Dena‘inaq’ Huch‘ulyeshi
The Dena‘ina Way of Living
This illustrated timeline highlights events that have been important in the history of the Dena’ina.

12000 BP - AD 1000: Before the Underwater People

1778 - 1790S: European Exploration

1779 - 1867: Russian America

1867: Sale of Alaska
1867 - 1884: Department of Alaska

1884 - 1912: District of Alaska

1912 - 1959: Territory of Alaska

1959: Statehood
1959 - PRESENT: State of Alaska

1971 - PRESENT: Land Claims

1975 - PRESENT: Cultural Renewal
As glaciers begin to recede from the upper Cook Inlet Basin, it becomes possible for human beings to live in the area for the first time. Little is known of the first inhabitants except that they used core and blade technology to hunt large land mammals.

Matanuska Glacier. Photo copyright Mark Clime/Dreamstime.com
The Dena’ina reach Cook Inlet in two migrations. They first come through either Rainy Pass or Ptarmigan Pass into the Susitna River country, where they occupy the coastal area around Tyonek as well as Knik. Later, the Dena’ina migrate south to Iliamna Lake, eventually crossing over to the Kenai Peninsula.
BEFORE WE MET THE “UNDERWATER PEOPLE”

12000 BP

AD 1000

YOU ARE HERE

The Dena’ina develop cold storage pits. This method enables preservation of large supplies of salmon and supports semi-sedentary villages. During the same period, social and political organization becomes more complex among the Dena’ina.

Cold storage pit. Illustration courtesy of Alan Boraas
Cook’s is the first European expedition to meet the Dena’ina, engaging in trade near North Foreland and Point Possession. The ten-word vocabulary collected by William Anderson, the surgeon for the Cook party, is the first written record of Dena’ina or any Alaska Athabascan language. Crew members also collect a number of Dena’ina artifacts.

Courtesy of the National Archives of the United Kingdom, PRO ADM55/113.
The Lebedev-Lastochkin Company builds forts at Kasilof (Fort St. George) and Kenai (Fort St. Nicholas), as well as smaller posts at Tyonek and Old Iliamna. The Dena’ina become directly involved in the fur trade but are subjected to violence and intimidation at the hands of the Russian traders.

The Russian double eagle was the imperial crest of Russia. Image courtesy of the Alaska State Museum, ASM-III-R-150
Over the summer and fall of 1797, the Dena’ina, experiencing escalating violence and abuse from Russian traders, responded. Dena’ina warriors destroyed trading posts at Tyonek and Old Iliamna, and then mounted a critically damaging assault on the main post, Redoubt St. Nicholas, in Kenai. Many trading company employees who escaped the attack returned to Russia. Only a few traders and missionaries remained scattered in Dena’ina territory, and the Russian America Company remained in control in name only. The Dena’ina were largely independent until the sale of Alaska to the US in 1867.

Illustration by William Simeone
By 1838, a smallpox epidemic that had first appeared in Sitka in 1836, reaches Dena’ina country, claiming at least half the Dena’ina population. Attempts by shamans, the traditional Dena’ina healers, to combat the disease fail, opening the Dena’ina to the missionizing efforts of Russian Orthodoxy.
From the first Russian Orthodox mission in the Dena’ina homeland at Kenai, founded by Hegumen Nikolai in 1845, priests, assisted by Alaska Native guides, song leaders, and lay readers, journey to most Dena’ina villages over a one or two-year cycle. Gradually, most Dena’ina become adherents of Orthodox Christianity.

The Chapel of Saint Nicholas was built on the site of the first Kenai Church and covers the grave of Abbot Nikolai, the first missionary in the Kenai area, early 20th century. Anchorage Museum, 1974.004.008
1800 – 1895. DENA’INA ACT AS MIDDLE MEN IN THE FUR TRADE

Using well established trade routes and trading partnerships, Dena’ina leaders (qeshqa) bring European goods such as tobacco, tea, matches, beads, and cloth to more inland Athabascan communities, exchanging them for furs, which they trade for a profit at Cook Inlet posts. As Shem Pete explained in reference to the renowned Alexander Creek chief Diqelas Tukda, “Yets’ qeshqa hghila” (from this, he became a rich man).

Three Dena’ina men with one holding a rifle obtained in trade, Kasilof River, 1890. Photo courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Wetherbee collection 1959-866-31
A Treaty of Cession between the Emperor of Russia, Alexander II, and the United States is signed. In the agreement, the US agrees to purchase Russia’s claim to Alaska for $7.2 million. For the next 15 years, very little changes for the Dena’ina since few Americans enter their homeland.

Treasury Draft No. 9759 in the amount of $7.2 million, for the purchase of Alaska. Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, Record Group 217, National Archives.

The Alaska Commercial Company establishes trading stations along Cook Inlet, including Tyonek and Knik. This company was formed out of the remains of the Russian America Company by a group of American and foreign investors. During this time fur prices remain high, and the Dena’ina prosper.

Susitna Station Dena’ina standing outside Alaska Commercial Company store, late 19th century. Photo courtesy of Alaska Dept. of Fish and Game, Alexandra Allowan Collection
Salmon canneries are established at Kasilof in 1882 and in Bristol Bay in 1883. Soon, unregulated commercial fishing, including the operation of large fish traps that block entire rivers, depletes salmon runs. The Dena’ina call the canneries “big eaters” because of the industrial scale of their consumption and waste. Dena’ina communities struggle for access to their most important source of food; severe hardship and food shortages follow.

Fishtrap near Kasilof 1890. Photo courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Wetherbee collection 1959-866-19
With the arrival of canneries and gold seekers, a permanent Euro-American population is established in Cook Inlet for the first time. Little law and order exists, and the Dena’ina begin to experience abuses by rogue traders, miners, and cannery bosses. With the help of the priest in Kenai, the Kenaitze petition the US government for assistance. However, no formal action is taken.

Ts’inst’a gga Tukda’, a Dena’ina shaman from Susitna Station, predicts that the village will cease to exist due to diseases brought by Euro-Americans. He warns his people that they will face many rapid technological changes, and that one day money will be worthless. He says people must have basics like guns, files, matches, and axes in order to live off the land once again. During the 20th century, elders from other Dena’ina communities tell similar prophecies.

From Susitnu Htsukdu’a: The Susitna Story, Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks, 1975.
Following the discovery of gold at Resurrection Creek on Turnagain Arm in 1888, thousands of prospectors, mostly men of Euro-American origin, stampeded into the Dena’ina homeland, accompanied by military expeditions that explore and map the country. A permanent, non-native population becomes established at commercial centers such as Knik and Kenai, adding pressure on the fish and wildlife resources upon which the Dena’ina depend for subsistence.

Left: Dena’ina men served as guides to sport hunters for many decades. Gabriel Trefon of Nondlaton is seen retrieving two Dall sheep for sport hunter Colonel A.J. Macnab in Gladiator Basin east of Kontrashibuna Lake (Qenłghishi Vena). Photo courtesy of National Park Service, H-760

Right: Reproduction of 1899 miner’s map of Cook Inlet, Louise Potter, Old Times on the Upper Cook Inlet
The US Bureau of Education establishes a school at Susitna Station. This school is the first American school established outside of Kenai for the education of the Dena’ina. With the school also come the strict English-only policies of the day, which prove challenging for many children. Shem Pete, who attended the school shortly after it opened, said, “And I went to school. I’d never heard no white man English talk. I learned about three years. ABC’s. All by myself.”

School children at Susitna Station, winter 1915. Anchorage Museum, 2012.031.27
1912-1959

Territory of Alaska

1912 1915 1959

1915. ANCHORAGE IS FOUNDED

Land near the mouth of Ship Creek, the site of Dena’ina fish camps and hunting grounds, is chosen as the base for the construction of the Alaska Railroad. And in 1915, the federal government sells the first lots for the new town of Anchorage. To support resource development and settlement, railroad construction from Anchorage north to Fairbanks cuts through the traditional territory of the Upper Inlet Dena’ina. The Dena’ina soon become a minority population within the Cook Inlet Basin.

But no Anchorage that time. No buildings. And that first street, it was right on top of the hill there. They’re trying to make a street there... And, oh, lots of tents. And they burn and cut the trees. It’s full of smoke.

– Shem Pete

Tent City, which later became Anchorage, 1915. USGS, Steven Capps Collection, csr00698

Dena’ina Elder Shem Pete witnessed the first settlers to arrive at tent city. Photo courtesy of Alaska Dept. of Fish and Game, Alexandra Allowan Collection
Territory of Alaska 1912-1959

In the early 20th century, epidemics continue to take a huge toll on Dena’ina lives. A measles outbreak in the winter of 1901-1902 kills 300 Inland Dena’ina at Kijik on Lake Clark, and perhaps half or more of the population of Cook Inlet and Lake Clark Dena’ina villages perish during the 1918 influenza pandemic. Many tradition bearers, key providers, and children are lost, undermining traditional social and political institutions.

Many Dena’ina worked in the salmon and clamming canneries in Cook Inlet. These cannery tokens come from the Snug Harbor clamming cannery on the west side of Cook Inlet. Peter Kalifornsky, who traveled with his uncle during the 1920s to the cannery, recalls that the Dena’ina were paid one token for each wooden gas can box of clams.

Łuq’a diqelashi dingi, cannery token (view of both sides), Kenai Visitor and Cultural Center 1997.002.002. Photograph courtesy of Kenai Visitor and Cultural Center. Photograph by Chris Arend.
The Eklutna Vocational School is built by the Department of Interior’s Bureau of Education to house and educate children orphaned by the 1918 influenza epidemic. The school builds and maintains a fish camp to provide training in subsistence fishing and to help provide food for the children. Most classes are vocational training courses. By 1930, 110 students are enrolled. In 1945, the school buildings are condemned, and it is permanently closed.

Eklutna Vocational School, mid-1930s. Anchorage Museum, 1980.026.1.20
As the Dena’ina population declines in the 1920s, communities decide to consolidate for mutual support and access to stores, schools, and churches. Long-established villages such as Susitna Station, Kustatan, Kijik, and Qeghnilen are abandoned, leaving most Dena’ina living in Eklutna, Kenai, Tyonek, Pedro Bay, Nondalton, and Lime Village, as well as the growing city of Anchorage.

Qizjeh (Kijik) was abandoned shortly after this photo was taken in 1902. Photo courtesy of National Park Service, H-177.
During the early 1930s, aviation becomes an important link to the outside world for the Inland Dena’ina. The airplane allows people to travel great distances through rugged terrain and completely changes the way they move across the landscape. Today, it is the only means of transport for the Inland Dena’ina. Fuel, groceries, medical supplies and mail all come by air.

Dena’ina people with beaver pelts standing in front of airplane at Seversen’s Roadhouse, Iliamna, 1930. Alaska Aviation Heritage Museum Collection
The Wheeler Howard Act, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act, is signed into law by President Roosevelt. It recognizes the right of self-determination for Native Americans and permits tribes to establish formal governments with limited powers. In 1939, the Native Village of Tyonek ratifies its constitution and by-laws under the Indian Reorganization Act.
By the early 20th century, most Dena’ina have adopted Russian Orthodoxy as “the Native church,” but they do not do so passively. An “indigenous Orthodoxy,” blending Christian and Dena’ina beliefs and practices, develops. Shamans continue as community leaders and perform traditional curing ceremonies. To accommodate Russian Orthodoxy’s objections to the traditional cremation of the dead, Dena’ina funeral practices shift to burial below a “spirit house,” which the soul could inhabit before departure to the spirit world.

Nick Bobby and Seraphim Alexie starring during Russian Christmas, Lime Village, 1943. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service, NPS 70H
At the outset of American involvement in World War II, the Cook Inlet area experiences a growing military presence, including construction and enhancement of highways linking Anchorage with the Lower 48 and construction of Elmendorf Air Force Base. Non-Native population growth accelerates as many newcomers decide to remain in Southcentral Alaska. The population of Anchorage, about 4,000 before the war, explodes to more than 43,000.

Military men at the docks in Whittier, early 1940s. Anchorage Museum B1979.3.782
Bill Ezi, a Dena’ina from Niteh, files what becomes known as the Palmer Land Claim. The claim was an early attempt by the Dena’ina to force to the United States government to deal with unresolved Native land claims. No formal action was taken on this claim, and it was extinguished with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971.

Further economic development and population growth takes place in the Dena’ina homeland with the discovery and development of oil and gas reserves under Cook Inlet and the Kenai Peninsula in the 1950s. Consequences for the Cook Inlet Dena’ina include the destruction of fish and wildlife habitat and increasing competition for depleted fish and wildlife populations.

Pan American Petroleum Corporation oil rig near Tyonek.
Anchorage Museum, B1983.091.S4560.10
June 30, 1958, Alaska achieves statehood and is admitted into the union in 1959. Dena’ina land claims remain unresolved.

The Native Village of Eklutna organizes in 1961 after a US Public Land Order is issued reducing the size of the village’s Indian Reserve from 7,000 acres to 1,819. Later, the Village files a lawsuit in US District Court seeking compensation for gravel that was taken from Reserve land. With the passage of ANCSA, this suit is extinguished. In 1962, a group of Dena’ina from Kenai under the leadership of Rika Murphy organize to form the Kenaitze Indian Tribe. In 1967, the Kenaitze file a protest with the Bureau of Land Management for the 4,540,000 acres of land withdrawn on the Kenai Peninsula. No action on this is taken before the passage of ANCSA.
In 1964, after several years of litigation, Tyonek wins the right to receive directly $12.9 million from the sale of oil and gas leases on lands within the Tyonek Reserve. The funds will no longer be administered by the BIA. The village invests the money in new homes, community infrastructure, and Anchorage real estate.

Meeting of the Native village of Tyonek with BIA representatives, mid-1960s. Photo courtesy of Alaska Dept. of Fish and Game, Native Village of Tyonek Collection
The Native Village of Tyonek’s “rags to riches” story was covered extensively for a period of time in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Esso Oil advertisement, National Geographic magazine, 1970. Courtesy of Aaron Leggett
With financial support from the Native Village of Tyonek, the Alaska Federation of Natives holds its first convention. Emil Notti, the first president of AFN, stated: “Albert Kaloa stepped up with the resources of the village behind him. First, they donated the space. Tyonek owned the building downtown called the Audio Cam building where we held the AFN meeting. The village of Tyonek chartered DC-3s, paid for hotels, paid people’s way into Anchorage, paid for meals. Without their help, AFN would not have gotten off to the great start that it did. We came out of nowhere and with the support of the Tyonek people; we hit the headlines of Anchorage. They gave us the boost we needed to start AFN.”

Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel meeting with AFN leaders about land claims. Photo courtesy of Alaska State Library, P01-4686

Congress passes the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). When regional Native corporations are formed, the Dena’ina communities of Knik, Eklutna, Kenai, and Tyonek become a part of Cook Inlet Region, Inc. The Dena’ina communities of Nondalton and Pedro Bay become a part of Bristol Bay Native Corporation, and Lime Village becomes a part of Calista Corporation. As a result, Dena’ina shareholders are not a majority in any one regional corporation.

*Tundra Times*, December 17, 1971. Photo courtesy of Cook Inlet Region, Inc.

Map by Gary Holton, Alaska Native Language Center, copyright 2009.
This pocket icon belonged to Eklutna Alex who for the first half of the twentieth century was the main caretaker of the Saint Nicholas Church at Eklutna. The back of this pocket icon was reinforced with birch back to strengthen it. A devout Russian Orthodox, Eklutna Alex also served as the shaman for the village. The blending of the old and new was continued through the 20th century.

*Unlas*, pocket icon (view of both sides), Eklutna, c. 1900. L 5.1 cm, W 4.5 cm. Embossed brass, birch bark. Photograph reprinted with permission of Cook Inlet Tribal Council, Inc. 4770. Photograph by Chris Arend.
The original Saint Nicholas church at Eklutna is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Dena’ina had moved the Saint Nicholas church from Knik to Eklutna in 1897, and today it is the oldest standing structure in the Municipality of Anchorage. During the first half of the 20th century, the church’s caretaker was Eklutna Alex.

Saint Nicholas Church, Eklutna, 1917, Anchorage Museum, 1995.025.118
The Mouse Story by Peter Kalifornsky was the first book published by the Alaska Native Language Center in Dena’ina using the then recently developed orthography for Dena’ina.

Alaska Native Language Center, May 1974. Courtesy of James A. Fall
Applying the provisions of the state’s 1978 subsistence law, Tyonek’s successful lawsuit overturns an Alaska Board of Fisheries decision denying village residents access to early runs of king salmon. These runs had been closed to subsistence fishing since 1964 due to commercial overharvests. With their subsistence set nets back in Cook Inlet waters, Tyonek’s residents now harvest and process thousands of pounds of this essential, nutritious food during Łiq’aka’a N’u, “king salmon month” (June).

The old methods of putting fish away are best known by the old women of Tyonek. Since subsistence harvest of king salmon is illegal, many of the younger women did not benefit from watching and learning these skills from the elders. By opening up subsistence fishing of king salmon, these arts can be done in the open and the younger generation will benefit from observations and attempts.

– From Tyonek Village Council letter to the Alaska Board of Fisheries, December 1979
Established by the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), the Lake Clark National Park and Preserve includes much of the traditional homeland of the Inland Dena’ina. One purpose of the park is to provide continuing opportunities for subsistence fishing, hunting, trapping, and gathering. Working with Dena’ina communities, the National Park Service sponsors cultural and educational programs as well as historical and anthropological research, resulting in a series of important publications.

Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. Website: http://www.nps.gov/lacl
In 1988, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals rules in favor of the Kenaitze Indian Tribe in their challenge to the State of Alaska’s definition of “rural” based on economic characteristics rather than population. The State of Alaska then appeals the Ninth Circuit Court’s decision in the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ultimately declines to review the case, and the ruling stands. In 1989, the State and the Tribe work out a compromise that leads to the creation of the Educational Tribal fishery for the Kenaitze.

Due to growing human populations and allocation battles with commercial and sport fishing interests, most of the Kenaitze Dena’ina’s traditional subsistence salmon fishing sites were closed in the 1950s to the late 1980s. After a favorable decision in federal court, in 1989 the Kenaitze reached a compromise with the State, whereby the Tribe could operate a single set gillnet in an educational fishery. Although met at first with opposition from sport fishing guides and their clients, the educational fishery continues to provide tribal members with an opportunity to work together to harvest and process salmon in accordance with traditional methods.

Shem Pete’s Alaska is published in 1987; a second edition follows in 2003. In 1991, Peter Kalifornsky’s A Den’a’in Legacy: K’tl’egh’i Sukdu is published, winning the American Book Award in 1992. These two books by esteemed Den’a’in historians are invaluable resources on Den’a’in language, culture, and place names.

The BIA’s director Ada Deer issues a list that, for the first time, acknowledges 226 Alaska Native Tribes, including ten within traditional Dena’ina territory: Knik, Eklutna, Tyonek, Kenaitze, Ninilchik, Salamatoff, Seldovia, Pedro Bay, Nondalton, and Lime Village. This action recognizes the government-to-government relationship between the sovereign tribes and the United States.

Groundbreaking takes place for Nat’uh, “Our Special Place,” the Cook Inlet Tribal Council’s new building in Anchorage. Nat’uh is the first public building in Anchorage with a Dena’ina name. It features Dena’ina photographs, quotes, and artifacts throughout.

The Anchorage Assembly approves naming the new Civic and Convention Center after the Dena’ina. Many testify before the Assembly about the importance of honoring the Dena’ina, the indigenous people of this area. The Dena’ina Civic and Convention Center opens in 2008.

Photo courtesy of Dena’ina Civic and Convention Center. Photo by Ken Graham