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TYPES OF THE UPPER TANANA INDIANS.

University of Alaska, M.A., 1972
Anthropology

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THE CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND HOUSING
TYPES OF THE UPPER TANANA INDIANS

A
THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the
University of Alaska in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

Roger Steven Pitts, B.A.
College, Alaska
May, 1972

THE CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND HOUSING
TYPES OF THE UPPER TANANA INDIANS

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this thesis is to trace historically the changes that have occurred in Upper Tanana settlement and community patterns from pre-contact times to the present. While establishing the historical aspect of the thesis, the author has tried to additionally correlate the relationship between the settlement outline and community pattern which are controlled by two different aspects of culture: (1) the settlement outline by ecological or subsistence needs and (2) the community pattern by social organization.

In order to accomplish this purpose, the topic was approached from both an historical and anthropological angle. Anthropological analysis is employed to demonstrate the effects of changes in the subsistence pattern on both the outline and arrangement of the Upper Tanana post-contact settlements; and secondly, how this in turn modified band or group identity which in turn modified band social structure, and with it the community pattern.

It appears fairly certain that the changes which started in the post-contact period and accelerated with the building of the Alaska Highway, spell the eventual disintegration of what remains of the Upper Tanana settlements and culture.

PREFACE

The material for this thesis resulted from a study consisting of four months in the field, from May 1970 to September 1970, and six months library research. During actual fieldwork, the author visited the villages of Tanacross, Northway and Dot Lake, which currently comprise the majority of the native Upper Tanana settlements. Additional trips were also made to the Upper Copper Drainage: namely the villages of Mentasta, Batzulnetas, Suslota Lake, Suslota Creek, and Dixthada near Lake Mansfield.

The author traveled to each community by mobile camper except for the abandoned village sites of Suslota Lake, Suslota Creek, Batzulnetas, Kath Theel, Dixthada and Mansfield, which were reached by backpack trips on foot. The author and Ramon Vitt, a co-worker spent considerable time in gaining acceptance into these villages, but in the end, we found all of our local informants eager to provide accurate ethnographic data.

My sincerest appreciation goes to the effort of Dr. William Loyens, department head of Anthropology of the University of Alaska, and Dr. Michael Krauss, of the University of Alaska Linguistics Department, whose encouragement was of considerable help to this author in the writing of this thesis. Dr. William Hohenthal, San Francisco State Anthropology Department, has been of inestimable value to the author in outlining the scope of his research. A

warm tribute must also be paid to Dr. Robert McKennan, Department of Anthropology, Dartmouth, whose pioneer work in the Upper Tanana stimulated the author's own research; also a deep debt is owed to Dr. Edward Baggen of Fairbanks, who kindly let me use his late wife's field-notes on the Middle Tanana, to Marie Guedon and Dr. Fredericka de Laguna who furnished valuable material concerning the author's own area of study, and to Robert Banghart whose illustrations added considerable depth to this thesis. Most of all the author wishes to express his own feeling of gratitude to the villagers of the Upper Tanana and Upper Copper, for without the help of these people, his own efforts would have amounted to very little. The following list of informants served as the author's principal sources of information:

Joe Joseph--Born in 1885 near George Creek of that band, this informant spent some time at Salchaket before moving to Mansfield around 1908. He is fairly conversant in English and is very familiar with pre-contact Upper Tanana Society.

David Paul--Born in 1887 at Mansfield village and a member of the Thikaxiyu matri-clan. He spent his early childhood following the nomadic patterns of the Mansfield band. He was subsequently ordained a deacon of the Episcopal church in which capacity he has served until this year. This informant is very knowledgeable in the English language as well as the Athapaskan tongue.

Oscar Isaac--Born in 1916 at Tanacross, this individual is one of the chief Tanacross Council members. He is fairly informed about the old ways and has an excellent command of English.

Charley James--Born in 1889 in the Copper River area he spent most of his life at Mansfield and Tanacross. The man is very knowledgeable in the pre-contact culture of the Upper Tanana and has a good understanding of the English language.

Julius Paul--Born at Tanacross in 1913 and a member of the Thikaxiyu clan, he is very familiar with the structure of the Mansfield band and speaks English fluently.

Gather Paul--Born in 1936 in the village of Tanacross and a member of the Nitcelyu clan, he often served as my interpreter with older informants. He possesses a fine command of English and a good knowledge of the Athapaskan language.

Kitty John--Birthdate not known to the author, but location was in the Sanford Mountains. This woman has served as one of my two informants in the Upper Copper village of Mentasta. She has an unusual knowledge of the fine art of construction of the pre-contact house types and a good command of English.

Walter Northway--Born in 1885 at Lower Nabesna village and a member of the Niisu clan. One of the most prominent men of the Upper Tanana along with David Paul of Tanacross. He also served as one of my better informants and speaks English and Athapaskan fluently.

Frank Sam--Born in 1895 at Lower Nabesna village and a member of the Naltsiina clan and moiety. This informant is familiar with every aspect of the pre-contact Upper Tanana culture. He was one of my prime informants at the village of Northway-Nabesna. He has a good command of both the English and Athapaskan languages.

Jack John Justin Jr.--Born at Chisana village in 1901, this informant was the last man fully trained as a shaman by his father Nabesna John and is very knowledgeable concerning the pre-contact culture. He speaks both Athapaskan and English fluently.

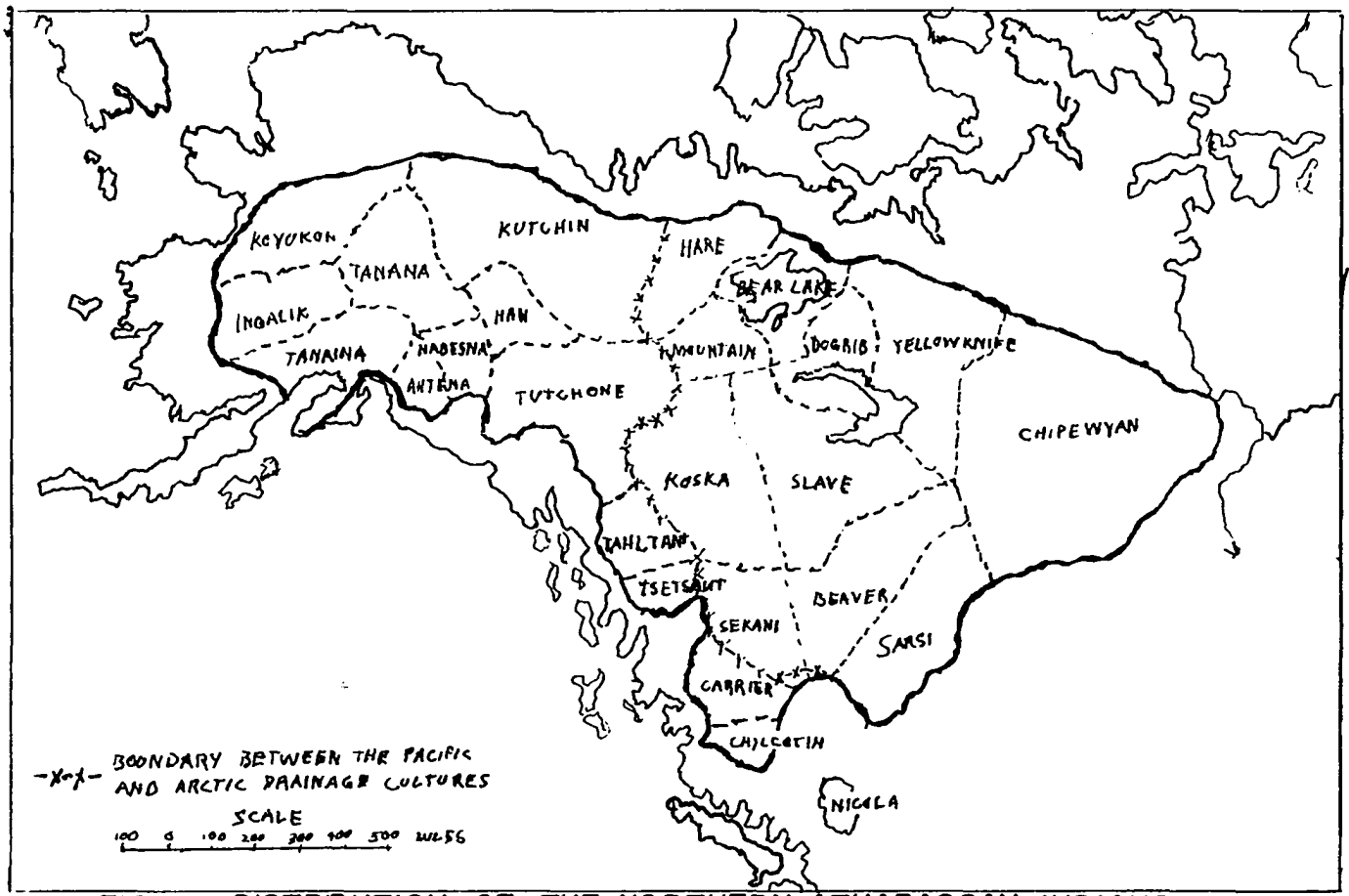


FIG. 1 DISTRIBUTION OF THE NORTHERN ATHABASCAN INDIANS
McKENNAN'S TANANA GROUP IS SHOWN HERE AS NABESNA

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with a study of the changing settlement compositions and housing types of the Upper Tanana bands. By the very nature of the subject, the author has been forced, not only to attempt to reconstruct those patterns as they changed, but to consider the effect of subsistence and social organization changes on these patterns, and the role of outside influences on this relationship. Primarily, both direct field observation and participant-observer techniques were employed to gain an understanding of what forces had, and are, involved in the modification of the original patterns.

Assuming the role of participant-observer has some decided disadvantages: (1) the role may color the observer's analysis of what is occurring. Yet it also gives him the advantage of an intimate view from the inside which cannot be obtained as an outside observer looking in; and (2) the author occasionally becomes so pre-occupied with village activities that he cannot pursue necessary lines of questioning. Everything considered, the advantages appeared to outweigh the problems in becoming a participant-observer; and the author found that assuming this pose provided additional information which could not have been obtained by outside observation and simple informant interview.

The approach used in this thesis has been to study the external

measurable changes in the Upper Tanana settlement patterns and housing types, both from an anthropological and historical angle. This involved culture change from the point of view of technoeconomic influences and social structure, and their causal relation to changes in the settlements.

The author has attempted to chronicle the sequence in which these changes occurred, and their relationship to each other. Intentionally, the author has avoided considering the other half of the picture, that of internal change in the psychological value system since that is beyond the present scope of work under consideration; but it should be noted, that for a complete understanding of the mechanism behind Upper Tanana settlement change, the mutual relationship of external and internal portions of this culture will have to be worked out. Certainly, the strength and weaknesses of the author's approach should be apparent in respect to this context; it leaves a wide open gap for future study of the internal value system (emotional bonds, world view, etc.) and connecting these to external causes to form a psychological theory by which the Upper Tanana system could be explained.

From the data gathered in his research the author found that the effects of the Euro-American on the Upper Tanana bands has been quite profound. Scarcely a matter of fifty years following contact, the majority of what constituted Upper Tanana life was disrupted by non-native penetration into the area. Early trading, mining and

missionary activities transposed this society from settlements reflecting nomadic culture to that reflecting an essentially sedentary one. It shifted the Upper Tanana settlements from lake outlet streams and the hunting trails to permanent riverine villages.

With the advent of the Alaska Highway in 1943 we can readily see an acceleration in the process of settlement and housing change, as subsistence, identity concepts and social organization were further modified by the influx of population, new towns and tourist-traveler economy, that opened up what had still remained after contact, an essentially isolated area.

As we trace the pattern historically to the present, with anthropological analysis of the changes involved, we can see a trend developing toward a breakup of what remains of the Upper Tanana settlements.

Chapter I deals with background and historical data concerning the Upper Tanana valley, to familiarize the reader with the situation of the upper bands and the surrounding areas, and the general influences they were subjected to; chapter II deals with a description of the pre-contact patterns; chapter III with post-contact changes up to 1943; chapter IV, a comparison of Upper Tanana housing with adjacent Athapaskan areas in Alaska and Canada; chapter V with the influence of the Alaska Highway; and chapter VI with a description of the Upper Tanana settlements and housing in 1970 and possible future trends.

CHAPTER I
BACKGROUND AND HISTORICAL DATA

BANDS AND TERRITORY

The people with which this investigation deals, occupy an area from the headwaters of the Tanana east to the White River, west to the headwaters of the Chitina and north as far as the Goodpaster River. These natives we shall call the Upper Tanana (Guedon Personal Communication; McKennan 1964:3-4). They formerly consisted of the following bands: (1) the Scotty Creek, (2) the Upper Chisana/Upper Nabesna, (3) the Mouth of the Nabesna, (4) Last Tetlin, (5) Tetlin, (6) Mansfield, (7) Ketchumstock, (8) the Robinson Creek, (9) George Creek, (10) Sand Creek and, (11) the Healy River (Rainey 1936). David Paul of Tanacross gives the best description of the former northern and southern limits in which these bands operated:

In 1907 chief Jarvis moved from Goodpaster to Salchag to mission there. This out of Upper Tanana and do away with village at Goodpaster. My Daddy and his brother have Chala Tzait Shyak (Bark House) at Big Delta. They moved to MansfieldGoodpaster is end of Upper Tanana people and Scotty Creek end of Upper Tanana too. Have no relations there (Scotty Creek). All people at George Creek, Sand Creek and Healy all dead now or moved to Mansfield or Dot Lake.

This type of fluidity in the number of bands was characteristic even before McKennan noticed it in 1929. Yet two of the obstacles in discussing them has been the lack of adequate band designations, and the problem of assigning a territory which fits both their

cultural and linguistic affinities.

In the past, the natives of the Upper Tanana bands have been variously called Tanan-Ketchin (Dall 1877:29), Tenan-Inu-Kokhtana (Petroff 1900:259), Tannin-Kootchin (Murray 1910:29), San To-Tin and San Tahī-O-Tin (Dawson 1888:203), and even "Mountain Men" or Gens des Butes in old Hudson Bay Company terminology. All of these terms, however, were applied not to the bands, but to the Upper Tanana as a whole; and they were the designations by which other groups referred to these people. About the only mention of an individual Upper Tanana band comes from Richardson (1851, 1:398):

A mountain Indian and hunter employed by Mr. Bell called them Tratzā-UT-'Tinne, which is evidently another way of pronouncing the name they give themselves "people of the fork of the river" (Tanana).

My own study, and that of Marie Guedon's (Personal Communication) showed that the suffix "Khot'in" (uxt'ene) (Guedon 1971:36) or "dweller of" as I have recorded it, is the name by which the Upper Tanana refer to themselves when they consider all of their bands as a whole. Krauss (Personal Communication) believes the term is probably the right one. The term Richardson records for the Upper Chisana-Upper Nabesna band, the San-U-Tin (Thētatuxtene: Guedon 1971:36), appear phonetically similar to the one the author obtained. According to Rainey (1936:72), the Scotty Creek called themselves the Ni't'in (Keikade, "fish rack") (Guedon 1971:36), and perhaps this is some indication of their origin since the people of Kluane Lake are also known by the same term (McKenna 1959);

those living at the Mouth of the Nabesna call themselves Ke'Thig Koht'in (Keitsii-ust'ene: Guedon 1971:33); Last Tetlin Nak'ade-Koht'in (Nak'ǎde): Guedon 1971:36); Tetlin as the Na'K'ethg-Koht'in; Mansfield as Dīc Tha da-Koht'in (DithadU: Guedon 1971:36); Ketchumstock as Sa geth-Tcēg-Koht'in (Sak' atcegi: Guedon 1971:36); George Creek (not known); Sand Creek as Tcin Tceti-Koht'in; Healy River as Men Des Tcēgn-Koht'in (Tsathel' uxt'ene: Guedon 1971:36); Robinson Creek as Tsiintig'^a'Koht'in, reported by Rainey (1936:78). My own informants also report a village at Robinson Creek at one time. Interestingly enough, above the Goodpaster River my informants classify the natives as a different people, lumping them under the term: Daath-Koht'in (Daathustene: Guedon 1971:37) "the other people." Baggen (Fieldnotes), in her thesis research, records a similar northern boundary for the Upper Tanana from one of her Eagle informants: "Charley Steven says that he was born in Eagle in 1885All of them out that way are called Tananah, said Charley with a sweep of his hand from south to west, when he was asked for the Izaan (Indian) name for the people of Ketchumstock, Tanacross, Salchaket and Tanana. Does this mean the people who live on the Tanana River? No, said Charley, means all them stupid people that way. He covered an area roughly from the Nabesna River to the Goodpaster."

Allen (1887:84) established an identical northern limit for the Upper Tanana, by tracing the usage of the word Nabesna for the

Tanana River. He referred to those natives as Nabesnatanas and found a termination point for Nabesna in the Big Delta Area, where for the first time, the main river was referred to as the Tanana. He states:

Four miles below Goodpaster (now erroneously called the Volkmar) is a mountain torrent on the left bank.....Fifteen to twenty miles below.....are so many channels that we with difficulty found sufficient water to float our skin boat..... at 6 p.m. we went into camp 12.....

Two miles below camp on the left bank a small torrent washes through timbered woods. A few hundred yards below it were seen in tents the only natives since leaving Kheel-tat's (Mansfield).....These were also the first natives who spoke of the river by the name of Tanana. Above this part it is known as the Nabesna River.

Skarland (1964:1) delineated a similar northern boundary to Allen's for the Upper Tanana Bands, which set the limit within their territory somewhere about the Goodpaster River/Big Delta area. He included the following bands:

During the summer of 1939 I spent several weeks among the natives of the Upper Tanana River.....The villages visited were Healy on the lake of the same, Tanacross (then called Tanana-Crossing), and Tetlin near Tetlin Lake.

.....I visited the villages this spring (1955).....The outlying villages such as Healy Lake, Scotty Creek, Billy Creek and others had been abandoned.

This is in total disagreement with Osgood's (1936a) Tanana classification. In fact, Skarland (lecture notes) mentions his dissatisfaction with the Upper and Lower Tanana systems in general:

#6 Tanana, the lower Tanana below Tok river and the region about the confluence of the Tanana and Yukon rivers. Osgood includes the Tatsa of the Yukon and the extinct Minchumina lake people. Here I disagree thoroughly with the whole Tanana classification and I believe the Upper river people of Tanana-Crossing (Healy Lake etc.) should not be classified with the lower river people.

Not surprisingly enough, Mitchell (1902:124) also backs up both Skarland's (1964) and Allen's (1887) contention:

No white man had ever been down the Goodpaster River and few Indians in the vicinity (Middle fork) knew anything about it, because the middle fork (Healy River) Indians domain stopped at the divide at the head of the river and the Goodpaster Indians, who live on the Tanana, did not come over to the north side of the divide. I had consulted several times with chief Joseph of the middle fork tribe about the trip I proposed to make down the river. I wanted him to accompany Dutch and myself, to break trail down there. He always said it was a terrible trip, and it was a tradition among his people that anybody who went down it in winter time never came back, if they met Goodpaster Indians.

Mitchell's remarks here parallel the author's own information that the head of the Goodpaster River represented a sort of hingeline between the loosely knit Upper and Lower Tanana bands.

The western boundary, on the other hand, was first described by Bremner (Seton-Karr 1887:212) in his personal diary on the Copper River region. In it he reported ".....there is only one family of Ma Nuska (Copper Natives) on the Chitanah. The Col China are scatred [sic] along the head waters." Allen (1887:138 & 262) tells us that the terms "Kol Shina or Col Charnes" were employed by the Copper people for their neighbors, and McKennan (1959:28) further adds that these terms were reserved specifically for the Tanana natives.

Apparently, the Upper Chisana-Upper Nabesna overlapped into the area via Skolai Pass, but whether or not this involved fishing

villages or temporary hunting camps is still not entirely clear. Another likely reason for their presence on the Chitina may have been the attraction of placer copper which was important to the native material culture. In any event, the Chitina seems to serve as a useful western boundary for the Upper Tanana bands. However, the picture of the northern limit was somewhat confused, when Brooks and Peters (1898:436) reapplied the term for the Upper Tanana, Nabesna, to the major headwater tributary known as Tat'Sa(n)-digi (fork of the river):

The Tanana River is one which has fortunately preserved its Indian name, which is said to signify the river of the mountains. Lieutenant Allen is authority for the statement that the Indians of the Upper Tanana call that river Nabesna.² But at the present time that latter name has fallen entirely into disuse.....

For the sake of preserving this euphonious Indian name we have applied it on the map to the chief tributary of the Upper Tanana, for which we were unfortunately unable to find the true Indian name.

Baker also noted the reapplication of the term Nabesna, from the main stream to the tributary, in his 1906 dictionary: "..... Nabesna: river, one of the principal tributaries of the Upper Tanana." According to Allen (p. 136), "the natives of the Upper Tanana call that river Nabesna." Peters and Brooks (1898) say that this use, mentioned by Allen, is locally obsolete, and they reapply the name not to the main stream, but to a principal tributary, near longitude 142°. What resulted from such a change was a misunderstanding of what represents the Nabesna drainage. Subsequent researchers,

such as McKennan (1959:15), considered the drainage in relation to the newly termed Nabesna, and outlined the Upper Tanana natives in relation to it and not the main stream. This misconception also resulted in the misplacing of "Kheeltat's" village, originally described by Allen (1887:78-79) in the vicinity of Mansfield (see Plate 1), to the mouth of Brook's redefined Nabesna. Others, like Swanton (1952:537) repeated the error in later literature:

The first of these (Tetlin and Last Tetlin) evidently includes the Nutzotin of earlier writers with their villages of Nandells near Wagner Lake and Tetling, and the third the Santotin, Khiltat's, and the mouth of the Nabesna River, must have belonged to the second division.

Since Swanton refers to "Khiltat's" as part of the Upper Tanana, he evidently accepted Allen's verdict that these people were part of the Osgood's Nabesna Group, but like McKennan (1959) he had no idea of its geographic significance. Certainly, neither appeared to be aware of Baker's description of the same village which coincided with Allen: "Khiltat; river, tributary to the Tanana from the northwest near longitude 144° 30'. Named by Allen, 1885, after an Indian chief, Kheeltat." This coincides with the Little Tanana Slough, not the headwater tributary. Even McKennan (1964:3-4) realized the incongruity of the original area he defined for the Nabesna (McKennan 1959:15), (See Fig. 3) and extended the northern limit of the Upper bands to Goodpaster River, in agreement with Allen. He established a new territory:

One group, the Upper bands, inhabited the valley above the Goodpaster River. This area has no Salmon. The culture

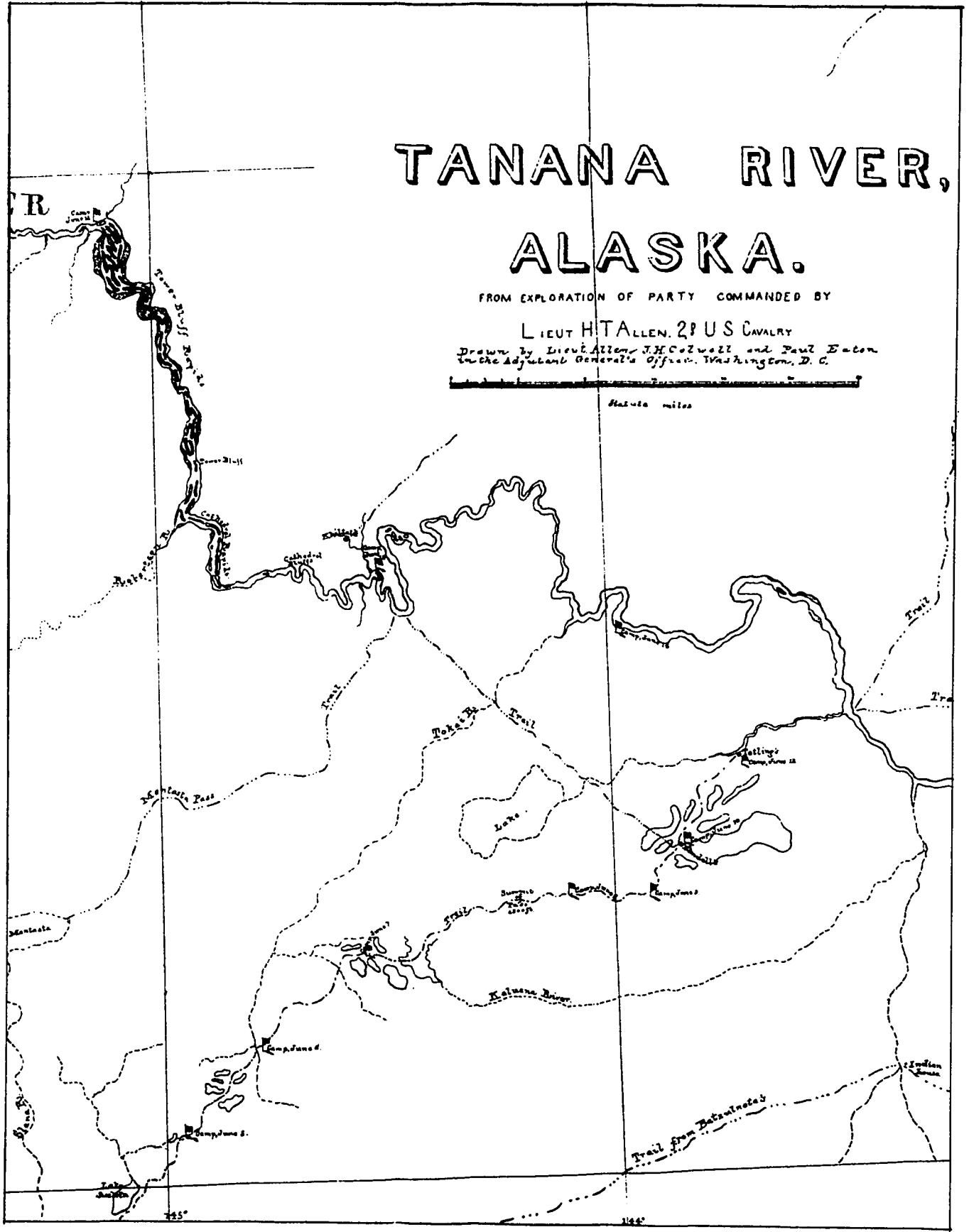


Plate 1. — Location of Khiltat's on Allen's 1885 Expedition Map.

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that I described in some detail in my monograph on the four bands inhabiting the extreme headwaters of the river (McKenna 1959) would hold in most of its details for the other bands of the Upper Tanana viz., Ketchumstock-Mansfield, George Creek and Healy River, although the latter bands are set off from my Upper Tanana by minor cultural and dialectical differences.

However, McKenna still maintains the White River as the eastern boundary of the Upper Bands. This author generally agrees with this limit but there is strong indication that the Mouth of the Nabesna band may have had a hunting territory which stretched northeast as far as Dawson. Frank Sam and Walter Northway (Personal Communication) of Lower Nabesna village report this in the annual cycle of the band:

Winter. Move camp one whole village hunt together - moose and caribou. Nabesna River [Tatsa(n)-Digi] to mountains to Ladue or Dawson. Some Neltsiina relative at Dawson too. It takes nine nights camp to travel to Dawson. Now line splits the people [U.S. Canada boundary].

All of my information suggests that the same type of relationship that existed between the Mansfield people and the Ketchumstock band also existed between the Mouth of the Nabesna band and the natives of the Dawson area. Guedon (Personal Communication) expresses a similar view. If we accept this conclusion, then we have established at least the White River and possibly Dawson, as the eastern limits for the Upper Tanana; and a combination of Bremner's (Seton-Karr 1887:212) western limit plus the northern boundary established by Allen (1887:84) and McKenna (1964:3-4) gives us a fair approximation of the territory in which these bands operated. At least four other lines of evidence support these proposed limits: (1)

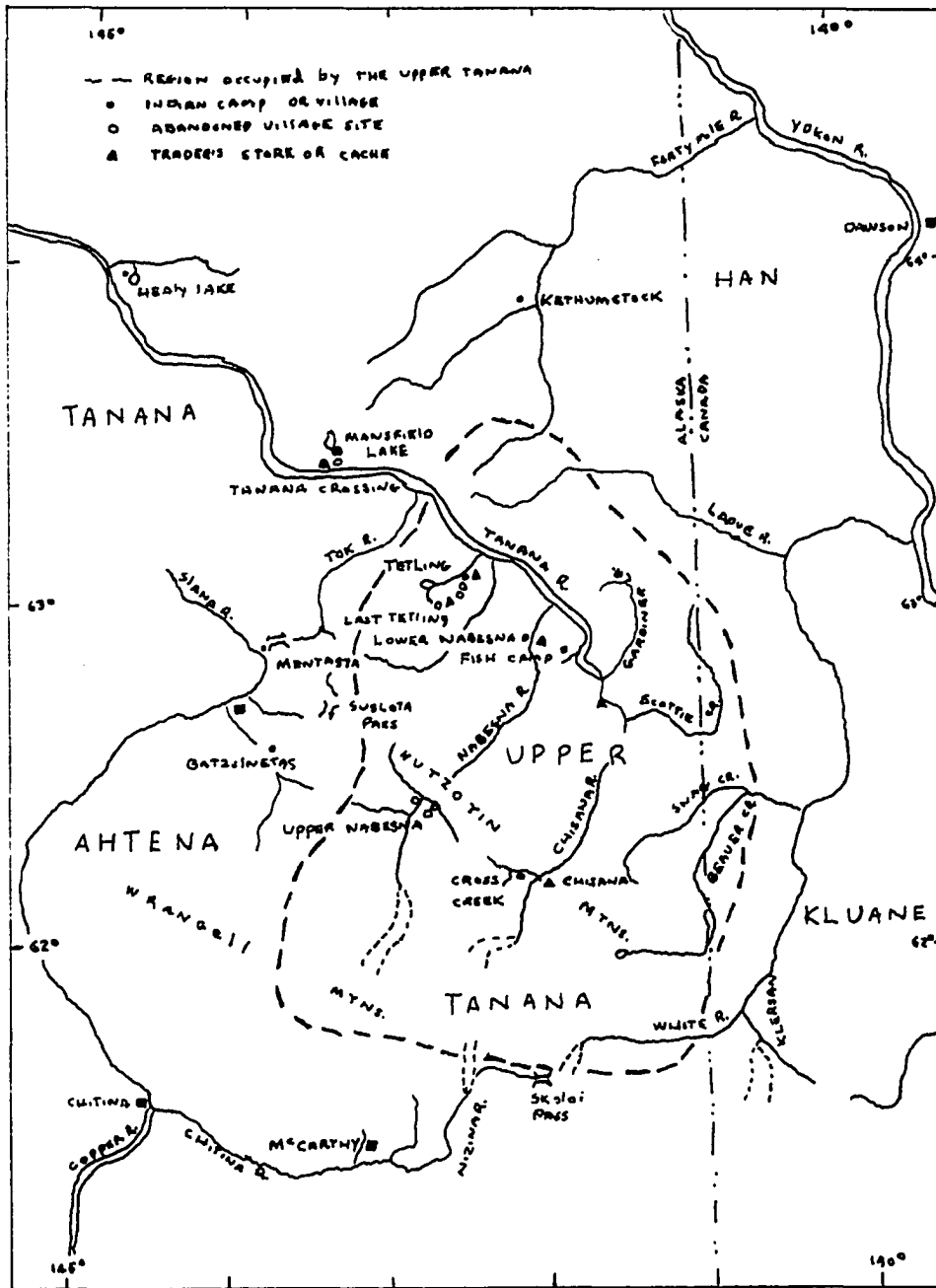


FIG. 3 McKENNAN'S UPPER TANANA LINGUISTIC AREA

a distinct subsistence base consisting of caribou and whitefish, (2) certain linguistic affinities, (3) the clan arrangement, and (4) kinship terms. Allen (1887:76) was the first to document the summer importance of fish, especially whitefish, for the villages of Last Tetlin and Tetlin:

The food of these natives during this season (summer) is chiefly fish (at Last Tetlin).....Here there were several kinds of them including pickerel, suckers, grayling and two kinds of whitefish.

.....That salmon do not reach the Upper waters of the Tanana is rather singular, and cannot, I think be alone attributable to the rapids along its course. The absence of salmon causes the natives to depend for sustenance on the smaller fishes previously enumerated, and large game.

Rainey (1939:362-372) also noted the importance of whitefish to the subsistence pattern of the Upper and Lower Bands:

The present Nabesna Village has been built around a trading post situated seven miles above the mouth of the Nabesna but the old village, as well as the one now occupied during the summer fishing season, is located on a lake some five miles distant. When we arrived at the trading post in June, the whole village was temporarily abandoned. The Nabesna people, who depend for food primarily on the whitefish caught in small clear water streams flowing out of the numerous lakes, were camped at the old site taking the summer's catch.

.....Indians from various settlements in the lower river valley have now moved up to the Tanana-Crossing-Mansfield village region. From these people and from Indians encamped on the banks of the lower Tanana, I learned of the old settlements in the lower valley and the reason for their situation on clear water streams some distance from the muddy Tanana. Whitefish can be trapped in large number as they move into and out of the lakes at the head of each stream. It is clear that fish, rather than moose or caribou is the staple food of these people. Although salmon run in some large numbers as far up the Tanana as the Goodpaster River, there was no great dependence on them prior to the introduction of the modern fish wheel.....this is borne out by the fact that the Indians know of no very old sites on the banks of the Tanana proper.

McKenna's (1964:4) contention, also, that salmon were a major change in the subsistence pattern between the Upper, Middle, and Lower Tanana bands does not seem justified for the pre-contact and early contact periods; especially in light of Olson's (1960:125) finding that whitefish, not salmon, were of major importance to the people of the Middle Tanana. Baggen (1966 Fieldnotes) also indicates a similar pattern for the Middle Tanana. The change from whitefish-caribou subsistence to whitefish-caribou-salmon subsistence at the Goodpaster River appear to mark a slight hinge line, according to subsistence, between the Upper Tanana and the Middle and Lower portions. However, a more definite break between the areas is indicated by linguistic trends.

According to Krauss (Personal Communication) the most significant linguistic break between Chena and Scotty Creek occurs between Tanacross (End of Transition Zone II) and Tetlin (Tanana Headwaters), with the second most significant slight change between Goodpaster and Healy River. He lumps Chena to Goodpaster as Transition Zone I, roughly approximate to McKenna's (1964:4) "Middle Tanana," and Healy River to Tanacross as Transition Zone II, with a break separating Transition Zone II and the Headwater's dialect. Transition Zone II and the Headwater's dialect correlate with what McKenna calls the "Upper Bands." Tetlin and above represent the loss of a final consonant to a vowel which culminated at the end of Transition Zone II at Tanacross, and is picked up in the dialect

of Tetlin. Krauss concludes that the Goodpaster dialect marks the phasing out of Transition Zone II and the phasing in of Transition Zone I dialects marked by the addition of a second consonant. Linguistically, then Goodpaster could fit in either Transition Zone I or II, but according to clan structure and subsistence patterns, the author favors placing it as the beginning point for the "Middle Bands;" a sort of cultural and linguistic "hinge line" (Guedon: Personal Communication).

Mitchell's (1962:139) comments on the mutual intelligibility between Goodpaster and Healy River seems to justify the author's decision in this direction:

The Indian name for the Goodpaster was "Cheesen..... the word for village in the Indian language was "Deeg," so the name for this place was "Cheesendeeg".....The Indians seemed tremendously astonished to see us, and examined our equipment, eyeing my Indian, Joe (chief of Healy River people) curiously. He spoke an entirely different language from their own, but made himself understood by signs and a few words common to all Indians.

Yet, no matter how we attempt to divide the "differences in linguistic homogeneity" changes along the Tanana River, these boundaries cannot necessarily be applied to cultural ones, as Longacker (1968:17) points out in his book on "Language and Its Structure:"

Just as there is no inherent relation between language and race, there is none between language and culture. The Athabaskan family of American Indian languages embraces speakers of several distinct cultures. Conversely, languages of two unrelated families, Keresan and Tanoan, are represented in the Rio Grande culture. Such examples demonstrate that neither language nor culture dictates the form the other

will assume. Nevertheless, language and culture are closely intertwined. The most obvious instance is literature, oral and written; principles of literary style, prosody, and so on that are developed in terms of one language cannot always find satisfactory equivalents in a second....Language and culture are closely associated in practice, but they are basically independent from one another.

It is for this reason, since the changes along this part of the Tanana River reflect different categories of linguistic variation such as phonological, isogloss and vocabulary differences, that the author bases the majority of his evidence for the limits of Upper Tanana territory more on the subsistence base, backed by the distinct structure of the Upper Tanana clan system and kin terms, than on linguistic evidence (Krauss Personal Communication).

Guedon (Personal Communication) states that the Upper Tanana moiety system spans an area starting with the Goodpaster River and extending south to Scotty Creek. She divides the system into two groups: (1) the "Tcaaz" (Seagull) [see chapter II clans and settlements], and (2) the "Naltsin" (Raven). She reports that the Seagull moiety is entirely exogamous while the Raven moiety exhibits both exogamy and endogamy. In other words, the Naltsin had the choice of marrying outside their moiety or within it. The author found this to be the case at Northway and Tanacross, where, for example, there were cases of men marrying women of the opposite moiety for their first wife and remarrying within their own moiety if they married again. This particular custom for the Raven moiety does not appear to be isolated, though, since Rainey

(1936:13) reports it among the people of Chena also: "the Naltsin can marry into own moiety." David Paul of Tanacross states the situation this way: "Cannot marry anybody on mother's or father's side [fabrda or mosida]; could marry Naltsin if she from some other family or Sh'osa (other tribe)." However, the basic difference between the moiety systems of the Upper, Middle and Lower Tanana, lies in the number of clans found in each area. Though there is some overlapping between the three regions, the Upper Tanana possess a greater number of clans than either the Middle (Baggen Fieldnotes) or Lower Tanana (Olson 1968:70-73) and (Krauss Personal Communication) [see chapter II clans and community patterns].

Specific kinship terms also delineate the Upper Tanana as a group. Heinrich (1968:290) puts Tanacross, Tetlin and Northway together (current demography), when he discusses the Upper Tanana kinship system, as follows:

The data presented here are representative of two widely separated Athapskan groups - those of Fort Laird area, Northwest Territories, and those of the Tanacross-Tetlin-Northway area in the Upper Tanana River drainage.

Certainly, the material that the author uncovered at Tanacross and Northway shows that they employ identical kin terms. Guedon (Personal Communication) also goes along with this finding and extends the relationship to Healy River. It appears that kin terms, together with the arrangement of clans, a distinct subsis-

tence base, and linguistic breaks that occur between Chena and Scotty Creek, delineate an Upper Tanana cultural area stretching from the headwaters of the Goodpaster River on the north, south to the headwaters of the Tanana, west as far as Suslota Pass and the Chitina, and east as far as the White River. However, there is some indication that their hunting territory may have one time covered an area as far as Dawson (Rainey 1936; Baggen Fieldnotes).

The territory the Upper Tanana presently occupies, is better described as enveloping the drainage of the Nabesna and Chisana Rivers, which coalesce forming the main Tanana; the headwaters of the Chitina; the Tanana and tributaries as far north as Healy Lake; and portions of Scotty Creek (see Plate 2). Currently the White River area, the Chisana, Beaver, Forty Mile, Sand Creek, George Creek, Healy River and Robinson Creek locations are, for the most part, unused by the Indians, as their activities are generally held to Tanacross, Northway, Tetlin and Dot Lake. Some portions of the Scotty Creek people and those of the Lower Nabesna now permanently reside in Canada.

ARCHEOLOGY

Up to the present, the archeology of the Upper Tanana has remained, at best, sketchy and limited to collecting by local residents. The only significant attempts to delve into the archeology of the region were due to the efforts of two fieldworkers who were thirty years apart. These were Froelich G. Rainey in

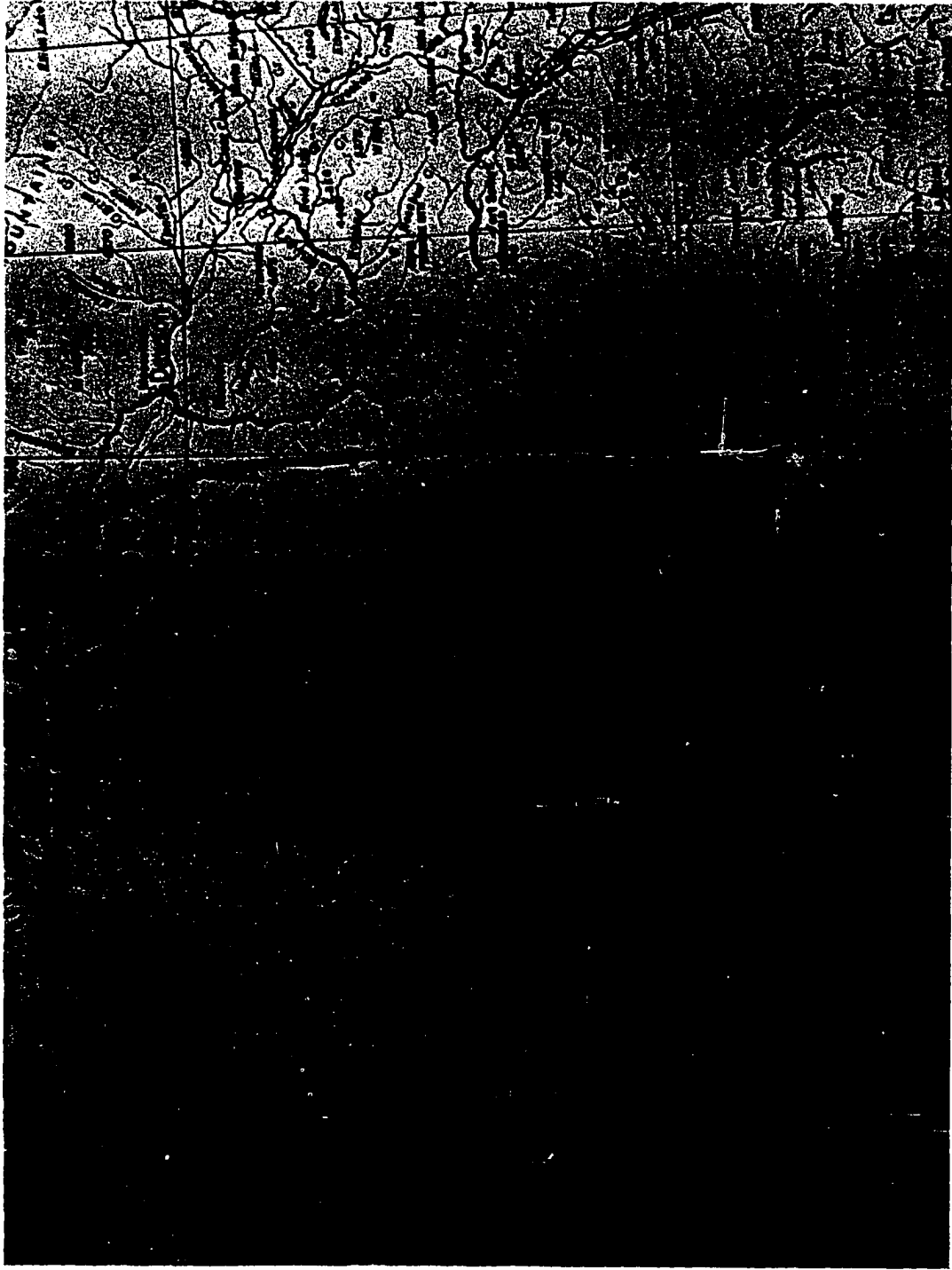


Plate 2. — Territory of the Upper Tanana Bands.

1936 and 1937 (Rainey 1936) and John P. Cook in 1967, 1969 and 1970 (Cook Unpublished Dissertation; Personal Communication).

Rainey's work principally described local finds in the Tanana, Copper and Yukon valleys which he catalogued in his publication in 1931. Primarily, though, his only serious excavation was at the well-known "Dixthada" site near old Mansfield village.

The excavation of Dixthada consisted of six pits (A-F) and their refuse mounds. In May, 1937, Rainey began uncovering the pits in a series of trenches at twenty-five centimeter levels. The refuse mounds in front of the pits consisted of waste and hearth material containing such items as birch bark, candles, ash, wood chips, bone fragments of moose, caribou, fish, beaver, rabbit, etc. (Rainey 1939:366).

From Rainey's house pit levels, indications were that pits A, B and C proceeding north to south ".....were utilized before any modern trade objects appeared....." This conclusion was based on the restriction of artifact finds to chipped stone types. In addition, evidence of bark dwellings remained in the form of traces of bark and wood fragments; however, no substantial parts of the house structure itself remained.

At Dixthada essentially two types of artifacts were found in conjunction with the pits: (1) copper implements and trade objects in D, E and F, and (2) stone chipped implements in A, B and C. According to Rainey, pit D marked a transition from stone to metal

implements and the approximate beginning of contact due to the presence of trade goods.

From pits E and F, Rainey (1939:367) collected such tools as double pointed awls or needles, stemmed copper points, ear and nose ornaments, skin scrapers, etc. From the percentage of copper in the material, these appeared to have been derived locally from copper nuggets. As previously mentioned, only chipped stone artifacts were found in pits A-C. These were primarily small stemmed end scrapers, and two polyhedral cores similar to the silvery-cortexed tablet types of the Denali complex found by Cook (1970:3) at the Garden and Village site at Healy Lake. Approximate dates for the first three pits would then fall a couple of hundred years before the founding of old Mansfield village above the latter three pits. This did not, however, point to any great antiquity for the Upper Tanana area. No significant ages were, in fact, recorded until Cook began his work under McKennan in the summer of 1967.

Under the sponsorship of a grant from the National Museum of man, Cook went into Healy to investigate several finds which had been reported there. During this preliminary summer, he established the presence of several sites in the area: these were (1) Garden site, (2) Ashes Point, (3) Freddie's Cove, (4) Burgess Point, and (5) the Village site. We will only deal with the Village and Garden sites, since they have proven the most significant up

to date.

Until the early 1940's, the Village site has been continuously occupied on a bluff overlooking the north shore of the lake. A subsequent unknown epidemic, however, wiped out several inhabitants, and only one, Margaret Kirsteatter, remained at the lake. In 1967, she became one of Cook's chief informants when he began the actual excavation of the site. Cook and McKennan (1967:1-2) describe the site as follows:

The Village site is not a deep one, averaging 16" of cultural deposit. The physical stratigraphy indicates a minimum of disturbance and it seems safe to assume that most, at least, of the cultural material found there is in place. On top is debris from the recent Indian inhabitants, the Healy Lake band of Athapaskans, who left the village in the early 1940's. Below this accumulation of bone, tin cans, and a minimum of aboriginal artifacts is about 30" of wind blown sands and silts. At the top of this loess is a thin, and sometimes absent, light-colored A2 horizon above a color B2 layer. This seems to be a fairly typical sub-arctic Brown Forest soil profile and one that is still active at the present time. The soil just below this consists of a leached horizon overlying a buried "color B" horizon, apparently the results of both eluvial and illuvial action. In the lower part of the B2 horizon, the loess gradually increases in grain size. This tendency to coarseness becomes more marked the deeper one goes in the profile until, near the bottom, the soil is a wind blown sand. A thin layer of pebbles and cobbles, characterized by wind faceting and polish, lies at the bottom of the loess. Below this is decomposed granite bedrock (called Birch Creek Schist).

The finds here have established a continuous occupation at Healy Lake, from recent times back to about 12,000 B.P. They have also substantiated the existence of what amounts to a "three stage scheme" of Proto-Athapaskan and Athapaskan occupancy:

I. Athapaskan Tradition

- a) Denali Complex levels 1 & 2 (0-4")
- b) Tuktu Complex level 3 (4-6")

II. Transition--something of a hiatus, possibly with some Akamk affinities (6-10")

III. Early Period (Chindadn)--distinctive new complex.

There are, however, only four C14 dates covering Athapaskan occupation, two from the Village site and two from the Garden site.

All reflect material from level 1:

Garden Site	(0-2")	1260±90 (GaK 1885) A.D 690
		1270±80 (GaK 1884) A.D 680
Village Site	(0-2")	900±90 (GaK 1886) A.D 1050
		1360±80 (GaK 1887) A.D 710

Cook (1970:2) further divides the three Athapaskan levels into four parts: (1) material from the "Historic Healy Lake band," (2) an ill defined microblade layer, (3) a classic denali phase, consisting of campus-like cores, transverse burins and notched and stemmed points found in connection with square and round-based lanceolate forms, and (4) a representation of the "Tuktu phase" of the Athapaskan tradition.

Each of the upper three levels are culturally uniform without the hiatus which separates the Tuktu from the Early Period or Chindadn complex. The total sequence of the levels above the hiatus are characterized by certain continuous traits: (1) a projectile point-knife complex, which regarding notching and stemming, indicates a continuity of culture, (2) a distinctive burin

and burin spall inventory, found with the preference for chalcodony for these implements, and (3) the use of silvery-cortexed obsidian which appears in the levels above the transitional zone or Hiatus, but not below level three.

As we reach level three, the Tuktu, we find some change in the form of tabular cores and "stubby notched points" typical of the complex, as well as a noticeable increase in round-based lanceolate forms. The continuance of burins and Campus cores, however, reaffirms the basic continuity of these first three levels.

Generally, both artifact type and soil analysis link the upper three levels to a boreal forest environment, which continues down to the "cultural hiatus" where we see a change in all three categories toward a grassland-tundra locale. At this point we come to the lower part of the A2 and upper B2 horizons where the "cultural hiatus" begins to appear. Some "discoidal bifaces" found here resemble those found at the Onion-Portage-Akmak complex, and a C14 date of 8960 ± 150 B.P. (GX-1340) would tend to back up a possible affinity between the two areas.

Currently, the earliest material found at the Lake appears in the lower part of the buried B2 and the upper part of the C horizons, where some 150 implements associated with flakes have been found. This level, which Cook refers to as the "Chindadn or ancestor complex" is identified by several characteristic traits: (1) the point forms, (2) the flaking technique, and (3) the material

used for these tools.

Six whole or near whole points representing the Chindadn type have been found at this level. They are characteristically tear drop in shape with somewhat straight sides and fairly rounded bases. The flaking, itself, consists of wide-shallow slices forming an extremely thin point. Two small triangular points with straight bases have been found that are set off from the Chindadn types by their shape.

The same type of flaking that was exhibited by the points is also found in other biface forms, and the flakes themselves are typically large, wide and thin. The striking platform of the cores is characteristically small and faceted.

Of considerable interest is the kind of material used for these implements, which was usually light green rhyolite, intermixed with some chalcedony and quartzite. Almost no obsidian was found at the level. Certain mammal and bird bones found in the middle zone of this level give the complex one date of 11,090±170 B.P. (GX-1340) and a subsequent charcoal date of 10,050 B.P.

This date plus the large lanceolate bifaces found at Onion Portage, which exhibit similarities to the Chindadn technology, appear to provide a "faint link" between the Chindadn and Akmak complexes. Stronger ties, however, between the two sites appear in the Transitional and Tuktu levels.

Generally, the Chindadn, as well as the Onion-Portage-Akmak

levels, appear linked by a similar soil horizon and artifact types to a grassland-tundra environment, which slowly gave way to boreal forest conditions starting with the Transitional level at the Village site and culminating with the Hysithermal soils of the Tuktu level. We see here, artifactwise, a parallel change in technology from non-stemmed to stemmed and notched points, which Cook attributes to the arrival of a boreal environment.

Yet when we compare Cook's findings with Dixthada, we are only dealing with the Uppermost level of the Denali complex, as represented at Rainey's site, and here the technological transition to the boreal environment has already taken place. We find exactly four primary diagnostic types which suggest a connection between the two: (1) the stemmed projectile point, (2) the core and micro-blade tradition, (3) the presence of the notched transverse burin and (4) the use of silvery-cortexed obsidian. Each of these points taken together provides a strong argument for McKennan's (1970:7) contention that Dixthada fits into the same Denali complex found at Healy Lake. However, certain other implements found at Dixthada, and not at the Village site, suggests that it probably fits into a later phase not represented at either the Village or Garden sites.

In summary, then, the investigation of the Upper Tanana archeology to date has been limited to two widely spaced attempts, both chronologically and geographically. By no means does this offer a good cross-section of the archeological potential of the

area. It is a wide open field for further study. Even so, certain indications stated by Rainey have proven correct: "Sites of great antiquity will not be found along the river.....as food was not derived from there.....it will be found inland....." It appears evident then, that if continuously occupied sites are to be found, it will be away from the Tanana River near the prime food sources (see section on fauna) of fresh water lakes and streams.

GEOGRAPHY

Topography & Climate:

The geography of the Upper Tanana Indian area can be divided into four sections (FitzGerald 1967:112-115): (1) the Yukon Tanana upland draining to the Tanana, (2) the Northway-Tanacross Lowlands, (3) the Eastern Alaskan Range draining to the Tanana, and (4) the Northern Foothills. Dominating the region is the Tanana River, a major tributary of the Yukon.

North of its headwaters in the glaciers and slopes of the Wrangell, Mentasta, and Nutzotin Mountains, the Tanana drains the Northway-Tanacross lowlands. Here glacial washout has shoved the Tanana against the north side of the lowlands. No glacial masses are present in the Tanacross lowland but discontinuous permafrost does occur. Thermokarst features, or thaw lakes, are also common in areas characterized by fine alluvium.

Northward as the Tanana drifts toward its confluence with the Yukon, the valley is compressed between the mountains and the nor-

thern foothills of the Alaskan Range before it leaves the Upper Tanana for the broad Tanana-Kuskokwim lowlands bordering the western Alaskan Range on the north.

This latter massive range to the west and north of the region effectively shelters (acts as a rain shadow effect) the Upper Tanana Valley from nearly all maritime influences. Consequently, the area has a definite continental climate governed, in large measure, by the ready response of the land mass to solar isotherm variations throughout the year.

Similar to other continentally controlled areas, such as the Rockies, this region experiences temperature extremes from -65°F to 110°F , accounting for a high ablation rate of snow and valley glaciers during the summer meltwater season.

Precipitation is light, averaging about 12" per year. Moisture during the growing season begins with light showers in May and builds to a maximum in August. This is followed by a noticeable decline until December. Snowfall reaches a maximum in January with the total fall of February and March about half of that in January.

Flora:

Spruce, both white and black, is the dominant tree class and generally its maximum treeline is held to 4,000 feet. Above this limit only stunted willows and alders are found. In the lowlands, we also find several fern types such as the ostrich fern, wood fern, beech fern and the oak fern.

The principle trees along the river bottoms are of the poplar class and the white birch.

Fauna:

Before the turn of the century, the Barren Ground Caribou was the most important animal in the Upper Tanana area (McKenna 1965:97). However, with the advent of mining in the Franklin Gulch area of Forty Mile and in the vicinity of the Chisana, and as caribou migrations became erratic and undependable at the beginning of this century in response to hunting pressure associated with these operations, the moose gradually came to supplant it (McKenna 1965:97). Dall Sheep are also found in fair numbers in the Mentasta and Nutzotin Ranges as well as the Wrangells. Bear, such as black and grizzly, are abundant but not an important food item.

Probably the most important of the smaller animals is the rabbit, which periodically reaches a peak breeding cycle. Muskrat and porcupine readily subsidize the main diet, but beaver is relatively scarce and unimportant. Since the advent of the fur trade in the late 1860's, fur bearing animals such as the fox, mink, wolf, wolverine and marten have contributed much to the economics of the Upper Tanana. Contrary to what was previously thought, however, fish did play a substantial role in the native diet, and were on a par in importance with caribou (Rainey 1939:372).

With respect to birds, the ptarmigan is the most utilized in the food supply, but during spring and summer months geese and

ducks as well as spruce hens are taken.

EARLY CONTACT

According to available sources, including Dall (1870:93) the exploration of the Upper Tanana is fairly recent: ".....at the junction, the Tanana is much broader than the Yukon, yet into this noble river no white man has dipped his paddle." Schwatka (1893:302) described it as the "Tanana.....the longest wholly unexplored river in the world, certainly the longest on the western continent." The reverse was true on the Copper and Yukon Rivers where Russian and English traders had established posts. The Tanana was at this time, in effect, the only major untouched river in Central Alaska.

In fact up to the middle 19th Century the only contacts the Upper Tanana had were probably with other native groups. Cook (Personal Communication) and Koenecke (1970 Senior Thesis) recently established one such route between the Upper Tanana region and Allakaket by results of neutron activation obsidian tests from both the village site at Healy Lake and the obsidian source at Utopia Creek near Indian Mountain in the Allakaket region.

Possibly some indirect contacts, other than native, may have been made with the Upper Tanana, due to Russian presence on the Copper River, after Nagieff's discovery of the drainage in 1783 (Bancroft 1896:187); but considering native hostility, this would

have been brief, to say the least. In 1796 an expedition under Famoyloff was cut off by the natives. Patrighkin, in 1798, and Boyanoff, in 1796, barely succeeded in traversing a short distance of the Copper (Allen 1887:19); and in 1848, a party under Rufus Sereberinkoff was wiped out in the vicinity of the Tazlina River; the last entry recorded in his journal was at 62°48'45" (Allen 1887:20). That location closely coincides with Batzulnetas village, off the Nabesna road, where native legend relates an Indian massacre of a Russian camp, and their subsequent cremation and burial between old and new Batzulnetas. Bessie Barnabus of Salchaket (Baggen Fieldnotes) was told of the same incident by her father:

The first white men on the Yukon and Copper were Russians who used Indian women wherever they went. There was a great medicine man at Copper Center who made medicine all one winter to kill these white men.

The Russians, though they never penetrated into the Upper Tanana, were at least known to the people on the river. Their progress was finally halted in the vicinity of the Chitina River (Allen 1887:22), where they established one post. They never succeeded in advancing beyond this point. It should be noted, though, that prior to their explorations, the Upper Tanana had had some contact with the outside world through trade with other native groups. One such group were the Chilkat Indians of Lynn Canal (Brooks 1898) with whom the Upper Tanana traded over a well-known trail connecting the Canal and the Koidern tributary of the White

River. Brooks (1898:440-492) briefly mentions the route in his geological survey:

An old Indian trail has been reported which extends from the Lynn Canal following near the base of the St. Elias Range and reaches the White near its base by a valley of the Koidern River. This trail is said to have been used by the coast Indians in their trading journeys which they made into the White and Tanana Basins.

During the early mining days, stamperers renamed this pre-contact route the "Dalton Trail."

Bremner (Seton-Karr 1887:212) also marked this as a major native trading route for the Col China (Upper Tanana): "the Col China are scatred along the headwaters (of the Chitina) and they go to Chilcat to trade." This was only one of the native trading route into the Upper Tanana. Olson (1968:21) states that a trade route also existed between the Tanana natives and the Cook Inlet People:

It is certain that, on rare occasions, a party might travel as far as the Tanaina on Cook Inlet. Osgood (1937:75) refers to a group who were about to go from the Upper Inlet to the Tanana and return. A few informants even spoke of former exchanges with the Copper River inhabitants and, no doubt, some people traveled there in the distant past. In all of these cases, it was a matter of infrequent contacts.....

My informants tell me that the Nabesna people traded with the Copper River people, via Skoloi Pass, on the Chitistone and Nizina Rivers. The Copper residents acted as intermediaries between Cook Inlet and the Tanana natives. Allen (1887:262) mentions a Chief, by the name of Old Nicholai, who kept beads and ammunition at his

camp on the Chitistone, as barter for fox and marten furs from the Tanana, which he traded at Cook Inlet (see Plate 3). It appears then, that the majority of early trade came to the Yukon and Tanana down from the coast by way of the Copper. Bremner discusses this source in his Copper Diary (Seton-Karr 1887:212): ".....I don't think that is to exceed one hundred of the Ma Nuska tribe wemen [Bremner's spelling] men and children. Thay get martin and foxes from the Col China and a very little gunpowder witch the Col China get on the Youcon." Trading activities between these two groups were essentially, then, a reciprocal arrangement. According to informants, people from Chena to Nabesna also used a route through Mentasta Pass to Gakona for trading purposes. Another trail, commonly used for trade went up from Mansfield to Forty Mile Creek and its tributaries, crossing the height of land separating the Yukon and the Tanana (McKenna 1959). Farnsworth (Jan. 20, 1901:1) describes the trail in some detail:

Along the valley of the Mosquito Fork, which valley is practically level and covered with a luxurious growth of grass during the summer, passes a trail now used by the Valdez-Eagle mail contractor and by the Indians of this country. Indians informed me that it is both their summer and winter trail and is worn deep into the ground by the travel of many years.

Leroy McQuesten (1952:4-5) probably best describes the first non-native traders in the Upper Tanana:

It was in the summer 1869.....the H.B. [Hudson Bay] Company.....was doing a flourishing business [by steam boat] in the fur trade at Ft. Yukon. She had the trade of the Porcupine, Yukon and the Tanana River Indians.....

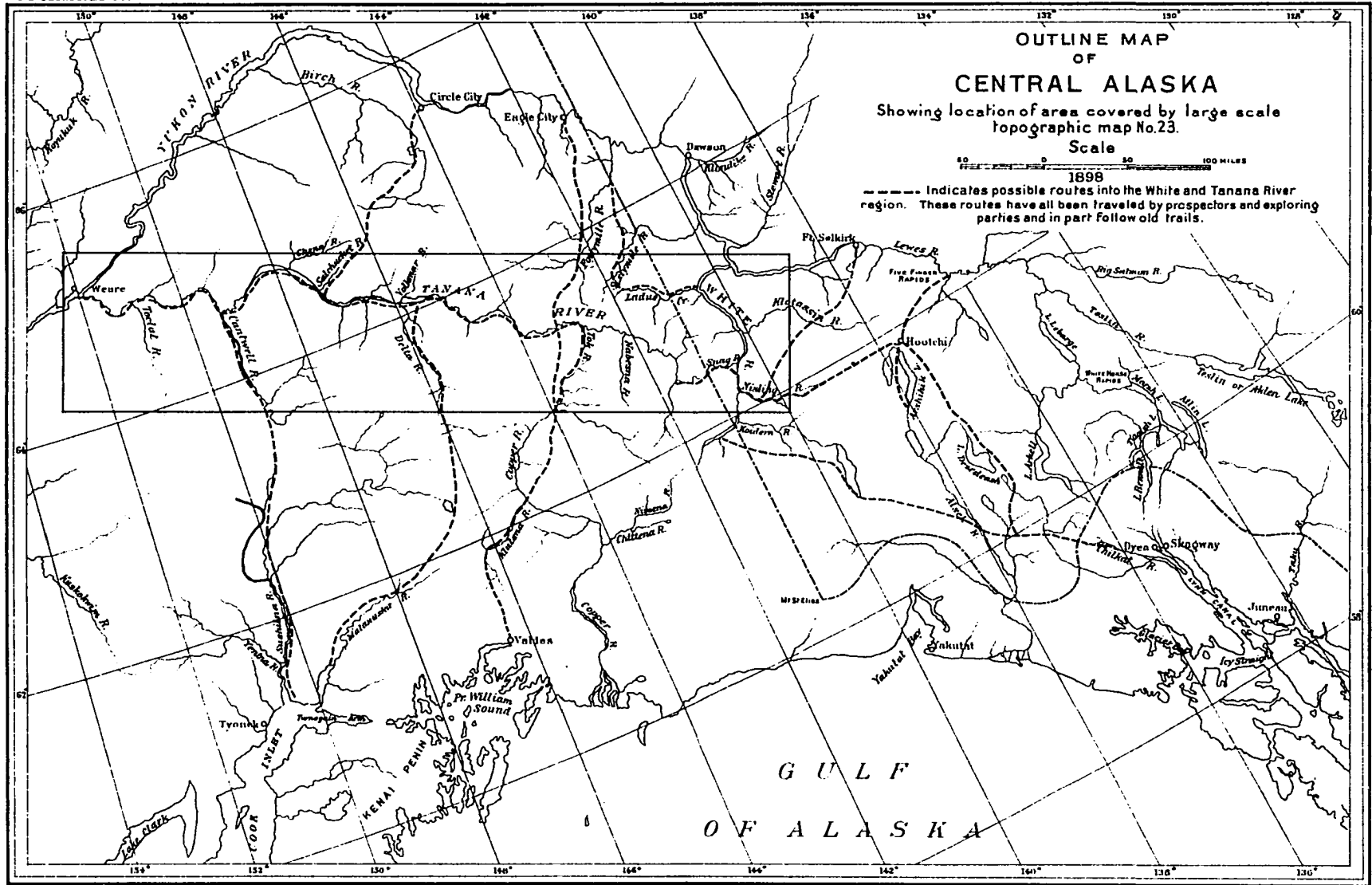


Plate 3. — Pre and Post-Contact Upper Tanana Trade Routes.

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.....Although the winter (1875) I was upriver [from Tanana Station] 350 miles with three Indians. I was among them 30 days.....never was treated better by any Indians.....Still I thought they were kind of a wild set.....but I was the first white man that had been in their country and it was in their interest to treat me well as they found it much more convenient to have goods brought to their camp than it was to go after them.

Allen (1887:67-68) was the first to mention the natives' familiarity with McQuesten:

One of the natives from the Tanana made a map of the Yukon and the Tanana.....He assured me he had been to the stations on the Yukon, at Ft. Reliance and at Fetutlin, the former being kept by Mr. McQuesten and the latter by Mr. Harper.He was entirely ignorant of surnames but spoke of "Jock." These natives likewise those on the headwaters of the Tanana call the Yukon River, Niga To; the White River, Natsina; the Tanana, Nabesna, and by such names we spoke of them to the natives until we were two thirds of the way down the Tanana.

Schwatka (1885:301) and Robe (1943:22) report that Harper and an Englishman named Bates made the first raft descent of the Tanana around 1874. Their route went from Fetutlin, an Indian village near the present town of Eagle. With Indian packers, they crossed by an Indian trail to a point on the Tanana about 144° west longitude, where they descended by raft to the river's mouth in about ten days. Unfortunately, the two left no documented accounts of the trip.

Except for such sporadic attempts, no real penetration of the region was made until Allen's party ascended the Copper River in 1885, crossed Suslota Pass and came to the Tanana by way of the Tetlin River (Allen 1887:78-79). His time spent on the Tanana was brief; two nights at Nandells (Last Tetlin), two nights at Tetlin,

one night at Khiltat's (Mansfield) (Allen 1887:Tanana Map), yet he did observe a significant portion of the Upper Tanana bands. It wasn't until the late 1890's that the first miners reached the mouth of the Nabesna tributary. Frank Sam of Northway remembers the first one to come by: "in 1898 my daddy build one (cabin) and got stove in trade.....about that time man come Nabesna at other side of river (old village); big beard scared kids (us); Dad go with him to show him trail to Chisana River.....Take him to Chisana for gold."

By 1890, three prospectors named E.H. Wells, F.B. Pierce and F.H.D. Haas had followed the route from Fetutlin through the headwaters but had left no record of what occurred. In 1898, a party under Lieutenant William Castner had been turned back at the Tanana, after attempting to reach Circle by way of the Matanuska, Upper Susitna, Delta and Tanana Rivers. Not until late 1898, did the headwaters of the Tanana finally receive detailed attention. An expedition under geologist A.H. Brooks (1900), with W.J. Peters as topographer, ascended the White River and reached the Tanana by way of Snag and Mirror Creeks. Brooks recorded an excellent geologic and geographic account in his geologic survey, but since his exploration was strictly by boat, Allen's trip remained the only major penetration of the area. However, it remained for the work done in connection with the Valdez-Eagle Telegraph Line, established by the Signal Corps at Tanacross in 1902, to bring the outside world permanently to the

Upper Tanana.

A few years afterwards, attempts were made to establish trading posts in the Upper Tanana. Northway started one at Tetlin in 1909, and Newton, who moved from Healy River in 1912, tried one at Tanacross; but these were shortlived. In fact, until 1912, the closest steam scows got to Tanacross was George Creek above the Goodpaster River. Caches were built at this location and used by local traders. Only one trader, John Martin, remained at Tanacross, and he was bought out in 1912 by Episcopal Bishop Peter Trimble Rowe for the first mission house. It was not until the Chisana Gold Stampede of 1913, that permanent trading posts were constructed at Tetlin and the Mouth of the Nabesna.

The Tanacross mission of St. Timothy's was started in 1912 and operated continuously, except for a brief shutdown period from 1921 to 1931 (Alaska Churchman 1910:102). Rowe attempted to consolidate the natives of the Upper Tanana at the Crossing, yet the majority of the bands, with the exception of Mansfield, ignored these efforts, since their pattern of living did not fit a sedentary existence. In fact, on the whole, St. Timothy's had little influence on the Indians inhabiting the Healy River of the headwaters.

These people did feel the push of the gold seekers in the summer of 1913. With the advent of the Chisana Rush, the White, Tanana, Copper and Chisana drainages received a deluge of several

thousand people, who diminished after only a few years, but not until a post had been established at Chisana, and not before they had significantly interrupted the balance of wildlife in the region (as will be explained later). The trading posts, then, began to draw the bands to them, and their settlements became linked to the store. With the death of the last trader at Chisana in 1929, the Chisana and Nabesna Indians were forced to travel to posts on the Copper and Slana Rivers, and those operated by rival traders Ted Lowell and Milo Hajdukovich at Tanacross, Tetlin and the Mouth of the Nabesna, to barter for essential items. Using a combination of motor driven scows in the summer and dogteams in the winter, these traders serviced the natives both at their stores and the Indians' own hunting camps.

Interestingly enough, even though the Upper Tanana tried to play the traders against each other in a rivalry for a trade monopoly, the same trade, after contact in 1874 (Cf. Harper and Bates), increasingly metamorphosed their own existence from nomadic bands to sedentary groups about various posts. As this occurred, the caribou fence, along with the fishtrap and other native items, disappeared from the material culture, as a means for food supply. For with the trader had come the gun, and for the most, the beginning of the end of a way of life.

NEIGHBORING INDIANS

South and southwest of the Wrangells dwell the Copper River

natives. There has been considerable contact between the people of the Upper Tanana and those of the Copper in the past. McKennan (1959:21-22) reports that members of one group often lived with the other: "Of the four families camped on the head of the Nabesna..... the matriarch of all the four families was from Batzulnetas.....On the other hand, at Batzulnetas there was a Nabesna man married to a local girl." This kind of mingling even extended to the potlatch ceremony but the Upper Tanana acted as strangers at these, and Marie Guedon (Personal Communication) remarks that "the Copper potlaches [sic] were even more organized than the Upper Tanana." Dall (1877:34) designated these people as "Ahtana," while Allen (1888:128) refers to them as "Ahtnatana." Meanwhile the Upper Tanana refer to their neighbors under two terms, one for the Lower Copper below the Tazlina River, and one for the Upper Copper above the Tazlina: (1) the Lower Copper are called the Atna-Tġa-Kohtin, and (2) the Upper Copper are called Ta-Tġa-Kohtin: terms which refer specifically to their locations on the Lower and Upper drainage. They also correspond with the two divisions Allen (1887:128) noted. Yet both divisions considered themselves as distinct from each other. The Upper Tanana and Copper people were on speaking and trading terms usually, but this was always the case and at times relations between the two groups were not peaceful. Bremner (Seton-Karr 1887:213-215) mentions one such incident:

Dec. 4.....The Ma Nuska have killed three Col China and the Ma Nuska are nearly scared out of wits. They just brought

me a report that the Col China have murdered the Store keeper that keeps the company store on the Uycon (Yukon) somewhere near the mouth of the Tineneah.....

Dec. 18.....Things are looking bad the Col China have come to the Ma Nuska frontier and say they are going to clean the Ma Nuska out.

To the east of the Upper Tanana is another group known as the Kluane, Tutchone (BIA Report 1957:7) or the Netin as McKennan (1959) calls them (note that this is the same name as the Scotty Creek band of the Upper Tanana). They inhabit the valley of the White River from Canyon City to its mouth, and its western tributary, the Donjeck, and branches of the Nisling and the Kluane. In the past, relations were extremely warlike between them and the Upper Tanana; during less volatile times, however, the Kluane often acted as middle men for the trade between the Northwest Coast and the Tanana Valley. Today, it is not uncommon for a group of Tanacross residents to occasionally attend a Kluane potlatch.

North of this country we find the Upper Yukon Indians, known as the Han, who enjoyed considerable intercourse with the Tanana. Our records, however, of these natives are nebulous due to the confused nomenclature used to identify them. Dall (1877:31-32), who never saw the area, calls this group the Han-Kootchin, and Murray (1910:82) also calls them Han-Kootchin or Gens du Fou. Both men relied for their information on Kutchin-speaking individuals at Fort Yukon.

Schwatka gives us about our only accurate account of the peo-

ple whom he calls Aiyans. To avoid further confusion, we will simply call them Han (Osgood 1936:107 & 110-111). Today, remnants of the Han are concentrated largely at Eagle or on the Canadian Government Reservation at Moosehide, Y.T., near Dawson City (McKenna 1959:14). Of particular note is the striking cultural similarity between the Han and the Upper Tanana mentioned by McKenna in his Monograph (1959:31). According to Krauss (Personal Communication), a continuous linguistic change starts at the mouth of the Tanana and progresses smoothly right into the territory of the Han and Kutchin, and reflects a widening linguistic divergence through geographic separation; yet at the same time there is a definite linguistic connection.

North of the Upper Tanana Valley, we find the Middle Tanana and Lower Tanana peoples referred to by the Nabesna as Daath-Koht'in, who occupy an area stretching from Salchaket to the mouth of the Tanana (Baggen: Fieldnotes; Olson 1969:20). These people diverge from the Upper Valley in a change from a Whitefish-Caribou subsistence base to a Salmon and big game economy, and their language reflects a still present final consonant which is lost in the headwaters area of the river (Krauss: Personal Communication). According to Olson (1968:20) the Tanacross-Ketchumstock people frequently made the trip to Minto on the Lower Tanana and that intermarriage was common. I find this true for the headwaters also.

POPULATION AND BAND DESCRIPTIONS

Accepting McKennan's redefinition of the territory of the Upper Bands (1964:3), and my own informant material, we can divide the native population into eleven original bands, which through disease and mergers, etc., has today been reduced to four villages which represent mixtures of the original eleven. The list below describes both extinct and existing Upper Tanana Bands:

Scotty Creek. A nomadic band before and during the time of McKennan which inhabited an area from the mouth of Gardiner Creek to the mouth of the Snag River coalescing with the White. Only two survivors of the band remain.

Upper Chisana-Upper Nabesna. This group used to hunt and trap in the basins of the Chisana, Nabesna, the headwaters of the Chitina, and the White River. A semipermanent village existed for many years in the Chisana Valley at the mouth of Cross Creek. The same band wintered, formerly (in McKennan's time), on the Nabesna where McKennan met them in 1929. This camp stood on the east bank of the Nabesna tributary near the mouth of Copper Creek. Today, only Jack John Justin Jr. and his mother Lucy remain of the original group.

Mouth of the Nabesna. These people occupied the lower half of the Nabesna tributary. Formerly their main camp was called Kath Theel and was located about one and a half miles north of Northway. Residents collected there from May to July for spring and summer cari-

bou and whitefish runs. They hunted and trapped as far west as Gardiner Creek and as far east as Ladue Hill, above the Ladue River. Today, the remnants of this band, plus recent immigrants from the Upper tributaries, inhabit the Indian village one mile from the town of Northway.

Last Tetlin. This band was located at the base of the Nutzotin Range near Wagner Lake. Today the descendants are merged with Tetlin village on that portion on the east bank.

Tetlin. Tetlin village is located on the Tetlin Range approximately nine miles north of abandoned Last Tetlin village, midway between Tetlin Lake and the Tanana River. This group used a shared caribou fence with Last Tetlin village, which was situated between the two villages near the base of Tetlin hill. Formerly, they trapped and hunted from the Nutzotin Mountains north to the headwaters of Forty Mile Creek and along the Tanana from the mouth of the Tok River to the Nabesna tributary.

Mansfield-Tanacross. Old villages were located near Lake Mansfield, and consisted of three different villages of different time periods: (1) an unnamed village beneath the first hill and outlet creek bridge, and is the oldest village there, though it has never been excavated, (2) Dixthada (named after the lake) is one mile from Mansfield along the east bank of the outlet creek, and (3) Mansfield village which was occupied until 1912 after Dixthada was abandoned about a hundred years ago. They formerly hunted between

Mansfield Lake and Ketchumstock on the east to the mouth of the Robertson River on the west, and south to the mouth of the Tok River area. The village was moved in 1912 to Tanacross (Na-Tsíl-Tən) on the Tanana River 12 miles northwest of Tok. Today the village population is a composite of people from Mansfield, Sand Creek, George Creek and the Goodpaster River.

Ketchumstock. Inhabited an area from Ketchumstock Mountain northeast to Eagle. Closely affiliated with the Mansfield Band, with whom they shared a caribou fence referred to as Sa-Kas-Keg, in the vicinity of Ketchumstock, one mile west of Mosquito Fork, 70 miles southwest of Eagle on the Yukon Tanana high. The same fence was also shared by the Healy, George Creek and Sand Creek people and, at times, the Goodpaster Band. At present the band no longer exists, as it diffused to other villages, such as Mansfield and Eagle.

Healy River. The villages were primarily at Healy Lake and at Joseph village on the Middle Fork of Forty Mile Creek. They hunted and trapped an area from the Healy River northwest to the Middle Fork of Forty Mile and southeast as far as the West Fork. They utilized the same caribou fence as the Mansfield and Ketchumstock bands in the vicinity of Ketchumstock. Currently only a few members of the band survive and only one still resides at Healy Lake.

Mitchell (1961:82), who obtained his information from chief Joseph of the Healy River band in 1902, pins down band territory and numbers even further:

On the trip I fell in with the middle fork Indians on the forty mile river; whose chief, Joseph, became one of my great friends and companions later on. He had thirteen families under him. Their country began 100 miles south of the Yukon and extended over to the Tanana Divide.

George Creek. (N-gyəl-bənə) A semipermanent fish camp was formerly 6 miles from George Lake. A pre-contact fish camp was located 100 yards above this one on the same side as the contemporary camp, which was abandoned by the last members in the 1950's when a move was made to Tanacross. They used to hunt and trap an area from George Creek northwest to Sand Creek and northeast to Healy River, west to the Gerstle River and east to Ketchumstock.

Robinson Creek. Reported by Rainey as an extinct Upper Tanana Band of the vicinity (Rainey: Copper and Upper Tanana Diary). The creek itself flows northwest 3 miles to Wade Creek, and is approximately 45 miles southwest of Eagle. It is known alternatively as Robertson Creek. No information is currently available on the band.

Sand Creek. (Tsi-tsix-n-deə) Their post-contact villages intermittently occupied various portions of the first 3-4 miles of the creek, and one pre-contact village was described by Rainey (1936) about 15 miles up the creek [originally known as Sam Creek]. They hunted between Goodpaster River on the north, to George Creek on the south, and Middle Fork of Forty Mile on the east. The band died out in the early 1900's due to disease and no survivors are known.

CHAPTER II

PRE-CONTACT SETTLEMENT COMPOSITION AND HOUSING

SETTLEMENT AND EXPLOITATIVE PATTERNS

The Upper Tanana Bands led a generally nomadic life mixed with a degree of semi-sedentarism in villages during the summer. We can define the pre-contact period of these people as prior to 1874 (Robe 1943:22), when Harper and Bates first penetrated the Upper River from Fetutlin village, near the present town of Eagle, and descended by raft to the mouth of the Tanana. At this time, the natives of the region occupied two forms of settlement patterns: (1) the semi-permanent fishing village, and (2) the temporary hunting camp.

At this point some distinctions should be made between the village and the camp. They differed in three ways: (1) the village was generally permanent, and oriented on lake outlet streams to capitalize on the whitefish runs [some villages like Mansfield and Joseph formerly capitalized on both caribou and whitefish due to their location], while the camps were temporary and moved along major trails in search of big game, (2) the whole band occupied the village, whereas the camp might consist of anywhere from the entire band to perhaps one extended family, and (3) the village consisted of permanent housing while the camps consisted of portable shelters. Guedon (Personal Communication) describes an identical

situation from her own unpublished research on the villages of Tetlin and Tanacross:

In my Dissertation, I distinguish between camp and village. The villages have permanent houses and were (are) inhabited during December (Winter Festival) and July (for the whitefish runs), since villages were usually fishing settlements; but large scale caribou hunting was done when the caribou was not too far. They (villages) were meeting places.

The camps were semi-permanent or temporary sites inhabited by small groups, usually in a band or small family camps, for hunting.

"Village sites as well as hunting camps were.....recognized as 'camps.' (gei)" (Guedon 1971:64), but Guedon (1971:65) further elaborates and distinguishes the fishing settlement from other camps as follows:

This settlement then stands out as a main center of activity and as a meeting place. For this reason, and to distinguish it from other camps, we will use the term 'village' to designate it. The villages themselves were not necessarily fixed and could be moved, for instance, after the death of some powerful chief, or shaman.

Chang (1962, 1:31) classifies the settlement patterns of the Northern Na-Dene (Osgood 1936:20-21) under the "category of Sedentary Seasonal Settlements" and defines the term:

All of the groups under examination, including the..... Ahtena (Allen 1889:261-262), Tanaina (Osgood 1937:55), Kutchin (Osgood 1936:48-54).....seem to have an annual cycle of shifting occupations among one or two concentrated settlements and a number of scattered camps, all of which, occupied in turn by a certain group of people, seem to remain in one and the same annual subsistence region year after year, though the locales they choose for settlement (within the limits of the region) might be constantly changing. This general pattern, on the other hand, further diversifies, owing to a variety of ecological consideration in different parts of the whole area. A useful, but possibly oversimplified, subdivision

in this regard is to subdivide the whole Northern Athapaskan area into a Western zone, where fishing is equal to, if not dominant over, gamehunting as the subsistence here, and an Eastern zone, where the hunting of wild game (mainly caribou) predominates, though the fishing season remains important. In the former, the people gather on the seashore or by river banks or lake shores in concentrated settlements in the fishing seasons, the timing of these depending on the running seasons of various species of fish.

The Upper Tanana fit the general category proposed by Chang, and more specifically, the western subdivision (Chang 1962, 1:35-36).

Murdock (1967:159) seems to go along with this distinction for the "Nabesna" [Upper Tanana] as he classifies their village patterns as "seminomadic communities whose members wander in bands for at least half of the year but occupy a fixed settlement at some season or seasons....."

However, in addition to Chang's category of the settlement pattern, which deals strictly with the spatial, size controls, etc., Helm (1969) suggests another category, that of the "exploitative pattern" which to a large measure controls the location and orientation of the settlement pattern. Welsh (1970:18) quotes Helm's definition of the relationship between the two as follows:

Exploitative Pattern, resulting from cultural definition of environmental resources and of the tools and techniques for the utilization of these resources, imposes broad limits and requirements upon the settlement pattern.....Settlement Pattern comprises the society's forms of human occupations (for example, nucleated vrs, dispersed groups in their temporal, spatial and size dimensions existing through seasonal or other exploitative cycles. Settlement patterns would seem to set boundaries of possibility for community patterns.

For the sake of maintaining consistency with the terms, "Set-

tlement and Exploitative Patterns," as Chang (1962:36-37) and Helm (1969:213) define them, our discussion of the settlement patterns will only cover those aspects of the settlement that are directly related to ecology and subsistence, and except for a brief correlation of the effect of the matrilineage, those parts of the pattern best explained by social organization will be considered under "Community Patterns."

My informants remember pre-contact villages at Cross Creek (tetsotla) on the Chisana headwaters, "Kath Theel," at the mouth of the Nabesna (see Plate 18), "Na-gettha" (Old Tetlin) on the right bank of the Tetlin River, Last Tetlin near Wagner Lake, Dixthada near Mansfield, "Ta-Tceg" (Rainey 1936) at the mouth of Fish Creek below Lake Mansfield, George Creek, Sand Creek, Healy Lake, Robinson Creek and Jiza Cha-Tha at Goodpaster River.

Normally each village was situated on the bank of the outlet stream that cut into high ground (see Fig. 4). Frequently this was the right bank, though no one could give me any reason for this arrangement. Rainey (1939:9-12) reported the same location preference for sites at George Creek and Sam (Sand) Creek:

Moses and I started down river with 30 gal. of gas. Very cold. Clouds. Run 7 hours, 60 miles, to Sam Creek (now Sand Creek) passing the mouth of the Robertson which is still covered with ice.....Four cabins and three tents at Sam's camp (3-4 miles above the mouth of Sam Creek almost on bank [right]).....All people down at Healy.....Thursday, May 25, pack all our stuff (70 lbs a piece) 2 1/2 miles across to Jarvis fish camp on the Creek (15 miles above the mouth of the creek) three cabins, two tents, on low ridge between Sam Lake and Sam Creek on the right limit of the creek. Several house



Plate 18. — Pre and Post-Contact Lower Nabesna Fishing Village Known as Kath Theel.

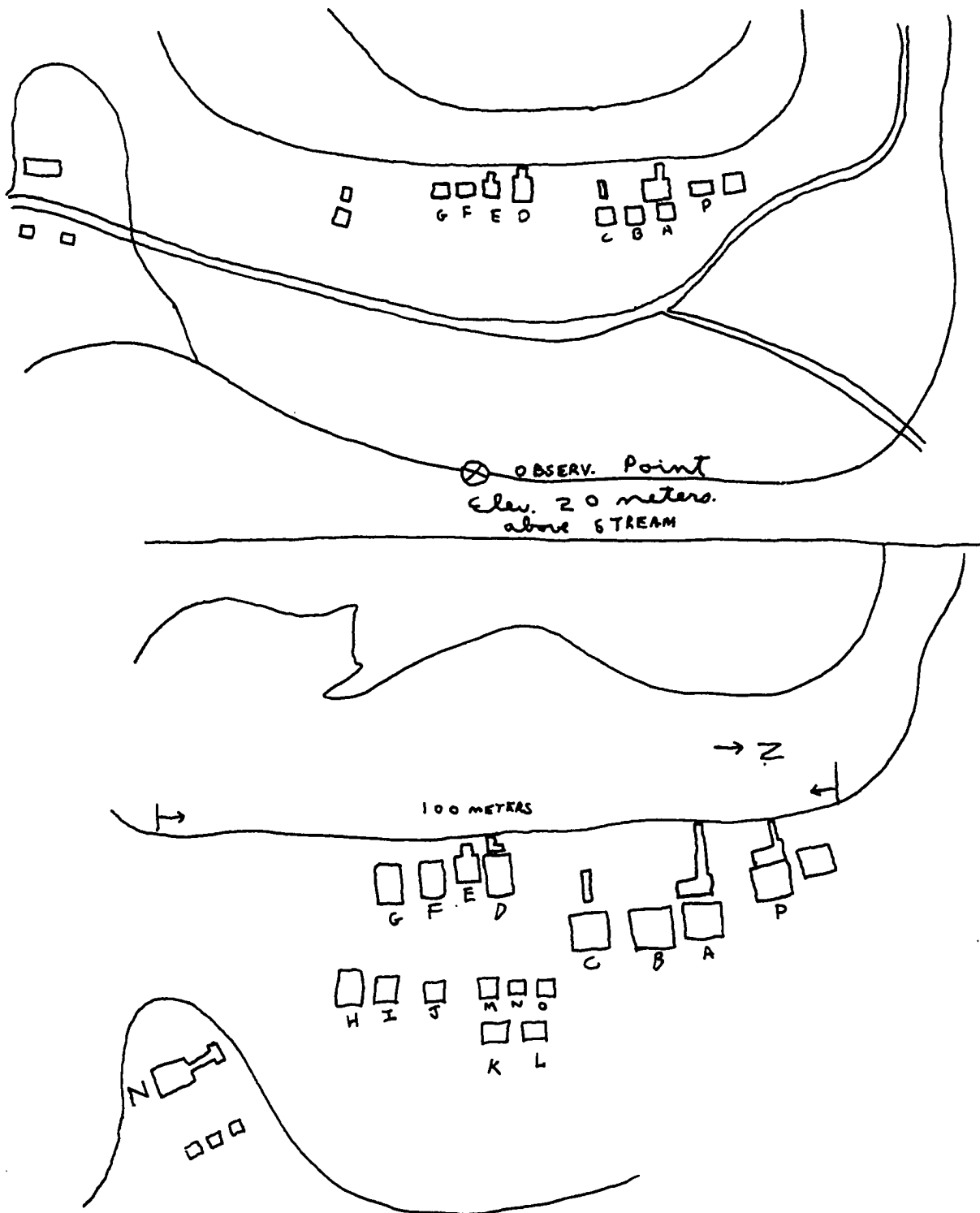


FIG. 4 PRE-CONTACT DIXTHADE SETTLEMENT
PATTERN AS EXCAVATED BY RAINEY (1939)

depressions and refuse along the bank of the creek.....no old settlements. Found out later it was one mile down stream at the foot of high hill on the right limit.....Pulled up at George Creek.....Frank Luke the only man at this camp. Wife and 4 children. Three cabins still standing on the right side.Old fish camp 100 yds above present camp on same side..... Two house depressions about 12'x18'x3. Middens 12' in diameter in front of each house.

A possible factor in the choice of the cut bank for occupation may be that the high ground on this side provides much better shelter from the elements.

Greenfield (1893:126) states much the same thing that the Upper Tanana "...live in small bands, with settlements generally away from the main river, in sheltered portions, and are distinguished only by the name of the chief of each band."

A similar situation is mentioned by Welsh (1970:21) for the Vunta Kutchin at Old Crow:

Just as housing was influenced by both ecological and cultural consideration, so also was the location and arrangement of structures related to both kinds of forces. At all seasons houses faced to the leeward. (Furthermore for added protection)

.....There seems to have been a basic dichotomy between settlements located on bodies of water, generally fish camps, whose structures were arranged in rows facing the water, and those not on bodies of water, usually hunting camps, which seem to have less regular structural arrangements.

In any event, the location of the Upper Tanana village along lake outlet streams clearly indicates their orientation toward a fishing source [occasionally indirectly a caribou migration route].

Rainey (1939: 362, 372, 378, 379) noted the same orientation while he worked in the Upper Tanana:

The present Nabesna village was built around a trading post situated seven miles above the mouth of the Nabesna, but the old village.....is located on a lake (Kath Theel) some five miles distant.....The Nabesna people, who depend for food primarily on whitefish caught in small clear water streams flowing out of numerous lakes, were camped at the old site taking the summer's catch.

.....Indians from various settlements in the lower river valley have moved up to the Tanana-Crossing-Mansfield region. From these people.....I learned of the old settlements in the lower valley and the reason for their situation on clear water streams....Whitefish can be trapped in large numbers as they move in to and out of the lakes at the head of each stream.

Practically all old sites known to the Indians are found on small clear water streams tributary to the Tanana, Copper and Yukon Rivers, and not on the banks of these great rivers, as had been expected. The reason for this is that bands of the Athapaskan Indians occupying the area depend for food primarily upon fish (whitefish) which can be obtained most easily in lakes and clear water streams. The Indians at present, and quite certainly aboriginally, disperse in family groups at certain seasons to trap and hunt caribou and moose, but return to the fishing sites in spring and summer to obtain the staple food.

Service (1968:87) notes the same subsistence emphasis for the Alaskan Athapaskan bands when he refers to Athapaskan social organization:

The section (on Athapaskans) does not consider all of the Canadian Athapaskans, for those west of the Rockies and in Alaska were fishermen resembling the Northwest coast chiefdoms in many respects.

Olson (1968:125) states that the pre-contact villages of the Lower Tanana were also located in relation to available whitefish sources. It appears, then, that whitefish constituted a significant portion of native subsistence along the Tanana drainage at one time. Unlike the Copper people, the Tanana below the Goodpaster, could not harvest salmon in any quantity before the introduction of

the fish wheel in 1903. Like the Haida (Fraser 1968:23-24) whose fish surpluses served through the winter, the whitefish catch was a definite survival factor for all of the Tanana during the harsh months of February and March, when game was scarce at best.

However, the importance of the fish staple did not have much bearing, other than location, on the outline of the fishing village. These were arranged according to Kin Clusters of matrilineages or Matrilines (McKenna 1965:106; Guedon Personal Communication). Kath Theel, for example, is described by Walter Northway as consisting of "three parts" or sections. Generally a couple practiced matrilocal residence near the wife's parents (see Community Patterns).

In contrast to the fishing village, the hunting camp or "ZΛx-Dik-Naiⁿ-Ta, "Move house set up house camp," could include either band or groups as small as one extended family. They would vary, then, from about 70 to 10 people depending on the situation. Adney (1900:500) records a typical Han camp, which closely parallels the Upper Tanana:

In our little village [camp for our purposes] there were seven lodges. In the chief's house were nine persons and eleven dogs divided into two households, each family having a side of the fire to itself. On ours were Isaac, his wife Elize, with a nursing boy less than a year old, myself and three natives dogs.....On the other side were a middle-aged, stockily built man known as "Billy" or the "Missionary Man," and his wife and two girls respectively about eight and ten years of age, and a boy of the same uncertain age. Each family had its own cooking outfit.

Richardson (1851:392-393) gives a somewhat more detailed

account of a similar Kutchin hunting camp:

Each family possesses a deer-skin (caribou) tent or lodge, the skins used in winter being prepared without removing the hair, that the cold air may be more effectively excluded. In the summer, when the family is traveling in quest of game, the tent is rarely erected. A winter encampment is made usually in a grove of spruce firs. The ground being cleared of snow the lodge-skins are extended over flexible willow poles, which take a semicircular form, and are transported from place to place.....when the Kutchin winter-lodge is raised, snow is packed on the outside to half its height, and it is lined equally high within with the young spray of spruce fir, that the bodies of the inmates may not rest against the cold wall.

This same type of camp pattern fitted the Upper Tanana bands when they were on the move. During the first part of winter before February, the band normally stayed together, but after February, they frequently sub-divided into one or two extended family groups. Baggen (Fieldnotes) and Olson (1968:17) report the same condition for the Millde and Lower Tanana. During the winter or summer, two categories of camps characterized the moving pattern: (1) the $\check{z}\wedge x$ -Dik-Naiⁿ-Ta, which was the main camp, and (2) the Kon't-Tsay "Fire Camp," or Hunters Camp, which was used by hunters away from the main camp on hunting expeditions. As a general rule, women, children and old people remained at the main camp while the hunters went foraging for two or three days at a time.

The main camp dwellings were set up immediately in winter with no one stopping until they were complete. Normally the skin tent (or occasionally bark replaced skin in times of need) $n\check{a}$ -ba $\check{z}\wedge x$ was used by two nuclear families in winter but a double lean-to, or Cia Dzook, might be used if the extended family lacked sufficient skins for

the other form. During the summer, tents with bark covering (see Pre-Contact Housing) usually replaced the skin tent, but often they only bothered to erect a lean-to which they covered with bark. After the tents were completed, in winter, a triangular storage platform, known by the general platform term of Tat Tbeth, was set up by each family on their side of the skin tent. The family stored all their household goods not used, including the toboggan, as protection against animals, such as their dogs. While the adults were busy at their tasks, it was the job of the younger children, and those not yet designated as men, to carry meat, firewood, clean the camp, and to keep an eye on younger siblings.

Usually a boy graduated from this at about ten or twelve when he began accompanying all hunting parties. By the time he was twelve to fifteen, if he had demonstrated his hunting skill, he was considered a full man. As such he would participate in the three to six man hunting expeditions that periodically left the camp. These groups would establish the Kon't Tsay, or hunter's camp, near areas of major game signs and each man would hunt independently from the rest, in different directions somewhat resembling the spokes of a wheel. At night they returned to the small camp. Usually an old man went along on the hunting and did the cooking and recited the prowess of the hunter in return for a portion of the hunter's catch. When sufficient meat was finally obtained, some of the hunters would return to the main camp and move tents, women and children to the

hunter's camp, where the women dried the meat. Usually the main camp did not move more than fifteen miles a day and Adney (1900:501) recorded the move of a Han camp which approximates the Upper Tanana:

The following morning before daybreak word was given "all go." Toboggans were rattled off the caches and the houses were taken down and loaded as swiftly as they had been set up. We made ten miles, part of the way on a miner's trail, the rest on snow shoes, and camped exactly as before.

After arriving at the location of the meat, the main camp was set up again and the meat dried on a squared platformed Tat Tbeth. Some of it would be taken when the camp moved to a new location but the bulk of the meat was stored at the same location in a box high cache or Chen Yiit for later use.

According to Kitty John, one of my informants, camp movements were controlled to a large degree by the medicine man, as well as the Ha'Ke or leader. The medicine man utilized "good medicine belt with woman on it for luck, and caribou, moose, or fish for luck in hunting. When he slept at night he would be told if it good to hunt in a place and tell people." Thus, when no one was sure of a direction to travel, the medicine man would be frequently consulted for his advice.

By February, the camps often retired to individual hunting/fishing lakes for fishing and hunting, and here the bands established family groups of one or two extended families to use these private resorts, which were hereditary from ego to his sister's son (SISO). Such smaller groups might stay at these lakes, if the fishing were good, for the entire summer, instead of shifting to the

main fishing village in May. Examples of this type were found at Tiniya (Butterfly Lake), Midway Lake and Tlechehn Lake, about 1/2 mile between Tetlin River and Midway Lake. In effect, the individual lake complex served as a late winter hunting range and, at times, a summer fishing village.

VILLAGE AND HUNT CAMPS AS SOCIAL UNITS

Field researchers often ask themselves the question: what group does such and such a people belong to? And frequently the word tribe enters the picture. However, as in the case of the Central Alaska Athapaskan, there is no such designation for such a unit in native terminology (McKenna 1965:99). The Upper Tanana do consider their "bands" as distinct from say, the Chena-Salcha, but they do not have a term classifying it, even though they identify with the idea.

Instead they classify themselves according to a social and geographic context which, for lack of a better word, we call bands. McKenna (1965:102) states they vary in size from "about 20 to 75" people, and that the fishing and hunting bands consisted of primarily the same people; but I have found that the band could and frequently did, split into smaller units of two extended families or even one when game conditions warranted it and when retiring to private hunting and fishing lakes in February. Guedon (14 Dec. 1970:3) also implies the same things in her unpublished work on social organization for the Upper Tanana: "The camps are semi-permanent or temporary sites inhabited by small groups usually two nuclear families at the

most." About the only occasions the band came together was during the early winter caribou hunt at the "Corrals," the December winter "gathering up" at the village, the summer occupation of the fishing villages, and the funeral potlatch.

Welsh (1970:22-23) in summing up the situation among the Vunta Kutchin, perhaps describes these social units best:

To summarize the aboriginal picture, in terms of exploitative and settlement patterns, we see the typical Northern Athabaskan picture of seasonal in-gathering and dispersal on a hunting and fishing base, with group size, group location, dwelling type and dwelling placement varying in accordance with climate and resources being exploited.

COMMUNITY PATTERNS

The Upper Tanana appear to fall under what Chang (1962:33) defines as the "Western" or "Siberian" type community, where membership consists of a fairly permanent group of people "recruited by birth, by marriage, and occasionally, by adoption, and is more closed than open." Guedon (Personal Communication) emphasizes this same restriction to outsiders for the Upper Tanana bands: "For the moment I can only say that from my point of view, each group, or band, was not fairly open to newcomers, in spite of all the movements that were going on."

Chang (1962:35-36) further refines his definition by stating that, like settlement patterns, the Northern Athapaskans also fall under a Western and Eastern Community Zone. He defines everything west of the Kutchin as belonging to the Western Zone, and everything

east of them as belonging to the opposite zone. He describes the two as follows:

The community of the western zone is largely of the Siberian type, ordinarily composed of a matrilineage, a localized sector of the Matri-clan, or several Matri-lineages or Matri-clan sectors. A clan has a name derived from the locality and a common territory which is subdivided for use among its constituent extended families. Its localized sector always resides together, either in separate houses or a communal house. The kinship-bound unit is also symbolically represented by a pre-conceived plan of house clusters.....During the wandering seasons, the inhabitants of a community split according to kinship lines of demarcation and each section moves to its particular hunting or fishing territories.

.....Both of the features of the western groups (clan and fixed community membership) are lacking in the eastern zone where nuclear families play eminent roles in social and economic activities, the kinship is bilateral, the membership of a community (a "band" or part of it), which is of the Eskimo type, is kinship-free, and families change from one community to the next even within a single season. The layout of the community, in contrast to the western planning, and segmental patterns, is ordinarily irregularly arranged.....

Certainly the Upper Tanana seem to fit the western community division, and we shall see this more clearly as we turn to a discussion of the next section.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE SETTLEMENTS

Band Organization:

The Upper Tanana matri-bands consisted of one or more family lines, each consisting of several families following the general plan of the matrisib. These comprised both consanguineal and affinal connections. Such lines resulted in the characteristic "kin related cluster" mentioned in the general discussion of the village pattern, and the village was, in effect, broken down according to these

McKenna (1965:106) describes one he found during his fieldwork in 1929, which followed this pattern closely:

The band [upper Nabesna] consisted of 16 persons (6 men, 5 women, 5 children), and constituted four households. All were related to "Old Mama," an ancient widow, who lived alternately in the households of her three middle-aged offspring. The four households in terms of their relationship to "Old Mama" were as follows: (1) so, sowi, soso (young unmarried adult); (2) so, sowi, 2 soch; (3) da, dahu, daso (young unmarried adult); (4) brso, brsowi (who was also dada) 2 brsoch.

Yet McKenna's example also demonstrates that the kin clusters of the Upper Tanana community pattern did vary from the ideal norm of the strict matri-cluster, with cases of occasional patrilocality, and though matrilocal residence was the ideal rule, it was not always followed in practice. Murdock (1967:156) also affirms this ideal of uxorilocal residence with occasional patrilocality deviations. Ego, after residing a year with his in-laws, could if he was not compatible with them, choose to return to his own matrisib.

Of some interest, though, is the fact that the author did find some evidence to support the idea that the sib played a definite role in the arrangement of the hunting camp according to sib lines. My Tanacross informants tell me that the camps were arranged in a semisphere-like form somewhat similar to Welsh's (1970:22) mention of the Peel River Kutchin "with families of the largest or supposedly principal sibs on either side of the main axis." However, their recollections were somewhat vague as to the position of each of the Upper Tanana sibs in this arrangement. They may well be due to the

fact that no Upper Tanana who were adults at that time survived today.

RESIDENCE

Generally residence was matrilocal among the Upper Tanana. Initially ego spent at least a year with his future in-laws doing bride service. After marriage, the couple remained with the bride's parents in their lodge (winter dwelling or summer skin tent) until the first baby was born, when ego would form his own residence. Usually he established his residence near his wife's parents, but he had the option of either continued matrilocality or returning to his own people. If he remained in his wife's village, his brother-in-law, plus that individual's family, would usually move in with him as his hunting partner, or s'klaa. Ego normally shared all his economic activity with this man. The type of persistent matrilocality created a series of irregular matri-lines or lineages (McKenna 1965:106) in the village which became, in effect, the dominant force behind the village and camp outline. Rainey (1936: 49-50) gives an informant's description of matrilocal principle at work:

Chief Walter Isaac says a man of one clan marry women of other. If Tsigagiyu marry Tsesuh first and she dies, he must marry Tsesuh again....Man always goes to woman's village or usually trouble. Walter married Ketchumstock girl. When his father died people claim Walter (for chief) and sent word. He came down from Ketchumstock with wife. She didn't like it. Went back etc. etc. Finally she come to think of this Mansfield as home. Stayed there.

Inglis (1970:154-155) gives a reasonable explanation on just

how the interior rule of matrilocality may have come about:

For the southwest, Eggan (1966:136) postulates the demands of "cooperation in grinding and preparation" as providing further towards matrilocality; on the Northwest Coast, the preparation and preservation of both gathered and hunted food would be an analogous feature. For the men, matrilocality residence after marriage, even if it involved moving from one village to another, would not necessarily entail the difficulties postulated for land-hunters. It is under such conditions as there, I would suggest, that the migrant interior indians could have become first matrilocality and then matrilineal. For this hypothesis to apply, it is not necessary to postulate any specific type of social organization for the migrants, although it seems likely that they would have some form of band organization..... if patrilocality was the rule, the shift to matrilocality could have taken place, in accordance with Murdock's (1949:216-217) statement of sequence, by way of an intermediate shift to bilocality (i.e., no rule of residence) and thence to matrilocality. If they lacked a rule of residence, a shift to matrilocality could have taken place in one step.

The significance of Inglis' statement will be seen even more in chapter III when we discuss the post-contact period. In any event, the habit of shifting residence, among the Upper Tanana, in line with a matrilocality rule was partly responsible for the fluidity seen in the band populations. McKennan (1965:102-103) notes this for the Mansfield-Ketchumstock people:

In June 1885 Allen found at the outlet of Lake Mansfielda fishing village which he called "Kheeltat's" after its chief. Rice who visited the same area in July, 1899, found 50 natives camped there.....Griffiths, who visited the same fishing camp only a few weeks later on Aug. 3, 1899, described it as a village of about 65 "inhabitants."

Yet it was only partly due to seasonal shifting subsistence occupations.

Descent :

According to my Upper Tanana informants, the Upper Tanana reckoned descent matrilineally. The village sections were a collection of these consanguineals and affinals which, nevertheless, followed the idea of a matrisib (McKenna 1965:106).

Household:

For the Upper Tanana, two nuclear families comprised the average household occupying a lodge. Each could consist of several possibilities: (1) ego and his family plus his grandmother and grandfather, (2) ego and his family plus his MOBR and family, (3) ego and his family plus his FABR and family, (4) ego and his family plus his MOBRSO and his family, and (5) ego and his family plus his FASISO and his family. However, in most cases, the male cross-cousin, or brother-in-law, of ego, as his sk'laa, or normal hunting partner, shared the lodge. My Tanacross informants tell me that a favored MOBR or FABR might occasionally assume this role. In any event, this combination was the basic social unit of these people for the village and the "moving camp." Guedon (Personal Communication) suggests the same thing from her research in Tetlin and Tanacross:

Concerning the kinship system, the notion of "partners" (meaning cross-cousins) may help to explain the composition of some households. In the summer house, then, you might frequently have two sides, each of which is occupied by one family.....There might be the same arrangement in the winter house (fishing village or hunting camp).

Olson's description of the lower Tanana extended family "as

the heart of Minto life and influenced everything that a person knew or did" might also have just as easily been said for the Upper Tanana. This definitely agrees with McKennan's (1959:75) concept that the two family unity was the basic group of the region.

Kinship Terminology:

Ego's paternal and maternal ascending generation relatives are categorized under separate terms which distinguish the paternal from the maternal side, in what is, essentially, a simple bifurcate collateral system. The FA, FABR, and FASI (S'taa, S'tai and S'ton), the MO, MOBR and MOSI (S'naa, Sh'ae and S'age) distinctions help to maintain the unity of the matrilineage, which is in turn, responsible for the cluster-like pattern which characterizes the community of the Upper Tanana villages. (Note that the prefix s denotes "my" or relation in terms of ego.) Ego's own generation is set up in accordance with Iroquois cross-cousin terminology and Dravidian sibling and parallel-cousin titles (Murdock 1970:174). Parallel cousins and siblings are known by the same terms but are distinguished from each other according to age: Sh'ona (older brother), Sh'ade (older sister), S'tal (younger brother) and S'taaa (younger sister). This type of classification further reinforces the idea of the matrilineage as the all important social force in Upper Tanana society. This also goes hand in hand with the ideas of Chang (1962) and Levi-Strauss (1953:533-534) that the community patterns of the Northern Athapaskans are basically projections of the social organization.

SIB MIGRATIONS AND THE SETTLEMENTS

The history and mythology of the origin of the Upper Tanana sibs points to a complex history of migrations, subjugations and mergers which probably profoundly altered the settlement outlines of the region even before contact. Heinrich (1956:3) briefly mentions the effect of band intrusions, possessing new sibs, on Upper Tanana settlements, in a paper on Tetlin clans:

After arrival on the Upper Tanana, the Naltsiin "made peace," "made villages," and "found" other clans, in other words, they conquered the country, settled it and incorporated other groups, while the Tigaxiyu, farther south did likewise The Alatdindei were found on an island in Midway Lake. . . . the Naltsiin discovered their plight, ferried them across to land, and took them in. As the Tigaxiyu spread northward, and the Naltsiin southward, they met in the neighborhood of Tonsina and decided to join forces on equal terms.

Rainey (1936:69) generally agrees with this historical account, furnished by Heinrich's Tetlin informants, but goes on to state that the original Naltsiin, known by their old name Tcin Tcet̄ Tcetai, forced the Atzadene into alliance with them, due to their greater numbers, and finally merged with them, forming the Naltsiin moiety in its infancy. Until then no other sibs were represented in the Upper Tanana (McKenna 1959:125). Interestingly enough, as we trace the sib system over the Tanana, south to the Copper River and finally to Cook Inlet, we find distinct similarities in organization.

Among the Lower Tanana, Olson (1968:71) describes the following sib groups:

The three primary groups are the "Caribou People," "Fish-tail People," and "Middle People." The other names mentioned

were the "neltciin," "Red Paint".....and the "Rabbit Foot" or "Rabbit Tail People."

.....The Minto People refer to themselves as all coming from "Three Sisters" somewhere to the south of them.

As we turn to the Upper Tanana, we find a situation which parallels the Lower Tanana sibs fairly closely. McKennan (1959:123-125) proposed three original phratries for the Upper Tanana: (1) Neltcin, (2) Tcion, and (3) the Niisu or Marten (Rabbit Skin) People. He suggests that these phratries had evolved into a moiety system when the Niisu had merged with the Neltcin. My informants at Northway, Frank Sam and Walter Northway, bear this out, but insist that the Tcion (wolf) (tci'an) group came in late from the Yukon territory and into generally only the Lower Nabesna area of the Upper Tanana. Walter Northway, who is Niisu, stated it this way: "Tcion and Takoyu (Swan) and Caan are on Canadi side. My grandpa (FAFA) from Canadi side Tcion and Caan (Eagle)." Both also associate the wolf with the Thikaxiyu (Thikaniyu) and Atzadene of the Naltsiina (Crow moiety), as does David Paul of Tanacross. At Tetlin, Last Tetlin and Tanacross, in place of the Tcion moiety from Canada, informants insert the Shosa (cha/tha), or Tcia (Baxqai) phratry represented by the seagull. Rainey (1936), in his diary of the Upper Tanana and Copper Rivers, describes the same situation when he reported the crow origin myth for the Upper Tanana clans which does not include the Tcion, but does the new name for the Shosa which he calls Tcitcelyu (informant was Walter Isaac of Tanacross):

"Old crow (Dətsəh) and his nephew black bird were hungry. B.B. (Black Bird) put old crow in fishes tail. Old bear comes and crow caws and scares him away. Crow puts B.B. in fish. Bear comes and eats B.B. B.B. cuts open bear's stomach with little knife. They boil out grease in birch bark containers. Eat much. Later Crow hungry nearly starves. B.B. carries him on back then tires out and dumps him off. Falls to ground and he finds him. B.B. goes and sees house where there is a big party. Hears drum and people singing. Goes in and no one there. Thinks of his uncle crow and two tears come: one black and one white. (Possibly significant to black crow and white seagull moieties.) Goes back and finds old crow lying on ground nearly dead. Old Crow send B.B. to get his feathers strewn about and he finally finds them and the two fly back to the house. Go in and no one there. Old Crow kicks a container of red paint and out run 2 or 3 boys and girls. He calls them Tsesuh Tcizu; kicks caribou tail and out run Naltsin (Tcin Tcet~~z~~ Tcetai); kicks a blue paint container and out run Tceceluh (old name Sh'yosa; also note Tsegega otter sib associated with blue paint); kicks knife sheath and out come Taltsin; kicks moose tail and out run Atsadenee Atzatne; kicks wolf tail and out come tigagiuh (Thikaxiyu). Each clan considers a part of two birds and animals their relations.

Guedon also confirms this moiety setup (Personal Communication):

Concerning the clans, I have used the terms moieties instead of phratries. According to the information I was able to get, there are Crow (Raven) vrs. Seagull among the Upper Tananathe influence of the Canadian system, Crow vrs. Wolf is important in Northway, but rapidly fades away to the west of Tetlin.

Baggen (Fieldnotes) reports the same moiety designations for the Middle Tanana from Salchaket to Chena, as Guedon (Personal Communication) does for the Upper Tanana.

Sibs and Their Symbols:

The following information on sibs and their symbols is a compilation of the author's own research, and comments from other fieldworkers as cited:

(1) Tcizu--Red Paint; This sib is loosely connected with the Eagle or Caan portion of the seagull phratry. It probably merged with the Tciaan (Guedon 1971) before the overall moiety of Shosa/Tcia (Baxqai) was formed. Fish and ducks are considered lesser relations to this clan.

(2) Naltsiin--The sib is associated with a caribou tail. As translating "Wolverine People," it was referred to by Chief Peter Tetlin. Krauss' transcriptions of the words Nəlt tsiz' or naltsize, which he translates for wolverine in Upper Tanana dialect, appear to agree.

(3) Shosa [called by Guedon Tc'iaaz (1971:114)]--The bear sib also associated with the Seagull, which at one time is thought to have contained the extinct Tsegega (otter) clan (Rainey 1936:72), origin unknown, which merged with the seagull moiety at varying intervals. Somewhere along the line, a merger also seems to have taken place between the Nitcelyu (Salmon tail people) and Shosa, since the latter is reported to be (Rainey 1936:74) the old name for that sib. Frank Sam of Northway supported this view and states that though the two are now the same, they were formerly separate. However, at Mansfield and Healy, the sib designation derived from Shos, or bear, has survived as the designation for sea gull moiety, perhaps since the tcia clan was not represented there. It has also survived as a moiety between Salchaket and Chena.

(4) Tsegega--Identified with otter; no origin outside of blue

paint associated is known. McKennan (1959:125) also mentions it briefly.

(5) Kiikiyu--They are referred to as the Snow Bunting People, but their origin is unknown. Generally they are thought to have been a sib that existed in the Northway and Nabesna area, as well as the Copper River.

(6) Niisu--This sib or phratry is identified with the Marten and is thought at a late date to have completely merged with the Naltsiina moiety.

(7) Tciticelyu--The fish tail people are thought to have merged early in the Shosa/Tcia moiety.

(8) Takoyu--Swan sib, now extinct. The moiety bears its sib emblem.

(9) Altzadene--This sib is associated with a moose tail origin and referred to as the "Fearless People." Historically, they merged with the Tcin Tceti Tcetai to form the beginnings of the Naltsiina moiety. In addition, the sib supposedly has "relatives" in the wolf and crow (Rainey 1936).

(10) Taltsiin--The Taltsiin are associated with a knife sheath origin. Rainey states they came from the coast up to Valdez Creek. My informants agreed with that direction.

(11) Thikaxiyu--The Thikaxiyu are associated with a wolf tail origin. In the crow legend, they are referred to as wolf people by Rainey (1936: Upper Tanana and Copper Diary). McKennan (1959:124)

reports that native belief has them originating from "ethereal down," and my informants also associate them with a secondary "coming" as a type of down in the form of "cotton tree stuff." Frank Sam of Northway elaborated on the down legend as follows:

One time stars close to trees and people could see and touch them. Each person had one star that mine or yours. One man's two daughters became stars.

One old lady then come to a village and she have nobody so she offered slaves, but don't want these for people, so she go away and "pray" and finally prayer answered and man's two girls and other people that had become stars come down like snow after hearing woman's story. They fly down like snow and become her people.

(12) Tcia/Baxqai--Seagull sib. Mythical origin unknown.

Baggen (Fieldnotes) states that, according to legend, several birds turned into the various Indian tribes of the Tanana: (1) the swan, seagull, white bird (bunting) and the crane became the basic "Tcha Tzna," (Shosa or seagull moiety), (2) the mallard duck, geese and pintail ducks turned into the Naltsiina, and (3) the loon into the Altzatdene. Rainey (1936:77) notes the seagull was originally associated with the extinct tsegega clan which he states may have been one of the first to merge with the seagull clan during its moiety status.

(13) Tcion (tciaan)--This moiety group is loosely connected with a wolf "relation." One of my informants, Frank Sam of Northway, refers to them as "high People" in relation to his own opposing moiety, the Naltsiina. No mythical origin is known. However, they are credited with a recent entrance from Canada into the Lower

Nabesna area. They have subsequently overlapped with the seagull moiety designation tcia-baxqai for opposing moiety status to naltsiin.

Upper Tanana History of Sib:

(1) Tcin Tcetł Tcetai--Otherwise known as the "Real Naltsiin." Rainey (1936:69) suggests that according to Upper Tanana legend the Tcin Tcetł Tcetai came from the direction of Nenana up the Tanana. The similarity of the clan name with that of the extinct Sand Creek band suggests the bulk of the sib may have been descended from a band after it invaded the Upper Tanana. They made their first alliance and subsequent merger with the Atzadene, who already occupied the region when they arrived. Under its Naltsiin designation, the sib roughly translates as "wolverine people."

(2) Atzadene--They were known as "One People, or the Fearless People." They were also associated with a moose tail origin (cf. crow myth of the sibs) and with the Raven as both a clan and moiety symbol. Rainey reported (1936:57) that the wolf is also associated with the founding of the sib: "Man with baby has wife die--Wolf hangs about door finally comes in and nurses baby--kills Caribou and moose--Raises baby--He father of Atzadende."

Their origin was not known but they were supposedly found on an island in Tauchin Lake by the Tcin Tcetł Tcetai. Later they merged with the Tcin Tcetł Tcetai and formed the Naltsiin moiety after meeting and ending war, somewhere on the Copper River. As the

infant Naltsiin moiety spread southward, it encountered the Thikaxiyu or "Wolf Tail People," associated with the cotton wood cotton and incorporated them into what Heinrich (1956:3) calls the "amalgamated Naltsiin." At a much later date, the then-amalgamated Naltsiin discovered the Nissu floating downriver in rabbit skin rafts. The Naltsiin took long poles, saved them and took them in.

(3) Thikaxiyu (Thikaniyu)--These people are referred to as "Too Strong People," and also associated with cotton wood cotton origin. They are also mythically thought to have had a "Wolf Tail origin." The term itself roughly translates out to wolf people. They are thought to have come into the Upper Tanana, from Mt. Wrangell from "saltwater" via the Copper River, according to native belief. They met the Naltsiina somewhere in the vicinity of Tonsina (Tcin Tceti Tcetai and Atzadene) and put "cotton wood stuff" on their heads and said "you are our people" (Jack John Justin Jr.). They merged with the Naltsiin on an equal basis (against stronger Shosa group).

(4) Niisu--They were called "the ones that float" or "the Rabbit Skin People" after their boats. Sometimes they are also referred to as the marten people, the foxtail people, or the Tzo Ga. They were discovered by the "amalgamated Naltsiin" floating on an unspecified river and rescued by long poles and for a while married into both the Shosa and Naltsiina moieties as a third

group. As the Tzo Ga, they supposedly came in from Yukon Territory in the Upper Tanana where they initially served as a third phratry or middle group, into which both the Naltsiina and Cha/Tha inter-married. McKennan states that they were absorbed into the Naltsiina finally (1959:125) as a fourth sib.

(5) Ditsiiltsinø (Guedon Personal Communication) or Disiceltsin (Chief Peter Tetlin, Rainey 1936)--They came from the ocean and then up into the Upper Tanana from the west, according to native belief. They are not mentioned in the crow myth and considered one of the low ranked sibs of the Naltsiina after they merged as a fifth sib. Said to be incest in the beginning. Today people will not admit to being members of the sib readily. According to Chief Peter (Rainey 1936) they came from the other side of the Yukon. Some are still represented at Nabesna, but none are supposedly to be found at Tetlin.

(6) Shosa, Cha/Tha (Rainey 1936), Tcat Tzna (Baggen Fieldnotes) or Tcaaz (Guedon Personal Communication)--Originally strictly the bear clan, they are now also considered related to the seagull and the fish tail, which the clan absorbed as it achieved moiety status, and as the other designation of the Upper Tanana seagull moiety. Baggen (Fieldnotes) proposes that the Takoyu or swan clan found on the Copper may have been swamped into the second moiety and their individual name lost. Rainey also points out that the

original name for the Tciticelyu was Shosa. According to Baggen (Middle Tanana Fieldnotes) the Tciticelyu and Tcat-Tzna (or tsdy) (Shosa) came together at some undisclosed time in the past.

(7) Tciticelyu--According to Rainey (1936:71-72) the Tciticelyu "come from across the Yukon like Tsesuh (Tcizu) to try 'country.' Goes into the corner of the house, can't go no farther. That's why he called Tciticelyu." They are also referred to as the "Salmon Tail People" and said to be a newer designation of the Shosa sib. Possibly this refers to their late entry as a clan in that moiety. They are also associated in the crow myth with a "blue paint" origin.

(8) Tcizu--They are referred to as the "Red Paint People" and according to Rainey (1936) they came across the barrier separating the Yukon and the Tanana Rivers and up the Tanana to Tetlin and across Suslota Pass to "Center Foot Hill" near Batzulnetas and on to Valdez Creek. They were absorbed at an unknown date into the Shosa-Tcai (Baggen) moiety. They have absorbed the Tcaan or seagull sib as today they are considered affiliated to the eagle as a "relative."

(9) Taltsiin--Frequently referred to as the "Divide Crossers," they, like the Tcizu, crossed the length of land separating the Yukon and Tanana Rivers, then the Divide separating the Tanana and the Copper, and again back to the Tanana. They were one of the most recent clans absorbed into the Naltsiina moiety according to native belief. This clan is not present at the moment at Tetlin or Mansfield.

(10) Takoyu--The "swan" sib is also associated with the sea-gull moiety since it merged along with the Tcitcelyu with the "Sea Gull" or white bird phratry. The origin of the clan is not known, but it appears to have come to the Upper Tanana first and then south to the Copper and north to the Middle Tanana between Salchaket and Chena (Baggen Fieldnotes). One of my informants, Walter Northway, also points to a Canadian origin. Today the clan has no members in the Upper Tanana.

(11) Ut-Tsi-Yu--The caribou sib arrived in the Upper Tanana area as a group of infant girls with a caribou herd in the Lake Louis area. Origin unknown. They are associated with the seagull moiety (Guedon 1971:115-116).

(12) Tcia/Baxqai--Seagull sib, origin somewhere on the coast. They moved up the Copper River in approaching the Tanana. However, they were apparently not an old group in the Upper Tanana (McKenna 1959:125).

Original Phratry System:

- I. Naltsiinə or (Datsah Crow Raven) phratry
 - (a) Real Naltsin (Tcin Tceti Tcetai) Wolverine People
 - (b) Atzadene Moose People
 - (c) Thikaziyu Wolf People
 - (d) Ditsiiltsinə or Disiceltsi-low incest Naltsiin
 - (e) Taltsiina The Divide Crossers

- II. Shosa (Seagull) Tcia/Baxqai (Guedon 1971) phratry
 - (a) Shosa Bear and Fish tail clan
 - (b) Tciticelyu Fish Tail People
 - (c) Tcizu Red Paint People
 - (d) Takoyu Swan Clan (extinct)
 - (e) Ut sih yu Caribou People
 - (f) Tciaan Eagle People
 - (g) Kiikyu Snow Bunting People
 - (h) Tsegega Otter People (the author provisionally puts this sib under the seagull moiety - it may possibly belong to the Naltsiin)
 - (i) Tcia/Baxqai

III. Niisu or Marten Phratry (considered cousin to Naltsiin)

Recently Developed Moiety System:

- I. Naltsiina or Crow (Raven) Moiety
 - (a) Real Naltsiin Wolverine People
 - (b) Atzardene Moose Tail People
 - (c) Thikaxiyu Wolf People
 - (d) Ditsiiltsinə (very few left)
 - (e) Niisu Rabbit Skin People
 - (f) Taltsiina The Divide Crossers
- II. Shosa/Tcia Baxqai (Seagull) Moiety
 - (a) Shosa Bear People
 - (b) Tciticelyu Fish Tail People
 - (c) Tcizu Red Paint People

- (d) Takoyu (extinct as an independent group)
- (e) Ut-Sih-yu Caribou People
- (f) Tciaan Eagle People
- (g) Kiikyu Snow Bunting People
- (h) Tsegega Otter People (provisionally placed here; it may be Naltsiin)
- (i) Tcia/baxqai Sea Gull Sib

Heinrich (1968:291) reports on the confusion of the sib system among the Upper Tanana since the transition from a phratry to a moiety system:

The relationship in question is susceptible to either a structural or a functional interpretation. Structurally, the Upper Tanana Athapaskans are divided into exogamous matrilineal sibs, which are tentatively organized into phratries. The word "tentatively" is here used to express the fact that no two villages have precisely the same complement of sibs represented in the village and that the idealized composition of the phratries varies from village to village and even from informant to informant, and is changing over time. The weight of opinion is that there should be two phratries, i.e., a moiety system, which the people themselves visualize as "this side" and "the other side." However, there is also a strong countervailing opinion that there is, or used to be, or ought to be a third phratry.

It is fairly evident from Heinrich's statement that the system is in somewhat of a state of confusion today, due to the changes that have occurred in the system even before contact. In several respects, then, the complete picture of the changes the system has undergone from phratry to moiety arrangement is far from clear, and is open to further study.

Moiety Marriage Relationships:

Among the Naltsiin phratry/moiety, the Naltsiin sibs have the

option of either marrying within the phratry (the thikaxiyu) or practicing exogamy with the sibs of the Shosa (tcia baxqai) or Sea Gull phratry (tcion at Lower Nabesna). Preferred marriages were between the upper stratas of both phratries/moieties. For example, a "Real Naltsiin" might consider a preferable marriage endogamously with a Thikaxiyu or exogamously with either the Tcitcelyu or Tcizu sibs. In reverse, a Tcitcelyu or Tcizu, however, would only consider an exogamous marriage with the Naltsiin phratry. When this same principle is carried down to an individual level we find the additional restriction to preferred "duolateral cross-cousin marriage': (1) with MOBRDA and (2) FASIDA, but not with parallel cousins (1) MOSIDA and (2) FABRDA. On the level of the phratry, we again see the double standard of phratry exogamy and endogamy practiced by the Naltsiina.

Comparison of the Upper Tanana Clans and Adjacent Areas:

We find a very close parallel to the Upper Tanana clan arrangement among the Ahtena (Guedon Personal Communication; Pitts Field-notes):

<u>Naltsiina Moiety</u>	<u>Tsa/Dza</u>
(1) Naltsiina	(1) Ni-Tsisyu White Bird
(2) Atzardene	(2) TseTselyu Fish Tail
(3) Thikaxiyu	(3) Tsistu Red Paint
(4) Taltsiina	(4) Gaex-yu Snow Bird (Kiikyu)
	(5) Ken-dsi-gi-yu White Berry
	(6) U-Dzix-yu Caribou

This is certainly not too strange, since native belief records the meeting place of the Naltsiina and the Thikaxiyu somewhere near Tonsina, where they allied against the stronger Shosa. As for the Tcizu and Tciticelyu, the natives of both regions record them as coming from the Yukon area. When we turn farther south to the Tanaina clans recorded by Wrangell (Richardson 1951, 1:406) and Osgood (1966: 128-129) we again find some interesting similarities:

Wrangell Moiety A

- (1) Kachgiya: From Gekaihze the Raven
- (2) Tlachtana Weavers of Grass Mats
- (3) Montochtana Corner of the back part of their hut
- (4) Tschichgi Named from a color
- (5) Nuchschi Descended from heaven
- (6) Kali Fishermen

Osgood Moiety A

- (1) Cisyi Red Paint
- (2) Noxsi Unk.
- (3) Nicisyi Unk.
- (4) Q'agali Salmon Tail
- (5) Qali Salmon Tail
- (6) Q'aq'yi Raven
- (7) Cinslaxodana
- (8) Q'λaxdana In corner of house people who must tell time
- (9) Dgenggaλaxdana
- (10) YosdeYeγalcina

Wrangell Moiety B

- (1) Tulschina Bather
- (2) Katluchtana Glass
- (3) Schischlachtana
- (4) Nutschichgi
- (5) Zaltana

Osgood Moiety B

- (1) Nolcina Sky Origin
- (2) Tolcina Sea Origin
- (3) Caldana Mountain Origin
- (4) Degagiyi Cotton Like Plant
- (5) Yogockno olcina Unk.

Note that the Nolcina and Degagiyi were not listed by Wrangell, but by Osgood about 100 years later. They definitely approximate the Upper Tanana Naltsiina and Thikaxiyu clans, and if we accept the Upper Tanana version for their origin, it would appear that these two sibs moved down to the Tanaina by way of the Ahtena from the Upper Tanana.

This proposal would seem borne out by the existence of a common "Three Sisters Legend" which is found in the Lower Tanana, Upper Tanana, Copper and Cook Inlet areas. The Lower Tanana attribute their clans to three sisters from somewhere south of them (Olson 1968:71). The Tanaina (Osgood 1966:129) believe that their sibs came to Cook Inlet with Three Sisters who came from a country in the direction of Copper River. In sharp contrast to this, the Upper Tanana Atzardene clan (Rainey 1936:72) refer to an "old story of three old women from Tauchin Lake one went to Nenana, one went to Copper River, and one went to George Creek and to Healy." The three sisters of the Tanaina are identified with Red Ochre (Cisyi, Nicisyi), with Seagull and Q'agali with the Salmon Tail, closely resemble the Tcizu, Ni-Tsis-Yu and Tcetcelyu clans of the Upper Tanana and the Copper. This point, along with the three sisters legend, indicates a clan diffusion from the Upper Tanana, both north and south.

However, in the case of the Upper Tanana and Copper Taltsiin clan, which is given an origin from the ocean to the south, only the Tanaina record an origin legend for the "Tolcina," in their own

territory; namely in the vicinity of Tyonek (the north part of Cook Inlet) (Osgood 1966:130). In this case, clan diffusion appears to be the other way, from Cook Inlet north. In essence, though, the importance of establishing that these clans were not original in these areas, is to demonstrate that their movements must have had a profound effect on the pre-contact villages of the Upper Tanana as know them. For instance, we know that the name for the extinct Sand Creek Band, Tcin Tcetł Khot'in, is the same as that for the original name of the real Naltsiin sib. Since only the Atzadene appear to have been native to the region, or at least long standing residents, the pre-contact villages such as Dixthada or Kath Theel [see pre-contact villages] are probably largely the result or product of the system of social organization that these bands and then sibs, brought with them after their arrival; namely the idea of the exogamous matri-sib, village matri-clusters, and Iroquois cross-cousin terminology, which are appropriate only to a "Western or Siberian" type community. As Chang (1962:37) points out the "Matri-clans brought with it a kinship-bound community membership, whose internal integrity was symbolically projected into the community structure, in the outlay of the settlement site. Levi-Strauss (1953:533-534) proposes the same concept that, in part, at least, "spatial configuration (of a village) seems to be almost a projective representative of the social structure." In this case, the controlling factor of the Upper Tanana Village outline appears to be the matrilineage or

irregular matriline cluster (McKenna 1965). Murdock (1967:157) hints at the same situation for the "Nabesna" villages when he mentions the presence of matrilineal kin groups.

Yet just as the social system, brought in by nomadic bands to the region, contributed to the settlement and community patterns as we know them, the role of the band leader and the shaman was also influential as pertains to village location and movement.

LEADERSHIP AND BAND MOVEMENT

For the most part, band subsistence needs, and the established annual cycle controlled the movements of the Upper Tanana bands. However, to a degree, some influence over this was exercised by informal band leaders known as the Ha'Ke and the shaman. Olson (1968:81) reports that "there were no powerful leaders with any authority extending over the bands" and this was also true for the Upper Tanana. Yet the leaders of these nomadic groups did serve a function. The Ha'Ke was an adviser to his people. Usually he maintained his office by reason of his prestige as a hunter and Daiya, wise man. His success and wisdom were further enhanced by his ability to potlatch, which were in turn directly related to his skill as a hunter. A Ha'Ke had to possess all the qualities of an orator, pragmatist, hunter and old time politician rolled into one, in order to retain his position.

However, since he held his office by the "consent of the governed," the band would follow his suggestions normally, con-

cerning village movements in accordance with the annual cycle. Leadership could pass from Ego to his own son or SISO (sister's son, but only if he demonstrated the pre-requisite ability. Joe Joseph of Tanacross remarked that "when the people go into camps, the Ha'Ke sent runner to tell people of good hunting and to take them there." The Ha'Ke was in essence, then, an overall village coordinator for subsistence activities limited to an advisory, not a despotic role.

In contrast to the Ha'Ke, the shaman's role filled the credibility gap for band members when the Ha'Ke's advice on hunting or camp movements needed a backup. Usually by dreams or divination, the medicine man "or power man" as he is commonly known, would verify the band leader's finding on the whereabouts of game or other subsistence. At times, the roles of Ha'Ke and shaman were even combined into one individual, but generally the two offices were separate. You might say that shaman was a kind of game-prognosticator-ally to the pragmatic knowledge of the band leader. In addition, he was held in fear in a sinister or even despotic context in comparison to the Ha'Ke's advisory position.

In her work among the Vunta Kutchin of Old Crow, Welsh (1970: 22-23) recounts a similar type of leadership:

The operation of the Caribou surrounds and fish traps was quite similar (to the band) in a social sense; that is, each was "owned" by a particular individual, generally the man who supervised its initial construction. Such a leader was said to be the "boss" for the structure directing the taking and distribution of the caribou or fish to the assembled families. The same man might supervise both a surround and a fishtrap, though

this was inevitable. Leaders were generally wise hunters who won the respect for their fellows. There was, furthermore, a definite association of leadership with both wealth and supernatural powers, and a tendency for patrilineal succession, in spite of the fact that the Kutchin had a matrilineal sib organization.

ANNUAL CYCLE

The Upper Tanana practiced "shifting occupations" between the fishing village and the hunting camp, which followed a consistent pattern, which we call the annual cycle. Guedon (Personal Communication) reports one informant's description of the pre-contact yearly movements for the Tetlin Band:

In Last Tetlin when water is broken people fish there for food and hunt for ducks on small lakes. The Tetlin people have to go down to Tetlin fish camp while Last Tetlin inhabitants stay at their own camp, which is also a winter hunting camp (Caribou fence located there). Tents were used in Twentieth Century for duck hunting replacing the Cia Dzook (lean-to), or NI Baləžəx (skin tent). Small hunting parties foraged for rabbits and other small game.

By July everyone fishes by fish trap, dip net or set net at Tetlin and Last Tetlin. In August big rabbit drives are conducted by women, boys and children, while men go to caribou fences or hilltops for caribou. In late August, raspberries, blueberries, then cranberries, in that order, are picked until first frost. First frost marks an important transition as people fish for pike and other running fish in little streams on lake outlets by fishtrap, set nets or big hooks. When ice is solid a second transition occurs, as people maintain long open ice holes with set net, which they use till ice too thick. No more winter fishing is done then, and fish put in birch bark containers and ground caches either frozen or dried and stored in high caches. Berries were never put in caches. Fish grease, moose fat, bear fat or other also stored in cache separately. In October, small parties went out to hunt moose or small game.

By November, people back at fish camp. In December, the winter festivals [gatherings] are held and hook games, riddle contests, and elder story telling given. All different parts of fish camp together. Winter festival is the only time old

men can tell stories. After festival, either young men go to meat caches which are strung-out and periodically bring in meat or people move from cache to cache in hunting camps. In December or January use fish caches which are also strung-out and not just at village; or individual family hunting and fishing lakes.

The movements of the Mansfield Band follows a somewhat similar pattern, except they do not possess a caribou fence in the vicinity of Lake Mansfield, as the Tetlin people do near Last Tetlin. The band occupied the village from spring to late summer. In August, small parties went out hunting caribou, moose and Dall sheep. Whitefish runs usually pre-occupied Mansfield inhabitants during July and the band headed out to Ketchumstock fence in October. Sometime in November, they returned to the village and in December, the winter festival was held. The band would stay, at times, until January at the Mansfield area since it was a primary caribou run during the pre-contact period. When hunting away from Mansfield in the winter, a series of caches would be set up from the hunting areas back to Mansfield. These as well as whitefish caches, often served as survival rations during the later harsh winter months.

Walter Northway reported the same situation for the people of the Mouth of the Nabesna. Here the bulk of the villagers, except for small hunting parties, were at the fishing villages from late April until August when the band broke up to go hunting in the foothills of the mountains and adjoining areas for caribou and moose. In September, the band reassembled at Kath Theel (village). In winter,

after the first snowfall, the band moved out and hunted up to seventy five miles from the village; sometimes as far as Dawson. Generally, though, they moved between Dry Creek towards the head of the Nabesna and Ladue Hill east of Kath Theel. The band, unless parts of it retired to private hunting areas, remained together all winter and returned to the fish camp about the beginning of May.

McKenna (1959:46) provided a similar annual cycle from old Sam of Last Tetlin, who summed up the life of the Upper Tanana this way: "Fishing at well known sites in July; moosehunting in the summer; sheep hunting in the fall; then the early migration of caribou; then more moose hunting and quite possibly hunger, alleviated in late spring by ducks and muskrats; then again the welcome appearance of caribou in May." He also adds, that when the bands returned to the villages in the spring "they would take birch bark and sew it together to make new tents."

About the only divergence I have with McKenna's view is that he neglects to mention the importance of the fish caches to the Upper Tanana, as a survival food, for the late months of winter (Dec-Feb). This source and sparse hunting tied the bands over until they went muskrats hunting in February.

TRANSPORTATION

Methods of transportation among the Upper Tanana were geared to the pre-dominantly nomadic existence they led during the year. Six types of hauling devices were used by the bands to move from

place to place, in accordance with their annual cycle: (1) packing devices, (2) carrying cradles, (3) snowshoes, (4) toboggans, (5) dogs, and (6) various means of water transport.

The tumpline and the breast strap both served as load carriers, the latter being adapted for lighter loads, while together they accomodated much heavier ones. The carrying strap consisted of a band of caribou skin three feet long and three inches wide, to the end of which are affixed thongs to make fast the load. The use of the two methods together is typical of the Northern Athapaskan as a whole (Birket-Smith 1930:171). The load is secured by sinew cording before being attached to the carrying straps. Generally women did the packing when the bands were moving camp, so as to leave the men free for hunting.

Carrying Cradles:

Babies of the Upper Tanana were carried by their mothers along with household loads, but in a separate cradle made of birch bark; or at times, in carrying blankets. The cradle consists of a piece of curved birch bark as a backing, attached to a "bowl shaped" saddle at the bottom. A caribou skin band projects from the bottom of the saddle for the infant to sit on. Bands also extend on either side of the container by his hips and underneath his arms, which allow free movement but still hold the child securely. The Upper Tanana also employed a carrying blanket and strap for carrying the infant around the camp itself.

Snowshoes:

The snowshoe is mythically ascribed to the Culture Hero of the Upper Tanana, Ya Badeshan (Rainey 1936) or Tsa-0-Sha as McKennan (1959:90) records him. McKennan (1959:90) gives a detailed description of it in his monograph:

The frame consist of five parts: two bow-pieces, half oval in cross-section, and three cross-pieces, long oval in cross-section. In making a pair of snowshoes, the pieces are first whittled out from birch and the mortices for the cross-pieces are cut in the bows. The two bow-pieces are then thoroughly steamed and are spliced together at the toe. They are next bound around cross pieces, which are inserted in their mortices and then bound securely at the tail. The frame has now assumed its final shape. The next step is to bend up the toe. To do this, the fore part is again steamed, and a round stick about 1 1/2 inches in diameter is laid across the frame, slightly forward of the first cross-piece. A long stick, also about 1 1/2 inches in diameter, is inserted under the bow, and by using the cross stick as a fulcrum, the toe is raised until the heel and the end of the lever can be lashed together..... The frame is then allowed to dry.

In final form the snowshoe has assumed the shape of a beaver tail, in a two piece construction. This particular device was most important to the Upper Tanana, as they moved in winter, since they often did not stick to well-defined trails.

Toboggans:

Aboriginally, the dogsled was unheard of on the Tanana River. Instead, the toboggan was the primary means of transporting household goods by land. Anywhere from ten to twelve feet in length and two feet wide, they were constructed of two boards held together by cross-pieces tied to them. The front end was curved by the same

steam process as the snowshoe, and held up by babbish ties (McKenna 1959:91).

Usually women pulled the toboggans, though men would occasionally lend a hand (Anderson 1966:6).

Dog Packing:

For smaller loads, dogs were strapped with specially constructed packs of caribou skin with the hair removed (McKenna 1959:92).

Canoes:

Referred to as the "Rat Canoe" by the natives, these birch bark crafts were primarily used to hunt for muskrat or beaver. They were about 12 to 16 feet in length, 2 feet in width and weighed about 40 pounds. The lightness of the craft and a flat bottom keel allowed the Upper Tanana to take advantage of the small lakes and outlet streams. The shape roughly resembled a version of a skiff or Eskimo "Qayaq." Specimens which the author saw during the summer of 1960, agree with McKenna's (1959:93) reports.

Rafts:

Only on very rare occasions did the Upper Tanana make use of simple rafts for river navigation. In such instances, they only used them for either small stream crossings when a camp was on the move, or for trips downriver.

Open Boats:

The Upper Tanana moose-skin boat was similar to the rat canoe, except that it possessed a keel and was wider, deeper and heavier.

As McKennan (1959:93) reports it, it closely resembles the Eskimo "Angeyaq," open boat, or "umiak" as it is more incorrectly known. Laura Anderson (1966:6) remembers that this type of transportation was most often used by families during the summer for river moves:

But when people travelled on the main river maybe or on a lake, they went by boat or birch bark canoe. After hunting or trapping in the spring sometimes four families would go back to the village with all their belongings in one boat. This boat was made of maybe six big bull moose skins stretched over a frame, but first people took all the hair off and soaked them in a river.

Generally, then, the moose-skin boats brought the bands back to the village in late spring. My informants tell me that later the skin from the boat would be used for moccasins or for clothes. The dimensions of the boat were perhaps 18 x 5 feet and 2 feet deep.

TRAIL SYSTEMS

The movements of the Upper Tanana away from the village were channeled along a major network of trails which criss-crossed their territory. There were perhaps eleven important trail complexes: (1) the trail from Mansfield village which passed through Mosquito Fork and the Middle Fork of Forty Mile River on the way to Ketchumstock and Eagle, (2) the trail from Healy Lake to Joseph village and the Healy River caribou complex near the village, (3) a hunting trail from Mansfield to the Rainbow Mountains, (4) a summer trail southwest from Mansfield to Tetlin and the mouth of the Nabesna, (5) a hunting trail from Mansfield to the North Fork of the Robertson River, (6) the winter trail from Mansfield which cuts above the summer

trail to Tetlin to the foot of the Sikosina Pass then southeast across Tetlin Lake to Nabesna, (7) the winter and summer trail from Kath Theel (mouth of the Nabesna) southwest paralleling the Nabesna's right bank to the headwaters and Upper Nabesna village, (8) a trail from Upper Nabesna village to Fish Lake for whitefish, (9) the trail from Chisana east to Beaver Lake and Creek, (10) the trail east from Kath Theel to the Ladue River and northeast to Dawson, and (11) the trail from Chisana to McCarthy via Skoloi Pass. Other major trading trails do exist, but these are the primary arteries which governed Upper Tanana hunting camp movements.

The trail from Mansfield to Ketchumstock was both a summer and a winter hunting trail. Farnsworth, while he was stationed at Eagle remarked on the importance of the trail to the Indians of the area:

Along the valley of the Mosquito Fork, which is usually practically level and covered with a luxuriant growth of grass during the summer, passes a trail which is now used by the Valdez-Eagle mail contractor and the Indians of the country. Indians informed me that it is both their summer and winter trail and is worn deep into the ground by the travel of many years.

This trail was cut into from Healy, George Creek and Sand Creek, as well as Goodpaster which ran into the North Fork of Forty Mile. It was essentially the major network connecting those bands with the Forty Mile area and the posts later established at Fetutlin by Harper and Bates.

Two routes also proceed south from Mansfield connecting that part of the Upper Tanana with the headwaters: namely Tetlin and

Mouth of the Nabesna. Another trail went northwest from Mansfield and connected with the abandoned village and lake on the north fork of the Robertson River. The trails to Nabesna were mainly trading and potlatch routes, but also served as a hunting trail as far as the border of the Tetlin region. The winter and summer trail from Kath Theel, however, was a major hunting trail for the Mouth of the Nabesna band for moose and sheep at the headwaters of the Nabesna. An alternative route stretched northeast from Kath Theel to the Ladue River hunting region. Both the Dawson and the Mouth of the Nabesna people shared a caribou fence here. The routes from Upper Nabesna to Fish Lake as well as that from Chisana east to Beaver Lake were used to get to summer fishing areas. The route from Chisana to the Chitistone and the Chitina Rivers was probably used for several reasons: (1) hunting trips, (2) placer copper expeditions, and (3) trading activities with the Upper Copper people of Taral.

PRE-CONTACT HOUSE TYPES

Annual Housing Cycle:

During the winter the skin tent (Nibələ-žʌx) was carried on family toboggans for use in the mobile hunting camps. Under special circumstances a widow or a bachelor might live separately in a skin covered conical tipi called a Tul Tsog. Except in the hunter's camp where the double lean-to was employed, these two forms were used by the Upper Tanana until they returned to the village in May. Here they resorted either to oblong above-ground summer houses or in the case of the Ha'Ke used his winter bark house.

Away from the village during the summer the natives utilized three dwelling variations: (1) the skin tent, (2) the bark covered tents, or (3) the double lean-to covered with a bark cover. The skin covering for the semispherical tent was only used during the dry months, while the bark covered forms replaced them during the rainy season. During the heat of the day, these were usually rolled up and stored in the shade. Olson (1968:27) mentions this type of summer dwelling for the Lower Tanana.

Village Housing:

The pre-contact villages consisted of five basic dwellings: (1) the successful hunter and leader's semi-subterranean house called a c'əlodzəy žʌx or spruce bark house, (2) the common man's above ground house called a Tshen žʌx or summer house, (3) the late form successful hunter and leader's log pole house called a Ni tθil žʌx (McKenna 1959:72-73), (4) the bark covered conical tipi referred to as a Tul tsogə and (5) the moss modified Tshen žʌx used for a winter dwelling by ordinary families and called a dla(d)-žʌx.

The construction of the c'əlodzəy žʌx, sometimes referred to as a nʌn žʌx, or Dirt House (note: nʌn žʌx is also sometimes erroneously used for the log/pole house; so the term has been listed under both house types figures) is the oldest and the only semi-subterranean form my Upper Tanana informants can remember. Laura Andersen in "According to Mama," Rainey, in his unpublished dairies,

and Baggen, in her unpublished masters research, give about the best early descriptions of one:

Winter houses they made in a regular place near the river where the fish camp was but in the woods. Mama says they always built them the same. First people made a hole way into the ground to stay warm, with poles like a frame over it. Then this frame covered all over with birch bark and on top of birch bark lots of moss and then dirt. This was warm for winter. Always there was a fire in the middle of the floor and a hole in the middle of the roof so the smoke would go out. To start this fire, people put this dry as dry red fungus from a birch tree in a little wooden bowl. And then with a mouth drill bow they would make the end of the stick go so fast on this dry fungus that it would get just hot and begin to smoke. These people would have ready some little dry grass and this would start a fire. The door to go in was hung clear down the Caribou skin or bear skin with the fur on and all around the inside of the house were shelves made of poles for the men to sleep on and Caribou skins hung down from these shelves down to the ground. People put Caribou skin with fur under them to sleep on and fur blankets over them, and the women slept under the shelves with the children but the children (male) could sleep on the shelves with their fathers when they got bigger (Andersen 1966:4-5).

Moses (Sam) described the bark house at Mansfield when he was a boy. Half underground - pole frame - birch or spruce bark walls - poles and moss roof cabled to smokehole with flat strip in center (of roof). Sleeping bench - fireplace at center - no windows (Rainey 1939:9-11).

.....old fish camp on lift limit 100 yards above presentTwo house depressions about 21x18x3' - middens 12' in diameter in front of each house pit.....300 yards downstream on opposite bank about 40 yards, an old stream bed, is Camp "B". Three house pits, one about 12x18' with a sweat room at the back and about 4 1/2 feet deep (deepest pit I've seen), middens 10' in diameter before each house pit (Baggen 1966: Fieldnotes).

four logs laid horizontally with dome top of poles - had smokehole and moss cover over bark cover - covered with dirt - entrance by tunnel underground (Baggen 1966: Fieldnotes).

My own information (See Plates 5 & 6) parallels all of these,

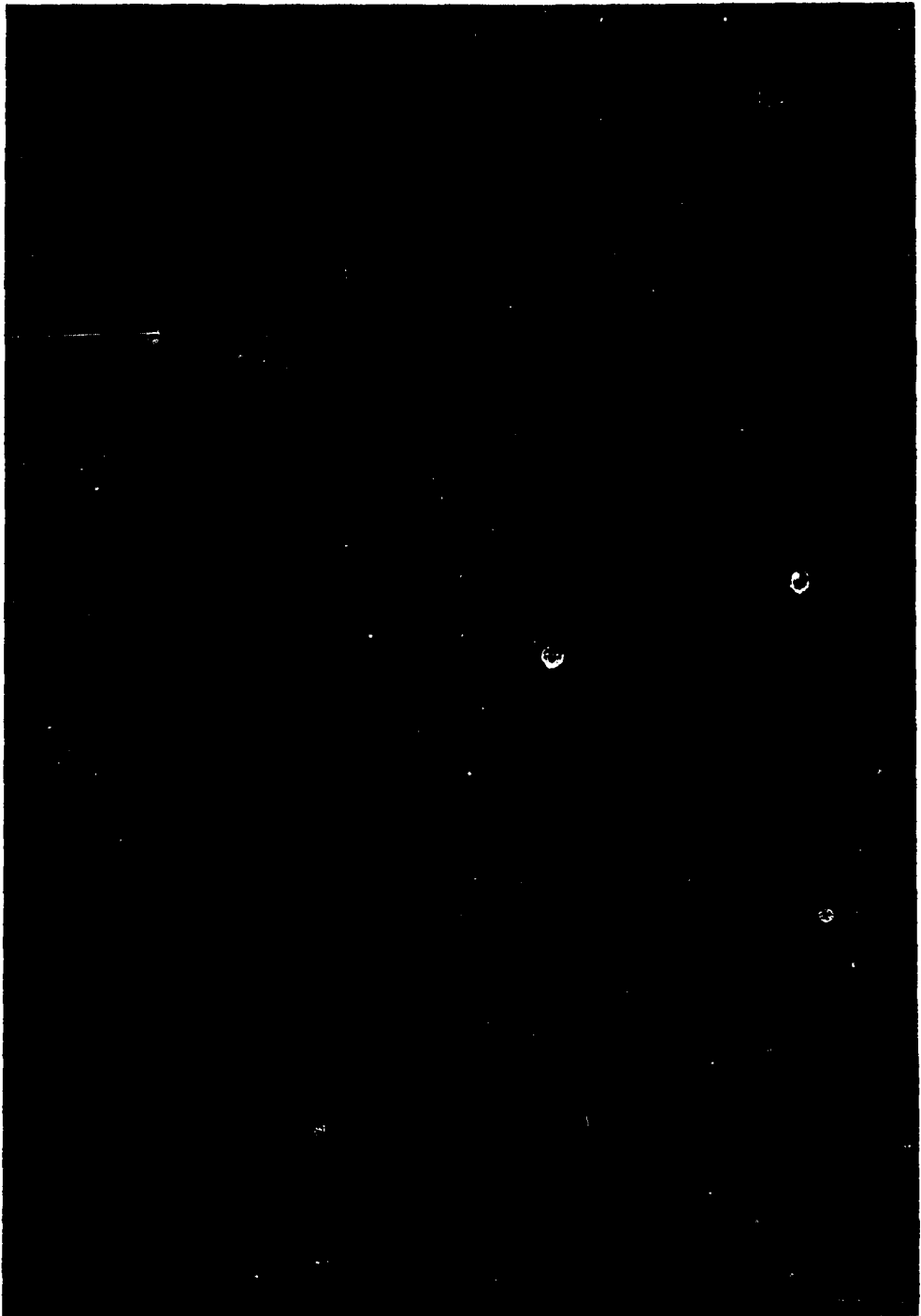


Plate 5. — Healy River Hunting Camp Near Eagle Circa 1900.



Plate 6. — Full Outside View of Summer Bark House.

but is somewhat more detailed. (Note: all of these plates with the exception of the Healy Board were photographs taken by the author of 1971 reconstructions at Mentasta village.) First an initial excavation is made about three and a half to four feet in depth, and depending on the status of the owner. This could vary from 20x10x10 feet to 40x25x10 feet. Next, four horizontal logs were set in the excavation with their bottoms partially adzed out and fitted together. Adze grooves were also cut into the tops of these logs and bent vertical split logs placed in these grooves and willow tied. These same poles or split logs rose to two parallel ridge beams where they are secured again by willow lashings. Two vertical support posts were set in the base logs, both in the front and the back, and they rose to the bottoms of the ridge beams, and the latter fits into grooves cut in their tops. At this point we have a frame somewhat reminiscent of the Iroquois long house (Andersen 1960:24) with a flat center in the roof caused by the two parallel ridge beams. A short entrance shed of about 4x3 feet was constructed to the two front support posts in such a way as to produce a slight incline or drop when people enter the house. About half of the entranceway was underground. Usually a bear skin or moose skin flap served as the outer door while a stick door covered the inner one. Over the basic house frame, birch bark, or more often spruce bark sewn together with split spruce roots, was laid against the frame and willow ties forced through holes made by burning in the bark, leaving only a 4x3

foot smokehole uncovered. This would be covered by skin during times of blizzard conditions. Moss was then added over this covering, and finally dirt to complete the outside of the structure. On the inside a bench made of poles extended along both sides of the structure from front to rear. Both age and sex distinctions were associated with certain portions of the benches. Men ate and slept on top of these on caribou skin mattresses, while women and children slept and ate beneath, which was about three and a half feet high, or just high enough to sit under.

There were no partitions separating the space beneath as was the case with such coast people as the Tanaina (Osgood 1966:58). Women could not sit on top of the benches; it was taboo. Each woman, however, had her own bed under the benches which no one else could use. Towards the rear, another kind of shelf was erected against the rear wall, and as Loyens (1966:64) mentions for the Lower Koyukon, "old people, unmarried and widowed" were assigned to this spot. Food and other items were also stored here.

Underneath this shelf, ran the entrance to the sweat house, which informants believe was a rather recent addition from the southern coast. Dimensions were normally 8x8x6 feet, and on top of the sweat house was left an open space for light, over which bear intestines were stretched as a window, called a Ya'loq. The sweat-house served as a steam room, sleeping quarters for the owner and guests, and as a kind of native snack bar, while the men were bathing.

No one remembers women ever being allowed to use the bath, as de Laguna reports for the Copper River people.

Back inside the main room, we find the top portions of all the wall poles were covered with red ochre tsiy or charcoal geometric designs with a grease base. They usually consisted of four basic forms according to de Laguna (Personal Communication) and David Paul of Tanacross: (1) half moon designs, (2) zig-zags, (3) large or small open dots (See Fig. 5 and 6). These could often cover the entire upper portion of the frame of the inside of the dwelling. Toward the center of the house the fire was maintained, as well as fish hanging poles on which fish were hung and smoked. Each family had one for its own use. In the case of the "rich man" (successful hunter) usually only two families occupied a 20x10 foot structure; whereas if the man was an important Ha'Ke, the house might be as large as 40x25 feet and as many as four families might be living under his roof. These consisted of both his relations from the ascending generation, his own generation, such as his hunting partner (cross-cousin, brother-in-law, etc.) or his in-laws. In front of the house a pole with eagle feathers designated his importance in the community. Usually garbage or midden poles were located in front of the dwelling (Rainey 1939:9-11). Guedon (Personal Communication) believes that this form of house might be generally used for potlatches or parties but this would be a matter of course when returning from the winter hunting for the December Festival:

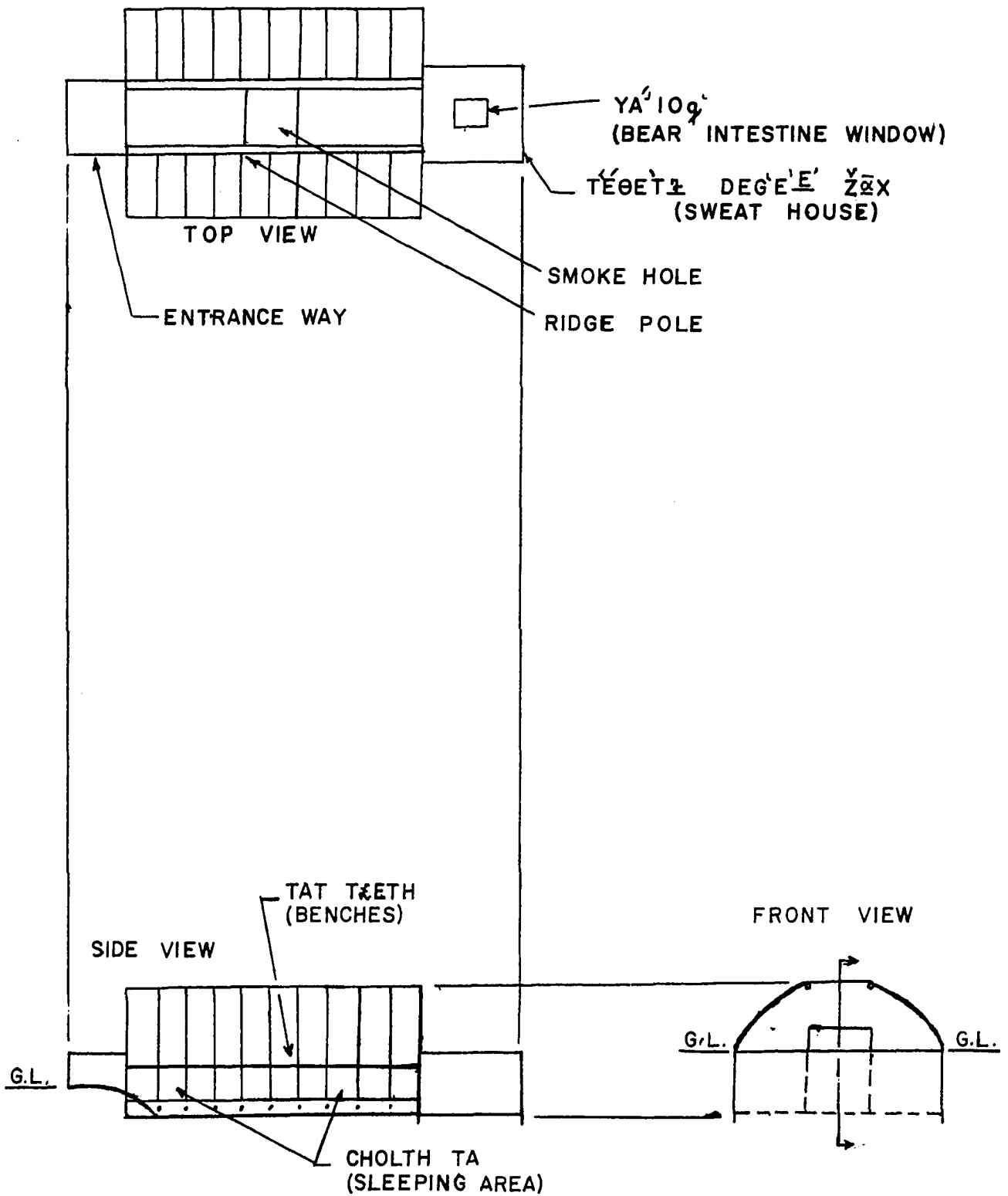


FIG. 5 ORTHOGRAPHIC PROJECTION OF Čǻlodzxy ŽǻX

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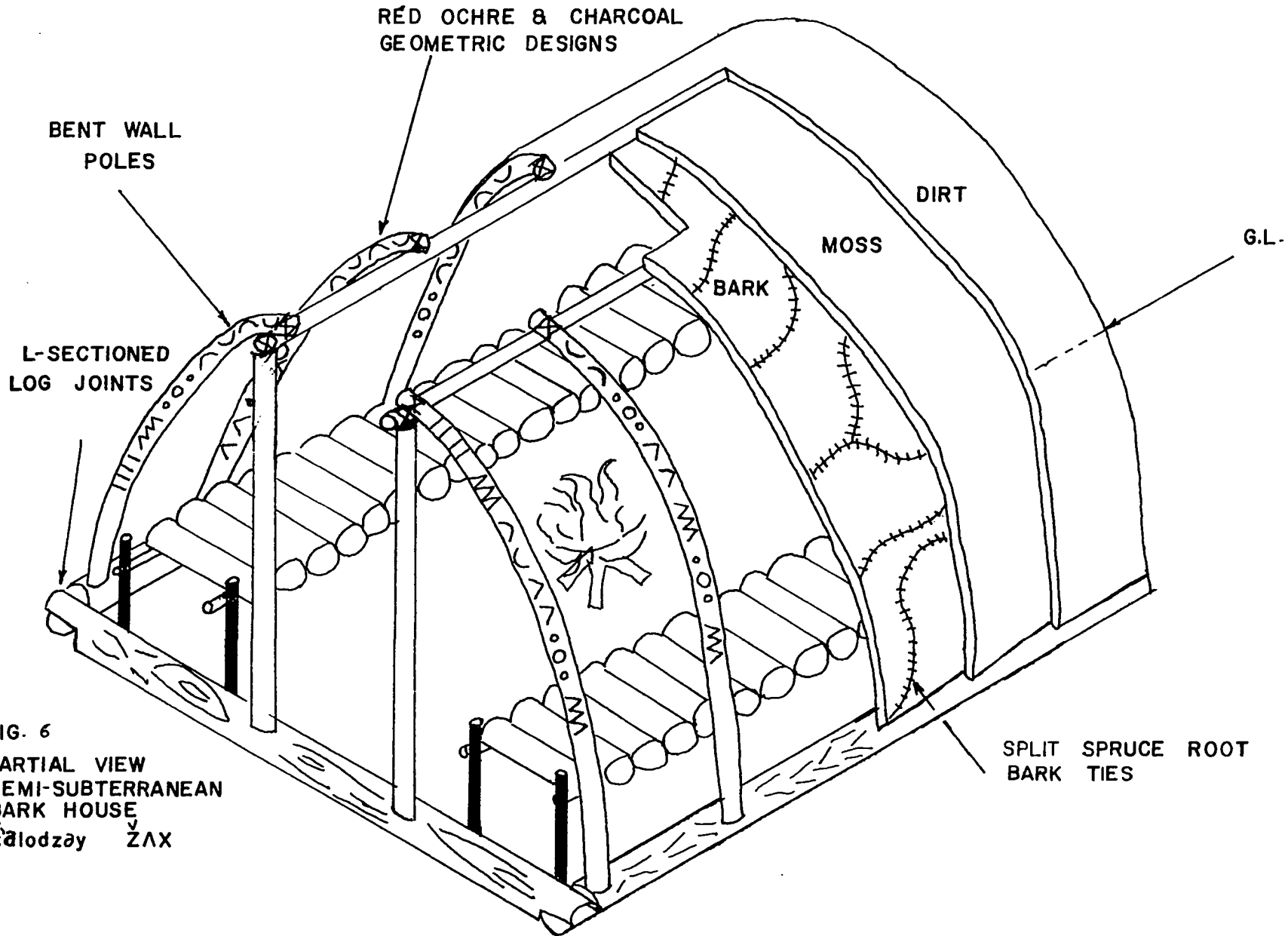


FIG. 6
 PARTIAL VIEW
 SEMI-SUBTERRANEAN
 BARK HOUSE
 čalodzay ŽAX

I think the winter house described by David Paul might be used mainly for potlatches or "party"¹. It might also have been inhabited by one or two families.

In the case of this type of house, a special potlatch dwelling was built by a "potlatch" man for that occasion, though the bulk of the activity was normally held in the open in an area surrounded by fences. These houses did serve, though, as dances houses (Ches Ses Žax) for both the funeral potlatch and winter "gathering ups." In contrast to these descriptions of the c'əlodzəy Žax, McKennan (1959:72) reports only one kind of bark house which is above ground with a completely flat roof. This conflicts with another description of the Upper Tanana bark houses, including de Laguna's (Fieldnotes: 16 July 1960):

Bark House-Ts'iladz'ICax- And they got building at Mansfield-wooden walls. Spruce bark cover it. Held with sticks (willows) (David Paul indicated rapidly a complex way of poking sticks through and turning them so that the bark was held tight). Inside the door.....

Bench up both sides. On top is full of people, underneath too. Bench just high enough to sit under. People on top of me and eat, I (small boy) eat underneath.

.....they use adze to chop. I don't know what kind of iron they use.

(Gene Henry snorted) Rock!

House is dug down three or three and a half feet with a wooden shovel. Sharp stick to make ground loose, then use wooden shovel.

.....Open over and under bench (no partitions).....inside door is stick door. Outside is door of Caribou hide. Little square box in front (as entryway) (Inside it you go down on slant).....This is Tc'iladzI'XCax-"Spruce bark house." Sometimes cover with birch bark. Tc'iladz'I'Cax is for village, for winter time village-for home.

.....Now you build little room (in back of house). Eight by eight-all covered with dirt. Heat rock in big fire. Put rocks in little room. Put water on it, have steam bath. Sometimes get dressed, somebody cooked (something in main room) put food inside.

What may have happened here, I believe, is that McKennan's report of the bark house may have confused two entirely different forms: (1) the "rich man's" semi-subterranean bark house, and (2) the above ground common man's village bark dwelling. Recent discoveries of Cook (Personal Communication) of four semi-subterranean bark houses at George Lake seem to definitely indicate at least the presence of the semi-subterranean pre-contact bark house in Upper Tanana villages.

First let's consider McKennan's discussion (1959:72) of the bark house:

The summer houses were more or less permanent structures located near well-known fishing spots. Such a house was rectangular in floor plan. Two parallel series of poles were driven into the ground, one making the outside wall and the other, an inside one. Spruce or birch bark was then laid between them. Such a bark wall had to be renewed frequently. Some of these houses were as much as 20 or 30 feet long and were occupied by several families. Wealthy men also possessed similar large houses, but ordinarily, single family dwellings were smaller. Special "potlatch" houses were built for that ceremony (cf. Potlatch). According to my informant the roof of the bark house was flat rather than gabled. Although it is hard to see how such a roof could shed water.....

Now let's consider the common man's summer village bark house often called a Tshen ʒʌx. It basically employed the same frame as the Nibalə ʒʌx, but an additional outer frame was added. First two sets of 7 to 12 one inch poles were bent and set vertically into the ground where they rose toward each other, leaving an open space at the top, where a bent lateral ridge pole was added on each side. A set of three laterals were added on each side on the inside follow-

ing the inner curve of the vertical poles. The ties for each of the poles were twisted willows. A two foot space was kept between the two halves, and a curved vertical pole added on each side of the front band back openings, and rising to form an arch over the dwelling (See Plates 7 & 8); something resembling Crocket hoops. This completes the inner frame.

On top of this, a covering, of overlapping spruce bark slabs or birch bark sewn together with split spruce rods, was laid and tied to the inner frame by willows which were gradually worked through by burning holes with heated sticks. On this an outer frame was placed. It consisted of two 12 foot one inch thick poles rising on each side to be fastened at a second set of ridge poles which were added on the outside at the top. A set of two laterals were then added on each side to reinforce this following the outside curve of the dwelling. In completed form this bark house had a central aisleway of about 2 feet wide and 6 feet 8 inches high with dimensions approximating 22x11x7 feet. It is an extended family dwelling (two nuclear families) and assumes a semispherical shape on the outside with an oblong ground plan. Baggen reports this same type of house for the Middle Tanana, as does Olson (1968:25-26) for the Lower Tanana.

Now if we examine McKennan's summer bark house versus the winter and summer bark houses mentioned here, we can see the following: (1) except for the flat roof and rectangular floor plan, Mc-

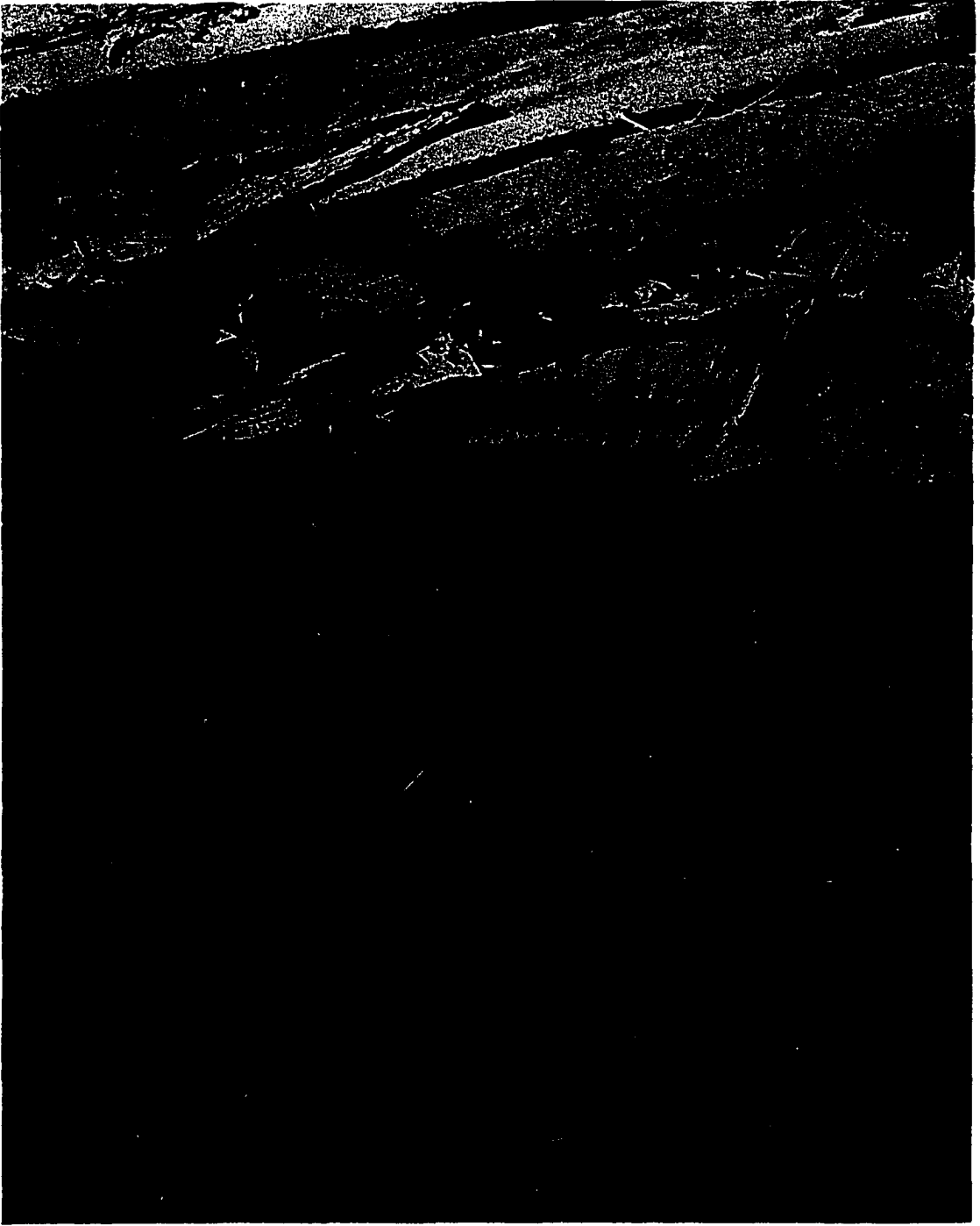


Plate 7. -- Inside Right Frame of Summer Bark House.

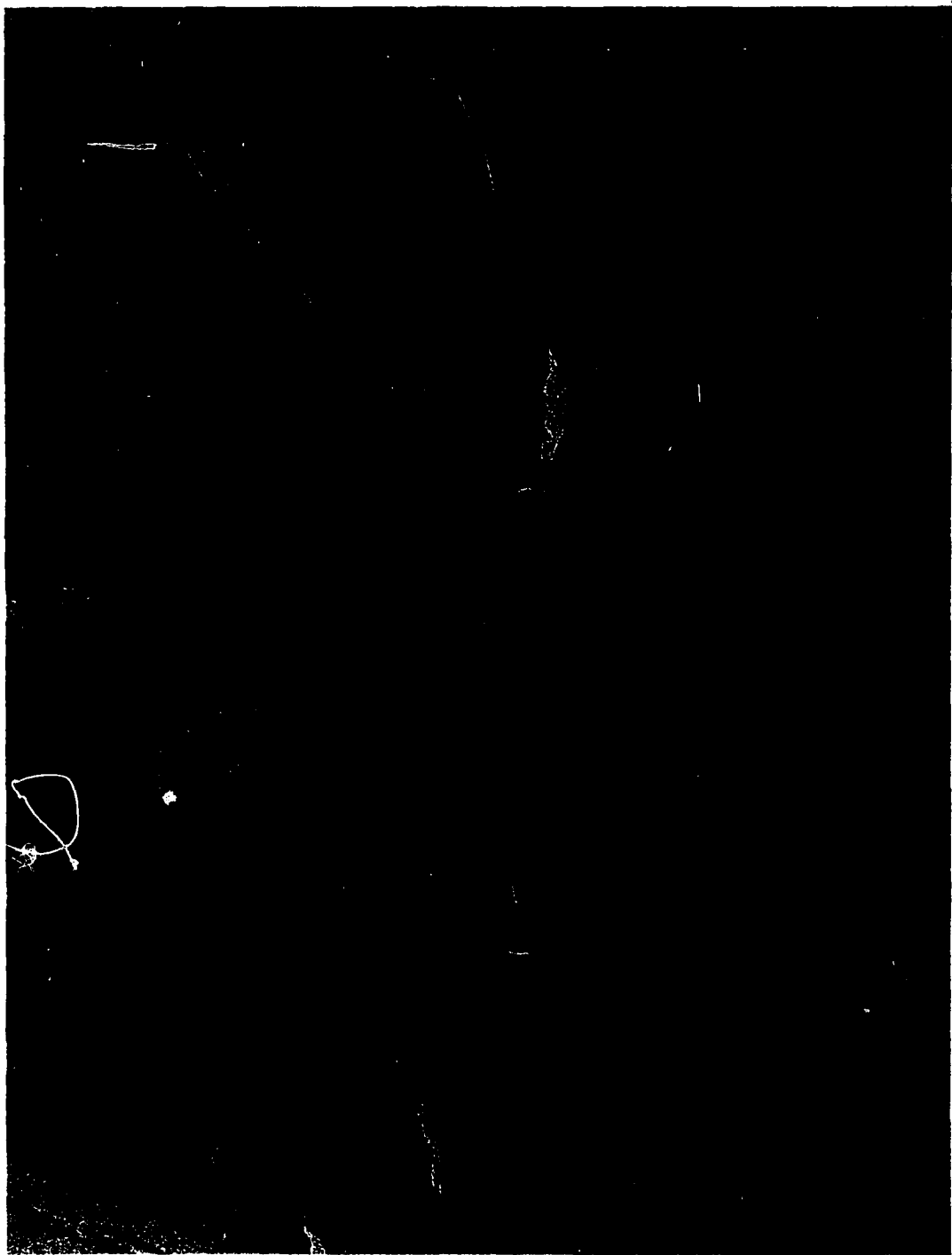


Plate 8. — Rear Inside View of the Summer Bark House.

Kennan's dwelling fits the common man's summer fishing house (See Plate 6) with the inner and outer frame, and (2) the unexplainable flat roof and rectangular floor plan McKennan describes in his monograph (1959:72) coincides with the winter bark house used both by the "rich man" and the Ha'Ke, or leader.

Olson (1968:26) backs up this contention when he states that the summer tents of the Lower Tanana were covered with birch bark in the same manner. Baggen (Fieldnotes) also asserts this for the Middle Tanana so that the trait seems traceable all the way up the river. It appears that the only difference between the traveling bark tent and the one in the village, was that the latter possessed an outside frame to hold the bark down while this was not utilized in the moving camp.

As far as my informants can remember, the rich man never used the Tshen ǂax, since this was the mark of a less distinguished person.

Yet, by the 1860's, which my informants date according to their father's time, the winter bark house was partially replaced in the headwaters, by what McKennan calls the log pole house, or Nitθil ǂax (beggar's house). This dwelling, as McKennan pointed out, was somewhat reminiscent of the Tanaina barbara of the Upper Inlet (Osgood 1966:60). Rainey (Upper Tanana and Copper Diary) reports the transition from one of his informants from Last Tetlin:

Met little john, old indian who was a young man when Lt. Allen came in from Suslota Pass. Little John remembers the first iron axe. Came from Chilcotin people (Tlingit). Paid man to use

it. Built log houses. Remember bone and Copper arrow heads.....
no stone beads. Says people gathered to fish in summer lived in
bar and log houses. Make house for single potlatch.....now
smoking whitefish for winter.

This statement is even more interesting since it establishes
the fact that the winter houses were also used in the summer. First
the ground was cleared and two pairs of parallel vertical posts were
driven into the ground at the corners. Occasionally, a set was also
added to the middle of the designated walls. Next logs were piled 4
or 5 high between the vertical pilings, each being lashed to these
and to each other by willow ties. Moss was added between each as
chinking. The corners were not notched or dovetailed but simply
butted together. Two support posts were added in the front and the
back, to brace two parallel ridge beams which ran the length of the
roof. Vertical eaves logs were set in front and back from the tops of
the wall to the main rafters where they were also tied with willow.
On the roof running from the wall logs to the ridge beams, minor
rafters in the form of smaller poles were added and willow lashed.
Sheets of over-lapping birch bark were then set to this and spruce
root sewn. These were often tied down further by intermittently
spaced poles leaving a 3x4 smokehole uncovered. Subsequently, moss
and dirt was added over this to complete the weather proofing. The
inside followed the same general pattern as the semi-subterranean
winter bark house. However, as with the bark house, the attached
sweat room was not initially part of the dwelling, as Allen (1887:

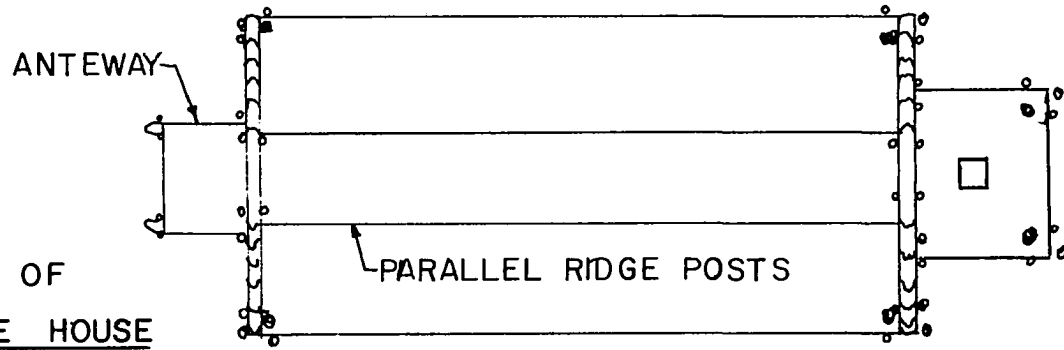
76) noted its absence in Last Tetlin in 1885. This attached sweat room appears, then, quite definitely, a late arrival in the territory. In the center of the dwelling proper a small tree covered with branch stubs served as a ladder to the smokehole for repair work. As with the c'əlodzəy Ž^x, the men and older boys slept on top of the benches, while the women and children used the area underneath. Once again a small storm shed of the same size as the old bark house was used for an entranceway, but in this case, it was above ground as was the main room. Bear or caribou skin served as the outside flap with a stick door usually on the inside.

McKenna proposed (1959:74) that this type of house may have come in comparatively recently:

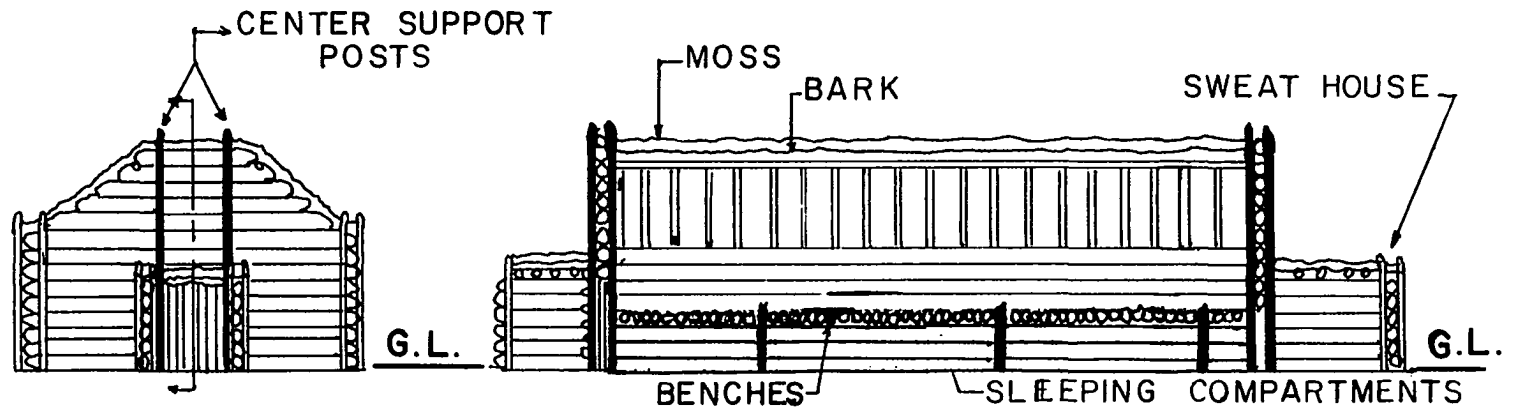
Quite possibly, as native belief suggests, an above ground version of the Tanaina barbara in the form of a rectangular log house came into the Upper Tanana culture within comparatively recent times, perhaps with a migration from the coast.....only to be almost immediately superseded by the Cabin.

One point, besides native belief, that substantiates this idea, is the similarity between the construction of the late Upper Inlet Barbara of the Tanaina (reported in the Eleventh Census), and the Tanaina name for it, when compared with the Upper Tanana. In construction, it was almost identical with the form found in Upper Tanana headwaters. However, it is the name for the dwelling that appears to prove the case. Like the Upper Tanana, the Tanaina refer to the structure as a Nicil. This closely parallels the word ni+θi which I have from Northway village. Both refer to strips of birch

FIG. 7 ORTHOGRAPHIC
PROJECTION OF
LOG-POLE HOUSE



NAN ? ŽAX
(DIRT HOUSE)



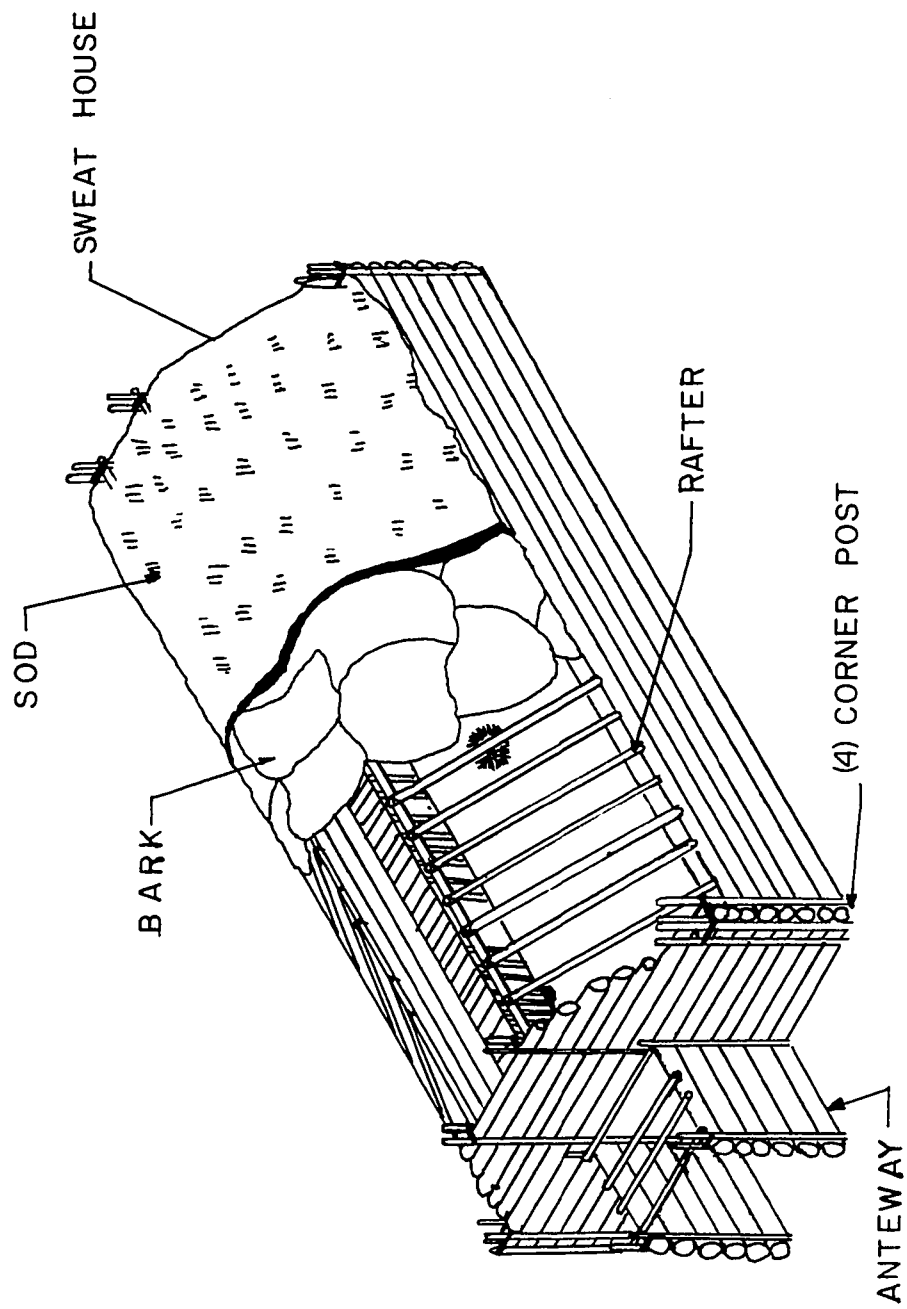


FIG. 8 FULL VIEW nAnP ŽAX (LOG-POLE HOUSE)

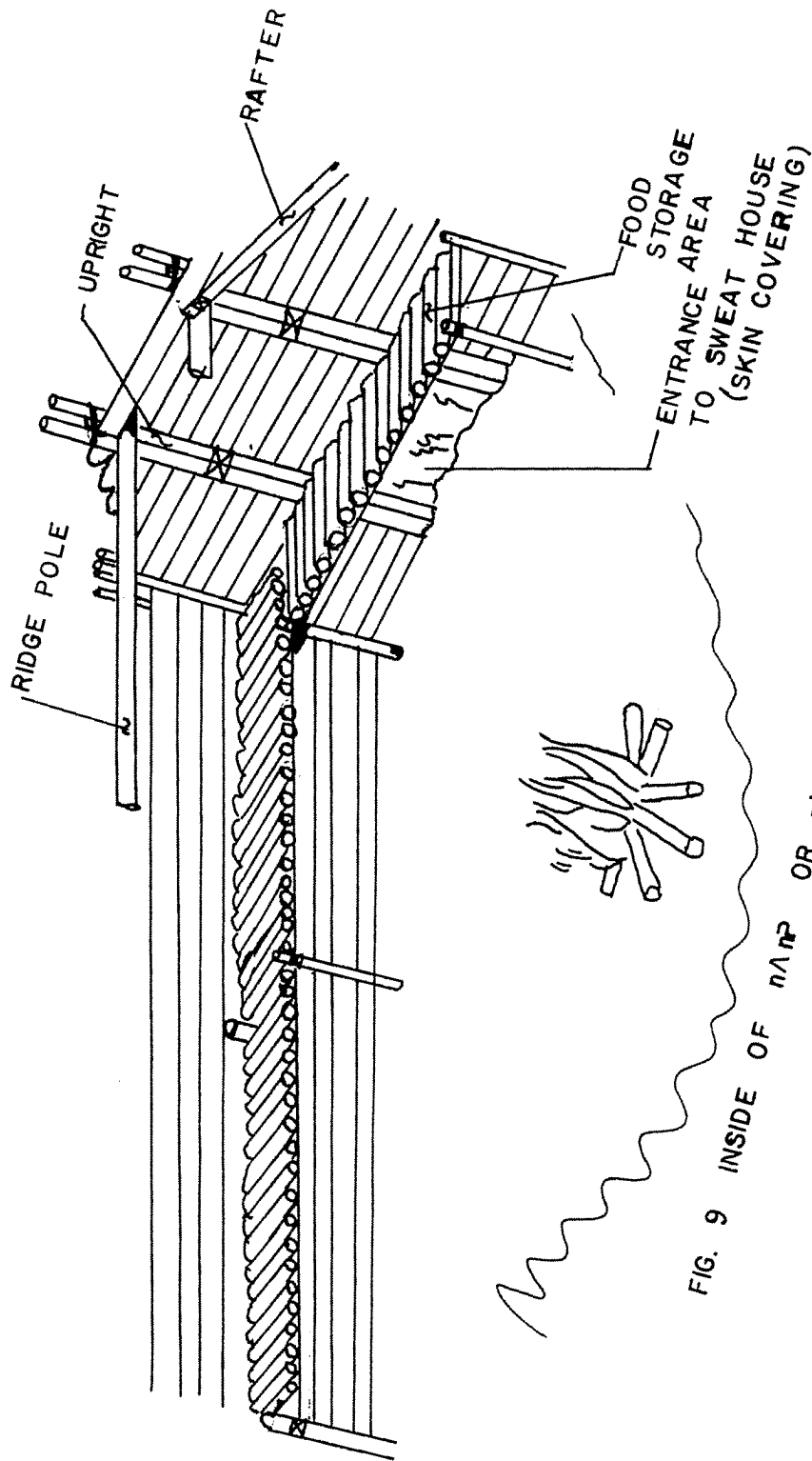


FIG. 9 INSIDE OF *n̄n̄p* OR *n̄t̄ōz̄ax*

bark sewn together, which among the Tanaina is a carry-over from an older form of shelter (Osgood 1966:61). The people of Northway and Tanacross cannot give me an adequate translation for the term and they state it is not one of their own words.

However, while the first three structures discussed were the most important in the village, two other forms were also identified with it: (1) the conical tipi called a *tultsogə*, (2) the modified moss-covered *c'əlodzəy žʌx* referred to as a *dla(d) žʌx* (Krauss Personal Communication).

The conical tipi is generally used among the Upper Tanana by a widow, or *Hacyax*, who was not allowed to remarry by her deceased husband's clan. Suspension of the levirate was at the discretion of the dead man's parents. At times a poor bachelor not living at home would also use one of these, and occasionally it did serve as a summer family dwelling for a young couple (Andersen 1966). Construction consisted of sinking three initial cross poles into the ground forming about an eight foot space at the bottom. These poles of approximately 13 feet in length were tied at the top by willows (See Plate 9). On this base frame, four sets of four poles of the same length were tied separately to the apex of the initial frame, conforming at the bottom to the same eight foot circle. Overlapping sheets of birch bark were added and spruce root sewn. The overall dimensions for the structure were approximately 8x10 feet. McClellan and de Laguna (Personal Communication) were given a description of

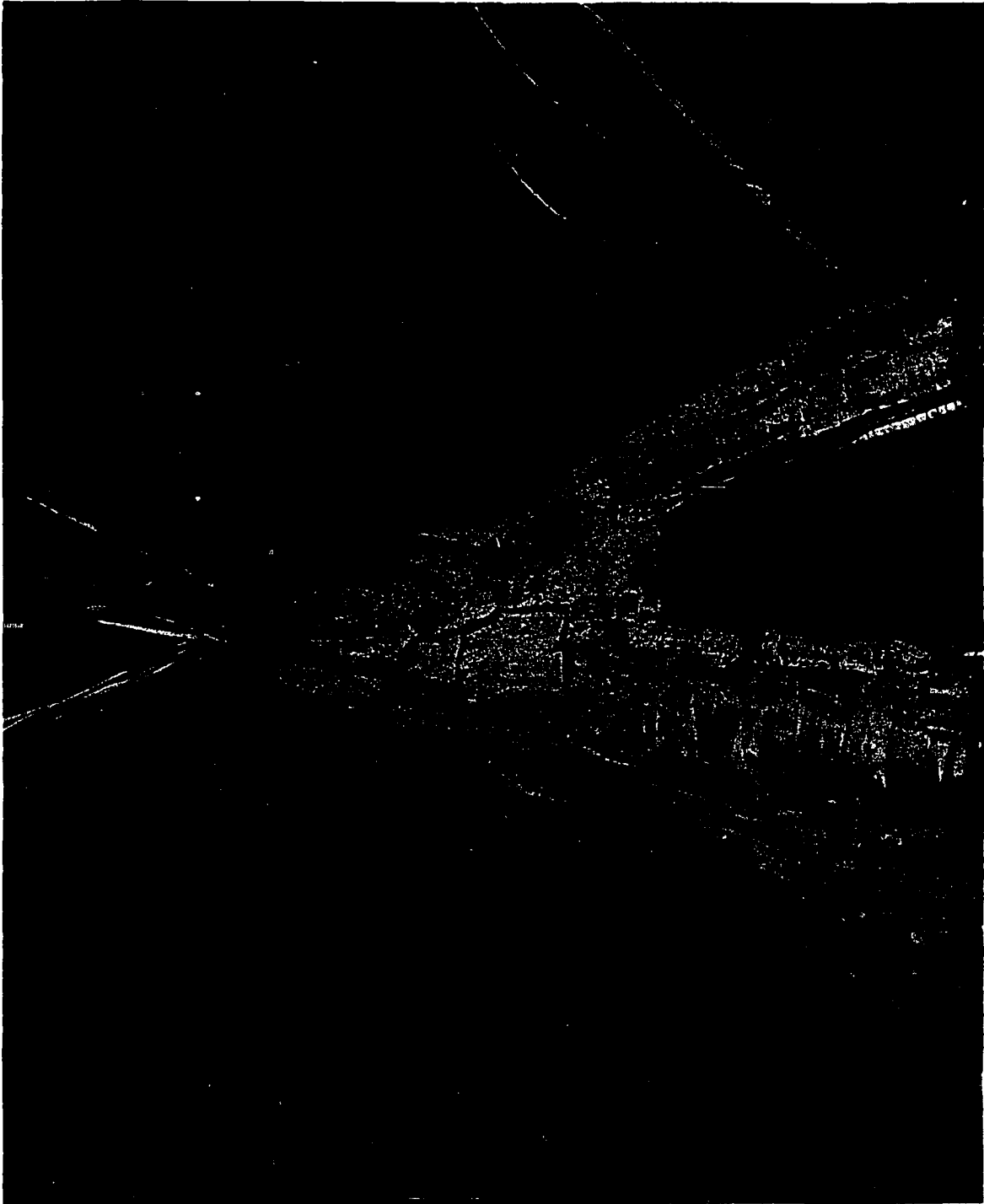


Plate 9. — Full Outside View of Bark Conical Tent.



Plate 10. — Inside Arrangement of Poles for Conical Tipi.

the same house by David Paul of Tanacross which was called by the same name or "Tuls' Tug E". According to my informants they did not have this house in the real old days suggesting a possible diffusion from elsewhere.

Next we turn to the moss dla(d) ž^x, where we find the same basic tent frame as the skin tent or above ground village bark house. However, in this case only a layer of moss is used for winterization. It was often employed as a man's trapline house. McClellan and de Laguna (Personal Communication) also mention it in their notes on the Upper Tanana:

Moss House Gla Cax (probably TLa Cax)

For winter, you cut square box of moss. Cut squares, then cover whole house and on top of house. But door for (i.e. used skin for door). For winter time. Moss house is same size as NI Bal Cax but warm.

Special Village Housing:

Contrasting with normal village dwellings, we find six types of habitations used for specific purposes: (1) the Ba ž^x which was strictly a fish smoking and drying house, (2) the caches, (3) the menstrual shelter, (4) the birth shelter, (5) the Potlatch house, and (6) the domical sweathouse.

The Ba ž^x was strictly a fish smoking and drying shelter (See Plate 11) used only in the village. At very rare occasions one family might occupy one of these but this was the exception to the rule. Another variation of the name Slu'ug-a ž^x was characteristic of George Creek and the Healy People. The Ba ž^x consisted of a basic

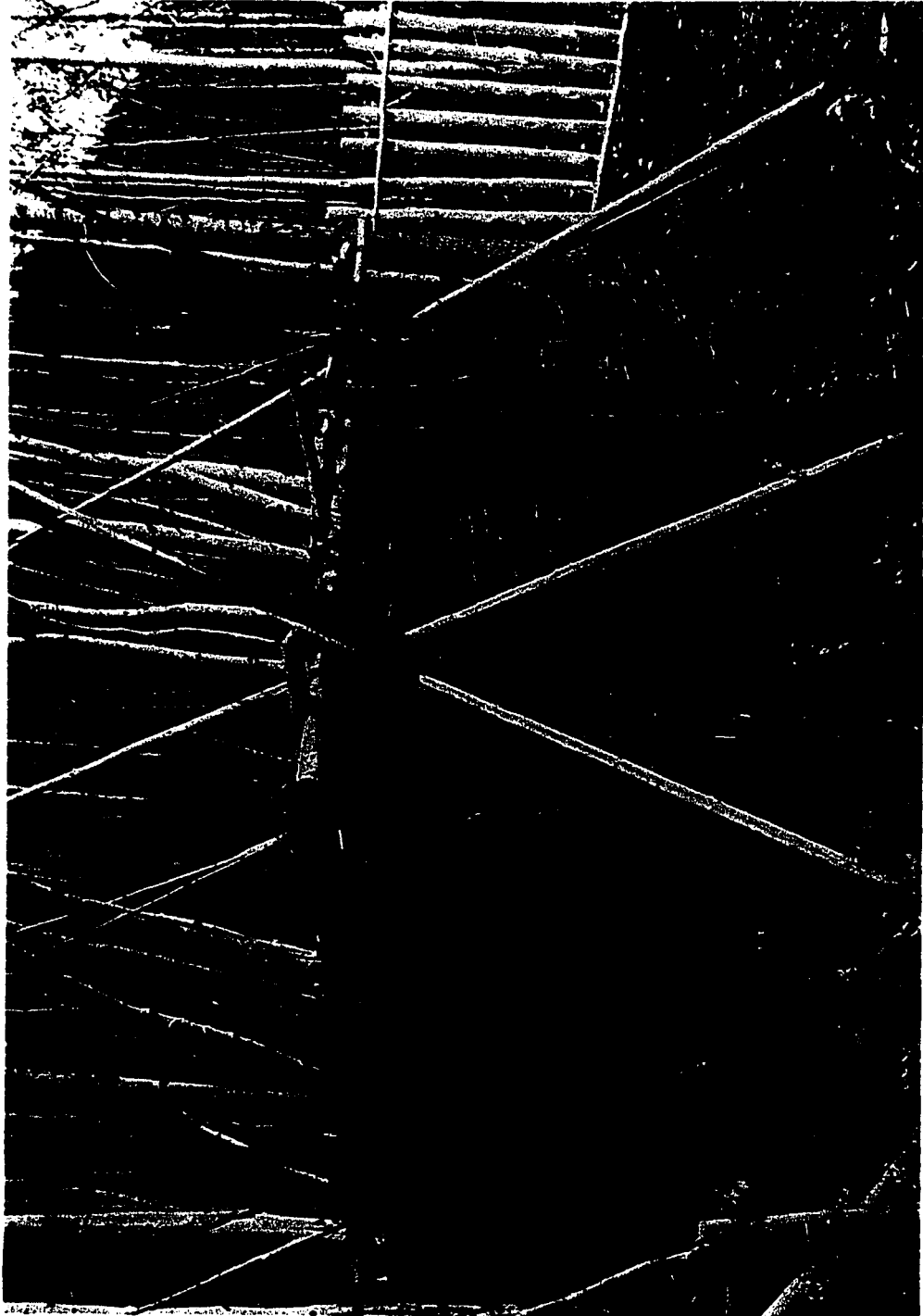


Plate 11. — Full View of Fish Drying and Smoking House.

frame of three crosspoles twelve feet long arranged in each of the four corners of a square. On top of these rested one pole on each side eleven feet long running front to rear and lashed by willows; and one pole nine feet long in the front and back, running between the two back, and the two front sets of crosspoles. On top of this roof frame a series of two inch laterals were laid and willow tied running front to back. From the flat roof to the ground were imbedded about 52 willows completely covering the front, back and sides. Lateral willows were intermittently woven between these to complete the structure.

Fish were hung from the roof racks by the two nuclear families that occupied the summer house. Dimensions were approximately 9x10x6 feet.

Unlike the fish house, though, the caches used in the fish camp were basically the same ones utilized when the band went into the winter hunting pattern. They consisted of three general types: (1) the underground cache, (2) the high box cache, and (3) the triangular platform cache.

In early pre-contact times the majority of the band or family game meat was stored in an underground type cache called a Dat Shao (See Fig. 19), whose floor and sides were lined with poles and birch bark at times. On top of this basic structure poles were laid and either birch bark covers or skin was pegged down over this. A blanket of earth might overlay the basic covering with logs and

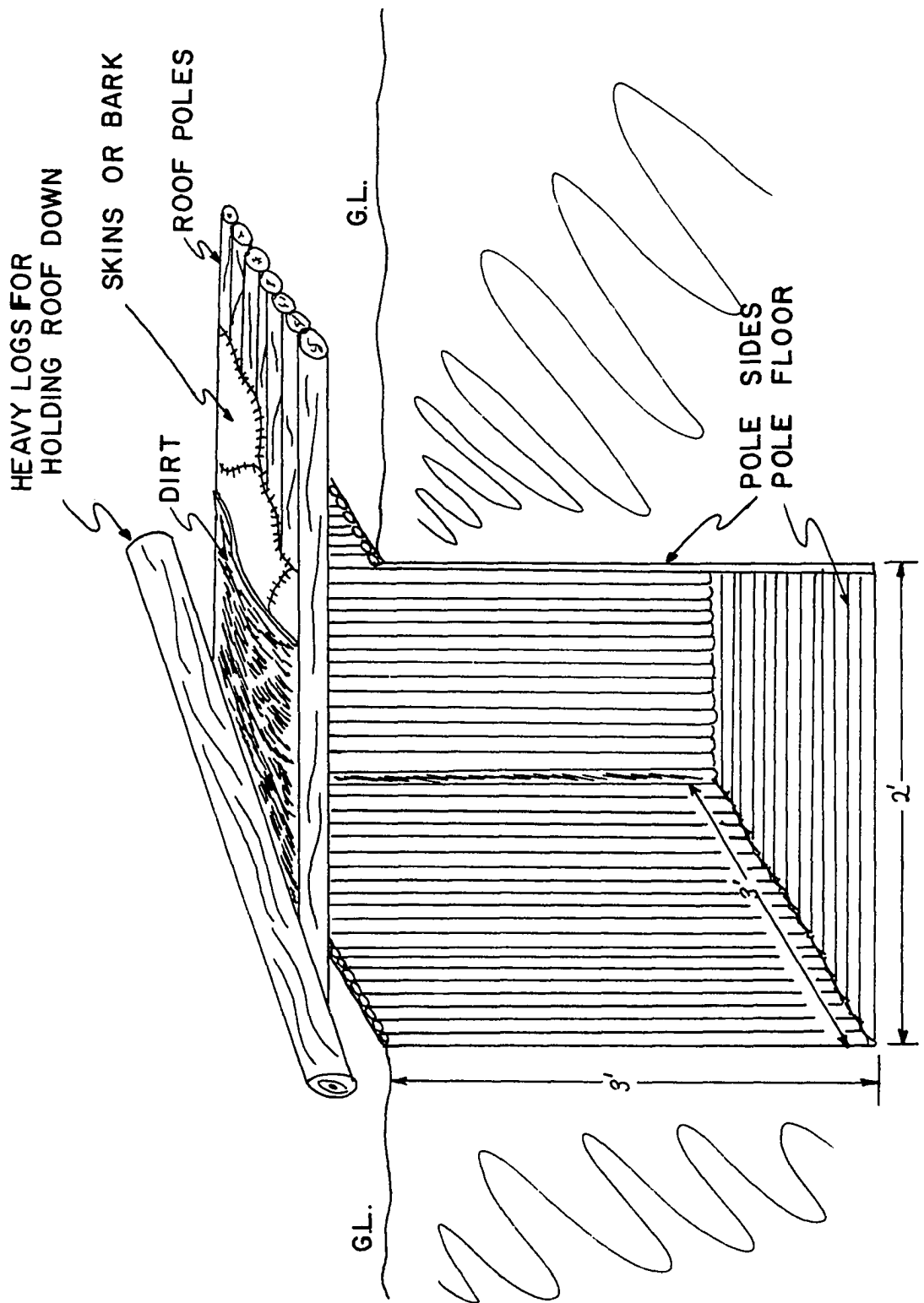


FIG. 19 PRE-CONTACT UNDERGROUND CACHE DAT SHAO

brush piled over for final protection. McKennan (1959:33) describes one that he excavated at Lower Nabesna:

An old one which I excavated on the lower Nabesna was rectangular, and 2 feet by 3 feet in size. It was about 3 feet deep, and the bottom was lined with spruce boughs. Poles were laid across the top and on them rested several layers of logs, some of them a foot in thickness. These were wedged in between three stumps and the whole thing covered with earth.

According to my informants at Tanacross, this type of cache was only used for a few days, when a family or band could not transport all the meat at once. The alternative form of cache used for longer periods of storage, before the advent of the high box cache, was a triangular platform cache referred to under the general term for a platform, Tat Tleth.

Three sets of three crosspoles were sunk into the ground roughly equivalent to a triangle. Each set of crosspoles was secured by willow or babbish lashings and a series of poles running lengthwise placed on top to finish the platform. On top of each, in addition to food items, household goods such as toboggans and snowshoes would be placed. This type of cache was also employed on the trail with the moving camp, but unlike the Chen Yiit, or recent box cache, it would be rebuilt by a family at each new location of the hunting camp.

The recent high box cache or Chen Yiit was built in either of two ways: (1) four trees approximating a square were found and the box built between them, or (2) four large posts were sunk into the

ground for that purpose. Four eight foot logs were then tied between the straight ones by willows at the chosen base and top of the structure. Floor logs, as well as side logs were added to these and tied by willows. The squaw notching of logs came in relatively late to the area. The roof was constructed of two main slabs of spruce acting as the main rafters and running front to back where they were secured by willows. Smaller saplings tied between these completed the roof, which also served as an entrance. In the summer, birch bark was added to repel the rain, but no moss was included so that air was allowed free play through the cache (See Fig. 20). The front entrance to the cache appears a fairly recent innovation that replaced the old roof access. A tree with limb studs would be used for a ladder.

Two other possibilities for food storage were the underground fish and pulp caches. The underground fish cache or Net-Saa Ga was built for winter time storage of fish as a survival food during times of scarcity. First a rectangular hole of 3 1/2 by 4 feet was excavated from the ground. Willows lined the sides with a birch bark cover, with each layer interspaced with grass, placed over the top. On top of this brush would be added to protect the cache from marauders.

Rainey (1939:372) reports the same type of cache at the mouth of the Goodpaster River: "Also in the vicinity of the mink farm and at the lower mouth of the Goodpaster River are numerous pits, lined

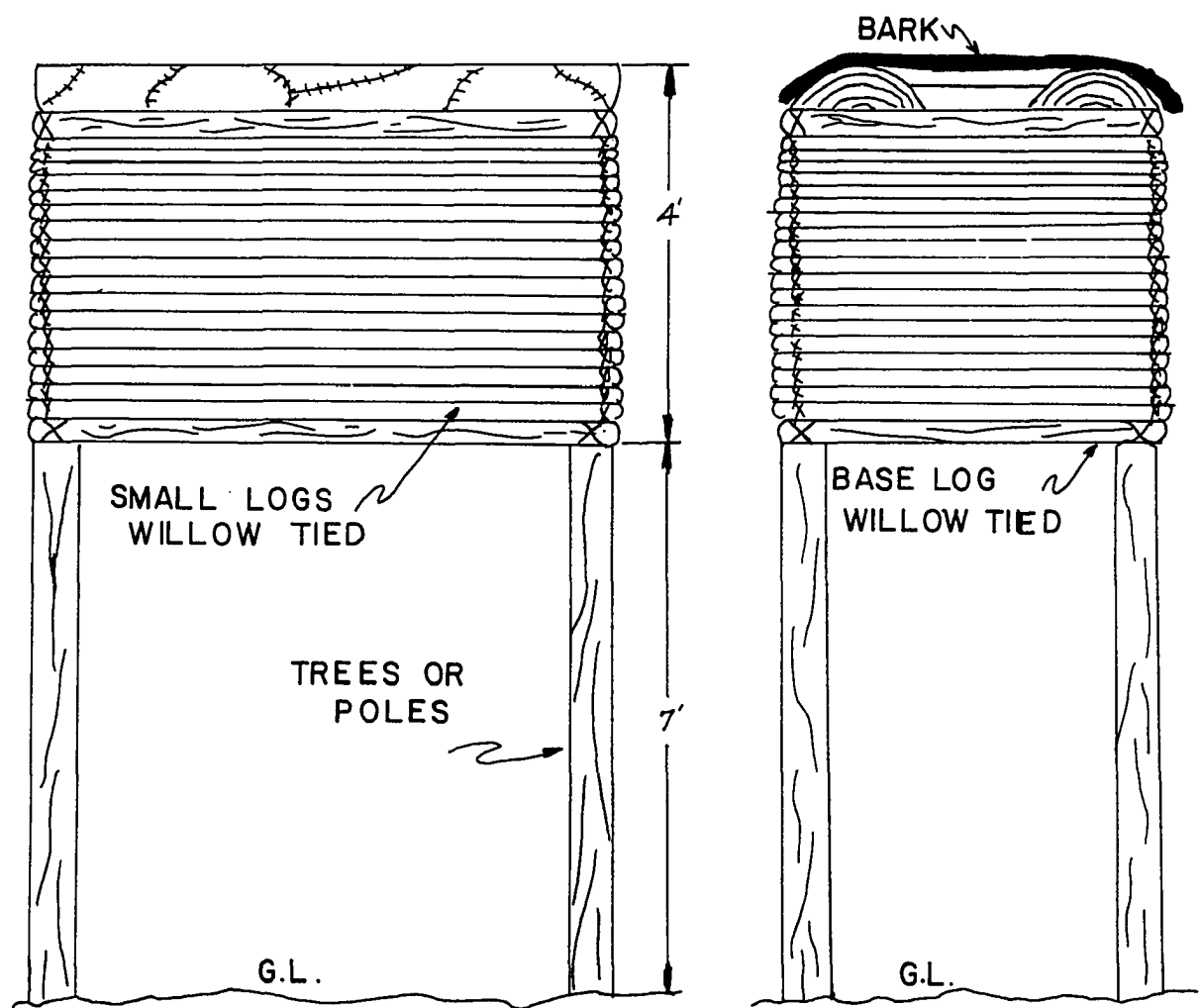
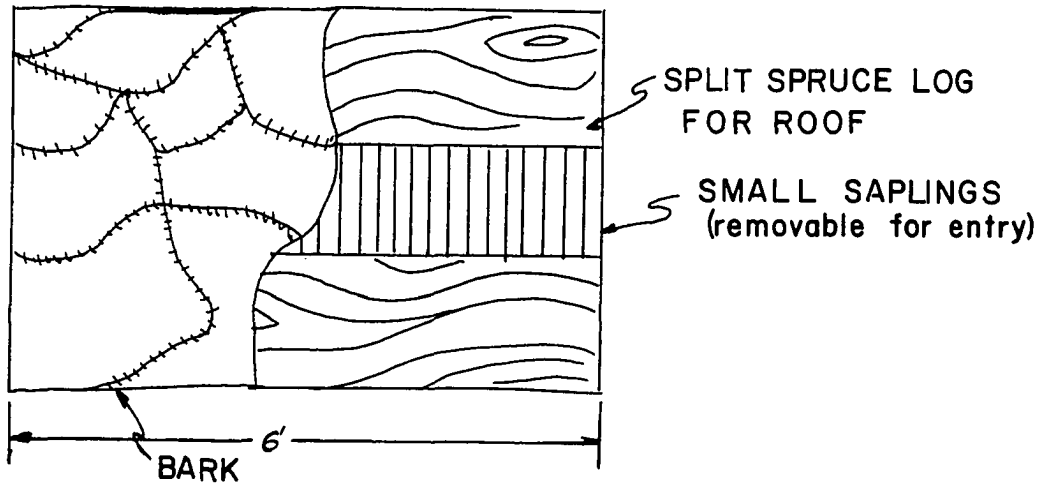


FIG. 20 RECENT CONTACT HIGH BOX CACHE CHENYIIT

with birch bark, obviously fish storage pits, and certainly recent." It appears, then, that this type of fish cache persisted up until late post-contact times.

This same type of cache was used for moose and caribou storage (Cook Personal Communication).

The birch bark pulp cache called the KeL Too differed somewhat from the former. Instead of willows for siding the 2 1/2 foot excavation was completely filled with a spruce root sewn and spruce pitched birch bark containers to hold the birch juice. The top was also secured to the cache proper by spruce pitch. In the summer or winter time this often served as a hunter's survival food when separated from the main camp or it might be used right at the village. Usually the pulp was collected in the first two weeks of May, whereas the fish were stored right at the first frost or dried and put in the high cache.

Next we come to the women's menstrual house which was usually located a couple of miles from the village. Usually an enclosed spruce shelter lean-to Cia DZook or the conical Tul Tsogə would serve this purpose. In the case of the lean-to, it was erected with a horizontal crosspiece set to two crotched sticks to which longitudinal poles imbedded in the rear ran and were will lashed. Across these poles were set small cross pieces or spruce boughs. During inclement weather, birch bark was also added. The construction of the tipi remained the same as in the main camp. A girl

during her first menses would be secluded there. Laura Andersen (1966:15-16) gives a good description of the practice for the Goodpaster band:

When a young girl was woman for the first time, she went down to the river to find the thickest spruce tree and she sat down right under it facing down at the ground.

If this spruce was thickest meant she was going to be rich but if this spruce was barren she would be poor. Sometimes a girl had to go six maybe seven miles to find a thick spruce tree. Then she won't have babies for a long time. While she hunted for this tree she would split willows and walk between them and let them go between her legs too.

Pretty soon the whole village goes to look for this girl and if a man finds this girl first she is going to be lucky. She can't answer no matter who calls her name only whistle. Sometimes people hunt all day and all night for this girl. But this girl couldn't come back to village. They made a little house for her maybe two miles away for five months. All alone winter or summer.

Guedon (Personal Communication) insists that the house was not always separate, but could in some instances be simply an enclosed area in a rich man's house.

As you probably know young girls at puberty were secluded either in a hut outside or a corner of the house (semi-subterranean house).

This coincides with my information concerning the menstrual house.

Somewhat similar to the former is the O-Ta-žax, or young person's house. Again an enclosed lean-to shelter or the tipi served the expectant mother and her child before birth and afterwards for a 100 days of confinement, during which the husband was not allowed to see the infant until after its period of seclusion. However, again a wealthy man might partition off part of his house for the

required period (referred to "as going behind the blanket").

This same individual was required to build a special dwelling usually 40x25 feet, for ceremonies commemorating deceased members of his household. Referred to as the Utiulth $\check{Z}\wedge x$, the building not only honored the dead, but enhanced the prestige of a man as a leader or successful person. A special c'əlodzəy $\check{Z}\wedge x$ was built for this purpose before guests were called in from other villages. A man's relatives or his clan might help him with the work if they felt like doing so, but he could never ask for such assistance. The potlatch house was built like the ordinary winter bark dwelling, only bigger. Later after the affair was over a man might use this structure to live in with his family and chosen relatives. Often his hunting partner or cross-cousin would move with his family.

At times, these dwellings did not have an attached sweat room, and if this was the case, a separate skin or bark covered domical lodge would be erected in the vicinity of the house.

The frame for the sweat house consisted of two or three sets of willow hoops imbedded into the ground at right angles to each other and willow lashed at the points of intersection (See Plate 14). During the summer these would be covered with strips of overlapping birch bark in the village. Rocks were usually brought in from the main house on wooden tongs and placed on the floor of the steam bath and water poured on these by the bathers.

All my informants tell that they never knew of a woman being

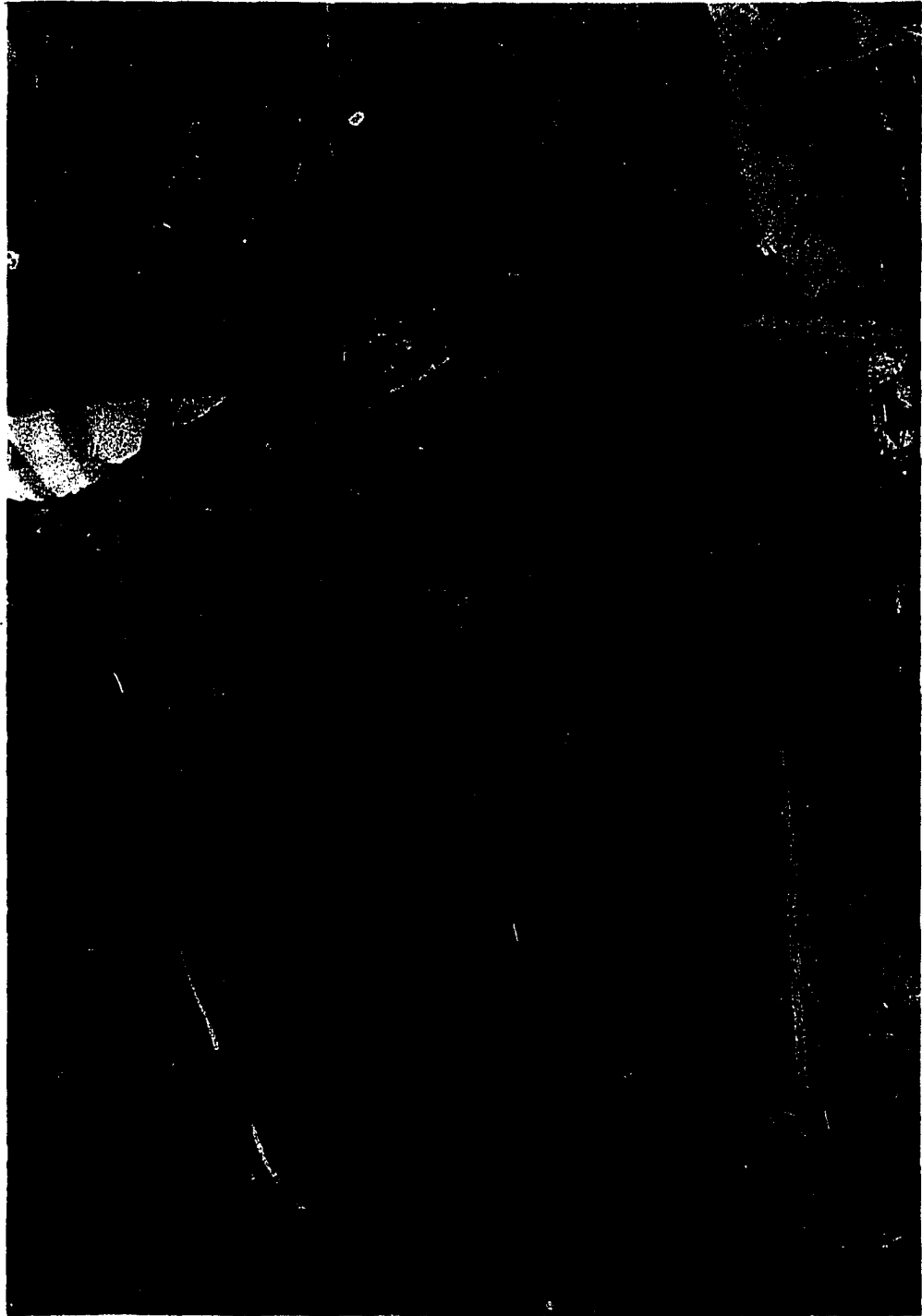


Plate 14. — Frame of the Skin Sweat House.

admitted to one of these, though there may have been some exceptions to the rule. Generally it was believed that the practice kept men and adolescent boys from becoming indolent.

Hunting Camp Housing:

In the Žʌx-Dik-NaiⁿTa or mobile hunt camp and the Kont Tsay, hunter's camp, were usually found eight types of dwellings: (1) the winter skin covered nəbalə Žʌx skin tent, (2) the summer bark covered nəbalə Žʌx, (3) the conical skin or bark covered Tultsogə, (4) the winter double lean-to, (5) the summer bark covered lean-to, (6) emergency shelters, (7) special shelters, and (8) two kinds of caches.

The basic housing unit for the Upper Tanana on the move, in winter and summer, consisted of a two sectioned elliptical frame that was adapted for both seasons called a nəbalə Žʌx. Usually these contained two nuclear families, consisting of one man's family plus his Sklaa's (hunting partner) or it might consist of the owner's family and newly acquired son-in-law and wife (man's daughter). In the case of the former, this would be the man's cross-cousin, MOBRSO or FASISO, who might also be his brother-in-law. In the winter, the tent was not erected until the women had cleared about an 18 foot area, with long handled wooden shovels, and banked the sides. Next, 18 or so bent vertical poles, pre-seasoned during early fall, were imbedded in the ground to form a semispherical dome which was left open at the top. Space was left for a smokehole. Next, two arched

cross poles were added underneath, following the inner curve and the length of the hut, where they were lashed to side stakes at the ends of the lodge (See Fig. 10 & 11, Plate 15). This completed the structure except for a skin covering, which was made in two sections usually of caribou skin with the hair left on. The skins were sinew sewn, and if the man was well to do, moose might be used instead of caribou. In this instance, the hair was removed. On the inside spruce boughs are added against the walls of the tent to the height of the snow to protect occupants from the cold. A two foot space was kept between two of the verticals in the middle to serve as an entrance. This was covered by a separate skin flap attached to the frame. McClellan and de Laguna (Personal Communication) were given the same description when they visited Tanacross in 1960:

Moose skin Tent

Look pretty near like that (a nearby quonset hut). Have twelve of them (saplings and poles) on each side (to arch over). Fire in middle and one family on one side and one family on the other side.

The overall appearance of the hut is somewhat like an "overturned teacup" with dimensions approximately 18x8x9 feet. Next to and on either side of the lodge each family erects a Tat Tleth platform, upon which the family toboggan, snowshoes, etc., were stored. When summer and heavy rains arrived about the only adaptation the family would make for the hunt was to replace the skin covering with a sewn birch bark tarp which they took down and stored in a shaded place during periods of no rain. Note that a family which lacked sufficient

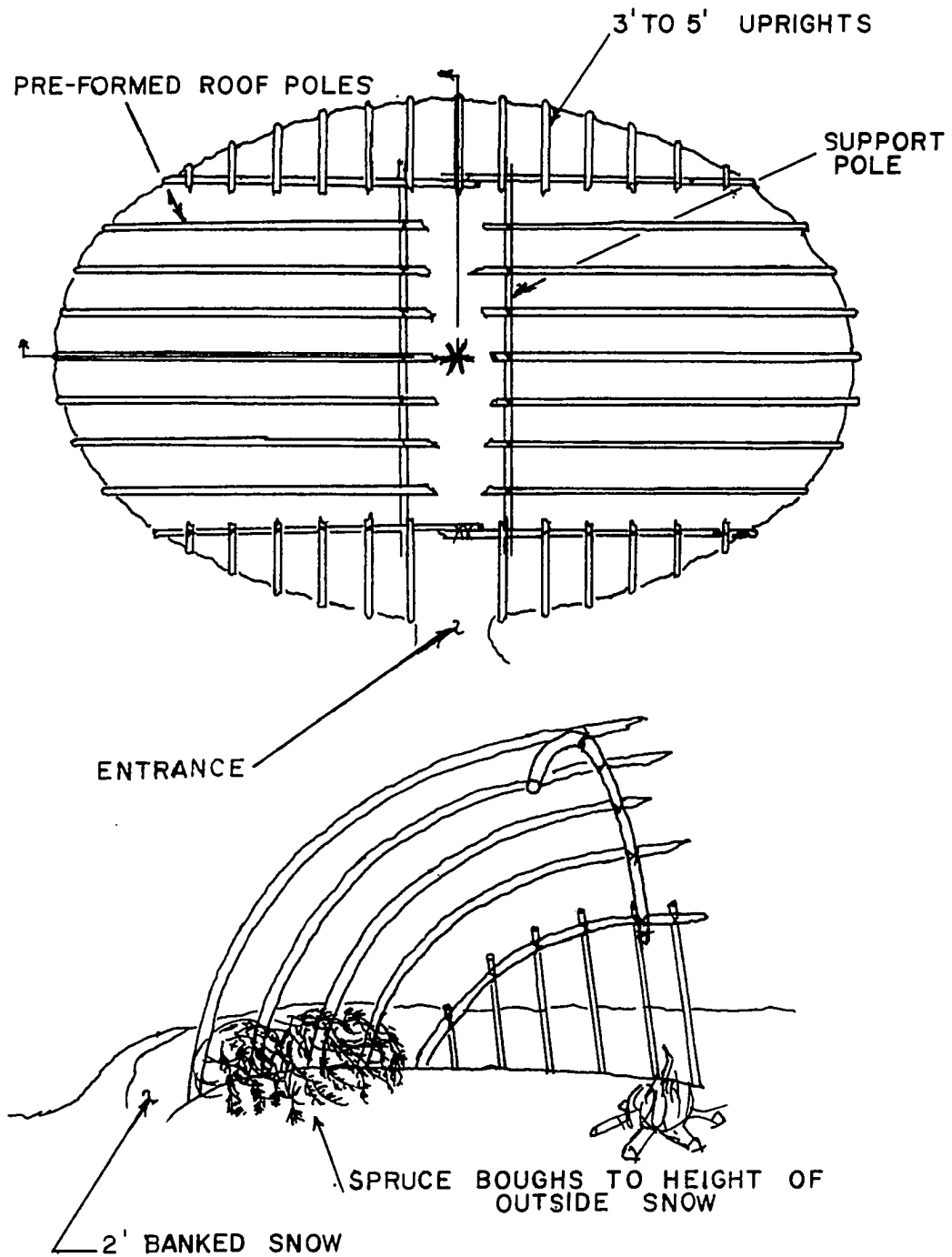


FIG. 10 PLAN AND SECTION OF *nəbala* ŽAX

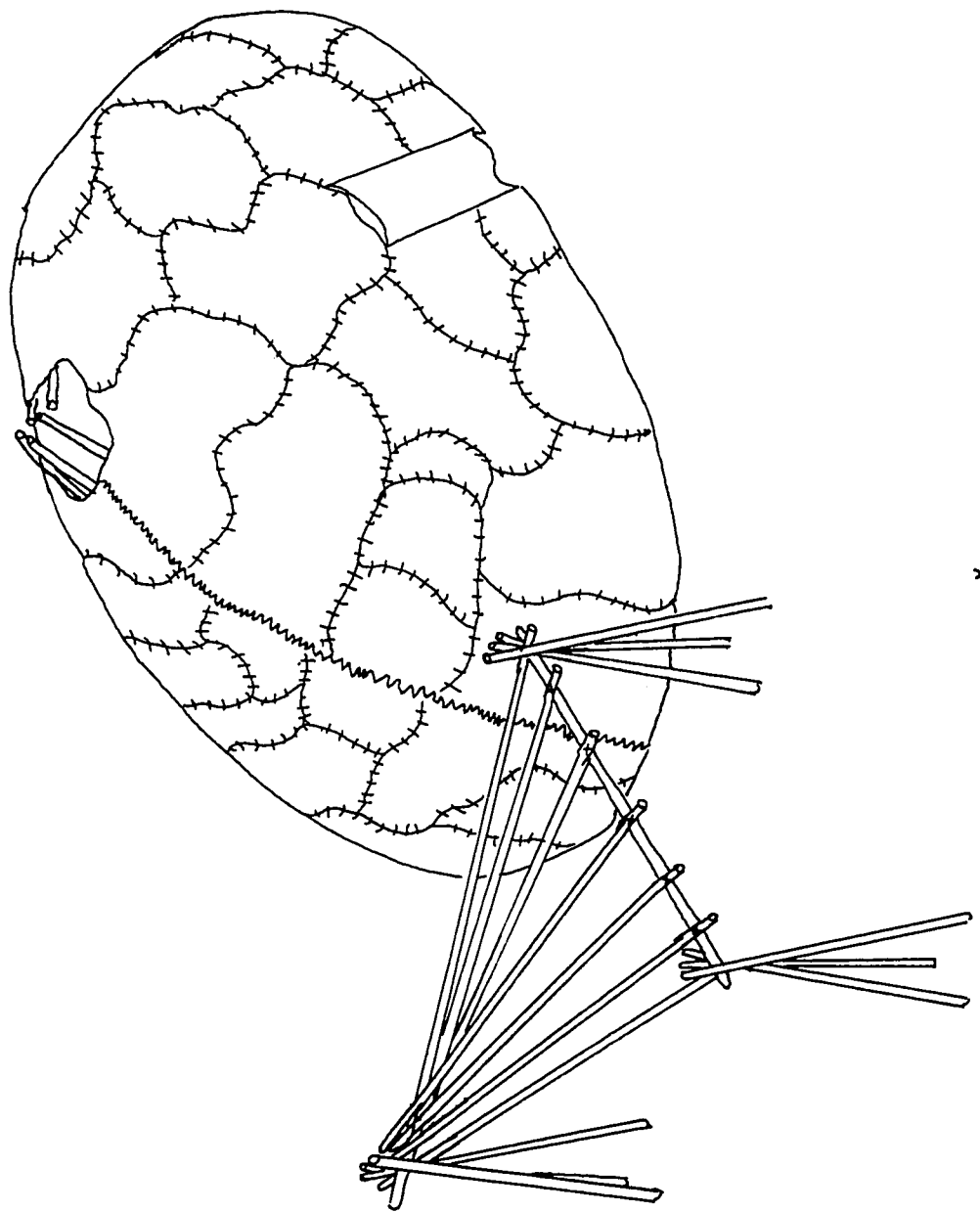


FIG. II FULL VIEW OF n é b a l e z A x



Plate 15. — Semispherical Skin Tent and Triangular Platform Cache.

skins for the winter might (1) use the double lean-to in its place, or (2) utilize the spruce bark-bough covering typical of village common man's dwelling. Mitchell (1961:134) describes just such a house for a member of the Healy River band:

The trail went ahead of us downriver. Soon we saw the smoke of a fire rising through the spruce trees, and getting closer, saw an Indian wickiup, a lodge built something in the form of a beehive, covered with bark and spruce boughs. "Him David House. I guess he die," said Joe, meaning that the lodge belonged to a man of his tribe named David who was near death.

In the case of a couple with children, the conical type of tul tsog might be used if they lived alone.

However the Cia Dzook, double lean-to, was usually reserved for the Kont Tsay or hunter's camp, and the tipi for a widow living alone. The construction of the lean-to followed the same pattern as mentioned in Chapter I, but here two lean-tos faced each other, and frequently a meat drying Tat TLeth was attached between the two. This type of platform differed from the triangular form discussed before, as instead of three sets of cross poles being set in the ground, four were sunk in an arrangement approximating a square. In essence this version of the Tat TLeth was identical with the platform built for the fish smoking house (See Plate 13), except that the sides were left open and a lean-to erected on either side. In the summer birch bark would be added to the lean-tos as proof against heavy rain (See Plates 16 & 17).

When conditions in winter did not permit the erection of the

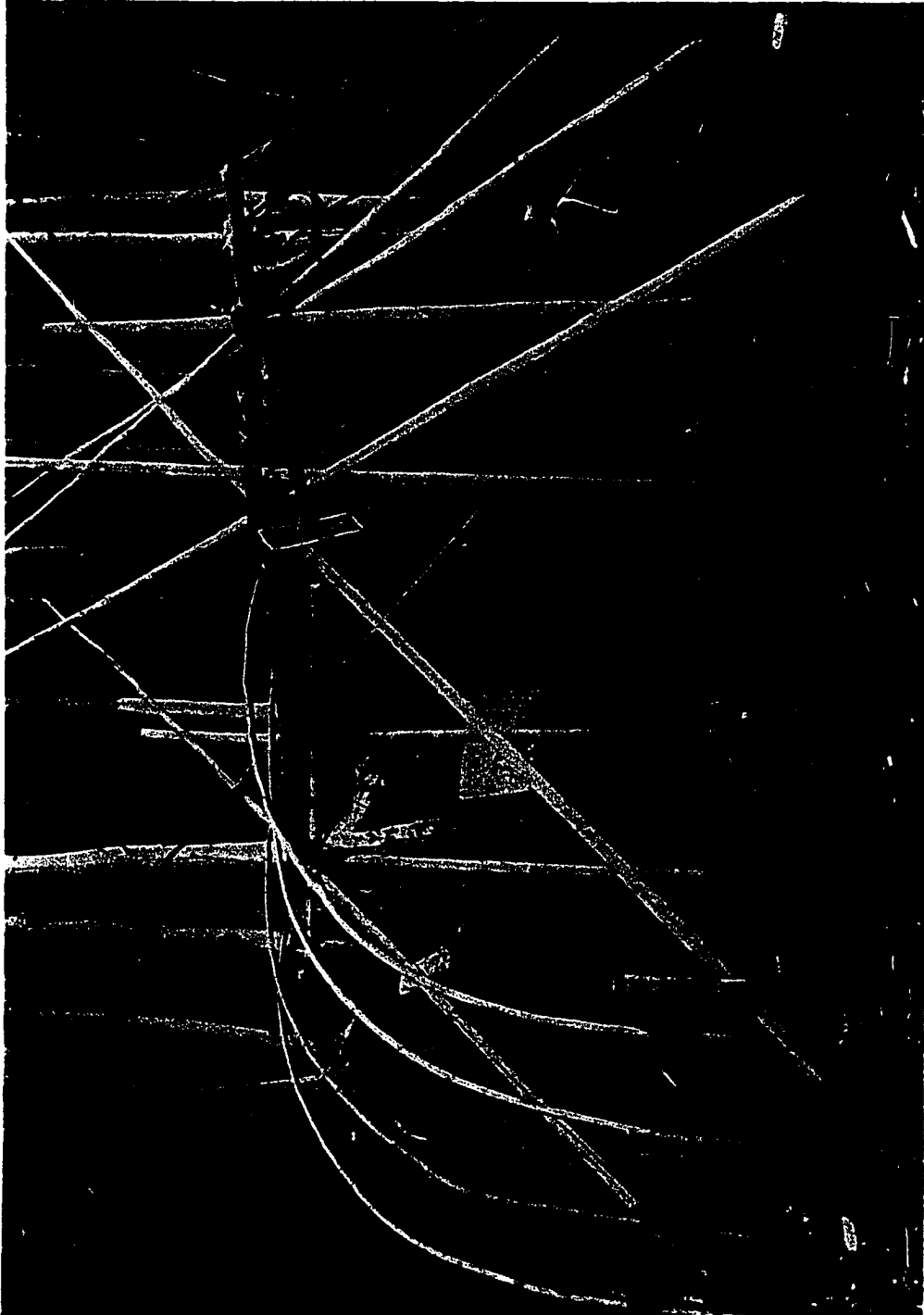


Plate 13. — Square Meat Platform Drying Rack.



Plate 17. - Side View of Lean-To.



Plate 16. — Full View of the Spruce Brush Lean-To.

hunter's lean-to, the Upper Tanana resorted to emergency shelters: (1) the open spruce brush shelter, (2) the snow shelter, and (3) the bear cave.

The open shelter started with a large dead spruce, tree limbs of which served as one side of the structure. Spruce brush and logs were piled up in the rear and the opposing side, leaving the front top open. Normally a large fire was maintained in the middle, and the sides served to radiate the heat back in and to act as a wind break .

Another alternative to the open shelter was the snow shelter. If a man was caught out in blizzard conditions, he would look for a likely snow bank which he would excavate with a snow shoe. Inside he cut a smokehole through the top of the bank and lined the floor of the bank with spruce boughs. During the night, he kept a small fire going to keep from freezing to death. After entering the shelter, he would close the outside entrance with a snow block.

On rare occasions, he might choose a bear cave in place of the snow shelter. If it was occupied, he faced the unhappy task of driving out the owner (the bear) before moving in.

In the case of a woman, about the only time she was required to use a lodge other than the family one was either during her first menses or for giving birth. The dwellings for these purposes were essentially the same as those used outside the fishing village, and the same rules and conditions applied.

In terms of caches we find the triangular Tat Tleth and the box high cache Chen Yiit again. The former followed the construction of the village form, but in this instance, was taken down and moved with the camp when it changed locations. The high caches, on the other hand, were built along the hunting paths for emergency use as food became scarce in February and March.

CHAPTER III

CONTACT (1874-1942) AND ITS EFFECTS

SETTLEMENT AND EXPLOITATIVE PATTERNS

The first period of heavy contact between the Indians of the Upper Tanana and non-natives lasted from 1874 to 1942, when the construction of the Alaska Highway heralded a second period of acculturation. As early as the mid-half of the nineteenth century, though, the natives of the region did have some limited trade with the outside world. Richardson (1851a:398, 401-402) reports intermittent trade with the Copper natives, the Hudson Bay Company on the Yukon, the Russians at Cook Inlet and the Chilkat of Lynn Canal:

The Tathzey-Kutchi inhabit a wide country, which extends from the sources of the Porcupine and Peel to those of the River of the Mountain Men (Tanana). They visit the Russians on the coast of the Pacific and trade with the intervening tribes.

These people (Copper, coming from the interior, about the sources of the Copper River and water shed between it and the valley of the Yukon) have commercial relations with the Kutchin (Tanana) who dwell on the Deep River (Tanana River), an affluent of the Yukon... Lynn's Canal... The traveling merchants who go from thence to the banks of the Pelly and sources of the Yukon meet there with the Tratze-Kutchin (Tanana natives).

Brooks (1953:45) mentions the same type of early contact in his manuscripts:

Conditions changed when the Russians reached the coast, and a half a century later the Hudson Bay traders, the Yukon. Then the natives immediately adjacent to the trading posts obtained many articles which they bartered with the more distant tribes. In time these distant natives visited

the posts themselves and thus avoided the profits to be paid to the middlemen. Thus, even the Tanana natives used to congregate annually at the mouth of the river and barter their furs with the white traders. Those of the Upper Tanana reached the Yukon and Ft. Selkirk (Lynn Canal) for the same purpose by a more direct route.

Schwatka (1891:240) notes that the Tanana natives traded at Ft. Selkirk even before 1851. Yet non-natives did not intrude into the valley of the Tanana until 1874, when the Fetutlin traders, Harper and Bates, appeared on the river (Robe 1943:22). During the period of the next thirteen years, though, the activities of companies such as the Alaska Commercial, remained strictly at their Yukon and lower Tanana bases; no attempt was made to push permanently into the Valley of the Tanana. The only posts where trading was conducted were at Harper's Fetutlin, McQuesten's Ft. Reliance, six miles below the present site of Dawson, and Tanana Station at the mouth of the Tanana.

By the late 1880;s, however, the situation dramatically changed with the discovery of gold in Forty Mile country near Franklin Gulch. Robe (1943:31-32) points out that this had an immediate population impact, as miners and traders surged into the area:

In the latter part of 1887, the first gold was found on the Alaskan side of the imperfectly defined boundary. Previously, all mining had been done on the Canadian side. The new discovery, thirty miles west of the border, was named Franklin Gulch in honor of the first successful miner in the districtIn 1893.....and the next year.....the population increased from 113-600.

In effect, the Forty Mile Rush shifted the goldseekers from the Yukon Territory into the hunting territory of the Upper Tanana

below the headwaters. For the first time, non-natives were within stones' throwing distance of where the Upper Tanana Bands operated. The people of Mansfield village (See Fig. 12) especially, quickly became attracted to the Forty Mile Trading area, due to its location in their own hunting grounds. McKennan (1965:103) records Greenfield's (1893:117-128) observation of the activities of the Mansfield Band in 1893:

The Tenan-Kutchin (Tanana) enumerated on the river and at Nuklukayet, numbered a little over 300, but a few more were reported who could not be reached by the special agent, among them Hiltah's Band (Mansfield) consisting of 73 persons (15 male and 18 female adults and 40 children, composing 16 families) who were residing temporarily across the divide on Franklin Gulch in the Forty Mile Diggings.

The trade available in the Forty Mile produced the first native settlement changes, when, with the increased availability of firearms, the Upper Tanana bands began to phase out the use of the caribou corral; and with it the band camp pattern associated with it. This step was very significant in that it reduced the importance of the band as a social and hunting unit, and marked a gradual shift from a series of sedentary seasonal settlements to what Chang (1962:30) classifies as year round/permanent settlements. Charley James of Tanacross (Personal Communication) remembers the event, and the stimulus behind it, in the Mansfield-Ketchumstock areas. "Fall and Spring we go to Ketchumstock fence. Everybody but old women, men and children work on fence. 1898 last time we use it. We have plenty guns by then." Walter Northway of the Mouth of the Nabesna

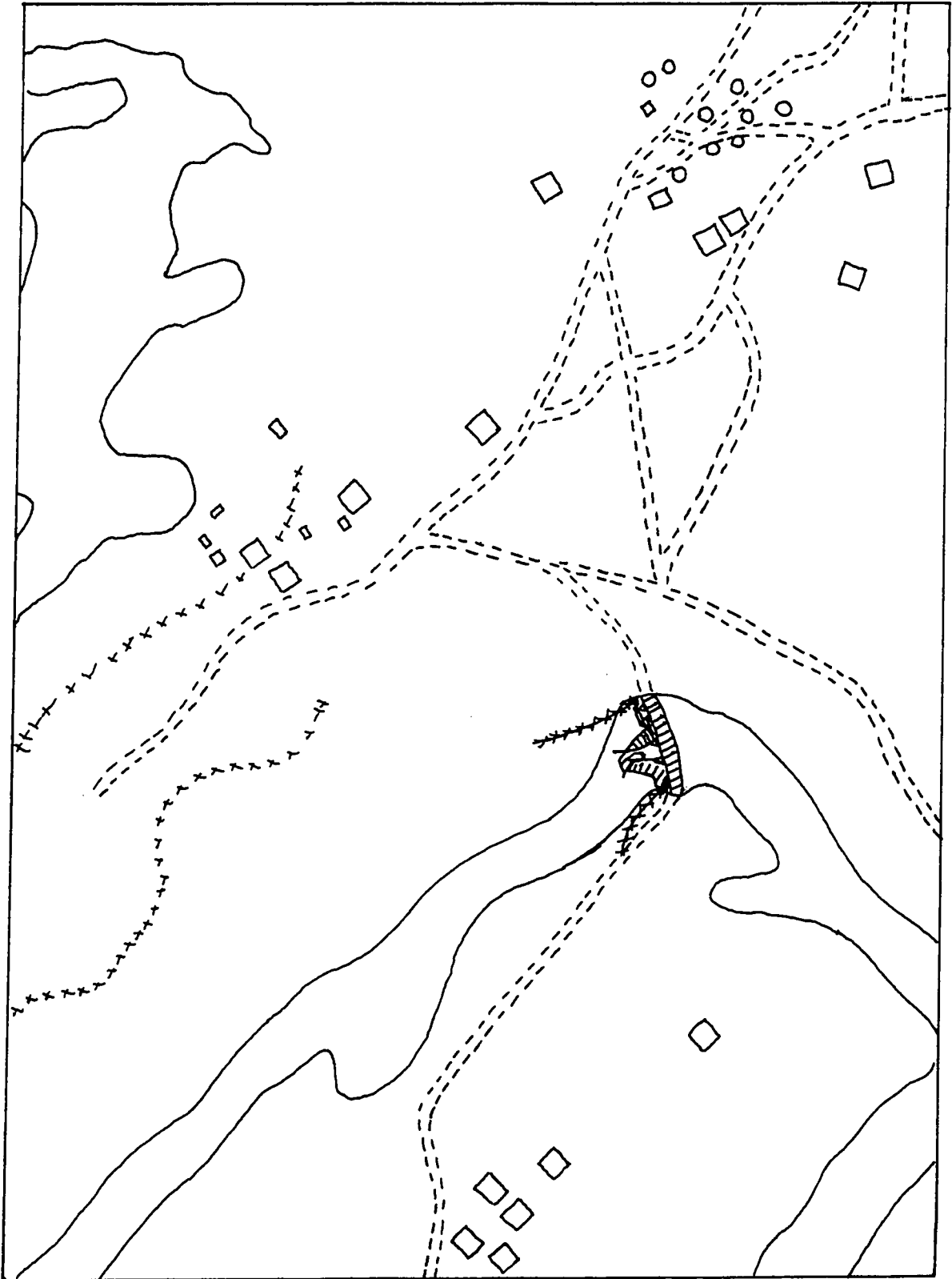


FIG. 12 POST CONTACT MANSFIELD VILLAGE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

band remembers that the caribou fence at Ladue hill was not used much after about the same date. However, the Upper Nabesna/Upper Chisana continued to make consistent use of the fence until they were interrupted by the Chisana Rush of 1913. The switch from native hunting methods, to the repeating rifle, as Brooks (1953) reports it, had some unfavorable effects on the caribou populations of the Upper Tanana:

They (caribou) usually traverse the high divides.....and here are often shot in great numbers to supply a store of winter meat to the neighboring mining camps. The slaughter is to be deplored, yet it must be remembered that the carcass is put to good use.....This decrease was noted before large mining camps were established and is chargeable, in part at least, to the use of the modern rifle by the native.

The author partly agrees with Brooks analysis that caribou migrations were disrupted by native hunting using the repeating rifle, but on the other hand, it should be emphasized that a good portion of the extra meat harvested by the natives was destined for the mining camps. The native, in order to keep himself supplied with ammunition from the post, had to furnish the meat that the trade stores demanded or face starvation himself. This type of dependence on the posts for such necessities forced the bands somewhat closer to the mining communities through a bond of mutual need: ammunition, etc., for one and meat for the other. During the decade of the 1890's, trappers and miners also appeared for the first time on the Lower Tanana, and by 1897-1898 large numbers of them began arrived by steamboat. No form of steam scow made it

beyond George Creek, due to the unnavigable waters above that point. Their travels up the river did give miners and trappers another access route into the Upper River Valley besides the Forty Mile country.

The same pressure for mining and furs (according to Robe 1943:40) also brought about the first extensive geological survey of the Alaskan side of Forty Mile in 1896, when the U.S. Geological Survey attempted to outline the prospects of the district:

Mr. J.E. Spurr, assisted by Messrs. H.B. Goodrich and F.C. Schrader, were sent by the U.S. Geological Survey to examine the gold fields of Forty Mile, Mission Creek, Birch Creek.....In the winter before the arrival of the geologists, prospectors made one of the first attempts to go from Circle City overland to the Tanana River.....

Spurr's map indicates that these prospectors took the usual route to the Birch Creek gulches in the neighborhood of Porcupine Dome and then crossed to the head of the Volkmar, now known as the Goodpaster.

It should be evident from the trip of the Circle prospectors, that the lower portion of the Upper Tanana Valley was besieged by non-natives from several directions by the mid-1890's. However, at least in the beginning, as Brooks (1914:37) points out, the Upper Tanana bands continued to keep their ties to the mining communities to a minimum:

A small part (of the Tanana natives) lived in the head-water regions, notably on the Upper Tanana beyond the migration of Salmon. These were essentially meat eaters, whose only fish diet was the arctic trout, or grayling, and a small whitefish. These highlanders, as they might be called, were the last to come in contact with the whites and preserved

many of their aboriginal customs up to recent time. In 1898 and 1899 I found such men living on the Upper Tanana who, except for firearms, exhibited but little evidence of intercourse with whites. Most of the men and some of the women were dressed entirely in buckskin, and their bedding was made of furs. Here I saw an Indian hunting bow and arrow. His arrows were tipped with copper from the gravels of nearby streams.

Yet the surge of miners, trappers and traders, and the changes they brought to the bands, could not be held off for long. In 1896, the Pacific Steam Whaling Company erected a trading post which, after a miners meeting, became known as Copper City. By April of 1898, the population already numbered about 100. From here, prospectors could now jump off from the coast to the interior gold-fields of the Alaskan interior. The route "wound over a broken trail over Valdez Glacier, Bates Pass and the Klutena Glacier" down to Klutena River and Lake, where it descended to Copper Center. This cabin and tent village in the middle of nowhere, was a base camp, from which miners struck out for the headwaters of the Copper River and Mentasta Pass. From here they entered the Tanana and found their way to Forty Mile and Circle country. This was a fluid wave of humanity that followed strike rumors and set up temporary towns overnight.

But by 1900, as Farnsworth (Feb. 14, 1900:4; June 5, 1900:2) records in his personal letters, the problem of civilization had not yet settled permanently in the Upper Tanana:

The Tanana River is a much larger river than the Ohio but it resembles that river little. Numerous sand bars, which shift from month to month, make its navigation difficult. No Settlements of whites have as yet been made on it.

.....We are at the mouth of the Tanana River 750 miles from the mouth of the Yukon. Gold can be found almost anywhere around here but no one as yet has found the pay streak and few are looking for it as there is too much excitement about the Nome, Koyukuk and Upper Tanana diggings (McManus Creek Fairbanks Strikes).

It was the lure of the diggings mentioned by Farnsworth, that brought in a horde of prospectors to the interior sections via the unimproved trail from Valdez. The wave of men headed for the copper veins of the Chitina Valley, and the gold placers of the Bremner, Nizina, Chisto-Chena, Nabesna and the copper prospects on the upper reaches of the Tanana. The presence of this new influx of miners and trappers had some critical affects on local ecological balance and the biomass, as Knapp (1904:130-132) points out:

The presence in the country of unlicensed trappers is a menace to the interests of the Indians.....The Indians report the presence of increasing numbers of white men--trappers, prospectors and miners--in the remote regions among the hills of the headwaters of the tributaries of the Yukon where they are accustomed to hunt. They say that large tracts of land are being burned over through fires being started by white men, and are being ruined for hunting purposes.

The same type of damage was being felt in the Upper Tanana by the effects of the Forty Mile, Healy River etc., mining operations. James Geoghegan (1903:16), a miner of the period, remarks about this in his travels from Eagle to Healy River:

.....Came down at Ketchumstock and followed caribou fence and then struck north across the heads of the Forty mile..... Found a cabin and some boys prospecting Healy River so we moved into the next creek. Coin Can Dig (Koi'n Kan Digi) the Indians at (Healy) Lake called it.

The Healy band (See Plates 4 & 5 from Farnsworth Collection; Univeristy of Alaska Archives) also encountered the telegraph line

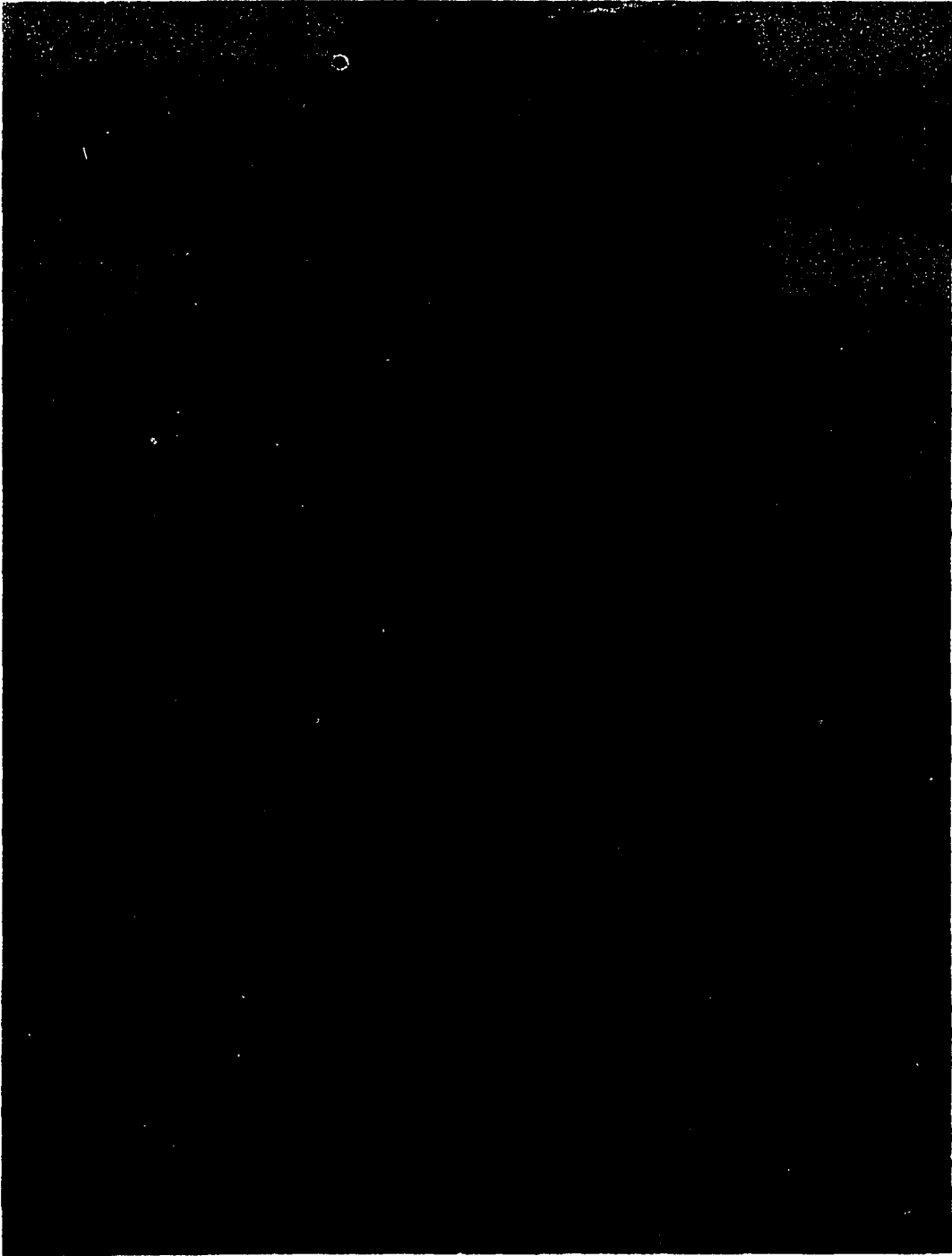


Plate 4. — Healy River Band Near Eagle Circa 1900.

crews at this time as they scouted the Healy area for a route to join the Ft. Gibbon line with the one from Valdez to Eagle. McKennan (1965:103) describes their meeting in June of 1902:

While conducting a winter survey for the Eagle-Valdez Telegraph Line in June 1902, Lieut. (later general) W.H. Mitchell encountered a band of 13 families who were hunting Caribou on the Middle Fork of the Forty Mile River under the leadership of their chief, Joseph (Mitchell 1961:68). According to my informants, this was the same band that had a summer fishing camp at Healy Lake and a caribou fence near the present Joseph Airstrip.

The stimulus for the telegraph line lay directly with the mining camps that had sprung up in the Upper Tanana Valley. As these camps began to dot the region there was an increased demand for adequate communications to link the coastal and interior sections together. This was partly due to the problem of anticipating food shortages in the interior camps but, most of all, communications were needed if any effective governing of the area was to be maintained. The situation was chaotic, to say the least, as appointed judges could not enforce the law at Eagle. Robe (1943:90) describes the territory affected by the telegraph upon its completion in 1902:

By 1902 the line from Ft. Gibbon crossed the Yukon by cable and ran along the north fork of the Tanana to the Goodpaster and along that stream to its head. They were then stretched over the Ketchumstock Hills and joined the Valdez-Eagle line at Ketchumstock station and completed the linkup of the 1700 some odd mile line stretching from Valdez to Eagle to the mouth of the Nabesna.

One of the immediate results of the telegraph line was the establishment of trading and missionary centers along its key

stations. One such point was Salchaket. In 1907 under missionary influence, the Goodpaster band and portions of the George Creek people moved permanently to Salchaket and set up residence. Another such point was the "Crossing" at the Tanana River. Both John Martin and Ted Newton built stores on the right and left banks of the river respectively. Martin immediately drew native business from Mansfield, as his store was right on their summer and winter trail to Mentasta Pass and to Tetlin. Since the distance to his post was only 7 miles, the Mansfield band began to deal there frequently.

In 1911, the importance of the "Crossing" was also realized by the Episcopal Bishop of Alaska, Peter Trimble Rowe. In 1912, he pushed upriver with Joe Joseph of the George Creek band and bought out John Martin's store for a mission house. Under an invitation from the new mission, the Mansfield band switched residence from Lake Mansfield village (č̣n̄n̄hnut̄b̄ʒ̄n̄ "far from the Tanana") to the Crossing that same year. However, none of the remaining bands such as the Sand Creek, Healy River or the headwater people followed their example.

In any event, the influence of the new mission and trading centers at Salchaket and Tanacross, rapidly shifted the Goodpaster, George Creek and Mansfield people from traditional lake outlet villages of a seasonal sedentary nature pattern to permanent riverine villages. The next bands to respond to the three-fold pressure of the white wave of traders, miners and missionaries, were those

centered in the headwaters. Only a matter of months before the telegraph line was completed at Ketchumstock, the area around McManus Creek, called the Fairbanks Strike, brought miners far up the Tanana. In 1913 the report of a gold source in Chisana Basin shifted a deluge of prospectors coming from the coast from Forty Mile to the Tanana Headwaters.

The tides of goldseekers established mining camps near the Indian villages of Chisana and Nabesna (See Fig. 13) which, like the "Crossing," quickly drew native business as an available source of ammunition, etc. Again as the mining camps expanded their diggings, large tracts of land were put to the torch. These camps required thousands of caribou and moose for food, and the Indian became the chief supplier, for meat, not furs, were barter in the mining towns. Olson (1968:127) mentions an observer's statement for the Eagle area, which roughly parallels the situation which the Upper Bands faced:

White people who first came into the interior know very little of the country of how to travel in it.....There were no road houses nor any places in which to live, other than what the Indians could furnish. The Indians harbored them and helped them in many ways. They took care of the white man, provided them with food, etc. Things continued in this way, several years the affect of which, on people like the Indians, whose margins of existence is always small, was to make them very poor.

As the mining settlements cleared the land and the Indians became their chief meat suppliers, the caribou herds began to shift northward in response to hunting pressure and the loss of available

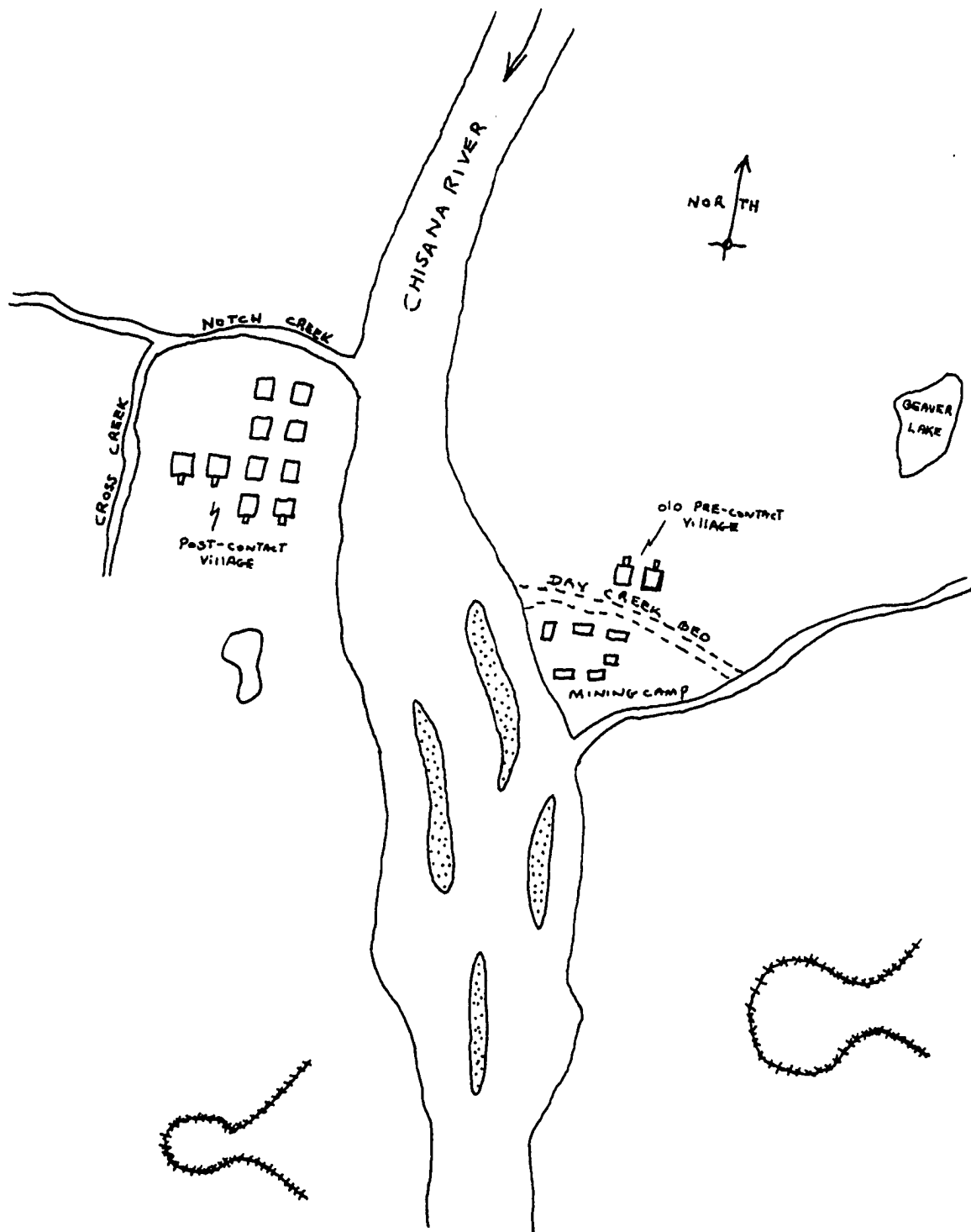


FIG. 13 POST CONTACT CHISANA SETTLEMENT PATTERN

browse. At the same time the natives were forced to a greater dependence on the stores for food. In other words, as the bands supplied meat to the camps, they literally took the food from their own mouths. Tappan Adney (1900:496) explains how the Alaska Commercial Company forced many of the native bands, including the Han, into the commercial meat market:

.....Captain Hansen told them in reply that it was true that "A.C." company now all same Jack McQuesten, but times had changed. It was no longer necessary, that they consider how much fur there was on the beaver's back, but how much meat on the moose's bones. He had no food for them, nor for the white man.....They must hunt moose and bring meat back to the white men, and then, but not until then, would he give them food from the store.

When the Upper Bands switched from providing furs for trade barter to providing meat, the delicate balance of their subsistence base was upset; and when the herds shifted from their old migration routes, the Upper Tanana began to consolidate more and more about the various posts in rather mixed groups at Mouth of the Nabesna, Upper Chisana, Upper Nabesna, Tetlin and Tanana-Crossing. By McKennan's time in 1929, the bands no longer ranged between so many seasonal settlement patterns as they formerly had. In fact, the emphasis on the band as a social and hunting unit became rather diminished. The newer riverine villages, consisting of a mixed assortment of members from various bands, no longer followed the general rule of matrilineal residence, and as a result, a breakdown in the old village matri-lineage kin clusters began to occur. Mc-

Kennan (1965:95-96) aptly describes the situation as he saw it in 1929:

Once trading posts were established in the territory, however, the developing fur trade brought inevitable changes in the material culture of the Indians and, more important, profoundly effected their subsistence pattern, round of seasonal activities, social organization, and demography. Semi-permanent villages grew up in the neighborhood of the trading posts. With the introduction of the dog team and its growing use in fur trapping, the demand for dried fish, an easily transportable dog food, increased as did the market for furs. The native's economic life centered more and more around individualistic activities of the nuclear family and superseded the earlier collective activities of the local band.....

The traditional way of life was further altered by a number of other factors of cultural and demographic change, listed below in chronological order of their appearance: (1) river steamboats, utilizing native pilots and crews, brought great mobility to these particular Indians, some of whom married and took up residences in villages far removed from their birth-places.....(2) establishment of missions, and particularly mission schools, at Tanana (1887), Nenana (1907), Chena (1908), Salcha (1909), Tananacrossing (1912).....These missions attracted natives from various groups and bands to semi-permanent settlements along the river, further confusing the traditional sib, kinship and residence patterns.....

By the 1920's to 1930's the native subsistence base changed again with the introduction of a partial cash economy. Many natives began working independently for the Highway and Game Commissions or the river boats and completely gave up the old sedentary seasonal patterns. As a result a further fragmentation and mixing of the bands occurred at the river villages.

At this point it should be stated that McKennan's description of the river villages, as semi-permanent, does not seem adequate since they have not changed location since they were founded.

Chang (1962, 1:30) further clarifies this point in distinguishing the semi- from the permanent village by the permanency of location. Certainly the Upper Tanana villages seem to fit the latter category. Skarland (1956:152) presents what appears to be the only description of the Upper Tanana villages during this period: "The houses were built along unpaved streets, one row at Healy and Tetlin, three at Tanacross." A cash economy appears to be a chief factor in the permanency of these villages. FitzGerald (1967:301) discusses the innovation of the cash economy to the Tanana natives:

With the expansion of gold mining from individual claims to large scale operations.....and development of the transportation system.....in this region, the ambitious indian became a wage earner.....Seasonal work provided for many needs obtainable only with money, but with the closing of operations for winter, he fell back on wildlife-fishing, trapping furs and hunting as his primary source of food and cash income.

Olson (1968:171) gives a similar view of the changing economy among the Tanana natives:

They were now engaged in partial subsistence economy, depending upon the land, and augmented this with some income work such as cutting wood. The trapping of mink, beaver, and especially muskrat, was an important part of their life (1900-1930).

By the 1930's the band and the extended family, except for the Upper Chisana/Upper Nabesna people, ceased to exist as important social and hunting units. The nuclear family had replaced them on both counts. The economic trend toward a cash subsistence, and the loss of caribou as a prime staple, bulwarked by missionary influence, slowly restructured the settlement patterns of these people, and in

turn, their community patterns, from those reflecting the stratified Siberian Community with characteristic matrilineages (Chang 1962:30) to the Eskimo Community pattern, composed of mixed clusters reflecting both patrilocal and matrilocal residence.

HOUSING TYPES

Village:

About 1892 the log cabin (See Plate 19) filtered into the Mansfield area by way of the Forty Mile Diggings and Whitehorse. Around the same time it entered the Lower Nabesna by way of Dawson. As the cabin was not too great a divergence from the late log-pole house, it was quickly adopted in both areas, and by 1900 the cabin or TaTen-žʌx, had for the most part replaced both the old winter Bark house and the winter log/pole house. According to David Paul, the old Deacon of Tanacross, the first cabins were built by his father and uncle at Mansfield in 1892.

Frank Sam of Northway remembers his father building one with a trade stove by 1898. Construction of the cabin closely approximates the log/pole house except for the squaw notching of the walls. You can still see the remnant of the flat roof, characterized in the old style log house, nitθil žʌx, in the early cabin as the Indians first built it in the Upper Tanana. Normally a single set of squaw notched logs forming the cabin base, are set in a one foot excavation. As each layer of notched logs is added to the base, a layer of moss is placed as chinking and trimmed afterward. Two



Plate 19. -- Full View of Upper Tanana Early Cabin.

ridge beams set almost together and supported by two posts in the back and in the front form the frame. On top of the walls a horizontal main rafter is laid on each side and a base eave log in the front and back of the dwelling. These four logs are squaw notched and joined. Next, horizontal eave logs are added in the front and back on top of the base eave log. Wooden pegs usually held the eave logs firmly in place. A series of minor vertical rafter poles was then laid from the main rafter log on each side to the two touching ridge beams and fastened by willow, babish, or other ties. Bark, usually birch, was added on top of these poles, and finally sod and moss as a finishing touch. Some early cabins even had a sweat room attached to the front of the house as a carryover from the log/pole nitθil ½x. People slept either on the floor inside, or on low set spruce pole benches. Moose or caribou skin sacks were often used for mattresses. Furniture of any kind was almost non-existent in this early form but the trade stove was fairly common. No separation or partitions existed in the house, which closely follows the arrangement for the pre-contact housing. Sniffen and Carrington (1914:27-28) mention that ".....dwelling interiors-the cabins are built of logs. The older ones consist of a single room, and both sexes of all ages sleep crowded together in them."

One interesting addition that was added in the cabin was a section, or corner, of a house set aside for a young girl entering puberty. Guedon (Personal Communication) reports that a young girl

entering puberty occupied "a corner of the house behind the blanket for a few months."

Skarland (1956:153) gives us another view of Upper Tanana housing circa 1939:

The houses were, with one or two exceptions, nearly all one story, one room affairs without basement or cellar of any sort. Heat was provided by sheet iron (Yukon) stoves or oil drum heaters.....only a few houses had real beds, a few had wooden bunks, and the only other furniture was a table sometimes, with sawed-off legs. The bedding consisted of blankets, but there was still a few caribou robes in use. A number of blankets were still kept in caches and used only as potlatch gifts. Some houses had one chair, used for visitors; but as a whole, people worked, ate, and slept on the floor, which was usually made of sawed lumber.

Hunting Camps:

By the early 1900's canvas drill had replaced skin covering for the winter semispherical hunting tent (nəbalə žʌx). The frame of the skin tent continued to be employed until about 1915 when the trade tent, like the bark-covered lean-to referred to as a Tetai žʌx, replaced it as the dominant form in the hunting camp. By the 1920's the trade tent was universally used among the Upper Tanana bands and the lean-to or the conical tipi only infrequently resorted to. The tent itself consisted of a single ridge pole suspended in front and back by two crossed poles which were imbedded into the ground. This frame was in turn supported by a similar arrangement on each side to which the front and back poles were attached along with the sides of the canvas covering for the tent. A trade stove came into use in the early 1920's and outside of skin mattresses was the only

furnishings in the tent (See Plate 20). Like the old skin tent a boiling container, tea pot etc., were usually part of the kitchen ware inside the tent.

Potlatch House:

With the introduction of the cabin to the Upper Tanana, the use of either the bark house or the log/pole house for potlatches was discontinued by about 1898 both at Mansfield and the Lower Nabesna. Walter Northway's father built the last one at the old Mouth of the Nabesna fish camp, Kath Theel, in 1898. According to residents of Tanacross, they stopped using it at Mansfield about the same time.

However, by the 1920's, no more special potlatch houses were built for the occasion, as they had been previously. Instead, a man's cabin served as his temporary potlatch house, and gifts were hung from a potlatch fence surrounding it.

Essentially, by the early 1920's, none of the old forms, except the lean-to as a hunters shelter or an occasional family dwelling, was still retained from the list of pre-contact forms. The summer bark house, the winter form, the winter log/pole house, the conical tipi and the moss house were all permanently dropped from the material culture.

COMMUNITY PATTERNS

During the pre-contact period, the matri-lineage or line as McKemman called it, was the prime ingredient reflected in the out-

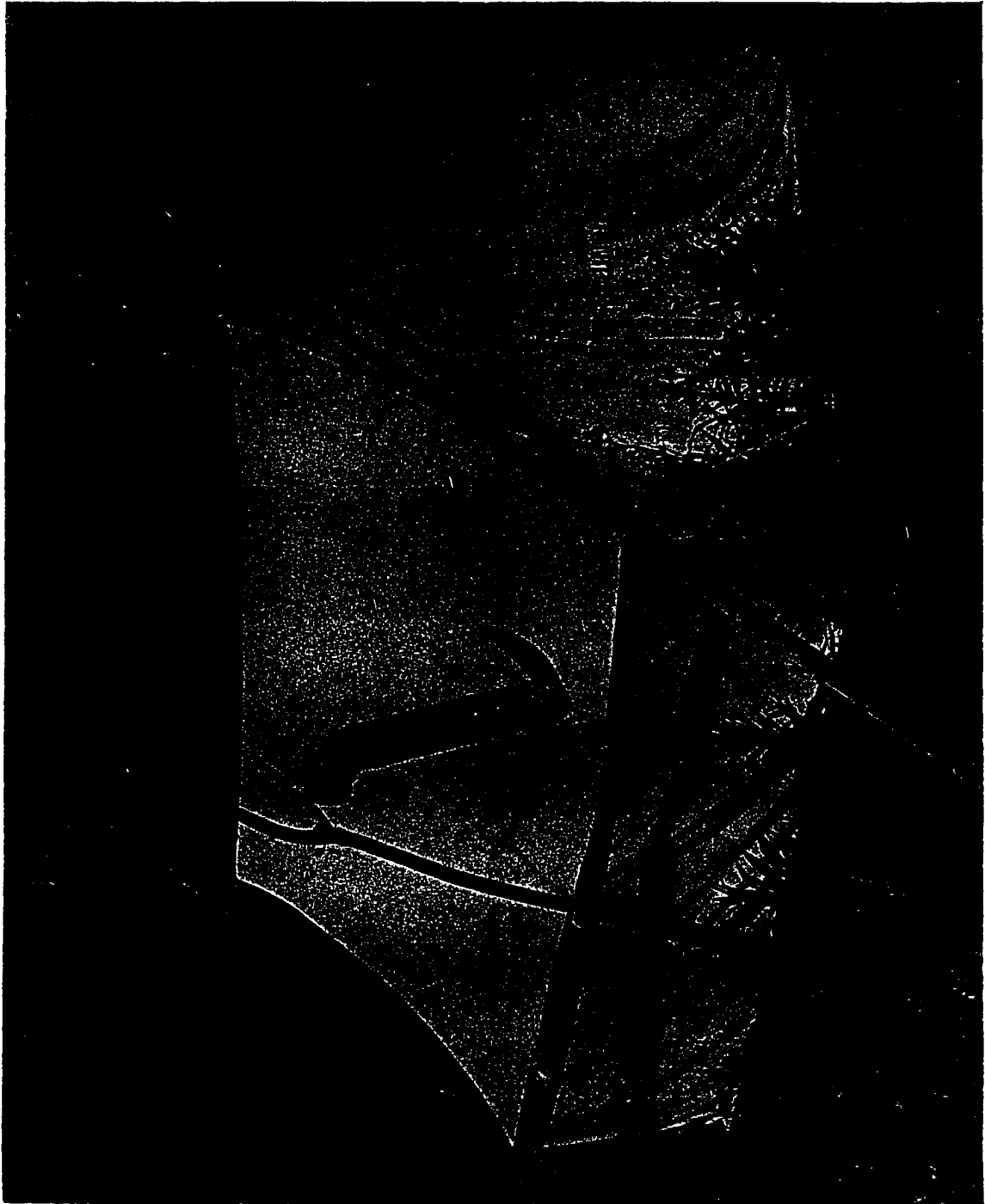


Plate 20. — Full View of Post-Contact Trade Tent.

line of both the fishing village and the hunting camp. With the advent of heavy mining and trading in the Upper valley, the matrilineage/sib distinctions began to break down as a change in subsistence produced a parallel change in residence, removing matrilocality as a general rule. Trade stores and missions drew the bands from lake outlets to riverine villages as mixed groups. With the loss of matrilocality, the matrilineage kin clusters characteristic of the pre-contact village disappeared from the scene and the settlements of the Upper Tanana began to assume an "Eskimo Type Community."

Kinship Terms:

Between 1900 and 1940 all, except primary, kinship terms were removed from use, and today the use of such terms as those referring to the cross-cousin is almost non-existent.

Descent:

Descent remained matrilineal, in the form of a matrilineage, but due to the adoption of the riverine village, this same matrilineage was no longer clearly reflected in the community pattern.

Residence:

As the native became a wage earner, the economic activities shifted from the band to the nuclear family, residence was no longer strictly matrilocal but also included the possibilities of patrilocal and neolocal residence (See Appendix I & II 1937 and 1938 Census). Inglis (1970:149-159) demonstrates the importance of the subsistence pattern in determining residence patterns for the Northern

Athapaskan, and the Upper Tanana serve as a fine example. What we have, then, is Murdock's residence sequence, mentioned by Inglis (1970:155), but in reverse; or matrilocality, due to subsistence activities dominated by the female line, switching to partilocality and neolocality, based on a cash and fur trade economy dominated by the male. It marks, in a sense then, an intermediate shift to bilocality before cycling completely to patri and neolocal residence, Household:

As the Upper Tanana adopted a cash and fur economy, the old hunting partner relationship modified, from the incorporation of the brother-in-law and his family into the household, to retention of unmarried children, in what amounted to a non-separable nuclear family that hunted and worked as a self-sufficient unit. Only the older generations of people born about the time of contact still held onto the concept of the hunting partner. Service (1962:87) discusses this same phenomena in his study of Primitive Social Organization:

The Athabaskans resemble the Algonkians not only in having a loose federation of families which form a large composite band, but also in that for many of them the fur trade had created an increased independence of the nuclear families.

One of the chief results of the post-contact period, then, is that the nuclear family emerges as the dominant social and economic force in the community.

Leadership:

From 1900 to 1940, the position of the Ha'Ke or leader, began to disappear, and the last of the old chiefs, Walter Isaac of Tanacross, passed away in the 1940's. A substantial reason behind this decline was the fact that band integrity was no longer represented in the riverine villages, as they were a mixed group of self-sufficient families whose need for an overall leader lessened.

CLANS AND SETTLEMENTS

Between the years 1900-1942 matrilocality, for the most part, disappeared among the Upper Tanana settlements, and with it, the local matri-clan represented in the village matrilineage. By 1929, McKennan (1959:124-126) reports only a few of the pre-contact clans associated with the raven and wolf (seagull) moieties still active. The small number of clans that McKennan mentions reflects the rapid disintegration of all aspects of the social organization, that was taking place during those years. Olson's (1968:173) comments, on what occurred in the Lower Tanana sibs, seem a good synopsis of the Upper Tanana picture:

The sib lineage broke down almost completely in the twenty years from 1930-1950. The younger people were no longer interested in sib membership except as it might affect marriage. Individuals could still recall their "nationality" (clan) but it was no longer of major importance.

TRAILS

From 1874 to the early 1920's only aboriginal and mining trails

dotted the Upper Tanana valley, and by the late 1920's only river travel, and to a small degree, plane transportation, supplemented this meager network. Not until the Alaska highway was finished in 1943 did a road transportation system begin to develop.

TRANSPORTATION

Two major transportation changes occurred between 1900 and 1942. In the early part of the Twentieth Century, the dog team was introduced for the first time through various mining communities. It gradually replaced the toboggan as the primary means of land transport. By the 1930's the outboard motor driven scow, in turn, replaced the birch bark rat canoe and the moose-skin boat.

In the case of the dog sled, the Upper Tanana at first merely adapted their toboggans to dog and harness use, but by the 1920's the sled had replaced it in the material culture.

ANNUAL CYCLE

From 1874 to the early 1900's the annual cycle remained essentially the same as during the pre-contact, but with the advent of mining at Forty Mile, Fairbanks and Chisana, the old cycle began to gradually disappear due to two reasons: (1) the bands were forced by mining to make shifts in population to meet the scarcity of big game brought on by the gold stampedes, and (2) they embraced a wage and fur economy which could not sustain their previous nomadism.

Right up until the construction of the Alaska Highway, the

Upper Tanana still oscillated between their riverine settlements and the old fishing lake outlet villages and hunting camps. With the completion of the road, however, the last fragments of the old cycle vanished from the native culture.

SUMMARY

The years from 1874 to 1942 marked the first extensive changes in Upper Tanana Settlement Compositions, as well as in native housing types. During this period the outlet fish camps gradually faded away due to the pressure of civilization and were replaced by the permanent riverine villages at the Mouth of the Nabesna, Tetlin and Tanacross.

As subsistence changed from straight game economy to a fur trade-meat market and cash base, the pre-contact hunting camp patterns were also abandoned, and by 1942, except for winter hunting by the nuclear family, the old settlement compositions had vanished.

The next chapter deals with a comparison of the Upper Tanana housing forms found in parts of the Athapaskan area in Alaska and Canada.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARISON NOTES ON HOUSING TYPES

The variety of the dwellings and specialized structures found in the Upper Tanana are generally typical of an area including the Upper Copper natives (de Laguna Personal Communication), Lower Tanana (Olson 1968), Koyukon (Sullivan 1936; de Laguna 1936:10), and the Han (Schwatka 1893; Adney 1900). Some forms are even characteristic of the Sub-arctic Cultural area as a whole (Oswalt 1966:2).

SUMMER BARK HOUSE

The oblong above ground summer bark house possessed by the Upper Tanana is found among the Upper Copper (de Laguna Personal Communication), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Schwatka 1900:346), Kutchin (Jenness 1955:402; Osgood 1936:51), Yukon Tena (Sullivan 1936:19-20), Han (Schwatka 1893:228-229), Tahltan (Emmons 1911:37), Upper Inlet Tanaina (Osgood 1966:63), and Carrier (Morice 1888:117), demonstrating a wide occurrence of this form, as a "dwelling proper," on the North Pacific Plateau. Generally they were all summer fishing dwellings and, interestingly enough, the Canadian Han version closely parallels the Central Alaskan form. Schwatka (1893:228-229) describes a Han structure very similar to the Upper Tanana:

The brush house.....made of spruce brush, over the topdirty canvas (or bark).....The houses were generally double, facing each other, with a narrow aisle a foot or two wide between, each containing a single family, and being

about the area of a common or government A tent. The ridge poles were common to the two houses (halves), and as both leaned forward considerably this gave them strength to resist violent winds.

Mitchell (1961:39) is even more specific on Han construction of the bark house at Eagle. He states:

A short time after reaching the International boundary, we came abreast of the Indian village above Eagle City (Fetutlin), and as we were hugging the shores, the squaws and children ran out to look us over.....There were some quite respectable looking cabins, but most of the Indians lived in wickiups. A wickiup is a lodge whose framework is made of poles, on which is put birch bark. A hole is left in the middle for the smoke to come out.

Outside of the Yukon, though, this form is not found among other Canadian Indian groups such as the Sekani (Jenness 1937:32-33), Slave (Mason 1964:20; Honigmann 1946:50; Jenness 1955:390), Beaver (Goddard 1917:210-212; Jenness 1955:383), and Kaska (Honigmann 1954:59), indicating a peculiarity of the dwelling to the North Pacific Plateau. Note that the winter version covered by moss follows the same basic distribution.

WINTER SEMI-SUBTERRANEAN BARK HOUSE

The upside down "∩" shaped winter semi-subterranean bark house is restricted to a comparatively small area in Central Alaska. Besides the Upper Tanana, it is represented among the Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), and Yukon Tena (de Laguna 1936:10; Sullivan 1936:19-20). The base frame of grooved horizontal logs is a trait found elsewhere only on the Southwest Coast of Alaska, such as the Eyak (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:32-33), and portions of the Northwest Coast. The two

parallel ridge poles characteristic of the Upper Tanana dwelling appear to be an influence from the Southwest Coast alone, where we find their only other occurrence. Both traits appear to be methods reflecting the advanced woodworking traditions of the Southwestern and Southeastern Coastal areas (Osgood 1966:60-61; Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:367). In all cases these were winter dwellings, but only in Central Alaska do we find the inverted "∧" form.

Other underground houses were also found among the Ingalik (Osgood 1940:290-312), Tanaina (Osgood 1966:55, 60-61), Eyak (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:32-33), Koyukon (Jette Fieldnotes), and Kutchin (Osgood 1936:49, 56), but these were rectangular log or plank structures without the use of bark siding. This type of dwelling or the inverted "∧" shape form was not found anywhere else in Canada outside of the Kutchin.

Neither the Sekani (Jenness 1937:32-33), Slave (Mason 1946:20; Jenness 1955:390), Beaver (Goddard 1917:210-212), or the Kaska (Honigmann 1954:59) possessed such a structure. Furthermore, the specific dwelling represented in the Upper Tanana appears fairly restricted to the drainages of the Copper, Tanana and portions of the Yukon Rivers.

WINTER LOG/POLE HOUSE

The winter log pole house is found among the Upper Tanana (McKenna 1959:74), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Olson 1968:23), and the Tanaina (Osgood 1966:60). The

Tanana version is very reminiscent of the Upper Inlet Kinik Tanaina described by Osgood (1966:60-62). Like the late form Tanaina dwelling mentioned in the Eleventh Census Report, the Tanana form followed the same almost identical construction. The Eyak (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:39) and the Chilkat (Cox 1939: 12) possess similar forms which Abercrombie (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:39) attributes to late Russian influence, and Birket-Smith (1938:371) insists is probably a late development preceded by vertical walled log structures.

McKenna (1959:74) suggests that the log pole house may have come up to the Upper Tanana "with comparatively recent times," from the coast, possibly from a clan migration, and my native informants seem to bear this out. However, Olson (1968:23-25), in his study of the Lower Tanana Indians, disagrees with such an idea and counter-proposes that the form is fairly old, for the Lower Tanana at least. In backing up his contention, he maintains that the Lower Tanana "lacked a long entrance tunnel" and that there are specific indications to support the antiquity of the dwelling in the Lower Valley:

Even though McKenna (1959:72) indicates that this was possibly a recent innovation for the Upper Tanana Indians, it appears that it dates back quite some time in Minto history. First of all, in support of this, the Minto people used caribou and moose fences which were permanent constructs used annually. Secondly, according to informants, remains of such

cabins are found on the Chatanika, Tolovana and Kantishna Rivers. The one mentioned above, on Montana Creek, dates back far enough that when informants attempted to pick up the logs which had fallen away, the old wood "crumbled like sand" in their hands. Finally, the stumps surrounding the cabin had all been chipped away to a point to fell them. This manner of cutting trees dates back to pre-contact times when trees were either cut with a stone adze, or a wedge was driven in a crack with a maul and pieces were pried away.

Let us examine these points one by one. First the caribou fence in relation to the log/pole house. Neither among the Upper Tanana (McKenna 1959), nor the Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), nor the Kutchin (Osgood 1936:51) is the caribou corral associated with a permanent log house, but is instead, connected with the skin tent dwelling and the moving hunt camp. Secondly, the reliability of informants for determining age is rather limited; but most significant is the fact that the axe was a late arrival into the Tanana River area (Rainey 1936:40). According to Allen (1887:138-139), the axe was only in limited use when he descended the river in 1885. Indeed, Sullivan's (1936:19-20) picture of the early "Tanana Tena" winter house does not fit the log/pole house but suggests the earlier bark semi-subterranean form.

One interesting point is the similarity of the name for this log dwelling between the Upper Tanana (Guedon Personal Communication) and the Upper Inlet Tanaina (Osgood 1966:61). The Tanaina refer to it as nitθil žax. The derivation for the Tanaina word, according to Osgood's informants (1966:61) comes from the word used for the birch bark strip covering used for an older form of house, but later

adopted for the log/pole house since it employed birch bark on the roof. That the Upper Tanana use a similar word which they claim is not their own, is all the more interesting.

WINTER SEMISPHERICAL SKIN TENT

Like the above-ground bark house, the winter skin tent had a circular floorplan with a somewhat semi-spherical outer frame, consisting of two connected separate halves. It has a fairly wide distribution in the Yukon Sub-arctic cultural area, and is found among such groups as the Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Olson 1968:26), Ingalik (Osgood 1940:324), Tanaina (Osgood 1966:62), and Lower Koyukon (Loyens 1966:59) where it is not used as a year round structure, except in the case of the Middle and Lower Tanana. However, we also find this year round use among the Kutchin (McKenna 1965:42-43; Adney 1900:499-500) and the Upper Tanana (McKenna 1959:71). Richardson (1851, 1:392-393) reports this form as characteristic of the Alaskan Dene but only known "among the Chepewyans and Crees.....adapted for vapour bathes." Tappan Adney's (1900:499-500) description of the Han skin lodge seems to be the farthest occurrence of the dwelling east into Canada:

The women took long-handled wooden shovels and removed the snow off the ground an elliptical space eighteen feet long by twelve feet wide, banking it all around two feet high, while some covered the exposed river gravel with green spruce boughs and kindled a fire in the center, others cut sticks three to five feet long and set them upright a foot apart in the bank of the snow, the long way of the intended house, leaving an opening at one side two feet wide for the door. The house poles, an inch thick and ten or twelve feet long,

whittled out of spruce and previously bent and seasoned into the form of a curve, were then set up in the snow at the ends of the camp to a number of sixteen or twenty, their upper ends pointing towards the middle in the form of dome ten feet high. These were strengthened by two arched cross-poles underneath, the ends of which were lashed to the side stakes with withes of willow twigs thawed out and made pliant over a fire. Over this comparatively stiff framework next was drawn a covering of caribou-skin, tanned with the hair on, made in two sections, and shaped and sewed together to fit the dome. The two sections, comprising forty skins, completely covered the house, except in the middle, where a large hole was left for the smoke to escape, and at the doorway, over which hung a piece of blanket. The toboggans with the balance of the loads were hoisted upon pole scaffolds each side of the house out of reach of the dogs.

The storage of the toboggans refers to the triangular version of the Tat Tłeth, which appears to be common only to the Kutchin (McKenna 1965:44-45) and the natives of the Tanana River. Note that during the summer, the Tanana bands (Olson 1968:25; Baggen Fieldnotes; Rainey 1936:50) as well as the Upper Inlet Tanaina (Osgood 1966:63) resorted to a covering of sewn birch bark strips instead of skin. However, beyond the Han in Canada, the dome skin lodge does not extend to the Sekani (Jenness 1955:379), the Beaver (Jenness 1955:383), Kaska (Honigmann 1954:59), Slave (Mason 1946:20; Honigmann 1946:50), Chippewyan and Cree (Richardson 1851, 1:392-393) as a dwelling, but is found to a varying degree in use as a sweat bath structure.

CONICAL SKIN/BARK TIPI

In place of the semispherical skin tent in the Yukon Subarctic, the conical tipi, found in a limited degree among the

Upper Tanana (de Laguna Personal Communication), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Drane 1928:240), Upper Copper (Guedon Personal Communication), Kutchin (Osgood 1936), Eyak (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:44), and Tanaina (Osgood 1966:65), was the prevailing form in the McKenzie Sub-arctic. The Kaska (Honigmann 1954:59), Chippewyan (Birket-Smith 1930:46), Cree (Birket-Smith 1930:46), Slave Mason 1946:20; Osgood 1931:45, 49), Beaver (Jenness 1955:383), Sekani (Jenness 1937:32-33), and Satudene (Osgood 1936:29) all possess this form, which McKennan (1959:75) suggests was, at least for the Slave and Chippewyan, borrowed from the Cree. Birket-Smith (1930:46) goes even further than McKennan:

Even if the conical tent also occurs among other Northern Athapaskans, various circumstances indicated that the original form of dwelling among these tribes was the single or double wind screen, a fact which may be imagined to have paved the way for the imported ridge tent; for among the Cree, among whom the conical tent is evidently ancient, the introduction of textiles, as far as I have been able to observe conditions at Nelson River, only led to a change in the material of the tent, not in the construction of the foundations.

Note that McKennan does not mention the conical skin tent in his monograph on the Upper Tanana (1959:75) and only rarely for the Kutchin (1965:43), yet this was definitely possessed by both groups (de Laguna, Personal Communication; Osgood 1936), but only as a menstrual hut or a single person's or single couple's dwelling. It is not generally found as a family dwelling in the Yukon Sub-arctic. Birket-Smith (1936:21-22) offers the following argument in favor of

a diffusion of the conical tent from the Eastern Cree across Canada into Alaska:

The sub-Arctic Canada among the Beaver, Chepewyan and Cree, simple wind screens of the ridge type are used as temporary travelling shelters, whereas the conical tent is the dwelling proper.....On the other hand, permanent dwellings of the ridge type (winter bark house etc.) occur in two regions in North America, both of which are outstanding in that they have retained old features: the North Pacific Plateau (including Alaska) and California.....The diffusion of the ridge tent indicates considerable age in the case too.....If the later hypothesis of the late appearance of the conical tent in Alaska is correct, it is justifiable to regard this ridge form in the west as being genetically connected with types to the east.

My Upper Tanana informants are in general agreement that the conical tipi came into the Upper Tanana from elsewhere, but they are not definite as to the exact spot. Certainly, though, since the conical tent is not found as a two family dwelling in Alaska and the Yukon Sub-arctic, the case for its antiquity here seems a bit flimsy. When we consider that the Cree border the Sarsi, Beaver and Chepewyan to the west and northwest, the Slave, Dogrib and Yellowknife to the north, the premise of McKennan (1959:75) and Birket-Smith (1936:21-22) as to the origin of the conical tipi to the East among the Cree, appears feasible. The most convincing argument seems to be the complete lack of agreement of the wigwam with other Yukon Sub-arctic dwellings.

For instance, the below ground bark house, the above ground form and the skin tent are all ridge type lodges, that consist of two halves facing each other, like the double lean-to. McKennan believes that the two family unit may be directly related to the

old use of the double lean-to. If we accept this, then very possibly the double lean-to could have evolved into these subsequent forms.

One possible example of how the transition may have occurred, can be seen in the attached double lean-to of the Slave (Mason 1946:20). This may be the manner in which nomadic bands first attempted to erect more permanent housing by modifying what was already a common form.

LEAN-TO

The lean-to is common to both the Yukon Sub-arctic and the McKenzie Sub-arctic and is found among the Upper Tanana (McKenna 1959:75), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Rainey 1937), Upper Copper (de Laguna Personal Communication), Tanaina (Osgood 1966:64), Kutchin (McKenna 1965:43), Slave (Mason 1964:21; Osgood 1931:47), and Kaska (Honigmann 1954:59). Among both the latter groups the double lean-to converged and was joined by a common ridge pole. In Canada, the lean-to, except in the western portions, was never used by the Cree or Chepewyan as a dwelling proper, whereas in the Yukon Sub-arctic and the western portion of the McKenzie Sub-arctic it is used as one. This may suggest that somewhere in Canada some cultural line marks where the double lean-to is predominant and where the conical tipi takes over. Morice (1906-1910:583-584) affirms that the "A" shaped lean-to is the original shelter of the Dene. Olson (1968:27) remarks that all of his

informants refer to it as a "real old" type of house.

EMERGENCY SHELTERS

The open spruce brush shelter was the most common form generally used among the Northern Athapaskans. Osgood (1930:27) remarks that among the Canadian Sub-arctic Dene [McKenzie Sub-arctic], this form was employed by the Hare, Dogrib, Slave, Yellowknives, Bear, etc. In Alaska and the Yukon Sub-arctic, we find the same form among the Upper Tanana (Guedon Personal Communication), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Upper Copper (de Laguna Personal Communication), Chandalar Kutchin (McKenna 1965:43-44), and Koyukon (Loyens Personal Communication) right up to the present. Osgood's (1930:27) report of the Sub-arctic Dene open spruce shelter closely parallels the form found in Alaska:

When travelling in extremely cold weather, probably the lodge would be hastily erected for a temporary camp, but the usual method is the open camp. This is formed by clearing out the snow to the ground. Spruce brush is laid down on the clearing and small trees and boughs piled up on three sides facing a fire.....the small trees and brush on the three exposed sides of the camp serve a three-fold function. They keep the snow from falling in, from thawing and act as protection from the wind.

Another commonly used emergency shelter was the snow shelter, which was usually constructed by one or two hunters caught out during severe conditions. It has the same distribution as the open brush shelter. In this case, a shelter would be quickly dug into a favorable snow bank for the night.

A final type of emergency shelter was an occupied animal cave, which was not resorted to unless no other option was available. Osgood (1930:27-28) reports that its distribution is widespread among the Sub-arctic Dene.

SPECIAL SHELTERS

The use of the conical tipi or spruce brush shelter for the woman's menstrual and birth house is fairly widespread among the Yukon and McKenzie Sub-arctic cultural areas. We find the Upper Tanana (Guedon Personal Communication; de Laguna Personal Communication), Middle Tanana (de Laguna Personal Communication), Upper Copper (Guedon Personal Communication), Lower Tanana (Olson 1968: 27), Lower Koyukon (Loyens 1966:66), Eyak (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:44) and Tanaina (Osgood 1966:162) frequently utilize the conical skin tipi for this purpose.

As we turn to the McKenzie Sub-arctic we also find the same trait among the Chepewyan (Oswalt 1966:37), Slave (Osgood 1931:45) and most of the other groups associated with the distribution of the emergency shelters.

We find about the same distribution for the domed skin/bark sweat lodge which stretches from the Yukon Sub-arctic all the way through the McKenzie Sub-arctic in western Canada. The domed skin lodge of the Upper Tanana occurs among the Han (Adney 1900:499), Kutchin (McKenna 1965:43), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Upper Copper (de Laguna Personal Communication) etc. Similar domed

sweat houses, but without a skin covering, are found among the Chepewyan (Birket-Smith 1930:76), Slave (Honigmann 1946), Carrier (Morice 1895:198), Tahltan (Emmons 1911:76), Crow River Kutchin (Osgood 1936:52), and the Cree (Richardson 1851, 1:392-393). Among the Southern Alaskan Coast Tanaina, a small attached sweatroom was found with the main winter house. This trait is also found among the natives on the Tanana River (Olson 1968:24-25; Baggen Fieldnotes) and the Copper River (de Laguna Personal Communication), but did not extend into the McKenzie Sub-arctic (Osgood 1930).

Abercrombie (Birket-Smith & de Laguna 1938:39) attributes the attachment of the sweathouse to the main dwelling as late Russian influence from Nuchek. Supposedly, this probably spread to the Ahtena on the Copper River (Allen 1887:130) and finally to the Upper Tanana about the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, along with the diffusion of the log/pole house. My Tanacross informants remember that the attached sweat room came in from the coast in their fathers' time.

CACHES

The rectangular high box cache, the rectangular platform cache, and triangular platform cache are common to the Han (Adney 1900), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Olson 1968:25; Baggen Fieldnotes), Upper Tanana (Guedon Personal Communication), Tanaina (Osgood 1966:65), etc., but the Ingalik (Osgood 1940:335-336) and the Lower Koyukon (Loyens 1966:42) only possessed the box

cache with somewhat different versions of the platform cache. However, strangely enough, the triangular platform cache, as well as the box cache, is again found present among the Slave (Honigmann 1946:51) and Kaska (Honigmann 1954:58-60).

Another category of caches found among the Northern Athapaskans are the ground versions. In Alaska they were possessed by the Upper Tanana (de Laguna Personal Communication), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Olson 1968:26), Lower Koyukon (de Laguna Personal Communication; Loyens 1966:42), Upper Copper (Guedon Personal Communication) etc. Olson mentions that these "underground caches" were "4' x 4' square and about 2' deep." This fits the details which my Upper Tanana informants gave me. As far as the distribution of these forms into the McKenzie Sub-arctic, very little information exists outside of Osgood (1930) who suggests that these types of caches were common to the majority of the Northern Athapaskans.

POST CONTACT HOUSING

The Swedish or English cabin was the dominant house type among the Upper Tanana by the late 1890's. It was also distributed over most of the Northern Dene area as well (Osgood 1930:31). The same general form was found among the Upper Tanana (McKenna Personal Communication), Middle Tanana (Baggen Fieldnotes), Lower Tanana (Olson 1968:159), Ahtena (de Laguna Fieldnotes), Hare, Dogrib, Bear, Slave, Yellowknives, etc. (Osgood 1930:31). Osgood

(1930:31) gives an account of one for the Canadian Sub-arctic which parallels the cabin found in Alaska:

Cabins or shelters constructed of logs appear to post date the coming of the whites among the sub-arctic Dene..... The mountain Indians (Ci Ta Dene) have used a so-called cabin lodge, made in the form of a cabin with logs squaw notched. the sides slope slightly inwards and the roof was constructed of poles with a covering of sod, a square hole was left at the top for a smokehole.

This closely fits the cabin form described in chapter III of this thesis. But in other parts of Alaska such as the Ingalik and Lower Koyukon (Loyens Personal Communication) the Russian dove-tailed form is found copied among the natives, not the English cabin. The same apparent distribution holds true for the trade tent as Osgood states that "at the present time (1930) the Northern Dene live mostly in the common wall tent imported by the traders..... Small cast iron stoves are set up inside with the stovepipes making their exit through the protecting sphere of a tin pie plate."

SUMMARY

This chapter has dealt with a brief comparison of the housing types found during pre- and post-contact periods in the Upper Tanana region, and other parts of the Yukon Sub-arctic and the McKenzie Sub-arctic. It is very evident from our consideration of Northern Athapaskan dwellings that they possessed a variety of forms which quickly disappeared after the introduction of non-native housing. The next chapter deals with the effect of the Alaska Highway on the settlement compositions of the Upper Tanana Indians.

CHAPTER V
INFLUENCE OF THE ALASKA HIGHWAY

Probably no land route has had a more substantial role in the acculturation of a native group than the Alaska Highway constructed in 1943. As this strip of pavement bisected the territory of the Upper Tanana Indians, it provided them with a mobility and economic base which spelled the finish of the Upper Tanana bands as a social unit, and the end of sedentary seasonal settlement patterns as well. The one remaining band, which was partially nomadic, the Upper Chisana/Upper Nabesna, broke up in response to the highway's economic and subsistence lure, and the last of band nomadism was erased from the Upper Tanana culture. By 1953, the bands had become for all intents and purposes mixed sedentary groups partly incorporated into non-native townships, with the notable exception of Tetlin, which had no road connection to the Alcan.

SETTLEMENT AND EXPLOITATIVE PATTERNS

When the Alaska Highway was completed in 1943, it literally pulled out all the stops on the shift of the Upper Tanana from sedentary seasonal settlement patterns to permanent year-round settlement patterns in alliance with non-native towns. During the period from 1874-1942, the Upper Bands had begun to gradually respond to various pressures (see chapter III) by consolidating as mixed groups in semi-permanent year-round settlements. Yet, until

the completion of the Trans Canada and Alaska artery, these mining-trading-missionary-influenced settlements still remained, essentially, isolated from the outside world and their choices of culture change were limited to that received through contact with the mining-trading-missionary centers in the Upper Tanana area and the lower river.

When the highway came, it brought with it a sudden wave of non-native humanity which quickly engulfed the native riverine settlements. The first impact that resulted from the population increase was the creation of the following new towns overnight in the vicinity of highway and the native settlements: (1) Northway-Nabesna, (2) Tok, and (3) Big Delta. Only Tetlin, which had no road links with the Alcan, maintained any degree of isolation from these towns. Lower Nabesna village and Tanacross, on the other hand, were rapidly incorporated into the Northway-Nabesna and Tok townships, respectively. Buckley (1956:91) remarks on the significance of these towns in his study of the highway's effects:

It is gratifying to note that several communities have sprung up along the highway. Many of these localities serve the tourists or the commercial vehicles traveling over the highway. Prior to the construction of the highway and its access roads, the following villages or towns did not exist: Tok Junction had a population of 104 in 1950; Northway-Nabesna, 196; and Big Delta, 155.

With the construction of the highway towns, a rapid economic development of the area along the highway occurred, which was geared to traveler and tourist service. In effect, it made ghost towns of the villages of the Upper Chisana and the Upper Nabesna, since they

were too far from the center of the only viable economy. Buckley (1956:94) discusses the type of economy that began to flourish along the Alcan:

Nowhere in the United States is there as a distinct a picture made by each modern method of travel to the total transportation facilities as is evident in Alaska.....Along the highway itself, there have developed economic enterprises to aid the traveler. Those businesses dispense food, provide shelter for the traveler, and provide gas, oil, repair parts and repair his vehicle. Although each establishment and its business is small, the total of their economic endeavors has become substantial in an area which only a short time ago was a wilderness.

In the words of Jack John Justin Jr., a former member of the Upper Chisana/Upper Nabesna band, "we could not live any longer in Nabesna cause game commission had too many laws, and not enough food. People moved to the road where they could live." This was the general situation for all the bands (Honigmann 1944:400-408) except Tetlin, which continued to maintain the only self-sufficient economy (due to an unusual game and fishing location). The few members of the Upper Chisana/Upper Nabesna still remaining by the late 1940's moved to either Northway-Nabesna or to Chisto-Chena on the Copper Drainage. What remained of Healy River and George Creek and Ketchumstock either died off due to an unknown sudden epidemic in 1946, or moved to Dot Lake or Tanacross.

Skarland (Upper Tanana Revisited 1955) gives us probably the best summary of the effects of the highway as he saw it in 1955:

The war brought the Alaska Highway to the valley. I visited the villages this spring (1955) after nearly sixteen

years absence. The Healy village has been abandoned as a permanent town, most of the people having scattered or moved to the new settlement at Dot Lake on the highway.

The total number of people is about the same as in 1939 (about 350), but the outlying villages such as Healy Lake, Soctty Creek, Billy Creek and others have been abandoned.

This time I revisited Tanacross and Tetlin, and also visited the settlement near Northway (formerly known as Nabesna Village).

Outwardly, the villages have changed very little, except that in spite of some new houses, they have a more rundown appearance than formerly. Houses are still mostly one-room structures; but a few have now separated bedrooms and kitchen.

The author's findings agree with that of Skarland that by 1953, when these towns of Northway-Nabesna, Tetlin and Tanacross began to gain some self-sufficiency due to the presence of the highway, the Upper Tanana completely abandoned the remnants they had retained of the old seasonal hunting patterns and adopted a complete cash and welfare economy.

At this time the early post-contact villages such as Mansfield, Kath Theel, etc., were given up, except for occasional use.

The primary reason for this was the dying out of heavy mining in the Upper valley during the "Depression Years" which left only the Mouth of the Nabesna and Tanacross villages, as sources of trade and some economy between the 30's and the coming of the highway in 1943.

The road offered the native of the Upper Tanana access to all parts of Alaska which he had never experienced before. In turn, it brought in influences from every direction of the country, as tour-

ists and new settlers flocked to the area. By 1950, the Upper Tanana region had more than doubled its population with natives and non-natives alike, all drawn to the new roadside towns.

COMMUNITY PATTERNS

What remained of the pre-contact and early post-contact village matrilineages disappeared with the advent of the Alaska Highway. In its place, mixed irregular clusters of kin-related persons became the dominant orientation of the Upper Tanana settlements, in what amounted to an "Eskimo type community" (Chang 1962:34). Guedon (Personal Communication) elaborates on this point for the villages of Tetlin, Tanacross and Northway:

In the modern village, you tend to find "Clusters" of kin related persons. At Tetlin, Tanacross and Northway, brothers, sisters and parents tend to live not far from one another. There is no division in the situation of the buildings indicating a clan system.

The adoption of the "Eskimo type community" pattern more or less reflected an increasing bilocal residence pattern, which was a culmination of the breakdown in the matri-clan that began with the post-contact period. The Eskimo community type which basically evolved from the pre-contact "Siberian type" was one which included "communities composed of a more or less transient body of individuals. The members of the community.....determined or recruited by the consent of its former members as well as by birth, marriage and adoption.....more open than closed to outsiders." Chang's definition of the Eskimo community certainly appear applicable, in most res-

pects, to the Upper Tanana community patterns after the building of the Alaska Highway. It is in sharp contrast to the Siberian community which was evident before white contact:

.....the community of the Eskimo type is a comparatively weak social unit. It consists of a number.....of loosely organized households, with the "looseness" indicated by the irregularity of community layout, which has resulted from the flexibility of membership.....and presumably, by the lack of an explicit tendency for a symbolically oriented layout. The descent system is often bilateral, and the post-marital residence bilocal, neolocal or unilocal. There is no strict kinship bond among the members of the community - hence it could be called a kinship-free community - a household can leave a community at any time and join another by obtaining its member's consent.....nuclear family is the strongest social unit.

DESCENT

Vague clan distinctions for consanguineal relatives still remained after the coming of the highway through a matrilineal descent system, but there was an increasing tendency to reckon the relatives of both the patri and matri sides as about equal in importance. One reason for the apparent loss of importance of the matrilineal concept is the loss of ego's matrilineal relatives as his economic backup or corporation. As the subsistence activities switched more from the extended family, and in turn the matrilineage, to the nuclear family, the line of females began to play little role in economic activities.

KINSHIP

With the removal of ego's dependence on the matriline for economic support, the nuclear family, not the extended family

(hunting partner's family plus ego's), became the household of the Upper Tanana villages. Essentially, the nuclear family was extremely mobile after the coming of the highway and could shift residence to a new community at any time with little effort. Basically, then, each community became a kinship-free community (Chang 1962, 1:34).

HOUSEHOLD

In contrast to the extended family which composed the household during the pre-contact and early contact periods of the Upper Tanana natives, the nuclear family assumed that role permanently after the building of the Alcan. These households were essentially characterized by shifting affiliations.

CLANS

Except for possible marriage distinctions, the clan had no meaning and was not participated in by the post-Alaska Highway generation. Certainly since the native villages had become mixed populations, clan distinctions as tied to the matrilineage had little place in the new order of things. The introduction of the Alaska Highway and the development of a mobile Indian society, literally spelled the finish of the clan system.

ANNUAL CYCLE

During the summer months some intermittent fishing between fire-fighting is done at the old fishing villages, such as Mansfield and Kath Theel, but not by the village as a whole as characterized pre-

contact and early post-contact times. Usually only separate nuclear families engage in this activity. Generally firefighting is the prime occupation of the younger men during the summer months.

In September and October, each family normally goes out for its yearly moose but hardly any caribou hunting is ever done. Through the winter some individuals find limited jobs in Tok and Northway but the majority live off unemployment during the non-firefighting season. In early spring some trapping is done of muskrat and other fur-bearing animals. By June and July fishing again becomes the chief pursuit of the native family until Bureau of Land Management employment opens up.

TRAILS AND ROADS

Very few of the old trail systems of the Upper Tanana were utilized by the natives after the building of the highway. The Indians became simply roadside travelers and hunters with the advent of the road.

TRANSPORTATION

About the early 1950's, the automobile became the chief means of transportation between villages, with the notable exception of Tetlin, which was reached by river boat or plane. The dogteam and sled were replaced by the snowmobile, and only saw limited use from about 1962 on.

SUMMARY

When the Alaska Highway was bulldozed through the Upper Tanana

valley in 1943, the life style of these natives was irreparably changed. Since native economy, which had become dependent on the mining-trading-missionary centers, was beginning to falter as these centers disappeared, the Indians readily embraced the economy that developed along with the highway. Along with this switch in economic bases, the remainder of what we consider pre-contact Upper Tanana culture disappeared. The next chapter will deal with the Upper Tanana area as it exists today. The author will also make a few attempts to predict just where the post Alaska Highway native villages may be heading.

CHAPTER VI

THE UPPER TANANA VILLAGES IN 1972

The goal of this study has been to trace the pre-contact, post-contact and present settlement compositions and housing of the Upper Tanana Indians, and the reasons behind the changes in them. Today's patterns are largely the result of such outside influences as mining, trading and missionary activity which began to reshape the economy of the Upper Bands and, in turn, their social structure and settlements from 1874-1942. They are also a product of the later cultural influence of the Alaska Highway, and the subsequent economy it produced, which removed the valley of the Upper Tanana from its former isolation and made it dependent on the economy along the Alcan.

In order to demonstrate the contrasts between today's villages and the past, we will now turn to a description of the settlement and community patterns of the present. In connection with this consideration, we will also discuss the present annual cycle, transportation and travel, and possible future trends for the villages of Lower Nabesna, Tetlin, Tanacross and Dot Lake.

UPPER TANANA SETTLEMENTS AND EXPLOITATIVE PATTERNS 1972

During 1972 the Upper Tanana were primarily concentrated at Lower Nabesna, Tetlin, Tanacross and Dot Lake. These villages, in contrast with the pre-contact sedentary seasonal villages, are permanent year round settlements (Chang 1962, 1:30-31), and the natives

derive their subsistence from local jobs in the vicinity of Tok and Northway, and from the Bureau of Land Management summer firefighting employment.

Today the villages are arranged according to mixed kin-related clusters with patrilocality and matrilocality in about even predominance but with a tendency toward neolocality among the post World War II generation. The contact villages of Chisana, Mansfield, Upper Nabesna, Lower Nabesna, are generally abandoned and only infrequently used during the summer months for family outings.

No specific hunting camp pattern still exists and only occasional trapping or hunting is conducted by the natives usually between August to October. Generally, no families move out of the village for this, as native efforts are restricted to "roadside hunting" parties of men. During the winter all activity ceases and no hunting, to speak of, is done. Most of the older villagers simply sit out the winter but younger natives make occasional trips to towns such as Fairbanks.

There has yet to be any acceptance of the native villages into the non-native communities, nor has any real attempt been made to incorporate them into Tok or Northway. This may be partly due to the villagers themselves, who by choice have remained apart from the towns as much as possible. In fact, though some natives are employed in the towns, the gap seems to be widening between the local townspeople and the villagers: one seemingly due to mutual mistrust.

Currently, there are no resident missions in the Upper Tanana, as the last mission was closed at Tanacross in September 1970.

POPULATION OF VILLAGES 1970

The population of the Upper Tanana Indians is divided between the villages of Northway-Nabesna, Tetlin, Tanacross and Dot Lake. Except for one resident, Margaret Kerstetter, the Healy Lake area, along with the majority of the former pre-contact and post-contact villages of the Upper Tanana, is abandoned. The table below lists the current statistics for the five inhabited locations:

	<u>Northway- Nabesna</u>	<u>Tetlin</u>	<u>Tanacross</u>	<u>Dot Lake</u>	<u>Healy Lake</u>
Men	Unk	27	Unk	Unk	0
Women	Unk	26	Unk	Unk	1
Children	92	35	40	10	6
Total	199	88	90	40	7

Over the last few years, although the author lacks sufficient data on this, it appears that the birthrate is suffering a severe decline in the villages, as many of the marriageable people are moving away and settling elsewhere. This tendency has caused a marked thinning out in the base of the population pyramid, and thus in the self-sustaining populations for these settlements.

The author has not, however, been able to ascertain the possible influence of the Alaska Native Health Service birth control program which has been administered to the Upper Tanana natives from

Anchorage in recent years. In any event, the diminished birthrate can be viewed as another indication of the general breakdown of the village structure, which should mirror the population decrease more and more in the next few years.

LOWER NABESNA

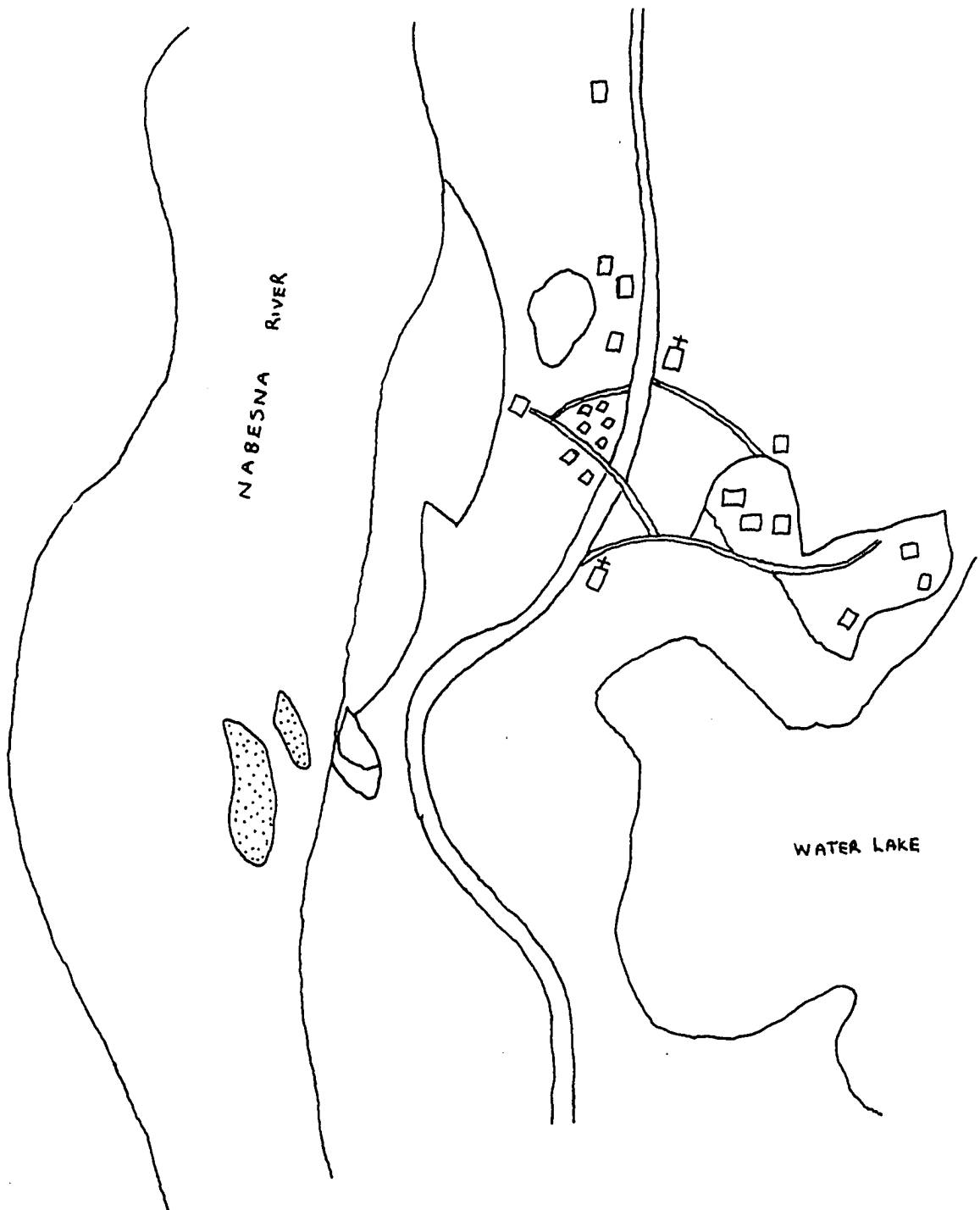
Regional Setting:

The village and community of Lower Nabesna is located between the Nabesna and Chisana Rivers, adjacent to the right bank of the west and Water Lake on the east, about one mile from the FAA station complex at Northway (See Fig. 17). The terrain consists of characteristic valley flatlands interspaced between rolling hills to the east, through which the highway cuts, and the Nutzotin Mountains to the southwest and southeast.

A small series of lakes and ponds dot the landscape in the vicinity of the present village, and the old fishing village about 2 1/2 miles from the highway. The physiography of the region is generally marshy, poorly drained land. About one mile northeast of the village the Nabesna River merges with the Upper Tanana, which parallels the Alaska Highway.

Settlement Composition:

The settlement is divided into two main portions located on either side of the access road, one adjacent to the Nabesna River and one adjoining Water Lake. Approximately eighteen families, and as many cabins comprise the community, and all are inter-related



**FIG.17 MODERN LOWER NABESNA SETTLEMENT
PATTERN**

in one way or another. The village is arranged according to four mixed kin-related groups, with two on each side of the road.

A single church, which is not permanently staffed, is situated in the village on the right side of the access road. Visiting pastors conduct occasional services in the church.

Village Population:

About 88 Athapaskans inhabit the village of Nabesna, but this figure is constantly changing, as the population is extremely fluid with frequent residence shifts.

Village Industry and Economy:

No permanent native industry exists as such in the village outside of infrequent trapping and a small native tourist industry. The residents obtain their subsistence from food obtained from the solitary general store located near the FAA station.

The economy of the area primarily relies on salaries from such governmental agencies as the FAA, U.S. Post Office and the Bureau of Land Management.

Village Transportation and Communication:

During the winter, the snowmobile, which came into Northway in 1962, is the primary means of off-the-road travel.

TETLIN VILLAGE

Regional Setting:

The native community at Tetlin is located about fifteen miles

from the northern boundary of the reservation. The reservation was established by Presidential Executive Order June 10, 1930, forming the present 786,000 square acre tract which constitutes the present limits.

The village itself is approximately eight miles from the junction of the Tetlin and Tanana Rivers, and is about fourteen miles south, by snowmobile, from Midway Lake, which is at Mile 1292 on the Alaska Highway.

Four physiographic belts run the reservation from north to south, which consist of plateaus and highlands of rolling land and gentle slopes, plains and lowlands, low mountains, and moderately high rugged mountains. These lowlands are characterized by interspersed small lakes, with Tetlin Lake being by far the largest of some thirty lakes. The Tanana River runs westerly through the reserve, and the Kalukna northerly on the eastern boundary where it empties into the Tanana. The Kalukna joins the Tetlin River in the southern highlands of the reserve. The Tetlin River flows from the southern highlands northward where it bends westward and empties into Tetlin Lake. It then moves from the lake in an easterly direction towards Tetlin Village.

Settlement Composition:

Modern Tetlin is located on the left bank of the Tetlin River and is divided into two main sections (See Fig. 15 & 16). On the right bank of the river, where old Tetlin was located, a cluster

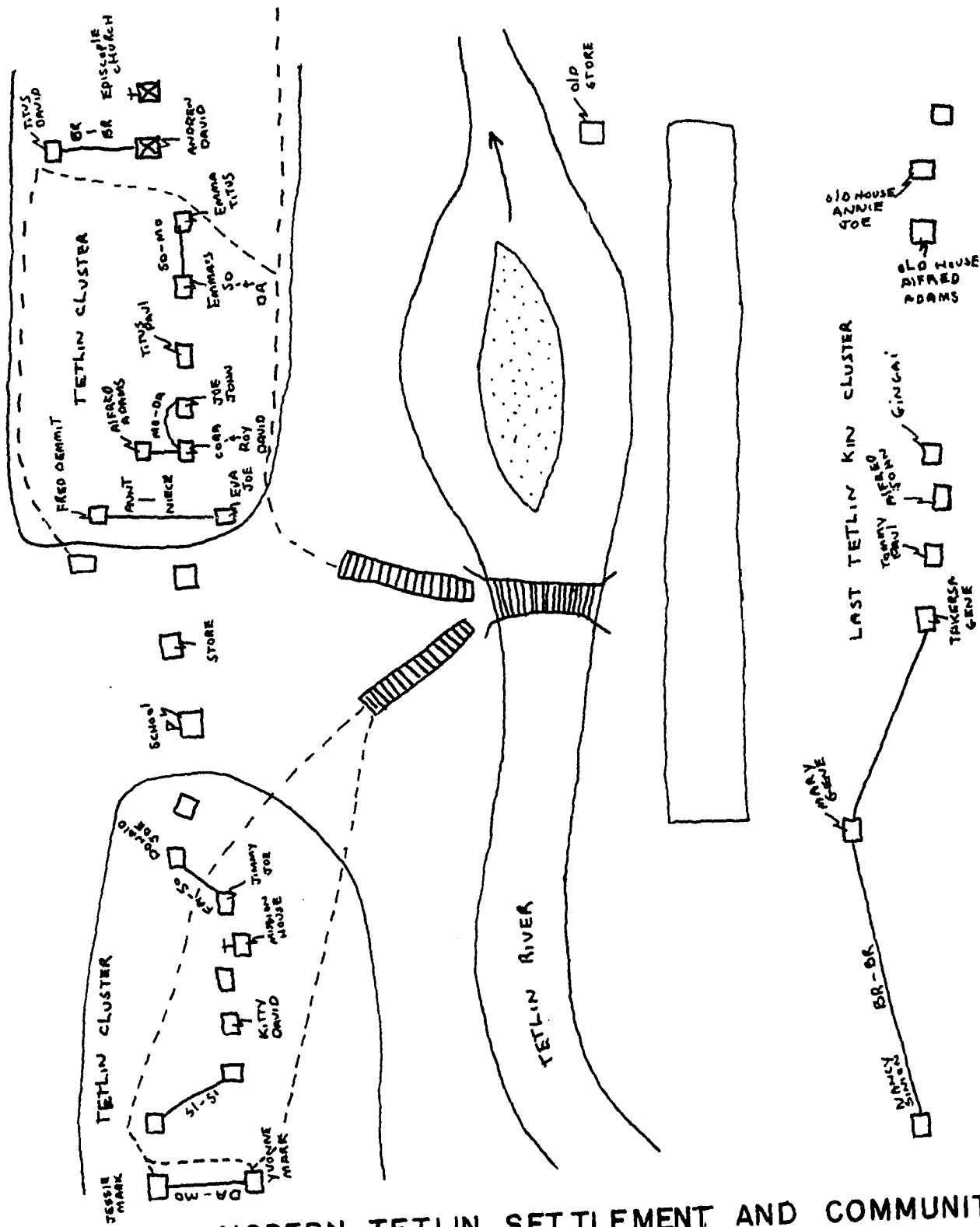


FIG. 15 MODERN TETLIN SETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY PATTERN

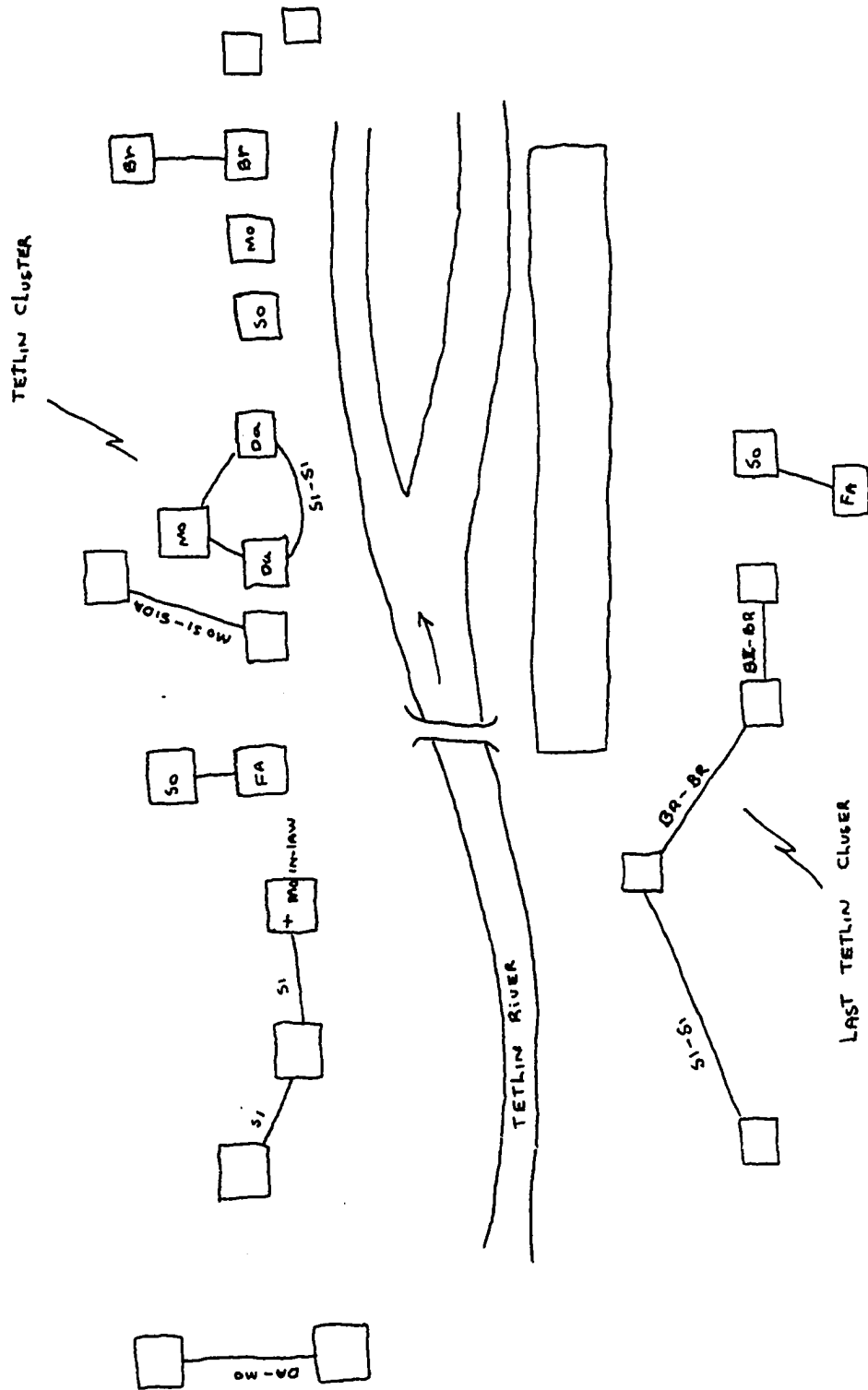


FIG. 16 MODERN TETLIN COMMUNITY KIN CLUSTER PATTERNS

of natives, who once comprised Last Tetlin, now reside. All of these various groups from both sides of the river commonly share in the village facilities of Modern Tetlin.

Essentially, then, a total of three matrilineal clusters, consisting of a mixture of kin-related individuals, occupies the two banks of the river. In a limited degree, some village endogamous patrilocality can be found inside these clusters.

The village contains a BIA school, medical facility and one locally owned store and laundry. No mission is maintained in the village, and the old mission house is reserved by the local village chief for guests.

Village Population:

Approximately 100 Athapaskan residents constitute the population of Tetlin but this varies as residence is continually shifting.

Village Industry and Economy:

The only industry in Tetlin is limited to sporadic trapping and the native tourist industry. The economy of the village centers primarily on summer firefighting jobs with the BLM and the locally owned village store.

Edwards (1961-62:201-202) points out the importance of the village store since Tetlin achieved reservation status:

The Indians [of Alaska].....As a necessity in the smaller more isolated villages, a store or trading post has developed as a community enterprise. In some larger villages, a native owned store has developed as a means of protection from unscrupulous non-native operators. The popularly elected village

council directs the store operation.....the economic life of the small villages centers largely around such stores. Fursand handicrafts are marketed and practically all supplies not produced locally are bought from the stores.

Edwards' study is definitely appropriate to Tetlin as he deals specifically with the "Economic Development of the Reserves." Today this idea of commercial enterprise has even extended outside of the village, as the village chief, Donald Joe, recently bought out one of the two non-native stores in the town of Tok.

Village Transportation and Communication:

Overland winter travel in the village is primarily by snowmobile, with only occasional use of the dogteam. Travel out of the village during the winter is restricted to plane. In the summer river boats and planes constitute the only means of travel. Mail is brought in from Tok by plane twice a week to the post office located there. Communication is limited to one BIA emergency transmitter.

TANACROSS

Regional Setting:

The village of Tanacross is located on the Upper Tanana River about 165 miles from Fairbanks. It is situated across the Tanana River two miles from the Alaska Highway (See Fig. 14). Poor (1945: 84) gives a good description of the village setting:

At Tanacross we found a well built little army post, set in fragrant firs and aspens, with a swift deep river flowing by in a great sweeping curve. Across the river, a large indian village of log houses was set beautifully in a green, grassy clearing back of the wide curving sand bar around which the river swept.

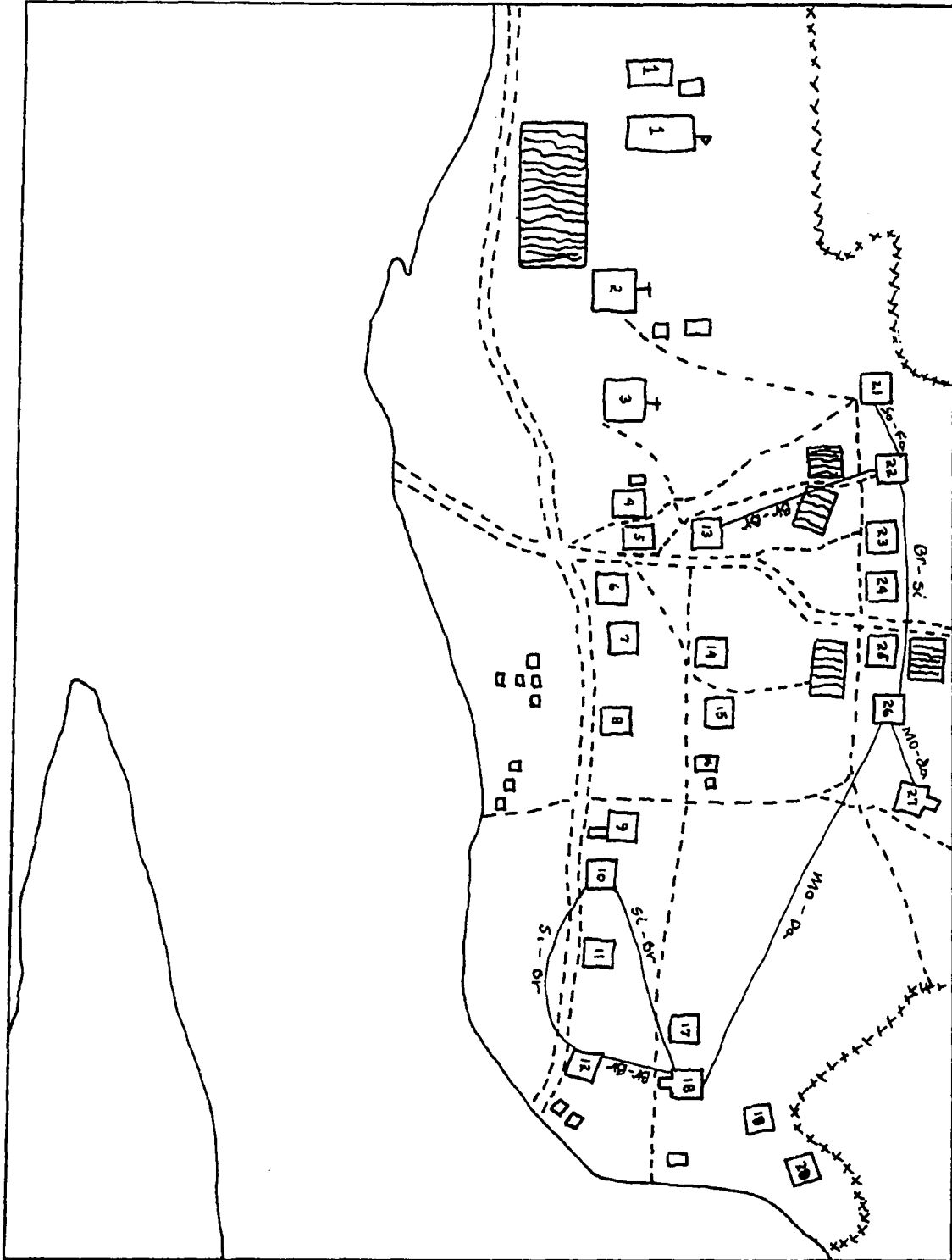


FIG. 14 MODERN TANACROSS SETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY PATTERN

Generally the terrain is flat and constantly faces the problem of summer flooding. It is flanked on the west by the Alaska Range and on the east by the Yukon Tanana Uplands.

Settlement Composition:

The village of Tanacross is divided into three extended families, which comprise separate matrilineal clusters, aligned to approximate rows. We find a very similar plan to the one we found at Tetlin, again with some degree of endogamous patrilocality intermixed with the matrilines. Olson (1968:248-249) mentions a similar settlement outline for Minto Village in the Lower Tanana.

There is, however, a rising tendency among the young to move elsewhere and establish neolocal residence; certainly, the new mixed patri and matri clusters at Tanacross, as well as Tetlin, seem to reflect the change from a stationary to a shifting residence pattern.

A privately owned village community house and post office occupy the center of the village in front, and the mission house, church and school buildings are located at the western limits of the settlement.

Village Population:

Ninety Athapaskan members comprise the current population of the village but this figure is subject to a great deal of fluctuation.

Village Industry and Economy:

Outside of minimal trapping and the tourist industry, no true

native industry exists at Tanacross. The bulk of the cash economy on which the village depends is primarily derived from summer BLM firefighting jobs and to a small degree work found in the town of Tok.

It is principally the location of the Tok BLM station at the junction of the highway and the Tanacross access road, which explains the village remaining in its present location. Without the cash economy from this source, it is likely that the village would have moved across the river before now.

Village Transportation and Communication:

During the winter the snowmobile, which came to Tanacross in the early 1960's, serves as the primary overland vehicle off the roads. Transportation on the highway is by privately owned car. With the coming of summer, however, the river boat becomes the only means of travel between the village and the other side of the river..

Only one telephone in the entire village links it with the opposite side.

DOT LAKE

Regional Setting:

The commercial and Indian settlement of Dot Lake was established in 1954 (Orth 1967:282) along the Alaska Highway at an emergency landing strip. Like Lower Nabesna, it consist of a mixed assortment of white and Indian inhabitants, the latter of which are

mainly from the Healy River and Mansfield bands. The village lies 135 miles southeast of Fairbanks on the shores of a rather small lake, and is situated at the foot of the Alaskan Range (See Fig. 18).

Settlement Composition:

No definite kinship outline exists in the present village pattern. Presently, however, a new series of native housing, forming a new townsite, is being erected by the native village inhabitants, with BIA and RURAL CAP assistance, following a basic plan from the University of Alaska. These homes are set along the shores of the second lake paralleling Dot Lake, arranged in a single row, which does not reflect specific kin distinctions but, nevertheless, represents an attempt of the Dot Lake villagers to unify the various native elements at the settlement.

Only one grocery store-post office complex, plus a solitary gas station are located at the village and most supplies are brought in either from Tok or Big Delta. A single school located a quarter of a mile below the old native settlement services both the white and native population of the community, somewhat similar to the function served by the Tok school.

Village Population:

Dot Lake consists of a mixed community of some 40 odd white and native inhabitants, whose numbers fluctuate following the pattern of Tanacross, Tetlin and Northway.

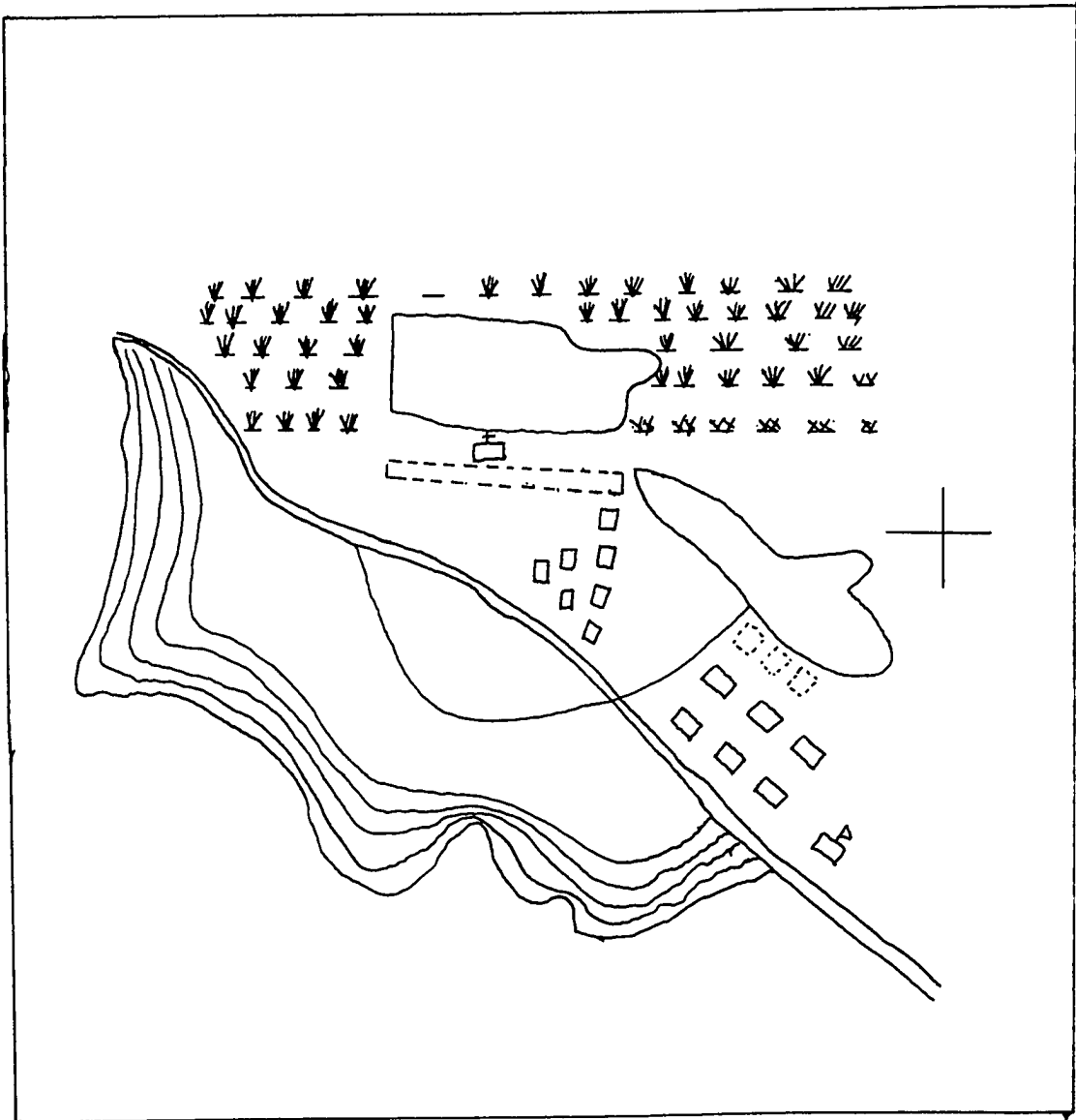


FIG. 18 MODERN DOT LAKE SETTLEMENT AND
COMMUNITY PATTERN.

Village Industry and Economy:

A small guiding and flying service is present in the settlement, which along with trapping and tourism, constitute the only industry at Dot Lake. Local economy is chiefly derived from a government radar site nearby and by limited construction work.

Village Transportation and Communication:

Transportation is strictly by road conveyance, either by bus or privately owned car. Some snowmobiles are present in the village but are generally only used for winter trapping, and some occasional hunting. Communication is limited to the local telephone system, although radio transmissions are receivable.

HOUSING 1972

The average home of the Upper Tanana villages is arranged with a wood burning stove in the main room along with a well pump close to it. Homes generally contain a rough or store bought table in the center or near a window. Chairs or wooden boxes are used to sit on, and number anywhere from four to six in a cabin.

The houses themselves are usually one story log cabin structures containing a single room which is sometimes partitioned off into several individual compartments. Dimensions are about 20x20 feet. Some of these dwellings have attached anteways, which are a carryover from the old log/pole house and the semi-subterranean bark house.

As Olson (1968:222) points out for Minto, the Upper Tanana cabins frequently use flattened cardboard for insulation. Posters, calendars, etc., are found decorating the walls of each home. The main living room is left open so it can be adequately heated by the wood stove. The beds are usually army surplus cots and are sometimes only covered with blankets without sheets.

The homes of the older people of the villages are generally neat and clean. Floors are attended to and the bedding aired. Very few homes contain any specialized furniture, such as drawers or closets. One informant's cabin was an exception. His house was partitioned off into four sections, consisting of three sleeping rooms and one living room, the former contained an individual chest of drawers in each. The house has not yet become the status symbol among the Upper Tanana natives that it is in the non-native culture. It merely serves a function: to shelter its inhabitants, their goods, guests and to receive visitors.

Today, however, some divergence from this concept of the role of the house exists at Dot Lake. The housing renewal project of Chief Andrew Isaac and the residents of Dot Lake serves more as a status equalizer with the non-native towns of the highway. It serves a symbolic as well as a functional purpose. These newer pre-fabricated frame homes, set on sturdy block foundations, contain the normal room divisions of the non-native home. The change in village structure here represents a new move on the part of the native to

meet non-native culture on its own grounds and on an equal basis.

RESIDENCE 1972

A lingering tendency towards matrilocality still exists in the residence and settlement patterns of Tanacross, Tetlin and Northway-Nabesna, but not at Dot Lake where no rule of residency (bilocality) is present. However, this is only among the late post-contact settlements. A majority of the younger couples from these villages are leaning toward neolocal residence, and many are moving away from the place of birth to Fairbanks and to Anchorage. The vestiges of the old residence patterns seen at the villages today reflect an overlapping series of matrilineal lines which demonstrate the high degree of inter-relatedness of all of the village families.

DESCENT 1972

Descent is still reckoned matrilineally but with loss of kinship distinctions. Today relatives are referred to as either "aunt, uncle, cousin or grandparent." The importance of a matrilineal descent system seems to be breaking down among the post-World War II generation, especially with those who have moved from the village and formed a neolocal residence.

KINSHIP TERMS 1972

Except for the immediate terms for mother and father (S'naa and S'taa) the post-World War II generation does not adhere to or use the various kin distinctions that their parents employed. Instead,

they classify everyone as either brother, sister, cousin, aunt, uncle or grandparent. Partly this is probably due to the inability of the young to converse in the Athapaskan language, and partly because of the lack of interest in such distinctions as with the old system in general. The lack of such adequate kin terms has caused the boundaries of the various matrines to break down and to overlap since the kin relationships and their corresponding duties, are no longer so clearly observed. Guedon (Personal Communication) points this out for Tetlin, where the relationship of matriline and matriline, clearly set during the pre-contact period, is no longer reflected in the village community pattern:

In the modern village you, tend to find 'Clusters' of kin-related persons - At Tetlin, Tanacross and Northway: brothers, sisters and parents tend to be not too far from one another. There is no division in the situation of the buildings indicating a clan system.

We might say, then, that the modern village clusters are more or less a strange mixture of matrilineal and patrilineal residence patterns, which demonstrate that the straight rule of matrilineality is breaking down as are the kin distinction; and the village clusters reflect this with an overlapping pattern.

SIBS

The role of the sib as a social institution has ceased to exist for the young below age thirty. The situation is about the same as Olson (1968:245-246) mentions for Minto Village in the Lower Tanana:

The influence of the former lineages appears to be completely ended. Most of the people twenty years or younger, have no knowledge of the former practices enjoined by the system. Several of them, upon questioning by the author, did not know to which sib they belonged.

The breakdown of the sibs seems to go hand in hand with the loss of kin distinctions and a formalized rule for residence patterns, which are beginning to be seen in the village outline today.

HOUSEHOLD 1972

The nuclear family is the primary social and economic unit in the Upper Tanana settlements today, as well as the basic household. However, even in the case of strict matrilocality or mixed matrilocality village cluster patterns, the brother-in-law, although in a separate residence from ego is still economically important to him, as he and ego mutually support each other in economic activities even though they do not share the same lodge. A certain number of each of these families comprise the irregular matrilocality/patrilocality clusters which characterize the community patterns of today. The allegiance of these families still tends toward the inexactly defined matriline but as Olson (1968:255) points out "this is nothing more than a general attitude with many exceptions."

The family today usually consists of ego, his wife, his unmarried children, sometimes his parents and occasionally his married daughter and her husband following the old practice of initial matrilocality.

LEADERSHIP 1972

The influence of the Alaska Federation of Natives and the Tanana Chiefs has been sharply felt in these small communities, especially among the young. They make up what you might call the angry generation who are eager for change but do not know how to go about it. As a result they have turned again to the old concept of the Ha'Ke, or charismatic leader, now personified by chief Andrew Isaac of Dot Lake, who is the official spokesman and intermediary between the villages and state and federal governments.

The recent urban renewal program which is native supported at Dot Lake is due to a large degree to his influence and is the first attempt among the Upper Tanana to duplicate the village settlement and housing plans of the non-native culture.

ANNUAL CYCLE 1972

In April, some of the men go to the lakes for muskrat hunting at Mansfield, Kath Theel, etc. Ducks are often added to the list of game. By June, the majority of the younger men are on call for fire-fighting with the Bureau of Land Management. Sometimes the majority of the men are on the fire lines for fifteen to twenty days, and during these times only older people and married women and children constitute the village population.

During intervals between fires, families go on recreational outings for white fish at the Mansfield and Northway fishing villages, but usually only as individual families. July marks the main

white fish runs up the outlet streams feeding into the Upper Tanana. From August to October each family head goes out to collect the yearly household moose, usually in roadside hunting parties of several men, but occasionally by boat. However, except for a limited number of town jobs in Northway-Nabesna and Tok, and some employment which younger men seek in Anchorage and Fairbanks, the villages for the most part remain stagnant the remainder of the winter, with some limited trapping by snowmobile or dogteam. In the spring again the men go out to the muskrat camps or spend time waiting to be called up to the fire lines.

TRANSPORTATION 1972

Along with the outboard motor which became common in the late 1930's, the automobile, since the advent of the Alaska Highway, has become the primary means of transportation for a mobile Upper Tanana society. To some degree, the dogteam, especially in Tetlin which has no access roads, has remained somewhat important but its influence is diminishing with the popularity of the snowmobile which is rapidly replacing it. Generally, the 18x24 foot aluminum outboards with 18 or 30 horsepower engines are the most frequently used by the natives on the river.

FUTURE TRENDS

Dot Lake, which has only a small population, and Tetlin are about the only villages which currently show any signs of growth

(Hartman 1968:65, 73, 77, 82). Tanacross and Northway are exhibiting signs of breakdowns in village unity and many younger couples are moving out to Fairbanks and other towns to form neolocal residences.

Currently, plans are being made by the township of Northway to enlarge its status as a full-sized town with the state of Alaska. If this occurs, it is very probable that the village will be swamped by increased taxes which will either force it to break up entirely or to completely merge with Northway.

A parallel situation exists at Tanacross, where lack of a self-sustaining economy, plus several other factors are forcing a move by the village across the river with the non-native village of Tanacross. A recent article in the Daily News Miner (25 March 1971:1) appears to substantiate this possibility:

TANACROSS--Representatives of 31 state and federal agencies yesterday opened a meeting to determine how this Crow (Naltsiina) Indian village will move from the north to the south bank of the Tanana River near Tok Junction.

The representatives today were to discuss what each of the agencies have to offer in the way of services or funds to help establish a new community. Today's meeting was expected to wind up preliminary talks on the move.

Opening speaker for the village was Oscar Isaac, chief of Tanacross, who made these arguments for moving:

1. The village lies on a point of land in danger of being cut off by changes in the river channel.
2. Better school facilities are needed.
3. Several cases of tuberculosis have occurred for the first time.
4. Several wells have become contaminated and only one good well remains.

Tanacross is asking for help in moving to the south side of the river near the present abandoned military airfield. It is also asking for help in constructing a new school and 27 houses.

It is probable that the move discussed in the News Miner will occur within the next two years, and the Episcopal Church has already partially abandoned its mission there. The move itself will probably result in the loss of the group identity of the village (Olson 1968) and the gradual breakup and incorporation of the village residents into the township of Tok. Tetlin is still self-sustaining but the current birth rate at both Tetlin and Dot Lake reflects a decrease in the base of the population pyramid, which does not suggest a population which will be self-sustaining to maintain the villages for more than a few years. As Loyens reports for the Nulate (Personal Communication), as the middle of the demographic pyramid is widening, the bottom is shrinking. This is essentially the situation which exists in the Upper Tanana villages today. A brief estimate of the situation reveals that the days of the remaining Upper Tanana settlements are numbered as well as the remaining culture of the Upper Tanana Indians.

SUMMARY

In the brief span of fifty years, following contact, much of what were originally Upper Tanana settlement compositions and housing types vanished from the Alaskan scene. What remained was but a remnant of the pre-contact settlement and community patterns. Perhaps Andrew Isaac, traditional chief of the United Crow (Naltsiina) bands explains the loss the best: "in the old days we could move whenever and wherever we wanted when I was a young man. Now, we

can't. We have to do what the government says."

It is amazing that a culture could lose so much in such a short period of time. That part of the community patterns survived until today is probably due to the comparative isolation of the region until the Alaska Highway was constructed in 1943. Certainly, it was the Alaska Highway, and the road network and economy that followed it, which spelled the eventual finish of what remained of these patterns.

With it came the roadside towns, and with them the traveler and the tourist. The saddest part is that few born after World War II even retain a small portion of the traditions of these people. It seems certain that when the natives born in Allen's time have passed on, the book will close on another chapter in man's history of culture.

APPENDIX I

1938 CENSUS

Scotty Creek: Population 14

NAME	BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Austin, Bill (Chisana) wife Maggie				Scotty Creek Scotty Creek
Frank, Andy (widower) 2 children	1934-36			
Kye, Bill wife Laura	1895 1898			Scotty Creek Scotty Creek
3 children wife Eliza	1918-36 1910			Snake Creek
John, Little wife, Old Lucy	1885			Scotty Creek
3 children 2 grand- children	1914-27 1937-?			

Nabesna: Population 79

Albert, Peter wife Elsie 10 children	1887 1911-37	Anna Northway	Old Northway	Nabesna
Albert, Oscar wife Mary 1 child	1918 1919 1937	Lucy	Old Albert Dawson Luke	Nabesna Last Tetling Nabesna
Demit, Elisha wife Bertha 5 children Fred John	1867 (?) 1897 ?-1936 1924	Annie John	Jack Demit John	Ketchumstock Scotty Creek Nabesna Nabesna
Demit, Easu	1912	Mary Sam	Charlie Demit	Nabesna

NAME	BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Demit, Joe Charlie	1910			Nabesna
wife Laura Eliza	1910	Anna Northway	Old Northway	Last Tetling
6 children	1928-38			Last Tetling 2 Gardener Cr. 1 Nabesna 3
Isaac, Follet			Chief Isaac	Mansfield Lake
wife Pauline	1911	Elsie N.	Peter Albert	Nabesna
John, Anne	1862		John	Scotty Creek
3 children				Bertha Demit Martha Demit
Kye, Andrew		Laura	Bill Kye	Scotty Creek
wife Maggie	1913	Anna John	Old Northway	Nabesna Nabesna
1 child	1938			
Mark, Joe		Agnes J.	Big Mark	Mansfield Lake
wife Martha		Annie	John	
3 children	1933-38			Nabesna 2 Chisana River 1
Northway Annie	1867			Scotty Creek Nabesna
6 children				
Northway, William	1884	Anna	Old Northway	Nabesna
wife Laura Eliza	1887	Jessie Tega	Big John	Tetlin
1 child				
Northway, Walter	1885	Annie	Old Northway	Nabesna Scotty Creek
wife Lily			John	
8 children	1919-38			Nabesna Ladue R. 1

NAME	BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Northway, Stephen	1906	Anna	Old Northway	Nabesna
wife Edna			Big Mark	Mansfield Lake (?)
6 children	1928-37			Tanacross 1
				Ladue Cr. 1
				Nabesna 4
Titus, Frank	1914		Titus	Scotty Creek
wife Emma	1914	Mary Sam	Charlie Demit	Nabesna
2 children	1936-8			
Titus, John	1880		Titus	Scotty Creek
wife Lucy	1884		Albert	Nabesna
3 children				
Sam, Chief	1863			Nabesna
1st wife Lou Frank				
2nd wife Bessie	1897			Scotty Creek
4 children	1918-31			Nabesna
Sam, Frank (living.'65)	1885	Bessie	Chief Sam	Nabesna
wife Annie	1907	Jessie Tega	Big John	Tetlin
6 children	1925-39			Nabesna
Charlie, Peter				Mentasta Lake
wife Mary	1920	Bessie	Chief Sam	Nabesna
Jackson, Elisha				
wife Bertha Johnnie				
5 children	1928-36			

Tetlin: Population 81 (including Last Tetling)

NAME	BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
David, Martha	1893			Tetlin
David, Titus	1909			Tetlin
wife Jessie	1909	Maggie Demit	Walter Isaac	Ketchumstock
4 children	1932-38			Tanacross 3 Tetlin
David, Andrew				Tetlin
wife Lucy	1896	Jessie Tega	Big John	Tetlin
4 children	1926-38			Tetlin
1 child by Maggie Luke	1917			
David, Lena				
(widow of Walter David)	1913	Jessie Tega	Big John	Tetlin
2 children	1931-38			Tetlin
David, Kitty		Gert Tega		Last Tetling
(widow of Peter David)				
2 children	1922-25			Tetlin
David, Ada			Albert	
(widow of Charlie David)				
1 child	1913			Tetlin
David, Helen	1925	Susie	Paul David	Chena
David, Patrick	1932	Susie	Paul David	Chena
John, Big	1865			Tetlin
wife Jessie Tega	1869			Chisana River
6 children	1913-18			Tetlin

NAME	BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Joe, Chief Peter	1876 (?)			Copper River
1st wife Eva				Copper River
2 children Paul	1890			Scotty Creek
Lily	1915			Tetlin
2nd wife Annie	1906			Last Tetling
6 children				Last Tetling 2 Tetlin Lake 4
Joe, Jimmy			Chief Joe	Tetlin
wife Jenny			Chief David	Tetlin
2 children	1924			Nabesna
	1930			Tetlin
Joseph, Old	1862			Last Tetlin
wife Mary				
2 children	? & 1923			Tetlin
Mark, David	1912			Mansfield Lake
wife Jessie	1902 (?)	Lucy	Dawson Luke	Last Tetling
2 children	1934-36			Nabesna
Paul, Titus	1911	Julia	Old Paul	Mansfield
wife Agnes Joseph	1915			
1 son	1937			Tetlin
Joe, Paul				
wife Annie	1906			
5 children	1927-36			Tetlin

Last Tetling

NAME	BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Adams, Alfred	1895	Anna	Charlie Adams	Tetlin
wife Lucy	1902	Helen	Chief Luke	Last Tetling
6 children	1922-38			Tetlin 1 Last Tetling 5
John, Little	1854			Last Tetling
2 children	1910 & ?			
Luke, Chief	1867			Mentasta Lake
wife Helen	1882			Last Tetling
Paul, Little				Tetlin
wife Ellen				Last Tetling
7 children	1819-1932			Last Tetling
Paul, Ada	1857			Mentasta Lake
Albert, Old				Tetlin
wife Gert Tega	1867	Lega		Chisana River

APPENDIX II

UPPER TANANA VILLAGE CENSUS 1937 & 1938

1938 Tanacross: Population 132 (Including Mansfield Lake)

by L.R. Wright
Government Nurse

NAME: BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Abraham, Sam 1872 wife Belle 1893 2 children 1925-28	Lily	Peter	Ketchumstock Mansfield Lake Ketchumstock 1 Tanacross 1
Charles, Albert 1871 wife Minnie-D 2 gr. children 1917 1923		Old Charlie	Copper River Paul's Paul Tanacross
Charles, Peter 1905 wife Doris 1910 7 children 1927-39	Minnie	Albert Charles	Tanacross Marchelle, Copper River Tanacross
Charles, Nellie 1911 widow of Mentasta Charlie 4 children 1931-38	Jessie	Charlie Single Eye	Mentasta Mentasta 2 Tanacross 2
(white) Denny, D. Thomas 1900 wife Annie 1907 7 children 1927-39	Bessie Charlie	Sam Thomas	Seattle Tanacross Last Tetlin 1 Tanacross 6
Easu, Eva 1863			Ketchumstock
Frank, Big 1863 no children wife Jessie 1880 2 children Nellie Charlie Pete Charlie		Frank Chief John	Minto Mentasta

NAME: BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Henry, Silas 1882 wife Lizzie 1880 5 children 1918-28	Laura	Henry	Mansfield Mansfield Mansfield and Paul's Place
Isaac, Andrew 1904 wife Maggie 1871(?) 3 children 1932-38	Annie Esau	Titus Isaac	Mansfield Mansfield Mansfield 2 Paul's Place 1
Isaac, Oscar 1916 wife Martha 1918 4 children 1936-42	Maggie Demit Saline Paul	Walter Isaac Joe Joseph	Tanacross Mansfield Tanacross
Isaac, Titus 1878 wife Annie (?) 4 children 1909-28		Old Isaac Esau	Mansfield Ketchumstock (?) Mansfield 3 Ketchumstock 1
Isaac, Walter Chief 1883 wife Maggie Demit 1891 married children Jacob 1924 Oscar (above)		Old Isaac gr. mother from/Jack Demit Tetlin	Mansfield Ketchumstock Ketchumstock
James, Charlie 1889 wife Eliza 1905 5 children 1923-38		James Saul	Copper River Ketchumstock Tanacross 4 Copper River 1
John, Lucy 1862 married children			Mentasta
John, Henry Chief 1872 wife Laura 1894 married children Jennie Sanford			Goodpaster Tanacross

NAME: BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Sanford, John Charlie 1905 wife Jennie Sanford 1894 3 children 1927-35 John Frank Johnathan Alec Johnathan Timothy Johnathan	Jessie Lucy	Charlie Sanford Chief John	Copper River Mentasta Tanacross
John, Tommy 1883 wife Annie 1873 2 children		John	Salchaket Salchaket
Johnathan, Gert (Widow) 1860			Mansfield
Johnathan, John Frank 1915 wife Emma 1915 2 children 1936-38	Jennie Annie Steve	Frank Johnathan Moses Thomas	Mansfield Mansfield Tanacross
Johnathan, Timothy 1912 wife, Mary Isaac 1919 3 children 1937-39	Jennie Maggie Demit	Frank Johnathan Walter Isaac	Mansfield Tanacross Tanacross
Joseph, Joe 1885 wife Saline 1895 5 children 1925-38	Haxtala Julia Thomas	Jospeh Old Paul of Delta	Salchaket Mansfield Tanacross
Luke, Henry 1880 wife Jennie Thomas 1890 6 children 1912-35		Luke Thomas	Mansfield ? Mansfield-Tanacross
Paul, Julius 1913 1st wife Celia D. 1915 2nd wife, Riga child Robert 1936	Julia Thomas Agnes	Old Paul Big Mark	Mansfield Chicken Cr. Mansfield Tanacross
Paul, Old 1859 wife Julia Thomas 1861 son Julius Paul d. Saline Joseph s. David Paul		Paul Thomas	Wood River

NAME: BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Sam, Moses ? (old)	Bessie Sam	Old Sam	?
Paul, David (Diqagyu) 1887	Julia Thomas	Old Paul	
1st wife, Laura (Ts'adza)			
2nd wife, Ina (Neltsin) 1912	Annie (Eagle)	Titus Isaac	Mansfield
6 children 1921-38			Mansfield 1 Tanacross 5
Paul, Mathew 1907	Julia Thomas	Old Paul	Mansfield
wife Edna	Sarah	Robert	Ketchumstock
child Rainey 1937			Tanacross
Roberts, Sarah (widow) 1871	from Mentasta (?)		Last Tetlin
Solomon, Silas 1904	Annie James	Solomon	Ketchumstock
divorced from Sarah Northway			
Tega, David 1881		Tega	?
wife Elsie 1909	Annie James	Solomon	Ketchumstock
3 children 1934-42			Tanacross
Thomas, Old Sam 1862 (55)		Thomas	Mansfield
wife Bessie 1872 (75)			?
2 children ?-1903			Fish Cr.
Thomas, Peter 1875		Thomas	Mansfield
wife Sarah ?		James	Copper River
Henry, Gene 1913	Jessie	Billy	Copper River
wife Susie 1917	Maggie Demit	Walter Isaac	
1 child 1940			Tanacross
Henry, John 1915	?	Billy	Copper River
wife Esther ?		Tommy John	Mansfield
1 child 1939			Tanacross
Walters, Bessie (widow) 1871			Mansfield
Walters, Jimmy 1893	Bessie	Walters	Tanacross (?)
divorced			

1937 Healy Lake: Population 55 (including Healy River and Sand Cr.)

NAME: BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Healey, Josie 1868 (widow of Chief Healy) son-Paul Healey			Healy Lake
Healey, John 1890(?) wife Jennie 1904 7 children 1918-38	Cachael 1st wife Belle	Chief Healey Chief Sam	Healy River Healy River Healy Lake
Healey, Arthur 1918 wife Laura 1912	Jennie Sam Maggie Demit	John Healey Chief Isaac	Healy River Mansfield
Healey, Blind Jimmy 1868(?) wife Old Saline 1871	Conaguntha	Joseph Healey Charlie	Healy Lake
Charlie, Mary 1898 (widow of John Charlie)	Gachael	Chief Healey	Healy Lake
Joseph, Little John 1897 wife Emma Charlie 1917 6 children 1931-39	Hastela Mary Healey	Joseph John Charlie	Salchaket Healy Lake Healy Lake
Felix, Frank 1915 wife Elaine 1917 4 children 1934-39	Bod'la Eva David	Felix Julius	Healy Lake Chena Healy Lake

SAND CREEK

Sam, Old Chief 1868 wife Belle (Hatchet) 1871 6 children		Sam	Sand Cr. Healy Lake Healy Lake
Walter, Margaret 1915 exwife of Jimmy Walter	Agnes	Jacob	Tanacross
Joseph, Alexander 1917 wife Alice Jacob 1913 1 child 1938	Agnes (Good- paster) Agnes	Chief Joe Jacob	Salchaket Tanacross Healy Lake

NAME: BIRTHDATE	MOTHER	FATHER	BIRTHPLACE
Luke, Frank 1896		Luke	Salchaket
wife Lucy 1906	Belle	Chief Sam	Healy River
5 children 1926-38			George Cr. 1 Sand Cr. 4
Luke, Abraham 1912		Luke	Salchaket
wife Eva 1912	Belle	Chief Sam	Sand Cr.
4 children 1933-38			Sand Cr.
Healey, Lena 1914	Belle	Chief Sam	Healy River
(widow of Paddy Healey)			
1 child 1932			Sand Cr.
Healey, Paul 1910	Josie	Chief Healey	Healy Lake
wife Martha 1934-38	Annie Charlie	Fred	Sand Cr.
4 children 1934-38			Healy River
Hammer, Annie (widow)			
1867	Cho-teh-ta	Charlie	Healy Lake
1st husband-Fred			
2nd husband-Hammer (white)			

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