Creek, Upper and Lower Talarik Creek, Koktuli and…hunting. Every place we'd go we used for hunting, trout. After I grew up, I went by myself" (AW 1985).
99 A resident from Nondalton spoke of the intersection between Telaquana Lake ancestry and enduring trapping activities in that area: "Well my dad's from Telaquana, that's a big lake there, that's where he was born, and we went up there in the summer time, wintertime. After we start school, we don't go up there anymore, him and mom used to go up there and trap" (in Fall et al. 2006: 181). Similarly, Annie Delkittie's parents and grandparents spent many winters at Ch'kendałket. Annie recalls that her "dad used to trap way up Telaquana and from there, every year, a different place. And from there, I remember he used to trap in Stony River" (AD 1986) at

Dunk'elashnu. From there they would go to Whitefish Lake where her father would continue to trap. Yet Telaquana Lake was a major trapping area in its own right: "Telaquana is a big lake itself and they used to trap all the way around the lake for fox and everything. Also, land otter in the little rivers, little creeks" (AD 1986). The Balluta family also often trapped in this area: "They go far as there, all the way to Telaquana" (Balluta 2010:41). Some sources suggest this ceased a few generations ago, as trapping became focused on the Chulitna River and nearby "According to some informants, trapping at Telaquana ceased in the mid-1930s" (Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:46). Tutna Lake was also the site of a formerly significant beaver camp, where people trapped and processed beaver in the winter.
100 BIA 1988:37.
101 Deur et al. 2018:130-31.
102 Brown and Burch 1992.
103 Clarence Delkettie interview with D.Deur, 2017.
104 Tobey 2003:6; Branson 1997; 14.
105 The first recorded fly-out big game hunt in Alaska was into Rainy Pass in 1927, with Russel Merrill flying in big game hunters. The guides entered the area with horses from near Tyonek. The first fly-in USGS survey was in 1928 to the Lake Chakachamna-Merrill Pass country with Russel Merrill and Matt Nieminen piloting from Anchorage.
106 Fay and Colt 2007:11.
107 Fay and Colt 2007.
108 Gaul 2007: 74.
109 In Holen et al. 2005:126.
110 Branson in Evanoff 2010: 51.
111 One popular blog refers to the trail as the "Holy Grail" of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve hiking experiences. In Wanderlust 2017.
112 Fay and Colt 2007.
113 NPS 2019.
114 Kahn 2017.
115 Howells 2009.
116 Deur et al. 2018.
117 Randy Kakaruk interview with D. Deur, 2017.
118 As elders relayed to Fagan, "The success of the chase depended on the intimate knowledge of the quarry's habits and also on superlative stalking expertise, which allowed the hunter to get within striking distance of the animal" (Fagan 2008:105).
119 Gladys Evanoff interview with D. Deur, 2017.
120 Clarence Delkettie, for example, observes: "Another thing is a key factor too in all that too is like you got to be physical. You got to bring your kids up and get them up early in the morning and put them to work and tell them not to be lazy. Make them run, make them work, they need to work really hard. If they couldn't work really hard and they want to be lazy you know what they did to kids a long time ago when they were young and they wanted to be lazy and they didn't want to listen. …They only kept the ones and they would teach them to you know learn to work and do things right and listen to their parents. The ones that didn't want to do that, I mean, they disciplined them. That's a big deal there too around disciplining them. If they want to do wrong, you got to hurry up and correct them while they're young. Because if you don't discipline them while they're young, you're not going to make any headway by the time they're a teenager…when they're real small like that, you got to discipline them the right way. As they grow up they learn that. You don't wait for them to be a teenager or older, that's way too old. By the time they're that age they wouldn't want to listen to you or whatever. The key factor is teaching them while they're young."
121 Karen Evanoff interview, in LACL files.
122 Gladys Evanoff to D. Deur 2017; see also Deur et al. 2018—a volume with a title derived from this quotation.
123 Randy Kakaruk interview with D. Deur 2017.
124 Kari 1986; Project Jukebox 1998.
125 Watson et al. 2011:1.
126 Gaul 2007:33-34.
127 Evanoff 2010.
128 Watson et al. 2011. See also Salmon 2000.
129 Evanoff 2010:155.
130 NPS 2006, n.d.
131 Evanoff 2010:156.
132 Nicholi Carltikoff, Sr., Olga Balluta and Okenia Delkettie in Evanoff 2010:15.
133 Balluta and Kari 2008:43.
134 Balluta and Kari 2008; see also Evanoff 2010:161.
135 Gaul 2007:29.

136 Evanoff 2010:31.
137 Evanoff 2010.
138 Michelle Ravenmoon in Evanoff 2010:27.
139 Kari 1986.
140 Project Jukebox 1998.
141 Bobby 2010b:67. See also Kari 2010:160.
142 Fall 2013.
143 Ellanna and Balluta (1981[1]); Deur et al 2018.
144 Ellanna and Balluta 1986:6-25.
1 45 In BIA 1987:9.
146 Annie Delkettie 1986.
147 Agnes Cusma in BIA 1987:10.
148 Branson 2014.
149 Balluta and Kari 2008.
150 Ellanna and Balluta 1986.
151 Branson 2014.
152 Ellanna and Balluta 1986.
153 Ben Trefon, quoted in Kari 1986.
154 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:46.
155 Melvin Trefon in Kari 1986.
156 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1].
157 In Fall et al. 2006:181.
158 In Ellanna and Balluta 1992:129.
159 Fall et al. 2006:179.
160 In Fall et al. 2006:178.
161 Fall 2010 et al., Deur et al. 2018.
162 Deur et al. 2018.
163 Deur et al. 2018.
164 Deur et al. 2018.
165 Fall et al. 2006:181.
166 Branson 2014.
167 In 2003 and 2004, the average length of stay for hunters was over eight days (generally twice the length of a general visitor); and an average hunting group was comprised of two or three people. Fay and Colt 2011.
168 Kari 1986 in Ellanna 1986.
169 Project Jukebox 1998.
170 Ferriera 2015:4.
171 Carltikoff 1986
172 Smith and Shields 1977.
173 Project Jukebox 1998.
174 Annie Delkettie 1986; Kari 1986.
175 Holen et al. 2005:119 suggest that in October, "'fall fish camps' (naqeli nuch'etdeh) on Turquoise Lake were bases for fishing, brown bear hunting, and sheep hunting. They cite Ellanna and Balluta (1992:147, 154, 162) on this point. Current NPS staff question the accuracy of this statement, suggesting that additional clarification is needed.
176 Ellanna and Balluta 1992:142.
177 Hill 2010:47.
178 Ellanna 1986.
179 Project Jukebox 1998; Kari 1986.
180 Project Jukebox 1998, Kari 1986.
181 Ferreira 2015:1-16.
182 Albert Wassillie 1986.
183 Alex Balluta 1986.
184 Andrew Balluta in Ellanna and Balluta 1992:178, 182.
185 Andrew Balluta in Carltikoff 1986.
186 Alex Balluta 1986.
187 Ellanna and Balluta 1986:6-32.
188 Ellanna 1986.

189 Project Jukebox 1998.
190 NPS 2006.
191 Project Jukebox 1998.
192 Kari 1986. Karen Evanoff notes in LACL files.
193 Smith and Shields 1977.
194 Smith and Shields 1977:8.
195 Karen Evanoff, notes in LACL files.
196 Smith and Shields 1977.
197 Bobby 2010c:179.
198 Smith and Shields 1977.
199 Branson in Evanoff 2010:51.
200 Pete Trefon in Brelsord 1975:125.
201 Project Jukebox 1998.
202 Ellanna 1986.
203 Interviewed and quoted by Karen Evanoff, notes in LACL files.
204 NPS 2006.
205 NPS 2006; Kari 1986.
206 Macy Hobson, in NPS 2006 23.
207 Ellanna 1986.
208 Zorea 1991:6.
209 NPS 2006.
210 NPS 2006.
211 Kari 1986; Project Jukebox 1998; NPS 2006.
212 Ellanna 1986.
213 Ellanna 1986.
214 Project Jukebox 1998.
215 NPS 2006.
216 Kari 1986.
217 Project Jukebox 1998; NPS 2006.
218 Brelsford 1975.
219 Project Jukebox 1998.
220 NPS n.d.
221 NPS 2006: 12.
222 Kari 1986; Project Jukebox 1998.
223 Brelsford 1975.
224 Andrew Balluta in Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]7:7.
225 Kari 1986:7-45.
226 Brelsford 1975.
227 Ellanna 1986.
228 Ellanna 1986:A-29.
229 Project Jukebox 1998.
230 NPS 2006.
231 Project Jukebox 1998; Kari 1986.
232 Albert Wassallie, Sr. in Kari 1986.
233 Agnes Cusma in Ellanna and Balluta 1992:131.
234 Andrew Balluta in Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]7:9.
235 Ellanna and Balluta 1986:6-28.
236 John Branson interview with D. Deur, 2017.
237 Branson 2014:51.
238 NPS 2006: 12.
239 Brelsford 1975.
240 Ellanna 1986.
241 In Ellanna 1986:A-29.
242 National Park Service 2006.
243 Kari 1986.
244 John Branson notes to files, 2019.

245 Zorea 1991.
246 Zorea 1991:28.
247 Brelsford 1975.
248 Zorea 1991.
249 Ellanna and Balluta 1989:1.
250 Melvin Trefon in Kari 1986:7:40.
251 John Branson notes to files, 2019.
252 Kari 1986.
253 Ellanna 1986.
254 Boraas and Peter 2008.
255 Boraas and Peter 2008:217.
256 This pattern has been noted in other locations within the Inland Dena'ina world away from Telaquana Trail, such as at the top of Groundhog Mountain near Nondalton (Randy Kakaruk in Deur et al. 2018).
257 Deur et al. 2018.
258 NPS 2006:25.
259 Ellanna and Balluta 1992:281.
260 Balluta and Kari 2008:70-73.
261 D. Deur notes re interviews with Nondalton residents, 2016-2019.
262 NPS 2006.
263 Hill 2004:3.
264 As told by Hammond to John Branson.
265 Brelsford 1975.
266 Ellanna 1986.
267 BIA 1987.
268 BIA 1987:8.
269 NPS 2006.
270 As noted by Boraas and Peter (2008:218), "There are four versions of a story associated with animals emerging from a mountain, one by Kalifornsky (1991:72–77), two by Alexie Evan (in Tenenbaum 1984:178–191 and in Rooth 1971:68–70), and one by Ruth Koktelash (Kari and Balluta 1986:A-63, English; A-86, Dena'ina), which describe the Dena'ina moving into the western portion of their present territory in the Stony River area due to starvation in their former homeland to the north."
271 Ruth Koktelash 1981 in Kari and Balluta 1986:A-63; see also Gaul 2007:29.
272 Project Jukebox 1998.
273 Kari 1986.
274 Karen Evanoff interview with D.Deur, 2017.
275 Kari 1985.
276 NPS 2006:2-3; Kari 1985.
277 BIA 1987.
278 BIA 1987:8.
279 Mary Hobson 1998, Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1.
280 Behnke 1982, Fall et al. 2006.
28 Annie Delkettie 1986.
282 Boraas and Peter 2008:218.
283 Ellanna 1986.
284 BIA 1987.
285 Project Jukebox 1998.
286 NPS n.d., 2006.
287 Project Jukebox 1998.
288 Kari 1986.
289 Trefon in Evanoff 2010.
290 Brelsford 1975.
291 NPS 2006.
292 NPS 2006:24.
293 Evanoff 2010: 20-21.
294 Brelsford 1975.
295 Ellanna 1986.
296 Project Jukebox 1998.

297 NPS n.d.
298 Kari 1986.
299 Zorea made this note during his 1991 field survey of the Telaquana Trail: "On the return to Port Alsworth we again photographed Priest Rock and Priest Rock Creek now referred to as 'Fish Pool Creek'...The rock has two different reasons for its name: 1) Its affiliation with Fr. Juvenaly; 2) it kind of looks like a priest in vestments. It would be conjecture as to which reason is more acceptable. However, Fr. Oleska of Juneau makes a very strong case for the first" (Zorea 1991:27).
300 Alex Trefon pers. comm. to J. Branson, 1992. LACL has in its collections a photo of Gabriel Trefon's cache. Alex Trefon, born in 1912, was younger brother to Gabriel and Wassillie Trefon.
301 Kari 1986.
302 NPS 2006.
303 Ellanna 1986:A-99.
304 Albert Wassallie, Sr., in Kari 1986:7-41.
305 Interview with Butch Hobson.
306 Interview with Rick Delkettie.
307 Ellanna 1986.
308 Kari 1986.
309 ADF&G 1980.
310 Ellanna 1986.
311 NPS 2006.
312 Kari 1986.
313 Ellanna 1986.
314 Kari 1985; Russell, West, Kari, and ANKN 2003.
315 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]6:46.
316 Bobby 2019b.
317 V. Bobby 2010: 89.
318 V. Bobby 2010.
319 See the account of Ruth Koktelash in Kari and Balluta (1986:A-63, English; A-86, Dena'ina).
320 NPS 2006.
321 BIA 1987.
322 BIA 1987:8.
323 Zorea 1991:23.
324 Ferreira 2015:3.
325 BIA 1987.
326 Zorea 1991.
327 Ferreira 2015:3.
328 Ferreira 2015:3.
329 Ellanna 1986.
330 Brelsford 1975.
331 Ellanna 1986:A-29.
332 Project Jukebox 1998.
333 NPS 2006.
334 Ferreira 2015.
335 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
336 Ferriera 2015: 1-16.
337 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
338 Jason Rogers, NPS, pers. comm. 2020.
339 Ferriera 2015:4.
340 Project Jukebox 1998.
341 Kari 1986; NPS 2006:14.
342 Brelsford 1975.
343 NPS 2006:14.
344 Hill 2004.
345 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1:13.
346 Fall 2013; Kari and Kari 1982.
347 Holen et al. 2005:109.
348 Brelsford 1975.

349 Ellanna 1986.
350 NPS 2006.
351 Ellanna 1986:A-29.
352 Kari 1986.
353 Ferriera 2015:4.
354 BIA 1987.
355 BIA 1987:8.
356 NPS 2006:24.
357 BIA 1987.
358 NPS n.d.
359 Kari 1986.
360 Brelsford 1975, Kari 1986, Ellana 1986.
36 Brelsford 1975.
362 Ellanna 1986.
363 NPS 2006.
364 Project Jukebox 1998.
365 Kari 1986.
366 Smith and Shields 1977:8.
367 Smith and Shields 1977.
368 Kari in Ellanna 1986; NPS n.d.
369 Project Jukebox 1998.
370 Project Jukebox 1998.
371 NPS 2006.
372 Brelsford 1975.
373 In Kari 1986.
374 Brelsford 1975.
375 Project Jukebox 1998.
376 Project Jukebox 1998, Kari 1986.
377 Ellanna 1986.
378 Project Jukebox 1998.
379 Evanoff 2010: 107-09.
380 Agnes Cusma to John Branson, pers. comm.
381 BIA 1987:8.
382 Zorea 1991:3.
383 Ellanna 1986.
384 Project Jukebox 1998.
385 Smith and Shields 1977:9 ff.
386 Ellanna and Balluta 1992.
387 Tennessen 2006.
388 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
389 Project Jukebox 1998.
390 Project Jukebox 1998.
391 Alex Trefon in Ellanna 1986:A-30.
392 See, e.g.,Albert Wassallie, Sr. in Kari 1986.
393 In Balluta 1986.
394 Annie Delkettie 1986.
395 NPS 2006.
396 Zorea 1991:9; Kari 1986
397 Ada Trefon 1992.
398 Capps 1929; JB.
399 Project Jukebox 1998.
400 John Branson notes to LACL files, 2019.
401 John Branson notes to LACL files, 2019.
402 Brelsford 1975.
403 Ellanna 1986.
404 Kari 1986.
405 Project Jukebox 1998.
406 NPS 2006.
407 Kari 1986.
408 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019.
409 Brelsford 1975; Ellanna 1986.
410 Kari 1986:7-40.
411 Ellanna 1986:A-29.
412 Brelsford 1975.
413 Ellanna 1986.
414 Brelsford 1975.
415 NPS 2006.
416 Brelsford 1975.
417 Kari 1986.
418 In Ellanna 1986:A-29 and A-30.
419 Brelsford 1975.
420 Brelsford 1975.
421 Project Jukebox 1998.
422 Kari 1986.
423 Ellanna 1986.
424 In Kari 1986:7-41.
425 NPS 2006.
426 Brelsford 1975.
427 NPS n.d.:22.
428 Project Jukebox 1998.
429 Kari 1986.
430 NPS 2006:22.
431 Kari 1986:7-41.
432 Zorea 1991:27.
433 Ellanna 1986.
434 Project Jukebox 1998.
435 Kari 1986.
436 Kari 1986:7-41.
437 Ellanna 1986.
438 Kari 1986.
439 In Kari 1986:7-42.
440 Ellanna 1986.
441 Project Jukebox 1998.
442 Kari 1986.
443 Twitchell in Ellana and Balluta 1992; Ferreira 2015.
444 Ferreira 2015:3.
445 Ellanna 1986.
446 NPS 2006.
447 Project Jukebox 1998.
448 Kari 1986.
449 Brelsford 1975.
450 Alex Trefon in Ellanna 1986:A-30.
451 Ellanna 1986.
452 Ellanna 1986:A-29.
453 Ferreira 2015:4.
454 Brelsford 1975.
455 Ellanna 1986.
456 Project Jukebox 1998.
457 NPS:2006.
458 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
459 Brelsford 1975.
460 Ellanna 1986.
461 Project Jukebox 1998.

462 Ellanna 1986:A-29.
463 NPS n.d.
464 NPS 2006.
465 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
466 Zorea 1991.
467 Project Jukebox 1998; Kari 1986.
468 Ellanna 1986.
469 NPS n.d.
470 NPS 2006.
471 Zorea 1991:2.
472 Deur, Evanoff, and Hebert 2018, 2020.
473 Deur, Evanoff, and Hebert 2018:75-77.
474 Zorea 1991:12-13.
475 Miller et al., 2017; Sherriff et al., 2017.
476 Branson suggests this can be done by obtaining copies of Capps' landscape shots from UAF Rasmussen Library taken in 1929 at the upper Chilikadrotna River below Lower Twin Lakes and the upper Mulchatna River below Turquoise Lake.
477 In Deur et al. 2018.
478 In Deur et al. 2018.
479 Smith and Shields 1977:85-86.
480 J. Branson interview, 2017.
481 Deur et al. 2018:71.
482 In Deur et al, 2018.
483 NPS 2006.
484 Ferreira 2015:3.
485 John Branson note to files, USDI National Park Service, Lake Clark National Park & Preserve.
486 NPS 2006.
487 Ferreira 2015:3.
488 Deur et al. 2018.
489 Deur, Evanoff, and Hebert 2020.
490 Hobson 2010:29.
491 Deur et al. 2018:64.
492 Gladys Evanoff, in Deur et al. 2018.
493 Gladys Evanoff in Deur et al 2018.
494 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1.
495 Kari 1995:28.
496 Deur et al. 2018:72.
497 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1.
498 Mary Hobson 1998.
499 For example, anthropologist Cornelius Osgood documented the use of alder and cottonwood in the construction of conical shelters and temporary shelters used when traveling and hunting: "The conical shelter built with a frame of alders was used by [almost] all the Tanaina ... [with] a birch bark covering or, on occasions, moss. ...Another variety of lean-to, common to all, was a somewhat longer shelter used at hunting camps. Cottonwoods with rotten centers were split and hollowed out and then laid on alternate faces, forming a sort of corrugation which was practically waterproof" (Osgood 1933:700).
500 Hannah Breece described a birch bark gathering trip with women from Nondalton during her stay at Fish Camp on the shore of Sixmile Lake in 1911: "One day the women invited me to go with them to get birch bark for baskets, a round-trip of ten miles. The grove was perhaps the loveliest place I have ever seen, before or since. The white trees stood wide apart, straight and far-reaching, each in its own space, not spindling but a foot or more in diameter. Short, light-green grass, in places almost hidden by the white blossoms of the moss berry, covering the ground. A lazy brook meandered through the gently sloping grove, reflecting the ferns overhanging its banks and the delicate foliage of branches arching above. ...The women, laughing and happy, wore beaded leather shields at their waists. Drawing sharp knives, they skillfully stripped off as much birch bark as they could carry. ...The next week, among them, they made me seven baskets from my share: handsome, waterproof and durable." (In Jacobs 1995:150-51).
501 In Deur et al. 2018.
502 Hobson 2010: 30; Fall et al. 2006:175-176; Deur et al. 2018.
503 Zorea 1991.
504 NPS 2006:74.
505 Deur et al. 2018:72-75.

506 Macy Hobson in BIA 1987:9.
507 Deur et al. 2018:68-71.
508 Deur et al. 2020.
509 NPS 2006:74.
510 NPS 2006:10.
511 NPS 2006:12.
512 Zorea 1991.
513 Project Jukebox 1998; Kari 1986.
514 Kari 1986.
515 NPS 2006.
516 NPS 2006:24.
517 NPS 2006:89-90.
518 BIA 1987.
519 BIA 1987:8.
520 Ellanna 1986.
521 BIA 1987.
522 Project Jukebox 1998.
523 NPS 2006.
524 Zorea 1991:14-15.
525 NPS 2006.
526 Zorea 1991:3.
527 Zorea 1991:12.
528 Interview with Clarence Delkettie
529 NPS 2006.
530 Kari 1986.
531 Zorea (1991: 13) wrote, [Trail Butte] appears to be what the BIA report refers to as 'Look-out Mountain.' Since it is clearly a butte, and not a mountain of any significant size, Trail Butte is a more appropriate and fitting label (Located just 2 ½ miles south of the Chilicandratna river, and exactly west of the native trail; identified as a small 200 foot oval shaped rise on the 15 minute quad map)."
532 Ellanna 1986.
533 Kari 1986.
534 Project Jukebox 1998.
535 NPS 2006.
536 Branson 2005:10.
537 NPS 2006:24.
538 Zorea 1991:14.
539 Tennessen 2006.
540 NPS 2006:89.
541 Project Jukebox 1998.
542 Zorea 1991:7.
543 NPS 2006.
544 NPS 2006:89.
545 BIA 1987:8.
546 NPS 2006:89.
547 NPS n.d.
548 At BIA-ANCSA AA-11101 and AA-1108.
549 Interview with John Branson.
550 BIA 1987.
551 NPS 2006.
552 NPS 2006.
553 Zorea 1991
554 Kari 1986.
555 AW, in Kari 1986.
556 Ellanna 1986.
557 BIA 1987.
558 NPS 2006:12.
559 NPS 2006:12.

560 BIA 1987:7-8.
561 Shields 1983.
562 See, e.g., Branson 1997:40-44.
563 VanStone and Townsend 1970.
564 Smith and Shields 1977.
565 NPS 2006:2.
566 Tennessen 2006.
567 Smith and Shields 1977.
568 Rogers 2019.
569 Birkedal 1992.
570 A written agreement has been reached with the property owners of the historic Kijik Village (XLC-001) when the Kijik Archaeological District NHL nomination was developed to allow for the inclusion of historic resources on the property to be included in the District. A similar agreement may be developed as part of this formal nomination for the Telaquana Trail Corridor (NPS n.d.).
571 Ellanna 1986, pg. 7-41. See also pages 18-19 in VanStone and Townsend's *Kijik: An Historic Tanaina Indian Settlement:* "The Tanaina [Nondalton informants in 1966] believe that this site [XLC-092] was the earlier location of the Kijik settlement and was inhabited before people moved down to the shore of Lake Clark. The pond on which this village was located was said to have a creek flowing out of it which joined a small stream that in turn emptied into Lake Clark about 5 km. northeat of Kijik. Informants further noted that this settlement was called Kamuk, meaning fish pond village, and there was a trail leading to it from *Kijik*" (VanStone and Townsend, Kijik, pg.18). Personal fieldnotes in the possession of John Branson, indicate that the 12 House Site or Kamuk is just off a small fish pond from which the north fork of Priest Rock Creek flows that is called Kenquq' Tazdlenitnu or 'stream that flows on a swamp.' This stream in turn flows into Priest Rock Creek close to Lake Clark. Priest Rock Creek flows into Lake Clark about 5km northeast of historic Kijik village.
572 Smith and Shields 1977.
573 Evanoff 2010: 112.
574 Smith and Shields 1977.
575 A helpful overview of Dena'ina precontact history and archaeological heritage can be found in an unpublished manuscript by the Alan Boraas (2004).
576 NPS 2006:4.
577 Smith and Shields 1977:98.
578 Tennessen 2006.
579 Rogers n.d.
580 Smith and Shields 1977:77.
581 Tennessen 2006: 59.
582 Dates follow Tennessen 2006. Some sources place the date rage for this period at ca. 6000 BP to 3000 BP.
583 Wilson and Slobodina 2007; Ackerman 2004.
584 Huckell 1996.
585 Esdale 2008:16.
586 Tennessen 2006:62.
587 Dumond 1981.
588 Henn 1978.
589 Smith and Shields 1977.
590 Clark 1974; Irving 1957.
591 Tennessen 2006; Rogers 2019.
592 Tennessen 2006.
593 Smith and Shields 1977.
594 Tennessen 2006.
595 Rogers 2019.
596 Tennessen 2006.
597 Tennessen 2006.
598 Smith and Shields 1977.
599 Tennessen 2006:68.
600 Tennessen 2006.
601 Some sources place the date rage for this period at ca. 7500 to 4000 or 3700 BP.
602 Tennessen 2006: 61.
603 Tennessen 2006: 70.
604 Dumond 1981, 1994a, 1994b, G. Clark 1977, Erlandson et al. 1992, Fitzhugh 1996, Henn 1978, Knecht 1995 in Tennessen 2006.

605 G. Clark 1977:47.
606 Knecht 1995: 720, Table 10:1.
607 Ackerman 1985:89.
608 Henn 1978:12.
609 Dumond 1981:162, 172.
610 E.g. Ackerman 2001a 2001b, Dumond 1981, 1984a, 1994b, Harritt 1988, Henn 1978, Maxwell 1985 in Tennessen 2006.
611 Knecht 1995.
612 Tennessen 2006:70.
613 Clark 2001:169.
614 Dixon 1985:59-61.
615 Tennessen 2006:71.
616 Clark 2001: 169; Dixon 1985.
617 Tennessen 2006: 71.
618 Osgood 1937.
619 Boraas and Klein 1922:201; Wood-Workman and Workman 1988.
620 Boraas and Peter 2008.
621 Boraas and Peter 2008.
622 National Parks Conservation Association 2009: 48.
623 Boraas and Peter 2008:214.
624 Boraas and Peter 2008:220-221.
625 Boraas and Peter 2008:211.
626 Boraas and Peter 2008.
627 VanStone and Townsend 1970.
628 Kent et al. 1964.
629 Yesner and Holmes 2000.
630 Smith and Shields 1977:99.
631 Hoagland 1982.
632 NPS 2006:2.
633 Tennessen 2006.
634 Smith and Shields 1977.
635 Tennessen 2006.
636 Smith and Shields 1977:76.
637 Tennessen 2006.
638 Smith and Shields 1977.
639 Tennessen 2006.
640 Tennessen 2006.
641 Tennessen 2006: 165.
642 Smith and Shields 1977.
643 Tennessen 2006: 256.
644 Smith and Shields 1977.
645 Tennessen 2006.
646 Smith and Shields 1977: 77.
647 Tennessen 2006.
648 Smith and Shields 1977.
649 Smith and Shields 1977.
650 Tennessen 2006: 275.
651 Tennessen 2006:59.
652 Smith and Shields 1977.
653 Tennessen 2006.
654 Tennessen 2006: 251-252.
655 Tennessen 2006.
656 Tennessen 2006.
657 Tennessen 2006.
658 Smith and Shields 1977.
659 Tennessen 2006.
660 Tennessen 2006.

661 Tennessen 2006: 178.
662 Tennessen 2006: 271.
663 Tennessen 2006: 253.
664 Tennessen 2006: 261.
665 Tennessen 2006.
666 Tennessen 2006.
667 Project Jukebox 1998.
668 Kari 1986.
669 Alex Trefon, quoted in Smith and Shields 1977.
670 Brelsford 1975.
671 Ellanna 1986.
672 Brelsford 1975:121.
673 Ellanna 1986.
674 Ellanna 1986:A-31.
675 Breslford 1975.
676 Pete Koktelash in Brelsford 1975:121.
677 Ellanna 1986.
678 Ellanna and Balluta 1981[1].
679 Deur et al. 2018.
680 Cusma in Ellana and Balluta 1992.
681 "VB" in Kari 1986.
682 Pete Trefon in Ellanna 1986:A-31.
683 Alex Trefon in Ellanna 1986:A-31. The rate of deterioration of buildings, associated structures, and other evidence of settlement and land use are clear at this site. Alec Trefon remembers both a house and a trapping cabin standing at *Dilah Vena Q'estsiq'* during his lifetime. Further information provided by both Alex and Pete Trefon and Pete Koketelash would suggest the fish camp and Telaquana Village was well-used by the Dena'ina people; and the path between Dilah *Vena Q'estsiq'* and *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* was well-worn by multiple travelers each year. As time progresses, Brelsford (1975) notes that there are two deteriorated structures at the site. Smith and Shields (1977) were able to identify only one structure, something they determine to be 'tent remnants.' Later investigations by the NPS in 2006 indicate only one depression is observed.
684 Deur et al. 2018.
685 Smith and Shields 1977.
686 Tennessen 2006.
687 Brelsford 1975:121.
688 Smith and Shields 1977:78.
689 Ellanna and Balluta 1992:65. Here Ellanna and Balluta cite BIA records relating to BIA #AA-11092, including BLM 1988.
690 Cusma in Ellana and Balluta 1992, NPS 2006.
691 NPS 2006:86.
692 Tennessen 2006.
693 Kari 1986.
694 BIA 1988; Ellanna and Balluta 1992.
695 Kari 1986.
696 NPS 2006.
697 Bobby 2010b:67. See also Kari 2010:160.
698 Ellanna 1986:A-29.
699 Fall 2013.
700 BIA 1988.
701 BIA 1988:41.
702 BIA 1988.
703 NPS 2006, BIA 1988.
704 BIA 1988:35.
705 Trifon Vasiliev Broder (Trefon Vasiliev Balluta) and his wife Maria (Mary Ann Kit Trefon) were reported by Father Nikifor Amkan, the priest from the Kuskokwim Mission on January 7, 1907 at the Dena'ina Stony River village of Qeghnilen. Father Amkan said the Trefon Balluta family were living at the village of Vonzai, which likely was located near the northwestern corner of Telaquana Lake. Vonzai could be site XLC-107 and might also be the place Dena'ina call Ventsi or "his head," a hill on the north side of Telaquana or Ventsi Vena, or "his head lake." The priest baptized Agafia Trefon, which would comport with her approximate birth year of 1908. A few days later Father Amkan said there were 46 communicants attending his church service. Later the villages established a brotherhood

and collected dues. The members of the brotherhood then elected a treasurer unanimously, Trefon Balluta. He was characterized as an "honest Kenaitze" (Dena'ina) who was respected by all the people of the village. The brotherhood had 26 members, both men and women, and one of their goals was the education of their children. This would seem to harmonize with Trefon Balluta's apparent willingness to see his children receive formal education from newcomers, including schoolteacher, Hannah Breece at the Old Iliamna school in 1909-1910 and from prospectors Doc Dutton and Joe Kackley at Tanalian Point beginning around 1911. See Znamenski 2003: 310-311; Karen Evanoff 2010, 112.
Billy Trefon's father Wassillie Trefon was born in 1898 at Telaquana; Alexan, an older sister was born in 1902 at Kijik; Agafia, born c. 1908, was reported by her brother Alex Trefon to have been born on Lake Clark; and Katie was born in 1919 at Tanalian Point. Two other children apparently died at an early age. Thus, Trefon Trefon's birth may be estimated at around 1851 and his father's birth c. 1830. Alexan Evan, Annie Delkettie's mother, was born at Chqul-chishtnu; and the Trefon and Mary Ann Trefon (nee Kitulkilgih 1876?-1959) family were counted in the 1900 Census at Kijik. Trefon Balluta moved to Tanalian Point about 1908-1910. In addition, Trefon Balluta had his son Gabriel in the area's first school at Old Iliamna; and Trefon Balluta Trefon, his wife Mary Ann, and son Gabriel are shown in the photograph of Kijik taken at the church c. 1905.
Ellanna and Balluta 1992: 278 record for this period that "Trefon, Mary Ann, and all their other children made a trip to Old Iliamna a year before they decided to send Gabriel to school. Gabriel was six or seven, c.1905-1910, when he actually went to Old Iliamna to attend school. He lived with his mother's mother, Agafia.... Gabriel stayed there 11 months and went to school during about 9 months of that time. After that year, c.1908-1911, Trefon and Mary Ann didn't want him to stay in Old Iliamna any longer.... So Trefon asked Doc Dutton and Joe Kackley, two Gasht'ana [white] prospectors living at Tanalian Pt., to teach Gabriel...[to] read, write, and do arithmetic."
706 BIA 1988.
707 BIA 1988:37.
708 AD 1986.
709 BIA 1988:7.
710 BIA 1988:7.
711 Branson 2014. Branson remarked that regarding "Petroff's mysterious Mulchtana Villages," between about 2000-2008, his hiking parties found between 14 and 16 different Mulchatna River villages.
712 BIA 1988.
713 In Kari 1986:7-18.
714 Branson 2014:34.
715 BIA 1988.
716 SH in Kari 1986:7-18.
717 BIA 1988:37.
718 Hoagland 1982:10.
719 BIA 1988:42.
720 BIA 1988.
721 BIA 1987.
722 Project Jukebox 1998.
723 Brelsford 1975.
724 BIA 1987 and 1988.
725 BIA 1988. In 1991, Zorea, a LACL employee recorded observations regarding his survey of the Telaquana Trail. While searching for the *Ch'qulch'ishtnu* site, he questioned whether the reference to "Old Village" in the 1987 and 1988 BIA reports is a term that refers to Telaquana Fish Camp or *Chqul-Chishtnu*. Zorea came to believe that 'Old Village' is a different site altogether, making a total of four individual sites in the area: Telaquana Fish Camp, Old Village, Prospector's Cabin, and *Chqul-Chishnu*. Zorea indicated that the reason that the fourth has not yet been found is because no one has actively surveyed for it (Zorea 1991: 23). However, Zorea left LACL before he was able to locate *Ch'qulch'ishtnu*. On an airplane ride over the site he made this observation: "The pilot flew over the [T]rail creek area and circled a few times. From the air we were able to see the clearing where *Chqul-Chishtnu* was located. We must have hiked right past it. We were looking a little too far inland—*Chqul-Chishtnu* appears to be right on the trail Creek" (Zorea 1991:24).
726 BIA 1988: 18-19.
727 BIA 1988.
728 BIA 1988.
729 BIA 1988.
730 BIA 1988:9.
731 Ferreira 2015:2-3.
732 J. Branson n.d., notes in LACL files.
733 Tennessen 2006.
734 Ellanna 1986.
735 NPS 2006.

736 Tennessen 2006.
737 Smith and Shields 1977.
738 Tennessen 2006.
739 Smith and Shields 1977:79.
740 Smith and Shields 1977.
741 Tennessen 2006.
742 Smith and Shields 1977.
743 Smith and Shields 1977.
744 Tennessen 2006.
745 Smith and Shields 1977.
746 Tennessen 2006.
747 Tenneseen 2006: 10.
748 Tenneseen 2006.
749 Tennessen 2006: 191.
750Tennessen 2006: 194.
751 Tennessen 2006: 191.
752 NPS 2006.
753 Tennessen 2006.
754 NPS 2006:86.
755 Rogers 2020.
756 Zorea 1991:14.
757 Smith and Shields 1977.
758 Tennessen 2006.
759 Tennessen 2006: 141.
760 Tennessen 2006.
761 Smith and Shields 1977.
762 Tennessen 2006: 267.
763 Tennessen 2006.
764 Tennessen 2006: 275.
765 Tennessen 2006: 258.
766 Tennessen 2006.
767 Tennessen 2006.
768 Tennessen 2006.
769 Tennessen 2006.
770 Tennessen 2006.
771 Tennessen 2006.
772 Tennessen 2006.
773 Tennessen 2006.
774 Smith and Shields 1977.
775 Smith and Shields 1977.
776 Tennessen 2006.
777 Tennessen 2006:77.
778 Smith and Shields 1977.
779 Tennessen 2006.
780 Tennessen 2006.
781 Smith and Shields 1977.
782 Tennessen 2006.
783 Tennessen 2006.
784 Tennessen 2006.
785 Tennessen 2006.
786 Tennessen 2006.
787 Tennessen 2006:85.
788 Tennessen 2006.
789 Tennessen 2006.
790 Tennessen 2006.
791 Smith and Shields 1977.

792 Tennessen 2006.
793 Smith and Shields 1977.
794 Tennessen 2006.
795 Tennessen 2006.
796 Smith and Shields 1977.
797 Tennessen 2006.
798 Tennessen 2006.
799 Smith and Shields 1977.
800 Clark 1974; Irving 1957.
801 Campbell 1962.
802 Derry 1976: 550.
803 Tennessen 2006.
804 Smith and Shields 1977.
805 Tennessen 2006:265.
806 Smith and Shields 1977.
807 Smith and Shields 1977.
808 Tennessen 2006.
809 Tennessen 2006.
810 Tennessen 2006:100.
811 Smith and Shields 1977.
812 Tennessen 2006.
813 Tennessen 2006: 102.
814 Tennessen 2006.
815 Tennessen 2006:103.
816 Tennessen 2006.
817 Tennessen 2006:105.
818 Tennessen 2006.
819 Tennessen 2006:263.
820 Dumond 1981: 205, Plate VII.
821 Tennessen 2006: 267-268.
822 Tennessen 2006:108.
823 Tennessen 2006.
824 Tennessen 2006.
825 Tennessen 2006:112.
826 Tennessen 2006:268.
827 Tennessen 2006.
828 Tennessen 2006: 114.
829 Tennessen 2006: 114.
830 Tennessen 2006: 116.
831 Tennessen 2006.
832 Tennessen 2006: 118.
833 Tennessen 2006.
834 Tennessen 2006:120.
835 Tennessen 2006.
836 Tennessen 2006:255.
837 Tennessen 2006.
838 Tennessen 2006.
839 Tennessen 2006:126.
840 Tennessen 2006:266.
841 Tennessen 2006.
842 Tennessen 2006:128.
843 Tennessen 2006.
844 Tennessen 2006:130.
845 Tennessen 2006:130.
846 Tennessen 2006.
847 Tennessen 2006:132.

848 Tennessen 2006: 277.
849 Tennessen 2006: 277.
850 Tennessen 2006: 278.
851 Tennessen 2006: 275.
852 Tennessen 2006.
853 Tennessen 2006: 134.
854 Tennessen 2006.
855 Tennessen 2006:137.
856 Rogers 2019.
857 Rogers 2019.
858 Dumond 1981.
859 Rogers 2019.
860 Rogers 2019.
861 Tennessen 2006.
862 Tennessen 2006: 89.
863 Kari 1986.
864 NPS 2006:3. This information is attributed in part to a 1992 interview with Ted Birkedal.
865 Ellanna 1986.
866 Kari 1986.
867 See pages 7-41, 7-42, and 7-43 in Ellanna, *Sociocultural Study*, Phase 1, for various relevant Dena'ina place names and commentaries. Also, VanStone and Townsend, *Kijik*, p.18.
868 John Branson's notes mention other sites in this area, though further information is scarce in the available written record. To quote Branson's notes on the area, "Schanz took a census at the main historic Kijik village on the lake shore and later counted another group of Dena'ina who lived maybe '9 miles' north of historic Kijik village, back in the woods. In reality, the other small Kijik area village was only a few miles away, not 9 miles away. But Schanz did not visit or locate the site on his map. We have speculated it might have been the North Kijik Site (XLC-083) that was recently excavated by Dave McMahan and Randy Tedder, where the second group of Dena'ina people he counted came from. It is at most 1-2 miles north of historic Kijik. The Fish Pond (XLC-084) Site is about one mile south west of XLC-092, also known as the 12-House Site, or more accurately as the K'emeq site (Kamuk), which is on three old terraces at the base of Kijik Mountain" (John Branson, notes to files, 2019).
869 Project Jukebox 1998.
870 Kari 1986.
871 Brelsford 1975.
872 BIA 1987:7.
873 BIA 1987.
874 Brelsford 1975.
875 Kari 1986.
876 Project Jukebox 1998.
877 NPS 2006.
878 Documentation of the Telaquana Trail for Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NPS n.d.: 16) lists the following entries for the historic Kijik Village: "Nikhkak: Shanz's variation for Historic Kijik Village" and "Kilchikh: Shanz's probably variation for the village at Kijik Fish Pond Site," with the following narrative included:
"Alfred B. Schanz in 1983 recounting his winter dog sled expedition from the Nushagak Bay area (present day Dillingham) area to Kijik Village on Lake Clark in 1891 (Shanz 1894). Schanz referred to historic Kijik village as Nikhkak (48) another village Shanz mentions as being 'a few miles from the lake' or 'the upper village' he called Kilchikh (49). This account squares with oral history accounts by present Nondalton elders as to the origins of historic Kijik Village. ...According to A.J. Lynch, Shanz's Kilchikh was probably three miles north of Nikhkak around what is now known as the Kijik Fish Pond Site (XLC-084) (Lynch 1982)." In the Cultural Landscape Inventory, all of these sites are grouped within XLC-001.
879 NPS 2006:86.
880 National Parks Conservation Association 2009:49.
881 Schanz 1891: 280.
882 Branson 2014.
883 Martin and Katz 1912:21.
884 Tobey 2003:7.
885 Hoagland 1982.
886 Hoagland 1982.
887 Gorman 1902b.

888 Tobey 2003:109-117.
889 Tobey 2003:9.
890 Hoagland 1982.
891 Branson 1998:49 in Tobey 2003:4.
892 Tobey 2003:7.
893 Deur et al. 2018:75-77.
894 Hoagland 1982; Tobey 2003.
895 Hoagland 1982.
896 In 1978, Melody Webb had initiated a survey of architectural resources within the Lake Clark Park and Preserve, but the report remained unfinished and unpublished. Field notes from this earlier documentation effort were provided for review and integration into Hoagland's 1982 survey.
897 Hoagland 1982:39-40.
898 Hoagland 1982:22.
899 Tobey 2003.
900 Smith and Shields 1977.
901 Cabin files n.d., Ford 1984:42, Tobey 2003: 102-05. Frank Bell did, however, have some direct interactions with Dena'ina residents of the region; he was also a close friend with Steve Hobson, Sr. of Nondalton and the two mentrapped and hunted together.
902 Tobey 2003.
903 Wernberg 1992 in Tobey 2003.
904 John Branson, notes to files, 2019. Branson references Tobey 2003:109-117, who bases his information in part on interviews with the Wernberg family conducted in 1992.
905 Tobey 2003.
906 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
907 Tobey 2003:109-110.
908 Tobey 2003: 52-62.
909 Brelsford 1975.
910 Tobey 2003:54; see also Branson 1998:49.
911 MacLean and Rossiter 1994:116.
912 Stevens 1990:446.
913 In the same year, Russell Merrill transported Elmer Valentine, Fred Nelson's winter trapping and prospecting partner, to Two Lakes. It is noted that Nelson was not at the camp when the plane arrived and that he was most likely at George Shaben's camp eight miles away. See Stevens 1990.
914 Fairbanks Daily News Miner 1930.
915 Tobey 2003.
916 Tobey 2003: 46.
917 Anchorage Daily Times 1930; Branson 1998: 46.
918 Branson 1998. According to John Branson's notes, "We know the Shaben cabin was built at the same location as Dr. Tony Oney's cabin now stands. We do not know where or if Valentine or Nelson built their cabin on Two Lakes. They might have just used a wall tent with a Yukon Stove in it. I have not heard of the NPS documenting another old Two Lakes cabin like we did for Shaben's, which was burned down ca. 1960-1966] by the man who built Dr. Tony Oney's cabin" (John Branson, notes to files, 2019). LACL Photo H-1067 was taken of pilot Matt Nieminen on his floatplane in front of the George Shaben cabin in 1930.
919 *Anchorage Daily News* 1930 cited in Branson 1998:46.
920 Tobey 2003:55.
921 Tobey 2003. Meanwhile, Shaben's Two Lakes cabin was burned to the ground in 1966, concurrent with the construction of another cabin nearby.
922 Branson 1997:97.
923 John Branson interview with D. Deur, 2017.
924 Ellanna and Balluta 1986:6-26.
925 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
926 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
927 Brelsford 1975.
928 According to data provided by the BIA (1987) supporting the definition of Telaquana Trail as a historic place, a cabin exists along the trail identified as "Anton Balluta's cabin." Within the BIA document is a description of the Telaquana Trail running northeast along the right bank of College Creek before diverging into two paths, one of which runs northeast several miles in order to accommodate dog teams or pedestrians. The path rejoins the trail as it descends into the Chilikadrotna basin, two miles north from the right bank of the Chilikadrotna River. "Soon, another campsite is reached, this one in a timber patch just east of 'Lookout Mountain.' The trail then

continues along the USGS route across the Chilikadrotna River and up the opposite terrace to Anton Balluta's old cabin, which was investigated by the National Park Service (NPS) in 1981." At the time of documentation, the structure was estimated to be forty to sixty years old. Unfortunately, neither BIA archaeologists nor local elders were able to relocate the camp when they returned in 1985; this appears to be a likely reference to Andrew Balluta's *Ka' Ka'a* cabin, which was being used by his son, Anton Balluta during the period investigated by the BIA.
929 In Ellanna 1986.
930 In Ellanna 1986.
931 Tobey 2003.
932 NPS 2006.
933 NPS 2006.
934 Tobey 2003:85-86.
935 NPS 2006.
936 Tobey 2003.
937 Evanoff 2010: 107-09; NPS 2016.
938 Hornberger 1986.
939 Chester Whitehead letter to Sara Honberger, c. 1985; in LACL history files at Port Alsworth, AK.
940 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019.
941 Tobey 2003: 44-51.
942 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019.
943 NPS 2006.
944 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019.
945 Unrau 1994:292.
946 Hobson 1992; Hornberger 1986.
947 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019. While the cabin's construction was attributed to Walker, Macy Hobson, a longtime Nondalton resident and Dena'ina elder, claimed Frank Brown had actually built the cabin in 1910 (Branson 2014).
948 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019. While the cabin's construction was attributed to Walker, Macy Hobson, a longtime Nondalton resident and Dena'ina elder, claimed Frank Brown had actually built the cabin in 1910 (Branson 2014). It is entirely possible both Brown and Walker built the cabin.
949 Branson 2014.
950 Orth 1971.
951 NPS 2006:22-23.
952 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019.
953 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019.
954 Tobey 2003:118.
955 In Ellanna 1986.
956 Tobey 2003:117-122; NPS n.d.
957 NPS 2006.
958 Ellanna 1986.
959 Proenneke 1999; see also Branson 2005.
960 Alex Trefon in Ellanna 1986.
961 Brelsford 1975.
962 NPS 2006:86.
963 Jay Hammond's home when he ran for governor in 1974 was Naknek, on the Bristol Bay coast where the Hammonds had lived since at least the mid-1950s. The Hammonds considered their Lake Clark homestead as their vacation home and future retirement home. As soon as Gov. Hammond left office in Dec. 1982, he and his wife Bella moved to their homestead at the mouth of Miller Creek in Jan. 1983. At this time, co-author John Branson lived on the Hammond Homestead and hauled their freight from Port Alsworth to Miller Creek by snow machine and sled. Their permanent home was Naknek. While Hammond served in the state legislature and state senate, they rented an apartment in Juneau during the session. When he became governor in December 1974 they moved into the Governor's House in Juneau and lived there for the next 8 years. After they left office in December 1982, they moved to their Lake Clark homestead and he lived there until his death there in August 2005. Afterward, Bella lived on the homestead by herself until her health required her to relocate in September 2018.
964 Hammond 1991.
965 Branson 2014.
966 Zorea 1991:26-27.
967 See Davis 1992.
968 Branson 2014:51.
969 Branson 2014:51.
970 Breece in Jacobs 1995:156.

971 Breece in Jacobs 1995:156.
972 Branson 2014:51.
973 Branson 2014.
974 Andrew Balluta in Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]7:7.
975 Branson 2014.
976 Branson 2014:223.
977 Branson 2014:230.
978 During the fall and winter of 1964-1965, Jay and Bella Hammond, with their daughters Heidi and Dana, briefly occupied the homestead before returning to Juneau to fulfill Hammond's political office requirements. In the 1970s, Monroe Robinson and John Branson made improvements and additions to the site. In the 1980s, brothers Art and Chris Mannix from Talkeetna made their own additions. After Jay Hammond retired from the governor's office in 1982, Jay and Bella Hammond returned to their homestead at Miller Creek; and until recently, Bella oversaw the homestead.
979 NPS 2006:28.
980 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
981 Brelsford 1975.
982 Zorea 1991.
983Brelsford 1975:122.
984 Zorea 1991:24. The following is a note included with Zorea's observations regarding the crosses found at Nan Qelah: "Though the tradition of A.J. Lynch, Ann Worthington, James VanStone, and Joan Townsend have been to identify these crosses as grave markers, they may not necessarily be so. Fr. Seraphim, a priest who was ordained in Nondalton, told of 'Hero's March.' Essentially, when a hero or leader of the community died on route, the people of the community would place Russian orthodox crosses along the trail, or just along any specific route. The crosses were not grave markers, but rather more like monuments. Fr. Seraphim suggests that the shape of the crosses might be different from the grave markers, but he did not say in what way. He also said, that the natives made a habit of nailing Russian Kopeck on trees—to repay their debts to something. A further interview of Fr. Seraphim would be most useful—as well as an interview with his contacts" (Zorea 1991:26).
985 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
986 Trefon 1992.
987 John Branson, notes to file, 2019.
988 Brelsford 1975.
989 Brelsford 1975.
990 "The spelling of his last name should probably be 'Carleson,' as this is how he signed hunting licenses; but popular usage now puts it as 'Carlson.' Though he used Brown—more common to Americans, his first name was Brinold or Brindle. His last name derives from his father's first name, which was Carl" (Hoagland 1982).
991 Hoagland 1982; Tobey 2003.
992 Hoagland 1982.
993 Hoagland 1982.
994 Dutton and Kackley 1927. It should be noted that while Kackley, Dutton, and Carlson were probably the only permanent non-Native residents on Lake Clark, Jack Hobson was living at Old Nondalton at this time (John Branson, notes to files, 2020).
995 John Branson, notes to LACL files, 2019.
996 Zorea 1991:28.
997 Smith and Shields 1977:69
998 Smith and Shields 1977:69
999 Hoagland 1982.
1000 Hoagland 1982.
1001 Written accounts of this period are informative. For example, Hugh Rodman wrote an account of his visit to Kijik the summer of 1898. See Rodman n.d.
1002 Letter in LACL history files at Port Alsworth, AK office.
1003 Gorman 1902: 24. Trail Creek flows into Telaquana River, so Gorman or the prospectors appear to have been confused about the location. Still, the passage speaks to the frustrations of unsuccessful prospectors in the region at the turn of the century. Macy Hobson told John Branson there was placer gold in Trail Creek and that his father Jack Hobson had prospected there but found insufficient gold to warrant continued effort.
1004 Martin and Katz 1910:193-200.
1005 John Branson, notes to LACL files 2019.
1006 Branson 1999a.
1007 U.S. Department of Interior 1917: 137; John Branson, notes to LACL files 2019.
1008 Ellanna and Balluta 1989[1]1:142.

1009 Behnke 1978.
1010 As one NPS document summarizes the situation, "No known physical evidence of prospecting exists within the Corridor, however significant artifact scatter and mining sites have been located nearby in the Bonanza Hills and in Portage Creek near Lake Clark, and Smith in 1917 reports the discovery of a quartz vein somewhere on the upper Kijik River" (U.S. Department of Interior 1917: 137, cited in NPS 2006:27). Beyond this, there are other landforms, especially tailings piles such as those located on the Kijik River, south side, just below the outlet on Lachbuna Lake.
1011 Hoagland 1982:7.
1012 Hoagland 1982.
1013 Hoagland 1982; Unrau 1994; Tobey 2003.
1014 NPS n.d., 2006.
1015 O'Leary, McMahan, Branson & Rogers 2020.
1016 Ellanna 1986.
1017 Martin and Katz 1910: 193-200.
1018 John Branson, note to files, USDI National Park Service, Lake Clark National Park and Preserve.
1019 Hazel Nudlash Barlip, interview with John Branson, August 5, 1998.
1020 Kari 1986.
1021 Fall et al. 2006:180.
1022 Branson 1999a.
1023 In Balluta and Kari 2008:8.
1024 Smith 1917:38,136-137; Bundtzen 1990; Jasper 1961.
1025 John Branson, LACL files.
1026 Ellanna 1986:7-62.
1027 Branson 1999a:15-16.
1028 O'Leary, McMahan, Branson & Rogers 2020.
1029 Branson 1999a:15-16; Hornberger 1986:23; Jasper 1961.
1030 NPS 2006. Hoagland (1982) makes a note that although she was not able to see them, Howard Bowman possesses photographs of the Bowman Gold Mine in the 1930s.
1031 NPS Chief Archaeologist 2007:1.
1032 NPS Chief Archaeologist 2007:2.
1033 Tennessen 2006: 3.
1034 Tennessen 2006: ii.
1035 Tennessen (2006:140) notes that, "because no materials were found in 2004, the site condition assessment has been designated 'not relocated—unknown' according to ASMIS guidelines."
1036 The site appears to be stable and its present archeological values not at risk. However, because no cultural materials were recovered, XLC-046 is listed as 'not relocated—unknown' according to ASMIS guidelines. No evidence of disturbances was noted (Tennessen 2006:77).
1037 Evans et al. 2001: 54.
1038 NPS 1990.
1039 NPS 1990.
1040 NPS 2016, n.d. On determinations of eligibility, see 36 CFR 16.
1041 Rogers 2019

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Sketch Map of Lake Clark and Vicinity

Walking Dena'ina, on the Telaquana Trail

The Telaquana Trail is a historic pathway of the Athabascan-speaking inland Dena'ina people, running some 50 miles through what is today Lake Clark National Park & Preserve. Travelers along this ancient route moved freely between the headwaters of three of Alaska's richest river drainages: the Kuskokwim, the Nushagak, and the Kvichak. The trail served as a thoroughfare linking Lake Clark's Dena'ina villages such as Qizhjeh (Kijik), with the villages of the Mulchatna River Dena'ina, and the villages and ancestral homelands of the Telaquana Lake-Stony River region. Dena'ina traveled the Telaquana Trail by foot and dogsled for social gatherings, ceremonies, and trade. The Trail also provided Dena'ina travelers with access to places of singular importance for caribou hunting, salmon fishing, and other resource harvests. Villages, sacred places, and traditional hunting and fishing sites lined the route. Since the late 19th century new, non-Native travelers also followed this trail – explorers, big game hunters, trappers, miners, and more. Today, the trail serves as a backcountry recreational route, passing through a sprawling, remote corner of this premier national park. Dena'ina travelers still visit the trail too, sustaining connections with the ancestral landscapes of their homeland.

Each moment in the history of the Telaquana Trail left clear traces on the landscape, many still discernible to modern hikers. Archaeological sites, former cabin sites, cairns and culturally modified trees remain, the handiwork of past residents and travelers. Culturally significant peaks, vistas, waterways, and other landmarks also endure – each with its own story and meaning in Dena'ina tradition. This cultural landscape report identifies these many places of enduring significance and illuminates how they fit into the larger story of the Telaquana Trail.


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