

Knik Arm Bridge Project

Phase 1

Cultural Resources and Subsistence

Prepared for

HDR Alaska
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INTRODUCTION

Prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in the Anchorage area in the late 1700s, the indigenous Dena'ina Athabaskans resided in fish camps and winter villages that dotted both shores of Knik Arm. The development of Anchorage since its inception in 1915 resulted in the displacement of Dena'ina from traditional camps and harvest locations. In the past, fish camps, with drying racks, smokehouses, and accommodations, were located, for example, on Ship Creek, Campbell Creek, Chester Creek and Point Woronzof in what is now urban Anchorage. As Anchorage grew, Dena'ina families moved their fish camps away from the emerging urban area and, over time, became disenfranchised from traditional areas. Some moved further from the Anchorage area (e.g., Tyonek and Kenai) in response to the growing development. Descendents of the Knik Arm Dena'ina now live in Eklutna, Knik, Anchorage, the Mat-Su Valley, and elsewhere. Though not apparent to the casual observer, evidence of earlier Dena'ina habitation, as well as more recent homestead activity, remains beneath the surface of urban and military development. Throughout the history of development in the Anchorage area, non-Natives expended little effort to consult with tribal members about impacts to Dena'ina traditional uses of the area. Today (2004), there is continued cultural attachment to these traditional and historic places and activities. In addition, Knik Arm Dena'ina continue to harvest local resources as they have for centuries.

Issues and Concerns

Stephen R. Braund & Associates (SRB&A) developed a preliminary list of issues and concerns from a review of the existing literature, limited discussions with Knik and Eklutna tribal representatives, and brief discussions with social scientists who have conducted research in the area. SRB&A focused on cultural resources, including archaeological, ethnographic, and historical resources and subsistence¹ uses, including traditional and contemporary resource uses and use areas.

Cultural resource and subsistence issues associated with the Knik Arm Bridge Project include the potential effect the proposed project might have on:

- Cultural resources and traditional places, including:
 - archaeological sites (Chugach Eskimo, Dena'ina, Russian)
 - former Dena'ina winter village sites, fish camp sites, and trails
 - homestead ruins
 - historic structures associated with early Anchorage
 - Dena'ina access to appropriate cultural resources

- Habitat and natural resources, including:
 - marine mammals (i.e., beluga) and fish (e.g. salmon)
 - terrestrial species and migratory birds (e.g., moose on west side of Knik Arm and geese in Goose Bay)
 - plants such as berries, wild potatoes and greens
 - decline in quality of habitat

- Dena'ina access to and subsistence uses of local resources, including:
 - salmon
 - fish camps and other subsistence harvest areas

¹ Although current state and federal regulations do not recognize "subsistence" uses in the Knik Arm area, in this document, "subsistence" is synonymous with tribal harvest activities and uses.

An additional issue is the extent to which project planners/researchers communicate and consult with local Dena'ina and tribes.

Preliminary Research and Data Sources

Archaeological, linguistic and ethnographic literature provides evidence of a long history of human habitation in Knik Arm (see references). Only in the past 100 years have changes occurred that contribute to the present developed character of the area. Explorers from Great Britain, Russia and America who first encountered this region provide corroborating accounts of numerous indigenous settlements and fish camps at sources of fresh water along both sides of the Knik Arm and inland. These people were the *K'enaht'ana*, or Knik Arm Dena'ina, speakers of the 'Upper Cook Inlet' dialect of the Athabaskan language (Fall 1981a). Their descendants belong to the Knik and Eklutna tribes, many of whom live in the village of Eklutna and in the surrounding Anchorage area. Although the contemporary village of Eklutna is the only surviving Dena'ina village of the dozens of communities that existed prior to the European arrival, Knik Arm and surrounding lands continue to be important to members of both the Eklutna and Knik tribes. Tribal members place great value on maintaining their ability to gather and harvest traditional foods and on maintaining cultural ties to significant landforms and waterways. As is apparent from a brief review of the literature, the area is rich in traditional Dena'ina place names, fish camps, village sites, camp sites, and other traditional places.

Principal sources of ethnographic literature include *Shem Pete's Alaska: The Territory of the Upper Cook Inlet Dena'ina* by James Kari and James A. Fall (2003), as well as other work by both authors, Peter Kalifornsky (Kari and Boraas, ed. 1991), Ann Chandonnet (1979, 1985), Cornelius Osgood (1937) and Nancy Yaw Davis (2003). Archaeological literature includes work by Frederica de Laguna (1934), Douglas Reger (1998), Dave MacMahan and Chuck Holmes (1996), D. E. Dumond and Robert L. A. Mace (1968) and Fran Seager-Boss (2000). See references below for additional citations.

In the literature, traditional Dena'ina winter village sites, fish camps and use areas identified within the general project area on the east side of Knik Arm include:

- *Tak'at* fish camp (near Cairn Point)
- trail from *Tak'at* to Ship Creek
- fish camp, cemetery and winter village at Ship Creek
- winter village and cemetery near Government Hill
- fish camp and village site at *Ch'ak'dinlenghet* (Moonshine Creek / Green Lake drainage)
- looped trees
- Dena'ina cache pits and trails along the bluff

In addition, Euroamerican homestead cabin ruins and historic structures on Government Hill and Elmendorf Air Force Base may be in the area of potential effects (APE) depending on the chosen alignment option.

The project is located in the traditional subsistence use area of the Knik and Eklutna tribes, who continue to conduct 'educational fisheries' on Knik Arm, their primary access to salt water salmon. Knik Arm Dena'ina do not qualify under federal or state regulations as subsistence users because the greater Anchorage-Matanuska Valley region developed around their traditional lands and current federal and state regulations do not recognize "subsistence" in Knik Arm. Under federal regulation, an area has to be "rural" to classify for subsistence. Knik Arm is not rural under federal regulations. Similarly, state regulations do not allow subsistence fishing or hunting in "nonsubsistence areas." State "nonsubsistence areas" include the Cook Inlet basin with exception of communities such as Tyonek, Nanwalek, and Port Graham. There is no official category in Alaska for tribes that became "engulfed" by urban development and growth. Despite these regulatory distinctions, Knik Arm Dena'ina are indigenous to this area, have

harvested local natural resources for centuries, and continue to harvest local resources for cultural and "subsistence" uses.

Representatives of both Knik and Eklutna tribes have requested communication and consultation regarding Dena'ina traditional use of the area during project planning. In brief preliminary discussions, they have raised concerns about effects of this project on subsistence resources, particularly beluga and salmon; the desire for communication with the tribes; the need to compensate elders for information derived from consultation; the need to locate, identify, and respect grave sites and other traditional sites near the project area; and a request to acknowledge the cultural importance of the area to the Dena'ina.

Data Gaps and Suggested Procedures to Address Data Gaps

Based on preliminary research, the following cultural resource and subsistence data gaps exist:

1. Lack of APE
2. Cultural resources in and near APE are not adequately identified and located
3. Contemporary Dena'ina resource uses and use areas are not adequately described
4. Little consultation exists with local Dena'ina tribes
5. Need a cultural resources and subsistence environmental baseline for the project area

Thus, to address the above issues and concerns, and in order to analyze the potential environmental consequences of the proposed project on cultural resources and subsistence uses, the following require attention:

1. Define the Area of Potential Effects (APE) for both cultural resources and subsistence or tribal resource uses
2. Identify and locate cultural resources in and near the APE
3. Document contemporary Dena'ina resource uses and use areas
4. Initiate a collaborative consultation process with local Dena'ina
5. Establish baseline environmental conditions of the project area

Each of these topics is discussed further below followed by a brief description of how best to address the issues and data gaps.

1. Define the area of potential effects (APE) for cultural resources and subsistence or tribal resource uses

Identification of the APE for this project requires specific location of alignment option(s) from HDR and KABTA.

- Suggested procedures to fill data gap:
 - *review detailed project description, literature (see references), and pending interview data*
 - *consult with study team*

2. Identify and locate cultural resources in and near APE

In order to assess the potential effects to cultural resources, it is necessary to identify any cultural resources in the vicinity and determine their location relative to the APE. The sites listed above are all located on the east side of the Knik Arm. Because the west shore has experienced less urban and military activity, less cultural and subsistence use information has been documented there. The larger number of sites identified on the east side is likely due to more documentation rather than because more activity has occurred there.

- Suggested procedures to fill data gap:

- *review literature (see references)*
- *identify exact locations of cultural resource sites reported in literature to determine their proximity to the proposed project*
- *consult with and communicate throughout the NEPA process with Knik and Eklutna tribes*
- *consult with knowledgeable parties (e.g. tribal members, anthropologists, residents)*
- *conduct cultural resource survey once project route is known and APE is determined*
- *visit west side of Knik Arm with Dena'ina elders; this has occurred on the east side*
- *identify and document Dena'ina locations of past habitation (e.g., potlatches, burials, trails) and other places of family importance*
- *investigate potential of submerged shipwrecks in Knik Arm*
- *prepare Section 106 report*
- *determine mitigation measures if there are impacts to cultural resources*

3. Document contemporary Dena'ina resource uses and practices

Because of the history of displacement briefly described above, past traditional, tribal subsistence patterns have changed. Little information exists related to contemporary resource uses, harvest locations, and the importance of resource harvesting and use to Dena'ina cultural identity and economy.

- Suggested procedures to fill data gap:
 - *review literature regarding subsistence uses in Knik Arm*
 - *consult/interview Dena'ina resource users related to resource harvesting and traditional knowledge of salmon and beluga*
 - *review studies of beluga populations and relationship to health of salmon populations*
 - *review ADF&G permit harvest reports for Knik and Eklutna Educational Fisheries*
 - *inquire about Dena'ina relationship with and uses of the waterways, in particular:*
 - *water current and tides*
 - *Dena'ina names*
 - *use of small boats*

4. Initiate a collaborative consultation process with Dena'ina users of the project area.

According to tribal representatives, in the past, area developers made little effort to consult with tribal members about the impacts of projects on sites important to Dena'ina subsistence uses and cultural identity. In this project, tribal representatives requested for communication to continue throughout the planning process.

- Suggested procedures to fill data gap:
 - *meet with Eklutna and Knik tribes to discuss issues and concerns*
 - *conduct interviews with tribal members as needed*
 - *communicate with Eklutna and Knik tribes throughout process*
 - *involve the tribes in document review process*

5. Establish baseline environmental conditions of the project area

- Suggested procedures to fill data gap:
 - *Address numbers 1-4 above*
 - *work with area agencies and tribes to review the baseline description*
 - *account for cultural resources, fish camps, salmon fishing, beluga hunting, eulachon fishing, greens and berry gathering, hunting, and trapping as appropriate*
 - *account for military and urban activity as appropriate*
 - *communicate with Knik and Eklutna tribes throughout process*

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